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See article on pages 49–51.

Foreword



One of the British Academy's primary concerns is to communicate the value and significance of work done by scholars in the humanities and social sciences. This latest issue of the *British Academy Review* is an important contribution, highlighting a range of research undertaken under the auspices of the Academy. The humanities and social sciences have much to contribute to the life of the nation. This edition of the *Review* seeks to share with readers something of the variety and interest of recent work.

In it you can read about historical and contemporary issues, from east and west, from software to music, from philosophy to psychology, from Nazi Germany to recent UK defence decision-making. You can also read about several policy issues of concern to scholars and the Academy, including copyright and the decline in the study of modern foreign languages.

I hope you will find the articles in the *Review* interesting and thought-provoking. I am grateful to the authors and to Elizabeth Ollard, its editor.

Onora O'Neill

President

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How Philosophers Die

MY BRITISH ACADEMY postdoctoral research mainly tackled topics in nineteenth-century British intellectual history, a 'moral sciences' curriculum in mid-nineteenth-century Cambridge, and early-nineteenth century English responses to continental law. Yet I also began to collect, and try to write about, stories of how philosophers died.

My motivation was partly personal. One hope, all too short-lived, was to teach myself to write in less doggedly academic prose, without hiding behind footnotes. I soon realised my prose would never rise to the measured beauty of Sir Thomas Browne's *Urne-Buriall*. Yet perhaps I could take some of his quiet pleasure in contemplating human variety in death.

One problem I faced with these stories was that the variety sometimes seemed too rich in sheer incidental detail to contain. David Hume notoriously scandalised Christians like Boswell by facing death with irreligious serenity. Mary Wollstonecraft died in childbirth, with William Godwin, her lover and biographer, tragically driven to authorise, against her instructions, male doctors to attend her at the last. Jeremy Bentham left his body for public dissection and his head as auto-icon. Friedrich Nietzsche died maddened by tertiary syphilis, his reputation at the posthumous mercy of his sister (and a brother-in-law whose body may today even lie beneath the philosopher's headstone). Louis Couturat, pacifist and international language advocate, was killed by a truck carrying the military order to mobilise for the First World War. The logical positivist Moritz Schlick's 1936 murder by a deranged theology student was celebrated in disgusting fashion in the right-wing Austrian press. Michel Foucault died of AIDS-related illness at a time which lacked a public vocabulary for AIDS. Some philosophers took their own life: Walter Benjamin, on the border in 1940, his manuscript lost; Simone Weil, self-starving in solidarity with those suffering in France; Kurt Gödel, self-starving in the unhappy paranoid

delusion that Jews were poisoning him; Gilles Deleuze, after a long and debilitating illness, reading Seneca in his last days.

What relevance could these various stories have to philosophy? Surely philosophy is concerned with reasons and arguments which exist independently of philosophers' personal lives or deaths. This thought has particular force if one takes the history of philosophy as essentially the history of purely theoretical philosophy – say, cosmology, or logic. Yet practical philosophy – ethics, politics, or inquiry into how it is possible for humans to live – is also prominent in the philosophical tradition. Most major philosophers have developed some sort of position in practical philosophy. And – especially when a philosopher advocates ways of life and death regarded by others as not humanly possible – how they themselves live and die is relevant to the cognitive appraisal of their philosophy. In such circumstances, it matters whether there is a happy fit between word and deed, or only an unhappy mismatch.

Furthermore, stories about the death of one philosopher in particular – Socrates – have had huge, disruptive, effects on the history of Western philosophy. It is hard to imagine a counterfactual history of philosophy without

Dr David Palfrey, *British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow 2003-06*, examines some stories about the deaths of philosophers and asks whether, from a philosophical perspective, the manner of their death can tell us anything about the precepts they espoused.

Socrates' death. And stories about another big death have evidently affected the philosophical tradition. *Pace* George W. Bush, I'm not inclined to label Jesus Christ a philosopher. But theological interpretations of his death have evidently mattered for philosophy. Western philosophy began with the Greeks, became entangled with Christian theology, and is still today trying to disentangle itself. Paying attention to the different ways in which deaths of philosophers have been represented might yet help us think about that situation.

Socrates' trial and death provided the backdrop to four Platonic dialogues. In the *Euthyphro*, Socrates – tried on charges of impiety – inquires into what might constitute piety and impiety. In the *Apology*, Socrates faces trial before his Athenian peers; he conducts his defence in a spirit of such outrageous and intransigent provocation that he ends up being condemned to death. In the *Crito*, Socrates accepts his sentence with serenity, and explains why he won't act on Crito's suggestion to escape Athens. Finally in the *Phaedo* – generally held a later Platonic

Jacques-Louis David, The Death of Socrates, 1787. By kind permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1931 (31.45). Image (c) The Metropolitan Museum of Art



dialogue – Socrates actually meets his death, discoursing cheerfully on immortality before taking the hemlock.

Nietzsche, in *The Birth of Tragedy*, called Socrates ‘the vortex and turning-point of world history.’ For Nietzsche, Socrates created a new, radically disruptive, ideal, a sort of abstract knowledge which was both infinitely remote – Socrates claimed to know nothing – and infinitely worth pursuing, even towards death. Socrates pushed this paradox to its limit. His offensively unwearied skepticism was sufficiently disruptive of Athenian religious and political self-conceptions for Athens to execute him. But then, in turn, the very fact that Socrates *died* like this ultimately only intensified the disruptive effect. His serenity in the face of death only gave the Socratic ideal an additional charge. As Nietzsche put it, ‘The dying Socrates became the new, hitherto unknown ideal of noble Greek youth; more than any of them, it was the typical Hellenic youth, Plato, who threw himself down before this image with all the passionate devotion of his enthusiastic soul.’

Now, in one sense, any death disrupts social life: the person in question undergoes rather radical discontinuity in social status – from being alive to being dead – and the social roles of those around them are also reassigned. Functionalist anthropologists since Arnold Van Gennep and Robert Hertz have argued that this helps explain the importance and structure of death ritual. The social function of such ritual is to keep social roles intact by easing the reassignment of individuals within those roles. As well as norms governing disposal of the dead, many societies elaborate norms of a ‘good death’. Historians of death since Philippe Ariès and Michelle Vovelle have shown that these ideals vary over time. But, for many societies, a ‘good death’ is a performance which helps sustain existing social structures.

What might it mean to die a ‘good death’ in ancient Athens? Greeks had long idealised the beautiful, courageous military hero. Poetry celebrated as immortal the beauty and courage of a youth who died fighting for his city. By comparison, sages and philosophers – said to die at rather extraordinary old age – appeared a radically new kind of Greek hero. Aged men were ugly (Socrates, notoriously,

more so than most). Yet philosophers were still in some respects comparable to military heroes. Both underwent a training which could be conceived as preparation for death, and this death was a focal point from which a whole life could be ethically surveyed. Virtue helped one face death without fear, and the reward for virtue was social recognition through fame.

There were also rather elaborately developed social expectations of a ‘good death’ for everyday Athenian citizens. There were extensive funeral rituals. The dead body was washed, anointed and wrapped; eyes were closed; the jaw bound to close the mouth; the head was garlanded. On the day after death, it was laid out for mourners to pay last respects. A funeral procession carried the body to the cemetery, accompanied by funeral singers and (despite various legal restrictions) evidently some general noisy weeping. A funeral meal and purification followed the burial. Mourning could last a month, with commemorative sacrifices on the third, ninth, and thirtieth days after the burial. A further funeral feast took place on the death’s anniversary.

Yet Socrates was a *criminal*, and criminals – in Athens as elsewhere – were explicitly denied ‘good death’. According to Danielle Allen’s recent study of punishment in democratic Athens, the routine method of executing criminals was a form of crucifixion (a circumstance which would have rather encouraged later assimilations of Socrates to Christ!). Bodies of criminals, denied sepulture and a funeral, were buried at night or thrown along the northern city walls. Socrates’ death, according to Allen, was not an everyday criminal death: several features assimilate it to suicide. In particular, hemlock – repeatedly associated with both suicide and philosophers – was a recent and expensive technology. Socrates’ rich friends would have needed to pay for it.

It may be misleading to speak too definitively of Athenian social expectations of death when Socrates died. Athens was then in social and political flux, giddied by conflict between oligarchs and democrats. Yet Socrates’ death itself was evidently more socially disruptive than either a ‘good death’ or a straightforward criminal death. It put everyday values and social roles into further

question. One striking feature of the *Phaedo* was Socrates’ indifference as to whether his body was buried: only purification of a soul mattered to him. Again, Socrates claimed the philosopher’s courage in the face of death to be qualitatively different from that of other men, who only managed to fear social dishonour more than death. Socrates’ self-exemption from everyday mortal preoccupations exemplified a philosophical life understood as preparation for immortality.

There is, of course, the old problem of determining what elements of the *Phaedo* are due to Plato rather than to Socrates. Plato – not present at Socrates’ death-scene – gave it definitive literary form for others. There’s a potential ambivalence in the pupil succeeding his master by superintending his posthumous reputation. Yet, as far as his death was concerned, Plato managed to transmit Socrates’ basic revaluation. Though Socrates died a criminal, his death was to be held noble. According to Diogenes Laertius, Athens soon repented of its action in killing Socrates: a memorial was built, and his accusers exiled.

From this point onwards, Socrates’ death – and that of philosophers in general – was a recurrent literary theme. Centuries later, the Roman Stoic Seneca took Socrates as an inspirational example of noble death. ‘Socrates discoursed in prison, and declined to flee when certain persons gave him the opportunity; he remained there in order to free mankind from the fear of two most grievous things, death and imprisonment.’ Seneca interpreted Socrates’ action as communicating a human possibility: by keeping this possibility before one’s mind, one could train oneself to follow its example. Seneca of course, famously managed to die an exemplary death himself – a death clearly intended as a model for others to follow.

But here we have a contrast between Socrates’ death and Seneca’s death. Whereas Socrates’ death was an utterly disruptive event, lacking a previous model, Seneca’s death showed a form of philosophical courage which lived up to rather than shattering previously existing conventional expectations. For Hellenistic Stoics, the philosophical way of life involved

meditation on such examples (as well as on other features of death: Marcus Aurelius, for example, meditated on bodily decomposition to put everyday concerns into perspective).

Clearly, for a philosopher's death to be held exemplary, there needed to be a fit between word and deed: the way the philosopher died needed to be consistent with his philosophy. On the other hand, a philosopher of a rival school might try to represent such a death as less than excellent, by highlighting some mismatch between word and deed, to show that the precepts of the philosopher in question failed them at the last. More radically – ever since Aristophanes wrote about Socrates – a comic tradition had ridiculed the pretensions of philosophers in general. Comedy accepted the enormous diversity and ultimate incoherence of human motivation. From this perspective, it was just funny that, for all their clever talk, philosophers died as senselessly as anyone else. (In Lucian, tempted by both perspectives, there was a wonderful tension between philosophy and comic satire.)

This argumentative context – in which a death story might be mobilised to support or to attack the views of a particular philosopher, or used critically to score comic hits at philosophers in general – helps to explain the proliferation, and the frankly bizarre nature, of death stories about ancient philosophers. Ancient biographers, creatively raiding philosophical texts for biographical clues, used traditional *topoi* to reconstruct a philosopher's life and death. Today the main surviving biographical source for ancient philosophers is the *Lives and Opinions of the Philosophers* of Diogenes Laertius. Compiled around the early third century AD, this used some much earlier sources – notably, for death stories, the biographer Hermippos. Diogenes Laertius liked death stories. He had deaths at the games, deaths in exile, deaths at parties and all sorts of philosopher-

suicides, from hemlock through self-starvation to death by holding one's breath. (This last sounds a remarkable accomplishment, showing the utmost rational control over a body recalcitrantly inclined to live.) Diogenes Laertius recounts some incredible stories for pre-Socratic philosophers. Thales (died c. 545 BC) 'held there was no difference between life and death', and maintained the soul's immortality. He met his death while star-gazing, 'forgetting where he was, as he gazed, he got to the edge of a steep slope, and fell over.' Pythagoras (died c. 500) taught reincarnation, claiming his soul retained memories from a chain of previous bodies, beginning with Hermes' son. Accounts of his death vary, but one represents it as a principled choice: out of reverence for non-human life, he refused to step on bean-fields even when pursued by enemies. Heraclitus (died c. 475), who taught that 'better deaths gain better portions', died after ill-advisedly smearing himself in cow-dung in order to draw off excess fluid from his body. In the grisliest version, the sun then baked the shit hard, trapping him to be eaten by scavenging dogs. Empedocles (died c. 430) was given several death narratives. In the most famous and dramatic version, he leapt into Mount Etna to prove he was a god. Only a bronze sandal remained.

I've said nothing yet about the death which came to divide ancients and moderns, that of Christ. Some scholars have tried to assimilate Christ's death to Hellenistic ideals of the noble death. One reason this seems mistaken to me is that Paul – author of the first Christian texts, foundational for later accounts of the significance of Christ's death – could hardly care less about how Christ practically faced his death. Paul emphasised Christ's death only so far as it made possible Christ's resurrection, and hence new human possibilities for others. Insofar as any ethical fact about Christ's death itself did matter for Paul, it was (as emphasised in the letter to the

Galatians) that Christ's death had been outrageous, a death cursed under Judaic law.

Indeed, in Galatians Paul began constructing a whole new theology of death from this starting-point. By following one who had died such a cursed death, Paul was similarly expelling himself from his community's law. To the extent that this expulsion from law was, metaphorically, a sort of social death, Paul could start to announce himself as co-crucified and resurrected with Christ. Over centuries, Paul's intricate theology of death became elaborated into doctrinal systematics; there came to be an enormous amount of subordinate theoretical work for Christian philosophers. But – as far as the *ethics* of death went – Christianity actually erased what had previously been a rather significant tradition of philosophers dying their own death in an excellent way. To put it crudely, only Christ's death really mattered.

Modern philosophy has tried to free itself from the imaginative hold of Christian theology. Yet post-Christian thought may be more Christian than it knows. Paul's abandonment of the ethical terrain of death may help explain why secular philosophies of death seem so practically impoverished even today. Some of the unhappy deaths of twentieth-century philosophers seem to invite treatment within narrative frames – tragic, comic, or picaresque – which are essentially anti-philosophical. This bothers me, trying to find philosophical ways to relate philosophers to their deaths. Perhaps it should bother us all: we will all have the chance to face death for ourselves.

Dr David Palfrey held his British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at Robinson College, Cambridge. He is currently a Lecturer in Modern British History at Birkbeck College, London

Moral Panics: Then and Now

*In 1972, Professor Stanley Cohen FBA published his seminal work *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. On 9 March 2007, Professor Cohen was joined at the British Academy by Professor David Garland, and Professor Stuart Hall FBA, in an evening meeting to reflect on what has happened to the notion of 'moral panic'. In the edited extract below, **Professor David Garland** discusses the phenomenon of moral panic and its characteristics.*

If you Google the term 'moral panic', you find about 1.5 million entries. I found 1,230,000 the other day when I checked and after tonight there will be more still. What I think this tells us is that the concept has an enormous impact not just in sociology, where it has found a sub-discipline of its own, but also in the language of cultural debate and the practice of journalists and politicians. To claim that a social reaction is in fact a moral panic has become an essential move in any public conversation about social problems or societal risks. In an age of exaggeration where the mass media regularly focus on a single anxiety-provoking issue and exploit it for all it is worth, there is obviously a necessity for some kind of deflating, bubble-bursting comeback, so no wonder that the notion of moral social panic has become part of the standard rhetoric in the exchange of

public debate. It is an essential argumentative term, a way of saying 'no' to the forces of hyperbole, so if Stan Cohen had not come up with it in 1972, it would have been necessary for us to invent it.

Before it was a rhetorical move in cultural politics, moral panic was a rigorously defined sociological concept. If you read *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* again, you will be struck by how thoroughly theoretical that book is, every other sentence is a kind of generalising claim that is theoretical all the way through, despite the book's empirical grounding and its case study form. It is that sociological usage of moral panic that I want to discuss now.

What exactly is a moral panic? Let me describe to you a *New York Times* story from last month, which has all the hallmarks of a moral panic report and shows all its characteristics quite clearly. It also shows the extent to which politicians have learned to recognise moral panic processes and try to manage their fall-out.

The story was printed below the following headline: 'Latest death of teenager in South London unsettles Britain: With an outpouring of soul-searching and public sorrow, British leaders expressed dismay at

Photograph © PA Photos.

the recent spate of gun crime.' The report then describes the murder of a teenager, the fifth one to be shot to death. While some politicians depicted the bloodshed as a sign of deep social malaise, Prime Minister Tony Blair resisted suggestions that the killings reflect a broader crisis among Britain's young people. Acknowledging the shootings were horrific, Blair insisted we should be 'more careful in our response, the tragedy is not a metaphor for the state of British society, still less for the state of British youth.'

The report went on to say that the killings have stunned many Britons and sparked worries about the prevalence of firearms, about crack cocaine and about American-style turf wars between drug-dealing gang members. It has inspired an anguished debate about whether some parts of British society are sliding out of control, an impression that Mr Blair has sought to avoid. Opposition spokesman, Alan Duncan, on the other hand, had no such inhibitions. Duncan declared that Britain needs to be 'recivilised' and provided the following diagnosis of the crisis that underlies the shootings. Duncan said that within the EU, Britain is the fattest nation with the most apathetic voters, the worst energy wasters, the biggest porn addicts, the most violent people and the greatest cocaine users. Like a Chinese encyclopaedia that would be worthy of Jorge Luis Borges, he continues: we have the worst kids' allergies, the biggest binge-drinkers, we are the most burgled, have the most asthma sufferers, are the worst linguists, have the most premature babies and, oddly, have the fewest organ donors. There has been he said, in short, a collapse of authority.

Stan Cohen notes recently that successful moral panics owe their appeal to their ability to find points of resonance with wider anxieties – I think Mr Duncan is trying a little too hard to make the connection. The Conservative Party leader, David Cameron, was more circumspect, but he, too, characterised the events as symptomatic, pointing to, in his case, absent fathers and family breakdown as being at the heart of the problem.



The *New York Times* article went on to note that despite the surge in media reports and public anxiety, police figures indicate that murders and gun crime are decreasing. Nevertheless, Police Commissioner Sir Ian Blair called for new police powers, and mandatory sentences of imprisonment of five years for young people carrying guns. The target of these new powers, the 'folk devil' at the centre of the reaction, are familiar figures: violent, drug-dealing, gun-toting, inner-city black youth. Perhaps it is time for a new edition of Stuart Hall's *Policing the Crisis*.

This episode of public outcry, soul-searching and social reaction with a troubling form of the youth deviant at its centre, describes a classic moral panic: more knowing and self-reflective than the one described by Stan some 40 years ago perhaps and more politically contested too, but otherwise an exemplary instance of the genre.

These moral panics come in a variety of shapes and sizes, as do the forms of deviance to which they purportedly respond. They can be minor, frenzied episodes leaving little trace, or they can be major, fateful developments. They can be isolated events, or they can form part of a series, each one building on the other. If we think about drug panics or child abuse panics, for example, they have a cumulative quality which is always building on itself. The problems to which they respond may be serious or trivial or even a figment of the imagination: satanic child abuse rituals would be an example of the last. The problem when it is fully unveiled typically bears little relation to the reaction it provokes.

Moral panics can be spontaneous grass-roots events, unselfconsciously driven by local actors and local anxieties, as I believe the panic Stan Cohen described about Mods and Rockers in Clacton was, or they can be deliberately engineered for commercial or political gain. Similarly, the social reaction involved in a moral panic can be more or less consensual, more or less divided. In Stan's original case study, society responded to the seaside disturbances with one voice, more or less. In the gun violence example that I just quoted, politicians and commentators are much more divided in their reaction.

As for causation, this also varies with the nature and the focus of the moral panic. It takes a variety of enabling, facilitating, proximate conditions, the existence of a sensationalist mass media, the discovery of some new or hitherto unreported form of deviance, the existence of marginalised outsider groups suitable for portrayal as a folk devil, and usually an already sensitised, already primed reading public. The basic causal forces usually have to do with transitions or disruptions in the social, economic or moral order of society: threats to existing hierarchies, status competition, the impact of social change upon established ways of life, the breakdown of previously operative structures of control. These, I believe, are the deeper sources of moral panics that produce this surface expression.

Stan's original analysis made it clear that moral panics and folk devils have an interactive relationship, and he has discussed already the deviancy amplification aspect of this, the idea that social control prompts a hardening of the original deviance and, ironically, enhances its attraction for the potential deviants. However, there is another aspect of this relationship too which he also mentions, although it has not been picked up on or developed to the same extent. Implicit in the analysis is the idea that a specific group of deviants singled out for folk devil status is selected because it has characteristics that make it a suitable screen upon which the society can project sentiments of guilt and ambivalence. In other words, there is an internal relationship of that kind involved.

A good example of this unconscious projection is the current and persistent public panic centred on paedophile sex offenders. The recent Kate Winslet movie *Little Children* shows quite clearly the intensity of our fear and loathing of child-abusers, owing a large amount to unacknowledged guilt about negligent parenting and our own ambivalence about the sexualisation of modern culture. There is a relationship there which is not accidental.

I have already mentioned the political uses of moral panics but one should also emphasise the mass media, which is often the prime mover and the prime beneficiary of these

episodes since, of course, the sensation not only sells papers and entertains readers, it generates further news in a kind of unfolding story as people take positions, commentators disagree and so on. Yet when Professor Jock Young (University of Kent) used the concept, he claimed that commercial media have 'an institutionalised need to create moral panics' – it was intrinsic to the money-making, news value-seeking quality of the media.

Finally, we ought to mention the productivity of moral panics: they make things happen, they create effects and they leave legacies. Consider Stuart Hall's account of how mugging panics enabled the drift to a new law and order society, or how American panics over drug use have allowed the build-up of mass imprisonment, or indeed think about the recurring sex offender panics today, and the way that they have justified an enormous new apparatus of repression and restraint designed to control anyone deemed to be a 'sex offender'. Moral panics may sound somewhat ephemeral, but repeated over time, they can facilitate important extensions of the criminal justice state.

David Garland is Arthur T. Vanderbilt Professor of Law and Professor of Sociology at New York University. He is the author of *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and is currently working on a book about American capital punishment. An extended version of Professor Garland's talk will appear in the journal *Crime, Media and Culture* in 2008 under the title "On the Concept of Moral Panic".

Professor Stanley Cohen FBA, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics, is author of *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (Routledge, 30th anniversary edition, 2002). Professor Stuart Hall FBA, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Open University, is author of *Policing the Crisis* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1978).

Professor Adam Kuper FBA, Professor of Social Anthropology, Brunel University) was in the Chair.

You can listen to the full presentations and discussion on line via the Academy's web site at <http://britac.studyserve.com/home/default.asp>

Welcome to the Software-Sorted Society

Professor Stephen Graham, of Durham University, analyses the extent to which society has become subject to visible and invisible surveillance, tracking, and sorting technologies. He draws attention to the radical and divisive social consequences of 'software-sorting' and calls for public regulation of the systems that are coming to pervade so many aspects of our lives.



Introduction: cities of passage points

Our cities and infrastructures are rapidly becoming sentient. Infused with a wide range of digital sensors and surveillance systems, the built environments and infrastructures of cities are being produced and managed in ways which were unthinkable only a few years ago. Organised through millions of electronic tags, cards, transponders, mobile phones, computers and CCTV cameras, the movements and interactions that constitute urban life are now tracked and monitored like never before. In many ways, city spaces and infrastructures can now be thought of as structures of pervasive and continuous surveillance. These are widely being used not just to keep an eye out for threats and risks, but automatically to sort and prioritise the life chances of people based on judgements embedded in computer software.

In a typical day, the average Briton must now negotiate a seemingly endless series of high-tech systems which are sunk into the wider environment. Even the most banal communication, transaction or even physical movement now requires use of a whole list of passwords, PIN numbers or electronic cards to be successfully completed.

Such systems act as a myriad of electronic and physical passage points strung out across Britain's geographical landscapes. Through the inputting of a code, or the automatic scanning of a person, vehicle, card or tag,



these systems try to separate people deemed legitimate from those deemed irregular or risky. They are also the basis for allocating rights and privileges to some, whilst withholding them from others.¹ It's no wonder that, in a recent book, the social critic Jeremy Rifkin argued that we live in what he called an 'age of access', where computerised systems continually mediate access to essential services, infrastructures and spaces through increasingly intense surveillance.²

Understanding passage points

Such passage points vary considerably. They do so in three main ways.

Visibility. Some passage points are highly visible and obvious, and must be negotiated willingly and knowingly by users. The PIN credit card machine or airport passport control are examples here. Others are more stealthy and covert (as with the widespread sorting of traffic to ease congestion on the internet or at call centres). Stealthy passage points force users to negotiate surveillance unknowingly, as a hidden background to their everyday life and movement.

On still other occasions, the presence of some form of passage point is clear to those who look for it — as with a CCTV camera on a street or a speed camera on a motorway. But it is impossible to know in practice if one's face or car number plate has actually been scanned, or if the legality or legitimacy of one's movement has been assessed.

Automation. Whilst most passage points are now fully automated, and involve little immediate human supervision, some have so far managed to resist full automation and still involve human discretion. Traditional CCTV control rooms, with the human operator using their 'Mk1 eyeball' to scan for misdemeanours or suspects, are a good example here. (But, as we shall see, digital CCTV that uses software to select the 'targets' of surveillance is emerging fast.)

Effectiveness. This depends largely on how difficult it is comprehensively to control access to the service, infrastructure, or city space in question without the controls being challenged, resisted, or swamped by unwieldy amounts of traffic. Generally, electronic services and realms are relatively easy to control compared to physical urban streets. (Of course, in software-sorted cities, most passage points now involve both electronic and physical parts working closely together.)

Within these differences, all passage point systems also have key similarities.

- Direct human operation is diminishing rapidly as they become increasingly automatic. This occurs because computer software actually does the day-to-day work scanning and sifting people and their traffic.
- They all more or less work 24 hours a day.
- They operate in real time (i.e. the decision by the software to allow access to the space, service or infrastructure is made with very little delay).

Given the proliferation of electronic passage points, and the way in which they increasingly mediate access to the crucial services people now need to lead their lives, the simple question arises: what is going on here? How has our society been remodelled in the last decade or so that everyday life emerges as an endless series of high-tech passage points, scrutinised by unseen databases, and disciplined through computers whose actual location is usually impossible to know? And what does it mean for social and geographical inequality in our society that our lives are mediated by computer software which stipulates automatically who is allowed access to the services, transport and communication networks, and urban spaces necessary to sustain a meaningful life in today's society, and, of course, who is not?

In a recent project, supported by a British Academy Research Readership, I sought to

start to uncover the largely invisible world through which British society is being sorted by software. The project had two starting points.

Beyond the glitz: rethinking the 'digital divide'

New Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs), like mobile phones, the internet and e-commerce systems, are almost always portrayed in the media and popular press as magical means of overcoming the barriers of time and space that shape urban life. The dominant depiction of the so-called 'information society' portrays such technologies as new, friction-free means of connecting people, institutions and spaces, which speed up and improve the functionality of all manner of services in the process. Bill Gates talks about 'friction-free' capitalism. Frances Cairncross announces 'the death of distance'. And Charles Leadbetter argues that we are now 'living on thin air' in a society where the incredible ease of electronic interaction and communication contrasts all too starkly with our increasingly congested physical world.³

And yet, when one studies the remaking of society through electronic passage points, one comes to a decidedly different view of new technologies. Here, it emerges that electronic and 'virtual' technologies are not separated off from the 'real' world in a simple, binary way. Nor are they closed off in a purely immaterial domain of cyberspace, with its perfect and friction-free mobilities and infinite possibilities. Instead, new technologies are very definitely diffusing into the material world of cities and infrastructures, allowing them to be radically remade in the process.

Such a view also reveals that, beneath the seductive glitz and glamour of high-technologies, in many cases their proliferation is actually being widely used to create disconnections as much as connections, as they are used to set up new passage point systems. Rather than a utopian world of ubiquitous electronic freedom, such systems are being used to slow down and add friction to certain peoples lives, making them logistically more difficult. And in some cases they are actually being used to facilitate the withdrawal of services from people and communities and the worsening of some people's opportunities.

Consequently, the so-called 'digital divide' which characterise high-tech societies are not just about the usual focus of debate – uneven access to the internet. Perhaps even more important, but almost completely unnoticed, are the powerful and often invisible processes of prioritisation and marginalisation that emerge as computer software is used in electronic and physical passage points to judge people's worth, eligibility and levels of access to a whole range of essential urban spaces, infrastructures and services.

Above all, the shift to a society of electronic passage points sorted by computer software means that people are continually having to justify passage or access, or have electronic codes do this for them. For generally powerful and privileged people or places, this access tends to open up a world of rapid communication, premium transport, and privileged service. Such offerings, however, are being made through the way these very same systems simultaneously inhibit or undermine the services and life chances of more marginalised people and places in our society. Quite literally, their traffic is electronically held up, or even stopped altogether, to allow service providers to concentrate on meeting the needs and desires of the powerful, privileged and profitable parts of our society.

'The most profound technologies are those that disappear'

The second starting point for the project was that the technologies that use software to sort British society remain largely invisible, mysterious, and unnoticed. Increasingly, they are literally sunk into the wider environment of our cities, homes, neighbourhoods, transport systems, vehicles, and digital appliances, whilst connecting all of these together and linking them to the far-off places that life in the UK now connects to through intensified globalisation (call centres are a good example here).

This invisibility of electronic passage points is partly physical, i.e. the systems are very small in scale and blend into the wider environment. But it is also cultural: once people get used to all aspects of their lives operating through electronic and physical passage points of various kinds, they start to take very little notice of these systems. This invisibility is especially pronounced for the computer software that continually sorts

people's life chances and access to vital spaces and services. Where is it made? How does it work? What does it consist of? And what are its geographies?

In a sense, then, these technologies form a largely invisible 'background' to our society. They disappear from our radar screens at the very moment when they become most important in deciding who gets access to what in our society. As the computer scientist, Mark Weiser, argued in 1981, 'the most profound technologies are those that disappear. They weave themselves into the fabric of everyday life until they are indistinguishable from it.'⁴

The time is therefore ripe to consider how the proliferation of electronic and physical passage points is helping to reorganise the ways in which cities and infrastructures work. To understand the challenges here, I want to briefly explore three key areas: computerised visual surveillance; access-controlled infrastructures; and geolocation.

Towards computerised visual surveillance and tracking

Whole city districts and infrastructure systems are being subject to remote, visual electronic scrutiny for the first time. The several million CCTV cameras currently installed in the UK still rely overwhelmingly on the discretion of human operators to function. However, following early experiments of face recognition software in Newham, Birmingham, Tameside, Manchester, and other locations, a shift towards digital CCTV, which uses computer software to search automatically for stipulated people or behaviours, is rapidly gaining momentum.

Face recognition and other so-called biometric CCTV systems still face major technical obstacles in operating on city streets. However, considerable research and development investment is rapidly addressing these. This is part of a much broader exploration, often funded with support from the US/UK governments as part of the 'war on terror,' of the use of interconnected 'smart' CCTV systems to track movements and behaviours of millions of people both in time and across geographical space.

Although only in its infancy, the combination of biometric tracking – based on scans of people's faces, retinas, irises or even

facial expressions and walking styles – may allow the many current ‘islands’ of CCTV in cities to be quickly joined up into an integrated whole. This is because software can automatically monitor very large camera networks in a way that traditional, human operators can never hope to match.

Such a shift would prefigure a comprehensive collapse in the age-old notion of anonymity on city streets. Using computer databases or biometric signatures remotely, security and law enforcement personnel may soon be able to identify people without their knowledge, and continuously track them on an individual basis as they move about within a city, or even within whole national or international systems of cities.

To computer ethics specialist, Phil Agre, such a shift to widescale social tracking using face recognition CCTV would usher in a ‘tremendous change in our society’s conception of the human person. It would mean that people would find strangers addressing them by name’ in previously anonymised encounters in city streets and commercial spaces.⁵ More worrying still, commercial judgements, based on continuous connections to credit registers and the like, could lead to the regular exclusion and targeting of people deemed to be commercially marginal within increasingly commercialised and gentrified town and city centres.

Two particular challenges present themselves here. First, there is a danger that digital CCTV systems, which continuously search for people and behaviours using computer software, will embed social prejudice deep into the very software that makes them work. With the discretion of camera operators increasingly removed, the software that decides which behaviours, appearances, faces and identifiers require further scrutiny or action becomes both the key site for regulation and the key agent of potential exclusion. The difficult challenge here is for regulators to make transparent the types of faces, behaviours and movements that systems are designed to track as supposedly risky, threatening or abnormal within cities, whilst ignoring the rest of the population and their behaviours which they deem ‘normal’.

Pressing questions arise here. Are such systems likely to rely on crude racial profiling

as bases for their operation (especially in the context of the ‘war on terror’)? Will facial recognition databases be interoperable, allowing the possibility of individual tracking across cities, regions, countries, or even internationally? Will such systems be used to police the boundaries of commercialised, gentrified or strategic city spaces, allowing those deemed to be failed consumers within regenerated cities to be tracked and even excluded? Finally, how can codes of practice and accountability be established to prevent abuse when the key algorithms that make face recognition work are themselves so difficult to scrutinise and make transparent, trapped as they are within what social scientists often call the metaphorical ‘black boxes’ which tend to surround automated technologies?

Second, there is evidence that facial recognition systems will inevitably have inbuilt social and ethnic biases. Evidence for this comes from a major test of emerging systems, the Facial Recognition Vendor Tests of 2000 and 2002.⁶ Facial recognition rates were higher for males than for females, and for older people than for younger people. More troubling still, groups classified as Asians and African Americans were easier to recognise than Caucasians because the facial recognition software was programmed to search for the supposedly distinct physical characteristics of such populations.

Clearly, installing widespread face recognition systems whose inbuilt performance biases them to recognise and track particular age and ethnic groups more effectively than others raises major questions about how to regulate these emerging technologies. This is a particular risk with Western security rhetoric focusing over-whelmingly on monitoring and scrutinising people of ‘Arab appearance’ in the post 9/11 context.

Software-sorted infrastructures

The public spaces and the physical and electronic infrastructures of cities are rapidly being restructured in ways that directly exploit the capabilities of new surveillance passage points. Universal and standardised provisions of access to services, spaces and infrastructures – based on notions of democratic citizenship, open access and public service – are on the wane. Replacing them are notions of targeted services,

infrastructures and spaces, available only to those who are allowed access, and priced very differently to different people.

Such shifts are often based on commercial judgements and profiles of the ability of people to pay for increasingly commercialised services, spaces and infrastructures. There is a widespread tendency to apply market principles, and differential pricing, to people at different ends of the social spectrum.

On other occasions, such softwaresorting reflects a desire to allow certain privileged social groups to bypass the congestion presented by the mass of the population in increasingly crowded cities. Such an approach is encouraged because, in a globalised network-based society, the ability to connect and move reliably is of paramount importance for social and economic elites. In line with the varying visibility of passage points, software-sorted infrastructures have very widely varied levels of salience to their users. All users of an airport or congestion-charge system can see whose mobility is being privileged and who is impeded by such systems. But, interestingly, people using call centres on the internet have no idea whatsoever who are the winners and losers of the introduction of software-sorting techniques to manage these increasingly vital domains.

Let’s look at the three main emerging types of software-sorted infrastructure in a little more detail.

Road congestion charging and ‘intelligent’ public transportation

Growing parts of the UK road network are now being splintered off from the main public network, to be allocated on a pay-per-use basis for drivers who choose to pay money for the improved journey times that come with charged access. The London congestion charge, which commenced in 2003, and the Birmingham Northern relief road, are the first examples. Both use Automatic Number Plate Recognition (ANPR) systems to track cars entering charged road space and use this to act against non-payers. But the UK and EU Governments are exploring the possibility of using GPS navigation systems to charge for all road use everywhere within UK and EU territory.

There are major concerns here that the comprehensive electronic movement records inevitably generated by such systems will be used as a social tracking system and that function creep will occur through which law enforcement and security agencies gain access to tracking records. Already, the London system has been enrolled as part of an anti-terrorist initiative proactively searching for suspect and stolen cars. In a similar development, the tracking databases generated by the new 'Oyster' smart card, used by 5 million Londoners to access London's public transport system, are now regularly accessed by the Metropolitan Police for criminal investigations.



Differential call centre queuing

Following widespread practice in the USA, UK-based call centres now routinely use software programmes known as Customer Relations Management (CRM) systems to queue incoming calls differently based on sensing the numbers of incoming calls. This is done by linking to customer databases. Automatic judgements are then made about the quality, worth, or profitability of calling customers. This allows efforts to concentrate on the most profitable premium customers, who are given tailored services, individual attention, and the best promotions and deals. Meanwhile, people from marginalised backgrounds, called 'pond life' recently by one IT executive,* are forced to wait longer periods for inferior or automated service.

'It's all about finding out who the customer is, and putting them in the correct bucket,' explains Ian Davis, a customer relations manager at the IT company ATG. 'This way, the unprofitable customers never hear about the discounts and promotions.'⁷ Different service packages, prices and promotions — even for previously nationally standard

services like rail fares — can be offered to different individuals, organisations and even localities. The phone company Orange allows immediate access to a human being only to those users who sign up for a premium panther service. The Virgin call centre, the trainline, deters first time callers with lengthy interactive voice response menus whilst prioritising regular, business, train users for tailored, human, support.⁸

A two-tier software-sorted internet

Similar techniques are also now being used to sort the flows of electronic traffic on the internet. Originally developed to accord all the packets of information that flowed within it equal status, the internet was originally configured by the so-called 'best effort' model of switching packets of information. Here, equal efforts were made to allow all packets to flow to desired destinations at all times. Now, complex surveillance techniques are being used to sift and prioritise each of the billions of data packets that flow over the internet at any one time. The world's biggest manufacturer of internet routers, Cisco, now sifts packet flows on the internet to allow them to offer premium services to what they call the 'transactional/interactive data class' of users. The document also outlines how the electronic mobility of what they term the 'scavenger class' will now be actively impeded based on software-sorting of every single internet packet. 'The Scavenger class [categorisation] is intended to provide differential services, or "less-than-Best-Effort" services, to certain applications,' the document suggests.⁹

Plans to charge a 'congestion charge' to low-grade internet users, announced by the US telecommunications group AT&T in July 2006, look set to exacerbate the re-configuration of the internet into a two-tier system, which works to reinforce social and economic gaps between privileged and marginal users and places though the sorting of packets flows.

The geolocation and pervasive computing booms

Befitting their role as a means to organise and co-ordinate the everyday life of cities, surveillance practices are increasingly referenced geographically. Most systems of electronic surveillance are now actually organised geographically and are integrated

with computerised maps known as Geographical Information Systems (GISs). Many actually track the geographical movements of people, vehicles or commodities using radio frequency identification tags (RFIDs), Global Positioning Systems (GPS), smart ID cards, transponders or the radio signals given off by mobile phones or portable computers.

Whilst opening up the potential to improve logistics management, to learn more about the make-up of neighbourhoods, or to track one's friends as they move around cities, this 'geo-referencing' of surveillance brings with it major risks. Services and advertising can be targeted only at those deemed more profitable as they move about the city, as sensors automatically detect their presence. Computerised mapping systems can exacerbate the gaps between rich and poor neighbourhoods and ossify prejudice into urban geographies through the electronic red lining of areas and people deemed unprofitable or problematic in some way. And people's movements might be continually tracked for the purposes of commercial or social control, with such highly valuable information also traded at great profit on the burgeoning marketplace for geographical data.

The rapid diffusion of tiny Radio Frequency Identifier Tags (RFIDs) – tiny electronic tags that can be scanned by radio systems – raises a series of key challenges to the regulation of geographical surveillance. Computers blur invisibly into the background of the material city, underpinning new smart means of continually tracking goods and people wirelessly as they move. RFIDs are being installed in everything from razor blades and animals, to vehicles, passports and even human skin. The continual assembly of tracking data enables the emergence of city environments that are constantly aware of who and what is moving around within them, along with their recent movements, associations and consumption habits.

RFID and other so-called 'pervasive computing' technologies raise a host of crucial questions. How can principles of transparency and accountability be implemented when cities, streets, rooms and infrastructures literally become sentient, and continually and covertly track who and what

goes on within them? How can the principles of the free and democratic public realm in cities be maintained when those managing malls and increasingly privatised public spaces have the possibility of secretly identifying each individual who enters their realm automatically, as well as their tastes, wealth and potential profitability? How can regulators respond to the dangers that such operators will use RFID to link with profiling databases to sort users, offering incentives,



extra services and benefits to these deemed most desirable, whilst attempting to remove those deemed to be problematic, unprofitable, or irregular in some way? With Amazon.com already shown to be selling DVDs to different customers at different prices, based on computer assessments of their value as customers, is regulatory intervention necessary to ensure that mass commercial price-fixing does not emerge based on the operation of automated RFID surveillance? How can the covert scanning of people's private realms for consumption data best be regulated, and how can the use of such data to identify risky individuals be controlled? In short, how can the freedom of movement and assembly in cities be protected in a world of ubiquitous and continuous tracking where such technologies are being widely invested with the power to improve security and fight terrorism? The clear danger is that pervasive computing and RFID revolutions will work to 'chill [the] irregular, deviant or unpopular speech and actions'¹⁰ that are ultimately essential to the maintenance of a democratic society.

Conclusion

It is clear that the largely invisible and esoteric world of software-sorting urgently needs to be exposed and robustly regulated. In particular, privacy regulators, Information Commissioners, and all those addressing the challenges of social exclusion in today's society need to become rapidly aware of how cities and infrastructures are being rebuilt as systems of continuous surveillance, tracking and social-sorting. With these systems already at the point where they are 'disappearing' from view, to become the

taken-for-granted background to the functioning of our society, the policy and research challenges here are both urgent and, it must be said, somewhat daunting.

The key challenge is to try and expose the computer software that directly operates in software-sorted systems to favour certain people at the direct expense of others. For it is in the shaping and writing of computer software itself where real power now lies. What social judgements, prejudices and problematic biases go into such software? How is such software diffused and sold around the world? And do the organisations shaping it even have any idea themselves about how its exclusionary 'decisions' might operate in practice?

To prevent all aspects of life being secretly and continually sifted by new, often highly commercialised, software-sorting, public regulation of these systems is vital. Without it, there will be little to stop the emergence of a hyper-consumerised and hyper-individualised society where rights, services and social status are starkly segmented and packaged up on a completely customised basis using judgements of potential profitability, riskiness or regularity. To avoid this, three principles of accountability, transparency and proportionality must be the keystones for a robust programme of regulation and supportive research.

Accountability is necessary so that those organisations practising software-sorting are made to justify their actions as part of the principle of democratic regulation, at the most appropriate geographical scale.

Transparency is required to make software-sorting visible. It is necessary so that the contents of the software that actually does the social and geographical sorting are made as public as possible — within the obvious constraints of commercial propriety — along with an assessment of the effects.

And an assessment of *Proportionality* is vital to prevent the shift towards ever-extending and integrated surveillance systems which work to track and monitor greater and greater portions of public and private life, for the purposes of social control, the supposed imperatives of the market, or simply profit. Once societies are organised around the tracking and sorting possibilities of computerised databases, there will be a logic

of extending the reach and range of those systems. This is especially so as the mantra of 'security' creeps over all walks of public life, as part of the 'war on terror'.

The software-sorted society is here. It is rapidly intensifying and extending its powers. And it is about time that regulators, policy makers and governments realised that fact.

Notes

- ¹ See Stephen Graham (2004) (Ed.), *The Cybercities Reader*, Routledge; Stephen Graham (2005), 'Software-sorted geographies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(5), 1–19.
- ² Jeremy Rifkin (2000) *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism, Where All of Life Is a Paid-for Experience*, Tarcher.
- ³ Bill Gates (1995), *The Road Ahead*, London: Hodder and Stoughton; Frances Cairncross (2001), *The Death of Distance*, Texare Publishing; Leadbetter, C. (2000), *Living on Thin Air: The New Economy*, London: Penguin.
- ⁴ Marc Weiser (1991), 'The computer for the 21st century,' *Scientific American*, 265, September, 94–104.
- ⁵ Phil Agre 2001: 'Your face is not a bar code: Arguments against automatic face recognition in public places', *Whole Earth*, 106, 74–77.
- ⁶ Phillips, P. et al (2002), *Face Recognition Vendor Test, 2002: Overview and Summary*, Biometric Institute. See Introna, L. and Wood, D. (2004), 'Picturing algorithmic surveillance: The politics of facial recognition systems', *Surveillance and Society*, 2, 177–198.
- ⁷ Quoted in Booth, N. (2006), *Press 1 if you're poor, 2 if you're loaded...*, *Technology Guardian*, March 2nd, pp.3.
- ⁸ Booth, N. (2006), *Press 1 if you're poor, 2 if you're loaded...*, *Technology Guardian*, March 2nd, pp.3.
- ⁹ Cisco (2002): *Service provider quality of service – Design guide*, Washington DC: Cisco Inc.
- ¹⁰ Kang, J. and Cuff, D. (2005), *Pervasive Computing: Embedded in the Public Sphere*, available from dcuff@ucla.edu. pp. 33.

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Martin Buber: Philosopher of dialogue and of the resolution of conflict

Professor W. John Morgan discusses the life and thought of Martin Buber, and asks whether his concepts of dialogue can help today in efforts to resolve conflicts in the Middle East, and between other communities in dispute.

MARTIN BUBER is recognised as one of the outstanding existentialist philosophers of the 20th century. His thought focuses on dialogue and community and this alone identifies him as a significant thinker for educators. Buber was himself engaged in adult education, first in Germany under the Nazis and later in Palestine and Israel. Following his removal by the Nazis from the Chair of Philosophy of Religion at the University of Frankfurt, he became the Director of Jewish adult education programmes, until his final departure for Palestine in 1938, when he took up the Chair of Social Philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Although attacked frequently by opponents within the Zionist movement and by Arab nationalists, he was persistent in seeking points of understanding and reconciliation between Jew and Arab. He died on 13 June 1965. The question is, does Buber's philosophy of education as dialogue, coupled with his record as an adult educator, provide a model for the resolution of communal conflict? If so, efforts, based on this model, to achieve dialogue between communities in dispute, accompanied by their practical co-operation, through education, would be worthwhile. The dilemma of Palestine and Israel, with which Martin Buber was most intimately concerned is a notable and persistent example of such a conflict and yet is, paradoxically, one that it is possible to resolve through dialogue.

At the Zionist Congress in 1922, Buber put forward a resolution emphasising the community of interest between Jew and Arab in Palestine. This was so emasculated by the Congress' editorial committee that according to Buber the marrow and the blood were removed. It was, he said, an experience that set a pattern for his future intellectual and political life. He determined never again to sacrifice truth to expediency, although after the creation of the State of Israel in 1949 he was criticised by some for compromising with

it. His experience as a Jew in National Socialist Germany confirmed him in this moral and philosophical outlook. Following his effective expulsion from the University of Frankfurt, he was forbidden to write, publish or teach in German 'Aryan' institutions and his books and articles were blacklisted and destroyed. The boycott of so-called 'non-Aryan' thought such as Buber's, was an example of the Nazi attempt to bring an end



Professor Martin Buber. Photographer Moshe Prodan.
By courtesy of the Government Press Office, Israel

to intellectual freedom and to the possibility of dialogue with others. Working in an atmosphere of terror and oppression, Martin Buber guided the activities of the surviving Jewish youth and adult education organizations in Germany. Finally, Buber was persuaded that he and his family should leave for Palestine, where he took up a professorship at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Both in Germany and in Palestine Buber advocated and practised a philosophy that saw the purpose of education as contributing to human freedom and to the liberation of personality. The task of education, he argued, was to develop students' character in a way that would enable them to live in society humanely. The teacher's task was not to instruct students in what was right or wrong in absolute terms, but to help them to discover truth for themselves through the process of dialogue and enquiry. This was set out most clearly in his well-known book

Between Man and Man (1947).¹ He argued that there were no absolute formulas for living, for as people live they grow and their beliefs change. The practice of dialogue was core to this process of education and of maturity. He believed that this was as true for communities as for individuals. In his *Tales of the Hasidim* (1947),² he stated that there were three kinds of dialogue. First, *genuine* dialogue, which may be spoken or silent, where each of the participants really has in mind the other or others and turns to them with the intention of establishing an authentic mutual relationship. Secondly, there is *technical* dialogue, which is prompted by the need of objective understanding. Finally, there is *monologue*, disguised as dialogue, in which each speaks to the other in circuitous ways and yet imagined that they had escaped what he described as the torment of being thrown back on their own resources. The implications of each of the above for educational practice, both for individuals and for communities, are considerable.

In addition to Martin Buber's own considerable output, there is now an extensive literature on his life and work. However, this has focussed essentially on his existentialist philosophy of religion and on his Jewish scholarship, particularly his studies of Hasidism. Again, what has been written on Buber's philosophy of education has focussed on the application of his 'I-Thou principle' to the relationships between parent and child, between teacher and pupil and between individuals, again usually children in the class-room or at play. These are also relationships that imply different levels of maturity. The significance of Buber's philosophy of dialogue for relations between mature communities of adults in dispute remains relatively unexplored. Yet such communities, often distant culturally and set in attitudes reinforced by perceived rights and injustices suffered, need to enter into sustained dialogue if their conflict is to end.



PM Ehud Olmert (R) meets with Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen), at the PM's office in Jerusalem. Photographer Amos Ben Gershom. By courtesy of the Government Press Office, Israel

The question is how? The social and political implications of Martin Buber's life and thought have a profound significance for the achievement of *genuine* dialogue between individuals and the communities to which they belong. The successful practice of *technical* dialogue, with a view to achieving objective understanding of a mutual problem or situation, should also not be underestimated as a means of resolving conflict. The capacity to recognise the *impasse* of monologue, masquerading as dialogue is also of fundamental importance. In order to achieve *authentic* dialogue and conflict resolution between communities, it is necessary to understand that, for Buber, this means more than according justice, crucial though that is, or building a framework for mutual economic advancement. These entail the elimination of the *objective* sources of conflict. However, according to Buber, such actions must be accompanied by a spiritual transformation that eliminates the *subjective* sources of conflict. It is also the case that often external partisans of the respective causes, even when well-meaning, aggravate the conflict and make dialogue more difficult to achieve. In short, mediators are preferable to advocates, while direct dialogic encounter between those in dispute is best of all.

Martin Buber believed that dialogue was an integral part of Hebrew humanism and should be, as such, a moral principle of the Jewish community in Palestine. Dialogue and attentive silence should be practised not only by individuals within the community, but in

relation to individuals outside the community and between communities. Accordingly, he founded, with others, *Ichud* or Unity, a political and cultural movement which worked for Jewish-Arab understanding and for the establishment of a bi-national state in Palestine once the British Mandate came to an end. This would, he believed, be possible through authentic education, which was one of dialogue, with the aim of realising the capacity to relate maturely to others. This had profound implications for his relationship with Zionism and with the Arab nationalists. He proposed forming a federation of Middle East states to link the Jewish community with its Arab neighbours. He opposed the partition of Palestine as this would lead to an armed clash between Jews and Arabs. When that clash came in 1949, the practical possibility of a bi-national state, never very likely, vanished and with it the programme of *Ichud*. However, Buber continued to argue for dialogue, for creating the space within which reconciliation between Israeli and Palestinian might eventually be possible. He believed that this might be achieved through the many small opportunities and daily decisions which individual Israelis and Palestinians had before them. He emphasised what both peoples held in common and called upon them to use this common ground to discuss and settle the matters upon which they disagreed. In 1949 Buber founded the Israeli Institute for Adult Education, one of the first examples of training for adult educators in the world. It trained teachers for work among Jewish immigrants in the reception camps, refugees

from post-war Europe and Oriental Jews expelled from Arab countries after 1949. He asked how might Israel create a unified nation, which at the time did not exist? How much more difficult, but just as necessary he argued, was it to find common purpose and unity with Arab neighbours and those of other faiths? The position of those Palestinians who had been uprooted and were now in refugee camps was fundamental to this necessary dialogue. Buber's philosophy of education is one of dialogue which requires willing partners in the conversation. It depends on a readiness to find reconciliation through points of common interest, rather than in the defence of entrenched positions. This is the impasse that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has now reached and against which Martin Buber warned.

Today, Israeli and Palestinian seem as far away as ever from mutual recognition and dialogue, let alone reconciliation and co-operation. Yet dialogue and co-operation do take place and not only that like the recent Annapolis conference mediated by the representatives of external powers such as the United States or through the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations. One prominent example is that of intellectual dialogue through the pages of the *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*. This was founded by Victor Ciegelman and Ziad Abu-Zayyad (who continues as joint editor with Hillel Schenker). It is now in its fourteenth volume and provides an excellent forum for detailed discussion among Palestinians, Israelis and other in the spirit of dialogue and with the aim of peaceful co-operation and co-existence, without predicting specific political solutions. The most recent number focuses on *Future Options*, including discussions from various perspectives of the bi-national state and of the two-state solutions.³ Another important example of dialogue is a joint project, begun in 2002 and led by academics from Ben Gurion University in Beersheba, a city in southern Israel, and from Bethlehem University in the Palestinian territories. This devised a series of booklets for experimental use in a small number of Israeli and Palestinian schools that present the conflicting perceptions of what is a common history. The aim, the project leaders claim, is

to ensure that the teaching of history no longer feeds the conflict. This project is continued by the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), as reported in a recent number of *Newsweek*.⁴

There is co-operation also at the level of advanced scientific research. This is developed through the Israel-Palestine Science Organization (IPSO)⁵ established following UNESCO's Round Table on Science for Peace in the Middle East, held in Paris in 2002. This is chaired jointly by Sari Nusseibeh, President of *Al Quds* University, Jerusalem, and by Menahem Yaari, President of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. (Martin Buber was the first President of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.) The mission of the IPSO is to build upon the willingness of many Israeli and Palestinian scientists and scholars to co-operate on projects that will create an infrastructure capable of achieving sustainable development in both communities. The supporters of IPSO, Israeli, Palestinian and others, also believe that science, given its universal character, can be instrumental in stimulating dialogue, openness and mutual respect, and in these ways serve the cause of peace. The organization is advised by an International Scientific Council and supported by UNESCO, as well as by various philanthropic bodies. In January 2006, twenty-seven joint projects in agricultural science, bio-medics, chemistry, environmental sciences and water resources, mental health, the humanities and in the social sciences were approved. UNESCO's role is mediating such co-operation and dialogue is of great importance given its mission for dialogue and the creation of a culture of peace.

It is significant also that on 8 September 2005 the first meeting between the Israeli and Palestinian National Commissions for UNESCO was held in the context of UNESCO's Middle East strategy and the Culture of Peace Programme.⁶ This aims to devise and implement reconstruction projects in support of the populations and institutions of the Palestinian territories and, secondly, to encourage reconciliation through dialogue between individual Israelis and Palestinians and their respective civil societies. An example of the former is the

Programme for Palestinian European Academic Co-operation in Education (PEACE).⁷ At its foundation, following a conference in Jerusalem, at a time when Palestinian universities were closed by Israeli military order, the Programme was supported by UNESCO and by the European Commission. It offers grants for Palestinian students to study abroad and organises staff exchanges and other forms of institutional support for Palestinian higher education. Such support in capacity building is essential if the conditions for genuine dialogue and future co-operation are to be achieved. There are other examples.

However, given the deep-seated hostility and continuing violence, aggravated by the recent events in Gaza which have divided the Palestinian people so bitterly, such co-operation remains exceptional. Many academics, let alone the Israeli and Palestinian publics cannot bring themselves to co-operate with what is still seen as the enemy. This attitude is aggravated by those from outside who identify themselves with the respective 'causes.' This is illustrated by attempts to boycott Israeli academic institutions and calls on the European Union to suspend Israel's participation in its Framework programme. This again raises the question of whether advocacy of what is seen as a just cause is preferable to even-handed mediation. It is certainly true that reconciliation cannot be achieved if injustice is ignored, as post-apartheid South Africa, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Northern Ireland illustrate. This is not the same thing as refusing to recognise the other's right to exist, closing off opportunities for dialogue and for that co-operation that creates the space, as Buber puts it, for mutual respect and genuine community. This is where Buber's philosophy of dialogue and of social existence, together with his own practice, particularly in adult education, are potentially so rewarding for those who aim to end inter-communal conflict; and not only between Israeli and Palestinian. The initiatives described above are not inspired by Martin Buber explicitly, but the essentials of his thinking can be seen in each of them. A deeper understanding of his work and example and its application in situations of conflict could prove very fruitful. Two examples suffice. The first is a moral one illustrated by Buber's readiness to

enter into dialogue with the Germans in the aftermath of the Holocaust. The second is a practical one in that the results of scientific collaboration e.g. on water resources, will have a bearing on any formal peace settlements. The alternative is the continuation of resentment, hostility and bloodshed to the common detriment of all.

A reconsideration of Martin Buber's philosophy of education and its application to the resolution of inter-community conflict is a complex and major undertaking. Yet, it is, potentially, a significant task not only for scholarship but also for policy. The first step is to undertake a critical review of Buber's philosophy of education, of its implications for adult and non-formal education in particular. This should include a detailed analysis of Buber's own practice, notably in Germany both before and during the Nazi era, later at the Hebrew University and when in retirement. Buber's advocacy of Jewish reconciliation with the Germans at the end of the Second World War and his attitude towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should be reassessed according to the philosophy of ontology and of dialogue that he evolved. This would include necessarily an examination of his concepts of the individual, of identity, of community and of the individual in the community, not least the dissenting one, and of leadership and authority. The social and political implications of his philosophy and practice are considerable, as his book *Paths in Utopia* (1958)⁸ demonstrates clearly. He advocated a third way between individualism and collectivism or a community based on the free association of mature individuals brought together through dialogue. He did not expect this to happen spontaneously, following mutual expressions of goodwill. Instead it is created by living out relationships through participation in the co-operative networks that animate communities.

This implies a role for non-formal education led by educators who are themselves part of the community, which is not unlike Antonio Gramsci's concept of the 'organic' rather than the 'professional' intellectual. Opportunities for informal education through free participation in the community's network of associations should also be created. Buber

advocates an authentic civil society that acts as a shock absorber between the individual and the State, taking away as much from the latter as possible, while discouraging selfish individualism. This understands community as something organic, rather than mechanical, something to be nurtured rather than constructed. Mutually respectful and ultimately co-operative relations between communities in conflict depend on a very similar process. It is however, much more difficult because of cultural difference and often deep-seated hostility. Buber argues against programmatic nationalisms that are in competition. Instead his starting point is the identification of common problems and the need to address them jointly. This is the beginning of dialogue, with co-operation in education being a fruitful way of achieving this.

A critical comparison of Buber's ideas with those of other dialogical philosophers, educators and social commentators, such as Simone Weil, Gabriel Marcel, Emmanuel Levinas, Paulo Freire, Mikhail Bakhtin, Luce Irigaray, Edward Said and others, needs to be

undertaken. Again, the extent to which Buber's philosophy of education is meaningful in the context of Islamic and other non-Occidental philosophies of education and of dialogue also needs to be attempted. Such an analysis needs to be placed within anthropological theories of ethnicity and identity, and with an understanding of methodological problems in researching communities that are divided, often violently. The aim would be a clear yet critical account of Martin Buber's philosophy of education that assesses its practical value as an intellectual and moral framework for reconciliation between communities in conflict and not only in Palestine-Israel. The task for educators in such communities, and also those external to them, it is argued, is to renew the philosophy of education as dialogue through educational practice.

Notes

¹ Martin Buber (1947) *Between Man and Man*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

² Martin Buber (1947) *Tales of the Hasidim: The early masters*. Schocken Books, New York.

³ *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2007. Middle East Publications, Jerusalem. ISSN 07931395 and www.pij.org

⁴ Joanna Chen, 'To get on the same page'. *Newsweek*, August 13 2007, p.23.

⁵ See www.ipso-jerusalem.org

⁶ See www3.unesco.org/iycp

⁷ See www.unesco.org/general/eng/programmes/peace-palestine/

⁸ Martin Buber (1958) *Paths in Utopia*. Beacon Press, Boston, Mass.

Professor W. John Morgan holds the UNESCO Chair of the Political Economy of Education and is Director of the UNESCO Centre for Comparative Education Research, the School of Education, University of Nottingham. He received a travel grant to visit the Martin Buber Archive at the Jewish National Library, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, through the joint scheme between the British Academy and the Israel Academy of Sciences and the Humanities.

New publication from the British Academy

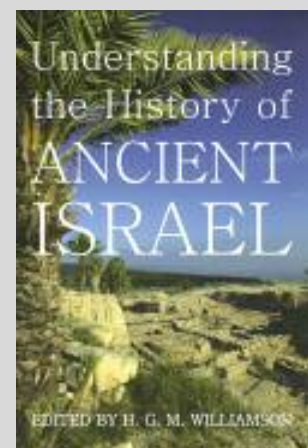
Understanding the History of Ancient Israel, edited by H.G.M. Williamson

In the recent study of the history of Ancient Israel, some treat the Bible as a reliable source, while others suggest that archaeology has shown that it cannot be trusted at all. In this volume, a team of internationally distinguished scholars debates the appropriate methods for combining different sorts of evidence – archaeological, epigraphical, iconographical, as well as Biblical.

Chapters focus on the ninth century BCE (the period of the Omri dynasty) as a test case, but the proposals are of far wider application. The volume also seeks to learn from related historical disciplines such as classical antiquity and early Islamic history, where similar problems are faced.

This volume will be essential reading for students and scholars of the Bible, as well being of great interest to all for whom the Bible is a work of fundamental importance for religion and culture.

Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume 143, 2007 ISBN 978-0-19-726401-0



The West-Eastern Divan Orchestra

THE PHOTOGRAPH below (figure 1) was taken during the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra's performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Seville in August 2006. The concert location is the stadium traditionally used for bull-fights, but here a select group of the audience sits within the ring, and the dazzling lights on the orchestra may remind us of a brilliantly lit altar, even a sacrificial blaze. Certainly the audience in attendance sought a different sort of entertainment from that more usually provided in a bull-ring: the orchestra's own message was "Music against Violence" in general, but more specifically, music against the violence of Israel-Palestine, even the war between Hezbollah and the Israeli Defence Forces that was ongoing at the time of the performance.

The tension between the dazzling entertainment in Seville and the shattering bloodshed in the Middle East is hard to miss. Co-founded by Daniel Barenboim and Edward W. Said in 1999, the West Eastern Divan explicitly addresses the political conflict in Israel-Palestine by bringing together players from either side of the divide, but stages its concordant social

relations through a model of what its press releases term 'universal' music – drawn to date exclusively from the European canon.

Dr Rachel Beckles Willson is a Reader in Music at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her current research is concerned with examining western classical music in the Middle East. As one element in her programme, she spent time with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, founded by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said. In the article below, she considers the impact of the founders' philosophies, and particularly Daniel Barenboim's concepts of the 'world of sound'.

Thus while the orchestra draws on historical associations between music and social harmony (as well as romantic ideas about music's transcendence) its Eurocentrism may undercut the comfort and spiritual elevation that it might otherwise bring.

The orchestra first came together as a one-off workshop within the summer events of

Weimar's Cultural Capital of Europe festivities 1999, and was named after Goethe's Persian-inspired poetry collection of the same name. On generating tremendous enthusiasm it reconvened in the same place in the summer of 2000, and then at North Western University, Chicago, in 2001. From 2002 until 2006 its base was in Pílas, where it was supported by the Junta de Andalucía (Autonomous Regional Government of Andalucía), since 2003 via the newly-founded Barenboim-Said Foundation. The Foundation's work is primarily educational, but the Divan also contributes to the image-building of Andalucía by serving as a gesture of remembrance to the region's Golden Age, the years between 912 and 1009 when a Muslim Caliphate ruled a tolerant society in which Jews and Christians had a firm place.

In the early years the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra was organised collaboratively by Barenboim and Said, the latter's renown in the Middle East assisting in the establishing of contacts for recruiting players. Since he died in 2003, his widow Mariam Said has

Figure 1: *West-Eastern Divan Orchestra performing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony conducted by Daniel Barenboim. Seville, August 2006. © Tom Fecht*



Figure 2: Daniel Barenboim rehearsing with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, Pílas (near Seville), August 2006. © Tom Fecht

ensured that auditions continue to be held annually in Amman, Beirut, Cairo and Damascus. The orchestral membership changes each year, but there are players who have taken part regularly from the start, and although it is primarily intended as a youth orchestra, several are now well established professionally. Organisers strive for a balance between Israelis and Arabs, complemented by Andalucians, while selecting them on the basis of auditions in Europe, the Middle East, and the USA. In 2006, 43 Israelis and Jews, 37 Arabs (and half-Arabs), 21 Spaniards and 1 Turk were expected initially, but the war between Hezbollah and Israel that erupted just before the workshop began caused all but one of the Lebanese musicians to stay away, and the Syrians did too. Consequently there was an uncharacteristically impoverished mosaic of national identities.

Political realities that shape the lives of the players are largely silenced during the workshop and tour by the intense concentration on music. The resultant apparently depoliticised space might initially be illuminated by Barenboim's utopian 'world of sound', which he discussed in his BBC Reith Lectures 2006. The 'world of sound' has a tangible social function on the one hand, in that it places Arab and Israeli orchestral players on an equal footing (when their political realities are unequal at home), and compels them to have a dialogue: in music 'you have to be able to express yourself... [but] ... you have to listen to the other'. In this respect the world of sound is not what life is, but 'what life could be' (Reith Lecture 4), a sort of musical model for politics. Yet there is a problem inherent to the sociality, because it is enacted through musical sound alone, which, despite being a 'physical phenomenon', has an 'inexplicable metaphysical hidden power' (Reith Lecture 1). The latter quality essentially suspends the broader social implications of the 'world' and is open to (politically) obfuscatory discourse and mystification.

Barenboim's discourse about the 'world of sound', for example, has caught on among Divan players to the extent that it is understood by some as a remote realm that



is nonetheless legible on Barenboim himself. Barenboim 'looks like he is in *another world*', said one to a CNN reporter in 2006, 'in the world of sound that he always talks about'; indeed as Barenboim has himself said, 'sound ... doesn't live in this world' (Reith Lecture 1). Another player pointed out that Barenboim insists that 'the sound is always there, we are just participating in it [when we make music]', and he also suggested that Barenboim's 'body language reflects his theory'.

The way that such players talk about Barenboim enacts the hierarchy that structures their relationship, and the gulf between them can be approached through the concept of 'idolatry', now a commonplace in descriptions of celebrated performers but one with a specific and important heritage. As a religious object viewed from within the Christian, Judaic or Muslim tradition, the idol is not only sacrilegious, but also theoretically con-tradictory, for it gives visible and tangible material form to something that is by definition unearthly and invisible. But in Buddhism and Hinduism idols pose no contradiction, for they are earthly objects in which a deity is present. So Barenboim: he is accessible to the players in many ways (not only is he present at their rehearsals, but also shares many social events with them over a period of weeks); yet his musical capacities and professional standing render him distant, and his very physical

disposition is understood as marking his occupation of another dimension of existence.

His position as idol explains the impact he has on arriving at a rehearsal: as players describe it, Barenboim 'has an aura around him... when he comes in, you feel the direction, you feel the purpose in the bigger picture, which is really extraordinary'. To gain a sharper view on this we can shift away from the 'world of sound' metaphor, and reflect on it through the idolatrous metaphysics of *darśan*, the Hindu blessing of seeing. With *darśan* a devotee observes an idol and feels the eye of a deity upon her: she herself gains enhanced perception as a consequence. The appropriateness of *darśan* here is that it involves not just seeing, but also being seen (by the deity via either holy man or idol), and thus *seeing being seen*. As anthropologist Alfred Gell has argued, the nested and oscillating visions efface physical separation, so that a sense of union is created. For the Hindu, seeing is not a passive activity, but an active one: the eye reaches out and *touches* what it beholds, thus gaining knowledge and understanding. Thus exchange of seeing between devotee and idol creates what Gell has described as 'a physical bridge between one being and another', even 'a material transfer of some blessing'.

The experience of *darśan* can illuminate Barenboim's impact on the orchestra on three

levels beyond the general impact of his presence. First is the nature of his 'body language', the most important aspect of which is the behaviour of his eyes while conducting: they are rarely focused on the orchestra, instead, they seem entirely glazed over in a way that is emblematic of the fixed gaze of an idol. As photographer Tom Fecht wrote after attempting to film him in rehearsal in 2006, '[my] images often capture his face not only bare but beyond any kind of emotion. ... it seems like he does not really have a single muscle left for facial expression, he appears absent to me as the outside viewer, while his face is staring silent into nowhere...' (see figure 2.) Players imitate his glazed eyes among one another, and cite them as evidence that he is removed from the real world, and is in the 'world of sound'. Thus his impermeable gazing presence can contribute to the idea that he has the key to lead them to something on which his real attention is focused, well beyond the materiality with which they, as instrumentalists, are engaged.

Second, and perhaps more important, is Barenboim's regard for music as a vehicle of human learning. He argues this only occasionally with reference to social dialogue, intimating, rather, more hazily defined edificatory qualities: music offers 'formidable weapons to forget our existence and the chores of everyday life' (Reith Lecture 1) and 'there are so many things that you can learn from music towards understanding the world' (Reith Lecture 3). The implicitly religious attitude to this process emerges most strongly in his remark according to

which 'how ever much you learn ... the next morning you start from scratch' (Reith Lecture 1), and the questioning that he understands as an inherent part of music making: 'the world that we live in ... makes it ethically more and more difficult to make music, because it is a world which gives us answers, even when there is no question'. (Reith Lecture 3) Indeed one of his most-imitated statements at the Divan is an impatiently gesticulating 'Why?', because urging players to ask themselves the reasoning behind any of their playing is an almost mantric feature of his discourse.

Finally, this questioning path of musical learning, combined with a vacant gaze, is part of a discourse that has a specifically physical set of references. Barenboim compares the *absence* or *loss* of sound with the law of gravity: anything lifted above the ground needs energy in order to remain there, just as any note played requires further energy in order to resonate further (rather than 'falling silent'). By extension, the 'world of sound' is elevated above the ground, and is a place of immense power: when you play music, you get this peaceful quality ... because you are in control of something, or at least you are attempting to control something that you cannot do in the real world. You can control life and death of the sound, and if you imbue every note with a human quality, when that note dies it is exactly that, it is a feeling of death' (Reith Lecture 1).

But additionally, Barenboim draws on neurological research to argue that sound has a direct and even *penetrative* impact on the

body (Reith Lecture 2), asserting that the workshop could not function 'without the physical impact of sound'. He thus posits an elevated network of sonorous, interpenetrative bridges that are a neat correlate to *darśan*, for they offer crucial physical pathways towards enlightenment. Those who enter the 'world of sound', in other words, enter another – better – world (see figure 3).

The West-Eastern Divan's 'Information dossier' (2004) describes the potential of the cross-cultural contacts made by the artists in overcoming political and cultural differences, and suggests that the orchestra can in consequence be 'a good example of democracy and civilized living'. Its 'democracy' is rather obviously an enacting of western Enlightenment musical culture as it evolved in nineteenth century Europe, but in consequence it has a formidably strong hierarchical structure, and an omnipotent leader whose position is maintained by a mystified religiosity. Overcoming political differences may be provisionally possible in this worshipful context, but whether broader cross-cultural awareness can emerge from it is another matter altogether. Presumably because they sense the tension between their rhetoric and practice, the organisers now plan to introduce an oriental music programme into their activities. This will challenge the orchestra's musical Eurocentrism, while simultaneously bringing it in line with the poetry collection where its name originates. The aspect of Goethe that the orchestra ostensibly celebrates, after all, is his openness to, and creative dialogue with, Middle Eastern thought.

This is an extract from a longer study of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which is part of a major research project examining musical Occidentalism in the Middle East.



Dr Beckles Willson received a Small Research Grant from the Academy to fund her fieldwork with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra.

Figure 3: Daniel Barenboim rehearsing with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, Pilas (near Seville), August 2006. © Tom Fecht

THE POWER OF THE PAST

The British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Iraq co-sponsored a conference on 'Steady States: Institutional Stability in the Face of Political Change', the proceedings of which have now been published. Dr Harriet Crawford explains how for thousands of years government practices and personnel managed to survive violent regime change in the Near East — until recent events.

THE ROOTS of the present often lie deep in the past. By understanding the past we can achieve a better understanding of the present and even perhaps, in some instances, of the likely outcome of events in the present. The past often determines national boundaries, the composition of populations, national ideologies and national iconographies. Consider the power of two of the great religious traditions today, of the neo-Conservative ideology in the USA and of radical Islam throughout the world. Their roots lie more than a millennium away, but the tenets and the iconography of the crescent and the cross are, arguably, as powerful today as they have ever been and have driven much of the history of the recent world.

With hindsight, it is sometimes possible to trace the influences which played a major part in forming past states and to draw lessons from them. In the case of successful conquests we can for example, study which traits survived the change of regime and which did not, giving us some understanding of their relative importance in the maintenance of the status quo. A conference on this theme, sponsored by the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, was held at the British Academy in September 2004 and what follows is based on the papers given there. The conference looked at continuity and change in two specific areas, royal iconography and administrative practices in a single large area, the ancient Near East (loosely defined as the Levant, Mesopotamia and Iran) and Egypt.

Case studies demonstrated that the iconography of the Egyptian pharaohs is extraordinarily persistent over the millennia. It consisted of a formulaic set of titles and a well defined set of royal regalia. Even Hatshepsut, one of the few queens regnant in the history of Egypt, was depicted on official monuments wearing the royal beard which formed one element of this regalia, though Cleopatra escaped this indignity. (Figure 1) The titles and the crowns survived political upheavals and many incursions from outside the Nile valley. The first half of the first millennium in Egyptian history was a confused and fragmented time when warriors from the south and west, from Kush and Libya, took control in turn. The Kushite kings introduced some modifications to the royal regalia and the way in which the pharaoh was depicted, but all the Libyan pharaohs who succeeded them were depicted in a purely traditional Egyptian manner.

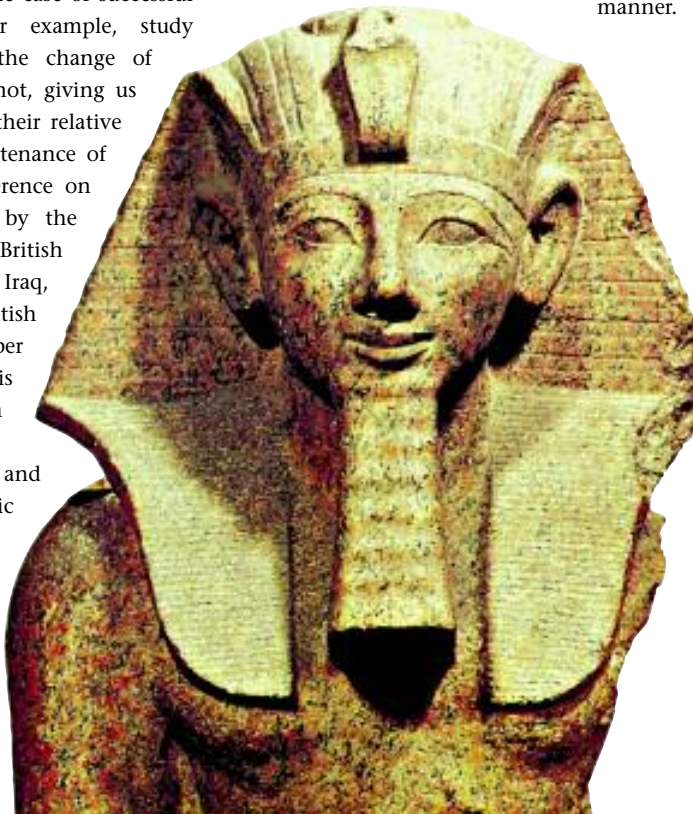


Fig. 1: Hatshepsut in a beard

It is possible to suggest a number of reasons for this continuity; it often seems to be the result of deliberate political choice, sometimes perhaps a matter of necessity. Both iconography and titulary were designed to instil fear and wonder in the beholder and to underline the divinity of the office-holder. The use of the iconography of the previous ruler projected an illusion of legitimacy by the invader and by showing him as a son of Horus, whatever his physical parentage might have been, established his credentials to the throne and made him appear invincible. This veneer of legitimacy was of course especially important to the usurpers who needed to gain acceptance from those they had conquered. Being portrayed in the official iconography as the choice of the gods, or indeed, as a god, was a device used by conquerors the world over to defuse the opposition. Opposition to the ruler then became apostasy as well.

Iconography and the motifs of which it is composed were, of course, modified in appearance through time and, more subtly, in meaning. This is something which it may be difficult to determine from the archaeological record alone, but by using texts as well it is possible to do so. One of the oldest figurative motifs known in ancient Mesopotamia is that of a human figure despatching lions (Figure 2). This figure is often interpreted as a ruler and though his killing of lions may be no more than pest control in a region where lions posed a real threat to animals and humans, it seems to have come to symbolise the ruler's mastery of nature itself. Some of the most spectacular depictions of these ritualistic lion hunts can be seen in the British Museum where the Assyrian king can be seen spearing lions in

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Figure 2 above: *Lion hunt, drawing*



Figure 3 above right: *Assyrian lion hunt*
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 4: *Sasanid hunt Sasanian period, Reign of Shapur II (309–379 CE), 4th century, silver and gilt. By courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, Purchase F1934.23*

an almost balletic performance (Figure 3). The hunts of the Sasanid kings also showed them in struggles with a wide variety of wild animals on rock reliefs and vessels of precious metals (Figure 4). The great hunts of the Persian kings of the 14th and 15th centuries shown in manuscripts also depict carefully choreographed hunting scenes in the same visual tradition, but here the message is somewhat different and it is the refinement and riches of the king, who is shown as an individual rather than a symbol, that we are invited to admire, as well, perhaps, as his prowess. The tradition was revived in the late 18th/early 19th century when the Qajar king Fath 'Ali Shah was portrayed in the same way. A very similar hunting scene was recently included in the great Velazquez exhibition at the National Gallery showing the Spanish court indulging in a hunt probably modelled on that of the Persian court but the original meaning of the scene had been completely lost (Figure 5, overleaf).

On the other hand, the reasons for the longevity of the bureaucratic procedures which survived conquest or civil war are



severely practical. Whoever was in power the taxes needed to be collected and law and order enforced. A wise conqueror will preserve as much as he safely can of the structure of government of the state he has defeated. Successful invaders often saw little

reason, at least initially, to interfere with the internal workings of their new domains as long as the population remained properly cowed. Senior officials might be removed to make way for loyal followers of the conqueror, thus providing 'jobs for the boys',



Figure 5. Diego Velázquez, Philip IV hunting wild boar (*La Tela Real*), photograph © The National Gallery

but the middle ranking civil servants were left to continue their essential tasks. This was the case after the Persian conquest of Babylonia, for example, and after the Islamic conquest of Egypt. Change when it came was often introduced after a generation or so, but some traditions still continue today. Recently the British School of Archaeology in Iraq issued a letter of invitation to a young Iraqi to visit this country on a short fellowship. A polite message was received by email from him asking for a new invitation bearing an official seal so that he might get his new passport. (The British Academy was kind enough to loan the BSAI its seal for this purpose). The sealing of documents in order to authenticate them is a bureaucratic device which has a history of five thousand years or more in Mesopotamia. (Figure 6)

The resilience of both motifs, especially those associated with the ruling classes or with religion, and bureaucratic practices over centuries in spite of radical changes in

population and in the composition of the ruling elite is extraordinary. Some of the reasons for this and some of the methods of transmission have been briefly discussed above, but there are many others. In spheres other than the public ones discussed other mechanisms may have come into play. For example, ideas and stories may have been preserved by scholars; technical information may have survived by being passed from father to son or mother to daughter in a sort of apprenticeship system, while women, who were often enslaved by a conqueror rather than killed like the men, were in a position to pass on their values and their stories of the past to their offspring.

If the past does to some extent inform the present, a study of the past may be of real practical value to the politicians of today. Had the Allies been more aware of the history of Iraq before the 2003 invasion they would have been better able to avoid some of their more calamitous mistakes. They would have known that the modern state was an entirely artificial construct invented in the aftermath of the First World War and made up of different fractious ethnic, linguistic, tribal and religious groups each looking for opportunities to take control of the wealth of the country. Civil war was always a real possibility, while porous borders which on the west follow an arbitrary straight line

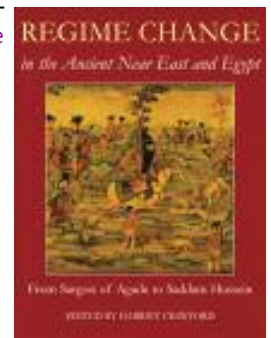
with a ruler by some British official were always going to be impossible to police, rendering it easy for supplies and men to infiltrate into Iraq from outside.

They would also have been aware that Mesopotamia, almost co-terminous with the modern state of Iraq, is one of the oldest bureaucracies in the world so that abolishing the existing state structures and putting even middle ranking civil servants out of work would doom the country to chaos. These people were the keepers of statecraft and of the levers of power with traditions reaching back into the third millennium BCE and beyond. Rulers may come and go, but the civil service goes on for ever!



Figure 6: The Academy's seal with drawing of an early 4th millennium BCE seal supplied by the author

The papers from the 'Steady states' conference were published in March 2007 in *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: from Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*, edited by Harriet Crawford (Proceedings of the British Academy, volume 136). Details can be found on the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/



The Frontiers of the Ottoman World: Fortifications, Trade, Pilgrimage and Slavery

In February 2007 a multidisciplinary international workshop took place at the British Academy, organised by the Academy-sponsored overseas schools and institutes that support research on aspects of Ottoman history and archaeology. The workshop brought together archaeologists and historians to consider the results of British research on the Ottomans in a broader context. Dr Andrew Peacock, British Institute at Ankara, highlights the importance of frontiers in understanding one of the major Empires of the world.

THE IMPACT of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the attendant rise of nationalism can be felt across its former territories to this day, in conflicts in places as far-flung as the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Sudan. Yet this vast, multi-ethnic, multi-faith empire survived from the fourteenth century to the twentieth, at its height stretching from Central Europe to Iran, and west and south as far as the Maghreb and the Sudan. Its military power and political influence were exerted even further afield, in India, Indonesia and Zanzibar. Although it posed a significant threat to the Christian powers of early modern Europe, almost capturing Vienna on two occasions, the Empire's tolerance to the faiths of its own peoples, such as the numerous Jews and Christians who lived alongside the Muslims, contrasts favourably with the policies of their European counterparts such as the Hapsburgs. Indeed, many Jews sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire on their expulsion from Spain in 1492.

Compared to Western European states, the history of this vast – and vastly important – empire is still little known. Many historical sources are still unpublished, and the enormous resources of the Ottoman archives in Istanbul are only just beginning to be exploited. Likewise, the study of the Empire's archaeology is still in its infancy despite the numerous significant buildings of every sort it left across the Balkans, the Middle East and North Africa. For every geographical area or period of the Empire that has been adequately studied, there exist many more that have scarcely been touched, making it difficult to understand the development of

the Empire as a whole. Above all, the nature of the Empire's frontiers has never been studied in depth. Crucial to understanding the nature of the Ottoman state and its relations with its neighbours, the Ottomans' frontiers throughout history were the focus of this workshop organised by a number of Academy sponsored overseas schools and institutes.

Frontiers are, of course, of great importance for every state. They are a zone of both contact and conflict with neighbouring peoples and states, representing a potential security problem yet at the same time offering opportunities for trade. For economic, political and military reasons, then, all states are preoccupied with defending and administering their frontiers. Yet it is no exaggeration to suggest that frontiers possessed an even greater importance for the Ottomans than for most states. The very origins of the Ottoman state were as a frontier principality on the edges of

the Islamic world, facing Byzantium across the Sea of Marmara. The nature of the early Ottoman state is hotly debated by scholars, but by the fifteenth century the sultans appear to have adopted an ideology of holy war (*ghaza*) as a source of legitimacy. Inherent in this ideology was not the idea of converting non-Muslims, but rather that the Empire's frontiers positively should be unstable as it constantly expanded at its neighbours expense – an ideology which, of course, could not be sustained as the Empire declined and its borders shrank during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Other factors too gave frontiers a particularly vital importance for the Ottomans. The Ottoman sultans derived massive prestige from their role as protectors of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and in organising the pilgrimage to them; this not only bolstered their legitimacy with their own Muslim subjects, but also allowed them to vaunt their superiority to the numerous pilgrims from



Figure 1: The Ottoman port of Suakin on the Red Sea coast of the Sudan, an important entrepot of the slave trade (with thanks to Jacke Phillips)

other Muslim powers, often rivals of the Ottomans. Yet Mecca and Medina lay in what was for the Ottomans a distant frontier province that was always hard to control from Istanbul, in the midst of desert populated by bedouin whose loyalty to the sultans was tenuous at best and often non-existent. Controlling this desert frontier and securing the pilgrimage routes represented a problem of the first order for the Ottomans throughout the Empire's lifespan; the final phase of this struggle was the Arab Revolt during the First World War in which T.E. Lawrence played so famous a role.

Far more than just a military problem, frontiers also represented lands of economic opportunity, for both the Ottoman state and even junior soldiers. The frontier with Hapsburgs, for instance, seems to have offered many Ottoman soldiers the opportunity to get rich quick through participation not just in campaigns, but more importantly constant cross-border raiding. On a much grander scale were the trade routes that ran across the Ottoman frontiers, bringing, for instance, silks from the east to Europe. For the Ottomans, perhaps the most vital of these trade routes were those of the slave trade. Slaves played an important part in the Ottoman economy and military, and even at the beginning of the twentieth century black slaves were still to be found in the imperial palace at Istanbul, where they often held positions of great power. Slaves

were brought to Istanbul via routes running from Darfur to the Red Sea, through the Ottoman port of Suakin in modern Sudan (currently being excavated by a joint British-Sudanese team sponsored by the British Institute in East Africa) and thence by sea to the capital, or through the long land route across the Egyptian Western Desert to Cairo. Nor was the slave trade limited to Africa; much less well known, but also of great importance was the East European slave trade. Female white slaves, above all Circassians, were especially prized for the imperial harem, although most white slaves were employed in fairly menial tasks, particularly agriculture. White slavery also persisted until almost the end of the Empire.

The strategic and economic importance of frontiers thus means they offer an invaluable insight into the functioning of the Ottoman state, and allow us to address major questions historians have not yet resolved. For instance, the comparison of different frontiers at various times allows us to examine how effectively the Ottoman Empire was able to exert its power in distant places and how this changed over time. It also allows us to compare the Ottomans' policies with their neighbours across the borders, such as the Hapsburgs, Russia, the Safavids in Iran and the Funj sultanate in Sudan. This allows us to address debates about how the Ottomans fit into the early modern world system and how they compare with the other great empires of

the period. Meanwhile, the archaeological examination of remains on the frontiers – slaving stations, fortresses, settlements – gives us an insight into the daily life of ordinary people and soldiers that is rarely mentioned in the chronicles and archival sources upon which Ottoman historians have traditionally been reliant.

The organising schools and institutes support a wide variety of research on Ottoman frontiers. The British Institute at Ankara, for instance, sponsors an international project that is examining the impressive Ottoman fortress of Akkerman on the shores of the Black Sea in Ukraine. This is a particularly innovative project because it seeks to understand the archaeological remains in the context of the rich documentation on the fortress and its construction and repair that survives in the archives of Istanbul – this is the first occasion on which this sort of research has been attempted on such a scale. Fortifications are a focus of the research supported by several other schools and institutes, such as the Egypt Exploration Society's longstanding investigations of the remote but vital frontier fort of Qasr Ibrim in southern Egypt and the study of First World War remains in Jordan conducted under the auspices of the Council for British Research on the Levant. However, to date the various schools' and institutes' research on the Ottomans had often been conducted in isolation. The workshop offered



Figure 2: Akkerman Fortress, Ukraine, built by the Ottomans to protect their northern borders and the Black Sea from Russia (with thanks to Ihor Zhuk)



Figure 3: *Qasr Ibrim, a major Ottoman fort in southern Egypt (with thanks to Pam Rose)*

archaeologists the opportunity to link up their work with that conducted elsewhere in the Ottoman world in the nascent discipline of Ottoman archaeology as well as considering their research more broadly in the context of Ottoman history. This was assisted by the historians and specialists in

Ottoman archives from a wide range of countries who attended. As the first ever attempt to consider the Ottoman frontiers as a whole, the workshop obviously did not answer all the profound questions that were raised about the nature and effectiveness of the Ottoman state. However, as a result of the

workshop a number of the organising institutes plan a future larger scale comparative research project on the Ottoman frontiers (if funding allows), which will shed further light on this vital aspect of one of the major Empires that helped forge the world we live in today.

The Frontiers of the Ottoman World workshop was organised by the British Institute at Ankara, British Institute of Archaeology in Iraq, British Institute in East Africa, British School at Athens, Council for British Research in the Levant, Egypt Exploration Society and Society for Libyan Studies. The workshop was funded by a grant from the Board for Academy-Sponsored Institutes and Societies. A volume arising from the workshop, edited by Dr Peacock, will be published in the Proceedings of the British Academy series.

Dr Peacock held a British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellowship (2004-07) at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge and is currently Assistant Director of the British Institute at Ankara.

Migration in the Crusades to the Medieval Middle East

Dr Piers D. Mitchell, of Imperial College London, and Dr Andrew R. Millard, of Durham University, describe the first surprising results from their research into the migration patterns of Europeans taking part in the Crusades. Their project illustrates the significant role scientific archaeology can play in supplementing knowledge based on the historical record.

THE CRUSADES to the Middle East were a momentous time in the history of the medieval world. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries hundreds of thousands of Europeans travelled to the eastern Mediterranean either in military expeditions, as pilgrims, or for trade. Many settled there and lived in the Frankish states, which were established along the coast on land that is now part of Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and Cyprus (Setton 1955–89).

It is important for us to know where the European settlers lived and how well they integrated with the local population. This information can be used to understand the structure of the armies of the Frankish states, the new judicial legislation created there, religious life in holy sites, discrimination and tolerance between invading and indigenous communities, and population health inequalities (Mitchell 2004). Attempts have been made using historical methods to determine the population structure of these Frankish states in the Latin East (Ellenblum 1996). However, there are large gaps in the historical record; this project attempts to bridge them using archaeological methods, with dental isotope analysis.

Stable Isotope Analysis

People who are born and grow up in a particular geographical region have specific combination of stable isotopes preserved in the enamel of their teeth. Unlike minerals in bone, these values do not change during the lifetime of the individual. Isotope ratios of oxygen and strontium are particularly useful in this kind of geographic study (Budd et al, 2004). Oxygen isotopes vary systematically with climate so that drinking water maps have been devised for Europe and the Middle

East. Dietary strontium isotopes vary with geology and the young (Tertiary and Quaternary) geology of our study region is quite distinctive compared to most of Europe. The teeth were sampled and the isotope analysis was performed at Durham University. Oxygen isotopes were measured with Continuous Flow Isotope Ratio Mass Spectrometry, while strontium isotopes were measured with Plasma Ionisation Multi-collector Mass Spectrometry (Figures 1 and 2).

Investigating Crusader Immigration

This study aimed to identify first generation European immigrants among populations of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and, in some cases, determine which part of Europe or the Middle East each individual spent their childhood. Dental samples from three crusader sites and soil samples from five crusader sites were analysed. Caesarea was a bustling port city where ships from Europe would dock (Figure 3). We analysed ten individuals of presumed high status who



Figure 1: Sectioning a tooth for analysis

were buried at the cathedral, and ten of lower status buried in a cemetery outside the walls. Jacob's Ford Castle was a crusader stronghold on the River Jordan, just to the north of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee). It was destroyed in 1179 following a siege by Saladin, Sultan of Egypt. We analysed three soldiers from the army of the king of Jerusalem who were killed



Figure 2: Prepared oxygen isotope samples being loaded into the mass spectrometer in the Department of Earth Sciences, Durham University



Figure 3:
Crusader period walls of
Caesarea, built 1252 AD
(reproduced with the
permission of Cambridge
University Press, from
Mitchell PD, *Medicine in
the Crusades: Warfare,
Wounds and the Medieval
Surgeon*, 2004)

in the sack of the castle. Parvum Gerinum was a village of local orthodox Christian farmers in Galilee at the time of the crusades. It was defended by a tower manned by the knights Templar. We analysed two 12th century individuals thought to be local farmers from the village.

Evidence for Migration

At Caesarea we expected to find a mixture of European immigrants, the offspring of settlers born locally, and members of local indigenous communities. We thought the Europeans would be the high status burials, and indigenous Christian population the low status burials. However, our findings were dramatically different to this. It seems the city of Caesarea was heavily dominated by crusaders and new European immigrants. Very few descendants of settlers or indigenous Christians were buried there. Nineteen of the twenty individuals tested were not locally born, and only one could have had a Levantine childhood. Furthermore, the social status of inhabitants of Caesarea does not appear to have been linked with geographical origin. The wealthy burials around the cathedral and the poor burials outside the walls were not differentiated into immigrants and those born in the Latin East. This is new information not recorded in the written texts, and will rewrite how we interpret life in the crusader port cities.

The next fascinating results came from the soldiers from Jacob's Ford Castle who died in 1179. They demonstrated that the army of the king of Jerusalem was comprised of both

European crusaders and the descendants of settlers, or local recruits. This matches the evidence found in crusader period written manuscripts. Of the three soldiers tested who died at the battle, one was from northern Italy or Britain. The other two were probably from the Levant, but may possibly have come from western France or Germany.

Finally, the findings from the farming village of Parvum Gerinum closely reflected what we expected. The inhabitants of the village who were tested all had isotopes consistent with a childhood spent in the area of the village. This fits in well with our understanding of minimal travel by poor peasants in the medieval period.

Conclusion

Here we have demonstrated how archaeological techniques can identify the huge journeys undertaken by crusaders, pilgrims and merchants in the medieval period. No longer can we presume that those who died in a city necessarily lived there long term. Stable isotope analysis is able to identify that they originated from long distances away, and thus may just have been passing through. There is great potential for further research based on the findings we have from this project. For example, using this technique would allow us to compare standards of health between those born in Europe and those born in the Middle East. This will help us to determine whether or not either group gained a health advantage from their cultural upbringing. It appears that stable isotope analysis of teeth from

excavated individuals has the potential to rewrite many traditional views of life in past populations.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Professor Ronnie Ellenblum and Professor Kenneth Holum for permission to study material from the Jacob's Ford Castle and Caesarea excavations. We are also grateful to Graham Pearson, Geoff Nowell, and Colin Macpherson of the Northern Centre for Isotopic and Elemental Tracing, Durham University, for access to mass spectrometry facilities.

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Dr Mitchell and Dr Millard received support under the Small Research Grant scheme to fund the analysis of dental samples.

Coercion and Consent in Nazi Germany

Professor Richard J. Evans FBA delivered the Raleigh Lecture on History in 2006. In it, he reviewed the evidence for the degree to which ordinary Germans exercised freedom of choice in backing Hitler's regime. In the edited extract below, he illustrates the extent and range of legal measures used to control the German populace, challenging the view that Nazi repression was directed only against small and socially marginal minorities.

THE PRINCIPAL instrument of terror in Nazi Germany was not the concentration camp but the law. This is not to belittle the camps' role in 1933, of course. During 1933 perhaps 100,000 Germans were detained without trial in so-called 'protective custody' across Germany, most but by no means all of them members of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties. The number of deaths in custody during this period has been estimated at around 600 and was almost certainly higher. By 1935, however, the vast majority of these prisoners had been released on good behaviour and there were fewer than 4,000 of them left. Almost all the early camps had already been shut down by the end of 1933. A major reason for this decline lay in the fact that the leading role in political repression was now being carried out by the regular courts and the state prisons and penitentiaries. A whole new set of laws and decrees passed in 1933 vastly expanded the scope of the treason laws and the death penalty. A law of 24 April 1933, for example, laid down that anyone found guilty of planning to alter the constitution or to detach any territory from the German Reich by force, or engaging in a conspiracy with these aims, would be beheaded: the concept of 'planning' included writing, printing and distributing leaflets, altering the constitution included in due course advocating the return of democracy or the removal of Hitler as Leader, conspiring included anyone associated with the guilty parties. A law of 20 December 1934 went even further and applied the death penalty to aggravated cases of 'hateful' statements about leading figures in the Nazi Party or the state. Another Law made 'malicious gossip' illegal, including spreading rumours about the regime or making derogatory remarks about its leaders. A whole system of regional Special Courts, crowned by the national People's Court, the *Volksgerichtshof*, was created to implement these and other, similar laws.

It is important to remember the extreme extent to which civil liberties were destroyed in the course of the Nazi seizure of power. In the Third Reich it was illegal to belong to any political grouping apart from the Nazi Party or indeed any non-Nazi organization of any kind apart from the Church (and its ancillary lay organizations) and the army; it was illegal to tell jokes about Hitler; it was illegal to spread rumours about the government; it was illegal to discuss alternatives to the political *status quo*. The Reichstag Fire Decree of 28 February 1933 made it legal for the police to open letters and tap telephones, and to detain people indefinitely and without a court order in so-called 'protective custody'. The same decree also abrogated the clauses in the Weimar Constitution that guaranteed freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and freedom of expression. The Enabling Law allowed the Reich Chancellor to promulgate laws that violated the Weimar Constitution, without needing the approval of the legislature or the

elected President. The right of judicial appeal was effectively abolished for offences dealt with by the Special Courts and the People's Court. All this meant that large numbers of offenders were sent to prison for political as well as ordinary criminal offences. In 1937 the courts passed no fewer than 5,255 convictions for high treason. These people, if they escaped the death penalty, were put into a state prison, often for a lengthy period of time. From 1932 to 1937 the prison population increased from 69,000 to 122,000. In 1935, 23,000 inmates of state prisons and penitentiaries were classified as political offenders. The crushing of the Communist and Social Democratic resistance ensured that these numbers had fallen by more than 50 per cent by the beginning of 1939; nevertheless, they were still far more significant than the numbers of political offenders in the camps after 1937, when the camps expanded again; this time they really did function mainly as places of confinement for social rather than political deviants.

Legal condemnation for treason, malicious gossip and similar offences, and quasi-legal 'preventive detention' in concentration camps, were only the most severe of a vast range of sanctions that reached deep into German society in pursuit of the regime's efforts to prevent opposition and dissent. Local studies give a good picture of the range of coercive measures open to the regime and its servants in these respects. In the small north German town of Northeim, for instance, the subject of William Sheridan Allen's classic study *The Nazi Seizure of Power*, first published forty years ago, the Communists were arrested in the early months of 1933, along with some of the town's leading Social Democrats; the Social Democratic town councillors were forced to resign after attending a council meeting in which the walls were lined by brownshirts who spat on them as they walked past. Forty-five council employees were sacked, most of them Social Democrats working in institutions as varied as the town gas works, the local swimming pool, and the municipal brewery. At a time of continuing mass unemployment they were unlikely to find other jobs. The local Nazis put pressure on landlords to evict Social Democrats from their apartments, and made sure the police subjected their homes to frequent searches in the hunt for subversive literature.

At every level, too, the regime used coercion of a kind that did not involve arrest or incarceration when it sought to implement particular policies and secure the appearance of public support for them. Members of the Catholic, liberal and conservative political parties were coerced into joining the Nazis in the spring of 1933, and above all after the civil service law of 7 April, by the direct threat of losing their jobs in state employ, which in Germany included not only civil servants and local officials but also schoolteachers, university staff, prosecutors, policemen, social administrators, post office and public transport

*Prisoners from Dachau concentration camp on their way to work, 1933.
Photo: akg-images, London*



officials, and many others. When, some years later, it moved to abolish denominational schools and force parents to enroll their children in state-run secular educational institutions, in order to subject them more completely to Nazi indoctrination, the regime ran local plebiscites on the policy, and threatened parents who refused to vote in favour with the withdrawal of welfare benefits, including child

support. A massive propaganda campaign was unleashed against monks and priests who staffed private schools run by the Church, accusing them of pederasty and bringing a large number of them before the courts in widely publicized trials. Parents, even schoolchildren, were then pressured to petition against being taught by alleged deviants such as these. Here, then, was a major proportion of the population, the Catholics, getting on for 40 per cent of all Germans, consisting of far more than mere social deviants or outcasts, that was subjected to persistent coercion and harassment when it stood in the way of a key policy of the regime.

There were thus many kinds of coercion in Nazi Germany. It was particularly evident in the area of charity and welfare, where stormtroopers knocked on people's doors or accosted them in the street demanding contributions to Winter Aid. In all schools, pupils who failed to join the Hitler Youth were liable to be refused their school-leaving certificate when they graduated, destroying their prospects of an apprenticeship or a job. Because the Nazi regime acquired powers to direct workers to where it felt they were needed, it was able to use the threat of reassignment to dirty and difficult jobs as a sanction against troublemakers. Over a million German workers had been compulsorily reassigned to work in munitions and war-related industries by 1939, often being forced to live a long distance from their families, and sometimes transported to their destinations escorted by prison warders. Increasingly, as the rearmament programme began to create labour shortages and bottlenecks, skilled workers in key industries were punished by lesser sanctions such as these, rather than by measures, such as imprisonment, that would deprive the state of their labour. Being sent to work on the fortifications of the West Wall, with its 12-hour shifts of back-breaking manual labour, became a favourite instrument of coercion on the part of employers — under pressure from the government's Four-Year Plan Office to produce more and keep costs down — when workers demanded more wages or shorter hours, or were overheard making derogatory remarks about their bosses, or about the regime, on the shop-floor.

The very wide range of coercive measures used by the regime at every level was enforced by an equally wide range of coercive agents. It is a mistake to focus exclusively on the Gestapo on the assumption that it was the sole, or even the principal instrument of control in Nazi Germany. Detlev Schmiechen-Ackermann, for instance, has recently drawn attention to the 'Block Warden' or *Blockwart*, a popular name given to low-level officials of the Nazi Party, each of whom was responsible for a block of apartments or houses, where he had to ensure that people took proper air-raid precautions, hung out flags on Hitler's birthday and similar occasions, and refrained from engaging in illegal or subversive activities. The Block Wardens kept a close watch on former Communists and Social Democrats, listened out for expressions of dissatisfaction with the regime, and could punish political or social deviance by a variety of means ranging from stopping the offender's welfare benefits to reporting their names to the district Party organization for forwarding to the Gestapo. In the workplace, Labour Front officials carried out a similar function, and were able to transfer recalcitrant workers to unpleasant jobs, increase their hours, or deny them promotion. Surveillance, control and political discipline were exercised by Hitler Youth leaders, who were normally a good deal older than their charges. By 1939 membership was compulsory, and some 8.7 million out of a total of 8.9 million Germans aged 10 to 18 belonged to this organization, so its effects were not limited to the deviant or the marginal.

Richard J. Evans FBA is Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge and a specialist on the history of modern Germany. His books include *Telling Lies About Hitler* (2002), *The Coming of the Third Reich* (2003), and *The Third Reich in Power* (2005).

The full text of this lecture is published in 2007, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Volume 151.

CABINETS AND THE BOMB

In March 2007 a group of historians working on British nuclear and defence policy met at the British Academy alongside some of the former officials and ministers involved in the original decision-making processes, to reflect upon the handling of British nuclear defence policy in the post-war period. In front of them was a set of declassified government records from the National Archives, detailing the story of the British nuclear deterrent and how ministers came to their decisions. In this article, Catherine Haddon draws upon edited extracts from the contributions of various participants in that discussion.

DURING THE Second World War Britain was instrumental in initiating the atomic bomb project that culminated in the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the US in August 1945. In 1947 the Labour Government opted to develop a British atomic bomb, and in 1954 a Conservative administration under Winston Churchill resolved upon a more powerful thermo-nuclear weapon – both of which were to be delivered by aircraft. Successive British governments have since been faced with the lurking question of the form in which this deterrent should be maintained, and at what cost. After Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President John F. Kennedy negotiated the 1963 Polaris Sales Agreement for a submarine-launched ballistic missile force, Britain's submarines-launched missiles have effectively been bought off-the-shelf from the Americans, with UK warheads. This policy continued with the Thatcher Government's decision in 1980 to purchase Trident as a successor to Polaris, and with the 2006 Exchange of Letters between the US and UK Governments on updating Trident and replacing the British Vanguard Class submarines that carry it.¹ Although the British Academy discussion spanned a wider period, the age-range of the group provided a fascinating insight into the 'public rationale and private rationale', as one contributor put it, by which successive governments have dealt with nuclear defence matters since 1963.

Professor Peter Hennessy described Harold Macmillan's achievement with President Kennedy when they met at Nassau in the Bahamas in December 1962:

Looking back at Nassau it was a most amazing political feat, because a large weight of American opinion advising

Kennedy was against it. I remember Philip de Zulueta [Macmillan's Private Secretary] telling me that Harold did his classic 'Veteran of the Somme' routine – 'Friends in peace and war' – and when he had finished there wasn't a dry eye in the room. It was the most amazing personal *tour de force*.

The nuclear deterrent was sometimes a contentious issue among ministers. This was particularly true of the Labour Governments of 1964–70, whose 1964 manifesto seemed to call for the cancellation of Polaris. Peter Hennessy believes that, despite the manifesto, Prime Minister Harold Wilson

had no desire to give it up ... he got [the decision to continue with four Polaris submarines] through the Cabinet with hardly a whisper ... but given that CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament] ... had been at its height – they had captured the Labour Party Conference just a few years earlier – it was another classic Wilsonian feat of getting it through.

Dr Kristan Stoddart agreed, citing 'private assurances ... given to the US ... before entering office that [Labour] would not get rid of the deterrent'.

During the 1960s Soviet and American Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) advances showed the Polaris 'A3' missiles to be susceptible to close exo-atmospheric nuclear explosions. The US response was a programme called 'Poseidon' to upgrade the missiles with 'multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicles' (MIRV), which allowed the warheads in each missile to be aimed separately. Dr Matthew Grant reminded the group that, even as Wilson had reached agreement on keeping Polaris in November 1964,

it was only a couple of months before the Americans announced Poseidon ... and

Patrick Gordon Walker from Washington writes to Wilson [in January 1965] saying 'We have just bought this brand new weapon system and now it has been consigned to the junkyard of Steptoe and Son, so we have just committed to catching up and now we are being left behind.' ... The Americans, by moving on to [Poseidon], had shown Polaris to be devalued.

The eventual British response was a programme called 'Super-Antelope', which was to upgrade Polaris, not by MIRV, but rather through the use of Penetration Aid Carriers [PAC] and improvements to the British-produced warheads. However, the Super-Antelope programme was still in its infancy at the time a Conservative Government entered office in 1970. There were doubts over whether the Americans would make Poseidon, as a MIRVed system, available to the UK. Sir Richard Mottram wondered also whether new Prime Minister Edward Heath was perhaps looking at moving away from dependence on the US as he contemplated the future of Super-Antelope:

My own view was that [Heath] was cautious about getting himself even more locked in to a US-unique solution to our deterrent, when there might be a more UK-based opportunity which would potentially open up possibilities later for working with the French. And so I felt this was the one moment in all of this post-war period when a European solution as a gleam in people's eyes was around, and this was impacting upon how the Prime Minister thought about those choices.

At this time money was the big concern. Lord Carrington recalled:

Ted Heath was very much a pro-defence man. He believed very much in defence, and in that period when there was ...

¹ *The Future of the United Kingdom's Nuclear Deterrent*, Cm 6994 (Stationery Office, December 2006).



The Trident submarine HMS Vanguard, with the Polaris submarine HMS Resolution in its wake. Photo © Crown Copyright/MOD, image from www.photos.mod.uk. Reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office

question but this is the Ministry of Defence'... I said 'Can you imagine an animal that is like a large antelope? Do you have any on your list?', and they said 'There is a South African creature called a Chevaline' and I thought that sounded rather good, a bit like eating horse, but nevertheless I wrote a little Minute saying 'This seems to be London Zoo's view on a suitable name' and it was adopted immediately.

The renamed programme continued when Labour returned to office in 1974. Yet rising costs meant officials were again examining the future of British nuclear policy. Sir Ronald Mason sees himself as one of the reasons for this:

It was a time of great difficulty, that 1978, 79, 80 period... I began to be determined that [Chevaline] was the last of a truly national programme. The reason I came to that view was not so much concerned with costs and programme over-run but I was also Chairman of the Defence Equipment Policy Committee, and I therefore had an overall view of the conventional defence equipment programme. I could take a view on the enormous demand on technical resources that Chevaline was making, and I felt that was a poor bargain and not an auspicious precedent.

Severe economic problems again distracted ministerial minds. Sir Richard Mottram remembers working on a review led by Mason and the diplomat Sir Antony Duff in 1978:

I was signed up to be the Secretary of this work by [former Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Defence, Sir] Michael Quinlan and then week after week went by without agreement within the Government that this work would be done. That was because each of the key players in the end-Labour Government had a different view about how they wanted to handle this problem... Back and forth it went ... just trying to get the work established.

economic distress ... Of course [Chancellor of the Exchequer, Anthony] Barber didn't, no Chancellor does, and he was very much against [Super-Antelope]. We had a terrible row, I remember, about what was going to happen to the rest of the defence budget ... but I don't remember there being very much dissent except on the grounds of expense.

Sir John Nott, who was Economic Secretary to the Treasury at this time, gave Barber's side:

the situation with regard to public expenditure was completely desperate. Tony Barber had been trying to get Heath to agree to a substantial reduction in public expenditure for at least 18 months ... I [think] Tony Barber would have

abandoned the deterrent if he could have done so in order to get the public expenditure down, although Barber was very pro-defence.

It was only in late 1973 that the Polaris upgrade programme was given the official go-ahead. Sir Kevin Tebbit, Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Carrington, remembered the moment:

there was a day when Lord Carrington came into the office and said 'We have decided we are going to do Super-Antelope alone and so we had better rename it', and we were tossed the question 'What should the name be?' and none of us really knew. But I rang up the London Zoo and I said 'I can't tell you why I want to ask you this

Sir Kevin Tebbit put this even more succinctly:

often decision-makers are insufficiently sensitive to the point that unless you are sustaining a technological capacity throughout a period, when politicians decide to drop in from time to time to decide what they want to do next, they tend to forget that everything has to keep happening when they are not paying attention, otherwise they don't have the options.

Indecision was not the temperament for which Margaret Thatcher would be remembered. The Duff-Mason Review recommended buying the latest, fully MIRVed US missile system, Trident, and was passed to Mrs Thatcher (on Jim Callaghan's instruction) when the Conservatives won the 1979 election. Thatcher swiftly resolved to ask for Trident C4, the latest American system, in November 1979. Sir John Nott remembered the way the she told the Cabinet of the decision in July 1980:

the Prime Minister said in a rather off-hand way at the end of a full Cabinet meeting, 'We have made a decision that we are going to [do Trident] – and I was Trade Secretary, I had nothing to do with Defence but I was on the Overseas and Defence Policy Committee and none of this was mentioned there, and I raised my voice and said, 'Prime Minister, don't you think it is possible that on such an important strategic decision for the country the Cabinet should be briefed on this decision?' No one supported me; there was complete silence around the Cabinet table, and the Prime Minister looked rather shocked and upset and she said 'Well, of course we had to announce it because it was going to leak [to the New York Times]', and that was the end of the discussion. It took about 30 seconds. When I was approached by Margaret Thatcher to become Defence Secretary [in 1981] we had a very jovial meeting with Denis Thatcher and whisky and everything else, and she said 'Are you

sound on the nuclear question, John?' and I said 'Well, I believe I am.' When I joined the Ministry of Defence, because of the way that this was handled, the secrecy involved, I thought that if we ever made a different decision we ought to brief the whole Cabinet. Indeed [in 1982] when we went to D5 [the latest, most advanced US successor to the C5 missile] I went to the Prime Minister and said 'I think we ought to brief the Cabinet on the whole nuclear issue.' She was very, very unhappy about this and I am sure was strongly advised by the Cabinet Office that on no account should the full Cabinet be given this briefing. Anyhow I persisted, and in the end the whole Cabinet was briefed, and in my judgement even if something had leaked from an unfortunate member of the Cabinet it would have enhanced deterrence and not reduced it... The secrecy was, to my mind, completely unnecessary.

The Polaris Sales Agreement was further updated to provide for the British purchase of Trident II (D5) in March 1982. The system has been in service since 1994 and is now subject to plans to extend the life of D5 and to replace the Vanguard Submarines that carry the missiles. Ultimately, as David Young pointed out, the overarching issue that all governments since 1947 have had to face and still do, is that

once you give this up you are done, you will never go back, you can never afford to start again, so it was not made explicit but it was certainly around that 'If we do this we stay in the game and it may well be important that we do', and in the end over and above the financial and military arguments there is a powerful political argument.

Author's note: Sincere thanks are due to all involved in the production of this article, and especially the participants listed below.

Participants quoted:

Lord Carrington was Secretary of State for Defence 1970–1974 and Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary 1979–1982.

Dr Matthew Grant works in the Department of History, University of Sheffield.

Professor Peter Hennessy is Attlee Professor of Contemporary History at Queen Mary, University of London and Director of the Mile End Institute for the Study of Government, Intelligence and Society.

Sir Ronald Mason was Chief Scientific Advisor at the Ministry of Defence 1977–1983.

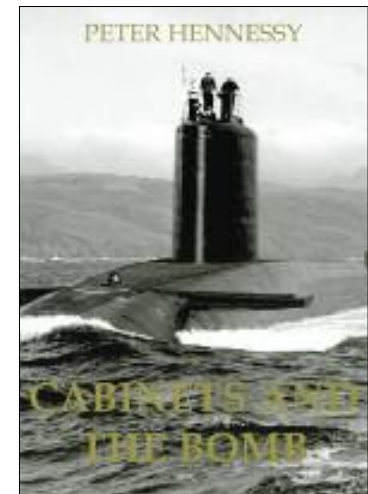
Sir Richard Mottram was Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence 1995–1998 and has been Permanent Secretary, Intelligence, Security and Resilience and Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee, Cabinet Office, since 2005.

Sir John Nott was Secretary of State for Defence 1981–1983.

Dr Kristan Stoddart is a Research Fellow at the Mountbatten Centre for International Studies, Southampton University.

Sir Kevin Tebbit was Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence 1998–2005.

David Young, Ministry of Defence official, 1963–1982.



Cabinets and the Bomb, a volume of documents with a narrative commentary by Peter Hennessy, is published by the British Academy in November 2007.

Catherine Haddon, a postgraduate student at Queen Mary, University of London, acted as a research assistant on the book.

The Royal African Company of England in West Africa 1681–1699

Professor Robin Law FBA has recently completed a three-volume edition of correspondence relating to the English in West Africa during the last two decades of the 17th century. Although the period covered by this correspondence is brief, it was one of great historical significance. Below, Professor Law illustrates the scope of the correspondence, and discusses the range of sources used, highlighting in particular the importance of documentation of the Royal African Company that passed into private hands, and is now found in the Rawlinson collection in Oxford.

Fontes Historiae Africanae (Sources of African History) is a British Academy Research project, engaged in the publication of scholarly editions of source material relating to sub-Saharan Africa, mainly in the pre-colonial (i.e. pre-20th century) period. The *Fontes Historiae Africanae* project was initiated by the Union Académique Internationale in 1962, and operates through committees established by national Academies affiliated to the UAI. The UK national committee was set up by the British Academy in 1973, and has for some time been the most active of these national committees, having published a total of 18 volumes to date.

The most recently published (December 2006) volume in this series is *The English in West Africa 1691–1699*, edited by Robin Law (who is also the current Chair of the UK *Fontes* committee). This is itself the concluding volume of a set of three, carrying the general subtitle *The local* [i.e. African] *correspondence of the Royal African Company of England 1681–1699*, following earlier volumes published in 1997 and 2001. Work on this edition was begun in 1990, and its completion now, after 17 years in production, marks a major landmark in the work of the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* project.

The material included in these volumes comprises correspondence of the Royal African Company of England relating to its activities in Africa during the years 1681–1699 (though with some gaps). The Royal African Company was chartered in 1672, with a legal monopoly of English trade with West Africa. This trade was for a range of African commodities, including ivory, wax, and dyewoods, but mainly for gold and slaves, the latter for supply to the English colonies in the Caribbean and North America. For the purposes of this trade, the Company maintained forts or factories on the West African coast, mainly on the Gold Coast (corresponding roughly to modern Ghana), but also at the River Gambia and in Sierra Leone to the west, and on the ‘Slave Coast’ (the modern Republic of Bénin) and in the kingdom of Benin (in modern Nigeria) to the east. Its local headquarters in West Africa was at Cape Coast (or, in the original form of the name, ‘Cabo Corso’) Castle, on the Gold Coast. The Company lost its legal monopoly of the African trade in 1698; initially, it was granted a compensatory duty of 10% on goods exported to Africa by other traders, but this privilege lapsed in 1712. Forced to compete in an open market, the Company went into terminal decline, effectively ceasing to operate as a trading concern in the 1720s. It continued, however, to manage the English possessions on the West African coast, with the support of a government subsidy, until 1752, when it was replaced by a new body, the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, which was a regulated company (i.e. one open to all English merchants, who could use its facilities, on payment of a subscription) rather than a trading firm.

The main body of the surviving records of the Royal African Company is preserved in the National Archives at London. For the purposes of the Company’s activities along the West African coast, the most informative

of these records are the series of Letter Books containing correspondence received from its agents in West Africa. Most of this correspondence, in fact, was received from its local West African headquarters at Cape Coast Castle, since most of the other African establishments did not usually correspond directly with London. As preserved in the National Archives, however, this correspondence is disappointing for the historian. The letters received were not recorded in their full original texts, but only in the form of extracts and summaries made for the information of various Committees of the Company, and these are often very brief. In consequence, as the Royal African Company’s principal historian, K.G. Davies, has observed, these documents characteristically have a somewhat ‘telegrammatic character’, in which brevity often truncates the information and even obscures the meaning, and ‘reduces considerably the value of the records’.

The deficiencies of the material in the National Archives, however, turn out to be offset by the existence of significant bodies of documentation of the Royal African Company’s activities which, having passed into private hands, are preserved in other archives. The most important series of such documents is preserved in the collection of Richard Rawlinson (1655–1755), held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which comprises correspondence relating to the last two decades of the seventeenth century. It is contained in three bound volumes, containing a total of around 1,300 folios (or 2,600 pages). The material consists of 33 separate letter-books, and includes a total of 3,095 documents. These contain correspondence received in the Company’s West African headquarters, Cape Coast Castle, from elsewhere in West Africa, between January 1681 and February 1699 (though with some gaps). Most of these letters are from the Company’s forts and

factories elsewhere on the Gold Coast itself, but there are also a number from its factories at Offra and Whydah on the Slave Coast; a substantial minority were rather from ships of the Company trading along the coast, and a small number from foreign Companies trading in West Africa, especially the Dutch West India Company, which had its own headquarters at Elmina, 10 km west of Cape Coast. Unlike the material in the National Archives, the documents in the Rawlinson corpus are preserved in their full original texts, and therefore afford much greater density of detailed information. Since it comprises letters received in Cape Coast from elsewhere in West Africa, it also has a much wider geographical range.

This material, of course, primarily documents the operations of the Royal African Company itself. However, it also offers substantial information on the activities of other traders who were competing with the Company. In particular, the Company's factories regularly reported on the operations of English merchants outside the Company, termed in contemporary usage 'interlopers', who were trading in breach of its monopoly. This documentation of the 'interloping' trade is especially valuable since, being illegal (until 1698), it did not generate records of its own comparable to those of the Royal African Company.

Something of the flavour of this correspondence may be seen from the following example, a letter written by John Gregory, chief of the RAC's fort at Charles Fort, Anomabu, one of the Company's major establishments on the Gold Coast, on 24 April 1692 (vol.iii, no.646). It illustrates the frequently difficult relations of the Company's factories with the local communities in which they were located, recording a dispute with 'Bonnishee' and other leading African merchants of the town, arising from their preference for trading with 'interlopers', rather than with the Company. In the event, the Council of Chief Merchants at Cape Coast Castle did not support Gregory, as he requested, but ordered his removal, and instructed his successor to conciliate the aggrieved merchants.

Having received so many unsufferable abuses from Bonnishee and several others belonging to this town, [I] thought it fitt for the intrest and honour of the Company to seize upon him, which accordingly yesterday in the afternoon I did, together with Humphrey, Finny, Eggen & Peter Quashi, they all supplying Captains Parish, Bill & Chantrell with slaves, corne &ca, likewise threatning to s[e]ize all goods that is bought out of the Factory, oblidging all to buy of them, insomuch that since the interlopers came here I have not taken one taccoe [i.e. 1/192 of an ounce] of gold, Capt. Parish also keeping a white man in Bonnishees house with goods. We have done very well as yett, and don't doubt but to make them comply to our just demands. I have but one months provision in the Fort, but de[s]jires you would ease me of some of the women slaves [i.e. those employed in the Fort] with their children, being about 12 in number. I have burnt all the house[s] about the Fort & am well provided of all ammunition, but powder [I] have not above 2 barrells, [and] desires you to supply me with some and hand granadoes. I have released Peter Quashee upon promise that he will forward this.

The correspondence also refers to the trade of foreign competitors, and thus constitutes a potential source for Dutch, Portuguese, French, Brandenburger and Danish, as well as English trade. This may be particularly valuable for the Portuguese and French trades, since relatively little documentation of these appears to be preserved in their own national archives before 1700.

It might appear, at first sight, that, since it relates to the activities of foreigners in Africa, this material falls outside the scope of the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* project, which is concerned rather with the documentation of the history of indigenous African societies. In practice, however, since the Rawlinson material focuses specifically on the African end of the trade, it provides extensive documentation on the activities of

indigenous Africans, as well as of Europeans. For example, it documents the important role played by African servants and employees within the Company itself, in conducting trade, carrying messages, mediating disputes, and by implication in determining policy. It also illustrates the dependence of Europeans on the supply of goods and services from local African communities, for example in the supply of foodstuffs, for the provisioning of slave ships, as well as of the local factories; and the employment of African canoes and canoeemen, for coastwise communication, as well as to carry goods to and from European ships standing offshore. Additionally, it provides information on the factories' relations with African merchants and the local political authorities (categories which in practice usually overlapped) in coastal West African societies. To the extent that the European factories operated in close physical proximity and social interaction with the local communities where they were located, their correspondence also represents a source for the social history of West African coastal towns more generally. Moreover, it contains incidental information on events and more general conditions within African societies, including sometimes those in the interior as well as those at the coast, which were reported in so far as they materially affected the state of trade: wars among African states, for example, might threaten the security of the Company's factories or disrupt the delivery of gold and slaves to the coast, but might also yield captives which were available for sale to Europeans. The Rawlinson material is thus an important source for indigenous African history, as well as that of Europeans in Africa, and thus finds an appropriate place among the publications of the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* series.

Although the period covered by this correspondence is brief, it was one of great historical significance. During these years English trade with West Africa, especially in slaves, was expanding rapidly, leaving the English as the principal carriers of slaves by the end of the seventeenth century. At the same time, however, the Royal African Company itself was experiencing severe difficulties in sustaining its legal monopoly against the competition of English 'interlopers', a problem which became critical after its political position at home was

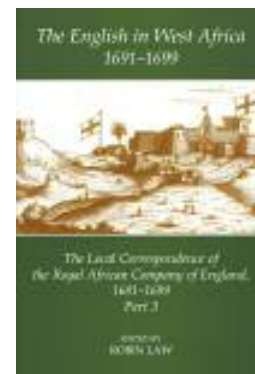
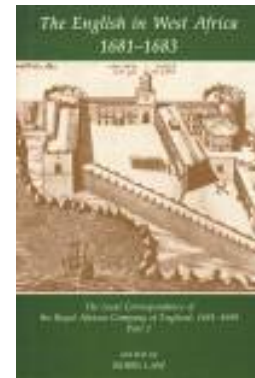
weakened by the Revolution of 1688, given the Company's close association with the Stuart monarchy, and more particularly with the deposed King James II (who had served as Governor of the Company since its foundation), leading eventually to the loss of its legal monopoly in 1698. The Rawlinson material documents the local West African dimension of this struggle, in the increasing scale of interloping activity on the coast. During the same period also, the volume of slave purchases by all Europeans was also increasing substantially, overtaking gold as the principal European interest in West Africa; and (at least partly in consequence of this growth of slave exports) indigenous African societies in parts of the coastal area were undergoing radical changes, with a disintegration of the existing political order and the rise of new military states, such as Akwamu and Denkyira in the hinterland of the Gold Coast.

The value of this correspondence, especially by comparison with the better-known Royal African Company material preserved in the National Archives, would be difficult to exaggerate. Beyond question, it represents the most important body of source material relating to West Africa in the seventeenth century which is held in the UK. Because of its location outside the main body of the Royal African Company's records in the National Archives, this material was entirely neglected by the early pioneers of the history both of West Africa and of English trade with it. For example, the classic study of the RAC by K.G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (1957), and the pioneering study of the Gold Coast by K.Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600–1720* (1970), were both written without benefit of these documents. Attention was drawn to this material only in the 1970s, and it has still not yet been fully assimilated in the study either of English

trade in Africa or of African history. The continuing general neglect of this material has undoubtedly been due, in large part, to its user-unfriendly arrangement. This is not only, or even mainly, due to problems of legibility, but more critically because of its confusing arrangement, the letters being entered according to the date of receipt at Cape Coast, without regard to geographical provenance, which makes the process of locating documents which relate to any particular locality extremely tedious. The edition now brought to completion will bring it more effectively within the public domain, not only by establishing a definitive text, but also by re-arranging it in a more intelligible order (essentially, geographically, grouping together all letters from each particular factory). The edition also supplies explanatory and critical commentary, in particular through comparison with other Royal African Company documents and with contemporary non-English (especially Dutch, French and Danish) sources, and drawing upon recent work in the history of Africa to elucidate the local background. Publication in this new critical edition should serve to ensure that this important source is more fully utilized by interested historians. In particular, it will increase its accessibility to scholars based in Africa, whose geographical mobility to consult archives outside the continent is severely limited (by financial as well as time constraints), and for whom it represents a potentially invaluable but as yet largely unexploited resource.

The English in West Africa 1691–1699 (three volumes, edited by Robin Law) is published by the British Academy.

Details of all publications in the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* new series can be found at www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/cat/fha.html



The British Academy's Africa Panel

Professor Robin Law, Chairman of the Africa Panel, describes the establishment and current work of the Panel.

From 2003 the International Policy Committee of the British Academy undertook a review of the Academy's overseas links, which at that time still very much reflected the priorities of the Cold War period, concentrating on links with partner institutions in the former USSR, Eastern Europe and China, while relatively neglecting some other regions of the world, including Africa. It was not the case, it should be stressed, that the BA was not supporting research on and in Africa, since funding was available for Africanist research through the Academy's generic programmes. In addition, the Academy-sponsored institutes and societies programme included some involvement with Africa, notably the British Institute in Eastern Africa. However, there was otherwise a lack of links specifically targeted at Africa. The climate for an attempt to redress this weakness was propitious, with the publication of the report of the Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest* (March 2005), with its emphasis on the need for renewal of academic institutions in Africa.

The International Policy Committee decided that Area Panels should be established to consider the development of policy towards regions where the Academy had few or no institutional links and, as a first step, Panels were set up for Africa and Latin America in 2005, to operate initially for a period of four years. The Africa Panel consists of eleven academics, selected to be broadly representative of UK Africanists in the humanities and social sciences, having regard both to disciplinary specialisms, regional interest, and institutional affiliation; the Panel includes both Fellows of the British Academy and non-Fellows. It is charged with keeping under review current UK academic (postdoctoral) links with Africa, and advising the International Policy Committee on policy strategy, and is particularly concerned to promote collaboration in research between scholars in the UK and Africa, with a view to capacity building in both areas.

Partly through the initiative of the Africa Panel, and partly independently, the British Academy has already embarked on some important projects relating to Africa. In its new programme of Visiting Fellowships awarded from 2006, around five annually are earmarked for scholars from Africa. Also in 2006, the Africa Panel launched a new funding initiative, the UK-Africa Academic Partnerships, designed to support the development of ongoing links between UK and African research institutions, with normally two such awards made annually. In an independent development, the British Academy's programme of sponsorship of Learned Societies has recently been extended to include the African Studies Association of the UK, which will substantially enhance its ability to support the Africanist academic community. The Africa Panel is also in the process of setting up an Africa Desk, a website to collate information about visiting African academics in the UK; and seeking to organize Africa-related events at the Academy, beginning with a celebration of the work of the recently deceased anthropological film-maker Frank Speed. It is also exploring the possibility of establishing collaborative agreements with national academies and appropriate regional and continental bodies in Africa; it has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences; and is currently in conversation with the Academy of Science of South Africa and the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa. It has commissioned a report prepared by the Association of Commonwealth Universities to explore the problems faced by African academics in research collaboration; the issues raised by the report, and the frameworks necessary to support research collaboration between the UK and Africa, will be addressed at a conference organised in conjunction with the ASUK and the Royal African Society.

Further information can be found on the international relations section of the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/funding/guide/intl/

Captivated by Africa's Geography: James MacQueen, Thomas Fowell Buxton and the abolition of slavery

Dr David Lambert, *Reader in Historical Geography at Royal Holloway, University of London*, tells the story of an unlikely alliance in British efforts to stem the sources of the slave trade in Africa, and describes how geographical knowledge – derived from displaced slaves themselves – contributed to abolitionist endeavours.

Two hundred years ago, Parliament abolished the British slave trade. Thirty years later in 1837, the abolitionist leader, Thomas Fowell Buxton, surveyed the progress that had been made subsequently against the slave trade in general. He was far from happy and began to develop an ambitious scheme to attack the source of the trade in Africa itself. To assist him in this task, Buxton sought the help of James MacQueen, a well-known geographer of Africa. This was a remarkable and surprising collaboration for both men – not least because of the reason why MacQueen had been first captivated by the geography of that continent. His was a story that started and ended with slavery.

Although 1807 was a significant year, in that it saw the Parliamentary abolition of the British slave trade, it was only a beginning. Slavery itself continued in the British Empire for more than a quarter of a century until it was abolished between 1834 and 1838. Moreover, although the United States of

America would abolish its own slave trade in 1808, other European nations (apart from Denmark) continued their involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. Urged on by abolitionist campaigners, the British government signed bilateral treaties with Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands whereby each agreed to end its trade (though, in the case of Portugal, only north of the Equator) and grant the right of stop-and-search for suspected slaving ships that carried their national flag. In effect, this meant that the Royal Navy, the most powerful naval force at the time, took up responsibility for suppressing much of the Atlantic slave trade and a squadron of its ships operated along the coast of Africa.

In 1837, Thomas Fowell Buxton assessed this anti-slave trade strategy of diplomatic treaty and naval patrol. Buxton had taken over from William Wilberforce in 1823 as the leader of the British abolitionist movement and had spearheaded the successful Parliamentary campaign to emancipate the slaves in the British colonies. Reviewing what Britain had

achieved in terms of the wider, foreign slave trade, however, Buxton was not satisfied. The twin strategy had proved both costly and of limited impact. Instead, Buxton hit upon the idea of attacking the sources of the Atlantic slave trade in Africa itself, in part by encouraging alternative, 'legitimate' forms of commerce. Buxton's plan was for an expedition to travel from the Gulf of Guinea, up the River Niger, into the interior of Africa, where anti-slave-trade treaties would be signed with local African rulers, model free-labour plantations established and trade initiated. Such an ambitious scheme as this Niger Expedition would need government support and Buxton began to formulate his case.

Buxton's plan had been anticipated almost two decades earlier by a geographer named James MacQueen. As he prepared his proposals for the expedition to central Africa, Buxton drew heavily on MacQueen's writing and even went so far as to approach him to ask for help. During the summer of 1838, the two men worked closely together. MacQueen



Left: *Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, first Baronet (1786–1845)*, by Benjamin Robert Haydon, 1840. National Portrait Gallery, London

Right: *The Niger Expedition ...off Holyhead... Aug–Oct 1841. HMS Albert, also shows Sudan and Wilberforce.* © National Maritime Museum, London





Sugar Cane Harvest, Antigua, West Indies. From Ten Views in the Island of Antigua by William Clark (London, 1823). Courtesy of the John Carter Library at Brown University

supplied information on the political and physical geography of Africa, provided maps, drafted the treaties that were to be signed and offered general feed-back and advice to Buxton. MacQueen also took his place alongside the grandees of British abolitionism when he joined the committee of the African Civilization Society, the organisation founded by Buxton to spearhead the Niger Expedition. What is most remarkable about this collaboration is that for almost two decades the two men had been implacable enemies, on opposite sides of the great debate about slavery – with Buxton leading the abolitionist campaign and MacQueen one of his most outspoken opponents. Even more astounding is the fact that although MacQueen was well-known as an expert on African geography and was later elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (in 1845), he never actually visited Africa during his entire life. So who was MacQueen and why did he know so much about a place he had never seen?

James MacQueen had been born in Crawford, Lanarkshire, in Scotland in 1778. As a young man he travelled across the Atlantic Ocean to the West Indian island of Grenada, which was then a British colony. There he worked as an overseer on a sugar plantation. He was responsible for the day-to-day management of the estate, including ordering, inspecting, disciplining and punishing the three hundred or so slaves who worked in the fields and elsewhere in the production of sugar.

Like many other young British men at the time, MacQueen's period in the Caribbean established his livelihood. After he returned to Scotland and moved to Glasgow in the first decade of the nineteenth century, he maintained commercial links to the region and worked as an importer of rum. During his time in Glasgow, he also became involved in the campaign to oppose the abolition of West Indian slavery. He was appointed editor of the *Glasgow Courier* and used this newspaper to promote the interests of the West Indian colonists and Glaswegian merchants who traded with them. He also came to the attention of the national pro-slavery campaign centred on the London-based West India Committee. MacQueen spent more and more time in London, working closely with merchants and West Indian plantation owners to produce a series of books and pamphlets designed to counter the efforts of Thomas Fowell Buxton and the other abolitionists. He was a vigorous and trenchant writer, whose scathing descriptions of 'Buxtonian philanthropy' as 'rashness and folly' that would bring 'catastrophe' to the West Indies delighted those opposed to the abolitionist campaign in Britain and beyond.¹ As a result, a number of West Indian colonial legislatures, which were dominated by plantation owners, awarded him money for his unremitting defence of slavery.

What might have motivated MacQueen to become such a prominent opponent of the abolitionists? In terms of his own attitude to

slavery, MacQueen was typical of many early nineteenth-century anti-abolitionists in that he claimed to oppose it *in principle* ('We are no advocates for slavery – let it be abolished in the spirit of Christianity, which is justice', he wrote²), but remained forthright in condemning the abolitionist campaign. Certainly, he had a personal stake in the maintenance of West Indian slavery. More than this, though, MacQueen was a forthright, if misguided, patriot who believed that slavery was vital for the success of the West Indies and that these colonies were, in turn, the most important part of Britain's empire. The significance that MacQueen attached to the West Indian colonies also explains his apparent about face and rapprochement with Buxton. Once the parliamentary Act was passed in 1833 to emancipate the slaves in the West Indies, MacQueen was concerned that this would hand a competitive advantage to plantation owners *outside* the British Empire who were still able to use slave labour. Therefore, if the British colonies were not to suffer, steps had to be taken to reduce the supply of slaves to Britain's rivals. To this extent, MacQueen agreed wholeheartedly with Buxton's assessment that the twin-track diplomatic and naval strategy had failed and that other measures were needed to suppress the foreign slave trade by attacking the African sources. At the same time, MacQueen saw great commercial possibilities in that continent and believed that if Britain did not take advantage of these, then other countries, notably France, certainly would.

Despite the fact that these two former adversaries came to agree on the need to take the anti-slave-trade fight to the heart of Africa itself, MacQueen's position within Buxton's great undertaking was never secure. He faced bitter opposition from other abolitionists who – unlike Buxton – never forgave MacQueen for the vitriolic attacks he had made on them previously. Yet, Buxton's belief in MacQueen's importance was unshakeable and he deemed his help essential. If the story of the collaboration between these former adversaries is surprising, then even more remarkable is the reason *why* MacQueen's

knowledge of Africa turned out to be so important for Buxton. To understand this, we have to return to his early days in Grenada.

MacQueen's time in Grenada marked not only the beginning of his involvement with Caribbean slavery and the associated trade in slave-produced exports, but also his interest in the geography of Africa. One night on the estate for which he was the overseer, MacQueen sat reading to a friend the account, by the famous explorer and fellow Scot, Mungo Park, of his *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1799).³ This was one of the most popular and widely-read accounts of Africa at the time and had been published not long after MacQueen had first come to work on the island. It described Park's journey, sponsored by the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, from the River Gambia through present-day Senegal and Mali in search of the upper course of the River Niger. Whilst reading Park's account aloud, MacQueen noticed that a young male African slave in the room, whose duty may have been to wait on MacQueen, was listening intently to him. He

seemed particularly interested in those parts of the account concerning the River Niger or what Park, in the language of the Mande-speaking peoples from West Africa, called the 'Joliba'. It transpired that the slave was what Europeans termed a 'Mandingo' who had lived his early life in that part of Africa and knew much about the course of the River Niger and the surrounding geography.

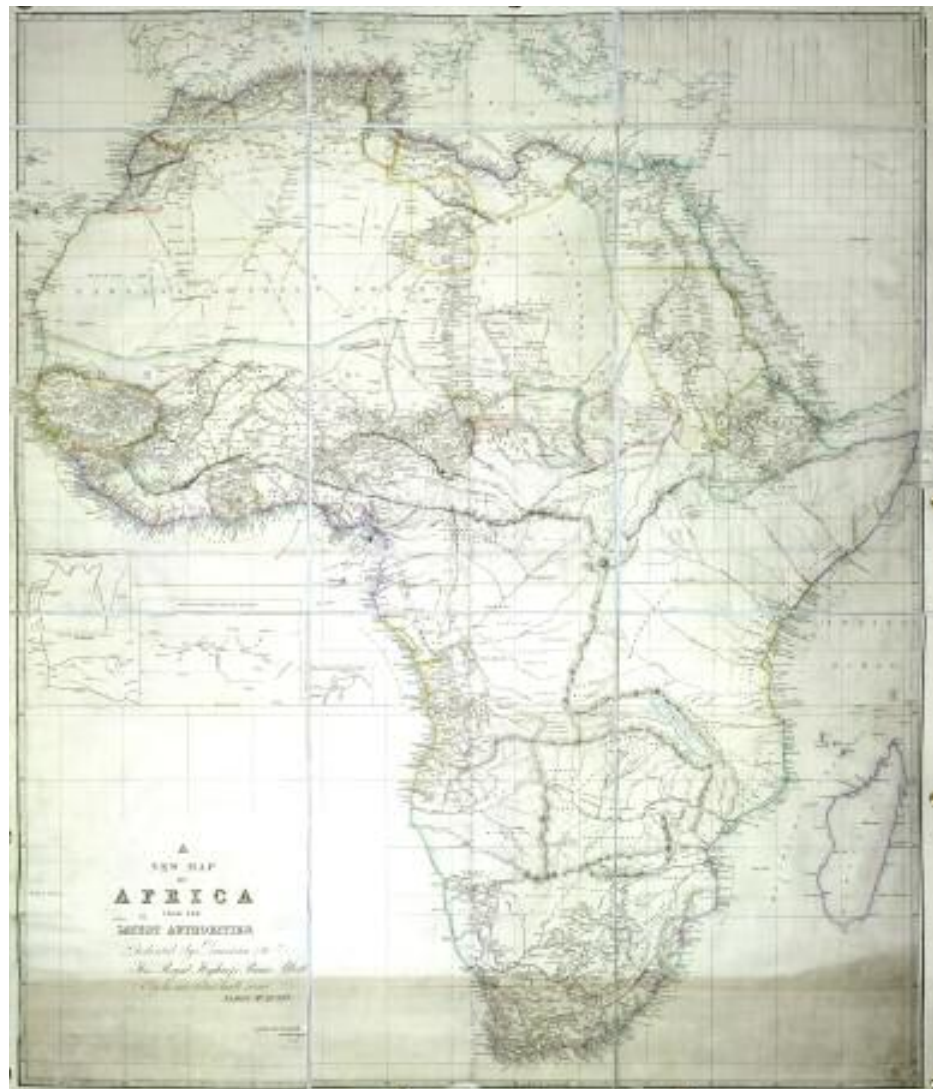
MacQueen was intrigued and fascinated by this opportunity to acquire a first-hand account of Africa's geographical features. He began to collect as much information as he could from the young male slave and the other 'Mandingo' slaves on the estate. How *they* might have felt about serving as sources of information for MacQueen is impossible to know as there are no records. It may have been a very difficult and painful process.

After all, MacQueen was asking questions of them about a region in which they had been born before being taken on slave ships across the Atlantic and forced to work as slaves in Grenada. So what was for MacQueen a captivating opportunity to acquire information about African geography was for the slaves a reminder about a lost home and their own captivity.

This did not seem to worry MacQueen and he proceeded with his geographical enquiries. He also spoke to slaves and slave-owners on other estates and, after returning to Scotland, to merchants who traded on the coast of Africa. Moreover, MacQueen sought out as many written descriptions of the geography of Africa as he could, from those by Classical Greek, Roman and Arabic scholars, to more recent accounts by European travellers and

Right: James MacQueen, *A New Map of Africa*, 1841. British Library shelf mark MAPS 63510 (14). © The British Library. All rights reserved

Below: *Mandingo Man Clothing Style*, 1780s. From Rene Claude Geoffroy de Villeneuve, *L'Afrique, ou histoire, moeurs, usages et coutumes des africains, le Senegal* (Paris, 1814), vol 3. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Virginia Library



explorers. He brought these various sources together in his first book on Africa, which was entitled *A Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa* and published in 1821.⁴ The book's most remarkable claim was about the River Niger. At the time, Europeans knew relatively little about this river, especially its lower course and termination. Rather, there were a host of competing theories – such as that it flowed into Lake Chad, disappeared in the Sahara Desert or even that it joined up with the River Nile far to the east. Yet, MacQueen insisted that the River Niger actually turned back on itself and entered the Atlantic Ocean at the Bights of Benin and Biafra in present-day Nigeria. It was not until an expedition led by Richard and John Lander in 1830 that the course of the River Niger was observed by Europeans at first hand. In what was a remarkable piece of 'armchair' geography, it turned out that MacQueen's theory was broadly correct.⁵

Moving forward to 1837, as Buxton began to prepare his case for an expedition up the River Niger, it was MacQueen's *Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa* (1821) to which the abolitionist leader first turned. This prompted Buxton to contact MacQueen directly and seek his help. Although Buxton knew all about MacQueen's past involvement with slavery, it is unclear whether he was aware of the original source of MacQueen's geographical knowledge of Africa. In the end, the Niger expedition, according to Buxton at least, was a failure, as is well known by historical scholars. Yet MacQueen's involvement in its planning is little known and even less so the original captive source of his knowledge. Thus, the unlikely collaboration between these two men gives a fascinating glimpse not only of how geographical knowledge played a role in the effort to end slavery, but also how slaves themselves could be the very source of geographical knowledge.

Dr Lambert received a Small Research Grant to support his researches. He is currently in receipt of a further grant from the Academy to fund further study building on his original project.

Notes

- ¹ *Glasgow Courier*, 30 September and 11 October 1823.
- ² *Glasgow Courier*, 20 May 1823.
- ³ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: Performed Under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London: printed for W. Bulmer, 1799).
- ⁴ James MacQueen, *A Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa: Containing a Particular Account of the Course and Termination of the Great River Niger in the Atlantic Ocean* (Edinburgh: printed for W. Blackwood, 1821).
- ⁵ Charles Withers, 'Mapping the Niger, 1798–1832: Trust, testimony and "ocular demonstration" in the late enlightenment', *Imago Mundi*, 56 (2004).

Ibadan 1960

Dr Will Rea, of the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies at the University of Leeds paints a picture of Ibadan, sketching the history and describing the unique characteristics of the city, that gave rise in the 1960s to the remarkable 'Ibadan renaissance' of writers and artists.

Running splash of rust
and gold – flung and scattered
among several hills like broken
china in the sun.¹

The poet's image is of Ibadan, the rust and gold splashed, as Rome was, against seven hills. These hills within which the city of Ibadan is set are, however, the rolling deep green hills of still remaining tropical rain-forest which, fading to a gunmetal, smoky blue surround the city. The city anthem, the oriki praise poem, highlights both the space of the city and the prevailing culture of the place:

Ibadan Ilu ori oke
Ilu Ibukun Oluwa
K'Oluwa se o ni ' bukun
Fun onile at'alejo

Ibadan of the hilly structure
Blessed city
May god make you a

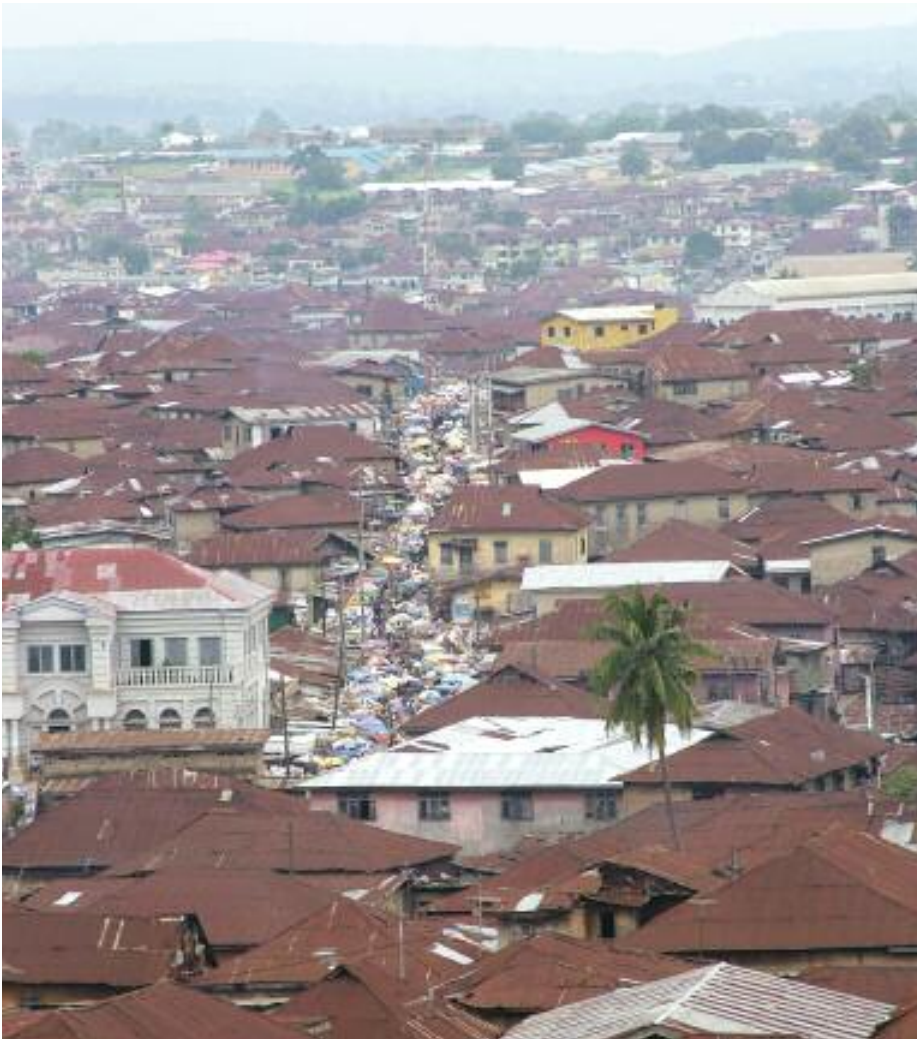
Blessing unto indigenes
And settlers alike

The city of Ibadan, located 78 miles inland from Lagos in Yoruba-speaking southern Nigeria, is a city of hills; it has multiple highpoints, each of which forms a centre around which different districts form their distinct characters, but the centre of the city falls from the tallest of the hills, tumbling down the hillside in a seemingly chaotic jumble of rusting corrugated iron roofs and crumbling mud buildings, tumbling from the building that presides over the town – Mapo Hall. This is the great architectural declaration of British colonial rule built in 1929, and designed as meeting place for the disputatious nobility of Ibadan, and as a visual statement that somehow it would be able to impose its version of order upon the city. And yet it is an order the city knows as alien and imposed; and in front of Mapo, overlooking Ojoba market as it cascades downhill, market wares seemingly sprawling

out in all directions, is a statue of Shango, Yoruba deity of thunder and tutelary deity of the Oyo, the founding genitors of the city.

Mapo Hall provides the defining motif for another visual characterisation of the city, that of an *Adire* starch-resist indigo-dyed cloth that is known as *Ibadan dun* (Ibadan is sweet). The motif of Mapo would have been entirely appropriate, a reference to wealth and status, on cloth that told the wearer and the viewer that not only Ibadan was sweet, but that life too was sweet, and that life in Ibadan was the sweetest life one could have, as living in Ibadan meant living in the wealthiest and most modern city in all of the Yoruba-speaking regions. *Ibadan dun* indeed. Ibadan has always been a modern city or perhaps more accurately, a city of modernity.

Ibadan was founded in the mid-nineteenth century. The history has been well published, and the most recent account by Ruth Watson is an excellent analysis of the history of the



Above: A running splash of rust and gold

Below: Iba Oluyole market as it tumbles down the hill from Mapo Hall



A doorway in the Old city. Note the Afro-Brazilian style of architecture

town.² It was one of several cities, including Abeokuta and Oyo, founded in the aftermath of the destruction of the major Yoruba town (and centre of the dominant Yoruba empire), Old Oyo (Oyo Ile), by the adjoining northern Fulani Empire in a jihad led by Alim al Saliah in 1835. Each of these ‘new’ cities developed in unique ways – Oyo claiming inheritance of government structure and status from the old central empire, Abeokuta developing as a conglomeration of four communities, each with their own titles and trading corporations, and Ibadan as a refugee camp that eventually developed the most feared army in southern Nigeria. Ibadan’s militarism was competitive and individualistic, status and authority was gained by individual warlords who maintained armies and retinues through the constant provision and distribution of wealth gained from military

campaigns through out the South western region of (what is now) Nigeria, most especially through the capture of slaves for the Atlantic trade. The new Oyo empire was largely constructed through the exploits of the Ibadan warlords and the city grew rich upon the spoils from the military campaigns launched from the city. As it grew rich so the town became more attractive to adventurers seeking careers in warfare and politics, in turn adding to the expansion of the city.

As it grew, so the political life of the city became ever more complex and there is still something of the anarchy and fiercely felt individualist and republican feelings within the city's politics today. The independence of Ibadan's political authority from that of the more general Yoruba model of centralised kingship, and thus its relative autonomy from the colonial model that the British tried to exert in Nigeria, meant that the city was open to individual achievement. Ibadan's openness to incomers and its awareness that its continued survival relies upon renewal by indigenes and strangers alike, means that Ibadan was, and still is, one of the most heterogeneous cities in Nigeria. This is an openness that admits and celebrates individual achievement and excellence only inasmuch as in that achievement the city itself is also promoted: individual achievement is celebrated, but the glory ultimately must belong to the city.

It is perhaps the openness of the city to innovation and achievement, the foundations of its modernity, which in the twentieth century allowed it to welcome and provide fertile ground for three key cultural institutions: the university, the publishing houses and a loose conglomeration of artists, writers and university staff that became known as the Mbari club. It was the individuals associated with these cultural institutions who were at the forefront of a period in the 1960s that has, in retrospect, come to be known as, even mythologised as, the Ibadan renaissance.

It is the imagining of the new Nigeria that the cultural institutions of Ibadan were to draw together in the 1960s and this was an

imagining not simply of the polis, but of a new ethnos, a redefinition of identity in Nigeria as a counter to both the impositions of colonial rule and the still pervasive systems of authority sanctioned by pre-colonial tradition.³ Within the university perhaps the greatest sustained re-imagining of the ethnos was within the Department of History. While the colonial regime may have thought a department of history essential to the work of the first census, under the leadership of K.O. Dike and then subsequently under J.F. Ade Ajayi, the history of Nigeria (not of western Nigeria but of Nigeria as a whole) was re-forged as belonging to and a result of the peoples that were now part of independent

Nigeria.⁴ The methodology of the Ibadan school was not confined to Nigeria, and nor were the historians only African, but it is clear that at least initially in the tracing of the historical past for the nation, the Ibadan school made a concerted attempt to overcome the limitations of colonially constructed indigeneity within Nigeria. The clarity of Ibadan however was to recognise that that indigeneity was also supplemented by other perspectives and these, such as the study of the formation of elites and role of the Christian missions in the construction of the Nigerian nation, became as much a part of the historical construction of the nation as the more formal histories.



Iba Oluyole's statue. Oluyole was one of the great Ibadan kings. His statue stands next to Mapo Hall and overlooks Iba market

Demas Nwoko's studio and theatre, started in the 1960s, the building was to have been an artists' workshop and theatre, but was unfortunately never completed. It is noted for its radical use of concrete as a building technology

Ibadan historiography was greatly encouraged by another factor in Ibadan's makeup – the establishment of major publishing enterprises in the city. For the historians, there is no doubt that the Ibadan History series published by Longmans between 1965 and 1983 was a major factor in the success of the school. However, it was perhaps in literature that the proximity to a thriving local publishing industry had its greatest effect. Alongside Longmans (which moved to Ikeja in 1965) Oxford University Press, Evans and, perhaps most crucially, Heinemann all had their main offices in Ibadan. Here, then, was the outlet for the extraordinary creative talent located in the university and in the city.

Perhaps the most important publishing exercise at this time was the journal *Black Orpheus*. While *The Horn*, a student magazine first edited by J.P. Clark, indicated what was to come, it was *Black Orpheus* that catered for the writers and poets of Ibadan as they came into their full maturity. Edited at first by Ulli Beier, a German ex-patriot, who arrived in Ibadan in the 1950s to teach in the University extramural department, the journal included poems and prose by Wole Soyinka, J.P. Clark, Christopher Okigbo, the South African writer Ezekiel Mphahlele, Abiola Irele, Ama Ata Aidoo, Fanguwa and Chinua Achebe, amongst many others. The journal was illustrated by the work of Susanne Wenger, then Beier's wife. While *Black Orpheus* was initially published by the general publications division of the Ministry of Education for the Western Region of Nigeria and then later by Longmans, it remained firmly the property of the Mbari group of writers and artists.

It is Mbari that is firmly at the centre of the legend (or myth) of Ibadan in the 1960s. The Mbari club as a physical presence was situated in the heart of Ibadan, in a district called Gbagi, close to what was Dugbe market. Soyinka, in his memoir 'Ibadan: the Penkelemes years'⁵ describes mbari as a 'suspect breed of artists and intellectuals'.



Included in this suspect breed were many of the writers that filled the pages of *Black Orpheus* – J.P. Clark, and Okigbo, Soyinka and Mphahlele – but it was a club not confined to writers. The artists Demas Nwoko and Uche Okeke had a two-man show at Mbari and in 1964 they were followed by Bruce Onobrakpeya, by then already established at Zaria, and Aig Higo who subsequently became chair of Heinemann; and playwrights and actors such as Segun Olusola and Dapo Adelugba were joined by ex-patriot academics from the University of Ibadan, such as Beier, Lalage Bown, Michael Crowder and Martin Banham.

What then is at the heart of this 'Ibadan Renaissance', this 'Ibadan 1960'? An extraordinary coming together of talented individuals offered their opportunity in the flux of the then, just then, decolonising state? Without doubt this is true, yet there is surely in the work of these writers and artists, publishers and historians, also an understanding mediated by the place that they found themselves in, a place conditioned by the times that they operated in certainly, but also and profoundly a place defined by the town of Ibadan, by its unique city structure, its openness to differing ethnicities and strangers and its engagement with modernity from its very foundation.

Dr Will Rea was given the opportunity to spend three months in Ibadan in 2006 by the British Academy through its Small Research Grants scheme. This research is part of a larger project initiated in the AHRC Centre CATH at Leeds University entitled *Ibadan 1960: Art, History and Literature*. While in Ibadan he was able to interview and talk to a number of the people that figured prominently in Ibadan's scholarly, political and social community during the 1960s. He delivered lectures to the Nigerian Field Society (*Nigerian Field* 71 45–75 (2006)) and the Centre of African Studies, University of Ibadan. In addition he was able to visit the town of Ikole Ekiti and continue his research on Ekiti Egigun masquerades. Special thanks are due to Professor and Mrs J.F. Ade Ajayi, Pat Oyelola and Professor Dele Layiwola.

Notes

- ¹ JP Clark 1991 *Collected plays and poems 1958–1988*, Howard University Press
- ² (Watson, R. 2003 *Civil disorder is the disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and civic culture in a Yoruba city*. James Currey, Oxford.)
- ³ Richards D. Unpublished lecture delivered for Ibadan 1960 seminar, Centre CATH University of Leeds.
- ⁴ Ade Ajayi, J.F. The Ibadan School of History in Falola (ed.) *Tradition and change in Africa: the essays of J.F. Ade Ajayi*. Africa World Press, Trenton.
- ⁵ Soyinka, Wole, *Ibadan: the Penkelemes years. A memoir 1946–65*, Minerva, London 1995:302

The First English Bible: A Lost Opportunity

The medieval English Church prohibited the use of the translation of the Bible made in Wyclif's time. Traditionally, the Wycliffite Bible has been understood as a reformist document, but Dr Mary Dove argues that, contrary to received opinion, the readership was predominantly devout and orthodox. She sets out the evidence to show that the Church authorities were wrong to suppose that the translators had incorporated heresies into their translation; they were as scholarly as the resources available to them in late 14th century England allowed them to be, and they deserve credit for their achievement in enabling laypeople literate in English access to the book that dominated their culture.

ONE OF THE major misfortunes in the history of the Church in England is that the first complete translation of the Bible into English was instigated by a man who had a very low opinion of the institutional church of his day, and who did not hesitate to say so.

John Wyclif's castigation of the late-medieval church was rooted in his very high view of the church in its perfect state, at one with Christ, and of the Bible, which he regarded as the law of God. Academic theologians, argued Wyclif, were undermining the truth of scripture by drawing attention to superficial inconsistencies and seeming falsehoods within it (such as the prophet Amos saying 'I am not a prophet', 7:14). Worse, powerful churchmen were deliberately misleading the people by interpreting the Bible according to their own worldly agendas. Wyclif and like-minded Oxford colleagues wanted literate laypeople to be able to read the Bible for themselves. This meant translating the Latin Bible into English.

The 'Wycliffite' Bible was some twenty years in the making. A huge project was matched with changing personnel and limited resources. Editorial decisions were probably made very informally, and there were some changes of direction (such as the decision first to include and later to omit the apocryphal 3 Ezra) that led to disagreement among the translators. The logistics were certainly not helped by the increasing suspicion with which Wyclif was regarded, and by his enforced move to the parish of Lutterworth, where he died in 1384.

'Let the Chirche of Engelond approve this trewe and whole translacioun', says the prologue to the first English Bible, completed c.1390. Most Europeans, the prologue points out, already have access to scripture in their mother-tongues, and the Latin Bible, Jerome's Vulgate, was itself a translation from Hebrew and Greek. Several tracts of the time make strong cases for a Bible in English. One writer counters the traditional argument that scripture 'has so many ways of being

interpreted, literal and spiritual, that the laity are unable to understand it' with the point that laypeople can no longer be assumed to be ignorant. Well-educated laypeople can understand what they read better than poorly-educated priests are able to do.

The English Church had not previously made any formal pronouncement about biblical translation. But in 1409 new articles against heresy proscribed any public or private use or dissemination of the translation made in Wyclif's time, and ruled that any new translation required approval by a bishop or a provincial council. The letter Archbishop Arundel sent the Pope with a copy of these articles claimed that the 'pestilent and wretched' Wyclif had 'endeavoured by every means to attack the very faith and sacred doctrine of Holy Church', his translation of the Bible being one of his devilish expedients.

Although the opponents of translation never offered any specific criticisms of the text of the Wycliffite Bible, Sir Thomas More took it for granted that Wyclif had 'purposely corrupted that holy text' by embedding heretical opinions within it. The members of the Church Council who legislated against the Wycliffite Bible probably thought so too. In fact, the translators had worked very hard to produce an English equivalent of the Latin original that was simultaneously literal and intelligible—no easy task.

Echoing Jerome's experience of biblical translation, the writer of the prologue says that in translating from Latin to English a sense for sense rather than word for word translation is best. The translators' first go at 'duas gentes odit anima mea' ('my soul hates two nations', Ecclesiasticus 50:25) was the confusing 'two folkis hatith my soule', too

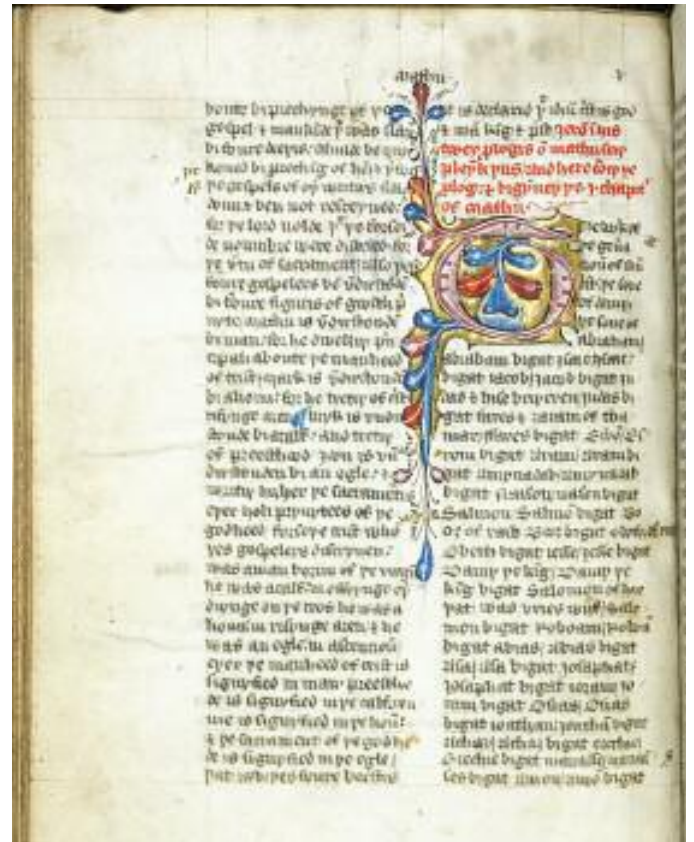


John the Evangelist, British Library Royal 1. C. VIII, fol.325v. Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. © The British Library. All rights reserved



Left: *The Four Evangelists, British Library Arundel 104, fol.251r. Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. © The British Library. All rights reserved*

Below: *Initial at the opening of Matthew, John Rylands Library Eng. 77, fol.16v. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester*



literal to make good sense. Later they turned this into intelligible English by putting the subject first: ‘my soule hatith two folkis’.

The translators were wary of adding words unnecessarily; they wanted to give their readers the whole Bible with nothing added and nothing taken away. But they were conscious that figurative language might trip inexperienced readers up. Indeed, three chapters of the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible are devoted to guidance on how to distinguish between literal and figurative meanings, drawing heavily on Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*. Contrary to what is commonly supposed, Wyclif and the Wycliffite translators did not believe in ‘scripture alone’. They were deeply indebted to the ongoing tradition of interpretation within the church of true believers.

But general rules about biblical interpretation, the translators realized, were not

always easy to apply in individual instances. So, when Joshua puts Amalech and his people to flight ‘in the mouth of the sword’ (Exodus 17:13), the Wycliffite Bible reads ‘in the mouth of swerd, that is, bi the scharpnesse of the swerd’. Occasionally the translators cross the fine line between helping the reader to understand the text and interpreting the text. The most striking example is ‘Crist, thou art fairer in schap than the sones of men’ (Psalm 44/45:3). Yes, this psalm was very commonly understood as referring to Christ, but translation has slid into interpretation here.

The translators (who were all biblical professionals) were well aware that over the centuries a number of errors had crept into the text of the Latin Bible. One example is the question Jacob asks Rachel’s father after he has served seven years for her and then been tricked into sleeping with her sister Leah (Genesis 29:25). Many late-medieval Latin

Bibles have Jacob asking Laban ‘Why have you secretly brought Leah to me?’ (‘Quare Lyam supposuisti mihi?’). Although this sounds plausible, the translators’ research showed them it was a mistake, and that Jacob actually asks ‘Why have you tricked me?’ (‘Quare imposuisti mihi?’). Accordingly, the Wycliffite Bible reads ‘Whi hast thou disseyved me?’.

The translators rightly claimed that the text of the new English Bible was more accurate than that of most contemporary copies of the Latin Bible. Nevertheless, the 1409 prohibition meant that owning a copy of any part of it was potentially incriminating. William Harry of Tenterden, Kent, on trial in 1428 as a suspected Wycliffite, confessed that he had ‘read various books of holy scripture in the common tongue’ as well as associating with heretics. Harry abjured, but because he lacked sufficient surety for good behaviour he

Leaf 419 gone

420

Our bigynnyng a veule pat tellis in whichc chapitres of ye bible ye may fynde ye lessous pistles and gospels pat ten red in ye churchc aftir ye wille of salubren marked wyth lettris of ye a. b. c. at ye bigynnyng of ye chapitres toward ye myddel or ende aftir ye ordre as ye lettris stonden / first ten set sundaires and ferals togidre. and aftir pat ye scōw ye wpe and comyn togidre of al ye zeer. and panue last ye commemoracions. pat is deyd pe tempal. of al ye zeer / first is writen a clausse of ye bigynnyng of ye pistle and gospel. and a clausul of ye ending yewof also.

i. Sunday	ep̄	ndnos. viij.	d	We knowen.	ende	lord ihu crist //
i aduet	em̄	ayathen. xxi.	a	Whame ihu.	ende	hise pinges //
wed	ep̄	James. v.	b	Se ye paacur.	ende	of ye lord //
uisday	em̄	ayark. i.	a	pe bigynnyng.	ende	hooli goost //
fr̄	ep̄	Isaie. li.	a	Yerrip me ze y.	ende	geuenacions //
day	em̄	ayathen. iij.	a	In po daies ion.	ende	her synnes //
ii. Sunday	ep̄	ndnos. xv.	b	What enur ym̄	ende	hooli goost //
i aduet	em̄	Iuyh. xxiij.	c	Sokenes schul.	ende	schulden not passe. //
wed	ep̄	Zacharie. viij.	b	Iam turned aze.	ende	ritualis. //
uisday	em̄	ayathen. xj.	c	Henli neuh j sece.	ende	heerung heer he //
fr̄	ep̄	Isaie. lxiij.	b	Zapn y wallis.	ende	not forsaken //
day	em̄	Iohu. j.	b	Iohu berip witi.	ende	hap treed out //
iii. Sunday	ep̄	i. cor. iij.	a	So amau gelle.	ende	man of god //
i aduet	em̄	ayathen. xj.	b	Whame iohu.	ende	were difore pee //
yulter	lesso	Isaie. ij.	a	And p̄ schal be.	ende	lord oure god //
wed	ep̄	Isaie. viij.	c	Ye lord spak.	ende	and thees good //
uisday	em̄	Iuyh. i.	d	Ye auugel gabel.	ende	aftir y word //
fr̄	ep̄	Isaie. xj.	a	Il ynde schal snece.	ende	of his wpyes //
day	em̄	Iuyh. i.	c	ayarie wos up.	ende	myu helpe //
pe firste lesson	Isaie. xij.	f	pei schulden tre.	ende	hen houle //	
pe ii lesson	Isaie. xxxv.	a	Ye forsaken ude.	ende	of waters //	
pe iii lesson	Isaie. xl.	c	pat pou p̄cheist.	ende	his bosom. //	
pe v lesson	Isaie. xlv.	a	pe lord god.	ende	made hū. //	
pe pistle	Samuel. iij.	k	An auugel of pe.	ende	and seiden. //	
pe gospel	ij thess. ij.	a	We p̄rien zou.	ende	his conyng //	
iiii. Sunday	ep̄	Iuyh. iij.	b	In ye xv zeer.	ende	helpe of god //
i aduet	em̄	filip. iij.	b	Joie ze in pe lord.	ende	in crist ihesu //
wed	em̄	Iohu. j.	c	Whame iewis.	ende	bapting //
uisday	ep̄	Iohel. ij.	g	Joie ze sones.	ende	dwelle in syon //
fr̄	em̄	Iuyh. viij.	c	And pis word.	ende	more pan he //
day	ep̄	Zacharie. ij.	f	Doutir of syon.	ende	dwelling in place //
Crise masse	em̄	ayark. viij.	c	Se ze and lr wat.	ende	to no man //
even	lesso	Isaie. lxiij.	a	for syon y schal.	ende	lord in pee //
Januyr at laudis	em̄	ayathen. j.	a	Whoul ye suarit.	ende	of ihu crist //
At pe firste masse	em̄	ayathen. j.	d	Whame marie.	ende	her synnes //
At pe seinde masse	em̄	ayathen. j.	a	pe book of ye.	ende	pat is clepid crist //
So pe lize masse	em̄	ayathen. j.	a	pe peple y zede.	ende	wipouten ende //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	ayathen. j.	c	pe grace of god.	ende	and moueste. //
At pe seinde masse	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	Il maundmet.	ende	of god wille //
So pe lize masse	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	pe spure of ye.	ende	of ye lord //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	b	pe benignite.	ende	euerlasting luf //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	c	pe shepheardis.	ende	leid to hem //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	c	for pis ping.	ende	of oure god //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	God pat spak.	ende	schulden not faile //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	In ye bigynnyng.	ende	and of tēpē //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	lo y seude to you.	ende	of ye lord //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	who diedy.	ende	enheritege ye him //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	he seip to hū.	ende	in twelling is newe //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	Il y lo a lomb.	ende	none of god //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	c	to pe auugel of.	ende	pei ben not //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	Och bishop in.	ende	melchisedech //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	b	Al woryt man.	ende	up to icelin //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	a	is long tyme.	ende	an er bi god //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	f	And hō fadir.	ende	was in him //
Sevnt steuene	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	d	lo ye gret pat.	ende	of swetes //
Childer malday	em̄	Iuyh. ij.	b	man pat gōp.	ende	joie of y lord //

was imprisoned at Archbishop Chichele's pleasure. We do not know when or whether he was released.

Not surprisingly, manuscripts of the first English Bible never name Wyclif as one of the translators, and rarely contain records of pre-Reformation ownership. The only owners who could be sure they would not be suspected of heresy for possessing scripture in English were kings, magnates, members of religious orders and religious foundations. One spectacularly ornate Wycliffite Bible (now Bodley 277) records that 'this book formerly belonged to Henry the Sixth, who gave it to the London Charterhouse'.

Anne Danvers gave her Wycliffite New Testament (now John Rylands Library Eng. 81) to her 'mastre confessor and his bretherne' in Syon Abbey, sending it by her son William on Mid-Lent Sunday 1517. She asked the monks to pray for her family, alive and dead (their names are listed), and for John and Thomas, William's servants. Giving the book away during her lifetime meant she secured monastic intercessions without leaving a volume of scripture in English to be declared as part of her estate. Perhaps it was William who suggested the donation.

What is surprising is that in spite of the prohibition more than 250 manuscripts of the Wycliffite translation survive (though some were certainly written before 1409, and some are only fragments). This is considerably more than of any other text in medieval English, and suggests very widespread use. Most Wycliffite Bible manuscripts look as though they were professionally produced in commercial premises. Very few have the rough parchment and irregular script characteristic of books written by amateur scribes for personal use. If copies of the first English Bible had to be 'kept in huggier mugger' (as Thomas Bowyer notes his family's Wycliffite Bible had to be 'in those superstitious tymes' before the Reformation), there is no evidence that they were made and sold clandestinely.

One buyer decided to insure herself against suspicion of heresy in advance. A note in a

handsome New Testament with fine gold initials (now John Rylands Library Eng. 77) says this manuscript cost £4 6s 8d, and that it was 'scrutinized by Doctor Thomas Eborall and Doctor Ive before my mother bought it'. These doctors of theology were masters of Whittington College, a college of clergy attached to the Church of St Michael Paternoster Royal in the City of London. Both men were active in suppressing heresy. The owner of this New Testament was evidently a wealthy and demonstratively orthodox woman.

Eborall and Ive's approval may have been influenced by the fact that the manuscript opens with a lectionary indicating which epistles and gospels are read at mass throughout the year. Only a regular mass-goer would want to know where to look up the readings of the day, and frequent attendance at mass was a way of manifesting orthodoxy (or of masking heresy). More than a third of the surviving Wycliffite Bible manuscripts include a lectionary: doubtless booksellers as well as bookbuyers wanted to divert suspicion. There was no easy way for an official to tell whether a volume of scripture in English was the prohibited translation or not. Only if it opened with the lengthy prologue (and very few did) was it evidently Wycliffite.

Cardinal Gasquet, a member of the papal commission which declared that 'ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been, and are, absolutely null and utterly void', set the Catholic cat among the Protestant pigeons at the end of the nineteenth century by arguing that since manuscripts of the medieval English Bible were produced in large numbers, since some were in unquestionably orthodox ownership and since most were apparently intended for devout readers who attended mass regularly, this Bible must have been authorized, or at least 'semi-official'. *Ergo*, it was not the prohibited Wycliffite translation.

Gasquet's argument is unsustainable—the surviving medieval English Bible is undoubtedly the translation discussed in detail in the Wycliffite prologue, and there is no other complete translation—but the bitterness of the debate Gasquet inaugurated shows us how much was at stake. 'Nothing',

wrote Arthur Ogle in 1901, 'has worked more powerfully to divorce [Englishmen's] hearts from the medieval type of discipline and authority than the fact that the first translators of the English Bible achieved their task under the censure of authority'. If Gasquet had been right that the medieval English Church had approved a vernacular Bible, the history of the Reformation would have had to be rewritten.

Arundel's articles against heresy resulted in a situation whereby the perceived orthodoxy of the owner was made to vouch for the orthodoxy of the translation owned. William Harry's books of English scripture were implicated in his heretical activities, while Thomas More mistakenly assumed that the 'bybles fayre and old wryten in Englyshe' that he had seen in the homes of 'good and catholyke folke' could not be Wycliffite Bibles. As a result, the Christian community for which Arundel was responsible was more anxiety-ridden and less united than it had been before the work of translation began. The perception that 'the clergy of this realm hath forbidden all the people to have any scripture translated into our tongue' was very damaging indeed to relations between clergy and laity.

It is tempting to speculate on what might have happened if the ecclesiastical authorities had acted differently. Without going as far as formally approving the translation, they could have enjoyed some of the credit for its success (and if owning it had not been hazardous the number of copies sold might have been even greater). This would have assisted the efforts of the English Church to prevent the spread of what it regarded as dangerous errors and heresies. We can see this more easily than Archbishop Arundel could, of course; not least because we know just how good a translation the first English Bible was. In any case, we look back across the Reformation at an opportunity that was, unhappily, lost.

Dr Dove received a Small Research Grant to fund her research. The volume resulting from her research, *The First English Bible: the Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions*, is published by Cambridge University Press.

Archimedes and Company

IN 1899 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus catalogued the contents of the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Istanbul. Ms 355 in his catalogue was a thirteenth-century prayer book – a euchologion. It was clear to him that much of the book was palimpsest; the scribe of the euchologion had recycled parchment from other codices to make his book, and some of the under-text was still visible. Indeed, Papadopoulos-Kerameus transcribed a small section of one of these texts. It was mathematical in nature, and was brought to the attention of Johan Ludwig Heiberg, Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Copenhagen. Heiberg recognized it as the work of Archimedes, and so went to the Metochion to investigate further in the summer of 1906. He discovered that the manuscript was from the tenth century and contained the only surviving Greek version of *On Floating Bodies*, and two lost works by Archimedes – the *Method of Mechanical Theorems*, and the *Stomachion*. The manuscript is Codex C in the apparatus for the critical edition of Archimedes' works that Heiberg published from 1910–1915.

Heiberg briefly noted that there were other palimpsested texts in the manuscript, which he could not identify.

The manuscript is of the utmost importance in the transmission of Archimedes texts, being the oldest extant Archimedes manuscript in Greek by 500 years. And yet, despite this, it has been unavailable to scholars throughout most of the twentieth century. It disappeared from the Metochion in the 1910s or 1920s, and spent most of the century in the hands of a private French family. It was auctioned on 29 October 1998, and purchased by an anonymous American collector. This collector deposited the manuscript at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, and since then has funded a project to conserve, image, and decipher the texts in the manuscript. The British Academy has greatly facilitated the decipherment of many of these texts, some of which have turned out to be spectacularly important.

Left: Keith Knox, Chief Scientist at the Boeing Corporation at Maui, who invented the algorithm by which the Archimedes text was revealed.
Below: Abigail Quandt, Senior Conservator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Museum, mends a damaged leaf of the Palimpsest



Dr William Noel, Curator of Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, discusses the project to retrieve the unique classical texts in the 'Archimedes Palimpsest' – a manuscript that contains treasures undiscovered for centuries.



The right-hand page of the Palimpsest contains the text of Archimedes' Method, proposition 14. All you can see is the prayer book text

The Archimedes Palimpsest Project is an integrated campaign of conservation, imaging and scholarship, managed by Michael Toth of R.B. Toth Associates. It got off to a slow start, principally because the book is in appalling condition. To image the manuscript, the codex had first to be disbound and conserved. This was undertaken by Abigail Quandt, Senior Conservator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Museum. There were three particularly severe problems. The first was that more than half the spine of the book was covered in a polyvinyl acetate adhesive. This was undoubtedly put on after World War II to secure the structure of the codex. However, the glue was tougher than the parchment of the book that it was designed to protect. It had to be carefully removed using a mixture of isopropanol and water, and it took four years. The second problem was that the manuscript had suffered severely from mould damage. Parchment is tough, but mould will break down the collagen that makes it so, and much of the book now has the strength of tissue paper. The third problem was that, sometime after 1938, forged miniatures of the Evangelists were painted on four of the pages. It was decided not to remove these forgeries, and this presented the imagers with their most serious challenge.



Top: A pseudo-colour image of the Hyperides text in the Palimpsest. Note this text is written in one column, while the Archimedes text is in two. The lower image shows detail of the third unique text in the manuscript in natural light



It took four years to disbind the Archimedes Palimpsest. This is a rare action shot. There were particular problems removing the tough polyvinyl acetate adhesive used some time after World War II to secure the structure of the codex

The imaging programme started while the conservation was still underway. Quandt prepared 15 bifolia for imaging every six months, starting in December 2001. The imaging was undertaken by Roger Easton, Professor of Imaging Science at the Rochester Institute of Technology, Keith Knox, Chief Scientist at the Boeing Corporation at Maui, and William A. Christens-Barry of Equipoise Imaging LLC. They created processed images that enabled the scholars to begin their work. The creation of useful images was an iterative process: the input of scholars was critical in the development of algorithms that were necessary to create optimal images for the scholars. Dr Natalie Tchernetska, who at the time was a postdoctoral fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Reviel Netz, Professor of Ancient Science at Stanford University, played particularly important roles in this respect.

The techniques used by Easton, Christens-Barry and Knox were extremely effective on most folia of the Palimpsest. However, the forged pages, and pages that were particularly dirty were impervious to optical techniques. Following a conference in April 2004, it was decided to try a different approach: X-ray fluorescence imaging. After preliminary experiments conducted by Gene Hall, Professor of Chemistry at Rutgers University, and Robert Morton, Research Scientist at ConocoPhillips, substantial sections of text were recovered at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, using the Synchrotron.

This X-ray imaging was conducted under the supervision of Dr Uwe Bergmann, Staff Scientist at SLAC.

Since 2001 a steady stream of discoveries has poured forth from scholarly analysis of images of the Archimedes Palimpsest. The transcription of the Archimedes text was undertaken by Nigel Wilson FBA, and Reviel Netz. The success of the imaging has been such that they deem it necessary to produce new critical editions of the three unique Archimedes texts in the book. Moreover, the new readings of these texts have had a profound impact on scholarly understanding of the ancient mathematics. In *Method Proposition 14*, Archimedes calculated with infinite sets, and the *Stomachion* has been plausibly reinterpreted as the earliest surviving treatise on combinatorics.

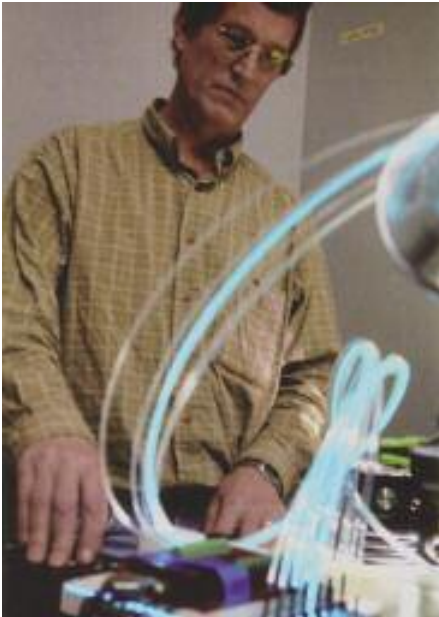
The insights provided by the new readings of Archimedes works have been far reaching. But further revelations soon followed. Dr Natalie Tchernetska was working on the palimpsested texts that accompanied Archimedes' treatises in the euchologion, and in 2002 she identified fragments of two treatises by Hyperides, and it soon became apparent that ten folia of the euchologion were from the Hyperides codex. This was a major discovery, and an unexpected one. Hyperides was an Athenian orator, and a contemporary of Aristotle and Demosthenes. He was a prolific speechwriter, and seventy-seven speeches were attributed to him in antiquity. However, unlike those of

Demosthenes, Hyperides speeches did not fare well in the transition that all ancient texts had to make from roll to codex. In the ninth century, in his *Bibliotheca*, Photius gives an account of the works of Hyperides, and it is possible that a manuscript survived at least until the sixteenth century in Hungary. But the twentieth century only knew Hyperides from quotations by later authors, and from papyrus finds in Egypt between 1847 and 1897. Dr Tchernetska had discovered the only extant Hyperides codex. Meanwhile, Netz and Wilson had turned their attention to another unidentified text. Between them, they identified that it was philosophical in character, and Wilson recognised the name of Aristotle.

Enter the British Academy. It soon became apparent that the work of deciphering the texts was so difficult, and the implications of the discoveries so wide ranging, that the enterprise would benefit from the scholarship and counsel of a large and international group of classicists. Professor Eric Handley FBA and Professor Patricia Easterling FBA approached the British Academy who kindly agreed to sponsor a one-day colloquium on the decipherment of the texts, and this was scheduled for February 2006. The result was exciting and rewarding for all those involved. Some progress was made on both texts during the day, but more importantly, the work of decipherment was allotted to specific groups of scholars, and a series of meetings were scheduled in anticipation of the progress that

would result. Many helped in the process, but the principal task of transcription of the remaining Hyperides text was allotted to Natalie Tchernetska herself, to Professor Chris Carey of University College London, Professor Mike Edwards, Director of the Institute of Classical Studies in the School of Advanced Study, University of London, Professor Judson Herrman of Allegheny College, and Professor Laszlo Horvath and his colleagues Zoltan Farkas, Tamas Meszaros and Gyula Mayer at the University of Budapest. The principal champions of the philosophical text at the meeting were Professor Richard Sorabji FBA and Professor Robert Sharples of University College London. Others who have contributed greatly to the understanding of this text are Reviel Netz and Professor Marwan Rashed of the Sorbonne.

An extraordinary amount has been achieved since that date, and the expectations of the scholarly community have been fully realized. Natalie Tchernetska has already published one of the two fragmentary speeches by Hyperides, *Against Timandros*,



Bill Christens-Barry, of Equipoise Imaging LLC, demonstrates the narrow band imaging system that he designed.

which concerned litigation over a disputed guardianship. The second speech, *Against Diondas*, turned out to be political in nature. In it Hyperides defends the anti-Macedonian stance that he took immediately before the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC. Following

Archimedes Palimpsest, folios 144v–145r photographed in natural light.

Philip's triumph at the battle, Hyperides and his fellow orator Demosthenes both became subject to criticism. Demosthenes response was his masterpiece, *De Corona*; the speech in the Palimpsest is, so to speak, the sister-speech by Hyperides.

A critical edition of this speech will shortly be published in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.

Retrieving the Hyperides text was an extraordinary labour; retrieving more of the philosophical text mentioning Aristotle has proven to be even more challenging. Even here, however, remarkable progress has been made. The text appears to be an otherwise unknown commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, produced in the immediate circle of Alexander of Aphrodisias, in the late second or early third century AD.

This very brief summary of the ongoing discoveries about the Archimedes Palimpsest stretches the bounds of credulity, and makes one wonder about the circumstances in which this extraordinary book was produced. Stefano Parenti, Professor of Byzantine Liturgy from the Papal Athenaeum S. Anselmo, analysed the texts in the euchologion, and noted that several were rare, and indicated that they were specific to liturgical use in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. Professor John Lowden, of the Courtauld Institute was the first to observe that on the verso of the very first folio of the manuscript was a colophon that dated the prayer book to April 14, 1229. Subsequent X-rays of this page revealed the name of the scribe, one Ioannes Myronas. One can only speculate how it was that Ioannes Myronas came to have parchment taken from such extraordinary books. However, one thing is for sure: he had joy in his heart when he wrote over these literary treasures — less than two months before, Frederick II, *stupor mundi*, had liberated Jerusalem from Muslim control.



The project to retrieve the texts from the Archimedes Palimpsest is now in its eighth year, and it is changing in its emphasis from text discovery to text publication. On 8 May 2007 Reviel Netz and William Noel's *The Archimedes Codex*, which recounts the history of the project thus far, was launched at the Academy, but comprehensive publication of all the results of this extraordinary project is currently being planned through the British Academy itself. Beginning in the autumn of 2010, these publications will begin to appear. They will include a definitive account of the conservation, imaging, and scholarship conducted on the palimpsest, a digitally enhanced facsimile of the entire manuscript, together with a complete transcription, and critical editions of many of the texts, including Archimedes' *Method*, *Stomachion*, and *On Floating Bodies*. These publications will coincide with a major exhibition of the codex and the work undertaken on it. Venues for this exhibition are currently being sought both in the United States and in Europe.

Dr William Noel held a British Academy Post-doctoral Fellowship between 1993 and 1996. *The Archimedes Codex* by Reviel Netz and William Noel is published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Further information on the Archimedes Palimpsest Project can be found at www.archimedespalimpsest.org

Rhyming Pictures: Walter Crane and the Art of Reading

Dr Grace Brockington describes the educational, aesthetic and political ideals underpinning Walter Crane's art, and illustrates his views on the importance of the visual in our first encounter with written language.

Walter Crane (1845–1915) was one of the most ambitious British artists of the later nineteenth century. As a leading exponent of the Arts and Crafts Movement, he designed textiles, stained glass, wallpaper and ceramics. He also threw himself into politics – the politics of the art world and of social reform. He was founder President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, which aimed to increase the prestige of the decorative arts; and he dedicated his skills to promoting socialism by designing cartoons, banners and posters. Crane travelled widely, spreading the message of the Arts and Crafts across Europe and North America. His work was celebrated abroad and his books translated into several European languages. Yet despite his industry



and success, his reputation in his own country has suffered. This is partly because William Morris, the pioneering artist-craftsman, still tends to eclipse his younger colleague, and also because of an element of bathos in Crane's career. The large, allegorical paintings which he hoped to exhibit at the Royal Academy were badly received. Instead, he became famous for his children's books, known as 'toy books' ('toy' here meaning trivial). Scores of illustrations, produced over a period of 50 years, earned Crane the teasing title of 'academician of the nursery'. He loved fancy dress, animals and fairy tales, and it is tempting to dismiss him as an overgrown child, whose domestic talents never lived up to his public ambitions.

Crane himself chaffed at such monikers. They left him feeling, he complained, 'like a travelling portmanteau', covered in old labels.¹ The metaphor conveys his desire to move beyond children's books (as he wishfully observed, labels eventually rub off), but it also suggests a way of rethinking his illustrations. In *Alice Through the Looking Glass* (1871), Crane's contemporary Lewis Carroll extended the idea of the portmanteau to denote the blending of words and meanings ('mimsy', combining flimsy and miserable, is his famous example of a portmanteau word). Crane was a cosmopolitan and polymath whose tendency to blend conventional distinctions between art and craft, master and labourer, adult and child, still challenges assumed categories. His books explore the connections between words and images, as well as between countries and generations. They project a

Figure 1. J.M.D. Meiklejohn, *The Golden Primer*, illustrated by Walter Crane (London, Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1884), p. 24



Figure 2. Walter Crane, *Pothooks and Perseverance: or the ABC-Serpent* (London: Marcus Ward & Co Ltd, 1886), [np]

sense of educational and political purpose, linking the imaginary world of Crane's illustrations with the visionary world of his politics, and it is those associations – between art and language, childhood, and social reform – that I shall explore here.

Crane regarded his illustrations as key to the educational value of his books. He believed that children learn primarily through their eyes and that a well-designed book can shape an individual, intellectually and morally. His books combine words and images in ways which emphasise the pictorial quality of linguistic signs, intensifying the visual experience of reading. In Crane's primers, children dance inside alphabets (Figure 1). Hand-written calligraphy complements the expressive line of his designs (Figure 2). The text is inscribed on fluttering banners, or it fans across the picture, losing its blocky, abstract quality.

This sense of the priority of the visual is evident in Crane's work with various educational theorists of his day, notably Professor John Meiklejohn, a writer of school text books, and Miss Nellie Dale, a

Wimbledon school teacher who published a series of children's readers around 1900. Both Meiklejohn and Dale rebelled against the so-called alphabet method of teaching reading, where children begin by learning to name letters. Instead they advocated systems which



Figure 3. J.M.D. Meiklejohn, *The Golden Primer*, illustrated by Walter Crane (London, Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1884), preface [np]

emphasise visual association: 'look-and-say', where children learn to recognise whole words as pictures was Meiklejohn's method; and phonics, pioneered in part by Dale, which teaches the sounds of individual letters, but not their names.

In 1876, Meiklejohn was appointed first Professor of Education at the University of St Andrews, and he used the position to advocate a nurturing, holistic, child-centred system, based on the new sciences of philology and child psychology. He made it his mission to reform the teaching of reading, which suffered from the inadequacies of the written alphabet. The historical process of development from realistic pictures, through hieroglyphic symbols, to arbitrary signs was, he argued, one of deterioration, thwarting children in their efforts to read, and retarding

Figure 4. Walter Crane, *Mrs Mundi at Home*, *The Terrestrial Ball*, Lines and Outlines by Walter Crane (London: Marcus Ward & Co., 1875), plate 23

their powers of logical analysis.² In *The Golden Primer* (1884), Meiklejohn and Crane worked together to reconnect the written word with the child's visual experience. Meiklejohn's instructions to the teacher give equal weight to Crane's illustrations (Figure 3). 'In this little book', he explains, 'ART comes, to fix the child's attention; SCIENCE, to guide his steps. Pictures – words in the pictures – words out of the pictures – words in sentences: this is the first **Ladder to Learning!**' Crane has drawn himself and Meiklejohn, the artist and the writer, taking their bow together. Crane dresses himself literally as a crane: the bird becomes his signature. The fact that the writer wields a feather quill pen, presumably plucked from the bird's wing, underlines the close connection between Crane as artist and the visual art of writing.

That connection is made even more explicit in Crane's work with Nellie Dale. Dale's books are visually less impressive than Meiklejohn's *Golden Primer*, but her commentary makes it clear that visual art was even more important to the phonic method than it was to 'look-and-say'. She also suggests that Crane was involved in the development of her method, at times actually present in the classroom and drawing pictures to demand. For instance, she fondly remembers her pupils' delight when he improvised a crab peeking out from under a cap.³ Dale's idea was that children should spend a whole year drawing and modelling objects and telling stories about them before they learnt to associate them

with written words. She called it 'hand-training', and she argued that the visual awareness it taught was vital for a child's conceptual and linguistic development. She also encouraged her children to use gestural symbols, like waving for goodbye, before introducing them to the more arbitrary symbols of the alphabet, and in the early stages she used colour to differentiate different phonic categories: vowels were 'clothed' in red (clothed is Dale's word), voiceless consonants in blue, voiced consonants in black, and silent letters in brown to suggest something 'faded', like autumn leaves.⁵

The idea of art as our first encounter with written language was important to Crane as an educator, aesthetic theorist and political campaigner. He used it to promote the Arts and Crafts revival, arguing that not all art has the symbolic quality necessary to encode conceptual thought. The fine or pictorial arts, the sort of painting promoted by the art schools and academies of his day, fail to achieve linguistic sophistication. Decorative art, on the other hand, is a form of picture-writing and therefore able to communicate ideas with all the subtlety of words. And if decoration is a language, then society must reject the expressive void of industrial mass-production and sponsor the return to hand-crafted artifacts, restoring the relationship between the artist as speaker and the artwork as utterance.

Crane was optimistic that such a return would come about. A fervent Darwinist, he





Figure 5. Walter Crane, *The Sirens Three, A Poem* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1886), [np., stanzas cxxvii–cxxix]

believed that society could evolve toward a better, fairer balance of wealth and labour, and toward a renaissance of the applied arts. He also believed that it would evolve away from its dependence on an arid combination of naturalistic painting and visually illiterate text toward a situation where people communicated primarily through pictorial symbols. This prediction built on a model of human development as a spiralling cycle, using an analogy between the growth of the individual and racial development which circulated among Crane's contemporaries. What is interesting in Crane's case is that he applied the model to visual communication. According to his world-view, evolution was spiralling round again to the pre-industrial, pre-textual days of the symbolic word-picture – the sort of pristine, visual eloquence demonstrated by his children's books.⁶

Crane's prophetic sense of return helps to make sense of his fascination with fairy tales. He was not retreating from public life, as some critics have assumed. Rather, he believed that fairy tales preserve the traces of early civilizations, and that children, who are miniatures of the human race, have direct access to that mode of thinking. As curator

Helen Stalker points out, fairy-tale imagery imbues Crane's political cartoons, while his children's illustrations conceal political metaphors. The symbol of a fruit tree recurs in his socialist posters as well as his toy books, a benign Tree of Knowledge feeding children and workers alike. Jack climbs the bean-stalk wearing a Phrygian cap of liberty, a red sun rising behind him, to ransack the wealthy giant's castle. Elves and fairies celebrate May Day under the gloomy eye of goblin Marjoy (organised religion).⁷ Crane's picture-book *Mrs Mundi at Home* (1875) playfully projects his concern for international relations in its parable of war and diplomacy as a society ball, with France and Germany pulling pistols out of party crackers, Bosnia blowing its cork, and Britannia handing out an aloof pax (Figure 4). The interlinking of children's make-believe, adult politics and decorative book design comes across particularly vividly in his poem *The Sirens Three* (1886), a long, dream allegory of human suffering and socialist redemption (Figure 5). The poem's imagery of knights and dragons parallels the fantasy world of *Pothooks and Perseverance* (Figure 2), published the same year, but it extends Crane's educational method to an adult readership. In both books, the text is decentred, incorporated into the overall design of the page in such a way as to emphasise the visuality of the reading process.

Crane the traveller turned instinctively to metaphors of journeying when he predicted the renaissance of book illustration. 'The point is reached', he explained:

when the jaded intellect would fain return again to picture-writing and welcomes the decorator and the illustrator to relieve the desert wastes of words marshalled in interminable columns on the printed page. In a journey through a book it is pleasant to reach the oasis of a picture or an ornament, to sit awhile under the palms [...] thus we end as we begin, with images.⁸

Crane carried with him a portmanteau philosophy which linked social equality, evolution and the decorative arts. His children's books embodied these ideals through their actual appeal to the learning eye of the very young reader, and their symbolic appeal to a rejuvenated society. They put into practice his call for a return to design, and they renewed the genre of

children's illustration just when he anticipated that society as a whole would rediscover its infant way of seeing things.

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From 2004 to 2007, Dr Brockington held a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at Clare Hall, Cambridge, researching the interface between internationalism and the arts at the fin de siècle. In July 2006, she convened an international conference on the subject of her research, and is preparing an edited collection of essays arising from this event, to be published by Peter Lang in 2008.

Dr Brockington is currently Lecturer in the Department of History of Art at the University of Bristol.

Notes

- ¹ Walter Crane, 'Notes on My Own Books for Children', *The Imprint* 1 (Jan–June 1913): 81–36, p. 81.
- ² JMD Meiklejohn, *The Problem of Teaching to Read Restated and Attempted to be Solved with Suggestions for Methods and Plans* (London; Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1879), p. 12.
- ³ Nellie Dale, *On the Teaching of English Reading, with a Running Commentary on the Walter Crane Readers* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1898), p. 34.
- ⁴ Nellie Dale, *Further Notes on the Teaching of English Reading, with a Running Commentary on the Dale Readers, Book I* (London: George Philip & Son, 1902), p. 14.
- ⁵ Dale, *On the Teaching of English Reading*, pp. 19, 58.
- ⁶ Walter Crane, *The Claims of Decorative Art* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892), p. 107.
- ⁷ *Sleeping Beauties: Walter Crane and the Illustrated Book*, an exhibition currently showing at the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, May 2007–March 2008.
- ⁸ Walter Crane, *Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1972), p. 16.

Progress in Understanding 'Tone Deafness'

Karen Wise, Professor John Sloboda FBA, and Professor Isabelle Peretz describe recent research into the condition of tone deafness, or 'congenital amusia', and consider the phenomenon of those who are not apparently tone deaf but who classify themselves as such.

Human beings are intrinsically musical. Music exists in every society; it is used to entertain, to persuade and to unite, for rituals and to mark important occasions; it can evoke profound feelings or simply make a workaday task pass more pleasantly.

We do not need any special training to relate to music in these ways. We are born with the perceptual capacities necessary to respond to musical sounds and over the first few years of life we come to know how the music of our culture works through our everyday encounters with it. That is, we learn to make sense of it by internalising its rules and structures, in a similar way to learning our native language. This implicit knowledge makes us sense, for example, the 'wrongness' of an out-of-key note. Most of us also have a large memory store of music, such that we can easily recognise a familiar tune. We often also recall information about it (its title, composer or artist) and the associations it has for us ('darling, they're playing our tune').

These abilities to understand and remember music are taken for granted by most of us, but there are a few people for whom these experiences are elusive. A music perception disorder occurring in otherwise healthy and normal adults was recently identified by Isabelle Peretz and colleagues in Montreal. They have named it 'congenital amusia'. Those affected have severe difficulties in basic musical tasks such as recognising familiar tunes, spotting wrong notes or changes to a tune, tapping with the beat and singing. By contrast they have no difficulties recognising other sounds and voices, or understanding speech prosody. Research is still in the relatively early stages, but here it seems is a group of people with a music-specific learning disability – the genuinely 'tone deaf'.

But that is not the whole story. The current estimate for the incidence of congenital amusia in the population – though this has yet to be verified by any large-scale studies – is 4%. But according to recent research, around 17% of Western adults consider themselves to be tone deaf. Most are not congenitally amusic by current criteria, so what is their story? Two obvious possibilities immediately present themselves. One is that the self-defined tone deaf have difficulties that are not assessed by the current measures. Another is that for some reason they believe they have difficulties when in fact they do not. Testing the former possibility requires identifying areas of omission and devising new measures. Testing the latter possibility also requires that any assessments used are indeed comprehensive. We have therefore devised new subtests for the standard assessment measure for congenital amusia, the Montreal Battery of Evaluation of Amusia (MBEA). In order to explain our strategy it is important first of all to give some theoretical context.

Musical ability is multidimensional

The term amusia is used almost exclusively in the neurological literature to refer to specific loss of musical abilities following brain injury, in analogy to the term aphasia for loss of linguistic functions. Like linguistic functions, musical functions can broadly be categorised into perception, production, memory and reading/writing. Clinical evidence, largely from case studies of brain injured patients, points to the existence of separable neural networks, or modules, specialised for specific aspects of musical and linguistic processes. A patient can lose musical functions while language functions remain intact, and vice versa. Furthermore, different aspects of musical (and linguistic) function can be separately disrupted. For example, different networks seem to process time information (rhythm and metre) and pitch information. Congenital amusia is conceptualised within models of music processing derived from these clinical studies, but occurs in the absence of known brain injury.


The Montreal Battery of Evaluation of Amusia

The MBEA was originally designed for use with brain injured patients to assess the main aspects of music perception. Normed for use with congenitally amusic persons, it contains 6 subtests assessing aspects of melodic processing, temporal processing and memory.

Melodic processing:	Scale Interval Contour
Temporal processing:	Rhythm Metre
Memory:	Incidental memory

Figure 1. Construction of the MBEA

Below are examples of a standard melody in the battery, and an altered version of it for the Scale test. The altered note (marked by an asterisk) is an out-of-key note and very noticeable to most people.



For the Interval test, a note of the melody is altered to another in the same key, while preserving the direction of the melody's movement. In the Contour test the altered note changes the contour – a note that goes higher relative to the previous one is changed to go down, or vice versa. In the Rhythm test a note is displaced in time. This changes its temporal relationship to the notes either side, and our perception of note groupings. In each of these four tests, altered notes can be anywhere in the melody except the first or last note.

Sound examples can be found at http://www.brams.umontreal.ca/plab/research/Stimuli/mbea_variety/mbea_variety_stimuli.html

The stimuli in the battery are derived from thirty specially-composed melodies. In the first four tests listed, participants hear a melody played twice, the second time either with or without an alteration (see figure 1). The task is to identify whether the two renditions are the same or different. In the metre test participants hear a longer harmonised version of each tune and are asked to identify whether it is a 'waltz' or a 'march'. In the memory test participants are asked to identify tunes previously heard in the battery from among unheard foils. All the tests are preceded by practice attempts on which the participants receive feedback to make sure they understand what is required. The general population perform very well on

these tests, scoring on average around 86% correct over the whole battery. People with congenital amusia perform very poorly by comparison, often around chance level. The criterion for determining congenital amusia is a score of two standard deviations below the score of the general population.

We identified two elements of music reception not covered that are essential for a complete assessment. All the above tests except the metre test use single-line melodies, of a sort rarely heard in recorded music, where there is normally the added richness and complexity of harmony. Secondly, a primary reason for music listening is its emotional content. We therefore devised two new tests: Harmony and Emotion.

The Harmony Test

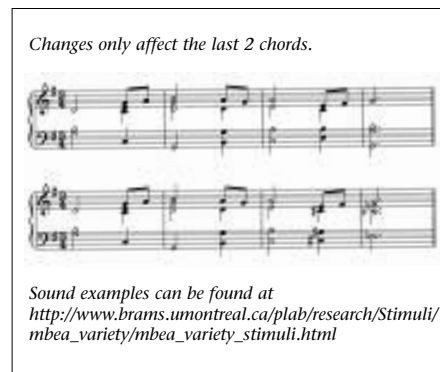
To respond to harmony we draw on our internalised mental representations (known in psychology as schemata) of the rules of music. When we hear a musical sequence we generate expectations, based on our prior knowledge, of what is likely to come next. We respond to the violation or fulfilment of those expectations; too much predictability and we might perceive the music as boring, too much violation of the rules and the music may become difficult to relate to. This latter scenario happens for many people when listening to *avant garde* music that dispenses with conventional Western tonal rules altogether.

It is thought that congenital amusia arises from a neurological deficit that makes it difficult to perceive small changes in pitch. People with congenital amusia often cannot detect pitch changes of the same size as the smallest pitch change in music – a semitone. Inability to perceive this basic building block of music would logically result in disruption of the development of schemata for pitch-based musical rules. We therefore expected that congenital amusics would be impaired in processing harmony as they are on the other pitch-based tests.

To test this we took the melodies of the MBEA and gave them a simple chordal accompaniment. Three harmonisations of each tune were produced by changing just the last two chords (the cadence). 'A' versions used a highly conventional ending, finishing on the key chord, with either a dominant or subdominant chord preceding it. These types

of ending are the most common in western music, and give the subjective impression of sounding 'finished'. The final two chords in 'B' versions were from the right key, but were not the usual expected chords for an ending, thus sounding mildly unexpected and 'unfinished'. Finally, 'C' versions used chords from outside the key, that is, made up of 'wrong' notes. These versions severely violate expectations and are therefore subjectively jarring. We checked that the A, B and C harmonisations were indeed perceived as conventional, mildly unconventional and highly unconventional respectively by playing them to naïve listeners. It should be noted that these effects are due entirely to the musical context, as each chord was a conventional major or minor chord and would thus be harmonious if played in isolation.

Figure 2. A conventionally harmonised ('A' version) tune and below it its highly unconventional alternative ('C' version)



In testing, pairs of stimuli were presented for a 'same-different' judgement to be consistent with the other subtests. Same pairs were always A-A (the conventional version repeated), while different pairs were either A-B or A-C.

We found that as predicted, amusics scored very poorly compared to controls. In addition, controls were sensitive to the degree of strangeness, with more correct responses to the A-C pairs than the A-B pairs, while the amusics were equally poor at both.

The Emotion Test

The question of whether people with congenital amusia respond emotionally to music in a similar way to the general population is thorny. Many report having no interest in music, and some even dislike and

actively avoid it. Given amusics' problems with pitch-based tasks, including harmony perception, we needed to find a way of testing their emotion perception without this being reliant on pitch and harmony cues. The logic behind our test is this: performers can reliably convey basic emotions such as happiness, sadness, anger, fear and tenderness, in different performances of the same tune. They do this by varying parameters such as speed, volume, timbre, attack and articulation. These cues are similar to those that convey emotions in the human voice. Since amusics have no problems understanding speech prosody, we expected that they would be able to use these cues to distinguish differences in emotional intention between different performances of the same melody.

We asked a professional violinist to record each of the 30 melodies in 5 ways: sad, very sad, neutral, happy and very happy. We then asked naïve listeners to judge the emotion of the performances, in order to filter out any melodies whose inherent characteristics prevented them being perceived with different emotions (e.g. a sad tune that cannot be made to sound happy). Performances with the clearest emotional tone were paired up for a same-different task as before. Neutral versions were dropped because the lack of emotion was difficult for the violinist to portray and for listeners to identify. Same pairs were therefore made up of two performances of the same melody with the same emotional tone, but never the same performance twice – for example, happy-very happy. Different pairs were one sad and one happy performance.

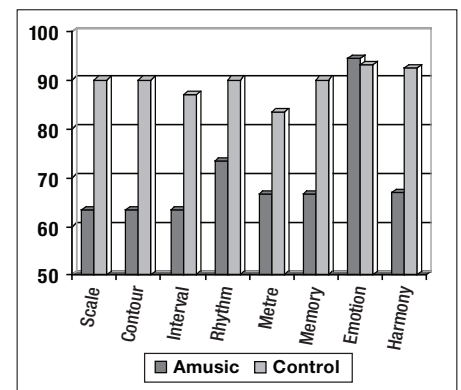


Figure 3. Graph showing the performance of amusics and controls on the six original tests of the MBEA and the new Emotion and Harmony tests

Results showed that in contrast to the other MBEA tests, the amusics performed as well as the controls. Figure 3 illustrates this in a graph of performance across all MBEA tests, old and new. There is therefore at least one aspect of musical understanding in which congenital amusics are unimpaired, where this understanding does not depend on pitch. There is a possibility that they were making the judgement based on a musically irrelevant cue such as length of the stimuli – the sad performances were markedly slower than the happy performances. A version of the test is currently being prepared with equal lengths of stimuli to rule out this possibility. Perhaps more importantly, we did not ask the participants to actually identify the emotions conveyed, and cannot tell much from this test about the emotions they themselves experience when listening to music.

Self-defined tone deafness

As mentioned at the beginning, a significant proportion of adults believe themselves to be tone deaf. The majority of them are not congenitally amusic based on the MBEA in its original form. When we tested a group of self-defined tone deaf (TD) participants with the two new tests, we found that like the amusics they performed as well as controls in the Emotion test. In the Harmony test, they performed much better than amusics and slightly, but significantly worse than controls in statistical terms. This pattern is the same in the original MBEA tests, however, it must be emphasised that the difference between the TD and controls is slight – around 83% correct as opposed to 86% – and their

performance is very dissimilar to that of the amusics. At present the reason for the small difference between the TD and controls is not clear; there are similar numbers of low-scoring participants in both the TD and control groups who might be amusic.

In order to gain more insight into self-defined tone deafness, it made sense to us to ask people, both TD and not, about what tone deafness meant to them. From interviews we learned that to most people, tone deafness means a perceived inability to sing. Those who applied the label to themselves often reported negative experiences and embarrassment so acute they had excluded themselves from any further participation. One respondent said, ‘Mother would have loved me to have joined the church choir so I went ... and I was told “you can’t sing” and I’ve never sung since. I’ve mimed all the way through my life really.’

At the beginning of the project one of our original intentions was to develop the extended MBEA into a version that could be made available to members of the public to self-administer. The aim would be to reassure a normal but musically unconfident population that they are not musically deficient, and provide encouragement to people who have (sometimes with great regret) given up on any hope of musical achievement and participation. However, the MBEA cannot reassure people that they can sing. In a parallel project at Keele University we have therefore been developing a broader battery of assessments to include production tasks (speech and singing) as well as

exploring people’s views of their musical abilities, with the aim of determining more precisely the nature and causes of self-defined tone deafness.

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Word Comprehension in Younger and Older Adults: When is a Difference a Deficit?

Dr Meredith Shafto is engaged on a long-term project to understand the cognitive changes that happen as we age. In the article below, she describes her current work on language comprehension.

As the world’s population continues to age, there is an increasing interest in the cognitive changes that occur with normal ageing. Because language is a critical everyday skill,

and language deficits are closely associated to general cognitive deficits, a number of researchers focus on how language abilities may be affected by normal ageing. It is clear from this research that although some aspects of language decline, others do not, and it is not trivial to identify the factors that underpin spared and impaired language function. Even at the level of understanding a single word, there are a number of difficulties. One issue that is not always

adequately addressed is how to separate deficits due to *cognitive ageing* from changes that reflect what we might term *language expertise*. On one hand, older adults do suffer declines in some cognitive abilities which may be necessary for good language performance. On the other hand, older adults have decades’ more experience with language than young people, and even understanding a single word can be strongly influenced by this experience.

I have conducted a series of experiments focusing on word comprehension in old age, which were completed in Oxford and Cambridge as part of two British Academy funded projects. These experiments are part of a growing literature which seeks to identify the conditions under which fundamental language comprehension processes may differ between younger and older adults. The results highlight the difficulty of both identifying reliable age differences and interpreting them.

Language and ageing: Why does it matter?

Common beliefs about older adults' language abilities are not often complimentary. Popular images are often of older speakers distracted by fond memories, wandering off the topic, and forgetting the names of key figures in the story. Equally negative stereotypes exist about older adults' ability to understand what is said to them, with an enduring image of older listeners who have missed the point of the conversation because they cannot follow it quickly enough, they are out of touch with modern terminology and topics, or perhaps they are simply deaf, distracted, or demented.

The persistence of negative beliefs about older adults' language skills can have a real impact on how they are treated. For example, younger adults sometimes adopt a style of speech when addressing older adults termed *elderspeak*, which involves simpler sentences, slower speech, and exaggerated intonation. This style comes from the speaker's belief that older adults require more communicative support than average, and it shares a lot in common with how people speak to babies and pets. Sadly, in response to being spoken to in this manner, older adults can come to believe that they have more communication problems,¹ leading to a vicious circle of declining confidence and social withdrawal.

Research on language and ageing does not support a universal decline in language comprehension in old age, but when differences between age groups are found, it is often assumed that any deviation from the younger pattern reflects impairment. However, it is possible that some age-related differences may not be age-related deficits. For example, although older adults may wander off topic, this may be due to their desire to be interesting rather than efficient story-tellers;

indeed, older adults' stories are rated more favourably than younger adults' stories by both young and older adults.² This reinterpretation creates two very different explanations of age-related differences in language comprehension: first that older adults suffer declines in some aspect of the fundamental content, structure, or function of their language systems; or second, that older adults' behaviour reflects their greater experience processing language.

Representing a word

In order to examine word comprehension in old age, we must begin with a model of how words and ideas are represented in the mind. There are a number of such models, but many share core characteristics, and Figure 1a shows a schematic of how word knowledge may be represented. Note that words are associated with features (e.g., *dog-pet*), and that words and features are interconnected. Thus, unlike a mental 'dictionary' with separated entries, most researchers agree that word knowledge exists in a mental *network*. This network is flexible and Figure 1b represents what types of changes happen with experience: new words are added (e.g., *ostrich*), new information is learned about existing words (e.g., *bear – found in the arctic*), new connections are formed between ideas (e.g., *dog – can be dangerous*), and existing connections are strengthened through repeated use (e.g., *bear – animal*). Modifications to this network occur not only in childhood when language is first acquired, but throughout the lifetime; for example,

vocabulary knowledge continues to increase in adulthood up to very old age.³

Effects of experience on word comprehension

There are a number of effects of experience that do not require a lifetime of language use, but are highly reliable in young adults and capture fundamental aspects of the structure and function of a network of word knowledge.

Word frequency. Perhaps not surprisingly, words that are more frequent in the language (like *dog* and *chicken*) are comprehended more quickly than less frequent words (like *ostrich*). A word's frequency is usually calculated from public sources like newspapers and radio shows, but ultimately it depends on each individual's experience of the language: *ostrich* is a low frequency word in English generally, but not for an ostrich farmer.

Semantic priming. In Figures 1a and 1b, words are connected to each other via the features that they share (e.g., *animal*) which means that when *bear* is activated, some activity is passed to *dog*. The *semantic priming effect* refers to the finding that this shared activity can speed up the comprehension of the related word (*dog*) compared to an unrelated word. For example, after reading *bear*, you will read *dog* faster than you will read *pencil*. Just like the frequency of the word, measurements of the similarity of two words are made for English generally, but the effect ultimately depends on what connections an

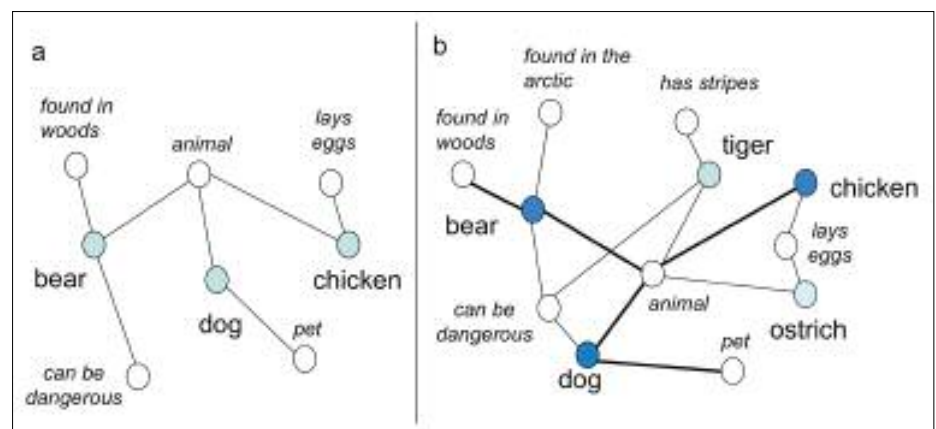


Figure 1. (a) A schematic representation of word knowledge. Note that words have associated features (*dog-pet*) and that words are connected via shared features (*dog and bear are both animals*). (b) A schematic representing the effect of experience on the network in Figure 1a. New words are added to the network (*ostrich, tiger*), new connections to features have been formed (*dog-can be dangerous*), some words are higher frequency than others (represented with darker shades of blue) and some connections are stronger than others (represented with thicker lines)

individual forms and strengthens between two words.

Top-down effects. Roughly speaking, the influence of ‘top-down’ processing during language comprehension reflects the use of prior knowledge to influence understanding. For example, when you first arrive at work you might be quicker to comprehend ‘Good morning’ than ‘Good evening’ because you expect ‘morning’ to follow ‘good’ at the beginning of the day. Although that is a simple example, top-down processing is important for many levels of language comprehension, from helping people understand speech in a noisy room, to lending a sense of overarching structure to a story.

The three effects outlined above are important for evaluating language in old age, because each effect reflects a basic aspect of word comprehension which may be affected by age, but each effect is also highly influenced by linguistic experience. Thus, these effects provide particularly good candidates for highlighting the difficulty of interpreting age-related differences in comprehension tasks.

Comprehending words in old age: impairment or expertise?

Word Frequency. Older adults do not always show the same effect of word frequency as younger adults; for example, in some studies older adults show only a small or negligible difference between the time to read a low frequency and high frequency word. Age-related decline in an effect which is normally robust questions the integrity of a basic aspect of comprehension in old age. However, this age difference can also be explained by age-related increases in word knowledge. In short, compared to younger adults, older adults have more practice with uncommon words, narrowing the gap between low and high frequency words. Put another way, younger adults may not yet be familiar with low frequency words, especially if they are very unusual. This suggestion is supported by the finding that younger adults’ spelling accuracy is more affected by the word’s frequency than older adults’.⁴ In a related experiment I conducted in Oxford, older and younger adults showed very similar effects of frequency when detecting spelling errors, with spelling errors more difficult to

detect in low frequency (e.g., *damsel*) compared to high frequency (e.g., *medical*) words. The lack of an age difference in my study may be because error detection is easier than the spelling task used previously, or because the low frequency words I used were still common enough to be familiar to younger adults – in any case, there is little support for the notion that older adults suffer a deficit the way they process word frequency.

Semantic priming. Understanding the effect of age or experience on semantic priming is complicated by mixed results in the literature. Some researchers report a larger priming effect in old age: to use our earlier example, after reading *bear*, young people are faster to read *dog* compared to *pencil*, and this difference is larger for older adults. However, other researchers report no effect of age on the size of the priming effect. Recent research I carried out with colleagues in Cambridge has begun to elucidate some of the factors underlying these mixed results. We found that when the related words share features (e.g., *brush-broom*), there is no age difference in the size of the semantic priming effect. However, when the related words are often associated with each other but don’t share meaning (e.g., *elbow-grease*), there was a larger priming effect for older adults compared to younger adults. Previous experiments have tended to use a mixture of the two types of relatedness, and this may have led to unreliable age differences. However, if older adults do have larger priming effects under some conditions, the question still remains as to why. Some researchers suggest this reflects cognitive decline, as enlarged priming effects are also found in patients with Alzheimer’s Disease. An alternative is that increased priming reflects older adults’ more numerous and stronger connections between words (as seen by comparing Figures 1a and 1b); it is the strength and number of these connections that determines the effect of priming.⁵

Top-down effects. Although experience can affect comprehension of a word in isolation or in relation to one other word, *top-down processing* can have an even greater effect when the word appears in a sentence or a story. An overall representation of an ongoing story is called a *situation model*, and

while it contains information about the relationship between elements of a story in time and place (e.g., which character has the knife and where she is in the house), it does not necessarily include much specific linguistic information (e.g., the exact wording of the first sentence). Past research has demonstrated that older adults not only form situation models as readily as younger adults, but they may use this level of information *more* than younger adults⁶. This age difference may indicate an age-related impairment whereby older adults are forced to rely on their expectations and the gist of the story, because they are no longer able to remember detail accurately. An alternative explanation is that the situation model is the level at which people, young and old, strive to understand a story; by prioritising this level of processing instead of trying to memorise a story verbatim, older adults are demonstrating their expertise in language processing.⁶

What follows from this possibility is an unexpected prediction: if experience leads to more top-down processing, experts on a subject may actually be *worse* in some circumstances at detecting changes in specific details. Indeed, when asked to memorise a list of words about investment banking, people with banking expertise suffer more memory errors than novices,⁷ an unexpected finding that can be understood in terms of top-down processing: whereas novices must rely on verbatim memory, experts use their experience to decide what words they *expect* on the list, and this can easily lead them to ‘remember’ words that were not on the list.

An experiment I conducted in Oxford tested the notion that if older adults use top-down processing more, under specific circumstances this could impair their ability to process the meaning of words. Older and younger adults proofread passages for either spelling errors (e.g., *overhead* for *overhaed*) or errors in meaning (e.g., *sun* for *moon*). Older adults were just as good at detecting the spelling errors, and thus were not generally impaired at attending to specific details. However, older adults were worse at noticing the errors in meaning, which is in keeping with the notion that they are more influenced by top-down factors – that is, when it came to the meaning of the passage,

Subject	Older adults worse than younger adults	Older adults as good as or better than younger adults
Vocabulary	What is the word for formally renouncing the throne? _____	What is the word for formally renouncing the throne? a) Inherit b) Coronation c) Abdicate
Spelling	Spell this word to dictation: "blatancy"	Is this word misspelled? blatency
Proofreading stories	Circle the error in meaning: <i>In the Himalayas, owing to a far greater range between day and night temperatures, and the fact that the moon is almost directly overhead at noon...</i>	Circle the error in spelling : <i>In the Himalayas, owing to a far greater range between day and night temperatures, and the fact that the sun is almost directly overhaed at noon...</i>

Figure 2. Some examples of how the successful use of older adults' knowledge depends on the task and the manner of accessing the information. Older adults are worse at producing words to definitions, spelling to dictation, or proofreading for meaning errors. However, they have higher vocabulary scores when assessed in multiple choice tasks, and can detect spelling errors in isolation or in a story context

they understood what they expected to be there. A single study is not conclusive, however, and additional experiments conducted in Cambridge are aimed at further testing the conditions under which older adults process the meaning of a passage differently from younger adults. Preliminary results suggest it may not be as simple as older adults being more affected by the strength of the story's context. For example, recent results indicate that older adults' proofreading ability does not decline with a stronger or more predictive context.

Assessing word knowledge in old age: It matters what test you use

If older adults know so much about language, what drives negative stereotypes and why do older adults complain about forgetting words they used to know? It turns out that in order to find out what older adults really know, you have to be careful about *how* you assess their knowledge. Figure 2 highlights some of these issues in the context of vocabulary, spelling,

and story proofreading abilities. Older adults have difficulty when information must be produced, as when spelling a word to dictation, but can demonstrate their knowledge in other ways. An experiment I conducted in Oxford demonstrated that older adults were worse at producing a correction to a spelling error, but confirmed previous research⁸ that older adults are just as good as younger adults at detecting the spelling errors – indicating knowledge of the correct spelling.

Conclusions

There is a growing interest in language in old age, which reflects the importance of language efficacy for everyday life, and the link between declining language abilities and general cognitive decline. It is clear from research to date that patronising speech styles such as elderspeak are not necessary for older adults to comprehend language, and do not reflect older adults' real linguistic ability. More research on comprehension in old age

is necessary to examine fundamental issues about the representation and use of word knowledge as we age. The role of experience must be taken into account, and researchers in this and other areas of ageing research should be careful not to assume every difference between age groups is a deficit for older adults.

Dr Shafto has received support through the Small Research Grants scheme to finance her ongoing studies.

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Should We Notice Researchers Outside the University?

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THE PRIME CENTRES for generating and authorising knowledge are the universities – or so anyway it is widely assumed. The university is ‘the key knowledge-producing institution’, as a familiar phrase has it, holding a near monopoly over the ‘ownership and transmission of established knowledge, and validation of new knowledge’.¹ In today’s Britain visibility for university research is guaranteed by government financing policies, not least through the highly publicised official Research Assessment Exercises where higher education institutions compete among themselves, propagating the impression that research is quintessentially conducted within university walls. An influential report asserts categorically that assessing universities’ and colleges’ research provides ‘comprehensive and definitive information on the quality of UK research in each subject area’ and thus captures the ‘UK research system’ as a whole.²

But is this analysis justified?

The question is of some moment given the debates now raging about the role of universities in this age of greater access, of interactive web communication, of the modern ‘knowledge society’, and (arguably) of the plurality and challengeable status of knowledge. For what is so often omitted from these far-ranging debates is precisely the substantial presence of researchers working *outside* universities whose contribution to knowledge-creation is sometimes as serious, original and carefully-tested as that of academics.

Some instances leap to the eye once you start looking. Industrial firms, government, research institutes, think tanks, Royal Commissions, survey organisations, newspapers, broadcasting – all are settings in which research takes place. And besides those more professional environments are the huge numbers of independent researchers whose

activities may well be familiar to many readers. Freelance writers produce acclaimed biographies and histories while family historians crowd local record offices and expertly tap the web. Up and down the country skilled bird watchers chart and investigate bird migrations and ecological patterns, natural history societies document and classify botanical species, and amateur archaeologists join in major contributions to our knowledge of the past. Not only are detailed excavations undertaken and written up by local societies but there have also been striking national projects. One such was the massive archaeological survey *The Defence of Britain* coordinated by the Council for British Archaeology between 1995 and 2002. During that time some 600 largely amateur researchers recorded details of nearly 20,000 twentieth-century military sites, in the process revolutionising our understanding of British anti-invasion defences.³ And in the



Some titles by scholars working outside the university. The books' authors cover a wide range, including freelance researchers supporting themselves mainly or entirely from their writing or teaching, those in other occupations researching in their spare time, collaborative researchers associated with some specialist organisation, and scholars primarily working outside academe but from time to time associated with universities or holding formal research awards

field sciences generally – in botany, geology, ornithology, palaeontology, agronomy, and many others – amateur and professional researchers have long interacted or merged, and do so still with the more ‘amateur’ end of the continuum by no means always the less significant.⁴

History is another rich field for independent researchers, both individual and team-based. Sometimes this has involved working at a local level but with wider relevance, well illustrated in the research into the agricultural disturbances of 1830–32 (the ‘Swing Riots’) which notably extended and enriched Hobsbawm and Rudé’s earlier account.⁵ This was a collaborative research project initiated and managed by members of the Family and Community Historical Research Society, with academic advice and editing by a freelance historian. It was carried out by a geographically scattered network of 41 independent researchers, members of the Society, working on local records in England, Scotland and Wales and communicating their findings through email.⁶

Work by non-university researchers in fact spans an astonishing range. It runs from local history to entomology and microscopy, cartography to seismology and theology, philosophy to contemporary history and current affairs. Astronomy, zoology, geography, literary analysis, folklore, analyses of space data – all are carried forward by researchers from outside academe as well as within it. The *Scientific American’s* ‘Amateur Scientist’ columns regularly document innovative projects and instrumentation, and thousands of expert amateur astronomers work in global research networks in partnership with the professionals. Modern communication technologies open new opportunities for collaboration, and for interaction among what has been called the new breed of ‘pro-am’ enthusiasts.⁷ The open-source Linux system was famously forged collaboratively by thousands of fellow enthusiasts, as were the Firefox browser and Moodle virtual-learning environment. Meanwhile internet publications are being constructed by contributors from variegated backgrounds, both specialist and other, and bloggers actively build and debate knowledge on the web.

Why do accounts of knowledge creation so frequently ignore these non-university

researchers? One reason perhaps lies in their diversity. They are scarcely an easily identifiable or uniform sector, shading as they do on one side into hobbyists and dabblers, on another into fully committed researchers, sometimes with university connections or aspirations. The boundaries between ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’, ‘independent’ and ‘institutional’, ‘work’ and ‘leisure’, are in any case notoriously – and perhaps increasingly – murky and elusive.

But probably just as important are the ideologies and hierarchies surrounding the

Bird watchers at Cley. (Courtesy Dawn Balmer/BTO).

The long tradition of amateur natural science continues in the present as tens of thousands of amateur ornithologists conduct fieldwork, take part in surveys in cooperation with the British Trust for Ornithology, organise individual projects, and contribute to new advances in macroecological research.¹³



concept of knowledge and its creators. Both ‘research’ and ‘knowledge’ – value-laden terms indeed – can be used to convey implicit messages about the status of particular forms of inquiry and who should control them. I well recall the neat rhyme about the nineteenth-century master of Balliol I heard circulating in Oxford in the mid-twentieth century:

I’m the Master, Benjamin Jowett
There’s no knowledge but I know it.
I am Master of this college
What I don’t know isn’t knowledge.

The precise coverage of what counts as ‘knowledge’ may have changed since Jowett’s day. But comparable definitions still draw us unawares to notice some things (and some people), but not others.

Thus something labelled ‘amateur’ – unpaid, outside the official statistics – is regularly brushed out of the ‘real’ research world. So too with the extensive production of knowledge in industrial settings, obscured by the constant thrust to set the university

researchers at the centre of the picture. ‘Knowledge-transfer’ is mostly publicised as *from academics’ research to production sites* (not the other way round), and business as the *recipient* of the ‘knowledge and expertise that universities and colleges create and accumulate’.⁸ British universities nowadays lean towards re-defining ‘research’ as constituting only those outputs likely to earn them high grades in the official Research Assessments, in effect ruling out everything (and everyone) else as not ‘really’ research.

Changing and contested definitions of what counts as knowledge and who is entitled to capture it are nothing new. But in considering the current paradigms, it is worth recalling that it has often been those *outside* established institutions that have taken the lead in exploiting new technologies, methods, or fields of study. To mention just one example among many, the now internationally known research on the culture of children by the independent scholar Iona Opie developed almost wholly outside the universities. Working together with her husband Peter she produced a string of pioneering publications, not only on nursery rhymes but, in the great quartet between 1959 and 1997, on children’s lore and games more widely. Their collections and commentaries were based in rigorous and almost unbelievably comprehensive research not only from documentary sources but also from first-hand fieldwork using unobtrusive conversation and observation with children in playgrounds and streets all over Britain. Material was collected from 5000 school-

children for one book, 10,000 for the next, supplemented by correspondence with thousands of teachers and others throughout the country. When the Opies were conducting this then-innovative research the topic of children's culture was scarcely if at all recognised as fit subject for university interest. It is in large part due to their pioneering work *outside* the walls of academe that it has now become established *within* them.

From 'science' in the nineteenth century (classed as lacking the mental rigour of established disciplines like classics or mathematics) to more recent fields like astrophysics, African literature, oral history, popular music, women's studies, dance studies and much else, the founding scholars in fact commonly started outside conventional curricula and recognition. Amateurs and outsiders can venture, riskily, beyond disciplinary prescriptions and regurgitations to strike out in new directions.

In the current regime, then, should we be asking whether the extramural researchers are sometimes less fettered than those constrained within the universities? Some of the most creative research, it has been suggested, may now be coming from beyond academe, in places where the heterogeneity of knowledge production can have full play rather than, as Peter Scott puts it, in settings 'from which all forms of contestation that do not conform to scholarly and scientific practice are excluded'.¹⁰

Not that researching outside academe is always easy. Independent researchers can have problems accessing the kinds of funding, libraries, labs, equipment, networking or even in some cases electronic databases that come more freely to those signed up in the university sector. The plethora of special-interest associations and networks give some support, some of them straddling university walls, and individuals sometimes find backstairs ways into university resources. Others tap the marketplace through writing, teaching or consultancy. The British Academy has a reasonable record here, sometimes electing independent researchers as Fellows (Iona Opie in 1998 for example) or encouraging them to apply for certain research grant schemes. But many official bodies take a

different line, and confine their recognition and resourcing to researchers within the university sector. Support for the free pursuit of knowledge celebrated in many university visions is not always readily extended to the active world of researchers outside the university walls, and in general the dominant ideologies and conditions are inimical to, at best negligent of, their needs.



Some non-university bodies organising or sponsoring research.

One key question will no doubt be nagging at many readers – the credibility of this extra-mural researching. In the absence of the tried and trusted standards of university endorsement can we really take this externally conducted work seriously?

This is a complex issue which there is not space to pursue very far here.¹¹ But it should at least be said that, contrary perhaps to expectation, these extra-university knowledge processes are not necessarily merely idiosyncratic or without their own forms of validation and checking. The criteria and frames of reference may often be implicit rather than verbalised, and applied in variegated and often multiple and overlapping ways. And – as within universities too?... – some researchers are clearly vastly more competent and conscientious than others. But amidst the diversities particular fields develop relatively shared standards and expectations, responsive to accreditation brought by specific people, locations, topics, methodologies, or outcomes. The 'publics' and audiences looked to are diverse: sometimes large and active, perhaps

practising similar pre-publication refereeing as for any academic-generated offering; sometimes small in-groups who nevertheless provide their own stamp of authority. Many familiar patterns in fact emerge. Among them are an emphasis on acquiring appropriate expertise (learning on the job, sometimes, rather than paper accreditation); on public communication and scrutiny; and on recognition through significant others (sometimes small scale and individual, sometimes formally constituted societies and groups).

Is there after all a radical distinction here from the similarly complex legitimising processes within university settings? Academic practices around the authorising of knowledge are diverse too, again shaped through multiple and sometimes disputed overlapping interests, not excluding the commercial, research-funding and governmental bodies to which researchers can find themselves answerable. Inside as without academe, scrutiny by 'peers' can mean self-referencing insider networks and expectations, supported by selective knowledges and personnel. Validation through making public also looks more slippery now that the pre-screened authorising of hard-print publication – that long-respected vehicle of academic endorsement – can be bypassed by post-publication assessment on the web. Are we, as Ronald Barnett asks,¹² on the verge of a new kind of public and more dialogic space, building and establishing knowledge through debate?

I end up doubtful of whether there really is some marked divide between the processes of knowledge creation outside as against inside the universities. Variegated as both are, they overlap in personnel, fields, ethics, procedures, and in the multiplicity of authority sources to which they appeal. It is true that it would be misplaced either to denigrate the procedures of university-based researchers or to exaggerate those of independent scholars – they are highly diverse after all, some indubitably less careful or committed than others. But it is emphatically not a case of uniformly uncontrolled, haphazard and irresponsible investigators outside universities as against accountable, organised and high-minded researchers within.

Universities will doubtless continue as powerful nodes for the generation, accumulation and evaluation of knowledge, and rightly so. But if there is after all no clearly distinguishable boundary between researchers outside and within academe, then capturing the full range of today's knowledge creation can only be accomplished by going beyond partial and restrictive definitions, and setting universities in this wider context. We need to include in the current debates the immense realm of active players *beyond* university walls, not just in industry, commerce, or think tanks, but in homes, in charities, in associations large and small, in informal groupings and networks – the whole complex spectrum of extra-university researchers. Uneven and sometimes wild no doubt – is that always so untoward? – they play a major role in both extending and consolidating our contemporary world of knowledge.

The issues discussed here were the subject of a public panel discussion, 'Who's Creating Knowledge? The Challenge of Non-University Researchers', held at Queen's University Belfast on 14 March 2007 in partnership between the British Academy, Queen's University Belfast and

the ESRC Festival of Social Science. The event was a partial repeat of one of the same title held at the Academy on 27 June 2006, of which an audio recording is available at

<http://britac.studyserve.com/home/Lecture.asp?ContentContainerID=116>

Notes

- ¹ As expressed (somewhat sceptically) in Peter Scott (ed.) *Higher Education Re-formed*, 2000, p. 191; Stephen McNair, 'Is there a crisis? Does it matter?', in Ronald Barnett, and Anne Griffin (eds) *The End of Knowledge in Higher Education*, 1997, p. 36.
- ² *Review of Research Assessment: Report by Sir Gareth Roberts to the UK Funding Bodies*, 2003, pp. 2, 5.
- ³ See www.britarch.ac.uk/projects/dob/index.html
- ⁴ Elaborated in H. Kuklick and R. E. Kohler (eds) *Science in the Field*, special issue, *Osiris Second Series* 11, 1996 (see esp. p. 5).
- ⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 1969.
- ⁶ Michael Holland 'Swing revisited: the Swing project', *Family and Community History* 7, pp. 87–100; Michael Holland (ed.) *Swing Unmasked. The Agricultural Riots of 1830 to 1832 and their Wider Implications*, 2005; *The Swing Riots CD-ROM*, 2005 [searchable CD-ROM database with

detailed findings, for further information see www.fachrs.com/swing/SwingCD.htm].

- ⁷ Charles Leadbeater and Paul Miller, *The Pro-Am Revolution. How Enthusiasts are Changing our Economy and Society*, Demos, 2004.
- ⁸ J-P. Gaudillière and I. Löwy, I. (eds) *The Invisible Industrialist. Manufactures and the Production of Scientific Knowledge*, 1998, p. 5; Higher Education Funding Council for England, *Council Briefing*, 54, 2004, pp. 1, 2.; see also Michael Eraut, *Developing Professional Knowledge and Competence*, 1994.
- ⁹ Their many books include *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, 1959, *Children's Games in Street and Playground*, 1969, *The Singing Game*, 1985, *Children's Games with Things*, 1997.
- ¹⁰ In D. Warner and D. Palfreyman (eds) *The State of UK Higher Education: Managing Change and Diversity*, 2001, p. 200.
- ¹¹ Discussed further in Ruth Finnegan (ed.) *Participating in the Knowledge Society: Researchers Beyond the University Walls*, 2005, esp. pp. 10ff.
- ¹² Ronald Barnett, 'Re-opening research: new amateurs or new professionals?', in Finnegan, *Participating*.
- ¹³ Jeremy J. D. Greenwood, 'Science with a team of thousands: the British Trust for Ornithology', in Finnegan, *Participating*.

Languages Matter

Professor Marian Hobson FBA reports on the various activities the Academy is undertaking to draw attention to the crisis in language learning.

THERE HAS been a sharp decline in the number of pupils in England taking a GCSE qualification in a modern language. These numbers have been falling since 2001 even when a language GCSE was compulsory. This decline was exacerbated by the Government's decision to make language learning optional from 2004 onwards for pupils aged 14+: in the period from 2004 to 2006, the proportion of all pupils taking a language at GCSE fell from 68 to 51 per cent. Similarly, A2 level entries for languages have declined since 1996. As a result, the proportion of pupils taking French at A2 level has fallen from 10.4% in 1996 to 4.7% in 2006; and the comparable figures for German are 4.3% to 2.1%.

Fewer language students at GCSE means fewer students at A-level and degree level, with a potentially extremely damaging effect

on the supply not only of secondary and primary school teachers but also of higher education researchers. Secondary schools are letting their language teachers go, or are not filling vacancies as they arise; and an increasing number of language departments at universities and colleges are being closed. The results damage the provision of language-based degrees. Potentially more serious will be the concomitant decline in the standard to which many other university subjects in the humanities and social sciences, including history, literature, and many aspects of social and economic inquiry, can be studied. Moreover, the decline in languages also affects the science base, as significant scientific research is conducted and published in languages other than English, and thus undermines the ability of UK scientists to participate in large-scale international

collaborative projects. The Government's decision to make language learning optional for pupils aged 14+ has not only damaged life and work opportunities for many pupils, but also threatens the UK's ability to compete effectively in a global market, and UK research risks becoming increasingly insular in outlook.

The British Academy has on various occasions publicly expressed its concerns about these developments – the most recent being its response to the Government's Review of its Language Strategy which was chaired by Lord Dearing (see www.britac.ac.uk/reports/). Lord Dearing's Review was asked to examine what could be done to encourage pupils to study GCSE or other language courses leading to a recognised qualification. His final report was published in March 2007. Many of the

Academy's recommendations were accepted by Lord Dearing's Review, such as better curricula and examinations, mandatory language learning at primary level, and requiring schools to set performance targets for languages which should be subject to OFSTED review. While Lord Dearing's recommendations are welcome, the Academy fears that they are not sufficient to address the current crisis.

The Government appears to believe that making language learning mandatory at primary school (to be phased in by 2010) will be the quick fix to the crisis we currently face. There are many good reasons why pupils should learn languages at a young age: it not only makes it easier for them to learn a language, but also helps develop skills in their first language, and research findings show that it also brings cognitive and social benefits. These benefits have been recognised for some time by most EC countries, which insist that language learning should be statutory at primary level. The problem with the UK policy is that there is no mandatory continuation into, nor even mandatory correlation with, secondary school education. The fact that secondary schools take pupils from a wide range of primary feeder schools makes it extremely difficult to manage the transition, because there is likely to be a mismatch between the languages offered at primary and secondary level. Pupils may find that they cannot continue the language they studied at primary school, or that they have to mark time while beginners in that language reach their level of attainment. We fear this will have a damaging affect on pupils' morale and their enjoyment of language study. It is a far from efficient use of resources.

While the Government accepts that the recruitment and training of sufficient language teachers to meet the UK's needs is currently a problem, it does not seem to have addressed the fact that the problem is likely to become even more extreme as more and more university language departments are forced to close in response to a the marked decline in the numbers undertaking specialist language degrees. The future health and well-being of language teaching and learning at all levels is dependent upon the availability of teachers. The actions being undertaken, including the introduction of a mandatory

requirement at primary level, will take time to bear fruit and it is already clear that they are not enough on their own to address the crisis in the long-term. In the meantime, a whole generation will be lost to languages, exacerbating the recruitment difficulties that languages are already experiencing, and leading to even greater shortfalls in the number of undergraduates, postgraduates, academic staff and teachers. The crying need for a "joined up" policy on languages has simply not been met.

The Academy flagged these concerns by organising a public discussion, held on 14 May 2007, to be the first of several. The speakers at the discussion were: Haun Saussy, Professor of Chinese at Yale (a specialist, among other things, of Chinese poetry), and a member of the recent US Modern Languages Association committee report on languages in the US (www.mla.org/mlaissuesmajor); Mike Kelly, Professor of French at Southampton, Director for the Subject Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies, co-author of the Nuffield report on Languages and Director of the new HEFCE funded programme, Routes into Languages, which aims to increase the take-up of languages by developing greater cooperation between schools and universities; Richard Hudson, Professor of Linguistics in the University of London, at UCL, who works in linguistics but is also a specialist of the Cushitic language of the north-east Sudan. I chaired the meeting, which attracted a diverse audience, including Lord Dearing and Dr Lid King (the DfES National Director of Languages), along with representatives from interested bodies (such as the Cabinet Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

The meeting generated a lively discussion, and identified the following causes for concern:

- the lead time from the introduction of languages in primary school. This, where it has started, seems to be going on pretty well. But it will be a good while, some five or six years, before these children move into secondary school. How is their language knowledge to be maintained once they move? Is this being dovetailed into what goes on in secondary school, when schools are often short of money? Are the languages learned in primary and

available at the secondary school even being coordinated?

- the view that languages are mere tools – They are far more. They are deeply connected with the way we handle our own experience, and approach others, especially other nations. To understand "where someone is coming from" as modern slang rather profoundly has it, is to understand something of how that person sees things, and this is at least partially mediated through their language. Languages can be spectacularly different in the way they convey meaning (News International and its recent summons for libel in France over an article written in London is a case in point).
- recognizing the value of the linguistic diversity in our country seriously is extremely important. Recognizing it as a feature of the world that isn't going to go away would be another, crucial step which could be taken by building languages into the secondary school curriculum securely – Gujarati, URDU and Sinhala are foreign languages, after all, and GCSEs can be taken in them.
- another problem is that we extrapolate from the fact that English is an international language. Everyone speaks English, don't they? Well no: courtesy of a Ceylonese computing firm, which works in several languages and several scripts, some figures were obtained: "Generally it was estimated by Unesco that only about 40% of the www content was in English in 2003; however it is thought that this number has now dropped to 35%, but this time measuring the number of users, rather than web-sites." (with thanks to Chanuka Wattagama, who used Wikipedia with some hesitation for the last estimation).
- a major problem will be to reap fully the benefits of learning languages at primary school. Universities can send a powerful message to schools, pupils and parents about the importance of language. The Academy considers that a language requirement should be a requisite for university entrance, and commends the decision taken in December 2006 by University College London (UCL) that in the future all its applicants (regardless

of discipline) should have a GCSE qualification (or equivalent) in a modern foreign language. Universities must follow the lead of UCL and the main US universities, and make study of languages beyond primary school an absolute requirement for university entrance, in the same way maths is. In yet other words, part of the gateway into tertiary education. Otherwise the innovation in languages that is taking place in primary schools will not be carried through into secondary school, and will thus prove to have been an expensive blind alley.

- perhaps the most subtle concern voiced about the nation-wider loss of language expertise was the loss of the ability to understand what in another point of view is not spelled out merely in words but

conveyed in very various modes – for instance in some languages by a body language that has to be learned. This implied meaning is generated in every language by cultural expectations as much as by verbal language. These expectations may be totally specific to the language and yet need to be understood if potentially dangerous misapprehensions are not to occur.

The British Academy is exploring ways in which it can keep the debate about the crisis of language learning at the forefront of public concern. It is currently considering the possibility of setting up a policy study, which could form the springboard for a campaign and a series of associated events and conferences, possibly held in partnership with sister academies from overseas, to keep

the momentum going and highlight the urgency for languages. As part of this work, it will be holding a brainstorming meeting in mid-November 2007, in order to identify the ways in which the Academy can make a distinctive contribution to the debate, and focus on the areas where the Academy can say things with authority, and have an influence.

The British Academy's statements in response to the Government's Dearing Review of Language Learning are available at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/dearing-2006

Copyright and Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences: a British Academy Review

Through its series of research-related reviews, the British Academy seeks to examine issues crucial to the condition and health of its areas of interest. Professor John Kay FBA, Chairman of the British Academy's Copyright Working Group, reports on the main findings and recommendations of the Review.

The Review of copyright and research in the humanities and social sciences was set up because the Academy was concerned that recent developments in technology, legislation and practice had meant that the various copyright exemptions, designed to enable creative and scholarly work to advance, were not always achieving the intended purpose, and that as a result research was being hindered.

We received evidence that the concerns were justified. This led the Working Group to make some firm recommendations to government and to scholars, and to issue draft guidelines to guide academics in this complex and uncertain legal area.

Creative activity requires protection of the moral and economic rights of the creators of

original material on the one hand, and the opportunity to use and develop existing material in new and original forms on the other hand. The maintenance of that balance is a difficult and delicate task, and the Review's findings show that in recent years that balance has swung too far in the direction of protecting existing material at the expense of facilitating the development of original material.

The Review reached the following conclusions:

- The fair dealing exemptions provided by copyright law should normally be sufficient for academic and scholarly use.
- Many problems lie in narrow interpretation of these exemptions, both by rights holders and by publishers of new works that refer to existing copyright material. These problems are acute in some subjects, particularly music, and history and film studies.
- Copyright holders have become more sensitive in defence of their rights as a result of the development of new media, and are more aggressive in seeking to

maximise revenue from the rights, even if the legal basis of their claims is weak.

- Risk-averse publishers, who are often themselves rights holders, demand that unnecessary permissions be obtained, and such permissions may be refused or granted on unreasonable terms
- There is an absence of case law, because the financial stakes involved in each individual case are small relative to the costs of litigation.
- Publishers and authors are uncertain as to the true position, and misapprehensions are widespread.
- There are well-founded concerns that new database rights and the development of digital rights management systems may enable rights holders to circumvent the effects of the copyright exemptions designed to facilitate research and scholarship.

These findings led us to make ten recommendations which are detailed in the main report, published in September 2006, and available on the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/copyright. Five key recommendations are listed below.

- Authors and producers of original creative material should understand that their interests in copyright are not necessarily identical with those of publishers and should not rely on publishers to protect them
- Copyright must therefore provide reasonably broad and practically effective exemptions for research and private study and for criticism or review. The lively development of new cultural material is a principal objective of copyright protection.
- The law should be clarified – statutorily if necessary – to make clear that the use of copyright material in the normal course of scholarly research in universities and other public research institutions is covered by exemptions from the Copyright Act.
- Publishers should not be able to use legal or technological protection through digital rights management systems to circumvent copyright exemptions
- The growth of digital databases should be monitored to ensure that ready access continues to be available for the purposes of scholarship

To help address the current uncertainties and confusions about the scope of copyright exemptions, the Working Group produced a

new set of guidelines based on the general principles outlined in the report. The guidelines cannot represent a statement of the law, but they aim to clarify the current situation and it is hoped will have considerable moral force in the event of dispute. The guidelines are available on the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/copyright

In December 2005, the government set up the Gowers Review to address concerns that the UK's intellectual property regime was not keeping pace with changes resulting from globalisation and technological developments. The Academy's Working Group responded to its call for evidence, and seems to have been influential as many of the Academy's recommendations were reiterated by the government's Gowers Report (published December 2006). While Gowers undoubtedly moved the debate on and marked a welcome stop to the gradual extension of copyright that we have seen in recent years, it did not fully address the Academy's primary concern about the need for clarification of the UK's 'fair use' exceptions. The Working Group is therefore looking at ways in which it might exert influence on national and international debate and policy-making in this area.

As part of this work, the Academy held a follow-up conference on 30 March 2007

in association with the AHRC Centre for the Study of Intellectual Property and Technology Law at the University of Edinburgh. The discussion was lively, exploring the issues from two contrasting perspectives – copyright owners (those who generate, own, and administer copyrights) and copyright users (those who wish to use copyright material as the foundation for the development of new knowledge). The conference assessed the Academy's report in the wider context of the reform agenda provided by the Gowers Report, and gave the Academy's Working Group a useful steer on the ways in which its recommendations should best be taken forward in order to have maximum impact. The Working Group is excited by the prospect of following up many of these leads in the months to come.

The report and guidelines are available from the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/copyright

The members of the Academy Working Group are: Professor John Kay (Chairman); Professor Bob Bennett (Chairman, Research Committee); Professor David Cannadine; Professor Nick Cook; Professor Bill Cornish; Professor Hector MacQueen; Professor Mike Murphy; and Professor John Stallworthy.

Peer Review: The Challenges for the Humanities and Social Sciences. A British Academy Review

Professor Albert Weale, FBA, Chairman of the British Academy's Peer Review Working Group, reports on the main findings and recommendations of the Review.

Peer review is the practice by which the worth of research is evaluated by those with demonstrated competence to make a judgement. It is the traditional means by which research quality is guaranteed in academic studies. The British Academy was concerned that the role peer review plays in underpinning the success of the UK research enterprise in the humanities and social sciences needed to be better understood by policy-makers.

The Academy therefore set up a Review Working Group under my chairmanship to examine how the practice of peer review functioned in a context in which its scope was expanding beyond its traditional primary focus on individual publications and grants to encompass broader evaluations of, say, the research performance of departments. The Review Working Group was asked to recommend ways in which peer review systems, including those, like metrics, that rely on peer review, could better accommodate the distinctive features of humanities and social science research.

Peer review has its critics, who allege that it is costly, time-consuming and biased against innovation. None of these criticisms is entirely without force, but the Working Group concluded that there were no better alternatives and that often the criticisms were directed at deficiencies of practice rather than the principle of peer review. Peer review is both a mechanism of selection – only those grants and publications are favoured that are positively judged by peers – and a force making for enhancement. Work is better as a result of peer review. Importantly, it retains widespread and deep

support among members of the academic community.

Peer review in practice takes a wide variety of forms, reflecting the diversity of subject matter and approaches in the humanities and social sciences research. This variety of practice is important in relation to journal publication, and it is a considerable merit of the way in which the peer review operates in this context that there is not one single model of good practice that all should follow, but instead decentralised diversity. Nevertheless, there are principles that good peer review should follow. These include timeliness, transparency and verifiability. These principles cannot guarantee the identification of the best quality work on a fair basis, but without them quality and fairness will suffer.

In the case of grants peer review remains essential if good work is to be identified. In a situation in which applicants have few alternatives to funding, it is important that funding bodies uphold the integrity of their peer review processes. It is also important that they find ways of responding to the innovative and the risky.

The process has been showing signs of strain in recent years. It is hard for experts to keep pace with changes in academia due to the expansion of print and electronic journals and a growth in research specialisation. The practice and role of peer review is poorly understood in some fields, exacerbated by the diversity that humanities and social sciences cover, ranging from archaeology to music to psychology. But there is virtually no training available.

These findings led the Working Group overseeing the Review to develop fourteen recommendations which are detailed in the main report.

- *Training.* Postgraduates and junior post-doctoral researchers should receive formal training in how to become a competent reviewer and the expectations of that role in academic life.
- *Peer review incentives.* The importance of peer review, although time-consuming and costly, should be encouraged by institutions, supported by them in resource allocation and recognised as an integral part of the academic profession.
- *Metrics.* Care should be taken to ensure that metrics, that is, measures of academic performance, reflect the distinctive nature of humanities and social sciences research and do not have an adverse affect on the quality of the work that they are seeking to measure.
- *Costs.* Research funders and policy makers should develop a more sophisticated understanding of the costs of peer review: any method that simply looks at the time-costs of peer review relative to size of awards is bound to cause problems in the humanities and social sciences, where awards are typically smaller than in medicine and the natural sciences.
- *Innovation.* Research funders should avoid a mechanistic approach in their decision-making processes for the award of research grants, in order to ensure that intellectually innovative proposals, where there is likely to be a marked contrast in the views expressed by peer reviewers, can be assessed on their merits. Quality should also not be sacrificed in favour of relevance and impact. Similarly, novelty cannot be regarded as a substitute for quality.

The British Academy is currently looking at ways in which it might follow up many of

the recommendations in the report. For example, it will actively engage in the debate on the new framework for assessing the research performance of departments (or units of assessment) at UK higher education institutions after the research assessment exercise (RAE) in 2008. In the natural sciences, assessment after the 2008 RAE will be based on a basket of statistical indicators (metrics), including bibliometrics, research grant income, and postgraduate student data. A light-touch peer review process informed by metrics will assess research quality in the arts, humanities, social sciences, and mathematics.

The issues to be raised in the consultation are significant for the well-being of research, especially in the humanities and social sciences where metrics pose particular challenges, because of the special features of research in these disciplines, and also because the metrics available are less developed than those for the natural sciences. The Academy has therefore set up an expert group (which I again will chair) to examine ways in which the current shortcomings with metrics might be addressed. More information is available from www.britac.ac.uk/reports/.

The report of the Review was launched on 5 September 2007. The other members of the Group were: Professor Robert Bennett, FBA; Professor Ken Binmore, FBA; Professor Marianne Elliott, FBA; Professor Howard Glennerster, FBA; Professor Marian Hobson, FBA; Professor Nicholas Jardine, FBA. The report is available from the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/peer-review/

The British Academy places high priority on the informed and independent contributions it makes to policy debates that are significant for the humanities and social sciences. These contributions seek to promote nationally and internationally the interests of the humanities and social sciences, and often influence key policy debates on issues of significance to the humanities and social sciences. More information about the Academy's work in this area can be found at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/

About the British Academy

The British Academy, established by Royal Charter in 1902, is the United Kingdom's national academy for the promotion of the humanities and the social sciences. It is a self-governing body of c. 800 Fellows, elected in recognition of their distinction as scholars in some branch of the humanities and the social sciences. It is an independent learned society, the counterpart to the Royal Society which exists to serve the physical and biological sciences. It is funded by a Government grant-in-aid, through the Office of Science and Innovation.

The Academy's objectives are: to provide leadership in representing the interests of research and learning nationally and internationally; to give recognition to

academic excellence and achievement; to support research of the highest quality; to help outstanding researchers to reach their full potential and thereby develop research capacity in the UK; to communicate and disseminate new knowledge and ideas; to promote international research links and collaborations, and broaden understanding across cultures; to oversee the work of Academy-sponsored institutions at home and abroad and their role in broadening the UK's research base; to contribute to public debate, foster knowledge transfer, and enhance appreciation of the contributions of the humanities and social sciences to the nation's intellectual, cultural, social and economic health and prosperity

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From early 2008, three new members of staff will be joining the Academy:

Mr Tim Brassell joins as Director of External Relations

Dr Birgit Brandt joins as Director of Programmes

Ms Paola Morris joins as Director of Finance and Corporate Services

Further information about the work of the Academy can be found on its web site at www.britac.ac.uk, or by contacting the Academy at 10 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH, telephone 020 7969 5200, email chiefexec@britac.ac.uk