British Academy Review

The British Academy

The British Academy Review contains articles illustrating the wide range of scholarship promoted by the Academy in its role as the national academy for the humanities and social sciences in the UK. This issue of the Review includes events and activities that took place during the academic year 2004–05. In addition there are articles derived from research that has been sponsored by the Academy through one of its many programmes in aid of scholarship.

Views of named writers are the views exclusively of those writers; publication does not constitute endorsement by the British Academy.

Cover illustration: The photograph by Marnix Van Osbroeck shows the Flemish Parliament building by night. The suspended auditorium, with a convex glass roof, is said to symbolise the Parliament's transparency to its people. See article on pages 44–47.

Contents

Islam in Europe:
Culture War or Religious Toleration?

Jytte Klausen, *is a Professor Professor at Brandeis University. Her book,* The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe, *is published in English by Oxford University Press, and in German as* Europas muslimische Eliten. Wer sie sind und was sie wollen, *by Campus Verlag. Professor Klausen held a British Academy Visiting Professorship at Nuffield College, Oxford in autumn 2004.*

'EUROPE has become a battlefield,' according to Gilles Kepel. Samuel P. Huntington says it is facing a 'clash of civilizations' and 'cultural war', a new *Kulturkampf*. Helmut Schmidt, the former Chancellor of Germany, argues that a peaceful accommodation between Islam and Christianity is possible only in authoritarian states. These apocalyptic pronouncements are not only counter-productive. They are dangerously misleading. The question of Islam in Europe is not a matter of global war and peace. Rather, it raises a more familiar set of domestic policy issues about the relations between state and church, and on occasion even prosaic questions about government regulation and equitable policy enforcement. Muslims are a new interest groups and a new constituency, and the European political systems will change as the processes of representation, challenge, and co-optation take place. There is a clash of values, but perhaps the most important is that between two old European parties, secularists and conservatives, as each struggles to come to terms with religious pluralism. The conflict does raise large questions, but these have to do with long-standing European pre-occupations with state neutrality in religious matters and the place of Christianity in the construction of European public identity.

Europe's Muslim political leaders are not aiming to overthrow liberal democracy and to replace secular law with Islamic religious law, the *sharia*. Most are rather looking for ways to build institutions that will allow Muslims to practice their religion in a way that is compatible with social integration. To be sure, there is not one Muslim position on how Islam should develop in Europe but many views. However, there is general agreement that immigrants must be integrated into the wider society. There is also a widespread feeling that Europe's Muslims should not rely on foreign Islamic funding of local institutions but be able to practice their faith in mosques built with local funding

and with the assistance of imams certified and educated at European universities and seminaries.

Huntington predicted a historic and decisive global confrontation between 'Islam' and 'the West', and he represented problems with Islamic minorities in Western countries as local skirmishes in this international struggle, a struggle that was at bottom one of values, symbols, and identity.

Huntington's thesis rests on two postulates. The first is that religion is the predominant source of identity and value orientation for Muslims. 'Liberal' and 'Muslim' values are irreconcilable. The religious Muslim cannot separate public law and private religion. Only individuals who renounce key parts of Islam can be trusted as interlocutors in democratic societies. The second postulate is that Islam and Christianity are competing for global control. Islam is represented as monolithic and intent on world domination. From this perspective, a Muslim schoolgirl's headscarf is imbued with symbolic significance beyond the individual girl's reasons for wearing the scarf.

However, domestic conflict over the integration of Islam in European countries has little to do with foreign policy. Muslims in Great Britain and the United States, the two allies in the war in Iraq, find fewer obstacles to the development of faith institutions than do Muslims in France and Germany, the two leading European anti-war countries. Rather, domestic conflicts have local causes, rooted in the particular histories of modern European states. One of the key factors, usually neglected in these debates, is the legacy of the 'stability pacts' that were made between the majority churches and European states in the course of twentieth-century adjustments to universal suffrage and constitutional reforms. The accommodation of Islam necessitates a rethinking of those pacts and obliges national churches to reconsider their own position on matters of

proselytizing, inter-religious relations, and even on questions of theology and liturgy.

Until very recently, European governments have been reluctant to formulate policies for the integration of Muslim minorities. Muslims interpret this neglect as yet another form of discrimination, an extension of the discrimination experienced in daily life, in employment, education, and the provision of social services. Yet governments are now beginning to grapple with the issues. Some of their initial measures provoked fresh conflicts, notably bans on wearing the *hijab*, the Islamic headscarf, by female Muslim students and teachers; policies curtailing ritual slaughter; and immigration controls on imams. These policies are often perceived to be discriminatory, but they are sometimes supported also by Muslim leaders. There is little disagreement that radical clerics should be kept out, although the general view is that Muslims have democratic rights to say stupid things too. Most Muslims think the headscarf should be tolerated, but many think it is a bad idea to wear it. However, few governments have institutionalized democratic consultative mechanisms with Muslims, or come to terms with the fact that they are dealing with a diverse religious constituency that cannot be represented by a single head of a national 'church' as is the European custom. For decades, Europeans paid little attention to the modest prayer halls and mosques that sprang up in their cities. Benign neglect was the preferred official response to the growing presence of Muslim immigrants. A Dutch anthropologist, Jan Rath, and his collaborators found the first reference to Muslims in Dutch government sources was a Memorandum on Foreign Workers from 1970, which referred obliquely to the need to provide 'pastoral care' for foreign workers.

The lack of public policy involvement has both historical and political roots. When Muslims first began to come to Europe in the

1950s and 1960s, they were not expected to stay. They were mostly labour migrants, and often single, men who themselves expected to return with savings to the families they had left at home. Ironically, it was the collective recognition by Europe's Muslims that they are 'here to stay' that triggered conflict. Once Muslims demanded inte-gration it became evident how much Europeans and their governments would have to change in order to accommodate them.

There are probably about 15 million Muslims living in Western Europe, but the exact number is in doubt. The count is subject to inflation, in part because Muslim leaders and populist politicians like to exaggerate the number to press their causes, but also because few reliable statistics exist. Most European countries do not include questions on religious affiliation in their census. However, this method may also exaggerate the size of the Muslim population, since allowance is not made for assimilation through inter-marriage or the acculturation of descendants, and it obviously confounds religious affiliation with country of origin. (Nor, though, does it allow for conversions to Islam.) On the other hand, official estimates do not include illegal immigrants, who in recent years have arrived primarily from predominantly Muslims countries, such as Albania, Algeria, Morocco, or Nigeria.

Public reactions in Western Europe to the growing presence of adherents of an unfamiliar religion have been remarkably similar. From Protestant Scandinavia to pluralist Holland and Catholic France, controversies have broken out over religious holiday schedules, accommodations for prayers, the wearing of Muslim dress in the workplace, the provision of building permits for mosques, the public ownership of all available cemeteries, concerns about animal rights that disallow ritual slaughter, issues of pastoral care for Muslims in prisons and social services, the teaching of religion in public schools, and divorce law and other family law issues.

It is not possible to discuss the 'clash of practices' set off by Muslims' claims for recognition without also discussing the reaction of the Christian churches. There is a popular fallacy that public life in Europe is secular. On the contrary, European states have given privileges to the Christian churches for centuries, from public funding for religious schools to tax support, to the maintenance of church real estate and clerical salaries. Most Europeans are accustomed to relying on the state for the public provision of pastoral needs, from cemeteries to churches and the training of clergy. The bias of current policies has become perceptible only with the increased visibility of the different customs of the immigrant religions.

However, Muslim leaders are generally reluctant to press too hard for equal treatment on all fronts. The German Greens were the first to suggest that an Islamic holiday – Eid al Fitr, the end of Ramadan – should be added to the long list of official German holidays, but the other parties responded with derision. Few Muslim leaders who I spoke to think that holiday equity is a cause worth fighting for. Granting Muslims employment protection to take the day off as a personal holiday is sufficient. It is not productive for Christian–Muslim relations in the current situation to suggest that Christians should take off Islamic holidays. As a Dutch Muslim parliamentarian said to me, when I suggested that the Netherlands needed to beef up anti-discrimination law in the face of unequivocal evidence of wide-spread employment discrimination against well-educated immigrants, 'any suggestion that Muslims are victims of discrimination is not helpful right now, when Christians think that Muslims already take far too much.'

At the same time, there has been a growing suspicion about Muslims' loyalty to western values. The issue was first dramatized in 1989. Ayatollah Khomeini pronounced a death sentence in absentia against Salman Rushdie for the blasphemous descriptions of the prophet Muhammad in his novel, *The Satanic Verses*. Book-burning demonstrations in the English towns of Bradford and Oldham and violent demonstrations across the Islamic world invited comparison to fascist bonfires of banned books in the 1930s.

A decade later, there were fears that terrorist networks were embedding themselves in little known mosques throughout Europe. Mohammed Atta, one of the 9/11 terrorists, attended the al-Quds mosque in Hamburg. When the German police found a tape featuring the imam of the mosque, a man of Moroccan origin known only by his last name, al-Fazizi, raging that 'Christians and Jews should have their throats slit,' seven men from the mosque were arrested on terrorism charges. It was discovered that a 37-year old Swedish Muslim, who was convicted of possessing weapons and suspected of planning terrorism, had links to the Finsbury Park Mosque in London and its fiery preacher, Abu Hamza. The shoe-bomber, Richard Reid, and the suspected twentieth 9/11 hijacker, Zacarias Moussaoui, were also linked with the Finsbury Park mosque. Abu Hamza became an emblematic figure for those who feared that a new jihad was being prepared in Europe, as was the 'Kalif aus Köln,' Metin Kaplan, who was extradited to face murder charges in Turkey in October 2004. The murder of the Dutch film-maker, Theo van Gogh, by a young Dutch-Moroccan who was linked to Hizbollah, an Islamic terrorist group, and the July bombings in the London tube system elicited strong reactions against Muslims. Sixty-five attacks on mosques and imams were reported over a six-month period in Holland and hate crimes against Muslims on the streets of major British cities multiplied. However, the overwhelming majority of European Muslims are as repelled by the ranting of these clerics as are Christians.

The Muslim mainstream is better represented by civic and political figures who have been elected to public office by voters and parties that draw support from all voters and by leaders of Muslim national and community organizations. That is why their views and policy choices must be heard. European Muslims are necessary partners in the negotiation of accommodation with Islam, and the Muslim political and civic leaders will play a critical role in that process. Democracies are tested by their capacity to respond to the claims and needs of new social groups and by their capacity to integrate new elites representing those claims. The prospects for the accommodation of Islam rest in part on the ability of governments to come up with solutions, and in part on the Muslim elite's involvement in the resolution of conflict.

There is an urgent need for a wide-ranging public debate about the implications of state neutrality and how equitable treatment of different religions is possible. The main concerns of Muslim leaders are, however, rather with what is seen as the persistent mischaracterization of Islam by the media and politicians, the absence of public policy initiatives to support Islamic religious organizations, and the lack of public recognition that Muslims are Europeans too.

The above text is the introduction to Professor Klausen's book *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe* (2005) and is excerpted with the permission of Oxford University Press (www.oup.com).

Europe and Islam: A Question of Culture?

The British Academy hosted a discussion meeting: 'Europe and Islam: A Question of Culture'. The event took the form of a panel discussion between Professor Adam Kuper FBA (Brunel University), Professor Fred Halliday FBA (London School of Economics), and Professor Jytte Klausen (British Academy Visiting Professor at Nuffield College, Oxford, and Brandeis University). The event was held first in London in 2004, and then repeated at Queen's University, Belfast in 2005. Later in the year, the discussion meeting was hosted by Bilkent University, Ankara, bringing British, Danish and Turkish scholars together in lively debate.

An audio recording of the debate that took place in Belfast is available on the Academy's web site via http://britac.studyserve.com/home/default.asp

Culture and Identity Politics

Professor Adam Kuper FBA, Brunel University, discusses the history of ideas about culture, and their significance in debates about identity in Europe today.

I

CULTURE SEEMS to explain everything at the moment. Intellectuals once thought that race was the key to history. More recently, everything was said to boil down to social class. The day before yesterday, gender was the secret. Today, culture explains everything from crime rates to economic development and even, in the hands of Samuel Huntington, the deep structure of international relations.

Writing in *Foreign Affairs* in 1993, Samuel Huntington put forward a series of large propositions about the new age that would succeed the era of the Cold War. History was not about to come to an end. New divisions would emerge, greater even than the ideological divisions of the previous generation, but they would be of a different order.

The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural ... The major differences in political and economic development among civilizations are clearly rooted in their different cultures ... cultural and cultural identities ... are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world. ... In this new world, local politics is the politics of ethnicity; global politics is the politics of civilizations. The rivalry of the superpowers is replaced by the clash of civilizations.[1]

Despite Huntington's claim that a new era has begun, with a new dynamic, he is peddling very old ideas, including even the equation of culture and religion. Half a century earlier, immediately after World War II, T.S. Eliot made the same point, more memorably: 'Ultimately, antagonistic religions mean antagonistic cultures; and ultimately, religions cannot be reconciled.'[2]

Arguments of this sort depend, of course, on what is meant by culture or civilsation. Both terms were born in the late eighteenth century, *civilisation* in France and, in reaction, *kultur* in Germany. Civilisation was represented in the French tradition as a universal human good that marks us off from animals. Civilisation is progressive. It has advanced furthest, no doubt, in France. Yet even the proudest French intellectual insisted that civilisation was universal, enjoyed – though in different degrees – by savages, barbarians, and other Europeans. The greatest and most conclusive victories of civilisation had been booked in the fields of science and technology. Progress could be measured by the advance of reason in its cosmic battle against raw nature, instinct, superstition and traditional authority. But civilisation not only produces more reliable knowledge about the world. It also delivers a higher morality, and a more advanced and just political order.

As soon as the notion of civilisation crystallised in France, it provoked a reaction in Central Europe that gave birth to the idea of *Kultur*. *Kultur* was the very antithesis of an imperial, materialistic, soulless (and French-speaking) civilisation. It was associated with a specific people rather than a nebulous humanity, and it was inspired by spiritual rather than material values. The highest expression of a culture was a language. Its

most characteristic achievements were in the arts rather than the sciences. Its verities were local. What was true on one side of the Pyrenees might be false on the other side. While civilisation rejoiced in its inevitable spread and progress, culture lived in fear of being overrun, and by the juggernaut of material civilisation. In its own defence it had to look backwards, to a past way of life, uncompromised by foreign borrowings. And so culture abhorred the language of progress. This was, typically, the ideology of minorities in Europe's empires, or of irredentist movements. For the theorists of *kultur* had a political programme. While believers in civilisation took it for granted that the avant-garde nations were duty-bound to civilise less-developed peoples, the advocates of local cultures demanded sovereignty for each cultural group.

The English, as so often, disagreed with both the French and the Germans (although John Stuart Mill tried to persuade them not to). Matthew Arnold taught that culture was the sum of the highest human achievements in the arts and philosophy, 'the best that has been known and said'.[3] This culture was made up of the most sublime achievements of the European tradition. Nevertheless it was universally valid, spreading sweetness and light wherever it went. But not everyone could claim it. It was the earned capital of a particular social class. This was not a class into which one was born but a class of the self-made, an elite of the educated and spiritually refined. Arnold called the enemies of culture the Philistines. They knew the price of everything but the value of nothing. They might deliver prosperity but at terrible cost to the spirit. So civilisation in the French sense of the word was a threat to Arnold's culture. Macaulay memorably summed up the dilemma: 'As civilisation advances, poetry almost necessarily declines'.[4]

These are the three classic ideas about culture. At one level, they present a confusing picture. But there are common themes. The conceptions of culture and civilisation have in common the notion that the most important elements in history are ideas, values, and intellectual creation. Culture and civilisation stand for absolute values. It has been suggested that these terms became current in the eighteenth century as religion

was losing its hold on European intellectuals. The civilising mission was perhaps the secular successor to the idea of the missionary project of the Catholic church. In contrast, the notion of a culture particular to a specific *Volk* fitted a Calvinist view of the world, in which each people is elected to a particular destiny.

II

THESE COMPETING ideas of culture and civilisation have been current for over two centuries, but they have not always been as fashionable as they are today. Norbert Elias remarked that culture and civilisation become matters of public concern at certain historical moments 'when something in the present state of society finds expression in the crystallization of the past embodied in the words'.[5] We are apparently living through such a time. And today the notion of culture is yoked indissolubly to the notion of identity. Perhaps it was always this way. 'The concepts of identity-building and of culture were and could only be born together', Zygmunt Bauman has written.[6] Certainly they came together in North America in the 1950s and 1960s, the notion of identity coming into fashion, with psychotherapy, just at the moment that sociologists and anthropologists in America were embracing a romantic idea of culture. In the romantic tradition, culture was something like the soul of a society, a sacred sphere of values, ideas and symbols, and it was culture that imbued the life of the individual with meaning. Indeed the romantics define identity in terms of culture: it refers to a relationship between the inner being of an individual and the collective spirit of a *Volk* or a nation, or, in modern times, an ethnic group. It is in this sense that people talk of an English identity, or a Muslim identity, or an African American identity, an identity that may be thought of as more or less encompassing. A healthy individual had to know who he was, which meant that he had to know which group he belonged to, and what its culture laid down for him.

The revival of this romantic conception of identity was linked with the popularisation of psychotherapy. Its most influential theorist, Erik Erikson, insisted on a connection between personal identity and collective identities, which he called cultures. Identity, he wrote, concerns 'a process 'located' *in the core of the individual* and yet also in the core of

his communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of these two identities.'[7]

This was, of course, a very particular idea of culture, but it caught on. Neverthess, not everyone agreed that it was necessary to achieve Erikson's identity between a deep sense of self and a culture, and European writers tended to be much less sure that it was a good thing. The existentialists were not keen on identities. They much preferred identity crises. Jean-Paul Sartre's *Réflections sur la question juive*, published in 1946, made a powerful case against identity in the sense that Erikson was to give to the term. Sartre was concerned with what he called authenticity. An authentic identity was the outcome of a particular process of *Bildung* in which a free and rational person reflected on his life. The contrary of authenticity, the very essence of bad faith, was simply to take a ready-made identity from the shelf, or to accept a label that was foisted upon one by an accident of birth. And an example of inauthenticity was the identification of the individual with a stereotyped group, such as an ethnic group or a religious community.

However, the romantic conception of identity did offer a way of thinking about something that was happening in post-war America, a development that greatly surprised many social scientists. This was the revival of ethnicity. Apparently the melting pot was no longer working.

So in the '60s identity became not only a personal matter. In this case, the personal was political. Identity politics became respectable, even idealised. And if politics was a matter of identities, this implied, in turn, a very particular idea of the state itself: it was not unitary but rather a federation of little nations, without territories, perhaps, but with their own cultures and identities.

To describe this conception of society and the state, the term multiculturalism was coined, first, in the mid-1960s, in Canada.* Translated to the USA, multiculturalism was absorbed into a modern radical tradition that runs through the Civil Rights struggle, the resistance to the war in Vietnam, the women's movement and the gay rights movement. Culture was celebrated as the weapon of the weak. The left adopted an

extreme cultural relativism. Multiculturalists may challenge the claims of science to be universally valid, and self-evidently beneficial. But their primary concern is to apply culture theory to national politics. Very much like Polish or Czech intellectuals in the last days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they argue that the state behaves like an imperial power, not only in its foreign policy but also at home. On this argument, the USA is run by a culturally hegemonic community of WASP heterosexual men, who recognise only one set of standards and treat any form of difference from themselves as a sign of inferiority. The remedy of the radicals is that the USA must learn to celebrate difference. African Americans, Native Americans, Spanish-speakers, women, gays, even the disabled – all demand recognition of an authentic and credit-worthy cultural identity. Difference is the most fundamental value.

Conservative American intellectuals, however, have adopted the classic French ideology of a universal civilisation, its standard bearer the most advanced nation: now the USA. Its prophets proclaim that Western Civilisation – and courses in 'Western Civ.' – are good for everyone. Huntington himself predicted that even the clash of civilisations would turn out to be but a stage on the way to the climactic struggle to come, 'the greater clash, the global 'real clash', between Civilization and barbarism'.[8] In his most recent book, *Who are We?*, Huntington argues that civilisations and empires (which he tends to see as one and the same thing) will be fatally weakened if they do not sustain their own cultural values. The USA must therefore consolidate its traditional culture, and according to Huntington this is Anglo-Protestant. Immigrant values dilute this core, and must be resisted.

III

THE DEBATE in contemporary Europe is less polarised, but the same familiar and yet contradictory ideas about culture and civilisation are in play here too. The ambiguity of the conceptions of culture and

civilisation are happily exploited. In their crusade against the Islamic veil, French leaders preach the values of a universal civilisation. But when they worry about Hollywood, they invoke *l'exception culturelle*. European statesmen may be sceptical about the cosmic clash of civilisations. Yet they talk the language of culture theory readily enough when they debate the true meaning of the European project, even if they may not agree on whether it is Christianity that defines the spiritual identity of Europe, or whether European culture is the same thing as Western civilisation, and whether it is universal or suited only to Europeans, and, perhaps, Americans.

But at present Europe seems to be most concerned about immigration, and it is in debates about minorities that the rhetoric of culture is most troubling. In this context, most people do seem to know what they mean when they talk about culture. They refer to groups out there that appear to have a self-evident identity, and values that are different from those of the natives. Many people can evidently see for themselves the cultural threat, as they walk the streets of European cities. This suggests that we should be ready to translate the discourse of culture back into the language of race, and indeed this is very often a good short-cut to grasping what people are getting at. Like race, culture is popularly thought of as fixed, something to which one is born: to change a culture is somehow to be disloyal, a repudiation of roots, and even a denial of one's true nature. Yet obviously, and particularly in immigrant situations, the experiences and attitudes of succeeding generations may be very different. What happens when the first language of children is English, and the second Punjabi? If children listen to different kinds of music, have political views that differ sharply from those of their parents, react against marriage customs, etc., how does one describe their 'culture'?

The multiculturalists get themselves into trouble as soon as they try to identify, and to

name, the groups that are supposed to be culturally distinct. Religion, national origin, language and customs do not necessarily coincide. The classifications, even the names, may be alien and alienating. In Sweden, so-called Turks are often Kurds. In Holland, Turks and Moroccans are redefined as 'Muslims'. This fits the traditional Dutch model, which grants primacy to religious identities, differences of language and national origin being treated as secondary. In Britain, for a long time, people spoke easily of 'Asians', a category that excluded Chinese people but included Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Indians and Sri Lankans regardless of differences of nationality, religion, language, caste or social class. They were lumped together because they all come from the same area of what was once the British Empire. Today, however, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are lumped together with Arabs and Somalis as 'Muslims', despite obvious differences in language and social traditions, and in their positions in British society.

Yet, inevitably, some political entrepreneurs have grasped the opportunity presented by the new official discourse. It is hardly surprising that local politicians should try to mobilise 'community' groups, in part in order to tap into the funds offered by multicultural official programmes. The German romantic idea is gratefully adopted: only those born to a culture can speak for its bearers, because they share a unique way of looking at the world. Conversely, spokespeople may attempt to expand the constituency of people who, they claim, share their values. There are activists in the UK who choose to represent themselves as representatives of a wider Islamic community, or even of an international Muslim constituency. Like Huntington, they equate religion with culture. And governments may buy into the idea that they are confronting communities with distinctive 'cultures', and look for leaders, the chiefs of a modern system of indirect rule.

*Three specifically Canadian issues – apparently quite distinct – were yoked together under this heading. These were the contested place of Quebec in Canada, the problematic status and claims of the Inuit, and the first surge of what became a large immigration into Canada from the Far East. If all these issues could be brought together under one hat, if they were aspects of a single problem, then perhaps one policy could fit them all. Two influential Canadian theorists, Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka, identified the central issue here as 'recognition', the acknowledgement of the value of the identity of others. They concluded that in order to achieve this recognition, each group had to be granted a certain autonomy. The state should therefore treat each cultural group as though it was a sort of non-geographical province of Canada.

IV

THESE NOTIONS of culture and civilisation are short-hand terms for Western ideologies. Ironically, however, they are now used by activists all over the world in order to mobilise support in defence of a local, home-grown 'culture' that is menaced by the West, or by globalisation, the name given today to the old bugbear of civilisation.

However useful they may be in political mobilisation, complex notions like culture and civilisation pack a lot of variables together, which is why they are so resistant to clear definition. Even in sophisticated contemporary social science a culture or a civilisation is usually treated as a single system, although it may be imagined as a process, shot through with inconsistencies, some of its holiest places bitterly contested. But it is often more profitable to pick apart this package, and to pay attention more particularly to religious beliefs, legal traditions, knowledge, values, the arts and rhetorical techniques. Separating out these elements one can begin to work out the ways in which they may be related to each other. It is also possible to identify other processes that affect them, including market forces and political pressures. When trying to understand the situation of immigrants, one must also pay attention to their strategies of adaptation, to generational changes, and, of course, to the context they enter, and in particular to housing policies, policing, and employment and educational opportunities.

In thinking about international relations, it is surely sensible to give more weight to states and economic interests than to nebulous theories of civilisations. This is not to say that religion, for example, is irrelevant to international conflicts. But it is very dangerous to begin from the conviction that even worldly statesmen are unable to look beyond their ethnocentric values and views of the world. Although we may begin from different premises, we can still cut deals that we can live with.

There is also a moral objection to culture theory. It draws attention away from we have in common instead of encouraging us to communicate across national, ethnic, and religious boundaries, and to venture beyond them.

---

1 Samuel P. Huntington, 'The clash of civiliza-tions', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, p. 22.

2 T. S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, 1948, p. 62.

3 Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*, preface to 1873 edition.

4 Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'Milton', first published 1825, collected in *Critical and Historical Essays*, 1843. Reissued 1907, p. 153.

5 Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners*, 1978, p. 7.

6 Zygmunt Bauman, 'From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, 1996, p. 19.

7 Erik Erikson, *Ghandi's Truth*, 1969, pp. 265-6.

8 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1996, p. 321.

Encountering the 'true dream' in Islam: a Journey to Turkey and Pakistan

AS AN anthropologist I have been studying the relationship between night dreams and culture, between dream imagery and human behaviour for twenty-five years. More recently I have focused on the phenomena of 'true dreams', al-Ruya, in Islam and how these appear to have influenced Muslims throughout Islamic history and contemporaneously across the Islamic world. In particular, I have studied media reports as to how reported 'true dreams' have apparently inspired and guided leading Islamic Jihadist leaders including Osama bin Laden, Mullah Omar, Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi, the al-Qaeda leader in Iraq, and many others.

At the end of February 2005 I set out on a two month journey, funded by a Small Research Grant from the British Academy to study dreams in the Islamic world. I principally stayed in Aydin, western Turkey, courtesy of the University of Adnan Menderes, and then in and around Islamabad and Peshawar in Northern Pakistan. Finally I spent a few days in Northern Cyprus waiting to interview the well known Sufi Sheikh Nazim of the

Sheikh Nazim in Northern Cyprus

Naqshbandi Tariqa (order). These choices of Islamic countries were partly determined

---

Dr Iain R Edgar, University of Durham, recounts his findings from a research trip undertaken in 2005 to investigate the significance of dreams in a sample of Islamic cultures.

---

through personal and professional contacts. In my three weeks in Turkey I interviewed dozens of people about their dreams and dream interpretive practices. Briefly, I found that almost all the people I had interviewed, from market traders to senior academics, related purposefully to their dreams in one way or another. I found a general consistency in dream interpretive practices based on the threefold Islamic dream classification of there being true dreams from Allah, false dreams from Shatan, and largely meaningless dreams from the Nafs (mixture of Freudian Id and Ego, or the lower self as described in Islamic psychology).

The dream in Islam can be very significant as the Prophet Mohammed reportedly dreamt parts of the Koran (1/46th is usually stated) and was a notable dream interpreter, starting each day by asking his companions if they had any dreams for him to interpret. In the Hadiths (the reported sayings and actions of the Prophet) there are many references to dream interpretation. Bukhari, one of the most reliable Hadiths, writes, reporting the words of Aisha (the Prophet's wife), that the 'commencement of the divine inspiration was in the form of good righteous (true) dreams in his sleep. He never had a dream but that it came true like bright day of light' (1979: 91). In Islam, major prophecy is believed to have finished with the revelation contained in the Koran, but spiritual guidance can still be gained through true dreams.

Throughout Islamic history 'true dreams' are perceived as having been received by political and religious leaders as well as ordinary people. In Sufism, the mystical branch of

Islam, dreams are considered very important and followers of a Sheikh may regularly experience guidance dreams from him. I had previously studied a Naqshbandi Sufi centre in England and many members reported receiving guidance dreams from Sheikh Nazim, which they acted on when making key life decisions. So, I wanted to see how common and important dreaming is in a sample of Islamic cultures, to understand how dreams are interpreted and particularly how 'true dreams' are interpreted. I was particularly interested in how militant Jihadist claims to true dreams were understood; also I was interested in finding out more about the Islamic dream incubation practice, Istikhara.

In Turkey, I found an almost visible tension between the secularist tradition promoted by Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish state, and the Islamic belief system of a large number of my informants. This tension was most evident when I attended a Sufi Zikra (remembering and singing the names of God) and the two academics with me would only attend if in the role of translators, as otherwise their academic integrity would be endangered, a situation inconceivable in the UK. Dream examples included a hospital medical consultant who was expecting a baby and was watching her dreams so as to help her name her offspring; seeing a flower in a dream would provide a girl's name; a quality, such as strength, a boy's name. An academic colleague confided in me at the end of a meal that because I was a dream researcher she would tell me dreams that she had told no-one but her family. Then she told me how at very difficult periods of her life she had dreamt of the Prophet Mohammed and Angels and these images had sustained her. I asked a gardener in a small town if he had ever had a memorable dream and he said, 'Yes. Once I had a dream of crying and the next day I killed my neighbour over a land dispute and spent eight years in jail for murder.'

In Pakistan, I found all but one person I spoke to (a national poet) fervently believed in the power of dreams, and everywhere I went with

my dream questions, people from all walks and classes of life would tell me how dreams had changed their lives. A textile shopkeeper in Peshawar spoke of how his life had been transformed by a dream of the Prophet that had advised him to pray five times a day, and then his continual unsatisfied thirst, as expressed in the dream imagery, would be met, and that since this dream and his commitment to praying five times a day, he said he had been happy. A close companion told me how his illiterate father had been made literate following a dream. A close relative of a very senior Afghani politician and religious leader described how this man had been advised by dreams whilst in prison under the communists. Istikhara, Islamic dream incubation, I found was practised by young and old alike, especially in marriage choices, but also in business deals and in political choices. Istikhara involves reciting special ritual prayers before going to bed and meditation upon life choices, such as marriage, before sleeping. In the morning the dreamer will, sometimes with specialist assistance from an Imam, interpret the meaning of their dream through using specialist Islamic dream interpretation codes; an example would be that dream imagery portrayed in green and white would signify a favourable outcome to that choice, whilst dreaming of red and black an unfavourable outcome. One woman who did Istikhara around her daughter's future marriage, dreamt of a good looking bowl of dates which however in the event didn't taste very nice. She told me how this imagery anticipated the outcome of the marriage.

In Peshawar, Pakistan, I talked to the BBC journalist, Rahimullah Yusufzai, about Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader. Yusufzai had interviewed Mullah Omar a dozen times and was the first journalist to interview him; Yusuzai writes for *Time* and *Newsweek* and almost all the stories about Omar from a web search will source them from Yusufzai. Yusufzai told me that Omar was a reclusive and wholly unexceptional and uncharismatic half-trained Mullah, indistinguishable from a thousand others apart from his dreaming. Whilst Yusufzai didn't interview Omar directly about his dreams he did confirm that the Taliban came from nowhere, and that the Taliban commanders and followers believed in Omar as a Holy Man on account of his

Dr Iain Edgar and Sufis near Islamabad

dreams, which included a dream of a sacred figure which commanded Omar to 'save Afghanistan' and implement Sharia law. It was apparently inspired by this dream that Omar founded the Taliban. Moreover Yusufzai confirmed for me that Omar had dreams during the Taliban campaigns which inspired his military strategy. Yusufzai told me, 'I was told by so many Taliban leaders, commanders, fighters, look you know, Mullah Omar is a holy man and he gets instructions in his dream and he follows them up. The genesis of the Taliban Islamic movement was this vision, this night dream that Mullah Omar had'. On one occasion, moreover, Omar telephoned Yusufzai in Peshawar before 9/11 and said that his (Omar's) brother, also a dreamer, had had a dream of a 'white palace burning', and Omar knew that Yusufzai had officially visited the White House in Washington and wanted to know about its construction and whether it was built from wood. This reported phone call verifies the importance of dreaming to Omar.

Sufis, particularly, seemed to inhabit an alternative mystical universe, co-existing with our understanding of this reality, in which very significant and often precognitive dream experiences of and by Sheiks/Pirs and their followers were commonplace. When I visited Sheikh Nazim and his community in Lefte, Northern Cyprus, I waited three days for a ten

minute interview with the Sheikh. Nearly two hundred of his followers, called Mureeds, from many countries, including the UK, were there also. To his Mureeds, Sheikh Nazim is literally in constant contact with Allah. I had never seen such devotion and love expressed to any person; he was 84 years old and becoming frail; he walked with support from two Mureeds, and all the time other Mureeds would throng around him, just to touch him and kiss his feet and hands, to receive his (Allah's) Baraka (blessing). In my interview with the Sheikh I asked him about the many accounts I had heard in the UK and in his Turkish Cypriot community of his 'sending' his followers dreams; he replied that when he sent his 'power' to his Mureeds he sometimes would do so in dreams, 'when necessary'. I ventured to ask how, and he replied that it 'was all a matter of spiritual knowledge as there were hundreds and thousands of inner worlds' and the Sufis had ways to access these. A technology apparently available only to those who had moved away from immersion in material existence.

How though does Islam, and Muslims in general, recognise a true dream, when in their belief system, Shatan has such power to delude humanity? The Hadiths say that if the Prophet appears in a dream then this is a true dream, and generally, the many people I

spoke to confirmed this belief about the status of seeing the Prophet in a dream. However, one important Pakistani Imam qualified this apparently absolute view and argued that not all inner sightings of the Prophet in dreams could be regarded as true dreams and he gave me two examples from his dream interpretation experience. The first involved a lawyer coming to him for help interpreting a dream of the Prophet rolled up in a carpet and the Imam responded by saying 'you are a corrupt lawyer', presumably as the body and energy of the Prophet was circumscribed. This Iman told me that for a dream of the Prophet to be regarded as true, then the image of the Prophet must be complete and in his proper shape. The Hadith written by Bukhari speaks of when the Prophet is seen in a dream the Prophet needs to be in his 'real shape' (1979: 104). The second example the Imam told me was of a man who came to him with a dream in which the Prophet had said he could drink alcohol. The Imam asked him if he was a 'drinker' and the man said 'yes', to which the Imam replied that that was not the Prophet but a self-justification. It is not perceived as a true dream in Islam if the dream message or content contradicts the Koran or Hadiths. Dream interpretation in Islam, even given the apparently simple classificatory system, is complex. I was told by religious scholars that only a Prophet can truly determine a true from a false dream; even spiritual leaders such as Sheikhs may disagree about interpretations.

Dream interpretation in Islam is not solely about the dream but about the relationship between dreams and events as in the famous Joseph Sura in the Koran (ie Joseph's interpretation of the Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat cows and the seven thin cows). In Islamic dream interpretation, people who dream need to be careful who they tell their dream to; if it is a good dream they should not tell it to anyone but only to the one they love; likewise if it is a bad dream they should not tell anyone and pray to Allah (and also spit three times on the left side). This practice is because an incorrect interpretation, and especially a negative interpretation, can facilitate misfortune. Perhaps our western psychological idea of a self-fulfilling prophecy is similar.

In Islam, Muslims understand dreams as they understand and interpret reality. In night dreams, the Soul is freed from the material world and can traverse, without limit, the past and the future. The real world and the unseen world, such as can be manifest in dreams, are all created by the one God, Allah. Allah also authorised Shatan to delude and misguide humanity, to snare their spiritual strivings in the desires of the material world. This or these unseen, but manifest, powers sustain and created the universe and spiritual guidance can be given through dreams, even to the lowliest of souls. To lie about a dream is a serious sin in Islam.

Dream interpretation, though, in Islam as everywhere, is a tricky business. You could say that the devil is in the detail. Whilst the overall pattern of Islamic dream interpretation is based on the already presented threefold classification of dreams as being true, false or worldly (nafs), the practice itself is extremely sophisticated and takes into account the following factors: the piety and spiritual rank of the dreamer; their social position in the world; the time of night of the dream and the time of year; Islamic dream dictionaries, unlike their western counterparts, may contain many interpretations for the same symbol. In Islam, dream interpretation, as with self-fulfilling prophecies, can lead to delusion, error and worse. Correct dream interpretation though is understood to help believers in the pursuit of spiritual guidance and correct Islamic behaviour.

The story of Islam is founded on the Prophet Mohammed's revelation more than 1300 hundred years ago. This revelation, perfectly wrought to the believer, finds itself embodied in the Koran, supplemented by the Hadiths. The exalted status of this revelation includes the special place given to the true dream, al-Ruya, in Islam. The mind set of the Muslim is tuned to the possibility of true dreams appearing to any human. The fact that the Taliban revolution may have been, at least in part, motivated by a pious, reclusive, unknown and half trained Mullah in Afghanistan, who was believed to have had true dreams, is a contemporary example of the numinous and problematic nature of dream experience and interpretation.

Reference

Bukhari (1979) *The Translations of the Meanings of Sahihal-Bukhari*. M.M. Khan, trans. Lahore, Pakistan: Kazi Publications.

Dr Iain R Edgar is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Durham. He has published extensively on imagination and dreaming. His research trip to Turkey and Pakistan was funded by a British Academy Small Research Grant.

Soldiers of Democracy:
The Great War and African American Culture

Dr Mark Whalan *is Lecturer in American Literature and Culture at the University of Exeter. In the article below, he discusses African American soldiers' experience of the Great War and the New Negro Renaissance.*

'MAKE way for democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.'[1] So said the great African American intellectual, editor, sociologist and historian W.E.B. Du Bois in welcoming home black America's "soldiers of democracy," the name he gave to the 200,000 African American troops returning to the USA in 1919 after winning the Great War with the American Expeditionary Force. Over 387,000 African Americans served in the military during the conflict, yet as Du Bois's editorial made clear, this was under the colours of a nation which routinely treated its black inhabitants as second-class citizens. Disenfranchisement, segregation, and discrimination in all aspects of life were inescapable facts for African Americans in the first half of the twentieth century, and following their wartime patriotism many black Americans hoped to be rewarded with a post-war 'reconstruction' that addressed their many grievances. This optimism was evident in the heroes' welcome black America gave its returning soldiers: in New York and Chicago hundreds of thousands of people lined the streets in February 1919 to watch the veterans' parade, and to listen to the jazz-playing military bands that had astonished European ears in 1918. Yet those troops were barely home before a bitter summer of white reaction set in to make those postwar hopes seem fanciful or even utopian. A wave of race riots swept the USA in 1919 – in Washington, Chicago, Longview Texas and Knoxville Tennessee – and lynchings increased to claim 87 black victims, some of them returning soldiers murdered whilst still in their uniforms. Faced with this 'red summer' and a post-war economic depression, the political momentum the war had given to African American demands for reform of US racial politics was effectively dissipated by the early 1920s.

Turn the clock forward eight years and black America was in the midst of the New Negro Renaissance, a cultural flourishing that saw black artists pursuing bold new directions in fiction, poetry, fine art, photography, and music. Harlem had become a notorious and celebrated entertainment district for white New Yorkers, as well as home to the largest black urban population in the world, and its style, sounds and sights were inextricable from the aesthetics and preoccupations of American modernism in the jazz age. In music, it was the decade when Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Fletcher Henderson came to prominence. In literature, writers such as Langston Hughes, Nella Larsen and Zora Neale Hurston began their careers in the 1920s, and new magazines and a new generation of New York publishers supported black literary talent to an unprecedented degree. Cultural and literary histories have often treated this as one of the most fruitful and pivotal moments in African American culture in the twentieth century, yet they have often been surprisingly quiet about its connections to the Great War. Supported by a British Academy Small Research Grant, my research at the New York Public Library Main Branch and Harlem's Schomburg Centre for Research in Black Culture in 2005 aimed to investigate the relation between these two events, to look at the numerous short stories, poems, novels, photographs and songs produced by black Americans that deal with the Great War. In particular, I hoped to discover both how the experiences of the Great War had shaped the culture of the New Negro Renaissance, and how the innovations of the New Negro Renaissance had provided a language for thinking about the war.
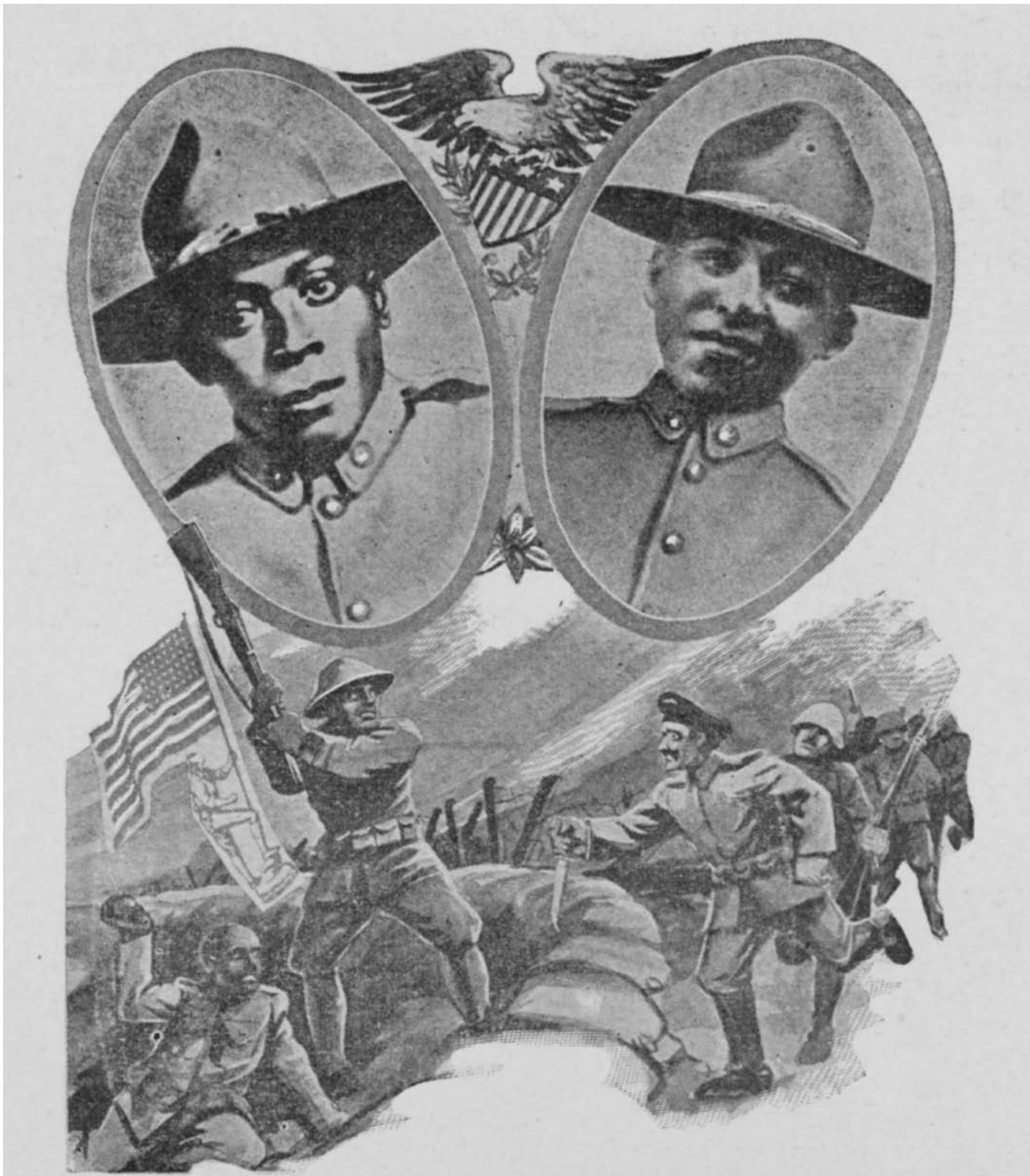
One theme that cropped up repeatedly was the astonishment that black servicemen felt at being welcomed and treated with dignity by white French people. Ravaged by four years of war, and delighted to see fresh new

Allied soldiers, the French ignored US Military advice that black American troops were not worthy of respect or any kind of treatment approaching equality. Consequently, many African American writers and journalists enthused about 'colour-blind France' (often ignoring its vast colonial holdings in Africa, South Asia, and the Caribbean). Sometimes this was the occasion for sly humour poking fun at white American hypersensitivity over black soldiers' relationships with French women, as in this short poem by Robert Wolf:

> "Tres gentils – les noirs,"
>> So the French girl said;
> How the phrase did jar
>> My friend! Flushing red.
> "We at home don't go
>> With those – colored men."
> Quoth the French maid, "Oh,
>> Don't they like you, then?"[2]

In several other stories and poems from the New Negro Renaissance, writers use the motif of black Americans speaking French as a way of considering the possibilities – but also the limitations – of how overseas travel and experience might provide a tool for challenging racist domination in the USA. Black writers were also drawn to descriptions of combat, and particularly the battleground terrain so closely associated with the First World War – No-Man's Land. Freed from the absolute racial designation of space, which governed the principle of segregation in American society at the time, African American writers repeatedly imagined encounters between black and white American soldiers in No-Man's Land as occasions for cross-racial comradeship and fraternity. Rather than the hellish, lifeless terrain described by writers such as Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, or Henri Barbusse,

Opposite – An early poster celebrating the actions of Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts in repelling a German raiding party

TWO HEROES.

Members of New York's 369th Infantry (the 'Harlem Hellfighters') returning from France in 1919.

in African American writing No-Man's Land paradoxically also becomes a terrain where (racial) conflict can be resolved or reduced. For example, this scene takes place between a mortally wounded white American officer and a similarly-afflicted black officer in No-Man's Land in Joseph Seamon Cotter Jr.'s short play 'On the Fields of France':

White officer: I thought I was gone then. My strength is going fast. Hold my hand. It won't seem so lonesome dying way over here in France.

Colored Officer: (*takes his hand*) I feel much better – myself. After all – it isn't so hard – to die when – you are dying – for Liberty.

White officer: Do you feel that way too? I've often wondered how your people felt. We've treated you so badly mean over home and I've wondered if you could feel that way. I've been as guilty as the rest, maybe more so than some. But that was yesterday.[3]

My research also looked at African American responses to the memorials produced to remember the American war dead. In particular, African American writers were interested in the Unknown Soldier, a new type of memorial adopted by all the combatant nations of World War I. The American Unknown Soldier, buried at Arlington in 1921, interred one soldier whose remains were anonymous as a way of commemorating all those fatalities whose bodies had not been either recovered or identified. Yet at the same

time as America's Unknown Soldier was being buried with great pomp and ceremony, the US Government refused to fund memorials to the black casualties of America's wars, or to record black soldiers' participation in all American conflicts from the Revolutionary war onwards. In this situation the emotive and imaginative power of the memorial to the Unknown Soldier, which rested on his anonymity, seemed to many African Americans to resonate with their own feelings of anonymity within the USA – the position of being, to paraphrase Ralph Ellison, invisible men. Accordingly, several writers dramatised the situation of the Unknown Soldier being black, and how – in the words of a white politician in May Miller's play 'Stragglers in the Dust' – 'what a terrible joke on America' that would be.[4] Other artists adopted less ironic strategies of memorialising African American casualties of the War, most notably in portrait photography. The great Harlem photographer James VanDerZee, who photographed such African American celebrities as Marcus Garvey, Florence Mills, Adam Clayton Powell Sr. and Bill 'Bojangles' Robinson (and also later figures such as Bill Cosby, Muhammad Ali, and Jean-Michel Basquiat), also made a number of portraits of war veterans. These included two arresting portraits of the most famous black heroes of the war – Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts. VanDerZee's war portraits were frequently posed with emblems of memorial, including tombstones, national flags, medals,

or vacant chairs. Often, these were produced by 'combination printing' one image on top of another, a technique which gives a narrative quality to his photographs and thereby presents an arresting visual analogue to the action of memory. His photos are just one example of how African American artists frequently used vernacular or popular forms to counterbalance more official and respected types of historical record, official records that nonetheless tended to exclude African Americans from accounts of the national past.

In recent years writers such as Toni Morrison, Rita Dove and Philip Roth have all included African American World War I veterans in their work; even the 2005 remake of King Kong added in a black former Great War sergeant. The Great War experiences of African American soldiers in 1917 and 1918 did have a thorough and long-lasting effect on African American culture; they made it more alive to cosmopolitan exchanges, provided models of manhood for the next generation, and raised important questions about the relation of black Americans to national history and memorial. Du Bois's 'soldiers of democracy' may not have won the fight against racial injustice in the USA, but they left a powerful legacy to an African American culture which played such a crucial role in that fight in the years to come.

[1] W.E.B. Du Bois. 'Returning Soldiers.' *The Crisis* May 1919. Rpt. in *W.E.B. Du Bois: An A.B.C. of Color*. International Publishers: New York, 1969, 107-109.

[2] Robert L. Wolf, 'Les Noirs.' *The Messenger* Jan. 1923: 578.

[3] Joseph Seamon Cotter Jr. 'On the Fields of France.' *The Crisis* June 1920: 77.

[4] May Miller. 'Stragglers in the Dust.' *Black Female Playwrights: An Anthology of Plays before 1950*. Ed. Kathy A. Perkins. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1990: 148.

From Lucy to Language:
The Archaeology of the Social Brain

In 2003 the British Academy selected 'Lucy to Language' as its Centenary Research Project. **Professor Robin Dunbar FBA**, *Co-Director of the Project, reports on the first phase of the research programme to unpack what it means to be human.*

FEW would disagree that humans are a remarkable species. Though we share a long history with our great ape cousins, and much of our biology and psychology is all but indistinguishable from theirs, nonetheless those handful of features whereby we do differ are little short of spectacular. Only humans have created the computer, put anyone on the moon, written the works of Shakespeare and Molière, built the Great Wall of China, conceived the philosophies of Emmanuel Kant and Lao Zi, or invented religions as diverse as shamanism and Christianity. The list could go on. But while our technical skill is impressive, it is really our capacity to live 'in the imagination' that really differentiates us from all other animals. We seem to have uniquely advanced cognitive capacities that allow us to create virtual realities in the mind in a way that no other species can even come close to. It is human culture that sets humans apart.

So if we accept that it is here, in the world of the imagination, that the uniqueness of human nature lies, we are left with an obvious question: why should it have come to be this way? And why should it be only us?

Professor Robin Dunbar contemplates the skull of a European Neanderthal. Neanderthals very successfully occupied Europe and western Asia from around 200,000 years ago until they were displaced by the arrival of modern humans. The last Neanderthals died out around 28,000 years ago in Spain.

Ever since the discovery in 1856 of the first human fossil in the Neander valley near Düsseldorf in western Germany, archaeologists have puzzled about the course of human evolution. As the antiquity of our lineage has gradually been pushed back to its current origins at around 6 million years ago, several startling discoveries have emerged. The real shocker for our Victorian forebears would have been the fact that we are more closely related to the chimpanzees than either of us is to the gorilla, or any of the other monkeys and apes. But surprising as that bald fact may be, our subsequent history after our lineage parted company from that of the other apes some 6 million years ago contains even more surprises. One is the fact that the road from these earliest ape-like creatures to us has been far from linear. It has been more like a bushy tree, with a multitude of species of our family around at any one time. Indeed, the situation in which we currently find ourselves is almost unique: for the last 30,000 years, we have been the only member of our family alive. Yet, in the six million years prior to this there had been anything between two and half a dozen species around at any given time. Another surprise – offered us by developments in modern genetics barely a decade ago – is that modern humans had a rather traumatic birth: all currently living humans descend from just a handful of individuals who lived about 200,000 years ago. All the other lineages then alive went extinct over the ensuing 150 millennia, while ours underwent very rapid evolution – particularly in terms of brain size and geographic dispersion. It was more by luck than judgement that our lineage made it at all.

While the archaeologists have told us a great deal about the bare bones and stones of this story, two of the most important questions we could ever ask remain tantalisingly unanswered: What is it that makes us human? And how and why did we come to be that way? The Lucy to Language Project – the Lucy Project, for short – has the ambitious aim of trying to answer these two great conundra by filling in the social and cognitive

Handaxes at the 1.5 million year old hominid site at Chesowanja in the Kenya Rift Valley, east of Lake Baringo.

Right: Remains of houses at the Neolithic village site of Beidha in Jordan. When agriculture forced humans to settle in villages, it dramatically affected the patterns of our social relationships and changed the nature of social life for ever.

interstices between the bones and stones of the human story. The core to this endeavour lies with the Social Brain Hypothesis, the brain child of evolutionary psychologist Robin Dunbar FBA, one of the co-Directors of the Lucy Project. The Social Brain Hypothesis was originally developed as an explanation for the fact that monkeys and apes (and, of course, humans) have unusually large brains for their body size. The ex-planation for this lies in primates' intensely complex social lives, which are more cognitively demanding than the simpler social lives of other species. Within the primates, there is a simple relationship between brain size, on the one hand, and both social group size and social complexity, on the other hand. By applying some of the ideas of the Social Brain Hypothesis to the human fossil record, we hope to be able to illuminate the story of human social evolution.

So grand a project would inevitably be beyond the scope of a single discipline, so the Lucy Project has always been conceived as being a multi-disciplinary venture. Palaeolithic archaeology and evolutionary psychology constitute its essential core as the parent disciplines of the Project's three Directors. Professor Clive Gamble FBA (School of Geography, Royal Holloway University of London) is a specialist in the late Palaeolithic, with a particular interest in Upper Palaeolithic societies. Professor John Gowlett (School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology at the University of Liverpool) is a specialist in the first two million years of the long stone age record. And Professor Robin Dunbar FBA (School of Biological Sciences, University of Liverpool) is an evolutionary psychologist with particular interests in the evolution of sociality. In addition to these core disciplines, a number of other disciplines will be providing essential input into the grand story by helping to unpack what it means to be human. So far, these have included social and cognitive psychology, social anthropology, history, linguistics and sociology, but we expect the political sciences, economics, philosophy and religious studies, among others, to play a part as the Project develops.
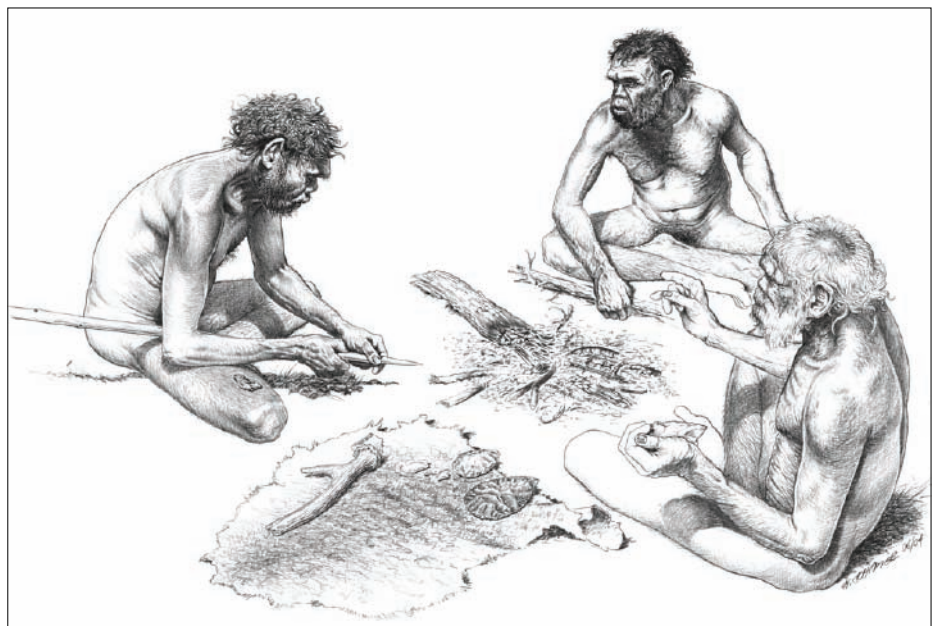
The early phases of the Project have focused on understanding the broad ecological and cognitive background among monkeys and apes and what this has to tell us about the social life of our earliest ancestors, the australopithecines – one of whom was the famous Lucy, the 3.2-million-year-old fossil skeleton discovered in the Ethiopian desert in 1974 (said to have been named after the Beatles' song *Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds*). One of the aims of this phase of the project has been to identify some of the key crisis points in early human evolution that triggered major developments on the track leading to modern humans. At what point did meat-eating, for example, become critical? What constraints might there have been on the evolution of social groups? Modern humans are characterised by what is termed a 'fission-fusion' social system – we belong to dispersed social networks whose members do not necessarily meet all that often, even though they continue to share a sense of community, a characteristic we share with chimpanzees and some of the other apes. Understanding the ecological and cognitive forces that give rise to, and limit, these kinds of social systems provides an important starting point for exploring the broader scale of later human evolution.

The nature of social networks in modern humans is itself an important part of the Lucy Project, since this is the end-point up to which the long story of human evolution leads. As part of this, the size and structure of personal social networks is being explored among contemporary humans in modern post-industrial societies. In collaboration with Professor Bob Layton, a social anthropologist at the University of Durham, the lessons to be learned from contemporary hunter-gatherer societies are being explored, and then projected backwards into human evolutionary history to see how earlier societies might have worked and when their key elements might have emerged. In addition, these ideas are being applied to a number of historical case studies to give us insight into particular circumstances. In collaboration with medieval historians, for example, we are exploring the social world of the early Viking colonists of Iceland in order to discover how communities organise themselves in the absence of the constraints of formal political control. At slightly greater remove, we are exploring the social impli-cations of the Neolithic transition at the dawn of agriculture, when the first settle-ments appeared. What impacts did the transition from hunter-gatherer to settled agriculturalist have on the way social life was organised? Finally, at even greater remove, we are exploring the context of hearths as foci of social life in the middle and late Palaeolithic of Europe and Africa: how did the growing control of fire influence our social world?

One of the surprising discoveries to emerge from this work has been that contemporary

The Three Wise Men? Stone tool knapping around the hearth as it might have been in the late Palaeolithic. (copyright: Karol Schauer)

Professor John Gowlett examines a hearth at the 400,000 year old occupation East Anglian occupation site at Beeches Pit.

Hearths became a focal centre for social life. Lightning strikes were presumably the source when our ancestors first learned to control fire.

Japanese macaques enjoy the relaxing experience of being groomed. Social grooming provides the glue that binds monkey and ape societies.

human social networks have a distinct structure. We are embedded in a series of concentric rings – the circles of acquaintance-ship – whose sizes have a very consistent ratio to each other: each circle is almost exactly three times the size of the circle immediately inside it. The innermost circle consists of about five people with whom we have very intense relationships; the circle outside this includes an additional 10 people with whom we have a less intense but still strong relationship, making a total of 15 people in all; beyond this lie successive layers that enclose 50, 150, 500 and 1500 individuals. Both the frequency of contact and the intimacy of our relationships seem to drop off precipitously at each of these boundaries. Indeed, the circle that includes 150 individuals seems to be especially significant, because it marks out all those people whom we know as *persons*, as individuals with

whom we have an individually definable relationship. They are the people whom we trust, whom we can count on for favours because we are linked to them through a series of personal relationships and social obligations. Individuals differ somewhat, of course, in the exact sizes of their circles of acquaintanceship – some people are just more social than others – but it seems that the pattern holds good across a wide range of individuals, societies and cultures.

Trying to understand why this pattern should be so remains a major challenge for the Lucy Project, not least because it seems to have important implications both for the way societies as a whole are organised and the way that businesses and other organisations are structured. Are the circles caused by psychological constraints on how many individuals we can hold at a particular level of emotional intensity? And if the limit is a psychological one, how does it relate to the size and structure of our brains? Or are these circles of acquaintanceship created by the fact that time is limited: if we have to invest a certain amount of time to make a relationship work at a given level, is the number of friends we can have at a given intensity limited by how much free time we have for socialising with them? Everyday experience would tell us that friendships fade gradually if they are not constantly reinforced by personal contact, especially those that are not in the most intense innermost circle.
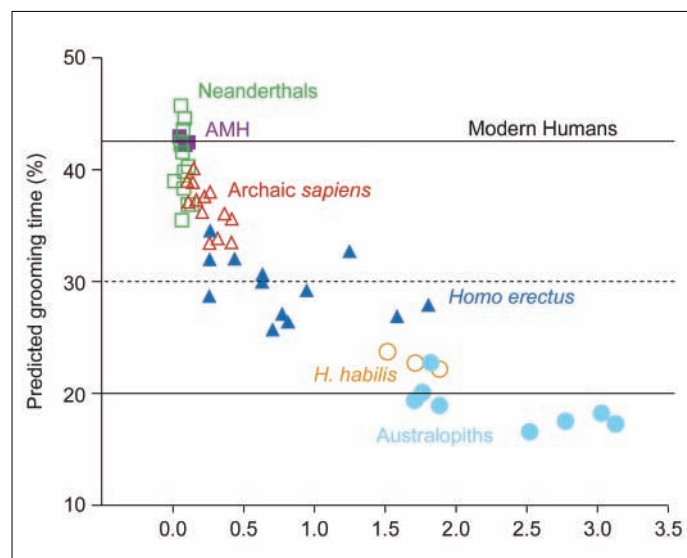
Human societies are, in many respects, social contracts. We create social groupings of the kind defined by our networks to allow us to solve the problems of survival and successful reproduction more effectively. But social contracts of this kind are fragile arrangements. They are always susceptible to freeriders – those who take the benefits of the social contract, but don't pay all the costs. If the temptation to freeride becomes too strong, and too many people cheat on the social system, the contract very quickly falls apart. Those who are exploited too often become reluctant to trust their neighbours, and there is a rapid spiral into selfishness. Societies based on social contracts like this need mechanisms that enforce commitment to the communal ideal and police freeriders (or at least, ensure that they do not become too common).

Caught as a 3D jigsaw: the world's earliest evidence for work by the fireside, from Beeches Pit in Suffolk. One flake (bright red) rolled forward into the fire as an early human was making a hand-axe.

This important issue about the 'glue' that holds society together is being explored in a series of studies on the behaviour of small groups. Do individuals who laugh and play together trust each other more, and behave more altruistically towards each other? How important are charismatic leaders in bonding small social groups? Some of these topics are being explored in the Lucy Project by Professor Mark van Vugt, a social psychologist at the University of Kent. Other aspects of human culture like music and dance, story-telling and religion seem to play important roles in the bonding of small-scale communities. They will be explored in contemporary society in collaboration with specialists in these areas. And, of course, around the hearths, whose origins are being

Social grooming provides the 'glue' that binds primate societies. Using equations derived from the behaviour and brain sizes of living primates, it has been possible to predict both how large the social groups of fossil hominids might have been, and how much of the day they would have needed to devote to grooming to ensure that they remained cohesive.

A dancing therianthrope (half human, half animal figure) painted on the wall of Volpe cave in southern France about 12,000 years ago. Both dance/music and the world of the imagination played a crucial role in the later stages of the evolution of modern humans. (copyright: Arran Dunbar)

explored in the Palaeolithic record, what does one do but tell stories and sing songs, both of which serve important functions in bonding social groups? So the work on the early control of fire indirectly opens up a theme in the role of story-telling and music in creating a sense of community. And this raises further questions about the cognitive demands that story-telling, for example, makes on both story-tellers and their audiences. Many of these are issues of the moment, topics to which we would like answers in the here and now. Is a dysfunctional society the inevitable consequence of the fragmentation of our social networks as people move in search of career opportunities? Are there lessons to be learned about the contemporary situation from the apparent power of religion to move people, for example?

But whatever emerges from these studies of contemporary humans, we are always brought back to the archaeological record.

What can we learn about the origins of these phenomena from the signatures they have left us in the stones and the bones? What can the archaeological record tell us about the evolution of the anatomical structures that make language possible, or the cognitive demands of tool-making? Can we say anything about when they first appeared, and the circumstances under which they did so? And do these, in turn, tell us anything about the reasons why these capacities evolved? Some of these questions are already being explored by members of the Lucy Project, but as our understanding of these core social and cognitive features of what it is to be human emerge from our research, so it will cue us in to the key traits to search for, as well as help us identify the likely time frames within which we should look.

Visit the Lucy Project website at www.liv.ac.uk/lucy2003/index.html

Everybody Counts
but Not Everybody Understands Numbers

DYSCALCULIA is a congenital condition that prevents people learning arithmetic. It is a serious handicap – at least as serious as dyslexia. It affects, according to our current best prevalence estimates, more than 5% of the population (that is, more than 3 million citizens of the UK alone).

The most usual lay and educational explanation of why children have severe difficulty in learning numerical skills is stupidity, or in a more sophisticated variant, poor reasoning ability. Conversely, there are many examples of people with generally very low cognitive abilities who are very skilled at calculation – those with 'savant skills'. These findings suggest that good reasoning is neither necessary nor sufficient for high levels of mathematical skills.

In general the career consequences of low maths ability are considerable. According to a study for the Basic Skills Agency, poor numeracy is more of a handicap than poor literacy in getting a job, keeping a job and getting a promotion. In a study described in more detail below, one nine-year old with very low arithmetical skills was clearly aware of this. He told us, 'If you don't learn, yeah, you won't have a good job and you'll be a dustbin man.'

Of course, it is possible to reach high office without good numerical skills. The former Chief Inspector of Schools, Chris Woodhead, in a radio discussion of maths teaching was asked to calculate half of three-quarters. He refused to answer. A spokesman later said, 'Chris did know, but didn't want to answer. Anyway, his speciality was English not mathematics.' Perhaps he was recalling what happened to Stephen Byers. As an education minister, he was responsible for introducing the new National Numeracy Strategy, which entailed memorisation of multiplication tables. In a radio interview, he was asked, 'Mr Byers, what is 8 x 7?' He answered '54'. He didn't last much longer at Education. He was transferred to the Treasury.

Poor arithmetical skills also have emotional consequences. Anna Bevan and I carried out a study with eight- to nine-year old children for the DfES. Our original purpose was to assess children's attitudes to the new National Numeracy Strategy, to maths lessons, and more particularly why some children showed 'maths anxiety'. There is a Maths Anxiety Rating Scale, but this is just a measurement tool, not an explanation. We thought the best approach would be to ask the children. However, a one-on-one interview between a Large Teacher-like Person (LTLP) and a small pupil-like person seemed to us likely to elicit the kind of answers the child has learned the LTLP wants and expects. So instead we organised the students into five child focus groups with a moderator, Anna, who would lead the discussion. We also divided the children according to their maths ability, so those with low ability would be able to share their problems, and those with average and good abilities could discuss theirs. We were surprised, and shocked, by what the children said. The following verbatim transcripts from two groups illustrate the common experience of dyscalculic children: falling behind the rest of the class and feeling isolated, stupid and distressed, as a consequence:

Moderator: How does it make people feel in a maths lesson when they lose track?

Child 1: Horrible

Moderator: Horrible? Why's that?

Child 1: I don't know

Child 3: (whispers) He does know

Moderator: Just a guess

Child 1: You feel stupid

(School 5)

Child 5: It makes me feel left out, sometimes.

Child 2: Yeah.

Child 5: When I like – when I don't know something, I wish that I was like a clever person and I blame it on myself –

Child 4: I would cry and I wish I was at home with my mum and it would be – I won't have to do any maths –

(School 3)

And these children, we learned, are teased and stigmatised by their peers. Since the National Numeracy Strategy requires a daily maths lesson with whole class teaching, there can be daily humiliation or distress.

Now, mathematics, even in the first grades of schooling, is made up of a wide variety of skills. These include being able to read and write numbers, understanding number words, counting, estimating, retrieving arithmetical facts (number bonds, multiplication tables), understanding arithmetical laws such as commutativity of addition and multiplication (but not subtraction and division), knowing the procedures for carrying and borrowing in multi-digit tasks, being able to solve novel word problems, and so on. To solve many arithmetical problems may require recruiting several of these skills, each of which may go wrong in several ways. On tests of arithmetic, any error will lead simply to nul points on that question. Therefore very different cognitive problems can lead to similar outcomes on standardized tests of arithmetical ability. And of course, there are many other reasons, besides cognitive deficits, for performing poorly on tests of arithmetic, among them behavioural problems, anxiety, missing lessons, and inappropriate teaching.

Given the complexity of even early school arithmetic, and the range of symptoms, it is not surprising that investigators have come up with a variety of theories as to why children have difficulty learning arithmetic. These try to explain the problem in terms of some other, more general or more 'basic',

cognitive capacity, such as memory, spatial ability, language, or reasoning ability. All of these theories are highly plausible. But there is another.

Numerosity – the core number concept

Piaget, following the philosophers of mathematics with whom he worked, distinguishes between cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers. Cardinals denote the number of objects in a set. Thus cardinal 5 denotes the set of my fingers and thumb. Cardinal 5 is bigger than the set of my fingers alone, 4, and includes it. Addition can be defined in these terms fairly straightforwardly in terms of the cardinality of the union of two disjoint sets, e.g. each of my hands has the cardinality of the set of fingers 4, and their union has the cardinality 8. I am going to refer to the cognitive conception of cardinality as numerosity.

Ordinal numbers are defined in terms of a successor operation. 5 is the successor of 4; if you take the fourth successor of 4 you get ordinal 8. This is ordinal addition. We use ordinals in a different way, for example to number pages in a book. Page five follows page four, but does not include it, and is not bigger than it. Learning to count is in part learning to align a sequence of elements which have a fixed order, the counting words, with numerosities, so that you come to realise that when you have counted a set of objects, the last word in the count is the name of the numerosity of the set. Being able to recite the list of count words and to be able to align them in one-to-one correspondence with members of the set to be counted is not the same as having a sense of the numerosity of the set. Studies of learning to count, especially by Fuson and colleagues, and Gelman and colleagues, show how these two aspects develop at first separately, and then are integrated as the child understands more. Thus, it takes months or years for the child who knows the sequence of counting words and can put each word into one-to-one correspondence with the objects in a set, to understand that the numerosity of a set can be established by counting. Fuson suggests that children may notice that when they count a set 'one two three', they get the same number as when they 'subitize' the set – that is, recognise its numerosity without

counting. Most of us can recognise numerosities up to about 4 without explicit counting, and this may be an important preverbal capacity. This helps the child realise that counting up to N is a way of establishing that a set has N objects in it. Repeating the count, and getting the same as the number obtained from subitizing, will reinforce the idea that every number name represents a unique numerosity.

Now, one can match a definite sequence of words to members of a set without using number words at all, for example by matching each member with a letter of the alphabet or a month of the year. Of course, if you already know that this procedure will yield a numerosity, then you will know that 'f' objects or 'June' objects will represent a particular number which can be established by matching the sequence of letters or months to the number words 'one, two, three, four, five, six'. But to do this requires prior understanding of numerosities and how counting can yield them.

Counting is the basis of arithmetic for most children. Since the result of adding two numerosities is equivalent to counting the union of two disjoint sets with those numerosities, children can learn about adding by putting two sets together and counting the members of their union.

Children make use of their counting skills in the early stages of learning arithmetic. The number words, as we noted in the introduction, have both a sequence and a numerosity (or cardinal) meaning. As Fuson and Kwon point out, 'in order for number words to be used for addition and subtraction, they must take on cardinal meanings.' Children often represent the numerosity of the addenda by using countable objects, especially fingers, to help them think about and solve arithmetical problems. Thus, both developmentally and logically, arithmetic depends on numerosities.

Dyscalculia as a deficit in the concept of numerosity

Our hypothesis is that dyscalculia is a deficit in the grasp of numerosities. Dyscalculics do not have an intuitive idea of threeness or sevenness – though may know that sevenness can be the result of counting. Without these

concepts, acquiring arithmetic will be like learning a poem in a language you do not know. It's possible, but you do not understand the words, or the grammar, and you will not recognise paraphrases or be able to spot mistakes.

Dyscalculic children, and adults, will be much worse at arithmetic than their peers, and the usual diagnostic procedure is to set a criterion for how much worse on a test of arithmetical skills. Different authors use different criteria, but the typical criteria are two standard deviations worse than the control or two years behind the age cohort. Other authors, including Geary, use a much laxer criterion for the inclusion in a group with 'math difficulties' or 'arithmetic learning difficulties' which can be the bottom 25% or even 35% of the cohort.

However, tests of arithmetic rely on how well educated you are, are there will be many reasons for being bad at arithmetic besides dyscalculia. Our approach has been to use tests of numerosity estimation and numerosity ordering as a measure of the *capacity* to learn arithmetic, which can be almost completely independent of education. The tests of estimation and ordering are shown in Figure 1.

On this approach, the child can be poor at arithmetic and dyscalculic, poor at arithmetic and not dyscalculic, but, in the theory, cannot be dyscalculic and good at arithmetic. Karen Landerl, Anna Bevan and I used this approach in a small study for the DfES. Our aim was to see whether low scores on these capacity tasks were indeed the signatures of dyscalculia

In the part of the study I will report here, there were 10 dyscalculic 9-year-olds and 18 matched controls. We wanted to ensure that our sample were really poor at maths, and so took the lowest 5% of age-group on timed arithmetic, who were also identified by teachers as having particular problems with learning arithmetic. In order to rule out complicating factors, children in the dyscalculia group had normal or superior IQ, and also normal reading, language, short-term memory. This is not to say that a child cannot have dyscalculia, dyslexia, low IQ, poor language and poor memory all at once, but our aim was to establish that one could
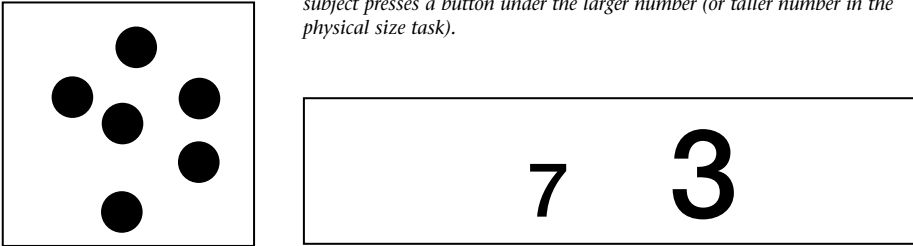
Figure 1. Tests of estimation and ordering

Panel 1A – below left, shows a standard test of estimating numerosities. Typically there are 1 to 9 dots randomly arrayed and the subject had to respond as quickly as possible with the number name (in this case 'six'). Response time (RT) is related to the number of dots: for 1 to 4 dots, the RT increases at about 60 ms per dot, for 5 to 9 dots it increases by about 200 ms per dot. This difference has been interpreted as suggesting that two processes are at work.

Panel 1B – below right, shows a standard test for ordering numerosities. The subject has to name the numerically larger number (here 7). In a second task, the subject has to name the taller (physically larger) number (here 3). This enabled us to assess both the time taken to make numerical judgements and physical judgements.

Both tasks have been adapted for use by teachers and educational psychologists, by asking for button press judgements instead of spoken responses. For estimation, the subject compares the dots with a numeral and presses a button designated as 'match' or 'non-match'; for ordering, the subject presses a button under the larger number (or taller number in the physical size task).

be dyscalculic without any of these other cognitive disabilities

On formal testing, the dyscalculic children were much slower and less accurate than their peers on single-digit addition, subtraction and multiplication; this is not surprising, since they were selected for being poor at arithmetic. They were also strikingly slower at our tasks of numerosity estimation and ordering.

To give you some idea of an individual child affected in this way, JB is not untypical. When we saw him he was 9 years 7 months old, right handed, not dyslexic and normal in all school subjects except maths, which he found impossible. On formal testing, he failed even the easiest arithmetic questions of the British Abilities Scale. Nevertheless, he was able to read and write numerals, and could count up to 20, albeit slowly. Using his counting ability he could answer, 'what comes next?' questions, such as what comes next after 3, which meant that he had a good sense of the sequence number words. However, he believed that $3+1$ is 5, and in general was exceptionally poor on the simplest arithmetic tasks in out battery. On the tests of numerosity estimation, he accurately esti-mated dots up to 3, but guessed when there were four or more dots. He seemed to find numerosity ordering impossible. So here was an intelligent, sociable boy, who did well at school, but whose grasp of basic numerical concepts was disastrous.

The idea that grasp of basic numerical concepts is at the root of dyscalculia is usefully captured in the DfES definition: 'A condition that affects the ability to acquire arithmetical skills. Dyscalculic learners may *have difficulty understanding simple number concepts, lack an intuitive grasp of numbers*, and have problems learning number facts and procedures. Even if they produce a correct answer or use a correct method, they may do so mechanically and without confidence.' (DfES, 2001, emphasis added.)

Since slow and inaccurate performance on our tests of capacity seemed to be good predictors of severe arithmetical learning difficulty, we have developed a classroom version that teachers and educational psychologists can easily use.

Our methods have now been used in the largest prevalence study so far undertaken. Vivian Reigosa and her colleagues have screened a cohort of over 11,000 children from 6 to 14 years in the Centro district of Havana. They found that 6.7% were dyscalculic on the basis of numerosity estimation and ordering tests, and this predicted poor performance on standardized tests of school mathematics. This is very much in line with the previous best estimate, from a cohort study in Tel Aviv, which found a prevalence of 6.4% using a criterion of two years behind the mean for the age group.

Dyscalculia also seems to be persistent in at least some cases. We have now seen many

severely affected adults, but we do not know what proportion of childhood dyscalculics is still dyscalculic in adulthood. There have been no longitudinal studies of the effects of intervention specific to dyscalculia. In fact, there are very few interventions targeted specifically at dyscalculia. We have recently proposed a teaching scheme which focuses on what I have argued is the key deficit, and is therefore aimed at helping children understand basic numerical concepts. Dorian Yeo, the co-author, and a highly experienced special needs teacher, has had good early results in pilot studies, but the whole programme needs to be properly evaluated with different teachers and children with a range of diagnosed number problems.

We can now carry out a reliable differential diagnosis, separating the true dyscalculics with a deficit in basic number concepts from those of us who are bad at maths for other reasons. We are beginning to understand the brain systems for numerical processing, and how they can go wrong. And now we are in a position to scan these brains to look for abnormal activation, and to begin to look for a genetic basis of the condition.

However, compared with dyslexia, research is at a very early stage. We will need to do basic things like document the types and degrees of dyscalculia, explore patterns of hereditability and trace the development of normal and abnormal brain systems for number processing. Apart from Dorian Yeo's groundbreaking work, there is very little in the way of intervention methods targeted at diagnosed dyscalculia. Even here, the intervention programme has not yet been fully evaluated. Because everyone counts, it is vital that those who do not understand numbers are identified as early as possible, supported, just as dyslexics are supported within the school system, with specialised teaching, and properly-trained learning support assistants.

The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral

*Wells Cathedral contains one of the most substantial collections of medieval stained glass in England. In 2004 the British Academy published, in a handsome two-volume set, the first fully illustrated study of this exceptional glass. It forms the next part of the British contribution to the international Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi series (Catalogue of Medieval Window Glass). Author **Dr Tim Ayers**, Secretary of the British CVMA committee, here discusses two particular windows.*

Below is one of a striking group of bust-length patriarchs and pre-lates in the window tracery of the octagonal Lady Chapel in Wells Cathedral. The building was finished by spring 1326. Dunstan, the tenth-century reformer of the English Church, was born near Glastonbury and rose to become its abbot, as well as Archbishop of Canterbury. The abbey claimed his relics, and large gifts were made towards the shrine by Abbots Sodbury (1323–1334) and Breynton (1334–1342). At Wells, which lies just ten miles from the great Benedictine foundation, Dunstan enjoyed a high grading in the calendar by the mid-eleventh century, and there is evidence of continuing and regular interest. The Communar's Accounts, beginning in 1327–28, record payments for the collection of 'Dunstan's gift', which in 1178 was described as two loaves, two barrels of mead and two kids or pigs, 'yearly rendered by the monastery of Glastonbury from the time of St Dunstan, by his institution.' By 1343–44, one of the cathedral's bells bore his name, a constant and speaking reminder. Dunstan's relatively prominent presence in the Lady Chapel glass honours the local saint, but may not have been an open-handed tribute to Glastonbury, with which relations were often difficult. He is shown in this window within the hierarchy of the secular church.

*sII C2. **St Dunstan**, in trefoil, frontal bust of the archbishop, white chasuble and amice, with murrey apparel, flesh in pink, hair, beard and separately leaded eyes in white, yellow jewelled mitre, blue ground with white oak leaves and acorns, lion border, yellow Lombardic inscription at lower edge 'S(ANCTUS): DV/[NST]/AN'; c.1325–30. Inserts. Pitting and corrosion, especially to pink, murrey and yellow mitre. Trefoil h c.0.55m.*

On the right is one of a number of French stained glass panels that were acquired by Wells Cathedral in the early nineteenth century, when many English buyers were taking advantage of the large quantities of continental glass that were coming onto the market, in the wake of Napoleonic secularization and conquest. English churches are still remarkably rich in Belgian, French and German glass, especially of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as a result. The Wells panels almost certainly originated in Rouen and this is one of five that were rumoured to come from the church of Saint-Jean (now destroyed). Other panels from the same series, all showing scenes from the Apocryphal life of St John the Evangelist, taken from the Golden Legend, are now in Ely Cathedral and the Burrell Collection, Glasgow. Male donor figures in the Glasgow panels wear armour and tabards bearing arms, indicating that the whole series was the gift of the family of Bigars de la Londe.

sVII 2b–4b. **St John the Evangelist** *prays and an idol falls, to the left, the Apostle is on one knee, hands clasped, in a plum-coloured gown, under a white cloak with an ornamental hem and blue lining, foot, hands and face in white glass, with sanguine and silver stain for hair, pot yellow patterned halo; before a column, the base with clasical ornament (confronted beasts), the shaft in pink with a yellow base and capital, from which a broken silver-stained idol holding a pennoned shaft and buckler is falling; behind John, the high priest watches and turns away, in ruby gown with green sash, white collar and silver-stained headdress bearing a crescent moon, other male and female figures behind, their hands clasped in prayer, before the entrance to the temple of Diana, painted on white with some sanguine, on an emerald green ground with tufts of plants, and two birds painted at John's feet, in white with sanguine and with silver-stained claws, Rouen, c.1510–30. h 1.95m, w 0.58m.*

Ancient Pottery on the Web

Professor Donna Kurtz, *Beazley Archivist and Professor of Classical Art at the University of Oxford, describes the digitisation of* Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, *the oldest research project of the Union Académie Internationale.*

THE *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* project was adopted by the Union Académie International (UAI) in 1922 on the proposal of Edmund Pottier (figure 1), curator of antiquities in the Louvre. The first volume appeared in 1923, and the first British volume in 1925. By now more than 300 have been published by over 100 museums in 26 different countries, offering a unique resource for classics, archaeology, and the history of art. Not surprisingly, the majority are by now out of print, and the International Committee looked for ways of making such important reference material readily available again. The Beazley Archive in Oxford was invited to propose a programme of placing the whole material on line. The three-year project began in 2001, funded in part by the Getty Grant Program, with contributions from national academies in Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. The British Academy awarded a three-year Larger Research Grant for the project in 2001.

The Beazley Archive had established a reputation since 1979 for electronic documentation of Athenian black- and red-figure pottery with a database that now has more than 101,000 records and 122,000 images. This was accepted as a British Academy Research Project in 1982. The Archive's electronic assets are now in excess of five
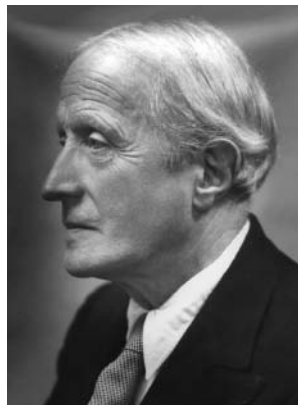
terabytes. All except the uncompressed images are available on *www.beazley.ox.ac.uk*, which receives more than 200,000 hits per day.

In autumn 2004 approximately 100,000 illustrations and data from more than 250 out-of-print fascicules of *CVA* were made available on the the web, for scholars and the general public, free of charge. The dedicated web site, www.cvaonline.org (figure 5), is a mirror of the project on www.beazley.ox.ac.uk. This new enterprise realises for the twenty-first century ideals for the scholarly presentation of archaeological material first expressed almost one hundred years ago. The foundation of the UAI in 1919 had offered an ideal opportunity, but there was also a French national precedent from the eighteenth century, in works such as Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée* (from 1719) and the Comte de Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* (1752). When Pottier presented his proposal to the UAI six countries attended – England, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland and Italy. His plan of work was clear: each museum was responsible for its own publication; each fascicule might have 300 objects and each should be photographed. The material would come from Asia, Africa and Europe. Undecorated pottery should have minimal illustration, even one example

to represent many; the finer decorated should have many. The plan of publication was to follow that used by the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the short texts were to follow a carefully defined rubric.

J.D. Beazley (figure 2), who would become Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art at Oxford in 1925, objected to the inclusion of Proto-Elamite pottery (figure 3) in the first volume – one of Pottier's chief interests – and to the complicated rubrics, cropping of photographs, and restorations. The pre-historian V. Gordon Childe praised the inclusion of Proto-Elamite, but deplored the exclusion of German scholars. The German contribution to *CVA*, now one of the most distinguished in the series, began in 1938.

A world war did not halt publication, but it did affect the ability of scholars to discuss the project. In 1956, when they met in Lyons, they took the decision to focus the series on Greek (figure 4) and related pottery, contrary to the wishes of the founder. This was a direct result of the prominence of Beazley's method for the study of one large group of ancient pottery. He had assigned tens of thousands of Athenian black- and red-figure vases (*c*. 625–300 BC) to many hundreds of painters and groups. This achievement had

Left to right

1. Edmond Pottier (1855–1934), curator in the Louvre and founder of CVA. Daguerreotype by Manuel Brothers, after P. Rouet, Approaches to the Study of Attic Vases *(Oxford, 2001), pl. 21.*

2. Sir John Beazley (1885–1970), Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art, Oxford (1925–1956). Photograph by Cecil Beaton in the Beazley Archive.

3. Proto-Elamite beaker (h. 20.3cm., c. 3500 BC) given by the Louvre (on behalf of Pottier) to the Ashmolean Museum in 1921 on permanent loan. Photograph courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.
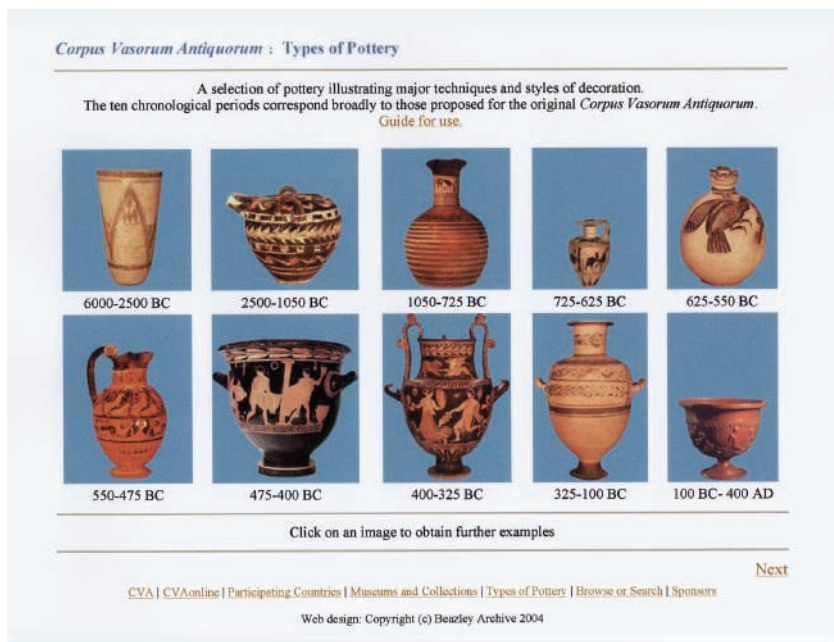
4. Athenian red-figure vase (h. 35cm., c.460 BC) in the Ashmolean Museum (G 287/V 526) with a scene of men making and decorating pottery. Photograph courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

a profound effect on his contemporaries. Artists' names (although not those of vase-painters) had been recorded in ancient texts, and from the mid-nineteenth century formed the basis of 'an archaeology of style' used by scholars of classical sculpture. This emphasis on the individual also affected studies in the history of art by the end of the century. The prestige of classical archaeology, established as a discipline before the history of art, even in Germany, was enormous.

Over the past two hundred years the classical antiquities that have been examined most extensively, beside sculpture and coinage, is Greek painted pottery. Its associations with fine art and connoisseurship have often been misunderstood and misrepresented. Placing it, as we have, on a website with prehistoric and late antique pottery, allows users to interpret material as they choose. The electronic *CVA* (figures 5–8) is, therefore, a research tool for prehistorians, classicists, and historians of art. They can browse page by page or search by country, museum, ware, etc. in five languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish). The *CVA* database has also been merged with the Archive's twenty-five year old pottery database. This means that the Athenian pottery can be searched in all its fields. Other types of pottery have basic cataloguing information (collection, type, shape), and scholars with datasets about them can link their data to the website, following the Beazley Archive's example. Each contributor's name and copyright will appear on web pages with his data. This is a service for scholars, potentially an on-line database of ancient pottery on the lines envisaged by Pottier. The site also offers services to museums. A database of their material has been created which they may adapt for their collection, if they wish. They may also access their own material in the *CVA* database held in Oxford, to make additions and corrections, of text and image, through a protected password access system.

Centre: 5. CVAonline Home Page. Design and copyright, Beazley Archive.

Left: 6. CVAonline Types of Pottery – an image-driven search of major types of pottery that can be found in Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Design and copyright, Beazley Archive.5. CVAonline Home Page. Design and copyright, Beazley Archive.

7. CVAonline *Types of Pottery, second page for the period* c. *6000–2500 BC. Design and copyright, Beazley Archive*

8. CVAonline *Types of Pottery, second page for the period* c. *475–400 BC. Design and copyright, Beazley Archive*

This electronic *CVA* is an on-going research project that will be maintained by the Beazley Archive, and financial support for this service should be provided by those national academies sponsoring *CVA*. As recent and new volumes go out of print they will be put on the web, and unless national academies or designated publishing houses inform us to the contrary, volumes will be deemed to be out of print ten years from the date of publication. While the traditional paper volumes continue to be published with the emphasis on Greek and related pottery, the electronic *corpus* on the web can develop into a collaborative research network, with institutes or individual scholars adding their own databases – a vision the project's founder, Edmond Pottier, would surely have welcomed.

Since few libraries have a complete set of *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* an electronic version on the web is a major contribution to scholarship. It also offers an opportunity to make this resource available to a wider public through image-driven search facilities (figures 6–8) linked to other programs on the Beazley Archive website and to its illustrated dictionary. *CVA* is, then, only the latest of the many projects undertaken by the Beazley Archive. The web site www.beazley.ox.ac.uk now also embraces classical sculpture, iconography, engraved gems and cameos, and the reception of classical art.

The *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* has been supported by the British Academy since its inception in the 1920s. The first fascicule published by the Academy appeared in 1954, and the British arm of the *CVA* was formally adopted as an Academy Research Project in 1962. The *CVA* has also received support through a number of research grants from the British Academy. The Beazley Archive Pottery database became an Academy Research Project in 1982.

The British Academy publishes many of the British fascicules in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. Details can be found on the web site at www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/

'The Age of Ivory': The Nimrud Project

The British School of Archaeology in Iraq has published five volumes in the Ivories from Nimrud *series, together with a scanned archive of these ivories. Two more volumes are in preparation, as is a computer database.* **Dr Georgina Herrmann FBA**, *Director of the Project, recounts some of the history of the ivories found at Nimrud.*

LITERALLY thousands of ivories were found in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the palaces, storerooms and wells of the Assyrian city, Kalhu (modern Nimrud), founded by Assurnasirpal II (883–859). So numerous are the ivories found there that they have given the early first millennium BCE the name of 'The Age of Ivory'. Whole elephant populations must have been slaughtered to provide the quantities of raw material required. Indeed, the Syrian elephant, hunted by both the Egyptian pharaohs in the late second millennium and the Assyrian kings, became extinct in the ninth century. Much of the ivory would have been provided by Phoenician traders exploiting the African elephant.

Ivory was used in many ways, for complete objects and as a veneer. It decorated furniture and formed bowls, dishes, fan-handles or bridle harness. Both life-size chryselephantine statues, foreshadowing that of Pallas Athene, as well as numerous smaller statuettes and animal sculptures were carved in this attractive material. There seems to have been a lust for conspicuous consumption at this time, and ivory itself, although highly prized, was not sufficiently luxurious. Pieces were covered with gold foil and some were coloured, with stains or inlaid with coloured glass or even semi-precious stones. Two of the finest examples are matching plaques, the Lioness and the 'Ethiopian', one of which is on display in the British Museum, although unfortunately the other was in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad and was looted in 2002 (figure 1). This dramatic scene takes place in a field of flowers, the flowers inlaid with lapis lazuli and carnelian, the stems overlaid with gold. The lioness holds the fallen man to her with one paw, biting his throat, but in this scene of violence the man seems to be a willing sacrifice rather than a victim. Such a design is derived from the art of Egypt, where it would have represented Pharoah triumphant.

These plaques were found by Max Mallowan in 1951 in the sludge at the bottom of a well (NN) in Assurnasirpal's North West Palace, a century after the first ivories had been found in the same Palace by Austen Henry Layard. Layard, a brilliant amateur archaeologist and later a politician, is principally famous for his recovery of the Assyrian reliefs, many of which are, of course, in the British Museum. Convinced of the site's potential, Mallowan returned to Nimrud in 1949 under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. He worked on buildings on the acropolis from 1949 to 1956, retrieving ivories from a variety of locations, including superb examples from the Palace wells. However, the bulk of the ivories for which the School's expedition is famous was recovered from the palace-arsenal known as 'Fort Shalmaneser', excavated under the direction of David Oates from 1958 to1962. This palace arsenal is located in the south east corner of the Lower Town and was built by Shalmaneser III (858–824), the son and successor of Assurnasirpal. One room was filled with rows of stacked chairs, mostly

Figure 1. This famous plaque, ND2547, is typically 'Phoenician' in style with an obvious debt to the art of Egypt, the lioness representing Pharaoh, and the fallen figure, his defeated enemy. One of a pair, the Iraq Museum version was looted in 2002, the other is in the British Museum. Courtesy of BSAI.

Figure 2. A panel from a chairback, ND6374, found in a storeroom filled with stacked rows of chairs, all decorated with variations on the theme of a man with a plant. This panel belongs to the 'classic SW7' style-group of the North Syrian tradition. Courtesy of BSAI.

decorated with men saluting plants (figure 2), while other rooms contained a mass of broken ivory, from which the gold overlays had been carefully removed. A lesser number were found scattered throughout the Fort in smaller magazines and residential areas.

The most remarkable ivories were retrieved in 1975 by the Iraqi State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage from the depths of Well AJ in the North West Palace, a well investigated by Mallowan, but abandoned because of the danger of collapsing walls. The ivories included superb examples of bridle harness, of pyxides and lion bowls, as well as parts of a statuette of an Assyrian courtier, some 55 cm. high.

The Well AJ pyxides are elaborately decorated. Attached to the lids are small calves, lying with turned heads and carved in the round. The most elaborate scene is on the 'Banquet Pyxis' (figures 3, 4 and 5) and shows what in other contexts would be considered to be a funerary meal, of a man seated on a sphinx throne with a loaded table in front of him and an attendant. Such scenes are common on grave stele in south-east Anatolia and north Syria at the time, although perhaps the most famous example is on the tenth century massive stone sarcophagus of King Ahiram of Byblos (figure 6). Apart from the style of carving – and of course the material and scale – the scenes are closely similar, but whether the meaning is the same is another question.

Like the plaque showing the Lioness and the Ethiopian, the pyxis was enriched with gold overlays and inlays, although the inlays seem to have been made of stained ivory rather than glass or stone. They are much larger and fixed by means of pegs as well as glue: such distinctive techniques help to establish the production of different workshops.

None of these ivories was made in Assyria: they were imported as part of vast quantities of tribute and booty which resulted from the highly successful campaigns undertaken by the Assyrian kings against the states to the

Figure 3. A nearly complete ivory pyxis belonging to the North Syrian tradition and probably carved in north-east Syria. It shows a banquet scene similar to that on the famous Ahiram sarcophagus in the Beirut Museum and is a remarkable instance of a common motif used by different media across the area. Courtesy of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
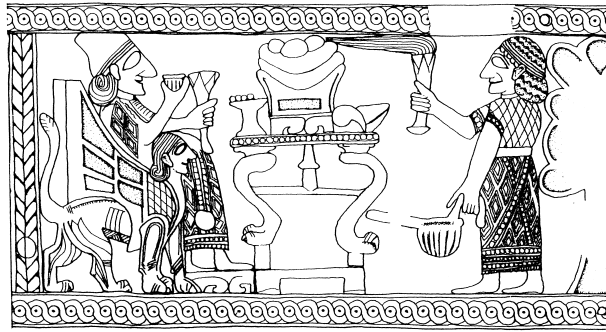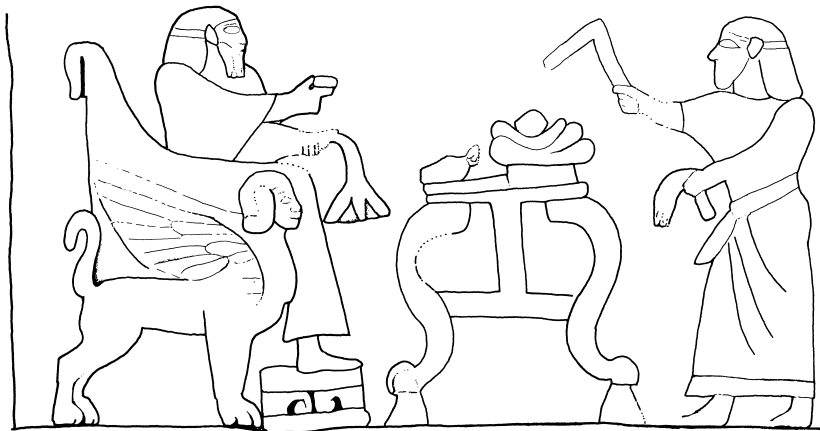

Figure 4. The 'Banquet Pyxis' from Well AJ, North West Palace, found by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage, drawn by Dirk Wicke.

Figure 5. A detail from the 'Banquet Pyxis' showing the enthroned figure on the sphinx throne, a typically Phoenician style of furniture. Courtesy of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Figure 6. The 'banquet scene' from the Sarcophagus of Ahiram in the Beirut Museum, drawn by Dirk Wicke.

independence and economic and political success by building fortified cities with palaces and temples. Neo-Hittite centres, such as Carchemish with an unbroken line of rulers from the time of the Hittite empire, continued Hittite conventions, setting massive lions and sphinxes in gateways and lining walls with carved orthostats. These kingdoms supported numerous artisans producing both major and minor arts, although their ostentatious wealth is best illustrated by what can be considered to be their almost mass production of ivories at this time. They are indeed the most important

West. Their discovery at Nimrud can, therefore, tell us nothing about their place or date of production, although we can establish their probable time of arrival at Kalhu, but even this is fairly flexible. Booty was brought to Nimrud from the time of Assurnasirpal II to that of Sargon II (721–705), after which the capital was moved first to Dur Sharrukin (Khorsabad) and then to Nineveh. Kalhu enjoyed a second period of prosperity during the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669), although Nineveh remained his favourite residence. Esarhaddon conquered Egypt and captured the Pharaoh Taharqa, whose scarab (figure 7) was found in Fort Shalmaneser, so some

ivories could have been deposited at Nimrud by Esarhaddon, but not later. The Assyrian cities were sacked in 614 and 612, with only squatter occupation in the following years.

The Levantine World

Most of the Nimrud ivories came from relatively recent or revitalized polities established in the Early Iron Age in south-east Anatolia, Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine by the heirs to the Hittites, the Luwians and the Neo-Hittites, by the Phoenicians and the Aramaeans and by the rising powers of Israel and Judah. These polities illustrated their

Figure 7. The half-scarab of the Pharaoh Taharqa, ND 7624, found in Fort Shalmaneser. Taharqa was captured by Esarhaddon and pictured on a series of victory stele. Courtesy of BSAI.

record of their art, preserved ironically thanks to the Assyrian policy of a deliberate 'removal of the treasures of his palace'.

It was recognized early in the twentieth century that there were two principal groups of ivories, those with a heavy debt to the art of Egypt, like the plaque with the lioness, called 'Phoenician' or 'Levantine', and those more closely linked to the sculptures of south-east Anatolia and north Syria, known as 'North Syrian', with a more powerful and less elegant design, of which the pyxis is an example. In the intervening years a new 'Intermediate' or 'Syrian' group has also been recognized, as have a number of sub-groups within the three main 'traditions'. What separates the groups are the proportions, style and technique of carving, fixing and decoration rather than subject, for the majority of ivories display a surprisingly limited repertoire of subjects, such as men saluting trees, sphinxes and griffins, ladies gazing out from windows, contest scenes, and animals such as cattle and deer.

A similar overall homogeneity of iconography but with stylistic differences can be seen in the carved orthostats of the North Syrian states, for instance at Ain Dara, Aleppo, Carchemish or Tell Halaf. It is at least a working hypothesis, therefore, that the different ivory groups that can be established among the Nimrud ivories reflect the different artistic languages of the polities of the day. Each employed a similar iconography to express common ideological concepts, but each commissioned a distinctive regional style to identify their different states.

While establishing coherent groups is an essential first step in organizing the ivories, allocating such groups to the relevant powers is another matter. However, there is in one case a happy marriage between a distinctive style of orthostat and a group of ivories. Tell Halaf was discovered by the German diplomat Baron Max von Oppenheim before the First World War when he was trying to establish the best route for a railway to link Berlin and Baghdad. He found there an extraordinary and imaginative range of sculptures and orthostats, which exhibit similar stylistic conventions to the 'flame and frond' group of ivories from Nimrud: indeed,

fragments of similar pieces were found at Tell Halaf. The Well AJ pyxis shown above is an excellent example of this group, with its characteristic physiognomy of the humans and the muscle markings on the animals.

The Assyrian annals suggest the probable time of production of the ivories. Bit Bahiani (Tell Halaf) is mentioned in the reign of Assurnasirpal, who demanded tribute. Being sited uncomfortably close to Assyria, Bit Bahiani was incorporated into the empire during the reign of Shalmaneser III. The ivories were, therefore, probably carved between the tenth century, when the state was established, and the mid to late ninth centuries, for independent production must have ceased with the Assyrian take-over.

From the Nimrud point of view completing the recording of the ivories themselves is the priority. However, equally important are the recent great advances in our understanding of the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in Syria. The sacking and abandonment of Ugarit among other sites at the end of the Late Bronze Age had led to the assumption that there was a general collapse or 'Dark Age' from 1200. However, new discoveries are challenging this concept and suggesting a varied pattern of occupation across the area. There is little proof, for instance, of a major division between Late Bronze Age Canaanites and Early Iron Age Phoenicians, while the discoveries of tenth

century temples at Ain Dara and Aleppo and the recently established continuity of kingship at Carchemish fills in other 'blanks'. Equally, although Assyria suffered a decline in the eleventh century it was not an eclipse. This more realistic picture of variable continuity across the area – the area around Ugarit remained unoccupied – helps to explain the similarities of some ivories found at Nimrud with those from Late Bronze Age Megiddo in Palestine or Enkomi in Cyprus. It suggests that traditions and iconography were maintained across the centuries.

Continuity may also help explain the remarkable parallelism between the design on the small Well AJ pyxis with that carved on Ahiram's sarcophagus, recently dated to the tenth century, a parallelism which reinforces our suggestion of a regional iconographic language with dialects. This later dating of the sarcophagus also helps fill in the pattern of occupation and production in the Phoenician cities and suggests that ivory production in these centres may have continued from the Late Bronze Age through into the seventh century.

With new archaeological information defining major centres within the Levant, with ongoing discoveries of new sculptures and assemblages of ivories (for instance recently from Til Barsib), and with more detailed studies of the material itself by a new generation of younger scholars, we can hope

Figure 8. A trapezoidal plaque, ND10543, part of a set of 6 or 8, making up a 'cup-stand'? It shows a sphinx striding over a fallen man, a similar motif to that on Plate 1, but in a different style. Courtesy of BSAI.

that the years ahead will establish the artistic map of early first millennium Syria and enable us to begin to understand the significance of the various images being employed. For instance, plaques showing lions slaying men (figure 8) carved in a school of the Intermediate Tradition (probably located in western or southern Syria) are unlikely to have represented Pharaoh defeating his Asiatic enemies, as they would have done in Egypt.

We should not leave Nimrud without mentioning another of its claims to fame – the incredible treasures recovered from the mainly undisturbed tombs of the Assyrian queens, found by the Iraqi archaeologist, Muzahim Mahmud, in the late 1980s and 1990s. His discovery ranks with that of the tomb of Tutankhamun, although, unfortunately, modern political problems have resulted in its importance being little recognized. The jewellery alone will rewrite the books on ancient technology and might also have an effect on modern design, while new light is being shed on many aspects of Assyrian life and death. Interestingly, from our point of view, there was hardly any ivory in these tombs – just ivory inlay on a mirror handle. And this, together with the relative paucity of ivories carved in Assyria itself and with the fact that most ivories were found in store rooms rather than residential areas, raises an interesting question. Did the Assyrian kings actually like or use the ivory they acquired in such quantities or were they simply removing the attributes of kingship?

English Episcopal Acta

In 2005 the Academy published the 30th in its ambitious series of volumes containing the texts of all English episcopal acta *to survive for the period between the Norman Conquest and the emergence of bishops' registers during the course of the thirteenth century.* **Professor Barrie Dobson FBA,** *current Chairman of the* English Episcopal Acta *editorial committee, reviews the progress of this enterprise and indicates its importance for all branches of medieval studies.*

O N 22 May 1973 the late Professor Christopher Cheney wrote from the British Academy to Dr David Smith, then a comparative newcomer to the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research of the University of York, inviting him to become General Editor of a 'new project' – to publish a comprehensive collection of all surviving charters and other formal documents or *acta* issued in the names of English bishops between the Norman Conquest and the emergence of episcopal registers during the thirteenth century. Christopher Cheney, quite as scrupulous in matters of business as of textual scholarship, was careful to point out that there was no guarantee of financial support at all. Nevertheless, 'I can see no serious danger of the Academy drawing back provided that our Committee can show that the work goes forward.' Thirty years and thirty volumes later no one can doubt that the confidence of Christopher Cheney and of the Academy a generation ago has proved to be well founded. Although not yet complete, the *English Episcopal Acta* series is certain to

Professor Christopher Cheney

be consulted – and indeed venerated – for centuries rather than merely decades to come.

In retrospect the decision by Christopher Cheney and his colleagues to embark on a comprehensive edition of all these episcopal *acta* must seem a remarkably ambitious leap in the dark, not least because it is only now beginning to be clear exactly how many such *acta* (more than 5,000 indeed) survive. Admittedly the significance of the latter as one of the few absolutely major documentary sources for the study of the post-Conquest English church had long been appreciated by a handful of English medievalists, if usually only in a very general way. Thus, although Sir Frank Stenton made an eloquent plea for the uniform publication of all extant episcopal *acta* in a celebrated article of 1929, for a generation thereafter it seemed inevitable that they would continue to be published piecemeal if at all, and in slow and erratic fashion. The decision to create a unified Academy episcopal *acta* series not only foreclosed on that possibility: it demonstrates to perfection, like other Academy Research Projects of the last fifty years, the massive scholarly achievement attainable when – and only when – a national institution is prepared to lend properly long-term support to a project so vast that it could otherwise never hope to be viable at all.

Many of the *acta* project's greatest personal debts are accordingly to the staff of the Academy, and to the many Fellows who have appreciated its value, although not at all medieval *acta* scholars themselves. Those benefactors and well-wishers, far too many to list here, range from the late Sir Geoffrey Elton, the Academy's Publications Secretary and his successors, to Professor Rees Davies, the last Chairman of the Committee of Academy Research Projects before that committee's demise in 2000. Even more

The seal of St Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln

important as the project has gathered momentum during the last decade has been the careful attention each of its thirty volumes has received from the Academy's Publications Department. Few scholars would deny that in their familiar red bindings the episcopal *acta* volumes are among the most handsome as well as 'reader friendly' of all volumes in the Academy's research series.

Although the Academy's good will has always been – as it still is – crucial to the success of the *Acta* project, it is only very intermittently that the latter has secured the funds to employ a full-time Research Assistant. Unlike most modern research programmes in the arts and humanities, the episcopal *acta* enterprise has mainly relied for material assistance on the willing and unpaid labours of the scholars involved and on the support

of their colleges and universities. In a class of its own is the contribution to all aspects of the *Acta* project made by the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Founded in 1953 within the fifteenth-century St Anthony's Hall in the centre of York, the Borthwick Institute became an integral part of the University of York when the latter came into existence in 1961. As the archive depository for the records of the archbishops and province of York, the Borthwick Institute was in a unique position to become the administrative base of the new *Acta* project. As early as 1971 the then Director of the Borthwick Institute, Mrs Norah Gurney, responded favourably to Professor Cheney's suggestion that the latter should serve as the effective administrative centre of the enterprise. Unfortunately Norah Gurney died too soon to see the Institute become the headquarters of this new venture; but within a few weeks of her death and the appointment of Dr David Smith as her successor as Director, the Borthwick began to provide a highly centrifugal research enterprise with a firm physical centre. Appropriately enough, it was Professor Smith himself who inaugurated the *Acta* series by publishing the volume devoted to the diocese of Lincoln (from 1067 to 1185) in 1980.

Quite as significant for the progress of the project has been its success in attracting the active support and participation of a wide circle of enthusiastic scholars who have been prepared to dedicate months and years of their research time to English episcopal *acta* for no financial reward. Such dedication is all the more remarkable given that the discovery, transcription and annotation of twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters is notoriously one of the most complex and demanding genres of textual scholarship in English – or indeed European – literary studies. However, perhaps partly for that very reason (research on episcopal charters offers their devotees an endless series of intriguing linguistic detective puzzles), the project gradually evolved into a collaborative enterprise between twenty or so very skilled – and very different – editors. They have ranged from senior members of the Academy, like Christopher Cheney himself and Frank Barlow, to younger scholars completing their first research projects. In a special category of her own is Dr Philippa Hoskin, not only

The Borthwick Institute at St Anthony's Hall (1953–2005)

because she has already edited as many as four *Acta* volumes herself, but also because she is now the senior medieval Archivist at the Borthwick Institute and David Smith's colleague as General Editor of the series as a whole.

Such a varied if distinguished conglomeration of scholars might seem likely to compose a somewhat discordant orchestra. That in fact so few scholarly or personal false notes have resounded during the last three decades of intensive research on the episcopal *acta* is due above all to Christopher Brooke, the project's chief conductor as well as its most persuasive strategist and energiser. Quite apart from scrutinising, like David Smith, more English episcopal acta than any scholar alive or dead, Christopher Brooke has fostered an atmosphere of harmonious communal endeavour by no means to be

taken for granted in such an ambitious collaborative research enterprise. It is a particularly appropriate recognition of his central role in the project that the Academy has recently decided to sponsor the publication of a special volume (edited by Dr Martin Brett and adorned with 100 illustrations) to be presented to him under the title of *Facsimiles of English Episcopal Acta, 1066-1300.*

As Christopher Brooke has always been at pains to point out, the main justification for a definitive edition of surviving episcopal *acta* is that no other source throws remotely as much light on the structural development of the English church in its most formative period. Without the survival of these official or quasi-official documents it would be quite impossible to place the famous rhetoric which accompanied the notorious conflicts

Dr Philippa Hoskin

A confirmation for the nuns of Newcastle by Walter Kirkham, bishop of Durham, 1249 x 1260 (British Library, Harley Charter 43 I.38)

between Archbishop Anselm and Henry I or Thomas Becket and Henry II within the context of a real and tangible *ecclesia Anglicana*. Not surprisingly, the *Acta* series has illuminated, as never before, the gradual if erratic development of episcopal power itself. One of the greater pleasures of the series is that the lengthy introductions to each volume (themselves a major contribution to medieval scholarship) provide new insights into the adminis-trative and other skills of those prelates who actually ruled the dioceses of medieval England. Moreover the historian of medieval episcopal *acta* enjoys the incidental advantage that there were, surprisingly, only seventeen medieval dioceses in the English realm after the foundation of the see of Carlisle in 1131–3. The *acta* of their bishops can therefore readily be studied and published diocese by diocese. Such an approach itself

illustrates the extreme variations in the development of post-Conquest English episcopal administrative practice. Thus only one volume in the series (*EEA 30*) suffices to contain all the acta of the diocese of Carlisle from 1133 to 1292; but (at the opposite extreme) no less than seven volumes in the series will be needed to provide a complete collection of all the *acta* of the archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 to 1278.

Like most important research projects, the episcopal *acta* series has an exhilarating tendency to raise even more significant questions than those it answers. Certain familiar problems, like the identity of the personnel who served in episcopal households, have never been so well documented as they now are by successive *Acta* volumes. On the other hand, it can still remain extremely difficult to know how far (in Sir James Holt's formulation of the problem) 'the surviving documents represent the administrative activities from which they spring'. That said, the *Acta* project leaves no serious doubt of the increasing authority of the English bishops over their dioceses during the reigns of the Norman, Angevin and early Plantagenet monarchs. Throughout this long period the great majority of surviving episcopal charters always tended to be concerned with parish churches and monasteries. Thus of the 150 surviving *acta* from the diocese of York between 1070 and 1154, approximately half are confirmations of grants of churches and privileges made to religious communities. It can hardly fail to

An agreement between Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester, and the master of Hospitallers, dated 1185

Illuminated initial letter from the Vita Galfridi, possibly intended to represent Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York. Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

follow that such texts are critical to our understanding of the origins of those most fundamental institutions of the English medieval church, the monastic houses and the parishes. Not surprisingly, given the landed wealth needed to sustain the former, bitter conflicts for property and prestige led to the widespread habit of forgery, a problem which still bedevils the interpretation of so many charters issued by bishops during the two centuries after the Norman Conquest. Medieval forgery is more complex than it might seem; and an astonishing number of major monasteries in England (and some very minor ones) were involved in a practice which presents modern scholars with the problem of where documentary 'truth' really lies.

Genuine and forged episcopal *acta* alike can throw intense beams of light into many otherwise mysterious corners of medieval history. They provide invaluable insights into subjects as diverse as the money-lending activities of Anglo-Jewry, the concept and practice of early medieval marriage as well as the size of Norman cathedral naves and the origins of English surnames. All these topics, like the many others raised by the *Acta* series, are likely to be a matter for debate as long

as traditional English scholarship survives. But then in the last resort the episcopal *acta* series was always bound to be a programme for the future rather than the past. In Christopher Brooke's most cogent argument for the value of the project as a whole, 'only with full texts of all comparable *acta* can their secrets be wrung out of them'. That ambition is at last almost within reach. Shortly after the first volume of *English Episcopal Acta* was published in 1980 our Committee began to develop the hope that the enterprise might be fully accomplished exactly thirty years later. It is all the greater a pleasure to report that by the end of 2006 volume 32 will be in the press; and, barring the unexpected, the 46th and last volume will complete the series in 2010. No doubt not all their secrets will ever be fully revealed; but that can hardly prevent the published *acta* of their early medieval bishops from becoming one of the few indispensable guides to the genesis of the English state and church.

Popular Recreation and the Significance of Space

ALL sports and recreations require some space for their exercise, but this simple observation has meant very different things for different people throughout history. Certainly for the poor in eighteenth-century England, space for recreation was not something that could simply be taken for granted. The problem was not that suitable land was in short supply, it was that the poor did not possess any parks or playing fields of their own, and they consequently needed to appropriate some kind of public space in order to enjoy their sports and recreations. Whether for games of football or cricket, for annual feasts or fairs, for bonfires at Guy Fawkes or for dancing at May, space of some kind needed to be found. And this straightforward requirement has had many significant, yet unpredictable, consequences for the recreations of the poor.

Eighteenth-century England did not lack the kind of open spaces suitable for recreation: the commons, the village green, the market place, or the public street – all might be used by all comers for the purpose of fun and games. But these spaces were as diverse as they were numerous, and one activity could assume many different forms depending on exactly where it was enjoyed.

We can see the chameleon-like nature of popular recreation by looking at the custom of throwing at cocks on Shrove Tuesday, one of the oldest and most widely celebrated

Dr Emma Griffin held a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge from 2001 to 2004, during which she studied the history of popular sports and recreations in the long eighteenth century. Here, she illustrates one aspect of her research.

dates in eighteenth-century England. Cock-fighting and football on Shrove Tuesday were recorded by William Fitzstephen in the late twelfth century, and repeated prohibition orders throughout following centuries suggest a continuous history of these customs throughout the medieval and early modern periods. In the early seventeenth century, an Oxford fellow, Thomas Crosfield, noted the customs of Shrovetide as: '1. Frittering. 2. throwing at cockes. 3. playing at stooleball in ye Citty by woemen & footeball by men'; in the following century, the same handful of customs – throwing at cocks, football, and pancakes – were universally enjoyed on this day.

Cock throwing was as ubiquitous as it was simple. It consisted in tethering a cock to the ground, and attempting to knock it down from a distance with wooden batons. There were no standard rules by which the game was played, but it was conventional to charge players a few pence to throw at the cock. For

any player skilled enough to knock the animal off its feet, there was the added incentive that the cock was theirs if they were able to run and pick it up before it righted itself. In Chichester in the late eighteenth century, the going rate was apparently 'two pence three throws'. Cock throwing was played alongside a number of other games involving chasing, or 'threshing', a cock or hen, and it is possible that these pastimes were of yet greater antiquity – certainly the form of these games was even less firmly fixed. Here is a description of cock threshing in an early eighteenth-century village from the diary of a wealthy Lancashire farmer, Nicholas Blundell: 'The Little Boys … rann Blindfold after an other who had a Bell, for a Cock; when that Sport was over, they ran with their Hands ty'd on their backs after the Cock & took him in their Mouth; I think there were each time seaven; I, William Harrison, William Thelwall & several others were present'.

Despite the best efforts of eighteenth-century antiquaries, the origins of these singular Shrovetide pastimes remain unclear, but it is certain that they were both widespread and subject to endless local variations. Yet no matter how these games were played, all were emphatically plebeian in their appeal: they were the recreations not simply of the labouring poor, but often of the children of the poor as well.

The day has been described as one of 'licensed misrule', and since festivities on Shrove Tuesday did occasionally get out of hand, there are some grounds for this view. The day was commandeered by apprentices in early seventeenth-century London, for example, and was the occasion of rioting in Bristol and York later in the century. But instances of violence and disorder were almost exclusively confined to urban areas, and in rural districts it seems less appropriate to describe the day as one of licensed misrule. The 'Little Boys' that Blundell and his neighbours watched chasing the cock posed no threat to social order – nor did the girls he

Francis Barraud, The Travelling Show
(Bridgeman Art Library, London)

Isaac Robert Cruickshank, Jumping in Sacks, *drawn by W.H. Payne, engraved by George Hunt (Bridgeman Art Library, London)*

shape popular recreation owing to their role as custodians of the land on which it was by necessity located.

Returning once again, then, to the example of cock throwing, it is evident that within towns the survival of the sport through the centuries had rested upon the tacit consent of civic rulers. The apprentices' holiday observed by a Dutch visitor to England could only continue with the authorities turning a blind eye: 'In London one sees in every street, wherever one goes, many apprentice boys running with, under their arms, a cock with a string on its foot, on which is a spike, which they push firmly into the ground between the stones. They always look for an open space, and, for a penny, let people throw their cudgels from a good distance at the cock, and he, who kills the cock, gets it.' Another London tourist noted 'it is even dangerous to go near any of those places where this diversion is being held; so many clubs are thrown about that you run a risk of receiving one on your head.' Shrove Tuesday was a moment when the young and plebeian took possession of the streets. And it was to flourish only for so long as civic authorities consented to this appropriation.

The eighteenth century saw a remarkable and rapid disappearance of the civic authorities indulgence towards the custom. Norwich appears to have been the first town to attack the seasonal sport following the Restoration, beginning a campaign in 1719 that was to continue for a period of over thirty years. From the 1750s towns everywhere were beginning to take steps to end the custom. The authorities at Newbury, Sheffield, Wakefield, Doncaster, Reading, North-ampton, Bristol and London all prohibited throwing at cocks during the 1750s. Nottingham and Colchester followed in the 1760s; and Guildford issued notices prohibiting the throwing at cocks 'either in High Streets, Backsides or Church Yards in this Town' in February 1766. There is also evidence from Worcester, Gravesend, Liverpool, Ely, Abingdon, Dover and Wisbech that civic rulers were endeavouring to prevent the practice in the late eighteenth century. Towns from all parts of England were

saw threshing for a hen in a neighbour's field another year. Elsewhere, a shopkeeper gave pennies to the girls that came 'a-singing' on Shrove Tuesday, and a clergyman gave money to 'football men'. Festive merry-making did not descend into disorder in these communities on Shrove Tuesday, but instead the day was one of good neighbourhood.

Furthermore, this contrast between urban and rural areas does not stem from any difference in the activities that were enjoyed, for communities in all areas were participating in a fundamentally similar set of practices. Instead, we must look to the local environment if we are to understand why Shrove Tuesday took these different forms.

In part the difference was simply a function of the numbers involved. The sheer number of urban apprentices and labourers that might take to the streets in a large town to throw at cocks posed problems for the maintenance of public order that did not exist at small rural gatherings. But the potential for disorder that existed in towns rested upon something more than the numbers of people involved. The location of the activities, as opposed to the extent of participation, was also significant. In towns, recreations were forced onto spaces that existed for other purposes. The market square was intended for trade, and the street designed for traffic, but on Shrove Tuesday the intended functions of both of these places was eclipsed by the crowds that took over

corners of the town for purposes of their own. The use of these public spaces added a further level of meaning to the activities. When the urban poor took to the streets for games and festivity, there was an implicit challenge to the normal order of things that did not exist when villagers enjoyed the same activities on their village green, or in tucked away fields, and this is why a history of recreation needs to attend to the significance of space. The cultural resonance of sports and recreations varied according to the spaces in which they were held. Different spaces had the power to invest popular recreations with new meanings, and for this reason an appreciation of space is fundamental to understanding both their appeal, and their fate.

The picture presented so far, that of a world in which the poor had free access to a wide and varied range of public spaces for recreation, perhaps evokes a degree of nostalgia for the simpler life of a pre-industrial age. But touching as this image may be, it does not quite grasp the reality of public space. Land, if not privately owned, was publicly governed. All these spaces – commons, greens, streets and squares – lay within the control of someone; common right holders, manorial courts and civic authorities were the arbiters of this land, deciding when it might be used, by whom and for what purposes. Though recreation was often low on their list of concerns, these authorities certainly had it in their power to

taking steps to prevent cock throwing, and with this decisive shift in their attitude towards the custom. the face of popular merriment on Shrove Tuesday was changed for ever.

By the end of the eighteenth century, cock throwing had been eliminated from most towns, and although civic authorities sometimes needed to repeat their orders against cock throwing through a number of years, the suppression had not been particularly protracted. Eighteenth-century towns were well governed, and cock throwing was the sport not simply of the poor, but of the young. It was not difficult for those in control to consign the pastime to history. But in rural areas, the sport lingered far longer. The activity was far less controversial when enjoyed outside busy civic centres. Moreover, even when rural leaders did start to move against cock throwing, they lacked the policing mechanisms that had made such short work of the custom in towns, ensuring its survival for many more decades.

Cock throwing, an occasional pastime of the poor and the young, belongs to the historical margins, but the example nevertheless serves to make a significant historical point. So long as popular recreations took place on open space, there was an ongoing negotiation between those who played and those who ruled. The repression of the children's sport of cock throwing was a quick victory for the rulers, but with each space and each activity new negotiations needed to be worked out. That balance of power differed in each context, and the outcomes of these negotiations were consequently varied and unpredictable.

Dr Griffin is Lecturer in Modern British History at the University of East Anglia. Her book, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660–1830*, was published by the British Academy in the *British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs* series in 2005. Details may be found on the web site via www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/

William Weekes, Street Acrobats, *1874 (Sotheby's Picture Library, London)*

Thomas Webster, The Football Game *(Bridgeman Art Library, London)*

Music among the Sibe of Xinjiang

Ethnomusicologist and former British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow, **Dr Rachel Harris** *spent long periods of fieldwork in Xinjiang, in the remote desert region of Chinese Central Asia, listening and learning about the music of the Sibe, descendants of Qing dynasty military garrisons. In the following edited extract from her book,* Singing the Village, *Dr Harris gives a biographical sketch of a village musician G'altu, and describes a typical wedding in Çabçal, a county in Sibe.*

G'altu

Tiny, irrepressible G'altu. His clan name was Anjia; his Chinese name, used in the official testaments to his existence, was An Darong; but he was known to all the people in the village as G'altu or Pointy Head. I was never able to verify the basis of this nickname, for G'altu's flat cap always stayed firmly on his head. G'altu was a great talker, a great drinker and smoker, and a great party man. He could generally be found squatting at the crossroads of Third Village where the local bus service unloaded its passengers, smoking and gossiping with the other old men of the village, waiting for the next form of entertainment to arrive and claim him. He played at all the weddings, the spontaneous parties of the older villagers, and the government-organised festivals.

G'altu was a village character, and he enjoyed a small reputation beyond the confines of the Sibe villages. To the outside world he incarnated the Sibe folk musician, and the outside world frequently came to seek him out, primed on the proper etiquette of visiting, bearing the expected gift of a bottle of spirits or a packet of cigarettes. G'altu was always ready to oblige. He had been interviewed by local and regional newspapers, and over four hundred of his songs had been recorded by regional television and radio and more recently for Taiwanese television. A stylised black and white photograph of G'altu playing his mandolin hung on the wall in his guest room, taken by a Beijing photographer. For the people of Third and Fourth Villages he was the centre of every celebration, an unfailing source of *renao* (heat and noise; fun), dispenser of drinks and courtesy, and accompanist to singers. His shouts of '*Wansui!*' (in Chinese: 10,000 years!) could be heard echoing around the village as another cup of spirits was drunk or a good line of poetry was sung. G'altu is at the heart of many of my best memories of

Çabçal, with his huge bottle of Chinese wolfberries and ginseng stewing in spirits. He claimed that strong spirits were beneficial to the health if exposed to ginseng, however briefly, and constantly replenished his store with bottles brought to him as gifts. Words poured from G'altu at the same rate as alcohol poured down his throat, and they were often inspired.

A whiff of scandal always clung to G'altu. Perhaps it was his divorce and remarriage, hinted at with disapproval by certain of the villagers. Perhaps it was the drinking, or perhaps it was his habit of revealing the particulars of his personal life to everyone he met. At our first meeting he told me that he had given up drinking throughout his second marriage for fear of succumbing to his former bad habit of wife-beating. After the death of his second wife in 1994, he said, he saw no reason to keep up the ban.

He was a dedicated student of the supernatural, and kept a small library of books on the *I Ching* and Western and Chinese horoscopes. He was also the guardian of the ritual gear of a former shaman of the village, which he kept carefully folded and hidden away except for twice a year at New Year and in the eighth month when he took them out for worship. For a suitable fee, however, he could be persuaded to take them out and model them for the curious eyes of foreign camera crews. Apparently the ancestral spirits, in line with the times, did not take offence at his spirit of enterprise, although normally they were not to be trifled with. G'altu delighted in story-telling, passing with ease between the Sibe and Chinese languages. His favourite subject was the supernatural, and he took pleasure from the uncertainty of his belief. In one of his stories, he once had a stiff arm for a year and went to see the *siyangtung* (female healer). She lit incense and made paper cuts to divine his problem, then described an incident to him. He was carrying

the bones of an ancestor on a cart and had lost his way. He had dropped the bones in a stream and left some of them behind when he gathered them up, and thus he had offended the ancestor. She told him to burn certain paper cuts and incense outside the south wall of the village and to return home without speaking to anyone – not an easy feat for G'altu. He didn't believe that this cured him, he told me, for he was a man of science; it was the course of acupuncture that cured him. But how did she know about that incident?

G'altu was also a great talker about music, and this talk often overflowed the boundaries between speech, poetry and song. He would break into snatches of *talai uçun* (steppe songs, outdoor songs); or sing-recite (*holem*) an excerpt from a classical Chinese novel to underline a point in his argument. He structured his speaking about music in parallel metaphors, like the verse structure of the improvised *talai uçun* lyrics which he sang so well: 'Life and death come in waves. Where do they come from? Only the gods know. My music is like that. There is a baby in the belly.

G'altu playing the mandolin

How was it conceived? Only its mother and father know. I don't write music, it comes to me just like that'.

His good humour, he said, was handed down to him from his grandfather, as was his music. G'altu was born in 1925 into a musician family. His grandfather sang *pingdiao* opera, and his father played the *sanxian* (three-stringed Chinese lute) to accompany the singers. He has a younger brother and a younger sister who married into Fourth Village, thus extending the range of G'altu's contacts and hence invitations to weddings and parties, but neither of them was musical. When G'altu was five years old he caught measles and nearly died. His mother prayed for him in the temple of the goddess Niangniang and he recovered. His father died aged forty when G'altu was young, he told me, and his mother died when he was thirty, in the 1950s. The family was poor. Both his parents were opium addicts, and his father used to drink and beat his mother. Thus far his story was acceptable material for publication in China, bearing all the hallmarks of 'speaking bitterness' about the old society. He learned *pingdiao* opera tunes as a child from listening to his father and grandfather, and tried his hand at a number of instruments. He learned the violin, accordion, piano and *yangqin* (Chinese hammer dulcimer), before finally settling for the mandolin. Western instruments were good, he thought, they were versatile. He learnt the mandolin from a Russian émigré named Sokarov who had great influence on the musical life of Third Village. Sokarov, a White Russian – one among the many who fled east into Xinjiang – arrived in Çabçal in the 1930s and stayed in Third Village until his death in 1951. He played the guitar and mandolin, and he could read music. Owing to a war wound he never married, said G'altu, gesturing darkly at his loins, but he taught his music to many of the youngsters in Third Village. G'altu remembered that there were many Russians in Çabçal at that time, even before the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic (1944–9). They loved to play the accordion and they all drank heavily. They made Russian dances popular in Çabçal, especially the waltz and the polka.

In the 1940s and 1950s G'altu tried to learn the more complex opera style of *yuediao*, which used a small group of instruments and added movement to the performers' words. Because he was physically small he was assigned to the women's roles; only after Liberation did it become acceptable for women to perform on stage in the conservative Sibe villages. He found the style of *yuediao* difficult to master and was overwhelmed by the number of librettos he was expected to learn. Eventually he abandoned the attempt.

After Liberation, he spent three years studying in the new college in Çabçal county town. He learnt to read and write in Sibe and Chinese, and he learnt a great deal about politics. He was then sent to Second Village to teach in the new primary school. In school they sang the new revolutionary songs, and marched up and down like the army. During this period he became seriously ill again. When he began to recover, his family took him up to the open grasslands outside the village to watch a festival. The musicians were no good and the dancers couldn't dance, so he took up his mandolin, though he was still seriously weak, and played. When he started to play his music, he said, suddenly he was strong again.

In 1958 G'altu married a girl from the neighbouring county, Kongliu, his mother's home before her marriage. The couple were introduced through his mother's family. Villagers like to tell a story about G'altu's courtship. G'altu's mother sent him to Ghulja to buy engagement presents for the bride's family. Unfortunately a Russian-made pianola in the bazaar caught his eye. G'altu was entranced, and spent all the money intended for the presents on the pianola. He put it on a cart and started out for home. Even more unfortunately the cart tipped on the rough winter road and the pianola fell and was damaged. Afraid of what his mother would say, G'altu found a carpenter to repair the pianola, and took it home. Afterwards he would carry it up on to the roof of the family house and play it there where the whole village could hear him.

G'altu did not do well as a teacher. As he put it, he disliked responsibility; he was not temperamentally suited to the work. Moreover the wages were poor: 30 *yuan* a month, at a time when by working the land

he could earn three times that amount. When his mother grew old he went back to Third Village and worked again as a peasant for two years. After the death of his parents he started to sing *yuediao* opera again. Then he went to study as an electrician in Ghulja, and worked in the Ghulja electricity factory for five years. Then he transferred to the Çabçal county town electricity factory where he stayed until 1967. At this point, work in the factory was brought to a halt by the Cultural Revolution, and he went back to Third Village and the family land.

The couple had four daughters who all went on to higher education and who now work as teachers. G'altu had to struggle to pay the girls' tuition fees. His three sons were not good students. They now farm in Third Village where each son cultivates a separate plot of land. G'altu's house and garden are large and kept well by his daughters, though the house is almost devoid of furniture. They keep a cow, and a donkey and cart. His third daughter, now a teacher in the middle school in Third Village, plays the guitar and sings Han Chinese pop songs. The youngest daughter is learning the accordion. When I stayed with G'altu, I shared a *kang* (brick bed) with the girls at night. We sang Chinese pop songs while G'altu gamely attempted to pick out the melody on his mandolin. He had no musical prejudice – all new kinds of music were grist to his mill – but I never heard his daughters sing the traditional-style improvised songs, even though their spoken Sibe language was fluent.

Like many others, the family was caught between the conflicting demands of tradition and modernity. G'altu told me that 1994 was his year of disaster according to Chinese cosmology, and it was the year when his second wife died and his son was injured in a fire. At *Qingming*, the Chinese grave-sweeping festival, he wanted the whole family to go to the family grave, but on the day his sons didn't turn up. As he made his way towards the grave an eddy of wind blew up around him, and he knew that the ancestors were angry. When they got back to the village the neighbours told him that his eldest son's house had caught fire and his son had been badly injured. As far as G'altu was concerned, the ancestors had taken their revenge for his son's lack of respect. The relationship

between parents and children, and the continuity of the family and of Sibe culture were common subjects of his songs.

Clouds fill the sky
The burdens of parents are many
The threads of a hemp rope are woven together
The songs of the Sibe are passed down through the generations
The roots of the leek are buried in fine earth
The white bones of our ancestors are buried in yellow earth
Wild flowers flourish in the gullies
Our parents have many cares because of us

alhari tugi abkai jalu oho
akane gasara baita amo emede labdu oho
sisari tere tonggo be sirge be sirame ara
sibe tere uçun be sibe ungga araha
ului fulehe be uluke boihon i umpune
onggoloi unggan be gunihangge buktan boihonde
alin tere piyalangse de ai ilha fitherku
ama eme oho niyalma ai baita be peolerku

Sung by G'altu: recorded in Third Village, 5 Nov. 1995

'The musician's life is a good one,' he told me. 'He is invited to parties, festivals and weddings everywhere. Lenin said, "A life without culture is barbarism, a life without labour is robbery", that's written up on the wall of the village hall (*julebu*).' At these occasions G'altu exercised his skill as an improviser of songs and brought the festivities to life with his mandolin, which led the dancing or provided an accompaniment for *talai uçun*, 'moving the song along', as he said. At a wedding he took me to, he turned to me after an exchange of songs, and said with great pride, 'They are calling me elder brother even though they are older than me. It is because they respect my songs.'

*

The concept of social or collective memory was first developed in the 1920s by the French anthropologist Maurice Halbwachs, a pupil and colleague of Emile Durkheim. Halbwachs sought to explain the ways in which families, religious groups or social classes bind themselves together in everyday cultural practices through a collective reworking of the past. Halbwachs' ideas have more recently been revived and developed by contemporary writers, among them the British social historian Paul Connerton.

Connerton defines social memory as the recollected knowledge of the past which is conveyed and sustained by performances, customs or habits. Such modes of remembering contrast with the knowledge of the past which is preserved through written histories. Social memory is sustained through informal, oral media such as the stories told to grandchildren or village gossip. Social memories are especially those which are acted out, entrusted to the body, what he describes as incorporated practices. Thus Connerton emphasises the importance of commemorative ceremonies, rituals and expressive culture in the maintenance of social memory.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay's study of songs and remembrance amongst the Syrian Jewish diaspora brings these ideas into the field of ethnomusicology. She foregrounds the use of musical performance in social memory, arguing that songs are 'intentionally constructed sites for long-term storage of conscious memories from the past'. Her descriptions of pizmon songs as venues for commemorating individuals, for nostalgia, as well as the transmission of core sacred historical texts, chime with my account of Sibe music and remembering on many levels. Especially relevant for the purposes of this study, and here providing a link between this biographical sketch of a Sibe musician and the account of collective music-making below, is Shelemay's argument that songs, created and taught by individuals but sustained in collective contexts, straddle the divide between individual and collective memory (Shelemay 1998:204).

Weddings in Çabçal

Sibe weddings are the context for varied and significant musical activities. I have thought it most useful to include a full, generalised account of a wedding, drawing together a number of different occasions and accounts. Sibe families may choose to incorporate all or some of the features described below in their celebrations, or they may choose Western-style features, such as a white bridal gown and an evening disco, depending on the degree of modernity or tradition to which they aspire. In recent years a trip to the photographers, where the bride and groom pose for the camera in a variety of borrowed outfits, has become an almost obligatory part

of the process. The exchange of gifts between the two families and the feasts held by each family are the essential central features of village weddings today.

Wedding celebrations should properly last for three days. On the first day, the groom's family send the bride car – formerly a sedan chair, now usually a jeep – to the bride's home. With it they send a truck carrying the bride price, which includes a cow and a sheep which will be slaughtered for the feast, and oil, soy and salt for the cooking. It also includes clothes and jewellery for the bride. Some teasing goes on as the bride's family checks that the animals are young and fat. Friends of the family come to help with the preparations. A wedding mother (*doro jorire eme*), a friend of the bride, and wedding father (*doro jorire ama*), a friend of the groom, are appointed before the wedding. Their task is to ensure the smooth running of the festivities and to convey messages between the two families. On the afternoon of the second day, the bride's family holds a feast (*anba sarin*). The groom arrives with a group of young people from his village; these are known as the *dingba* group. They represent the best talent of the village – dancers, singers, speechmakers and one or two *dombur* (Sibe two-stringed lute) players. They sit at a separate table during the feast. The bride does not appear at this feast. She prepares herself with the help of her friends: in the past they plucked the hairs from their faces to make themselves beautiful for the following day; contemporary notions of beauty require lipstick, eyebrow pencil and a thick layer of white face powder. The dowry is sent off to the groom's home, again by truck. It should include a chest full of bedding with examples of the bride's embroidery: pillows and traditionally an embroidered pair of shoes for each member of the groom's family. In recent years a television or washing machine might also be included.

In the evening the *dingba* group must perform for the bride's family and friends. The groom offers wine to each family member, two small cups presented on a tray. The bride's mother and other older women sit on the *kang* (brick bed), the men of the family sit to one side. They request songs and dances from the group and set them riddles to answer. The group are under pressure to put on a good performance as the reputation of their village is at stake. When the elders are satisfied with the group's performance, the dancing begins. The practice

The groom's mother offers a toast at a wedding in Fourth Village

of *dingba* was revived in 1978 but the performances of the *dingba* groups became increasingly simplified during the 1980s. Today it is usual for the group to offer wine to the bride's parents and perform a dance, but no more. If there is a musician at the wedding, the older people dance the *beilen*, accompanied by the *dombur*. The dance is based around rhythmic twitches of the shoulders; either the hands are placed on the hips or the arms make circular movements, while the feet move very little. The basic style is very similar to Mongol and Kazakh dancing in Xinjiang. There are around twelve commonly known dance tunes, each with its own particular dance movements. Each tune consists of a series of flexible variations on a simple basic riff in a strong 6/8 rhythm. The player can switch between tunes in mid-performance and the dancers follow the music into the new dance. The music continues often without a break until the dancers are tired.

Like Kazakh and Mongol dancing, many of the Sibe *beilen* dances incorporate a theatrical element, and they can be highly comical. As one village musician commented, 'The Sibe are not content with dancing just for the sake of it, they like some meaning in the performance'. *Dorolum beilen* incorporates into the dance different ways of saluting from around the world, for example the Western military salute, the Islamic hand over the heart, the handshake. *Chaifubul*, danced by women, is a mime of tea-making. *Sohtu Monggo* (Drunken Mongol), a barb rather

accurately aimed at the Sibe's Mongol neighbours, mimics the clumsy attempts of a drunken man to dance. Still, the satire is double-edged. It is not always possible to distinguish between the mimicry of a drunken Mongol and the dancing of a genuinely inebriated Sibe man. If there is an accordionist or mandolin player present at the feast, the wedding guests may turn to dancing the polka or the waltz, dances which were brought to Çabçal by the Russians in the 1930s. The older villagers happily switch between the two styles, while younger people feel it beneath their dignity to dance the old-fashioned *beilen*.

On the third day, the bride leaves for her new home. She dresses traditionally in red, often quite simply in red padded jacket and trousers and a red veil. Before the couple leave, the *dingbadui* group must obtain a formal letter of consent to the marriage (*ulunbite*) from her parents. This can be made into another opportunity for teasing and demands for more songs. The bride and groom may be given eggs to eat for fertility and long noodles for longevity, and the bride scatters grains in the courtyard for a good harvest. Chinese written accounts note that in the past, before the Communist Party liberated Sibe women from their feudal chains, the bride would lament as she left her home. Although she may still weep as she leaves, the practice of lamenting appears to have died out in the Sibe villages. However, published versions of bridal laments exist,

like this extract from a lament by Xiu Ying and transcribed by Shetuken:

The lion roars fiercely
Across the mountains and forests
Father and Mother's cursing and weeping
Shatters their daughter's innocent heart
Erie! Shatters their daughter's innocent heart
Aunt, say one word
Why have you condemned me to this cruel fate?
Sister, come and save me
Your little sister is walking into the flames
Fine rain falls unceasingly
It soaks the roots of the date tree
My tears fall day and night
They soak through my bedding
The horse refuses to go forward
I will never pass through his door
Brother, where are you?
Can you not hear my cries?

Erie! Can you not hear my cries? (He, Tong & Tong 1995:158).

The structure of this lament shows the use of parallel metaphors which is so typical of Sibe lyricising in other contexts. The practice of bridal lamenting is well documented amongst the Kazakhs and amongst the Han Chinese, though it is increasingly rare today. Such ritually bounded outpourings of grief and anger from disempowered young women have been described as expressions of ritual reversal, permissible only in the bride's liminal state, which is compared to a death of one life and rebirth in another, as she moves between her old unmarried status and the new. As the bride leaves, her mother may also sing words of advice (*ailinde*) to her daughter on how to behave in her new role as wife and daughter-in-law.

The couple ride in the bride car to the groom's village, escorted by the *dingbadui* group. As in Han Chinese custom, the bride car may not be halted nor should the bride set foot on the ground until she enters the groom's family home. On arrival at the groom's family courtyard, the couple bow to heaven and earth. The groom stands on the threshold and twitches aside the bride's veil with a riding whip. The bride enters the house and bows to the family ancestral altar and to the living family members. The couple burn fat in the stove for prosperity. The groom's family then holds a feast. Two tables are set aside in a separate room for the bride's family and friends. The guests, especially the male

relatives of the groom, sing special wedding songs (*sarin uçun*), welcoming the guests from the bride's village, congratulating the groom's family, giving advice to the couple, or talking of the friendship between the singer and the host. The words may be improvised on the spur of the moment, or carefully composed and written down before the wedding. The wedding songs are lyric-led, and the melody varies little from singer to singer. After each verse, the guests' shouts of approval – *je!* – are incorporated into the performance.

The lyrics given here are translated from songs recorded at a wedding in September 1996 in Fourth Village. I sat with a group of old men from Third Village, the bride's village, in an inner room of the groom's family home around a table laden with high-quality Chinese-style fried dishes of fish, duck and mutton, and bottles of 60 per cent proof Ili Special Brew (*Yili Tequ*).

[Nine phoenixes fly over]
And land in the reed bed
When we see everybody sitting here
All the elders of the house are delighted
The trees on the mountain [are numerous]
The wine in guests' cups is sweet
Today my host offers me this toast
More precious than the mountain forest
If we do not drink this wine today
You will be unlucky in the future

[uyun funghuang deyeme jihe – je!]
olhuye ekcinde dooha – je!
enenggi inenggi oronde enggeleme jihe be tuwaci – je!
musei ungganda be urgunjebuhe – je!
alinde banjiha weji – je!
aguye huntahan i amten – je!
enenggi alibure huntahan be tuwaha – je!
alinni weji deri ujen – je!
enenggi omirku oci – je!
siramei inenggi de umesi koro – je!

Sung by Chang Jiu: recorded in Fourth Village, 25 Sept. 1996

These lyrics are among those commonly used in wedding songs. A song is the proper response to a toast, which comes in the form of two cups of wine on a tray, presented by the couple or the parents to respected guests. The guest first sings, then drains both cups. To refuse to drink for any reason would cause great offence. In response to a good song, or for a close or respected friend, the host may refill the wine cups and respond with a song

of his or her own, draining the cups after the song. In response to Chang Jiu's song, the groom's mother sang:

A bird flew in circles
Then landed on a tree by a river
Through the good karma built up by my ancestors
I have brought home a new wife, clever with her hands
The sun rises in the east
And lights up the whole earth
Today you are my honoured guests
You light up my home

Recorded in Fourth Village, 25 Nov. 1996

The singing continues round the table, with each guest toasted by the host and responding in song. The song melodies vary. The singers move between *sarin uçun*, various *talai uçun* melodies, and may even set their words to modern composed melodies or Kazakh, Mongol or Kirghiz tunes. These very traditional words were sung to a post-Revolution composed melody, *Xiangsi Ge*:
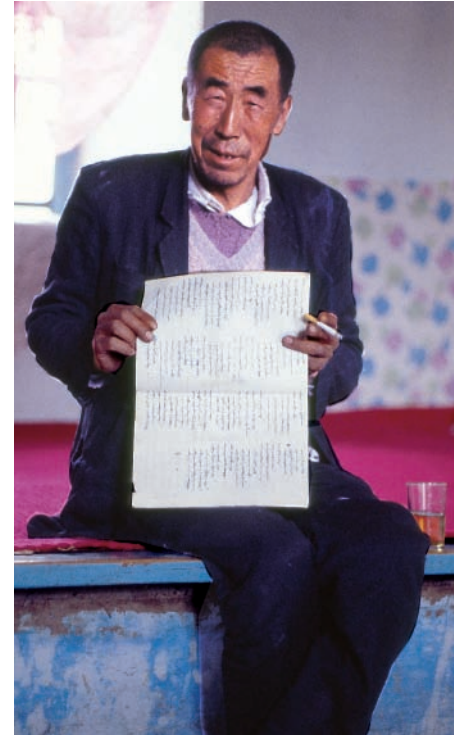
Rope is twisted together
You bring home your grandson's bride, binding generations of the family
The meadow grass is nourished by water
We have grown old by the care of our parents
The *mokna* [jaw harp] was handed down to us from our ancestors
When elder sister offers me wine, I must drink

Recorded in Fourth Village, 25 Nov. 1996

A great deal of alcohol is consumed in these exchanges, particularly by the host, and is central to the courtesies, but I never saw a member of the older generation drunk. Having exchanged a song and wine with each guest, the groom's mother concluded with a final toast and short *talai uçun*:

Lake water is never used up
I will never forget your songs

Recorded in Fourth Village, 25 Nov. 1996

The importance of the lyric content in these song forms is underlined by their name (*uçun*) which refers to the meaning of the words. *Uçun* is clearly distinguished from the other Sibe term used to denote song – *mudan*, as in laments (*songgoro mudan*) – which refers specifically to the melody. *Mudan* may also refer to the curve of a hunting bow, an apt metaphor to describe the contours of a melody.

G'altu and I eventually went out into the courtyard, where the younger guests were conducting their own festivities. The groom's male friends were gathered around several tables, Madonna was playing on a stereo, and they were very drunk. Several of them attempted to accost the *devushka* (Russian girl, as they took me to be), ignoring G'altu's admonitions, and we departed with despatch.

Lao Zhao holding lyrics for a wedding song

The Contribution of Scholarship to Good Government

Lord Wilson of Dinton, *Secretary of the Cabinet from 1998 to 2002, and now Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, looks at three recent British Academy publications that contribute to current debates on good government.*

I REMEMBER once being asked what it was like being a top civil servant working for the British government. Slightly to my surprise, and without premeditation, I heard myself reply that it was a bit like carrying a grand piano up stairs while people tried to poke you in the eye with a sharp stick. It was a response which I remembered quite often when I became Cabinet Secretary.

Do not misunderstand me. It was not a plea for sympathy: I had family and friends whom I could look to in times of trouble. Nor was it a complaint about my position which I found deeply absorbing and considered a privilege. It just reflected my sense of the sheer difficulty of good government, which is only just on the right side of possible at the best of times, and my frustration that so few people outside government – or so it felt – were prepared to take an intelligent, non-partisan interest in what was going on, rather than stabbing away for political advantage or entertainment.

There were many journalists, of course, who followed events closely. The best of them had an extraordinary ability to read and analyse events perceptively. There were Select Committees such as the Public Administration Committee, and other bodies such as the Committee on Standards in Public Life, who from time to time emitted shafts of light on important topics. And then there were the academics who worked in fields relevant to government or who studied government itself as a professional interest.

During my career I came to have a high regard for the contribution which scholarship can make to good government. This went much further than just the ability of academics to conduct research on contract to government departments, useful though that is in many fields. It was much more the contribution that they could make through rigorous independent analysis of matters of central importance to good government: by

holding up a lantern to some aspect of government and by showing it in an unfamiliar light.

One of the problems of being in a position of power in government is that it does not allow much time for reflection. Mastering the arguments, the people, the paperwork, handling the problem, the crisis, the next announcement: these things are quite enough to keep most senior officials and ministers busy into the night. Very little original thought happens inside government. Ministers are prone to demand new ideas from their departments and it may be that there is some project or idea, previously judged not ripe, in the locker which meets their needs. But most new thinking originates well away from the seats of power, in a university perhaps, or (as was once the case) the Reading Room of the British Museum.

New thinking can of course be very irritating. It is not helpful to be offered a radical idea when an old one is about to be relaunched, or for new research to cast doubt on a flagship policy in which the government has invested a lot of political credit. In politics as in everything else timing is all. Even so it is important that there should be a community of independent scholars prepared to 'think otherwise' and challenge stale or muddled thinking, people who are sturdy enough not to be pushed off course when their timing is inconvenient or unfashionable.

These three books published by the British Academy, all of them excellent, illustrate very well what I mean. Each of them originated in a workshop or some such event organised by the British Academy. Each consists of a collection of essays by contributors of very different discipline and background (including myself in a minor role as discussant), concentrating on broadly the same topic, albeit from very different perspectives. Each provides a rich battery of insights into government.

(I should incidentally like to take the opportunity to say that the British Academy has a fine record of promoting dialogue between people in government and academics. They did so in a group which met regularly under the joint chairmanship of the late Ben Pimlott and myself when I was Cabinet Secretary. I was very grateful.)

A sense of history

Take for instance the question of historical perspective. It is common for governments to behave as though nothing much had happened before they came to power, to proclaim that what matters is the future, not the past, and to define what they propose as 'modern' in contrast to the 'conventional wisdom' which has hitherto prevailed under their predecessors and ipso facto is 'old-fashioned'. At the simplest level scholarship, without being tied to any vested interest, can analyse the antecedents of policy and thereby offer a new perspective on the present.

Thus in *Hutton and Butler: Lifting the Lid on Power*, edited by W.G. Runciman, Peter Hennessy draws a fascinating parallel between the Suez affair and the invasion of Iraq, comparing the role of the JIC in each case and the failures of the Cabinets in each period to scrutinise what the Prime Minister of the day was up to:

> In the long-term memory, the equivalent of the 1956 'collusion' is likely to be the '45 minutes' WMD readiness report. … *Not* 'doing a Tony' could prove just as powerful an impulse for tomorrow's Whitehall generations as 'not doing an Anthony' was for yesterday's.[1]

Each of these books contains similar historical perspectives. Thus Rudolf Klein and William Plowden in *Joined-Up Government*, edited by Vernon Bogdanor, compare that early initiative of the Blair government which they call JUG (Joined-Up Government) with an initiative of 1977 called JASP (Joint

Approach to Social Policy) which stemmed from a report of the Central Policy Review Staff two years before in which Plowden had been involved:

> The report's diagnosis and prescription anticipated many of the themes which have since re-emerged under the label of joined-up government. … In summary, then, it seems that the lessons of history are being relearned, albeit largely unconsciously. Coordination has been the elusive goal of public administration for more than a century.[2]

Similarly in *Transparency: The Key to Better Governance?*, edited by Christopher Hood and David Heald, the former author traces some of the different strains and meanings of the term back through many different thinkers in many different centuries, even as far back as ancient Greece and China. He comments that:

> they all translate into some view of openness about rules and behaviour, but those to whom they apply – citizens, governments, organisations – are different, and the underlying doctrines of government that they reflect may be conflicting. … [T]here is an obvious tension between the 'town meeting' vision of transparency as direct face-to-face accountability of public officials to ordinary citizens on the ground, and the accounting vision of transparency as a set

of arcane book-keeping rules governing the way big bureaucracies relate to one another…[3]

We live in a period when the term 'accountability' is used glibly to cover many different kinds of accountability: Ministerial accountability to Parliament, management accountability, accountability to the public in a 'town meeting', and so on. This scholarly perspective is a crucial reminder that each kind of transparency needs to be assessed and understood in its own context and that conflating the different concepts could be very damaging if it led, say, to the introduction of personal accountability of civil servants to Parliament.

I had not known, incidentally, that Sweden had a Freedom of the Press Act in 1766.

Rigorous analysis

But there is a lot more to the scholarship in these books than simple historical perspective. The application of rigorous analytical thinking to concepts which appear easy to grasp, such as 'joined-up-government' or 'transparency' can force one to refine one's thinking in important, perhaps fundamental, ways.

To give one example, Onora O'Neill in an essay on 'Transparency and the Ethics of Communication' develops a powerful case for arguing that:

> transparency by itself is a very incomplete remedy for corruption, untrustworthiness, or poor performance in public and corporate life. It can achieve rather little unless the material disseminated is made accessible to and assessable by relevant audiences, and actually reaches those audiences. … [I]t is often all too plain that the real aim of certain practices of disclosure is not to communicate. … [E]ven where information and informants are trustworthy, transparency *by itself* may leave many with little reason to trust, because it does not even aim to put them in a position to judge matters for themselves, or to follow, check or challenge the information disclosed.[4]

I confess that I have given a number of talks recently in which I have endorsed, I thought rather cogently, the case for openness in

government. Having read this and some of the other excellent essays in this book, I have a strong desire to go away into a corner by myself and have a quiet think about what I actually do believe. And that illustrates exactly why in my view scholarship matters when considering issues of government.
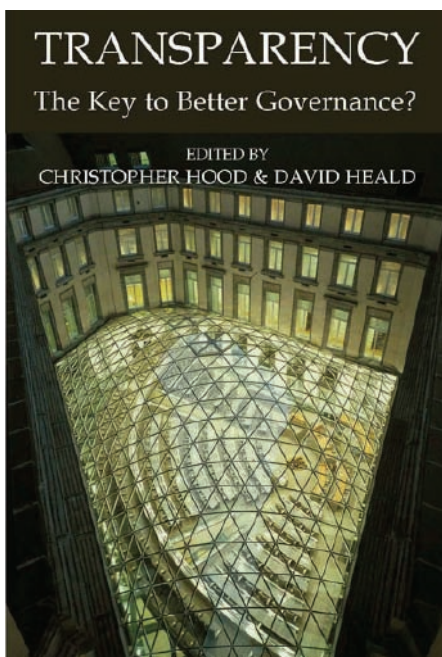
Lessons

Allied to that is the role which scholarship can play in drawing out the lessons from events in government. Sir Michael Quinlan, an outstanding scholar in his generation of civil servants, offers a verdict on 'The Lessons to be drawn for Governmental Process' from the Hutton and Butler Reports which is all the more devastating for its politeness:

> [I]t is neither surprising nor illegitimate that a Prime Minister of Mr Blair's abilities, energy and self-confidence, coming to and subsequently retaining power moreover with the endorsement of the electorate in exceptional degree, should have chosen to operate in a more centralized way than almost any predecessor, and in doing so should have been keen to reshape working practices in new ways (including swift and determined management of media concerns) which he regarded as more suited to his task and aims than older ones.
>
> It is, however, open to question, as we survey the scene disclosed by Hutton and Butler, whether the changes – often, it seemed, reflecting a marked impatience with collective process – always rested upon sufficient understanding that existing patterns had not been developed without practical reason, and that departing from them might therefore have a downside that needed careful consideration beforehand.[5]

The other two books similarly contain a wealth of material from which the wise public servant could learn a great deal.

The essays in *Transparency* for instance analyse clinically and from every angle the concept and practice of open government, not only in this country but elsewhere. Reading it may depress the reader. They demonstrate many things which one feared, and a few which one knew: for instance, the costs which may flow from meeting

transparency requirements, the techniques which those required to be transparent may use to defeat those requirements and the disappointment in store for those who hope that the Freedom of Information Act will inaugurate a new era of trust. Alasdair Roberts' chapter on 'Dashed Expectations: Governmental Adaptation to Transparency Rules' includes particularly compelling evidence from other countries of such tactics as 'raising fees to squelch demand'; and James Savage's account of the problems of disclosure by Greece in the context of EU Budgetary Surveillance is, well, downright shocking.

I was grateful for Christopher Hood's gentle summing up at the end which strives to find something encouraging to say. It nonetheless concludes that:

> the devil is always in the bureaucratic detail, and prudence seems to justify a strong element of 'practical scepticism' about the way transparency measures work out on the ground.[6]

The one thing one can say with confidence is that there are lessons about openness to be learned from this book. Not very encouraging ones, but lessons.

Holding up a mirror

Finally, scholarship has a role to play in holding up a mirror to current fashion and simply asking whether it makes sense – or in the worst case what we think of the Emperor's new clothes. This is what *Joined-Up Government* does par excellence, and I have the most difficulty with it of all the three books because it deals with something in which I was particularly involved.

When I became Secretary of the Cabinet, 'joined-up government' was all the rage. The phrase had been coined just before my arrival by my colleague who was permanent secretary of the Cabinet Office, Robin Mountfield, possibly in his bath although I am not sure of that. I hope he will not mind my revealing that my first instinct was to try to strangle its use before it got any further. I supported the case for better coordination; but the echo of 'joined-up writing' seemed to me to imply something facile which a five-year-old could do, whereas I knew it was a complex business which required

considerable sophistication if it was to work. But the phrase was up and away, and in the public domain. It had probably already been used by the Prime Minister, as one contributor to this book says. The prospects of strangulation were hopeless, and I failed.

Despite my distaste for the term, joined-up government was a noble cause in its way. One of the most important chapters in the book, which may acquire some historical interest in time, is the final one, written by Geoff Mulgan who played a key part in its invention as a special adviser in Number 10. It is the best, most authoritative account of why the initiative was launched that one could hope for. Using exactly the right language ('silos', 'delivery', 'cross-cutting'), down to the authentic bullet points of the period, he explains very fairly the defects which New Labour had identified in the ability of the government machine to act as they wanted. Coming at the end of the book, after much academic analysis, it may read to some rather like M. Poirot's exposition at the end of an Agatha Christie novel.

> Many of the pressing problems facing government – such as social exclusion, crime, environment, family and competitiveness – do not fit into neat departmental boundaries. … Vertical organization by its nature skews government efforts away from certain activities, such as prevention – since the benefits of preventive action often come to another department. It tends to make government less sensitive to particular client groups whose needs cut across departmental lines. (The elderly are a classic example.) At worst, it incentivizes departments and agencies to dump problems onto each other...[7]

Having been Permanent Under Secretary of the Home Office where I had fumed at the way that we seemed to have to manage the consequences of all the failures of other departments' social policies, I knew what he meant.

The problem was not so much to diagnose the problem accurately as to know what to do about it. The Civil Service, under strong guidance from the new Government, gave joined-up government its best shot, experimenting with a variety of ways of

encouraging departments and public services to cooperate. Geoff Mulgan illustrates this well, in sixteen bullet points.

It is beyond the scope of this review, and indeed of the book, to assess how far these efforts were successful. I hope an assessment is made in due course. But for the time being it would probably be safe for the general reader to assume that along with all the other waves of reform which have swept over the government machine over the last quarter of a century it did not achieve everything hoped for but carried things forward a little way, and prepared the ground for the next big wave which in this case was 'delivery'.

What this book illustrates, again thanks to the scholarship of its editor and contributors, are the important issues which were concealed beneath that easy phrase, joined-up government, which had perplexed previous generations of administrators in their attempts to improve the coordination of public services and which will still face future generations of public servants who are in the same business.

'Joined-up Government', as Christopher Hood explains, is a new term for an old administrative doctrine called coordination. It became fashionable in the 1990s to deride working in functional departmental structures, or 'silos' as they became known. But what this derision overlooked was that too much emphasis on joined-upness risked reducing local autonomy, confusing lines of accountability and weakening the specialisation and expertise conventionally associated with functional organisation.

The implications of this are explored well in the book. I particularly enjoyed Edward Page's formal analysis of silo mentalities into five types, all of which I immediately recognised and have probably represented in my time (turf, budget protection, bureaucratic politics, ignorance and technical reasons).

If I had to contribute my own chapter now – and this is not an offer – I would argue that much government business can still be satisfactorily be handled within the structure of functional departments provided that officials continue to be trained in the culture of consultation of other departments where their interests are affected, and provided also that Cabinet government still works. As

Christopher Hood reminds us, group ethos has long been the 'efficient secret' of the British civil service. But it is not enough for some issues which transcend departments. In these cases, governments tend to be most effective when they select carefully the 'cross-cutting' areas where they want to have an impact and concentrate on those, backed up by considerable political will from the top, rather than when they adopt a generalised approach which attempts too much across too broad a front, risking 'chaos more than coordination' in Gerry Stoker's phrase.

I would also want to explore still further the constitutional issues which are touched on with characteristic shrewdness by Vernon Bogdanor in his introduction. I suspect that the impact of joined-up government may to some degree have been coloured by uncertainty about how New Labour viewed the role of the centre and the constitutional implications which lay behind that. Peter Mandelson had indicated in 1996[8] to anyone who would listen that there would be a much stronger centre under Blair, but the implications were never fully articulated. In time it became clear that it was a world in which, in Sir Michael Quinlan's words in *Hutton and Butler*:

> there was a sense of all participants – ministers, civil servants, special policy advisers, public relations handlers – being treated as part of an undifferentiated resource for the support of the central executive.[9]

This sense of everyone being part of an undifferentiated resource, with its implicit impatience with boundaries and roles, may have been the concept which differentiated joined-up government from other attempts at improving coordination, at any rate subconsciously (as Lord Hutton would say). Indeed it can be argued that it extended subconsciously beyond central government to include local government and other agencies for the purposes of 'delivery', and permeated other areas of central policy such as the setting of targets for bodies which lay beyond the direct control of government such as the police.

There may also have been a subconscious recognition that this concept of an undifferentiated resource contained con-stitutional implications which it was better not to address. For instance, if the Prime Minister were to become the chief executive of the government, and if all the permanent secretaries in charge of government departments were to report to him through the Secretary of the Cabinet, perhaps at the head of a Department of the Prime Minister, what would become of the Secretaries of State? If the whole public sector were to be the agents of central government, what would become of local government councils and police authorities and school governors and the like, not to mention local democracy?

All things are possible when you have no written constitution. The language of 'partnerships' and 'stakeholders' offered the best hope of getting past the problem. If the only thing that matters is 'what works', then by definition nothing else matters, provided that everyone cooperates. But there lies the snag. As Vernon Bogdanor observes,

> The success of joined-up government presupposes a degree of consensus which has not always been apparent in the British political system.[10]

Joined-up government contained within it hints of more fundamental issues which were never fully explored. As it happened, the real world intervened, events moved on, some interesting experiments were made, and the subconscious thoughts remained in the subconscious. But scholars are right to examine the experiment.

Conclusion

Reading these three books is a stimulating business. There is something on nearly every page to provoke those interested in government to exclaim with approval or disapproval or surprise or interest. Coming back to my initial point, they illustrate richly the contribution which professional, disinterested scholarship and good minds can bring to the business of government. Scholars are not necessarily always right or complete in their analysis. They sometimes lapse into language which it is hard for the lay person to follow, or attempt to formalise what cannot be formalised. But they are an active force for good in the pursuit of good government, in a world where such forces are scarce, and I am very glad the British Academy is encouraging and supporting them.

1 Peter Hennessy, 'The Lightning Flash on the Road to Baghdad: Issues of Evidence', in W. G. Runciman (ed.), *Hutton and Butler: Lifting the Lid on the Workings of Power* (*British Academy Occasional Paper*, 2004), pp. 75 and 80.

2 Rudolf Klein and William Plowden, 'JASP Meets JUG: Lessons of the 1975 Joint Approach to Social Policy for Joined-Up Government', in Vernon Bogdanor (ed.), *Joined-Up Government* (*British Academy Occasional Paper* 5, 2005), pp. 107 and 112.

3 Christopher Hood, 'Transparency in Historical Perspective', in Christopher Hood and David Heald (eds), *Transparency: The Key to Better Governance?* (*Proceedings of the British Academy* 135, 2006), pp. 19-20.

4 Onora O'Neill, 'Transparency and the Ethics of Communication', in Hood and Heald (eds), *Transparency*, pp. 84, 88 and 89.

5 Michael Quinlan, 'Lessons for Governmental Process', in Runciman (ed.), *Hutton and Butler*, pp. 126-7.

6 Christopher Hood, 'Beyond Exchanging First Principles? Some Closing Comments', in Hood and Heald (eds), *Transparency*, p. 224.

7 Geoff Mulgan, 'Joined-Up Government: Past, Present, and Future', in Bogdanor (ed.), *Joined-Up Government*, pp. 175 and 177.

8 *The Blair Revolution* (Faber and Faber, 1996).

9 Quinlan, 'Lessons for Governmental Process', p. 128.

10 Bogdanor (ed.), *Joined-Up Government*, p. 17.

History and the Pensions Crisis

In June 2005 a conference was held at the British Academy bringing together leading experts from a number of countries to discuss the current pensions crisis in the UK, and to consider the way forward. **Dr Hugh Pemberton**, *one of the convenors of the conference, reflects on the nature of the pensions crisis, setting it in its historical context.*

IN an address to the British Academy in December 2004 the governor of the Bank of England, Professor Mervyn King FBA, made a persuasive case for a more honest and open acknowledgement of the policy problems posed by future risks, using pensions to illustrate his point. Yet, as well as there being a strong case for more honesty about the future of pensions, one might equally argue that we need to be more honest about the past. For, whilst the present system is widely seen to be inadequate for present day needs, let alone up to the task of providing for the future, a significant problem for those seeking to reform the system is that policy makers must necessarily grapple with a considerable legacy, much of which constrains present policy options.

In this article, I discuss the nature of the pensions crisis and argue that an effective solution to that crisis cannot be built unless we better understand the history of how the crisis has arisen and acknowledge the constraints posed by past developments. In doing so, I draw on research conducted during a British Academy postdoctoral fellowship and on a conference at the British Academy in June 2005 the proceedings of which will be published in book form in September 2006 as a British Academy Occasional Paper (*Britain's Pensions Crisis: History and Policy*, edited by Hugh Pemberton, Pat Thane & Noel Whiteside).

The crisis

There seems now to be a widespread sense that Britain's pensions system, if not yet in crisis, will shortly be so. Perhaps the most often cited cause is the so-called 'demographic time-bomb'. This has two dimensions Firstly, a combination of the post-war baby boom and a subsequent deterioration of the birth rate, which has been below the level needed to sustain the population since the 1970s, means that we face not just a growing number of pensioners

but a smaller number of working tax payers to support them. As Paul Johnson points out in our book, this has been clear for over 30 years and the failure to face up to reality for so long is notable. Secondly, pensioners are living longer as a consequence of rising living standards and medical advances. Whilst the rate of increase has lately been particularly fast this too is part of a welcome long-term trend – but one to which the actuarial profession has reacted far too slowly, as John Hills notes in his contribution to our volume.
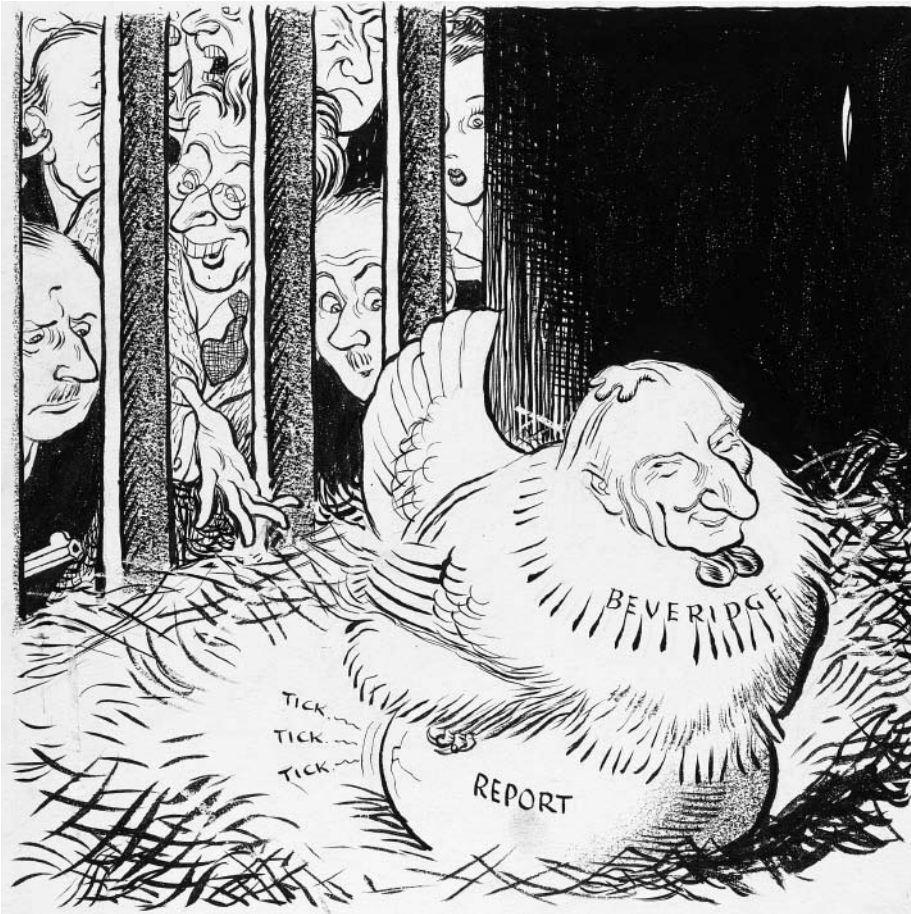
These long-term demographic trends are exacerbated by important social changes relating to work. For the past 40 years or so, for example, governments have encouraged an increasing proportion of young people to enter further education, thus delaying their entry into paid work and postponing pension contributions. At the other end of people's working lives, however, we have seen a tendency to take early retirement – a trend particularly noticeable as firms restructured in the 1980s and 1990s. Taken together, these changes are stretching pensions in two directions since they have to last for longer but with fewer years of contributions. True, these pressures have been partly offset by the long-term increase in labour force participation by women and by immigration. But whilst both have produced additional contributions they brought with them future liabilities, thus postponing but not solving the crisis.

The demographic and social roots of the pensions crisis are therefore long-standing. One solution is for people to work for longer, and the Pensions Commission has recently suggested this. But whilst retiring later may go some way to addressing the inadequacy of future pensions it does nothing to address the existing inadequacy of the basic state pension. Again, this is a long-term issue. The Beveridge national insurance pension was never intended to be generous, as Jose Harris

reminds us, but it was made less so by the Treasury, which saw the required expenditure as beyond the country's postwar means. Since 1946, therefore, the poorest pensioners have depended on means-tested supplementary benefits. So means-testing, for all the current concerns about its impact on incentives to save for retirement, is not a new problem. Nor is Treasury parsimony. Over more than half a century the Treasury has sought, with considerable success, to limit the growth in liabilities arising from the basic state pension.

State earnings-related pensions have also been subject to a long process of attrition. The Treasury fought hard in the 1950s and 1960s against a generous Continental-style system of earnings-relation in state pensions. Eventually, Labour managed to introduce a compromise system in 1978 – the state earnings-related pensions scheme (SERPS). Almost as soon as it was implemented, however, Conservative governments began to chip away at it, not least by encouraging workers to contract out of the scheme. Labour's replacement of SERPS by the state second pension (S2P) in 2002 continued this process.

In short, state pensions in Britain have consistently played a residual role and almost all postwar governments, whether Conservative or Labour, have turned to the private sector to fill the gap. This has had mixed, but generally disappointing, results. Initially, governments in the 1950s and 1960s looked to employers to provide earnings-related occupational pensions to their workers. As Noel Whiteside notes in our book, in the full-employment climate of those years employers were happy to oblige, supported by trade unions which saw attractive pension packages as a way round wage restraint policies. The problem with this approach was that it excluded the low-paid, the self-employed and those not in continuous paid work. Thus successive

governments, supported by the social partners, connived in a system that was bound to fail a large number if not the majority of British citizens.

Women were the most notable casualties of this approach, as is made clear by Pat Thane, Jay Ginn and Baroness Hollis in our volume, because they were disproportionately amongst those excluded, and when they did work in jobs with attached pensions they were generally low-paid. This was a double blow, for women were inevitably poorly served by a state pension system also based on entitlements built up through paid work since they tended, and tend still, to take time out of work to care for children and ageing parents.

Moreover, the expansion in occupational pensions coverage was not sustained, peaking in 1967 at just over half the workforce. Since then the proportion in such schemes has been declining. Recently, of course, we have seen a marked flight by employers from traditional 'defined benefit' schemes,

typically paying pensions based on final salary, to 'defined contribution' schemes where the employee takes all the risk. There are short- to medium factors at work here such as the collapse of equity markets in 2000 and new accounting standards that make pension fund deficits all too visible in employers' balance sheets. Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that the decline of occupational pensions is a long-term phenomenon.

The inability of employer-provided pensions to fill the gap created by inadequate state provision led governments in the 1980s to encourage individuals to take out their own private pension plans. This was a disaster. The ensuing misselling of plans, the Maxwell fraud, and the Equitable Life saga, amongst other iniquities, served only to precipitate a catastrophic decline in consumers' trust in pension companies. This produced a marked expansion in regulation by government of those companies which inevitably served to make pensions more complex and expensive

to administer. But regulation, it should be noted, is not a new phenomenon. Since 1973 state regulation of the private sector has increased: to protect pension rights, eliminate discrimination, outlaw dubious marketing practices, prevent misappropriation of company pension funds for other purposes, guarantee the solvency of funds and, most recently, protect scheme members when funds collapse.

Regulation was not the only factor contributing to the growing complexity of the overall system, as I shall describe below, but it was certainly important. And as the system has become more complex that complexity has itself become a barrier to the ability of the private sector to rise to the challenge set for it by government. Employers find the regulatory requirements of occupational pensions increasingly onerous and costly and this is a factor in their desire to withdraw from the market. Administration costs of private plans also rise, thus making them less attractive to consumers. As for the consumers themselves, they find themselves lost in a maze of such complexity that making rational decisions about pensions planning becomes all but impossible, thus discouraging them from making any decision at all and contributing to the poor take-up of private pensions by low to medium income earners unable to afford professional and disinterested advice.

In short, therefore, the private sector has not been able to fill the gap created by the inadequacy of state pensions in Britain. Indeed, far from expanding as the Treasury had hoped, Britain's system of privately-provided funded pensions is in serious long-term decline. It was this failure of the voluntary approach that led the government to set up the Pensions Commission in 2002.

The Pensions Commission's proposal

In the event, the Pensions Commission interpreted its brief rather more widely than the government had intended. It noted that 'Pension reform has too often in the past proceeded on the basis of analysis of specific

isolated issues' and concluded that it was impossible to consider a part of the system without considering the whole. The Commission's first report was refreshingly blunt: there was an impending pensions crisis; and that crisis could only be solved if the country accepted the need to work for longer, to save more, and to pay higher taxes. In November 2005, the Pensions Commission published its second report putting forward its suggestions for a major reform of UK pensions to create 'a new settlement for the 21st century'.

The Commission's objectives were ambitious. It hoped to plug the gaping holes in the current state system for those (mainly women) with disrupted careers due to caring responsibilities. It aimed to overcome barriers to private provision in the form of consumer confusion and high costs. It hoped to keep employers involved in providing occupational pensions for their workers. It sought to craft a more sustainable state pension able to cope with rising longevity. It aimed to reverse the spread of means-testing produced by indexing the state basic pension to prices rather than earnings. But simultaneously it sought to maintain the improvements in the relative standards of living of the poorest pensioners that means-testing has delivered. Overall, it attempted to devise a system that was both less complex and more understandable.

The Commission proposed to achieve these objectives through a three-part reform. Firstly, the state pension age would rise to 67, or perhaps 69, by 2050. This would create the necessary conditions for its second recommendation: that state pensions be made more generous. The basic state pension (BSP) would continue but would rise in line with average earnings and would be paid to all UK residents, not just those who had paid contributions (thus dealing with the problem of those with interrupted careers and caring responsibilities, though not eliminating the future problems of those who have experienced such interruptions to contribution levels in the past). The earnings-related state second pension would be allowed gradually to evolve into a flat-rate top-up to the BSP paid to those who had made contributions. Thirdly the Commission proposed a new National Pensions Savings

Scheme (NPSS) into which workers would be automatically enrolled. Employees would pay 4 per cent of their salary into this scheme, their employers would contribute a further 3 per cent, and the government would put in another 1 per cent. These contributions would be invested in stocks and bonds to build up a pension fund.

History and policy

In making its proposals, however, it may be that the Commission has failed to acknowledge the way in which history may both have created the crisis which it seeks to address and constrain options for the future. A key problem for any pension system is that the commitments made by pension providers to those contributing to pensions are very long term indeed. Clearly, an individual who purchases a personal pension from a pensions company enters into a long-term financial contract. In occupational pensions too, providing the scheme remains solvent, contributions made by employees, and matching employer contributions, carry long-term rights to a pension. Britain is unusual, however, in that the pensions contract in state pensions might also be seen as an individualised financial contract. This has important implications for policy.

Normally in a 'pay-as-you-go' pension system such as Britain's (i.e. a system in which pensions are paid from the contributions of today's workers) the pension 'contract' is essentially a collective agreement between generations. Because it is collective, it is amenable to political renegotiation. Britain, however, does not have this sort of state pensions contract, though many assume that it does. To understand why, we have to go back to the implementation of the Beveridge settlement in 1946.

In 1942, Beveridge proposed a system of 'national insurance' in which a worker's contributions would over time build up to provide a pension on retirement. In truth, Beveridge's scheme was never fully funded – though this was not clear to ordinary citizens at the time. But it was made even less so by Labour's decision to drop Beveridge's 20-year transition period to full pension rights (the 'golden staircase') when it implemented the Beveridge Plan in 1946. For those overseeing the implementation, the long delay

envisaged by Beveridge to allow contributions to build up was simply not practical politics in the context of sacrifices made by workers during the depression and the Second World War. Instead, full pensions were paid immediately to those insured since 1925, and after only 10 years to those who had joined later. But abolishing the 'golden staircase' severely weakened the finances of the scheme. This in turn meant that the Treasury ruled out plans to pay a 'subsistence' pension (i.e. a pension that was enough to live on). And it meant that the scheme essentially became 'pay-as-you-go'. This shift in the funding basis of the scheme was concealed from contributors, however. Workers continued to view national insurance as a financial contract between the individual and the state in which their contributions purchased rights to a fully-funded future pension. Indeed, there must be some suspicion that this contract is legally enforceable under European law.

Thus in all its areas Britain's postwar pension system embodied individualised financial contracts. Such contracts are expensive to break. This does not mean that reform is impossible. There has been a major reform of British pensions about once a decade since Beveridge. It does mean, however, that those seeking to push through reforms consistently reached the conclusion that they would be best achieved not by abolishing or replacing an existing element in the system but by adding a new element. At best, pension rights were put into long-term 'cold storage' pending the retirement of contributors. The replacement of the 1961 state graduated pension by SERPS in 1978, is an example, as is its subsequent replacement by the state second pension in 2002. In both cases contributors' entitlements under these schemes continued, and will continue for many years to come. More often, however, the new element was simply added to the existing system (for example the introduction of personal pension plans in the 1980s). By 2002 Britain had nine distinct types of pension.

In all the present debate over the need for radical reform, however, the constraint of past contracts is rarely openly and honestly acknowledged. It is notable, for example, that the Pensions Commission's second report

had only two pages discussing the ways in which history had limited its options even though past contracts implied such unacceptably large transition costs that the Commission was forced to rule out replacing the state basic and state second pensions and, instead, to build on them. If the state basic pension is to be paid to all, might the Commission perhaps have underestimated the potential opposition from workers who see 'their pension' being paid to people who have not made national insurance contributions? Did the Commission also underestimate the historic aversion of the Treasury to raising pensions spending?

One might also ask whether the Commission may have underestimated the potential scale of opposition to its proposal for a new National Pensions Savings Scheme even though there is a clear historical precedent in the reaction to a similar scheme proposed by Labour in 1957. The Treasury, for example, was then and is now averse to such a scheme because of fears that the government would be expected to stand as guarantor in the event of a collapse in asset values. Likewise, the industry was then and is now opposed to a scheme whose low costs threaten its existing business. Even in the 1950s the pensions industry wielded considerable market and political power that it used to strangle National Superannuation at birth.

Given the subsequent increase in that power it seems almost inconceivable that pension companies can be reduced to mere sub-contractors of the state responsible for managing investments.

Conclusion

As the Pensions Commission noted in its first report, 'The problems of the British pension system today reflect the cumulative impact of decisions and commitments made, and of policies rejected, often with unintended consequences, by governments over several decades'. These commitments matter because they give rise to a set of financial contracts that are politically and financially expensive to break. They matter too because in both the public and private sectors they create substantial institutional impediments to radical change.

That said, developments over the past half-century indicate that further change is possible. But history also points to there being limits to its scope. It also suggests that change will not be retrospective and that the price of reform will be more complexity. Finally, history tells us that it is very hard to unpick decisions on pensions because of the very long-term commitments they involve. Decisions made now will potentially shape policy until today's adults are all dead. This puts a considerable onus on policy makers today to eschew the quick fix so beloved of their predecessors and to build a solution that will not just endure but that will be flexible enough to settle the question for some time to come.

In brief

British Academy Book Prize 2004

The 2004 Book Prize was awarded at a ceremony held in the British Academy on 13 December, to Diarmaid MacCulloch, for *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700*, published by Allen Lane, Penguin Press.

Professor Ryan, Chairman of the judges, described Diarmaid MacCulloch's book as a 'majestic survey, which subtly describes the interplay of theology, politics, and international relations in shaping Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and beyond to our own day. It progresses logically as well as chronologically from schisms in the Catholic Church to the religious and political consequences: the failed attempts at reunification, the permanent divisions of Europe, the consequences of these for the history of the United States and Latin America, as well as the Reformation's cultural effects. Its great strength, though the greatest source of difficulty for the modern reader, is that it takes theology seriously as an independent explanatory variable, and not simply as the ideological expression of changes in economic and political facts.'

The other short-listed books were: Stephen Cretney *Family Law in the Twentieth Century: A History*, by Stephen Cretney (Oxford University Press); *Elizabeth Bowen*, by Maud Ellmann (Edinburgh University Press); *W.B.Yeats: A Life, Volume 2 The Arch-Poet*, by R. F Foster (Oxford University Press); *The Field and the Forge*, by John Landers (Oxford University Press); and *Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis*, by Michael Williams (University of Chicago Press).

The judges for the 2004 Book Prize were Professor Alan Ryan, Warden, New College, Oxford and Chair of the 2004 Panel, Antony Beevor, Professor Marilyn Butler, Rector, Exeter College, Oxford, Professor Eda Sagarra, pro-Chancellor, Dublin University, Lord Skidelsky, University of Warwick, and Professor Marina Warner, University of Essex.

Medals and Prizes 2005

The winners of the 2004 Medals and Prizes were announced at the AGM in July.

Burkitt Medal for Biblical Studies: Rev. Professor P.M. Bogaert OSB, University of Louvain-la-Neuve

Derek Allen Prize (Numismatics): Professor Philip Grierson FBA

Sir Israel Gollancz Prize (English studies): Professor Patrick O'Neill, University of North Carolina, for *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*

Kenyon Medal for Classical Studies: Professor Fergus Millar FBA

Leverhulme Medal: Sir Tony Wrigley FBA, for his life-time contribution to knowledge and understanding in the social sciences

Rose Mary Crawshay Prizes (for female authors of historical or critical work relating to English literature): Judith Farr, Georgetown University, with Louise Carter for *The Gardens of Emily Dickinson*; and Claire Preston, University of Cambridge, for *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science*

Serena Medal (Italian studies): Mr Ronald Lightbown, formerly Keeper of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum

'That full complement of riches': the contributions of the arts, humanities and social sciences to the nation's wealth

In July 2004 the British Academy launched the report arising from a British Academy review, *'That full complement of riches': the contributions of the arts, humanities and social sciences to the nation's wealth*, at a ceremony in the Academy attended by leading representatives of the scholarly community. The report demonstrated the value of the study of these disciplines, and showed that the UK's cultural, intellectual, social and economic well-being is dependent upon the complementary contributions made by teaching and research activities

of all subjects. It recommended that a broader research and training vision should be embraced by government and other bodies, so that the arts, humanities and social sciences can be taken fully into account in all strategic thinking and planning, and also fully represented in the forums that consider such matters.

Lord Sainsbury, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (Science and Innovation), welcomed the review and commented that this report 'provides a helpful framework for analysing the many different ways in which the arts, the humanities and the social sciences – and more particularly research and postgraduate study in those subjects and disciplines – have an impact and make a difference to the social, economic, political, cultural and educational life of this and other countries.'

Professor Paul Langford, who chaired the Review Working Group, said: 'This review demonstrates that the arts, humanities and the social sciences provide high-level skills and ground-breaking research essential to a knowledge-based economy. It also shows how the cultural, intellectual and social well-being of the UK depends on the nurturing of these branches of knowledge. And not least it asserts their complementary function within the spectrum of intellectual discovery. Studying human beings as creative individuals and as social creatures is crucial not only in its own right but is also crucial to the study by natural scientists of human beings in terms of their biology and physical environment. The central point is not simply that every branch of knowledge makes an important contribution to the whole, but rather that no branch of knowledge contributes effectively unless the others are granted the same recognition.'

A number of follow-up events have taken place to develop the issues raised in the report.

The full text of the report can be found on the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/contribution/

E-resources for research in the humanities and social sciences

In response to concerns that researchers in the humanities and social sciences were not able to take full advantage of electronic developments, the Academy set up a review in 2004 to examine the state of research resources provision, and particularly of electronic resources provision. The review consulted relevant national organisations and individual researchers, to establish the present state of e-resources and their use, and to identify future needs. Its findings showed that more strategic and coordinated action was needed, in order to ensure that UK researchers could deploy the resources they needed and keep UK research and scholarship in the humanities and social sciences at the international leading edge. The report of the review (May 2005), *E-resources for research in the humanities and social sciences*, made a series of recommendations addressed to the pertinent stakeholders aimed at improving resource provision for HSS researchers.

Professor Spärck Jones, who chaired the Review Working Group, said: 'More strategic, co-ordinated and well-targeted action is needed, which must, moreover, be grounded in researchers' actual, not deemed, requirements, so e-resources and access to them are designed, from the beginning, for researchers' use. This action should recognise that HSS researchers, far more than STM researchers, have to live in a hybrid resource world, with a complex mix of non-e and e-resources, primary and secondary. Their information needs extend far back in time, and range across many languages.'

A workshop for representatives from the organisations and bodies to which the report's recommendations are addressed is planned for autumn 2006, to discuss the impact of the report and to identify follow-up action and activities.

The full text of the report can be found on the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk/reports/eresources/

Elections to the Fellowship

The following elections were made at the Annual General Meeting in July 2005.

Elections to Ordinary Fellowship

Professor Philip Alexander
Professor of Post-Biblical Jewish Studies, University of Manchester

His work has principally been focused on four branches of Judaica: Pseudepigrapha, magic and mysticism, Qumran and Aramaic Targums. Above all in the study of the ancient Aramaic paraphrases of the Bible as evidenced in his recent volume on the Song of Songs, *The Targum of Canticles*.

Professor Andrew Barker
Professor of Classics, University of Birmingham

His principal fields of research are ancient philosophy, science and music and especially the epistemological foundations of Greek harmonic theory. He has made important contributions to the understanding of Greek musical practice and to the interpretation of leading philosophers, in particular, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus.

Dr Bonnie Blackburn
Independent scholar

She is the leading scholar of continental Renaissance music and one of the leading scholars in the world on the music, music theory, musical iconography, manuscripts and repertory of the period c. 1450–1600, especially continental repertory around the composers Ockeghem, Obrecht, Josquin and their contemporaries.

Professor Richard Britnell
Emeritus Professor of History, University of Durham

His principal area of research lies in the study of the economic and social history of medieval England, demonstrating the crucial importance of the internal market in long-term agrarian and urban developments. He has contributed significantly to the history of the medieval town and his latest book addresses economy and society in Britain and Ireland 1050–1530.

Professor Bernard Capp
Professor of History, University of Warwick

As an historian of early modern English history he has illuminated such diverse topics as 17th Century Millenarianism, English almanacs, Cromwell's navy, the 'water poet' John Taylor, and women's social history, with each work firmly grounded on primary sources, and each notable for sound judgment and historical imagination.

Professor Gordon Clark
Halford Mackinder Professor of Geography, University of Oxford

He is an economic geographer whose research has been principally concerned with patterns of economic development and social justice. He has turned over the last decade to the regulation of the global economy with particular reference to the international financial system, and in a series of influential publications he has addressed the issue of 'pension fund capitalism'.

Professor Roger Cotterrell
Professor of Legal Theory, Queen Mary, University of London

He is widely regarded as the leading theoretical sociologist of law, who has explored central issues at the interface of sociological theory and jurisprudence. He has developed a distinctive position on important issues of social and legal theory, and recently has made important contributions to debates about legal cultures and legal transplants.

Professor Cairns Craig
Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, University of Edinburgh

He has been at the forefront of work on Scottish literary and cultural identity for over two decades. His range is striking: he has written penetratingly on English, Scottish, Irish and American writing, on poetry, the novel, drama, film, and literary theory. His work has been notable for its use of history, philosophy and political theory to animate his literary studies.

Professor Colin Crouch
Professor of Governance and Public Management, Warwick Business School, University of Warwick

He is an economic sociologist, with particular interests in international comparative research at the interface between sociology, politics and the study of work and employment. His writings in comparative political economy constitute a programme of comparative analysis of the regulation of work and employment, the structure and behaviour of organised interest groups, and national governance regimes.

Professor David d'Avray
Professor of Medieval History, University College London

He is an authority on medieval preaching, particularly that of the mendicant orders in later medieval Europe; his research has contributed to an understanding of the ways that sermons were used and circulated, and the ways they reflect the social concerns of the later Middle Ages. Recently his research has centred on marriage preaching, medieval papacy and rationality.

Professor Simon Deakin
Robert Monks Professor of Corporate Governance, University of Cambridge

He has made a unique contribution to academic studies by his development and deployment of the economic analysis of law. His research includes the study of corporate governance, employment and private law from an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective; economic and sociological theories of law; and empirical studies of the effects of legal change.

Professor Ian Diamond
Chief Executive, Economic and Social Research Council; formerly University of Southampton

His main research field is social statistics and demography, with applied, quantitative, work spanning developing and developed countries. His research, where he has put methodological advances to practical, national and international application covers a wide range of topics, including delivery of health care and contraception, family demography, HIV/Aids, teenage pregnancy, census under-enumeration, ethnic minorities and the Child Support Agency.

Professor Dorothy Edgington
Waynflete Professor of Metaphysical Philosophy, University of Oxford

She is an acute and original philosopher, working on logic, metaphysics and epistemology, and decision theory. In particular she has made outstanding contributions on the nature of conditionals, causation and probability, and their linked role in explaining perception, inference and decision-making.

Professor Sandra Fredman
Professor of Law, University of Oxford

She is a major figure in discrimination scholarship and feminist legal theory, and her second major research area concerns human rights law and the tension between democracy and judicial power to enforce human rights. As well as her academic work, she has been active in the field of policy-making.

Professor Miriam Glucksmann
Professor of Sociology, University of Essex

Following her writing on structuralism in social theory, she has been highly influential in establishing the centrality of gender issues in the sociology of work. Her work facilitates an understanding of the complex relations between the production of goods and services in the market economy and the production and reproduction of labour power in the domestic economy.

Professor Christopher Gosden
Lecturer and Curator, Pitt Rivers Museum, and School of Archaeology, University of Oxford

He occupies a key and influential position at the interface of archaeology and anthropology and works to integrate the two disciplines to the benefit of both. His works range widely from studies of British Iron Age forts, to

multidisciplinary studies in Papua New Guinea, and archaeological projects in the Czech Republic and Turkmenistan.

Professor Sir Brian Harrison
formerly Editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, University of Oxford

An original, productive and influential historian of modern Britain, he has worked on socio-cultural history – for example, the temperance movement, sexual politics, animal welfare, and the politics of philanthropy. But his principal claim to recognition rests on his outstanding role in bringing the *ODNB* to completion. He brought to the task energy, enthusiasm, tact, diplomatic skill and historical imagination of the highest order.

Professor Jo Labanyi
Professor of Spanish and Cultural Studies, University of Southampton

She has been a pioneering interpreter in the field of Spanish fiction of the 19th and 20th centuries whose work has been internationally acclaimed. She has been prominent, too, in the promotion of cultural studies within Hispanism. Her work also addresses gender issues, as well as including publications on Spanish cinema.

Professor Andrew Linklater
Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics, University of Wales, Aberystwyth

He has played a key role in introducing critical theory into the study of international relations and in reviving normative approaches to the subject, and his writings in the field of cosmopolitan ethics have become standard works. In his current projects he grapples with the way that citizens reconcile their identity as citizens with that of subjects with universal duties and rights; and with how to expand, from an ethical standpoint, ways of thinking about political community.

Professor David McCrone
Professor of Sociology, University of Edinburgh

His expertise is in the sociology of Scotland and the comparative sociology of nationalism. He has been largely responsible for the development of the sociology of Scotland into a significant academic research area and has also made major contributions to the study of

nationalism and national identity more generally, emphasizing the multi-dimensional and contextual character of national identity.

Professor April McMahon
Forbes Professor of English Language, University of Edinburgh

She is a leading specialist in phonological theory and the history of English phonology, who has also worked on the large-scale classification of languages. She is as much at home with minute philological details as with general linguistic issues, and her work also demonstrates her interest in the wide-ranging topic of linguistic evolution.

Professor Ronald Martin
Professor of Economic Geography, University of Cambridge

He has made a series of outstanding contributions to regional economic growth theory and its interpretation in relation to the competitiveness of regions, their labour markets, and the financial structure that underpins them, focusing on three major research themes: regional growth and competitiveness; the geographies of labour markets; and the geographies of money and finance.

Professor Costas Meghir
Professor of Economics, University College London

He has made major contributions in the fields of empirical microeconomics, labour economics, household behaviour, education and microeconometrics. His highly original and carefully implemented studies include the effects of labour supply on commodity demands; an endogenous regime model for firms' investment behaviour; and the analysis of earnings and of education interventions.

Professor Dawn Oliver
Professor of Constitutional Law, University College London

She is a constitutional lawyer, who is also a classical administrative lawyer, focusing on judicial review. Her grasp of political science writing was demonstrated in her influential book *Government in the United Kingdom: the search for accountability, effectiveness and citizenship*. She has also explored the values inherent in the common law, in response to the changes in the public law environment brought about by privatization; and her most recent

book examines the government's record in constitutional reform.

Professor David Perrett
Professor of Psychology, University of St Andrews

By integrating neurophysiological observation with behavioural data and evolutionary theory concerning the basis of primate social interaction, he has made key contributions to our understanding of how we perceive faces to gain access to crucial social information about a person's age, sex, identity, mood and attractiveness. Through his discoveries, he has contributed to the development of widely-used techniques of computer-based image manipulation.

Professor Robert Plomin
Research Professor in Behavioural Genetics, Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London

He is a world leader in the study of the environmental and genetic contributions to behaviour, who has made three distinctive contributions: first, to knowledge of the environmental and genetic contributions to individual differences; secondly, to the methodology of the field of behaviour genetics; and, thirdly, as communicator on environmental and genetic contributions to behaviour differences.

Professor Graham Rees
Professor of English, Queen Mary, University of London

He is a leader in the study of Francis Bacon, with a knowledge of the manuscripts, the textual complexities, and the publication history of Bacon's writings which is second to none. He has recently embarked on a major enquiry concerning the office and practice of King's Printer in Jacobean England which has already illuminated Jacobean printing practices and their religious and political implications.

Professor David Reynolds
Professor of International History, University of Cambridge

He is an authority on British foreign policy, especially in its dealing with the USA. Recently he has significantly broadened his ambit as an historian, reaching into social and cultural history as well as politics and diplomacy. His latest book which explores the relation between Churchill's actual conduct

of the war and his own vastly influential account, is a convincing exercise in historiographical revision and also exhibits a fine literary sensibility.

Professor David Sanders
Professor of Government, University of Essex

His research has centred on two main areas: electoral behaviour, especially electoral behaviour in Britain; and the study of international relations, notably British foreign policy. He has created a pioneering model of voting behaviour which has generated powerful testable hypotheses. His recent co-authored publication *Political Choice in Britain* draws on more than 40 years of survey work to synthesise understanding of a generation of electoral change.

Professor Geoffrey Searle
Professor Emeritus of Modern British History, University of East Anglia

His research on the political and social history of modern Britain has ranged across the 19th and 20th centuries. He has addressed such topics as the politics of corruption, of entrepreneurship and of the market, exploring how social and economic issues were defined and articulated and dealt with as political questions; and his studies of national efficiency, eugenics and coalitions bring what may seem to be marginal political matters centre stage. His recently published volume *A New England? Peace and War 1886–1918* has been received with acclaim.

Professor Hyun Song Shin
Professor of Finance, London School of Economics and Political Science

His research has centred on Finance, Game Theory, International Money, Monetary Theory, Information and Common Beliefs, and Financial Regulation. His most influential work has been on the subjects of public information, multiple equilibria and global games. He is not only an excellent technical economist, but is also closely involved with practical policy making.

Professor Nicholas Thomas
Professor of Anthropology, Goldsmiths College, University of London

As an anthropologist and an historian, his research interests have ranged widely. He has written influentially on art, material culture

and exchange in relation to colonialism; on exploration and biography; on the personal letter as artefact; and on narratives of nation. Though focused on the Pacific, his work has immense and immediate resonance for anthropologists working in other parts of the world, and he has also contributed to the development of general anthropological theory

Professor Gerard van Gelder
Laudian Professor of Arabic, University of Oxford

He is one of the leading figures in the study of Classical Arabic Literature worldwide. His work is distinguished by a remarkable feel for the subtleties of the medieval Classical language; an encyclopaedic knowledge of its poetry and *belles-lettres* literature; a profound understanding of the indigenous medieval critical tradition; and an insatiable curiosity for investigating the byways of Arabic literary culture as well as its major themes.

Professor Anthony Venables
Professor of International Economics, London School of Economics and Political Science

He is the leading European economist working on international trade and economic geography. Two of his principal achievements have been to bring real data to bear on the 'new trade theory', with its emphasis on imperfect competition and increasing returns, research which has influenced European policy discussion; and, to develop the 'new economic geography' both as a set of economic models and as another area of applied empirical work.

Professor Marina Warner
Professor, Department of Literature, Film, and Theatre Studies, University of Essex

She is a major figure in the field of women's studies and cultural studies, generally. She has written widely on literature, painting, sculpture, cinema, and on religious and cultural myth. She is also a notable novelist, a short story writer and commentator on the myths of our contemporary culture.

Elections to Senior Fellowship

Professor Sydney Anglo
formerly Professor in History, University of Swansea

He is an authority on the history of royal, courtly, knightly and chivalric ceremonial and pageantry in the Renaissance period in Europe, having written not only on Tudor kingship and spectacle but also in his most recent book on *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe.*

Professor Stuart Hall
Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Open University; Visiting Professor, Goldsmith's College London

His intellectual authority has determined the development of cultural studies as an academic discipline in this country and its consequent spread and influence abroad. He has consistently addressed the social and cultural problems facing Britain in the late 20th century, both intellectually within the public sphere and academically in the context of universities. He has been in the forefront of debate about national identity and national culture.

Professor Michael Zander
Emeritus Professor of Law, London School of Economics and Political Science

He is one of this country's best known academic lawyers, who has written critically but constructively about every aspect of the English legal system and its operation. His work has covered the legal professions and the judiciary, juries and justices, civil and criminal procedure, legal education, and the financing of court proceedings. He is also an influential critic of projects for reform of the legal system generated by numerous branches of government.

Elections to Honorary Fellowship

Rt Hon Lord Windlesham
former Principal, Brasenose College, University of Oxford

He has had a diverse and distinguished career in multiple fields, including television, authorship, government, public service and services to scholarship. His writings combine a meticulous lawyer's concern with ascertaining facts, an awareness of politics and a broad understanding of the world at large. He has contributed signally to the promotion of the Academy's purposes.

Elections to Corresponding Fellowship

Professor Ofer Bar-Yosef *(USA)*, Archaeology

Professor William Baumol *(USA)*, Economics

Professor David Bevington *(USA)*, English Literature

Professor Nicholas Canny *(Ireland)*, History

Professor Kit Fine *(USA)*, Philosophy

Professor Yash Ghai *(Hong Kong)*, Law

Professor Rodney Huddleston *(Australia)*, Linguistics

Professor Detlef Liebs *(Germany)*, Law

Professor Allan Pred *(USA)*, Geography

Professor John Roemer *(USA)*, Political Studies

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

Officers of the British Academy in 2005–06

President
Baroness O'Neill

Vice-Presidents
Professor R.D. Ashton, Humanities
Professor D.I.D. Gallie, Social Sciences
Professor R.J.P. Kain, Treasurer
Professor C.N.J. Mann, Foreign Secretary
Dr D.J. McKitterick, Publications Secretary
Professor R.J. Bennett, Chairman of Research Committee
Revd Professor J.S. Morrill, Chairman of Communications and Activities Committee
Professor M.J. Fulford, Chairman of Board for Academy Sponsored Institutes and Societies

To 31 Aug 2006
The Secretary
Mr P.W.H. Brown

From 1 Sept 2006
The Secretary and Chief Executive
Dr R. Jackson

Contacts at the British Academy

The Secretary (to 31 Aug 2006)	Mr P.W.H. Brown	secretary@britac.ac.uk
The Secretary and Chief Executive (from 1 Sept 2006)	Dr R. Jackson	chiefexec@britac.ac.uk
Director of Administration	Ms M. McCafferty	m.mccafferty@britac.ac.uk
Finance Officer	Mr M. Wellby	m.wellby@britac.ac.uk
Fellowship	Miss A. Barton	fellowship@britac.ac.uk
Publications	Mr J. Rivington	pubs@britac.ac.uk
International Relations	Ms J. Lyddon	overseas@britac.ac.uk
Research Posts and Projects	Dr K. Emond	posts@britac.ac.uk
Research Grants	Miss E. Ollard	grants@britac.ac.uk
Policy Studies	Ms V. Hurley	policy@britac.ac.uk
Lectures and Meetings	Ms A. Pusey	lectures@britac.ac.uk
External Relations	Mr M. Reade	externalrelations@britac.ac.uk
Sponsored Institutes and Societies (maternity cover from 2 July 2006)	Mrs C. Aish Ms M. Jackson	basis@britac.ac.uk basis@britac.ac.uk
IT	Mr A.J. McMahon	a.mcmahon@britac.ac.uk
Web site	Ms A. Cooke	web@britac.ac.uk
Facilities	Ms J. Caton	functions@britac.ac.uk

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 secretary@britac.ac.uk