The Drew Review

vol. 1
2008

College of Liberal Arts
Drew University

The Drew Review is the annual research journal for the undergraduates of the Drew University College of Liberal Arts, publishing undergraduate research from the previous calendar year. Our mission is to showcase the intellectual vibrancy of the students of the CLA.

Currently there are two faculty advisors and six founding members who were selected after a faculty nomination, application, and writing sample. Different categories of membership exist, but all members are co-editors and share equal responsibility within the journal. Presently, the faculty advisors have chosen editors from among nominated students who best represent the four divisions. In future years, all eligible published students will be offered a position on the board with the remaining positions filled by faculty nomination and student application.

Submissions to *The Review* require a faculty nomination. Students who believe their work is exceptional should approach their professor for a nomination. *The Review* accepts papers of no more than twenty pages in October and February from the previous semester. These papers must be submitted along with a cover letter and faculty nomination form. There is a limit of five nominations per professor per semester in order to guarantee a range of submissions. As we are a double-blind, peer-reviewed journal, all submissions are to be sent as a Word document to the corresponding editor without naming the student author or professor for whom the essay was written in the body of the essay. Images and graphs will be published in black and white and must be compatible with Word. It is the responsibility of the author to make sure that all images can be reproduced. All published essays will use in-text citations referencing a works cited bibliography (style of in-text reference may vary). Students can expect to be asked to make revisions prior to publication.

PAUL AUFIERO (CLA 2008), EDITOR, ADVERTISING

STACY JOHNSON (CLA 2008), CORRESPONDING EDITOR

DOUGLAS MICHAEL (CLA 2009), EDITOR

ELIZABETH MOORE (CLA 2008), EDITOR

ALEXSSA TODD (CLA 2009), EDITOR, ADVERTISING

MELISSA TONER (CLA 2008), EDITOR, TREASURER

LOUIS I. HAMILTON & EREC SMITH, FACULTY ADVISORS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EINSTEIN AND HIS SON HANS ALBERT:

A FRESH LOOK AT THEIR RELATIONSHIP

BY LAURA BARCLAY

As with much of nature, especially human nature, the underlying reality, if there is such a thing, may not be knowable.

-Walter Isaacson

For many years, the public has been interested in the private life of Albert Einstein, the famous genius and physicist. His relationships with family, friends, and lovers have been a topic of discussion with an intensity that no other physicist has ever experienced. One man's attributes and personality have become a kind of definition of a notable scientist. It is for this reason that an interview with Einstein's son, Hans Albert, is worthy of study.

In 1951, Hungarian journalist Bela Kornitzer conducted the first known interview with Hans Albert. The information gained from this interview was published in the April 1951 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* and also in a chapter of Kornitzer's book entitled *American Fathers and Sons.* With the passage of time, both sources fell into obscurity. In 1991 Kornitzer's sister, Alicia Kornitzer Karpati, donated his collected papers, including his interview with Hans Albert, to the Drew University library in Madison, New Jersey. In this paper, these notes are reviewed in the context of previously acquired information about Einstein and Hans Albert. Of particular interest are discrepancies between Hans Albert's responses in the Kornitzer interview and interviews conducted at later dates, as well as inconsistencies between Kornitzer's own notes and final published works.

The latest publications dealing with Einstein's private life, such as Walter Isaacson's biography *Einstein: His Life and Universe,* make use of recently available correspondence between Einstein and his family and friends. While these letters are of unquestionable historic value, there is also merit in looking at interviews as a means of placing the letters in the context of a perspective that is temporally removed, and therefore offer additional insight. Often the emotional words of an individual in a letter are vastly different than his or her utterances during an interview— words tempered by the passage of time. This paper seeks to construct a portrayal of the relationship between Einstein and his older son, Hans Albert, by comparing the unedited

responses of Hans Albert in Kornitzer's interview with information previously discovered in correspondence between Einstein and members of his family.

When the educated nonscientist is asked what comes to mind when modern physics is mentioned, he or she is apt to think of investigations into the world of the very small and the world of the very fast. Because of this reference to quantum physics and special relativity, Einstein is easily recalled, with his bushy white hair, warm personality, and his lack of talent for mathematics. There is one problem with this, of course: Einstein was not bad at math at all. Consider that often in public opinion, Einstein and his personality are equated with how scientific advances are made, and then consider the issues that would arise if some of the stories surrounding Einstein were wrong. How would false stories about Einstein color the public's view of the scientific community?

In the early 1950's, the issue of false information regarding Einstein was in need of being addressed. Einstein's breakthrough work on relativity had been proven correct and his discovery of the equivalence of mass and energy had resulted in the fabrication and use of the atomic bomb during World War II. Because of this, Einstein was a household name for genius, and the eagerness for more information about him was widespread. People from all walks of life sought his advice or attention, and countless reporters solicited information about him to publish. Ever the quiet scientist, Einstein thwarted efforts to publicize his personal life, leaving much to the popular imagination. Unfortunately, all sorts of stories were invented about Einstein to fill in the gaps that the public was clamoring to learn more about.

At this time, a famous Hungarian journalist by the name of Bela Kornitzer began to forge his career in America. Kornitzer, who migrated to the United States in 1948, had made a name for himself in Hungary and elsewhere in Europe by interviewing famous fathers and sons and compiling his findings in a book entitled *Fathers and Sons.* Eager to create a reputation in his new homeland, as well as to learn more about notable figures in America, Kornitzer attempted to repeat the motif of this publication in another volume, *American Fathers and Sons.* Kornitzer chose to include Einstein and his son Hans Albert in this work, and thereby gain insight into Einstein's character from a presumably truthful source, his own son. Kornitzer's interview of the son was a goldmine for information about the fascinating scientist, and his findings were published in two different places. The interview appeared as a cover story in the April 1951 issue of *Ladies' Home*

Journal and as a chapter in the aforementioned *American Fathers and Sons.* Prior to this work, Kornitzer also posed 31 questions to Einstein himself; 28 of the answers he received were published in the September 15, 1948 issue of *Liberty Magazine.*

In Kornitzer's own files one can find a charming but not altogether believable biography of Einsteins from an unknown source. The article is a photocopied chapter from a book that discusses the lives of famous scientists, but the title of the book does not appear in Kornitzer's notes. The author presents several true stories with embellishment, and a few stories of questionable truth. For example, the author mentions that Einstein played the violin as a child, which is true; but he goes on to say that Einstein shook with passion when he played, and stood in a trance when he heard a Mozart sonata. This addition creates a strange image of Einstein as a young child, setting him apart from the rest of society. The author also describes a scene in which German soldiers are goose-stepping past Einstein's window. According to the author, while the other children cheered, Einstein shuddered in fear and begged his mother to take him to a land where he would never have to "become one of them (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2)." This story never appeared in other biographies, and is presumably a tall tale.

These strange little stories formed the basis of Kornitzer's questions to Einstein. Some proved to be true, such as the story of Einstein's childhood amazement by a compass. Others were complete rubbish. The most notable aspect of the interview, however, is how little Einstein had to say. Often the questions were considerably longer than the answers, and parts of questions were ignored. Other questions were left completely unanswered. Nonetheless, the results appeared in Kornitzer's interview with Einstein in *Liberty Magazine.*

The drawback to this particular work is that Einstein and Kornitzer never met to discuss the final draft. Indeed, it is questionable if Einstein was even aware of the "interview" until the article was published. Despite the extensive trail of letters regarding all of Kornitzer's interactions with his interviewees, there does not appear to be any response by Einstein to the article in *Liberty Magazine.* Instead, one can find a cover letter for the answers in Kornitzer's files, written by Einstein's secretary Helen Dukas. She had read the questions and answered them to the best of her knowledge, without bothering Einstein with the details (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 1). This is probably the reason why the answers to the questions were terse to the point of bordering on

rudeness towards Kornitzer, and many questions were never answered at all. After this not so successful interview, Kornitzer sought to gain a better insight to Einstein's character through contact with his son, Hans Albert. Indeed, Kornitzer's interview with Hans Albert provided him with the information he desired for his next project— his pending book.

Unfortunately, despite its importance, this historic interview with Hans Albert seems to have been virtually lost in the vast number of publications regarding Einstein. The article in the *Ladies' Home Journal* has long been forgotten, and because Kornitzer privately published his book, very few copies of *American Fathers and Sons* were distributed and remain available for purchase. Seldom does a biographer of Einstein refer to the interview, despite its importance as a primary source of the opinions of Hans Albert, who had a very close relationship with his father. Walter Isaacson's new biography, *Einstein: His Life and Universe*, makes no reference to the work, despite his thorough research and extensive list of sources (Isaacson 2007). An exception is *Einstein: A Life,* by Denis Brian, which briefly mentions a quote of Hans Albert from the interview:

> Visiting the library several times a week, he found it somewhat disconcerting to walk past the bust of his father between those of Dante and Copernicus. 'Do you know what it's like to have your father a statue?' he once asked a visitor (Brian 1996, 428).

The visitor was Bela Kornitzer. Curiously, Denis Brian cites the reference from the April 1951 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*; yet there is no mention of such an article in Kornitzer's own notes, leading to the question of how many unknown articles actually evolved out of the interview.

Also of interest is a complaint letter written by Kornitzer to Edward H. Dodd, chairman of the editorial board for Dodd, Mead & Company, regarding one of the company's publications: *Einstein: Profile of the Man*, by Peter Michelmore. Despite the book's copyright date of 1962, the author claimed that Hans Albert had never before discussed his father in any significant detail and that Michelmore's book was the first appearance of such a testament (Kornitzer Papers, Box 2, Folder 9). In spite of Kornitzer's letter to the editorial board, a correction to that statement is very difficult to find, if it exists at all.

It is surprising that Kornitzer's interview with Hans Albert is mentioned so infrequently, considering how problematic the

interviewing process turned out to be. Einstein was extremely reluctant to divulge any personal information to the public (that he even had a son was not widely known at the time of the interview). Kornitzer himself was unaware of Hans Albert as a possible subject until he happened to meet one of Hans Albert's previous coworkers. In his notes, Kornitzer writes that he was dining with this young lady, discussing his idea for his book *American Fathers and Sons,* when she suggested that Hans Albert and Einstein be included in the work. The young lady informed him that Hans Albert worked at that time as a civil engineer, specializing in sediment research, at the University of California in Berkeley (Kornitzer Papers Box 2, Folder 2). Kornitzer immediately wrote to Hans Albert, explaining his desire to write a book concerning notable fathers and sons. Hans Albert quickly replied, "Since you would obviously want me to speak about my father, I could not possibly give such an interview without his written permission." After visiting Einstein in person to obtain a letter of permission, Kornitzer returned to interview Hans Albert, to Hans Albert's great surprise (Kornitzer 1952, 46-48). Albert Einstein very rarely allowed himself to be interviewed, and preferred that his family members be left alone.

The first meeting was at the hotel in California where Kornitzer was staying. The conversation began with a quick handshake and a rather interesting opening line uttered by Hans Albert, "Most of the stories written about Father never happened. If you deny it… so many stupid stories— I don't want to talk about them— I don't want to say anything." The missing part of this statement was also omitted in Kornitzer's notes, but this most likely is due to his method of shorthand. Regardless, the statement reveals the fervor with which the public had often twisted the image of Einstein into its own fabrication, and how upsetting this was to his family. Hans Albert continued,

> Mr. Kornitzer, from your letter I gather you want me to talk to you about my father. But what can I say to you? If you'll forgive the word, what is your angle? You know my father is very sensitive on this (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2).

These statements show the concern that Hans Albert felt for the tenor of this interview, given the fanciful biographical sketches that had previously been written in order to fit the preconceptions of the author or the desire to profit from furthering a notion already held by the general public. This initial reaction to the interview was not included in the final articles or the book.

The interview continued on a later date at Hans Albert's home. Upon arrival, Kornitzer was shocked that there were no photographs of Einstein in the house. Hans Albert commented on Kornitzer's observation by saying with a smile, "You know, I still don't believe you think I'm his son. Do you need documentation?" He continued by explaining that his father never liked to be photographed. Einstein believed that one's family life is a private matter. In fact, he never read stories about himself, nor kept any clippings of articles. Instead, his secretary would brief him on what was said (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2).

The interview covered a number of different topics, many of which offered bits of personal information about Einstein that only someone as close to him as his own son would know. Some of these bits are interesting, but do not provide any deep insight into Einstein's character or the true relationship between him and Hans Albert. For example, Hans Albert spoke at length about his father's favorite foods (stuffed pike and mushrooms) and his appreciation of fine cuisine. For Einstein, fine cuisine did not include German food, which is often rather greasy and heavy. Hans Albert also mentioned that his father enjoyed walking but not climbing. He liked wide open spaces instead of mountains, despite the extensive time he spent living in Switzerland. Hans Albert also discussed his father's well-known love of and talent for playing the violin (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2). These questions and answers appeared early in the interview, and so it is quite possible that these questions served to ease Hans Albert into responding to more probing questions.

A great part of the interview was valuable in both dispelling and confirming a few popular conceptions about Einstein's character. Hans Albert mentioned that there were many stories circulating about Einstein's absentmindedness, such as that Einstein sometimes left the house wearing one black shoe and one tan shoe, and that he often lost his umbrella. Stories also said that Einstein never cut his hair or wore ties, and he always wore a baggy sweater and slippers, no matter what the occasion (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2).

Hans Albert insisted that his father was not absentminded, but precise. He did not like constrictive clothing, so it is true that Einstein would never wear a tie and would greet prestigious guests in a sweater and slippers. But his clothing choice was deliberate, and not because he forgot which clothing he ought to wear. His shoes were never mismatched, and he did not forget to cut his hair; he liked his hair to be free and did not want to be confined to going

to a barber regularly. Hans Albert said that the idea of Einstein losing his umbrella was nonsense— he hardly ever used an umbrella and when he did, he was sure to keep track of its location. Einstein's desk was neat and clean, with his papers filed away in drawers. Finally, according to Hans Albert, Einstein always signed and dated his letters (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2). However, the validity of this last statement is questionable: Hans Albert's own wife, Elizabeth, mentioned in her biography of Hans Albert that Einstein rarely if ever dated his letters, making the job of chronologists and biographers rather difficult (Einstein 1991, 36-37).

Some of Hans Albert's answers were highly revealing about Einstein's true nature without seeming like sensational revelations of odd or previously hidden behavior. Hans Albert described his father as a very peaceful man:

> He was never a nervous man. He is a passionate man; he believes deeply in what he believes, but he is not nervous or jumpy. I always remember him with tremendous calm. He was never drastic…He never put a hand to me in violence (KornitzerBox2, Folder 2).

Hans Albert continued with an explanation of how his father gained inspiration for his ideas when he stated that Einstein did not spend extensive time wrapped up in a book. Instead, he would go for long walks with bright, promising young students. Also, rather than pacing when he was having trouble with a calculation, Einstein would stand still, lost in the act of playing the violin (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2).

During Kornitzer's visit, Hans Albert gave a walking tour of the Berkeley campus to the journalist. Hans Albert pointed out a bust of his father in the university library, which was situated between busts of Dante and Socrates. Hans Albert very reluctantly allowed himself to be photographed next to the bust. At this moment, Hans Albert asked, "Do you know what it's like to have your father a statue?" He continued:

> I don't like it particularly. It's not so good…Here you have your whole theme—father and son. You see, here the father is a statue— you can see what people expect of me. I am standing here and that statue is my father. It's very difficult. You can't live up to it (Kornitzer Box 2, Folder 2).

This quote is in Kornitzer's unedited notes from the interview and may have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, but it never appeared in his book, *American Fathers and Sons.* The

photograph is included, but the caption merely reads, "Hans Albert Einstein standing in front of his father's bust at the University of California." Instead, Kornitzer simply points out that Hans Albert occasionally suffered from awkward moments in conversations about his last name. Hans Albert felt that because people were busy making mental comparisons between him and his father, he could not talk naturally to others (Kornitzer, 48-53). However, the frustration and lack of confidence of Hans Albert that is evident in the direct quote in Kornitzer's notes is distinctly lacking in his published book.

The most striking passage in Kornitzer's original notes from the interview reinforces Hans Albert's initial reaction to being interviewed about his father. Kornitzer notes that Hans Albert spoke very precisely and, after a question was asked, would gaze out the window and think quietly for a long time before answering. The silences were so long and distracted that at first, Kornitzer had the impression that Hans Albert had forgotten the question. In his notes, Kornitzer assumes that Hans Albert was seeking to find the most honest answer. In reality, Hans Albert was deciding what answers he wanted to be recorded. Hans Albert knew that this interview would be seen as one of the most reliable sources of information about his father. This gave him a rare opportunity to create whatever image he desired. He finally admitted:

> Of course you won't hear any word from me. I can't furnish you with glamour or newspaper column gossip. Ninety percent of the stories circulating about Father through the world never happened. Ask Father; he will tell you (48-53).

This statement emphasizes the importance of this interview as a means of countering some of the false information about Einstein that was circulating in the 1950's. However, in this statement, Hans Albert does not deny that his answers, although closer to the truth, might still gloss over any of his father's flaws. Nonetheless, although there were later interviews conducted with Hans Albert, notably the works of Peter Michelmore and Gerald Whitrow, Kornitzer's interview continues to be of importance as the first interview conducted that handled the sensitive issue of Einstein's home life.

Also of interest are the points of contrast between Kornitzer's interview and interviews conducted at a later time. For example, when Kornitzer asked if Einstein was a disciplinarian, or had ever spanked him, Hans Albert stated, "He may have— but I don't remember him lifting a hand to me…As I say, he was calm, kindly, and always gentle" (49). Hans Albert seems to have

regained some of his memory by the time of his interview with Gerald Whitrow. When Whitrow posed a similar question on fatherly discipline to Hans Albert, he replied, "Oh yes, [he punished me] when he felt it was necessary. And every once in a while he felt it was." Whitrow prodded, "What did he do?" Hans Albert continued, "Oh he beat me up, just like anyone else would do." "What did he beat you up with? With a cudgel or something?" asked Whitrow. Hans Albert answered, "Oh, I don't remember, but he did anyway" (Whitrow, 1967). One can only conclude that Hans Albert tailored his responses to the personality or motives of the interviewer.

Not apparent in Kornitzer's interview is Einstein's darker side in his reaction to Hans Albert's love for his wife, Frieda Knecht. Due to her age, nine years older than Hans Albert, and the fact that she was strangely similar in both looks and mannerisms to Hans Albert's mother, Mileva, Einstein greatly opposed the pairing. He suggested to Mileva that she pair Hans Albert with an attractive and experienced 40-year-old woman to distract him from Frieda (Brian, 153). He also wrote a letter to Hans Albert, cynically stating that, "She was the one to grab you first, and now you consider her to be the embodiment of femininity. That is the well-known way that women take advantage of unworldly people." He then suggested that an attractive woman would fix his problem (Isaacson, 364).

Hans Albert did not follow Einstein's advice and married Frieda against his father's wishes in 1927. On the eve of the wedding, Einstein tried to stop the ceremony, preaching that separation was inevitable and divorce painful (Brian, 160). For quite some time he continued to feel this way, later restating to Hans Albert, "And should you ever feel like you have to leave her, you should not be too proud to come talk to me. After all, that day *will* come" (Isaacson, 365). Einstein's impeccable timing truly shone when three years after the wedding he urged Hans Albert and Frieda, "Don't have children: it makes divorce so much more complicated." Frieda was already pregnant (Brian, 160). One can only imagine how this comment affected Hans Albert. Even more disturbing is Einstein's candid discussion of the topic with Eduard, Hans Albert's brother: "The deterioration of the human race is a serious problem. This is why I cannot forgive [Hans] Albert his sin. I instinctively avoid meeting him, because I cannot show him a happy face" (Kornitzer, 59).

Despite the heated arguments that arose from this discord, Hans Albert made no mention of it in his interview with Kornitzer.

Instead, he continuously reemphasized how good natured and kind-hearted his father was. In fact, the only contribution that Freida made to the discussion was to tell Kornitzer how much she liked Einstein:

> 'All I can tell you,' she said, and she chose her words, 'is that Doctor Einstein has been the sweetest, kindest, most understanding father-in-law any woman would want. I know nothing about him as a scientist, except what I read. But as a human being— as a father-in-law— he is a good and wonderful man' (Isaacson, 365).

This response reflects the great degree to which the situation had been resolved. After the couple came to visit him for a lengthy stay, Einstein wrote to his younger son Eduard expressing his acceptance of Frieda and appreciation for Hans Albert's affection toward her. Einstein was even beginning to like her (365)! In Isaacson's biography as well as Brian's, much more time is devoted to giving details about the arguments than is given to this resolution, giving the reader the impression that the period of tension was like a permanent sore for the people involved. However, the span of a few years of discord is rather short in comparison to almost thirty years of a loving relationship between Einstein, Hans Albert, and Frieda. It is possible that during Kornitzer's interview, Frieda was reluctant to reveal Einstein's flaws. But the more likely reason for her positive response is that Einstein had long ago proven himself to be a caring father-in-law, and Frieda truly did have a high opinion of him as a man.

In another example, when Kornitzer asked Hans Albert if his father had ever influenced his choice of career, Hans Albert replied, "Yes, he did. I want to repeat that he never tried to force his will on anyone." He then explained that in the 1930's, when he was unsure if he should immigrate to the United States to conduct soil-conservation research, Einstein urged him to do so. Hans Albert showed Kornitzer the letter in which Einstein offers words of encouragement (Kornitzer, 51-52). However, Walter Isaacson's biography paints an entirely different picture:

> Hans Albert, then 15, announced that he had decided to become an engineer. 'I think it's a disgusting idea,' said Einstein, whose father and uncle had been engineers. 'I'm still going to become an engineer,' replied the boy. Einstein stormed away angrily, and once again their relationship deteriorated, especially after he received a nasty letter from Hans Albert (Isaacson, 276).

Denis Brian's biography offers a continuation of the scene, years later. When Hans Albert proudly showed his father his thesis for his doctorate, Einstein's only reaction was to point to part of it and say, "You could have said it a little better here" (Brian, 146).

A possible reason for the inconsistencies between popular articles and books on Einstein, and the testament given by Hans Albert is that journalists often concentrate on whichever qualities are in contrast to the reader's preconceptions of the subject. That is, a popular figure who is considered to have had a negative impact on society will be cast in a more positive light and a figure who is glorified in the public view will be brought down to earth by dwelling on his bad behavior. This technique provides the author with a novel approach to his subject, heightening the interest of his readers. In order to accomplish this, some journalists will not hesitate to mention adverse comments made by people with an outside perspective, and not include comments made by the people who were actually involved.

Kornitzer's interview with Hans Albert about his father brought validation to many preconceptions about Einstein, and dispelled a few stories as falsehoods. The interview itself was inconsistent with various other sources that are considered to be trustworthy. However, these inconsistencies do not imply that Kornitzer's work is to be considered disreputable. Instead, one gains a clearer picture of a man whose family quarrels with his famous father left a deep imprint on him; yet he loved his father deeply. Hans Albert carefully chose what to reveal, given the circumstances of the interview. In 1948, three years before the Kornitzer interview, doctors at the Jewish Hospital in Brooklyn discovered that Einstein had an aneurysm in his abdominal aorta. It was determined that no treatment would be able to fix the ailment. The diagnosis proved to be correct: Einstein passed away in 1955 at the age of 76 (Isaacson, 516-17). During Kornitzer's interview, Hans Albert wished to dispel the more foolish rumors about his father, while presenting a sympathetic picture of a man with whom he had long ago made peace— a man who was growing older and only a few years away from death.

Quite a few years after Einstein's death, Hans Albert felt more free to provide revealing stories about his father during Peter Michelmore's interview in 1962, and Gerald Whitrow's interview in 1967. These stories showed a less kind and more complex side of his father, and so the reader could walk away with a rather guarded picture of Einstein. Hans Albert explained his father's affections by saying,

> While it was there, it was very strong. He needed to be loved himself. But almost the instant you felt the contact, he would push you away. He would not let himself go. He would turn off emotion like a tap (Brian, 146).

However, Einstein was less often cold to others than he was warm and affectionate. Biographer Walter Isaacson offers perhaps the most accurate analysis of Einstein's relationship with Hans Albert:

> He had been a difficult husband and father because he did not take well to any constricting bonds, but he could also be intense and passionate, both with family and friends, when he found himself engaged rather than confined (Isaacson, 518).

Love always existed between Einstein and Hans Albert, but their ability to enjoy each other's company without any discord greatly improved as Hans Albert grew older, and thereby depended on his father less. Only when both men viewed each other with equality could a true friendship and natural show of affection develop.

If one views the stories of Einstein's unkind words and actions as isolated incidents and views them in the context of Hans Albert's own explanations in Kornitzer's interview, as well as Elizabeth's understanding of her husband's basic feelings, one begins to gain an image of a man who genuinely meant well. Einstein may have spoken and acted thoughtlessly towards Hans Albert at times. His stubbornness certainly did not alleviate any problems between them but in the end, there is no doubt that Einstein always loved Hans Albert, and he tried to right any wrongs he committed. Hans Albert recognized this and loved his father in return. It is for this reason that Kornitzer's interview is valuable as a broad portrayal of Hans Albert's real relationship with his father.

About two years ago, Telegraph.co.uk published an article by Justin Stares, whose headline blares, "Einstein, eccentric genius, smoked butts picked up off street" (Stares 2005). It seems that sensational stories of Einstein will forever be erupting on the horizon. With this thought in mind, readers should reflect on how new stories about Einstein fit with the record of his life as a whole, and how they are likely shaped by the life experiences of the author who wrote them— a lesson gained by studying Kornitzer's interview with Hans Albert.

Acknowledgments:

Physics at Drew University. I would like to thank him for the large role he played in finding and sorting through numerous sources, and his wise advice during the writing process. I could not have asked for a better editor. I am also indebted to Dr. Andrew Scrimgeour, Drew's Dean of Libraries, who called attention to the existence in the library's archives of the collected papers of the journalist Bela Kornitzer. The material that includes interviews and correspondences between Kornitzer, Einstein, and Hans Albert forms the basis of this study. I want to thank the archival librarian Cheryl Ostreicher for her assistance in making the material accessible and in reproducing selected letters and photographs.

Works Cited

Bela Kornitzer, *American Fathers and Sons* (Hermitage House, USA, 1952), 1st ed.

Denis Brian, *Einstein: A Life* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY, 1996).

Elizabeth Roboz Einstein, *Hans Albert Einstein: Reminiscences of His Life and Our Life Together* (University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, 1991).

Gerald Whitrow, Einstein: The Man and His Achievement (BBC, London, 1967).

Justin Stares, "Einstein, eccentric genius, smoked butts picked up off street," *Telegraph.co.uk.* Brussels, May 11, 2005 (Telegraph Media Group Limited, 2007), <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xMl=/news/2005/11/06/weins06.xml&sSheet=/news/2005/11/06/ixworld.html.>

Notes; 1962, Bela Kornitzer Papers, Box 2 Folder 1, University Archives, Drew University Library, Madison, New Jersey.

Notes; 1962, Bela Kornitzer Papers, Box 2 Folder 2, University Archives, Drew University Library, Madison, New Jersey.

Walter Isaacson, *Einstein: His Life and Universe* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2007).

TANGLED UP IN BLUE (TAPE): THE OVERLAPPING RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

BY NATHAN BAND

"Decision and sanction involve law as an input and law as an output. The Security Council can be judge and legislator." [Hulsorj, 93]

At first glance the functions of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the United Nations Security Council seem to leave little room for overlap or conflict between the two. The Security Council is tasked with the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" [Charter 23 (1)]. The ICJ is described simply as the "principle judicial organ of the United Nations." [Charter 92; Statute1] However, a closer look at the Charter of the United Nations, the Statute of the Court and several recent cases reveals that there is significant overlap in the jurisdictions of the two organs and raises the question of how best to deal with the conflict. It has been suggested, and this paper will argue, that the role of international arbiter should belong primarily to the Security Council with the International Court taking on cases only when they can not be handled by the Security Council, or the Council opts not to hear.

Decisions by both the International Court of Justice and the United Nations Security Council, such as *Nicaragua v. United States of America* (1984), Lockerbie cases (*Libyan Arab Jamahiriya v. United Kingdom and Libyan Arab Jamahiriya v. United States of America*, 1992), the 1990 Security Council Resolutions relating to Iraq and Kuwait, and most recently the International Court's advisory opinion on the Israeli "security wall" argue for a reduced role for the International Court of Justice, with the United Nations Security Council playing an increased role in the field of International Law.

Charter Basis of the Controversy

While the Security Council is primarily tasked with handling issues of peace and security, the Charter of the United Nations further assigns powers to the Council. It is these additional powers that provide the grounds for the conflict between the International Court and the Council. Chapter VI of the Charter empowers the

Security Council to engage in pacific settlement of disputes. Article 36(1) allows the Council to "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment" in the event of a dispute. The International Court is noted in the discussion of peaceful dispute resolutions, but only in passing. The Charter claims that the Security Council should, as a general rule, refer legal disputes to the Court [Charter 36 (1)]. However, this general rule is promptly contradicted by Article 37, which says that "Should the parties to a dispute … fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article [Article 33, which allows for negotiation, mediation, arbitration and a variety of other methods], they shall refer it to the Security Council" [Charter 37 (1)] When these provisions are combined with the Chapter VII powers of the Security Council to make legally binding decisions, the result is that the Council can "both recommend the contents of a settlement of a dispute and make the settlement binding on the parties (and the international community at large)" [Hursorj, 62]. This has led some to argue that the inclusion of these articles in the charter was intended to create the Security Council as a quasi-judicial body [Cronin-Furman 439].

The conflict between the International Court and the Security Council extends to matters taken up by the Court. In theory, the International Court of Justice is supposed to be concerned with the settlement of legal disputes, while the Security Council is supposed to handle the political disputes of the world. However, in the words of the court, "[L]egal disputes between sovereign states by their very nature are likely to occur in political contexts" [Gowlland-Debbas, 651]. This has proven true as the Court has taken on numerous cases that involved highly political issues and occasionally use of force by one state against another [Gowlland-Debbas. 651]. If the ICJ were to rule only on cases with no political ramifications, it would never hear a case.

Several statements made by the International Court in its rulings further complicate the issue of where to draw a line between the jurisdiction of the Security Council and the jurisdiction of the Court. The first is the claim advanced by the Court that while Article 12 of the UN Charter forbids the General Assembly from taking up matters that are before the Security Council, no such prohibition exists for the Court [U.S. v. Iran, 22]. Additionally, the Court has made the argument that Article 24 of the Charter, giving the Security Council *primary* responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, does not give them exclusive responsibility in those areas [*Certain Ezpenses*, 162]. While the ICJ is theoretically a body dedicated to resolving legal disputes, these statements

show that the Court is willing to tackle difficult political issues in the pursuit of resolving a dispute. However, this statement seems to directly contradict the idea that the court should focus on legal rather than political cases as there is, arguably, no matter more political than an issue of peace and security.

The Court began hearing such controversial cases as early as 1947, when it heard the Corfu Channel Case (Albania v. the United Kingdom). This case involved mining a waterway widely used for commercial shipping by the Albanian government and actions taken by the British Navy while in Albanian territorial water to remove the mines [Wright, 491]. The opinion of the Court was controversial; with six of the judges dissenting, it ruled that both the mining and the actions taken by the British Navy were illegal. The decision clearly indicates the willingness of the court to take on controversial issues that might normally be seen as being in the realm of the Security Council. However, the Corfu Channel case was not as controversial as some more recent cases, since the parties were referred to the ICJ by a Security Council resolution [Wright, 491].

The Nicaragua Case

Nicaragua v. The United States (1984) provides a more contemporary example of the Court's forays into the areas of peace and security. The case is noteworthy because it led to an explicit conflict between the International Court of Justice and the Security Council and highlights the differences between the Court as a legal body and the Council as a political one.

The case was brought by Nicaragua, alleging that the United States had violated international law by committing "armed attacks against Nicaragua by air, land and sea," "incursions into Nicaraguan territorial waters," "aerial trespass into Nicaraguan airspace" and "efforts by direct and indirect means to coerce and intimidate the Government of Nicaragua" [Nicaragua, 9] in its support of rebel guerilla groups within Nicaragua [Leigh, 442]. The United States initially argued, on a number of different grounds, that the Court lacked jurisdiction to hear the case [Reisman (1986)]. According to the Statute of the Court, in the event of a dispute over whether the International Court of Justice has jurisdiction in a given situation, the decision is left for the court to decide [Statute 36(6)]. When the court ruled unanimously that it would be able to hear the case, the United States withdrew from the rest of the proceedings. The majority of the case was therefore

conducted without any participation from the United States [Leigh, 466].

The Court ruled against the United States, claiming that "the United States of America, by training, arming, equipping, financing and supplying the *contra* forces or otherwise encouraging, supporting and aiding military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua, has acted, against the Republic of Nicaragua, in breach of its obligation under customary international law not to intervene in the affairs of another state" [Nicaragua v. U.S.,136]. The Court also found that the United States had violated international laws regarding the use of force, sovereignty, peaceful maritime commerce and "general principles of humanitarian law," in addition to violating a treaty of friendship signed between the two countries [Nicaragua v. U.S., 149]. The Court ordered the United States to stop illegal activities in Nicaragua and to pay reparations [149]. The United States, however, refused to comply with the Court's orders.

The issue of the failure by the United States to comply with the ruling of the court was brought to the Security Council by Nicaragua. There, the political nature of the Security Council became very apparent, as the United States vetoed six Security Council resolutions on the subject: one in April of 1984 [S/PV. 2529 para 252], three in May of 1984 [S/PV. 2580 para 266-8], one in July of 1986 [S/PV. 2693, 54-55] and one in October of 1986 [S/PV., 51] . A non-binding resolution "urgently call[ing] for full and immediate compliance with the judgment of the International Court of Justice" was finally adopted by the General Assembly, by a vote of 94-3 with 47 abstaining after the sixth veto in the Security Council [A/RES/41/31].

Some have argued that the Nicaragua case is the most important case ever decided by the Court [Highet (1987)]. While this may or may not be true, the Nicaragua case makes perhaps the strongest argument for the ICJ to continue to play a major role in the field of international law, despite the overlap between its responsibilities and those of the Security Council. The case clearly showed that were the Security Council to be the primary forum for international law, veto-holding members would be above the law. However, the case also highlights a major weakness of the Court: its only enforcement is the Security Council [Charter 94 (2)]. This still leaves the permanent members of the Security Council above the law, or at least above punishment.

The Lockerbie Cases

In December of 1988 a Boeing 747 was bombed, and crashed in the town of Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270, mostly Scottish and American citizens [Cody A01]. Two Libyan intelligence officers were eventually accused of the bombing by British and American authorities [BBC News], and the Security Council passed a vaguely worded resolution (SC Res. 731) under Chapter VI of the Charter asking Libya to surrender the two suspects [Gowlland-Debbas, 644]. Libya responded by bringing suit against the United States and the United Kingdom in the International Court of Justice, alleging violations of the 'Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation of 1971', by the Security Council and claiming that the United Kingdom and the United States were exploiting their powers under the Charter to deprive Libya of its rights under conventional and customary international law, namely the right to try one's own citizens [Reisman, 87].

Soon after oral arguments in the case ended, the Security Council issued a second resolution, this one under Chapter VII, demanding that Libya surrender the suspects to stand trial [Gowlland-Debbas, 645]. Prior to the second resolution, the probable outcome of the case had been unclear: "Some judges were moved to consider the possibility of some form of constitutional controls over Security Council actions. Specifically some judges indicated…that, under certain circumstances, a decision of the Security Council might be viewed as invalid by the court [Reisman,92]"

The Chapter VII resolution, however, averted any kind of conflict between the Court and the Security Council. The Court ruled that if a chapter VII resolution conflicts with another international legal obligation, the Security Council resolution takes precedent [Reisman, 87]. In this case, the Chapter VII resolution overrode the wrongs Libya claimed to have suffered under the Montreal Convention: "It is not …so much that the court is shouldered aside by a Chapter VII decision, as that the applicant state loses whatever conventional or customary legal basis it may have had for making its application before the chapter VII decision [Reisman, 88]."

The Lockerbie cases came at a key time in the evolution of the relationship between the Security Council and the International Court. The end of the cold war had eliminated the stalemate that had frozen the Security Council for years and the Council was expanding its operations into areas that had once been the

exclusive realm of the Court. Additionally, the case asked the Court to rule on an action taken by the Security Council, setting the stage for a serious discussion of the relative roles of the Court and the Security Council [Reisman, 91]. There can be little doubt that the judges were aware of the importance of the case, as Reisman argues, "the Constitutional dimensions of the case must surely have been apparent to the court, if for no other reason than that the effective and dramatically expanded power of the Security Council was now encroaching upon the Court's sphere of activity" [Reisman, 91]. An action of that type would have dramatically changed the balance of power in International Law, at a time when the international legal system was already in flux. The Lockerbie cases also seem to establish the legal supremacy of the Security Council over the ICJ since chapter VII resolutions overrule other forms of international law.

The First Gulf War

The relationship between the Security Council and the International Court of Justice was further complicated in the run up to and immediate aftermath of the First Gulf War. The Security Council passed more than fifty resolutions during this time [Hurlsroj, 70], and some perceived the actions taken by the Council as being at least quasi-judicial [Cronin-Furman, 440] allowing the Council to make "recommendations and decisions [which] express legal opinions, make legal determinations, voice legal desires and, ultimately, make new law" [Hursroj, 71]. The first of the many Security Council resolutions that is noted as quasi-judicial is resolution 660 [Hursroj, 71]. The resolution "*Condemns* the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait" and "*Demands* that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990" [S/RES/660]. In condemning the actions taken by Iraq against Kuwait, the Security Council "clearly acts as a judge in the conflict between the two countries" [Hursroj, 71]. While there is no legal language in the resolution, it is clear that the Council considered Iraq to have violated International Law, specifically Article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibits the use of force by member states [Charter, 2(4)].

Security Council resolution 674 furthers the quasi-judicial actions of the Security Council. The resolution accuses Iraq of numerous violations of international law, orders Iraq to stop its violations and warns Iraq that "under international law it is liable for any loss damage or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third States, and their nationals and corporations, as a result of the

invasion and *illegal occupation* of Kuwait by Iraq" [S/RES/674, emphasis added].

The quasi-judicial role assumed by the Security Council during the Gulf War was remarkably successful. It was able to find that Iraq had violated international law, correct the violation and impose punishments on Iraq, all in the space of a year. By contrast, cases frequently take years to be addressed by the International Court. For example, the Court is currently waiting to hear Djibouti v. France, which was filed more than a year ago [Press Release 2006].

Wall Opinion

On July 9, 2004, the International Court of Justice, at the request of the United Nations General Assembly, issued an advisory opinion on the security barrier being built by Israel that was to separate Israel from the West Bank [Leagal Consequences, 4]. Israel argued that the barrier was being created for the purposes of self-defense and was legal under article 51 of the charter of the United Nations [Murphy, 62]. The Court strongly disagreed; by a vote of 14-1 the court found that "the construction of the wall being built by Israel, the occupying power, in the Occupied Palestinian Territory…and its associated regime are contrary to international law." The Court further held that Israel is under a legal obligation to stop building the wall, and to pay reparations to Palestine [Legal Consequences, 69].

The ruling quickly became very controversial, as it became apparent that the International Court had adopted a different standard for self-defense than the Security Council had used [Cronin-Furman, 436]. The court suggested that the article 51 right to self defense applies only when a state is defending itself against aggression carried out by another state: "Article 51 recognizes the existence of an inherent right to self defense in the case of armed attack by one state against another state. However, Israel does not claim that the attacks against it are imputable to a foreign state…Consequently the Court concludes that article 51 of the Charter has no relevance in this case" [Legal Consequences, 62]

The Security Council, however, has generally interpreted the right to self defense more broadly. Because article 51 does not explicitly limit the right of self defense to situations where an attack is made by another state, the Security Council frequently does not insist that be a part of a self-defense claim. This has been

especially true in situations where terrorism is an issue, [Cronin-Furmin, 450] as Israel argued it was [A/ES-10/PV.21.

While the Wall Case is not the first time the Security Council and the Court have used differing interpretations of relevant international law (the advisory opinion on the legality of nuclear weapons is another notable example) it is the most well publicized and the most controversial [Cronin-Furmin, 452]. The disparity between the interpretations of international law used by the Security Council and the International Court is worrisome for several reasons. The first is that if a situation arises in which the two bodies (both of which can issue binding decisions) are considering the same issue, but through different interpretations of international law, a situation may arise in which a state finds itself bound by two conflicting rulings. While a situation like this is highly unlikely at the international level, it is worth considering [Cronin-Furman, 453]. More worrisome is the potential for loss of credibility for the International Court of Justice. Because the Court's credibility, especially in regard to advisory opinions, depends on its being seen as credibly interpreting international law, an interpretation that conflicts with that of the most powerful organ of the United Nations could seriously threaten the credibility of the International Court [Cronin-Furman, 453].

It has been suggested that a solution to the problem of conflicting interpretations of international law would be to give priority to the interpretation of the Security Council in any situation in which there is a conflicting interpretation. The Security Council is suggested over the Court for several reasons. First, the Council is seen as being more responsive to changing international situations and norms. Secondly, relying on the Council interpretations frees the Court from having to face charges of "judicial activism." Finally, the Security Council is seen as being more democratic than the Court since it is made up of more members, and shorter terms give more states an opportunity to participate in the Council [Cronin-Furman, 457-60].

Conclusion: The Security Council as a Judicial Body

It can be argued, in light of the examples given in this paper, that the end of the Cold War has dramatically decreased the need for the ICJ, and that the Security Council ought to take on the role of deciding most, if not all international legal disputes. Peter Hulsroj has argued that the International Court of Justice should only hear a select few legal disputes; instead, disputes should be

referred to the Court only "[i]f the Security Council determines that a dispute should be treated from the perspective of the existing legal situation… if the legal situation is complex and if speed is not of the essence" [Hulsroj, 66]

There are clear downsides to having the Security Council take on an expanded role in the international legal system. The most obvious of these is that the Council is fundamentally a political body. Its members are members of states' governments, serving in their role as representatives of that state [Charter 28 (2)]. Members of the Court, by contrast, are elected "regardless of nationality," [Statute 2] are forbidden from engaging in "any political or administrative function" [Statute 16 (1)] and swear an oath to "exercise [their] powers impartially and conscientiously" [Statute 20]. However, voting patterns of the Court judges have made it apparent that many judges do not abandon their national loyalties once they join the court (e.g. in the Wall Case, the American judge cast the only dissenting vote) [Legal Consequences, 69]. To counter this judicial nationalism, the Statute of the International Court stipulates that each justice must be from a different country [Statute 3]. Additionally article 31 of the Statute provides mechanism to ensure that the court contains judges from both parties in a given case. Because cases are decided by a majority opinion [Statute 55] and judges of the court will generally vote with their home country if it is before the court, the effect of having judges from both nations before the court is that their votes effectively cancel out, and the court is able to deliver a decision without concerns of national bias. Although the ICJ is clearly less political than the Security Council, the Nicaragua case makes it clear that the Security Council is still the only method of enforcing compliance with the rulings of the International Court of Justice. As long as the ICJ relies on the Security Council to enforce its rulings, the court will be tarnished by the politics of the Security Council.

Several other factors also play into the belief that the Security Council ought to play a greater role in international justice. Hulsorj has argued "Although it is controversial, the authority given to the Security Council to finally settle disputes, even if it was *contra legem* at the time, means that the ICJ must respect the decisions of the Security Council, but not visa-versa" [Hulsroj, 64, n. 61]. This argument, combined with the fact, established in the Lockerbie case that a Security Council chapter VII resolution is the highest form of international law [Reisman, 87], clearly shows that the Council is already the ultimate arbiter of international law. Furthermore, the actions taken by the Council during the Gulf War show that it can act in a judicial role quickly and effectively. The

push by scholars of international law to give the Security Council's interpretation of international law priority over a conflicting interpretation by the Court show that in the academic field there is a growing acceptance of the idea that the Security Council, not the ICJ, is the "principle judicial organ of the United Nations."

This is not to say that there can not be any role for the ICJ in the future. "If one subscribes to the commonly-held view that the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII, is near to omnipotent…then in reality there is not reason why the Security Council should not be able to force the parties to a dispute to refer it to the International Court of Justice" [Hulsroj, 68] The Court can continue to operate hearing the lower level cases that the Security Council lacks either the time or the inclination to hear which, given the ever increasing amount of work being taken on by the Council, will probably still leave the Court with more cases than it can handle. However, the Security Council has, since its inception, had the capacity to play a judicial role. It was not until the end of the Cold War that the international community began to realize that it was both possible and necessary for the Security Council to have a critical role in the process of international law.

Works Cited

Cody, Edward. Pan Am Jet Crashes in Scotland, Killing 270. Washington Post, Thursday, December 22, 1988; Page A01.

Cronin-Furman, Kathleen Renee. The International Court of Justice and the United Nations Security Council: Rethinking a Complicated Relationship. Columbia Law Review, March 2006. Vol. 106 Issue 2, pp. 435-463

Gowlland-Debbas, Vera. The Relationship Between the International Court of Justice and the Security Council in the Light of the Lockerbie Case. The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 88, No. 4. (Oct., 1994), pp. 643-677.

Highet, Keith. Evidence, The Court, and the Nicaragua Case. The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 81, No. 1. (Jan., 1987).

Hulsorj, Peter. The Legal Function of the Security Council. Chinese Journal of International Law, Vol. 1 Issue 1. (2002) pp. 59-93

Leigh, Monroe. Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America). 1984 ICJ Reports 392. The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 79, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), pp. 442-446.

Murphy, Sean D. Self-Defense and the Israeli Wall Advisory Opinion: An Ipse Dixit from the ICJ? The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 99, No. 1. (Jan., 2005), pp. 62-76.

Reisman, W. Michael. The Constitutional Crisis in the United Nations. The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 87, No. 1. (Jan., 1993), pp. 83-100.

Reisman, W. Michael. Has the International Court Exceeded its Jurisdiction? The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 80, No. 128. (Jan., 1986) *

Wright, Quincy. The Corfu Channel Case. The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 43, No. 3. (Jul., 1949), pp. 491-494.

On this Day: 14 November 1991 - US accuses Libyans of Lockerbie bombing. BBC News Service. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/14/newsid_2518000/2518895.stm

Press Release 2006/32. The French Republic consents to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice to entertain an Application filed against France by the Republic of Djibouti. International Court of Justice, August 10, 2006.

Charter of the United Nations

Statute of the International Court of Justice

Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in Occupied Palestinian Territory, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 2004, p.136

Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. The United States of America), Jurisdiction and Admissibility, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1984, p.392

Case Concerning Untied States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran (United States v. Iran), Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1980, p.3

Certain Expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, Paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962: I.C.J. Reports, p. 151

A/ES-10/PV.21. General Assembly, Emergency Special Session, Official Records. 21st Meeting, Monday 20 October 2003, 3 PM.

S/PV. 2529. United Nations Security Council, Official Records. 2529th meeting, 4 April 1984.

S/PV.2580. United Nations Security Council, Official Records. 2580th meeting, 10 May 1985.

S/PV. 2693. United Nations Security Council, Provisional Verbatim Records. 2693rd meeting, 18 June 1986.

S/PV. 2718. United Nations Security Council, Provisional Verbatim Records. 2718th meeting, 28 October 1986.

A/RES/41/31. <u>Judgment of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986 concerning military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua: need for immediate compliance</u>. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 3 November 1986.

S/RES/660. <u>The Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait</u>. Resolution adopted by the Security Council, 2 August 1990.

S/RES/674. <u>The Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait</u>. Resolution adopted by the Security Council, 29 October 1990.

LIVING ANTIQUITY:

CLASSICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE PAINTINGS OF CARAVAGGIO

BY MEAGHAN BRATICHAK

This paper explores Caravaggio's relationship with antique sculpture and examines the roots of the artist's references to classical themes and compositions. It aims to reconcile these quotations with biographical myth. Although modern scholars disagree on the nature of Caravaggio's formal education, it will be argued that his unique exposure to a "living antiquity" served to instill a lasting resonance of classicism throughout his career. References to antique sculpture reveal Caravaggio's familiarity with these works, whether through direct contact with classical art and texts or through the mediation of Renaissance artists. Caravaggio's familiarity with the antique was the product of his relationships with two of his patrons, Cardinal del Monte and Vincenzo Giustiniani, both of whom were avid collectors of antiquities who aimed to emulate the revered Vatican collection developed by Pope Clement VII Medici. As a member of Cardinal del Monte's household, Caravaggio participated in urbane re-enactments of the classical Roman social experience, including frequent symposia. This environment of classical revival was a potent enough influence that proof of Caravaggio's formal education is no longer necessary to explain his understanding and use of classical themes.

Biographical Discord

There is a great deal of discrepancy between the modern biographies of Caravaggio and those which date closer to the artist's life time (1571-1610). While modern authors, such as Walter Friedlaender ("Caravaggio Studies") and Lynn Federle Orr ("Classical Elements"), confirm Caravaggio's interest in recreating classical subject matter, his own contemporaries wrote of a man who bore no knowledge of the antique world, and moreover, no desire to rectify that ignorance. Among the most highly debated topics is the nature of Caravaggio's formal education, his personal opinions on the art of classical antiquity, and the extent of his exposure to the art of this early era. The 17th-century biographer and art critic, Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696), gives us the Caravaggio that most people think of today: brazen, arrogant, flippantly avoiding any sort of classical inspiration. ("Vita" 201.) He

presents a character who was uneducated by all measurable means, and who worked as a masonry apprentice from the age of 5 in order to support his struggling family. According to this account, Caravaggio not only lacked a formal education, but was painfully unaware of the legacy left by sculptural masters of classical Greece and Rome. Bellori supports his characterization with anecdotal accounts of Caravaggio allegedly criticizing the skill of such esteemed classical sculptors as Phydias and Glykon, questioning not only their choice of subject, but their actual technical abilities (Poseq, "Caravaggio"). Though the critic was appalled by Caravaggio's apparent disregard for classical prototypes, he had to acknowledge that, if nothing else, Caravaggio's working methods were drawn from precedents set in antiquity ("Caravaggio" 147). Bellori eventually accepted that Caravaggio was a talented painter, but he did so begrudgingly, and without failing to note that he was embarrassed to make this statement of lukewarm approval publicly ("Lives" xiv). Bellori's mild attempt at acknowledging Caravaggio's skill was coupled with the caveat that "he seems to imitate art without knowing what art is about," expressing his distaste for the subject matter no matter how skillfully it was portrayed ("Caravaggio" 147).

The modern perspective brings a different image of Caravaggio into the spotlight. By providing evidence that his brother, Giovanni Battista Merisi, attended several different schools, Orr is able to provide some evidentiary support for the argument that the artist was indeed formally educated (Orr 21). If Giovanni attended La Scuola di Leggere e Scrivere, one may guess with some certainty that his brother, just one year younger, would have followed suit (22-23). It is possible that Caravaggio's education extended from 1578, when his brother entered the school system, to as late as 1584, when his apprenticeship with Simone Peterzano (1540-1596) began (Gergori 263-269). The curriculum of such a late Cinquecento elementary school would have included Latin grammar and syntax, Christian doctrine, and literature; one must further examine the means through which Latin skills would have been acquired. Many of the Latin texts that were used were those of the early epics, myths, and legends, suggesting that Caravaggio would have been exposed to a fair variety of works from classical antiquity. Though his later life experiences provided a more than sufficient informal education in classical art, this formal education serves to further support the fact that he was not as uninformed as Bellori suggests.

Awareness of the Antique

Orr has argued that Caravaggio's education provides sufficient evidence to suggest that he was indeed aware of the mythological subjects which are depicted in several of his works. If Caravaggio studied Ovid for a period of up to six years (the time he may have attended school, based on his brother's school documents and the beginning of his apprenticeship), it is entirely plausible that he would have absorbed some amount of the literary content in addition to the Latin language. In fact, some of Caravaggio's earliest works make it blatantly clear that he was not ignorant to mythological sources; paintings such as the fresco of *Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto,* the *Medusa* and *Narcissus* (see figures 1-3), all of which date to 1597, are obvious depictions of classical themes. (It should be noted that these classically oriented works, as well as the *Sleeping Cupid* and *Amor Vincit Omnia* all coincide with Caravaggio's 1597 arrival at the estate of Cardinal del Monte.) Whether Caravaggio was inherently interested in the meaning of these myths is not able to be determined at this point, but the fact that they are clearly derived from classical sources demonstrates at least a basic level of familiarity.

There are three categories into which these visual quotations can be divided. As with the above works, there are some blatant references to antiquity, through both composition and subject. Secondly, there are works such as the 1608 *Sleeping Cupid* (figure 4) and *John the Baptist with a Ram,* 1602, (figure 5) which references antiquity through models provided by Renaissance masters. Finally there is a body of works which reference antiquity through the reliance on prints of antique sculptures, such as *The Seven Acts of Mercy,* 1606 (figure 6).

This third category of quotation has incited some confusion among scholars, because the provenance of the work indicates that Caravaggio would not have had access to some of the sculptures which he seems to be copying. For example, the figure in the lower left foreground of the *Seven Acts of Mercy* bears a strong resemblance to the 2^{30} BCE Roman copy of the Hellenistic *Dying Gaul* (figure 7)*,* but the sides of the body are reversed. The painted figure reclines on his left arm while the sculpted figure reclines on his right; the right leg of the painted figure is curled back towards the picture plane in contrast to the position of the left leg of the sculpted figure. One must question why Caravaggio would make the artistic choice to copy a figural pose so closely, but reverse it. Further, doubts arise as to Caravaggio's access to the *Dying Gaul* because there is a large void in the provenance of this

work, which is currently located in the Musei Capitolini. Its whereabouts remain unknown from the early 16th century through 1623, when it appears in the inventory of the Ludovisi family collection after being uncovered during the renovation of the Ludovisi villa (Hartswick 107). One possible explanation would be that Caravaggio was working from a print of the *Dying Gaul*. This would account for his knowledge of the work despite gaps in its provenance, as well as explain the reversal of the figural pose. This argument is further supported by the existence of other similar reverse copies, such as a late 16th-century version currently housed in the Napoli Musei Nazionale (Bober 185). The Madonna figure in the *Madonna di Loreto,* 1604, (figure 8) also mirrors the posture and gesture of the ca. 2nd century *Tusnelda* or *Donna Barbara* (figure 9) from the Medici collection (Orr 54). Although Caravaggio would have had access to this work, as it was housed in the Villa Medici, the reversal of the woman's pose again suggests that he worked from a print or engraving rather than the sculpture.

Cardinal del Monte and Classical Commissions

In 1584 Caravaggio was apprenticed under Simone Peterzano, where he was formally trained until 1587. As a student of Titian, Peterzano was well educated in the use of bold color, a characteristic which he no doubt passed on to Caravaggio. While he can be considered an early teacher of Caravaggio's technical skill, there are three specific people to whom we can look for the motives behind Caravaggio's frequent use of classical motifs. Most directly, Caravaggio was closely connected with Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549-1627) and Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637), both of whom patronized the artist during the years when he lived in Rome. Del Monte and Giustiniani shared fervent appreciation for classical subjects, an interest which can be traced back to the papacy of Pope Clement VII (1478-1534) and his interest in the art of antiquity.

Before being named Cardinal, del Monte was a member of the court of a key figure in 16th-century Florence, Ferdinando Medici. This highbrow status confirmed del Monte's name in the intellectual circles of the era; this social standing was further confirmed through his procurement of a Doctorate of Law in addition to several degrees in Christian doctrine (Cardella 301-303). More important to the scope of this discussion is the artistic awareness which del Monte gained through his association with the Medici household. As part of the Florentine elite, the Medici

were intensely interested in the collection and display of art, both modern and ancient. While in Florence, del Monte would have been exposed to countless examples of classical and Renaissance masterpieces. In addition to his every day exposure to the Medici collection due to proximity and convenience, del Monte's friendship with Grand Duke Ferdinand led to his discovery of the antique, as the latter was an avid enthusiast and collector as well. Somewhere between the intimately connected forces of emulation and competition, del Monte's contact with these works from antiquity sparked an interest in developing his own collection.

It is believed that the Cardinal first came into contact with Caravaggio in 1596, when he purchased the 1593 *Boy with a Fruit Basket* (figure 10) from which he drew great intellectual entertainment. Although Caravaggio's intentions for the painting are unknown, del Monte wrote of his immediate reaction being the recognition of a Zeuxis reference. (The story of Zeuxis explains how the painter created a work that was so realistic that birds flocked to eat the grapes in the scene. Rather than being delighted that his grapes were so realistic, he was frustrated that the male figure in the scene was not real enough to scare off the animals [Poseq "Caravaggio" 149].) As a passionate classicist, this apparent literary reference captured del Monte's interest, causing him to seek out a patronage arrangement with Caravaggio. Whether he believed that Caravaggio had intentionally woven this witty undertone into a typical genre scene or that he was simply an artist with the potential to satisfy personal tastes, del Monte's embracing of Caravaggio escalated his production of classically themed works.

Once Caravaggio moved into del Monte's villa and secured his patronage formally in 1596, he began producing a series of classically themed works; del Monte owned the *Boy With a Fruit Basket,* the *Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto* fresco*,* and the *Lute Player,* 1595, (figure 11), all completed at his request. The *St. John the Baptist*, which was originally painted as a commission for Ciriaco Mattei, can also be found in del Monte's inventory, as a nephew of the original owner bequeathed it to the Cardinal as a gift in 1624. Not only did del Monte augment his own collection with Caravaggio's works, he also repaid the Grand Duke Ferdinand for the role he played in the refinement of the Cardinal's taste for the antique; the 1597 commissions of the *Medusa* and *Bacchus* (figure 12) were both gifts for the Grand Duke.

Cardinal del Monte's interest in classical civilizations did not end with his collection of art; he ventured into recreating the

ancient Roman social experience in his villa. As frequent host of lavish symposia, del Monte provided for his friends and associates an environment in which alcohol and lascivious behaviors were freely available (Poseq, "Bacchic"). In the traditional style of antiquity, these symposia were gatherings of men for the purpose of eating, drinking, gossiping, and engaging in sexual activity. While it can be extrapolated from biographical information that del Monte had a genuine interest in the culture of ancient societies, this symposium ritual may have served as a mask for conduct which would have been deemed wildly inappropriate in contemporary culture. Reenacting such a well known ancient ritual granted the Cardinal permission to participate in behaviors which would never have been accepted in Renaissance society. One may note that del Monte cited Horace as his personal role model in areas of decorum and social etiquette, and the Cardinal certainly adhered to the author's motto of "pleasure and profit" (Clark). Though there is no known documentation regarding Caravaggio's personal response to this unorthodox living situation, his productivity was bolstered by this immersion in the symposium environment. In turn, his paintings further spurred del Monte's fascination with the reenactment of antiquity.

One must question the motivation behind del Monte's expansive interest in the antique. His exposure to the Medici collection accounts for his extensive knowledge of classical art, but fails to explain his personal penchant for paintings reminiscent of the antique.   His admiration for Horace indicates that the explanation may be as simple as a matter of preference; it is conceivable that del Monte just had a legitimate interest in the culture and art of classical civilizations, and that he found these subjects more gratifying than the exaggerated forms of Caravaggio's Mannerist contemporaries.   Perhaps he found the subjects reflected in Caravaggio's works were more intellectually stimulating, or that the compositions were more aesthetically pleasing, and thus he favored these works over the typical idealized style of the time. Another possible, and more compelling, explanation is that del Monte's interest in Caravaggio's classical works was the product of a sophisticated system of peer pressure. Del Monte's first classically derived commissions were a series of marble and bronze copies of early Greek and Roman statues housed in the Vatican. Shortly after the Grand Duke Ferdinand took him for his first viewing of the Papal collection, del Monte began developing the foundations of his own gallery. Thus, one must explore the possible connections between del Monte's stylistic preferences and the contents of the Vatican museum.

Pope Clement and Classical Antiquity

To examine the causes of this classical trend among the Florentine elite one must look back to the early 16th century, where the roots can be found in the Vatican collection under Giulio di Giuliano de Medici, or Pope Clement VII. As a Medici and a pope, Clement VII (1478-1534) had fairly unlimited access to the art world. Though the early years of his papacy intersected with the flourishing Renaissance movement, the 1527 sack of Rome marked a pivotal moment in the artistic world. After surrendering to the soldiers of Charles III, Clement was held captive in the Castle Sant'Angelo for six months while Rome was ravaged by the troops of the late Duke of Bourbon. The destruction marked the official end of the Italian Renaissance period (Gouwens, Ken and Reiss). Upon his return to the Vatican, Clement took stock of what had been destroyed, and developed a plan for rebuilding Rome, as well as the morale of its citizens. The year prior to the invasion, Clement had been in communication with King Ferdinand of Habsburg and Francois I of France, both of whom sought to obtain bronze copies of several works they had seen in the Vatican. Upon Clement's return, the copies were completed and most of them were sent on to their new owners. However, Clement was struck by the quality of a certain copy of the *Laocoon* which had been made expressly for Francois. Clement kept it for himself instead, sending apologies to the French monarch ("Epistolae" 263-266). This incident sparked a series of commissions which would evolve into a deluge of classically inspired works entering the Vatican collection.

This sudden flood of classical works was not born solely of new aesthetic preference; Clement was intensely interested in reinstating a sense of permanence, pride, and solidarity in Rome in order to repair the bruised ego left from the destructive results of the sack. Inherent to the nature of classical art is a sense of durability or intransience, which would have satisfied Clement's desire to recreate the stability of the Roman identity. As a professed supporter of art born of nature rather than the imagination, it is perfectly logical that Clement would prefer classical works over the exaggerated artificiality of the Mannerists (Reynolds 185). He expressed his distaste for overly stylized works on more than one occasion, stating "They say they are creating and whoever among them manages to imagine the most horrendous and outrageous thing, they say he has the finest invention" (185). Further, Clement stated that he believed Ovid was

punished by God for his "nonsense" writings, citing that there were so many things in nature that one could write about and it was an insult to God to invent one's own subjects instead (186). This apparent proclivity for naturalism coupled with the desire to bring a feeling of lasting pride back to Rome paved the way for Clement's commissioning of myriad copies of antique sculptures for the Vatican as well as the Medici family collection. The effects of this personal endeavor lasted far beyond Clement's papacy, as the Vatican collection continued to grow and featured a steadily increasing numbers of works from antiquity, or copies inspired by works from antiquity (Vaughan 316). The unfailing influence of the Medici family and the prominence of the Vatican collection caused this interest in the revival of classical art to spread through the following century and into the collections of Caravaggio's major patrons.

Vincenzo Giustiniani

As this inclination towards the works of antiquity asserted itself as a mainstay of the Medici legacy, another of Caravaggio's future patrons fell into the scope of influence. The son of a Vatican financier, Vincenzo Giustiniani grew up very well off, with vast opportunities for exposure to art. He and his brother, Benedetto, both became great enthusiasts and wasted no time building the Giustiniani family collection. In amassing this collection, Giustiniani relied on "natural instincts when it came to taste," and these natural instincts clearly favored classical designs (Cropper 451). According to a 1638 inventory, their extensive gallery contained over 1,800 sculptures dating to antiquity and over 600 paintings, 13 of which can be attributed conclusively to Caravaggio. Giustiniani's inclusion of these works in his collection served to bolster Caravaggio's young reputation, as they were displayed alongside paintings attributed to such masters as Rafael, Titian, and Guido Reni. By making this very public statement of appreciation for Caravaggio, Giustiniani played his part in attempting to eradicate the negative attitudes which the naturalists were facing.

Specific Classical Quotations

Quotation of the classical is identifiable on a surface level in several of the works discussed earlier; the very subject of the *Medusa* or *Narcissus* is indicative of Caravaggio's exposure to ancient mythology. However, compositional details which reflect antiquity provide a much more intricate lens for exploring

Caravaggio's commentary on the work of the earliest masters. The 1601 *Amor Vincit Omnia* (figure 13), commissioned by Giustiniani, bears classical quotations in both the subject and figural pose. The nude male youth is a Cupid figure, whose torso bears great resemblance to Michelangelo's *Victory* (figure 14); he is depicted triumphing over earthly affairs as he literally stands on symbols of learning, architecture, royalty, military, and fame. The great irony of this composition is that Caravaggio is using knowledge to deride the importance of knowledge: his reference to antiquity is obviously the product of classical education, and yet he is using it to provide commentary on the inferiority of erudition. Without the education which is being mocked, Caravaggio would not have been able to utilize Cupid as a subject. The reliance on Michelangelo's sculpture as a model not only provides evidence of Caravaggio looking to a Renaissance master, but also highlights the artist's tendency towards antiquity since the subject of the sculpture is, again, mythological.

Also referencing antiquity through use of a Cupid figure, the 1608 *Sleeping Cupid* was probably painted after Michelangelo's *Mantua Cupid*, which was owned by the Medici family, and accessible to Caravaggio (Puglisi 294-296). Though Michelangelo's *Cupid* passed as an authentic classical sculpture in some circles, it was most likely a copy of a 2nd-century Roman marble, which in turn was a copy of a Hellenistic bronze. Such a Roman copy was found in the 16th-century inventory of the Medici collection (Puglisi 294-296). Catherine Puglisi questions whether the baby is dead, sleeping, or suffering from arthritis is directed at the rather rigid pose of the infant Cupid's legs (294); this is most likely attributed to the fact that Caravaggio painted from the aforementioned sculpture. With an extremely three-dimensional appearance, reduced color range, and exaggerated play of light and shadow, Caravaggio betrays his typical anti-theorist approach to painting in this work. Again, the *Sleeping Cupid* cites antiquity in subject matter, while relying on a Renaissance master for that sort of indirect quotation of classical art.

Perhaps the most interesting of Caravaggio's classical references are those visible in his Bacchic works. The *Boy with a Fruit Basket* and *Concert of Youths,* 1595, (figures 10 and 15) both bear resemblance to Hadrianic portrait busts of Antinous, several of which were owned by each Giustiniani and the Medici family (Poseq "Bacchic" 116). In the Uffizi *Bacchus* (1597), the product of del Monte's symposium parties is made evident. Although the inclusion of the lectus, toga-like drapery, and grape leaves suggest

that the work was painted from an antique sculptural model, details such as the visibly dirty fingernails indicate that Caravaggio most likely used a live model. While it is entirely possible that he dressed a model up in antique garb for the purpose of posing, the literature regarding del Monte's gatherings allows one to conclude that Caravaggio may have actually been painting from his own surroundings. While this work does appear similar to Michelangelo's *Bacchus* (figure 16)*,* details of its provenance indicate that Caravaggio would not have seen it before the 1600s; this may either be the result of coincidental resemblance, or Michelangelo and Caravaggio may have looked to the same ancient source for inspiration or pose. If a prior sculpture served as the common model, Poseq suggests Praxiteles' *Belvedere Antinous* due to extreme similarities in the drapery.

Implications for the Viewer

Looking back over these examples of the use of classical references, one must return to the question of the origins of Bellori's biographical myths. His writings, which date to at least 65 years after Caravaggio's death, note that the artist "not only ignored the most excellent marbles…but he despised them" (Shawe-Taylor 216). Early Flemish art historian Karel Van Mander confirmed this sentiment, agreeing that Caravaggio viewed all works as "child's play" except those painted directly from life; 17th-century art critic Giovanni Agucchi's perspective was that Caravaggio "turned his back on the idea of beauty," citing the fact that he painted figures to look like ordinary people rather than elevating them to a level of aesthetic perfection (217). Van Mander and Agucchi do not directly criticize Caravaggio's choice to paint from nature, but rather they insinuate that an artist of standing should have been better able to "distinguish from the beauty of life that which is most beautiful" (218). Francesco Luisino seems to underestimate the possibility of an artist of Caravaggio's caliber in his 1554 writings, stating that "we are not moved by pictures, whether they represent frightening things or pleasant, since it is clear to us that they are fictitious" (Shearman 157). Caravaggio's uncompromising realism threatened this belief, challenging the majority of art theorists of the time.

The myths surrounding the life of Caravaggio have undoubtedly played a role in his growing notoriety over the last several centuries. It is evident that Caravaggio was not the uneducated simpleton presented by Bellori, yet the motivation for these claims, by both contemporary and subsequent authors, is still

unknown. Perhaps Bellori was resentful of Caravaggio's blatant violation of social norms, or his willingness to introduce lewd subject matter into the courts of high-standing patrons. Perhaps he felt threatened by Caravaggio's disregard of contemporary art theory. There is no question, however, that there is disjunction between Bellori's descriptions of an uneducated vagrant and the reality of a knowledgeable artist who challenged expectations by creating compositions full of solid figures, vehement movement, and fervent naturalism. Though there is support for the notion that Caravaggio received a formal elementary education, his most important formative experiences were those which occurred under the patronage of Cardinal del Monte, with further credit given to Pope Clement VII for his role in the popularity of classical art.

For the viewer, there is great value in reading Caravaggio's paintings with the knowledge that he was not painting formally learned subjects, but rather his own surroundings. In addition to explaining such anomalies as the dirty fingernails in the *Bacchus*, this background regarding Caravaggio's work environment informs the viewer's understanding of his possible intentions, his artistic choices, and his success in a style so innovative for his time. By approaching the accounts of Caravaggio's biographers with more insight into his classical knowledge and training, modern viewers are able to reevaluate the role played by the artist's understanding, use, and emulation of antique art. This new perspective on Caravaggio ultimately equips the viewer to make a better informed, and ultimately more accurate reading of the artist's work.

Works Cited

Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968).

Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, "Vita di Michelangelo Merigi da Caravaggio," in *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, e architetti moderni* (Rome: 1672, reprinted Turin, 1976).

Bieber, Margarete. *Ancient Copies*. (New York: New York University Press, 1977).

Bober, Phyllis. *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*. (New York : Oxford University Press, 1986).

Cinotti, Mia. "La giovinezza del Caravaggio Ricerche e Scoperte," *Novitá Sul Caravaggio* (Regione Lombardia, 1975).

Clark, Barret H. *European Theories of the Drama.* (Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1918).

Cropper, Elizabeth. "Review: Caravaggio and the Giustiniani, Rome and Berlin." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 143, no. 1180. (2001).

Freedberg, Michael. *Painting in Italy 1500-1600.* (New Haven: Yale University, 1971).

Gouwens, Ken and Sheryl Reiss, *The Pontificate of Clement VII,* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishers, 2005).

Haskell, Francis. *Taste and the Antique.* (New Haven: Yale University, 1981).

Hartswick, Kim, *The Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

Macioce, Stefania. *Caravaggio: La Vita e Le Opere Attraverso i Documenti.* (Rome: Logart Press, 1995).

Moir, Alfred. *Caravaggio.* (New York, Harry Abrams Press, 1982).

Orr, Lynn Federle. *Classical Elements in the Paintings of Caravaggio*, (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1984)

Pope Clement VII. *Epistolae per Sadoletun Scriptae: quibus accedunt variorum ad Papam et ad alios epistolae.* Compiled by Pitero Balan, (Innsbruck: Libraria Academica Wagneriana, 1885).

Poseq, Avigdor. "Bacchic Themes in Caravaggio's Juvenile Works." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* vol. 115, no. 1454. (1990).

Poseq, Avigdor. "Caravaggio and the Antique," *Artibus et Historiae* Vol. 11 (1990).

Puglisi, Catherine. *Caravaggio*. (London: Phaidon Press, 1998).

Reynolds, Anne. *Renaissance Humanism at the Court of Clement VII: Francesco Berni's Dialogue Against Poets*. (New York: Garland, 1997).

Salerno, Luigi. "The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani." *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 102, no. 682. (1960).

Shawe-Taylor, Desmond. "Elsheimer's 'Mocking of Caravaggio'." *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte,* vol. 54, no. 2. (1991).

Shearman, John. *Mannerism*. (Middlesex: Penguin Publishers, 1967).

Turner, Jonathan. "The Caravaggio Beneath the Skin." *Art News*, vol. 88. (1989).

Vaughan, Herbert M. *The Medici Popes: Leo X and Clement VII*. (London: Methuen, 1998).

Fig. 1 *Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto,* 1597   Fig. 2 *Medusa,* 1597

Fig. 3 *Narcissus,* 1597   Fig. 4   *Sleeping Cupid,* 1608

Fig. 5 John the Baptist with a Ram, 1606

Fig. 6 Seven Acts of Mercy, 1606

Detail, fig. 6

Fig. 7 Dying Gaul, 2nd Century BCE

Fig. 8 *Madonna di Loreto,* 1604

Fig. 9 *Donna Barbara,* 2nd c. BCE

Fig. 10 *Boy with a Fruit Basket,* 1593

Fig. 11 *Lute Player*, 1595

Fig. 12   *Bacchus*, 1597

Fig. 13   *Amor Vincit Omnia,* 1601

Fig. 14 Michelangelo's *Victory* c. 1525   Fig. 15   *Concert of Youths*, 1595

Fig. 16   Michelangelo's *Bacchus*, 1497

The effects of peroxynitrite on tau nitration

in the rat hippocampus *in vivo*

By Bethany Conly, Corey Cusack, and Colin Kanach

This research tested the hypothesis that peroxynitrite induces tau nitration in the rat hippocampus, which can be prevented by pretreatment with uric acid. To study the nitrative effects of peroxynitrite on the microtubule-associated protein tau, we infused 3-morpholino-sydnonimine chloride (SIN-1), a recognized peroxynitrite donor, into the right dentate gyrus of rat subjects. Uric acid, a peroxynitrite scavenger, was injected into the left ventricle of one group 1 hour before the bilateral SIN-1 injection to confirm the nitrative effects of peroxynitrite. Thereafter, immunohistochemistry and stain intensity values were used to analyze the nitration level of tau in the dentate gyrus, basal and apical CA1 regions, and cortex of both hemispheres. No significant differences in levels of nitrated tau were observed among surgery treatments or between hemispheres, although a trend was found among regions. We conclude that the dentate gyrus may be resistant to tau nitration by peroxynitrite.

Abbreviations: 3-morpholino-sydnonimine chloride (SIN-1), Alzheimer's disease (AD), Amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), Down Syndrome (DS), Huntington's disease (HD), Neurofibrillary tangles (NFTs), Nitric Oxide (NO), Uric Acid Pretreatment (UAP).

Key Words: Alzheimer's disease, CA1, Dentate Gyrus, Down Syndrome, Microtubule-associated protein, Neurodegenerative, Neurofibrillary tangles, SIN-1.

Introduction

In response to brain injury, microglial cells release nitric oxide (NO) and damaged cells can lose their ability to degrade superoxide. The reaction between these two accumulated molecules forms the reactive oxidative species peroxynitrite (Meij et al., 2004). The natural occurrence of this reaction *in vivo* is difficult to confirm due to the transient nature of peroxynitrite, yet its association with neuronal damage implies a possible involvement in mechanisms related to neuronal communication (Guix et al., 2005).

One key component of neuronal communication is microtubule stability, the ability of neurons to maintain and alter their dendritic and axonal structure. In a healthy neuron, the microtubule-associated protein tau binds to microtubules to promote their assembly and stabilization. In the presence of peroxynitrite, however, tau can be nitrated, resulting in a significantly decreased affinity for microtubule binding. Overall, this abnormal mechanism of microtubule instability can disrupt neurite scaffolding and impair neuronal communication (Horiguchi et al., 2003).

Accumulation of unbound, nitrated tau has been attributed to the formation of neurofibrillary tangles (NFTs), a hallmark pathology of neurodegenerative diseases like Down Syndrome (DS) and Alzheimer's disease (AD) (Horiguchi et al., 2003; Bao and Liu, 2002). Even in the absence of NFT formation, nitrated tau protein aggregation and subsequent microtubule destabilization may play a role in the physiological and cognitive impairments characteristic of several other diseases of the brain, including Parkinson's disease (PD), amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), and Huntington's disease (HD) (Horiguchi et al., 2003; Bao and Liu, 2002). The possible role of nitrated tau in these disease pathologies merits further examination of the mechanisms behind tau nitration.

The hippocampus is most commonly associated with damage in AD and DS (Horiguchi et al., 2003). Research has shown that introducing high concentrations of peroxynitrite into this brain region of rats *in vivo* induces tau nitration and corresponding cognitive deficits in motor tasks (Bao and Liu, 2002). We chose to investigate the effects of SIN-1, a recognized peroxynitrite donor (Zhang et al., 2006), on tau nitration in the dentate gyrus and CA1 regions of the hippocampus. The dentate gyrus plays a central role in learning and memory pathways mediated by the hippocampus (Newton et al., 2007). Some findings point to an inherent ability of this region to withstand the formation of NFTs, of which nitrated tau is a main component (Ohm et al., 2007). In contrast, the CA1 region of the hippocampus, which is positioned downstream from entorhinal cortical input into the dentate gyrus, is thought to be especially vulnerable to NFT formation (Von Gunten et al., 2006; Hyman BT, 1997). While these two regions possess opposing affinities for tau nitration and aggregation, the role of nitrated tau in mechanisms of NFT formation remains unknown.

In this study we unilaterally injected SIN-1 into the right dentate gyrus of rat hippocampi and examined the ability of

peroxynitrite to induce tau nitration in the lesioned brain region and surrounding areas. We predicted that 20-22 hour exposure of hippocampal neurons to high concentrations of peroxynitrite would lead to increased levels of nitrated tau protein. In addition, we pretreated several subjects with uric acid, a natural scavenger of peroxynitrite which has been used previously in similar studies, to confirm that any observed increases in nitrated tau protein levels were a result of peroxynitrite exposure (Zhang et al., 2006). We predicted that the uric acid pretreatment would prevent the effects of peroxynitrite on tau nitration in the hippocampus.

Materials and Methods

Animals: Twelve adult male Sprague-Dawley rats (250-300 g) served as the subjects for this study. The rats were housed individually under 12:12 h light/dark cycles, with lights on at 8 am and temperature maintained at 25ºC. The rats were given food and water *ad libitum* throughout the experimental period, with the exception of being food deprived for 24 hrs prior to surgery to enhance the effects of the anesthesia.
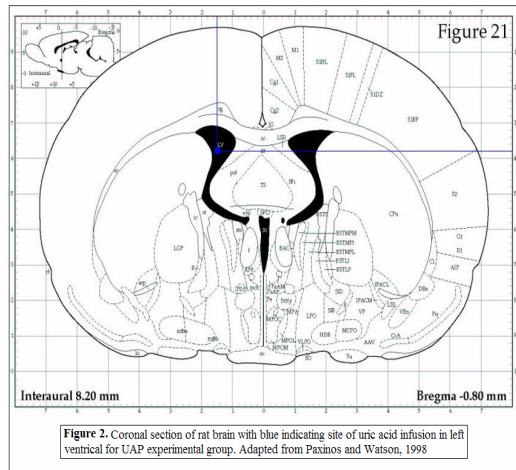
Surgery: Our surgical procedure used stereotaxic technique from McKittrick (2007a) and followed protocol outlined by Zhang et al (2006) with deviations noted. The rats were anesthetized with 80 mg/kg of ketamine (ip) and 10 mg/kg of acepromazine (ip) (McKittrick, 2007a). The

Figure 34

Interaura 4.84 mm   Bregma -4.16 mm

Figure 1. Coronal section of rat brain with red indicating the coordinates of SIN-1 infusion in right hippocampus. Adapted from Paxinos and Watson, 1998.

skull was made flat through orientation of bregma and lambda within 0.3 mm DV prior to surgery. The sham group consisted of four rats infused unilaterally to the dentate gyrus of the right hippocampus with 3 µl of PBS at coordinates -4.0 mm AP to bregma,   -2.0 mm ML, and -4.0 mm DV to the dura (Paxinos and Watson, 1998; see Fig. 1).
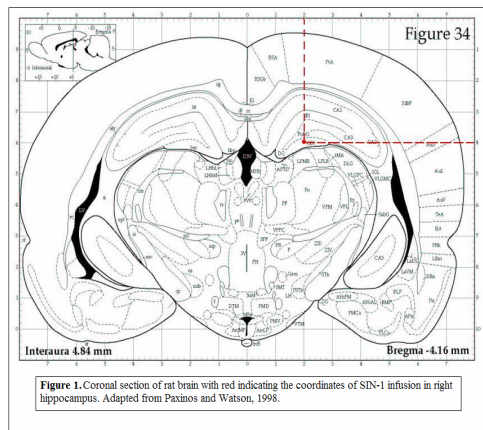
The eight remaining subjects were divided into two equal groups, a lesion-only group and a lesion with uric acid pretreatment (UAP) group. All subjects were infused with 3 µl of 25 mM SIN-1 in PBS in the right hippocampus using the same coordinates as in the sham

group. Infusions to the hippocampus were done at a rate of 0.5 μl/min followed by a 5 min diffusion period. The four UAP group subjects were pretreated (1 h prior to SIN-1 infusion) with uric acid to the left lateral ventricle at coordinates -0.8 mm AP to bregma, 1.5 mm ML, and -3.8 DV to the dura (Paxinos and Watson, 1998; see Fig. 2).
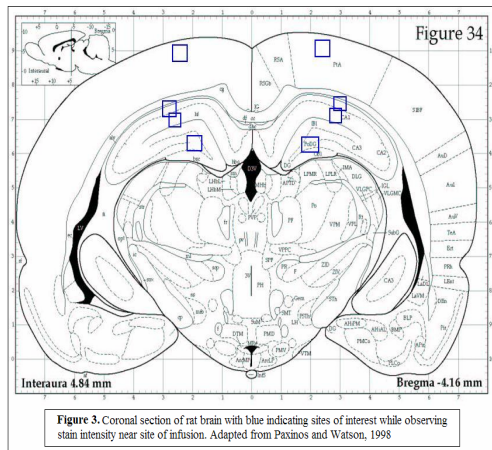

Figure 21

Two UAP rats were infused with 15 μl of 5 mM uric acid in PBS while the other two rats in this group received 5 μl of 15 mM uric acid in PBS. Infusions to the lateral ventricle were done at a rate of 1 μl/min followed by a 5 min diffusion period.

Interaural 8.20 mm   Bregma -0.80 mm

Figure 2. Coronal section of rat brain with blue indicating site of uric acid infusion in left ventrical for UAP experimental group. Adapted from Paxinos and Watson, 1998

Immunohistochemistry:
Our study followed perfusion and sectioning procedures outlined by Zhang et al (2006) with deviations noted. The rats were terminally anesthetized 20-22 hrs after surgery and perfused transcardially with 200 ml 0.1 M PBS at pH 7.4 followed by 300 ml 4% paraformaldehyde in PBS. The brains were removed from the skulls, postfixed in paraformaldehyde solution at 4°C for 24 h, rinsed, and stored in 0.1 M PBS at 4°C. The brains were then sliced coronally into 40 μm-thick sections using a Vibratome and 6 slices near the hippocampal injection point were kept for staining.

Figure 34

Interaura 4.84 mm   Bregma -4.16 mm

Figure 3. Coronal section of rat brain with blue indicating sites of interest while observing stain intensity near site of infusion. Adapted from Paxinos and Watson, 1998

Staining procedures followed protocol outlined by McKittrick (2007b). Sections were incubated in mAb n847 (1:2000) for 24 h at room temperature. Staining controls consisted of sections incubated with mouse mAb to regular tau (1:500) and sections that were not incubated with any primary antibody. Consequently, all sections were incubated with Goat pAb anti-mouse IgG (1:500). The antibody-probed

sections were developed with avidin-biotin complex (ABC) method (Vectastain ABC Kit) and mounted on glass slides with permount. Analysis of n847 stain intensity was conducted by examining 8 photographs of each section using a 20X lens and Nikon Microphot-SA microscope. Images were obtained from the dentate gyrus, CA1 apical, CA1 basal, and medial cortical regions of both hemispheres (see Fig. 3).

The mean value of Red Green Blue (RGB) color intensity was obtained for each image using Adobe Photoshop 10.0. Due to time constraints, analysis was only completed for 6 of the 12 original subjects (2 shams, 2 lesions, 2 UAPs at 15 µl of 5 mM uric acid) and the two staining controls (no primary stain and mAb to tau).

Statistical Analysis: Mean stain intensity values were obtained by generating a Red Green Blue color concentration histogram in Adobe Photoshop 10.0. The average color intensity of the no primary control sections was set as the background color intensity value. All stain intensity measurements represent the absolute value of the mean color intensity minus the background color intensity. Statistical analysis was performed using SPSS version 15. A mixed model analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine the statistical significance among regions (dentate gyrus, CA1 basal, CA1 apical, cortex), hemispheres (right, left) and treatment (sham, lesion, UAP). A P-value of less that 0.05 was chosen as the significance level for all statistical analyses.

Results

mAb for nitrated tau: Following injection of 3.0 µl of 25 mM SIN-1 into the right hippocampi of the rat brains, we found no significant differences in relative stain intensity for tau nitration levels among surgery treatments (sham, lesion, UAP) or between hemispheres (right, left). The relative staining of nitrated tau between hemispheres for the dentate gyrus (A) and the cortex (B) are represented in Figure 4. The relationship between unilateral staining levels of apical and basal regions of CA1 (C, D) is shown in Figure 4 as well. A statistical trend was seen among regions of the hippocampus (dentate gyrus, CA1, CA2) and cortex (P = .057); however, significance was insufficient for post hoc evaluation.

mAb regular tau control: This study used the ABC method for visualization of the mAb n847 primary antibody. In order to confirm procedural efficacy and specificity of the secondary antibody, we

used the ABC kit to visualize the binding of mAb to regular tau on sham brain sections (see Table 1). Specific staining was observed, therefore confirming the necessary interactions between primary and secondary antibodies for protein detection.

No primary control: In order to account for any non-specific staining of the neural tissue, sham brain sections without a primary antibody were visualized using the ABC kit. Non-specific staining was observed in these sections, suggesting that some of the stain intensity observed in the experimental group sections was due to background staining. Background staining was accounted for as outlined in the procedures.

	DG Left	DG Right	Basal Left	Basal Right	Apical Left	Apical Right	Cortex Left	Cortex Right
No Primary	146.80	151.17	146.55	147.79	148.40	145.54	146.16	147.92
Regular Tau	36.02	41.57	32.71	37.13	34.98	34.89	31.97	39.23

Table 1. Mean stain intensity values staining control sections. Left and right DG, CA1 basal, CA1 apical, and cortical regions are shown. Background stain intensity is accounted for in regular tau values.

Discussion

The present study investigated the effect of peroxynitrite exposure on tau nitration in the rat hippocampus *in vivo*. Coronal sections near the lesion site were evaluated for levels of nitrated tau using mAb n847 stain intensity measurements. Stain intensities were bilaterally compared among four brain regions (dentate gyrus, CA1 apical, CA1 basal, cortex) and across 3 treatment groups (sham, lesion, UAP). No significant differences among regions, hemispheres, or treatments were observed. Although previous studies have found a significant increase in levels of nitrated tau following SIN-1 exposure *in vitro* (Zhang et al., 2006), our findings suggest that SIN-1 does not increase tau nitration in the observed hippocampal and cortical regions *in vivo*.

We did, however, observe a trend among regions ($P = 0.057$). Different stain intensities between regions are expected due to the differences in cell types, connectivity, and density of the examined areas. Increasing the number of analyzed subjects may reveal significant differences in staining patterns across regions and help localize nitrated tau following SIN-1 infusion into the hippocampus.

The dentate gyrus, as the direct recipient of SIN-1 infusion, was the main region of focus in this study. Literature has suggested that this hippocampal region is resistant to the formation of NFTs in various neurodegenerative diseases (Ohm et al., 2007). The lack of significance observed between hemispheres may be partially due to an inherent ability of DG neurons to withstand the nitration of tau protein. A visual analysis of graphical results suggests higher levels of nitrated tau in the right DG of UAP subjects (Figure 4A).
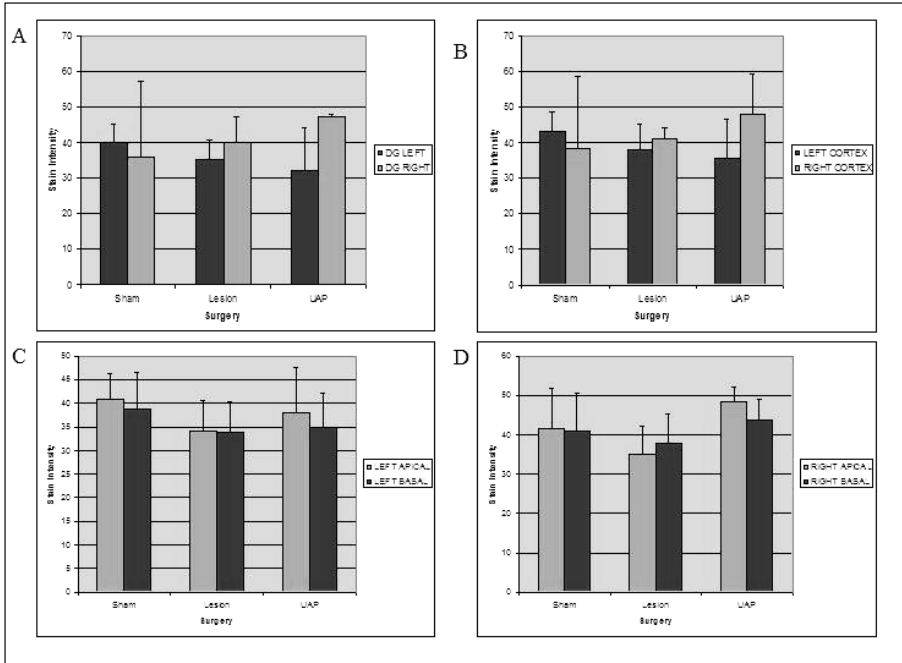

Figure 4. Mean stain intensity values across sham (n=2), lesion (n=2), and UAP (n=2) groups for (A) the left and right dentate gyrus (DG), (B) the left and right cortex, (C) the apical and basal regions of the right hippocampus, and (D) the apical and basal regions of the left hippocampus. There were no significant differences between surgery groups nor hemispheres for nitrated tau stain intensity. Data represent the relative color intensity = standard error of mean. Greater stain intensity values correspond to darker staining and higher levels of nitrated tau.

Considering our difficulties getting the uric acid into solution, it is possible that the uric acid did not work as a peroxynitrite scavenger or did not diffuse throughout the brain as expected. Adding a minute amount of cresyl violet stain to the saline vehicle would allow areas affected by the UAP to be visualized. Also, it appears that the UAP may have had its own unexpected effect on tau nitration in conjunction with the nitrative effects of SIN-1. For example, an immune response could have been triggered in response to the UAP, releasing high levels of NO and having an unpredicted effect on tau nitration.

The graphical representation for staining of right and left cortical regions near the lesion path shows a disparity between hemispheres of UAP subjects similar to that seen in the DG (Figure 4B). The higher levels of nitrated tau in the right cortex may be due to an upward diffusion of SIN-1 through the lesion path or to mechanical damage caused by the syringe. In addition, the uric acid may not have spread to the observed cortical regions, therefore preventing any protective effects of the pretreatment.

We also analyzed the effects of peroxynitrite exposure on apical and basal CA1 hippocampal regions. Although these CA1 areas are proximal to each other, they might react uniquely to peroxynitrite exposure because of their functional and structural differences. The CA1 region as a whole did not exhibit differences in tau nitration between hemispheres for sham and lesion groups (Figure 4C-D). It is possible that the SIN-1 did not diffuse far enough from the point of infusion to affect CA1 neurons.

Several procedural improvements could be made in future repeats of this experiment beginning with increasing the concentration and length of incubation for the nitrated tau primary antibody to obtain more specific, darker staining. It is possible that incubating the primary antibody with neural tissue at room temperature decreased the antibody's binding specificity, resulting in its attachment to other rodent antigens expressed in our brain samples. Obtaining more consistently smooth sections from the Vibratome would also allow a more accurate analysis of nitrated tau levels localized to the lesion area.

It must also be considered that the lack of significance in staining intensities across conditions and between hemispheres may not be due to procedural error. Instead, our results could indicate that SIN-1 was metabolized within the brain before its effects could be observed. Peroxynitrite is known to be transient in nature; increasing the concentration of SIN-1 in future studies may increase the amount of tau nitration to measurable levels.

Overall, we found no observable increase in tau nitration in the rat dentate gyrus, apical and basal CA1 hippocampal regions, or the cortex following a 20-22 hour exposure of these regions to a high concentration of peroxynitrite. Pretreating the brain with uric acid, a peroxynitrite scavenger, had no significant protective effects and may have even aggravated the nitrative effects of SIN-1 on tau in the hippocampus and cortex. The detection of similar tau nitration levels in the right and left dentate gyrus of the lesion group supports previous observations of this region being spared of NFT formation in neurodegenerative disorders such as Down syndrome

and Alzheimer's disease (Ohm et al., 2007). Future examination of the effects of peroxynitrite on the dentate gyrus may reveal the mechanisms behind its resistance to protein aggregation and provide insight into potential treatments for neurodegenerative diseases with aggregative protein pathologies.

Works Cited

Bao F and Liu D. 2002. Peroxynitrite generated in the rat spinal cord induces neuron death and neurological deficits. Neuroscience. 115.3: 839-849.

Horiguchi T, Uryu K, Giasson BI, Ischiropoulos H, LightFoot R, Bellmann C, Richter-Landsberg C, Lee VM and Trojanowski JQ. 2003. Nitration of tau protein is linked to neurodegeneration in tauopathies. American Journal of Pathology. 163.3: 1021-1031.

Guix FX, Uribesaigo I, Coma M and Munoz FJ. 2005. The physiology and pathophysiology of nitric oxide in the brain. Progress in Neurobiology. 76: 126-152.

Hyman BT. 1997. The neuropathological diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease: clinical-pathological studies. Neurobiology of Aging. 18: S27-S32.

McKittrick CR. 2007a. Neurochemistry Lab: Part 1. BIOL 121, Fall 2007 (NChemlab1fa07.doc).

McKittrick CR. 2007b. Neurochemistry Lab: Staining Techniques. BIOL 121, Fall 2007 (staining07.doc).

Meij JT, Haselton CL, Hillma KL, Muralikrishnan D, Ebadi M and Yu L. 2004. Differential mechanisms of nitric oxide- and peroxynitrite-induced cell death. Molecular Pharmocology. 66: 1043-1053.

Newton IG, Forbes ME, Linville MC, Pang H, Tucker EW, Riddle DR, and Brunso-

Bechtold JK. 2007. Effects of aging and caloric restriction on dentate gyrus synapses and glutamate receptor subunits. Neurobiology of Aging. 6782: 1-11.

Ohm TG. 2007. The dentate gyrus in Alzheimer's disease. Prog Brain Res 163: 723-740.

Paxinos G, Watson CL. 1998. The Rat Brain in Stereotaxic Coordinates. Academic Press, San Diego, CA.

Von Gunten A, Kovari E, Bussiere T, Rivara C-B, Gold G, Bouras C, Hof PR, Giannakopoulos P. 2006. Cognitive impact of neuronal pathology in the entorhinal cortex and CA1 field in Alzheimer's disease. Neurobiology of Aging 27: 270-277.

Zhang Y, Xu Y, Liu Y, Yin J, Li H, Wang Q and Wang J. 2006. Peroxynitrite induces Alzheimer-like tau modifications and accumulation in rat brain and its underlying mechanisms. FASEB Journal. 20: 1431-1442.

WHITMAN: BORROWER AND BRIDGER

OF THE OTHERWISE UNBRIDGEABLE

BY JANE FARREN

While speaking in the Ulverston Church parish in 1652, George Fox, the first Friend, implored the congregation: "You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou say?" Walt Whitman, a *kosmos*, would not merely tell of the truths that had been inwardly illuminated for him, but rather would *sing* them. The centrality of this expression is demonstrated in Whitman's 1872 Preface where upon reflecting back on his poetry, he admitted that after "experimenting much, and writing and abandoning much, one deep purpose underlay the others, and has underlain it and its execution ever since – and that has been the religious purpose" (Whitman, 1026). This is quite clear in "Song of Myself," the first poem in the *Leaves of Grass,* wherein Whitman positioned himself as a poet-prophet and presented a new Bible for his own distinctly American, democratized religion. In order to examine the revelation presented by Whitman in "Song of Myself," it is essential to understand the contemporary religious climate as it provides insight into both the sway certain religious movements may have had on Whitman and also where he broke from these patterns and made his own religious statement. Although Whitman was not a Quaker, he had been exposed to the faith both through his mother, from whom he received his "Quaker intuition," and through Elias Hicks, the reformer that captivated him (Templin 165). Whitman heard the Long Island Friend speak when he was a boy and incorporated the concept of the "Inner Light," which Hicks viewed as primarily important, into his own religious scheme. Transcendentalism emerged as a major intellectual movement in the early nineteenth century, and it too shared the belief, similar to that of the Inner Light, that there is an imminently-present, transcendent divinity within all of humanity. Emerson was at the forefront of the transcendentalist movement and Whitman was indebted to him both for his portrayal of nature as pointing to a higher reality, and in part for the development of the Whitman persona as Christ-like. Despite Whitman's borrowings from these two traditions, Quakerism and transcendentalism failed to bridge a particularly troubling gap for Whitman: that of body and soul, material and ideal. Thus, Whitman declared himself poet of the both the body and the soul, and described an idealist philosophy while professing to be a materialist. He sought to remove the dualism intrinsic to these existent systems, which ran contrary to

the cosmic unity and interconnectedness which Whitman saw in all of reality. Hicksite Quakerism and Transcendentalism greatly affected the work of Walt Whitman and provided an excellent frame of reference for understanding the development of his own distinct religious pattern emerging from "Song of Myself."

Born in Huntingdon, Long Island in 1819 to Louisa Van Velsor and Walter Whitman, Walt was exposed to a variety of religious strands in his childhood, particularly Quakerism. Both of Whitman's parents were descendents of early Long Island settlers: the Whitmans of West Hills and the Van Velsors of Cold Spring. Although the family was not formally Quaker, Walt Whitman had various avenues of exposure to Quaker beliefs throughout his childhood. Louisa Whitman's mother, Naomi Williams, was a Quaker of Welsh background and Walt Whitman had been very fond of her in his childhood. Whitman's paternal grandfather had been in the same circle as Elias Hicks, the famous Quaker reformer. The family's contact with Hicks did not end here, as Walt Whitman's parents went to hear him preach often. Hicks, whose controversial doctrines precipitated the schism between "Hicksite" and Orthodox Quakers, would not only have a substantial impact on the Friends, but also a demonstrable impact on Walt Whitman himself.

The Religious Society of Friends was founded principally by George Fox in the 17th century, largely out of dismay with how the various other reforms within Christianity had essentially missed the mark. Quakerism can be seen as an extension of radical Puritanism, and as Frederick Tolles aptly put it, "whereas the Puritans had 'purified' the church of prayer-books, vestments and music, the Quakers wished to go one step further and purify the church of clergy" (Tolles 142). The Elizabethan Settlement in the Church of England had also been quite disappointing; within Richard Hooker's "three legged stool" of tradition, scripture and reason, there was no room for another category which was seen as absolutely essential to the Friends : one's personal and direct experience of God. This concept of the Inner Light was the central distinguishing tenet of Quaker theology: God speaks to every individual without mediation; one need only listen for it. The inward experience of Christ transcends reason, was an extra-Scriptural mode of discovering God's will and breaks with set tradition; therefore, the Friends were established as a distinct Society, apart from previous forms of Christianity.

Despite persecution of the Friends both in England and the colonies, the Quaker movement continually gained strength,

especially with the establishment of Pennsylvania as a safe-haven for Friends by William Penn. The Quakers were not only a presence in Pennsylvania but also New York, and it was from Long Island that the controversial preacher, Elias Hicks, emerged. He was from a family neither rich nor poor, and according to Whitman, he "had small education from letters, but largely learn'd from Nature's schooling" (Whitman 1247). Hicks was recognized as a preacher by the Friends in his late twenties and became very well known both on Long Island and beyond. The rift that had already begun to develop between Friends of an evangelical leaning and those who placed emphasis on the Inner Light before the time of Hicks grew even wider with his arrival on the scene. Hicks espoused that God had "given to every Man and Woman, a complete and sufficient rule of faith and practice, without the aid of books or men" (Ingle 82), reducing the Bible to somewhat of a secondary resource. Hicks' views ran contrary to the orthodox/evangelical stance and led to the eventual division at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1827.

Long after the controversies that ended in schism, Walt Whitman first heard Elias Hicks preach in the ballroom of Morrison's Hotel in Brooklyn Heights; Hicks was eighty-one and Whitman ten. The memory of Elias's preaching remained so vivid to Whitman that even at the end of his life he was able to recall it in great detail; Whitman felt destined to be his biographer. Although he never accomplished this, perhaps due to poor health, reflections on Hicks are collected in "November Boughs". The ideas of Elias Hicks greatly impacted Whitman and are best displayed in democratic religious patterns emerging from "Song of Myself." In fact, Whitman explicitly admired the democratic nature of Hick's beliefs:

> Always E. H. gives the service of pointing to the fountain of all naked theology, all religion, all worship, all the truth to which you are possibly eligible—namely in *yourself* and your inherent relations. Others talk of Bibles, saints, churches, exhortations, vicarious atonements—the canons outside of yourself and apart from man—E. H. to the religion inside of man's very own nature. This he incessantly labors to kindle, nourish, educate, bring forward and strengthen. He is the most *democratic* of the religionists—the prophets (Whitman 1245).

If Elias Hicks was the most democratic of the prophets, Whitman certainly was his successor and positions himself as poet-prophet in "Song of Myself" proclaiming the truths which can

be revealed from within to a new generation of Americans. If one had difficulty understanding the place of the Bible in Hicks's theology, Whitman has entered the scene with a new Bible that points the reader inward. The concept of the Inner Light is very democratic in itself, each person, regardless of class, education, background, race and sex is eligible to directly experience God. It was not the study of books or theology that brought one to this (as evidenced by Elias Hicks). The inward Christ is available to "the farmer [who] stops by bars as he walks on a First-day loafe," "the spinning-girl [who] retreats and advances to the hum of the big wheel," and even "the lunatic [who] is carried at last to the asylum a confirmed case" (Whitman 200). Whitman repeatedly implores his readers not to take things from outside sources but to rely on what comes from within:

You shall no longer take things at second or third hand, nor

Look through the eyes of the dead, nor feed on the

Specters in books,

You shall not look through my eyes either, nor take things

from me,

You shall listen to all sides and filter them from your self (Whitman 190).

The influence of Quakerism, particularly Hicksite Quakerism, can clearly be seen the democratic religious pattern emerging from "Song of Myself," wherein every individual has the capacity to experience inward illumination. Elias Hicks was not a very educated man in the formal sense but understood multitudes through his personal experience of God.

A few years before the Hicksite-Orthodox split in Quakerism, another American religious movement, Transcendentalism, came into full swing and arrived at a similar democratic endpoint. However, unlike Hicksite Quakerism, Transcendentalism was a movement very much driven by the intellectuals of the day, not Long Island farmers preaching to the common man. Walt Whitman was nevertheless greatly influenced by the Transcendentalists, particularly by Ralph Waldo Emerson who emerged as the central figure in the movement. Whitman's borrowings from Emerson are evidenced in his understanding of

nature and the development of his god-like (and specifically Christ-like) persona.

While transcendentalist philosophy and Quakerism share some common beliefs, the two groups had rather distinct heritages. Transcendentalism was an extension of Unitarianism which in turn was a break from the pessimistic Calvinism of the Puritans; the movement was born on American soil and specifically sprung from New England. Unitarians reject the Trinity and believe that there is one God, which is God the "Father," and Jesus, while admittedly being the "Son" is not one with the Father, nor does he share in His divinity. Rather, Jesus is a messenger and human who, unlike most, wholly realized the divine presence within himself (Robinson). The divine presence within each person is a shared belief of Quakerism and Transcendentalism; while Quakers had the Inner Light, Transcendentalists had the parallel concept of "Intuition." (Barbour 25) Emerson, the figurehead of Transcendentalism, was himself greatly influenced by Quakerism and has been quoted as saying he is "more of a Quaker than anything else. I believe in the 'still small voice' and that voice is Christ within us" (Tolles 1).

Ralph Waldo Emerson's own roots followed those of Transcendentalism, from Puritanism to Unitarianism to the nascent philosophy which he would lead. Emerson descended from a long line of ministers and he entered the ministry and served at Second Church of Boston. Emerson left the ministry after his request to refrain from Lord's Supper was denied. He then turned to writing lectures and eventually composed the short book *Nature,* which is largely seen as the foundational and essential piece of American transcendentalist literature. It was in *Nature* that Emerson connected his views on the divine presence within all of humanity, the unity behind all of reality and the belief that through studying nature, the unity behind everything might be revealed (Robinson).

For Emerson, nature exists as a sort of locus of manifestation and stands as an "apparition of God" in that the creation reflects the creator (Emerson VII). Nature is a projection of God, although imperfect; it symbolizes reality, yet can offer insight into what is behind reality. Walt Whitman picks up on this and integrates it into "Song of Myself":

Why should I wish to see god better than this day?
I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and

> Each moment then,
>
> In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own
>
> face in the glass,
>
> I find letters God dropt in the street, and every one is
>
> Sign'd by God's own name… (Whitman 245).

Whitman observed the symbols that compose nature and also saw the higher truth to which they point. The role of Whitman as seer and conveyor of these truths is fundamental to our search for Emerson's influence on Whitman.

Towards the beginning of "The Poet," Emerson enumerates several tripartite relationships that relate to his mythic poet, most importantly the Father, the Spirit and the Son, which then translate into the Knower, the Doer, and the Sayer. The Sayer, which is parallel to the Son of the Trinity, is the rightful role of Poet. Because Jesus is understood as the word (*logos*) become flesh, this relationship is really unique; as poet, Whitman took advantage of this parallel in developing his larger-than-life persona. As mentioned previously, Emerson believed that Jesus was not a person in the one God, but rather a prophet who had fully realized the divinity located within himself. Thus Whitman's persona was an embodiment of Jesus as Emerson saw him: a human who understands and has harnessed the divinity within, sees the potential for all of humanity to be so illuminated and brings this message forth into the world. Hence, Whitman often inserts himself where one with a basic knowledge of Christianity would think of Jesus: "That I could look with a separate look on my own crucifixion and bloody crowning" (Whitman 231). "I am the man, I suffer'd, I was there" (Whitman 225). "I pass death with the dying and birth with the new-wash'd babe." This point of reference can perhaps also afford insight into the profound proclamation, "I speak the pass-word primeval." As presented in the preface of the Gospel of John, "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God;" by Whitman's asserting that he speaks the *primeval word,* he is placing himself in the position held by Jesus: the Word present in the beginning of time. By doing this, Whitman declares, "Jesus was no more divine than I, and I no more divine than you." This shared divinity of all of humanity is really at the root of Emerson's message and hence also becomes the core of Whitman's poetry.

While both Quakerism and Transcendentalism shaped the poetry of Whitman and these strains of influence are identifiable in

"Song of Myself," Whitman did not merely stop where each of these respective systems had. Rather, Whitman related a new truth that was inwardly illuminated for him after observing nature around him. In both Quakerism and Transcendentalism, an intrinsically irreconcilable dualism was present: body and soul, material and ideal (respectively). However, Whitman saw that there was actually unity behind all of reality and sought to bridge the divide present in the systems had so influenced him.

Transcendentalism had been limited by the gap between the material and the ideal. As Emerson described in his lecture "The Transcendentalist," the idealist was someone who did not deny physical realities but acknowledged the perhaps more truly real spiritual categories that transcend it. The materialist was caught up with physical realities and cannot see beyond them into the spiritual dimensions of reality; Emerson and the Transcendentalists identified with idealism and rejected materialism. While it is clear that Whitman acknowledged the ideal in "Song of Myself' (through belief in the common divinity of humanity, etc.); he admitted to being a materialist also: "I help myself to material and immaterial, no guard can shut me off, no law prevent me" (Whitman 223). Furthermore, "I accept Reality and dare not question it, Material first and last imbuing. Hurrah for positive science! long live exact demonstration!" (Whitman 210). Diane Kepner elucidates this apparent contradiction within Whitman's work by focusing in on the atom and its role in Whitman's work. The very first stanza of "Song of Myself" makes reference to atoms: "For every atom belonging to me as good as belongs to you" (Whitman 188). While Whitman accepts that the universe is filled with matter (a materialist notion) he also acknowledges that all matter is composed of atoms which are changeless and permanent non-matter. Thus the entire seen universe is composed of the unseen; all of matter is composed of non-matter. This certainly suggests that there is a basic unity between material and ideal, and Whitman made this leap in "Song of Myself."

Quakerism had a similar disconnect between body and soul, the physical and the immaterial, which was troubling to Whitman. Elias Hicks was of the Quietist variety and believed that one must withdraw from his external nature to enable the Inner Light to illuminate the soul. Hicks also believed that man has a fallen nature and is depraved, not because of original sin, but because man freely chooses to follow a way other than God's. The external world can induce one to be distracted from God's will so

one must withdraw from it in hopes of achieving salvation (Templin). This dualism between the outer and inner was one Whitman tried to do away with in "Song of Myself" by declaring, "I am the poet of the Body and I am the poet of the Soul" (Whitman 207). The body and soul for Whitman are inseparable; the soul is actually visible in Whitman's scheme: "Clear and sweet is my soul and clear and sweet is all that is not my soul" (Whitman 190). Not only are body and soul both visible and inseparable, but they are equal parts unlike in Quakerism and most other religious formations: "I believe in you my soul, the other I am must not abase itself to you, And you must not be abased to the other" (Whitman 192). More explicitly yet, "I have said that the soul is not more than the body, And I have said the body is not more than the soul" (Whitman 244). Because Whitman eliminates the dualism between body and soul he is able to proclaim, "I believe in the flesh and the appetites" and express related sentiments throughout the poem which would not likely be shared by Elias Hicks, but would fall in line with his overarching pattern.

As we have seen, Walt Whitman's borrowings from both Quakerism and Transcendentalism are quite evident in "Song of Myself." Whitman was influenced by Quakerism in his youth by his mother of Quaker background, and by Elias Hicks, the Quaker reformer who had captivated Whitman as a child. Hicks placed primary importance on the Inner Light, and it was this emphasis that precipitated the Hicksite-Orthodox split between Friends. The Inner Light, which is the presence of Christ within, affords all people the opportunity for a direct experience of God. The belief in the potential for unmediated inward illumination was in effect a very democratic one as there are no class, race, gender, or educational prerequisites. Whitman picked up on this in "Song of Myself' and implored his readers to stop taking information at second or third hand but to look for the light within themselves. Transcendentalism also had a shared belief that a transcendent reality is imminently present in all of humanity; Whitman's borrowings from this American movement, however, did not cease here. His portrayal of nature as pointing to a higher reality was very clearly Emersonian, as was his assumption of a Christ-like persona. While borrowing from Quakerism and Transcendentalism, Whitman distinguishes himself from both and made a statement that is very distinctly his own; George Fox would probably be glad for this. Whitman bridged what remained unbridgeable for each respective group: the material and the ideal, and body and soul. He saw the cosmic unity behind reality that included both ideal and material, best demonstrated through his use of atoms, the non-matter

components of all matter in the universe. Whitman also closed the gap between body and soul within Quakerism by declaring himself poet of both body and soul, and proclaiming the soul a visible entity that is inseparable and equal to the body. Whitman emerges from "Song of Myself" – in effect, his new Bible -- as poet-prophet, who, like Jesus, had fully realized the divine presence within himself and all of humanity. Whitman came forth with his message for a new generation of Americans.

Works Cited

Aspiz, Harold. *So Long! Walt Whitman's Poetry of Death.* Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press. 2004.

Barbour, Brian M., ed. *American Transcendentalism: An Anthology of Criticism.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. 1973.

Cummings, Glenn N. "Placing the Implacable: Walt Whitman and Elias Hicks." *American Literature* 28:2 (1998): 68-86.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Nature.* http://www.vcu.edu/engweb/transcendentalism/authors/emerson/essays/naturetext.html

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "The Poet."

http://www.bartleby.com/5/110.html

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "The Transcendentalist."

http://www.emersoncentral.com/transcendentalist.htm

Grebanier, Frances. *American Giant: Walt Whitman and His Times.* New York and London: Harper Brothers. 1941.

Ingle, H. Larry. *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1986.

Kepner, Diane. "From Spears to Leaves: Walt Whitman's Theory of Nature in "Song of Myself." *American Literature* 51:2 (1979): 179-204.

Robinson, David M. "Emerson and Religion" *A Historical Guide to Ralph Waldo Emerson.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. http://www.viterbo.edu/personalpages/faculty/GSmith/Emersonan dReligion.htm

Templin, Lawrence. "The Quaker Influence on Walt Whitman." *American Literature* 42:2 (1970): 165-180.

Tolles, Frederick B. "Emerson and Quakerism." *American Literature* 10.2 (1938): 142-165.

Whitman, Walt. *Whitman: Poetry and Prose*. New York: The Library of America. 1996.

Leaves of Grass "Song of Myself." 1891-92.

Wilbur, Henry W. *Life and Labors of Elias Hicks*. Philadelphia: Friends' General Conference Advancement Committee. 1910.

"COME, BE A MAN":

IMAGERY IN THE POWER STRUGGLES THROUGHOUT *OTHELLO* ON FILM

BY CHRISTINE GRASSO

Othello is a play which has its foundation in life's performative nature: in acting, in deceit, in mistaken interpretation. It functions on two levels, which Elias Schwartz divides into the "naturalistic" and the "stylistic," with corresponding "natural" and "super-natural" plots. The natural plot follows the downfall of the noble warrior Othello among his peers, and the super-natural traces his path to spiritual damnation (297). Othello and his ensign Iago are the primary players in the power struggles which mark both of Schwartz's modes. Stuart Burge's 1965 film production, starring Laurence Olivier as Othello and Frank Finlay as Iago, presents Othello's super-natural fall from grace. Olivier's Othello spirals into the world of the demonic, becoming prey to destructive forces already within him, for, as Douglas Brode puts it, "No one is completely innocent in the shadow worlds of Shakespeare…or Olivier" (163). Olivier studied the criticism of F. F. Leavis, who promotes the idea that Othello is largely responsible for what takes place (Brode 162). The parallel story, that of the human Othello who is destroyed by the individuals around him, is emphasized in Oliver Parker's 1995 film, featuring Laurence Fishburne as Othello and Kenneth Branagh as Iago. This film portrays what Hallstead describes as man's "struggle between his aspirations toward the divine, the transcendent, and the recurring awareness of his animality" (108). These distinct narrative strands can be found in the imagery throughout the films. Both present the same story line of Othello's tragic fall; Burge's film portrays Othello's vacillation between the divine and the demonic, whereas Parker's emphasizes his essential humanity. The films use imagery and characterization to accentuate these domains; Burge's characters exist as almost mythical beings, driven by spiritual extremes, whereas Parker's characters are human, even bestial, and their fundamental humanity is what dooms them.

Each film makes an impact even from its opening credits. Burge's begins with one flame and a bell which tolls every time a name appears on the screen. The flame seems to indicate extreme passion, or the fiery depths of Hell, and the bell gives a sense that doom is inevitable, for each individual. Parker's opens with the title, Othello's name, but that name only grabs attention momentarily; one red light in the middle of the letter "O" is highlighted, and it

remains shining even after Othello's name is gone. That red light, like an evil eye watching, seems to foreshadow the production's emphasis on the voyeur Iago invading Othello's life and destroying it from within.

Iago, as the hinge on which the play's plot turns, has complicated, unclear intentions in the script. In bringing the role to life, an actor must make decisions about what is driving this cruel spirit. Frank Finlay, in Burge's production, seems from the start of Act I to be concealing something, but we are led to assume that he is purely resentful about his position as ensign. He tells Roderigo, "I am not what I am" (I.i.67), just as he speaks the rest of his lines – calculated, curt, and direct. This ambiguity seems much in line with what the script suggests. Kenneth Branagh, as well as director Parker, takes more liberties with what the script has to say. We first see his Iago sitting outside the window of Othello and Desdemona's covert wedding; he is not watching, but knows exactly what's going on, as though he sees it unfolding in his mind. Iago, teary-eyed, places emphasis on the words "curse" and "service" (I.i.36), complicating our perception of the type of service he is discussing. He complains that Cassio was chosen over him; the simultaneous wedding scene gives this speech added meaning; Desdemona too was chosen before Iago. Julia Genster, in her analysis of lieutenancy in *Othello*, remarks that in this militarily-focused play, "arrangements of social and sexual power are played out particularly close to the terms of office, of place" (785). Marital and political commitment share the same space in Iago's mind, and the tears in his eyes indicate the unarguable presence of deep emotional conflict. Suddenly his "curse of service" seems a courtship and his desire to "serve my turn upon him" (I.i.44) seems a betrayed lover's cry for revenge. Branagh's "I am not what I am" is spoken more as a resolution than a statement; this is his vow to act, in both senses of the word.

Parker's *Othello* has an extended opening montage, which provides the viewer with much to think about during the rest of the film in terms of imagery and control. Samuel Crowl criticizes these images, which raise "such provocative questions, but his film does little to extend or answer them" (Crowl 93). Perhaps these images are not questions meant to be answered, but sparks to ignite larger fires in the minds of spectators. The film locates itself on the waters of Venice in the evening, looking at a single gondola; there is a sense of fear amidst the dark waters. A black man places a white mask over his face, suggesting what we should look for in Othello's behavior and exterior seeming. As the film proceeds, water is

repeatedly associated with Iago, as is darkness, so this opening tells us that we are in his territory. We see Desdemona run down an alleyway towards the church, taking caution to be inconspicuous. She arrives, a fair-skinned woman in pale dress with a black veil; this contrast seems to suggest either a funeral or a distorted wedding. Iago is there watching.

From here, the camera takes us to the flames burning outside the building with the Duke and his men discussing the approaching war. Flames, then, acquire a meaning in addition to that of passion; they also become marks of masculine domination. The men are looking at a map, and place a small boat to mark Othello's arrival in Cyprus. Breaking from the script, in which he is called "the Moor" at the start, his name is spoken here. He is not simply a black figure to these men; he is, however, reduced in their view to being an object in their military design. Janet Maslin, in her review of the film in *The New York Times*, criticizes the map as looking like "a board game" and trivializing the whole journey. The effect seems intentional, though. Othello's fate is in the hands of men who use him as a tool to achieve their desired ends.

The camera returns again to the wedding sequence, where Othello places the ring on Desdemona's finger, the first of many images of their joined hands. He keeps his eyes open when he kisses her, suggesting a doubt, a need to see and control. This naturally human aversion to vulnerability provides the foundation for the jealousy which consumes Othello as the play continues. This montage links the marriage and the war, hinting at a dark, fearful side to the situation, personified by Iago. Iago's water imagery leads us forward to Brabantio's vulnerable home on the water, to the very sweat on his forehead.

When Fishburne's Othello enters, there is flame visible behind him, echoed by the touch of red in his black cape. With a gentle smile on his face, he looks calm and comfortable. Olivier's Othello is striking, with his blacked up skin contrasting his white attire, which "effectively announces that this hero is doomed not by his love (the traditional approach) but by an insecurity complex that makes him vulnerable to the Establishment he has seemingly joined" (Brode 163). Similarly, he wears a "large, ornate gold cross and chain, which dramatically announces an African converted to the religion of his employers" (Jorgens 195). He carries a rose, which makes him smile almost drunkenly, associated in his mind with his new wife. When Cassio enters to tell him he is needed by the Duke, Othello simply smells the rose and hums; it provides him with comfort and surety. When Brabantio approaches, there is

flame visible behind Olivier's Othello; he possesses the most strength and fervor of all the men present, and can command them with an easy tilt of his head. There is something ironic from the start about this Othello, who "radiates primal energy" (Rothwell 65) and still holds his own as a racial minority.

Fishburne's Othello is more realistic. As Brabantio approaches him, he draws his sword with the others, and depends on it as he defends himself and tries to prevent a fight. He is not powerful enough to control so many men on his own. Olivier, instead of a sword, seems to use Christianity as his defense. As R. N. Hallstead points out, his Christian faith "is assumed rather than explicitly discussed in the play…to Shakespeare's audience the marriage…would have contained not only the clear implication of a conversion but some cause for wonder about it" (118). Olivier is ceaselessly pretentious about his dependence on the Heavens. He crosses himself repeatedly, points up when he speaks of Heaven or even of wooing, and holds his hand up when he swears. Jack Jorgens claims that Othello's "salutes…have a touch of mockery to them" (195), which is interesting, since his displays of respect for the Duke are as exaggerated as those for God. For example, Othello repays the Duke for his "more fair than black" (I.iii.293) remark by kissing his hand, and lifting the bottom of his dress with a flourish. He does not merely bow like the other men. Fishburne's Othello has few if any parallel religious gestures; rather, his sword is always visible. It is his source of control, militaristic and masculine alike.

Desdemona's arrival on the scene brings some fundamental weaknesses to light. Maggie Smith's Desdemona, in Burge's *Othello*, regards Othello with an idolatrous stare. She cannot resist holding his hand, and drawing herself in to him. When he places his hand on her shoulder, she kisses it. However, judging by the way she behaves toward the Duke, it seems that she readily pays high respect to others. She kneels down to him, making the term "consecrate" stand out (I.iii.357). This same readiness, like her "inviting eye", will contribute to her end; Hallstead claims that *Othello* "is the story of an idolatrous love which comes to an inevitable tragic end" (107). Hallstead thinks it dangerous that Othello worships Desdemona as divine perfection, and that she sees him as her lord, in every sense. Olivier, however, hints that Othello sees something else in Desdemona, as he points up on the word "Heaven" and, moments later, to her on the word "appetite".

Irene Jacob's Desdemona, in Parker's film, is more self-possessed, and her relationship with Othello is clearly her choice rather than an all-consuming fascination. She bows down to the Duke but does not kneel as Smith does. The film's first flashback takes us to the garden where Brabantio and Othello walk, where Desdemona presumably first watches him from afar. If water is Iago's space, then flower imagery belongs to Desdemona. She is beautiful and delicate, with a bloom which will not last, and her relationship with Othello has its foundations in nature's desires. Othello is associated with flame increasingly throughout the film, which concretizes Desdemona's self-identification as a "moth of peace," drawn to the light which will eventually burn her.

Branagh's Iago, as one who will change with the tides, is a convincing actor. He speaks to the pained Roderigo as to a small child, saying, "put money in thy purse," as if he truly just thought of it. He repeats it as if reaffirming it each time, until Roderigo is able to repeat it himself, as in a trance; Iago is a successful charmer. Finlay's Iago does not pretend to be gentle or sincere; his eyes dart up and down, judging. He seems to be philosophizing, detached from his words. He stands close to Roderigo, as if wanting him to hear his voice as his own, but is not as successful as Branagh's Iago in that endeavor.

In the first soliloquy, Branagh uses chessboard imagery in his plan, placing his black knight in between Othello's black king and Desdemona's white queen. When he speaks of the "monstrous birth" (II.i.405) to come, he is certainly talking about his plot, but does he see himself as the birth of their wrongful love? Has the white knight been "engendered" (II.i.404) by the black king and white queen as a sort of reverse-Oedipus, seeking to kill the mother and marry the father? After he speaks the creation into existence, the ocean crashes, affirming the connection Parker has established between Iago and water. Similar is Finlay's Iago, who seems to give birth to the storm and darkness which engulf the scene just as his monologue finishes. At the mention of the "divine Desdemona" (II.i.75) and the entrance of Smith, the storm ceases and the lights come up. When she comes on land and speaks to Cassio, we watch Iago watch them. They move out of our view as he continues to speak about them: "Very good! Well kissed" (II.i.174). We have to wonder if he is imagining the rest of the interaction or seeing something we cannot. Branagh's Iago watches their reflection in his knife. This is only a small, blurry clip of what is actually happening, but all he needs is the snapshot.

That his screen is his blade is significant, as he will use this image to destructive ends.

Violence and romance are combined seamlessly in Act II as Desdemona and Othello consummate their marriage while revels ensue outside. Jorgens says of Burge's production that "the film underscores Shakespeare's subtextual link between the love-making of Othello and Desdemona and the riot" (196). Not surprisingly, Parker also takes advantage of this tempting parallel. Flames are outside with the tribal music as well as inside with the elegant music as Desdemona dances. Outside, Iago approaches Roderigo with an army crawl, and the two find themselves seated under a carriage on which a man and a woman are copulating loudly. Iago further combines the drives of war and sex. As he tries to convince Roderigo that Desdemona loves Cassio, and says, "hard at hand comes the master" (II.i.264-265), he strokes Roderigo's leg, making his martial seduction a sexual one. Inside, Othello spins with Desdemona in his arms. They proceed to blow the candles out together, but a large flame remains burning behind him as he removes his belt and she removes her dress; Othello's overwhelming passion is always present. The flame seems to suggest heat that could be dangerous if uncontrolled. We hear the tribal music from outside until he parts the curtains and enters the bed, and the romantic music begins; the bed is a safe, closed space. The rose petals on the white sheet, indicating that this is Desdemona's territory, echo the strawberries on the white handkerchief. Samuel Crowl sees these flower petals and strawberries as symbols of the blood which will flow (97). They are also images deeply engrained in nature and the feminine.

Burge's production includes tribal drums giving way to romantic music as Desdemona and Othello exit the stage together, but we are never privy to what happens between them. Outside among the revels, drums and voices build and everyone spins out on stage as if marionette puppets answering to Iago's will. All begin to sing with Iago, and he increases the drumbeat until the drunken dancers can barely stand. Iago's "drive to control and manipulate is underscored by this camera work that consistently foregrounds him in profile to give the impression of the master puppeteer manipulating a creature ripe for exploitation" (Rothwell 65). As Cassio becomes weakened by wine and falls victim to it, so does love dull Othello's senses and make him feel that he has lost control of himself.

Cassio's loss of control foreshadows and brings about Othello's. Parker's Cassio wins the masculine contests of the

evening: the impromptu drinking contest as well as Bianca's attention. When he says "no more of this" (II.i.105) he means no more revels. "Do not think," he says, "that I am drunk" (II.i.107), emphasizing the word "drunk." Upon hearing it from someone else, he draws his sword, and ends up out of control, swinging a lit torch. In his drunken stupor, he does literally what Othello does symbolically: plays with fire. Burge's Cassio is slightly different. He tosses Bianca aside like a doll when he says, "no more of this," and emphasizes "think" rather than "drunk." He is utterly concerned with others' perception of him, and enjoys being in control of another person. In the fight that ensues, a sword appears to strike a woman's eye. Perhaps it's a crude metaphor, but it does seem that masculine pride gets in the way of seeing clearly, and in the end of the play, it is an undeserving woman who ends up destroyed.

Olivier's Othello, full of anger, storms in to stop the fighting. As he speaks the words "dies upon his motion" (II.iii.168), he wrings a man's neck and, godlike, tosses him effortlessly to the ground, a casualty of Othello's ignited passion. Iago takes Cassio's sword and hands it off to someone, taking his masculinity as well as his position. Fishburne's Othello enters the scene with a sheet on him, armed with a sword and lit by flame; he has with him every possible defense, his marital bed, his masculine sword, his brutish passion. In this scene, more than ever, the flame metaphor is brought to the fore, emphasizing the way the hot "blood begins my safer guides to rule" (II.iii.199). Othello is always lit or framed by flame. We see the side of Cassio's face because he is staring straight ahead, and all we can see of Othello is the blurry flame above him. Another potent symbol in this scene is the cup, which Othello smells, and clutches, emphasizing the weight of the betrayal and suggesting the sacrifice to come. He removes Cassio's lieutenant sash for him. Cassio's face is lit by the flame while Othello is in the scene, but suddenly changes to dark shadow when Othello leaves and Cassio is alone with Iago. Lit in blue, the color of water, Iago has full control here. He plays on Othello's humanity, his emotion, to bring about the desired consequences.

Finlay's Iago speaks his next soliloquy, smiling as he tries on the Lieutenant's sash. "Iago covets the lieutenancy…it seems the ideal place for a man who is not what he is, whose identity is, like lieutenancy, a locus for substitution, impersonation, displacement" (Genster 797). He issues his thoughts as commands, relishing the feel of control. He makes horns with his hands as he says, "Ay, that's the way" (II.iii.381). He is turning Othello into both devil and cuckold. Branagh speaks the same

monologue with a similarly mounting confidence, claiming not to be a villain in the least. When he determines to "undo [Desdemona's] credit with the Moor" (II.iii.353), he reaches into the flame before him and grabs a smoking log. Telling us that he will "turn her virtue into pitch" (354), he wipes the charcoal over his hands, blacking them. And when he finally commits to "enmesh them all" (356), he puts his hand in front of the camera, skewing our reality as he does everyone else's. He is able to snap out of it when Roderigo comes by, but as he asks, "What wound did ever heal but by degrees?" (364), it is clear that the question of heat and pain remain on his mind. After all, he seems to love the fiery Othello, regardless of the burns he receives; he seems even to relish the pain. This is also a patent threat, as Iago's water will put out Othello's fire.

And so he does, in the ensuing scenes of Act III, as he tempts and beguiles Othello. The next scene finds Iago and Othello exercising with sticks in combat. Othello looks up at Desdemona, on a balcony high above him, remarking that "chaos" (III.iii.100) will reinstate itself if he no longer loves her; he seems to be amid that very chaos at the moment, down on the ground so far below her, fighting. This chaos is inevitable, argues Hallstead, because "when she is exalted as a goddess [she] fails inevitably in her godliness" (117). He renounces the stick to Iago, who then helps him to wash off. Similarly, Finlay's Iago removes Othello's colored robe in the same scene as he removes his comfort and security, leaving him in black. He holds Othello's weapon in the "thou echo'st me" (III.iii.117) conversation, in which Othello drifts from a state of "knowing" (129) to one of "thinking" (130) and uncertainty, in which men "should be what they seem" (139). Iago has so tempted Othello with his secret knowledge that Othello calls him back when he tries to walk away. Frustrated, Othello half-embraces and half-hits Iago, battling simultaneous feelings of love and hate. Othello has been reduced to utter doubt, holding his cross as he considers the idea of "nature erring" (III.iii.243), and then letting go. Iago leaves, after he "strips him of his defenses—cross, robe, and scimitar, emblems of his Christian values and his office—leaving him in his black tunic unarmed, vulnerable to Iago's assaults" (Jorgens 197). He leaves him to ponder his age and race, reduced in his own estimation of himself, prone to renounce his faith, his civilized nature, and give into his inner demons.

In Parker's film, this scene takes place in a room filled with weapons, moving "from the daylight world of military exercise, where Othello easily meets and parries Iago's thrusts, down to a murkier environment where physical blows are replaced by verbal

ones and Iago quickly gets the upper hand" (Crowl 99). The room is lit in blue, and the bullets are like all the words Othello knows are going unspoken, when he asks Iago to give his "worst of thoughts the worst of words" (III.iii.145). The power officially changes hands when Iago says, "beware my lord, of jealousy" (178), from a seated position, where Othello is standing above him with his gun leaned against Iago's chest. Othello asks why, lifting his weapon, sitting beside Iago, and touching his arm. Iago has control. When Othello says, "I am bound to thee forever" (228), he puts himself in stocks of swords, amid the swords which make crosses and prison bars all around him. Iago joins him there. The camera zooms in on a side view of Iago's mouth and a straight-on view of Othello's eyes, which look down and close. This emphasizes Iago's role as the artist and Othello's as the interpreter. Othello, whose eye contact had been one of his character's massive strengths, has given in. This leads to a skewed flashback: "For Parker, Othello's world is visual rather than verbal: Iago is word, Othello is image" (Crowl 96). When Othello speaks the word "appetites" (III.iii.286) to himself, he does Iago's job for him and sends himself into a fit, fantasizing and seeing flashbacks not as they really were. Iago is there watching.

One of the only things which surprises the watchful Iago throughout the course of the play is when Emilia acquires Desdemona's handkerchief. Burge's Emilia uses the passing of the handkerchief for the only tender moment we see between her and Iago, and he makes a face, unwilling to lower himself to human emotion and frailty. Parker's Emilia does something similar. She brings it to Iago in bed, speaking about the "thing" (III.iii.317) in sexual terms, but he is unreceptive. She uses the handkerchief itself to turn his face, and his energetic response seems to be what she wanted. He gets on top of her, kissing her, and as she asks him what he will do with it, he turns her on her stomach and pulls her skirt up in an act of vicious control, and an act that echoes of homoeroticism. He throws the handkerchief into the air, and it flies up as if it has a life of its own, which it does—in Iago's imagination.

Fishburne's Othello continues to have unreal flashbacks without Iago's prodding, and we hear a snake's hiss, hinting at Iago's serpent-like presence as Othello imagines two white hands grabbing each other. He goes outside, again wearing a white sheet and carrying his sword. He stands out in the ocean on rocks, and Iago is in a ditch watching Othello come willingly into his space. It is not ironic that Othello refers to himself as "on the rack" (III.iii.351) by the ocean. When he says, "farewell" (364), he removes his

white sheet, thus removing his white guise and the safety he finds in his marriage. Threatening Iago if he is lying, he strangles him, holding his head under the water. When Iago surfaces, his white shirt is wet and see-through; he has been made vulnerable in his own successful plot and he knows it. He huffs away, muttering about he who "loses that it works for" (398) and it is clear that he is referring to his pursuit of Othello.

Olivier's Othello says, "farewell," to his rational side, succumbing to hellish hostility. Othello threatens Iago with the dagger on his bracelet, and the scene shifts as Othello regains control. As if possessed, he throws Iago to the ground, but Othello ends up on the ground with Iago standing above him and speaking, so it is clear that Iago maintains control. "It is no longer a bullfight, but a seduction…We witness the rape of a man's mind and emotions" (Jorgens 198). This even seems like "spiritual possession" (199), as he renounces Heaven and comes alive with evil spirits, tearing off his cross and bowing down, to Iago and to the devil. "The tragedy of *Othello* is a drama of conversion, in particular a conversion to certain forms of faithlessness deeply feared by Shakespeare's audience" (Vitkus 145). Iago swears service, placing his sword down, which has been a symbol of the cross and of masculinity all along. His sarcasm is impossible to ignore as he speaks the words, "I am your own forever" (495), while knotting the handkerchief.

Olivier's Othello falls into his final fit, and Iago stands above him as conqueror. He places the hilt of a dagger in between Othello's teeth, "literally preventing him from biting off his tongue, but figuratively fitting him with the pointed tongue of a devil" (Jorgens 200). This fits with Hallstead's argument that Othello, in renouncing Christ, essentially becomes a follower of Satan (120), vacillating between extremes, just as Desdemona must be either pure or whorish in his sight.

When Branagh's Iago says, "lie," Fishburne's Othello finishes the thought for him with the words "with her," as Roderigo had done earlier. At this point, Othello imagines sexual encounters between Desdemona and Cassio which did not actually occur. He sees isolated parts of their bodies, the images of which speed up until he essentially chains himself, holding on for self-restraint during his fit. It is argued that clips like this "suggest a parallel with MTV music videos, hinting at Parker's attempt to attract a younger audience to his film" (Welsh, Vela, and Tibbetts 70), but it seems more complex than that. The speeding up of fragmented images of bodies to drive Othello into a fit reflects perfectly what Iago has

done by changing Othello's reality bit by bit until it all seems entirely out of his control.

Fishburne's Othello is placed in a prison cell to watch Iago's conversation with Cassio, whereas Olivier's Othello is watching from the shadows. This is perhaps the most brutal offense that could be done to Othello, because choosing a lieutenant is:

> choosing a second self; he is empowering someone to play him, to be him, in his absence. In *Othello* the image is most ferocious when it provides the putative cuckold with the emblem of his own cuckolding: someone unauthorized is standing in for him, holding his place, doing his office (Genster 786).

Fishburne's Othello confides in the camera as Iago had done, which Crowl suggests is a marker of the extent to which Iago has affected him (100). When he asks Iago how he should murder him, from behind bars, it is clear that he is a prisoner to Iago's will.

Another unique way in which Parker drifts from the text is that "[t]his is the only filmed *Othello* to suggest a dynamic relationship between Iago and Othello…Othello at first keeps a polite distance, then loosens up with Iago, and finally falls under his spell" (Brode 170). This final interaction between Branagh and Fishburne, again lit in blue, demonstrates that reciprocation for us. Iago gives himself to Othello, looks at him on the word "heart" (III.iv.482) and they exchange a blood vow as Fishburne, "greet[s] thy love" (485). He then asks Iago for poison, and it seems given him in another sense: Iago is literally poisoning his blood with his own as he has poisoned his spirit. Iago cries as he embraces Othello and promises himself as, "your own forever." With this "perverse marriage," it becomes clear that the "film is explicit at this point in insisting that Branagh's Iago is as intent on displacing Desdemona in Othello's affections as he is in removing Cassio from his military post" (Crowl 100). Branagh's Iago is motivated by human passions, by the desire to affect the other characters psychologically; Finlay's Iago seeks to play God, seeks to be the sole determiner of others' fates.

At this point in the film, Finlay's Iago dresses Olivier's Othello. The same may as well have happened in Parker's film, because everyone is dressed in Iago's color, blue. Iago is wearing his blue lieutenant sash, Desdemona and Emilia are in blue dresses, and Othello has a blue collar with a green top, speaking to his envy. Here the "substitution…of Iago's world for Desdemona's" (Genster 787) becomes a reality. Branagh's Iago knocks the chess

pieces into the water, claiming that very night "makes me or fordoes me quite" (V.i.132). Crowl has criticized that "Chess is too rational and pure…for the nature of Iago's mind, which is motivated (particularly in Branagh's performance), by a welter of repressed emotions that the character never fully comprehends," saying that he here has lost control of the game (94). Rather, I think he is just confirming how well his plan is going. With just a flick of his hands, he can knock these pieces in the water; we know that both are already drowning in his deeds, and both are clothed in blue. As Jacob's Desdemona sings the willow song, we see her in a bath surrounded by candles, with cuts to Othello by a willow tree and water. Equally vulnerable is Smith's Desdemona during the song, with her hair down for the first time, and her hands mimicking prayer.

In both films, Othello is connected with flame, which becomes complicated with the imagery in the final scene. Fishburne's Othello puts out the candles in the line approaching Desdemona's bed with his hand until she is in sight, then he blows them out. Removing his white cloak to reveal the black beneath, he says "put out the light" (V.ii.7) twice – once picking up the candle he will use to light his way, the second time drawing the curtain aside with his scimitar. The light, the fire, has been his all along, so it seems that what he intends to do in putting out the light is to put out his passion by killing its object. Crowl sees the candle which remains lit at the end, "where his own heat is about to destroy his 'moth of peace'" (101), to be an obstruction, but I contend that it contributes to the idea that he seeks to kill part of himself in killing her. Similarly, Olivier indicates the light above Desdemona's bed in a ball, like a planet, after saying that the "moon" (V.ii.112), when it comes too near to the earth, makes men mad. Asking if she had prayed, he strokes her neck, at once sexual and threatening, as when he pulled his dagger on Iago earlier. When he whispers "amen" (39) his hands come together near his lips. He suffocates her with the pillow and finishes by strangling her in what looks like an embrace. Hallstead remarks that in the play, if an "idolatrous relationship is also sexual, the worshipper is betrayed by his own body, by his sensuous-ness" (107). So it is logical that Othello kills her in bed, among the white sheets, covered with a blanket the color of flame. Desdemona and Emilia lay like fallen willows. When Othello realizes his wrong, he shakes Desdemona's corpse and embraces her, as if he could bring her back. He realizes that she has become the "pearl," the object whose value was overlooked. "For the idealizing temperament…it is easier to love at a distance" (Hallstead 117).

Throughout the play, it seems that Iago is the Judas to Othello's Christ, but Burge's production, more than most, paints Othello as the Judas to Desdemona's Christ. Hallstead argues for Desdemona as Christ because she has forgiven the murderer. Daniel Vitkus remarks, "Like Judas, Othello exhibits a self-destructive *remorse* (as opposed to true *repentance* and humble submission to God's will); like Judas, Othello is damned for his betrayal of innocence" (175). According to Hallstead, "the religious implications give the play a grandeur and universality which link it to Greek tragedy in terror and greatness" (107).

Fishburne's Othello gives himself a baptism, as perhaps Desdemona does with her bath. Unlike Smith, she struggles as she is also suffocated with her pillow. Her left hand, fighting back, covers Othello's mouth; we see her wedding ring resting on his head as she breathes her last breaths, reaffirming what those excerpted final lines would have about her commitment as wife. The final moments of the Parker film are criticized for diminishing Othello because Cassio has to give Othello his sword in his suicide (Crowl 102), but it seems so appropriate that Othello, the man who always has his sword, when fallen, needs it handed to him by his former lieutenant; Othello is diminished by this point in the play. Iago crawls over to rest on Othello's knee, forcing "himself into the tableau which forms the final image" (Jackson 150). Iago has always been aware of the screen, of the image one perceives, and he wants everything to be as he imagined it. Cassio opens the window to light the picture, but the film itself ends on the fiery colored water, with the burial at sea – a sea which represents Iago, but is colored as Othello's flame.

Bosley Crowther, in his review of Burge's *Othello* for *The New York Times*, remarks that the production is over the top, Olivier is essentially offensive in his overacting, and everything is too theatrical. These criticisms are shared by many others. Rather, I think the grandiose theatrical gestures appropriate to this interpretation, because it focused more on the "super-natural" plot running through the play, on the power struggle between the divine and the demonic. Janet Maslin, in her review of Parker's *Othello*, says that he "remains more notable for zest than for subtlety," citing the rose petals and chess board as cliché. Again, I find these choices appropriate for Parker's interpretation, which found its center in realism. Its primary power struggle is between men and women, between opposite ends of the military hierarchy. As Desdemona herself says, aware of the problems of seeing mortals as divinities or devils: "we must think men are not gods" (III.iv.150).

Both productions demonstrate this point—Burge shows men not to be gods, but devils; Parker shows them not to be gods, but simply, men.

Works Cited

Brode, Douglas. *Shakespeare in the Movies*. New York: Berkley Boulevard Books, 2001.

Bevington, David, ed. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*. New York: Pearson Education, 2004.

Crowl, Samuel. *Shakespeare at the Cineplex*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003.

Crowther, Bosley. "The Screen: Minstrel Show 'Othello': Radical Makeup Marks Olivier's Interpretation." *The New York Times.* 2 Feb. 1966. 13 May 2007. <http://movies2.nytimes.com/mem/movies/review.html?res=9D07 E0D6163AEF34BC4A53DFB466838D679EDE>.

Genster, Julia. "Lieutenancy, Standing in, and Othello." *ELH*. Winter 1990, 57.4.

Griffin, Alice. "Shakespeare through the Camera's Eye: IV." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. Autumn 1966: 17.4.

Hallstead, R. N. "Idolatrous Love: A New Approach to Othello." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. Spring 1968: 19.2.

Jackson, Russell, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Jorgens, Jack. *Shakespeare on Film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Maslin, Janet. "Film Review: Fishburne and Branagh Meet Their Fate in Venice." *The New York Times.* 14 December 1995. 13 May 2007. <http://movies2.nytimes.com/mem/movies/review.html?_r=1&res= 9B0DE3DE1739F937A25751C1A963958260&oref=slogin>.

Othello. Dir. Stuart Burge. Perf. Laurence Olivier, Frank Finlay, Maggie Smith. BHE Productions, 1993.

Othello. Dir. Oliver Parker. Perf. Laurence Fishburne, Kenneth Branagh, Irene Jacob. Castle Rock Entertainment, 1995.

Rothwell, Kenneth S. *A History of Shakespeare on Screen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Schwartz, Elias. "Stylistic 'Impurity' and the Meaning of Othello." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*. Spring 1970: 10.2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama.

Vitkus, Daniel J. "Turning Turk in Othello: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. Summer 1997: 48.2.

Welsh, James M. et al. *Shakespeare into Film*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2002.

"A CHRISTIAN, A POET, AND A CITIZEN": INVERTED BAPTISM AS A VOICE IN *LA DIVINA COMEDIA*

BY MICHELLE JASTERZBSKI

*"Behold," he says, "I am running toward you like a river of peace
and like a stream in flood with the glory of the nations"*
Isaiah 66: 12 qtd. in Bernard of Clairvaux's
Sermons on the Song of Songs
"If I do not wash thee, thou shalt have no part with me"
John 13:8 qtd. in Mueller 58

For the trained eye, *The Divine Comedy* is filled with both direct and indirect references to baptism, these references growing in weight in the final two books. Kevin Marti in particular points out that the topic of baptism in the poem deserves further investigation (Marti 1). The sacrament of baptism bobs to the surface throughout the *Comedy*, and each mention reveals the poet's reverence for the sacrament. Scholars have established baptism and its allegorical representation (including St. John the Baptist, the Florentine Baptistery, the baptismal font, water as its vehicle, and its connection to redemption) as a way for Dante "to spea[k] about his own identity as a Christian, a poet, and a citizen" (Hawkins 82). Therefore, the variety of baptismal images in *The Comedy*, especially those relating to the ritual of baptism and the biblical allusion to Moses and the crossing of the Red Sea, help define Dante's vision of salvation and his overall self-awareness. Because of sin, Dante partially inverts the role of baptism in his work; water and baptism as punishment are converted to a sort of *contrapasso* in the *Inferno*, ultimately contrasting with the *Purgatorio*'s and the *Paradiso*'s ceremonial and biblical images of baptism as purgation and refreshment.   The name given to the "Christian rite of initiation, a ritual washing in the name of the Trinity that unites the believer to Christ in his death and Resurrection" (Hawkins 82), derives from the Greek βάπτισμα, βάπτω, and βαπτίζω, all of which denote a "dipping" or "washing" (Mueller 56). *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* notes the literal meanings surrounding the etymology of baptism while also pointing to βαπτίζω and its connotation: a feeling of "'being overwhelmed' with sufferings and miseries" (56). Baptism also has two aspects in Dante's work; one aspect points to the grief of sin, while the other points to the hope of redemption. Such a dual sensibility frames the very first Canto of

The Divine Comedy. As Dante finds himself in the "shadowed forest," double-edged images of water are quick to follow:

> At ["the rays of that same planet which serves to lead men straight along all roads"] my fear was somewhat quieted; / for through the night of sorrow I had spent, the *lake within my heart* felt terror present. / And just as he who, with *exhausted breath*, / having *escaped from sea to shore*, turns back / to watch the *dangerous waters* he has quit, / so did my spirit, still a fugitive, / turn back to look intently on the pass / that never has let any man survive (Mandelbaum *Inf.* I. 19-27) [Emphasis mine.]

Since most people envision baptism as an uplifting entryway into the Church (what Dante calls a "portal of faith") (*Inf*. IV. 16), baptism via "dangerous waters" seems foreign to us; the phrase suggests a sacramental alter ego because it combines the word "dangerous" with waters which are usually portrayed as healing or sacred. Throughout his work, "Dante presents baptism as necessary and efficacious" (Hawkins 82) in ways both conventional (such as "the lake within [his] heart,") and unconventional (such as "dangerous waters"). Conventionally, he begins his descent into Hell on "the night of Maundy Thursday, the night before Good Friday" (Mandelbaum *Inferno* 345), his ascent of Mt. Purgatory on Holy Saturday night and at the dawn of Easter Sunday (*Purgatorio* 318), and encounters the river Lethe on the Wednesday after Easter (*Purgatorio* 386), thus setting his journey around the time that "[ancient] baptisms generally occurred," near the Easter Vigil (Stauffer 74). Likewise, he adopts images of water that induce thoughts of "the mode[s] of the sacraments," namely submersion, immersion, affusion, and aspersion (74-5). At the same time, however, the poet develops the idea of the sacrament with his layers of symbolism, starting with "dangerous waters," then bringing us back to these waters later.

In the *Inferno* particularly these unconventional symbolic moments flood us with the "motif of gradated immersion, whereby souls are immersed to varying degrees in an infernal river" or other waters reminiscent of baptism "according to the gravity of the sin they have committed" (Morgan 30). In order to show how water in the *Inferno* is punitive because of sin and therefore not redemptive, Dante illustrates this principle (as well as the aforesaid connotation carried by baptism) with various punishments. In a "stream of blood…those / who injure others violently, / boil" (Mandelbaum *Inf.* XII. 47-8) as certain sodomites "pas[s] beneath the rain of bitter punishment (*Inf.* XVI. 5-6) while diviners walking backwards "bathe

the ground" with "tears of anguished sorrow" (*Inf.* XX. 6), their tears complimenting the frozen tears befalling traitors against their guests (*Inf.* XXXIII). However sure we may be that their punishments originate in Hell, these offenders' tortures actually begin on earth. A deeper study proves that the *contrapasso* visualized in Hell is in fact an extension of the sinners' earthly existence; in other words, the act of sinning while they were living is their real, cutting, everlasting punishment. Rather than experiencing a set of newly-formulated penalties, the *Inferno*'s inmates feel an earthly "exhaust[ion]" from sin's "dangerous waters" (*Inf.* I. 22 and 4). Here the connotation of baptism (again, "'being overwhelmed' with sufferings and miseries," with sin,) is evident (Mueller 56). The reprobates' situations differ greatly from Dante's in that Dante alludes to the exhaustion of "having [finally] escaped" such waters (Mandelbaum *Inf.* I. 22-4). By what means he escapes them is left for future books to tell. Thus, Dante finds that Hell's punitive fluids are also spotlights on sin that forever find the shameful red-handed. It is because of such sin that baptism adopts an unconventional, punishing role in *The Comedy*.

At the same time that these tortures are seen as earthly extensions of sin, they also foreshadow the weight of baptismal imagery in the subsequent books. Allusions to the *Batista*, the baptismal font, and the Florentine Baptistery (or "San Giovanni") are also woven into the *Inferno*'s violence. Among the tortured includes the anonymous Florentine suicide who, in experiencing an arborescent metamorphosis, notes his home as "the city whose first patron gave way to John the Baptist"; here the suicide label, coupled with an image of Mars (the previous pagan patron of the city and the god of war) (*Inf.* XIII. 143-7), calls attention to the self-destruction of Florence during Dante's lifetime (*Inferno* 365-6). The Baptist shows up again when an insatiable thirst befalls Master Adam, a counterfeiter of coins who is ashamed that he has "counterfeited / the currency that bears the Baptist's seal" (*Inf.* XXX. 74). Such allusions serve to heighten Dante's critique of Florence and its misplaced identity. By examining these sources, it is clear that St. John is a focal point and a pillar of Florence, one which many of its inhabitants associate with their familial roots, religious reverence, and their political and economic identity. Indeed, the saint's direct contrast with Mars illustrates a Florentine switch of alliance, one in which Dante saw the potential to lead the violent city closer to Love. The poet knows that God witnesses the corruption polluting Florence; thus, in continuing with his concept of inverted baptism, Dante knows too that, until the corrupt change their image, they will be washing in their own waste.

The structures of the Florentine Baptistery and baptismal fonts are also referenced, both explicitly and implicitly, again leading to inverted views of baptism. For instance, the pilgrim notes the simonists in the Eighth Circle who are placed, upside-down, into holes in rocks, holes that "did not seem to [him] less broad or more / than those in [his] handsome San Giovanni / [that] were made to serve as basins for baptizing" (*Inf*. XIX. 16-8). Though less direct, a reference to the Baptistery emerges. "Flames [that] were scattered through the tombs" (*Inf*. IX. 118) of arch-heretics in Dis are perhaps reminiscent of the tombs surrounding the Florentine Baptistery before its remodeling in the early 1300s. In her essay *The Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence,* Michelle M. Fontaine speaks of a time when "urban planners expanded [certain Florentine] squares despite very difficult sociopolitical obstacles: *the enlarged Piazza del Duomo necessitated moving magnate grave sites originally placed close to the Baptistery*" [emphasis mine] (Par. 3), thus associating the Baptistery with a necropolis. Given that the Baptistery was being refurbished in Dante's own lifetime (Brucker 157), it well may be that some of Dante's arch-heretics were magnates. Here again, instead of a conventional baptism, we witness perverse images of baptism, those that suggest a baptism into violence by Mars.

Not only are the waters of Hell punitive, but they are also, for Dante, waters to be passed through; in this way, as we move into the *Purgatorio*, they are comparable to the waters of the Exodus. Reconsidering Canto I of the *Inferno* where Dante describes himself "watch[ing] the *dangerous waters* he has quit" (Mandelbaum *Inf*. I. 24), we are reminded of Moses and the crossing of the Red Sea. Knowing full well the end to his own poem, the poet echoes the Israelites' bondage in Egypt when alluding to the "slavery to sin" ("In Exitu" 49) that "he [will] quit" by the end of his journey. As we have seen, many hints like this are dropped in the *Inferno* about the ultimate baptism to come; one such hint can be found in the Eighth Circle when Dante speaks of barratry, "the charge brought against him by the Black Guelfs" (Mandelbaum *Inferno* 375). In this Circle where "a stew of sticky pitch / boils up to patch [barrators'] sick and tattered ships / that cannot sail" (*Inf*. XXI. 8-10), the immobilized ship has multiple meanings. First, the ship signifies the unremorseful souls trapped in sin. Clearly these souls cannot pass by these waters as Dante can. Second, their situation mimics the inescapable nature of the Divine order. The barrators are forever bound and punished by their own sinfulness. Third, the impassable waters point to an exclusion from redemption, therefore presenting another example

of inverted baptism. It is evident through such scenes that Dante derives a large portion of his self-awareness from the event of his baptism, the place he was baptized in, and the overarching figure of St. John the Baptist. These seafaring and sacramental images ultimately lead to the River Lethe in the *Purgatorio*, the place which Virgil hints at in the *Inferno*: "You shall see Lethe but past this abyss, / there where the spirits go to cleanse themselves / when their repented guilt is set aside" (*Inf.* XIV. 138).

In the *Purgatorio*, references to the baptismal ceremony and the biblical allusion to the Exodus become more specific. Dante's "transitions from *Inferno* to *Purgatorio*, from burial to resurrection," then from the *Purgatorio* to the *Paradiso*, from resurrection to ascension, "coincide with conversion and baptism" (Marti 188) in two main ways: one, elements of the baptismal ceremony lend structure to the poem's overall journey; and two, like baptism in the *Old Testament,* baptism in *The Comedy* appears to be "typified by the crossing of the Red Sea" (Mueller 56). In Cantos I and II of *Purgatorio,* several well-known baptismal and purgational steps are taken while at the base of the mountain:

> …my master gently placed both of his hands— / outspread—upon the grass; therefore, aware / of what his gesture and intention were, / I reached and offered him my *tear-stained cheeks*; / and *on my cheeks, he totally revealed / the color that Inferno had concealed*. / Then we arrived at the deserted shore, / which never yet had seen its waters coursed / by any man who journeyed back again. / There, just as pleased another, *he girt me*. / O wonder! Where *he plucked the humble plant* / that he had chosen, there *that plant sprang up / again*, identical, immediately. (Mandelbaum *Purg*. I. 124-136) [Emphasis mine.]

The lines just before this passage indicate that Virgil and Dante have come to a place where "dew…wins out [against the sun] because it won't evaporate" (*Purg*. I. 121-3) Here, images such as dew, plants, anointing, and clothing or 'girding' are reminiscent of resurrection symbolism (Marti 172-3). Through Virgil's actions, each image is employed to suggest a revivification of Dante's body (172-3). The dew invokes thoughts of "the quickening of the dew of grace at Resurrection" while also performing "a vivifying anointing…on the elect" (172-3). Similarly, the removal of the hellish dirt from Dante's face, which "precedes the girding of the rush, parallels the removal of clothing, which…normally precedes baptismal investiture with a new garment" (170). The removal of "the *nebbia* and *sucidume*," as well as the girding of the rush, is

then indicative of the passage that reads, "As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ" (Gal 3.27; see also Col 3.9-11) (Jungmann and Stasiak 66). Clearly Dante's "*stripping off* [of] the old (man) and *putting on* the new man who is Christ" (66) is central to the baptismal ceremony since multiple images are used to describe the action.

Though somewhat neglected by scholars, other ritual components in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* introduce this welcoming sacrament. Saint John the Baptist, for instance, is mentioned "as an example of temperance" (Mandelbaum *Purg.* XXII. Pg. 201) in the terrace of the gluttonous:

> When he was in the wilderness, the Baptist / had fed on nothing more than honey, locusts: / for this he was made great, as glorious / as, in the Gospel, is made plain to you. (*Purg*. XXII. 151-4)

In ancient times, a short-term ritual was established to present the baptized with a drink of milk and honey before receiving the Eucharist (Jungmann and Stasiak 63). Ironically, this ritual "harkened back to the promise made to the [Israelites] in the desert that they would inherit a land flowing with milk and honey" (63).

The poet's take on the Lord's Prayer (the "Our Father") in Canto XI of the *Purgatorio* is an item that also stands out as a part of the baptismal ceremony; the Prayer's "concentration on humility" and its "addition of 'longed for peace' (7) from a proud, and very restless, man (Dante)" (Mandelbaum *Purgatorio* 341) makes it unique right from the start. In the sphere whose occupants employ the direct opposite of Dante's "humble" deliberations, we find the Prideful forced to paraphrase the "Our Father," a common baptismal prayer that "was taught [as an] essential part of the rites for the *competentes*" (Jungmann and Stasiak 63). With the Prideful having to humble their own words, this too becomes an example of an inverted baptism, a sort of baptism by the Word of God. One is not used to seeing the Word function as purgative. For those who were proud enough to hold themselves above the Lord, yet are in Purgatory because they were somewhat meritorious on earth, the Word as a required prayer serves as a reminder of sin, a constant punishment that is somewhat softer than those punishments seen in Hell.

The last element relating to the baptismal ceremony involves Beatrice and Matilda and their roles as catechists. Given that "through Baptism we are adopted as God's own children" (Jungmann and Stasiak 66), Beatrice and Matilda could be viewed

as maternal, even catechetical guides to Dante. Beatrice repeats the idea that Dante is somewhat juvenile, that he "reasons like a child; / [because his] steps do not yet rest upon the truth" (Mandelbaum *Par*. III. 26-7). This thought is voiced after "Dante's first vision of the blessed" (*Par*. III), indicating Dante's childlike awe to which Beatrice alludes; it is possible, then, that when Beatrice tells Dante that his "mind misguides [him] into emptiness," her words refer both to his sight of the souls "whose vows were not fulfilled" (*Par*. III. 30) and his need to ascend to reach mature contemplation. At the same time that Beatrice alludes to the mystery of God's plan throughout *Paradiso* and thus becomes disheartened by Dante's continuous questions, she resolves that "these are the questions that, within [Dante's] will / press equally for answers; therefore [she] / shall treat the most insidious question first" (*Par*. IV. 25-7). She is, in a way, similar to a mother giving in to her child's wondering mind. While Dante does have multiple guides, the catechistical clearly welcome questions:

> (Matilda) – And you, who have stepped forward, who beseeched me, / tell me if you'd hear more; I have come ready / for all your questions till you're satisfied. (*Purg*. XXVII. 82-4)

> (Dante while being examined by St. Peter on Faith) – On hearing that light breath, "Good Christian, speak, / show yourself clearly: what is faith?" I raised /my brow, then turned to Beatrice, whose glance / immediately signaled me to let / the waters of my inner soul pour forth (*Par*. 215 and XXIV. 52-6).

Beatrice and Matilda fulfill "the essential role of these 'first teachers of their children in the ways of faith'" (Stasiak 70). They work together, "participat[ing] in the baptismal liturgy" (70). They also lead Dante to his next catechist, St. Bernard, and then on to Love, his ultimate Guide.

In discussing the Exodus and its role as an analogue to Dante's liberation from sin, we first look at the setting of Canto I: "*Daybreak was vanquishing the dark's last hour*, / which fled before it; in the distance, I / could recognize the trembling of the sea" (Mandelbaum *Purg*. I. 115-7) [emphasis mine.] So begins the opening of the *Purgatorio* at the dawn of Easter Sunday after "Dante ha[s] been in hell…contemplating sin in all its horror" (Baptism in Dante's *Purgatorio* 114). Dunstan Tucker, in noting that the Easter liturgy molds the setting of both the Exodus and Dante's

journey, poses the question of whether or not a study of the Exodus would enhance our insight into *The Divine Comedy* ("In Exitu" 1). Examples from both the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* repeatedly affirm Tucker's supposition. Right away we can parallel Dante's anticipatory phrase from the *Purgatorio*, "the trembling of the sea," to Psalm 114, the Psalm that sums up the story of the crossing: "Tremble, earth, at the Lord's coming…" (Ps. 114 qtd. *Good News Bible*). Readers then link Psalm 114 to the hymn *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* which is sung by souls in Purgatory:

> The helmsman sent from Heaven, at the stern, / seemed to have *blessedness* inscribed upon him; / more than a hundred spirits sat within. / "*In exitu Israel de Aegypto,*"/ *with what is written after of that psalm*, / all of those spirits sang as with one voice. / Then over them he made the holy cross / as sign; they flung themselves down on the shore, / and he moved off as he had come – swiftly. / The crowd that he had left along the beach / seemed not to know the place; they looked about / like those whose eyes try out things new to them. (Mandelbaum *Purg.* II.43-54) [Emphasis mine.]

Tucker expounds on the meaning behind the hymn, saying that these souls being brought to Purgatory are like descendants of the Israelites as they recite a hymn of thanksgiving for being freed from slavery ("In Exitu" 55). Both Psalm and hymn refer to the threefold story of the Israelites that is parallel to the three parts of *The Divine Comedy*. As readers move along with Dante, they gradually relate the two stories, ascribing the poet's seaward, baptismal language to them. We already know that Dante has just been washed by the dew of Purgatory, ridding him of the sight of Hell. The movement from Hell to Purgatory symbolizes baptism, as does the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea "[in] regards [to] the liberation from slavery to sin" ("In Exitu" 45 and 50). Before seeing the Heavenly helmsman and the souls, Dante states that:

> We still were by the sea, like those who think / about the journey they will undertake, / who go in heart but in the body stay. (Mandelbaum *Purg.* II. 10-12)

As discussed in the endnotes, J.A. Jungmann and K. Stasiak state that "the *competentes*, those "seeking" Baptism…would fast on Good Friday and Holy Saturday," then "spend the entire night watching, listening to readings, and hearing further instruction" (63). As a *competens*, Dante here appears to be mentally and spiritually preparing himself for the zenith to come, another indication of baptismal imagery.

The next phases of each story equate the wanderings and the hardships in the desert to the "steep slope[s]" (Mandelbaum *Purg.* X. 23.) of the *Purgatorio* ("In Exitu" 55 and 45). Dunstan Tucker emphasizes Dante's connection to this phase of the story:

> So far as Dante is concerned, this is the heart of the Exodus story, namely that these hardships were necessary. For in no other way could a race of slaves be brought to an understanding and appreciation of the responsibilities of a free people. ("In Exitu" 46)

Dante knows that he has already experienced hardship by venturing through Hell: "…my talent's little vessel lifts her sails / leaving behind herself a sea so cruel" (Mandelbaum *Purg.* I. 2-3). However, this does not mean the hardship has ended when he arrives in Purgatory: "The period of purgation which Dante must go through is symbolized by the lenten penance, for instead of ashes, Dante receives the seven P's [which are removed at each of the seven purgatorial terraces], symbols of the seven capital sins— *peccata*" (Baptism in Dante's *Purgatorio* 116). Indeed, Dante is told to "take care to wash away these wounds" (Mandelbaum *Purg.* IX. 112-4), 'care' implying the careful, methodical manner with which he must approach an enlightening journey.

Finally, Dante reaches Lethe where his memory of virtue will be restored by baptismal waters. At first, like the Israelites at the River Jordan, is Lethe which "blocked / the path of [Dante's] advance" (*Purg.* XXVIII. 25-6). It is possible that this blockage allows God to illustrate his power in choosing His elect, or it may be that the block is just one more hardship to learn from. What *is* definite among scholarly interpretations is that the final "crossing…opens the door to the heavenly kingdom" ("In Exitu" 50). The crossing comes after Dante makes a public confession of his sins to Beatrice, a confession that leads him to faint (Tucker 118). When Dante awakes, he is submerged in the River Lethe while being drawn by Matilda to a promising shore: "The fair lady opened her arms, clasped my head, and dipped me where I must needs swallow of the water; then she drew me forth, and led me *bathed* within the dance of the fair ones'— i.e., the cardinal virtues" (Tucker 118). For Dante to be bathed in the river Lethe, the "side [which] descends with power to end / one's memory of sin," (Mandelbaum *Purg*. XXVIII. 127-8) was to also take part in the river Eunoe, "that water which can restore recall of each good deed," (*Purg*. XXVIII. 129) for Matilda says that "neither stream is efficacious / unless the other's waters have been tasted" (*Purg*. XXVIII. 131-2). Her thought corresponds to Dante's adamancy

regarding the wanderings in the desert: in order for the Israelites to appreciate their freedom, in order for Dante to ascend his last step and be washed into the "drowning flood" of the baptismal font (Stauffer 74-5), in order for either of them to dive into the "amazing flood" of the Empyrean, all had to have been acquainted at some point with sin, with hardship, with temptation. The very idea of baptism suggests that it "does not magically effect sanctification, but requires conscious struggle against unruly passions" (Rom 6.12-14, 19; Gal 5.24 qtd. in Mueller 60). It is only at the end of his journey that Dante realizes this idea to the best of his ability. Even then he cannot fully grasp it because of his physicality; yet, looking back at his poem, his "exhausted breath" (Mandelbaum *Inf.* I. 22), we know he surely tries to.

The ultimate question might arise: why is Dante acquainted with so many moments of cleansing within the course of *The Divine Comedy*? Surely such a journey would prepare one for the weather in Paradise ("eternal showers that bring refreshment there") (Par. XIV. 27), but it is more than that. "The Christian life is *continually* purgational, for baptism does not take away the inclination to sin. Dante himself had sinned in life, and like the rest of mankind, was obliged to practice penance in order to obtain mastery over his innate evil tendencies" ("Baptism in Dante's *Purgatorio*" 116). Rachel Jacoff, in her article "*Shadowy prefaces":* an introduction to Paradiso," seems to sum up Dante's relationship to baptism and sin in discussing the role of the saints in *Paradiso*:

> Saintly lives…are invoked as emblems of reformative energies, only to give way to stories of their ultimate inability to transform permanently the structures by which the world might be set straight (222-3).

Ceremonial aspects of baptism contrasting with *Inferno*'s sufferings, along with a biblical allusion to this sacrament, lead us to conclude that Dante's references to baptism also promote "reformative energies" into saintliness; yet, in the case of the unrepentant, baptism inverts itself in punishment and "provid[es] a negative counter thrust to the pilgrim's increasingly elating ascent" (223).

Works Cited

Ahern, John. "St. John the Baptist." *The Dante Encyclopedia* (2000)
Alighieri, Dante. *Inferno.* Trans. Allen Mandelbaum. New York: Bantam Dell, 2004.

Alighieri, Dante. *Paradiso.* Trans. Allen Mandelbaum. New York: Bantam Dell, 2004.

Alighieri, Dante. *Purgatorio.* Trans. Allen Mandelbaum. New York : Bantam Dell, 2004.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. "Chapter 2: Dante's Birth and Education." *Life of Dante.* London: Hesperus Press Limited, 2002.

Brucker, Gene. "Florence: The Golden Age, 1138-1737." Brucker, Gene. *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138-1737.* Berkley: University of California Press, 1998.

Clairvaux, Bernard of. "Sermons on the Song of Songs." *Sermons.* n.d. 219.

Compagni, Dino. "Book I: Chronicle of Florence." Compagni, Dino. *Chronicle of Florence.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Fontaine, Review author[s]: Michelle M. "The Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence by Marvin Trachtenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) ." *Sixteenth Century Journal* (1998): 1116-1118.

Hawkins, Peter S. "Baptism." *The Dante Encyclopedia* (2000): 82-3.

Jacoff, Rachel. ""Shadowy prefaces": an introduction to Paradiso." *Cambridge Companion to Dante.* Ed. Rachel Jacoff. Cambridge, 2003. 222-3.

Jungmann, J.A. and K. Stasiak. "Sacrament of Baptism." *The New Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1967-1969. 60-7.

Marti, Kevin. "Dante's *Baptism* and the Theology of the Body in *Purgatorio* 1-2." *Traditio 45* 1989-1990. 167-90.

Morgan, Allison. "Topographical motifs of other worlds." Morgan, Allison. *Dante and the Medieval Other World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Mueller, H. "Baptism (In the Bible)." *The New Catholic Encyclopedia.* n.d. 56-60."Psalm 114." Keeler, Rev. William H. *Good News Bible.* Nashville: Catholic Bible Press, 1992.

Stasiak, K. "Baptism of Infants." *New Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1967-1969.

Stauffer, S.A. "Baptisteries and Baptismal Fonts." *The New Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1967-1969. 74-77.

Tucker, D.J., O.S.B. "Baptism in Dante's Purgatorio ." *Orate Fratres* (1941): 112-122.

Tucker, D.J., "In Exitu Israel de Aegypto: The Divine Comedy in the Light of the Easter Liturgy." *American Benedictine Review 11* (1960): 43-61.

FORENSIC SCIENCE AND DETECTIVE FICTION

IN THE 19TH CENTURY

BY MADELEINE LAPENTA

When Thomas Huxley advocated the adoption of science as the dominant paradigm through which to view society, he was primarily thinking of his colleague and friend Charles Darwin, whose theory of evolution via natural selection was set to revolutionize Victorian society. Huxley's influence is seen today throughout society, as all aspects of modern Western culture have adopted a rational, scientific approach. In fact, this paradigm shift has manifested itself as a fascination with science, especially in the beginning of the 21st century. One example is the preponderance of crime and forensic science in literature and media. Authors such as Patricia Cornwell and television shows such as "CSI" cater specifically to this interest and thus have proven wildly popular. It is important to note, however, that as much as forensic science has been transformed in the last few decades by new technological advancements, it has existed as a discipline since the 19th century. Even at this time, there was an interesting relationship between science and culture, as detective fiction was being created as a viable genre in literature. The development of forensic science in the 19th century both influenced and was influenced by the concurrent rise of this genre, most notably the Sherlock Holmes stories written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. This paper, limited in scope, will address certain advancements in technology and works in literature, but will not give an exhaustive account of the history of forensic science in the 19th century, choosing instead to focus on the advent of the polygraph, photography, and fingerprint identification.

In order to examine the relationship between science and literature, it is necessary to understand what the term "forensic science" entails and how it developed prior to the 19th century. Forensic science, sometimes called forensic medicine, medical jurisprudence, or criminalistics, is difficult to define because it is an interdisciplinary science, incorporating a variety of different techniques and methods. In *Forensic Science: An Encyclopedia of History, Methods, and Techniques*, it is broadly defined as the "application of scientific techniques and principles to provide evidence to legal or related investigations and determinations" (Tilstone, 1). The link between medicine and the law has existed as long as either of the disciplines. One of the first recognized

codes of law, Hammurabi's code, written in Babylon circa 2200 B.C., had laws concerning the practice of medicine. In the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, Hippocrates discussed the legality of wounds, Julius Caesar's body was examined post-mortem, and emperor Justinian recognized the special position of the expert witness by identifying doctors as giving judgment, not merely testimony (Tilstone, 3). The first autopsies probably took place in Alexandria, Egypt, around the third century B.C (Forbes, 33).

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, many texts addressed to doctors and scientists concerning forensic practices were produced, including *How to Make Reports, and to Embalme the Dead*, written in 1575 by Ambroise Paré, which included information on how to determine cause of violent death, as well as tests for virginity and pregnancy (Forbes, 37). In 1642, the first course of lectures took place at the University of Leipzig, and a medico-legal journal was established in Berlin in 1782 (Tilstone, 3). Until the 19th century, the development of forensic science as a discipline in Great Britain lagged behind that of continental Europe (Forbes, 40). Forensic science, while most well-known for its applications in cases of criminal investigation, was commonly used for evaluating insurance policy claims and the validity of wills by determining cause of death and identification of the last survivor (Crowther 1988).

The arrival of the Industrial Revolution in the late 19th century provided the impetus for an enormous amount of scientific advancement. According to William Tilstone, author of *Forensic Science: An Encyclopedia of History, Methods, and Techniques*, "the birth of applied science to service the needs of the Industrial Revolution also provided the base from which forensic science grew" (Tilstone, 3). In addition to the material growth of the 19th century, the development of forensic science in Britain was influenced by the Victorian fascination with identity, both personal and national, and much disciplinary progress involved the use of evidence such as handprints and tufts of hair for the purpose of identification (Thomas 1999, 11-12). Also popular in the Victorian mindset was the idea of a rational, quantitative truth, and forensic technologies were considered "devices of truth." These devices rendered people "legible" for the modern technological culture (Thomas, 10, 17), the particulars of which are discussed later.

In his article "Margins and Centres," Alex Warwick examines the influence of 19th century science on culture and that culture's influence on science, specifically in relation to the "various

fluctuations of the axes of orthodoxy and heterodoxy" (Warwick 2006, 5). Certain disciplines oscillated over time between the spheres of legitimacy and "pseudo-science." One such discipline, criminology, (now often referred to as criminal anthropology, the 19th century belief that criminality was a scientific trait that manifested itself in physiological differences) is today considered largely untrue. At the time, however, a number of well-known scientists wrote on the subject, and tried to provide a scientific explanation for criminality. In 1876, Cesare Lombroso, a well-known Italian criminal anthropologist, wrote *L'Uomo Delinquente* (*The Delinquent Man*), which posited that the human body displayed signs of criminal character (Thomas, 23). In France in the latter half of the 19th century, Alphonse Berthillon created a popular system, known as anthropometry, that attempted to establish "proof of identity" of a criminal by recording a multitude of physical measurements. In 1881, he instituted the Bureau of Juridical Identification in Paris (Thomas, 121). In Britain, Havelock Ellis published *The Criminal* (1890), which introduced the idea of the "other" as unlawful or immoral, comparing certain body parts with foreign examples. Specifically addressed to an English audience (Thomas 1994), Ellis's work attempted to paint a picture of "criminal characteristics" in a scientific, not political, manner (Thomas, 208-9).

Like all other aspects of science in the 19th century, forensic science was becoming more specialized and professionalized. The practices of pathology, elementary ballistics, biological observations, serology, psychiatric testing, and clinical examination, which are fundamental to forensics today, were first being established during this time (Crowther).

Also being established and refined during the period was the genre of detective fiction. In *Detective Fiction and the Rise of Forensic Science*, Ronald R. Thomas identifies three phases in the development of the genre: invention, refinement, and the "Golden Age" (Thomas, 5). The birth of detective fiction in the 19th century corresponded to the development of the modern police force and bureaucratic state in Europe (Thomas, 4). The nascent phase took place in the 1840s and 1850s; the American author Edgar Allen Poe is recognized as the creator of the genre with his story, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841), and Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* (1852) is the corresponding work in Britain (Thomas, 12). By the 1890s, detective fiction was refined into a genre, most famously by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1892). In the United States, Mark Twain parodied the

genre with *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). The "Golden Age" of the genre in the 1920s and 30s, typified by authors such as Agatha Christie, Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler, represented both the pinnacle and eventual rejection of detective fiction as it existed in the 19th century (Thomas, 5).

Much of the appeal of this genre was due to its function as "escapist" literature. Referring to the famous detective's habit of drug use to escape the ennui of daily life when not solving a crime, Thomas writes that "the Sherlock Holmes stories, like any detective narrative, function as our cocaine, our diversion from some historical reality" (Thomas, 2). While other types of escapist literature existed during the 19th century, detective fiction used a specified body of scientific knowledge, forensic science, to "convert disturbing historical facts into a new kind of narrative" (Thomas, 2). The major authors of detective fiction (Poe, Dickens, and Doyle being the most well-known) contributed a great deal to the function of their genre as an important movement in literature by portraying in their work a new, secular worldview that opposed the scriptural literalism and natural theology of earlier in the century. Their use of scientific terms, figures of speech, and methods from the fields of philology, geology, paleontology, archaeology, and biology, created a body of literature that was extremely rational, quantitative, and in a word, *scientific* (Frank, 3, 4).

The influence of science on the writings of the time (and vice versa) was pervasive, affecting a variety of aspects in both fields. The literary-scientific relationship was a reciprocal one, both reflecting and popularizing contemporary scientific theories of law enforcement and sometimes anticipating procedures by "offering fantasies of social control and knowledge" before they were possible in reality (Thomas, 5). In the Sherlock Holmes stories, for example, Lawrence Frank identifies the geological work of Charles Lyell, as well as Darwin's theory of evolution, as influential in shaping Holmes's methodology (Frank, 6). Numerous references to leading scientists of the time period appear in Doyle's *Adventures*, illustrating the reciprocity. Holmes speaks admiringly of Berthillon in "The Adventure of the Naval Treaty" (Thomas, 178). In *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), one of the characters, Dr. Mortimer, expresses his desire to obtain a cast of Holmes's skull for an anthropological museum (Frank, 177), reflecting the belief that skull size and shape were indicative of mental prowess. Also, Dr. Watson's negative attitude towards the unknown perpetrator of the crime reflects Cesare Lombroso's ideas in his work *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, which identify the origins of crime in man's

animalistic instincts (Frank, 179). On the other side of the literary-scientific relationship, Edmond Locard, a pioneering French forensic scientist, recognized the positive effect of detective fiction on the practice of forensic science. He recommended that his students read two of Doyle's best-known stories, *A Study in Scarlet* and "The Sign of Four", to aid in their understanding of basic forensic principles (Thomas, 5).

Despite the somewhat omnipresent influence of science on literature and literature on science, Thomas identifies in his book three aspects of forensic technology in the 19th century that are concrete examples of the correspondence between forensic science and literature: the polygraph, photography, and fingerprint identification. The polygraph, commonly known as a lie-detector, was developed by Lombroso in 1895 by adapting a medical device to measure changes in blood pressure and pulse and to record them on a revolving drum (Wilson 2003, 611) as a way of determining a suspect's credibility (Thomas, 21). At the time, he called his machine the hydrosphygmograph (Wilson, 610). The notion of assessing verity was as important in literature as it was in the police station or courtroom. According to Thomas, detectives such as Holmes represent "virtual lie-detecting machines" whose uncanny ability to "read" criminals corresponds to science's attempts to do just that. In the first of the *Adventures*, Watson calls Holmes a "perfect reasoning and observing machine" (Thomas, 32), which in essence is what Lombroso had created with his hydrosphygmograph. Polygraphs are one example of how forensic science tried to establish a tangible method of identifying criminals.

When, in 1839, Louis Daguerre and Henry Fox independently invented the process that came to be known as "daguerreotyping" (a pre-cursor to the modern process of photography), they succeeded in establishing another such method. Daguerreotypes were quickly used for the purpose of personal documentation and identification, and their inclusion in Berthillon's system of anthropometry was the birth of the "mug shot." Photography also became extremely useful for documenting the scene of a crime, as well as being utilized as courtroom evidence (Thomas 111, 113, 114).

Conan Doyle, who had been a medical eye specialist before turning to a literary career, was fascinated with this new technology and published twelve articles in the *British Journal of Photography* between the years of 1881 and 1885 (Thomas, 167). The idea of perspective, brought into discussion by the so-called "objectivity" of photography, influenced the way in which Doyle created Holmes,

who was depicted as a "virtual camera-like instrument of supervision and inspection" (Thomas, 119). The latter's keen sense of observation, much like that of a camera, noticed and interpreted the slightest of details, rendering him capable of identifying the most obscure of personages.

The final aspect of forensic technology in the 19th century chosen by Thomas to illustrate the reciprocal relationship between science and the detective fiction genre is also that which has been the most developed and often utilized. Officially known as dactyloscopy (Bell 2004, 130), the study of fingerprint identification was not instituted until the middle of the 19th century, though many earlier civilizations recognized the individuality of fingerprints and used them for signatory purposes (Thomas, 217). The first recorded instance of widespread fingerprinting (to form an early database) is by Sir William Herschel, who in 1858 used the practice to register Indian natives under British colonial rule after the eruption of a mutiny (Thomas 1994). Thomas compares the colonies of the British Empire to "laboratories" for the practice of forensic theories and techniques (Thomas, 217).

In 1880, Dr. Henry Faulds, a Scottish scientist, published the first article on the application of fingerprints for identification purposes in *Nature* (Tilstone, 147), which as a premier popular scientific publication in Britain, bestowed a greater level of legitimacy upon dactyloscopy. Twelve years later, Sir Francis Galton released his seminal work, *Finger-Prints*, proposing a novel system in which professional printers would collect the fingerprints of all citizens and compile a universal "sign-manual" (Thomas, 204). While this specific idea never came to fruition, it was the forebear of modern national fingerprint databases (though even these are limited in scope, including mostly criminals and employees of the state). Unlike the work of criminologists such as Lombroso and Berthillon, which tried to discover and define common criminal characteristics, Galton's book attempted to establish a *unique* criminal identity through fingerprinting (Thomas, 211). The usefulness of fingerprints in crime-solving was confirmed in 1892 by the Argentinean Juan Vucetich, who recorded the first case in which fingerprints were used to solve a crime. Vucetich went on to develop a large fingerprint catalog and classification system, which is still used in much of South America (Bell, 144).

The institution of systematic fingerprinting reached Great Britain in 1894, when London police started to take suspects' fingerprints. This measure was taken as just one aspect of

Berthillon's system of anthropometry, however, and it was not until 1901 that Scotland Yard established the first official fingerprint file in Europe (Thomas, 201). Using characteristics such as the shape and contour of ridges, the finger positions of pattern types, and relative size (determined by number of ridges) (Tilstone, 148), fingerprint comparison proved to be a much more useful source of identification; the uniqueness of fingerprints rendered the previous "secondary" system of witness identification obsolete. Because it was much simpler than Berthillon's multi-faceted and complex system, fingerprinting became extremely popular in Britain particularly, and Thomas calls it "nineteenth century criminology's ultimate achievement in transforming the body into a text" (Thomas, 203).

Fingerprints were also used in the actual texts of 19th century detective fiction. Holmes often made astute observations concerning fingerprint evidence found at the scene of a crime, and his investigations are an example of how literature could affect science. Doyle gave Holmes a number of cases using fingerprints before any European police force had adopted it as a method of investigation (Thomas, 217-18). Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* also depicts the use of fingerprint evidence. In the literary usage of fingerprint identification, it was not always through the process of comparison that detectives were able to identify and apprehend the criminal. In his article "The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonizing the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology", Thomas explores many examples in which detectives (mainly Sherlock Holmes) are able to determine the foreign and/or criminal identity of a person based solely on their fingerprints. Though this approach has waned along with other aspects of criminal anthropology, it is an important example of how the Victorian fascination with identity, particularly the question of national identity versus foreign identity, influenced science and literature.

The reciprocal influence of these two disciplines – science and literature – is enormous and perhaps inextricable. This paper, however, attempts only to examine a small part of this relationship, that between forensic science and detective fiction in the 19th century. Forensic science, while not a new discipline during this time period, was undergoing a period of major growth and definition that paralleled the conception and rise of detective fiction as a genre. Pioneered by authors such as Edgar Allen Poe and Charles Dickens, the movement was a significant one in literature. The works of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, perhaps some of the best

known in all of British literature, arose during the heart of the development of the genre, speak greatly to its renown. Holmes' incredible abilities of detection, while fictional, reflect the theories and methodologies of Doyle's contemporaries. This paper has explored the reciprocity of 19th century forensic science and detective literature, using the specific examples of the polygraph, photography, and fingerprint identification. At a time when society was focused on the idea of personal identity and autobiography, these three methods allowed scientists to define that identity, specifically that of criminals and their behavior. Though some of the particular ideologies have proven outdated, especially those concerning criminal *types*, the use of forensic science to identify crimes and their perpetrators is still (and perhaps even more) prevalent today. After all this time, the game is still afoot.

Works Cited

Bell, Suzanne. *Encyclopedia of Forensic Science*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2004.

Crowther, M.A. and Brenda M. White. "Medicine, Property, and Law in Britain 1800-1914". *The Historical Journal* Vol. 31, No. 4 (Dec. 1988): 853-870. JSTOR. Drew University Lib. 31 Oct. 2007 <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-246X%28198812%2931%3A4%3C853%3AMPATLI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-B>.

Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan. *The Annotated Sherlock Holmes*. Ed. William S. Baring-Gould. New York: Clarkston N. Potter, Inc., 1967.

Forbes, Thomas Rogers. *Surgeons at the Bailey: English Forensic Medicine to 1878*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Frank, Lawrence. *Victorian Detective Fiction and the Nature of Evidence: The Scientific Investigations of Poe, Dickens, and Doyle.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Thomas, Ronald R. *Detective Fiction and the Rise of Forensic Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Thomas, Ronald R. "The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonizing the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology". *ELH* Vol. 61, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994): 655-683. JSTOR. Drew University Lib. 31 Oct 2007 <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0013-8304%28199423%2961%3A3%3C655%3ATFOTFC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-E>.

Tilstone, William J., Kathleen A. Savage, and Leigh A. Clark, eds. *Forensic Science: An Encyclopedia of History, Methods, and Techniques*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.

Warwick, Alex. "Margins and Centres". *Repositioning Victorian Sciences*, ed. David Clifford, Elisabeth Wadge, Alex Warwick, and Martin Willis. London: Anthem Press, 2006.

Wilson, Colin and Damon Wilson. *Written in Blood: A History of Forensic Detection*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003.
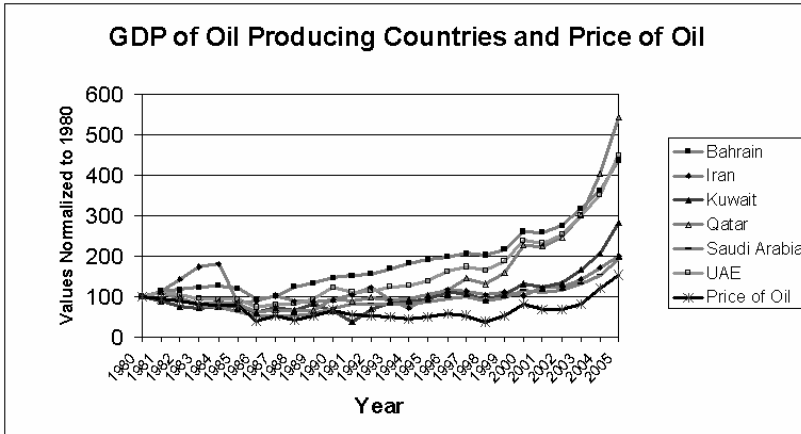
THE ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION EFFORTS
OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
BY ANDREW LEISTENSNIDER

From a microeconomic perspective, firms diversify their products, investments, and ventures into different sectors in order to preserve stability. Each sector is a gamble, but the others serve as a type of insurance policy that guarantees an avoidance of a complete calamity. For the Middle East, this can be equated to not basing an entire economy off of oil revenues, but instead diversifying into different non-oil-related economic sectors. Possession of the much sought after natural commodity oil may lead to periodic ephemeral surges in revenues, but the inherent instability of an ever changing global market makes a dependency on it not pragmatic. Thus follows the logical conclusion that economic diversification away from a single commodity dependency will lead to long-term economic growth and stability. This report will cover three main topics about economic diversification: a discussion of the statistical correlation between the GDPs of oil producing countries and the world market price of oil, an explanation of the Dubai International Financial Center including the interpretation/application of Sharia principles in the DIFC and the prospects of the DIFC's success in the world market, and the problems and challenges of indigenization.

The Middle East is known for possessing a majority of the world's supply of oil. The precious commodity, considered by some to be a curse and by others a blessing, has been highly influential to the Middle East throughout recent history; in particular, to the oil rich countries of the Persian Gulf. In today's global economy, the Gulf countries account for about 45% of the world's proven oil reserves and they provide 25% of the world's crude oil exports. For these Gulf countries, oil constitutes about one-third of the GDP and provides three-quarters of the annual government revenues and exports (Fasano 2003).

Such a strong dependency on a single commodity in the world market comes with both beneficial and deleterious effects. Throughout the history of the post second-world-war era, increases in the price of oil have been directly responsible for recessions, stagflation, lower productivity and thus lower economic growth in the countries of the developed world (Barsky 2004). The time of the 1970s oil crisis for the Western countries of Europe and the United States was the golden age for the oil rich Gulf countries of the

Middle East. The 1970s was a time of exceptional economic growth, import-substitution industrialization, and both public and private sector expansion. However, the golden age did not last forever; inevitably change met the world economy, and the highly inflated oil prices became a thing of the past during the 1980s. The Gulf countries were left in a dire economic situation, which in turn affected most every other aspect of the countries as well as the region. The 1980s were a time of crisis in the Middle East for both oil rich Gulf countries as well as the non-oil countries who had been benefiting from the oil boom in other ways, such as increased employment opportunities. The macroeconomic impact of workers' remittances is beneficial for both the host countries as well as the countries supplying the labor (although this is independent of both microeconomic effects and the degree to which governments can draw from these funds directly) (Richards 1983). The economic crisis of the 1980s in the Middle East was also exacerbated by the long-term import-substitution-industrialization plans that had been enacted in the 1970s which carried over into the 1980s. These plans were directly dependent on the high oil revenues of the 1970s that were expected to last, but these plans had insufficient funding during the 1980s because of the drop in oil prices. The gross domestic products of six prominent oil producing Middle Eastern countries were affected by the fluctuations in the price of oil during these years. Beginning in 1980, the price of oil began to gradually drop, with more severe drops in 1986 and 1998, and the GDPs of Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates followed the price of oil. As Figure 1 illustrates, the price of oil was correlated to the GDPs of these oil producing countries; and the GDPs of larger producers of oil, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, were even more closely synchronized with the price of oil. Table 1 shows the statistical correlation of the price of oil to the GDPs of the oil producing countries. Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar (though Qatar's correlation began to significantly decrease after 1997) had a strong correlation to the price of oil with correlations ranging from 0.726 to 0.781, while Bahrain and the U.A.E. had lower correlations to the price of oil with Bahrain's correlation being 0.536 and the U.A.E.'s correlation being 0.642. While the price of oil is statistically positively correlated with the GDPs of all of these oil producing countries, there are explicit reasons for the disparities in the level of correlation (Forbes 2007; International Monetary Fund 2007).

GDP of Oil Producing Countries and Price of Oil

Bahrain's correlation value of 0.536, the lowest of the correlation values, was a result of its economic diversification efforts. Since the discovery of oil in Bahrain in 1932 this commodity has been a major part of Bahrain's economy, but becoming more of an economic concern. Given the relative paucity of Bahrain's oil reserves when compared to other GCC countries, this country of diminutive oil reserves has been working to diversify its economy away from a dependency on oil revenues since achieving independence from the United Kingdom in 1971. Bahrain has diversified into other sectors such as finance, manufacturing, tourism, and international trade. These efforts to diversify its economy have met success throughout their long-term implementations. Today, 27% of the GDP is contributed by the financial sector, manufacturing contributes 13%, and tourism and trade contribute 12%. While oil and gas still contribute 11% of the GDP, Bahrain has diversified its economy to the point where its GDP is not as correlated with the price of oil as other GCC countries are (Oxford Business Bahrain 2007).

The cause for Qatar's decrease in correlation and relatively higher GDP after 1997 is because of Qatar's economic diversification efforts. Oil may be at the heart of this country's wealth (thus the strong correlation value of 0.735; especially up until 1997), but it has recently made serious efforts to diversify into different economic sectors such as banking, insurance, telecommunications, and financial markets (such as the Doha Securities Market; founded in 1997). In addition to this, Qatar has made a serious effort to further its production of a different commodity, liquefied natural gas, to ensure a strong source of income for future projects. This GCC country has focused most of its push to create a modern diverse national economy in industrial

sectors such as the production of petrochemicals, steel, cement, and fertilizer. While a majority of these products are currently sold within Qatar, the government plans to pursue trade agreements with other buyers such as other regional countries and European countries. Also, the country has created new laws that encourage private competition and foreign direct investment to further its long-term development plan (Oxford Business Qatar 2007).

The cause for the U.A.E.'s low correlation value of 0.642 is also rooted in the country's economic diversification efforts. Since the discovery of oil in the U.A.E., the country has been transformed from a simple region of diminutive sheikhdoms with economic activity consisting of pearling, fishing, herding, and agriculture to a modernized international participant in trade and economic expansion. The largest emirate, Abu Dhabi, was, and still is, the principal petroleum producer of the emirates, while the second largest emirate, Dubai, had previously thrived on revenues from their service-based economy consisting of tourism, construction, telecommunications, media, real estate, and financial services. These two emirates provide over 80% of the country's income, thus they are the most influential emirates of the U.A.E. Because oil revenues had been put towards creating infrastructure for non-oil sectors of the economy and an emphasis was placed on the services sectors, the U.A.E. was less correlated to the price of oil than other oil-producing countries during the 1980s, 1990s, and through the early 2000s (Oxford Business Dubai 2007).

The fact that Kuwait tracks so closely to the price of oil, with the second highest correlation value of 0.738, certainly suggests a dependence on oil for all economic activity within the country. As 2007 dawned, Kuwait was experiencing some of the best economic growth, investment, and expansion of both the public and private sectors at the exact same time that the price of oil had greatly increased since the beginning of Gulf War II in 2003. While Kuwait remains committed to creating and maintaining a fund (comprised of oil revenues) for future generations to draw upon when its oil reserves run dry, its economy is still directly correlated with the price of oil (Oxford Business Kuwait 2007).

Possessing ~25% of the world's known oil reserves, holding the title of the world's largest exporter of oil, and being the keystone member of OPEC capable of moving the world oil market at its whim, it comes as no surprise that Saudi Arabia also possesses the highest correlation between GDP and the price of oil of the six countries examined in this report: 0.781. Its recent prodigious economic growth and government projects have been

directly financed by the greatly increased price of oil since the beginning of Gulf War II in 2003. While Saudi Arabia has plans to liberalize and privatize more sectors of their economy, as well as expand other sectors such as petrochemicals and city construction, they are not yet significant factors in the economy (Oxford Business Saudi Arabia 2007).

For Iran's correlation between its GDP and the price of oil, there are two key facts to point out. First, Iran's political instability during the 1980s significantly decreased its cross-correlations with the other five countries: ranging from 0.528 to 0.642. These cross-correlations are much lower than the other countries' cross-correlations with each other: 0.886 to 0.987. The major causes of the political instability in Iran were the Iranian Revolution in 1979, which caused the price of oil to surge upward, and the war with Iraq during the 1980s. During the war, Iran greatly increased its production of oil from 1982 to 1984 well beyond its OPEC approved quota. In 1986 Saudi Arabia abandoned its traditional role as the OPEC swing producer and also greatly exceeded its quota for oil production. Saudi Arabia inundated the world oil market and decreased the price of oil while increasing its market share. This caused Iran's GDP to plummet (as shown in Figure 1) in 1986. Thus Iran's high oil dependency and correlation value of 0.726 resulted in detrimental effects to its economy (Mazarei Jr. 1996).

In analyzing all six of these country's GDPs in Figure 1, a trend emerges. Figure 1shows that the GDP growth rates of the three oil producing Gulf countries that made stronger efforts towards economic diversification away from a dependency on oil, Bahrain, Qatar, and the U.A.E., were higher than the three oil producing Gulf countries that did not, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. This is because the higher GDP growth rates were a result of concentrated and effective economic diversification efforts. For the other oil-producing countries, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, in order to avoid the drop in GDP directly caused by a decrease in the price of oil, they too should diversify their economies away from their dependency on oil revenues. This reduction in dependency on a single commodity would reduce the correlation between the price of oil and their GDPs. This is because economic diversification away from a single commodity dependency will lead to long-term economic growth and stability. Dubai, a member of the U.A.E. and a Gulf corporation Council member, is setting an example of economic diversification for the Gulf States by the continuation and expansion of non-oil based economic sectors. Dubai's newest and

rapidly growing non-oil based sector, an international financial center, is now at the forefront of economic diversification for the emirate.

The Dubai International Financial Center was created by the government of Dubai and opened for business in September of 2004, with the goal of becoming the financial center of the Middle East, sitting between London and New York to the west and Hong Kong to the east. The world-class Dubai International Financial Exchange opened in the DIFC shortly afterward in September 2005. In June 2004 a federal law (issued by the late His Highness Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan) established the DIFC as a Federal Financial Free Zone for the Emirate of Dubai. In conjunction with this law, the Regulatory and Companies Laws were enacted (along with ten other laws pertaining to arbitration, contracts, and insolvency) in September 2004, thus providing the legal framework within which the DIFC would operate.

The DIFC is part of the Vice-President and Prime Minister of the U.A.E. and Ruler of Dubai His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum's vision, in conjunction with the government of Dubai, to stimulate economic development, provide employment for citizens, and continue economic diversification efforts for both Dubai and the greater region. The non-stop global financial network serves as a connecting hub and carries the ambitions of becoming a regional capital market held in the highest regard while respecting the attributes of integrity, transparency, and efficiency. This modern international entity has several sectors of focus: banking services, capital markets, asset management, fund registration, insurance and re-insurance, and Islamic finance. Also, as a westernized multinational, they offer, among other features, complete foreign ownership, zero percent tax rate on income and profits, a wide network of double taxation treaties available to U.A.E. incorporated entities, a dollar denominated environment, and no restrictions on foreign exchange or capital/profit repatriation.

In addition, the DIFC seeks to provide a comprehensive, nearby, centralized, and more homogenous market in Islamic finance for the Middle East. While many of the Western conventional insurance and banking practices are prohibited by Sharia Principles within Islam, modern Arab investors have found ways to circumvent this barrier. In recent years there has been prodigious growth in Sharia compliant financial products and services such as those offered by the DIFC (DIFC, http://www.difc.ae/index.html).

The reason for this is because many disparities exist in Islamic finance and banking practices throughout the Middle East. These differences are influenced by the economic development of the country of operation for the Islamic financial firm or bank. The number of Sharia principles applied in these varies greatly between countries, with the U.A.E. applying the fewest number of principles of the major Middle Eastern countries. Also, the U.A.E. was the most lenient in stringent Sharia principle interpretation during the 1990s -- which explains its liberal view of modernization and acceptance of foreign influence (Haron 1995).

This reinterpretation of Sharia principles has led to the emergence of an international market in Sukuk (Sharia compliant) bonds and a supply of Islamic consumer financial products equivalents (such as insurance, mortgages, pension plans, and investment funds) – both of which are beneficial to economic development in Dubai and the greater region. The DIFC aims to provide a homogenous market in Islamic finance for the Middle East, which the region lacks (DIFC).

All financial services and activity within the DIFC is to be regulated to international standards by the Dubai Financial Services Authority (DFSA). While other regulatory authorities have been formed in reaction to financial crises, the DFSA was created alongside the DIFC in order to enforce international regulations from the start. Also, because the DFSA was created as an independent entity, it was not forced to comply with existing legacy frameworks, allowing the DFSA to perform efficiently. The DFSA has amalgamated the best laws and regulations from the world's major financial centers in order to produce lucid and flexible laws (written in English) while stressing accountability within its own regulatory system as well as those it regulates (DIFC). The authority has regulators from all over the world, Britain and Australia in particular, and one expatriate regulator stated: "We like to think we are user-friendly. The rule books are slimmer" (*The Economist* 2005).

Opened on September 26, 2005, the Dubai International Financial Exchange was launched to further the goals of the DIFC. The exchange had grand goals of fifteen initial public offerings and fifteen secondary listings for its first eighteen months, and had plans to trade derivatives and Sukuk bonds. Its first securities were certificates issued by Deutsche Bank (one of its founding members) that were linked to the world's main stock market indices. The DIFX has set Arab companies as their main targets for listings. This is aligned with local investor interest because Arab

investors have decided not to invest through foreign exchanges since September 11th 2001. In addition to this, Indian and Chinese firms have shown interest in listing on the exchange (*The Economist* 2005). Furthermore, the DIFX offers liquidity for the primary listing and secondary trading of sophisticated Islamic financial instruments. They maintain a preference for Sharia compliant investment products that originated within the region; and will continue to be managed within the region as well (DIFC).

While this is not the first exchange to grace the Persia Gulf, regional exchanges have done well in recent years because of the high oil revenues from 2001 onward, which gave the DIFX good prospects for achieving its short-term goals (*The Economist* 2005). However, the success of these other exchanges is also detrimental to the DIFX. The existing exchanges in Cairo and Abu Dhabi provide competition for the DIFX, which has fostered doubts about the long-term success of the DIFX. The question most commonly asked is how can the DIFX differentiate itself against these other competitors in a highly competitive market that operates in a globalized world? The DIFX hopes to differentiate itself by being well-regulated and to appeal to international institutional investors with fewer restrictions while remaining transparent (Reed 2005).

Also, there is a significant potential for this exchange in the long-term because the private sector is on the verge of a major transition in the U.A.E. Many Gulf companies possess prodigious funds for investing (from recent high oil revenues) while they are undergoing a key generational change. With the founders of family owned outfits either near or at the retirement age, their globally-educated offspring are eager to inherit these companies and take them in a new, international direction. This next generation is considering raising capital through markets such as the DIFX to take their companies global. While large-scale foreign investors used to decline the offer to invest in the Middle East because the deals were too infrequent and minuscule, foreign investment is now steadily on the rise (Reed 2005).

The recent expansion of the DIFX and the major international investments it has made has given investors high hopes for the present and the future. In August of 2007, the Government of Dubai created the new holding company, Bourse Dubai, from the consolidation of the Dubai Financial Market and the Dubai International Financial Exchange in coordination with the Dubai Strategic Plan 2015. This plan has the goal of positioning Dubai as a global financial hub for the diversified economy of Dubai. Creating Bourse Dubai served to further that goal by helping

to sustain and even expedite the economic growth of Dubai. The new entity would continue under the regulation of the Dubai Financial Services Authority as well as the Emirates Securities and Commodities Authority. The amalgamation of the two served to provide a wider range of services, a more diverse investor base, and create a stronger exchange infrastructure for Bourse Dubai (DIFC).

On September 20, 2007, the Bourse Dubai agreed to purchase a 19.9% stake in the Nasdaq Stock Market and also to buy Nasdaq's 28% stake in the London Stock Exchange. Bourse Dubai also agreed to cease their bidding for the OMX Nordic Exchange, thus bringing closure to a six-week bidding war for the OMX between Dubai and Nasdaq. The deal was executed and Bourse Dubai will acquire two out of the sixteen board seats once Nasdaq merges with OMX, but have no more than 5% of voting rights. However, this deal prompted political opposition in Washington over national security concerns, which led to an investigation by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS). Concerns over Bourse Dubai's intent constitute the largest part of Washington's opposition to the deal because Bourse Dubai is directly controlled by the Government of Dubai (Werdigier 2007).

Independently, regional competitor of Dubai, Qatar, agreed to purchase a 20% stake in the London Stock Exchange and a 9.98% stake of the OMX. The London Stock Exchange, as opposed to the United States, takes a laissez-faire approach to direct foreign investment and welcomed Qatar as a long-term investor. In addition to this, the Government of Abu Dhabi agreed to purchase, for $1.35 billion, a 7.5% stake in United States private equity firm the Carlyle Group; this deal is taking place just as the Carlyle Group considers an IPO of its shares. While these are significant stakes in these companies, neither Dubai nor Qatar indicated having an intention of attempting a complete takeover. All of these deals exemplify both the growing power of the Middle Eastern exchanges and the growing hunger for oil-producing countries to invest their increasing wealth in international high-quality assets in consideration of the future (Werdigier 2007).

Despite the positive outlook and high expectations of economic diversification through the development of a financial center, there are serious by-products that, if left unaddressed, could lead to economic calamities and the degradation of political stability. The most serious of these is the ignored the process of indigenization. The process of indigenization is the incorporation of

the indigenous labor force of the country into a sector of the economy or the economy itself. Some sectors of an economy are already fully indigenized, such as local markets for agricultural products, while other sectors are completely dependent on an expatriate labor force, such as a newly developed financial sector. A dependency on expatriate workers is the result of not indigenizing a sector of the economy. Were no efforts to indigenize a sector of the economy to be made by the government, the economy itself could become overly dependent on expatriate labor.

Up until the early 2000s, foreign workers were accepted in the Gulf. They contributed significantly to the building of infrastructure and institutional development in the region. However, expatriates had a huge impact on demography, unemployment, economic development, and social integration. Remittances from expatriates increased government expenditure because those large transfers of money (expatriates sent over $120 billion out of GCC countries from 1997 to 2001) overloaded public utilities and services in the Gulf countries. In the eyes of some governments, the need for such foreign employment had been continuously diminishing because of an increase in qualified national manpower (due to the strong emphasis on education in the region). During this time several Gulf countries made statements about the need for the indigenization of the labor force (including the employment of women GCC nationals, within the framework of and vital to the major objective of indigenization as well as a simultaneous reduction in the size of the expatriate worker population (Shah 2006; Emirates Center 2002).

Governments need to embrace indigenization and enforce policies aimed at doing so in order to avoid an increase in the level of unemployment among nationals that raises economic turmoil and political unrest. A 2004 United Nations survey revealed that Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E., and Oman considered the immigration levels within their countries to be higher than desired. The general trend in the Gulf region (as deduced by the U.N. from the opinions, attitudes, and policies toward immigration) was increasing restriction on immigration and the implementation and enforcement of the appropriate policies to do so (Shah 2006).

In 2004, Kuwait had already enacted policies that restricted the granting of citizenship, placed a salary ceiling on migrant workers accompanied by their families, and decreased the permanent settlement of immigrants. They have no plan for the integration of immigrant populations, whom they view as temporary. Saudi Arabia shares many of these same principles and

is one of the most active countries in implementing policies to restrict migration. The over reliance on expatriate workers is no simple vexation for the GCC countries, and in some cases has grown into a very serious concern. In the U.A.E., non-nationals constituted as much as 76% of the population in 2000. As of 2005 more than half of the labor force was expatriate, 98% of the private sector labor force was expatriate, and 80% of the 4 million residents were foreigners (Shah 2006).

Unemployment among GCC nationals is the single biggest policy challenge facing the governments of the Gulf countries at the moment and will continue to grow if left unmitigated. In 2004, unemployment in Saudi Arabia was about 35% among youth aged 20-24 and unemployment among males has steadily increased from 7.6 % in 1999, to 9 % in 2000, 10.5 % in 2001, 11.9 % in 2002 and 12.5 % in 2003. These young, educated, unemployed males are the most susceptible to recruitment from militant Islamist groups. In 2004, unemployment in Bahrain was at 15% and had already led to some political unrest (which consisted of several sit-ins outside of the Assembly in Bahrain) and for the U.A.E., an estimated 40,000 U.A.E. nationals were unemployed (Shah 2006). The Dubai International Financial Center will not benefit the indigenous population of the U.A.E. if the government neglects the need for indigenization and allows for the continued presence of an inherently inefficient dual-economy: the government regulated, mainly expatriate, formal modernized economy; and the non-government regulated, mainly indigenous, informal agrarian economy.

Further, in the context of Benjamin R. Barber's book *Jihad vs McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*, the presence of "McWorld" expatriates is encroaching on the identity of the Gulf and thus eliciting the Jihad response from the Gulf. For example, the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research states, "Also, [the presence of expatriates] gives rise to new social manners, behaviors, and practices which contradict the values, customs, and identity of Gulf society" (Emirates Center 2002; Barber 1995).

On a broad level, expatriates are the ones who made the Gulf what it is today, but now a gradual transition away from expatriates to national manpower is necessary for the political stability and continued economic development of the Gulf. In order to accomplish this goal, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division suggests that GCC countries should adopt and enforce policies that limit the

inflow of expatriate workers through stricter visa regulations, curbs in visa trading, increased efforts for the deportation of illegals, and increasing the cost of living for migrant workers while augmenting the number of, as well as enhancing, employment opportunities among nationals, through job-training and market incentives. In addition to this, the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research suggests that GCC countries should move in three parallel directions: first, expand the quality of national manpower through education; second, limit foreign employment while balancing efficiency with indigenization; and third, distribute equally national human resources over the region so that nationals have sovereignty over public and private business. In order to accomplish this third goal, regional cooperation among governments would be necessary, since it would encourage Gulf economic enterprises to merge. This would lead to increased efficiency, lowered costs, and rationalized manpower, all while focusing on employing GCC nationals. However, it is important that the distribution of Gulf national manpower not be concentrated in government sectors away from the private sector dominated by expatriate workers, because employment by the government is simply too costly and an insufficient solution to the problem (Shah 2006; Emirates Center 2002).

Indigenization efforts aimed at the financial sector should be effective, considering the history of the oil industry. For the several decades after the initial discovery of oil in the Middle East, the industry relied heavily on expatriate labor for managerial, technical, and clerical staff. Over time, there was a transition away from expatriate labor and to national labor for these respective countries because of the lucrative nature of the oil industry. This illustrates that, with the proper incentives, indigenization efforts can be highly effective. In the case of the financial sector, it is not impossible for indigenization efforts to be effective again—granted that the financial sector proves to be lucrative (if not more lucrative than oil in the long-term) for the U.A.E. However, the major difference between indigenization of the financial sector and indigenization of the oil industry is that indigenization of the financial sector will provide more jobs than that of the oil industry. This is because oil, while being one of the most capital-intensive and self-contained industries, does not require much labor. Oil for decades was the largest private employer in the producing countries, yet it absorbed only a small proportion of the labor force. Conversely, the financial sector provides prodigious amounts of employment and provides the external benefits of economies of scale. Labor pooling allows for a constant supply of well qualified labor for the industry to hire;

because of the close proximity the firms to each other and related services, necessary services are much cheaper (Issawi 1982).

In any case, indigenization efforts in the Gulf would be greatly helped by inter-governmental cooperation in the Gulf. Should cooperation be achieved it would pave the way for all of these separate markets to be amalgamated into a single efficient Gulf labor market capable of providing suitable employment opportunities as well as assimilating Gulf nationals into the economy – thus benefiting indigenization efforts and economic prosperity. This step should then lead to a fully integrated market operating freely across borders, increasing efficiency by economies of scale (Emirates Center 2002).

To summarize: despite the problems caused by neglecting indigenization, Gulf countries must realize that continued economic diversification efforts, such as the creation of an international financial center, are essential to long-term economic growth and stability. Once new economic sectors have been established for the sake of economic stability, the need for indigenization must be addressed by the governments in order to preserve political stability.

Over the course of this report, three major topics have been discussed, each with a multitude of factors and complications, but what remains important for the oil producing countries are the core facts. Figure 1 illustrates that the GDP growth of the three oil producing Gulf countries that made stronger efforts towards economic diversification away from a dependency on oil (Bahrain, Qatar, and the U.A.E.) was higher than the three oil producing Gulf countries that did not (Kuwait, Iran, and Saudi Arabia). This is because the higher GDP growth rates were a result of concentrated and effective economic diversification efforts; these countries had more long-term economic growth and stability than the countries that did not diversify their economies. The U.A.E. has one of the lowest correlations to the price of oil because of their continued diligence in economic diversification efforts. The development of a new financial center by the emirate Dubai serves not only to continue the economic diversification efforts of the country, but also to expand the economy of Dubai, the U.A.E., and the Gulf region. However, the need for indigenization remains a serious concern for the U.A.E., as well as the other Gulf countries, both for the short-term as well as the long-term in order to preserve political stability.

Finally, inter-Arab cooperation remains both a further topic of discussion as well as one of the key aspects of both the financial

sectors and indigenization efforts in the Middle East. Gulf economic enterprises should merge for the sake of efficiency. As a result of this, costs would be lowered, manpower would be rationalized, and an emphasis on employing GCC nationals would be achieved – thus benefiting indigenization efforts. However, the prospects of this occurring are very low. After the colonial period, it was assumed that greater political cooperation would lead to greater economic cooperation in Middle East. This was not the case, however, since the economically powerful states feared that the economically weaker states would enervate their economies, and due to the problems of establishing of an Arab international secretariat to monitor and manage any new arrangements. The enterprise could also be considered doomed at the outset because inter-Arab economic exchange was greatly diminished when the economies of these countries were divided into separate national economies during the colonial period. Also, historically porous borders in the region have resulted concern about border interference and thus the desire by these countries to make preemptive strikes in order to weaken each other. This has led Gulf countries to be constantly concerned about boundary preservation and national security. As a result, the assumption of potential conflict even when there is no objective reason for one to exist has pervaded the region (Owen 2004). Granted these facts, the question remains: if these countries wish to maintain hard boundaries and to preemptively strike each other through persistent mutual aggression, what would compel them to cast that aside and cooperate to create an integrated Gulf labor market? This makes the scenario of an integrated Gulf labor market highly unlikely until there is less aggression and more stability in the region.

Correlations: Price of Oil, Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE

	Price of Oil	Bahrain	Iran	Kuwait	Qatar	Saudi Arabia
Bahrain	0.536					
Iran	0.726	0.528				
Kuwait	0.738	0.922	0.610			
Qatar	0.735	0.953	0.642	0.971		
Saudi Arabia	0.781	0.886	0.641	0.920	0.935	
UAE	0.642	0.987	0.581	0.956	0.986	0.929

Works Cited

Barber, Benjamin R. Jihad vs McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy. New York: The Random House Publishing Group, 1995.

Barsky, R.B., & Kilian, L. 2004. Oil and the Macroeconomy Since the 1970s. Journal of Economic Perspectives 18(4): 115-134.

Dubai International Financial Center. <http://www.difc.ae/index.html>

The Economist. Do Buy, Do Sell. 29 September 2005. <http://www.economist.com/finance/displayStory.cfm?story_id=44 62898#top>

The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. Steps Necessary to Make Nationalization Policies in Gulf Labor Markets a Success. 4 July 2002.

<http://www.ecssr.ac.ae/ECSSR_Index_en/>

Fasano, Ugo and Zubair Iqbal. International Monetary Fund. GCC Countries: From Oil Dependence to Diversification. 2003. <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/med/2003/eng/fasano/index.h tm>

Forbes. 2007. <http://www.forbes.com/static_html/oil/2004/oil.shtml>

Note: Oil price collected by Forbes from the following sources:1945-1985 data on oil prices from Arabian Light posted at Ras Tanura, and data on oil prices from 1986-2005 from Brent Spot.

Haron, Sudin. University Utara, Malaysia. A Comparative Study of Islamic Banking Practices. 1995.

International Monetary Fund. The World Economic Outlook Database. 17 October 2007. <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2007/02/weodata/weore pt.aspx?sy=1980&ey=2008&scsm=1&ssd=1&s>

Issawi, Charles. An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa .New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Mazarei Jr., A. 1996. The Iranian Economy under the Islamic Republic: Institutional Change and Macroeconomic Performance (1979-1990). Cambridge Journal of Economics. 20(3): 289-314.

Owen, Roger. State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East. 3rd ed.. 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016: Routledge, 2004.

The Oxford Business Group. Country Business Intelligence Report: Emerging Bahrain 2007. <http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/publication.asp?country=3 0>

The Oxford Business Group. Country Business Intelligence Report: Emerging Emirates: Dubai 2007. <http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/publication.asp?country=16>

The Oxford Business Group. Country Business Intelligence Report: Emerging Qatar 2007. <http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/publication.asp?country=29>

The Oxford Business Group. Country Business Intelligence Report: Emerging Kuwait 2007. <http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/publication.asp?country=33>

The Oxford Business Group. Country Business Intelligence Report: Emerging Saudi Arabia 2007. <http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/publication.asp?country=44>

Reed, Stanley. BusinessWeek. A Bourse Is Born In Dubai. 3 October 2005.

<http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_40/b3953155.htm>

Richards, A., & Martin, P.L. 1983. The Laissez-Faire Approach to International Labor Migration: The Case of the Arab Middle East. Economic Development and Cultural Change 31(3): 455-474.

Shah, Nasra M. United Nations Population Division: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in the Arab Region. 5 May 2006.

Introduction

In accordance with a common theme in Africa, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is infamous for instability and relentless civil strife. After becoming independent from Belgium in 1960, the Congo experienced a significant lack of government capacity and transparency. A legacy of corruption plagued the struggling nation. Dictatorial leaders, unchecked control over the state, and immense violations of human rights led the Congo into a state of chaos that has only recently begun to alleviate. Following the democratic election of President Joseph Kabila, a successful democratization of the Congo may be in the works. But how much international involvement is necessary? Will historical internal tensions prevent the government from implementing fair laws? Or will corruption once again inhibit any chance of democratic accountability? In order to maximize the benefits of democratization and ensure long-lasting success, the Congolese government must work in conjunction with the United Nations to promote local democracy, transparency and security. Yet democratization will only be possible if internal conflict is alleviated, human rights violations are acknowledged, and citizens feel secure enough to participate.

Historical Background of Congolese Rule

The Congo has been plagued with civil war and humanitarian crises since independence. In 1965, Joseph Mobutu seized power and began a thirty-two year reign of unjust dictatorship. By suspending any political party activity, Mobutu made it a priority to narrowly concentrate power and redraft the nation's constitution that expanded his executive powers (Adekoya 3). Not only was a system of checks and balances abandoned, but the power and funding of the military was enhanced.

Mobutu symbolizes the start of the Congo's legacy of governmental corruption. After one year as President, he was accused of embezzling billions of dollars through copper, cobalt, diamond and coffee trade (Reuters 2007). Despite his fraudulent tendencies and constant human rights violations, Mobutu was able to use the Congo's rich resource availability to gain financial

support from the United States. Since he often pocketed international aid for his own use, the Congo's infrastructural development suffered tremendously.

Politically, the international community turned a blind eye to Mobutu's corruption. Ultimately, the United States supported Mobutu's regime during the Cold War in order to balance influence in Africa with the Soviet Union. Not only was Mobuto recognized internationally as the face of the nation, but he was also understood to be a pawn of the United States during the war. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank donated ample funds there was no alternative leader to support toward success in the Congo. As a figure so intertwined with the meaning of his state, the international community overlooked his incapacity to lead (Reuters 2007). Eventually, however, Mobutu's notoriousness for isolating specific ethnic groups, mainly the Tutsis who had sought refuge in the Congo following the Rwandan genocide in 1994, led to his overthrow in 1997.

The installation of Laurent Kabila continued the trend of the Congo's inability to sustain a legitimate democratized state. Kabila turned against his previous Tutsi supporters. Essentially, he led a government responsible for repressing civil and political rights. Following his assassination in 2001, Kabila's son, Joseph, was democratically elected and inaugurated as President in September 2006 (Adekoya 8). Joseph's reign marked the beginning of the Congo's attempt to establish a civilized, transparent democracy that could become a player in the international community.

According the UN Secretary-General's most recent report on the current conditions in the Congo, President Kabila is making significant strides toward modern democracy. His inaugural speech outlined a plan to not only improve infrastructure, education, health care, and employment, but also the importance of national security and citizen participation (United Nations Security Council 2007: 2). Kabila, however, will not be able to succeed without international support.

Thus, the DRC's history of unfair, corrupt leadership signifies the dire need to improve current political conditions. The new Congolese government must work with the United Nations and regional organizations to establish a democracy that will create maximum benefits for its citizens. The lack of both a stable, legitimate government and overall national security has undoubtedly deterred citizens from trusting its government. Perhaps once citizens witness tangible benefits of democratization, such as the election of a just leader and the prosecution of

criminals, the DRC will be able to rise to the level of other legitimate, stable nations.

Current Conditions and the Presence of Democracy

The recent election of President Joseph Kabila has indeed set the Democratic Republic of the Congo on a hopeful path to successful democratization. Despite the obvious tension between President Kabila and Vice President Jean Pierre Bemba who are supported by different political parties, members of both parties have met on several occasions to discuss electoral development and technical issues of the democratic process of the campaign (United Nations Security Council 2007: 2). With control of about three-fifths of both houses of the Parliament, Kabila can remain relatively confident that his mandate to consolidate peace and maintain national stability has legitimate hope.

Both the transitional government and the international community have worked together to promote the 2002 Global and All-Inclusive Agreement to unify the nation and implement the new constitution. Overall, the Agreement places an emphasis on "good governance and rule of law, security sector reform, transparency and the fight against corruption, improved management of public funds and natural resources, civil service reform, local governance and an enhanced investment climate" (United Nations Security Council 2007: 6). A blueprint for immediate steps toward development goals has been established, indicating a strong link between economic and social progress and the transparency of democracy. Despite the current lack of infrastructure in the Congo, the Government must not ignore the threat of ongoing conflict throughout the entire nation. Two dictatorial, unjust leaders have been ousted from political power in the Congo. While the election of President Kabila provides some hope for the future of democratization, local and national Congolese governments must take into consideration the most significant threat: lack of security.

Challenges to Democratization

Numerous challenges still face the Congolese government and international community. While recent peace negotiations and the formation of a transitional government have laid a foundation for a functioning democracy, it is merely a starting point. The transitional government promotes a power-sharing establishment in

order to represent as many groups as possible. But how fair is this new system?

One must keep in mind the patriarchal connections of current President Kabila. His father, infamous for human rights violations, corruption, and disloyalty, makes it difficult for the current President: "Congolese tend to view [Kabila's son] as an amiable nullity…but one who is answerable to the same men who surrounded his father after seizing power by brute force" (Traub 2005: 39). Even if the government encourages mass participation, several influential rebel groups still exist in areas that continue to experience daily conflict, such as the Katanga region and North and South Kivu. Who is to say that the Congolese will always elect the "good guy?" Once a government is recognized as sovereign, the international community has a responsibility to recognize its leader as legitimate. Thus in this case, the United Nations and the African Union must remain present as much as possible in an attempt to imbed democratic ideals into the evolving Congolese society. If a corrupt leader is elected, national security will not be maintained and the prospects for ending internal conflict will diminish.

Several ongoing conflicts also have the ability to negatively impact the process of democratization. Three main areas in the DRC, Ituri, Katanga, and North and South Kivu are still experiencing violent conflict. Violence Ituri, located in the Oriental Province, is bordering genocide. The death toll of ethnic tensions in the Kivus has been even higher than Ituri, as it is the scene of the heart of the DRC's wars for the past decade (International Crisis Group 2003). Three main issues in the Katanga province have resulted in the bloodiest yet most overlooked conflict in the nation: tension between northerners and southerners, outsiders and natives, and the national army and the Mai-Mai militia (International Crisis Group 2006a).

Frequent outbreaks of fighting in the eastern region of the nation perpetuate the instability of the Congolese government and the inability of the President to implement laws and ensure security for his citizens. Former combatants often create havoc, yet the increase of overall criminal activity has made it even harder to limit random acts of violence resulting in civilian casualties. This type of insecurity plagues the Congo, and it is the biggest threat to the future of democratization.

Throughout the Congo, bad governance is directly related to the continuation of violence and human rights violations. Prolonged ethnic and territorial rivalries are rooted in Bas-Congo,

North and South Kivu, and several other regions of the nation. Katanga, however, is one of the most violent yet most neglected areas in the Congo. Its chaotic environment and embodiment of ruthless militias threatens the success of democratization in the entire nation. Located in the nation's heartland, Katanga is the region's most mineral-rich province. Recent presidential and gubernatorial elections, however, have reignited militia rivalries, primarily between the Mai-Mai militia and the national Congolese army or native Katangans and immigrants from the Kasai province:

> Under Belgian rule, many Luba from Kasai came to run the mining companies and state administration, creating tensions manipulated by politicians, who in 1992-3 organized militias to ethnically cleanse the province. More than 5,000 Luba were killed. The Union of Congolese Nationalists and Federalists party (UNEFEC), which is run by some of the same figures who led the violence in the early 1990s, is using its youth gangs to intimidate its opposition, who are often Luba. Leaders of the party's youth wing have called for "necklacing" opponents with burning tyres. (International Crisis Group 2006a).

Conflict in Katanga has existed since colonization. Without a strong executive and judiciary, how are citizens supposed to feel confident in their government? Participation in government is not likely if the structure is not able to protect its citizens from youth militias threatening to kill immigrants on a daily basis.

Ituri, located in the Congo's Oriental Province, is on the brink of genocide. The Hema and Lendu communities, both primary actors and victims of ethnic strife, are constantly battling over access to land, mineral resources, and local power (International Crisis Group 2003). Acting as warlords with international support from Uganda and Rwanda, the Hema and Lendu are contributing to an international proxy war in Ituri. In 2002, the Ituri Pacification Commission was established through which Uganda agreed to withdraw its troops. But because of its rich mineral resources, Uganda is able to politically exploit the provinces resources (mainly gold). "Through the IPC, Kinshasa hoped to consolidate its presence in North-Eastern Congo and, with Uganda, block Rwanda's influence in Orientale Province" (International Crisis Group 2003). Uganda had been acting as a security blanket that was suddenly removed.

Thus, conflict dragged on. In an attempt to alleviate further violence, the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) promised to fill the security vacuum left by

absence of Ugandan troops by implementing a disarmament agreement in mid-2003. The UN's attempt to establish a joint police force comprised of rivaling militias failed, leaving the situation in Ituri uncertain and still violent (International Crisis Group 2003). A civilian Ituri Interim Administration was elected, but in order for the Administration to be affective, it must be in complete congruence with MONUC and must support a full demilitarization of armed groups in Ituri. The constant insecurity cursing this region is cutting it off from any democratization progress made in the rest of the nation.

A weak judiciary and police force are also responsible for a national sentiment of insecurity. The absence creates an inability to persecute belligerents or illegitimate militias who are at the root of ongoing conflict. Since the Congolese judiciary has historically lacked independence from other branches of government and therefore the ability to prosecute and enforce judgments on its own terms, it has acted as a pawn of the executive (United Nations Security Council 2007: 8). Governmental corruption has resulted in extremely low pay for federal judges. Less than half of the required 180 courts exist. Without proper prison establishments and legitimate laws in general, there is no way to persecute members of competing militias in Katanga, for example, who are known to have been responsible for rampant human rights violations. Lack of judicial power allows violence to continue without reprimand.

For example, the illicit smuggling of small arms cannot be regulated without a more strict police and judicial system. On April 2, 2007, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reported large numbers of illegal small weaponry still in circulation and therefore a significant threat to the continuation of armed conflict. Defense minister General Jacques Yvon Ndolou asserts that small arms are one of the country's main problems in upholding peace and a legitimate governmental structure (IRIN 2007). As long as militias and individual citizens have the ability to carry small arms, violence will continue to spread. Such individuals will have no incentive to cooperate or participate in government on either a local or national level. Thus, democratization will only be possible if the police force can be strengthened to a degree at which violence can be thwarted at the most fundamental level.

The weakness of the federal government is inextricably linked to frequent outbursts of violence. Would citizens in any other country remain peaceful when its government existed primarily at the national level with little to no influence at the local

level? Corruption of the present Kabila administration is far less existent than in previous eras of government, yet state weakness still contributes to the inability of the government to exert any legitimate force over rebel groups. The reform process of the judiciary and security sectors, however, is far from complete. The main reason for the delay has been reluctance of belligerent armies to work with the new democracy and contribute to the common good. For the most part, "all have maintained parallel command structures in the army, and the local administration and the intelligence services. Extensive embezzlement has resulted in inadequate and irregular payment of civil servants and soldiers, making the state itself perhaps the largest security threat to the Congolese people" (International Crisis Group 2005). Internal conflict must be resolved in order to integrate militias and opposing forces into a national army. Without security and unity, democratization will not be possible.

By and large, security will lead to democratization and confidence in the government. Integrating militias into the national military, strengthening the federal judiciary, and thus alleviating internal conflicts will lead to a general sentiment of reassurance in Kabila's administration. The Pact on Security, Stability, and Development in the Great Lakes Region, ratified on December 15 of last year, commits participating states to "adhering to the principle of non-aggression, the promotion of democracy and good governance, regional integration and mutual assistance on key human rights and humanitarian issues" (United Nations Security Council 2007: 5). Generally, the pact supports a mandatory disarmament of foreign armed groups, the prevention of the flow of small arms across the borders, and a joint security system with the United Nations and bordering nations.

When internal conflict is widespread, is democratization a lost cause? Local democracy depends heavily on the intervention of the national government and international peacekeeping forces. For example, the Congolese government can try to integrate militias such as the Mai-Mai into the national army, charge those guilty of war crimes, or deploy troops to conflict areas (International Crisis Group 2006a). Overall, in order for citizens to have faith in authority and be willing to participate in democracy, peace must be restored. The Congolese government must assert authority and work with the international community to implement strict judicial policies.

Human rights violations are perhaps the most significant threat to democracy. Violence against civilians is common despite

the installment of a new governmental regime. Yet the problem seems to stem from a quite ironic source: "summary executions, politically motivated mass arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment and torture of citizens, beatings and rape continue to be committed, mainly by security service personnel" (United Nations Security Council 2007: 9). Currently, orphaned children are exploited and recruited as child laborers. Women are constant victims of sexual violence and a lack of adequate medical care. Journalists are arrested for criticizing authority figures, and security forces have been responsible for killing citizens protesting recent electoral delays (Adekoya 12-6).

How can citizens have faith in the government if their civil rights are not recognized? Human rights violations have the potential to result in rebellion, which is the opposite outcome desired during the democratization of the DRC. Since the Congolese government lacks strong institutions and judicial capacity, the international community must play a crucial role in the protection of civilians. Both investigating claims of human rights violations and helping to develop a stronger Congolese judiciary system to officially prosecute those responsible will give citizens more security and faith in its developing government.

What can be done to ensure successful democratization of the Congo?

In order to develop a national sense of security and democratization of the DRC, both the internal government and the international community must work in conjunction to develop political institutions, absolve internal conflict, prosecute those who have violated human rights, and stabilize government at both a national and local level. Although Kabila's democratically elected government has taken strides toward stability, there is still much room for improvement.

The international community, and in particular MONUC, the United Nation's peacekeeping mission in the Congo, must play and integral role in guiding President Kabila's government through the democratization process. Although the United Nations spends one billion dollars per year on its mission in the DRC, conflict is still eroding its potential for development. Since it is still developing, Kabila's government has not gained enough momentum or legitimacy to put an end to internal conflict or vast human rights violations across the nation. Thus, the international community, notably the United Nations Security Council, "needs to authorize

more troops for MONUC; the EU and other donors should give it greater access to intelligence assets; and either MONUC's mandate should be formally strengthened or its concept of operations should be clarified to ensure that it acts more robustly and proactively against…other armed groups" (International Crisis Group 2005). A more forceful effort will not only strengthen the capacity of Kabila's government, but it will also give citizens incentive to respect and participate in the new democracy. If citizens feel safe and internal conflict is put to an end, faith in government is more likely.

Both international and internal forces must also be responsible for providing incentives for militias and rebel groups to come to a ceasefire and play a part in local and national democracy. Land disputes fuel many of the internal conflicts threatening Congolese civilians, such as in North and South Kivu. To deal with such problems, the government must assert itself to establish land registries, openly discuss ethnic reconciliation, and ensure that "all army brigades are adequately fed and paid so they no longer present a security hazard and use the integrated brigades to arrest notorious trouble makers, such as Laurent Nkunda, in coordination with MONUC" (International Crisis Group 2006c).

Singular forces must take charge in disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating rebel forces into the national army. The National Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (CONADER) has already taken sole responsibility for demobilizing armed groups in Katanga (International Crisis Group 2006a). Paired with increased MONUC troops, both forces will have a better chance of forcing militias to either demobilize or integrate into the national army. Simply the threat of a larger, determined force will provide militias incentive to disarm.

Human rights violations are a despicable truth that continue to affect Congolese citizens on a variety of levels. While the lack of judicial capacity has allowed violations to go unnoticed, "orphaned children, the systematic rape of women by soldiers, the torture and ill-treatment of detainees, and the repression of free speech are each a direct result of armed conflict" (Adekoya 18). Prosecuting for human rights violations are simply one part of the puzzle in ensuring democratic success in the Congo. If the judicial system receives proper funding, it will have more capacity to charge criminals. In order to strengthen the judiciary, the Congolese government must recognize it as a legitimate body by supporting

legislation guaranteeing the independence of the courts and properly funding the branch (International Crisis Group 2006b).

Once criminals are charged, citizens will understand that the government has the capacity to hold one accountable for unjust actions. For example, Members of the Mai-Mai militia who have violated human rights in the Katanga province must be arrested and brought to justice. Once citizens have physical proof that those who have violated their most basic rights are finally being punished, faith will be restored in the governmental system.

Both Kabila's administration and the international community must make a joint effort toward national security and therefore establishing faith in the government. The Congo is slowly democratizing through more fair and free elections. Yet democratization will only succeed with enforced measures to increase security across the nation. Rebels must be brought to justice so citizens have tangible results of the power of their democracy. If the capacity of the government is strengthened with international support and guidance, Kabila's administration will have an infinitely stronger influence over its citizens and have the ability to encourage participation.

Conclusion

Democratization in the Congo will be possible only if the internal government and international community combine forces to ensure national security. Since its independence, the DRC has been infamous for corrupt, dictatorial leaders who paid little attention to human rights violations. Current conditions do not bode well for the implementation of a successful democracy. In order to restore faith in the new government led by President Kabila, citizens must feel secure and confident enough in the government to participate in its development. By ending internal conflict, strengthening the judicial system, prosecuting those who have violated human rights, and enhancing the overall capacity of the federal government, the democratization process will be able to continue on a smooth path. Once citizens feel confident in the power of its government at a national and local level, participation and democratization will ensue.

Works Cited

Adekoya, Abisola. "The Conflict Within: The Struggle for Human Rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." Illinois State University.

"A Congo Action Plan." International Crisis Group. 19 October 2005. <www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3758>.

"Congo Conflicts Defy Peace." Reuters AlterNet. August 2005. 10 Apr. 2007. <www.lite.alternet.org/printable.htm?URL=/db/crisisprofiles/ZR-CON.htm>.

"Congo Crisis: Military Intervention in Ituri." International Crisis Group. 13 June 2003. <www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=1626>.

"Congo: Illegal small arms could threaten elections." IRIN News. 2 April 2007. <www.irinnews.org/PrintReport.asps?ReportId=71131>.

"Congo's Elections: Making or Breaking the Peace." International Crisis Group c. 27 April 2007. <www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4081&l=1>.

"Escaping the Conflict Trap: Promoting Good Governance in the Congo." International Crisis Group b. 20 July 2007. <www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4276>.

"Katanga: The Congo's Forgotten Crisis." International Crisis Group a. 9 January 2006. <www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3861&l=1>.

Traub, James. "The Congo Case." The New York Times Magazine. 3 July 2006: 35-9.

United Nations Security Council. "Twenty-third report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." 20 March 2007.