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Preface

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Preface

Prefacio

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Resumen

Prefacio del monográfico: Emancipación: La liberación del yo en la literatura, las artes, la religión y el deporte.

Palabras clave: Emancipación; Liberación del yo; Literatura; Artes; Religión; Deporte.

Abstract

Preface of the monograph: Emancipation: Freeing the self in literature, arts, religion and sport.

Keywords: Emancipation; Freeing the self; Literature; Arts; Religion; Sport.

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This volume came about from scholarly work originally presented at James Madison University (JMU) in Harrisonburg Virginia, United States, in March 2013. The Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures at JMU hosts a conference annually with themes that reach across disciplines and resonate with scholars working in the humanities, social sciences and arts. As the first spring buds appear in the beautiful Shenandoah Valley, the conference allows cross-disciplinary scholarly discussions to flower between professors, instructors, researchers, and students. The theme for 2013 was *Emancipation: the Struggle for Freedom and Equality*, to commemorate the sesquicentennial of President Lincoln´s Emancipation Proclamation and the fiftieth anniversary of the March on Washington, the largest Civil Rights demonstration of the 1960s. Thus the theme was timely but also timeless, because matters of equality and social justice are just as relevant today as they were 150 years ago. As the title of the volume suggests, the authors explore the theme of emancipation in literature, film, theatre, religion, and sport. The authors are professors, instructors, and students at JMU, most being housed in the

Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures, but others coming from departments of religion, rhetoric, and theatre. It was my distinct pleasure to attend the conference, recognize that the scholarship would be of interest to the greater academic community, and find a fitting venue.

Many people contributed to make this special issue possible. The conference was funded with the generous support of the College of Arts and Letters at James Madison University and in particular the Dean, David Jeffrey. The faculty and staff of the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures worked tirelessly to make the conference a success, most notably Giuliana Fazzion, chair and author of the introduction to this volume, and Barbara Monger, administrative assistant. Thanks are due to all the conference presenters and participants. As for the current volume, the authors are to be congratulated on their contributions, as is Erin Morin for her assistance with translation of the abstracts. Many thanks to the *Revista de Humanidades* for providing a unique opportunity to present this scholarship as a special issue of the journal. The reader's experience is no doubt enriched by being able to explore so many different perspectives on emancipation in one single thematic volume.

Introduction

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Introduction

Introducción

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Resumen

Presentación del monográfico: Emancipación: La liberación del yo en la literatura, las artes, la religión y el deporte.

Palabras clave: Emancipación; Liberación del yo; Literatura; Artes; Religión; Deporte.

Abstract

Presentation of the monograph: Emancipation: Freeing the self in literature, arts, religion and sport.

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On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as the United States approached its third year of bloody civil war. The proclamation declared, "that all persons held as slaves" within the rebellious states "are, and henceforward shall be free." Although the Emancipation Proclamation did not end slavery in the nation, it captured the hearts and imagination of millions of Americans and fundamentally transformed the character of the war. The year 2013 marked the sesquicentennial of the Emancipation Proclamation and the fiftieth anniversary of the March on Washington, the largest demonstration of the 1960s fight for civil rights. In every epoch we study, from early civilizations to the twenty-first century, we find struggles for emancipation. We encounter enslaved populations seeking their freedom, colonized people seeking their independence,

and victims of tyranny seeking their liberties. Not all succeed, but their struggles and fights reveal the desire of individuals, groups, and nations to free themselves from oppression.

Emancipation generally means freeing or liberating someone from the control of another. It is the act of setting free from the power of another, from slavery, subjection, or controlling influence. It can be applied in several contexts: the emancipation of slaves, the emancipation of minors, the emancipation of a person from prejudices, and the emancipation of the mind from superstition, among others. Indeed, there are many synonyms for the word "emancipation," including setting free, releasing, saving, delivering and rescuing. The Latin root of "emancipation" is manus, or hand. Mancipum meant "in hand," or "possessed." Ex mancipum meant to unhand, or relinquish possession. Such unhanding can manifest in many different forms.

The articles contained in this volume all present issues related to emancipation, but each author takes a unique perspective. The authors first presented their work at a conference entitled *Emancipation: the Struggle for Freedom and Equality*, organized by the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures at James Madison University in March 2013. The articles explore several aspects of emancipation which took place and still are taking place in many parts of the world, as manifested in literature, in the arts, in the film industry, in sports, and many other fields and under various social conditions.

Many ancient civilizations, such as those of Egypt, Israel, Greece and Rome, practiced slavery. The Ancient Greek civilization practiced slavery in different degrees in their different city-states. Slave labor was vital to the development of the Roman civilization. Around 1 AD, fully one third of the Roman residents were enslaved, yet it was possible for a Roman slave to become a freed man. In first-century Rome, manumission was fairly common. Freeing a slave could occur in various ways. A slave owner could manumit a slave in his last will and testament, or slaves could emancipate themselves from their bonds through duty and service. This was common practice during several epochs and in several places up to the pre-Civil War United States.

In Europe, remnants of slavery left over from the Roman Empire died out in the Middle Ages. In modern times, the best-known example of slavery in history involves the use of slaves from southern and western Africa to work on export-oriented plantations in the Caribbean, America and Brazil. In Brazil and Cuba slavery died out when it was no longer economically viable, though some slaves, especially household workers, were luxury goods and were kept even if uneconomical. This sort of slavery persisted among wealthy families in the northern United States until the 1800s. During the Civil War, in 1862, President Lincoln signed an executive proclamation ending slavery in the Confederate (southern) States effective January 1, 1863. Though the Emancipation Proclamation was not immediately effective

in Union (northern) States with slaves, it is widely viewed as the legal end of the institution of slavery in the United States.

In Saudi Arabia slavery was officially abolished in 1962. Former slaves of the Royal Family remained in senior government positions. These people were highly respected and quite influential both before and after emancipation. In the essay *The Slave-Girls Who Enslaved the Free-Born: Slave-Girls and Their Masters in Islamic Literature,* Aram A. Shahin gives an introduction to the history of slavery in the Islamic world. The Qur'an prescribes the manumission of slaves in certain cases, for example, as an act of charity. In the Islamic world, slavery was finally prohibited in the nineteenth century. In the early period there were two types of slaves: those used in military service and those called domestic slaves. The slaves in military service became powerful, and some became masters of large Islamic regions. Among the domestic slaves, slave-girls had a prominent place. These slave-girls often were quite talented, educated and intelligent. References are found in Islamic literature in which there are stories of masters that fall in love with the slave-girls and for their love are willing to risk anything—honor, wealth, and even their lives. Thus Shahin's analysis shows that the relationship of enslavement is inverted at times in these stories. The slave-girl is master and the master is enslaved by love.

The struggle for emancipation has involved entire enslaved populations that have risen to fight occupying powers. This is the case of the historical figure Aben Humeya in José Ignacio Barrio Olano's essay *Literary Approaches to Aben Humeya*. Aben Humeya was the leader of a thwarted Moorish revolt against Philip II of Spain in the sixteenth Century. He inspired playwrights and novelists, for in their eyes Humeya embraced both political symbolism and aesthetic pageantry. For the Romantic liberals of the nineteenth century he served as an antecedent of the struggle against a repressive government, both in the peninsula and in the colonies.

Thomas L. King's article *Performing Jim Crow: Blackface Performance and Emancipation*, explores the history of blackface performance and how it has enacted American contradictions and anxieties concerning race, class, emancipation and the concepts of blackness and whiteness. Jim Crow was the name of a minstrel routine (actually *Jump Jim Crow*) performed beginning in 1828 by its author, Thomas Dartmouth ("Daddy") Rice, and by many imitators. The term came to be a derogatory epithet for blacks and designation for their segregated life. Under the system created by the Jim Crow Laws—laws that enforced racial segregation in the South after the civil war and before the civil rights movement (roughly 1870-1965)—African Americans were given second class status by laws that directly and indirectly stripped blacks of their rights.

African-American professional sportsmen have long confronted challenges in negotiating the biases of a social institution and its member organizations dominated by white owners, general managers, and coaches. James R. Zimmerman's *It's Not*

About American Football: Tony Dungy's Journey of Self-Emancipation from Rejected Black Quarterback to Celebrated African American Coach, uses the life and career of former Indianapolis Colts Coach Tony Dungy to illuminate the professional struggles of African-Americans to gain access to the power structure of football and society at large. The inspiring source of this essay is Dungy's surprise bestselling 2007 memoir, *Quiet Strength.* In it, Dungy indirectly addresses issues of civil rights and social justice through the medium of American professional football, with dozens of examples from his own life to show the details of sometimes very subtle discrimination.

James W. Ward's *The Moral Arc of the Universe: Salvation as Emancipation* deals with the modern understandings of the notion of salvation that spiritualize and personalize salvation. Salvation makes it possible for an individual soul to spend eternity in the heavenly place. The Jewish and Christian notions of salvation are richer and include an understanding of salvation as emancipation from "powers and principalities." To be saved was to be adopted by the rightful ruler of the universe and liberated from servitude to all other false rulers. To make sense of three of the major emancipation movements in the history of the United States, and perhaps in the world, the American Revolution, the abolitionist movement, and the Civil Rights movement, Ward analyzes and helps us understand the ways in which Jewish and Christian views shaped these emancipation movements. He outlines the influence of both the Exodus event,—liberation from the false rule of enslavement to the Pharaoh—, and the Christian understandings of the kingdom of God in which the falseness of social, economic, and religious inequalities of this world would no longer matter. The uncontested force of the story of Moses, and the Exodus, had an impact on Martin Luther King, Jr. This influence is clearly reflected in his mountaintop sermon, 1968, given the night before his assassination.

Emancipation can also occur through revolution. An example can be seen in the Haitian Revolution of 1804, when rebel slave armies defeated Napoleon's colonial forces and established independence through direct revolution. These independence struggles were termed emancipation struggles, or better "self-determination" struggles. The national emancipation struggle that involved the largest population in the twentieth century was India's struggle against British colonial occupation.

In the essay *The Role of Bullfighting and FC Barcelona in the Emancipation of Catalonia from Spain*, John Teac examines the Catalan independence or separatist movement and the role that bullfighting and FC Barcelona have played in it. The Catalan movement is a political movement that derives from the Catalan nationalism, which supports the independence of Catalonia from Spain and has roots in a nineteenth century thesis that Catalonia is a nation with its own history, language and traditions. Yet the movement for independence or emancipation is also fueled by two other very visible and culturally significant institutions: bullfighting

and soccer. Recently a parliamentary decision banned bullfighting in Catalonia. This decision can be interpreted as a regional response to detach Catalonia from "Spanish" culture. The ban hasn't entered completely into effect and it doesn't include a ban on the tradition of bull running. It is normal that rivalry exists between the two strongest teams in a national league. Yet from the start of national competitions the soccer clubs (teams), Real Madrid and FC Barcelona, were seen as representatives of two rival regions in Spain—Catalonia and Castile—as well as of the two towns. It is a rivalry that reflects what many regard as the political and cultural tensions felt between Catalans and Castilians.

The term "emancipation" can also refer to a gradual process of social change in which a subjected group gains more social power over time. The case of women in most modern nations is one in which there have been key watersheds, such as earning the right to vote, but also a bit-by-bit struggle against unequal treatment in various other arenas of social life. American women can vote, for example, but still struggle against economic inequality and dependency, as well as against male social power in the culture. The ongoing process is emancipatory, not having culminated as of yet in full emancipation. Muslim women in France struggle for emancipation and their social, economic and religious difficulties are expressed and examined, among others, through contemporary French and Francophone literature and film. The essay by Anna Kobylski introduces us to the French-Algerian filmmaker Yamina Benguigui who in *Inch' Allah Dimanche* and *Mémoires d'immigres: l'héritage maghrébin* illustrates these difficulties that have contributed to an identity crisis that is preventing Muslim women from achieving emancipation in France. Kobylski also analyzes two books, by Leila Sebbar and Nancy Huston, that examine the feelings of exile that so many Muslim women experience in France. Her analysis considers Western and Islamic feminist perspectives as well as the French position on secularism and its role in the French public sphere.

Another example of emancipation occurs at the end of Woody Allen's *Midnight in Paris,* analyzed by Peter Eubanks. Paris has as many identities as there are observers, and it is a perception made unreliable by the need of the escapist to withdraw from the present in order to find refuge in an utopian past, the "Golden-Age thinking" as it is called in the film. This brings the protagonist to inhabit two worlds simultaneously. It is only when the protagonist finally discovers nostalgia within nostalgia, writes Eubanks, that he recognizes the flawed thinking behind his mythologized perception of the past. In this the protagonist reflects everyman's realization that, after all, the past is the expression of our present needs.

In my view, the same movement towards emancipation can be seen in the music of Early Modernism, 1870's, in which new methods of composition are emerging, one of the first being Claude Debussy. That method is closely followed by the "emancipation of the dissonance," a concept or goal put forth by composer Arnold

Schoenberg and others. The phrase first appears in Schoenberg's 1926 *Opinion or Insight?* It may be described as a justification of atonality. As the ear become acclimatized to a sonority within a particular context, the sonority will gradually become "emancipated" from that context and seek a new one. Composers such as Charles Ives, Duke Ellington and Lou Harrison, connected the emancipation of the dissonance with the emancipation of society and humanity. It is my wish that the readers of this volume will find in this collection of essays a variety of examples of emancipation they had not explored before and thus continue to reflect on the forms and aspects of "emancipation" which are part of everyone's life.

The slave-girls who enslaved the free-born: Slave-girls and their masters in Islamic literature

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The slave-girls who enslaved the free-born: Slave-girls and their masters in Islamic literature

Las esclavas que esclavizaron a los nacidos libres: esclavas y sus amos en la literatura islámica

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Abstract

Slave-girls, and in particular singing slave-girls, hold a prominent place in Islamic literary sources. These sources provide quite a number of stories in which the masters of slave-girls fall deeply in love with them, and then, when faced with the prospect of separation or are indeed separated from them, humble themselves and risk losing their honour, all of their wealth, and even their own lives in order to be reunited with the girl whom they love. In some stories, intelligent and learned slave-girls take the initiative to preserve their relationships with their masters who are often depicted as inept and clueless. In the end, the girl is typically given her freedom and marries her master. Although the men are the legal masters of the slave-girls, it seems that there is an inversion of the master/slave roles in the tales and that it is the slave-girl who controls the destiny of both.

Keywords: Slave-girls; Qiyān; Manumission; The Arabian Nights; Tanūkhī.

Resumen

Las esclavas, y en particular las que cantan, han ocupando un lugar destacado en las fuentes literarias islámicas. Estas fuentes proporcionan un buen número de historias en las que los amos de las esclavas se enamoran profundamente de ellas, y luego, cuando se enfrentan a la perspectiva de la separación o de hecho están separados de ellas, se humillen y se arriesgan a perder su honor, toda sus riqueza, e incluso sus propias vidas con el fin de reunirse con la chica a la que aman. Las esclavas en algunas historias, inteligentes y sabias toman la iniciativa para preservar sus relaciones con sus amos, que a menudo son descritos como ineptos e ignorantes. Al final, la chica obtiene normalmente la libertad y se casa con su amo. Aunque los hombres son los dueños legales de las esclavas, parece que hay una

inversión de los papeles de amo / esclavo en las historias y que es la esclava quién controla el destino de ambos.

Palabras Clave: Esclavas; Qiyan; Manumisión; Las mil y una noches; Tanukhi.

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Sumario: 1. Introduction. 2. A Recurring Story of Regret and Generosity. 3. Love between Master and Slave as Allegory of Mystical Love. 4. Conclusion: Fiction and History. 5. Bibliography.

1. INTRODUCTION

There are numerous stories in Islamic literature in which men and women fall deeply in love with each other, often at first sight, and then encounter some adversity that causes their separation and risks ending their relationship. Some of these stories have a happy ending with the couple united in marriage and living blissfully together until their deaths, while others have tragic outcomes in which the lovers are not allowed to be together, and this sometimes results in one or both of them dying from heartache. Although the male protagonist in these stories is almost always a free man, it is quite common for the woman to be a slave. The social condition of the woman does not detract from the way in which she is portrayed in the story or the way she is perceived by the man, who is instead taken by her beauty, wit, knowledge, and skills. The man is typically the woman's master who has inherited her or has speedily purchased her after falling in love with her at first sight.

The slave-girls who are the protagonists in these stories can be simple servants, but they can also be very talented, educated, and intelligent women. Prominent amongst them and extremely valued are singing slave-girls (Pellat, 1976). Although in some of the tales the slave-girls are rather passive and have to endure whatever the male characters decide, in others they take the initiative and prove to be invaluable to their masters and to their wellbeing. What is remarkable about the tales is that the masters of the slave-girls fall deeply in love with them, and, despite their wealth and sometimes high-rank, are willing to humble themselves and/or risk losing their honour, all of their fortune, and even their own lives for their love. In some instances, the masters are completely reliant on their slave-girls (who appear sagacious, enterprising, and intelligent) and follow their suggestions and plans. On other occasions, the slave-girls are instrumental in saving the lives of their masters or in changing their outlook on certain matters by imparting their wisdom. This article is dedicated to the exposition and analysis of a number of these stories in which the roles of master and servant often seem reversed.

2. A RECURRING STORY OF REGRET AND GENEROSITY

One group of stories that are of interest to us here share a similar structure and are often related to highlight the generosity and compassion of a magnanimous benefactor on the two lovers rather than to focus on the lovers themselves or their relationship. The general pattern in these stories is as follows: 1. A man and his slave-girl are deeply in love with each other, although in a few stories the man does not quite realize it at the beginning or does not know how much he loves the girl; 2. Due to financial difficulties or, sometimes, the agency of others, the two are separated or are about to be separated; 3. The master grieves bitterly at the moment of separation or shortly afterwards and, sometimes, in his desperation, goes to extremes in an attempt to become reunited with the slave-girl, although occasionally it is the slave-girl herself that, through her ingenuity, knowledge, and craft, does her best to be reunited with her master; 4. Through the magnanimity of a powerful or wealthy individual, or through the hard work of the slave-girl, the two are reunited and live happily together until they are separated by death.[1]

2.1 Relief after Distress

An important source for these stories is the famous multi-volume work of Abū ʻAlī al-Muḥassin ibn ʻAlī al-Tanūkhī (329-384/940-994)[2] entitled *al-Faraj baʻda al-Shidda* (Relief after Distress). This work contains hundreds of stories on the topic of joy that follows sorrow or distress. The point of the stories is to show that one should trust and believe in God even in the most dismal of circumstances. Often, relief presents itself in these stories in the form of an influential individual who shows generosity or empathy to those facing difficulties. The story thereby usually turns into a praise of this individual.

In chapter thirteen of this work, the author presents eight stories with similar plots in which a man loses a slave-girl, normally by selling her, only to realize his deep love for her. He regrets losing her and then does his best to get her back. He succeeds in reuniting with his beloved through the help of the buyer, who relinquishes any claim on the girl and on the money that he has paid for her when he sees the love the girl and the man have for each other (al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 309-342 and 345-

1. Van Gelder (2004: 201) suggests a similar structure for the group of stories that he analyzes, some of which are included in the present study. His suggested structure is as follows: 1. A man owns a slave-girl; 2. The man and the slave-girl love each other; 3. The man becomes destitute; 4. The man sells the girl; 5. The new owner becomes aware of their attachment; 6. He generously returns the slave-girl to her lover. Van Gelder studies nine stories that fit this scheme, sometimes including different versions of the same story, as well as two stories that are related to the scheme, but don't quite fit it.

2. The first set of dates is based on the Islamic Hijrī lunar calendar (AH), whereas the second set uses their Gregorian equivalents (AD). In this article, both dates are given when appropriate; otherwise only the Gregorian year is provided.

353 [stories nos. 468-472 and 474-476]). The stories can be very similar and appear repetitive when read together. Bray has referred to them as stories of "Lovers of sold slave-girls" (Bray, 1998: 12-16).[3] The chapter itself is more general in aim and is entitled "On those who experienced distress in their love, and then God relieved it and let them get the ones they loved" (al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 306).

2.1.1 Ibn Maʿmar Reunites Two Lovers[4]

This is the most widely known of the stories with a number of versions appearing with some variants in a variety of sources.[5]

> A wealthy man in Basra bought a slave-girl and spent a lot of money on her education. He loved her greatly and kept spending his wealth on her until he became extremely poor. He then suggested to her that he sell her, even though he would rather die than do so, and she agreed, even though she would rather die than be separated from him.[6] One of the man's friends suggested that he sell her to the *amīr* (governor) of Basra, ʿUmar ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Maʿmar al-Taymī (22-82/643-701). The man went to the *amīr*, and they agreed on the price (100,000 dirhams [silver coins] plus additional items). Yet when the man was about to leave, the girl recited some verses lamenting her separation from him, and he tearfully replied with verses of his own. When the *amīr* realized that the two were in love with each other, he returned the girl to the man and allowed him to keep what he had paid for her. The *amīr* did not want to separate two lovers.

3. While looking mostly at sources other than the *Faraj baʿda al-Shidda*, Sadan considers this type of stories as representing the theme of the "Bartered Slave Girl," and takes the example of Tawaddud (see section 2.3.1) as the most well known story (Sadan, 1998: 17-21). The choice of the term "bartered" is unclear, as the slave-girls are unquestionably being sold in these stories. Nikita Elisséeff lists the type of stories discussed here that appear in *The Arabian Nights* under the themes "Amants, ou époux séparés, qui se retrouvent" (Separated lovers or spouses who find each other again) and "Esclave rendue à son ancien maître désespéré" (Slave returned to her previous despairing master) (Elisséeff, 1949: 89 and 119).

4. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 328-330, no. 470; Sadan, 1998: 17-18; Van Gelder, 2004: 208-209, no. 8.

5. See al-Anṭākī, 1993: vol. 1: 339-340; Van Gelder, 2004: 206, 208, nos. 1-2, 7. However, the identity of the benefactor is sometimes given as ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Maʿmar (d. 40/660-661), the father of the protagonist in al-Tanūkhī's story (Van Gelder, 2004: 207-208, nos. 5-6), including in *The Arabian Nights* (2010: vol. 2: 181 [within Night 383]; Van Gelder, 2004: 209, no. 9). The story may have circulated independently with the title "The Slave-Girl, Her Master, and ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Maʿmar" (*Kitāb al-jāriya wa mawlāhā wa ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Maʿmar*) (Ibn al-Nadīm, 1971: 366).

6. Only one manuscript has the man's suggestion. The others omit it and include only the response of the girl which makes it appear as if she is the one who is making the suggestion of selling herself to benefit them both.

One of the versions of this story provides greater detail about the girl. It is found in a biographical dictionary and, therefore, claims to be a historical account.[7] Here, it is said that the slave-girl, sold for 20,000 dinars (gold coins), was skilled in singing, playing musical instruments, reciting the Qur'ān and poetry, writing, cooking, and preparing perfumes. As will be seen in other stories below, these were typical skills possessed by the most talented slave-girls that supposedly justified the very high prices that were paid for them.

2.1.2 Of the Noble Deeds of Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī and His Son, Ja'far

In the next two stories, some of the characters are famous historical figures. In the first, Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī (d. 190/805), the grand vizier of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-193/786-809), aids two lovers shunned by his son, Ja'far al-Barmakī (d. 187/803). In the second, Ja'far appears alongside Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (150-235/767-850), the most famous composer and musical performer of his time. All these individuals, especially Hārūn and Ja'far, are well-known characters that appear in numerous tales of *The Arabian Nights*. Ja'far does not show much magnanimity or empathy with the two lovers in the first story, but he shows nobility of character in the second one. There is a strong affinity between the two stories. The historical details provided in them, especially in the second one, serve to give them a higher degree of veracity.

(a) Ja'far sent two slave traders to search for a learned and talented girl with certain characteristics. They searched until an old man from Kufa came to them and told them that he had what the vizier was seeking. He took them to a worn down house and showed them a beautiful girl who recited to them verses from the Qur'ān and a poem. The two went to Ja'far and told him about the girl. Ja'far followed them immediately and fell in love with her as soon as he saw her. The old man asked 30,000 dinars for her and insisted that if it weren't for poverty he would never be separated from the girl. Ja'far asked the old man to let the girl sing for them, so she played the lute and sang, but then she screamed and both she and the old man wept. The old man then manumitted her and said that he would never sell her to anyone. Ja'far left angry and told his father, Yaḥyā, who scolded him for attempting to separate two lovers and not help them back up from their poverty. The father sent 30,000 dinars as a gift to the couple, who happily returned to Kufa.[8]

(b) In the year 179/796, when the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd stopped in Basra on his way to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, his vizier Ja'far, who was accompanying

7. Al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Yaghmūrī, 1964: 197-198, entry no. 40 on 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar; Van Gelder, 2004: 208, no. 6. In this version, it is the girl who suggests that she be sold so that her master may regain his wealth.

8. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 339-342, no. 472.

him, asked Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī for his help in purchasing a singing slave-girl (in another version, it was the father, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [125-188/742-804], who was asked). Her owner had refused to show her to buyers except in his house, and Ja'far intended to see her while in disguise. Ja'far, Isḥāq, and a slave trader (some versions have Hārūn al-Rashīd also join the group) went to the man's house, which was in decay but showed signs of previous grandeur. The man greeted them wearing a ragged shirt. He then left, and the slave-girl replaced him, wearing the same shirt. She sang and played, but then started weeping. Her owner wept as well. The owner reappeared, told those present that he had freed the slave-girl, and asked them to marry him to her. Ja'far agreed, although he was frustrated at having lost the girl. The man then told his story.

The girl, who was proficient at playing musical instruments and singing, was given to the man by his mother when he confessed his love for her. He later inherited his father's wealth but did not manage it well and wasted it all. He spent years in poverty. When he heard that the caliph and his court were stopping in Basra, he decided to sell the slave-girl to benefit himself and her. At the moment when he was about to sell her to Ja'far, both he and the slave-girl confessed to each other that they would rather die than be separated. Ja'far gave the purchase money of the girl (3,000 dinars) to the man and then told him to come to the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. When Hārūn heard the man's story, he ordered that a salary be given to him whereby he became affluent again.[9]

2.1.3 Ibn Abī Ḥāmid Acts Charitably to a Money Changer and a Law Student

The treasurer Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥāmid (d. 321/933) is the main protagonist in the following two stories which are meant to exemplify his

9. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 331-338, no. 471. Van Gelder (2004: 209, no. 10) gives a brief summary of a version of this story from a different source. Yet another version is found in al-Anṭākī (1993: vol. 1: 346-347), where the money given to the owner of the slave-girl is 300,000 dinars. A similar story is told by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (1976: 366-367; Van Gelder, 2004: 209-210, no. 11), the great-great-grandson of Hārūn al-Rashīd and himself the son of a slave-girl. He narrates that the poet Maḥmūd al-Warrāq (d. ca. 230/845) had a slave-girl who was beautiful, cultured, and an accomplished singer and poet. He fell upon hard times and asked his slave-girl if she would prefer that he sell her so that she would live more comfortably. She agreed. He offered her for sale until a Ṭāhirid offered 100,000 dirhams for her. Maḥmūd was about to take her to the prospective buyer when she became tearful. He asked her if she would prefer to live with him in poverty. The girl said yes. The poet manumitted her on the spot in front of all those present and gave her his house as a bridal gift. He told everyone to take away their money, but the Ṭāhirid said that he would never take his money and gave it to them. Despite the resemblance of the story to the two stories of al-Tanūkhī, the emotional tone is very different as the master is always in complete control of the situation and does not need to humble himself in any manner to keep his girl. The expressions of grief are quite muted and it is only at the end that the master realizes how much his girl loves him. The potential buyer plays a very minor role and it almost seems that he has been added to the story to conform to a literary model.

magnanimity and munificence. Versions of the second story are found in historical works. What is of note about each story is the fact that the new master does not meet the slave-girl until he is about to give her back to her previous master.

> (a) A moneychanger sold a slave-girl whom he loved to Ibn Abī Ḥāmid for 300 dinars, but the same night he became despondent, missed her greatly, and regretted selling her. The next day, he went to the assembly of Ibn Abī Ḥāmid, waited until he was alone with him, began weeping, and asked him to return the slave-girl to him. Ibn Abī Ḥāmid asked why he had sold her if she was so dear to him. He replied that he had spent a considerable portion of his capital on her and feared poverty. She insisted that he spend more on her, but he refused. She then began mistreating him and ruining his life, so he decided to sell her. But after selling her, he realized that he would prefer poverty and having the girl, or death, which would be better than how he felt at the moment. Ibn Abī Ḥāmid had the girl brought over. He said that he had not seen her before and returned her to the man, allowing him to keep the money that he had gotten for her. He gave the girl an amount and promised a yearly allowance as long as she didn't misbehave with the man. She got her allowance until Ibn Abī Ḥāmid's death.[10]

> (b) A youth from Khurāsān (modern northeastern Iran) who was studying Islamic law in Iraq bought a slave-girl with whom he fell in love. He paid his expenses with the allowance that his father sent him every year with the pilgrimage caravan. His habit every year was to borrow money to pay for his upkeep until the allowance arrived. Then he would pay back all his debtors. One year, however, the allowance did not arrive with the caravan; something serious had befallen the father and he was unable to send any money. Under pressure from his debtors, the young man sold his slave-girl in the slave market for a little over 1,000 dirhams. That same night he sought the help of a friend to get her back. He was desperate to have her back and he was willing to go to jail for his debts until the following year when the allowance from his father would arrive. The two discovered that a woman from the household of Ibn Abī Ḥāmid had bought the girl. They visited him, but he professed not knowing that any slave-girl had been bought for him. He inquired in his household, and eventually the girl was found and brought before him. Ibn Abī Ḥāmid returned her to the young man after she expressed her wish to do so. He also allowed the man to keep the money that was paid to him and the gifts that were promised to the girl by the household women. Moreover, Ibn Abī Ḥāmid gave the young man a monthly allowance until he (the treasurer) died.[11]

10. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 349-351, no. 475; Van Gelder, 2004: 212-213, no. 16.

11. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 345-348, no. 474; Van Gelder, 2004: 211-212, no. 14. A version of this story is found in the biographical notices of Ibn Abī Ḥāmid in two historical chronicles (Ibn al-Jawzī, 1992: vol. 13: 319-320, within entry no. 2322, in the deaths of the year 321/933; Ibn Kathīr, 1998: vol. 15: 73-74, within the events of the year 321/933; cf. Van Gelder, 2004: 212, no. 15) and in one biographical dictionary (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 2001: vol. 6: 266-268, entry no. 2758).

2.1.4 Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl Acts Charitably to a Merchant from Fusṭāṭ[12]

The unusual element of the following story is that the man who sells his slave-girl realizes his love for her only after he has sold her and he has seen what she has done to his house.

> Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (d. 235 or 6/850 or 51), a minister of finance of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198-218/813-833), bought a slave-girl from a merchant from Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) for one thousand dinars. When the merchant returned to his house, he found it cleaned, prepared with scents, and with wine ready for drinking. He was then told that the girl had done this before he sold her. He returned immediately to al-Ḥasan and begged him to have her back, saying that he could not live without her. Al-Ḥasan at first refused, but then he took pity on him when he saw him cry and implore. Al-Ḥasan gave the girl back to the merchant when she said that she wanted to be with her old master. He also allowed the merchant to keep his money. The merchant freed her on the spot and married her.[13]

2.1.5 Of the Noble Deeds of al-Muqtadir[14]

What follows is another story in which a man does not realize how much he loves a slave-girl until she is taken away from him. In this instance, the man does not own the girl initially. He ponders buying her, but balks at the asking price. When the girl is suddenly sold, he despairs and almost loses his job as tutor to a prince.

> Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Maymūn al-Afṭas (d. 330/941), who would later be briefly the vizier of the caliph al-Muttaqī (r. 329-333/940-944), fell deeply in love with a singing slave-girl. He wanted to buy her, but he thought that the price asked by her mistress (3,000 dinars) was too high. Days passed with the girl visiting him. One day, however, he called for her only to be told that she had been bought with other slave-girls by the caliph al-Muqtadir (r. 295-320/908-932), the father of al-Muttaqī. Abū al-Ḥusayn was grief-stricken. He stopped eating and drinking and roamed the deserts.
>
> He was the tutor of al-Muttaqī and, when he stopped going to teach him, al-Muttaqī and his mother grew upset. He went to them and explained his situation, but they

12. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 352-353, no. 476; Van Gelder, 2004: 213, no. 17.

13. A curious tale involving the caliph al-Ma'mūn is found in *The Arabian Nights* (2010: vol. 2: 83-96 [Nights 334-338]). It is said that Muḥammad of Basra told al-Ma'mūn of a wealthy man who moved from Yemen to Baghdad with his six slave-girls. They were all beautiful, cultured, skilled singers and musicians, and they had studied the Qur'ān, poetry, and history. When al-Ma'mūn heard of the girls, he asked Muḥammad to go buy them for him each for 10, 000 dinars. The Yemeni man agreed to sell the girls in order to please al-Ma'mūn. But after some time the Yemeni could no longer bear to be parted from the girls and he wrote to al-Ma'mūn explaining his desperation and love. Al-Ma'mūn gave the girls exquisite robes and 60,000 dinars and sent them back to their previous master.

14. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 309-315, no. 468; Schippers, 2002-2003: 48.

were unable to help him. Abū al-Ḥusayn approached various individuals at court hoping that someone could convince the caliph to give or sell the slave-girl to him, but some disapproved of his request, while others were sympathetic but could not help. After a while, al-Muttaqī and his mother decided to get another tutor. Hearing this, Abū al-Ḥusayn resolved to pull himself together, lest he lose his sustenance as well. One night, there was heavy knocking at his door. Abū al-Ḥusayn feared that the caliph had found out about his love and wanted to punish him. Instead, when the door opened, the girl was brought in along with all her belongings as a gift from the caliph. The girl told him that the caliph had not seen her until that very night and it was only then that the caliph was told about their mutual love for each other. Once he discovered this, he immediately decided to give her to Abū al-Ḥusayn as a gift.

2.1.6 Reunion after Separation[15]

The story below begins once again with the male protagonist forced to sell his beloved slave-girl due to poverty. However, in this instance, he does not know the identity of the man to whom he sells the girl. Additionally, the new master is not from the same city, and he departs on a boat to his own town. Because of this situation, the former master has to go through a number of mishaps, including an attempted suicide, before he is reunited with his girl. The two are separated for a few years, during which time the man gets married to a different woman.

It is said that a man in Baghdad inherited a great deal of wealth from his father. He fell in love with a slave-girl, bought her, and then spent all his money on her until he went broke. She told him to seek a source of income. The only thing that he could do was sing, since by bringing over singers and musicians to teach the girl, he had learnt the trade as well and was good at it. He, however, found the idea unappealing and he said that he preferred death to singing in front of people. The girl then suggested that he sell her; he would obtain a good price for her and she would end up in a well-to-do family. A Hashemite from Basra bought her for 1,500 dinars, but as soon as he received the money, the man from Baghdad became depressed and inconsolable.

The Baghdadi fell asleep on the bag of money and was awoken by someone taking it and running away. He then attempted to commit suicide by jumping in the Tigris, but some people who saw him rescued him. The man was then advised to seek employment in a different town, so he went to a ship at the port. The sailors told him that the ship belonged to a Hashemite from Basra and snuck him on board.

15. Al-Tanūkhī, 1978: vol. 4: 316-327, no. 469; Bray, 1998: 12-14; Van Gelder, 2004: 210-211, no. 12. This tale is also found in *The Arabian Nights* (2010: vol. 3: 432-439 [Nights 896-899]; Hamori, 1990: 66; Sadan, 1998: 18-19; Van Gelder, 2004: 211, no. 13) and in other sources as well (e.g., al-Anṭākī, 1993: vol. 1: 343-346).

He had accidentally found the boat of the man who had bought his slave-girl. The girl was very sad, and every time she began to play a tune, she would start crying. Eventually, the Baghdadi man revealed himself to the group. The Hashemite welcomed him and stated that he had not touched the girl at all. He and his family had felt compassion for her and now he promised that, once they arrived in Basra, he would free the slave-girl and marry her to the Baghdadi man. He would also give them a salary on the condition that the girl would come and play and sing for them when requested, since he had bought her for that purpose. Everyone was happy with this arrangement.

One night, while in a state of drunkenness, the Baghdadi man stepped out of the boat to urinate, but then fell asleep on the shore. When he awoke the following morning, the boat had sailed away. He was devastated, because he hadn't asked the Hashemite man's name or his address in Basra. He rode on another boat and arrived in Basra. There, a grocer noticed his good handwriting and hired him to do the accounts for his shop. The grocer was so pleased with the added profit that the store was making that he doubled the man's salary and then married him to his daughter. After two years or more, the man went to an annual festival hoping to meet the Hashemite man. He did indeed see his boat, and there was a reunion. The Hashemite told the man that everyone thought that he had fallen overboard and drowned. The girl had been dressed in black and had been sitting by a tomb all this time, having renounced playing and singing. The Hashemite reunited the man with the girl and the previous agreement was put into effect. The girl was manumitted and she married the man. The man in turn divorced the grocer's daughter. The wealth of the man increased with time and he became affluent with his new wife, his old slave-girl.

2.1.7 Heaven in Exchange for Returning a Slave-Girl

Sometimes a new master returns a slave-girl to her despondent, past owner not out of compassion or any sense of empathy, but out of greed or a desire for a higher reward. In the following story found in *Akhbār al-Nisā'* (Reports about Women), wrongly attributed to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (691-751/1292-1350) (1982: 53; Van Gelder, 2004: 213-214, no. 18), the new master returns the girl because he believes that he has been promised entry into Heaven if he does so. In this instance, the slave-girl is reunited with her old owner because of direct divine intervention.

Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Zāhid sold his slave-girl, but could not stand being apart from her. Therefore, he went to her new master with a group of his closest friends who asked the man to rescind the sale and ask whatever price he wanted. He, however, refused. Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh returned to his house saddened and stayed up all night not knowing what to do. He then wrote the name of the girl on the palm of his hand and faced Mecca. He would raise the hand to the sky whenever anyone

asked him what ailed him. Two days later, the new master came to him at dawn with the girl. The man returned the girl to him and refused to take back his money. He explained that he had seen in a dream someone tell him: "Return the girl to Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh and you shall have Paradise!"

2.1.8 Ṭalḥa, the Son of the Judge of Egypt, and His Slave-Girl Tuḥfa

The following story is found in an anonymous manuscript datable to the first half of the 8th/14th century (Anonymous, 1956: 25-44, no. 2; Van Gelder, 2004: 214-215, no. 19). The full title of the story is: "The story of Ṭalḥa, the son of the judge of Egypt, and what occurred to him with his slave-girl, Tuḥfa, how she was taken from him, and what hardships he faced until he was reunited with her. Relief after distress (*faraj ba'da shidda*)." The beginning of the tale is similar to others examined thus far. However, this time the protagonist is separated from his slave-girl partly through the fault of the slave dealer who does not follow his instructions. As in the tale in 2.1.6, the protagonist has to endure a number of difficulties before being reunited with his beloved. In an unusual twist, in this story the new master of the girl also faces severe hardship because of her and his attempt to have her reunited with her old master.

It is said that a judge in Egypt had a son called Ṭalḥa. After reaching the age of six, the judge got his son a female slave of his own age, named Tuḥfa, and had them both instructed by a teacher. The two young people fell deeply in love with each other. The father then married the two (although, judging from what is said later in the story, this could mean that he gave the girl to his son as a concubine). The boy had the girl learn singing and the playing of musical instruments, at which she excelled.

After the father passed away, the son was not careful, and he wasted his father's patrimony. After spending three days without food, Tuḥfa suggested that Ṭalḥa should sell her. This way he would receive a considerable amount for her and she would live in a well-to-do home. Ṭalḥa was tearful and said that he would sell her with the right to rescind the sale within three days. If he found himself able to live without her, then he would complete the sale. But if he discovered that he could not bear being separated from her, he would bring her back and they would both endure what fate had prescribed for them. She accepted.

Ṭalḥa gave Tuḥfa to a slave dealer and explained to him his condition. The next day a wealthy Syrian man from Damascus came to the dealer seeking an extraordinary slave-girl. The man was impressed by Tuḥfa's beauty and even more with her education and skills. The dealer offered the girl for 1,000 dinars, but forgot to tell the Damascene about the 3-day condition. The Damascene realized that the girl was probably worth 10,000 dinars, so he bought her right away.

The new owner wanted Tuḥfa to play and sing for him. After performing, she screamed and fainted. She then told him her whole story. The man felt compassion for her and promised to return her to her previous master. However, after concluding his affairs a number of days later, the Damascene inexplicably did not keep his promise.

In the meantime, Ṭalḥa wept for three days and discovered that he could not live apart from his girl. So he returned to the dealer only to find out that he had sold her and had forgotten about the condition. Ṭalḥa screamed and fainted, then he ran through the streets crying like a madman. People thought that he had gone crazy and took him to an asylum, where he spent the next six months. One day a judge came to the asylum for an investigation and there he chanced upon and recognized Ṭalḥa. He took him home and, after hearing his story, sent Ṭalḥa with some merchandise to trade in Damascus, thus giving him an opportunity to search for his girl. Ṭalḥa got on a ship with the merchandise, but there was a wreck. Although he survived, he lost everything.

Ṭalḥa walked to Damascus and stopped near its gate, where he met a rider who turned out to be the sovereign ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705). Ṭalḥa told ʻAbd al-Malik his whole story, weeping, and the ruler promised to get his girl back. At court, he ordered that the new owner of the girl be brought to him. It was reported that the merchant had left for Egypt, but one of his enemies said that he was just avoiding the court. ʻAbd al-Malik was furious and ordered that the property of the merchant be pillaged and that all the women in his house be brought over. When the household of the merchant heard of the order, many of them, including Tuḥfa, fled to neighbours to hide from the guards. ʻAbd al-Malik offered Ṭalḥa ten slave-girls to replace the one that he had lost, but Ṭalḥa declined the offer. Instead, he asked that he be sent back to Egypt with an administrative position, which ʻAbd al-Malik granted.

Meanwhile, Tuḥfa paid a neighbor to take her to Egypt so that she could check up on her old master. There, she rented a place near his old house. About one month later, Ṭalḥa passed by the neighbourhood and found out about a new woman living there. Wondering if it might be Tuḥfa, he arranged a marriage with her without seeing her. The evening of the wedding a beggar knocked at the door asking for food. Tuḥfa recognized him as her Damascene master. Ṭalḥa then revealed himself to the two. He promised to help the man while Tuḥfa explained that he had come to Egypt to look for Ṭalḥa and bring him to Damascus to reunite him with her. The Damascene right away gave up any claim on Tuḥfa, while Ṭalḥa promised to share his fortune with the man and to write to ʻAbd al-Malik to clear his name. The man returned to Damascus, having received part of Ṭalḥa's wealth, and multiples of his original fortune were given to him by ʻAbd al-Malik, while those who lied about him were punished. Ṭalḥa and Tuḥfa remained married in Egypt and they lived happily until their deaths.

In the previous stories examined above, the reunion of the lovers occurs because of the generosity of the new owner of the girl who gives up any claim on her and on the money that he pays to purchase her. Sometimes the new owner gives even more to the lovers. In this case, the new owner does set out from Damascus to Egypt with the intention of returning Tuḥfa to her previous master. (It is curious that he doesn't take the girl along with him to Egypt, but instead plans on bringing Ṭalḥa to Damascus.) At this juncture, the story deviates from previous tales because Ṭalḥa becomes active in seeking out his beloved Tuḥfa, and his actions cause the new owner to lose all his wealth, which is confiscated by the sovereign, and he becomes a wanted fugitive. By the end of the story, he is still the master of Tuḥfa, and he is happy to let her go. However, unlike in the previous stories, he gains a lot from this action as, out of gratitude, Ṭalḥa gives him a share of his wealth and writes to the sovereign in Damascus to clear his name. When he returns to Damascus, he is amply rewarded and he becomes richer than he was before his ordeal.

2.2 Preferring Death over Separation

Not all new owners feel as compassionate and magnanimous as the ones we have encountered above. Despite of the tears, pleas, and entreaties of old masters, some new masters remain obstinate and unmoved and insist on keeping the slave-girl whom they recently purchased.

A most telling example can be found in *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* (The Dove's Neck-Ring), a treatise on love by Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (384-456/994-1064) and one of the most outstanding Arabic prose works from Andalusia (Ibn Ḥazm, 1993: 265-266; idem, 1953: 227-229; cf. Sadan, 1998: 18; an abbreviated version is found in al-Anṭākī, 1993: vol. 1: 347-348). In one tale, the previous master is able to have his slave-girl back only after becoming suicidal.

> An Andalusian man sold a slave-girl with whom he was passionately in love due to financial difficulties. He immediately regretted it and attempted to get her back from the new owner, a Berber man. He offered the new owner all of his possessions and even himself in return for the woman, but the Berber refused. When the Andalusian asked the inhabitants of the town for help, no one aided him. Thus, in desperation, he sought the help of the king. The king was moved, summoned the new owner of the woman, and asked him to return the woman to the Andalusian. But the Berber man declined, claiming that he had fallen more deeply in love with her than the Andalusian. The king and his courtiers offered financial compensation to the Berber, but he refused. When the king explained to the Andalusian man that he had done all that he could to help him, the Andalusian threw himself from the topmost height of the audience chamber to the ground. Miraculously, he survived and was not hurt too badly. He said that he could no longer live now that he had lost the woman and was about to throw himself again, but was prevented from doing so.

> The king saw in this a solution to the predicament. He challenged the Berber man to jump from the chamber just as the Andalusian had done to prove that his love for the woman was greater. The Berber twice approached the edge of the chamber, but then recoiled. When the king ordered his men to tie him up and throw him over, the man dropped his claims to the woman. The king then compensated him for the girl and gave her to her former owner.

This is the second story in which the male protagonist attempts suicide after he believes that all hope is lost to regain his slave-girl. In the story in 2.1.6, the man is saved, and this gives him the opportunity to find the girl. However, in the case of the Andalusian man, the act itself of attempted suicide provides the solution that he was hoping for, although it is the king who thinks of it. The act of generosity is still key to the story, albeit it is not performed by the new owner who, quite to the contrary, is obstinate in his refusal to return the girl at any price.[16]

Not all of these stories have a happy outcome. The tale below narrated by al-Anṭākī (1993: vol. 1: 317-319) has quite a tragic ending.

> It is said that a young man from Basra called Ẓarīf ibn Naʿīm al-Ghifārī was very handsome and wealthy. He convinced his father to let him go to Baghdad for trade (an anachronism since the city was founded decades later by the ʿAbbāsids in 145/762). One day he was taken to the slave-girl market where an amazing slave-girl fell in love with him and rejected all buyers except for him. He bought her for 100,000 dirhams and took her home. But that very night the police knocked at his door and took him and the girl to the court of al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of Iraq, who had the girl sent to ʿAbd al-Malik in Damascus.[17] The young man followed and attempted to find a way to meet the girl. However, the guards found out about him and took him to ʿAbd al-Malik. The young man told the sovereign to let the girl sing three selections of his choice and then he could do with him as he pleased. ʿAbd al-Malik allowed this. But when the girl finished singing, Ẓarīf threw himself from a high place and died. This angered ʿAbd al-Malik, who ordered that the girl be given to the heirs of the young man or be given away as alms. As she was being led away, she jumped into a pit killing herself.

16. Ibn Ḥazm also tells the tragic story of a slave-girl whom he knew. Her master was a high-ranking figure, but he became upset with her for a trivial matter and sold her. She was shocked by this and became desolate and full of despair because she loved him. She died a few months afterwards (Ibn Ḥazm, 1993: 259; idem, 1953: 221). On certain occasions, leading men would face humiliation and insult because of their love of a slave-girl. Saʿīd ibn Mundhir ibn Saʿīd (d. 403/1013) was the prayer leader at the cathedral mosque of Cordova during the reign of al-Ḥakam II (r. 350-366/961-976). He had a slave-girl with whom he was deeply in love and whom he offered to manumit and marry. The girl replied that she would only marry him if he trimmed his beard. This he did, but when he had gathered witnesses to testify that he had freed the girl and then proposed to her, the girl turned him down. At that instant, the brother of Saʿīd, Ḥakam ibn Mundhir (d. ca. 420/1029), proposed to the girl and she accepted (Ibn Ḥazm, 1993: 156-157; idem, 1953: 91).

17. It is also said that this actually occurred at the court of his son, Sulaymān (r. 96-99/715-717).

2.3 The Enterprising Slave-Girl: Intelligent and Resourceful Slave-Girls Who Save Their Masters from Poverty or Death

Up to now, the female protagonist in all of the tales has been quite passive. She is often described as being beautiful, learned, and skilled, especially in singing and playing music. But it is always the men who act and decide her fate. It is the old master who sells her, and it is the new one who, out of compassion, returns her to him. The girl might be the one to suggest that she be sold, but other than that she weeps and grieves until someone reunites her with her old master. One exception is Tuḥfa who pays a man to take her to Egypt, where she hopes to see her old master. However, this movement is necessary since she has been separated from her two masters who have moved to Egypt. Once the three are located in the same place, it is once again the men who decide on what is to be done with her.

Not all stories of this kind have such passive female protagonists. In fact, there are a number of stories in which the leading and most active character is the slave-girl who, through her actions and quick thinking, revives the fortunes of her master, saves his life, and/or causes the reunion between them. The male protagonists in these cases not only restrict themselves to attempting to follow the instructions of the girl, but are often quite inept and naïve, causing the couple to suffer hardships and heartaches.

2.3.1 The Story of the Slave-Girl Tawaddud

The story of the slave-girl Tawaddud is told in *The Arabian Nights* (2010: vol. 2: 275-321 [Nights 436-462]; cf. Sadan, 1998: 19-21). Her unsurpassed knowledge and intelligence help her defeat the most renowned scholars at the court of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, thereby rescuing her master from financial ruin.

> A wealthy merchant in Baghdad had a son named Abū al-Ḥusn. When the merchant died, the son dissipated his wealth on food, drink, gifts, and entertainment until he no longer had anything except a beautiful, intelligent, and eloquent slave-girl called Tawaddud. After he hadn't eaten for three days, she suggested that he sell her to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, but for no less than 10,000 dinars. If the caliph objected to the price, Abū al-Ḥusn should tell him that she was very learned and worth even more and that he should test her.
>
> Tawaddud was brought before the caliph and she told him that she knew all the branches of knowledge. Hārūn was intrigued by her claims and asked for scholars to come and test her. Seven scholars came forward: two expert *faqīh*s (jurists), a Qur'ān reciter, a physician, an astronomer, a philosopher, and a scholar named Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām. They asked her questions on various topics, including Islamic theology, law, and rituals, the Qur'ān, health and the human body, astronomy /

astrology, and a number of riddles. Tawaddud answered all the questions posed to her, and she impressed all those present with her eloquence. However, her challengers were unable to completely answer the questions she posed. Not only were they shamed because of their defeat, but they also had to give Tawaddud their robes.

Tawaddud's achievements did not end here. After defeating the scholars, she defeated a chess player three times as well as a backgammon player. These two individuals also lost their robes. In the end, Tawaddud played the lute, enchanting the assembly.

The caliph was duly impressed and gave her master 100,000 dinars, ten times the amount which had been asked for the girl. But when he then asked her to make a wish, she replied that she wanted to be rejoined to her master. The caliph handed her back, gave her 5,000 dinars, and made her master a boon companion with a monthly allowance of 1,000 dinars. The girl and her master lived in ease from that moment onwards. The readers are told to admire the eloquence and knowledge of Tawaddud as well as the unmatched generosity of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

This story presents some modifications to the general pattern described in section 2.0. As before, the man and his slave-girl face poverty due to the man's mishandling of money. Because of this situation, the girl suggests that she be sold to the caliph. The ending also follows the same pattern: through the generosity and magnanimity of the caliph, the girl is returned to the man, while the latter is allowed not only to keep the money paid for the girl, but both he and the girl are given additional gifts. The major difference, and the most outstanding part of the story, is the effort exerted by the girl to show her learning, acumen, and artistry by defeating the leading scholars of the court and then her quick wit in making the caliph return her to her master. All the master does in the story is cause the initial difficulty by wasting his wealth and then meekly follow the instructions of his slave-girl. The generosity of the caliph is not spontaneous as in the previous stories, but rather he is forced to acquiesce to the girl's request, lest he lose face for going back on an offer.

The story of Tawaddud appears in Castilian, Portuguese, and Maya versions. The Spanish and Portuguese versions seem to have been more popular in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas than the Arabic ones have been in the Islamic world. The setting, identities of the characters, length, format, and some details of the story in the Castilian, Portuguese, and Mayan versions differ from the Arabic original, however, the main structure of the story remains the same.[18] The biggest change

18. The story of Tawaddud seems to have been composed in Baghdad and reworked in Cairo between the 9th and 13th centuries (Parker, 1996: 1 and 110-111). Different versions of the tale were well known in Spanish from at least the 15th century onwards and were also known in Portuguese. Abbreviated Castilian versions of the story have been found in five manuscripts from the 15th century

occurs in the examination part where the Islamic material has been changed to a Christian Catholic one and where the number of questions posed varies extensively. The geographical setting and background of the story is different in the printed Castilian versions: the location is now Tunis, the merchant is from Hungary, while the maiden is a Christian from Spain (Parker, 1996: 8).[19]

2.3.2 ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Sash-maker

Tawaddud is the central character of the previous story. She is the one who takes the initiative from beginning to end, from suggesting to be sold to the caliph, to defeating the great scholars of the court, up to making the caliph return her to her master. Despite the remarkable feat of Tawaddud, this arguably pales to what two other slave-girls, Maryam and Zumurrud, are able to accomplish in order to be with their beloved masters. The story of Maryam (*The Arabian Nights*, 2010: vol. 3: 341-428 [Nights 863-894]) is summarized in this section, while that of Zumurrud follows in the next.

(*ibid.*: 21-28). The story was printed in numerous editions in Castilian from the 16th to the 19th century in chapbook format. Hundreds of copies of printed pamphlets of the story were sent to cities in the American colonies during the 16th century where the story was included into some Maya Chilam books (*ibid.*: 8, 11-13, 123-124). The great Spanish playwright Lope de Vega (1562-1635) dramatized the story in his play, *La doncella Teodor* (1617). Some Portuguese versions, based on later Castilian prints, were printed in Lisbon and, when the story reached northeast Brazil (perhaps in the 17th century), professional singers recounted the story in the verse *folheto* format up to at least the end of the 20th century (Parker, 1996: 14, 29-30, 124-125). Two Arabic manuscripts (the earliest being from the late 13th or early 14th century) containing the story have been discovered in Spain. These include some variations to the story as it is found in *The Arabian Nights* that have been transmitted to some Castilian versions. In the 13th/14th-century manuscript, one of the differences is that the slave-girl is named Tūdūr, not Tawaddud. In the Spanish and Portuguese versions, her name has become Teodor or Teodora. Another difference is that the girl's master is the merchant, not his son, and he is the one who spends his money to educate her and teach her various arts and skills. Additionally, the merchant loses his wealth due to a calamity, not because of irresponsible behaviour (Parker, 1996: 3-6).

19. The story of Tawaddud bears some similarities with the episode of the princess Nuzhat al-Zamān at the court of Damascus (*The Arabian Nights*, 2010: vol. 1: 355-382 [Nights 55-67]) told within the longer tale of King ʿUmar ibn al-Nuʿmān and his family. In this episode, it is narrated how the princess was captured outside of Jerusalem by an uncouth, foul-mouthed old Bedouin who, without realizing her real identity and worth, sold her as a slave to a merchant in Damascus. The merchant was awed by the girl's beauty, manners, and eloquence, and understood her true value. He was, therefore, quite willing to pay 100,000 dinars for her. He then spent 100,000 more on splendid clothes, jewelry, and whatever else she needed. Since he had laid eyes on her, the intention of the merchant had been to sell her to the Sultan Sharkān, the governor of Damascus, in return for an exemption from customs taxes. He found out that the girl was learned in philosophy, medicine, geometry, law, grammar, astronomy, and other sciences. The merchant took the girl to the sultan, who duly paid 320,000 dinars for her. The sultan freed the girl on the spot and married her. After that, he called on his four judges to test the knowledge of the girl. They did not ask specific questions, but rather asked the girl to show them part of her learning. She gave a relatively long lecture on administration and the conduct of kings, which impressed all those who were present.

A merchant in Cairo had a handsome son, ʻAlī Nūr al-Dīn, who was invited by some young men to a party in a garden. There, he got drunk and, upon returning home, he struck his father, causing him to lose his right eye. The father swore to cut off his right hand in the morning. But as he slept, the mother instructed Nūr al-Dīn to leave the city. Thus, he embarked on a boat and sailed to Alexandria.

A few days later, as Nūr al-Dīn sat by a shop, he saw a Persian man arrive to sell a beautiful slave-girl. When the bidding for the girl reached 950 dinars, the auctioneer asked the owner if the price was acceptable. The slave-girl herself requested to be shown the bidders. These were all old men or had physical blemishes. She scolded the auctioneer and ridiculed each man. Her eyes then fell on Nūr al-Dīn, and she immediately fell in love with him.

Nūr al-Dīn had not made a single bid for the girl, but she cajoled him into doing so. Nūr al-Dīn paid 1,000 dinars and took home the girl, named Maryam. When Maryam found out that her new master had spent all his money to buy her, she urged him to borrow money from a friend and then instructed him to buy silk, food, and wine. Later, while Nūr al-Dīn slept, she knit a sash with the silk. Afterwards, she lay next to Nūr al-Dīn and they made love (she had not been with another man before).

The next morning, the girl instructed Nūr al-Dīn to sell the sash in the market for twenty dinars. He sold the sash and then bought some more silk and food, and the routine repeated itself for one year. Then one night, Maryam tearfully warned her master never to have any dealings with an old Frank who had lost his right eye and had a limp in his left leg. The next day, Nūr al-Dīn was accosted in the market by the old Frank described by Maryam. The Frank pressured Nūr al-Dīn into selling to him and then coerced him to go to his party, where he made him completely drunk. At that point, the Frank tricked him into selling him Maryam for 10,000 dinars. The next morning, Nūr al-Dīn returned home with the Frank and, weeping, confessed his mistake. The Frank took Maryam on his ship and sailed to the kingdom of Ifranja.

Maryam was actually the daughter of the king of Ifranja. She had been taught all the sciences and arts of women and men, and she excelled in all of them. While visiting a monastery on an island, her ship was attacked by Muslims, and she was captured and sold to a Persian man, who was impotent and had no interest in women. Maryam took care of him for months and, in return, he promised to allow her to choose her next master. Her father sent his vizier, the old Frank, to get her back.

Nūr al-Dīn wept bitterly at the loss of Maryam and boarded a ship that was sailing to her city with Muslim merchants. However, the ship was attacked and everyone was taken to the city of Ifranja, where the king ordered that all the Muslim captives be executed. Nūr al-Dīn was spared in order to work as a labourer in a church.

After seven days, Maryam came to the church with a group of women. Nūr al-Dīn made contact with her, and she gave him instructions on how to escape to the beach to meet a ship's captain. Maryam disguised herself as the captain, killed off all the sailors, and then sailed a ship to Alexandria. She showed Nūr al-Dīn gems and precious objects that she had taken from her father's palace. Upon reaching Alexandria, Nūr al-Dīn told Maryam to wait while he went to get some proper attire for her. In the meantime, the king had sent out a ship to retrieve his daughter. The ship arrived, and the crew captured Maryam and took her back to Ifranja. The king accused his daughter of treachery and wanted to have her crucified on the palace gate. But the vizier convinced the king against this course of action.

When Nūr al-Dīn found out what happened, he insisted on returning to Ifranja even if it would cost him his life. He boarded a ship that was sailing there, but it was attacked by a vessel of the king of Ifranja. All the Muslims on the ship were executed by the king except for Nūr al-Dīn, who was imprisoned by the vizier in his stables where two of the king's horses were kept. The vizier later placed him in charge of them. Maryam discovered that Nūr al-Dīn was working in the stables and sent him instructions to prepare the two horses so that they may use them to escape. She told him that he should follow her instructions without any deviation and without falling asleep. That night, Maryam drugged the vizier, dressed and armed herself as a warrior, filled two saddlebags with precious items, and then headed to the city gate.

Nūr al-Dīn followed Maryam's instructions as best he could, but he fell asleep while tending the horses at the city gate. A thief took the horses away, but Maryam intervened, killing him. She then slapped Nūr al-Dīn awake and rode out of the city with him. Maryam told him to strip the thief and take his weapons, but he refused.

The king discovered his daughter's escape and rode after her with his three sons and a group of men. Maryam asked her master if he could fight, but he admitted his cowardice. The king sent each of his sons in turn to duel against his daughter. However, through Maryam's skill and expert horsemanship, she was able to kill all three. Having seen this, the rest of the men withdrew, and the king followed suit. He then wrote to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd a letter claiming that Nūr al-Dīn had captured his daughter Maryam. He asked Hārūn to have Maryam returned to him.

Maryam and Nūr al-Dīn rode until they reached Syria. There, they were arrested and taken to Baghdad. Hārūn was immediately impressed by Maryam's strength, beauty, and eloquence. In a long speech, Maryam explained that she was a Muslim and that it would be unfitting for the caliph to send her to the land of the infidels. Hārūn was convinced and stated that he would never do that. He then asked Maryam if she would accept Nūr al-Dīn as her husband. She did, and the marriage contract was immediately written. Maryam and Nūr al-Dīn then lived in the palace, were

given an allowance, and lived in luxury. After a while, Nūr al-Dīn wanted to see his parents again. Hārūn allowed the two to return to Cairo, where the two lived happily until their deaths.

There are a number of remarkable aspects to this story. First, it is the slave-girl herself who selects her future master, and she actually succeeds in convincing him to buy her even though he does not have any interest in purchasing a slave-girl to begin with. Second, the slave-girl is actually a princess who is rescued by her people and brought back to her father's palace twice. Yet she prefers to live as a slave-girl with her master rather than as a princess in her kingdom. Third, the slave-girl is repeatedly praised throughout the story concerning her abilities and skills: she is eloquent, strong, brave, a skilled sash-maker, sailor and horse rider, and has great strength of mind. Fourth, although the male protagonist risks his life twice to get her back by sailing to her home city, he is rather an inept character. He is forced to leave his home after he gets drunk and makes his father lose an eye; he spends all of his money to purchase a slave-girl even though he has no intention of buying one; he follows the instructions of the slave-girl and lives off her handiwork; he does not heed her warning about interacting with a particular man, gets drunk at the latter's place, and sells the girl to him; he is about to be executed twice by the father of the girl and is saved by pure chance; he has to follow the girl's plans twice in order to escape, but he ruins the plans or comes close to doing so; and he shows cowardice by refusing to strip the dead thief of his weapons and letting his girl fight against her brothers alone. In the end, the caliph asks the girl, not her master, whether she would like to marry him, considering her decision more important than his. Fifth, the girl accomplishes some remarkable feats to be with her beloved, including killing her three brothers.

2.3.3 ʿAlī Shār and Zumurrud

The second story in which a slave-girl takes complete control of her relationship with her master and guides it to a happy conclusion is that of ʿAlī Shār and Zumurrud (*The Arabian Nights*, 2010: vol. 2: 33-68 [Nights 308-327]; Van Gelder, 2004: 215, no. 20).

A wealthy merchant in Khurāsān had a son named ʿAlī Shār. After the father passed away, ʿAlī Shār tended his shop for one year. But soon after, he squandered all his wealth on drinking and pretty girls.

One day, ʿAlī Shār went to the market where they were selling a slave-girl named Zumurrud, who was well-versed in the Qur'ān, calligraphy, poetry, and many branches of knowledge and also made silk curtains. The condition of the sale was that she would be the one to choose her new master. The bidding went up to 1,000 dinars, but Zumurrud rejected all bidders, mocking them all for their old age or

physical deformity. She was then asked to choose from those present. Her eyes fell on ʻAlī Shār, and she immediately fell in love with him. She requested that he purchase her, but he confessed to her that he did not have any money. She asked to be taken aside and then gave him a purse with 1,000 dinars, which he used to buy her.

ʻAlī Shār's house was no more than one unfurnished room. Zumurrud gave him 1,000 dinars and asked him to buy furnishings and food. She also asked for a silk curtain, silver and gold threads, and silk in different colours. The two slept together. The next day, she began embroidering the curtain. She worked for eight days and then told ʻAlī Shār to sell it in the market for 50 dinars, but to beware not to sell it to a passerby, or else they would be separated. She instructed him also to purchase food and more silk so that she could start working again. This went on for one year. Then one day, a Christian passerby offered 100 dinars for the curtain. The other merchants pressed ʻAlī Shār to accept the offer, which he did. The Christian followed him home and then gave him some drugged food. As ʻAlī Shār slept, the Christian took Zumurrud to his brother's house, where she was beaten unconscious for refusing to convert to Christianity.

When ʻAlī Shār awoke the following day and realized that Zumurrud had disappeared, he walked in the streets lamenting and hitting his chest with stones. An old woman offered to help him find Zumurrud. She posed as a seller and went from door to door offering her wares until she found the house in which Zumurrud was held. She told Zumurrud to be ready to escape the next night, as ʻAlī Shār would be waiting at the bench outside the mansion. ʻAlī went to the bench at night, but fell asleep. A thief walked by and, seeing ʻAlī asleep, took his turban. At that point, Zumurrud looked down from the house and, believing the man to be her master, lowered herself from a window with two saddlebags of gold. The thief grabbed her and the bags and rushed to a hideout outside of the city. This was a cave to which he had brought his mother and where he had killed a soldier and taken his horse. He told his mother to keep an eye on Zumurrud until he returned next morning. Zumurrud saw this as a chance to escape. She suggested to the old woman that she delouse her hair. As Zumurrud did this, the old woman fell asleep. Zumurrud put on the dress of the dead soldier, took the bags of gold, and rode off on the horse. She rode for ten days and on the eleventh she reached a city. The soldiers and notables came to her and, mistaking her for a man, greeted her as their new king. It was their custom that, when their king died, they stayed for three days waiting outside the city gate and then crowned the first man whom they encountered.

Zumurrud was put on the throne. She gave gifts to the soldiers, abolished market taxes, freed prisoners, and removed injustices. As a result of her conduct, she was loved by all. After ruling for a year and hearing nothing of ʻAlī Shār, she devised a plan to encourage people to come to her city, with the hope that ʻAlī would

be one of them. She ordered an arena to be built below the palace in which, at the beginning of each month, banquets would be set out for everyone in the city, locals and visitors alike. This practice went on for a year. ʻAlī Shār did not appear. However, the Christian who kidnapped her, his brother who had her beaten, and the thief came in successive months. Zumurrud had the opportunity to avenge herself of the wrongs that they committed against her, and she had them all flayed and killed.

As for ʻAlī Shār, he had fallen ill for one year because of his grief over the loss of Zumurrud. When he recovered, he wandered the lands and cities until he finally reached her city. As he sat at one of the banquets, she recognized him, but he did not recognize her because she was dressed like a king. She ordered that good care be taken of him and then, at night, had him brought to her chamber. ʻAlī Shār feared of what the king might do to him, but he was ecstatic when Zumurrud revealed herself. The next day, Zumurrud announced to the people of the city that she would be going to the land of ʻAlī Shār and that they should appoint another king. The two had children and lived happily until their deaths.

Like in the tale of Maryam and Nūr al-Dīn, the male protagonist of this story becomes the master of the slave-girl when she selects him from a crowd of men. One big difference exists: here she gives him the money to buy her because he has none of his own. After the sale, the girl also gives her new master additional money to buy furnishings for the house and material for her work. Just as Maryam supports her master by making silk sashes, Zumurrud earns money by embroidering silk curtains. Zumurrud is just as clever as Maryam, although perhaps she does not possess all of her skills (she does not seem to be warrior-like nor know much about sailing ships). On the other hand, ʻAlī Shār is even more incompetent and hopeless than Nūr al-Dīn: he wastes the fortune inherited from his father; he has Zumurrud kidnapped from his house after he does exactly what she warns him not to do; he fails to rescue her because he falls asleep while waiting for her; he then roams aimlessly searching for her, but it is by pure chance, and partly by her efforts, that he reunites with her. If not for Zumurrud, the two would never even meet. She is the one who chooses him as her master, who provides for the two, who escapes from her kidnappers, who rules successfully as a king for more than a year, and who devises a way to find her master and reunites with him.[20]

20. The last two tales were merged together by the director Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922-1975) and turned into the frame story of the movie *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte* (1974), which won the Jury's Special Grand Prix at the Cannes Film Festival in 1974. The initial sequence, which shows Nūr al-Dīn drinking with friends in a garden and then being forced to leave his house after striking his father while drunk, was omitted from the final edition of the movie. Because of this, the only remnant from the first tale is the name of the male protagonist who is called Nūr al-Dīn. Other than that, the frame story of the movie follows the adventures of Zumurrud and ʻAlī Shār.

Elements in the story of ʻAlī Bābā and the Forty Thieves bear some resemblance to parts of the tales of Maryam and Zumurrud, although the story does not involve the amorous relationship

2.4 King Bahrām and Fitna His Slave-Girl

The most outstanding author of Persian romantic epics is the poet Niẓāmī Ganjavī (535-605/1141-1209), among whose works is the versified romance *Haft Paykar* (Seven Beauties). This is a collection of episodes whose main character is the Sasanian Persian king Bahrām V Gūr (r. 420-438). The episodes are connected together by the frame story of Bahrām's love for the seven princesses of the seven climes. One of the episodes recounts a hunting trip on which Bahrām brings along his slave-girl Fitna. The events that transpire eventually lead to the slave-girl teaching her king and master a lesson, although she almost loses her life in the process (Niẓāmī, 1987: 204-230; idem, 1995: 76-86, sections 25-26).

> One day, King Bahrām went hunting with his Chinese slave-girl Fitna. She was very beautiful and an elegant singer, player, and dancer. During the hunting expedition, Fitna did not praise Bahrām for any of his kills. At one point he asked her what he should do with a prey that just appeared before them. Fitna said that he attach the hoof of the animal to its head. Bahrām made the animal raise its hoof to its head and with one arrow killed it by piercing the hoof and the head. But when Bahrām asked Fitna of her opinion of this feat, she was not impressed: she said that whatever was rehearsed often was not hard to accomplish and that training made one capable of achieving hard objectives. Bahrām became furious and ordered an officer to kill Fitna. But Fitna struck a deal with the officer. She offered him seven rubies and asked him to stay her death until he could see what effect the news of her death

between a male master and a slave-girl, but rather recounts how a smart and quick-thinking slave-girl is able to save her master a number of times as a result of which she is given her freedom and is then married to his son (*The Arabian Nights*, 2010: vol. 1: 929-960). In the first part of the tale, ʻAlī Bābā is the main protagonist. He discovered a magic cave in which a band of forty thieves hid their loot. He was able to enter it and take some bags of gold coins. Shortly afterwards, his brother Qāsim also went into the cave, but the thieves caught him and quartered him. ʻAlī Bābā found the cut up corpse of his brother and took it home. From here onwards, Marjāna, the slave-girl of Qāsim, is the principal character in the tale. With Qāsim's death, Marjāna became the slave-girl of ʻAlī Bābā. Through a stratagem, she led people to believe that Qāsim had died of a sudden illness, and she had a cobbler sew together the body. In this fashion, the actual way in which Qāsim died was kept secret, and he was publicly buried. In the meantime, the forty thieves wanted to find out who had discovered their secret cave. Twice they tracked down the house of ʻAlī Bābā, leaving a mark on its door. However, Marjāna noticed the mark on both occasions and made similar marks on the doors of the neighbours, thwarting the efforts of the thieves in identifying the house. Next, the captain of the thieves found the house. He returned later disguised as an oil merchant having hidden his men in leather jars carried by mules, and received ʻAlī Bābā's hospitality. The plan was for the thieves to come out of the jars after the people of the house had gone to sleep, and kill everyone. The plan failed because Marjāna accidentally discovered that the jars contained men and not oil. She killed every man by pouring boiling oil on his head, but the captain escaped. When Marjāna told ʻAlī Bābā about the men and the marks on the door, he was impressed and granted her her freedom. Some time later, the captain of the thieves returned to ʻAlī Bābā's house in disguise. But Marjāna recognized him and stabbed him. ʻAlī Bābā praised Marjāna for her quick thinking and married her to his son.

would have on the king. Later, when the officer saw that the king was saddened by the news of Fitna's death, he forewent killing her and let her live in one of his palaces.

One day, a calf was born in the officer's palace. From then on, every day Fitna lifted the calf on her shoulders and carried it to the top of the tower of the palace. She continued to do this for six years until the calf had become an ox. Fitna then asked the officer to invite the king for a feast the next time he went hunting. On that day, the officer brought the king to the top of the tower. After the king had feasted, he asked the officer how he could climb to the top of the tower at his old age. The officer replied that a young woman carried an ox up the tower's steps every day. The king asked to see this, so Fitna came out and showed her ability. The king was initially amazed, but stated that the woman was not that strong and that it was merely through practice that she was able to accomplish this feat. The woman reminded the king of his own hunting feats and how they too were a result of practice. Hearing these words, the king recognized Fitna and tearfully begged for her forgiveness. He was happy for their reunion, and he made Fitna his lawful wife with whom he lived in love and comfort for a very long time.

If we attempt to fit this story within the pattern described earlier in section 2.0, we will note that once again the master (King Bahrām) and his slave-girl (Fitna) are in love, but are separated when the master orders her execution in a moment of fury. The master regrets the separation, but since he believes the girl to be dead, he does nothing. In the meantime, the girl hatches a plan to make the master understand her viewpoint, teach him a lesson that will benefit him in the future, and cause a reunion between the two. The girl is successful in accomplishing these tasks and the master pardons her.[21]

3. LOVE BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE AS ALLEGORY OF MYSTICAL LOVE

Muslim mystics took love stories that are told in literary and popular sources and rewrote them in verse and prose as allegories of mystical love, exalting earthly love as a first step towards spiritual love. For them, the lover should always be under the control of the beloved and should be ready to sacrifice everything for his or her

21. Niẓāmī's version of the story of King Bahrām and his slave-girl is based on the episode as narrated in the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), the monumental Persian epic by Firdawsī (d. 411/1020 or 416/1025), albeit with some major differences. In the *Shāhnāma*, when the king becomes angry at the girl's response, he tramples her with his camel and kills her, as he vows never to take women with him hunting again. In Niẓāmī's version, the girl is spared and she is able to teach the king a lesson "towards acquiring the wisdom which will lead him to justice and true kingship," as the episode suggests "the importance of love in leading to the comprehension of its analogue, justice" (Meisami, 1989: 59). Niẓāmī's version also shows a more egalitarian depiction of the male and female protagonists in which they are drawn closer to each other with respect to their qualities (Gabbay, 2009).

sake. This ought to be true regardless of the social condition of the beloved. When the beloved is a slave, the master has to become the slave of the beloved, as their love dissolves social status.

3.1 The Humbling of a Monarch for the Sake of His Slave-Girl

The *Masnavī* (or *Mathnawī*) of the great Muslim mystic poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-672/1207-1273) is considered one of the greatest masterpieces of religious literature. Its contents can be divided into two groups: (1) exposition of the main themes of Islamic mysticism, and (2) tales or anecdotes meant to clarify those themes. One of these tales is about a king who falls in love at first sight with a slave-girl and then humbles himself in a plea to God to cure her when she becomes ill (Rūmī, 1925: 5-17; idem, 1926: 6-17).

> It is said that one day the king went out hunting with his courtiers when he saw a slave-girl on the road: "The king saw a slave-girl on the highway; the king's soul became the slave of that slave-girl" (*yak kanīzak dīd shah bar shāh-rāh / shud ghulām-i ān kanīzak jān-i shāh*) (verse 38). He bought her right away and returned with her to his palace. Soon afterwards, however, the girl fell ill. The king summoned all the physicians of his realm and pleaded with them to help them both, for the girl was the life of his life, and his own life was nothing without her. He promised to give all of his treasure to whoever could heal her. The physicians pledged to save her, but they were conceited and arrogant and did not acknowledge the power of God. All their treatments failed, and her condition worsened. When the king realized the ineffectiveness of the cures of his physicians, in great humility he rushed barefoot to the mosque where he beseeched God's aid with copious tears. After falling asleep at the sanctuary, the king saw an old man in a dream who told him that a stranger would come the next day and cure the girl. This healer did arrive, and he discovered that what ailed the girl was her heart: she was lovesick for a goldsmith from the city of Samarqand. The healer suggested that, to cure the girl, the goldsmith should be enticed to come to court. The goldsmith came to the king's court, where he was united with the slave-girl. The hope was that their union would put out the girl's passion. After six months, the girl was completely restored to good health, and the healer began giving the goldsmith a draught that made him ill and slowly waste away. As he became emaciated and his good looks withered away, the girl's love for him also faded away. By the time he died, the girl's love for him had disappeared.

What of the king's love for the girl? That also passed. Unlike all our previous stories that focused on the themes of romance and generosity, Rūmī's tale is told to instill a particular mystical concept: love for the sake of physical beauty is not true love. Humans should seek the love of God who is eternal and everlasting and not the love of a mortal who will wither and die. Despite of this message, within the tale, if

the king had not abased himself for the sake of his slave-girl, the healer would not have appeared. Then the king would not have been cured of his worldly outlook, and the girl would not have been cured of her sickness.

3.2 The Seduction of Yūsuf/Joseph

The earliest Islamic source in which is told the story of a master who falls passionately in love with a slave is the Qur'ān itself. However, in this case, it is the wife of a high-ranking official who is infatuated with a male slave of unequalled beauty. In Sūrat Yūsuf (the Chapter of Joseph), the wife of Yūsuf's Egyptian master attempted to seduce him, but he rebuffed her advances (Sūrat Yūsuf 12:23-34 and 50-53). When she was caught in the act of seduction, she accused Yūsuf of attacking her. He was shown to be innocent, but the story spread amongst the women of the city and they mocked Yūsuf's mistress for having fallen in love with her slave. The mistress, despite the affront to her honour, did not relent. She gave Yūsuf an ultimatum, and when he refused to comply, he was placed in prison. He was finally freed when the woman confessed before the Egyptian king that Yūsuf had done no wrong.

In this *sūra*, the focus is exclusively on the character of Yūsuf, who is the only character that is named other than his father Ya'qūb (Jacob). The moral here is that a believer should always cling to piety, avoid sin, and trust completely in God, just like Yūsuf did repeatedly. In return, God will reward the believer in this life and the next. The story of Yūsuf became popular in Islamic pietistic and mystic literature, where Yūsuf was used as a model of virtue, chastity, and wisdom and "as one of the most important models of the relationship between the manifestation of Divine beauty in the world and the loving soul of the mystic" (de Bruijn & Flemming, 2001: 360). The story was told in narrative poetry in Persian from at least the 4th/10th century onwards, with its most renowned and celebrated version being the romance entitled *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (817-898/1414-1492) who turned the story into a mystical allegory.[22] In this rendering of the tale, Zulaykhā, the wife of the Grand Vizier of Egypt, plays a more central role than Yūsuf.

> Zulaykhā fell desperately in love with Yūsuf after seeing him in her dreams. In one of the dreams, he told her that he was the Grand Vizier of Egypt. Thus, she arranged a marriage with the Grand Vizier of the time. But when she arrived in Egypt, her joy turned to sorrow because she discovered that the vizier was not the youth from her dreams. Some time later, an Egyptian brought Yūsuf to the capital as a slave and offered him for sale. When Zulaykhā saw him, she recognized him from her dreams and asked her husband to buy him. He said he couldn't afford to pay for him, but she offered her personal jewels to use as payment. Then the vizier

22. There were a number of imitators of Jāmī, with few successful ones, while Turkish authors also composed prose and verse versions of the story (de Bruijn & Flemming, 2001).

complained that the king was interested in the youth, but she told him to ask the king for a favour and say that he wanted to raise the youth as his son. The king gave his consent, and in this manner Yūsuf came to live in the same house as Zulaykhā.

Zulaykhā was happy that she was finally with her beloved. She spent her whole day serving Yūsuf and meeting all his needs, from the moment he awoke until he went to sleep. "Her constant thought to his wants she gave, / And, queen of the house, was his humble slave" (Jāmī, 1882: 153; idem, [1999]: 106, verse 1818). However, he ignored her love and constant attention, which made her despondent and sad. She rebuked herself for having disgraced her name by falling in love with her own slave (Jāmī, 1882: 164; idem, [1999]: 111, verses 1923-1925). But this did not work; she was completely infatuated with Yūsuf, who said that he could not betray his master who had taken him as a son nor could he commit a sin before God. Zulaykhā then accused him of attempting to take advantage of her as she slept, but it was proven to be a lie. The women of the city began talking about Zulaykhā and criticized her: "Heedless of honour and name she gave / The love of her heart to the Hebrew slave" (Jāmī, 1882: 223; idem, [1999]: 142, verse 2612). Zulaykhā herself told Yūsuf: "For thee I have forfeited all: my name / Through thee has been made a reproach and shame" (Jāmī, 1882: 227; idem, [1999]: 145, verse 2664).

Zulaykhā then went to her husband and convinced him to put Yūsuf in prison for shaming her. But this did not help Zulaykhā, who was saddened by her separation from her beloved. She visited the prison at night looking at Yūsuf from a distance and spent her days espying the roof of the prison from a turret above her palace.

After some years, the king released Yūsuf from prison because he interpreted his dream and gave him advice. This was coupled with Zulaykhā confessing that Yūsuf had not committed any crime. As a result of this, Yūsuf was made the Grand Vizier. The old vizier died of heartache for having lost his position, and his widowed wife lost all her belongings. She was filled with sorrow and constantly wept for her lost Yūsuf. In the end, her youth and beauty disappeared and she became blind. Up to this point, Zulaykhā had been worshipping an idol. But she had a spiritual conversion and began to pray to God. One day she was noticed by Yūsuf as he passed by her with his retinue and he had her brought to his council-chamber. At first, he did not recognize her and asked her what her wish was. She wanted her youth, beauty, and eyesight back. Yūsuf prayed, and Zulaykhā received what she had asked for. She then asked to be next to Yūsuf. He was recalcitrant, but the angel Gabriel descended upon him and told him that God had pity on her and that He had betrothed the two. Yūsuf and Zulaykhā were married and they lived happily until their deaths.

This story presents a number of differences in comparison to the other tales. First of all, the genders are reversed: the slave is a man and the master is a woman.

Second, the master falls in love with the slave before physically seeing him (and before realizing his social status), but when the two do meet, the slave rebuffs the love of his master. Third, the two individuals live together in the same building, but the slave attempts to separate himself from the master, while the master, in a moment of exasperation, sends the slave to prison. These failed attempts at separation serve to highlight the undying love of the master. Separation does occur when the slave regains his freedom and is granted the high social status originally belonging to his masters. Four, the master does everything in her power to achieve union with her beloved, but is unsuccessful because of the slave's sense of loyalty to her husband and devotion to God. It is only when the old master attains spiritual enlightenment, after becoming destitute, scarred, and blind, that the two are finally united, albeit through the direct agency of God.

3.3 Sultan Maḥmūd and Ayāz

One last relationship to be discussed is that between the sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 421/1030) and his Turkic male slave Ayāz (d. 449/1057-1058). The love of the sultan to his favourite slave is a common theme in Persian literature, and a number of anecdotes and stories about the two are found in the writings of many major Persian authors.[23] Romance epics on the two were also written in the 16th and 17th centuries, including one by Muḥammad Ḥasan Zulālī Khvānsārī (d. 1024/1615).[24]

In the romance of Zulālī it is related that, while on a campaign to conquer Kashmir, Maḥmūd took a nap and fell in love with a male slave that he saw in a dream. When he awoke, he discovered where the slave was about to be sold, and he hurried there, abandoning his campaign. The sultan bought Ayāz and brought him back to his capital Ghazna, where he tried to replace the master-slave relationship with companionship based on love. Subsequently, the two suffered a number of separations as jealous courtiers led Ayāz astray and the king of Kashmir kidnapped him. However, through their actions, driven by love, they were reunited, and Maḥmūd attacked Kashmir and freed his beloved Ayāz (Kugle, 2002: 31-34).

One story in the *Muṣībatnāma* (The Book of Affliction) of ʿAṭṭār bears some similarities to the stories in section 2 above. It is related that one day Maḥmūd was angry with Ayāz. He wondered whether he should kill him or put him in chains. But it was suggested to him that he sell him instead. Ayāz was sold for one thousand dinars. A while later, the sultan regretted the sale and asked for Ayāz to be brought back. When Ayāz and his new owner arrived, the sultan rebuked the latter and stated

23. This includes Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī (d. ca. 556/1161), Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 618/1221), Rūmī, and Saʿdī (d. ca. 691/1292) (Suhaylī, [1951]; Spieß, 1959: 46-95; Dhū al-Faqārī, [2011-2012]).

24. Other romances were composed by Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 939/1532-1533, known as Ṣafī) and Anīsī Shāmlū Yūl-qulī Beg (d. 1014/1605) (Dhū al-Faqārī, [2011-2012]: 67-70).

that buying the beloved of the sultan was an act worthy of punishment by death. Ayāz intervened and remarked to the sultan: What was then the due of the one who had sold the beloved? (Suhaylī, [1951]: 331; Spieß, 1959: 70-71). A number of other anecdotes explicitly state that the sultan had become the slave of his own slave, since Ayāz was master of the sultan's heart (Spieß, 1959: 66-71).

4. CONCLUSION: FICTION AND HISTORY

The line between literary fiction and historical fact is often blurred in the stories discussed here. Even in tales that are obviously fictitious, historical characters appear and behave as they are portrayed in historical chronicles. But the situation is more complicated when a story is presented in a chronicle, a biographical dictionary, or in a source that claims to be reporting historical facts and actual eyewitness accounts. The question that poses itself is how much of what occurs in these tales is of a historical nature or can be ascertained via documentary or historical sources?

The value of the work of al-Tanūkhī as a historical source has been analyzed by a number of scholars who have concluded that, although many of the stories which are narrated are of dubious historical worth and contain chronological and factual inaccuracies, their descriptive realism is of immense value for the study of private life, economic life, the history of medicine, the world of bureaucracy, and institutions such as prisons and schools (Gabrieli, 1941: 29-34; Schippers, 2002-2003; cf. Ashtiany, 1991: 126-127). Detailed analysis of some stories has led scholars to argue that the tales told by al-Tanūkhī, although fictional and based on folkloric motifs, shed of their more supernatural elements, made them more lifelike and realistic with a strong degree of plausibility (Hamori, 1990).

The slave-girls in the stories are described as possessing exquisite beauty and unusual intelligence, learning, and skill. The prices that are asked and paid for them are typically presented as uncharacteristically high, in particular the price that is asked for Tawaddud (2.3.1). Indeed, according to documentary sources, the average slave sold for about 20 dinars around the 11th-12th century, with some reaching 80 dinars (Cheikh-Moussa, 1996: 44). The astronomical prices that we find in the literary sources are thus meant to emphasize the excellence of the girl in question or the extravagance of the purchaser. Historically, the most expensive were singing slave-girls (*qiyān*, sing. *qayna*) and, according to literary accounts, they could fetch high prices (Cheikh-Moussa, 1996: 45-51). Some reports tell us that some buyers went into financial ruin or had to give up a good portion of their wealth in order to obtain a particular *qayna* whom they desired (Cheikh-Moussa, 1996: 51-52). In fact, many of the slave-girls that appear in our stories are said to be skilled in singing and playing musical instruments.

Yet the existence of these *qiyān* was itself controversial. The eminent prose writer al-Jāḥiẓ (160-255/776-868) composed an epistle in which he apparently

defends the practice of owning *qiyān* and the licitness of enjoying their company (al-Jāḥiẓ, 1980; Pellat, 1963). However, the epistle is in reality a satire criticizing the custom and those involved in it (al-Jāḥiẓ, 1980: 2-5; Cheikh-Moussa, 1990: 88, 108). The ʿAbbāsid poet Ibn al-Rūmī (221-283/836-896) describes how a *qayna* named Waḥīd ensnared him with her beauty and her musical performance and how he has become like her slave:

> "O my two friends, Waḥīd has enslaved me,
> Till my heart is tormented and broken by love. [...]
> "She is blamed because when she sings
> The free-born become enslaved by her."
>
> (Motoyoshi, 2001: 5 and 6, lines 1 and 29)[25]

This was in fact part of the problem. These *qiyān*, who have been compared to the Athenian *hetairai* and the Japanese geishas (al-Jāḥiẓ, 1980: 2; Paraskeva, 2010), were seen by some as a subversive element in society that transgressed the strict hierarchical order of the social ranks and the sexes: the slave became the master and the female slave commanded the male elite in what was considered a reversal of the social and ethical order (Cheikh-Moussa, 1990: 116-118; idem, 1996: 65-67; Bray, 2004: 136-139). An early example of a high-ranking man who is described as following the instructions of his slave girl is the Umayyad ruler Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 101-105/720-723). It is said that he fell in love with his favourite *qayna* Ḥabāba to such a degree that he let her influence his decisions, if not make them herself. It is also reported that he died a few days after her death out of grief for her (Zakharia, 2011). Although these reports are probably exaggerations, if not straight fabrications aimed at mocking Yazīd and his dynasty, they still indicate the negative view that the authors had of the possible influence of slave-girls on free men.[26] Contrary to this attitude, this reversal of roles is not depicted in any negative way in the stories studied above. The skill and initiative of the slave-girls in the stories always result in a positive and happy ending.

As for individual *qiyān* and their lives, the sources provide more information about them than about free women. Let us take as an example the life of ʿArīb (181-277/797-890), one of the most famous *qiyān* at the ʿAbbāsid court (al-Heity & Zia, 1997; Al-Heitty, 2005: 73-98). ʿArīb was the daughter of Jaʿfar al-Barmakī, who is a character in the stories in 2.1.2. Jaʿfar had fallen in love with Fāṭima, the head of

25. The Arabic original is found on pp. 27 and 28:

yā khalīlayya, tayyamatnī Waḥīdu / fa-fu'ādī bihā muʿannan ʿamīdu

ʿaybuhā annahā idhā ghannat al-aḥ/rāra ẓallū, wa hum ladayhā ʿabīdu

The lines are taken from ode 593, "Waḥīd, the Singing Slave-Girl of ʿAmhamah."

26. It is to be noted that out of the 37 ʿAbbāsid caliphs who ruled up to the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258, only three were born of free mothers (Zakharia, 2011: 306, note 24).

the slave-girls of his father's wife, and married her against his father's wishes. It is reported that his father offered him 200 of his slave-girls to leave Fāṭima, but Ja'far refused. A short time later, Fāṭima died in labour while giving birth to 'Arīb, and Ja'far hired a wet nurse to take care of his daughter. However, in 187/803, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had Ja'far executed, his father thrown in jail, and the property of the family confiscated. The wet nurse sold 'Arīb, who was six years old at the time, to a slave dealer, who in turn sold her to the commander of the caliph's naval force. The latter took the girl to Basra, which was the centre for training slave-girls at the time, and had her taught poetry, grammar, calligraphy, singing, playing different musical instruments, and other related arts. She would later be renowned for her singing, compositions in verse and prose, chess playing, and her musical compositions. All of these are skills that a number of slave-girls in our stories are said to have mastered and to have made them valuable. 'Arīb had close relationships with a number of 'Abbāsid caliphs, including three sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The third of these, al-Mu'taṣim (r. 218-227/833-842), bought her and freed her. 'Arīb continued to entertain at the courts of caliphs and other high-ranking individuals. By the time she was 50, she had amassed some wealth, and she had her own slave-girls who participated in her performances.[27]

Although there are some similarities between the life of 'Arīb and a number of the slave-girls that appear in the stories, in particular with regards to her education and skills, there is one major difference: she had a relationship with more than one master in addition to having multiple lovers. On the other hand, all the slave-girls in our stories have relationships with only one man, their beloved master, something which is made explicitly clear in all the stories. This is always true, even when the girl is separated from her master for a number of months or years (as in 2.1.6, 2.1.8, and 2.3.2). The reasons given for this vary: the new master sees the girl for the first time only when he is about to return her (as in 2.1.3a, 2.1.3b, and 2.1.5); the new master only buys the girl so that she may entertain with her singing and playing (as in 2.1.6); or the old master has no interest in women (as in 2.3.2). Even in the romance of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā (3.2), Zulaykhā has only a relationship with Yūsuf after their marriage, since her first husband is a eunuch. One exception is the slave-girl in the tale by Rūmī (3.1) who is allowed to consummate a relationship with the goldsmith after she is bought by the king. However, by this time the king has reached spiritual enlightenment and is no longer interested in her. Contrary to this, most of the time not much is said about the number of relationships that the men in the stories have had, although it is clear that for some, the slave-girl is not their first love. In one case (2.1.6), the old master marries another woman while still looking for his slave-girl.

27. One of the slave-girls of 'Arīb named Bid'a, who was well known for her singing, was given her freedom when she preferred to stay with her mistress than be sold for 100,000 dinars. She later married the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (r. 279-289/892-902) (al-Heity & Zia, 1997: 129, note 79).

One additional difference and one similarity can be noticed between the sources and our stories. One difference is that the sources report that some masters would make a singing slave-girl pregnant in order to avoid the possibility of her being confiscated by a caliph (Cheikh-Moussa, 1996: 63). This never happens in our stories. When a man is afraid that he might lose his beloved slave-girl to a more powerful individual, he resorts to freeing her, so that no one else may own her, and then marries her (2.1.2a and b). On the other hand, one similarity is the examination of the skill and knowledge of a slave-girl. For example, it is reported in a biographical dictionary that the prominent philologist al-Aṣmaʿī (d. ca. 213/828) was once summoned before Hārūn al-Rashīd to inspect the knowledge of two slave-girls who had been given to the caliph as a gift. The scholar interrogated them briefly on the Qurʾān, grammar, poetry, and history, and approved of both, although he suggested that one of them needed more work to equal the other (Ibn al-Anbārī, 1998: 105-106, within entry no. 33). This is similar to the way in which Tawaddud's knowledge is tested by Hārūn (2.3.1), although here the test is magnified in scale and is turned into a veritable challenge and duel with the court scholars, and Tawaddud's expertise is aggrandized.

The love stories of masters with their slave-girls summarized above thus appear to have some basis in reality, although in some of them various aspects are exaggerated for entertainment purposes or to accentuate certain features of the stories. They can be divided into three groups based on the sources in which they are found. The stories of the first group are found in literary sources, some of which are of a historical and scholarly nature (2.1.1-2.1.7 and 2.2). They are the most numerous and most widespread and follow a particular pattern. They might seem repetitive, but they actually present interesting variations and often contain historical details that give them the appearance of being authentic. The second group consists of stories that are part of collections of popular tales (2.1.8 and 2.3), most notably *The Arabian Nights*. They are fictional accounts that strain belief, narrated in a colloquial form influenced by dialect. Although the *Nights* incorporates some of the tales from the first group, other tales in the work display different degrees of implausibility as well as a reversal of the gender roles of the two lovers. Whereas in the stories of the first group the male characters dominate all the action and the female slaves are completely passive, in stories from the *Nights* (2.3) the slave-girls are the ones who lead the way while the masters are almost entirely inert and other male characters are defeated by the girls in one way or another.[28] The tales of the third group are mystical allegories (3.1-3.3) and stand apart for their inherently pedagogical and moralizing aims. Their authors have taken pre-existing stories or story patterns and then reshaped them to impart a moral lesson or a doctrinal message. There is no

28. The story of Bahrām and Fitna (2.4) contains some fantastic or unrealistic elements, such as the monarch's hunting prowess and Fitna's ability to carry a fully-grown ox to the top of a tower. The romance epic in which it is found, however, is a literary work and not a collection of popular tales.

interest in historical accuracy. Rather, the focus is on creating poignant parables. Since the ultimate goal is to exalt spiritual love by means of its earthly counterpart, the gender and rank of the protagonists is irrelevant, because love transcends the boundaries of social status and gender. For this reason, in these tales both the master and the slave can be of either gender.

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En torno a Abén Humeya: aproximaciones literarias

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En torno a Abén Humeya: aproximaciones literarias

Literary Approaches to Aben Humeya

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Resumen

El artículo estudia varias obras literarias relacionadas con la figura histórica de Abén Humeya, el líder de una frustrada revuelta morisca contra Felipe II en el siglo XVI. Por un lado, los intelectuales liberales del siglo XIX encontraron en Abén Humeya un antecedente de la lucha contra un gobierno represivo, tanto en la península como en las colonias (Martínez de la Rosa; Fernández y González). Por otro lado, Abén Humeya se acomoda bien al gusto de románticos y modernistas por el Orientalismo (Villaespesa). El repunte de la novela histórica en las últimas décadas encontró también en Abén Humeya un rico filón para reelaborar las crónicas de los moriscos (Acosta Montoro, Asenjo Sedano, Salvador, Villena, Falcones).

Palabras claves: Abén Humeya; Moriscos; Martínez de la Rosa; Fernández y González; Novela histórica.

Abstract

The article covers several literary works which deal with the historical figure of Aben Humeya, the leader of a thwarted Moorish revolt against Philip II of Spain in the XVI century. Aben Humeya in literature embraces both political symbolism and aesthetic pageantry. On the one hand, for the Romantic liberals of the 19th century he serves as an antecedent of the struggle against a repressive government, both in the peninsula and in the colonies (Martínez de la Rosa; Fernández y González). On the other hand, he accommodates well the inclination of Romantics and Modernists to Orientalism (Villaespesa). The rise of the historical novel in the past few decades also found in Aben Humeya a valuable fount to revive the Moorish chronicles (Acosta Montoro, Asenjo Sedano, Salvador, Villena, Falcones).

Keywords: Aben Humeya; Moorish; Martínez de la Rosa; Fernández y González; Historical novel.

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Como figura histórica, Abén Humeya, por otro nombre Fernando de Válor, encabezó con el nombramiento de 'rey' una revuelta de los moriscos de las Alpujarras contra Felipe II después de que éste proclamara la pragmática de 1567 en la que se castigaba al colectivo morisco con estrictas prohibiciones de sus usos y costumbres. Abén Humeya, así llamado por considerársele descendiente de los Omeyas de Córdoba y de Damasco, lideró la primera insurrección, pero su mandato como rey fue efímero, pues no tardó en caer en desgracia entre los suyos, hasta el punto de que sus mismos oficiales urdieron su muerte y su sustitución por Abén Aboo. La rebelión morisca fue pronto sofocada por don Juan de Austria, y la población morisca de Las Alpujarras diezmada y deportada. La revuelta de las Alpujarras fue objeto de tres obras historiográficas contemporáneas: *Guerra de Granada*, de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, escrita hacia 1575 y publicada en 1627, *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada* (1600), de Luis de Mármol Carvajal y la segunda parte de *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1619), de Ginés Pérez de Hita. Estas obras constituyen los tres pilares históricos sobre los que se asientan todas las aproximaciones literarias posteriores, las cuales principalmente surgen en el siglo XIX como fruto del interés romántico por la recreación histórica, y después mucho más recientemente dentro del resurgimiento de la narrativa histórica a finales del siglo XX y principios del siglo XXI.

Lejos de adoptar una aproximación histórica al personaje, me propongo aquí comentar sucintamente el estilo de varias obras literarias que recogen, aunque de manera muy distinta, el personaje de Abén Humeya, tanto obras en las que Abén Humeya y su historia son el tema primordial como obras que incluyen a Abén Humeya como protagonista secundario o en las que su historia queda reducida a una mera referencia. Distinguiré para ello entre drama y narrativa dentro de un orden cronológico.

Entre las aproximaciones teatrales más tempranas, *Amar después de la muerte*, titulada alternativamente *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra* (hacia 1633), de Calderón de la Barca, representa el equilibrio barroco típico de su autor. Se ha relacionado este drama con un cuadro encargado por Felipe IV para conmemorar la expulsión de los moriscos dentro de un concurso organizado en 1627. El ganador del concurso fue Velázquez, pero el cuadro fue destruido en un incendio del Alcázar Real en 1734 (Cruz, 2002, p. 122; Delgado Morales, 1997, p. 169-170). De esta manera, de igual modo que al cuadro de Velázquez *La rendición de Breda* le correspondería el drama de Calderón *El sitio de Breda*, *Amar después de la muerte* sería la contrapartida literaria al cuadro perdido de Velázquez sobre la expulsión de los moriscos. De hecho, Manuel Ruiz Lagos considera que la escenografía del drama de Calderón está concebida como un retablo móvil cuyo conjunto se podría denominar *El sitio de la Alpujarra*, frase que conforma el último verso de la comedia (Calderón, 1998, p. 39). En esta representación pictórica, las villas alpujarreñas de Galera, Berja y Gabia aparecen como tres cúspides que se alzan sobre la vega de Granada (Calderón, 1998, p. 40). Calderón aplica una metáfora náutica para visualizar el escenario:

La Alpujarra (aquesa sierra
que al sol la cerviz levanta,
y que poblada de villas,
es mar de peñas y plantas,
adonde sus poblaciones
ondas navegan de plata,
por quien nombres las pusieron
de Galera, Berja y Gabia)
(180-187)

Por un lado la metáfora náutica se consigue a través de los nombres de las villas, pero por otro lado se refuerza con la intervención de don Juan de Austria después de la batalla de Lepanto, comparando los escenarios de esta batalla con los de la revuelta de las Alpujarras. Así:

…Dadme, cielos,
fortuna, como en el agua,
en la tierra, porque opuestos
aquella naval batalla
y este cerco campal, luego
pueda decir que en la tierra
y en la mar tuve en un tiempo
dos victorias, que, confusas,
aun no distinga yo mesmo
de un cerco y una naval,
cuál fue la naval o el cerco.
(1802-1812)

Ciertamente esto demuestra que para Calderón es más importante el arte dramático que la fidelidad histórica, por cuanto que históricamente la batalla de Lepanto tuvo lugar después de la rebelión de las Alpujarras. Encontramos desplegado en *Amar después de la muerte* el típico lenguaje retórico y métrico de Calderón. Las silvas pareadas al comienzo de la jornada segunda evocan los versos de *La vida es sueño*:

Rebelada montaña,
cuya inculta aspereza, cuya extraña
altura, cuya fábrica eminente,
con el peso, la máquina y la frente

fatiga todo el suelo,
estrecha el aire y embaraza el cielo.
(877-882)

Junto a la metáfora y la catacresis, y el uso de la anáfora, la repetición, el paralelismo y el clímax, la afición a mencionar los elementos universales (fuego, tierra, agua, aire), del reino animal (hombres, fieras, peces, aves) y astronómicos (sol, luna, estrellas) confiere a la obra un sello inconfundiblemente calderoniano (Calderón, 2008, p. 42). *Amar después de la muerte* no se centra realmente en la historia de Abén Humeya, que aparece como personaje secundario, sino que principalmente narra la venganza del morisco Don Álvaro Tuzaní contra el asesino cristiano de su amada morisca, Doña Clara Malec. Por esto el drama recibió también el título de *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*. La intervención de Abén Humeya resulta por tanto accesoria, en la jornada primera todavía como don Fernando de Válor, en la jornada segunda, transcurridos tres años y en un momento favorable de la revuelta, ya como rey de los moriscos y en la jornada tercera en un momento ya adverso de la revuelta después de la conquista de Galera.

Francisco Martínez de la Rosa escribió su drama en prosa *Abén Humeya o la rebelión de los moriscos* en francés durante su exilio en París, donde fue estrenada en 1830. Posteriormente preparó una versión en español que se estrenó en Madrid en 1836. Por estas circunstancias históricas, la simbología política de la obra resulta inevitable, ya que la opresión que los moriscos sufrieron bajo Felipe II aparece como un eco de la opresión sufrida por los liberales españoles —y Martínez de la Rosa era uno de ellos— bajo Fernando VII de Borbón. Formalmente, por el conjunto de sus características, es un drama eminentemente *romántico*. Así, aparte de que es un drama histórico, el diálogo de los personajes está sujeto a una constante exaltación y a un tono declamatorio, hay una predilección por escenarios abruptos como la cueva del alfaquí en la que Abén Humeya es proclamado rey de los moriscos, se acumulan los personajes moribundos que hablan con su aliento postrero y sobre toda la historia se cierne la fatalidad como una fuerza insoslayable. Se podría decir del Abén Humeya de Martínez de la Rosa que, al igual que Don Álvaro del Duque Rivas, es un héroe romántico perseguido por la fuerza del sino. A pesar de que interviene su amante esposa Zulema, no es realmente el amor el motivo principal de la obra, sino precisamente el aciago destino que acosa al protagonista, cuya fortuna sufre un trágico revés muy poco después de asumir su nueva identidad de rey. La comparación de Abén Humeya con Don Álvaro, de Rivas, es ciertamente iluminadora. Como don Álvaro, Abén Humeya es víctima de los poderes establecidos del *statu quo*: la monarquía absoluta y la iglesia católica. Tanto Don Álvaro como Abén Humeya descienden de una nobleza que en España acaba siendo heterodoxa: don Álvaro es de estirpe inca y Abén Humeya desciende de moriscos. Por su disidencia de los valores establecidos, Don Álvaro y Aben Humeya aparecen, para ese *statu quo*, estigmatizados con una infamia tanto política como de impureza de sangre.

Sin embargo, los dos héroes acabarán siendo víctimas mayormente de la fuerza del sino. Como drama, la economía y la pureza de la dinámica de la acción en la obra de Martínez de la Rosa son extraordinarias. Se condensa en unos pocos episodios seleccionados como puntales de la historia de Abén Humeya: la pragmática de Felipe II contra los moriscos, su nombramiento como rey, la revuelta de la Nochebuena de 1568 y posteriormente su traición y muerte a manos de sus oficiales. De ello, a pesar del tono melancólico de los diálogos, surge un drama romántico de acción rápida, exaltada y trepidante.

Dentro también del periodo romántico, *Traición con traición se paga* (1847), de Manuel Fernández y González, es un drama histórico en cuatro actos y en verso. Parte del soborno de Fernando de Válor al alfaquí Hacen-Abú para que le adjudique la profecía de la corona de Granada en detrimento de Abén Aboo. Éste, viéndose burlado, ya que él había negociado primero con el alfaquí lo mismo, maquina insidias contra Abén Humeya, entre ellas la falsificación de cartas que revelan su intención de pactar con don Juan de Austria y que le retratan a todas luces como traidor a los suyos. Su propósito surte el efecto deseado causando la perdición de su rival. De tono folletinesco, es drama de poca monta e inferior a las novelas históricas de Fernández y González, como *Los monfíes de las Alpujarras* (1859), que comentamos más adelante.

Abén Humeya, tragedia morisca en cuatro actos y en verso (1913), de Francisco Villaespesa, es una obra muy imbuida de la estética *modernista* y dentro de la corriente de teatro poético en boga a principios del siglo XX. Es la segunda obra de teatro de tema morisco de Villaespesa después de *El Alcázar de las perlas*, estrenada en 1911. La afición al orientalismo y a lo morisco no era exclusiva del modernismo –recordemos por ejemplo los romances moriscos de Lope de Vega y en el romanticismo la obra de Washington Irving y de Chateaubriand.[1] En Villaespesa, la nostalgia del mundo nazarí queda bañada de sensualidad modernista con claros ecos de Rubén Darío. Algunos pasajes evocan la conocida *Marcha triunfal*.

¡Hoy entre tus muros no hay un alarife
que teja el ensueño de un Generalife
con gemas y perlas y randas de encajes;
ni al marcial estruendo de atambor sonoro
cruzan por tus plazas los Abencerrajes…!
¡Ya por Puerta Elvira

1. Un estudio indispensable sobre el tema morisco en literatura es el de M. S. Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada en la literatura: del siglo XV al XIX*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2010. Para el orientalismo de Villaespesa, ver la tesis doctoral de Hye-Jeoung Kim *Orientalismo en la literatura española finisecular: Sus huellas en las obras poéticas de Francisco Villaespesa*, Universidad de Salamanca, 2011.

la plebe de activos obreros no mira
pasar los botines guerreros… Altivos
caudillos, de polvo, de sangre bañados
que arrastran cadenas de tristes cautivos
por largas hileras de picas guardados…!
(Acto 1, Escena X) (Villaespesa, 1998, p. 27).

Junto a ello, encontramos un decorado palaciego y aristocrático y una imaginería preciosista que refleja la búsqueda de la belleza absoluta típica del modernismo. Por ello y por la intercalación de largos poemas, se ha reprochado al teatro de Villaespesa un exceso de lirismo, y algunos poemas, como la Canción de Zahara del acto primero de *Aben Humeya*, se publicaron separadamente en antologías poéticas. El resultado es que la historia de Abén Humeya queda casi desprovista de contenido político y marcada por un énfasis esteticista y sentimental. El Acto Primero arranca con el lamento por la promulgación de la pragmática y con un suntuoso despliegue de nostalgias nazaríes abocadas al olvido. La morisca Zahara está enamorada de Abén Humeya. En el Acto Segundo, la rebelión es inminente. Zahara revela a Abén Humeya que ha sido deshonrada por el capitán Don Álvaro y busca venganza. La revuelta morisca estalla mientras que Zahara mata al capitán, del que también huye la cristiana Isabel Mercado. En el Acto Tercero, Abén Humeya se ha enamorado de la cristiana causando un gran despecho en Zahara, quien reacciona difamándolo ante Diego Alguacil y Abén Aboo. En el Acto Cuarto, el mal está ya hecho de manera irremediable y Abén Aboo y los suyos caen sobre Abén Humeya.

Álvaro Salvador publicó en 1983 la obra de teatro *Don Fernando de Córdoba y Válor*, reeditada en 2007 bajo el título *El sueño de un reino*. Es un drama en diez escenas con prólogo y epílogo, aunque por la extensión de las intervenciones y por la estructura mencionada tiene mucho más la apariencia de novela dialogada. El prólogo y el epílogo enmarcan la acción en el momento de la expulsión de los moriscos de España a principios del siglo XVII. Mientras esperan a embarcarse para el exilio, un anciano morisco relata a un muchacho la historia de la rebelión de los moriscos y de Abén Humeya. Se trata por tanto de un prolongado *flashback* que adopta la forma de diálogo directo entre sus protagonistas. Es un relato sin estridencias y misceláneo, en el que se entreveran tonos diversos, folklórico, romántico a veces, encauzados serenamente en una crónica de sucesos ya conocida y que no busca la sorpresa ni el suspense.

En narrativa, el escritor español romántico en inglés Joaquín Telesforo Trueba y Cossío publicó desde su exilio en Londres *Gómez Arias or the Moors of the Alpujarras*, ambientada en la época de los Reyes Católicos. Posteriormente, en su libro *The Romance of History. Spain* (1930) incluyó un relato breve sobre Aben Humeya bajo el título de *The Mountain King*. Este relato no presenta nada relevante,

excepto la importancia del papel del tío de Abén Humeya, Fernando el Zaguer, como primer instigador de la revuelta morisca. No parece aleatorio, en todo caso, que la historia de Abén Humeya fuera del gusto de espíritus liberales paralelos como Trueba y Cossío y Martínez de la Rosa.

Manuel Fernández y González publicó *Los monfíes de las Alpujarras* en 1856, una farragosa novela histórica en la línea seguramente del folletín y de la novela por entregas que caracterizó a su asombrosamente prolífico autor. En la novela se atribuye el origen de los monfíes —o bandidos de las Alpujarras— a un hijo bastardo de Muley Hacén y por tanto hermanastro de Boabdil, que, al salir de Granada en 1492, buscó con los suyos refugio en las Alpujarras en vez de abandonar la península. Lejos de ser una simple banda de malhechores, los monfíes formaban una sociedad organizada lideradas por un emir —también llamado rey—, con conexiones internacionales y que esperaba el momento propicio de reivindicar de manera legítima el reino de Granada. La novela comienza precisamente con el nombramiento de Juan de Andrade como nuevo emir de los monfíes bajo el nombre de Yaye Ebn Al-Hhamar. Su padre, el emir Yuzuf, ha educado a su hijo secretamente entre los cristianos y no le ha revelado su origen hasta que ha llegado el momento de su nombramiento como emir. Presintiendo que está próximo el levantamiento morisco, el emir Yuzuf aspira a emparentar a los monfíes con la familia de los de Córdoba y Válor, de origen morisco pero integrados en la sociedad cristiana granadina y a los que se consideraba descendientes por línea directa de los Omeyas de Córdoba. Por ello, intenta arreglar el matrimonio entre su hijo Yaye, el nuevo emir de los monfíes, y doña Isabel de Córdoba y de Válor, con la aspiración de que la corona de los monfíes y la corona de Granada llegaran a neutralizarse en una sola. Las complicaciones y las vicisitudes de la relación entre los monfíes y los Válor se prolongan a lo largo de toda la novela. Otro factor importante de esta historia es que el paralelo que ya observamos en Abén Humeya de Martínez de la Rosa entre éste y el Don Álvaro del Duque de Rivas como representantes de pueblos oprimidos por el mismo opresor, aparece en la novela de Fernández y González de manera explícita, pues se incorporan a la trama como aliados de los monfíes personajes 'mejicanos' llegados de Nueva España, como Calpuc, 'el rey del desierto,' motivando este tipo de comentarios por parte del emir Yuzuf:

> Calpuc es riquísimo, sus tesoros son inagotables, y por odio á los españoles, me facilita medios para sostener mi ejército de monfíes. Como yo, es rey de una raza proscripta, vencida, amenazada por la cólera de los castellanos. Calpuc es mi igual, mi aliado natural (Fernández y González, 1856, p. 89).

O por parte de Estrella/Amina:

> Mi padre se llama Calpuc y es rey del desierto mejicano: somos hijos y señores de dos pueblos dominados por los españoles. Los enemigos de cada uno de nosotros son nuestros mismos enemigos (Fernández y González, 1856, p. 102).

Esos enemigos quedan representados en ese momento histórico por el 'opresor universal' o el 'verdugo coronado' como se le denomina en la novela a Felipe II (Fernández y González, 1856, p. 170 y p. 191). En esta novela que abarca tres generaciones, la primera y segunda partes narran preliminares y múltiples e intrincadas historias y la historia propiamente de Abén Humeya y de la rebelión de los moriscos se narra en la tercera parte, mezclando fabulación e historia. Como detalle novedoso, la novela hace hermanastros a Abén Humeya y Abén Aboo, ya que ambos aparecen como hijos del mismo padre biológico, que no es otro que el emir de los monfíes Yaye Ebn Al-Hhamar.

Pedro de Antonio de Alarcón publicó en 1874 su libro de viajes *La Alpujarra*, un género por el cual el autor sentía una especial predilección, como lo demuestran sus crónicas de viajes *De Madrid a Nápoles*, *Viajes por España* y *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*. *La Alpujarra* consta de seis partes y de un prólogo y un epílogo. Según observa E. Raya en su excelente estudio de la obra, "en el imbricado tejido de temas que conforma la estructura de este libro se mezclan el elemento histórico, el novelesco y el descriptivo, junto a reflexiones y digresiones del más diverso asunto." (Raya, 2009, p. 97). Observa también que las referencias históricas cobran un peso especial en el libro y que "dada la larga lista de autores que nombra como fuente de información e inspiración para su libro, podemos decir que su viaje es más una 'expedición' por los libros de historia, geografía y estadística que una excusión por la Alpujarra de 1872" (Raya, 2009, p. 97). De este modo, Alarcón combina recorrido geográfico por la Alpujarra y simultáneamente recorrido histórico por los episodios de la historia de Abén Humeya. En la parte sexta Alarcón llega a reproducir fragmentos del drama de Martínez Rosa y compara su final con el presentado en las crónicas de Hurtado de Mendoza y Mármol Carvajal.

Carlos Asenjo Sedano publicó en 1990 la novela *Abén Humeya, rey de los andaluces*. Una segunda edición fue publicada en 1999, ahora con el título de *Yo, Aben Humeya, rey de Granada, razones personales de un alzamiento*, de forma autobiográfica.[2] En un principio cabría pensar que la obra se asemeja a las *Relaciones* de Antonio Pérez, no sólo porque en la novela de Asenjo Sedano el texto se autodenomina *relación* y memorial[3], sino porque tanto Abén Humeya como Antonio Pérez aparecen como figuras disidentes y oponentes de Felipe II y desean poner por escrito la verdad de sus historias. Sin embargo, en su conjunto, la novela de Asenjo Sedano presenta, técnicamente, un marco de apariencia *picaresca*, un género, en el que por cierto también se usa eventualmente el término *relación* para denominar la historia que se cuenta, como en el caso de *Vida de Marcos de Obregón*. Junto a la forma autobiográfica, el narrador se dirige constantemente,

2. Las citas pertenecen a esta segunda edición.

3. "he querido escribiros ahora esta relación o memorial para que bien sepáis por nosotros mismos, y especialmente por mí, que estoy por rey de todos ellos, cuáles fueron las causas que nos llevaron a este alzamiento…" (p. 8)

como en la picaresca, a un narratario, —*Señor* y *vuesa merced* (v.m.)— que no es otro que Felipe II. Se narra brevemente el proceso de niño a adulto, y se marca el típico *despertar* del protagonista a la realidad cruel de la vida, como en los casos de Lazarillo y del Buscón. Si Lazarillo despierta de su simpleza con el golpe que le da el ciego contra el toro de piedra y el Buscón con las novatadas que le hacen en Alcalá, Fernando de Válor relata que "Percibía yo, Señor, que me trasformaba a las cosas de los mayores…Y abriendo de esa guisa los ojos…" (Asenjo Sedano, 1999, p. 77). Uno de los recursos sintácticos para dar tono coloquial al texto es el abundantísimo uso de oraciones subordinadas causales explicativas introducidas por la conjunción 'que' con valor general de 'porque', con frecuencia usadas en los relatos picarescos. Así, en el *Buscón*: "Las damas diz que salían por verle a las ventanas, que siempre pareció bien mi padre a caballo" (Quevedo, *El Buscón*, p. 98) o "Pedí yo de beber, que los otros, por estar casi en ayunas, no lo hacían." (Quevedo, *El Buscón*, p. 121). Y en el *Lazarillo*: "Dios me perdone, que jamás fui enemigo de la naturaleza humana sino entonces" (Rico, 1990, p. 52) o "Busca amo y véte con Dios, que yo no quiero en mi compañía tan diligente servidor." (Rico, 1990, p. 71). Del mismo modo, en *Abén Humeya*: "... a estas peticiones de los monfíes no podía negarse, que ahí estaba el Zaguer, mi tío…" (Asenjo Sedano, 1999, p. 82) o "sed todos muy prudentes, que la cabeza nos va en ello" (95) o "si hay que estar enfeudados en esa libertad, preferible es al rey de Castilla que a otro cualquiera de los africanos, que éstos son muy insoportables" (91) por mencionar sólo unos pocos ejemplos. Aunque todas estas semejanzas con la picaresca son técnicas y no de contenido social, encontramos también en la novela el ascenso de rango del protagonista, en este caso a rey de Granada, y el posterior castigo, desenmascaramiento o destitución. Para que el relato llegue a su final de manera creíble, la novela se vale del subterfugio de hacer que el último capítulo sea narrado por el secretario de Abén Humeya. De esta manera se puede narrar, y con detalles como en ninguna otra de estas obras, la muerte de éste a manos de los sediciosos.

José Acosta Montoro publicó *Alas cortadas, la novela de Abén Humeya* en 2004. Anteriormente había publicado el ensayo biográfico *Abén Humeya, rey de los moriscos*, en 1988. El rigor histórico es sin duda una de los fines y de los valores de la novela, dividida en tres partes con un símil solar: Aurora, Cénit y Ocaso. La novela de Acosta Montoro refleja sin duda un prurito de ambientación histórica integral. Para lograrlo, además de seguir la trayectoria de las crónicas en el desarrollo de la acción, lo más llamativo es que esta ambientación histórica quiere conseguirse con el uso incesante de arabismos, de manera que el léxico regular español es remplazado, en la mayor medida posible, por sus sinónimos de origen árabe. El resultado es —no en sentido peyorativo—, extravagante y peculiar a la par que artístico, y la novela aparece como *mudéjar* si la comparamos con el estilo arquitectónico que combina construcción cristiana o española y decoración islámica. Veamos algunos ejemplos de esta profusión de arabismos: "Sabe que, después de cada alzamiento, los serranos abandonan lo conquistado, y que se van a los alcores, aljarafes y algares..." (Acosta

Montoro, 1988, p. 97), "Debajo se extiende una sombra perpetua y un húmedo crecimiento de arrayanes largos y lujuriantes, entre los que sobresalen alheñas, alcaraveas, chumas y hasta algún albarrán, sin que falte el oloroso albihar…" (150), "Apenas clarea la mañana siguiente, se despierta junto a la morisca del lugar que ha compartido su almartega. Carentes de almohada, utilizaron un almadraque…" (158), "Han adornado las ventanas con alfomayas. En algunos balcones han puesto almejías, y hasta alcatifas y algún alifafe..." (176). Merienda es 'alifara', sastre 'alfayate', ejército 'mehala', vocerío 'albórbola', excremento 'alhorre', dehesa 'alijar', intérprete 'trujamán', hacer correrías 'almogavarear', huerto 'almunia', por poner sólo algunos ejemplos de este empedramiento de arabismos, en algunos casos no registrados por los diccionarios y de ortografía aplicada arbitrariamente, que caracteriza al texto. Además de por esta labor semejante al mocárabe, la prosa resalta por poética. Encontramos metáforas con arabismos, "su convulso cuerpo se transformaba en alfaguara de sudor" (15), "su alfajor de palabras se convertía en gumía capaz de agujerear ocultas puertas" (69).

La sombra de Abén Humeya (Rebelión y muerte de Abén Humeya), de Leonardo Villena Villena (2007) es otra muestra del protagonismo que ha cobrado Abén Humeya en la narrativa española reciente. La novela desarrolla con especial énfasis los prolegómenos de la rebelión morisca, con reproducción a veces íntegra de documentos auténticos, como la apelación de Núñez Muley contra la pragmática de Felipe II y sigue especialmente de cerca la crónica de Mármol Carvajal. Curiosamente, es la más joven generación de las familias Válor y Aben Aboo —como Dieguillo López Aben Aboo y Frasquito Abén Humeya, éste hermano de don Fernando— los que en un principio introducen a las circunstancias históricas de los moriscos como pueblo oprimido a través de sus conversaciones. Se presenta asimismo una semblanza de Fernando de Válor previa a su rol de Aben Humeya como individuo de vida desordenada y disoluta y acuciado por graves problemas económicos, hasta el punto de que se ve obligado a vender el título de su veinticuatría. Después, la novela sigue los consabidos derroteros de las crónicas.

Finalmente, la extensa novela *La mano de Fátima* de Ildefonso Falcones (2009) no es que relate la historia de Abén Humeya, sino es que es una crónica completa del colectivo morisco durante los siglos XVI y XVII, desde la pragmática de Felipe II y la subsiguiente revuelta de las Alpujarras hasta la expulsión por Felipe III en 1609. Para narrar tan monumental historia, Falcones construye un *bildungsroman* protagonizado por Hernando Ruiz, oriundo del pueblo alpujarreño de Juviles. Hijo de morisca y cristiano, recibe el apodo de *nazareno* y por su educación bilingüe puede bandearse entre las dos culturas mientras sufre o es testigo de todas las vicisitudes de los moriscos. Elizabeth Espadas considera la novela como *cervantina*, tanto por su extensión como por su estructura episódica de aventuras y por el gran número de intrigas que contiene (Espadas, 2011, p. 178). Falcones combina ficción y una rigurosa documentación histórica y no escatima la descripción de atrocidades cometidas por los dos bandos de las revueltas, especialmente las sufridas por los

niños en forma de martirio o de deportación. La obra presta atención a los eventuales intentos de sincretismo entre las religiones cristiana e islámica, involucrando a Hernando Ruiz en la autoría de los *Libros Plúmbeos* y en el descubrimiento del Evangelio de Bernabé. Abén Humeya aparece sólo en la primera parte de la novela, que, al ser una crónica integral, se extiende a los reyes de Granada o caudillos posteriores —Aben Abóo, Luis Asquer y Turigi. En el capítulo 18 de la primera parte se narra brevemente la caída en desgracia de Abén Humeya debido mayormente a su desmedida afición por las mujeres. El amuleto simbólico de la mano de Fátima sirve también para dividir la novela en cinco partes: En nombre de Alá, En nombre del amor, En nombre de la fe, En nombre de Nuestro Señor y Epílogo.

La figura de Abén Humeya en literatura cobra, por tanto y por un lado, una *simbología política* durante el periodo romántico cuando los intelectuales liberales exiliados por el absolutismo borbónico encuentran en él un paralelo histórico que expresaba bien la disidencia ante los valores establecidos por el statu quo y la consiguiente represión y castigo (Martínez de la Rosa). Es una simbología política que se extiende a ambos lados del Atlántico en el siglo XIX, al asociar también a Abén Humeya con el ímpetu independentista que caracterizará a las colonias en América (Fernández y González). Por otro lado, la figura de Abén Humeya se acomoda al gusto estético de románticos y modernistas por el *orientalismo* y por los escenarios preciosistas (Villaespesa). El repunte de la novela histórica en las últimas décadas encuentra un rico filón en Abén Humeya para recrear las vicisitudes del colectivo morisco como un tema insoslayable de la historia de España (Acosta Montoro, Asenjo Sedano, Salvador, Villena y Villena, Falcones).

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Performing Jim Crow: Blackface Performance and Emancipation

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Interpretando a Jim Crow: Blackface y emancipación

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Abstract

A nineteenth-century American actor named Thomas Rice was sensationally popular as a blackface character named Jim Crow. His popularity is credited with giving birth to blackface minstrelsy as others began to imitate him in the hope of emulating his success. Rice's Jim Crow provided a name for laws and customs designed to repudiate the emancipation of African slaves. Blackface minstrelsy staged an idealized version of slave life on a southern plantation. Paradoxically, as blackface revoked the emancipation of slaves on stage, it emancipated the American theatre from its British origins and its audience of recently immigrated laborers from a low social position. It even occasionally performed an ironic reversal of the subaltern status of the very African slaves whose freedom by proclamation and constitutional amendment the performance sought to negate. Contradictions in the history of blackface performance in the United States stage American anxieties about race, class, emancipation, and the very construction of the concepts of blackness and whiteness.

Keywords: Blackface; Minstrel; Gilpin; Octoroon; Robeson.

Resumen

En el siglo XIX, Thomas Rice, un actor estadounidense, ganó mucha fama haciendo el papel de un personaje cuya cara estaba pintada de negro con el nombre Jim Crow. Se le da crédito a Rice la creación de grupos de actores que se pintaron la cara de negro (un estilo denominado blackface) que luego otros se pusieron a imitarlos con la esperanza de emular su éxito. El Jim Crow de Rice dio nombre a una serie de leyes y costumbres diseñadas para repudiar la emancipación de esclavos africanos. Los espectáculos de los actores en blackface representaron una versión idealizada de la vida de los esclavos en una hacienda sureña. Paradójicamente, mientras el blackface revocó la emancipación de los esclavos sobre el escenario, emancipó el teatro estadounidense de sus orígenes británicas y su público que consistía en obreros inmigrantes de baja clase social. De vez en cuando hasta representó un revés irónico del estatus barriobajero de los mismos esclavos africanos cuya libertad por proclamación y enmienda constitucional, la representación quiso negar. Las

contradicciones en la historia de espectáculos teatrales blackface en los Estados Unidos ponen de manifiesto ansiedades estadounidenses sobre la raza, clase social, emancipación y hasta la construcción misma de los conceptos de blancura étnica y negrura étnica/"blancura" y "étnica."

Palabras clave: Blackface; Grupo teatral; Gilpin; Octoroon; Robeson.

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Until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1865, the social and legal status of Africans in the United States was defined by slavery. When slavery ended, their status was redefined by a complex of laws and social practices termed "Jim Crow" which had the purpose of keeping freed, African slaves separated from and subjugated to citizens of European descent. In law and custom "Jim Crow" was a repudiation of emancipation. The term "Jim Crow" was popularized especially by the performances of a white actor named Thomas D. Rice who became sensationally celebrated for portraying a blackface character named Jim Crow and for doing a dance routine in which he "jumped Jim Crow." Once popularized by Rice, blackface continued on the American stage into the twenty-first century and from that time to this, staged anxieties about race, class, and conceptions of white and black.

Thomas D. Rice jumping Jim Crow
TCS 82, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University

Rice began to "jump Jim Crow" in 1823 claiming that he had learned the dance and the song from a crippled black stable worker. The details of how Rice learned the routine vary as do versions of the song, one of which goes thus:

> Step first upon yo' heel
> An' den upon yo' toe,
> An' ebry time you turns around
> You jump Jim Crow (Roorbach, 1969, 1875: Introduction).

> [Step first upon your heel
> And then upon your toe,
> And every time you turn around
> You jump Jim Crow.]

According to one variant of the legend of Rice's discovery of Jim Crow and subsequent rise to fame, he first performed the routine and used the name Jim Crow in a play called *The Rifle* (Roorbach, 1969, 1875: Introduction). His performance was so successful that he began to perform it everywhere and in many contexts. He even went on tour to England. Jumping Jim Crow became all the rage on both sides of the Anglophone Atlantic. An 1845 article in *The Knickerbocker* claimed—

> From the nobility down to the lowest chimney-sweep in Great Britain, and from the member of Congress, down to the youngest apprentice or school-boy in America, it was all: "Turn about and wheel about, and do just so, /And every time I turn about I jump Jim Crow."
>
> Even the fair sex did not escape the contagion: the tunes were set to music for the piano-forte, and nearly every young lady in the Union, and the United Kingdom, played and sang, if she did not *jump*, "Jim Crow" (Kennard: 332-333, cited by Lott, 1993: 57).

Blackface burlesques of Shakespeare even jumped Jim Crow:

> Oh! 'tis consummation
> Devoutly to be wished
> To end your heart-ache by a sleep,
> When likely to be dish'd.
> Shuffle off your mortal coil,
> Do just so,
> Wheel about, and turn about,
> And jump Jim Crow (Haywood, 1966: 88).

The popular acclaim accorded Rice is credited with giving birth to blackface minstrelsy in the United States as others began to imitate him in the hope of emulating his success. Thus began a history of blackface performance in the US that extends to the present. Dan Emmet expanded imitations of Rice's solo performance into a professional blackface minstrel troupe for the first time in New York in 1842. Two years later, minstrels performed at the White House (Toll, 1974: 28). Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, blackface minstrelsy was a dominant presence in US performance and the ancestor of much of American popular entertainment in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. "[T]he foundation of American comedy, song, and dance was laid down by white and black minstrel stage legends" (Taylor and Austen, 2012: 4). Stephen Foster's central place in the history of American music is rooted in blackface. Early in life he performed in blackface and tried to sell Rice his songs. After 1850 he sold many of his most famous songs to the popular Christy Minstrels (Toll, 1974: 36). Al Jolson was known as a singer throughout the US in the early twentieth century and was especially well known for his blackface performances. He performed in blackface as a member of Dockstader's Minstrels, one of the largest and best-known minstrel companies of the time. In 1927 he acted in blackface in the classic movie *The Jazz Singer* (Goldman, 2000). Medicine shows touring small-town America as recently as the 1930s "blacked up" (Lhamon, 1998: 221). "Even as late as the Depression, the Federal Theatre Project of the Works Progress Administration was sponsoring minstrel shows; and *Dixie*, the 1943 movie, starr[ed] Bing Crosby in occasional blackface as the minstrel Daniel Emmet. . . . In Britain . . . the *Black and White Minstrel Show* was on TV every Saturday night through 1978" (Taylor and Austen, 2012: 43). The continued staging of minstrel shows into the mid-twentieth century in the U.S. caused the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the 1950s to initiate legal proceedings to stop them (Lhamon, 1998: 148).

In the waning years of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, blackface performance has become increasingly controversial. The Wooster Group performed a Pigmeat Markham blackface minstrelsy sequence in its 1981 production of *Route 1 &* 9. "By January, 1982 it had become the subject of a widely reported controversy" (Savran, 1986: 10). The New York State Council on the Arts cut the Wooster Group's funding by forty percent (Shewey, 1982: D7). The Wooster Group's *L.S.D. (...Just the High Points...)* uses excerpts from Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. Kate Valk wore blackface when she played Tituba, a West Indian woman and looked "more like the Aunt Jemima of fifties television commercials than a seventeenth-century slave" (Savran, 1986: 175). Kate Valk also wore blackface in *The Emperor Jones*. In an interview Valk speaks of a particular talk-back after a performance where the question of race came up and it got "uncomfortable in the room. . . . [S]ome people found it offensive" (Valk, 2007). Ted Danson inspired outrage when he performed in blackface at a Friar's Club roast of Whoopi Goldberg in 1993 (Rich, 1993: 24). In 2005 Dave Chapelle created a character in blackface makeup he called a "racial pixie."

He wore "a bellhop's uniform and . . . [danced] to banjo music." Later he said that he himself was made "uncomfortable" by his creation (Taylor and Austen, 2012: 1-2).

"In the nineteenth century the minstrel show became the most prominent and popular form of American entertainment" (Taylor and Austen, 2012: 4). Minstrelsy provided a broad range of entertainments including such fare as juggling, animal acts, female impersonation, dance, and acrobatics. However varied the program, though, a primary ingredient was the presentation of a stage version of life among the slaves in the American south. Before the Civil War, the minstrel show claimed to provide northern audiences a window on the exotic world of the southern plantation with an idealized view of life among African slaves who amused themselves and the audience with song, dance, comic repartee and skits. After the slaves were emancipated, minstrelsy enacted a nostalgic vision of life before the Civil War as it looked back on a time before the slaves were freed. After 1865 and emancipation, on stage at least, Africans were still slaves and enjoyed themselves singing and dancing and telling comic stories. Rice and his imitators made Jim Crow and his blacked up epigones a staple of American performance. It is not surprising, therefore, that when laws and customs were put into place to suppress and segregate freed slaves they were termed 'Jim Crow' laws. Rice and blackface minstrelsy had made Jim Crow the archetypal African in the United States. By recreating a post-war stage version of the antebellum South, blackface minstrelsy performed a fictional repeal of emancipation and gave a name to the laws that repealed it in actuality.

Paradoxically, while blackface minstrelsy staged a theatrical repeal of emancipation, it also helped to emancipate the US theatre from its British roots. The English-language theatre in North America was essentially British theatre until the first half of the nineteenth century. The repertory of the US stage was the English repertory or imitations thereof. In the eighteenth century, educated American speech had not yet deviated from British speech. In some early American plays that imitate the British, however, there are lower-class, vernacular characters who are uniquely American—they use pronunciations and idioms not found in the British Isles. These characters are frontiersmen like Davy Crockett, who was popular both on stage and in fiction. The Indian, the New England Yankee, and the Irish volunteer fireman known as "Mose the fire B'hoy" began to appear in minor roles on the American stage (Toll, 1974: Chapter 1). These were types not found in the British Isles and they spoke as no one spoke in the British Isles.

These vernacular American characters appeared in minor roles while the principal characters spoke and behaved much as their ancestors had on the British stage. Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon* illustrates this phenomenon. The play is a typical mortgage melodrama in which characters intended to evoke the audience's sympathy are threatened with eviction if their debts are not paid. First performed at the Winter Garden Theatre in New York in 1859, the plot concerns the financial troubles of the Peytons' plantation in Louisiana and George Peyton's love for a

woman named Zoe. Their love is doomed because Zoe is the eponymous octoroon. Though she appears white, she is legally black and is one of the slaves on the Peytons' plantation. She is, in fact, the property of George Peyton. She tells George that they cannot marry because she bears "the ineffaceable curse of Cain. Of the blood that feeds my heart, one drop in eight is black—bright red as the rest may be, that one drop poisons all the flood" (Gassner, 1967: 197). Because of that fatal drop of black blood, she cannot marry the white hero of the piece but will fall into the clutches of the villain McCloskey as his slave if the estate is sold to pay its debts. She is saved from McCloskey, but the happy ending with a wedding normally expected for a melodrama cannot occur. In 1859 anti-miscegenation laws in Louisiana and in much of the United States made it illegal for a white man to marry an "octoroon." Zoe's whiteness masks a black identity that makes marriage with George Peyton and a happy ending impossible.

The Octoroon is set on a southern plantation populated by elite, educated white characters and less educated working-class white characters. These are joined by African slaves and even an Indian. With these features, *The Octoroon* is a perfect example of a peculiarly American play even though its author was born in Dublin. The problem of avoiding foreclosure and eviction is a conventional melodramatic plot, but the setting in Louisiana and the African and Amerindian characters mark it as distinctly American.

The elite white characters, except for their connection to a Louisiana plantation rather than an English country estate, could be found in a British play of the time. Indeed, Zoe's lover, George Peyton, has been living in Paris and when his mother speaks, she speaks in language that could easily come from the London stage:

> I fear that the property is so involved that the strictest economy will scarcely recover it. My dear husband never kept any accounts, and we scarcely know in what condition the estate really is (Gassner, 1967: 187).

The laboring characters and slaves, however, speak in a distinctly American idiom. When one of the slaves, Pete, has a bucket he is using as a pillow kicked out from under him he says—

> Hi! Debbel's in de pail! Whar's breakfass? (Gassner, 1967: 188).

> [Hey! The devil is in the pail! Where is breakfast?]

When Scudder, a local white character, tells McCloskey that he is going to prevent him from getting Zoe, he speaks in an American idiom entirely foreign to the British stage:

> By fair means I don't think you can get her, and don't you try foul with her, 'cause if you do, Jacob, civilization be darned, I'm on you like a painter, and when I'm drawed out I'm pizin (Gassner, 1967: 193).

The American theatre departed from its British origins by turning its attention to native vernacular characters like Scudder and Pete. The elite, educated characters who spoke like those appearing on the London stage were replaced by characters who called panthers 'painters' and devils 'debbels.' Of course characters like Pete were played by white actors in blackface. The most curious and one of the most popular of these entertainments based on minor vernacular characters was the blackface minstrel show. It was a uniquely American theatre form rooted in the uniquely American history of Southern slavery and the Civil War. When blackface characters like Pete separated themselves from white elite characters and performed on their own, they became the American minstrel show.

While blackface performance was freeing the American theatre from its British roots and revoking the emancipation of the slaves on stage, it also served to emancipate recently immigrated laborers and even, on occasion, the very African slaves who had been freed by proclamation and constitutional amendment. The presence of large numbers of Africans, first as slaves and then as citizens, created a special class system in the United States. As John Calhoun argued, class in America is a matter of skin color rather than wealth:

> With us the two great divisions of society are not the rich and poor, but white and black; and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals (Cited by Corey, 2011: 56).

Once skin color becomes the marker of class, blackness can be attributed to any despised group. Laborers, especially laborers recently arrived from Ireland, were relegated to the lowest level in the social hierarchy. A slang term for African Americans in the nineteenth century was "Smoked Irishman" (Lott, 1993: 95). Eric Lott says that "An extreme instance of working-class 'blackening' was that of the immigrant Irish, whom antebellum native whites widely equated with blacks as an alien, subhuman, and brutal species" (Lott, 1993: 71). "Some suggested that the Irish were part of a separate caste or a 'dark' race, possibly originally African. Racial comparisons of Irish and Blacks were not infrequently flattering to the latter group" (Roediger, 1991: 133). Irish laborers were frequently used in the South for ditching and levee building because slaves were too valuable to risk in such a dangerous occupation: "Frederick Law Olmsted . . . quoted more than one Southerner who explained the use of Irish labor on the ground that 'niggers are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard . . . nobody loses anything'" (Roediger, 1991: 146). The laborer, especially the Irish laborer, needed to distinguish himself from the antebellum slave in the south and, after the Civil War, the emancipated slave in Northern cities.

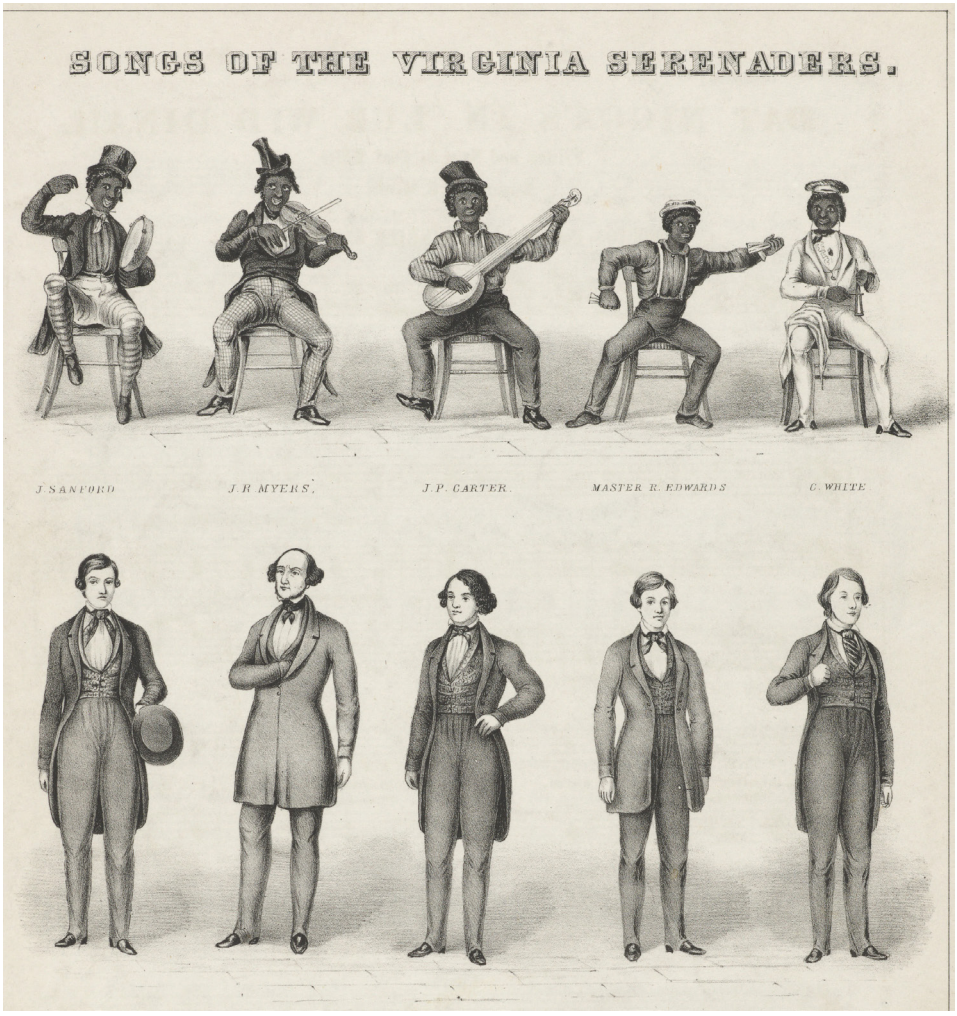
The audiences for minstrel shows in New York included a significant number of Irish working-class immigrants (Lott, 1993: 35, 96). Blackface minstrelsy provided a mechanism whereby those in a low social position, especially the Irish, could counter

claims that their identity as white Europeans was suspect. "[B]lackface minstrels were the first self-consciously *white* entertainers in the world. The simple physical disguise—and elaborate cultural disguise—of blacking up served to emphasize that those on stage were really white and that whiteness really mattered. One minstrel pioneer won fame by being able to change from black to white and back in seconds" (Roediger, 1991: 117). Actors in blackface demonstrated that their blackness was not a permanent pigmentation of the skin but a mere fiction that could be wiped off in the dressing room. Indeed, ads and programs for minstrel shows pictured actors before and after blacking up (Toll, 1974: 38-39). "Songs repeatedly reminded the audience of its own whiteness by beginning 'Now, white folks . . . .' Snappy jokes carried the point less laboriously, with performers proclaiming that they were 'like widows' in that they only wore black for a short time" (Roediger, 1991: 117).

The audience, with its approving gaze, could collaborate in this exercise in social climbing by looking on a blackness that was not theirs—that they as spectators could keep at a distance. Blackface dissolved ethnic and class differences among recent immigrants by insisting on a social structure that admitted of only two categories: white and black. Michael Rogin in *Blackface, White Noise*, cites Constance Rourke's apt characterization of this process in the case of Jewish immigrants: "Assimilation is achieved via the mask of the most segregated; the blackface that offers Jews mobility keeps the blacks fixed in place. By wiping out all difference except black and white, blackface turns Rabinowitz into Robin, but the fundamental binary opposition nevertheless remains. That segregation, imposed on blacks, silences their voices and signs in their name. Replacing the Old World Jew, blackface also replaced the black" (Rogin, 1996: 29). What Rourke says that blackface did for the "Old World Jew" it could also do for minstrelsy's laboring class audience. On stage the blackface performers are once again slaves. This fictive repeal of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation is staged in blackface, which, "[b]y wiping out all difference except black and white" (black on stage white in the audience), assimilates the laboring-class audience into what Calhoun characterized as a white upper class. Ironically, the theatrical re-enslavement of those on stage emancipates the audience from what Eric Lott calls "working-class blackening."

Minstrelsy's move to return the black faces of emancipated slaves to the plantation, however, also contained instances of revolt against the subaltern status of freed slave and black face. In the nineteen-century US, as Zoe says in *The Octoroon,* a black skin was the mark of Cain; Africans were the descendants of Cain and therefore slavery was their appropriate condition. Comic, satirical lectures and sermons were a frequent feature of the minstrel stage and a recurring minstrel sermon turned racialized hierarchies upside down and made a white skin the mark of Cain.

> 'Strate am de road an' narrow am de paff which leads off to glory!' Brederen Blevers: You am 'sembled dis night in coming to hear de word and have splained



Minstrel performers with and without blackface.
TCS 82, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University

and 'monstrated to yu; yes yu is—and I tend for to splain it as de lite ob de liben day. We am all wicked sinners hea below—it's a fack, my brederen' and I tell you how it cum. You see

'Adam was de fust man,
Ebe was de tudder,
Cane was de wicked man
'Kase he kill his brudder.'

> Adam and Eve were bofe brack men, and so was Cane and Abel. Now I s'pose it seems to strike yer understanding how de first white man cum. Why, I let you know. Den you see when Cane kill his brudder de massa cum and say, 'Cane, whar's your brudder Abel?' Cane say, 'I don't know massa.' But the nigger node all de time. Massa now git mad and cum agin; speak mighty sharp dis time. 'Cane, whar's your brudder Abel, yu nigger?' Cane now git frightened and he turn white; and dis de way de fust white man cum upon dis earth! And if it had not been for dat dar nigger Cane we'd nebber been trubbled wid de white trash 'pon de face of dis yer circumlar globe. . . . Brudder Bones pass round de sasser (Roorbach, 1969, 1875: 144).
>
> ['Strait is the road and narrow is the path which leads to glory!' Brethren believers: You are assembled this night to come to hear the word and have it explained and demonstrated to you; yes you are—and I intend to explain it as clear as the light of the living day. We are all wicked sinners here below—it's a fact, my brethren, and I'll tell you how it came about.
>
> 'Adam was the first man,
>
> Eve was the other,
>
> Cain was the wicked man
>
> Because he killed his brother.'
>
> Adam and Eve were both black men, and so were Cain and Abel. Now I suppose you want to understand how the first white man came. Why, I'll let you know. Then you see when Cain killed his brother the master came and said, 'Cain, where's your brother Abel?' Cain said, 'I don't know master.' But the nigger knew all the time. The master now got mad and he came again; he spoke very sharply this time. 'Cain, where is your brother Abel, you nigger?' Cane now got frightened and he turned white; and this is the way the first white man came upon this earth! And if it had not been for that nigger Cain we would never have been troubled with the white trash upon the face of this circular globe. . . . Brother Bones pass around the saucer (the collection plate).]

This 'sermon' emancipates African Americans from all the shocks that blackness is heir to and turns 'nigger' into a term of disapprobation for a man with a white skin. The mark of Cain is not a black skin, as Zoe avers in *The Octoroon*, but a white one.

In fact, there was a kind of emancipatory revolt built into the very structure of minstrel staging. Blackface provided a mask for the expression of class resentments and social satire. Traditionally, blackface minstrelsy put a line of performers across the stage. At center stage, the interlocutor was a master of ceremonies, an authority figure who was challenged by the unruly end men—Tambo and Bones—who

took their names from the tambourine and the bones (similar to castanets) with which they performed. The Interlocutor was sometimes white and his speech was correct and stilted. The end men disrupted the authority of correct speech with a theatrical version of black vernacular. "Blackface action is usually slashing back at the pretensions and politesse of authority more than at blackness. Certainly in these earliest instances of white fascination with black performance there was little laughing at blacks" (Lhamon, 1998: 22). David Roediger cites Sean Wilentz' statement in *Chants Black* that "[a]s the form [blackface minstrelsy] developed, the real object of scorn . . . was less Jim Crow than the would-be aristo[crat]—either the white interlocutor or the dandified black" (Roediger, 1991: 123). The working men in the audience could safely experience an emancipating challenge to authority in the midst of a form that rescinded the emancipation of the slaves and staged the triumph of vernacular speech over the 'correct' speech of the elite. In their badinage with the interlocutor, the end men's vernacular speech was richer and cleverer than that of the interlocutor. They had the punch lines, often using puns, and got laughs at the expense of the Interlocutor's pomposity. The authority of the master's correct speech was trumped by vernacular, lower class speech.

For example, in one exchange, "after a ballad has been sung," Bones claims, in a vernacular idiom, to have composed the song that was just sung. He says, "Dat's a nice song ain't it?" [That's a nice song isn't it?] The interlocutor replies, "Yes, sir; a very pretty song indeed." When Bones says that he composed the song, the interlocutor upbraids him for lying and encourages him to follow the example of George Washington who told the truth about cutting down his father's cherry tree with his little hatchet. Now Bones goes even further and claims to have known George Washington. The interlocutor is huffily offended at Bones' blatant lying, but Bones has the last laugh when he informs the interlocutor that it was a different George he knew—a school mate of his:

> Well, I got tings mixed—dat aint de chap I ment. I ment George Washington Julious Caesar Andrew Jackson John Smith, but de boys at school used to call him George, and Wash, and Ju—just as dey liked, you know. Thought dat was de same fellow you was driving at (Roorbach, 1969, 1875: 17).
>
> [Well, I got things mixed up—that isn't the man I meant. I meant George Washington Julius Caesar Andrew Jackson John Smith, but the boys at school used to call him George, and Wash, and Ju—whatever they liked, you know. I thought that was the same fellow you were talking about.]

When this George was caught in a prank that ridiculed their teacher, he, like General George Washington, could not tell a lie and confessed that he made the teacher fall on his face by nailing his slippers to the floor with his little hatchet (Roorbach, 1969, 1875: 16-17).

Blackface minstrelsy sometimes portrayed freed slaves in the North, but both before and after emancipation the paradigmatic minstrel show was a theatrical representation of African slavery. Indeed, it made slavery seem a pleasant condition filled with jokes and music. It also provided the earliest opportunities for black actors on the American stage. Some time passed, however, until they could be emancipated from blackface so that they could move on to the main stream of US theatre. One of the earliest African-American performers on the US stage was William Henry Lane who was known as Juba when he danced at P. T. Barnum's Vauxhall Gardens Theatre in New York City. He was originally hired by Barnum when his star white dancer, Master Diamond, who performed in blackface doing "negro breakdowns," deserted him. According to Thomas Low Nichols—

> Barnum, full of expedients, explored the dance-houses of the Five Points and found a boy who could dance a better break-down than Master Diamond. It was easy to hire him; but he was a genuine negro; and there was not an audience in America that would not have resented, in a very energetic fashion, the insult of being asked to look at the dancing of a real negro (cited by Lott, 1993: 112).

Barnum avoided this difficulty by having William Henry Lane black up and put on a wooly wig. The earliest black actors on the American stage blacked up just as their white colleagues did and imitated white actors imitating black slaves. Thus the stereotypes created by blacked-up white actors were perpetuated by blacked-up black actors.

Minstrel shows, especially after the Civil War, often claimed that they were presenting a true and authentic picture of plantation life. In spite of Thomas Low Nichols' belief that an American audience would resent "the insult of being asked to look at the dancing of a real negro," "[i]n a few instances there seems to have been genuine confusion among viewers as to the racial identity of blackface performers, and on at least one occasion a church agreed to let a troupe perform only on the condition that they not come as Blacks" (Roediger, 1991: 117).

> Early audiences so often suspected that they were being entertained by actual Negroes that minstrel sheet music began the proto-Brechtian practice of picturing blackface performers out of costume as well as in; and there are several existing accounts of white theatergoers mistaking blackface performers for blacks. Even Mark Twain's mother, at her first (and presumably only) minstrel show, believed she was watching black performers. . . . Mark Twain was himself intrigued by what he called 'the happy and accurate' representations of the minstrel show (Lott, 1993: 20).

As companies tried to attract audiences with the claim that they provided a more authentic vision of the antebellum plantation than their competitors, producers hit upon the idea of using black actors and claiming that they were former slaves

who had a true and accurate knowledge of pre-war plantation life. The quest for authenticity brought actual black actors to the stage who claimed to be former slaves. "This was the culmination of the black minstrel show—an idealized vision of plantation life on display for white northerners" (Taylor and Austen, 2012: 68). "Black minstrels became the acknowledged minstrel experts at portraying plantation material" (Toll, 1974: 196).

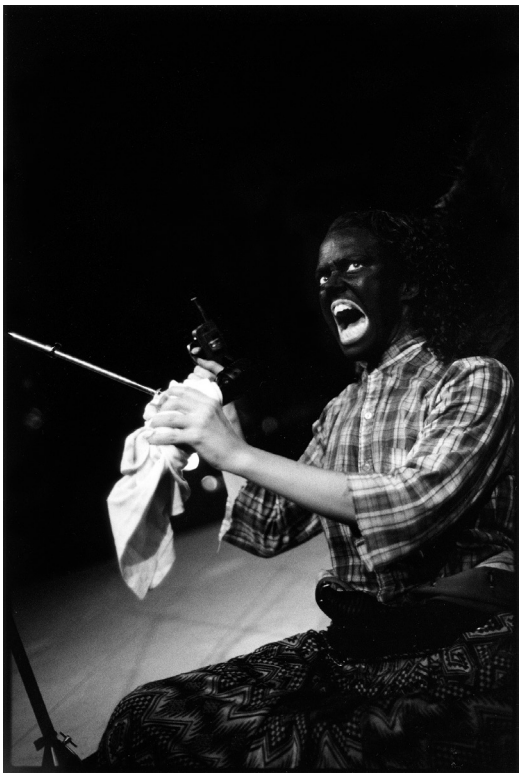
By the early twentieth century, some black actors were beginning to win limited acclaim outside of minstrelsy. Charles Gilpin began his career in minstrel shows and moved on to have his own stock company in Harlem and to play roles on Broadway. He created the role of Brutus Jones in Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* in 1921, which ran for three years (Mroczka, 2000). Still, the life of a black actor in the United States was and is a difficult one. White actors might black up to play Othello and other 'black' roles, but black actors were sometimes controversial even when they played a role written for them. Eugene O'Neill's *All God's Chillun Got Wings* concerns a white woman married to a black lawyer. One scene calls for the woman to kiss her husband's hand. Paul Robeson was cast in the role of the husband, and the press was outraged and predicted race riots if the play was allowed to go on as cast. It was thought that if a white woman were to kiss a black character's hand, the role ought to be played by a white actor in blackface (Gelb, 1962: 547 ff.). Charles Gilpin, on the other hand, played the role of the villain McCloskey in Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon* in 1916. He and other black actors playing white characters wore whiteface. Theatre critic Lester A. Walton wrote of Gilpin's performance that he "so cleverly makes up that he resembles the slave owner of days gone by to a remarkable degree, investing this type with a certain distinction" (McAllister, 2011: 113).

Critics were enthusiastic about the original production of the *Emperor Jones* and Gilpin's performance. Heywood Broun for the *Tribune* said that Gilpin's acting was "the most thrilling . . . we have seen any place this season. . . . It is a performance of heroic stature" (Gelb, 1962: 447). The heroism was absent from the Wooster Group's production in 1993, which was revived in 2006. Charles Gilpin gave what Heywood Broun called "heroic stature" to the role of Jones. In the Wooster Group's production, Jones was played by a woman (Kate Valk) in blackface, seated in a wheel chair and using a microphone. Instead of "heroic stature," Kate Valk makes Jones a blackface minstrel. Her performance takes note that O'Neill has Brutus Jones speaking a language based on the theatrical idiom of blackface minstrelsy rather than on that of actual people in their everyday lives. For example, at the beginning of scene five of *The Emperor Jones*, Jones, frantic and delirious, is trying to escape some Caribbean islanders whom he has bilked. He has just hallucinated a scene of the time he killed his friend Jeff in a dice game and says—

> Lawd Jesus, heah my prayer! I'se a po' sinner, a po' sinner! I knows I done wrong, I knows it! When I cotches Jeff cheatin' wid loaded dice my anger overcomes me and I kills him dead! Lawd, I done wrong! (O'Neill, 1954: 26).

> [Lord Jesus hear my prayer! I am a poor sinner, a poor sinner! I know that I did wrong, I know it! When I caught Jeff cheating with loaded dice my anger overcame me and I killed him dead! Lord, I did wrong!]

Blackface characters and dice were a regular part of minstrelsy, and an actor speaking this language could just as well be telling an audience "how de first white man cum . . . 'pon de face of dis yer circumlar globe." Even though O'Neill's language smacks of nineteenth-century minstrelsy, when I saw the 2006 revival of *The Emperor Jones*, Kate Valk gave the language a haunting rhythm and poetry. O'Neill's play in its time was praised for innovation, yet the Wooster Group production discloses that it looks backward to the time of minstrel shows.



Kate Valk as Brutus Jones in the Wooster Group's *The Emperor Jones*
Photo: © Paula Court

Blackface performance is not unique to the United States. Arlecchino wore a black mask in Italian *commedia dell' arte* (Brockett, 2003: 180) and English Morris dancers and mummers blacked up (Brockett, 2003: 102). The Molly Maguires in Ireland blackened their faces and wore women's clothes. Nor was blackface in the United States always associated with Africans. "In the vast Christmas processions of antebellum Philadelphia, blackface spread rapidly to become the 'most common

disguise' in the festival masking shortly after its first use in 1829" (Roediger, 1991: 105). Nevertheless, the presence of widespread African slavery in the United States, gave a particular significance to American blackface as performers blacked up to represent enslaved and freed Africans.

The northern white population faced with a sudden irruption of freed black Africans, many of whom were coming north to industrial cities, turned to blackface minstrelsy in large numbers. One of the main venues of minstrel performance in New York was Mechanics Hall, the home of the famous Christy Minstrels for several years. The very name indicates the audience it sought to attract. For the working-class audience in competition with freed slaves for jobs and social status, blackface actors could stand in for actual African Americans and thereby replace actual black people with a theatrical fiction. This fictive repeal of emancipation allowed white audiences to avoid dealing with the unruly and unpredictable variety of actual black people and to turn their attention to the managed and controlled artistic creations of the minstrel stage. Blackface performance emancipated white audiences from having to come to terms with the complex and varied reality of freed black slaves.

Blackface minstrelsy has often been considered simply racist and vulgar. Frederic Douglass wrote that blackface minstrels were "the filthy scum of white society…" (Cited by Roediger, 1991: 15 from the *North Star,* October 27, 1848). More recently, in his 2012 forward to *Darkest America*, Mel Watkins cites the authors' characterization of blackface minstrelsy as "based precisely on the adoption of the most slanderous fictions that white people have used to characterize black men" (Taylor and Austen, 2012: xiii).

American blackface however is not so simple. Jim Crow on stage and Jim Crow in law rest on the assumption that black and white can be exactly determined. If Jim Crow laws are to segregate black and white, the boundary between them must be clearly marked. Hence the anxiety about miscegenation expressed in Jim Crow laws prohibiting interracial marriage, which were not declared unconstitutional until 1967 in *Loving v. Virginia*. Plays like *The Octoroon* blurred the line between white and black. A white actor in blackface played the black character Pete and a white actor without blackface played the 'black' character Zoe. Though the character Zoe appears white, she is black. P. T. Barnum, according to Thomas Low Nichols had to disguise the black William Henry Lane as a white actor in blackface in order to make him acceptable to an all white audience in an all white (except for Lane) cast. Blackface performances undermine the very dichotomy on which they depend. Audiences mistake the blacked up minstrel for an actual black performer. A minstrel performer named Sam Sanford reported that the owner of the boarding house where he and his company were staying wanted to come and see the show. Afterwards the landlord told Sanford, "I looked around but did not see you." Sanford replied that they were there and "if you was you could not help but see us." The landlord said, "I saw no one but the Negroes" (Lhamon, 1998: 172-173). The landlord was unaware that

his white guests were the blacked-up 'Negroes' he had seen on stage. The minstrel version of the story of Cain and Abel makes Adam and Eve black and a white skin is the mark that God puts on Cain to show that he is a murderer. The rebellious end men with their vernacular antics triumph over the authority and the correct speech of the interlocutor who is sometimes white. Blackface performance deploys a kind of surreptitious emancipatory escape from rigid social categories based on skin color. It constructs an artificial world of distinct categories of black and white only to blur and undermine them. As Virginia R. Dominguez writes, "[In legal history] we find ample evidence of the changeability and arbitrariness of the boundaries of legally instituted racial categories" (Dominguez, 1986: 267). She begins her book with the celebrated case of Susie Phipps, who, when she applied for a passport in 1982 discovered that according to her birth certificate she was legally black though she had always considered herself white and other members of her family were identified as white on legal documents (Dominguez, 1986: 1 ff.). Susie Phipps in actual life had entered the fictional world of blackface performance; a world that declares an emancipation from strict racial categories and defines a space where a woman like Susie Phipps can be both black and white at the same time.

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It's Not About American Football: Tony Dungy's Journey of Self-Emancipation from Rejected Black Quarterback to Celebrated African American Coach

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It's Not About American Football: Tony Dungy's Journey of Self-Emancipation from Rejected Black Quarterback to Celebrated African American Coach

No se trata de fútbol americano: la emancipación de Tony Dungy, de marginado *quarterback* negro a célebre entrenador afro-americano

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Abstract

The ideals of individual freedom and universal equality contrast with the persistence of oppression and inequality worldwide, making every case study of practical progress toward freedom and equality valuable. The example of Coach Tony Dungy, the first African American to lead a Super Bowl championship team, is an instance of incremental self-emancipation. Dungy's competitive nature shows up in everything he writes and says, but his emphasis on commitment to self-improvement and community-building illustrates the possibilities of individual and collective progress. Dungy's narrative, seen in the context of Jacques Ranciere's theoretical approach, is an instructive example of "intellectual equality." Ranciere insists that we are all intellectual equals, and Dungy's autobiographical writing exemplifies a pragmatic application of this attitude, which also suggests a theoretical and practical approach to the development of community through a process of dedicated self-emancipation.

Keywords: Tony Dungy; community; individual; intellectual equality; self-emancipation; third thing.

Resumen

Los ideales de la libertad individual e igualdad universal contrastan con la persistencia de la opresión y desigualdad mundial, y por lo tanto cada estudio hacia la libertad y la igualdad se hace valioso. El ejemplo del entrenador de fútbol americano Tony Dungy, el primer afroamericano en entrenar un equipo que ganó la Super Bowl, es un ejemplo de auto-emancipación gradual. La naturaleza competitiva de Dungy está presente en todo lo que él escribe y dice, pero el énfasis otorgada a su compromiso con la autosuperación y la creación de comunidad

ilustran las posibilidades del progreso tanto a nivel individual como colectivo. La narrativa de Dungy, vista en el contexto del enfoque teórico de Jacques Ranciere, es un ejemplo didáctico de "igualdad intelectual." Ranciere insiste en que todos poseemos igualdad de intelecto y la escritura autobiográfica de Dungy ejemplifica una aplicación pragmática de esta actitud, la cual sugiere un enfoque teórico y práctico al desarrollo de una comunidad a través de un proceso de auto-emancipación dedicada.

Palabras clave: Tony Dungy; Comunidad; Individuo; Igualdad de intelecto; Auto-emancipación; Tercera cosa.

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Sumario: 1. Introduction. 2. Dungy and Religion. 3. Dungy and Race. 4. Emancipation. 5. Dungy's "Quiet Strength". 6. Conclusion. 7. Bibliography.

1. INTRODUCTION

A surprise bestseller by an unassuming man thrust into the American sports spotlight by his team's Super Bowl victory in 2007 is the occasion for a consideration of something "more than football." In fact, Coach Tony Dungy's memoir is explicitly about "the world we can change for the better" (Dungy, 2007: xv). With friend and Harvard Law School graduate Nathan Whittaker's help, Dungy writes early on, "The point of this book is not the Super Bowl. In fact, it's not football" (Dungy, 2007: xiv). More than anything else, this autobiographical document is about incremental self-emancipation in a country associated with both the ideal of personal freedom and with a vexed history of slavery, oppression, persecution, discrimination, prejudice, and ongoing bias. At this writing, 150 years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the United States continues to confront racial and egalitarian challenges, as evidenced by legal processes from the criminal courts to The Supreme Court, and in popular culture from issues involving name-calling celebrities and athletes to subjects in cinema.

Dungy's memoir helped to reinvigorate the constructive discussion of race and power in professional sport in the United States, and did it by presenting a positive story of an exemplary person and citizen. Using his religious faith as a buffer, Dungy indirectly addresses issues of civil rights and social justice through the medium of American professional football, with dozens of examples from his own life to show the details of sometimes very subtle discrimination. When the Indianapolis Colts won the 2007 Super Bowl, it was not just about football, and it was not even just about the first African American coach to lead a team to a Super Bowl victory:

according to Coach Dungy, it was about religion, family, character, community, and purpose in life. It was also about what Dungy said he could do to "level the playing field for everyone." And, according to a view of the lingering history of the struggle for civil rights, it was about Selma, the origin of two signature marches in 1965. As a Spelman College professor of Dungy's daughter said, referring to Dungy's triumphant appearance on the Super Bowl podium, "This is why we marched...to see your dad standing up there" (Dungy, 2007: 292).

Jacques Ranciere's celebration of fellow Frenchman Joseph Jacotot (1770-1840) has much to say about Dungy's approach to life. In *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*, Ranciere writes, "What interests us is the exploration of the powers of any man when he judges himself equal to everyone else and judges everyone else equal to him" (Ranciere, 1991: 56). Dungy, the conservative African American sporting figure whose achievements made him an unlikely celebrity, and Ranciere, the radical French philosopher, differ on many things, but they agree that the world can be changed for the better. For the paperback edition of his bestselling "life," *Quiet Strength*, Dungy added a new chapter, which culminates with this declaration:

> Whether you are a friend to a bullied boy in middle school, a ray of light in your neighborhood book club, a supportive coach for a high school team, an available shoulder to someone at a time of loss, or a hand held out to a child looking for a little hope, we can all change the course of our nation and world, one life at a time, for the rest of our lives. (Dungy, 2007: 317).

This down-to-earth, straightforward bit of inspirational rhetoric is almost matched in content (if not style) by Ranciere, when he concludes his essay, "The Emancipated Spectator" (in the book of the same name) with this claim:

> To dismiss the fantasies of the word made flesh and the spectator rendered active, to know that words are merely words and spectacles merely spectacles, can help us arrive at a better understanding of how words and images, stories and performances, can change something of the world we live in. (Ranciere, 2011: 23)

Despite questions about the meaning of sport (whether it is a trivial entertainment or a substantial, character- and community-building enterprise), Ranciere's statement suggests that autobiographical narratives like Dungy's are worth regarding with qualified hope. In this, the French philosopher is anticipating the moral and civic substance of the coach. In fact, Ranciere's work suggests that storytelling itself (or "recounting") is a practice that "verifies" equality (Ranciere, 1991: xxii). Both writers indicate that it is with the individual person that "change" begins, and it is through the concerted efforts of individual persons working together that communities and societies grow healthier. These are not original thoughts, but the ways that these two writers construct their arguments are worth exploring, and they are particularly

interesting in light of Dungy's racial status in the United States and Ranciere's theory of universal intellectual equality and individual agency as propounded in his earlier work, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, based on Jacotot's educational theory. Ranciere's approach indirectly exposes the hypocrisy regarding what most people claim to believe in: the ideal of equality. When we interrogate our attitudes and behaviors, we discover the actuality, which is that we habitually judge the intellectual capacities of people with whom we interact, rarely presuming an equality of intelligence.

We can profitably investigate the nature of Dungy's autobiographical project of personal transparency by applying Ranciere's concepts of "the ignorant schoolmaster," "the emancipated spectator," and theater-as-spectacle (translating this to large sporting events). In the process of writing his memoir, Dungy becomes a spectator of his own spectacular professional career, a retrospective witness to his life-long personal quest for equality through American football. In the end, absent an ambition to do it, Dungy effectively opens the way for African American breakthroughs of many kinds, even perhaps contributing ever so slightly to the national mood that would result in the 2008 election of President Barack Obama. Ranciere, following Jacotot, insists that equality is "not an end to attain, but a point of departure, a *supposition* to maintain in every circumstance" (Ranciere, 1991: 138). This attitude explains the success of public figures like Dungy and Obama in the face of vestigial racism and lingering institutional biases.

2. DUNGY AND RELIGION

In the particular case of the interesting literary document that is the Dungy memoir, religious faith (apparently of a Protestant Christian variety) is foregrounded and emphasized throughout, beginning with a celebrity endorsement in the form of a preface by actor Denzel Washington and his wife. Of course, in analyses of this kind, the invocation of a particular religious faith, with all of the possible idiosyncratic aspects involved, can be a source of confusion. There are many kinds of faith, from the extremely formal, organizational types to the intensely personal ones. For my purpose, let us admit that even self-professed intellectual atheists will acknowledge that pledging oneself to the public profile of "intellectual" is itself an act of faith, positing something to believe in when everything else appears doubtful.

Dungy, by most standards, is not an intellectual. He is an athlete (in the American vernacular, a "jock") and a true believer when it comes to religion and what citizens of the U.S. often refer to as "America," with all of the idealist and exceptionalist associations that this implies. But he was also brought up as a true believer in "education," in learning and growing, self-improvement, and the educational side of Christian devotional practice. Even when his son committed suicide, he asked himself, "What can I learn from this?" (Dungy, 2007: 261). In fact, if one approaches faith skeptically, one sees the relation to superstition and the down- or dark side of

religion, where the bliss of serene confidence seems to be based on the ignorance of actuality. For example, another category vital to Dungy is faith in the utility of sport—that it teaches valuable lessons to young people. In a fundamental way, every individual's idiosyncratic belief system is unique because no one can precisely articulate and scientifically verify the exact origin and sequence of their belief system. Therefore, there is no guarantee that what any individual thinks, hopes, and believes is identical to what anyone else privately believes. Dungy's personal tendencies are exemplified in his characteristic use of scripture, for example in his emphasis on the "The Book of Nehemiah" as a kind of manual containing "leadership lessons" (Dungy, 2007: 86). Dungy also presents an almost cartoonish application of the story of David and Goliath, where the violence of the "the sword" is highlighted as a method of encouraging his team to make sure that they "finished the job" with the adversary that had been their nemesis (Dungy, 2007: 282).

Although the following discussion might be seen to underplay the religious content of Dungy's memoir, let us acknowledge that religious faith accompanied by daily devotion and practice helps narrow and control many of the anxiety-inducing choices that fuller and fuller freedom entails, including transitions from childhood to adulthood, minority to authority, powerlessness to power, anonymity to fame, and poverty to wealth. As constraints diminish for any individual—owing to good fortune, hard work, or generous help—other challenges appear and can become constraints themselves. Dungy refers to "adversity" that comes "both from the outside and from within" (Dungy, 2007: 87). The analysis that follows, then, largely ignores religion, while acknowledging Dungy's repeated emphasis on "God" and (mostly in vain) listening for God's voice. In Dungy's case, it is clear that, in addition to his "can-do" attitude and his workaholic tendencies, his religious faith allows him to select out many of his worries and assign them to the control of God, thereby reducing his day-to-day anxieties about life-and-death issues and permitting him to focus on his team—and winning. After all, the sub-title of his memoir puts the accent on the notion of "winning": "The Principles, Practices, and Priorities of a Winning Life." Presumably, in the self-help sense, readers learn how to avoid being "losers." In the chapter entitled "Putting God First," Dungy alludes to the ultimate loss, quoting from "The Gospel According to Mathew," 16:26, *"And what do you benefit if you gain the whole world but lose your own soul?"* (Dungy, 2007: 51—Dungy's italics).

3. DUNGY AND RACE

In addition to a de-emphasis on Dungy's religion, this discussion might also be accused of downplaying racial issues in American society. After all, the argument might go, Dungy was a comparatively privileged African American whose athletic ability was given preference by the white establishment, just as entertainers are often accorded special status. I acknowledge the legitimacy of the argument but

nevertheless choose, for the purpose of a general approach to what I am calling "incremental emancipation," to bypass large-scale political issues pertaining to race in favor of a case-by-case approach. Still, racial issues will be an important factor in the discussion, as will the nature of sport and of contemporary masculinity, especially fatherhood. Nevertheless, the primary emphasis is on the self-emancipation of each unique, individual human being, no matter their race or gender, including interpersonal relationships and a relationship to the establishment or the power structure. Although race continues to rise to the top of American political discourse because of a variety of incidents, legal cases, and political issues, this discussion has implications that transcend race. As with individual members of racial minorities, there are obvious parallels among females and homosexuals in their respective quests for complete control of their personal and professional lives. The oscillation between individual emancipation and group emancipation will continue to condition this discussion. Kristin Ross, in her Introduction to *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, calls Ranciere's project "an essay, or perhaps a fable or parable, that enacts an extraordinary philosophical meditation on equality" (Ranciere, 1991; ix). Then, in a footnote that represents the special case of Dungy's self-emancipation, she adds, "In the United States today [1991]...arguments about equality invariably turn on the subject of race—not surprisingly in the only major industrial nation built on a legacy of domestic slavery" (Ranciere, 1991: ix).

Through books and public appearances, Dungy is well-known for his commitment to his own life's purpose and for promoting the development of a life purpose in his players, colleagues, and the readers of his books. His life experience as a son, brother, husband, father, athlete, manager of athletes, community leader, African American role model, and spokesperson for various causes and groups is recounted in his memoir in a way that allows us to see the stages of his self-emancipation. Specifically, Dungy's personal and professional experiences—like any well-documented life experience—allow us to explore the challenges confronted by the individual human being in negotiating the biases inherent in their situation. Dungy's adult life has been spent in the institution of American professional football, as embodied in The National Football League (NFL) and its member organizations, which are dominated by white male owners, general managers, and coaches—a power structure that replicates that of American society.

4. EMANCIPATION

"Emancipation" as a word in English can be traced back to the notion of purchasing or transferring property. For my purposes, I will not distinguish between emancipation and other stages of personal independence, growth, and development. I want to investigate a spectrum of emancipation that, to oversimplify, can be seen to vary from a zero base of abject, hopeless, lifelong slavery to the universal, if

vague, ideal of complete independence and self-directed thought and action, a concept that has acquired many names, including "self-actualization," "self-control," and "agency." Much if not most of the idealistic thought and purposeful action of leading thinkers and politicians in the past few centuries has been aimed at creating conditions conducive to the individual citizen's optimal freedom within the framework of a stable community. In addition to locating examples of this set of priorities in philosophy, psychology, political science, religion, and literature, we can find innumerable examples in the life stories of individuals, as documented by themselves and others. Autobiographical writing offers a special set of documents of this kind. For my purposes, with Dungy's memoir, I am particularly focused on self-conscious stories and statements that relate to the ways in which sport is supposed to contribute to personal growth, relationships, and community. *Quiet Strength* offers abundant anecdotes that purport to illustrate personal development that fosters self-emancipation: the perennial struggle for liberation aimed at maximizing individual freedom.

Suffering is a characteristic of the human condition, but, no matter how bad things are for one individual, that person is usually aware of the existence of many other people who are enduring greater suffering. Aware of the hundreds of millions of human beings living in appalling conditions, we all feel the simple, poignant sense of unfairness that Joyce's Leopold Bloom expresses at the sight of the "blind stripling": "Where is the justice being born that way?" (Joyce, 1986: 149). If we look at healthy middle class citizens of functioning societies, such a question may at first appear irrelevant, but the challenge of self-emancipation is still at issue because full freedom is not given with general health and welfare; it must be earned every day. Psychologically and emotionally, an individual can be bound to tyrannies of anxiety, addiction, or sorrow. It goes without saying that even very wealthy people and very famous ones suffer. To liberate ourselves from what are often referred to as our "demons" is the work of many years, and the dedicated work of each day. There is no underestimating the uncertainties and anxieties of unlimited freedom in the face of "normal" challenges, even for human beings who seem particularly fortunate.

Of course, slavery has existed in many places and times, and it persists in various forms today. For our purposes, let us define it as the arrangement that allows one human being to be used by another human being as an object, tool, or machine, without consent. If a person is not a slave—as most of us are not—that person can still be the victim of circumstances that cause suffering and diminish liberty. We speak of victims of natural disasters, persecution, exploitation, discrimination, bias, and prejudice. We might guess that every identifiable racial and ethnic sub-group has experienced some degree of oppression at one time in their history. At this writing, the number of such ill-treated groups remains high, and their localities many. In most functioning democracies, outright persecution and permanent oppression is not as obvious as the lesser evils of discrimination and prejudice. Subtle and not-so-subtle

biases live on, certainly, especially in local cases and individual cases. Nothing I say here is intended to apply to everyone, everywhere; rather, I am interested in representative, individual human beings struggling to free themselves from their own special constraints. Tony Dungy is the particular case.

Given the association of emancipation with transferring and purchasing, my view is that we must all purchase our own freedoms in some way every day, and we must be vigilant to avoid selling ourselves (and sacrificing our freedoms) in any way that we are not aware of, as well as in the more obvious ways. Emancipation is often associated with something someone with power executes in order to free someone without power, or, as in the case of the British Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, to permit citizens to do things that they had previously been prohibited from doing. The American case of President Abraham Lincoln's political move to issue The Emancipation Proclamation (1 January 1863) is such an example. However, people can have a hand in emancipating themselves, for example minors who wish to do business on their own and achieve their independence from parents and guardians by filing petitions with the appropriate jurisdiction. More generally, we have come to accept a kind of cognitive responsibility of the sort articulated by Eleanor Roosevelt in her well-known, bumper-sticker-worthy phrase, "No one can make you feel inferior without your consent."

Inferiority, then, is another way of approaching the subject, and perceived intellectual inferiority is the root of much inequality and even oppression. Ranciere, echoing Jacotot, argues that intellectual inequality stems from "stultification": "There is stultification whenever one intelligence is subordinated to another" (Ranciere, 1991: 13). Opposed to stultification is emancipation, which relies on the encouraging assistance of another person without the oppression and inequality of condescension associated with what Ranciere-Jacotot find odious in "explication," or the pedant's tendency to condescend to the student. Ranciere defines emancipation this way: "We will call the known and maintained difference of the two relations—the act of an intelligence obeying only itself while the will obeys another will—*emancipation*" (Ranciere, 1991: 13). This is the path of Dungy's career, learning as a player from coaches and as an assistant coach from head coaches, but refusing to subordinate his own intelligence to another's, and without indulging in elaborate explication (nor tolerating it from others). Dungy's father's claim—"We taught ourselves how to fly"—suggested that men considered inferior or "ignorant" could help one another achieve equality in the air (Dungy, 2007: 16). No explication was involved—only the claim that there was an inherent ability to learn, a capacity equal to that of anyone else. By working together, "The Tuskegee Airmen"—the common name for the project that provided airplanes for the African Americans—asserted their equality, intellectual and otherwise (Dungy, 2007: 15).

In a section entitled "The Community of Equals," we see the full extent of Ranciere's poetic notion that individuals unite to create community:

> To unite mankind, there is no better link than this identical intelligence in everyone. It is this that is the just measure of similarity, igniting that gentle penchant of the heart that leads us to help each other and love each other. It is this that gives someone the means for measuring the extent of the services that he can hope for from his fellow-man and of devising ways of showing him his appreciation. (Ranciere, 1991: 71)

Like Richard Rorty in *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, Ranciere emphasizes individual, idiosyncratic pleasures and pains. Rorty observes, "All human beings carry about a set of words which they employ to justify their actions, their beliefs, and their lives" (Rorty, 1989: 73). Ranciere, immediately after the passage about uniting mankind, which evokes a notion similar to Rorty's "solidarity," writes,

> The principal service that man can expect from man depends on that faculty of intercommunicating their pleasure and pain, hopes and fears, in order to be moved reciprocally…." (Ranciere, 1991: 72)

At this point, Ranciere reverts to Jacotot himself, who had written,

> If men didn't have the faculty, an equal faculty, they would soon become strangers to each other; they would scatter at random throughout the globe and societies would be dissolved….The exercise of that power is at once the sweetest of our pleasures and the most demanding of our needs. (Qtd. in Ranciere, 1991: 72).

Jacotot's almost-forgotten work insists on the primacy of human relationship. Familiar as we now are with the self-help industry, we are aware that human relationships, in order to succeed by contemporary standards, demand commitment, creativity, and the reciprocity we call "give-and-take." Even more difficult than are intimate one-on-one relationships are the relationships among many individuals that are required for a healthy community to develop and thrive. Underpinning all such idealistic enterprises are the fundamental notions of freedom and equality—of not being coerced into participating in relationships or groups, and of being seen as the equal of the other individuals involved.

The world-famous founding document that led to the creation of The United States of America speaks of a "self-evident" concept articulated in the words "all men are created equal." This claim of self-evidence is related to the work of Jacotot, whose "intellectual adventures" Ranciere champions. In the context of "The Declaration of Independence," however, the complications, ironies, and outright hypocrisies inherent in this bold statement are also self-evident, relating to issues of race and gender that are by now so well-publicized that do not require reciting. Alternatively, Ranciere's recuperation of Jacotot's notion of "the ignorant schoolmaster," based on the radical notion that every person is the equal of every other in terms of "intelligence," offers a fresher and more fruitful exploration. Kristin Ross concludes her introductory essay with this forceful claim: "*The Ignorant Schoolmaster* forces us to confront what any

number of nihilistic, neo-liberal philosophies would have us avoid: the founding term of our political modernity, *equality*" (Ranciere, 1991: xxiii).

The Jacotot-Ranciere position that presumes equality of intelligence highlights what each of us, without interrogating it, naturally assumes: that there are obvious and undeniable differences in intelligence. Despite the well-publicized work of Howard Gardner on "multiple intelligences," which points to the capacity "to solve problems or fashion products" that are "valued in at least one community or culture" (Gardner, 2006: 29), individual intelligence is frequently and crudely judged, measured, and criticized, both formally and informally. In fact, most of us semi-consciously enjoy feeling superior to certain others; perhaps, astonishingly, we also enjoy feeling the superiority of certain *other* others, whom we prefer to, as the saying goes, "look up to." We make casual and uncomplimentary appraisals of one another's intellects as a matter of course as a part of "small-talk" that, like it or not, most of us indulge in without any apparent shame. Given our habits, it is a challenge for most of us to imagine the possibility that everyone we see today is, in Ranciere's terms, our intellectual equal; you are mine, and I am yours. As Ranciere puts it,

> Intellectual emancipation is the verification of the equality of intelligence. This does not signify the equal value of all manifestations of intelligence, but the self-intelligence separated by a gulf. The human animal learns everything in the same way as it initially learnt its mother tongue…. (Ranciere, 2011: 10)

Reading Dungy's memoir in light of the Jacotot-Ranciere claim allows us to understand his life experience in new terms. An African American athlete and coach, now famous for his achievement in American professional football's ultimate event, The Super Bowl, Dungy has now had occasion to study his own life. The Super Bowl is the pre-eminent event in North American sport, though not as widely-viewed worldwide as The Olympic Games, The FIFA World Cup, or The Cricket World Cup. Dungy's status in the U.S. is now assured, and his celebrity is untarnished by scandal. When he looks at his own life, what he sees is the struggle to be equal, but more: he sees the ceaseless work he put into being a free person—work that can never be permanently accomplished.

5. DUNGY'S "QUIET STRENGTH"

In the ordinary, apparently non-intellectual segments of society, we can find fascinating examples of the rhetorical principles that our intellectual work seeks to understand and practice. According to Jacotot's approach, so-called ordinary people are the intellectual equals of so-called extraordinary people. Jacotot's lesson is exemplified in the writing of both Ranciere and Dungy, two very different kinds of people whose only common ground—in addition to humanity—is a professional work ethic that has resulted in extraordinary accomplishment and plentiful

publication. Despite their work, the persistent and prejudicial division into inferiority and superiority is one that will not soon disappear. However, as individuals, we have the choice to seek and claim superiority or to promote the presumption of equality.

To understand just how dramatic and revolutionary the presumption of equality is, let us go back a very few years. Imagine someone widely considered to be intellectually inferior in a leadership position. In particular, consider the circumstance of a young man deemed inferior being given the opportunity to be the on-field leader (the quarterback) of a prominent college football team of mostly Caucasian athletes in the 1970s. More extreme still, ask what kind of professional franchise owner or coach would consider the radical idea of employing a "black quarterback." Like every kind of history, the actual American college and NFL history is much more complicated, with multiple anomalies and anachronisms; however, for all practical purposes, there was an unspoken, unwritten ban on African Americans in positions of leadership. Further, if the franchise owner hires "an African-American" to coach his team, this pillar of the community is in effect granting the inferior person a key leadership role in that community. Until recently, for the team owners (and for most fans), it was unthinkable. After Dungy, it has become more common, but white coaches still predominate in the NFL.

The ban on African Americans as leaders in sport is something that contemporary American sports fans tend to think of as historical. We take it for granted that the notion of black coaches' and quarterbacks' inferiority, inadequacy, and impracticality is obsolete. However, we cannot understand the significance of Dungy's struggle if we don't acknowledge that, a little more than forty years ago, he was the exception. Even though Dungy had been a successful college quarterback, he would get no opportunity to pursue that position in professional football. The social, political, and business norms all deemed persons of color incapable of leadership at the professional level. They weren't "smart" enough; they were intellectually inferior.

From his then-predictable rejection as a "black quarterback" in the NFL in 1977 and his subsequent failure to make it in a new position, to his ultimate triumph as an "African American coach" twenty years later, Dungy's story echoes the struggles of pioneers like Major League Baseball's first African American, Jackie Robinson, who began the desegregation of that major sport as early as 1947. Interestingly, the candid content of Dungy's mostly transparent memoir is complicated by the need to be open about living apart from his family, to confess his inability to understand his son's suicide, and to admit the statistics about the appalling post-NFL lives of many former football players, who suffer permanent injuries such as chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), divorce, bankruptcy, addiction, crime, and suicide at higher rates than the rest of the population. Starting with his father's membership in The Tuskegee Airmen—and the remarkable claim, "We taught ourselves how to fly"—Dungy and his co-writer Nathan Whitaker construct a story of incremental emancipation through openness, intending to de-mystify the spectacle of American

professional football while privileging the ideals of purpose, character, family, community, equality, and faith. Dungy's character and values, according to the memoir, were not only shaped by his educator parents, but also by an incident in high school that led to his temporary boycott of the football team on the grounds of perceived racial discrimination. The narrative also addresses concepts of success and failure, winning and losing, and meaning and purpose in life.

Dungy's memoir, ambitiously sub-titled "The Principles, Practices, & Priorities of a Winning Life," is candid but often self-contradictory, almost by definition. An explicitly Christian approach to a violent sport with numerous pragmatic compromises between kindness and toughness necessarily makes for some perplexing moments, highlighted by Dungy's coaching emphasis on "whatever it takes" to win (Dungy, 2007: 116). In documenting his life and enunciating his principles, Dungy recounts the highlights and low points of his journey to the Super Bowl with a mixture of idealism and opportunism. He uses the Bible as a practical guidebook throughout, including emphasis on an Old Testament book not often employed in traditional Protestant teaching:

> I learned three key truths from Nehemiah. First, Nehemiah's opportunity came in God's time, not his own. Second, Nehemiah diligently prepared his mind and his heart so he would be ready when God's time arrived. Third, Nehemiah needed to be prepared to take on the problems, doubt, and adversity that would come his way both from the outside and from within. (Dungy, 2007: 87)

Dungy is always trying to be prepared, in his profession and in his life. His attention to detail and consistency of purpose in the "ordinary things" echoes Ranciere's assessment of Jacotot's approach: "…it is the lack of will that causes intelligence to make mistakes. The mind's original sin is not haste, but distraction, absence" (Ranciere, 1991: 55). Furthermore, "The individual cannot lie to himself; he can only forget himself" (Ranciere, 1991: 57). Dungy's greatest challenges would come from absence and, perhaps, forgetting what it was like when he was a teenager.

In his memoir, Dungy goes to great lengths to remember himself—and to be truthful. He relates both typical and unique stories of growing up and facing the adult world, from the lack of enfranchisement all children and young people experience, to the struggles to overcome various forms of prejudice and discrimination—overt and covert, explicit and subtle—and finally to the tyranny of sorrow (after his son's suicide) and the shame of public perception of his possibly hypocritical positions and behaviors. By becoming the co-author of his autobiographical narrative, and having to confront facts and anecdotes dredged up by his collaborator, Dungy found himself in the role of spectator of his own life, not always with happy results. Ranciere, speaking of theatre in "The Emancipated Spectator," makes an observation that can apply to professional sport and even autobiographical writing:

> For in all these performances what is involved is linking what one knows with what one does not know; being at once a performer deploying her skills and a spectator observing what these skills might produce in a new context among other spectators. Like researchers, artists construct the stages where the manifestation and effect of their skills are exhibited, rendered uncertain in the terms of the new idiom that conveys a new intellectual adventure. The effect of the idiom cannot be anticipated. It requires spectators who play the role of active interpreters, who develop their own translation in order to appropriate the 'story' and make it their own story. (Ranciere, 2011: 22)

In making his own story, Dungy is forthcoming about the awkwardness and near-shame of being an exemplar of family values and, specifically, fatherhood: "*How ironic,* I thought. *Here I am, a spokesman for the All Pro Dad program, helping others to be better parents, and my child took his own life*" (Dungy, 2007: 259; italicized in the original).

Despite the contradictions, *Quiet Strength* is a document that illuminates and illustrates, charts the progress and the possible paths to openness and access for American citizens, while suggesting a future that embraces difference and all the original ideals of the American experiment. The fascinating thing about Dungy the coach and autobiographer is the way he negotiates tradition and reform in the context of sport—and in the age of CTE and the recent emergence of the openly gay professional athletes. *Quiet Strength* embodies all the hopefulness and complexity of situating the American ideals of individuality, community, and equality in the context of American football. "An emancipated community," Ranciere writes, "is a community of narrators and translators" (Ranciere, 2011: 22). Dungy's book, though appearing to focus on football and his own life, narrates and translates the big picture of contemporary race issues in the United States while also detailing the mostly-hidden personal sacrifices in the struggle for fully open and equal membership in American society.

If emancipation is about removing constraints, then the question in any individual's case is, "What constraints are involved?" For minors, the constraint might be the legal definition of a full-fledged citizen. In the extreme case of a slave, it is a totalitarian condition that controls everything about one's day-to-day behavior. As a minor and a member of a racial minority, Dungy's youth was not stereotypical for the time. He enjoyed a middle-class existence in a college town, growing up with two parents who were educators, one with a Ph.D. and a college faculty position and the other teaching in the public schools. That kind of upbringing isn't unusual, except that, in Dungy's case, based on the expectations and prejudices of the time, he was seen as atypical because of his race, his intact family, and his almost complete freedom from segregated experience. Dungy was both different from African-American adolescents and different from his socio-economic peers. (The fact that his mother was Canadian may also add an element of cultural difference.) Despite

the comparative advantages he had, Dungy embodies Ranciere's interpretation of Jacotot's principles. "Liberty is not guaranteed by any preestablished harmony," Ranciere writes. "It is taken, it is won, it is lost, solely by each person's effort" (Ranciere, 1991: 62).

As a child and a young adult, Dungy had many advantages, and the freedom to develop his character, personality, and skills. He describes his adolescent self as a "gym rat," a term associated with kids who love basketball. Oddly, basketball was his first love, so when an incident of perceived injustice affected his high school football career—a white player was given a co-captain position when a black player may have deserved it—he was quick to sacrifice football in favor of basketball. He stood on principle, and he would not budge for many months. It took the urging of a sympathetic adult (an African American administrator in Dungy's school) to encourage him to return to the football team, a development that was crucial to his future success. The willingness to give up football shows how completely committed Dungy was to the concept of fairness as a young adult. The story of his father's World War II experience as a "Tuskegee Airman" was instrumental in helping the young Dungy understand the process of self-emancipation. The now widely-known facts of the case, highlighted by a recent American film, *Red Tails*, involve the conceptualization of teaching oneself in collaboration with "ignorant" others. The clear implication is that, when there are barriers to your goals, you can find ways through, around, or over them.

The key to self-emancipation is, paradoxically, that one can't do it all by oneself. Supportive and collaborative relationships are essential. Often, learning from a position of intellectual equality is a matter of very practical triangulation, what Ranciere calls the "third thing" (Ranciere, 2011: 14). That "third thing" can be a person, an artifact (like a coach's "game film"), a document, or even a story (like the story about Dungy's father and his fellow Tuskegee Airmen, teaching themselves how to fly). In Dungy's case, as a middle-class young person, he also had role models and advisors, supportive and accomplished parents, and what he calls "God-given ability." However, only through the advice, support, and active promotion of others does Dungy's athletic career survive. When he commits himself to American professional football as a career path, he is fortunate to be given an opportunity with the best team in the NFL, The Pittsburgh Steelers, where older players take him under their protection, spiritually as much as anything. The high-paid professional athlete, typically a very young man, encounters well-publicized temptations, and Dungy credits mentors for his success in avoiding them. His experiences as a player are short-lived, but, largely because of his commitment to purposeful study of the strategy and tactics of the game, he quickly finds himself hired as the youngest member of a coaching staff in the NFL.

In his account of his professional career, Dungy mostly downplays the racism he faced, but he finally addresses it near the end of the book. He read racist letters

"when I was the defensive coordinator of the Vikings and still opened my own mail" (Dungy, 2007: 296). Later, when he had a large staff of assistants, whatever similar hate missives that continued to be sent his way were "intercepted before they hit my desk" (Dungy, 2007: 296). By minimizing his discussion of racial issues, Dungy uses his memoir to put the emphasis on aspects of life that are under the individual's personal control, as opposed to larger issues and forces in the culture that are the persistent subject of controversy, litigation, and even violence.

At every stage, Dungy confronts his own personal challenges by methodically defining them, deliberating about them (sometimes in collaboration with advisors), and identifying the resources that allow him to endure or even triumph. As he accumulates power within a given team structure, and ultimately in the NFL, Dungy increasingly acts to free himself and others from what he views as the unfair or even corrupt practices inherent in the professional system that is characterized by franchise owners who buy, sell, and trade players. Dungy's anecdotes cumulatively indicate that emancipation is ultimately individual and incremental, and for every liberating, intoxicating triumph there is an inevitable, sobering discovery: another constraint emerges in clear sight. The most challenging constraint is always an internal barrier of some kind, an idiosyncratic character issue that is so trivial and seemingly inconsequential to anyone else as to seem laughable. We all have these foibles, but most of us employ a less rigorous, systematic course of self-improvement. For Dungy, his carefully-constructed narrative documents a systematic use of the universe of American football to provide him with new challenges that he views as opportunities to improve. In his view, by participating in a game each week, whether winning or losing, he is immediately liberated from the past and offered the chance to proceed into the future by means of the next game. When one season ends, he can look forward to the next. For Dungy, the ultimate test is seeking present and future meaning by honoring a distinct set of purposes and priorities. He seeks to develop himself through his coaching, his family, and his community. He strives to build a rock-solid foundation for his life that transcends his professional career in football. He is looking for the ultimate significance, and he uses the telling of his own life story to find it.

Ross, in the "Translator's Introduction" to *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, notes that Ranciere criticizes the educational theories of Bourdieu, Althusser, and Milner for what he claims they have "in common: a lesson in inequality" (Ranciere, 1991: xix). Subsequently, she notes, "Storytelling then, in and of itself, or *recounting*—one of the two basic operations of intelligence according to Jacotot—emerges as one of the concrete acts or practices that verifies equality." Parenthetically, quoting Jacotot again, she adds that equality "is neither given nor claimed, it is practiced, it is *verified*" (Ranciere, 1991: xxii, italics in original).

Ultimately, a free person's greatest challenge is how to negotiate life's most difficult crises, whether they are physical injuries or illnesses, mental or emotional

problems, the death of loved ones, or a large-scale disaster. In the end, it is probably the tyranny of sorrow that constitutes the greatest oppression a free person faces. Dungy's account of his eldest son's unexplained suicide is such an example. The father's version of the story is fascinating, sometimes odd, and terribly poignant. The phrase "the demons he may have faced" is one of the few clues we are given about the cause of his son's death (Dungy, 2007: 250). He writes, "We didn't understand why Jamie had taken his life" (Dungy, 2007: 257). From the beginning of this extraordinary portion of the narrative, Dungy's explicit personal and rhetorical purposes in delivering his son's eulogy at the funeral (and then writing about it in the book) are clear and strong: "We were determined to make Jamie's funeral a celebration of his life—a 'homegoing,' we called it" (Dungy, 2007: 249). Dungy, spoke for "about twenty minutes at the conclusion of the service," beginning with the words, "It's great to be here today" (Dungy, 2007: 250). Here, Dungy affirms the importance of presence, in every sense, and it is, cruelly, just at this point where he is most exposed in relation to his elder son: Dungy wasn't always present for him, regardless of the father's oft-stated public commitment to family and his equally strong and well-publicized statements about priorities, in the memoir and in numerous speeches and television interviews. Without blaming any parent for a child's suicide, we can still acknowledge the trauma Dungy as a father faced: he was not able to be present when his son may have needed him. Here we have the crux of every weakness in strongly stated principles; we cannot always guarantee success. A "winning life" is not without enormous losses, whether they be the deaths of loved ones, the loss of a job (or even a career), or lesser temporary setbacks.

In fact, much of what any person must overcome in order to become as emancipated as possible is internal. This is what Ranciere calls "learning to overcome oneself," specifically "the pride that disguises itself as humility as an excuse for…incapacity" (Ranciere, 1991: 42). President Barack Obama addressed a related issue that specifically pertains to racial politics in the U.S., when he spoke at The Lincoln Memorial on the fiftieth anniversary of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. Obama decried attitudes and behaviors that amounted to acting "as if we have no agency in our own liberation" (Obama 2013: parag. 26). In fact, one's consciously adopted attitude toward life experience continues to be shown by cognitive psychology and medical research to be the foremost predictor of recovery and sustainable health. Dungy's own attitude is part athletic determination and part religious conviction. He invokes Psalm 34, which he quotes as follows in the book, with initial capitals: "I Will Bless the Lord at All Times" (Dungy, 2007: 250). He characterizes the "challenge" facing everyone in attendance as one of finding the joy that God provides "in the midst of a sad occasion" (Dungy, 2007: 250). This is an extraordinary public statement, spoken in the event and echoed in the book. Referring to the root character of a person, the foundational identity of a human, Dungy ends by asserting that "it's who you are inside" (Dungy, 2007: 255).

Who Dungy himself was can be seen in his "next decision" after the funeral. The owner of the team told him "to feel free to take the rest of the season off" (Dungy, 2007: 257) Dungy, characteristically, wanted to be at work, believing that this is what he should be doing, but he admits, "Jamie's death will never make sense to me" (Dungy, 2007: 260). However, real gratitude, authentic humility, and a generous orientation toward helping others do seem to free him from sorrow and from the agonizing whys (Dungy, 2007: 261). He explains that he "needed to figure out what good was supposed to come of this, even if it was still painful" (Dungy, 2007: 262)

One might well ask if this is the liberating spirit of self-emancipation or the refrain of the oppressed, overcome by circumstances too terrible to imagine. When are we bravely accepting of defeats in life, and when are we giving up or giving in? In fact, once we get beyond physical constraint and fundamental physiological needs, there is a psychological paradox when it comes to external forces, owing to the fact that many forms of perceived oppression are at least somewhat self-assigned. Dungy's version of best practices is clear: "Pressing on to help others is all I can do. It is all any of us can do" (Dungy, 2007: 263). Subsequent to winning the Super Bowl the year after his son's suicide, the humble Dungy records that he "thought of other African American coaches who might have done this had they gotten the chance" (Dungy, 2007: 296). In the final paragraph of the chapter added for the paperback edition, Dungy expands his message of emancipation by invoking God and stating that "we are all role models" (Dungy, 2007: 317).

The daily practice that Dungy describes and recommends is tantamount to a do-it-yourself (DIY) method of self-improvement that, one is tempted to say, only an aggressive coach could believe in. The simplicity of the approach is both elegant and sophomoric; the promised effectiveness begs the question of a fully intellectual inquiry into meaning and purpose in life. But the utility is undeniable. By adopting the circular argument for "quiet strength," one can be freed of the noisy weakness that we associate with all forms of contemporary life not completely limited by lack of food, shelter, and medical resources.

As Ranciere points out, Plato's advice about doing only that which you are meant to do (what Ranciere refers to as a "commandment" not to think) is radically limiting (Ranciere, 1991: 34). Dungy did not stop at being undrafted, or at being relegated to the lesser position of defensive back (from which he was also soon rejected); he became an assistant coach, a head coach, a bestselling author, a television commentator, and a public figure.

6. CONCLUSION

It is obvious that not every human being is as determined, resourceful, and fortunate as Dungy. In a section headed, "A Will Served by an Intelligence," contrasting Jacotot's theory with Cartesian notions, Ranciere declares that Jacotot's

work leads to the possibility of "a new thinking subject who is aware of himself through the action he exerts on himself as on other bodies" (Ranciere, 1991: 54). This certainly fits the Dungy approach: purposeful, goal-oriented, and collaborative. It is central to Jacotot-Ranciere as well. Jacotot (who knew no Flemish) offered his Flemish students (who knew no French) a bilingual edition of Fenelon's *Telemaque* to allow them to teach French to each other (Ranciere, 1991: 2). Dungy offers his own life (the book) as a third thing, just as Jacotot employs Fenelon and Ranciere uses Jacotot. It is not the master we learn from; we learn from the third thing in the presence of others. Looking at others' lives is like looking at "game film" (video is wonderful for ignorant school-mastering); looking at just about anything purposefully will do because "everything is in everything" (Ranciere, 1991: 41). We must look with equal others, and purposefully, with the intent of liberating both the self and the other, every single one of us, the entire human community.

There is no master to teach us, no explication that will help, no true self to find, only incremental learning, greater and greater awareness, commitment to purpose, and loyalty to the greatest principle we have: that we are all, somehow, equal, and that we will be better individuals and create healthier communities when we behave as equal intelligences equally working toward our own emancipation. As Ranciere puts it, "There is nothing to understand" (Ranciere, 1991: 23). We do not require condescending masters to tell us about ourselves; we only require liberty, will, and attention. Even the Socratic method is seen to be corrupt, relying as it does on the ignorance and even inferiority of the interlocutor. As Ranciere has it, we should interrogate "in order to be instructed, not to instruct" (Ranciere, 1991: 29).

By claiming equality of intelligence, I emancipate myself and I assert and support your own self-emancipation. It is indeed a lifelong DIY project, but support helps—and non-coercive coaching. Ultimately, we author our own lives (even if we never write a "life" of ourselves), and we help each other co-author our collective lives. What we must avoid is the pedagogical tendency—the tendency that employs a concept directly relating to the perpetuation of the ideal of slavery—to want to explicate for others. We must refuse to have ourselves explained by others, and we must desist from standing over others and talking down to them—lording it over them. We must find the middle ground between the narcissistic pleasure of pedagogical explication and the self-loathing inclination to seek masters of any kind, schoolmaster or otherwise. Coaching and co-authorship are useful models, as long as we act cooperatively with equal intelligence and reciprocal respect.

One final third thing must be re-emphasized here: purpose. Ranciere describes Jacotot's approach this way: "The method of equality was above all a method of the will" (Ranciere, 1991: 12). The ultimate emancipatory meta-purpose is a commitment to leading one's own life—to being one's own leader. The example of Dungy and the teachings of Jacotot suggest that to be the agent, the controlling force, and the final arbiter of one's intentions and behaviors is to take fundamental responsibility

for one's place in "the world." The world is, above all, that "third thing" we all share. Thus our fundamental purpose must be making the most of our lives in this world, by getting and giving help, by having everything possible in common with others of equal intelligence—which is everyone. It is an impossible quest but a universal human yearning worth trying to fulfill, and whatever old constraints we have yet to conquer, and whatever new ones await us, the process is always the same: we are equal to it, and we are as good as anyone else in terms of our intellectual resources. We can learn what we need from third things, and get and give the help that is required, to incrementally emancipate ourselves from our external limitations. We can strengthen our belief in equality by surrendering what Ranciere calls "the belief in inequality" (Ranciere, 2007: 40). Ranciere, interpreting Jacotot, writes that "know yourself" means "come back to yourself to know what you know to be unmistakably in you"—and it means "follow *your* path," using "the principle of veracity," which is "at the heart of the emancipation experience" (Ranciere, 1991: 57). We learn from Dungy and from Ranciere that we must see our own lives as something to be created, learned, advanced, and shared equally with others. All of this is possible when each of us insists on being our own master and leading our own life, by giving and taking among others whose human intelligence is, by its very nature, precisely the equal of ours.

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The Moral Arc of the Universe: Salvation as Emancipation

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El arco del universo moral: la salvación como emancipación

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Abstract

Many modern Christian understandings of salvation spiritualize and personalize salvation. Salvation is what makes it possible for an individual soul to spend eternity in heaven. Jewish and Christian notions of salvation are richer and more complicated, and include an understanding of salvation as emancipation from powers and principalities. To be saved is to be adopted by the rightful ruler of the universe and liberated from servitude to all other false rulers. I briefly outline the significance of the Exodus and Christian understandings of the kingdom of God for three of the major emancipation movements in the history of the United States, and arguably the world, namely the American Revolution, the abolitionist movement, and the Civil Rights movement.

Keywords: Salvation; Emancipation; Abolition; Civil Rights; American Revolution.

Resumen

Muchas interpretaciones modernas de la salvación trasfiguran y personalizan la salvación. La estancia eterna de un alma en el cielo es posible por medio de la salvación. Las ideas judías y cristianas son más profundas y complicadas e incluyen una idea de la salvación como una emancipación de "poderes y principios." La salvación llega después de una adaptación por el dirigente legítimo del universo y una liberación de la esclavitud a otros dirigentes falsos. Yo resumo el significado del Éxodo y las interpretaciones cristianas del reino de Dios en tres de los movimientos más importantes de la emancipación en la historia de los Estados Unidos, y hasta se podría decir del mundo: la Revolución Americana, la campaña abolicionista y el movimiento por los derechos civiles.

Palabras clave: Salvación; Emancipación; Abolición; Derechos civiles; Revolución Americana.

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1. THOUGHTS ON EMANCIPATION

> "In France," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835, "the spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom" marched "in opposite directions," while in America "they were intimately united" (Fox, 2004: 160).

One of the great tensions of the Enlightenment was the tension between secular and religious authority and the relationship of both to individual liberty. This tension can be seen in the social and moral theory of the Enlightenment. The long years of religious wars that followed the Protestant Reformation helped fuel calls for religious tolerance and separation of church and state. Religious authority, in both its political form as a state church, and its use to posit and evaluate truth claims, was increasingly suspect among the intelligentsia of the enlightenment.

The emancipation project of the Enlightenment can be seen as a continuation of the emancipation project begun by the Reformation. Though the Reformers sought freedom from Rome, the Enlightenment emancipation project would lead to efforts to be free of a state church altogether. Thus some are understandably wary of bringing religion into a conversation about emancipation.

Why bring a discussion of religion into a discussion of freedom movements? Is there not a real danger in understanding religious identity as more than personal, but as social and political? Is there not a real danger in understanding the impetus of the quest for freedom from oppressive social or political institutions as religious?

This Enlightenment tension can be clearly seen in the thought of one of the most influential philosophers for modern emancipation movements, John Locke (1632-1704). In his "A Letter Concerning Toleration", written in 1689, Locke argued for a separation of church of state, and tolerance of religious differences, but also argued that religious identities that involved political allegiances, as he believed Roman Catholic identity did, could not be tolerated. Locke also argued that atheism could not be tolerated as an atheist's rejection of God was a rejection of the foundation of morality (Milton and Milton, 2006: 45-46).

Locke's opposition to authoritarianism, in both political and religious forms, and his emphasis on natural human rights and social contract as the only legitimate basis of government, strongly influenced the shaping documents of the United States, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. These in turn, have strongly influenced modern emancipation movements. Yet, it is difficult to make sense of Locke's understanding of natural human rights without an understanding of how

Locke saw these in the context of our being God's creatures operating in the context of a natural moral law.

We can see a similar line of argument in the work of James Madison, arguably one of the most persistent and most influential of the founders in creating the political and legal framework for disestablishment in the United States. Madison argued for disestablishment to protect freedom of conscience and our freedom to act on our duty toward our creator. He considered this religious duty a duty with precedence over our civil duty as can be seen in the following quote from Madison: "Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the Universe" (Wills, 1990: 376).

On a philosophical level, this tension may be seen even more strongly in the thought of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). For Kant, human freedom was the basis of morality and of the dignity and respect all deserve. In his lifetime, Kant also received the nickname the "Alleszermalmer," for his refutations of the classical metaphysical arguments for the existence of God (Küng, 1981: 537). Kant argued that the rational human being, free from external authority, cannot, on grounds of reason alone or rational examination of empirical evidence, prove the existence of God.

It would seem that Kant should have argued for a purely secular account of human freedom. Instead, Kant argued that to make sense of morality, we had to posit the existence of God, human freedom, and a life after death, though we could not prove them (Küng, 1981: 537). In *After Virtue*, Alisdaire MacIntyre argued that Kant was essentially correct, that "morality did in the eighteenth century, as a matter of historical fact, presuppose something very like the teleological scheme of God, freedom and happiness as the final crown of virtue which Kant propounds" (MacIntyre, 1984: 56).

Kant was led to this conclusion as he wrestled with one of the perennial human questions—what is the relationship between doing good and being happy? He argued that

> If no state of well-being follows his well-doing; then there would be a contradiction between morality and the course of nature. . . Why should I make myself worthy of happiness through morality if there is no being who can give me this happiness? Hence without God I would have to be either a visionary or a scoundrel. I would have to deny my own nature and its eternal moral laws. I would have to cease being a rational man (Kant, 1978: 110).

We can hear in Kant's words an anticipation of the abolitionist Theodore Parker's (1810-1860) language of a moral arc to the universe. Martin Luther King, Jr. would draw on this language in his own speeches in favor of civil rights. Why is the notion of a moral arc relevant? Among other reasons, it is relevant because it

addresses the profound question named by Kant. Why should we do what is good or right if doing so risks our own individual happiness? For those in the American Revolution, the Abolitionist movement, and those in the Civil Rights movement, this was not just an academic question.

Kant's resolution to this problem was similar to Locke's, who also wrestled with the question of the relationship of human freedom, a binding moral law, and human happiness. For both Kant and Locke this led to questions about the nature of God and our relationship with God. In traditional Jewish and Christian thought, questions about the ways in which God shapes the relationship between human happiness, human morality, and human freedom, lead us, inevitably, to questions of the nature of salvation.

In what follows, I will explore the ways in which Jewish and Christian understandings of salvation propelled three modern emancipation movements, the American Revolution, the abolitionist movement, and the Civil Rights Movement. I will focus on two profoundly shaping visions—that of the Exodus event and the Christian vision of the kingdom of God. I will show that one cannot make sense of the energy that led to, and sustained, the American Revolution, the abolitionist movement, or the Civil Rights Movement without an understanding of the ways in which these movements were sustained by a religious imagination profoundly influenced by these shaping visions.

1.1. Salvation as Emancipation

> In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard many ministers say: 'Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern.' And I have watched many churches commit themselves to a completely other worldly religion which makes a strange, un-Biblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular (King, 1963: 7).

There are many today who, like Martin Luther King, Jr.'s critics, find connections of salvation to emancipation troubling. However, when we examine the ways in which salvation is referenced in the Bible and the ways in which those references were used in emancipation struggles such as the American Revolution, the Abolitionist Movement, and the Civil Rights Movement it is clear that our cultural understandings of emancipation have been strongly influenced by Jewish and Christian understandings of salvation.

Why do we find this connection between salvation and emancipation troubling? One answer to this question has already been hinted at in words of Tocqueville. For some, religion, especially organized and institutionalized on the level of a state church, is oppressive rather than liberating. We see this in the work of Madison to insure that there would be no establishment of a state church.

We also find it troubling for the reasons outlined by Martin Luther King, Jr. We could argue that our common modern cultural understanding of salvation in the United States has been strongly influenced by an evangelical Christianity that emphasizes the personal nature of salvation. Salvation in this tradition is commonly understood, and depicted, as personal, moral, spiritual, and other worldly. Are you saved? To those asking the question in this way, salvation lies in a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, a relationship that saves us from the wages of sin and death, and guarantees our personal salvation, freedom from Hell, and eternity in paradise.

If Jesus truly offered a salvation that was eternal life in a kingdom not of this earth, it is difficult to understand why Jesus was crucified. To understand the threat Jesus posed to Jewish and Roman authorities, we have to examine the teachings and actions of Jesus and the ways in which these teachings and actions resonated with Jewish understanding of salvation and of the Messiah. When we do so, we will see, as Martin Luther King, Jr. argued, that modern separations of religious, political, social, and individual identity make little sense. Understandings of salvation as personal, moral, and spiritual, can certainly be found in the Christian New Testament, but an understanding of salvation as solely personal, moral, and spiritual, is insufficient given the range of the understandings of salvation found among in the Judaism of Jesus' day or among early Christians. In addition, such an understanding fails to explain the use of Jewish and Christian religious language and religious symbols in social and political liberation movements here and around the world.

As the Exodus event is the most obvious example of a salvation that was religious, political, and social, I will begin with an examination of the Exodus event and its influence on the American Revolution, the Abolitionist movement, and the Civil Rights movement.

1.2 The Exodus

When Israel was in Egypt land...
Let My People Go;
Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
Let My People Go.
"Thus saith the Lord," bold Moses said,
Let my people go;
If not, I'll smite your first-born dead,
Let my people go.
Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt land,

Tell ole Pharoah,

Let My People Go!'

Go Down Moses (Jones: 1993, 44).

The story of the Exodus is the theme of the spiritual Go Down Moses. YHWH, the God of the people of Israel, through the prophet Moses, freed the Israelites from bondage in Egypt. After ten devastating plagues, Pharaoh finally summoned Moses and his brother Aaron. He then summoned Moses and Aaron in the middle of the night, and said "Rise Up, go away from my people, both you and the Israelites! Go worship the Lord, as you said" (Exodus 12:31, New Revised Standard Version).

After the Israelites began their migration from Egypt, Pharaoh changed his mind, and sent his chariots after the people. Pursued by Pharaoh's chariots, and trapped by the Red Sea, the Israelites feared for their lives. God parted the Red Sea, and provided the Israelites passage out of Egypt and safety from the chariots of Pharaoh.

> But Moses said to the people, "Do not be afraid, stand firm, and see the deliverance that the Lord will accomplish for you today; for the Egyptians whom you see today you shall never see again. The Lord will fight for you, and you have only to keep still" (Exodus 14:13).

The Hebrew word translated in this passage as deliverance, could also be translated as salvation, often is translated as salvation, and is translated as salvation in a later passage which refers to this passage, "The Lord is my strength and my might, and he has become my salvation; this is my God, and I will praise him" (Exodus 15:2).

When the children of Israel had crossed, the water crashed in on the chariots of Pharaoh. This is referenced in one of the oldest passages of the Jewish TaNaKh, the Song of Miriam, the sister of Moses, one of the ten songs of redemption in Jewish tradition (Bandstra, 2004: 145). "I will sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; horse and driver he has thrown into the sea" (Exodus 15.1).

1.3. Salvation and the Messiah

In Hebrew, the word we translate as "messiah" is a reference to one anointed by God. It was typically used to refer to kings and was also found in references to high priests. The Book of Isaiah refers to the Persian King Cyrus by name, describing him as God's shepherd and God's anointed for his role in ending the Babylonian exile and restoring the Temple in Jerusalem. In Jewish tradition, the Messiah would come to be understood as an agent of God through whom God would initiate the Messianic age, an age of peace, justice, and righteousness. In short, the salvation of this age is not just an individual reality but also a social and a political reality. This is seen clearly in the description of Cyrus as a "messiah."

By the time of Jesus, there were a number of messianic expectations. Some looked for the return of a mighty prophet, such as Moses or Elijah to lead and renew the people. Some looked for the restoration of the throne of David. Some looked for a priestly figure to renew the Temple of God. Some looked not for an individual, but a transformation of the people of Israel in such a way that that the people of God might be God's anointed. Some looked for recognition by all the nations of Jerusalem as the city of God, and the Temple as God's Temple. Some looked for a vindication of the faithful of God. In this vindication, all the nations would recognize the authority of God and the faithful servants of God. Some looked for an end to the diaspora of the Jewish people. There were general expectations that the messianic age would be an age of peace and righteousness.

In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus reads from the scroll of Isaiah. His words are a reference to the end of the Babylonian exile as described by Isaiah.

> When he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, he went to the synagogue on the Sabbath day, as was his custom. He stood up to read, and the scroll of the prophet Isaiah was given to him. He unrolled the scroll and found the place where it was written:
>
> 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor.'
>
> And he rolled up the scroll, gave it back to the attendant and sat down. The eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed upon him. Then he began to say to them, 'Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing' (Luke 16.1-21).

As described here, the year of the Lord's favor is not just a personal spiritual reality. It is also a social and a political reality. Salvation is emancipation.

2. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Exodus event was inspirational to Pilgrims and Puritans and was called upon to inspire the American Revolution. Pilgrims and Puritans saw the New World as a Promised Land in which they could make their covenant with God. The American Revolution was preceded by revivals and conversions across the colonies in the 1740s (Bellah, 1975: 62). Those wanting to inspire the American Revolution could describe King George III as a Pharaoh. In even stronger rhetoric, some described him as the Antichrist (Bellah, 1975: 28). For his role in helping to liberate the colonies from Britain and establish a new social, legal, and political order, George Washington was considered America's Moses.

The first book published on an academic printing press in the colonies was the Bible. If you were literate, and knew any book well, it was likely the Bible. If you were illiterate, you were introduced to the Bible in sermons, stories, and hymns. In short, if one book shaped anything like a shared imagination in this new world, it was the Bible.

Even those founders of more secular bent, such as Ben Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, saw the power of symbolic use of the Exodus event (Horsley, 2003: 1). This was Jefferson's edit, in 1776, of Franklin's proposal for the Great Seal of the United States.

> Pharaoh sitting in an open Chariot, a Crown on his head and a Sword in his hand, passing through the divided Waters of the Red Sea in Pursuit of the Israelites: Rays from a Pillar of Fire in the Cloud, expressive of the divine Presence and Command, beaming on Moses who stands on the shore and extending his hand over the Sea causes it to overwhelm Pharaoh. (Available at: <http://greatseal.com/committees/firstcomm/index.html> [March 20, 2013])

Jefferson also referenced the Exodus event in his second inaugural address:

> I need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence and our riper years with his wisdom and power (Bellah, 1975: 24-25).

2.1 The Abolitionist Movement

> Wade in the water,
> Wade in the water children,
> Wade in the water,
> God's gonna trouble the waters (Jones, 1993: 65-66).

In one of the defining events of the Jewish TaNaKh, God liberated the children of Israel from slavery. The image of God as the great emancipator was not lost on slaves and could be seen in the spirituals such as Wade in the Water. Harriet Tubman, of the Underground Railroad, also described as an American Moses, is reported to have sung Wade in the Water and Go Down Moses to communicate to slaves fleeing to the north (Jones, 1993: 50).

In the experience of slaves, we see both the oppressive and the redemptive nature of Christianity. Christianity was used by slaveholders to justify slavery and by abolitionists to condemn it. Those looking for proof texts in support of slavery in the Bible could certainly find them. For slaveholders, Christianity was also seen

as superior to the many false religions slaves brought with them. As these false religions could not be tolerated by the slaveholders, it made sense to attempt to replace these with Christianity, as long as that Christianity could be used as a means of control and slaves understood that Christianity required their acceptance of slavery and obedience to their masters. Yet, as Wills observed, "Christianity, meant as an instrument of control from above, could be seen as a vehicle for rebellion from below" (Wills, 1990: 196-197). Slaves used the cover of a slaveholding Christianity to hold onto their traditional beliefs and to the promise of freedom.

The struggle over slavery was present in Christian churches, and in political conflicts, prior to the Revolution, but few Christian denominations took a clear stand against it. The earliest to do so were the Quakers, who in 1776, acted to expel slave holders (González: 1985: 250). As with the American Revolution, the time prior to the Civil War saw revivals and conversions sweep the land. Methodists and Baptist churches in particular grew in number and memberships. The Abolitionist movement was strongly influenced by both the evangelism and the millennialism of this Second Great Awakening. Conflicts over the legitimacy of slavery would lead to schisms within the Methodist, Presbyterian, and the Baptist denominations. Only the Roman Catholic and Episcopalian church avoided schism (González: 1999: 251).

In 1834, Nathan Bangs, then editor of the *Christian Advocate*, a publication of the Methodist church, responded to the British Abolitionist George Thompson's lecture in New York on the evils of slavery, by encouraging Thompson to imitate Christ's conduct and stay out of civil affairs. Bangs argued that Jesus was aware of the pervasiveness of the institution of slavery across the Roman Empire, yet argued that Jesus never denounced slave holders, nor did he "tell them that unless they let those oppressed go free, they could not repent and enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Fox, 2004: 205).

The Second Great Awakening also produced fiery and determined orators castigating those who held slaves and those who defended the institution of slavery. Angelina Grimké, in her 1836 *Appeal to Christian Women of the South* asked if Jesus would himself have owned slaves. She granted to those who held, as Bangs did, that Jesus did not explicitly condemn slavery, but redirected the argument. The question she asked was whether slavery could be consistent with the moral teachings of Jesus, among them, the Golden Rule.

> Let every slaveholder apply these questions to his own heart. Am I willing to be a slave—Am I willing to see my wife the slave of another—Am I willing to see my mother a slave, or my father, my sister, or my brother? If not, then in holding others as slaves, I am doing what I would not wish to be done to me or any relative I have (Fox, 2004: 207).

William Lloyd Garrison, a Quaker, and editor of the abolitionist publication the *Liberator* compared the persecution of abolitionists such as himself to the sufferings of Christ and the persecution of the early Christian martyrs. Garrison was an advocate

for "immediate emancipation," the unconditional, and uncompensated, emancipation of slaves (Fox, 2004: 210). Garrison's call for emancipation, and willingness to suffer on behalf of this cause, was based on his conviction that in the incarnation of Christ, Jesus had ushered in not a future world freed from sin, but freedom from sin in this world. Garrison argued that true Christians, those truly freed from sin, must "immediately sever their ties with 'slaveholders, warriors, worshippers of mammon, enemies of holiness…The axe must be laid to the root of the tree, and total abstinence from sin …. insisted on as the reasonable duty of every human soul, and as essential to christian character" (Fox, 2004: 210).

In Garrison's call for a revival of Christian life, one hears concerns not only for the fate of the individual soul, but the fate of the nation. We hear this concern expressed strongly in the earlier words of Dr. Benjamin Rush, who in 1773, in his *Address upon Slave-keeping,* urged clergy to "Remember that national crimes require national punishments, and without declaring what punishment awaits this evil, you may venture to assure them, that it cannot pass with impunity, unless God shall cease to be just or merciful" (Bellah, 1975: 43).

2.2 King and the Civil Rights Movement

The strength of the story of Moses, and the Exodus, and its influence on Martin Luther King, Jr. can be seen in his mountaintop sermon, given the night before his assassination.

> Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now, because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind.
>
> Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land!
>
> And so I'm happy, tonight.
>
> I'm not worried about anything.
>
> I'm not fearing any man!
>
> Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord!! (King, Jr. 1968: last paragraph)

Martin Luther King Jr.'s words continue to haunt. If George Washington was the Moses of the American Revolution, Martin Luther King, Jr. was the Moses of the Civil Rights Movement, and as Moses, he looked down from the mountaintop into the Promised Land, but did not join his people there. What Martin Luther King, Jr.

understood, and what the Civil Rights Movement illustrated, was that the freedom of individuals can only be guaranteed in the context of a social and political reality. If I am to be free as an individual, people must be free.

As had critics of the abolitionist movement, critics of the Civil Rights Movement argued that Jesus was concerned with the individual soul and not social and political issues. In his "Letter from Birmingham Jail," written in 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke to critics who claimed that his movement was too political, too concerned with social issues, and too little concerned with the gospel. He argued that these critics had a strange otherworldly vision of the Gospels. His vision of the Beloved Community, a vision that shaped his work in Civil Rights, was strongly influenced by his understanding of the Gospels. Though it is true that he drew inspiration from Gandhi's movement of nonviolent civil disobedience, it is also true that Gandhi himself was influenced by Jesus' teaching on nonviolence. In Gandhi's nonviolent movement, King saw how nonviolence could be used to direct social change.

3. SALVATION AS EMANCIPATION: A REEXAMINATION OF JESUS

How is it that this notion of salvation as social and political emancipation, so clearly evident in the Exodus event, seems to have been lost or minimized in modern cultural understandings of salvation? This has happened in part because of the development of an ahistorical and apolitical understanding of Jesus. Ironically, as I was writing this, the loss of the politics of Jesus was illustrated concretely in the library stacks of James Madison University, in which the classic text by John Howard Yoder, ***The Politics of Jesus***, was literally missing.

Consider the Lord's Prayer, attributed to Jesus, as found in the Gospel of Matthew.

> Our father in heaven,
> Hallowed be your name.
> Your kingdom come.
> Your will be done,
> On earth as it in heaven.
> Give us this day our daily bread.
> And forgive us our debts,
> As we have also forgiven our debtors.
> And do not bring us to the time of trial,
> but rescue us from the evil one
> (Matthew 6: 9-13).

In the Lord's Prayer, we find reference to the kingdom and to our "daily bread." This is a clear reference to the manna provided to the people of Israel from God as they wandered through the desert after liberation from Egypt. If salvation is membership in the kingdom of God, and those in the Kingdom of God rely on God for their daily bread, then salvation is not just personal and otherworldly. It is political and this worldly emancipation.

If God is the true king of the world, and a prophet speaks and acts by the power of God, then prophecy is a religious act *and* a political act. In the context of Jewish tradition, to be Jewish was to be a part of the children of Israel, of the children of Abraham. This was not just an individual reality, but a social reality. In fact, you could argue that it was your status as a member of this people that identified you as an individual and defined you as an individual. As a part of this people, you lived out of a covenant relationship with God.

The Zealot revolt in Sepphoris around 6 C.E., led by Judas and Zaddok, illustrates the power of the Judaism as a religious and political identity. Josephus referenced this in his history, *The Jewish War*.

> Judas the Gaulanite [a teacher] and Saddok the Pharisee launched a rebellion. They said that the tribute amounted to downright slavery and appealed to the people to seek their independence,… saying that God would aid them until their endeavor succeeded… They agree in all other respects with the views of the Pharisees, except that they have an unconquerable passion for freedom, since they are convinced that God is their exclusive ruler and master (Horsley, 2003: 79).

Sometime during the childhood of Jesus, Judas took control of Sepphoris. Two Roman Legions were sent in to control the uprising. Several thousand zealots were crucified. At least one of the disciples of Jesus was a zealot (Simon the Zealot). Judas may also have been a zealot. Barabbas, the prisoner picked by the crowd rather than Jesus, was also a zealot (Noss, 2008: 455).

The religious significance of the acts of Jesus, his authority as a teacher of Torah, his forgiveness of sins, the miracles of feeding, healing, and resurrecting, cannot be understood fully apart from an understanding of the social and political significance of these acts. Though a full explication of this is beyond my scope here, this much needs to be said. If we examine the teachings and actions of Jesus, Jesus operated in the manner of a prophet coming to renew the people of God, in the manner of a Moses or Elijah. He would likely have been seen as such with those familiar with their stories and acts. Reference to this can be seen in what is known as the transfiguration scene in Matthew 17.1-9 and Luke 9.28-36.

I have already shown how the Lord's Prayer reference to daily bread draws on the imagery of the Exodus event. Over the course of history, the twelve tribes of Israel faced a number of annihilation and assimilation threats. Slavery in Egypt

posed a kind of annihilation threat. Through Moses, Exodus, and the covenant of the Torah, God renewed the people of Israel and led the people to the land of Canaan, the Promised Land.

In the story of Elijah we see a response to the threat of assimilation into Canaanite culture and Baal worship. Such a move would have been tempting economically and politically. Ahab, ruler of Israel during the time of Elijah, openly worshiped Baal, the Canaanite god of the storm. Elijah, as a prophet of YHWH, challenged the prophets of Baal. Four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal gathered, calling on Baal to bring the storm, to no effect. Elijah called on YHWH and lightning consumed the sacrifice. The assembled crowd turned on the prophets of Baal, killing them. For this, Jezebel, wife of Ahab, vowed to kill Elijah. Elijah fled through the desert, to Horeb, a forty-day journey and the site of the covenant made with Moses. There God spoke to Elijah in a still small voice. This was seen as confirmation that YHWH was still the God of Israel and that the corrupt rule of Ahab would be overthrown. Elijah, prophet of YHWH, not only performed miracles, but openly challenged the economic and political elite of Israel and called Israel back to the Mosaic covenant with YHWH.

During the time of Jesus, Rome posed an arguably greater annihilation and assimilation threat to Israel than had been posed by Egypt or Canaan. As with the temptation to assimilate to Canaanite identity, the temptation, for economic and political reasons, to embrace a Hellenistic identity to benefit from a relationship with Rome would have been strong. The political, economic, and religious elite at the time of Jesus were tempted to accommodate to Rome, either to preserve their existing power and wealth, or to increase it, and Jewish rulers were busy remaking parts of Israel into Hellenistic style cities.

In the land of Galilee, Jews were barely in the majority. There were a number of Greek speaking residents. Sepphoris and Tiberia had been rebuilt in Hellenistic style. On the other side of the Sea of Galilee was Hippos, one of the Decapolis, or ten Hellenistic style cities. As noted by Crossan, unlike earlier transfers of power that changed rulers at the top, but did little to change the life of peasants and their relationship to the land, Rome had made land itself into a tradable commodity. The traditional link between the peasants and the land, a land that belonged to God, was challenged both by an expanding Hellenistic culture and the taxes helping to fund this expansion (Crossan, 1996: 39-40).

The symbolism of the twelve disciples of Jesus is clear. In these twelve, symbolic of the twelve tribes of Israel, Jesus was renewing the people of God. The feeding miracles resonate with the miracle feeding of the people on their Exodus journey and the miracle feedings of the prophet Elijah. The healing miracles of Jesus can be seen as a renewal of an individual to the communal life of Israel and the people of God.

What does it mean to be part of the people of God, the kingdom of God? What would life in this kingdom look like? Much of Jesus' teaching speaks to this. If we examine Jesus' teachings on these questions, these answers speak to individual, social, and political realities. Early Christians certainly understood the teaching of Jesus as speaking to individual, social, and political realities. That Jesus would address not only individual, but social and political realities can be seen in what is sometimes referred to as the Song of Mary (another Miriam), the mother of Jesus.

'My soul magnifies the Lord,
and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour,
for he has looked with favour on the lowliness of his servant.
Surely, from now on all generations will call me blessed;
for the Mighty One has done great things for me,
and holy is his name.
His mercy is for those who fear him
from generation to generation.
He has shown strength with his arm;
he has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts.
He has brought down the powerful from their thrones,
and lifted up the lowly;
he has filled the hungry with good things,
and sent the rich away empty.
He has helped his servant Israel,
in remembrance of his mercy,
according to the promise he made to our ancestors,
to Abraham and to his descendants forever' (Luke 1:46-55)

How did God intend us to live, in God's kingdom? To answer this question, we might return to the beginning, to Genesis. Scholars have long noted that there are two apparently separate accounts of creation in Genesis. In the first, human beings, male and female, are made in the image of God. We are to have dominion over the earth. In the second, the human made by God names all of the other creatures created by God. The act of naming, in ancient religious understanding, was itself seen as a kind of dominion.

Unfortunately, many today read the opening of Genesis as arguing against a certain kind of evolutionary biology. I would argue that there is a kind of argument being made in Genesis, but that it is not an argument with evolutionary biology. Even

more importantly, I would argue that reading Genesis in this way distracts us from the real argument being made in both descriptions of the creation of human beings.

In both accounts, we see that human beings were not created to worship any of the creation, the sun, the moon, the stars, the animals, etc., nor were we created as slaves of the gods, as in the older Babylonian creation myth, the Enuma Elish which is similar in many ways to the garden story (Bandstra, 2004: 73-74). The opening accounts of Genesis could be seen in themselves as emancipation proclamations. We do not need to offer sacrifices to any of the created order. We are not slaves of any of this created order, but created in the image and likeness of God. What does it mean to be created in the image and likeness of God?

Consider the words of the Declaration of Independence

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness (Available at: [March 20,2013].)

Thomas Jefferson's appeal to dignity of our creation, of our inalienable rights, was of course influenced by the philosophy of John Locke, but his appeal could also be seen as calling on the symbols of Genesis. Locke himself recognized the sovereignty of God, and the sovereignty of God over human beings. Out of this sovereignty, Locke could, and did, argue for natural moral rights. Jefferson argued for emancipation from Britain on the grounds that the British government had violated these basic unalienable rights and no longer had the consent of those it would govern here. That Genesis speaks to this can be seen in the words of Anthony Burns, an ex-slave:

> "God made me a *man*- not a slave, and gave me the same right to myself that he gave to the man stole me to himself" (Cone: 1975, 138-139).

We can see in the beginning of the Jewish TaNaKh an account of human beings that has shaped the human desire for emancipation. Locke's vision of a human right to property assumes that humans have dominion over the earth and that our labor is our rightful property, as we have been given our own dominion. As humans have been created to have their own dominion; governance should be a social contract, a contract between equals.

4. CONCLUSION: SALVATION AS EMANCIPATION: ARE YOU SAVED? HAVE YOU BEEN SAVED?

> Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom (2 Corinthians 3:17).

In the area of southeastern North Carolina in which I grew up, these were common questions. What does it mean to be saved? As indicated earlier, for many of those asking this question, the answer to this question is that to be saved is to have a personal saving relationship with Jesus, a relationship that saves you from the wages of sin and death. Such a reading can easily be drawn from the writings of Paul.

Yet, if we focus only on this claim on eternal life, we can lose sight of other emancipatory claims made by early Christians. To be saved was not just to be assured of eternal life, but to be assured that nothing in all of creation could separate us from the love of God. This can also be seen in the writings of Paul, as can be seen in Romans 8.

> I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory about to be revealed to us. For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God. … We know that the whole creation has been groaning in labor pains until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly while we wait for adoption, the redemption of our bodies. (Romans 8.1-23)

> What are we then to say about these things? If God is for us, who is against us?… For I am convinced that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. (Romans 8.31-37)

When early Christians spoke of salvation, they spoke of it not only as a future event (victory over death), but a present reality, a freedom and power out of which one could speak and act with confidence, without fear, and a sense of peace and joy (Johnson, 1986: 93).

To be saved, Paul argued, was to be adopted by God. Adopted by God, God is now your rightful ruler, a ruler who has freed you from all other false dominions. To be saved was to be emancipated. In an age of separation of church and state, it is too easy to overlook the social and political claims made in the language of Paul. “There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus” (2 Galatians 3:28). To be saved is to be a member of a new kingdom, the kingdom of God, and emancipated from all of the other powers of this world.

We return to a question we examined earlier. What is the relationship between freedom, doing good, and human happiness? For Kant and Locke, Grimke, Garrison, Parker and Martin Luther King, Jr. we cannot make sense of this apart from some understanding of God as the ultimate legislator of the world. This, I would argue, is the importance of the religious imagination for understandings of emancipation. The Jewish and Christian visions of salvation as a social and political reality, as our inclusion in the people of God, can be seen as religious responses to threats to identity posed by assimilation and annihilation. Out of this vision of salvation by God, you can declare yourself free, though the world declares you a slave.

These narratives have resonated across history in struggles for emancipation. The struggle for freedom requires the capacity, even the audacity, to imagine that the world need not be as it is, can be other than it is, and should be other than it is. For many struggling for freedom, the religious imagination, and the individual and social identity it has shaped, has helped to provide both this capacity and this audacity.

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The Role of Bullfighting and FC Barcelona in the Emancipation of Catalonia from Spain

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The Role of Bullfighting and FC Barcelona in the Emancipation of Catalonia from Spain

El papel de la corrida de toros y FC Barcelona en la emancipación de Catalunya de España

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Abstract

This paper looks at the role that bullfighting and FC Barcelona have played in the growing independence movement in Catalonia. This article will discuss nations, the importance of bullfighting and soccer to Iberian cultures, Catalan political parties and their role in the nationalist movement, the vote to prohibit bullfighting and FC Barcelona's increasing political conscious. I conclude that bullfighting and soccer have been used by political parties and those associated with the nationalist movement to foster feelings of difference with Spain. These feelings have been passed from the top down to the Catalan people and risk alienating those who are not in agreement with the nationalist movement.

Keywords: Catalonia; Bullfighting; FC Barcelona; Emancipation; Nationalism.

Resumen

Este trabajo examina el papel que la corrida de toros y el equipo de fútbol FC Barcelona han hecho en el movimiento continuo hacia la independencia en Cataluña. Discute el concepto de la nación, la importancia de las corridas y el fútbol en culturas ibéricas, partidos políticos catalanes y su rol en el voto a favor de la prohibición de las corridas en Cataluña y la evolución de la conciencia política cada vez más evidente de FC Barcelona. Concluyo que los partidos políticos y otros asociados con el movimiento hacia la independencia se han aprovechado de las corridas y el fútbol para destacar diferencias culturales con España. Esta actitud de diferencia se ha trasladado de arriba-abajo al pueblo catalán y el movimiento nacionalista corre el riesgo de alienar a los que no comparten sus creencias.

Palabras clave: Cataluña; Corrida de toros; FC Barcelona; Emancipación; Nacionalismo.

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Sumario: 1. Spain: Plurinational or Nation/State? 2. Catalan Nationalism and Political Parties. 3. Bulls and Bullfighting: Only Spanish? 4. FC Barcelona: At the service of its country. 5. Conclusion.

The desire for liberty, central to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation whose 150th anniversary is the inspiration for this volume, has manifested itself innumerable times during the course of human history. Emancipation tends to be associated with slavery but its interpretation can also include the desire of peoples or regions to emancipate from a State to which they are bound by legal ties, with Catalonia fitting into this latter category. Catalonia forms part of the legally recognized state of Spain and is located in the northeast corner of the Iberian Peninsula. This autonomous community is in discussions to hold a referendum in regards to the region's desire for independence in 2014. While opinions vary in regards to the legality or eventual results of a legal separation from Spain, there are at least two social institutions that have played a part in fomenting nationalist fervor: bullfighting and FC Barcelona. This paper will discuss the role that bullfighting and FC Barcelona have played in the advancement of the nationalist movement in Catalonia. In order to do so, it is necessary to discuss the concept of nation and state, the meaning of the bullfight and soccer in Spanish society, Catalan political parties, and the role of soccer and the bullfight in the advancement of the nationalist agenda.

1. SPAIN: PLURINATIONAL OR NATION/STATE?

Historically states have modified their borders based on outcomes of war, treaties, purchases or annexations. In defining the state, Max Weber writes that it is a "…human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber, 1952: 78). The 19th and 20th centuries saw many states solidify their boundaries and begin constructing a national narrative to create a more cohesive nation-state. These creations maintained the military power usually associated with a state but also began to implement social policies designed to create a common identity among their citizens. Michael Keating writes, "Where the state as an institutional form coincides with the national as a cultural or felt reality, then we can speak of the nation-state" (Keating, 2000: 29). This nation-state dynamic is challenged by several countries in Europe that have territories seeking to proclaim themselves as nations. Communities like Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country all present narratives that contrast with those emanating from their Central Governments.

Absent from Weber's definition are the cultural issues at the heart of nationalism. Benedict Anderson refers to nations as an "imagined community," for they are groups of people who share a similar language and culture but who may not ever meet (Anderson, 1991: 6). Monserrat Guibernau has a broader view of the nation and defines it as "…a group conscious of forming a community, sharing a

common culture, attached to a determined territory, possessing a collective past and a collective project for the future that includes the reclamation of the right to self-governance" (Guibernau, 2004: 8). Culture is a common theme in both scholars' definitions of a nation, and I believe a shared language is implied as part of that culture. Anderson points to the printing press and the popularity of the written word as elements important to the flourishing of nations, whereas Guibernau implicitly refers to language when she discusses culture. Within both definitions it is clear that people are able to choose to belong to a nation if their beliefs are in line with others in a determined geographical area. This union of shared beliefs, shared language, a shared project for the future and the ability to legitimately use force are characteristics of a nation-state.

One of the issues facing modern day Spain is the question of how to deal with the question of the various "historical nationalities" located within its borders. After the fall of the Franco dictatorship and the approval of the Spanish Constitution in 1978, one of the most hotly debated topics was the question of the "historical nationalities" in Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country. The center-periphery power dynamic has been problematic for centuries in Spain, with each region enjoying some degree of autonomy only to see it diminished at various points in history. Catalonia once thrived as a trading state along the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages and early modern period as part of the Kingdom of Aragón (Keating, 2000: 31). Even after the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel, the Kingdom of Aragon continued to implement its own laws and Catalan was the language used by a majority of the population. This self-government ended with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714 (Keating, 2000: 31).

The 19th century saw the creation of nationalist feelings in the "historic nationalities." Many intellectuals in these regions did not believe that the Castilian language and culture, advanced by the central government, were elements shared by all who lived within the Spanish borders. Many intellectuals in these regions with strong nationalist feelings wanted more recognition as regions, and later as nations, possessing a language and culture distinct from the Castilian recognized as the standard by the central government. This feeling in Catalonia was best exemplified during the Renaixença, which saw a resurgence of Catalan in spoken word poetry contests, songs, poems and plays. Joaquim Rubió d'Orso proclaimed that Spain was no longer the 'fatherland' of Catalans while Joan Maragall celebrated Catalan identity in his 'Cant de la senyera' (McRoberts, 2001: 21, 22).

This continued desire for recognition was finally realized when the Second Republic was declared in Spain in 1932. The liberal government drew up autonomy statutes that gave increased powers to Catalonia and the Basque Country. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), which resulted in the almost 40-year dictatorship of Francisco Franco, quickly ended this attempt at increased self-rule. It wasn't until the death of Franco that these regions could once again aspire to have any autonomy in

a democratic Spain. The current system allows for increased self-rule in the "historic nationalities," an approach welcomed by the people in Catalonia who have long held that they live in a region whose language and culture are different from that of "Spain."

The desire for autonomy grew after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco. During the 20th century Spain had seen two dictators, Miguel Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco, attempt a radical regeneration of the country with an ideology founded in the indissoluble unity of Spain. The repression of these regional languages and cultures only served to increase their desire for autonomy and recognition. Isaiah Berlin asserts that, "Frequently nationalism is born of a wound or human indignation, the desire for recognition" (Berlin, 1996: 248). This desire for recognition led to the "*fiebre de autonomía"* or *"fever of autonomy"* seen after the fall of Franco and the eventual development of a system designed to transfer certain powers away from the central government and over to autonomous regions. This "fever" led some regions to begin to search for what the Catalans call their *fet diferencial*, or distinguishing feature.

2. CATALAN NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The most evident *fet diferencial* that serves as the soul and essence of nationalism is the language (Roller, 2002: 274). This communal feature was considered so important that it led Franco and Primo de Rivera to prohibit the use of languages other than Spanish during their successive dictatorships. Despite the prohibition, people continued speaking Catalan at home or in certain public spaces like the soccer stadium for FC Barcelona (the Camp Nou). Following the death of Francisco Franco and the ratification of the Constitution in 1978, Catalan became the co-official language of Catalonia (Strubell, 2011: 131). This was the beginning of a process of linguistic normalization whose aim was to restore the use of Catalan in all aspects of public and private life (Woolard and Frekko, 2013: 130). It has counted upon strong support from the Generalitat (government in Catalonia), a group that has implemented measures to protect and encourage the use of Catalan. These measures have included the establishment of Catalan as a language of instruction in schools, the ability to use Catalan in most governmental institutions, and to normalize the use of Catalan in social situations (McRoberts, 2001:144). As a result, more than nine million people speak Catalan today and more than eleven million understand it (http://www.gencat.cat/catalunya/cas/ coneixer-llengua.htm).

The prevailing sentiment is that Catalan nationalism is not ethnically determined and membership is available to all who desire to belong to the nation. In 1934 Carles Cardó wrote, "…nationality is a cultural phenomenon which can perfectly mold individuals of distinct races…" (McRoberts, 2001: 130). This open attitude welcomes all into what he believes to be a tolerant society dependent upon

mutual cooperation for success. Their nation was formed on the base of language and culture with membership being available to those who wished to conform to the Catalan cultural norms and speak the language (McRoberts, 2001: 2). This type of nationalism avoids using the words such as "ethnic" or "race" and, in the case of Catalonia, puts language use as the most fundamental elements of belonging to the nation (Miley, 2007: 23). In this same vein, Catalans value two concepts in politics and society: *pactisme* and *seny*. *Pactisme* is a term originally used to describe the importance of forming pacts to ensure that all would be represented in politics, thus ensuring that no certain political party or person could exercise their dominance over another (McRoberts, 2001: 10). This mentality later was applied to all areas of social relations (Guibernau, 2004: 26). In a like manner, s*eny* refers to common sense, which Josep Ferrater Mora describes as "…'pursuing what is fair, proper and correct, even if this pursuit is sometimes the most senseless action imagined'" (quoted in Guibernau, 2004: 26).

To advance the cause of Catalan nationalism, Catalonia has numerous political parties that dedicate themselves to the Catalan cause. The Catalan autonomous government, Generalitat, is composed of representatives mainly from political parties whose interests center on the advancement of Catalonia but also participate at the national level through participation in the creation of coalition governments. On the left, the nationalist parties are Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) and Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (ICV), but these parties have been overshadowed by the dominant Convergencia I Unió (CiU), a center-right party that has held power almost uninterrupted since Catalonia regained its autonomous government in 1978. There are also Spanish political parties that operate on a national level and have a strong presence in Catalonia. The Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC-PSOE) is affiliated with the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), the dominant party of the left, whereas the Partido Popular Catalan (PPC) is affiliated with the Partido Popular, the dominant party of the right.

Each of the above political parties has differing attitudes towards the question of the proper role for Catalonia in a Spanish and European context. Since the return of democracy to Spain, ERC has argued that Catalonia should be a state within the European Union. They believe that Catalonia possesses a language, territory and culture that serve as the base for the formation of a Catalan state. ICV, while representing interests on the left, does not advance the nationalist cause quite as strongly as CiU. Although CiU believes in greater autonomy for Catalonia, they do not advance the nationalist cause quite as fervently as ERC. They do believe, however, in the ability for Catalonia to choose its political destiny but do not believe that destiny must have independence as the end result. Presently CiU, whose leader Artur Mas is the President of the Generalitat, is leading the charge towards a referendum on independence to be held in 2014. In previous decades CiU has advocated for Catalonia to have greater autonomy from the Spanish state without necessarily having to secede. They have maintained that secession is an option but not one that

has been advanced until recently. PSC and PPC, due to their affiliations with Spanish national parties, do not advocate for independence from Spain. Nonetheless, perhaps in response to the increased nationalist fervor and movements towards independence, some politicians in the PSC have recently participated in pro-independence rallies even though the party has not changed its stance in regards to independence. A brief glance at the websites for each of these political parties also reflects this attitude. The websites for CiU, PSC, ICV and ERC all load initially in Catalan with the possibility to access the content in Castilian also. The website for CiU loads in Catalan but does not allow one to access the content in Castilian. On the other hand, the website for PPC loads initially in Castilian with the ability to switch to Catalan.

Although these political parties differ slightly in their vision for the future of Catalonia, the political elites all share a top-down governing mentality. T. J. Miley challenges the notion of this "civic nationalism" growing from grass-roots efforts. He posits that if Catalonia were truly experiencing civic nationalism, there would be equal amounts of support for the nationalist project regardless of ones birthplace or maternal language (Miley, 2007: 3). On the contrary, he finds that there is a disparity between those who think of Catalonia as a region and those who think of it as a nation. Miley states that those who consider themselves "bi-cultural," or imagine that they belong to two different cultures, are greater among those belonging to the cultural and political elite. Miley states that, "Among the general public, only 37.5% of the general public imagine their identities in "bi-cultural terms. By contrast, 73.9% of teachers, 72.7% of local politicians, and 82.1% of parliamentarians imagine their identities as such" (Miley, 2007: 17-18). This disparity between the general public and "elites" is evident in several areas designed to increase the normalization of Catalan in everyday life even to the opposition of many citizens. The controversy over the increased dubbing of films is a clear example of this top-down governing mentality.

In 2010, the Govern approved a law stating that movies with more than 50 copies distributed in Catalonia must have at least 50% of those copies dubbed or subtitled in Catalan ("Mitad de las películas," 2011). The spirit of the law is meant to protect and encourage the use of Catalan in cinemas however it has failed to capture the general interest of the public and has drawn the ire of cinema owners in Catalonia, and the major production studios in Hollywood. In addition, the European Union declared in 2012 that the law must be altered. The law exempts films in Castilian from being dubbed into Catalan and as such discriminates against other films from Europe or Hollywood (Cuadrado, 2012). Possibly because of these issues, the number of films dubbed into Catalan fell from 66 in 2011 to 22 in 2012 (Crecen un 51,5%, 2013). The spectators who attended these showings in Catalan numbered 634,698 in 2012, an in increase from 2011, but this number still pales in comparison to the 15,427,565 who attended showings in Castilian (lavanguardia.es). Prior to the approval of this law the writer Albert Espulgas Boter, a native Catalan who speaks it with his partner and friends, states that he and many others prefer to see movies in their original

language and if that is not available then in Castilian. He states that "there are many similar to me who prefer Castilian, maybe because we are already used to it and it is strange listening to Bruce Willis in Catalan or because we think that dubbing in Catalan takes advantage of linguistic puritanism and it seems less natural than Castilian" (Espulgas Boter, 2009-my translation). His opinion is consistent with the results of a study in 2010, which showed that 46% of Catalans preferred to watch movies in Castilian in comparison to only 18% in Catalan ("46% de los catalanes," 2011). This top-down style of governing can go against the opinion of the inhabitants of Catalonia. However, it pleases the political elites who are in the unique position of having the platform to shape the official discourse of Catalonia and condition the opinion of many of its inhabitants.

3. BULLS AND BULLFIGHTING: ONLY SPANISH?

Bullfighting is an activity that has awakened passions among those in favor of it and those opposed to it during the 20th and 21st centuries. The commercial activity related with bullfighting has increased in the past two centuries but its presence in the Iberian Peninsula can be traced back thousands of years to the caves in Altamira. The Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset states that "The history of bullfighting is tied to the history of Spain in such a way that if one does not understand the former, one will never understand the latter" (Ortega y Gasset, www.proverbia.net). Many writers in popular mediums such as the newspaper or the internet, television commentators and many scholars, such as Timothy Mitchel or Carrie Douglass, refer to it as the "fiesta nacional" due to its popularity throughout the entire country. The popularity of bullfighting has even brought into the language numerous expressions such as *salir por la puerta grande* (complete something very successfully)*, la faena* (the last part of an activity) or *coger el toro por los cuernos* (grab the bull by the horns).

While the "fiesta nacional" is an activity that is practiced in almost all corners of Spain, there are many who associate it with a conservative ideology. Stanley Brandes states that, "the Spaniard who dons such clothing or uses bull-adorned objects openly and conspicuously is immediately identified with right-of-center national politics" (Brandes, 2009: 785). This identification makes the task of constructing a national narrative problematic for Spain due to the distrust of many towards the central government. The Franco dictatorship fundamentally altered the relationship between the central Spanish government and the "historic nationalities," brutally repressing the regional languages and cultural norms that did not conform to his vision of Spain. As such, the mention of Spain as a nation calls to mind, as in Brandes' statement, visions of Franco and his attempt to radically regenerate Spain in his image. His imposition of the Castilian language was accompanied by officially sanctioning cultural practices such as bullfighting. It was used almost a sort of *pan y toros* or "bread and bulls," to give the people a spectacle to distract them from everyday

problems. Franco also incorporated bullfighting into tourism campaigns designed at selling Spain as an exotic location.

Tourists are not the only ones who associate the bull with Spain, as evidenced by the following anecdote featuring the logo for Osborne (a popular sherry). A black bull appears on each bottle of sherry. The logo was popular, which led Osborne to launch an ad campaign in the 1980's featuring hundreds of enormous black bulls along public highways. In spite of the illegality of this action, the bulls were immensely popular with those driving on Spanish highways. The popularity prompted many citizens and journalists to protest the dismantling of the bulls due to the nationalist feelings that the bull and the bullfight are Spanish treasures. In speaking for citizens in favor of the bull and tourists, Antonio Burgos, a journalist, writes, "The bull, like so many other advertising symbols, formed part of the Spanish landscape. The foreigners took away memories of the Escorial, the Giralda, the Aqueduct, the thigh of a flamenco dancer in a show…and the Osborne bull seen from the air conditioned bus" (Burgos, 1989). Burgos feared that Spain was losing its unique national character and becoming another non-descript European country. The buildings he mentions, flamenco and the Osborne bull all contribute to making Spain a country unlike any other. His defense of the bulls, along with the outpouring of citizens' passion in defense of these black bulls, prompted the government to allow the billboards to remain but without any explicit reference to Osborne the brand.

The so called "fiesta nacional" is not seen by many to be an element related with Catalan culture but rather another example of an imposition of Castilian culture on the Catalans. Yet whereas the bull is commonly associated with Spain, bull baiting games and bullfighting also enjoy a long and seldom discussed history in Catalonia. The first mention of bullfighting activities in Catalonia takes place in the 14th Century in a meeting between the Kings of France and Aragón in Barcelona to proclaim their support in favor of Pope Clement VII (Segura Palomares, 1990: 196). The King of France sent a letter requesting three bulls and the necessary bullfighters to carry out the show (Segura Palomares, 1990: 196). The popularity of bullfights and other bull baiting games continued throughout the next few centuries with a style that differed from the bullfight being practiced in Castile. In the 13th Century the Castilian King Alfonso X declared in the *Siete partidas* that all who fought beasts for money would be dishonored (Sabio, 1807). This proclamation discriminated against the lower class tradition of fighting on foot and favored the nobility and warrior classes, who fought on horseback. The Catalans continued with their tradition of bullfighting, running with the bulls and other bull baiting games on foot and did not incorporate the fight on horseback (Segura Palomares, 1990: 197).

As the centuries passed, Catalonia continued practicing *correbous* (running with the bulls) and hosting numerous bullfights. At one time Barcelona was home to three bullrings which were in constant use, with La Monumental being one of the

largest and most prolific in Spain, often hosting more bullfights with high quality bullfighters than Las Ventas in Madrid (Segura Palomares, 1990: 178). Catalonia also produced its share of bullfighters and produced businessmen like don Pedro Balañá who were very important in the world of bullfighting. Most recently, in 2007, the mythical José Tomás decided to come out of retirement. He chose la Monumental, the largest bullring in Barcelona, as the stage for his comeback from a brief retirement (Brandes, 2009: 788). That the bullring was at capacity that is a testament to the popularity among certain sectors that bullfighting enjoyed and José Tomás delighted those lucky enough to attend.

In addition to the bullfight, Catalonia has another particular form of bull baiting game referred to as *correbous*. The tradition of *correbous,* or running with the bulls, commonly referred to as *encierro* in other parts of Spain, is deeply rooted within Catalan society. This activity consists of allowing a bull loose in a town square and allow the bull to run along a carefully planned out route, or just around in the square, to allow the participants to run with it and there and even those who are brave enough to touch it. The bulls do not die in this activity, nor is there any bloodshed. In Cardona (Barcelona) there is evidence of *corre-bous* dating back to the 15th century (Segura Palomares, 1990: 190). This particular bull baiting game consists of a young man hiding in a wicker basket in the middle of the plaza while the rest of the plaza is surrounded by young men holding onto ropes used to climb away from the danger of an onrushing bull. The young man in the wicker basket must call the attention of the bull, thus causing it to run in his direction and absorb the punishment from the bull's attacks. When he is knocked down, other men in the plaza help him back to his feet. At the same time, the other young men in the plaza run towards the bull with the aim of catching its attention so that it will follow or touching the bull before running away to safety. The neighboring autonomous community of Valencia also has a long tradition of *correbous*, and both regions practice a few other types of bull baiting games as well. There is the *toro embolado* in which sparklers or torches are attached to the bull's horns prior to running through the streets. This activity is very common at night during fiestas celebrated in various cities or towns. Finally, there are some cities in Valencia, like Benicarló, in which the *bous* (bull) runs through the town in a determined route with its final destination being the sea. The young men and women in the town guide the bull to a ledge where it then jumps into the sea. It must be stated that the previous activities do not involve the death of the bull, merely the proximity of the human beings to the animal.

Despite this longstanding history of bull games, resistance to bullfighting in Catalonia has emerged in the last few years. In December 2003, Catalan separatists tore down the last of the immense Osborne bulls from the highway (Brandes, 2009: 787). Prior to 2010, Catalonia had 37 cities or towns that were "anti-taurina" (anti-bullfighting) (Brandes, 2009: 787). In addition to this resistance, attendance at bullfights has fallen significantly over the past 30 years. In the year 2009 there were 1,848 bullfights or other bull activities in which 10,247 bulls participated ("Toros en

España," 2010). This represented a decline of 16.88% from the number of bullfights in 2008 and a 29.52% reduction from the numbers of 2007 ("Los toros en España," 2010). Authorities felt addition pressure from animal rights groups, known as *animalistas*, to officially ban bullfighting in Spain or at least in some regions of Spain. One of these groups, *Prou!,* presented on November 11, 2008 a petition with over 180,000 signatures to the Generalitat. After almost two years of discussions and deliberations on the topic, it was scheduled for a vote on July 28, 2010.

The debates prior to the vote centered upon animal rights and identity. Josep Rull, a representative of CiU, stated that the prohibition was about animal rights, not identity. He stated that bullfighting is as Catalan as any other tradition and reminded others that intellectuals such as Antonio Machado, Lope de Vega, Santiago Ramón y Cajal or Jacinto Benavente were against bullfighting with the simple aim of achieving a better country (López, 2010). In defense of the bullfight, Rafael Luna of PPC stated that, "everything that is not exclusively Catalan bothers the nationalists" (López, 2010-my translation). It was known prior to the vote that the President of the Generalitat, José Montilla, a member of PSC, would vote against the prohibition. He later stated that he voted against the prohibition because he believed in liberty ("Montilla: He votado," 2010).

The result of the vote prohibited bullfighting, with 68 votes in favor of the prohibition, 55 against, and 9 abstentions. The votes and to whom they belonged hints that this particular prohibition was more about identity than animal rights. Prior to the vote, it was announced that each politician would be able to vote their conscience and not be forced to vote along party lines. In the end, 65 of the 68 votes in favor of the prohibition belonged to representatives of political parties in favor of increased autonomy, recognition of the Catalan nation or independence (CiU, ERC, ICV) (López, 2010). There were only seven members of CiU who voted against the prohibition and none from the other parties (Belmonte, 2010). The other political parties that participated, PPC and PSC, voted against the prohibition, with only 3 lawmakers from PSC voting in favor (López, 2010).

The overwhelming number of votes in favor of the prohibition suggests that the Catalan nationalist parties were seeking to strengthen their *fet diferencial* as opposed to defending animal rights. By prohibiting bullfighting, nationalist politicians were able to clearly contrast Catalonia against Spain. Catalonia portrayed itself as a forward-thinking, more tolerant "nation" in line with other European countries, as opposed to Spain, which continues to defend bullfighting, seen by some as an affront to animal rights. Since these political parties' desire is to raise awareness of Catalonia as a separate entity from Spain, this vote helped them gain further international exposure. The parties who voted against the prohibition are national parties and voting in favor of the prohibition would not be in their best interest. Despite a somewhat reduced consumer demand, bullfighting continues to be a fixture on Sunday afternoons in many parts of the country.

Former President Montilla's previous statement about liberty is also instructive, for he does not mention being for or against animal rights but rather in favor of liberty. He is saying that it should be up to the individuals, not the government, to decide whether or not to attend an event whose history goes back hundreds of years in Spain. By not mentioning animal rights, he is calling attention to the lack of respect that the animal is receiving in this vote. Montilla is pointing out that the issue is the liberty of the Catalans to decide what is and isn't Catalan.

4. FC BARCELONA: AT THE SERVICE OF ITS COUNTRY

While the rejection of the bullfight represents another way to augment the *fet diferencial* in Catalonia, Futbol Club Barcelona (FC Barcelona) has arguably been the most visible Catalan organization in the world. Their slogan, which is "Mes che un club" or "More than a club," seeks to reinforce their image as an organization that is a force for change. Since the club's founding in 1899, FC Barcelona has been a living symbol of Catalan identity. The club has been described as a "…disarmed civic army…a civil religion and a national ambassador for Catalonia" (García, 2012: 2). The Francoist dictatorship could not stop FC Barcelona from attracting supporters and some investigators "…point to the role of sports in creating a collective identity in times of political repression" (García, 2012: 5). During the Franco dictatorship the Camp Nou served as a safe haven for the Catalan language and culture due to the inability of police forces to control the more than 80,000 spectators filling the stadium. Today the Camp Nou plays a part in the nationalist cause through the songs sung by the fans and the flags that they carry. It is common to see the *senyera* (Official Flag of Catalonia) waved by thousands of fans during any game, while it is rare to ever see a Spanish flag inside the stadium (García, 2012: 5).

There is no doubt that thousands of fans bring Catalan nationalist sentiments with them to the stadium each weekend, but the political activity of the club is a recent phenomenon. Previous presidents of FC Barcelona, such as Josep Lluís Nuñez and Joan Gaspart, respected the nationalist aspects of the club, such as the language, but hesitated to take a more political stance. During his nearly twenty years as President of FC Barcelona, Nuñez took great pains to remain politically ambivalent (Ball, 2011). The club prospered both on the field and in the number of members, but no effort was made by the President to involve the club in political movements (Ball, 2011). This political ambivalence continued under Joan Gaspart. He was a member of the Partido Popular but avoided making political declarations while president (Ball, 2011). It wasn't until the resignation of Gaspart and the subsequent election of Joan Laporta that FC Barcelona threw itself into the political arena.

With Laporta now at the forefront, many of those who were incorporated into executive positions at the club were Catalan nationalist supporters who did not hesitate to express their support of Catalonia either verbally or through their actions (García,

2012: 6). During Laporta's term the *senyera* was added to the Barcelona jerseys, and the club encouraged nationalist displays in the Camp Nou. In 2009, Laporta participated in a pro-independence march that took place on *la Diada* (Catalan National Holiday), later defending his right to do so ("Miles de personas," 2009). Also in 2009 Laporta spoke about the supposed identity politics in the games between Real Madrid and FC Barcelona. He informed everyone that in his office there are two flags, an FC Barcelona flag and a Catalonia flag. He finished by saying that this was one of the most Catalanist and most universal teams ever ("Laporta saca pecho," 2009). Laporta was stating that not only did the team strongly represent Catalonia, but its success had made the club more popular internationally than ever before. After leaving office Laporta went on to form a pro-independence political party.

Laporta's successor, Sandro Rosell, has continued involving the club in the movement towards independence. FC Barcelona's Camp Nou served as a venue for the human chain that crossed all of Catalonia on September 11, 2013 ("La vía catalana," 2013). Similar to the human chain formed in the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia in 1989, the purpose of this act was to call attention to their desire for independence. The "via catalane," as it was called, stretched over 400 kilometers from the northern border of Catalonia with France to the southernmost point in Tarragona. FC Barcelona was asked if the *via* could pass through the Camp Nou and vice president Carles Vilarrubi stated that "Barca always has its doors open to FC Barcelona fans who want to express themselves" (http://www.catalannewsagency/"FC Barcelona opens," 2013). In addition, club President Sandro Rosell offered the institution's support for the referendum on independence in a press conference in October 2013. He stated, "We are a Catalan Club and Catalanista. We are that way because of our history, because of our identity and because of our conviction. We have reinforced our ties with Catalan institutions and we have collaborated in the diffusion of the values of the club and the country" (Solé, 2013-my translation).

In spite of FC Barcelona's universal appeal, they continue to use Catalan in their press releases and press conferences. The website for the club is also outwardly nationalist in the language used. In a previous version of the club's website, differing terms were used in discussing the identity of FC Barcelona. When accessed in Catalan or Castilian, the website says, "… FC Barcelona is more than a club for many people in the *Spanish State* who saw in Barcelona a firm defender of democratic rights and freedoms" ("Mes que un club"-emphasis mine). However, this same passage in English says, "…for many people in *Spain*…" ("Mes que un club"-emphasis mine). The use of the word *Spanish State* indicates that while FC Barcelona is bound politically to Spain, the club is stating that they believe Spain to be a pluri-national state and not a nation-state. The use of the word *Spain* in the text in English serves the purpose of hiding the identity debate from those who are unaware of the different cultures in Spain.

Nonetheless, this contrast completely disappears in the updated version of the website. In writing about the identity of the club, it states, "FC Barcelona is "more than a club" in Catalonia because it is the sports club that most represents the *country* and is also one of its greatest ambassadors" ("FC Barcelona, The member's Club"- emphasis mine). The word *country* refers to the club's view that Catalonia should be a state independent from Spain. The identity is therefore tied to a country that is not a political entity but is fighting to become one. Unlike the previous version, the website does not change its message from one language to another. This lack of change reflects the stance by the club to a more open stance in regards to independence, stating openly that Catalonia should be a country. Regardless of the version of the website accessed, there is a link at the bottom of the page to a tourism site dedicated to Catalan tourism.

The club's executives also aggressively promote the use of Catalan by players and fans. The club hopes that foreign players, those born outside of Catalonia, learn Catalan when they sign a contract in the hope that they will follow in the steps of the club's founder, Hans Gamper. He was born in Switzerland but moved to Catalonia in his twenties where he immersed himself in everything Catalan. Gamper learned the language, immersed himself in the community and even legally changed his name from Hans to Joan. His embrace of Catalonia is seen as another example of how Catalans believe that their society is open and inviting. The foreign born players who follow Gamper's example by learning Catalan and integrating themselves into the community become heroes such as former players Johan Cruyff or Hristo Stoichkov.

As the club considers itself an outward symbol of Catalan nationalism, fans are also encouraged to speak Catalan. In March 2013, Club President Sandro Rosell stated that speaking Catalan was the best way to demonstrate that one is a true fan of Barcelona. He continued by reiterating that the club's, "…official language is Catalan and, as such, it is important that you share the language of the club with all of the children who live together in this country" ("Rosell: Hablar catalán," 2013). Rosell thus reflects the importance of the language to the Catalan identity and includes the club as part of that identity. He also lends importance to the nationalists' belief that Catalonia as a country as opposed to an autonomous community in Spain.

In addition to the language, in recent years the club has begun to use *la senyera* in organized events and as part of their uniform. On October 7th 2012 Real Madrid visited the Camp Nou for a match and FC Barcelona organized the formation of a massive mosaic by providing fans with colored pieces of paper. At the minute 17:14 of each half the fans would hold up these pieces of paper to form a giant *senyera* ("Camp Nou se vestirá," 2012). This large mosaic was a show of support to the independence movement and its pro-independence rally in the city of Barcelona a month prior on September 11 in which between 600,000 and 1.5 million people participated (Pi, 2012). This use of the *senyera* extends to the official game kits also. As previously stated, Joan Laporta added the *senyera* to the back of the Barcelona

jerseys. This small emblem will be much larger in the 2013-14 campaign, as they have decided to make their second jersey a *senyera.* With this jersey FC Barcelona will be a kicking, running and living advertisement for Catalonia, even more so than before.

5. CONCLUSION

Xavier Rubert de Ventós defines the *fet diferencial* as a fundamental element for nationalism: "…to define something is, first and foremost, to delimit what it is not, distinguishing it from the bordering phenomena or concepts" (de Ventós, 1994: 27-my translation). As such, Catalonia's prohibition of bullfighting does seem to derive from a desire to differentiate Catalonia from Spain. The overwhelming support from the politicians representing nationalist parties suggests that their goal is to place Catalonia in a position closer to the rest of Europe. By defining themselves as a region in favor of animal rights, they are placing themselves at odds with Spain. However, this redefinition does have its flaws. How can the Generalitat prohibit bullfighting but continue to allow a spectacle like the *correbous* which, on the outside, appears to violate animal rights? In fact, many *animalistas* have expressed their disapproval of the *correbous* but their petitions have not yet reached the level of popular support to be discussed by the Generalitat. Even if they did, I doubt that their petitions would be considered. *Correbous* are considered to be an integral part of Catalan culture, especially in areas in the south of Catalonia. Had the prohibition of bullfighting been mainly about animal rights, it would have been logical to prohibit an activity in which flaming torches are attached to a live animal. Finally, attendance at bullfights has been in decline for years not only in Catalonia but all over Spain. As such, market forces would have eventually ended the bullfighting spectacle, as it would no longer be economically viable to have them. Similar to ex-President Montilla's statement about voting in favor of liberty, it would appear that the spirit of *pactisme* is also under attack. Instead of looking for common ground with those who are in favor of bullfighting, a direct attack was made and one side received what it wanted while the other was left with nothing.

Whereas independence for Catalonia certainly garners popular approval, as evidenced by the hundreds of thousands of people who have participated in the various marches and pro-independence activities over the last few years, one cannot ignore the strong presence of politicians and presidents who have encouraged nationalist activities, resulting in a top-down governing mentality. Their shaping of the nationalist discourse may prove alienating to those who do not share all of the views being presented by those in power. Juan Segura Palomares, a Catalan who writes about the history of bullfighting in Catalonia, affirms that in Catalan nationalism there is a purveying sentiment that, "…to be a good Catalan you have to reject bullfighting because it is not a Catalan tradition" (Segura Palomares, 1990: 209). Club President Sandro Rosell affirms this by repeating the importance of the language to being a true fan in Catalonia and employing nationalist symbols on the

club's jerseys or in the stadium. These statements and actions create divisions where they are not necessary. The criteria that determines who is and is not Catalan should not be decided by politicians and club presidents. If someone enjoys attending a bullfight, why should that person be any less Catalan than his neighbor who repudiates the practice? Is someone less of a fan of FC Barcelona if they do not speak Catalan or share the view that Catalonia should be independent from Spain?

The nationalist rhetoric and actions that have been officially sanctioned by the club and its presidents run the risk of tarnishing the reputation of openness or *pactisme* that Cataloinia and the club tout as their distinguishing features. Whereas César García writes that, "BFC fans in the rest of Spain are not going to change their support even if the club's president uses the team to promote Catalan independence," Alejandro Quiroga disagrees (García 2012: 11). He writes that the top down promotion of Catalan separatism "runs the risk of alienating non-Catalanist sectors of the Barça fan base in and outside Catalonia" (Quiroga, 2013: 145). The nationalist discourse of ex-President Laporta was criticized in a letter to Marca by ex-President of Extremadura Guillermo Fernández Vara. He cautions Laporta that he should moderate his discourse or else the only remaining fans of the club will be in the Diagonal in Barcelona (Fernández Vara: 2009). Similarly, peñas, or social groups of fans of a particular club, that don't share the nationalist beliefs have stated that the nationalist politics of the club have made it more difficult for them to be fans outside of Catalonia (Peñas barcelonistas de fuera: 2009). This sentiment extends to fans of the club who live in other parts of the world. In a comments section on the website for the newspaper *El país,* user *desdeguate* from Guatemala writes, "Here we are many fans who love to watch Barcelona play. Please don't put politics in the middle!" (Eskup).

These are only a few of the examples found but they sum up quite well what I have heard from many individuals who have a difficult time separating politics and sport. It is dangerous to mix a universal brand like Barcelona with the politics of a regional phenomenon because the commercial and public relations damages could be far reaching. FC Barcelona has worked very hard to establish partnerships with organizations such as UNICEF, which provide it an image of an open and forward thinking club. This image outside of Catalonia may continue to cause negative reactions from those who disagree with their nationalist position. It is possible that in the coming years FC Barcelona could continue to lose supporters around the world because of political movements that it chooses to support today.

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Emancipation for Muslim Women Living in France

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Emancipation for Muslim Women Living in France

La emancipación de mujeres musulmanes en Francia

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Abstract

Emancipation for Muslim women in France is an ongoing struggle expressed and examined through contemporary French and Francophone literature and film. In *Inch'Allah Dimanche* (*God-Willing on Sunday*) and *Mémoires d'immigrés: l'héritage maghrébin* (*Immigrant Memories: Maghrebin Heritage*), French-Algerian filmmaker Yamina Benguigui illustrates the social, economic, and religious difficulties experienced by immigrants of the Maghreb to France following France's family regroupment law of 1974. These difficulties continue today and have contributed to an identity crisis that is preventing Muslim women from achieving emancipation. Leïla Djitli addresses the notion of identity crisis as it pertains to the experience of the Muslim immigrant woman in France *Lettre à ma fille qui veut porter le voile* (*A Letter to my Daughter Who Wants to Wear the Veil*). Through her documentary-like approach, Djitli examines the feelings of exile that contribute to identity crisis. This paper will analyze France's recent Muslim immigrant history from the Algerian War to present day through these works as it pertains to the role of identity in emancipation. The analysis will consider Western feminist and Islamic feminist perspectives as well as the French position on secularism and its role in the French public sphere.

Keywords: Maghreb; Women; France; Laïcité; Emancipation.

Resumen

La emancipación para mujeres musulmanas en Francia es una lucha continua expresada y examinada a través de la literatura y el cine franceses contemporáneos. En las obras Inch´Allah Dimanch (Inch´Allah domingo) y Mémoires d´inmigrés: l´heritage maghrébin (Recuerdos de inmigrantes: la herencia musulmana), la cineasta franco-argelina Yamina Benguigui ilustra las dificultades sociales, económicas y religiosas vividas por los inmigrantes del Maghreb a Francia tras la ley de reagrupamiento familiar de 1974. Estas dificultades siguen hoy en día y han contribuido a una crisis de identidad que impide que las mujeres musulmanas logren su emancipación. Leïla Djitli aborda esta idea de crisis de identidad en cuanto a la experiencia de la inmigrante musulmana en Francia en su obra Lettre à ma fille qui veut porter le voile (Carta a mi hija que quiere llevar el velo). A través de su estilo documental, Djitli investiga los sentimientos del exilio que

contribuyen a esta crisis de identidad. Este trabajo analizará la historia reciente de los inmigrantes musulmanes en Francia a partir de la Guerra de Independencia de Argelia hasta hoy día a través de estas obras y como éstas pertenecen al papel de la identidad en emancipación. El análisis considera tanto las perspectivas feministas occidentales y musulmanas como la postura francesa en cuanto al laicismo y su papel en el ámbito público francés.

Palabras clave: Maghreb; Mujer; Francia; Laicismo; Emancipación.

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Three specific events in French history have contributed to the modern Islamophobia that Muslim women in France, whether immigrants or French-born, are victims of today. At the Battle of Tours in the eighth Century, Charles Martel stopped the Islamic advance into Western Europe and set the tone for France's relationship with Islam for hundreds of years to come through anti-Muslim propaganda. Then, during the French Revolution, the French government severed its ties with the Catholic Church and created an officially secular state, which continues today, as France formally recognizes no religion in the public sphere. Finally, the 132-year-long French colonization of Algeria ended in a bloody war for independence that lasted from 1954 to 1962 (Bourget, 2010). Today, "Maghrebin women suffer from multiple layers of oppression, as Muslims, as North Africans, as immigrants, and as women" (Killian, 2006: 9) stemming from France's complex cultural history. Contributing to the oppression is the representation of women in contemporary culture as explained by Killian: "Muslim women suffer from particularly weighty historical representations and derogatory images. Westerners typically view Muslim women as the ultimate 'other' because they are of a different nationality, race, and religion, and because they are female" (Killian, 2006: 9). From the Battle of Tours to the decolonization of Algeria, Islamophobia has been present in French culture. The secular values of the French Republic that were initially meant to reduce the influence of the Catholic Church have become a way for France to codify racism into law. The so-called secular values seem to most intimately affect the lives of the roughly five million Muslims living in France today (Bourget, 2010) and form a roadblock to the emancipation of Muslim women through the denial of the opportunity to achieve self-actualization. Between the "one million *pieds-noirs* forced to abandon their homes and identity in Algeria" (Hargreaves, 2005: 203), the wave of Algerians that also left Algeria for France in the years following the Algerian war, and growing Muslim immigrant populations of other former colonies, France faces many challenges related to migration, transnational markets, and multiple identities (Keaton, 2006). The films and book discussed in this paper are artistic expressions that attempt to process the anxieties of the population of Muslim women living in France who have not yet achieved emancipation.

In her film *Inch'Allah Dimanche,* French Algerian filmmaker Yamina Benguigui depicts immigrant life in France in the 1970s through the experiences of the film's protagonist Zouïna. The story is semi-autobiographical, as it represents the personal experiences of the women of Benguigui's mother's generation in the 1970s following France's 1974 family regroupment law that allowed Algerian women to join their husbands who had been working in France during the post-war reconstruction (Portuges, 2009). The opening scene shows Zouïna's painful departure from her family in Algeria with her children and her mother-in-law as she gets on a boat join her husband Ahmed in France. When Zouïna arrives in France, she struggles to find happiness in her new world where she is clearly an outsider and where her religion, her customs, and her appearance isolate her. The solution to Zouïna's problems is to embrace the new culture and to leave her Arab and Algerian customs behind. Benguigui takes a total anti-Arab culture stance in favor of French culture, suggesting that the way for immigrants to survive in France is to completely assimilate.

Benguigui depicts nearly every aspect of Zouïna's home culture as negative and even harmful and depicts French culture as desirable and ameliorative, reflecting her view that emancipation for immigrants is achieved through assimilation. Zouïna's customs, such as preparing coffee in the backyard and planting mint at night, are perceived by her French neighbors as extremely bizarre. Her inability to read or write in French and her helplessness at the market, where it becomes evident that she does not understand how to use French currency, make her vulnerable to exploitation by French capitalists. For example, a traveling salesman shows up at Zouïna's home and tells her that she has won a prize. He convinces her to sign a form that commits her husband to having to make payments on an expensive vacuum cleaner, an action for which Ahmed later brutally beats her. Zouïna's vulnerability is further exacerbated by the repeated verbal and physical abuse she receives from both her husband and mother-in-law, as well as their strict order that she never leave the house except for short trips to the market.

The film portrays Zouïna as a damsel in distress, an abused woman in need of saving from her life in which she enjoys no freedom and is controlled by her husband and mother-in-law. She is completely alone, isolated from her family, her language, her customs, and her religion. Her only refuge is on Sunday afternoons when she sneaks out of the house with her children when her husband and mother-in-law are out, which is the source of the film's title: *God-willing on Sunday*. A real opportunity to escape her circumstances comes to Zouïna through the character Nicole Briat, the young liberated divorcé and symbol of the modern woman in 1970s Europe. Nicole's role in the film is as Zouïna's friend but more importantly as her teacher or her inculcator of *francité* or "Frenchness." Nicole educates Zouïna in the values of French society and modern culture, bringing makeup to Zouïna's house and chatting with her about divorce and dance. The friendship between the women is rather superficial, for Nicole does not once inquire as to how Zouïna is adjusting to life in a new place. The depth of their conversations is limited to talk of makeup

and parties, as though making Zouïna entirely "French" is just a project for Nicole. By the end of the film, Zouïna has completed her transformation into *francité.* The process culminates in the film's final scene in a moment of feminine empowerment as defined by Western feminist values. Ahmed and the mother-in-law stand outside the house and see Zouïna and the children arrive on a bus from one of their Sunday outings. Zouïna says to Ahmed, "I will take the kids to school tomorrow," an appropriate ending for a film with a narrative of the empowerment of the female Maghrebin immigrant through assimilation.

Benguigui's specific artistic choices in the portrayal of Arab and French culture in the film reflects the cultural imperialism of the French Republic and its attitude towards immigrants. Benguigui illustrates the perspective that "[immigrants are] made French through social structures and through French national education," as is the experience of Zouïna and her children in the film. However, the "historical and expressed objective" of the "Frenchification" of Zouïna's family "remains franco-conformity—an arrogant assimilation toward the national identity in keeping with the interest of national unity" (Keaton, 2006: 3). In forcing "franco-conformity," particularly upon women, a devaluation of the non-franco aspect of identity occurs which is a form of oppression. Franco-conformity takes the form of oppression in the denial of the freedom expression of identity. Through its promulgation of *francité,* France ultimately creates "negative images of nonwhite femininity" that in effect "take a way minority women's power of self-identification" (Killian, 2006, p. 9), pushing Muslim women to the far edges of otherness.

Benguigui's attitude towards assimilation as expressed through the "Frenchification" of Zouïna in the film is also consistent with many members of those of Benguigui's generation. Benguigui's portrayal of Zouïna's path to perceived emancipation through modern Western feminism represents the process by which many Maghrebin women became French following the French Algerian War. A similar view is also expressed in Leïla Djitli's *Lettre à ma fille qui veut porter le voile* (*A Letter to My Daughter Who Wants to Wear the Veil*), by the opinions of a mother (Aïcha) who is a member of Benguigui's generation. Aïcha and her daughter, Nawel, represent two generations of Muslim women living in France with markedly different experiences that come from different cultural memories. Aïcha and Benguigui's generation vividly remembers post-war tensions and ethnic riots, a generation was desperate and willing to give up its home culture in order to be "French" and truly saw this process as an investment in the well-being of future generations living in France. Aïcha and Benguigui see emancipation as not having to wear the veil and having the same rights and freedoms as other French people, which Aïcha explicitly discusses in the text. For Aïcha, the veil is a relic of the past, of a life that she left behind in Algeria when she and her family immigrated. Aïcha's mother further illustrates the tension and difference of experience between generations when she explicitly says, "if you wanted to raise your girls like Muslims, we should pack our bags and go back to Algeria" (Djitli, 2004: 24). Aïcha even explains in the letter

that the veil imposes certain social behaviors such as not making eye contact, not shaking hands with men, not going to cafés, and at times, not leaving the house at all (Djitli, 2004: 32).

Highly emotional memories resurface for Aïcha when Nawel announces that she wants to start wearing the veil. Nawel states that wearing the veil "is [her] identity" and that she "does not want to hide it anymore" (Djitli, 2004: 8), emphasizing her desire to express her identity in a way that feels the most natural to her. Nawel represents young French women today who want to wear the veil for different reasons from their mothers and grandmothers. These young women are struggling to reconcile aspects of their identity and cling to the religious and cultural customs that their mothers and grandmothers left behind in order to pave the way to what they perceived as a better life for their children in France. The supposedly "better life," however, seems to favor only the aspects of identity of which the state of France approves.

In her film *Mémoires d'immigrés: l'héritage maghrébin* (*Immigrant Memories: Maghrebin Heritage*), Benguigui explores the Algerian immigrant's experience in France since the French Algerian War. Through a series of interviews with men, women, and children, Benguigui connects memories of the past with the experience of the present. The film is divided into three parts of equal length in which Benguigui traces the movement of Algerian workers who immigrated to France following the war. The three groups interviewed, *Les Pères* (*The Fathers*) and *Les Mères* (*The Mothers*), and *Les Enfants* (*The Children*), highlight generational differences in immigrant experience as it pertains to terms such as *intégration* (integration) and *assimilation* (*assimilation*). The older generation seems to have an idea of integration that means giving up traditions from *la-bas*, or from back home. The younger generation wants to live in France in a way that does not completely erase aspects of Algerian identity. The younger generation communicates feelings of otherness marked by a desire to retain aspects of Algerian identity. All of the groups express a certain pain associated with assimilation and integration, or attempting to become French.

In 1989, three high school students in France sparked an international controversy by wearing the veil at school "despite French authorities' insistence that religion has no place in schools" (Killian, 2006: 21). This event, known as the Islamic Veil Affair, occurred during the bicentennial celebration of the French Revolution, stirring up longstanding tensions and national sentiments about what it means to be French. In 1994, another instance of girls wearing the veil at school occurred and "spread until school officials refused to allow more than 100 Muslim girls to attend public school" (Killian, 2006: 21). The 1989 affair has spurred the creation of secular laws in France including the banning of the veil in schools entirely as of 2004. Wearing the burqa is entirely illegal in France and is punishable by a fine of about $200 and a "civics lesson" (Beardsley, 2011). In 2008, France denied citizenship to Faiza Silmi because she wore the niqab, though "government commissioner approvingly noted in her report that she was treated by a male gynecologist during her pregnancies"

(Bennhold, 2008). The ruling stated that Silmi "[had] adopted a radical practice of her religion, incompatible with essential values of the French community, particularly the principle of equality of the sexes" (Bennhold, 2008). The notion that women in France cannot express their religion and be French at the same time ethnic exacerbates ethnic tensions in France today.

The testimonies of young women interviewed by Patricia Keaton echo the sentiments of Nawel, Aïcha's daughter, as well as those of *Les Enfants* (*The Children*) of *Memoires immigrés: l'héritage maghrébin* (*Immigrant Memories: Maghrebin Heritage*). Today's young French women of Maghrebin descent are experiencing an identity struggle markedly different from that of their mothers and grandmothers. Across France but in Paris especially, Muslim youth have become "targets and effects of identity politics, educational inequality" (Keaton, 2006: 1). Muslim communities in the outskirts of Paris are seen as "blighted public housing projects that risk becoming little more than feeders for prisons" (Keaton, 2006: 2). These social currents stand in the way of self-actualization for young Muslim French women. Mariama, a young French woman of Malian origin, states that "I was born French, but for me, the way I see it, it's only in France that I'm French because our parents are foreign. But [in France] you have to be French. You have to be French to do anything here, like at school, or how you're educated. But in my head, I'm a foreigner" (Keaton, 2006: 1). Fatima, of Algerian origin, says that "Me, I find myself totally integrated in France, so I feel at home everywhere. Given that I was born in France, that I speak French, that my culture is French, that I learned French history, France is my country…My identity is French of Algerian origin, of Muslim religion" (Keaton, 2006: 1). These quotations illustrate the feelings of otherness experienced by the younger generation of Muslim French women living France, different from Zouïna's experiences and Nawel's experiences. The girls' feelings occur in response to stressful social anxieties associated with Muslim youth living in France today. As Keaton explains, Muslim youth are "seen by the [French] public as manifestations of social ill and not perceived as French" (Keaton, 2006: 2). In light of recent terrorist attacks around the world, including growing anxieties related to public fear, "politicized rhetoric conjures an imaginary hydra of immigration," the ultimate threat to France's coveted national identity (Keaton, 2006: 2). Thus, a social stigma surrounds youths of non-European origin who "assert that they are French and expect to be treated as such in their country" (Keaton, 2006: 2).

For Muslim women the process of Frenchification presents as a violation of the female body, for "the 2004 law banning the headscarf in French schools is a symbolic solution to the problems of violence and integration in France, and importantly, is enacted on women's bodies" (Killian, 2006: 11). Through the creation of a law that denounces the culturally based and personal expression of modesty of physical appearance, Muslim women are denied autonomy over their own bodies. In other words, the French government is assuming responsibility over the bodies of Muslim women by forbidding them to express their own idea of modesty in public. In any

other Western country, laws do not specifically target this Muslim cultural value nor do they affect men in the same ways that they affect women.

Zouïna's life illustrated through *Inch'Allah Dimanche* reflects the Republic's commitment to inculcating *francité* into its immigrant population. In the eyes of the Republic and through the lens of the filmmaker, immigrant women are viewed as both "barriers to assimilation" because of their determination to cling to traditional ways and as "vehicles of integration into dominant society" (Killian, 2006: 11). Zouïna converts from a "barrier of assimilation" to a "vehicle of integration" in *Inch'Allah Dimanche* and represents the widespread oppression of women who are forced to choose one aspect of their identity over others in France today.

Conflicts following Algerian independence and the extensive identity crisis that French citizens of Algerian descent face today have contributed to ethnic and religious tensions in France. Muslim women in France are victims of discrimination that is coded in the language of the values of the French Republic. France, the country of Simone de Beauvoir and of modern Western feminism, tries actively to create laws that in the eyes of the state protect Muslim women from their own traditional and religious practices. Despite these efforts in the name of the Republic, the laws are oppressive and are exacerbating tensions. A study from the At Home in Europe initiative of the Open Society Foundations called "Unveiling the Truth: Why 32 Muslim Women Wear the Full-Face Veil in France" reveals that Muslim women who wear the veil do so as a result of a personal choice and that their husbands and families would in fact prefer if they did not wear for reasons concerning safety (Irving, 2013). Most of the women state that they wear the veil as part of a spiritual journey in order to deepen their relationship with God and look to the actions of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad for guidance. As a result of their personal choice, these women report that they have suffered physical brutality and verbal insults most severely since the turning point for the issue in 1989. As a consequence of the violence to which they are subjected, they prefer to spend a limited amount of time outside the home and in the public sphere. The testimonies of these women suggest that the *mixité* laws, which relate to the integration of men and women in the public sphere, have had adverse effects on their own population but also on French society as a whole. French efforts to regulate secularism, to force women to abandon their religion and thus their identity in the name of the Republic, undermines the values of the Republic and prevents these women from achieving emancipation from otherness.

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Memory and Nostalgia in Woody Allen's "Midnight in Paris"

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Memory and Nostalgia in Woody Allen's "Midnight in Paris"

Memoria y nostalgia en "Medianoche en París" de Woody Allen

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Abstract

Woody Allen's recent "Midnight in Paris" describes a Paris that has as many identities as there are observers to ascribe them. Indeed, there is no one, true Paris that everyone objectively shares; Paris, in Allen's film, exists only in the phenomenology of the observer's perception, a perception often marred and made unreliable by an escapist need to withdraw from the present in order to take shelter in a glorified, utopian past. Allen thus criticizes the nostalgic impulse, the "Golden-Age thinking" (as it is called in the film) that forces various characters simultaneously to inhabit two worlds, that of a prelapsarian past and that of the fallen present. His protagonist's journey back and forth between the present and the idealized Roaring Twenties is everyman's journey, the sometimes surreal voyage between reality and imagination, between the world actually inhabited and the world artificially constructed for oneself. Yet it is when Allen's protagonist finally discovers nostalgia within his nostalgia, a longing within his longing, that he recognizes the flawed thinking behind his almost mythologized perception of the past, reflecting everyman's realization that the past is ultimately the expression of our present needs.

Keywords: Woody Allen; Paris; Nostalgia; Memory; Emancipation.

Resumen

Uno de los films recientes de Woody Allen, "Midnight in Paris", describe un París que tiene tantas identidades como observadores hay a quienes atribuirlos. De hecho, no hay un París auténtico que compartan todos. París, en el film de Allen, solo existe en la fenomenología de la percepción del observador, una percepción con frecuencia dañada/arruinada y realizada poco fidedigna por una necesidad escapista a retirarse del presente para refugiarse en un pasado glorificado, utópico. Así Allen critica el impulso nostálgico, la idea del "pensamiento del siglo de oro" (tal y como viene a ser llamado en el film) que obliga a que varios personajes residan en dos mundos al mismo tiempo: el de un mundo anterior a La Creación y el del presente caído. El viaje del protagonista entre el presente y la época idealizada de "los felices años 20" es el viaje de un hombre cualquiera, el viaje

a veces surrealista entre realidad e imaginación, entre el mundo donde reside y el mundo artificial construido para sí mismo. No obstante, en el momento en el que el protagonista de Allen finalmente descubre nostalgia dentro de su nostalgia, una añoranza dentro de su añoranza, él reconoce el pensamiento erróneo detrás de su percepción casi mitificada del pasado, reflejando así la realización de un hombre cualquiera que el pasado no es nada más que la expresión de nuestras necesidades en el presente.

Palabras clave: Woody Allen; París; Nostalgia; Memoria; Emancipación.

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It is said that every man has his own Paris, and Woody Allen's "Midnight in Paris" offers us a glimpse of his very own, personalized Paris—a Paris of monuments and cafés, of rainy strolls and glistening lights, of panoramic views narrated not by words but by music—the familiar, dulcet tones of the traditional French chanson. Indeed, the opening scenes of the film require no words at all, for it is the supremacy of the image that matters, Paris the Beautiful, Paris the Silent Object of our sustained, almost hypnotized, gaze. It is Paris the Muse that Woody Allen is offering us, Paris the Mistress, Paris the romantic inspiration for creative genius. As Owen Wilson's character states in the opening scenes of the film, Paris is "drop-dead gorgeous," a description perhaps more befitting a lover than a city, but the metaphor is not lost on the viewer: Paris is a beautiful woman—silent, mysterious, and breathtakingly beautiful—a worthy object of our admiration and devotion. And because she does not speak, Paris may have ascribed to her whatever identity an individual may wish to impose; Paris is an empty page that men will want to write on.

Thus Woody Allen inscribes himself into a long tradition of films that celebrate Paris almost as a principal character, as an ever-present love interest with whom the viewer enters into an implied and torrid love affair that lasts throughout the film, and perhaps beyond. Classic films such as "An American in Paris," "The Last Time I Saw Paris" or "The Flight of the Red Balloon"—which really has no plot other than that of a celebration of a Paris revealed to us neighborhood by neighborhood as a stray red balloon glides throughout the various contours of the city—or more recently, the film "Paris, I love you," like Woody Allen's "Midnight in Paris," almost include Paris in their cast of characters, placing the city's very existence squarely at the center of the plot. The point is that there is no one, true Paris that all observers objectively share; Paris is malleable, a "moveable feast" as Hemingway famously points out (in the film as in real life), and lets one make her one's own. She lives and flourishes in the subjective subconscious of our imaginations.

This is why Rachel McAdams's character, Inez, tells Owen Wilson's character, Gil, that he is "in love with a fantasy"—that the Paris that charms him so is a Paris

that does not objectively exist; it exists only in the phenomenology of his own perception, a perception marred and made unreliable by his own escapist need to withdraw from the present in order to take shelter in a glorified, utopian past. Gil and Inez, planning to be married, have joined Inez's parents on an extended trip to Paris, where Gil spends his evenings in Rousseauesque solitary reveries, wandering about the city in search of inspiration for his own writing, and discovering it when he mysteriously enters the expatriate Paris of the Roaring Twenties, encountering luminaries such as Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Gertrude Stein. He feels a kinship to these characters; the Paris they inhabit is one even more glorious and desirable than the Paris of today, a fact only underscoring the "fantasy" of Gil's perception. Indeed, when Gil mentions how comfortable he is in Paris, he states, "I feel like the Parisians get me," an unusual remark given that Gil rarely ever interacts with the Parisians of his day and speaks no French. Clearly, his love affair with Paris is mostly one-sided and somewhat imaginary, revealing an erotomania perhaps not altogether unlike (though decidedly less toxic than) that of Audrey Tautou's character in Laetitia Colombani's 2002 film, "He Loves Me… He Loves Me Not (A La Folie… Pas du Tout)." Gil is the victim of what Paul, the pseudo-intellectual professor whom Gil and Inez encounter, calls "Golden-Age thinking," the notion that the present is a fallen, corrupted, counterfeit version of a glorious age of the past by which the present must be measured and found wanting. It is an escape, a kind of attempted vacation or sabbatical from the present; as Paul says in the film, "[N]ostalgia is denial of the painful present."

Indeed, Gil's Paris is the very personification of memory and nostalgia, a point further underscored by the fact that the novel he is working on is about a man who works in a nostalgia shop. "'Out Of The Past' was the name of the store, and its products consisted of memories: what was prosaic and even vulgar to one generation had been transmuted by the mere passing of years to a status at once magical and also camp" read the opening lines of Gil's book, and while this passage reveals the reasoning behind his nostalgia for things past, his sentiment that he was "born too late," it also simultaneously underscores an important realization that Gil will make later in the film, that his longing for the past is based on an idealization rendered illegitimate because of its shaky reliance on the "mere passing of years." His opening lines thus already reveal a subtle, if still burgeoning, recognition that modern-day depictions of the past are essentially unreliable, because their nostalgic gaze towards the past does not always sufficiently take into account the objective realities of bygone eras, glorying in prosaic vulgarities that lose their kitschy quotidian character only through the passing of time.

Gil's nostalgia, his longing for the past— for the Golden Age of the Roaring Twenties Paris of American expatriates, intellectual café life, and Surrealist inspiration—is also a way for him to navigate his own mortality, to overcome his fear of death: he confesses to Hemingway that death is "[m]aybe my greatest fear, actually." By glancing backward rather than forward, Gil's nostalgic gaze avoids

the inevitable encounter with his own mortality and safely burrows himself in the calm reassurance of a glorious, if fictionalized, past. Writing, Gil's profession and avocation, has itself been recognized for millennia as an exercise in immortality, a means of engraving in perpetual memory the lives and deeds of notable figures and the authors who write about them. Hemingway, it turns out, shares this writer's passion for immortality, and in the film he advises Gil that "you'll never write well if you fear dying." Only as Gil learns that the past is no safe refuge from the travails and difficulties of the present, that the past comes with an army of challenges and discomfort all its own and that its prosaic realities do not transform themselves into poetic romantics through the mere passage of time, does he emancipate himself from both his fear of death and its concomitant nostalgic longing for a romanticized past.

Perhaps this is precisely why Allen's film subtly castigates the Tea Party; like Gil's utopian fantasy of 1920s expatriate Paris, the movement's vision of a glorious revolutionary past that has been all-too-neglected in the present is, for Allen, too firmly ensconced in a kind of Golden-Age mentality that longs for an imagined past even as it is forced to confront the painful present. When John, Gil's erstwhile future father-in-law, protests that Tea Party Republicans are not "crypto-fascist airhead zombies," as Gil asserts, but rather "decent people trying to take back their country," he engages precisely in the kind of Golden-Age thinking from which Gil by the end of the film manages to emancipate himself as he bravely faces the present with all of its recognition of his impending mortality.

Yet for all of John's narrow corporate orientation, shallow materialism, and facile, reflexive Francophobic patriotism, which ultimately make him an unreliable character and one whose utterances must immediately be considered with suspicion, like other of Allen's flawed characters, John is nevertheless allowed sufficient (if brief) moments of clarity that help to emphasize the central nostalgic theme of the film. True, his stubborn penchant for California wines and Hollywood movies amidst the splendors of French viticulture and cinema, his dislike for French politics, and his privileging of the commercial over the artistic make of him the comfortable and unwitting Ugly American. Furthermore, his sizing up of his future son-in-law— "I mean, I've seen what he earns, but sometimes I think he's got a part missing"— reveals a man who assesses value in quantifiable and commercial terms, a wealthy but essentially petit bourgeois businessman who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing (because for him, the value is the price), the petty and superficial man of commerce for whom "to have" and "to be" are near-synonymous. Thus when Gil expresses a longing for experiences of a less quantifiable nature— midnight promenades through Paris, writing a literary novel rather than lucrative Hollywood scripts, meeting with writers and artists in 1920s Paris— John, who cannot understand this longing, becomes suspicious of what he cannot comprehend and hires a detective to follow Gil around on his nightly reveries through Paris. Yet in spite of John's essential unreliability, he, like other unreliable characters in the film, nevertheless is permitted his own moments of clarity that move the plot

along and underscore the central theme of the essential unreliability of nostalgia. After the breakup between Gil and Inez, as Gil is exiting out the door and out of their lives, John tells him to "Say 'hi' to Trotsky" on his way out, indicating not only John's distrust and otherizing of his almost-future-son-in-law but perhaps also a subtle recognition that Gil's meanderings in the past represent a stubborn rejection of the present. Communism, an ideology which he (falsely) ascribes to Gil for his disinterest in commercial ventures and for his artistic sensibilities, is thus revealed to be, for John, a thing of the past, a political and economic system that has run its course and has been revealed by human progress to be grossly deficient. To be a communist is thus not only to subscribe to a system inimical to the capitalism which has led to such great prosperity in John's own life; it is also to reject the progress of the present, to be mired in a backward, unenlightened ideology that belongs essentially to the past. John rightly asserts that Trotsky might be found among the cast of characters in a distant Paris of the past (Trotsky had spent time in Paris during 1915-16 and 1933); thus in subtle fashion, John's character, for all of his mock-worthy unreliability, further underscores the perils inherent in rejecting the present in favor of an idealized, subjective past and thus contributes to one of the central themes of the film, that of the rejection of the painful present and impending mortality which nostalgia represents.

Similarly, Paul, the pedantic pseudo-intellectual whose familiar type recurs in Allen's films, makes utterances and speeches that cannot be trusted, yet ultimately also helps provide the necessary clarity for Gil to become liberated from his nostalgic longing and concomitant fear of his own mortality. Though his (lost) arguments with a more knowledgeable tour guide, his ineptitude at explaining a Picasso painting, and his constant false modesty that actually reveals a true deficiency in his knowledge (note his many iterations of "If I'm not mistaken" and other such qualifying remarks which, on the surface, appear as false modesty, but which also belie an actual ignorance) bespeak a man whose declarations must not be accepted too credulously, his pontificating about "Golden-Age thinking" actually undergirds the central criticism of nostalgic thinking that the film develops. When Gil dreams aloud about an idealized Paris of the past, Paul abruptly reminds him of the unromantic reality of tuberculosis in the former Paris that Gil idealizes, adumbrating Gil's own realization near the end of the film about how Belle Époque Paris had no antibiotics and thus could not fully merit the glorious praise which Adriana, his 1920s love interest, lavishes upon it—a realization that ultimately leads to Gil's abandonment of his nostalgic avoidance of the present and of his own inevitable mortality.

Gil's back-and-forth travels from the expatriate Paris of the 1920s to the Paris of today reveal that he is a man who inhabits two worlds. One is the world of a more objective, contemporary reality; the other, an imagined world, a sphere that exists really only in his own mind, a largely fabricated and artificial world. When he tries to explain to the circle of Surrealists he meets in a café that he simultaneously inhabits these two worlds, they find nothing unusual about this hybrid state of existence.

They recognize that many people inhabit more than one world at a time (and the film is chock full of such persons, whether it is Tea Partiers living both in the present and in an imagined Revolutionary past, or Adriana, who does not see her own 1920s era as the Golden Age that Gil perceives it to be, but prefers rather the Paris of the Belle Époque, 1890s Paris with its horse-drawn carriages and great artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec and Paul Gauguin). The point is that even today, many of us live simultaneously in the present and yet within some kind of remnant of an imagined, idealized past. Gil's journey, the sometimes surreal voyage between reality and imagination (and Gil's dream-like, visionary state as he moves in and out of his two Parises—Inez tells him that he seems "in a daze" the first morning after his midnight time-travel— seems to correlate closely with Surrealism's emphasis on dreams, trances, and visions) is everyman's journey to one extent or another, for all of us live, on some level, in imaginary worlds largely of our own making. "[D]ie Welt is meine Vorstellung," Schopenhauer wrote (Schopenhauer, 1911, p. 20)—the world is as we perceive it to be— and this film underscores precisely the subjective phenomenology of our own existence, the highly individualized world-making in which all of us participate.

And yet it is when Gil discovers nostalgia within his nostalgia, a longing within his own longing, that he begins to see that his own views of a Golden Age are limited and not fully correspondent with reality. He gradually begins to emancipate himself from the fanciful notion that the present must always signify a rank perversion of a paradisiacal *status quo ante*, the danger inherent in Proust's famous observation that all paradises are lost paradises. It is the escape within his escape that teaches him that nostalgia is only a fantasy. That Adriana, for example, wants to escape the Twenties in order to flee to the Belle Époque Paris of the 1890s reveals that Golden-Age thinking is an individualized construct; as Gil observes Adriana's fascination for Belle Époque Paris, he recognizes the artificiality of her utopian construct, and consequently the artificiality of his own idealized views about Roaring Twenties Paris. This point is further underscored when the painter Paul Gauguin, in Belle Époque Paris, expresses his nostalgia for the Renaissance, itself deeply embedded in a longing for a glorious, idealized past in Antiquity, thus revealing another escapist fantasy launching Gil (and the viewer) into an infinite regress of unfulfilled longing. Gil suddenly realizes that the utopian past does not exist ("utopia" in Greek, of course, means "no place"); after all, the Belle Époque had no antibiotics! The past thus becomes an expression of our unfulfilled desires; nostalgia becomes the symbol of human longing.

Indeed, the artificiality of Gil's 1920s Paris becomes further evident when we consider how easily he glides into and out of this essentially foreign world. Gil does not seem to stand out very much in 1920s Paris, and this despite his clearly twenty-first century garb, haircut, and very gait. That the rhythms of language and cadences of conversation of Gil's 1920s Paris are firmly rooted in a twenty-first century dynamic that would have been utterly foreign among the expatriate American community

of the 1920s—to say nothing of the French Parisian community of that decade—further evidences the notion that this Paris exists only in Gil's imagination. (Indeed, one wonders what would happen if Gil's vocabulary were put through Prof. Ben Schmidt's Anachronism Machine [see Hertzberg, 2014]). Perhaps this is also why he cannot take his fiancée with him to the 1920s—it is his Paris, a Paris that he has built for himself and that cannot be shared with anyone else.

He does, however, manage to enter Belle Époque Paris with Adriana, and here again, two characters from a different time seem to enter too seamlessly into the social, linguistic, and cultural worlds of a previous, and thus essentially foreign, era. No one they meet at the café—not Toulouse-Lautrec, not Edgar Degas, not Paul Gauguin—remarks or even seems to notice their out-of-place appearance, mannerisms, or other foreignising socio-cultural indicators. Adriana's Flapper appearance, replete with shockingly bobbed hair, should have elicited at least some comment, even among the perhaps approving *fin-de-siècle* bohemian set, yet only passing references are made about her very modern sense of fashion, with nary a mention of Gil's overlong hair, twenty-first-century reposeful posture, or his Californian pseudo-adolescent conversational rhythm, pacing, and tone more befitting the early millennium than 1890s French café culture. Indeed, Owen Wilson's non-East-Coast-establishment aspect and persona seemed to Woody Allen to be so deeply embedded that he rewrote his lead character: originally an East Coast intellectual, Gil was rewritten after casting to fit better with Owen Wilson's personality and manner (Allen, 2010). Time, after all, is a place with its own topography and *habitus*, and to enter another epoch is to enter a foreign or distant land. That the vertiginous disorientation inevitably resulting from the cross-cultural encounter—what the French call *dépaysement*— is largely missing in both Gil's and Adriana's time-traveling reveries suggests that the Paris of the past they encounter is one largely of their own making, a Paris of phenomenological experience that privileges certain characteristics while suppressing others. Perhaps no other city in the world is as iconic, as multi-faceted, and as subject to highly individualized perception as Paris, making it a fit location for a film about the construction of a fictional, personalized world.

Interestingly, the Paris of 2010 that frames the film is itself an artificially constructed Paris—the Paris of Woody Allen's imagination. As Allen stated of his film, "I just wanted it to be the way I saw Paris—Paris through my eyes" (Bagnetto, 2011). It is the Paris familiar to wealthy (and famous) Americans, the tony *arrondissements* with their *hotels particuliers* and recognizable Haussmann imprimatur. Nowhere in the film is there any description or depiction of the working-class *quartiers* like the eleventh or the twelfth *arrondissements*, or of the rich diversity of multi-cultural immigrant neighborhoods such as the eighteenth *arrondissement*. In fact, Allen's contemporary Paris seems to be populated only by wealthy, white Parisians, a reality more pretended than real, further underscoring, perhaps unwittingly, the point that Paris is, to Woody Allen as to most everyone else, an iconic symbol that dwells essentially in the realm of individual subjectivities. Lost in this selective imagination

are the many textures and layers, populations and identities, which have long come together to form the complexity of what Paris is today. Yet ironically, Allen's depiction of Paris, while ostensibly personalized and limited in its portrayal of a full and textured city, nevertheless seems also to subscribe to all of the tropes and commonplaces of cliché—his Paris is one of touristy monuments and locales, highly recognizable boulevards and street cafés, and wine tastings where the Eiffel Tower serves as a backdrop. Allen's Paris is still the city of lovers strolling in the rain. In this way, his Paris is not so different from the stereotyped Paris which much of the populace already shares. His is a vision of the city to which almost all have access already, and there is little in Allen's Paris to suggest a fresh or new perspective: his journey through the city largely follows a path already well-trod.

Along the way, Woody Allen also manages to point out some important Franco-American cultural differences, or at least to resurrect some old, anti-American clichés. Inez, Gil's fiancée, states that she "could never live outside the United States"—a swipe against the kind of comfortably patriotic American who cannot imagine that other places in the world could have much to offer. Similarly, Inez's father points out that he prefers California wines to French wines—another subtle, ironic swipe at overblown notions of American hegemony and supremacy. And Americans' relationship with the arts comes under scrutiny as well: Gil is concerned that he has become a "Hollywood hack," someone who pumps out movie scripts that are beloved by the masses but that contain little artistry or intellectual merit—one of Tocqueville's maligned "retailers of ideas" (Tocqueville, 2004: 544). But when he expresses his desire to remain in Paris to write a meaningful novel, his almost-future mother-in-law becomes concerned and confused that he does not want to live in Malibu, where he can perceivably keep feeding the script-writing assembly line he has developed for the mass production and mass consumption of his literary product. The fate of such drivel we can only assume from the mother-in-law's review of the American movie they saw in Paris (and who but an uncultured troglodyte would choose to see an American movie in Paris?): she couldn't remember any of the actors' names, or much of what the movie was about. Clearly, the experience was, to use Simon Cowell's words, utterly forgettable, a fate Gil wants to avoid as he aspires to create a novel, a work of art that will resound and have meaning and not end up almost instantly in the dustbin of history. Here Gil's longing for the kind of immortality that transcends the quotidian and the trite reveals itself to be at the heart of his nostalgic longing for the past. And Inez's father, the Tea Party bobblehead, is so completely confused by Gil's longing to create a meaningful work of art that he calls him a communist; recall him telling Gil to "Say hi to Trotsky" as Gil is on his way out of their apartment and out of their lives.

All of this seems to have a faint whiff of Tocqueville about it: Tocqueville, too, in his monumental *Democracy in America* criticized the paucity of American artistic and intellectual accomplishments. He famously wrote in his chapter "On the Literary Industry" that "Democratic literatures are always crawling with authors

who see literature as nothing more than an industry, and for every great writer there are thousands of retailers of ideas" (2004: 544). Gil sees his writing of Hollywood scripts as a mere industry, not as an artistically worthy endeavor. He wants to abandon this essentially "retailing" job and pursue something more purely literary, in Paris, a longing that his fiancée's thoroughly American family cannot seem to understand. Indeed, when Gil starts telling his fiancée his thoughts about Fitzgerald and Hemingway, she tells him to "quit the idle chatter," implying that talking about art or literature is an impractical idling away of time that could be put to use in more practical or utilitarian ways. (As we have seen recently, even progressive Presidents are known to disparage the value of the arts, in favor of more "practical" pursuits [Epstein, 2014]). Again, we hear faint echoes of Tocqueville, who, in his *Democracy in America*, contrasted a simple, unostentatious Puritan work ethic in America with the kind of aristocratic dynamic in France that allowed for greater investments of both time and means to be devoted to literary pursuits. As John Adams, himself deeply steeped in the Puritan ethic that has woven its way into American identity, famously wrote, "I must study politics and war, that our sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. Our sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture in order to give their children, a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry and porcelain" (Adams, 1780). In the American tradition, the arts are what we study after we have studied everything else, having earned the luxury through the hard work of our generations.

Furthermore, the conspicuous absence of African-American expatriates in Roaring Twenties France, which mirrors the conspicuous absence of any minorities in Woody Allen's film as a whole, further underscores, perhaps unwittingly, that the image of Paris one receives is beholden to individual subjectivities. To be sure, the film includes a brief scene in which Josephine Baker dances for an enthralled audience in a nightclub, and Gil makes a passing reference to a desire to visit Bricktop's, the legendary Paris nightclub of the past run by African-American Ada "Bricktop" Smith. Yet even these faint acknowledgements of the vibrancy of African-American cultural and intellectual life in Paris during the 1920s still reveals itself to be part of Woody Allen's personal construction of the Parisian *imaginaire*: Bricktop herself had made a cameo appearance in Allen's 1983 mockumentary film "Zelig" and thus the brief reference to her existence in "Midnight in Paris" reads more as an example of Allen's cinematic self-referentiality than it does as a recognition of the vibrant contributions of African-Americans to the Parisian expatriate intellectual community in the 1920s. The important and interesting work of scholars like Tyler Stovall (whose book, *Paris Noir*, 1996, is an authoritative reference) and Christopher Endy renders any serious discussion or depiction of 1920s Paris seriously compromised if it fails to acknowledge the significant contributions of African-Americans to the expatriate community specifically and Parisian cultural life generally during that period. If Woody Allen is quick to find the cosmopolitanism of his ugly Americans

lacking, he is nevertheless slow to recognize the limitations of his own subjective rendering of Parisian identity.

Thus, this film emphasizes the escapism inherent in the construction of Paris in the individual mind. Seeking to emancipate himself from the fears and foibles of the present—which includes the fear of his own mortality—Gil, like the Tea Party, the Surrealists, Adriana, and all of us, buries himself in an idealized past, and what better place to immerse oneself in a glorious past and avoid the painful present than in Paris? Yet it is ironically as this nostalgic, "Golden-Age thinking" proves incomplete and ultimately unfulfilling that Gil discovers its limitations and thus liberates himself from its grasp. As Gil emancipates himself from Golden-Age thinking, he more ably navigates his own fear of mortality and becomes liberated from his fear of the present.

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6. Todos los artículos serán sometidos a un proceso de dictamen por pares académicos bajo la modalidad de dobles ciegos a cargo de dos miembros de la cartera de evaluadores de la revista, la cual está compuesta por prestigiosos académicos de instituciones nacionales e internacionales.

7. Los trabajos serán siempre sometidos al dictamen de evaluadores externos a la institución de adscripción de los autores.

8. Las posibles resoluciones del proceso de evaluación serán: aprobado para publicar sin cambios, aprobado para publicar cuando se hayan realizado correcciones menores o rechazado.

9. En el caso de resultados discrepantes se remitirá a un tercer dictamen, el cual será definitivo.

10. Los resultados de los dictámenes son inapelables.

11. Los evaluadores son los únicos responsables de revisar los cambios realizados en el caso de resultados sujetos a correcciones.

12. El autor dispondrá de treinta días naturales como límite para hacer las correcciones recomendadas.

13. Los procesos de dictamen están determinados por el número de artículos en lista de espera. La coordinación editorial de la revista informará a cada uno de los autores del avance de su trabajo en el proceso de evaluación y edición.

14. Cada número de la revista incluirá ocho artículos que en el momento del cierre de edición cuenten con la aprobación de por lo menos dos árbitros o evaluadores. No obstante, con el fin de dar una mejor composición temática a cada número, *Revista de Humanidades* se reserva el derecho de adelantar o posponer los artículos aceptados.

15. La coordinación editorial de la revista se reserva el derecho de hacer las correcciones de estilo y cambios editoriales que considere necesarios para mejorar el trabajo.

16. Todo caso no previsto será resuelto por el comité de redacción de la revista.

17. Todas las colaboraciones deberán entregarse en archivo electrónico a través de correo electrónico, en procesador *Word*, sin ningún tipo de formato.

18. En la portada del trabajo deberá aparecer el nombre completo del autor(es) o la forma de autor y la institución con la que deberá aparecer el artículo una vez aprobado.

19. Las siglas deben ir desarrolladas la primera vez que aparezcan en el texto, en la bibliografía, en los cuadros, tablas y gráficos. Por ejemplo, en el texto la primera vez deberá escribirse: Archivo General de Indias, posteriormente: AGI.

20. Al final del trabajo el/los autores deberán colocar una breve ficha curricular con los siguientes elementos: máximo grado académico, institución y dependencia donde trabaja, país, líneas de investigación, últimas tres publicaciones, correo electrónico, dirección postal, teléfono y fax.

21. Los autores podrán usar el material de su artículo en otros trabajos o textos publicados por ellos con la condición de citar a *Revista de Humanidades* como la fuente original de los textos.

Para artículos:

1. La estructura mínima del artículo incluirá una introducción que refleje con claridad los antecedentes del trabajo, su desarrollo y conclusiones.

2. Sólo se aceptarán artículos presentados por un máximo de seis autores con una extensión de 7.000 a 10.000 palabras, incluyendo gráficos, tablas, notas a pie de página y bibliografía, con un interlineado de 1.5 a 12 puntos, en tipografía Times New Roman.

3. Deben tener un título descriptivo tanto en español como en inglés de preferencia breve (no más de 12 palabras) que refiera claramente el contenido.

4. Es imprescindible entregar un resumen de una extensión de entre 100 y 150 palabras, además de anexar cinco palabras clave del texto, todo en el idioma de origen del artículo y en inglés. El resumen debe contener información concisa acerca del contenido (principales resultados, método y conclusiones).

5. Los títulos y subtítulos deberán diferenciarse entre sí; para ello se recomienda el uso del sistema decimal.

6. Las ilustraciones (mapas, cuadros, tablas y gráficos) serán las estrictamente necesarias y deberán explicarse por sí solas sin tener que recurrir al texto para su comprensión.

7. Los formatos para las imágenes (mapas, figuras) deberán ser JPG; puesto que la revista se imprime a una sola tinta deben procesarse en escala de grises (blanco y negro), sin ningún tipo de resaltado o textura. Asimismo, los diagramas o esquemas no deben ser copia de Internet. En el caso de aquellas que contengan datos, cifras y/o texto, deberán enviarse en el formato original en el cual fueron creadas, o en su defecto en algún formato de hoja de cálculo preferiblemente Microsoft Excel. Para el caso de las tablas y cuadros se recomienda que la información estadística manejada sea lo más concisa posible.

8. Por política editorial, la revista se reserva el derecho de publicar ilustraciones demasiado amplias.

9. Las notas a pie de página deberán ser únicamente aclaratorias o explicativas, es decir, han de servir para ampliar o ilustrar lo dicho en el cuerpo del texto, y no para indicar las fuentes bibliográficas, ya que para eso está la bibliografía.

10. Las citas deberán usar el sistema Harvard-Asociación Americana de Psicología (APA), de acuerdo con los siguientes ejemplos:

    - Cuando se haga referencia de manera general a una obra, se escribirá el apellido del autor, el año de edición y el número de página, dentro de un paréntesis:

(Amador, 2002: 39), o en el caso de dos autores (Cruz y García, 1998: 56); si son más de dos autores se anotará (Sánchez *et al.*, 2003).

- En el caso de utilizarse obras del mismo autor publicadas en el mismo año, se ordenarán alfabéticamente y se les distinguirá con una letra minúscula después del año:

  "En los últimos diez años, la población inmigrante en España se ha multiplicado por siete" (Cárdenas, 2008a: 120).

  "Las mujeres inmigrantes son el colectivo que posee mayores tasas de empleo a tiempo parcial" (Cárdenas, 2008b: 100).

11. La bibliografía deberá contener las referencias completas de las obras de los autores que se citen en el cuerpo del texto, sin agregar otras que no sean citadas, y se debe evitar que las autocitas superen el 30% del total.

12. La bibliografía debe estar escrita en el mismo sistema, ordenada alfabética y cronológicamente según corresponda. No usar mayúsculas continuas. Los apellidos y nombres de los autores deben estar completos, es decir, no deben anotarse sólo abreviaturas. Véanse los siguientes ejemplos:

    - Para libros:

      Romero, Carlos José (2004). *El rosario en Sevilla: devoción, rosarios públicos y hermandades (siglos XV -XXI)*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Delegación de Fiestas Mayores.

      García, Antonio y Hernández, Teresa (2004). *Crítica literaria: iniciación al estudio de la literatura.* Madrid: Cátedra.

    - Para revistas o capítulos de libros:

      Monreal, Mª Carmen y Amador, Luis (2002). La Unión Europea ante la educación a distancia (no presencial). *Eúphoros*, n. 4, p. 207-216.

      Domínguez, Antonio (1996). Las probanzas de limpieza de sangre y los albéitares de Sevilla. En: Checa, José. y Álvarez, Joaquín (coord.). *El siglo que llaman ilustrado: homenaje a Francisco Aguilar Piñal*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p. 285-288.

    - Para referencias a sitios web se indicará la ruta completa del trabajo señalando la fecha de consulta:

      Castilla, Carmen (1999), De neófitos a iniciados: el movimiento neocatecumenal y sus ritos de admisión. *Gaceta de Antropología* [en línea], núm. 15, texto 15-4. Disponible en:

<http://www.ugr.es/local/pwlac/Welcome1999.html> [Consulta: 30 diciembre 2006]

Para reseñas:

1. Las reseñas deberán ser revisiones críticas de libros relacionados con el estudio de las ciencias sociales, que hayan sido publicados como máximo el año previo a la fecha de publicación en la revista, cuyo título será distinto al de la propia reseña, la cual tendrá como extensión un mínimo de 1.500 palabras y un máximo de 3.500 palabras.
2. Anexo a la reseña se deberá enviar la portada del libro en formato JPG a 300 dpi e incluir los siguientes datos (título, autor, año, editorial, país, número de páginas y número ISBN).
3. Las reseñas serán seleccionadas por el consejo de redacción, teniendo en cuenta su calidad y actualidad.

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Editorial policy

Revista de Humanidades (*Journal of Humanities*) is an annual journal published by the Associated Centre of the Open University in Seville. Its purpose is to disclose findings generated by investigations, theoretical reflections, specialized debates, translations, essays, and critical reviews on topics related to humanistic studies in general, and associated with Anthropology, Art, literature, Communication, Education, Philosophy, History and Politics studies in particular. *Revista de Humanidades* adheres to the policy of *Open Access* -Berlin Declaration, 2003- to contribute to the accessibility and visibility of knowledge (UNED signed the declaration on 12.06.2006). *Revista de Humanidades* is directed towards professors, researchers, students, and scholars within the disciplines or knowledge areas which comprise the ample spectrum of humanistic studies, but also to other readers with an affinity for the scholarly topics compiled in each volume.

General guidelines:

1. All articles submitted for possible publication must be entirely academic; because of the nature of the journal, journalistic articles or general commentaries on any topic will not be accepted. The IMRAD structure is recommended for the structure of a scientific journal article of the original research type. IMRAD is an acronym for introduction, methods, results, and discussion o conclusions.
2. The articles must be original and unpublished and must not be submitted to any other printed media at the same time.
3. Articles are accepted in the languages of Spanish and English.
4. The submission of an article does not imply that it will be accepted for publication.
5. First, all articles are submitted to an editorial review, which consists of verifying that the content is relevant to the journal's subject matter and that the article is in compliance with all the established guidelines.
6. All articles will then be submitted to an external, double-blind review performed by two members of the journal's panel of reviewers, which is composed of prestigious academics holding positions at national and international institutions.
7. Articles will always be reviewed by referees with no affiliation to the institution of the author(s).
8. The results of the review will be one of the following: approved for publication with no changes, approved for publication once minor corrections are made, or declined.

9. In the case that reviewers disagree, the article will be sent to a third reviewer, whose decision will be definitive.

10. Results of the review may not be appealed.

11. The reviewers are the only individuals responsible for reviewing the changes they have requested of the author(s).

12. The author(s) have thirty calendar days to make any requested changes.

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14. Every issue of the journal will be comprised of 8 articles which, at the edition deadline, have the approval of at least two referees or reviewers. Nonetheless, in order to achieve thematic coherence of an issue, *Revista de Humanidades* reserves the right to advance or postpone any accepted articles.

15. The editorial board of the journal reserves the right to carry out any editorial or stylistic amends that it deems necessary to improve the text.

16. Any case not considered in these guidelines will be resolved by the journal's editorial board.

17. All submissions must be delivered as an electronic file, plain text Microsoft Word, via e-mail.

18. On the first page the name(s) of the author(s) and their institutions must be stated in the form in which they should appear once the article is published.

19. Acronyms must be written out fully the first time they appear in the text, bibliography, tables, charts and graphs. For instance, in the text, the first time it must be written: World Health Organization, then subsequently: WHO.

20. At the end of the article the author(s) must include a brief bio-sketch with the following elements: current academic degree, institution and place of work, country, research lines, last three publications, e-mail address, postal address, telephone and fax numbers.

21. The authors may use material from their article in other works or papers they publish, on the condition that *Revista de Humanidades* must be cited as the original source for the quotations.

For the articles:

1. Articles must include an introduction that clearly states the background of the work, its development and conclusions.
2. *Revista de Humanidades* only accepts articles with no more than six authors and with a length of between 7.000 and 10.000 words, including graphs, tables, footnotes and bibliography, on letter size page (A4), with a line spacing of 1.5, and a font of 12-point size Times New Roman.
3. Articles must bear a descriptive title, both in Spanish and English; preferably brief (no more than 12 words) which clearly depicts the content.
4. Articles must be preceded by an abstract, of between 100 and 150 words, as well as five key words for the text; both in the original language of the text and in English. The abstract must contain concise information on the content (main results, method and conclusions).
5. The titles and subtitles must be distinguishable; use of the decimal system is recommended.
6. Illustrations (maps, charts, tables, graphs) should only be included when strictly necessary and must be self-explanatory, not requiring additional text to explain them. In tables and charts, statistical information should be presented in the most concise manner possible.
7. The format of images (maps and figures) must be JPG. Since the journal is printed in only one color, they must be in greyscale, with no highlights or textures whatsoever. Diagrams or pictures may not be copied from the Internet. Images containing data, numbers and/or text should be sent in the original format in which they were created, or in the form of a spreadsheet, preferably using Microsoft Excel.
8. Due to editorial policies, the journal reserves the right not to publish excessively large illustrations.
9. Footnotes shall be used solely to clarify, explain, broaden, or illustrate the main text, and not to indicate bibliographic sources, as the bibliography serves this purpose.
10. Citations must follow the Harvard-APA system, in accordance with the following examples:
    - When a work is referred to in a general manner, the surname of the author, publication year and page number shall be written in brackets:

      (Amador, 2002: 39), or in the case of two authors (Cruz and García: 1998: 56); if there are more than two authors it will be (Sánchez *et al.*, 2003).

    - In the case of using works by the same author published in the same

year, they will be alphabetically ordered and will be distinguished with a small letter after the year:

"In the past ten years, the immigrant population in Spain has increased sevenfold" (Cárdenas, 2008a: 120).

"Immigrant women are the group that has higher rates of part-time employment" (Cárdenas, 2008b: 100).

11. Bibliographies must contain the complete references of all works cited in the text and no works not cited in the text. Works by the author(s) of the article must not comprise more than 30 percent of the total bibliography.
12. Bibliographical citations must be written consistently with the same system, alphabetically and chronologically ordered as necessary. Continual capitals letters should not be used. The surnames and given names of the authors must be fully stated, i.e., with no abbreviations. See the following examples:

- For books:

  Romero, Carlos José (2004). *El rosario en Sevilla: devoción, rosarios públicos y hermandades (siglos XVI-XXI)*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Delegación de Fiestas Mayores.

  García, Antonio and Hernández, Teresa (2004). *Crítica literaria: iniciación al estudio de la literatura.* Madrid: Cátedra.

- For journals or book chapters:

  Monreal, María Carmen and Amador, Luis (2002). La Unión Europea ante la educación a distancia (no presencial). *Eúphoros*, n. 4, p. 207-216.

  Domínguez, Antonio (1996). Las probanzas de limpieza de sangre y los albéitares de SevillA. In: Checa, José. y Álvarez, Joaquín (coord.). *El siglo que llaman ilustrado: homenaje a Francisco Aguilar Piñal*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p. 285-288.

- Citations to websites must include the full URL and the retrieval date:

  Castilla, Carmen (1999). De neófitos a iniciados: el movimiento neocatecumenal y sus ritos de admisión. *Gaceta de Antropología* [online], n. 15, text 15-4. Available at:

  <http://www.ugr.es/local/pwlac/Welcome1999.html> [December 30, 2006]

For book reviews:

1. Reviews must be critical reviews of books related to the study of social sciences or humanities that have been published within the previous calendar year. The title of the review must be different from the book itself. Reviews must be between 1.500-3.500 words long, in page format A4, with a line spacing of 1.5, and a font of 12-point size Times New Roman.
2. An illustration of the front cover of the book must be sent along with the review, in JPG format at 300 DPI. Additionally, the following data must be provided: book title, author, year, publisher, country, number of pages and ISBN number).
3. Reviews will be selected by the editorial board, taking into account their quality and relevance.

For submission of articles and reviews contact:

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