From the editors of the issue

The editors invite readers to a new and exciting issue of the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien*: Australian Studies are becoming increasingly transnational not merely in relation to the background of its scholars but also in terms of academic themes. Like other settler societies, Australia has never been an isolated island. Rather, it has been shaped by diversity and global discourses. This diversity has been of geopolitical, cultural as much as literary influence. Despite this highly heterogeneous background, Australian Studies have nonetheless often been practised within national frameworks. Comparisons, let alone transnational approaches, have been relatively rare - at least from the perspective of systematic research. Today, Australian Studies scholars are experiencing an innovative shift in their various fields of research: translation studies, comparative historical and literary studies and transnational Indigenous Studies are starting to appear, complementing established research.

This volume of the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* clearly reflects this new and intellectually highly promising change.

Adi Wimmer has transnational structures of analysis in mind as he pursues a comparative approach in his biographically orientated article on Elizabeth Jolley. In his essay "'Don't Forget About Electra!' Elizabeth Jolley's Life and its Reflection in her Works" Wimmer retraces parts of Jolley's family history and also elaborates on the impact this biographical research exerts on the understanding of Jolly's writings. Aside from this innovative approach to literary studies, this article is of great transnational importance. Elizabeth Jolly was born in Austria: her writing reflected Australian contexts as much as Central European discourses.

Rob Amery follows a similar path of transnational analysis: He explores the work of four German missionaries from the Dresden Mission Society in the early nineteenth century and their legacy in

documenting the languages and cultures of the Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla peoples of South Australia. Amery's differentiated approach shows the complexity of inter-cultural engagement between Indigenous peoples and Germans in the eighteenth century and conceives inter-racial engagement not as merely oppositional. His study demon-strates the importance of diversifying non-Indigenous agents in Australian history.

Eva Meidl visualizes the historical approach to transfer inter-cultural knowledge – at least in one way: She illustrates how iconic pictures were used to build up (European) imaginations of a far-distant continent. In her article "An unofficial view: Johann Wäber's/John Webber's portrayals of Aboriginal Tasmanians" Meidl offers a rich insight into the racial perceptions of late eighteenth century Europe. These perceptions, as the paintings illustrate, were not devaluing - a result of immense importance for studies on racial representations in general. Meidl goes further than studying the mere racial representations but places Wäber's/Webber's representations in the context of eighteenth century European interest in seemingly exotic races and cultures.

Jörg-Dieter Riemenschneider's article "Aotearoa New Zealand Landscape Poetry: A Cultural and an Evocritical Reading" constitutes an equally new approach: It presents a reading of selected Aotearoa New Zealand poems from an evolutionary psychological perspective, arguing for cross-cultural, biologically-ordained patterns of perceiving Aotearoa New Zealand landscape. The study looks at how such perceptions have been used by contemporary Maori poets. Riemenschneider employs a very careful and balanced approach to a contested field of study which could also be applied to Australian contexts.

Concerned with a New Zealand theme, Riemenscheider's text marks an important change in the scope of the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* which welcomes decidedly comparative approaches and Australia-Pacific-related topics in its future volumes. The consideration of New Zealand (and Pacific) themes

does not delegitimize the studies on Australia but stands in the new tradition of transnational approaches.

Never before did authors and editors acknowledge the fact that Australia is part of the southern hemisphere in such an impressive way: As result, the 2012 issue introduces a new column which will strengthen comparative perspectives of research in the field of Australian Studies. The editors decided to add this new column, *Hemisphere*, in order to invite potential authors to extend their focus of research and to appreciate the evolutionary, cultural and historical interdependencies which characterize Australia's relationship with her neighbours. The view from outside is the key to the heart of Australian Studies: It helps to develop transnational views within the hemisphere. Although Riemenschneider's article is no comparative study, it enriches our understanding of landscape poetry – in New Zealand, Australia and in the Pacific sphere.

There is also a change in the editing of the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien*. We wish to acknowledge Adi Wimmer's devoted work which has transformed a rather pioneering and local *Newsletter* into a fully peer-reviewed and internationally indexed journal. It is much harder to establish a journal than to keep its good reputation. We wish to honour Adi Wimmer's work by continuing the journal's traditions of rigorous refereeing policies and allowing considerable room for substantial review articles, while also further positioning the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* as a leading continental journal for Australian Studies. Meanwhile, our Association continues to issue a bi-annual electronic Newsletter which presents news, reports and debates on Australia's current affairs. Australianists can visit the *e-Newsletter* on **www.australienstudien.org**.

As part of the editorial change, we have pleasure to welcome three distinguished Australian academics as members of the journal's Advisory Board: Ann Curthoys (University of Sydney), Jeanine Leane (Australian National University) and Gerhard

Fischer (University of New South Wales). In close collaboration with the members of the Advisory Board we look with confidence to a fresh and prosperous future for the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien.*

Henriette von Holleuffer & Oliver Haag (June 2012)

ESSAYS

Adi Wimmer

"Don't Forget About Electra!" Elizabeth Jolley's Life and its Reflection in her Works

D H. Lawrence (1923, 25) coined one of the most often quoted critical maxims of the 20th Century: "Never trust the author. Trust the tale. The proper function of a critic is to save the tale from the artist who created it." Was his stern command heeded? Not at all times and not by all critics. But with the rise of literary postmodernism Roland Barthes' credo of the "death of the author" substantially refreshed Lawrence's maxim. Jacques Derrida (1967) famously added that there was nothing outside the text: "Il n'y a pas de hors**-**texte**."** I am aware that the quote contains a pun and I am also aware of the dangers of literality here, but Derrida was widely accepted as claiming that literary art had no points of contact with the real world, which of course included the author. The Postmoderns go one step further. Not only do they *not* trust *the author*, they don't trust *anyone*.

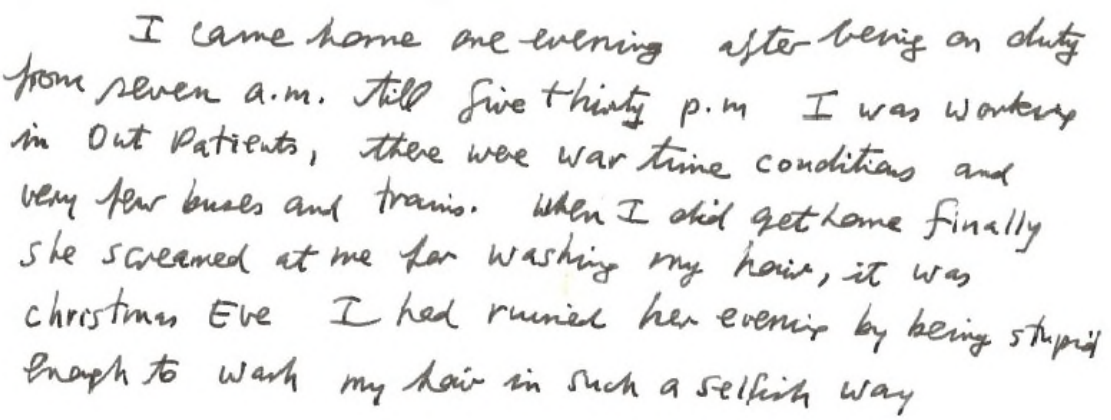
Elizabeth Jolley, whose death in February 2007 we mourn, provides a case for picking up D.H. Lawrence's gauntlet. Some of her novels are brilliantly innovative in her treatment of human character, which led some critics to describe her as archetypally postmodern in her artificiality and unreliability. Rod Moran (2007) praised her art as possessing "irony, pathos, wit and, at times, a sense of the absurd". And yet she herself stated that all her writing came from life, her own and those of her family members. This is immediately apparent in a trilogy of semi-autobiographical novels. Peter Craven (2007) emphasized her autobiographical slant when he argued she had created "a wholly different form of autobiographical fiction" that was "classical in expression and luminous in its minimalism". Her art would be hard to understand

without knowing her life, particularly her troubled relationship with her mother. In this paper I will explore precisely this relationship and a fictional trope: The Teeth Mother.

I met Elizabeth Jolley only once, in March 1989. She offered me tea in the kitchen of her Claremont house. How do you feel about your literary fame coming to you so late in your life, I asked. Her response was a grim "I can hack it." From that meeting till June 2002 we maintained a lively correspondence. Why with me? I think she liked to have a link to Austria, a country that might have been her home, and to which she was connected both through her command of German and her love of music. The biological connection was through her mother Margarete (or Grete) Fehr. In 1919, English Quakers operated a number of soup kitchens in poverty-stricken German cities; Vienna was their only Austrian location. Jolley's father Wilfred Knight went to Vienna as a volunteer helper and there fell in love with Margarete. She accepted his proposal, hoping to escape the depression and poverty of post-war Vienna.

In her essay collection *Central Mischief* (1992) Jolley devotes a whole chapter to her mother Grete's adulterous relationship, grudgingly tolerated by her husband, with the generous Mr Berrington. Grete Fehr had hoped for a life of comfort and culture with her English husband, but soon she found out that her husband's meagre salary as a maths teacher in a grimy English Midlands city did not allow for luxury. Viennese life may have been short of food, but it was rich in culture. The marriage was in trouble. But not just the marriage: her relation to daughter Elizabeth seems to have been characterized by domineering and scowling. In 2001 Jolley wrote

how her mother "absolutely wrecked" a Christmas Evening because of a minor act of disobedience, that of running a bath and washing the hospital smells out of her hair without asking permission.


I came home one evening after being on duty from seven a.m. till five thirty p.m I was working in Out Patients, there were war time conditions and very few buses and trains. When I did get home finally she screamed at me for washing my hair, it was Christmas Eve I had ruined her evening by being stupid enough to wash my hair in such a selfish way

In 1930 Grete formed a relationship with a student of hers in a German evening course that she instructed.

He was Mr Berrington (not his real name), the son of a former mayor of Wolverham-pton, an Oxford law graduate and well-placed Civil Clerk with considerable private means. (Dibble 29-30). Some 20 years older than Grete he was still single. Berrington, not untypical for the times, was a Germanophile pacifist and asked Grete to provide private language tuition. Grete's tuition soon included other things beside irregular German verbs. Jolley's comment on the situation is plain: "Both Mr Berrington and my father loved my mother" (1991, 114.) More outspoken is her comment on that curious *ménage a trois* in an earlier interview*:*

> There were the most awful family rows, with total lack of understanding. I understand it now, but at the time I couldn't. My mother had a 'Friend', a lover if you like, that my father tolerated. Both men would go to their respective church services on Sunday and then come back home to a dinner cooked by my mother. Then my mother would go with her 'Friend' for the rest of Sunday. (…) Then she would come back at night. My father would get very restless and prowl about the house (Headon 41).

In 1938 Berrington ("he was the real lover, he brought presents and chocolates and clothes") paid for a two-week trip to southern Germany for Grete and her daughters Elizabeth and Madeleine, while Wilfred Knight stayed behind. Berrington also paid for Madeleine's school fees (Elizabeth's younger sister) at the Quaker boarding school of Sibford.

Wilfred Knight, pictured below, grudgingly accepted this *ménage a trois*. He was a life-long pacifist.

He even accepted it when once he caught his wife in *flagranti delicto*; she had faked a near-nervous breakdown demanding from him a break from her household chores to enjoy concerts and plays in London. Alone, of course. Wilfred, to please his daughters, suggested a camping trip in the Pennines during her absence. But it began to rain and the girls were less than happy with their father. To lessen their unhappiness, he told them of a hotel to which they could hike, there to dry themselves and have a cooked breakfast. When they walked into the lobby the first person they saw was Grete, and immediately behind her, Mr Berrington – "in impeccable white flannels". The men shook hands and started a conversation – as if their meeting had been a normal occurrence.

This astonishing detail was revealed by Jolley three years after her description of her mother's fling in a "Summer reading" article published in *The Age* (1995). Grete carried on the affair until Berrington's death in 1953; he left her £ 27.000, which, allowing for inflation, would now be the equivalent of A$ 1 mio. (Dibble 32).

"I do not maintain", writes Jolley in her ominously-titled essay "What Sins to Me Unknown Dipped Me in Ink?", "that a writer should conceal her private life" (6). It is a key sentence about Jolley's early family situation. That ink is Hamlet's "inky cloak", the trauma of a mother's adultery, which was given the name of 'Elektrakomplex' by Sigmund Freud. In *Foxybaby* Miss Peycroft advises the novelist Miss Porch: "and for heaven's sake don't lose sight of the Oedipus and Electra complexes" (1985, 124). Another central character (in *An Accommodating Spouse*) who is only described as "The Professor of Literature" directs his students to discover

> the human element in the ancient myths ... an example being the *Electra* of Euripides (…) more particularly, the powerful dialogue between Electra and her mother, words of painful truth, which still exist between mothers and daughters at the present time (196).

And in Jolley's final novel *An Innocent Gentleman* (2001) there is a short treatise on Elektra and Orestes and Jason (171-2). Summing up: The significance of the Electra story is undeniable. As is the significance of her mother's betrayal. For Brian Dibble, Jolley's biographer, that betrayal became "the central drama of her life" (2008, 253).

Who was Electra? She is one of the best-known heroines of all Greek mythology; all three ancient Greek playwrights, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides dealt with the so-called Oresteia in plays. Agamemnon and Clytemnestra had a son and a daughter, Orestes and Elektra. When Agamemnon, after an absence of ten years, returned to his wife from the Trojan War, he was murdered by his wife and Aegisthus, who had become her lover. Electra urged

Orestes to revenge their father. Together they carried out the deed, killing both Clytemnestra and her lover. The so-called "Electra complex" is the female equivalent of the Oedipus complex in Freudian psychology.

In his biography of Elizabeth Jolley *Doing Life* (2008), Brian Dibble writes that by the age of only twenty-six Jolley had found the literary topics that would "occupy her for the rest of her life", namely "the home and the family" (96). And we all know that at the centre of both we have the mother figure. So let us investigate the core of Jolley's narratives, and that is the mother-child relationship – more specifically, *the mother-daughter relationship,* which according to most family psychologists is the most difficult amongst all family relationships*.* First, how did Jolley herself fare in this respect? In a nutshell, badly. She resented her mother because her German-speaking background and her insistence that her daughters speak German made her an outsider in the street they lived. When the affair with Mr Berrington started, that resentment deepened. She also came to idolize her cuckolded father; an Electra complex may have been in the making already in her teenage years. In an ABC interview of 1991 Jolley says, with a forced smile, "my mother wanted a princess but what she got was me." She also published a curiously coded essay with the Freudian title of "Good Knight, my Prince" *(Central Mischief* 125-131*).* Grete Knight did not respect Elizabeth's work; she viewed the profession of a nurse as a menial job; there were many quarrels about it. And yet she insisted that Elizabeth return to the family whenever her hospital work allowed it – so that she could harangue her. When Elizabeth aged 23 had to admit of her pregnancy by Leonard Jolley, whom she was to marry seven years later, Grete Knight heartily disapproved of her daughter and liked to remind her that she was "a fallen woman" as well as "a bad mother" (Dibble 108). Shortly before Elizabeth, Leonard and their three offspring emigrated to Perth in 1959, her son Richard (aged 7) wanted to know whether his English granny would be there too. "Only if she flies by broomstick" was Elizabeth's response (Dibble 136).

Now for some textual analysis: Her short story "Paper Children" (*Woman in a Lampshade,* 1983) is a narrative whose main character is a Viennese lady doctor whose name is Clara Margarete Carolina Schultz; Jolley's mother's name was Margarete Johanna Karolina Fehr. Margarete's ambition for her daughter Elizabeth had always been she should become a doctor. Another parallel is that Clara is described as "the daughter of a baroness"; Margarete Knight had made the same (false) claim about herself to her husband and her children (that her father had been a baron and a General in the Austrian imperial army).[1] The fictional Clara Margarete Carolina Schultz was married to a Jew and had a daughter by him. The fictional time is 1938, the year that Austria was annexed by the Nazis. Because of that and a lack of wifely support her husband suicides. The threat of a persecution of Jewish children looming, but also because she really only cares about medical science and not her daughter, Clara arranges for her infant daughter, Lisa, to be sent to Australia. And now, 25 years later, in which time she strangely never tried to be re-united, infirm and in retirement, she prepares to visit her in Australia. Observation No. 1: here we have a Viennese mother accused of betraying her husband, and as a result he kills himself. She has the same Christian names as Jolley's mother (Margarete and Karolina) and a daughter living in Australia named Lisa (i.e. Elisabeth). Lisa is the Australian version of Lieserl, the nickname that Elizabeth was given by her parents and her Viennese relatives. Naturally she (Lisa) lives in dread of the mother's visit. The resolution however is: Clara Margarete Carolina dies in her Viennese apartment. When Lisa goes to meet her mother at the Sydney airport, she is instead met by Irma Rosen, her mother's next-door neighbour. The Australian Lisa will now have to fly back

[1] Jolley repeated that claim at least twice in early autobiographical writings. In her short story "One Christmas Knitting" the female narrator similarly says: "Like my mother, Aunti Mote was a baroness in her own right" (*Woman in a Lampshade*, 123). Brian Dibble was able to prove that Margarete Fehr's father was only a humble station master with the Austrian Imperial Railways.

to Vienna to settle her mother's estate. Elsewhere I have argued that for Jolley, Vienna was a 'primal scene', the locus of her parents' first love-making, and thus a site which she should have claimed as a heritage (Wimmer 1992).

Thus the first example for a narrative in which Jolley symbolically kills her mother.

There is a passage in "Mr Berrington" in which Jolley writes that her mother had the uncanny ability to make everyone around herself unhappy. Her dark and uncomfortable novel *Milk and Honey* (1985) would be an example for a treatment of this her mother's quality. Let us proceed to that novel.

The story is of the Heimbach family, once again Viennese refugees of Nazi persecution. It is a degenerate family whose head Leopold, a musician and cello instructor, traps young Jacob, a gifted cellist, into marrying his daughter Louise so that he is forever tied to the family. But here comes the most intriguing detail. Jacob responds by starting an affair with an older woman named Madge, short for Margaret/e. So the *ménage a trois* that we find in the triangle Margarete – Mr Berrington – Wilfred Knight, and later in Elizabeth – Leonard Jolley – Joyce Jolley, is replicated in this story. At the end of the novel the imbecile Waldemar murders Madge/Margarete, who was unfaithful to her husband Norm (like Margarete Knight was unfaithful to her husband Wilfred.) The narrative presents the second example of a symbolic matricide.

There is another angle to this family tragedy and it lies in Leopold's wife Heloise. After Leopold, who was not himself Jewish, emigrates to Australia with his wife and two sisters, just so that Heloise does not fall into the hands of Nazi race laws, Heloise has to be committed to a mental hospital. She is not capable of adjusting to the culture she encounters, a clear echo of Margarete Knight's dissatisfaction with Wolverhampton after she had been raised in Vienna. So she fails her husband and her children as well as her two aunts, and Leopold is forced to embark on a very

unethical course of action which results in several deaths, including his own. It is not a very flattering picture of a Viennese mother whose cultured upbringing is of no use in a new Australian setting.

But the clearest case where Jolley, acting upon the Electra complex, symbolically murders her mother occurs in the short story "Two Men Running."

The narrator and his mate are long-distance runners. His mate calls him 'Hamish' although Hamish protests that this isn't his name. Hamish is locked up in jail and once a week he is seen by a psychiatrist. The Psychiatrist wants him to tell "what happened", but Hamish does not cooperate. The psychiatrist keeps telling him his "memory will come back." As Hamish and his mate are running he offers the information that he was a salesman in the morning, an abortionist in the afternoon and a poet in the evening. Later in the same passage he calls his friend "Hamish", i.e. by the same name that he was earlier called. We realize that the narrator and his running partner are one and the same person. He has a split personality and that is why he has psychiatric therapy aimed at the recovery of his memories. And there is a snatch from a song he sings: "One day the man I used to be / will come along and talk to me" (51).

When Hamish conducts his interior monologue he *does* have memories. Little by little we learn that he was once very close to his father, George Enderby. George was a travelling salesman, and he had a partner called Marge (!) Parks, who owned and operated a farm. Hamish and his father would be out in rural Australia selling merchandise to remote communities, but they would always return to the safety of Marge. Who, it seems, has made an offer to George: whenever he decides to quit his travelling business he can settle down with her on the farm.

There is a prefiguration of what is to happen in the description of a cockfight that Hamish observed on the farm. A strong cockerel, the established king of all the farmyard hens, is challenged by a younger cockerel. The fight is fierce and brutal. Gradually the second cock wins the upper hand. The older cock loses blood and becomes limp. (My Freudian spin on this detail is unavoidable.)

George throws a bucket of water over the two to separate them. The older cock seems in despair: "It was as if he knew the end of his life had come and he sank down nearer the ground. He refused food and water and stood there sad and ashamed and we didn't know what to do for him" (55).

After years of travelling, George Enderby decides he will quit. In the opening passage, Hamish suddenly remembers a Country 'n Western song and sings two lines: "country road, take me home/ to the place/ I belong". All will be well if he drives home to Marge, taking up her offer of permanent residence. But when they get there, Marge is curiously distant. There is no warmth in her and no invitation to stay:

> Her long cold stare fixed just beyond him made me shiver. "There's no need to come up to the house" she said. "There's the tap down by the bottom shed" she said, you can use that".
> He couldn't believe it. He stared at her.
> "My energy's gone Marge."
> "I can see that George."
> "No need to come to the house, Marge, is that what you're saying Marge?"
> "It is George."
> "No need to come to the house Marge after I've been coming all these years and we've always said …"
> "Dad" I said to him, "Dad, don't! Don't go on." (59)

Soon the reason for her change of heart becomes apparent, and he is called Franz Heiss. Heiss means 'hot' in German, a language with which Jolley grew up. It also allows associations with the names of two Nazis: One is Rudolf Franz Höss, the commander of Auschwitz /Oswiecim, the other is Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy until 1941. Jolley made references to Nazis in other stories; in "Paper Children" she uses the term 'Gauleiter' for a particularly brutal male. And we know from Dibble's biography that up to 1939, her mother was all for Hitler. In the summer of 1938 when Berrington and his mistress toured Germany, Elizabeth Knight aged 15 participated in a youth camp organized on behalf of the *Bund deutscher Mädel.*

Later, when they pick up the game again Hamish says to his father: "I've got a sick horse." His dad's reply comes after a pause: "Sick or just old"? And Hamish: "A bit of both", and "it was then that I burst out crying" (63).

The metaphor is extended again two pages later when Hamish tells his father he has a new gelding amongst his toys. This is clearly a reference to Franz Heiss, the new arrival. The father retorts: "that's no gelding my boy, I'd say he was a fine stallion, a fine stallion." Handing back the toy horse he also hands to his son a brass screw. We can only read this as the father's acknowledgement that Franz Heiss is now screwing Marge.

The horrible climax of this story comes when Hamish tells his alter ego what it was that brought him into prison. Years later and now an adult he drove to the farm, arriving in the evening, where he was greeted by a rather nervous sounding Marge. He forced her into the bedroom and raped her. When he has perpetrated the deed Marge tells him, to his horror, that she is his mother. For reasons that we can only guess at she did not acknowledge motherhood to the world. Without knowing it, Hamish has committed the archetypal Oedipal crime of sex with his mother. You will recall what Oedipus' response was: he blinded himself so that he would not have to look at the crime. Hamish' reaction is similar. "Not the knife" screams Marge, but to no avail. He has to kill the only 'eye-witness' to his crime.

Why does the story have such a hard edge to it? We are allowed to develop sympathy with Hamish, the killer, but there is hardly any sympathy for his victim Marge. When we meet Hamish he is in "a gallery". There is a double meaning to that: it can be a place in a high security prison, but it is also a place where paintings, portraits maybe, are displayed. So Hamish gets a chance to present a self-portrait. How he does that establishes a clearly discernible woman-hating subtext. It is introduced with the term "abortionist", the term for a profession that has desperate women

as customers. The story includes a quote from Shakespeare's *King Lear*, which continues the misogynous discourse:

> Down from the waist they are Centaurs,
> Though women all above:
> But to the girdle do the gods inherit,
> Beneath is all the fiends';
> There's hell, there's darkness, there's the sulphurous pit,
> Burning, scalding, stench, consumption; fie,
> fie, fie! pah, pah! (IV / 6)

What emerges is the overturning of the traditional notion that mothers are cherishers and nurturers. Here we have the Teeth Mother exposed. Marge is a deceitful and lecherous woman, one in whom sexual lust has priority over fidelity. The biographical reasons why Jolley came up with this portrait are patently clear: the Madge of this story is yet another variant of Margarete, the adulterous mother.

Some critics have read Jolley's novels in terms of characters searching for a lost mother. Coral Ann Howells for instance reads the novel *Miss Peabody's Inheritance* as Jolley's attempt "to write [her] way out of dispossession into inheritance" (1988, 55). That Jolley did not feel at home in her new Australian environment for many years is well documented; her protagonist Miss Peabody on the other hand is unhappily tied up in England, forced to nurse a domineering mother. With her epistolary friendship to author Diana Hopewell she enters into a new phase of her life and finally escapes the clutches of her mother when she, like Jolley, emigrates to Australia. For Howells, "women's sense of not belonging in the place where they live and their eventual coming into inheritance by adoption" (58) constitutes a post-colonial paradigm. What Howells does not take into account is that Jolley *escaped* from an inheritance. That she suffered emotionally from that escape is also apparent. When Peabody takes over "the persona and voice of her lost mother in another country" (60) this is a symbolic inversion of a mother's attempt to force her own voice and identity onto a daughter. Joan Kirkby argues that right

from her beginnings, Jolley was engaged in the discourse of writing 'the feminine' or 'woman' as problematic. The "paternal fiction" being "in decline", writers like her have endeavoured to make the mother ("excluded from the symbolic order") into the major preoccupation of her art. Kirkby goes on to argue – rightly – that all her novels contain aspects of a "damaging Oedipal scenario". And so her characters are all "father-identified" and have "rejected the maternal". That rejection "impels them at time to a violent rejection of other women, the murder or sacrifice of another who is in reality the self" (1988, 46-47). Kirkby is right to present characters such as Laura (in *Palomino*) or Leila (in *The Sugar Mother*) as "father-identified"; moreover, Miss Porch's novel (in *Foxybaby*) is clearly an incest narrative. The tragedy, ends Kirkby, is that these mother-searching characters are unable to "escape the crippling legacies of the symbolic order" (54). Helen Garner, one of the earliest to appreciate the feminist discourses in Jolley, is less harsh in her judgement. Yes, she admits, her women are usually to be found in "grim" situations. They are "struggling against hostile circumstances … and some of them are right over the edge, ill with homesickness, helpless, deregistered, blackmailed." All the same "they are battlers" … they keep going" (Garner 157).

In 1979 Jolley's mother died. As the years progressed Jolley came to a revision of her hostile attitude; according to Dibble the *volta* came with her novel *The Orchard Thieves* (1995). This is not the place to detail how reconciliation came about. Suffice it to say for the moment that in her last two novels triangular relationships are treated in a sympathetic way, with lots of sympathy and understanding for the desires that are involved. In her last novel *An Innocent Gentleman* (2001) the previous moral perspective is overturned: Muriel Bell, married to the teacher Henry Bell and with two daughters (!), enters into a relationship with 'Mr Hawthorne.' The time is 1941 and the Blitz is on in London; all the same Hawthorne invites Muriel to spend a weekend in London with him on the pretext that he has two tickets for Fidelio, Beethoven's famous opera on the theme of liberation from the chains of

bondage. While in London, there is an air raid, and the hammering that the Luftwaffe gives the city only enhances their passionate love-making described with delicacy and sympathy (188-9). After Muriel becomes pregnant the cuckolded husband, in an all-too understandable revenge action, allows himself some hanky-panky with his next-door neighbour Mrs Tonks. The scene is described in a revolting manner, a far cry from the romantically described tryst between Muriel and Hawthorne. Did Elizabeth Jolley symbolically 'make up' with her mother whom she had depicted in less than flattering terms? The novel ends on hopeful note with Bell and Hawthorne sharing Muriel as sexual partner (as Jolley's father shared his wife Grete with Mr Berrington) and the responsibilities of raising their little baby boy.

All good writing must come from experience and truth, was Jolley's often heard motto. Her life-long treatment of her own "Electra experience" and her resentment of the treatment she had by her mother, a resentment which gradually gave way to understanding and then even sympathy, has given us a number of fascinating treatments of that inexhaustible subject, erotic desire and the confines of marriage. It seems clear to me that in this author, it is impossible to separate the tale from the teller.

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Oliver Haag

The History of an Argument: Genocide in Australian History

Over the last three decades, partly influenced by international discourse and research,[2] the term 'genocide' has increasingly been used to study the history of Australia. It has been vigorously embraced and fiercely rejected at the same time – by scholars, journalists, politicians, and ordinary Australians alike. This research investigates one aspect of the Australian genocide debate: the academic literature on the genocide that is said to have been committed against the Indigenous peoples of Australia. The objective of the present article is to retrace the emergence and development of the association of the term 'genocide' with Australian history. It identifies and analyses the key phases in research on Australian genocide, stretching from tentative considerations in the early 1980s to the comparative analyses of the 2000s. Moreover, it highlights the arguments advanced by those criticising the use of the concept of genocide. The study closes with a bibliography of scholarly literature, both critical and supportive of the argument for genocide in Australia.

There exists a legal definition of genocide which is often used as a reference point to Genocide Studies and legal decisions. This definition is part of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; Article II of this Convention specifies five categories of genocide:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

[2] This article is based on a lecture given at the University of Edinburgh in September 2012. It is only concerned with Australian literature on Australian genocide. It does not discuss international literature.

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Quigley 10).

The following implications of this definition are important: firstly, for an atrocity to be referred to as genocide there must be an *intention* to destroy a human group as such (Lemkin 1947:147; Chalk 53-56; cf. Quigley 88-136); secondly, the group does not need to be completely destroyed; thirdly, genocide is not necessarily the same as mass murder. While genocide might be accomplished by means of mass murder – provided that there is an underlying intention to destroy the group – there are also other forms of deliberate destruction, such as transferring children or preventing births.

The concepts of genocide used in sociology and history usually differ from the legal understanding. They can either be broader, encompassing other forms of destruction, or narrower, reducing genocide to mass murder. For instance, the annihilation of cultural differences – through repressing languages, customs, and religious practices – is often subsumed under a similar though theoretically different concept of intentional destruction, usually termed 'ethnocide' or 'cultural genocide'.[3] Yet cultural difference is of central relevance to Indigeneity and has thus a bearing on the concept of genocide (Fein 79-91; Totten et al.; Chalk 56-60). The point here, however, is that no scholarly consensus exists about the exact differences between genocide and ethnocide, particularly when the result of the corresponding violence is the disappearance of a cultural group. Thus, any analysis of genocide actually depends on the definition of the term itself. In the humanities, the

[3] Interestingly, Raphaël Lemkin, who coined the term 'genocide', equated 'genocide' with 'ethnocide' (1944:79).

concept of genocide is thus in itself potentially vague. It has no coherent definition upon which scholars can easily rely.

The context of the genocide argument in Australia

The use of the concept of genocide is fairly new within scholarship on Australian history. The application of the term 'genocide' to Australian history first occurred in the 1980s, and, as I will argue, the sudden emergence of this reinterpretation of Australian history should be contextualised within the broader frame of what Bain Attwood has called revisionist rewriting (Attwood 1996).[4] The revisionist rewriting, as Attwood argues, has tried to change a school of Australian national history called 'conventional history' which remained largely unchallenged up until the late 1960s. This challenge had several different reasons.

Firstly, many conventional historians described the making of modern Australia as a 'success story': the establishment of democracy, the achievement of economic prosperity, and the avoidance of revolutionary unrest were considered part of this success. Secondly, most historians of the time described Australian history as largely peaceful: "It is possibly harder to imagine a Hitler, a Stalin or even a Péron flourishing here than in any other country on earth, including England itself" (Ward 239). Interracial violence was thus not an issue historians researched systematically, and a discourse emerged that Indigenous people were hardly mentioned in mainstream history texts (Rolls). Australia was perceived as an essentially good place where no mass murder, wars or interracial violence had happened.

This perspective has changed considerably over the last four decades. To begin with, and to ground studies in Australian genocide, the so-called revisionist historians started to break with conventional history. Henry Reynolds, probably the best -known revisionist historian, writes in his autobiography: "The weight of

[4] For contextualisation of the schools of Australian historiography, see Rob Pascoe.

evidence had totally convinced me that the history of exploration, of land settlement, of the squatting movement and the pastoral industry and much else had to be rewritten" (2000:102). The outcome of revisionist history was that it included Indigenous Australians in the history of Australia, and it also made interracial violence one of its central themes. This rewriting thus also meant that revisionist history would present a far less positive picture of Australia.

Two themes in revisionist history have become important for subsequent interpretations of genocide. Initially, the theme of Frontier violence dominated many studies, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. An eminent historian, Noel Butlin, reconstructed the massive decline in the Indigenous population figures in Australia, from approximately 1.5 million inhabitants at the time of settlement in 1788 to 31,000 in the year 1911 (133-134, 139). This reduction, the author argues, had been caused by the spread of diseases, particularly smallpox. Henry Reynolds, in turn, estimated the death toll in the Frontier conflict to consist of 20,000 Aborigines and 2,500 non-Aborigines (1995:121, 123).

The second theme that became a fundamental basis for writing on genocide was the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their parents; these children became known as the Stolen Generations. This practice was part of an assimilation policy that intended to suppress Indigenous customs, traditions and languages (Haebich). Peter Read eventually calculated that approximately 50,000 Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their families and sent to missions, foster homes and white families (26).

As a result of all their methodological and thematic diversity, most revisionist historians thus presented a new view on Australia – many of them focussed on violence, destruction and racism. For example, the old terms employed in conventional history, including 'discovery', 'settlement' and 'peacefulness', have increasingly been replaced by new and often confrontational

terms, including 'invasion', 'war', 'dispossession' and 'extermination'. It is in this context in which the term 'genocide' has been applied to Australian history.

Revisionist history, however, has been increasingly attacked, particularly when, in 1993, Melbourne-based historian Geoffrey Blainey coined the term 'Black Armband History' to refer to the political ambitions of revisionist historians (11). This culminated in a backlash known as 'neo-conventional history', which rejected the negative facts and their interpretations within Australian history. This opposition ultimately triggered a debate that is still going on and has been dubbed the *History Wars* (Macinytre and Clark). One of the primary aims of neo-conventional historians has been to reject the reinterpretation of Australian history to include genocide.

The application of the term 'genocide' to Australian history thus needs to be contextualised within the broader frame of the rewriting of Australian history and of the changes in the major schools of this history. The application of the term 'genocide' to the violent moments in inter-racial Australian history has been a logical consequence of revisionist *re*writings.

The emergence of the genocidal interpretation of Australian history

Initially, most revisionist historians did not employ the term 'genocide'; instead, other words were used, including 'destruction' and 'extermination'. Interestingly, this was in stark contrast to the international literature on the same Australian events; this literature classifies especially the massive decline in the Indigenous populations of Tasmania as genocide. Raphaël Lemkin, a Polish jurist who coined the term 'genocide' in 1944, argues that it was primarily the settlers, and thus private persons rather than the state, who had committed genocide against the Aboriginal Tasmanians (2005). Many scholars outside of Australia have come to assent to this interpretation (e.g., Roberts, Kuper 40; Madley; Morris; Barkan 127-130). Australian scholars, however,

particularly historians specialising in Tasmanian history, such as Henry Reynolds in *Fate of a Free People* (1995), N.J.B. Plomley, and Lyndall Ryan (248, 255, 259), are more reluctant to apply the term 'genocide' and employ other terms instead, especially 'destruction'. There are many reasons for this, but most depend on which definition the individual historians adopt for genocide. Furthermore, these historians are also engaged in documenting the survival of Indigenous people instead of highlighting their destruction, which the term 'genocide' emphasises.

In Australia itself, the first text that focussed systematically on genocide appeared in 1984, approximately twenty years after revisionist history first emerged.[5] This article by Tony Barta has remained influential ever since its first publication; its main argument is that Australian genocide was committed primarily by settler people and not by the state, for the intention of the colonial government was 'to save [the Aborigines] from a genocidal society, a form of imported social order which could not be established here without dispossession of the original inhabitants' (1984:159). Barta further argues that in the context of Australian history, genocide is less a question of intention than one of effects (1987). Thus, in Barta's view, Australian genocide developed along the pattern of 'invasion-resistance-extermination': simply put, Europeans took the land and the traditional owners resisted, which resulted in clashes and massacres.

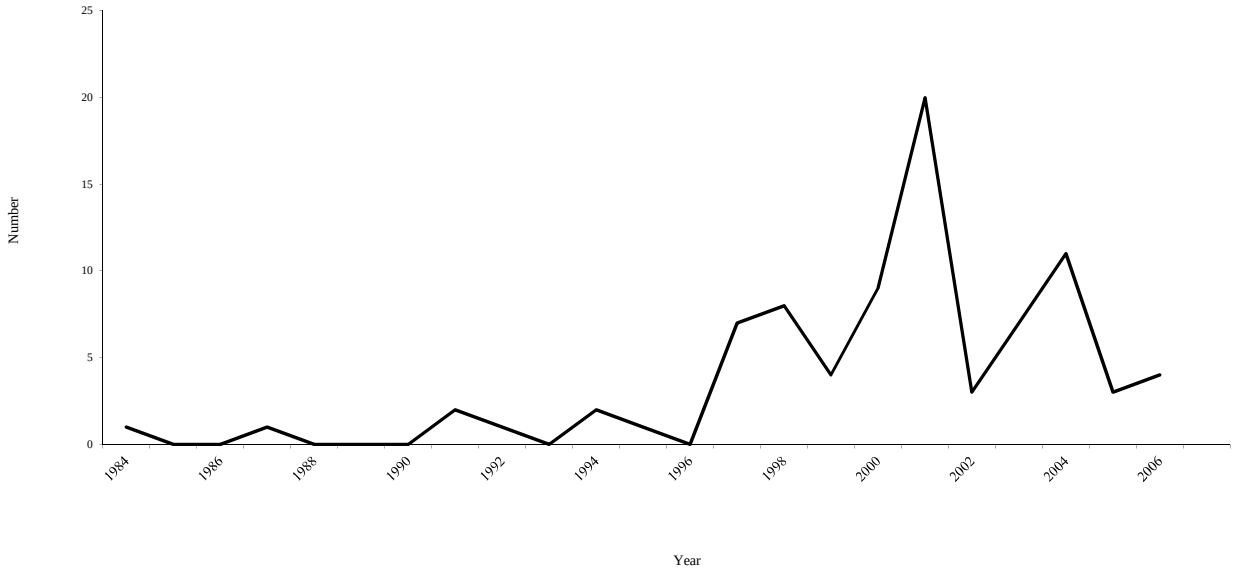
Thus, according to Barta, genocide was grounded in the processes of invasion and colonisation. Genocide was a consequence and not an intention of colonialism. This argument was certainly crucial, and yet it was also controversial because it broke with the orthodox definition of the term, according to which it is the *intention* to destroy a group that constitutes genocide.

[5] The term 'genocide' was occasionally employed in texts of the 1960s and 1970s, in those by Davey (6) and Grassby (1), for example. However, these texts did not pursue a systematic, in-depth study of genocide. Rather, the word 'genocide' was used in order to underline the negativity of interracial relations.

Key phases in research on Australian genocide

In hindsight, Barta's first article can be deemed a door-opening study, with many follow-up analyses drawing upon his theses, either supporting or rejecting them. Figure 1 is based upon a comprehensive bibliography of scholarly research on genocide in Australia published between 1984 and 2006. As it shows, many studies followed Barta's, yet research on genocide did not become systematic before 1997. From then on, however, research has not only increased in quantitative respects, as demonstrated by the annual numbers in publications, but also in a qualitative sense as the methods and themes of research have become increasingly diversified. Moreover, this figure substantiates three peaks in the quantity of publications: the years 1997-98, following the publication of the report on the Stolen Generations, *Bringing Them Home*, which concluded that forcible removal practices amounted to the offence of genocide (Wilson and HREOC 270-275); the year 2001, which saw denials of interracial violence in Australian history by controversial author Keith Windschuttle; and the year 2004, when the publication of *Genocide and Settler Society* by Dirk Moses marked the height of the internationalisation of Australian genocide research.

Fig.1: Scholarly Literature on Australian Genocide 1984-2006



Based on the present bibliography, five key phases can be

identified in the literature that has attributed the concept of genocide to Australian history.

1. **1960s-1984.** The first phase began in the late 1960s and lasted until Barta's first systematic article in 1984. During this phase of revisionist *re*writing, the term 'genocide' was not used; however, the basic facts for subsequent applications of the term had already been established.

2. **1984-1997.** The second phase is characterised by the efforts to apply the concept of genocide to Australian history and to differentiate between genocide and the Holocaust; the argument ran that, although the Holocaust was a form of ultimate genocide, genocide could not be equated with the Holocaust, not least because in Australia there was neither a coherent ideology of extermination nor a centrally organised mass murder. This differentiation has influenced many studies that followed (e.g., Tatz 1992; Gaita 1998; Evans and Thorpe 36; Barta 2001:42-43, 50-54).

3. **From 1997.** The third phase marks the actual beginning of systematic genocide research; it began in 1997 with the publication of *Bringing Them Home*, which investigated the abduction of Indigenous children from their families (Wilson and HREOC). As Figure 1 shows, there has been an increase in publications since the publication of *Bringing Them Home*: in 1999, Colin Tatz published his book *Genocide in Australia*, in which he connects, *inter alia*, the killings on the Frontier to article II (a) and the abduction of children to article II (e) of the Genocide Convention. Henry Reynolds followed in 2001 with his monograph *An Indelible Stain*, according to which only isolated killings on the Queensland Frontier amounted to genocide. Also in 2001, a special volume of *Aboriginal History* was devoted to genocide in Australia. The Stolen Generations report also stimulated the first literature rejecting the genocidal interpretation of Australian history;

some of these works are now largely known as part of 'denialist literature'.

4. **From 2000**. The fourth phase began in the year 2000 and is characterised by an increasing internationalisation of research on Australian genocide. For example, many Australian scholars began to publish in international journals such as *Patterns of Prejudice* and to research outside of Australia. Lyndall Ryan started her research at Yale's 'Genocide Studies Program'; in 2000, the 'Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies' was founded; and in 2003, the city of Sydney hosted an international genocide conference. Simultaneously, many scholars began to engage in comparative genocide studies, particularly in the field of colonial genocide, which compared Australian genocide with those in similar settler societies, especially North America, Namibia and South Africa. Alison Palmer's *Colonial Genocide* (2000), for example, compares racial violence in Australia and Namibia, pointing out the different forms of colonial genocides, and concluding that the Australian genocide differed considerably from that in Namibia (191-211). Likewise, in *With Intent to Destroy* (2003), Colin Tatz compares genocide in Australia with genocides in Germany and South Africa, just as Dirk Moses edited the volume *Genocide and Settler Society* (2004), which analysed the interrelations between genocide and colonialism. Without equating genocide with colonialism *per se*, many studies of that period have argued that genocide was already grounded in the colonisation of Australia.

5. **From 2001.** The fifth phase emerged in 2001, after the publication of Keith Windschuttle's book *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, in which the author claimed that most of the negative facts in Australian history had been fabricated, concluding that there was no evidence supporting the genocide argument (1-10). As a reaction to these denials, many studies started to research the motivations and

methods of denialist literature authors (e.g., Manne 2001; Kiernan; Moses 2003). As Figure 1 demonstrates, the denials quite evidently triggered the increased production of literature on Australian genocide in the year 2001.

It is important to recognise that the literature applying the concept of genocide to Australian history is highly complex and diverse. Much of this diversity is due to the different definitions of genocide underlying the respective studies. It is possible to identify the following themes and aspects to which genocide has been applied in scholarly literature (see Table 1): firstly, the decline in the Indigenous populations (Bartrop; Lukin Watson 178-182; Kocumbias 79-80); secondly, the conflicts on the Frontier of the 19th and early 20th century (e.g., Barta 1984, 1987; Evans and Thorpe); thirdly, regional case studies of Frontier conflicts (e.g., Kimber; Lukin Watson; Reynolds 2001); and finally, the policies of biological and cultural assimilation, including the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their families (e.g., Manne 1998; Blum). As Table 1 shows, the most studied themes are Frontier violence and the Stolen Generations.

Table 1: Application of the term 'genocide' to Australian history in select examples of scholarly literature

Name	*Application*	*Related to*
Barta	Genocide; own definition (effects of genocide)	Frontier Conflicts
Bartrop	Genocide; own definition (genocidal destruction)	Population Loss
Blum	Genocide; GC	Stolen Generations (WA)
Bradfield	Genocide; GC (Intention)	Stolen Generations
Brunton	No Genocide; GC (Intention)	Stolen Generations
Clendinnen	No Genocide (Genocide is Mass	Stolen Generations

	Murder)	
Evans and Thorpe	Genocide; own definition ('Indigenocide')	Frontier Conflicts
Gaita	Genocide; Intention	Stolen Generations
Haebich	Genocide; Lemkin's *Axis Rule*	Stolen Generations (WA)
Kimber	Genocide; GC	Frontier Conflicts (Central Australia)
Lukin Watson	Genocide; GC	Frontier Conflicts (Qld)
McGregor	No Genocide; GC	Stolen Generations after 1945
Maddock	No Genocide; GC	Stolen Generations
Manne	Genocide; GC	Stolen Generations before 1945
Markus	Ethnocide	Stolen Generations
Minogue	No Genocide	Stolen Generations
Moses	Genocide; GC (Intention)	Frontier Conflicts (Qld)
Palmer	Genocide; GC (Intention)	Frontier Conflicts (Qld)
Reynolds	Genocide; GC (Intention)	Local Frontier Conflicts (Qld)
Tatz	Genocide; GC (Intention)	Frontier Conflicts, Stolen Generations
Windschuttle	No Genocide (no empirical basis)	Frontier Conflicts

Annotation: The rubric 'application' differentiates whether genocide has been employed (=Genocide) or rejected (=No Genocide); GC (=Genocide Convention) and 'Intention' refers to the respective genocide definition used in literature.

For all the thematic and methodological differences in the literature arguing for the concept of genocide in Australia, two major similarities can be discerned:

1. Within Australia, genocide is often seen as a reaction, resulting from Indigenous resistance to colonisation and settlement; thus, in the Australian context, the theoretical concepts of genocide are slightly different from modern European contexts, focussing more upon results and effects than upon an ideology of extermination or a clearly planned intention. Some authors conclude that in Australia, genocide had primarily been committed by settlers, thus making private persons responsible rather than the state. This concept was eventually termed *societal genocide* (Barta 1987).

2. Most studies stress that Australian genocide was rather local, affecting particular Indigenous groups in particular regions, especially the heavily settled regions (Reynolds 2001:119-137). Thus, genocide did not affect all Indigenous groups across Australia, concluding that there had been no coherent and single act of genocide in Australia – there were only *genocidal moments* in Australian history (Reynolds 2001:119; Moses 2000).

Literature critical of the genocide argument

The literature critical of the genocide argument is just as complex as the literature in favour of applying the genocide concept to Australian history. Not all scholars criticising the application of the term 'genocide' are necessarily denialists of inter-racial violence. In fact, most so-called revisionist historians, such as Bain Attwood and Peter Read, have contributed massively to critical interracial Australian history, but have been cautious to use the concept of genocide, often because it is thought to portray Indigenous peoples as passive victims of history. Other historians prefer the term 'ethnocide'; for them, genocide refers to physical atrocities

and murder, whereas 'ethnocide' refers to the destruction of cultures and languages (Markus). Still other researchers insist on identifying genocide only with mass murder, arguing, for one, "[W]hen I see the word 'genocide' I still see Gypsies and Jews herded into trains, into pits, into ravines, and behind them the shadowy figures of Armenian women and children being marched into the desert by armed men. I see deliberate mass murder" (Clendinnen 106).

However, there are also scholars who try to deny violent moments in Australian history by rejecting the application of the term 'genocide'. Such denials are not restricted to the argument for genocide but apply to what is considered negative interpretations of Australian history *per se*. Thus, denialist writing does not form part of genocide research but is part of neo-conventional literature which criticises the focus on inter-racial violence in Australian history. Most of this literature has been published in the journal *Quadrant.* Two broad forms of this denialist literature can be discerned. The first tries to negate the factual basis and evidence upon which interpretations of genocide rest: Keith Windschuttle, for instance, contends that "just four deaths a year [...] must surely rank as just about the lowest rate of violent death ever meted out to indigenous inhabitants anywhere. Yet Tasmania is supposed to have been the site of one of the world's worst examples of genocide" (362). The second form, by contrast, does not negate violent moments as such but tries to downplay their effects by referring to non-Indigenous victims or to national accomplishments (Maddock; Minogue; Brunton). Other authors also claim that genocide should be equated with mass murder and that the contemporary understanding of genocide would, after all, be an anachronistic tool to apprehend the past (Brunton 19-24).

The denialist literature is thus not concerned with the theories of genocide and scholarly questions of further expanding the understanding of how patterns of inter-racial violence emerged, operated and persisted. Instead, it merely reflects a personal choice not to apply a term which has come to be seen as

destroying Australia's 'good reputation'. The denialist debates show that the application of the term 'genocide' to Australian history has a scholarly dimension (to analyse the patterns of inter-racial violence) as much as a political dimension – although the analysis of genocide clearly exceeds the mere question of whether or not genocide 'occurred'. Analytical debates are usually complex and Australian genocide researchers need to stress this complexity much more rigorously to their lay audiences: the application of the term 'genocide' *in scholarship* is not about 'black and white' but about deciphering the complexity of transnational patterns of violence.

Conclusion

Australian genocide research is not only a subject of historiography, but it also has its own history. The argument for genocide is very heterogeneous. It is not merely a question of whether or not genocide has been committed. Instead, many different theoretical and methodological approaches have been developed by Australian scholars, some of immense value to comparative studies and overseas researchers. This study has identified five key phases in Australian-originated genocide research, beginning with a preliminary phase in the late 1960s, stretching through the systematic research of the late 1990s to the comparative analyses of the 2000s. Thus far, the concept of genocide has been argued in cases of disease and population loss, in the Frontier conflicts, and in the policies of biological absorption and cultural assimilation. There are only few studies elaborating on the gendered dimensions of genocide. Pamela Lukin Watson is one of the few authors who have embarked on this theme.

In the literature reviewed in this essay, five different positions on the argument for the concept of genocide can be described: (i) one that argues in favour for the application of the term to Australian history; (ii) one that argues only in some cases for the application, for example, for locally restricted genocide; (iii) one that substitutes for 'genocide' other terms including 'ethnocide'; (iv) one that rejects the use of the term on the grounds of varying

definitions of genocide; (v) and one that minimises the extent of violence in Australian history and thus denies interracial violence, including genocide.

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Rob Amery

Four Dresdners in South Australia in the early-mid nineteenth century: a lasting legacy for Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla peoples

In August 2011, a small delegation from South Australia travelled to Germany on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the Dresden Mission Society, which had sent four young German missionaries to South Australia, beginning with Christian Gottlob Teichelmann and Clamor Schürmann in 1838 followed by Heinrich A. Eduard Meyer and Samuel Klose in 1840.

The delegation which travelled to Germany consisted of Kaurna Elder and educator, Dr Alitya Wallara Rigney, young Kaurna man and cultural performer, Karl Winda Telfer and senior Ngarrindjeri woman and Ngarrindjeri language teacher, Verna Koolmatrie. They were accompanied by mission history researcher and recent German immigrant to Australia, Gerhard Rüdiger[6], and myself, a non-Aboriginal linguist who has worked for more than 20 years with linguistic materials compiled by the Dresden missionaries. The group visited many sites of significance to the four missionaries. These included the home towns of Schürmann (Schledehausen near Osnabrück) and Teichelmann (Dahme/Mark Brandenburg), the palace in Berlin where Meyer's wife had worked as a tea lady, and locations where they began and completed their training in Berlin and Dresden. In Altenburg, Thuringia they visited the church where Schürmann and Teichelmann were ordained, the Mauritianum Natural History Museum and the Thuringia State

[6] Through researching mission history in South Australia, Gerhard Rüdiger discovered that he was married to a descendant of Clamor Schürmann.

Archives that holds documents central to this story. At the ethnographic section of the Grassimuseum in Leipzig they were shown Kaurna artefacts sent to Germany in 1840, and at the Francke Archives in Halle (Saale) the delegation inspected the archives of the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionswerk (LMW) in Leipzig which has inherited the work of the Dresden Mission Society.

Map: Route Taken by the Aboriginal Delegation through Germany, August 2011.

A — Frankfurt/Main Airport, State of Hesse
B — Marburg, State of Hesse

H — Dahme/Mark, State of Berlin-Brandenburg
I, K, M — Leipzig (Bayerischer Platz), State of

C — Wallau (Lahn), State of Hesse
E — Schledehausen – Bissendorf, State of Lower Saxony
F — Halle/Saale, State of Saxony (East Germany)
G — Berlin Mitte, State of Berlin
Saxony
J — Altenburg (State of Thuringia)
L — Dresden (State of Saxony)
N — Wartburg, Eisenach (State of Thuringia)
O — Frankfurt/Main

This paper will sketch the importance of the work of the four Dresden missionaries and their lasting legacy which is of great value to Aboriginal people, many of whom are descendants of those with whom they worked in South Australia. Their work is also of great value to linguists, ethnographers, historians, archaeologists and other academics. Furthermore the missionaries are of relevance to the Lutheran community in Australia, in particular for their later work with the German immigrant community. However, until recently they have been given scant recognition in Germany. Prior to 2011, for instance, there was no representation of these four missionaries, who were the very first missionaries to be sent overseas by the Dresden Mission Society, on the 'wall of fame' in the basement of the Leipzig mission, though there were photographs of hundreds of other missionaries sent to India, Tanzania and Papua New Guinea. This is mainly due to the fact that there were no Christian converts, and no lasting missions were ever established by the Dresden Mission Society in South Australia. When we visited Dahme, Teichelmann's home town in Brandenburg south of Berlin, no-one had heard of the family. Through the help of the local pastor who researched the records, we did, however, locate the family home which had been unoccupied for some 50 years. By contrast, members of the Schürmann family still live in the vicinity of the Schürmann family farm at Schledehausen near Osnabrück, though it is no longer in the hands of the family. Primarily through Jan Schürmann, descendant of Clamor's older brother, the Schürmann family still takes a keen interest in family history and Clamor's life in Australia and will celebrate a 500-year anniversary at the end of August 2012.

The four German missionaries had an uphill battle from the moment they set foot in South Australia. Teichelmann and

Schürmann arrived in Adelaide in October 1838, less than two years after the establishment of the colony by the South Australian Company. Although their passage was sponsored by George Fife Angas, a director of the South Australian Company, and even though they had the promise of his ongoing sponsorship, life was hard.

Documentation of Languages

Upon arrival in Adelaide Schürmann and Teichelmann immediately set about learning and documenting Kaurna, the language indigenous to Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains. Within just eighteen months they published a sketch grammar and vocabulary of around 2,000 words together with some 200 translated sentences. This work, Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) is henceforth referred to as T&S. Whilst this grammar has its shortcomings, it accords well with what we might expect of a language of this type. Aboriginal languages are case marking languages. They typically mark a great many more cases than Latin or German. Kaurna has a range of nominal case suffixes. It marks the agent, or subject of a transitive verb, (Ergative case) with the same suffix as the Instrumental case (eg *kaya-rlu* 'with a spear'). It also marks Genitive, Dative, Locative, Allative (motion towards as in *wawa-ana* 'to the beach'), Ablative (motion from as in *wawa-nangku* 'from the beach') and Perlative (through, along or via as in *wawa-arra* 'along the beach') cases. Singular, dual and plural pronouns and demonstratives that are inflected for case, and a range of verbal affixes, both inflectional and derivational, were documented, just as we would expect.

Following Schürmann's departure for Port Lincoln in 1840, Teichelmann continued working on Kaurna. A handwritten manuscript of almost 2,500 words liberally illustrated with hundreds of phrases and sentences was sent to Sir George Grey[7] in Cape Town, South Africa in 1857, followed by a short

[7] George Grey was Governor of the colony of South Australia, 1841-1845.

manuscript on Kaurna verbs (Teichelmann, 1858). Teichelmann's (1857) wordlist (henceforth TMs) must be read as a companion to T&S, as it omits many basic words such as *kuya* (for 'fish') or *warto* (for 'wombat') that are listed in T&S. However many words appear in both sources where additional senses have been identified or additional derivations and compounds noted.

In August 1840, Heinrich August Eduard Meyer and Samuel Klose arrived in Adelaide. As Meyer was married he was sent to Encounter Bay, whilst Klose took over the school at Piltawodli where he continued the work commenced by Schürmann eight months earlier. Schürmann, who was actually hoping to establish a mission himself at Encounter Bay, accepted a position as government interpreter at Governor Gawler's insistence at Port Lincoln where he set about learning a third Aboriginal language, Barngarla (Parnkalla)[8]. Schürmann established a second school there in 1850 which was closed in 1852 after funds were withdrawn in favour of the English-only school established nearby by Archdeacon Hale.

In other words, Clamor Schürmann succeeded in learning three Aboriginal languages. At the same time that he was writing a grammar of Kaurna with Teichelmann, Schürmann was busily learning the Ramindjeri language from his Aboriginal language teacher, Encounter Bay Bob, and by January 1840 claimed that he could conduct a conversation with Murray River peoples. There is no trace of Schürmann's notes on the Ramindjeri language but he must have handed these notes on to his close friend and colleague, Eduard Meyer, who published a grammar of Ramindjeri (Meyer 1843). Schürmann published a Barngarla grammar (1844) comparable to their Kaurna grammar, but without the phraseology section. He does, however, include a range of illustrative sentences, a number of which remain untranslated.

[8] Barngarla is the spelling adopted by Barngarla people today though Schürmann spelt it Parnkalla.

Between 1838 and 1857, the four Dresden missionaries produced grammars of three distinct South Australian languages, short ethnographic works on the associated cultures, translations of religious texts and hymns, and contributed to government reports. They also paved the way for subsequent work by others. The Wesleyan John Weatherstone learnt at the feet of Teichelmann for his endeavours to document the Ngayawang language spoken along the River Murray near Blanchetown (Weatherstone 1843). Protector of Aborigines Matthew Moorhouse was initially critical of the spelling system used by Teichelmann and Schürmann, but eventually adopted their methods himself in his Ngayawang dictionary and grammar (Moorhouse 1846). George Taplin of the Aborigines Friends Association drew heavily on Meyer's earlier work when he established a mission at Point MacLay in 1858, known today by its Ngarrindjeri name, Raukkan. The Hermannsburger missionaries who established a mission at Lake Killalpaninna with the Dieri people in the northeast of South Australia in 1867 drew on the work and experience of the Dresden missionaries (Kneebone 9). Indeed Schürmann had been approached some years earlier in 1863 to establish a mission at Lake Hope, but declined due to his age in favour of "younger stronger men".

Without the work of Teichelmann and Schürmann, our knowledge of the Kaurna language would be very much diminished. Even though there were more than a dozen others who recorded Kaurna language firsthand, the work of the Dresden missionaries is by far the most comprehensive and detailed. Only Black (1920) surpasses them in the quality of his phonetic transcriptions, but Black's wordlist is extremely limited, containing just 66 words in all compared with 3,500 or so recorded by Schürmann and Teichelmann. Without them we would know of far less than 1,000 Kaurna words and we would be much less certain of the form and pronunciation of most of these. Moreover, the meanings of most words would be far less precise and in a number of cases they would be wrong or misleading. We would know only a small fraction of the more complex derivations seen in TMs. The main

problem, however, would be the absence of a grammar without the work of the German missionaries.

Whilst some other observers did record a small number of sentences, these are all, with the exception of eight phrases and 20 short sentences recorded by Black (1920), Pidgin Kaurna. The true Kaurna language has distinctive Ergative pronouns for the subject of a transitive verb and Nominative/Accusative pronouns for the intransitive subject or object of the verb which are all replaced by the possessive pronouns in Pidgin Kaurna. Case suffixes are invariably missing and verbs typically appear in the present tense form irrespective of the time frame. See Simpson (1996) for an account of Pidgin Kaurna.

As a result, the potential for revival of the Kaurna language would be severely compromised without the work of the German observers, especially as the records of the closely related neighbouring languages to the north are similarly impoverished. We would need to base all sentence construction on the grammatical structure evident in Black's sentences, which are all simple sentences. Whilst past, present and future tenses are recorded, a number of verb suffixes recorded by T&S are missing and only a few case suffixes are to be found. A reasonable range of pronoun forms is evident, but demonstratives are conspicuously absent. What is more, it appears that Black himself might have relied heavily on T&S in the interpretation of the material he gleaned from Ivaritji[9], his one and only source recognised as the 'last speaker' of Kaurna, because he gives T&S counterparts for almost every word he records.

In reviving a language, if only simple sentences (i.e. sentences with just one verb) are possible, then the resultant language does not flow. It lacks cohesion. The complex sentence constructions found in T&S and TMs such as the purposive –*titya* 'in order to',

[9] Ivaritji or 'Princess Amelia' was 'discovered' as having links to the Adelaide Plains by Daisy Bates at Point Pearce Mission in 1919 long after the Kaurna people (or Adelaide Tribe) were thought to be extinct.

conditional *-ma* 'if', *-nanna* 'having done', aversive *–ttoai* 'lest' and various causative constructions allow for a much more complete language. Sentences such as the following would not be possible:

> *Ninko warra yurrekaityatitya ngai budni* (T&S:G20)
> 'I came to hear you speak'
>
> *Tarralyoanna mutyertanna wondandi, yertabuttonettoai* (T&S:G18)
> 'Put the clothes on the table, otherwise (they) will get dirty'
>
> *Ninna ngattaityangga waanggama, nindaitya aii budnama.* (T&S:G19)
> 'If you had spoken to me, I would have come to you'

Instead by drawing on Wyatt's vocabulary and Black's morphology and syntax we might be able to say something like:

> *Ninna wanggandi. Ngai bunata.*
> 'You are speaking. I will come.'

Without the more complex sentences we would be reduced to a very restricted language, unless we were to borrow these constructions from further afield or invent something. Certainly the documentation of Kaurna in T&S and TMs gives us a firm foundation upon which to build with a reasonable level of confidence. Much the same could be said about Schürmann's documentation of Barngarla and Meyer's work on Ramindjeri. When used alongside of the recordings of others and analysed in the light of genetically related languages which have been documented by linguists and in many cases are still spoken, the linguistic records of the Dresdners make even better sense than if we attempted to use them in isolation.

Ethnography

The Dresden Four are a rich source of ethnographic information on South Australian Aboriginal peoples in the early days of colonisation. Teichelmann (1841) published a short ten-page ethnography on the Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains, Meyer (1846) on the Ramindjeri people of Encounter Bay and the

southern Fleurieu Peninsula and Schürmann (1846) on the Barngarla people of Port Lincoln and Eyre Peninsula west of Adelaide.The fourth, teacher Samuel Klose, preserved the Kaurna language by sending handwritten texts and letters written by Aboriginal students, and hymns translated into Kaurna by Schürmann and Teichelmann to the Dresden Mission Society in Germany where some have survived to this day. Teichelmann also contributed to official government reports (Teichelmann & Moorhouse, 1841). Valuable insights may also be gleaned from their language descriptions (T&S; TMs; Meyer 1843 and Schürmann, 1844). Furthermore, the diaries compiled by Teichelmann (1839-1846), Schürmann, (1838-1853) and correspondence sent to Dresden by all four missionaries are also laced with information about the peoples and cultures with whom they worked. Their journals and correspondence are especially rich sources of information on everyday life as they worked with and lived amongst the Kaurna, Ramindjeri and Barngarla peoples. Various conversations are reported, almost verbatim, as they shared their beliefs, visited people in gaol in their hour of need and stood by their friends in the midst of violence on the frontier.

Unfortunately, there is little genealogical information or indication of territorial boundaries. No map or family tree was ever produced. Nor did they record Dreaming narratives in any detail. Teichelmann published brief references in English to a number of Dreaming narratives he had obviously been told in Kaurna and Schürmann recorded in his journal certain religious traditions known as "secret men's business" he had been told by his male informants, not to be relayed to women or children. Unfortunately, none of the Dresden missionaries attempted to record any of these in the respective Aboriginal languages. This is a source of great disappointment today to Aboriginal people associated with these three languages and cultures. In a situation in which so much has been lost due to the ravages of colonisation, information about their land, their families and their cultures, especially spirituality, is highly sought after.

A Contribution to Science

Only recently (2010) we discovered that the Dresden missionaries, in addition to their ethnographic descriptions, were collectors of artefacts and natural history specimens for scientific institutions in Germany. In 1840 Teichelmann and Schürmann sent Kaurna artefacts to Dresden. Four of them: a spear, two clubs and a net, were presented by the Dresden Mission Society to the Dresden Museum where they remain in the Museum archives to this day. They are very likely the very first Aboriginal artefacts to have been sent to Germany, though of course there would have been earlier specimens sent to England. We had the privilege of viewing and handling the four artefacts and others, some of which may also have been collected by the Dresden missionaries in South Australia, at the Grassimuseum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. There is written evidence of more artefacts sent to Altenburg (see map above) in later years, but these have not yet been located.

Teichelmann was corresponding with Hans Conon von Gabelentz in Altenburg, a language researcher and famous in this time. Teichelmann sent Gabelentz a copy of their vocabulary and grammar (T&S) and possibly also a copy of Meyer's grammar of Ramindjeri. These copies were tracked down by James McElvenny in September 2011 to the Russian State Library for Foreign Literature in Moscow. They clearly belonged to Gabelentz's collection as each still has an "Aus der Bücherei Gabelentz-Poschwitz" sticker in the inside front cover. Intriguingly, this copy of T&S had been annotated by Matthew Moorhouse, who served as Protector of Aborigines from 1839 until 1856.

Teichelmann also collected hundreds of bird specimens for the Natural History Society "Osterlande" in Altenburg. When these were 'discovered' by chance in October 2010 by James McElvenny there were 29 specimens on public display in the Mauritianum Natural History Museum. Upon inquiry there were hundreds more specimens in storage which I had the privilege of viewing and photographing in January 2011. Teichelmann also sent insect

specimens to Altenburg, though these appear not to have survived.

A Linguistic and Cultural Renaissance

In 1980 Kaurna/Ngarrindjeri woman Leila Rankine sent Narungga man Peter Buckskin, now Dean of the David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research at the University of South Australia, to the archives in search of a name for an alternative school in Adelaide that had just been established. The school was named Warriappendi 'to seek; find'. It is obvious from the spelling that this word was taken from T&S. This is the first time that Kaurna people had turned to archival material in search of a name. In 1989 efforts to reclaim and re-introduce the Kaurna language began based primarily on the work of Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840). Actually, a facsimile edition of T&S was printed by Howard Groome in 1982. Groome & Irving (1981) also produced a book in which they incorporated various sentences, such as *Warityanni mai yungainga* 'Give some food to Waritya' and *Medo wandi wandingai* 'I'm going to sleep' etc. taken from T&S. Words from T&S, along with some from other sources, were incorporated into short wordlists of kin terms, artefacts, fauna and flora etc. in an Aboriginal Studies resource book on the Kaurna (EDSA 1989).

In 1990 Kaurna revival efforts began with the writing of seven songs that were written wholly or partly in Kaurna (Ngarrindjeri, Narungga & Kaurna Languages Project, 1990). This was the first time that novel Kaurna sentences, such as *Wanti ninna padnendi ngangkitta, yerli?* 'Where are you going mother, father? *Ngadlu padnendi Kura Yerloanna.* 'We're going to Kura Yerlo' and *Ngai Murkaota*. 'I'll cry' had been constructed since the language was last spoken as a first language prior to 1929, or perhaps even earlier than that. The writing of these songs, with grammatical sentences, would have been impossible without the work of Schürmann and Teichelmann.

These initial efforts were followed up over the next few years with annual workshops of one or two weeks duration, held mostly at Kaurna Plains School in Adelaide. We began deconstructing sentences from the phraseology section in T&S and on the basis of our understanding of the grammar that we had gleaned from T&S we began to construct useful expressions for the classroom. In 1992 a 32-page children's picture book, which included some lengthy and complex sentences, was translated into Kaurna (Amery 1992). Over the years a range of Kaurna language resources have been produced including a songbook (Schultz et al 1999), an alphabet book (Watkins & Gale 2006), and Kaurna funeral protocols (Amery & Rigney 2006) such that an entire funeral might be conducted in the Kaurna language if people so desired. A Kaurna Learner's Guide complete with a dozen PowerPoint presentations on a CD with embedded sound files (Amery & Simpson 2007) has just been revised with new spellings (Amery & Simpson, in press).

Several websites document the recent achievements of the Kaurna language movement:

- <www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp> provides an introduction to the work of Kaurna Warra Pintyandi, a partnership of Kaurna people and researchers that plans and regulates use of the Kaurna language.
- <www.kaurnaplacenames.com> records Kaurna placenames, their meaning and pronunciation.
- The website "Kaurna in the Public Domain Post-1980" is still in development and will document the many hundreds of requests for naming buildings, organisations, programs, parks etc. with Kaurna names (Amery 2010).

A Kaurna dictionary application for mobile phones (McElvenny 2008) is now in active use by Kaurna language activists. Two hour-long pilot radio programs in and about the Kaurna language are nearing completion and a Kaurna dictionary project is underway.

The Kaurna language was introduced to Kaurna Plains School in 1992 as their Language Other Than English (LOTE) program and has been taught there ever since. In 1994 a senior secondary Kaurna language course was established at Elizabeth City High School and Elizabeth West Adult Campus in the vicinity of Kaurna Plains School. Kaurna, along with Gupapuyngu in Victoria and Pitjantjatjara in Port Augusta, was the very first Aboriginal language to be taught in Australia at senior secondary level in an accredited program. In 1997 a course in Kaurna language and linguistics was introduced at the University of Adelaide. Kaurna is now taught to more than 500 students each year in a number of government schools scattered throughout the Adelaide metropolitan area. Many more schools would offer this program, if only we could supply the teachers. A TAFE (Technical and Further Education) course has just been developed to train Aboriginal people in the knowledge of their own language at the Certificate III level[10] and to teach their own language at the Certificate IV level. Over the next few years we are hoping to train a number of Kaurna people to meet this growing demand for Kaurna language programs. See Amery (2000) for a comprehensive account of the reclamation of Kaurna and the establishment of Kaurna language programs.

There is also a strong Ngarrindjeri revival program underway (Gale & Mickan 2007; Gale 2010). Ngarrindjeri people live along the southern end of the River Murray approximately 100 km southeast of Adelaide. By contrast to Kaurna considerably more of the Ngarrindjeri language is remembered within the Ngarrindjeri community today. The Ngarrindjeri turned first towards their own memories of the language, some 480 words, which they used liberally and proudly within English in such a way that their speech is at times unintelligible to English speakers. In the 1980s Brian Kirke produced a *Ngarrindjeri Yanun* language kit which included

[10] Eight Ngarrindjeri students successfully completed the Certificate III course in 2011.

photocopies of George Taplin's and Meyer's wordlists. As Taplin's wordlist appears with English headwords it was used more than Meyer's which lists Ngarrindjeri headwords. Furthermore, Taplin's name is well-known as he was superintendent of Point MacLeay mission, where many Ngarrindjeri still live today, and which many more still regard as home. Until recently they had taken less interest in Meyer's work undertaken at Encounter Bay some distance away. But Meyer's work underpins that of Taplin and though it was published 35 years earlier, it is a much superior work. Meyer was the first to recognise what is now known as the Antipassive construction, a grammatical construction found in Ergative languages that is analogous to the passive construction in nominative-accusative languages like English or German. Taplin took the earlier work of Meyer and checked his Ramindjeri vocabulary against the Yaralde dialect spoken at Point MacLeay.

Since 2003, Mary-Anne Gale, together with Ngarrindjeri Elders, has been running Ngarrindjeri workshops in Murray Bridge with a group of Ngarrindjeri people. Together they have been exploring the language in more depth. As a result, this group has come to realize the importance of Meyer's work, his insights into Ngarrindjeri grammar and the usefulness of his illustrative sentences.

There has also been some interest amongst the Barngarla people in Schürmann's work. In June 1994 Jane Simpson and David Nash held a Barngarla language workshop in Port Lincoln attended by a dozen or so Barngarla people. Barngarla/Narungga/Kaurna man David Wilson (he identifies with all three language groups) undertook a respelling of Schürmann's Parnkalla and maintained a database in the mid-1990s. Cynthia Rathjen (1998) undertook some preliminary analysis of Schürmann's work on Barngarla and some discussions have been held recently between Prof. Ghil'ad Zuckermann and members of the Barngarla community and an application has been lodged for Commonwealth Government funding to support a Barngarla language program. Should they

proceed, a revival of Barngarla language will necessarily be based firmly on the work of Clamor Schürmann.

The visit to Germany in August 2011 enabled the South Australian delegation to see where the missionaries, who had worked amongst their ancestors, had come from. To visit the homes and farms where they were raised, to meet some members of the Schürmann family, to walk the streets of the villages and towns they frequented, the churches where they were baptised and ordained and to travel through their homeland, to which they never had the possibility to return, was a moving experience. But especially moving was the opportunity to see the letters at the Francke Foundations, Halle written by Kaurna children Pitpauwe and Wailtyi and the page from Kartanya's copybook. Though Ngarrpadla Alitya Rigney and Karl Winda Telfer had seen images of these documents before, it was quite another thing to see and feel the actual documents and the copious original handwritten correspondence sent back to Germany by the missionaries.

There were also some uneasy moments as the Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri members of the delegation came face to face with artefacts in the Grassimuseum in Leipzig that were made by and once belonged to their people still not knowing the precise circumstances under which they were acquired. Were they purchased or given in exchange or as a gift, or were they simply taken (i.e. stolen)? Later, when confronted with Australian fauna – some of the birds that Teichelmann had collected, they felt very uneasy about this, as though their country had been plundered. Again, we did not know a great deal about the circumstances of their collection. They were most likely seen by Teichelmann as a means whereby he could finance their struggling mission in South Australia, but clearly Alitya and Verna felt very uncomfortable about this.

This is what we know about the work of the Dresden missionaries and their record of languages and cultures. Whilst they have left the Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla peoples today with a

lasting and invaluable record, without which there would be little upon which to build today (especially true for the Kaurna and Barngarla but less so for the Ngarrindjeri), at the same time the missionaries were also part and parcel of the colonial enterprise which decimated their peoples, ransacked and destroyed their country and their sources of food and sustenance and destroyed their traditional way of life which had lived with nature in a long-term sustainable relationship. But perhaps most importantly they contributed to the loss and destruction of their system of beliefs. Whilst the missionaries did what they could to defend the rights of the people with whom they worked and to share what meagre resources they had, they were in direct conflict with Aboriginal people when it came to their beliefs. Many Aboriginal people were prepared to accept the new Christian religion in addition to their own, but the missionaries tried to belittle the traditional Aboriginal beliefs and replace them with Christianity.

On balance, however, the four Dresdners have left the Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla peoples of South Australia a valuable and lasting legacy, unsurpassed at the time in which it was recorded. Whilst they never achieved their goals of establishing lasting, self-sustaining missions and conversions to Christianity and abandoned their work with a sense of despair nonetheless their efforts have resulted in unforeseen success (Amery 2004) with the linguistic and cultural renewal that has taken place over the two decades and more. Despite a prevalent distaste for missions and missionaries amongst many of Australia's Aboriginal people, many Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla people have come to value and cherish much of what Schürmann, Teichelmann, Klose and Meyer achieved through working with their ancestors.

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Eva Meidl

An unofficial view: Johann Wäber's first images of Tasmanian Aboriginals

John Webber/Johann Wäber, who accompanied Captain James Cook as official artist on his third voyage, drew the very first images of the Tasmanian Aborigines from a European perspective. Cook had faith in the skills of the artist and acknowledged the importance of Webber's work. He respected the Swiss artist, for he wrote in the official account: "Mr Webber was engaged to embark with Captain Cook, for the purpose of supplying the defects of written accounts, by taking accurate and masterly drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions" (Cook 1785:26).

Yet the German philosopher and poet Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) wrote about Webber's celebrated images from this voyage:

> (…) still greater deviations may be suspected, to have been committed by the artist, who attended Cook's last voyage. Either he, or the engraver, to whose favourite tool the department of Antarctic forms was entrusted, seems to have sacrificed the realities before his eyes to a faint reminiscence, and stale repetition of Cipriani-Beauties (290).

More than a hundred years later the 'accuracy' and 'mastery' of Webber's work lauded by Cook was still challenged by art historian Bernhard Smith (1916-2011), who held a similar view to Herder. He wrote that

> (…) although Webber drew exotic landscapes with great accuracy, his figure drawing retained the facility and attenuated proportions of late mannered baroque draughtsmanship. (…) natives were still seen, for the most part, as noble savages (…) (1960:79-80).

John Cawte Beaglehole (1901-1971), the New Zealand historian was not much kinder in his view of Webber's skill. He notes in 1967 that "portraits and the figure, however, were not his long suit" (*The Voyage* ccxi).

It is astonishing that the important task of official illustrator for an ambitious project such as a circumnavigation of the world should have been entrusted to a person who, according to critics, lacked skills in faithfully reporting what he saw. However, comparing Webber's official drawings (the ones referred to by his critics) with his original drawings, which were not included in the official publication, the discrepancy evident between versions of the same pictures proves that Webber's figure drawings were as accurate as his landscapes. His artistry as a faithful painter of what he saw also extends to the human form in the original drawings, which he made on location. As mentioned above, these drawings were not included in the official account of Cook's third journey but they deserve close scrutiny and explanation. To this end, it is necessary to provide a brief background of the artist, his involvement in Cook's last voyage around the world, and possible reasons for self-censorship.

John Webber's father, Abraham Wäber, was a sculptor who emigrated from Bern to London in 1742 where he married Mary Quant. Living in depressed financial circumstances Abraham could not afford to educate his first-born son Johann and therefore sent him in 1757 at the age of six, back to his relatives in Switzerland. In Bern Johann was apprenticed to the landscape artist Ludwig Aberli for five years. Realizing that Johann was an exceptionally gifted artist, the Bernese Merchant's Guild awarded Johann Wäber an annual stipend, which enabled him to study at the Academie Royale in Paris. He toured the countryside around Paris with the engraver Jean Georges Wille, sketching the landscape. After four years in Paris, Wäber returned to London in 1775 and anglicised his name to John Webber (Hauptman 9-15).

Having been educated on the continent by prominent teachers, it was not difficult for Webber to be admitted to the Royal Academy in London where he had his first exhibition a year later in 1776. Daniel Carl Solander, the botanist on Captain James Cook's first voyage, saw Webber's paintings, recognized the young artist's talent, and recommended him to the Admiralty as the official artist on Cook's third voyage around the globe 1776-1780 (9-15).

Webber joined HMS *Resolution* at Plymouth and, as the official artist of the journey, produced more than 300 paintings, portraits and preliminary sketches. It was his task to make drawings and paintings of people, animals, objects and landscapes encountered on the journey. It is this voyage which defined Webber as artist and which helped him launch a successful career as a painter. All artists on Cook's journeys helped to create a new school of imperial history painting, particularly when they worked up events (such as Webber's painting of the death of Captain Cook in Hawaii) into oils on their return (Marshall 298).

Returning to London after the epic voyage in 1780, Webber busied himself preparing the many drawings he had made for publication in the official journal of the voyage. Natural history artists had to work fast in the field and often sketches were completed years later in studios at home. Overseeing the engravings of his pictures by John Caldwall, Webber remained involved with the expedition for the next three years. His illustrations were extremely popular and he was even invited to show King George III a selection of his works (Hauptman 9-15).

Once discharged from the Admiralty, Webber prepared a series of 16 soft ground etchings published as *Views in the South Seas*. Etched and coloured by him, they were published between 1788 and 1792. The voyage of exploration around the world with Captain Cook had made Webber's career, and in the years to come he benefited from various spin-offs such as designing

scenery and costumes for a pantomime depicting events in the South Seas.[11]

Webber's reputation was by then well established and he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy in 1785 and a full member in 1891. Between 1784 and 1792 he exhibited around 50 works at Royal Academy exhibitions. As of 1787, Webber began travelling through Europe. He visited Paris, Geneva, Milan and Bern, re-discovering his Swiss roots, and he donated his ethnographic collection from the South Seas to the library in Bern. He died in London in 1793 and since he had remained unmarried, the principal benefactor of his estate was his younger brother. Grateful for the excellent education he had received in his hometown through the generosity of its citizens, he bequeathed to the library of the City of Bern some of his own works. Webber's collection is now held in the ethnographic section of the historical museum in Bern.

As mentioned above, Dr Solander had handpicked Webber as official artist to accompany Captain Cook. This decision was, according to Grenfell Price, "an excellent choice (…), a Swiss painter, who succeeded Hodges as artist" (200). The main purpose of Cook's third voyage was the discovery of a passage connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic, a task which could not be realized. The second purpose of the exploration was to return the South Sea Islander Omai to Tahiti. Captain Furneaux, who was in charge of the second vessel during Cook's second voyage to the Pacific, had brought Omai to England on HMS *Adventure* in 1774. These official instructions for the expedition were supplemented by secret instructions from the Admiralty, stressing the delicate political situation with Spain, urging Cook to avoid all territories which were claimed by his "Catholic Majesty" (202). The paranoia

[11] Taking advantage of the public interest in Cook's tragic voyage, Philip James de Loutherbourg, a painter and stage designer, presented the pantomime *Omai, or, A Trip Round the World.* This multi-sensory display captured the imagination of the public and was a huge success. It was staged in the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, 1785.

of being outsmarted by a foreign power, or beaten to discoveries by expeditions not under the British flag, went so far that Cook had strict orders

> (…) to demand from the officers and petty officers, the log-books and journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection; and enjoining them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they have been, until they shall have permission so to do (…) (204).

Yet this instruction did not prevent some of the crew from hiding their recollections and even having them published before the official account of the journey. One of them, Heinrich Zimmermann, a German cox-swain on the second ship of the expedition, HMS *Discovery*, published *An Account of the Third Voyage of Captain Cook Around the World, 1770-1780,* in Germany in 1781, three years before the official account was published in London.

The secret instructions also underscored the importance of the official artist, whose duty it would be to provide information so that further exploitation of the lands discovered by the exploration could be assessed by the British Government. Cook was ordered

> (…) also carefully to observe the nature of the soil, and the produce thereof; the animals and fowls that inhabit or frequent it; the fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coast, and in what plenty; and, to make as accurate drawings of them, as you can (…) (203).

The science of exploration certainly relied on the art of visually recording nature in the time before photography.

> Both the Royal Society and the Admiralty collaborated to ensure that research in a whole range of subjects was pressed forward by Cook's explorations. The distinguished scientist Sir Joseph Banks, who was present on the first voyage, regarded drawings as more valuable than works in recording and classifying natural history specimens and other peoples, as well as environmental, astronomical, and meteorological phenomena. The role of the artists and draughtsmen, therefore, was to record the botany,

> zoology, and ethnography of the regions visited. They also provided aids to navigation by drawing coastal profiles and they contributed to cartography and to the study of planetary and weather patterns. (Marshall 297).

It is unclear if Webber knew of the secret instructions about keeping a diary, or if he simply was too busy with his artistic work to keep one. The paucity of written material by Webber and the complete lack of his own written record of the journey leave us only with his artistic representations and the question of whether his critics have a point or if he recorded what he saw faithfully. Webber's importance for the success of the exploration relied on his accurate eye and his artistic skills. During the four years of the journey his work included landscape and ethnographic drawings and paintings of extraordinary breadth and the catalogue of his work is one of the most famous results of Cook's voyage. One of Webber's most iconographic paintings is that of Captain Cook's death on Hawaii in 1779. The expedition continued after Cook's death under the leadership of Captain Charles Clerke on *Resolution* with Lieutenant Gore in charge of *Discovery.* Their aim to find the Northwest Passage in the Arctic could however not be realized. Smith wrote "from the cold south in Kerguelen's land to the cold north in Nootka sound" (109) Webber had seen so great an area of the world's surface as no other artist before him. Back in England in 1780 Webber completed his composition of Captain Cook's death in 1784.

Perhaps more important than this well known picture, which Webber painted according to eye witness accounts, for he himself was on board *Resolution* at the time of the battle, are the drawings he made in Van Diemen's Land. Not only are these the first known visual records of Tasmania, then known as Van Diemen's Land, but Webber also drew them according to nature. On 24th of January 1777 Captain James Cook in *Resolution* and Captain Clerke in *Discovery* arrived at Adventure Bay on Bruny Island, south of present day Hobart, as Furneaux had done four years earlier. Cook ordered two parties ashore to collect wood and grass for the livestock. The astronomer William Bayly pitched his

tent to carry out observations and Webber began sketching two Aborigines whom John Henry Martin, a seaman on the *Discovery* described as perfectly happy, "for they frequently wou'd burst out, into the most immoderate fits of Laughter & when one Laughed every one followed his example Emediately [sic]" (*CCS* 2).

Fig.1. The death of Captain Cook, painted in 1784

It is Webber who provides us with the first images of the fauna and the people who lived on the island. The copper engraving of Webber's lizard is testimony to his skill as an artist representing nature. Cook described the lizard thus: "(…) we killed a lizard which was 15 inches long and six round, beautifully clouded with yellow and black" (Cook 1785:26). The veracity of Webber's drawing is underscored by illustrating not just the lizard in fine detail, but also its habitat, that is the sandy soil that it traversed.[12]

[12] A picture of the lizard is on page 119 in Rex and Thea Rienits, *The voyages of Captain Cook*. A copy of the original painting could not be sourced for this essay from the British Museum, or the British Library.

The same cannot be attributed to the ringtail possum, which Webber also drew while in Adventure Bay. Dependent on light, Webber had to draw the possum during the day. However, possums are nocturnal animals and almost exclusively tree-dwelling. Webber's drawing of the possum is that of an animal that had been shot down from a tree. Lieutenant John Gore wrote about the possum, "here is a little animal Something Larger than the Cane Rat has a Tale like it, but its Other Parts are more like the Racoon, it runs up Trees, and into holes of tress when Persued, one of our Gentlemen Shot one, (…) [sic]" (Beaglehole 58). Not aware of the animal's tree-dwelling habits, he drew the possum standing outstretched on the ground, something which possums rarely do. On live animals, the eyes are slightly bulging, something that probably could not be observed on a dead animal. Nevertheless, Webber's drawing is distinguished by the extraordinary accuracy of other physical details of the animal, such as the texture of the fur, the tapering prehensile tail with the white tip, which is coiled when not used. The ears are short, rounded and have a characteristic white patch behind. Webber's drawing of the possum is not an accurate scientific depiction and documentation, but it is a work of artistic achievements fusing the sciences with the arts.

Fig.2. An Opossum of Van Diemen's Land, 1777

It is well known that Webber was the first European who sketched the Tasmanian Aborigines, even though the island had been discovered by Europeans 135 years earlier. The Dutchman Abel Tasman named the island Van Diemen's Land in 1642. He and his crew did not encounter any aboriginal inhabitants. Since then the island had been visited by Marion du Fresne in 1772 and Tobias Furneaux, who captained the *Adventure* during Cook's second voyage in 1773. While the French expedition under Marion du Fresne did encounter Aborigines, a skirmish broke out and the French had to retreat after shooting one person and wounding several others. A year later, Furneaux did not encounter any aboriginal inhabitants when anchoring at Adventure Bay.

An unfinished pencil sketch by Webber of Cook meeting inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land in 1777 is kept in the Naval Historical Branch, Ministry of Defence, London (Smith 1960: 113; Smith 1992:199).

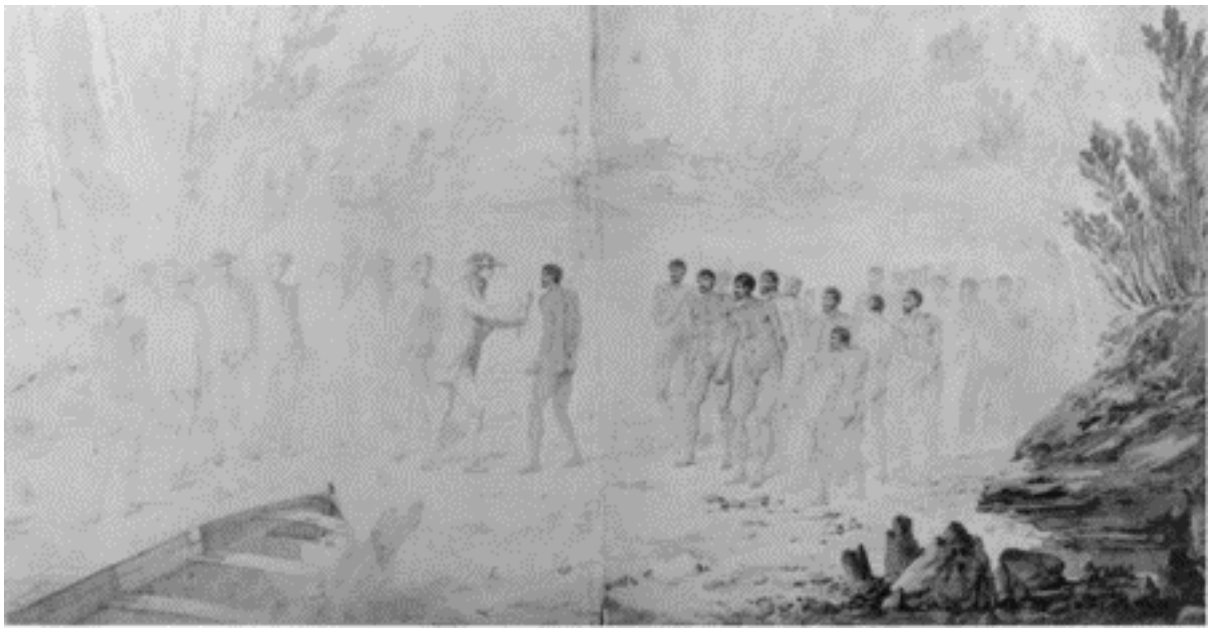

Fig.3. Captain Cook's interview with natives in Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, 29th January 1777

David Samwell, surgeon's first mate on *Resolution*, recalls the encounter with the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land

> We had not be[en] long landed before about twenty of them men and boys joined us. The Men has not been long with us before they were joined by ten or twelve Women, some of them carrying their Children on their Baks supported by the skin of some wild beast thrown over their shoulders & tyed before[sic] (*CCS* 2).

On 29th January 1777 Cook observed about the aboriginal men they encountered that they "were quite naked and wore no ornaments except large punctures or ridges raised on the skin" (Beaglehole *Journals* 55). Cook continued,

> (…) their hair is perfectly woolly, and is clotted with grease and red ochre, like that of the Hottentots. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full, as is the case with most Indians, and the lower part of the face projects considerably. Their eyes are of a moderate size, and though not very quick or piercing, they give the countenance a frank, cheerful, and pleasing craft (Hogg 1293).

The lack of any observable activity that could be attributed to any known production of material goods was noted by Heinrich Zimmermann, "as far as I could discover in so short a time their

food consisted of mussels, oysters, and other fish, also all sorts of roots. There was no trace of agriculture or of fruit trees, and we did not see any huts; they accepted the bread we gave them, but threw it away immediately" (Howay 37). Not able to observe any form of cultural activity Cook nevertheless remarked "They display, however, some contrivance in their method of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different directions raised above the surface of their skin" (Cook 1785:26).

Webber's picture of an aboriginal man is that of a handsome black person with the incisions referred to by Cook barely visible.

Fig.4. "A man of Van Diemen's Land," (Nicol and Cadell Plate No 6)

Describing the women of Van Diemen's Land, Cook noted:

> The former [women] wore a Kangaroo skin fastened over their shoulders, the only use of which seemed to be, to support their children on their backs, for it left those parts uncovered which modesty directs us to conceal. Their bodies were black, and marked with scars like those of the men; from whom, however, they differed, in having their heads shaved; some of them being completely shorn, others only on one side, while the rest of them had the upper part of their heads shaved,

> leaving a very narrow circle of hair all round. They were far from being handsome; however, some of our gentlemen paid their addresses to them, but without effect (Beaglehole *Journals* 55).

David Samwell was less charitable than Cook, he thought that the women were "the ugliest creatures that can be imagined in human shape" (Rienits 118).

Fig.5. "A woman of Van Diemen's Land," (Nicol and Cadell Plate No 7)

Looking at Webber's engravings, which were part of the official folio to illustrate the published journal of the voyage, we are at once struck by the discrepancy of Cook's and Samwell's written description from the depictions. While Cook does not attribute beauty to them, Samwell's view of their appearance is harsh. Yet Webber's Aborigines are handsome and the woman in particular has a quiet grace about her, which is not what one would expect from Cook's account. The modesty Cook refers to seems to have been an obligation for Webber, who apparently drew his subjects'

upper torso only, leaving their nakedness to the imagination of the spectator. Indeed, the kangaroo skin, which cradles the baby on the woman's shoulder, could be imagined as a cloak covering the rest of her body. Webber is faithful to the hairstyle of both men and women and also includes the tattoos, albeit in a rather faint and unobtrusive way.

Peter Marshall states "the tendency in portrayals of Pacific peoples by Cook's artists was to present them in what was thought to be a sympathetic light, sometimes as noble savages approximating to classical ideals" (297). That European artists were imbued with Rousseau's (1712-1778) concept of the noble savage is also pointed out by Smith who wrote "(…) natives were still seen, for the most part, as noble savages (…)" (1960:114). Webber's official portraits of the Tasmanian Aborigines comply to this ideal; they are portraits of people his European compatriots could embrace. Indeed, the Aboriginal woman and her child chosen for the official publication have a virginal, almost religious quality, taking the idea of the noble into the realm of the sacred.

The Swiss artist had been taught by his masters in Europe to be faithful in his representations, because the degree of accuracy in the absence of photography was a requirement for the advancement of the sciences. Few pictures capture the fact that Tasmanian aboriginal women shaved their heads, presumably not to be hindered by hair when diving for mussels. John Hawkins postulates that the decorative circle just above the ears of Aboriginal women was achieved with either a flint or by singeing the hair by fire (21). Yet, as mentioned above, if one compares the official engraving of the Tasmanian Aborigines with Webber's original drawings there is a considerable discrepancy between what was published in 1784 and what the artist actually saw. Webber's original representations of Tasmanian Aborigines drawn in 1777 were re-worked to suit the expectations of the time, namely to show that the costly expedition resulted in peaceful contact with people Britain could engage with. Cook himself gives

a clue to the almost impossible task Webber had to perform, namely, to be a faithful, but entertaining painter:

> (…)that we might go out with every help that could serve to make the result of our voyage entertaining to the generality of readers, as well as instructive to the sailor and scholar, Mr Webber was pitched upon, and engaged to embark with me, for the express purpose of supplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling us to preserve and to bring home, such drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions, as could be executed by a professed and skilful artist (Cook as quoted in Smith 1960:77).

The degree to which Webber adjusted the drawings to the taste of polite society in Europe and his employers, the British Admiralty, does make his official work essentially illustrative as Smith pointed out (1960:77) and subjected him to Herder's criticism. Yet while Herder's and Smith' criticism refers to the drawings included in the official publication, Beaglehole had knowledge of the unofficial earlier drawings by Webber, copies of which he included between the pages 48 and 49 of *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780,* Part I.

The original of the earlier drawing of "Woman of Van Diemen's Land", which was not part of the official folio, is kept in the British Library. Comparing the two images of the woman, we see that while the face of the woman is almost identical, other physical features are not. The original drawing shows a mature woman, one who clearly is able to breastfeed a child. While in the later drawing the baby's head and right hand rest peacefully on the mother's shoulder, the baby's head in the earlier drawing hangs back in a rather uncomfortable position. The kangaroo's skin is not draped over the shoulder of the woman suggesting lower torso cover; instead, the cover ends before the parts of the body Captain Cook considered that "modesty directs us to conceal" (Beaglehole *Journals* 55).

Fig.6. Earlier drawing of "Woman of Van Diemen's Land," 1777

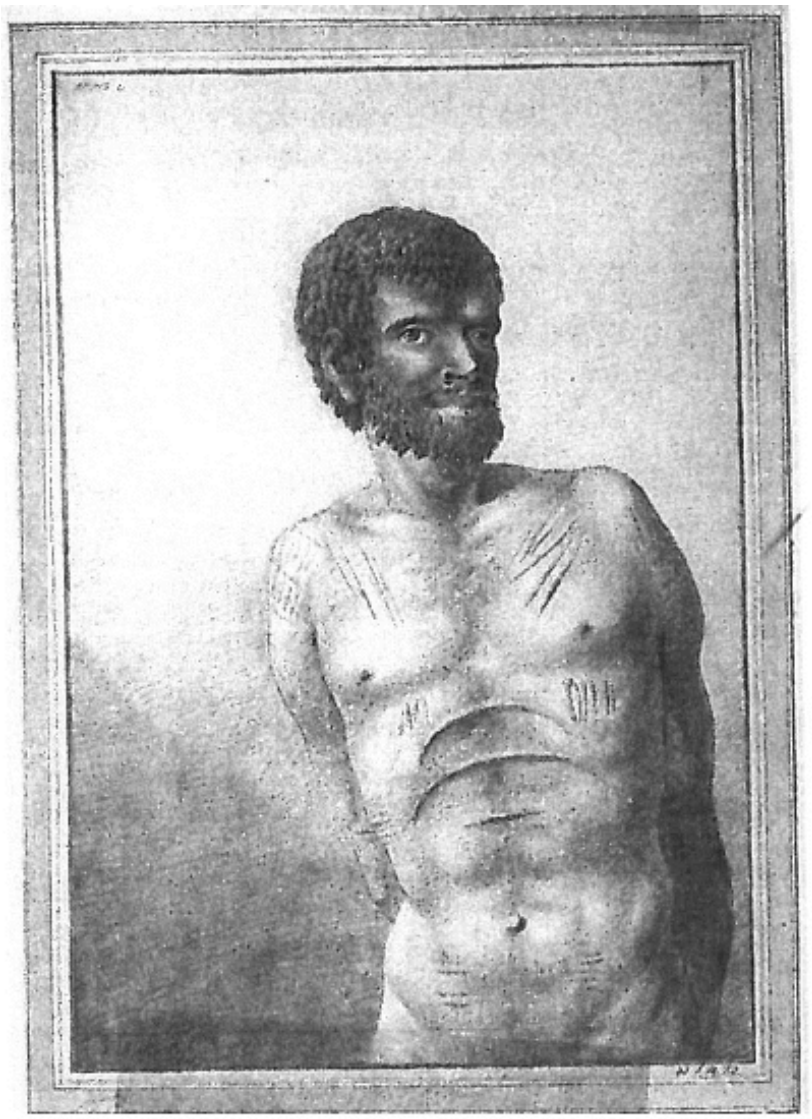

Fig.7. Earlier drawing of "Man of Van Diemen's Land," 1777

The body in the original drawing of the "Man of Van Diemen's Land" looks tortured, more savage than in the official drawing. The scars seem deeper than the faint incisions on the official engraving and the hair is matted with ochre mud. This original drawing too, is kept in the British Library in London. This drawing was also reproduced on page 297 in *Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire,* 2001, Part I.

By 1985 Bernard Smith (Joppien and Smith) had come across Webber's earlier drawings and in 1992 Smith concluded that the 1777 drawings were not part of the official portfolio, because Webber included the drawings under the heading "New Holland

Van Diemens Land" [sic] (Smith 1992:199). "New Holland", as Australia was then called, was however not part of the route of Cook's third journey. Cook only anchored in Van Diemen's Land during his third voyage before proceeding to New Zealand. At that time it was believed that Van Diemen's Land was part of the Australian continent, a belief that George Bass and Matthew Flinders disproved in 1798/99.

Smith also argued that Cook somehow censored the pictures which should be included in the official publication. He wrote that: "What it would seem Cook did approve of was a drawing of a man and another of a woman of Van Diemen's Land which would indicate nudity without actually representing it" (1992:199). While this may be true as far as Cook's sentiment about nudity is concerned, Smith's statement is nevertheless puzzling. Cook may have seen Webber's original 1777 drawings, but since he died in 1779, he could not have seen Webber's reworked versions, the ones that were inserted in the 1784 official portfolio.

Beaglehole on the other hand did not postulate as to why the original drawings were not used for the official portfolio. He recognizes that they are essentially the same drawings and notes that "the wash drawings by Webber were engraved by J. Caldwell 'head and shoulders only'" (*The Voyage* xvi).

Webber's ability for self-censorship is not in doubt: he re-worked the unofficial original drawings. However, neither the official portraits, nor the earlier drawings of Tasmanian Aborigines by Webber are representations of reality. The official pictures 'thematise' the Aborigines to fit into the image of the noble savage, a practice which Levinas criticises as a "reduction of the visage, or face, of the Other to a projection of the Same (xii)". Webber bowed to convention and expectation and censored his own earlier works.
The original pictures drawn by Webber while in Tasmania disclose otherness, which Herder and Smith (1960) seem to indicate were missing in the official portraits. However, Webber's images of the

Aborigines are types, they have no name; they are entirely identified with their country of origin. They are examples of a people, specimens of a population, reducing the Tasmanian Aborigines to objects of perception.

Webber captured the physiognomy of the Tasmanian Aborigines he encountered as best he could. His 1777 drawings are imbued with rare historical value. Webber's Aborigines from Van Diemen's Land/Tasmania are the first of a handful of portraits of a free people living their lives in their own country according to their own custom. Once colonialism reached the island, the Tasmanian Aborigines became some of the most photographed ethnic group in the British realm, but by then they were no longer masters of their destiny.

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Jörg-Dieter Riemenschneider

Aotearoa New Zealand Landscape Poetry: A Cultural and an Evocritical Reading

> *Kimihia te kahurangi; ki te piko tōu matenga, ki te maunga teitei. If you bow your head let it be only to a great mountain.* (Grace 36)

More than a century after the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* research from an evolutionary perspective on understanding human beings has made inroads into many fields of study, including psychology, ethology, the arts and literature. In this discipline, evolutionary literary criticism or evocriticism (Boyd 388) has emerged as a research programme geared towards deepening "our understanding and appreciation of literature" based on the assumption

> that a biocultural approach to literature requires that we take seriously that evolution has powerfully shaped not just our bodies but also our minds and behaviour". (210)

This is not to indicate that evocriticism side-lines or even replaces nonevolutionary scholarship (390); on the contrary, by complementing historical and cultural analyses of literary works it will create the basis for comparative cultural studies.

Evocriticism increasingly practised over the last two decades (Boyd 417; Carroll 2010), has concentrated on problems of theory, of narration, narrative and fiction, and to some degree also on drama: fields of enquiry examined in detail in Brian Boyd's ground-breaking book *On the Origin of Stories* (2009), a comprehensive study subtitled *Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction*. However, here as elsewhere evocriticism has not yet researched into the genre of poetry, and in particular landscape poetry: an

astounding lacuna since studies on nature and the origin of art, resp. the environment and aesthetics have been undertaken.[13]

This paper will analyse Aotearoa New Zealand landscape poetry from both a cultural and an evolutionary psychological angle, to contribute to the field of evocritical analyses of literature and to demonstrate that the biocultural approach will enrich our understanding of landscape poetry and will contribute to comparative culture studies.

Poems on Land and Landscape Poetry

Landscape poetry, or the poetic rendering of our familiar and unfamiliar surroundings, reflects the human relationship with the environment. It is an aesthetic formation of experience based on mental perceptions of the world: of a place visited, a location lived in temporarily or chosen as permanent habitat. Aotearoa New Zealand landscape offers a particularly rich temporal-spatial corpus of texts due to the multifarious scenery of the islands as experienced and responded to poetically in very differing ways. Derived from the ethno-cultural variety of the country's main immigrant and settler groups – Polynesians and Europeans as well as, more recently, Pacific Islanders and Asians – landscape poetry embraces a wide spectrum of poetic voices that explore the involvement and often enchantment of human beings' relationship to their natural surroundings.

The poet, performance artist and literary critic David Eggleton has pointed out that there exist at least three attitudes to the environment in Aotearoa New Zealand: *manawhenua*, or the

[13] Ellen Dissanayake, *Homo Aestheticus: Where Art Comes From and Why* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995 [reprint]); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995); John Tooby and Leda Cosmides, "Does beauty build adapted minds? Toward an evolutionary theory of aesthetics, fiction and the arts", *Substance* 30, 1-2 (2001), 6-27; Glen Love, *Practical Ecocriticism: Literature, Biology and the Environment* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003); Dennis Dutton, *The Art Instinct: Beauty, Pleasure and Evolution* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009).

relationship of Maori people to their land; a Pakeha definition of land as commodity and a place to be exploited; and land seen as wilderness, a view shared by Maori and Pakeha. *Manawhenua* is

> that sense of belonging that connects people and land. The landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand is our cultural centre of gravity, our leading literary theme, our dominant metaphor … [T]he land is our waka, our location beacon, a site of layered history. (Eggleton 7)

Yet he adds that

> 'New Zealand' is [also] a site of competing versions, a site of struggle: aesthetic consideration clashes with commercial consideration; conservation clashes with exploitation; methods of ownership are disputed […]; heritage versus progress. (Eggleton 7)

It would certainly be appropriate at this point to analyse poems on land from the social-cultural perspective of Eggleton's view, which had to take into account the writers' differing ethnic backgrounds – as much as it would be worth our while to focus on the country's ecology and its future. This also raises the question as to whether these poetic texts are classifiable along clearly marked ethno-cultural boundary lines, or whether processes of globalisation have not already effected a blurring of such distinctions. Nevertheless, I am interested in pursuing a very different analytical approach. Based on assumptions in evolutionary psychology that human relationship to nature is engendered by our species' environmental adaptations, occasioned by its encounters with landscapes, Richerson and Boyd hold that

> [when] the environment confronts generation after generation of individuals with the same range of adaptive problems, selection will favor special-purpose cognitive modules that focus on particular environmental cues and then map these cues onto a menu of adaptive behaviors. (Richerson and Boyd 44)

Gordon H. Orians and Judith H. Heerwagen's enquiry into "environmental aesthetics from an evolutionary and ecological perspective" (Barkow, Cosmides, Tooby 551) relates directly to

such "special-purpose cognitive modules" with their consequent "menu of adaptive behaviors" that is part of our species' genetic make-up. They point out that our

> emotional responses … are such powerful motivators of behaviour … [that] they could not have evolved unless the behaviour they evoked contributed positively … to survival and reproductive success. (Orians and Heerwagen 556)

Habitat selection probably involved emotional responses to key features of the environment (556) with positive responses to 'good' or beautiful landscapes and negative ones to those that did not appear to offer safeguards for survival and reproduction. As Stephen Kaplan explains in detail, savannah-like habitats evoked positive responses in *homo sapiens* because they offered unimpeded views and thus easy orientation and movement and protection by trees – against predators and the sun. Accordingly, habitat selection theory postulates that such a preferred habitat affected our responses and became part of our genetic make-up, or in Richerson and Boyd's words, "a special-purpose cognitive module" (Richerson and Boyd 44).

Even after the 'Neolithic Revolution' around 10,000 years ago, with the transformation setting in from nomadic to sedentary life, these evolved responses have remained basically unchanged. The study of human responses to landscape then means studying the evolution of aesthetic tastes. Landscapes, whether natural or artificial – parks and rural landscapes –, but also urbanscapes and even architectural designs evoke pleasant or unpleasant emotional responses due to our genetic heritage, and the natural symbolism of particular features –hills, mountain summits, trees, open spaces, water, beach, the sea – have been used by artists, painters, photographers and poets to evoke and perhaps even manipulate our emotive responses, but have in any case been serving their functional purpose without artists always having been aware of them. Meanings of landscape features may be positive, negative or, as perhaps in most cases, of a mixed nature,

for example if the environment contains an element of mystery like a path possibly leading towards a destination behind a hill.

Nonetheless, studies "of environmental preferences" remain hypothetical and require more research, but have led Jerome H. Barkow and others to declare, "it already appears that our aesthetic preferences [here] are governed by a coherent and sophisticated set of organizing principles" (Barkow, Cosmides, Tooby 553). Similarly, Orians and Heerwagen's theoretical presentation ends with the proviso that they are not suggesting "that an evolutionary-adaptive approach to environmental aesthetics is the only way to proceed", but that it could enrich our studies "from a variety of perspectives and in a wide range of topics" (Orians and Heerwagen 575). It is precisely this suggestion I would like to take up that permits considerations of their assumptions that if attention to the stimuli from the environment "is a cross-cultural universal, as it seems likely, many of these ecological signals have been transformed, over time, into cultural events and artefacts that are used to manipulate aesthetic experience" (571).

Manawhenua–Commodification–Wilderness: Poems on Land

Before analysing a number of selected landscape poems[14] from the evolutionary-biological perspective, I shall first discuss them from Eggleton's view (Eggleton 7) on Aotearoa New Zealand's several attitudes towards land–and landscape–described as *manawhenua*, the exploitation or commodification of land, and its vision as wilderness or primeval land that is to be protected and preserved.

[14] The poems by Richard Reeve, Allen Curnow, Peter Bland, Roma Potiki and Anna Jackson are reprinted in *Wildes Licht: Gedichte englisch / deutsch aus Aotearoa Neuseeland*, ed. & trsl. Dieter Riemenschneider (Christchurch and Kronberg im Taunus, 2010), 44. 76, 92, 146 and 148 respectively. Robert Sullivan's "Waka 99" is from Robert Sullivan, *Star Waka* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 109; and "Poem for the Unknown Tourist" from David Eggleton, *Rhyming Planet* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2001), 10.

Roma Potiki's "Papatūānuku" and Robert Sullivan's "Waka 99" celebrate *manawhenua* whereas David Eggleton's "Poem for the Unknown Tourist" and Anna Jackson's "From Farming" thematize the New Zealand settlers' appropriation of land for their own use but also for commercial purposes. Land's image as wilderness is addressed in Richard Reeve's "Central Otago" and Allen Curnow's "You Will Know When You Get There", whereas Peter Bland's "Beginnings" has as its central theme an English settler's quest for his identity vis-à-vis his landownership.

Papatūānuku (1992)
I am Papatūānuku
giving completely I hold strength in its upright
form–
my base maps the pattern of mottled life,
rain and rivers.

When the rest is gone
you will know me–

you who press on my skin
tread the body you do not recognise.
With my face made of bones
my stomach eternally stretching I need no definition

I am Papatūānuku, the land.

The poem speaks of the land, *te whenua*, in a stylistic manner that reminds us of *pepeha*, formulaic expressions or tribal sayings. The Female Earth, "I am Papatūānuku", addresses the people "who tread the body" they do not recognise. Either her own people, Maori, have become alienated or newcomers have never possessed any knowledge of Papatūānuku. Earth, asserting her strength and everlasting existence – "I need no definition/I am Papatūānuku, the land" – is made to dehistoricise the *whenua tangata,* or land-people relationship: a political attitude frequently

encountered in Maori writing of their confrontational 'renaissance' period during the 1970s and 1980s.

By contrast, Robert Sullivan's "Waka 99" (1999) articulates a very different view of land and landscape:

> If waka could be resurrected / they wouldn't just come out /
> from museum doors smashing / glass cases revolving and sliding
> /doors on their exit
>
> they wouldn't just come out / of mountains as if liquidified /
> from a frozen state / the resurrection wouldn't just / come
> about this way
>
> the South Island turned to wood / waiting for the giant crew /
> of Maui and his brothers / bailers and anchors turned back /
> to what they were when they were strewn
>
> about the country by Kupe / and his relations / the
> resurrection would happen / in the blood of the men and
> women / the boys and girls
>
> who are blood relations / of the crews whose veins /
> touch the veins who touched the veins /
> who touched the veins
>
> who touched the veins / of the men and women from the time
> of Kupe and before. / The resurrection will come /
> out of their blood.

Focusing on *waka*, which is not just a canoe or, traditionally, the mythologically transformed South Island, it becomes a metaphor for both, *whenua* and *tangata* with the former taking second place. It is not the land but the people's strength and their action binding together generations of "blood relations", the *whakapapa* that will bring about their resurrection and along with it that of the land. The poem thematizes guardianship, *kaitiakitanga*. It is the people's interaction with their environment that safeguards their lives, their culture and, implicitly, the land's resources. Though it contains a subtle note of scepticism, the poem rejects the ontological stance on land and landscape promoted by "Papatūānuku" and instead shifts agency to *te tangata*.

This is a scenario that is also invoked in David Eggleton's satirical "Poem for the Unknown Tourist" (2001),[15] but inverted in the sense that people's agency has led them to commodify nature and landscape: "As unleaded islands make backcountry overtures, / our hills reverberate to the sound of gallows / built for the end of the golden wether", are lines drawing the tourist's attention to building cranes that destroy the landscape and thereby deny the claim of preserving its pristine character of "unleaded islands", while the pun on "wether" – a castrated ram – and "weather" undermines the meaning of the well-known Pakeha phrase of the "end of the golden weather",[16] as if the country had ever experienced such halcyon days! Further, the invitation to

> [t]ake our camping grounds as you find them, / the pastoral exposition renovated as novelty toy / cowsheds cut out of corrugated tin, corkscrewing slides and water cannon / paintball war games and lasertronics

underlines the process of commodifying landscape as an amusement and money-making device, while in "our creeks leak from reservoirs of dammed emotion / our dreams are landfill in a well-known ocean", human feelings and dreams have been con/perverted into 'useful' landscapes such as reservoirs, dams and landfills. Indeed:

> As the old Pacific hand, tattooed and weatherbeaten,
> rows you ashore, … [the unknown tourist will experience]
> the pre-dawn hush … broken by chainsaw roar,
> as you hold yourself back from the zeal of the land.

Among Pakeha poems, Anna Jackson's "From Farming" (2001) expresses a similar awareness of the commodification of the environment but considers it part and parcel of the evolutionary development of *homo sapiens* from his life-stage as hunter-gatherer to that of agriculturalist:

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[15] The poem is too long to be quoted here in full.

[16] The reference is to Bruce Mason's play *The End of the Golden Weather* (1960).

> There is no going back / from farming proper. / Such depletion of resources / around a community / is the end of hunter-gathering, / the beginning / of everything / we cannot / now live without. /Even art / is argued to be concomitant / with the establishment / of farming, though I think / it must depend / on what you say is art. / At any rate, / there is no going back. / But perhaps / there is going forward / elsewhere / than to the conclusion / we are arriving at.

Though the poem does not specify what is meant by "everything", it certainly suggests the historical transformation from subsistence to cash-crop farming. Nevertheless we are not tied-down biologically but possess the capacity of "going forward elsewhere". Such carefully articulated hope for *homo sapiens'* attitudinal change towards nature and landscape recalls Richard Dawkins' belief in man's potency to defy "the selfish memes of our indoctrination" in spite of our having been built "as gene machines and cultured as meme machines" (Dawkins 201).

Another land poem is the wilderness poem, relating back to a perception of landscape more prevalent in 19th century writing and pictorial art that often romanticised nature by endowing a landscape or single features with symbolic meanings that gesture towards the mysterious, the sublime and the awe-inspiring. Contemporary landscape poetry does not contain many examples of this nature, yet Richard Reeve's "Central Otago" (2001), which is too long to be quoted here, encourages a response of wonder and awe towards a New Zealand landscape that has attracted much attention for its wide-open spaces, its seemingly untouched state shaped and ruled by the forces of wind and rain, sun and heat since the beginning of time:

> Like bits of splintered moon, boulders pierce the lean body of the table land– / proud, refractory, yielding bitterly to the wind months hoarded / inside the rock. Voices and smells, the dust of my early mind, / are lifted in the wind that buffets our car …
>
> The sky flutes among cliffs and pinnacles, gouging itself on a / veiled edge of schist–its moan eddying through the raw stomach of the ravine / down the flues of memory.

It is an environment so powerful, so overwhelming and at the same time uncontrollable that even people's features have adapted to and become part of it:

> The shop-attendant's face has slouched, his nose a parody of the hills / that roll down the valley. His voice crackles on the stones in the river, / breath fossilised in piles of silt. But the words are inaudible: / already the pebbles are gnashing at our feet.

As Geoff Park (53-67) has argued, notions of wilderness promulgated at the time of Cook's voyages were brought to New Zealand, a land *apparently* [my emphasis] not settled and cultivated, with stretches untouched by man. Such "wild landscapes" (58) expressed the European quest at the time for grand primeval scenes as much as the conviction that the 'discovery' of this uninhabited land superseded the original inhabitants' right of possessing it. Their concept of customary tenure was disregarded and replaced by the notion of *terra nullius*.

While settlers appropriated vast stretches in the second half of the nineteenth century and converted fourteen percent of the land covered by trees in the 1880s (Abbott 155-160), a variation of the wilderness poem focuses on preserving it, a policy responding to public concerns on the destruction of forested areas and introduced by the New Zealand government towards the end of this period. Wilderness preservation would prevent 'primitive' life becoming extinct (Park 59): a Pakeha conception that contrasted strangely with the process that "Maori [were…] detached from the whenua, and their intimate, customary attachments to it [had] collapsed" (62). In addition, land taken in the 1890s from unsurveyed blocks or formerly held by Maori became the foundation for today's National Parks (Abbott 156). Subsequently, Park argues, two Pakeha ideas of landscape emerged: Where 'we' live, "indigenous life [has] almost entirely [been] removed", whereas were 'we' are not allowed to live, the landscape is still indigenous as though without us–"Our *terra nullius*, no less," (Park 65), as Reeve's poem affirms. The proportion of protected

environment is larger in New Zealand–28% of the whole land area–than almost anywhere else in the world: vast tracts of National Parks, the various 'Ranges' and islands–and Pakeha poems thematizing, even celebrating wilderness, without necessarily excluding moments of anxiety or awe.

Allan Curnow's "You Will Know When You Get There" (1982), 'cerebral' and searching in its environmental iconography, attempts to find out whatever is 'out there'–at or even under the sea, on land or in the sky: a groping search in a mood of bravura:

> Nobody comes up from the sea as late as this / in the day and the season, and nobody else goes down / the last kilometre, wet-metalled where / a shower passed shredding the light which keeps / pouring out of its tank in the sky, through summits / trees, vapours thickening and thinning. Too / credibly by half celestial, the dammed / reservoir up there keeps emptying while the light lasts / over the seas, where it 'gathers the gold against / it'. The light is bits of crushed rock randomly / glinting underfoot, wetted by the short / shower, and down you go and so in its way does / the sun which gets there first. Boys, two of them, / turn campfirelit faces, a hesitancy to speak / is a hesitancy of the earth rolling back and away / behind the man going down to the sea with a bag / to pick mussels, having an arrangement with the tide, / the ocean to be shallowed three point seven metres, / one hour's light to be left and there's the excrescent / moon sponging off the last of it. A door / slams, a heavy wave, a door, the sea-floor shudders. / Down you go alone, so late, into the surge-black fissure.

Eventually, "the man going down" remains uncertain as to the meaning of the land and the sea surrounding him, which he conceives of as elusive, mysterious and eventually hazardous.

Finally, in Peter Bland's "Beginnings" (1987), "Guthrie-Smith in New Zealand 1885" questions both, Jackson's "[t]here is no going back / from farming proper" and Reeve and Curnow's bridging – if not yoking – wilderness with people's non-agency. Guthrie-Smith initially confirms man's duty to appropriate land and his responsibility to create for himself an acceptable habitat. Yet at the same time the speaker, a famous agriculturalist of the late

19th and early 20th century, also wonders about his identity as he finds himself caught in several roles: as settler and sheep farmer who contributes to the progress of the country:

> Who am I? What am I doing here / alone with 3000 sheep? I'm / turning the bones into grass. Later/ I'll turn grass back into sheep. / I buy only the old and lame. / They eat anything–bush, bracken, gorse. / Dead, they melt into one green fleece.

Further, he takes up the double role of obedient Christian and 'Darwinian' scientist:

> Who am I? I know the Lord's my shepherd / as I am theirs–
> But this / is the 19th century; Darwin / is God's First Mate. I must keep /my own log, full of facts if not love.

And finally he is the name-giver who through this very act appropriates the land as his habitat and defines his identity:

> Who am I? I am the one sheep / that must not get lost. So / I name names–rocks, flowers, fish: / knowing this place I learn to know myself. I survive.

The thrice repeated question "Who am I?" suggests Guthrie-Smith's uncertainty about his place, irresoluteness even which the stubborn self-affirmation in his final words cannot completely conceal:

> I survive. The land becomes
> my meat and tallow. I light my own lamps.
> I hold back the dark with the blood of my lambs.

To conclude this section, two provisos need to be added. First, in spite of 'the wilderness', the protected areas of Parks and Reservations, there is little hope that the environment in Aotearoa New Zealand will be saved; and although the Resource Management Act–RMA of 1994 introduced restrictive measures pertaining to protecting the environment, economic growth has not been decoupled from environmental impact. Between 1990 and 2004 the country's population grew by 21%, but industrial production by 54% and agricultural production by 48%, energy

consumption by 42%, CO emission by 49%, and household waste by 48%: figures which led Rod Oram (D2) to the conclusion that successive New Zealand governments, both National and Labour, had failed, and that there was little hope for an adequate environmental policy in the future.

My second reservation relates to the often invoked, especially by Maori, spiritual *whenua tangata* relationship to *whenua*–of the people of the land to their land–and the danger of claiming the validity of a concept that is counteracted in practice. As Howe remarked:

> All human communities, even the earliest and smallest, have always profoundly altered the flora and fauna of the planet … and New Zealand was no exception, though its size and relatively small population meant that the effects were less visible by the time of European contact. (179-180)

It has been estimated that Polynesian migrants having had to adapt to their new surroundings destroyed about 40% of the original forest, hunted twenty species of birds to extinction and wiped out a population of 160,000 moa within 60 to 120 years of first human settlement. Far from blaming them, Howe concludes that "Maori experience simply mirrors the more general history of humankind's struggle for survival" (181).

Habitat Selection and Landscape Poetry

To move on from these differing ideas of 'land' poetically rendered in half a dozen examples by Maori and Pakeha writers, the focus will now be on landscape. Preceding Orians' and Heerwagen's enquiry into "environmental aesthetics from an evolutionary and ecological perspective" (Orians and Heerwagen 551), the British geographer Jay Appleton posited that the power of attraction of our natural habitat, the savannah, persists (Appleton 1990:15) and that accordingly, landscape preference is not solely based on culture but on a perception of the environment rooted in derivatives of mechanisms of survival behaviour (16). The phenomenon of landscape preference, he says, is based on our

genetic make-up, as humans look at landscape in ways that reflect our environmental adaptation. As to how we understand landscape, Appleton defines, "[l]andscape […as] the environment visually perceived" (15), to which I would add that linguistically these visual signs are nouns signifying 'things' like hills, mountains, trees, bushes and flowers, streams, fire, clouds, light and shade. They constitute the iconographic vocabulary to which we address the question of what they are 'doing to us', which "in turn can be expressed by appropriate verbs" (26).

The answer is twofold: emotionally, these features please us as beautiful, attractive, or they displease us as ugly and unattractive; but they can also evoke a mix of pleasure, attraction, wonder and anxiety. Cognitively, they inform us, telling us to stay on by offering us security and shelter and thus means of survival; or they push us to move on because we do not feel secure and sheltered but must find promising and protective locations elsewhere. Besides, "the environment visually perceived" may also make us curious or wonder what it has to offer and subsequently cause human beings to explore them–or refrain from doing so. Appleton, returning to his earlier study of 1975, relates this scale of emotive responses to two basic signals landscape features send out, or as he suggests, "functional rather than morphological categories", which he calls *prospect* and *refuge*, while a third category, *hazard*, "encompasse[s] all those sources of danger which it might be necessary to avoid by whatever means" (Appleton 1990: 25). Prospect, he explains further,

> is to do with perceiving, with obtaining information, particularly visual information; refuge with hiding, sheltering or seeking protection. The concept of hazard implies the proximity of something which threatens or disturbs our equilibrium (24).

If we subscribe to these categories as influencing if not determining our reaction to landscape and subsequently also our responses to its artistic–visual and verbal–representation, we are participating in and attempting to overcome the discourse nature versus nurture since we would answer the question in the

affirmative that works of art can be understood "with the knowledge of the biologically evolved epigenetic rules that guided them" (Wilson 213); that they "touch upon what was universally endowed by human evolution" (219). This, I suggest, is of prime importance for a rethinking of the parameters of cultural studies, because if a "web of natural symbolism […] underlies 'cultural symbolism'" (Appleton 16), comparative studies, for example of landscape poetry from different cultural backgrounds based on hypotheses of evolutionary psychology, such as discussed by Orians, Heerwagen and Appleton, would reveal similarities of human understanding and cognition underlying historically and culturally evolved differences. The evolutionary psychological approach would impact on if not question the dominant perception of the cultural determination of cultures (Howe 81).

Let me now look at Aotearoa New Zealand landscape poems from the perspective of "natural symbolism" (Appleton 16) but with a proviso. Visual representations – Appleton talks mainly about these though he also cites poems – and verbal representations of our environment are analogous. The verbal mode, however, because of its immediate appeal to our cognition, *might* evoke a more complex range of emotive responses due to the power language exerts on us compared with form, colour and composition that make up visual landscape representations: a point that alerts us perhaps to question Appleton's evolutionary psychological approach.

Landscape Poetry: An Evolutionary-Biological Reading

In Roma Potiki's, Peter Bland's and Richard Reeve's poems, a first-person speaker projects her/his landscape description onto her/his readers and, whether consciously or not and by having adopted one or the other stance, evokes certain thoughts and feelings. Unequivocally, Potiki's verbs chosen for Papatūānuku makes Earth assert her eternal existence: "I *am* […] I *hold* strength […] my base *maps* […] my stomach eternally *stretching* / I *need* no definition / I *am* Papatūānuku, the land". These words indicate the prospect of an unchangeable land which by implication offers

human beings a refuge and a habitat even if they might not always realize it: "When the rest is gone / you will know me– / you who press on my skin / tread the body you do not recognise". It is not quite obvious who or what "the rest" is–natural features like "the pattern of mottled / life, / rain and rivers"–or earlier generations of Maori? But the statement that "you will know me" suggests the addressees' eventual acceptance of Papatūānuku's everlasting existence as their habitat.

Bland's speaker Guthrie-Smith describes his natural surroundings as assertively as Potiki's speaker, since his repeated question directed at himself, "Who am I?", prompts him to define himself through his habitat. His land is composed of domesticated animals–"3000 sheep"–, cultivated grassland and a huge, enclosed property with water: "I own 10,000 acres and one dark lake"; further, a terrain named and thus appropriated by him from a topological, botanical and zoological angle – rocks, flowers, fish – and even 'Darwinian-ly' (!):

> Who am I? I know the Lord's my shepherd / as I am theirs–
> But this / is the 19th century; Darwin is God's First Mate. I
> Must keep / my own log, full of facts if not love.

This prospect of landscape features, partly original and partly of his own making, represent his refuge where he is able to survive: "The land becomes / my meat and tallow." Landscape here is visualized as subservient to its master after its potential has been realised as suitable and safe for survival. Yet, Guthrie-Smith's almost boastful self-identification contains a grain of uncertainty about the safety of his refuge when he promises himself that "I am the one sheep / that must not get lost", and hints at the fact that the land is not yet his "meat and tallow" but "becomes" it. In its last resort then the landscape evokes moments of uncertainty– though not yet hazard– which the speaker's grandiloquent words and his reference to the model role of Darwin as "God's First Mate" cannot quite push aside.

By comparison, Reeve's unnamed first-person speaker recedes into and is almost swallowed up by the landscape features he visualizes retrospectively as having settled in "the dust of my early mind" and in "the flues of my memory": "images of a journey that happened years ago". The deeply ingrained prospect of an uninhabited but sublime landscape is recalled: "boulders pierce the lean body of the tableland"; "[t]he sky flutes among cliffs and pinnacles, gouging itself on a / veiled edge of schist – its moan eddying through the raw stomach of the ravine"; and "new skin peels of the landscape – and time is shed from each blotched, protean form". Such a prospect appears hazardous but it had obviously also evoked the spectator-speaker's awe at the time, an emotive response heightened by the landscape's power to affect human beings even physically: "The shop attendant's face has slouched, his nose a parody of the hills / that roll down the valley". The visitor's equanimity is only restored after "[o]ur driver / holds out a box of apricots. The van hurtles through reams of farmland". Central Otago is seen as a hazardous place and thus a landscape people travel through.

In a sense this can also be said of the location near the sea in Allen Curnow's "You Will Know When You Get There". Initially it is presented as a place where "[n]obody comes up from the sea as late as this / in the day and the season, and nobody else goes down / the last steep kilometre", but where later on "this man go[es] down to the sea with a bag / to pick mussels, having made an arrangement with the tide". The image of "[t]he last steep kilometre" is expanded to draw (in) observations on natural phenomena: "the light … / keeps pouring out of its tank in the sky"; "the light lasts over the sea"; and "[t]he light is bits of crushed rock", that eventually shift and focus on human beings: "Boys, two of them / turn campfirelit faces", and "this man going down to the sea". Again, the poet's eyes now turn to nature: "one hour's light to be left and there is the excrescent / moon sponging off the last of it. A door / slams, a heavy wave, a door, the sea-floor shudders". Whereas the poem's first part is rounded off with the comment: "a hesitancy to speak / is a hesitancy of the earth

rolling back and away", its second part ends on "[d]own you go alone, into the surge-black fissure". The land/seascape drawn by Curnow envelops his personae, the boys and the man, without letting them become aware of their surroundings, let alone to respond to them, an environment which the poet paints as an ambiguous blending of beauty (light), indifference (earth) and awe (wave). The prospect of his landscape is not of a habitable place, but one when visited causing a feeling of aloneness–or existential homelessness. Neither land nor sea offers a safe habitat.[17]

Such a disturbing view of landscape is not presented in Robert Sullivan's "Waka 99". The speaker views – and possibly identifies – the topography of the South Island with its mountains and bush as "a frozen state" of the anthropo-morphised features of Maori mythological figures and events:

> the South Island turned to wood / waiting for the giant crew / of Maui and his brothers / bailors and anchors turned back / to what they were when they were strewn / about the country by Kupe / and his relations.

However, at the most this landscape only triggers the idea of a very different view of the people's resurrection:

> [a] resurrection [that] would happen / in the blood of the men and women / the boys and girls / who are blood relations / of the crews whose veins / touch the veins … of the men and the women from the time / of Kupe and before.

The landscape of the South Island, perceived in traditional Maori cultural terms, has to be resurrected by the poet's generation, "in the blood of the men and women", through their agency; an action that would lead towards reshaping Maui and his crew's erstwhile habitat in a manner the poem does not spell out but suggests as a liveable habitat for Maori people now and in the future. As with "Papatūānuku", "Waka 99" imagines landscape as

[17] I suggest that such a philosophical stance is anchored in Curnow's cultural make-up. Does his response not indicate a continuing feeling of strangeness in this land that we also come across in other of his poems such as "House and Land" or "The Bells of St. Babel's"?

a potentially safe habitat once Maori have made it again their own, and in a very different fashion from the Pakeha way David Eggleton's "Poem for the Unknown Tourist" reveals and castigates.

Cast in the form of a tourism prospectus or a public letter, it opens with "Greetings!" and closes with "may we remain ever green, ever thine, Aotearoa". The poem evolves as a satirical dismantling of the prospect of a landscape promoted as beautiful, unspoilt, unpolluted and "ever green"; in short, as a grand place for survival. Yet only a few natural features– "antipodean geyserland", "unleaded islands making backcountry overtures"– are not meant satirically while an overwhelming number of references exposes the transformation of the country's natural environment into cultural props of sorts: "land of pods of Family Fun Runners"; "hills reverberate to the sound of gallows … reverberate to whitebait in the surf"; "may the bungee-jumper yodel breakfast / over the Remarkables"; or "the pre-dawn hush is broken by chainsaw roar". These de-naturalized features are complemented by urbanscape transformations of the environment: "camping grounds"; "the pastoral exposition renovated as novelty toy"; "knock[ing] back noble rot in vineyard after vineyard"; or "kiwifruit the size of a baby". Such subversion undercuts prospects of the landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand as a beautiful "evergreen" habitat and is prompted by the poet's despair and frustration at the exploitation of his country's natural environment. A spontaneous encounter with nature foiled by its commodification appears no longer possible.

It is a way of looking at landscape Anna Jackson does not agree with. Although her poem "From Farming" does not deny that landscape has remained unaffected by human appropriation, and though realistic in its censure of the "depletion of resources" resulting from the "establishment of farming", cognisance is also taken that the prospect of landscape offering a means of survival has been part of the evolution of homo sapiens.

Conclusion

The reading of just half a dozen Aotearoa New Zealand landscape poems from an evolutionary psychological perspective shows that poets represent landscape in order to elicit their readers' responses to features which they themselves consider particularly meaningful, features that may be perceived as beautiful or ugly, sublime, hazardous, or indifferently. In whichever way, these emotive reactions relate to a landscape's "underlying web of natural symbolism which links the objects we perceive with their … messages" (Appleton 22) of prospect and/or refuge and/or hazard. The poets respond to landscapes on the basis of the human species' genetically evolved adaptations to habitat selection. Nonetheless, her/his genotypically determined responses are intimately conjoined with the phenotypical features rooted and preserved in her/his cultural background where the power of memes, of handed-down units "of cultural evolution" (Blackmore 31), becomes evident. As Potiki's meme of *manawhenua*, Eggleton's of land commodification or Reeve's of wilderness illustrate, memes assert themselves as strong replicators. However, they may be contested as we have seen in Sullivan's poem where such a landscape meme is implicitly rejected. Such questioning of their power here as well as in Eggleton's poem strongly suggests that genotypically our responses to landscape do cross cultural boundary lines and that cultural symbolism remains grounded in the natural symbolism of landscape features that evoke our genetically evolved mechanisms for survival.

Methodologically, the study of landscape poetry from the basis of *homo sapiens*' biological make-up offers the opportunity for cross-cultural studies to understand cultural features "with the knowledge of the biologically evolved epigenetic rules that guided them" (Wilson 213): an insight into what biology, and more generally, the natural sciences, could contribute to our understanding of art. Though, as Wilson has remarked, such scholarly procedure is as yet little taken note of in the humanities, there is substantial evidence that "evocriticism" (Boyd 390) has

been pursued in recent years;[18] an evolutionary approach that does not "seek to subvert commonsensical readings … and scholarship of a nonevolutionary kind", but that will certainly call into question "that reality is only culturally constructed" (Boyd 390). The present study of Aotearoa New Zealand landscape poems has precisely followed this double approach, thereby gaining insight into both, the cultural and the natural construction of what is meant by landscape.

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[18] Apart from Brian Boyd's comprehensive bibliography in his 'evocritical' study of story-telling, *On the Origin of Stories* (2009), Joseph Carroll's essay "Three Scenarios for Literary Darwinism" (2010) contains further references (65-67) to such studies.

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Nachruf auf Bruce Bennett (1942 - 2012)

Die Nachricht von Bruce Bennetts nahem Tod (er litt seit einigen Jahren an einem Lungenkarzinom) erreichte mich im Februar. Ironischer Weise war Bruce gar kein Raucher! Eine Zeit lang schaffte es die Medizin, den Krebs in Schach zu halten, und so konnte er im September 2009 noch einmal die EASA-Tagung in Mallorca besuchen.

Bruce war nicht nur einer der profundesten Kenner australischer Literatur, die ich kannte, sondern auch noch einer der nettesten. Alle mochten und schätzen ihn wegen seiner Bescheidenheit und seiner Sanftmut. Der Nachruf auf ihn in der *Canberra Times* (20.4.2012) beginnt mit dem Satz: "Bruce Bennett was the foremost scholar of Australian literature of his generation." Hier sind die Titel seiner Monografien: *Homing In: Essays on Australian Literature and Selfhood* (2006); *Australian Short Fiction: A History* (2002) ("shortlisted" für den New South Wales Premier's Award); *Dorothy Hewett: Selected Critical Essays* (1995), *Spirit in Exile: Peter Porter and His Poetry* (1991, für dieses Werk erhielt er den "West Australian Premier's Award" für das beste kritische Buch);

An Australian Compass: Essays on Place and Direction in Australian Literature (1991). Am bekanntesten ist aber sein Magnum Opus *The Oxford Literary History of Australia* (1998), ein "door-stopper" von einem Band, gemeinsam mit Jennifer Strauss herausgegeben. Für die Liste an Ehrungen und anderen Verdiensten 'bediene' ich mich beim Nachruf der Canberra Times:

> He was made an Officer of the Order of Australia for his services to literature and education in 1994. He was already a Fellow of the Australian College of Education having been elected to that body in 1990 and in 1995 he became a Fellow of the Academy of the Humanities of Australia. He was appointed honorary professor at the University of Queensland in 2002 and adjunct professor at the Humanities Research Centre ANU in 2003. He was awarded a D Litt by the UNSW in 2004. This last was recognition of his published contributions to academic literature, which include 28 books edited or sole authored and more than 150 articles, essays and reports to government and learned societies. […] He advised universities and governments in a number of countries including Vietnam, India and the Philippines on approaches to Australian studies as well as promoting interest in Australian literature in Europe, Canada and the United States. […] He was Group of Eight Professor of Australian studies at Georgetown University in 2005-06 and was a member of the Australia-India Council from 2002-08.

Da sein Bemühen stark auf die Propagierung australischer Literatur in der Welt gerichtet war, fanden wir Bruce häufig bei europäischen Konferenzen. Ich traf ihn zum ersten Mal in Aarhus, bei Anna Rutherford, im Jahr 1989. Er trat schon 1991 der EASA bei und referierte unter anderem 1997 bei der Klagenfurter EASA-Tagung. Bei vielen Tagungen der EACLALS, ACLALS oder GNEL trat er als stets geschätzter Referent auf. Auch bei einer im Oktober 1999 von Gerhard Stilz und Gerhard Leitner organisierten Tagung in Potsdam trat er in Erscheinung. Zusammen mit Gerhard Leitner gab er dann den Band *Australian Studies: A Topic for Tertiarty Education?* (Australia Centre Series, vol. 4, Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 2000) heraus. Bruce war ein seinen

europäischen Kollegen und Kolleginnen immer wohl gesonnener Freund und Berater.

Im Jahr 1999, nach dem Erscheinen der *Oxford Literary History of Australia,* gab Bruce in meinem Department einen Vortrag über die Probleme bei der Erstellung dieses Werkes; am selben Tag referierte er honorarlos zu Hause in kleinem Kreise über die biografischen Überraschungen, welche seine Arbeit hervorgebracht hatte. Bei einer Radtour durch das Rosental, welche wir tags darauf gemeinsam unternahmen, zerstörte Bruce den Mythos, alle australischen Männer seien ein Ausbund an Fitness … So wurde die (Tor)Tour abgekürzt und der in einer "Jaus'nstätte" bei Bier und Wurstsemmeln geparkte Bruce mit dem Pkw und einem Autoanhänger abgeholt. Er war gelassen und lächelte zu allem freundlich wie ein Buddha.

Viele von uns in Europa werden diesen großartigen Menschen sehr vermissen.

In Memory of a Deadly Voice: Ruby Hunter, 1955-2010

John Harding and Oliver Haag

Ruby Hunter was more than a song writer: her songs are autobiographical, socio-critical and eminently historical, revolving around political issues, such as the Stolen Generations, Indigenous sovereignty and women's issues. Her music, partly performed in collaboration with her life partner Archie Roach, is not merely entertainment and pleasure. Hunter's songs are deeply personal. They reveal her own experiences of having been forcibly removed from her family and the path of becoming a devoted artist, activist and intellectual. *Ruby' Story* tells of her own life as a member of the Stolen Generation—without bitterness or reproach. *Let My Children Be* is a powerful voice for diversity and plurality in Australian society.

Ruby Hunter was born in South Australia in 1955 and died of a heart attack in February 2010. Despite her relatively short life, she became a songwriter of international recognition.

Zeitschrift für Australienstudien honours Ruby Hunter's life and work. It presents a poem by John Harding which captures Hunter's road to becoming an artist and includes a selected discography of her songs.

I raise my glass to Ruby

by John Harding

I remember the 80's in suburban Fitzroy, my youth at that time meant my memory is clear.

You could see the camaraderie that exuded silently from all the Kooris, a smile a kiss and a handshake our passports to each other.

You could honestly smell the love and respect we had for one another.

I remember a quieter Ruby then, oh she still had the twinkling vibrant eyes and the big laugh, the smile that lit up a footpath or a park, but quieter then.

See she hadn't picked up her guitar onstage yet,
Then I saw here emerge out from behind her hubby Archie Roach,
Her voice like the spine of Archie's C note, chillingly haunting and hauntingly chilling,
her voice was pure unadulterated slap you in the face pride. The collective pride of all her peoples exhaled with every breath of that blak velvet tone.

Ruby riddled us all with bullets of truth and pain and humour that passed thru our hearts, they slowly melted while she told us ten minute stories about five minute songs,

Archie gently urging her to start playing her guitar without looking at her to avoid a steely glare. What love and respect they had…

Ruby asking my mother Eleanor to be in their video clip they shot in their backyard in *Reservoi*r, and calling her aunty, always calling her aunty.

If cheekiness, humour, beauty, talent loyalty and love could be wrapped up in a suburb it was Fitzroy, if the suburb could be wrapped up in a woman,

It was Ruby.

(For Archie Roach and Ruby Hunter)

Discography

1990: *Charcoal Lane* (with Archie Roach; titles: Native Born; Charcoal Lane; Munjana; I've Lied; Down City Streets; Took the Children Away; Sister Brother; Beautiful Child; No No No; Summer Life)

1993: *Jamu Dreaming* (with Archie Roach; titles: Weeping in the Forest; From Paradise; Mr T; Love in the Morning; Tell Me Why; Walking into Doors; Wild Blue Gums; So Young; Angela; Jamu Dreaming; There Is a Garden)

1994: *Thoughts Within* (titles: Kurongk Boy, Kurongk Girl; So Close, So Near; Let My Children Be; Whos to Blame; Proud, Proud Woman; A Change is Gonna Come; Aunty Sissy; Woman's Business; Kutjeri Lady; Wet Heart, No Tears; I've Been Waiting; Modern Day Girl)

2000: *Feeling Good* (titles: I Am A Woman; It's Okay; In the Right Way; Ain't No Time; Ngarrindjeri Woman; Aurukun Moonlight; Take It Easy; Something Special; Wise Ways; True Lovers; Why Won't You Believe Me; Welcome to All People)

2005: *Ruby (Ruby's Story)* (with Archie Roach; titles: A Child Was Born Tonight; Ngarrindjeri Woman; Nopun Kurongk; Held Up to the Moon; Was My Soul in the River's Flow; Daisy Chains, String Games and Knuckle Bones; Took the Children Away; Coolamen Baby; Little by Little, Down City Streets; Old So & So; Kura Tungar)

REVIEW ESSAY

Robyn Rowland. *Seasons of Doubt & Burning: New & Selected Poems*. Parkville, Vic.: Five Island Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-7340-4160-9; **Diane Fahey. *The Wing Collection: New & Selected Poems***. Glebe NSW: Puncher and Wattmann, 2011. ISBN 978-1-921-450-25-9. **Reviewed by Werner Senn**, University of Bern, Switzerland.

Two major and well-established contemporary women poets now writing in Australia have within a few months of each other produced a substantial and representative selection from their work over the last decades, enriched in both cases by new poems. Although they are very different in emphasis, preoccupations and style it is an attractive task to review the two books side by side.

As Robyn Rowland pointed out in her autobiographical essay "Life in the Raw with the Personal Muse" (*Meanjin Quarterly* 67:4, 2008): "my poetry has always been about my life, and that can be the interior life as well as the love affairs (mostly doomed!), the health crises, the political positions." In their frankness and yet tactful restraint some of her love poems are among the best and most appealing texts in this rich selection. Equally vital, however, are those texts that deal with the inner life as well as with the public and political issues of which the author is so acutely aware. Whatever the themes, her poems all seem to spring from an intense personal engagement and to be informed by an alert critical awareness.

Rowland's book contains texts selected from her volumes *Filigree in blood* (1982), *Perverse Serenity* (1990), *Fiery Waters* (2001), *Shadows at the Gate* (2004) and *Silence & its tongues* (2006). A substantial first section fittingly entitled "Beyond that season" offers new poems. The opening text of the entire book, "Perishing," thoughtfully meditates on the death of icebergs through global warming. In its elegiac mood it sets the tone for much of what is to follow in this first section and testifies to

Rowland's undiminished control of language, imagery and evocative power, uniting both emotional response and critical awareness:

> Tendril limbs dangling begin their disappearing
> even as cheeks, raised towards the blank sky
> feel for the first time, tears,
> melting down, melting,
> until those violet hearts vanish from weeping,
> a dark ocean rising across their lost shadow. (13)

Among the new poems, in free verse like all others, a regular stanza form prevails, as if the powerful emotional commitment called for stronger containment. "The deep sigh: Katoomba Falls" e.g. is an attempt to capture something of the extraordinary impact of this famous rainforest waterfall exuding an almost mystical atmosphere:

> Hidden bellows of wind suddenly fill this marquisette veil, rippling.
> Shafts of white light strike it aflame, flickering against dark rock.
> Out of its wet smoke, messages struggle to form, then thinning, dissipate.
> Life flies in the face of this exertion. Dragonflies flit oblivious.
> Butterflies chance it so close as to risk damp death. (25)

Rowland's first book of poems, *Filigree in blood*, already displayed the range and variety of her work: poems on friendships, on personal and family matters, travels, such 'Australian' themes as drought and bush fires, a "Ballad for Jimmie Governor" and a "Lament for Ethel Governor" (his widow), which shows her characteristic empathy:

> Stunned and tarnished
> you sit among the embers

and strain to match the memories
with the man. (63)

"The Waikato River" illustrates another feature recurring in her poetry right up to the recent "This moon" (218), her gift for rendering sense impressions:

Currents woo
the last shades of day
and the tissue of willows
swish their cheeks
onto the glazed depths. (73)

The reverse of this lyrical softness is the harsh forcefulness with which Rowland depicts a bush fire:

All day the fires
sear into the hills,
tangling themselves in the bracken,
bellowing scarlet
into the blistered night. ("The trip back," 76)

Perverse Serenity (1990) focuses on what an authorial gloss describes as "a narrative sequence on the end of a relationship between a woman and a man in Australia and a love between that woman and a man in Ireland" (83). The author gives powerful expression to this autobiographical theme: a turmoil of emotions recollected not in Wordsworthian tranquility but in a storm of conflicting passions, with a speaker torn between elation, frustration, anger, hope, and longing:

Each night I wake
to this silence
strong and lung-filled,

as when a spear shreds bone,
or a scream burns at the stake. ("When love goes," 90)

The new love affair has its own inherent problems, as the lover, it emerges, is an Irish priest, remembered for his "Kerry-blue eyes" and "their seasons of doubt and burning" (99). The threatening tensions build up to a defiant, blasphemous outburst in "Perverse serenity:"

Smash this death
false submission
I am the life and the way
here is the living flame
Through love alone
all things live. (95)

Anger and sadness continue to trouble the speaker, often highlighted by fire imagery. In the later volume *Shadows at the gate* (2004) memories of that passionate but doomed affair were still to haunt the speaker and flare up into the perhaps most violent statement on this theme:

That
is what I knew:
incineration,

being torched alive,
scorched in the feverous caress
that sears its way into flesh ("Trees," 148)

While this personal, vibrant and passionate love poetry is undoubtedly a dominant strain in Rowland's work, it should not be allowed to distract from her other concerns, equally vitally expressed. In *Fiery Waters* (2001), her first book after a long silence, she addresses such public and political issues as the Stolen Generation, the heroism of Greek women during and since

World War II, the massacres in East Timor, the terrible bush fires in South Australia and Victoria that killed over seventy people ("Ash Wednesday, 1983"), or the intense public debate over land ownership. The problem of "belonging" to a country invaded, colonized, appropriated from the indigenous peoples and cultivated for generations by white settlers, often with devastating consequences, is sharply perceived. But despite the cynical observation of the ecological catastrophes resulting from colonization, the speaker writes sympathetically of the back-breaking labour invested by early settlers

> stacking hour on hour, year on year
> against their youth
> that dried with the billabongs;
> a land coughing up bitterness
> while they worked it sternly, slowly
> into their skin, their lungs, and down
> bred into their children,
>
> and she is equally aware of the endurance of the wives
> left month on month
> for roundups or droves,
> looking out across the vast plains of marriage. ("Belonging," 115)

The selection from *Shadows at the gate* (2004) offers a similar variety of topics and concerns, although now in a somewhat darker mood. Ageing and illness begin to cast their shadow over daily life. But this anxiety about personal health does not prevent the author from addressing public issues with her former critical sharpness, as in "The Fallen," a poem about the fate of a migrant, or in "Aerodynamics of death," on an Australian cameraman killed in Afghanistan. Given these interests it may come as a surprise to see Rowland revisiting the Ireland of her passionate, long drawn-out and "doomed" love affair in the sequence *Last poems before the eclipse*. But this revisiting of the past seems a necessary

exercise, a way for her to liberate herself from this obsessive relationship never fully lived. "Love lament for the dispossessed" in a way sums up the entire experience. It is one of the longest texts in Rowland's oeuvre and very moving in the simplicity and limpidity it finally achieves, though the balancing of regret and consolation may be deceptive:

> Now love is shelved.
> I have folded I neatly,
> all edges carefully tucked;
> slid it into the tall cupboard (169)

One of the texts selected from Rowland's latest collection, *Silence & and its tongues*, poses the question whether she got from her mother and her Irish forebears that "inheritance of yearning, / the small burning gene that carries it pulsing" (196) and concludes: "Perhaps it was Ireland and not yourself / has handed me so much loss" (196). The conciliatory point has some importance since in the most powerful texts reproduced here, from the sequence "Dead Mother Poems," the traumatic impact of that relationship is strikingly foregrounded. To write those poems, sixteen years after her mother's death, was an effort that, as Rowland wrote elsewhere, "nearly killed [her]". But it helped her to work through and leave behind this pain-ridden experience of her childhood: "Never grown, how you clung. [. . .] / You were my burden, my debtors's note" (210). In their restraint and subtle control of language and emotion these poems form a fitting conclusion to a rich and varied volume.

In contrast to Rowland's chronological arrangement of her texts, which to some extent invites an autobiographical reading, Diane Fahey in *The Wing Collection* organizes her material (selected from her previous nine volumes of verse and augmented by new and unpublished poems) in thematic terms. It is structured in six sections containing texts of a certain thematic affinity. This particular arrangement by content or theme enables readers to appreciate the scope of Fahey's poetic universe, which ranges

from the minutiae of insect life to the great Western myths as recounted in the classical sources, above all Homer and Ovid. Myth and fairy tale, and the natural world with its infinite variety of animal species, figure prominently in Fahey's oeuvre and hence in this selection.

"Small wonders," the first and largest section, offers many poems on the truly wondrous variety of winged creatures, from bee, butterfly, and dragonfly to hummingbird, owl, and pelican, but also on such exquisite and fragile animals as seahorse, starfish and nautilus. Each of these is closely observed and depicted with the poet's eye and mind. Despite the factual accuracy which characterizes these texts (at times supplemented by helpful notes) the poet does not merely attempt to render with precision the individuality of each species. Placing each creature in its natural context and habitat she seeks by poetic means to highlight its idiosyncrasies, as it were, its intrinsic animal being. Watching albatrosses in flight, she sees them

> climbing or gliding, as simple-subtle
> as a dialogue of speech with silence,
> the stroking of a beloved into deep calm ("Albatrosses," 19)

The scientist knows that the owl has "the most soundless feathers, the sharpest hearing," but the poet wonders above all about the eyes:

> Who does not long, somewhere in themselves,
> [. . .]
> to be met by that startled eldritch gaze
> searching the furthest corners of their soul? ("Owl," 24)

The two sequences "Small Wonders" and "The Hummingbird Suite" are virtuoso variations on a theme. The poet gallantly meets the challenge she has set herself, and in her poetic

bestiarium even the most humble and unpopular animals such as earwig or cockroach are given their due. In "Butterflies: a Meditation," the connaisseur of butterflies blends with the poet suggesting a metapoetic dimension in the opening lines:

> The poem's creation:
> a flight path seemingly
> without pattern,
> bewildering to the naked eye;
> at moments
> an incomprehensible lightness. (48)

"Mosquito" begins:

> What if *you* could move freely through darkness
> with the ability to miss all slapping hands –
> wouldn't you make that continuous raspberry sound,
> blowing your own trumpet, slicing through
> wakefulness, sleep, dream? (59)

In its inclusiveness, its verbal exuberance and sophistication this section is a celebration of natural life, its infinite variety and amazing versatility.

Linguistic dexterity and poetic imagination are also in evidence in the next section, "The Wing Collection," which extends the theme of wings by including that supreme winged creature, the angel. By implication, nature here gives place to culture, although the transition from the previous section is astutely made by the opening text, a poem on Albrecht Dürer's watercolour "The Little Owl." Poems on paintings were a favourite genre with Fahey in her early work. Some are collected here, especially poems on the Annunciation painted by Fra Angelico or Jan van Eyck with their obligatory angel. The elevated tone and stately rhetoric suited to this theme are perhaps best illustrated in the poem "Praise," which also gives spiritual depth to that all-embracing celebration of life in the previous section:

on this planet
whose every plant and creature
seeks fullness of being –
a poignant efflorescence –
we cannot hear those choirs that praise,
under the cathedral light of heaven,
the Source, the Mystery,
which holds us all in life
yet catch echoes of their frequencies
in sacred music here,
rising like incense
from chapel, mosque and temple,
from grasslands, rainforest, desert. (76-77)

Section 3, "The Gold Honeycomb," draws on *Metamorphoses* (1988) and *Listening to a Far Sea* (1998). The transition from the previous section is again beautifully effected by the introductory poem "Philomela," about the victimized woman in the Greek myth transformed by the gods into a nightingale. Fahey engages imaginatively with versions of Greek myths, explores and interprets their meaning for the present. She often treats them freely, giving a twist to the traditional story or raising an awkward question about it. "Philomela" can be read as a programmatic poem in this section: a woman raped and imprisoned by her brother-in-law, who also has her tongue cut out, finds, as a bird, the power and the voice to express her grief and utter her plaintive song.

To empower women seems a strategy that Fahey puts to considerable effect in these texts. Niobe, whose children were killed by envious gods, is transformed not into a bird but into a stone, yet even this can be turned to advantage:

But as stone that can weep, it will take
immeasurably longer for you to wear yourself away:
the grieving commensurate with the loss;
that slow trickle down flesh as cold as the gods. ("Niobe," 105)

A specious, questionable triumph perhaps, but a triumph nevertheless. Leda, seduced by Jove in the shape of a swan, remembers his rape as "this sordid disturbance of a dream" and asserts her undiminished selfhood: "If I nestle deep down inside the mud, a new self / may hatch and arise, as if from fire…" (Leda's Story," 114). Arachne, in a weaving contest with Athena, wove "rape after rape / by gods of mortals" into her tapestry and was punished by the goddess for "this groundling's view" (117) and turned into a spider but retained her pride and creative power:

> Now, ringed planet, nucleus of atom,
> she waits in a network of dew
> to catch and hold the sky,
> moves with every wind,
> anchored close to earth…
> Trapped in that tiny globe,
> her self is inexhaustible:
> it spins and spins. ("Weaver," 117)

In the section "The Sixth Swan" all texts refer to or rewrite fairy tales, from "Rapunzel" to "The Frog Prince" and "Rumpelstiltskin." What is striking and delightful is the freedom with which Fahey treats the familiar stories, sometimes by avoiding the expected closure, sometimes by turning the story into a first-person narrative, thus producing unexpected effects of defamiliarization, as in "The Robber Bridegroom," where the bride tells the horrid story from her own perspective. In "Secret Lives" (section 5) we find texts of a more personal and philosophical kind, not a few of them from her 1995 collection *The Body in Time*. "Rooms" raises the intriguing question of the secret life of rooms:

> Could one surprise a room,
> fling open a door to discover
> some unknown mood of silence

or, in the air, a busyness
one could not quite read –
memories, stored in brick flesh,

now seeping back into space
to be sparked by sunlight
into a sky of milling planets? (176)

In spare and precise yet also suggestive language the poem develops into a questioning of identity and the shaping power of contexts, of the spaces we inhabit. The loving attention to objects and animals, demonstrated literally in sections 1 and 2, is a virtue celebrated here e.g. in "Longcase Clock" or "Feeding the Birds," while "Breath" is a moving tribute of a loving daughter for her aged mother. What these texts seem to promote is a way of caring and attention to the world and the people who live in it, our fellow-humans. There are also some more private poems, and the author even ventures on autobiographical ground. In "Dressmaker," her love of fabric remains a life-long predilection whereas the dresses change in the course of time. It is in the present, after long illness, that she is at her most personal, in a mixture of frankness, courage and modest self-assertion:

Since then I have put on the garment of my womanhood.
It marks the curves and leanings of my flesh,
holds in, reveals, what I have come to be,
beyond promise and blight. I know its weight,
its transparency, its rawness, its flawed smoothness.
I wear it now with something close to ease,
with the freedom, almost, of nakedness. (182)

Acceptance of the world and the body is beautifully figured also in "Hourglass in an Interior (On becoming forty)," a text reminiscent of a Flemish still life with an hourglass among plants and flowers, itself an image of mutability:

The plant holds, resists, light in shapes

akin to the hourglass, angles its sensuous,
papery satin – on which I would like to record
such poems as this. (183)

In the final section, "The World as Poem," the texts drawn from four collections foreground the poetic vision of things and people. Whether the setting is the seacoast, the estuary, or a room, the I is prominent, an alert, reflecting observer who tries carefully and patiently to delve beneath the surface of things. The various themes and preoccupations displayed in the previous sections seem to come together here. Winged creatures are present in the shape of birds, e.g. an ibis probing the seashore, "off-white plumage, / unbeautiful till its hidden life / fans into myth" (237), or flying low, "the lilt of [its] languorous black wings / a footnote in the unwritten book of days" (236). The sea is an enduring presence, benign and threatening at the same time - "the cradling, uncradling sea" – (215), an almost mythical power: "Resoundingly, ocean writes on itself / thick lines that slide towards foam on jade – illumined ciphers in a dissolving script" (212). The self is firmly placed in the world and in time:

Can I breathe time as I breathe the wind,
draw its strength into my lungs, resist
its strength with my body? Today, this is not
gale-force time: we are evenly matched. ("Time," 211)

The experience of a lifetime of writing, the careful attention to the living world, result in an equanimity and wisdom expressed with calm simplicity in "Headland:"

Like stone, the body carries at its core,
in its textures, a history of becoming
and erosion. [. . .]
The wind
strips clean the skin of rocks; scours flesh.
The sea, too, is theft and gift and fusion,
its cliffs storeyed with aeons of drowning, spawning. (224)

Robyn Rowland and Diane Fahey, although quite different in their themes, approaches and poetic methods, have over the years made a distinctive contribution to contemporary Australian poetry. What is more, their books stimulate heart and mind and are a pleasure to read.

REZENSIONEN/REVIEWS

George Dreyfus: Brush Off! Saving The Gilt-Edged Kid from Oblivion. Melbourne: Three Feet Publishing, 2011. 53 pp. ISBN 9781876044732 (pbk. Including a CD 'Correspondence and Newspaper Clippings') **Reviewed by Norbert H. Platz**

This is the fourth in a row of George Dreyfus' autobiographical books, the preceding titles being *The Last Frivolous Book* (1984), *Being George and Liking It* (1998) and *Don't Ever Let Them Get You* (2009). In his new book the author deals with a legitimate grievance against the Australian cultural system, a grievance that has harassed him for nearly 40 years. As is well known, the early 1970s were characterised by widespread attempts to boost Australian culture in order to move away from the notorious cultural cringe. Film, drama and the other arts profited from this new impulse to create significant Australian cultural products. In May 1969, The Australian Opera invited seven Australian composers to write a one-act opera. The composers were Nigel Butterley, George Dreyfus, Keith Humble, Richard Meale, Larry Sitsky, Peter Sculthorpe and Felix Werder.

In her retrospect Lynne Strahan, the librettist of Dreyfus' opera *The Gilt-Edged Kid*, evokes the 'new' feeling of the late 1960s:

> It was an environment, especially in the run-up to the election of the Whitlam government, in which it was easy to arouse optimism and outrage. […] the Australian Labour (sic!) Party was aggressively promoting values and its Arts and Culture Policy Committee had enshrined the forlorn concept of Australian identity … in its statement of aims which vowed 'To help establish and express an Australian identity through the Arts'. Their special targets were the 'tories' who governed the fund-greedy high theatrical arts of ballet and opera (Strahan 57-58).

Having been invited, George Dreyfus handed in his second opera *The Gilt-Edged Kid*. He was convinced he would create a strong impact with this piece at that time. In retrospect, he writes:

> Lynne Strahan's libretto mirrored my intention, intensely Brechtian, another of my cultural heroes. … Our opera is about a series of contests between the Administrator and the Kid, singing all the time, to decide who's to have the power. There is a strategy game, musical instrument with voice, poker machines, wood chop and archery (9).

In his earlier work *The Last Frivolous Book* he had given a similar description where he also states "what happens on the stage is quite bizarre" (77).

In contrast to Felix Werder's Opera *L'Affaire de Corps*, and Larry Sitsky's *Lenz,* Dreyfus' *The Gilt-Edged Kid* featured

> a confrontation between radical and liberal forces which erupts in a great Australian leadership contest. With a radical dead and the liberal in custody for murder, the forces of the status quo triumph. Apart from the contemporary characters, there was a ragged Greek chorus composed of a *sanse culotte* from Nantes, a medieval martyr from Berne and a bear-keeper from Toblensk, whose task was to interpose a Schopenhauerian view of history (Strahan 58-59).

In the early 1970s, Dreyfus felt that his opera would have well suited the new emphasis on characteristically Australian leanings in artistic endeavours. On the one hand, he would have liked his opera to be received as a significant contribution to the new vogue. On the other, and this seems to have been more important to him, he was convinced that *The Gilt-Edged Kid* was breaking new ground in the genre of opera and might thus deserve acknowledgment for its innovative pursuits. Financially speaking, the requisites would have been more easily affordable and much cheaper than what a traditional European operatic piece would have required.[19]

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[19] 2 Sopranos, 3 Tenors, 3 Baritones, 2 Basses - 2.2.2.2. - 2.2.2.0. Timpani, Percussion (3 players - Side drum, Bass drum, Cymbals, Tam-tarn, Tambourine, Marakas, Triangle, Tubular bells, Campanetta, Xylophone, Vibraphone, Drum kit), Piano, Strings. Reduction for 7

The whole project of new Australian operatic pieces had been initiated with some stimulating enthusiasm, but regrettably nothing happened. In an article titled "Operatic goings-on", David Ahern mockingly wrote in the *Bulletin* (June 24, 1972):

> Once upon a time, there was an Opera Company. It invited with much ado as much money, seven composers to write operas. Time went by. Lo and behold, there were no operas, and there was much wailing and gnashing of teeth.

The disappointment was felt by the public and composers alike because *The Australian Opera* had not lived up to its promise. The whole project of innovative Australian operatic productions with an emphasis on Australian themes was handled in a desultory way by the cultural administrators of The Australian Opera and Australia Council. Decision-making was kept in abeyance for many years.

Dreyfus was getting increasingly angry about that matter. From The Australian Opera and its officials he received plenty of letters of the 'no, but' category, i.e. letters saying politely 'no' but holding out the possibility of having the opera performed at a later time. Yet no date was envisaged.[20] Finally, as late as 29 May 1981 Dreyfus was informed by John Cameron, General Manager of Australia Council, to the effect that *The Gilt-Edged Kid* had altogether been rejected:

> In view of the unanimous opinion of a succession of people who have considered the work, it would be quite irresponsible of the Opera to spend money and resources mounting the production of a work in which it has no faith, just to please you. Can I urge you to let The Gilt Edged Kid sleep in peace and start concentrating instead on realising your own undoubted creative potential in other works for the Opera stage or elsewhere.[21]

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instruments - Clarinet, Bassoon, Trumpet, Trombone, Violin, Double Bass, Percussion.

[20] His correspondence with The Australian Opera and other people who were involved in this project is well documented in the CD which is attached to the book. The footnotes supply many useful references.

[21] Footnote no. 139. Text available on attached CD.

The composer was enraged and appears to have accepted this piece of advice tongue-in-cheek. For, ironically and no doubt to his own advantage, he succeeded in having his operas *Rathenau* and *The Marx Sisters* performed 'elsewhere' (that is in Germany) in the 1990s. Despite his various extended phases of remarkable success, Dreyfus, however, as late as in 2011 is not yet prepared to accommodate to the injustice that had been inflicted upon him by The Australian Opera. He still speaks of "this sorry episode of Australian cultural bastardry [that] started in 1968" (41). The reader gains the impression that Dreyfus still suffers from the sneering bureaucratic condescension which had humbled him. The smug officials had for years stone-walled his justified questioning. His ire is directed against all those people who, in the end; committed what he now calls "operacide", which possibly alludes to the term 'genocide' (41). Dreyfus himself had been lucky enough to survive the holocaust.

On the whole, his book *Brush Off*! is a vexatious retrospection. "Brush Off!" is mentioned not only in the title but occurs ever so often as a leitmotif in this smart little book. It should not be forgotten that the case of *The Gilt-Edged Kid* had been extensively presented already in Dreyfus *The last frivolous book* (82-90). There he declares: "I think, with *The Gilt-Edged Kid*, the Board Members of The Australian Opera are all guilty of breach of trust. There can be no greater crime than that in the arts. My God, how can it be good for the arts in Australia, not to play my opera?" (89). In *Brush Off!* Dreyfus attempts to give a both abundant and accurate account of the many negotiations he conducted with The Australian Opera. The CD attached to the book contains more than twenty letters written by Dreyfus himself and more than forty letters whose recipient he was. His letter to The Australian Opera of 27 January 1975 may be worth quoting: "I can only reiterate that I regard my treatment by The Australian Opera as discriminatory, and that this whole incident has brought no credit to the Board and Management of The Australian Opera."

Being shunted aside in a rude and unfriendly manner by the Australian Opera did not only deeply wound the composer's psyche but alerted his admirable combative spirit as well. Living in his eighties he is still not yet prepared to forgive what happened to him. At the end of the book he defiantly declares: "I can wait out the operacide which Opera Australia is perpetrating against *The Gilt-Edged Kid*; I am not dead, yet!" (41) For him the case is not dead and buried but still has an irksome presence in his mind.

The well documented minutiae of *The Gilt-Edged Kid*'s offstage career are worth considering because they exemplify the perennial conflict between the freelance artist and the cultural institutions on whose favour he depends. There is yet another dimension. The question arises as to whether this opera was refused because of its submerged political implications. Lynne Strahan provides some important clues: After all these years [i.e. in 1984], I realise that *The Gilt-Edged Kid* "… was subversive. […] For its theme … is that the capitalist state will always act swiftly to suppress any threat to its continuance and that history is on its side. [The opera] was almost pre-scient (perhaps the gilt-edged kid was Whitlam and administrator in the story was Sir John Kerr)" (Strahan 67-68).

Sir John Kerr as Governor dismissed Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in 1975, which led to a constitutional crisis in Australia.

The reader of this book is impressed by the author deftly assuming the role of a Juvenalian satirist holding up a mirror to various people (whose photos are compiled in his *Rogues Gallery* on the first two pages). Comparable to the Roman Juvenal, Dreyfus presents himself as an upright man who is horrified and angered by the corruption and incompetence of the cultural system. As a keen observer of the social set-up around him he succeeds in making some of his major opponents the target of his scathing exposition. Having been the victim of their 'brush offs' for four decades he at long last gives them a powerful 'brush off!' of his own. His major weapon is ridicule. As a reader one cannot but enjoy this civilised satirical trick of retribution and revenge.

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Peter Monteath, ed.: *Germans. Travellers, Settlers and Their Descendants in South Australia*. Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2011, pp. xxi + 449, AUD 34.95. ISBN 978-1862549111. **Reviewed by Oliver Haag,** University of Edinburgh.

Despite the considerable geographical distance, the relationship between Australians and Germans has always been intense and, often enough, problematic. On the one hand, Germans were deemed the prototype of the migrant, industrious and more than willing to assimilate to Australian culture. On the other hand, there were times when Germans were seen as evincing disloyalty towards Australia, mistrusted as the "troublemakers" who, in the course of the two World Wars, brought nothing but pain and sorrow. Yet, for all their difference, there is a remarkable similarity between both views: Germans, like other ethnic groups, have been fully assimilated and seen as one.

The collection *Germans,* edited by Adelaide-based historian Peter Monteath, tackles this view. The 21 chapters, all based on original research, offer a great blend of innovative themes and methodological approaches to the influences which German travellers and migrants exerted on the making of South Australia. Written by scholars of different disciplinary background, including history, sociology and linguistics, the book traces the German presence in South Australia from the founding of the colony until the period of German migration after 1945. The innovative scope of themes is impressive, ranging from the Lutheran ethnography of Aboriginal people, over studies of the formation of German-South Australian identities in cookbooks, to the impact of National Socialism on South Australia. Clearly, the book is timely in offering a transnational perspective on the history of South Australia which, like the bulk of Australian history writing, is usually confined to national frames.

Of particular interest is Barbara Poniewierski's research on the National Socialist agitation in South Australia which uncovers the different stages of Nazi propaganda towards German residents as well as the reactions taken by the Australian authorities towards these agitations. This chapter clearly demonstrates the massive influence of the Third Reich beyond Europe and renders Australia less peripheral than often suggested in German historiography of National Socialism. However, despite their close publication dates, a reference to Christine Winter's and Emily Turners-Graham's landmark study, *National Socialism in Oceania* (2010), would have been an essential acknowledgment of research in this field.

The many chapters on the German interest in Aboriginal cultures are equally timely, given the increasing studies of German perception of Aboriginal cultures past and present. The chapters on the relations between Germans and Aboriginal Australians—by Peter Mühlhäusler, Christine Lockwood, Mary-Anne Gale, Janice Lally and Peter Monteath—all document the relatively humane twist in portraying Aboriginal people in German documents as opposed to British ones. There is indeed some accuracy in this observation, especially so in relation to the documentation of the Ngarrindjeri language and the "noble savage" tropes which did not employ outright degrading intentions, although from a post-colonial perspective undoubtedly racist.

Yet this observation, as is presented in the book, also lacks theoretical and methodological sharpness. For instance, Janice Jally and Peter Monteath in their chapter on Alexanders Schramm's paintings of Aboriginal people state his humane depiction in contrast to the dehumanising representation in British painting:

> In this attention to human detail Schramm distinguishes his work from the British depictions of Indigenous Australians at that time. His Aborigines are much more than marginal, picturesque embellishments. The image is of a collective, but one in which the figures possess distinctive identities. Schramm's art combines an obvious concern for the plight of Adelaide's Indigenous population. (157)

A grave methodological problem results from the comparison of a single German artist with British artists as such. Clearly, not all British artists or historians of the late nineteenth century portrayed Aboriginal people in a negative light—or, more precisely, in a light which from a nineteenth century perspective can be regarded as relatively devoid of prejudice (McGrath 1995: 360-4). Moreover, the contrasting of a single German artist with an entire national group of artists bears the great danger of misreading the single German portrayal as representative of German discourse at the time. Quite obviously, this would have required systematic comparison with nineteenth century German Orientalism (e.g., Marchand 2009; Lutz 2000:37-40, 46). Furthermore, even if German discourse on Indigenous people proved to be more "humane" than British narratives, these views were hardly 'altruistic' but need to be understood as an effort to uphold a distinct German identity which also reflected the nationalist tendency of Germans conceiving themselves as indigenous to their lands (Moses 2008:37). Given the lack of systematic analysis, there is thus a danger to generalise such seemingly benevolent and progressive racial views which, in the end, never questioned racial difference.

Another problematic aspect of this book is its strong focus on the nineteenth century. 62% of the chapters revolve around the nineteenth century, 33% are concerned with the interwar period and Nazism, whereas only a single chapter covers the period after 1945. Clearly, such an imbalance is not justified, not least because of the rapidly changing patterns of the contemporary German presence in South Australia. What seems even more problematic is the confinement of Aboriginal-related chapters to the nineteenth century section, reminiscent of the long-held practice of excluding Aboriginal people from the narrative of modern Australian History. Although perhaps not intended by the editor, the silencing of Aboriginal-German relations during the twentieth century ranks among the weakest parts of the collection.

Furthermore, the one-sided focus on South Australia would have required rigorous contextualisation, given the presence of Germans in all states and territories of Australia: was the presence of Germans in South Australia exceptional as compared to other Australian states and how did the South Australian-German experience translate into an Australian experience? Moreover, was *South Australia* important for the formation of national identities in this respect or was its regional character rather of secondary importance?

Despite both these apparent weaknesses, the book constitutes a meticulously researched source for everyone interested in the intricate relationship between Germany and (South) Australia. The clear style and absence of jargon as well as the breadth of themes render *Germans: Travellers, Settlers and Their Descendants in South Australia* a worthwhile compendium for scholars and general readers alike.

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Russell West-Pavlov: *Imaginary Antipodes. Essays on Contemporary Australian Literature and Culture*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011, pp. 238, EUR 31.00. ISBN 978-3-8253-5925-6. **Reviewed by Oliver Haag,** University of Edinburgh.

The study on Australia has never been an entirely Australian affair, despite the circumstance that Australian Studies is still often practised in a national frame. The increasing number of 'outsiders', especially Europeans, North Americans and, of late, Indians and Sri Lankans, are a clear sign for a shift from a purely national to an increasingly transnational practice of Australian Studies. Despite this tendency, it is still difficult for 'outsiders' to establish an academic reputation *within* Australia. This is not merely of consequence for individual academic careers but also has an impact on theoretical and methodological development. After all, challenging theories have seldom emerged out of national studies but rather out of cross-national engagement between networks of globally located scholars. Good scholarship knows to look behind categories – be they national, racial or gendered – yet not to confirm them. From this perspective, studies on particular nations, practised within concepts such as Australian, Canadian and New Zealand Studies - are always prone to re-establish the hidden yet powerful narrative of the nation. This is not to delegitimize Australian Studies but to stress the need to render visible the underlying concept of the nation instead of further nationalising its practice.

Imaginary Antipodes is a fresh and intellectually innovative approach to this dilemma: it is concerned with *Australian* literature and culture but conceives them as imagined from within and outside, thus not falling into the trap of confirming a national narrative of literature and culture. The book is a collection of previously published essays and articles which span almost fifteen years of West-Pavlov's writing, mainly done in Germany. It has four main themes which are interrelated: the production of

Indigenous literature with a focus on the textual construction of its white readers; white settler identities; the identities of immigrant groups and finally global imaginations of Australian culture and literature. The author also reflects on his own position as a white expat academic in Germany and the influence of this (decidedly trans-national) position on his writing about Australia.

The strongest part of the book is perhaps the last section on the translation of Australian literature. It discusses the usefulness and limitations of the concept of *Weltliteratur* in the context of Australian literature and - drawing on a preliminary bibliography of approximately 3,000 German translations of Australian literature -rightly argues for empirical research on the processes of translation (although the list of translated Indigenous literature is incomplete as recent publications in this area have shown). It also identifies areas for future research, an ambitious endeavour which hopefully serves as an incentive for scholarship - including bibliographies of translations and systematic studies on the processes of translation, publishing policies and reading practices. Clearly, as this chapter cogently argues, the field of translated Australian literature in a transnational world calls for collaborative, cross-national and decidedly multidisciplinary research: Literary and Translation Studies scholars as well as historians, sociologists and political scientists can all find a promising and almost endless field of research. It can only be hoped that scholars will respond to this incentive.

There are, however, a few shortcomings which are chiefly a matter of homogenising complex categories. One relates to the production processes of Aboriginal writing. Drawing on Colin Johnson's/ Mudrooroo's writing on Aboriginal Australian literature, which is fundamentally dichotomist, the author writes:

> Aboriginal authorship has been elided by anthropologists passing the indigenous storyteller's name under the anonymous label of the 'native informant' and replacing it with their own. Traditional oral narratives have been recast by white writers in a flat prose which eliminates the context of the narration, its relationship with

> the land, and reduces indigenous tradition to children's stories reciting 'primitive' platitude. (24-25)

It is astonishing why the author has chosen to follow Mudrooroo in his critique of white appropriation of Aboriginal texts, not least because the rest of his book is a cogent argument for why oppositions do not work. Clearly, the co-production of Aboriginal texts, especially autobiographies and biographies, has not been a simple replacement of Aboriginal authorship as with William Ramsay Smith's plagiarism of David Unaipon's work, for one. For all the justified critique of cross-cultural literary production of Aboriginal texts, the positive sides of this collaboration should not be underestimated and neither should the agency of Aboriginal authors who have successfully demonstrated that they, too, have been successfully appropriating 'white' genres and forms.

Another problematic opposition is the implicit homogenisation of Europe:

> unlike much briefer episodes of hegemony and genocide at a continental scale, such as the ten-year Nazi domination of Europe, settler nations have been in place for several centuries and cannot possibly be dislodged. Any re-assertion of native title, or, more radically, re-establishment of indigenous sovereignty, must be negotiated within the framework of existing settler sovereignty, even if it is to radically question that latter sovereignty. (15)

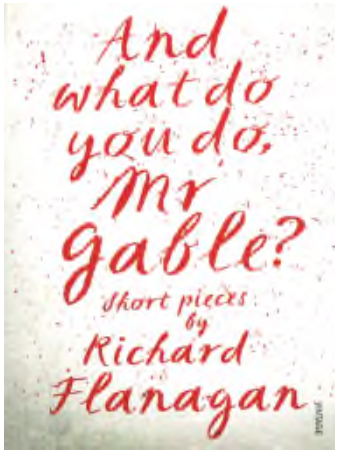
Phases of hegemony were seen as brief in European History as this text suggests: the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, people's loss of lands throughout the various forcible mass migrations in European History, issues of Sámi sovereignty in Scandinavia or tensions over sovereignty in the Bask and Catalan Territories are just a few instances for the diversity of European experiences which are at times perhaps closer to those of settler societies than West-Pavlov suggests. And even if they are not: oppositions are simply too limited and negate the complexity of historical realities.

Apart from these minor problematic aspects, *Imaginary Antipodes* is an excellent study with every potential to serve as a reference work for future studies. Everyone with a passion for transnational approaches to Australian Studies should read this book - and everyone wishing to embark on further studies should use it as a rich source of research questions, trends and themes.

Richard Flanagan: ***And What Do You Do, Mr Gable?*** Short Pieces (Non-Fiction). Vintage Books Australia, 2011, A$ 19.95. ISBN 978 1 742 752723. ***Wanting.*** Vintage Books Australia, 2008. A$ 24.95, pb. ISBN 978 1 74166 668 7. **Reviewed by Adi Wimmer,** University of Klagenfurt**.**

> *Richard Flanagan has single-handedly given voice to Tasmania, a penal colony and one of the further-most outposts of the British Empire.* (British Council homepage)

In 2011 Flanagan published this volume with its curious title. Clark Gable once attended a cocktail party and got into a conversation with a writer whom he asked what he was doing for a living. An answer was given, together with the cheeky counter-question that is now the title of his essay volume. Well, some of the essays reveal what else Richard Flanagan does apart from writing. Those of us familiar with his first successful novel *Death of a River Guide* know that he is a keen kayaker who almost drowned in the rapids of the Franklin river. The first essay of the collection ("Out of a Wild Sea") tells us of another near-fatal kayaking adventure: when he was 21, Flanagan and a fellow kayaker insanely set out to cross Bass Strait in their kayaks – to attend the wedding of one of their mates in Melbourne. Bass Strait is feared for its turbulent waters as well as its foul weather. Soon they encountered a storm front. They were too far away from Tasmania's north shore and so they pressed on. They became separated and both kayaks capsized. Rescue boats found them, but only after hours of search and with the daylight fading: "They were five minutes away from abandoning their search" (4).



Richard Flanagan has a reputation of a firebrand in Tasmania; he helped to create the Green Party back in the 1970s and he is a close friend and advisor to Bob Brown, the head of the Australian Greens and like Flanagan a Tasmanian. All those who were hoping

to meet Bob Brown at the forthcoming GASt conference in Stuttgart in September 2012 ought to read Flanagan's loving account of Bob Brown's picaresque life. Called "Metamorphoses" (153-67), it reads like a fabulation by someone like Jonathan Swift and I am not totally convinced that all of it is really true.

When *The Bulletin* was still around (it went out of business in 2005) Flanagan occasionally wrote for it. At Christmas 2004 he published a blistering attack on Jim Bacon and his secret dealings with Gunns, Tasmania's biggest logging company. In the essay "Gunns: The Tragedy of Tasmania" – at 40 pages it is the longest of the volume – he returns to the theme with renewed anger and vigour. His concern is the unchanged and allegedly corrupt connection of the Tasmanian Labor Party to the multi-billionaire family Gunns. Gunns is big in the woodchips industry and in jobs-starved Tasmania, they are the single biggest job provider. The family is much hated amongst environmentalists because of the practice of clear-felling, in which everything that grows, including for instance wonderful and rare satinwood trees or Huon Pines, gets eaten up by gigantic machines that spew them out as woodchips. I have seen these machines myself and I have also seen the devastation they produce in Tasmania's interior. But it does not remain with the felling: afterwards and in order to prevent unsupervised re-growth, the land is sprayed with a deadly cocktail of toxins, including Agent Orange. In 2002, Labour Premier Jim Bacon pledged to end the clear-felling of old stands in 2009. In 2008, that pledge was quietly forgotten and Gunns were given a renewed license. What is particularly galling is that the public does not even know how much – or how little – Gunns pays for that right. The information has been embargoed by the ruling Labor Party and one really wonders how in the face of such blatant evidence of corruption the people of Tasmania go on voting for it.

The second-longest contribution is a loving biography of Nelson Algren, the American novelist and essayist. It is full of love and admiration for a man who always remained an outsider in America's writing circles, maybe because he was born into the

Depression and became only famous after WWII, when the crassest forms of American materialism ravaged American thinking. America dreamt of the magic transformation of rags into riches; "Algren's dream is one of humanity, of how you might live a fully human life when you have lost everything and nothing can be regained." In the low-down climate of the McCarthy years, he did not hesitate to attack his nation as "an imperialist son-of-a-bitch", which helps to explain why in 1953 the State Department did not renew his passport. In the end he was defeated by "Moloch USA", defeated in mind and body and financially, because he "threw down a question to the fundamental nature of the USA". Like Flanagan, Nelson Algren thought that merely telling the unadulterated truth was good enough for a writer to be respected by his readers. Even Leslie Fiedler, who would in his enlightened old-age years devote a whole book to the depiction of *Freaks,* categorized Algren as such: "our literature has moved on and left him almost a museum piece – the Last of the Proletarian Writers." This truly remarkable essay was originally written for the re-issue of Algren's masterpiece *A Walk on the Wild Side*, which Doubleday rejected in 1956. The location is the seedy underside of New Orleans, its characters are whores, pimps, madams, gamblers, small-time crooks, fetishists, cross-dressers and drunks. Losers all, like their creator. Algren called it "an American fantasy written to an American beat as true as Huckleberry Finn".

The last essay of this volume is also the most recently written: "The Road to Kinglake." GAST's e-Newsletter of early 2009 (it can still be viewed on www.australienstudien.org) put together a number of newspaper articles on the "Black Saturday" bushfires of January 2009; here we have a report on what these communities in rural Victoria felt after the first shock of emerging from their shelters to a world of twisted metal and dead bodies. It is a moving and gripping account and makes you forget that it is also exploitative. Flanagan makes the occasional swipe at the "journos" that raced to the sites of the fire as soon as it was over – when he was doing exactly the same. He gathers up impressions, takes mental snapshots, turning them into a story that captures the

unique shock of Australia's biggest and costliest bush-fire in history.

But there is one short essay that moved me more than any other and it is curiously entitled "The History of Love." Here, Flanagan describes how his masterpiece *Wanting* started out. Let me return to that novel – even though it was very competently reviewed in *ZfA* 2009. Have a guess: Suesskind's million-seller *Das Parfum* apart, which German novel of the last 30 years sold the highest number of copies? It was Sten Nadolny's *Die Entdeckung der Langsamkeit* (1983). Over two million copies have been sold in Germany alone and the novel is still in print. And why should this be of interest for us Australianists? Because Nadolny's main protagonist is none other than John Franklin (1786-1847), who also turns up as one of two major characters in Flanagan's novel *Wanting*. Franklin was governor of Van Diemen's Land from 1836 – 1843. His wife Lady Jane fancied herself a philanthropist, rejecting the orthodox view that Tasmania's indigenous people were "savages". To prove her point, she adopts an orphan girl. The social experiment is not the shining success that she had hoped for. Far from being a loving mother, Lady Jane assumes the role of Gradgrindean teacher. When Sir John is relieved of his office, Mathinna is ditched into an orphanage, a hell-hole of unbearably Dickensian characteristics. Thrown out at the age of 15, she becomes a drifter and occasional prostitute. At seventeen, she is murdered.

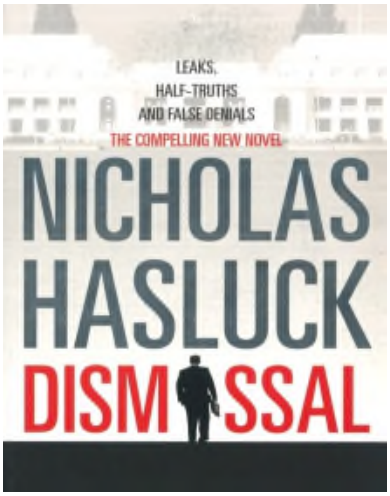
The second half of the narrative is set in London. Lady Jane provides the link between the two sets. It is nine years after the disappearance of her husband's expedition to explore the fabled "North-West passage". A search party under the leadership of arctic explorer Dr Rae has discovered a tribe of Inuit who are in possession of some of the ship's items – and who have discovered that in the final days of their slow death, the crew resorted to cannibalism. Lady Jane turns to Charles Dickens, the greatest English storyteller of his time, to refute these "vile allegations". And Dickens throws himself into this enterprise with great gusto.

The novel's first narrative strand is more in line with Flanagan's political passions than the second. The question that haunts him is: How could the Franklins cruelly abandon Mathinna, their adopted dark-skinned daughter? Mathinna was an assignment. Which was meant to demonstrate that English manners and teaching would overcome savagery. Mathinna would be pulled up to the highest English standards of her class through grammar, spelling and religion. In his afterword Flanagan writes that the two stories of Dickens and Mathinna, with their "odd but undeniable connection", are ruminations on the forces of desire: Hence the title. It is also a brilliant fictional treatise on the reasons why the colonial project wrought such terrible consequences on the colonized, as well as twisting the colonizing psyche. These consequences are still palpable in Australia and other parts of the former empire, or else there would not be such a wave of "Writing Back" at it. And here is the link to Flanagan's book of essays. Decades ago he visited the Hobart Museum of Art in order to look at colonial paintings. There, the art curator told him the story of Mathinna and showed him a water-colour portrait of the girl in a red dress:

> The curator detached the oval frame from the painting.
>
> Look at this, he said.
>
> Cut off at the ankles by the frame were two dark, shoeless feet. Embarrassed by her not wearing shoes, the Franklins had cut Mathinna off at the ankles. That picture remained with me. (121)

Dickens was a colonialist through and through; he believed that the difference between the English people and the savages was that the former were able to control their wanting. The story of Dickens and Mathinna was "really one: two poles of the same globe". When Dickens succumbs to his desires, all that happens is that he leaves his cared-for wife and takes up with a beautiful young actress. When Mathinna cannot or does not want to control *her* emotions, she is ruined and strangulated with the same red dress that she wears in the painting.

Nicholas Hasluck: *Dismissal. Leaks, Half-Truths and False Denials*. Sydney: Fourth Estate, 2011. 978 0 7322 9301. 359 pp., AUD 29.95. Also available as an e-book on Kindle via Amazon at $14.96. **Reviewed by Adi Wimmer,** University of Klagenfurt



Ralph Waldo Emerson once chided his fellow American writers with the words "We dare not chaunt our time and social circumstance" (1844). He referred to the new tradition at the end of the 19th century to investigate the individual soul, which Schnitzler later was to call *Das weite Land.* What these writers were neglecting to write, so Emerson's criticism, was to engage contemporary social and political conditions. In other words, what was missing was the political novel.

Nicholas Hasluck is a man of many talents: apart from his legal career which culminated in his appointment as a Judge of the Western Australian Supreme Court he is also an essayist, a poet, and a fiction writer. In his role of the latter he has given us political novels before. Probably his best known is *Our Man K* (1999), which Andrew Riemer typically characterized as "an evocation of and a lament for the passing of the Habsburg world" (1999:13). Others saw it primarily as a fictional treatment of Australia's most embarrassing immigration blunder, the case of the famous and notorious German-speaking Jewish Czech journalist Egon Erwin Kisch, "der rasende Reporter" as he was nicknamed in Europe. In 1934, possibly fleeing from Hitler's thugs, Kisch sailed to Australia to attend an anti-fascist conference, but was denied permission to land first in Fremantle then Melbourne. He jumped onto the Melbourne harbour quay, breaking his leg in the process, but this action brought out the whole Australian Left in his support. In the novel, Hasluck tries to establish that Kisch was indeed a Komintern agent as the Australian government has

suspected, and imaginatively connects him to some of the leading German and Russian Marxists of the time, such as Willi Münzenberg.

Why the title *Dismissal*? Who dismissed whom? Answer: John Kerr in his role as Governor General dismissed Gough Whitlam. The time was November 1975; Whitlam had just started his second term in office after a narrow electoral victory over the Liberal Party under the leadership of Malcolm Fraser. However, the Liberal Party then used their Senate majority to block a further escalation of government spending, at which point the Governor General intervened. The Australian Left was outraged at this precedent; leading figures such as Nobel Prize winner Patrick White protested against John Kerr, whom Whitlam had dubbed, not very wittily, "the cur." Patrick White even returned his "Order of Australia" that Whitlam had awarded him. Malcolm Fraser as caretaker PM then dissolved both houses and called for a general election to be held Dec 13th 1975, which he, to the great disappointment of the Australian Left, won hands down. Gough Whitlam had become history, but to this day he is revered as a charismatic leader who made decisive policy changes.

To engage with the spectacular crisis of 1975, Hasluck invents the character of Roy Temple QC and presents the story through his side. Roy has a curious past: born at around the end of WWI, he grows up in a leftist household and is under the influence of an older sister (Alison) with an admiration for Stalin. Fortunately he escapes her influence by winning a scholarship that takes him to Oxford. He serves in WWII and then joins the staff of Evatt's *Ministry for Foreign Relations*, together with an equally brilliant, enigmatic woman named Freya. In 1951 they both accompany Evatt to an international conference in San Francisco, where the future of the *United Nations Organization* is to be decided.[22] There

[22] We Europeans pay scarce attention to the fact following WWII, Australian diplomats such as Herbert Evatt played a major role in the creation of UNO; indeed Evatt was the President of its General Assembly from 1948-49. He and his staff wrote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed in Dec 1948.

they meet the US diplomat Alger Hiss, who was soon to be exposed and jailed as a Soviet spy. Their more or less accidental meeting of Hiss later drags them before the *Royal Commission on Espionage,* which had been established in 1954 by PM Menzies. Menzies alleged that documents which the KGB agent Vladimir Petrov had provided to ASIO in exchange for political asylum in Australia[23] showed that two of Evatt's staffers were Soviet spies. It is clear from parallels such as these that Hasluck has a great interest in authenticating his narrative by interweaving them with real events.

Fast forward to 1975 and Roy, having been edged out of his government job (and *kept out* by almost two decades of Liberal Party government) is a successful QC and lawyer in Sydney. But now it is the Seventies and the new Labor government hires him as legal advisor. His plan to raise fresh money for Whitlam from Arab investors is bungled by the incompetence of a Labor financier. The plan would have saved Whitlam from the "blocking" tactics of his Liberal opponents in the Senate. But not the Labor bungler is blamed, it is Roy. At this stage old innuendos surface: wasn't he investigated by ASIO twenty years ago? Enter another one of his old false friends, Simon, whose passionate interest it is to save East Timor from an Indonesian annexation. There were two camps in the Whitlam government at the time: those favouring an appeasement of Indonesia's dictator Suharto, and those who wanted an Australian military intervention to stop a blood bath.[24] In his eagerness to stop an Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Simon lies about Roy's politics to a leading Labor

[23] After Stalin's death in 1953, Petrov's boss Lavrentija Beria, the head of the Soviet Secret police, was shot dead by Nikita Khrushchev's henchmen. When Petrov was ordered back to Moscow he obviously feared the same fate and decided to defect.

[24] Which as we know then did happen: the "Dili massacre" of 1991 remains one of the most infamous chapters of Suharto's dictatorial regime. And as it was connived at by Australia, that chapter is also a bespattered page of Australia's history. The Australian intervention also happened, late in the day, from 1999-2000, resulting in East Timorese independence in 2002.

Senator, because he (wrongly) sees Roy as one of the appeasers. And so the Senator rejects Roy's advice on how to save the day even after Whitlam's dismissal. The denouement of the novel brings one more final revelation about who was one of Petrov's agents.

Curiously missing from Hasluck's rendition of these turbulent hours of Nov 11th is Gough Whitlam. Roy and other Labor figures are never seen talking to him and thus the sacked PM appears as a lifeless puppet. Nor do we hear anything about reactions of the media. It is almost as if the dismissal had primarily affected a motley group of Labor advisors rather than the PM and his nation. And yet, whatever approach you take in writing a political novel around the historical events, Whitlam must be the key figure. Hasluck has himself argued in a similar vein: "The dictates of drama suggest that the pull of a story, the awe we feel while in the grip of a compelling tale, are felt most strongly when a figure we have seen at close quarters, once high and mighty but now in peril, is overthrown" (2011:28).

Which is not to say that the novel is somehow misplaced or irrelevant. The genre of the political novel is indeed underrepresented in Australia's literary scene, which seems to be dominated by "domesticity or rusticity or, of late, colonial ventriloquism and historical fiction" (Slattery cited in Hasluck, 2002). Hasluck was particularly well qualified to write it: the son of Sir Paul Hasluck, who had been the Governor General before John Kerr during the first two years of Whitlam's office, he had often met the PM at Government House. He also knew the 'feel' of the places in which the drama took place: King's Hall in Canberra, Admirality House in Sydney, the old Parliament House.

There is one agonizing question which Hasluck does not pose and to which – this was by private correspondence – he does not know the answer. What if Whitlam had smelled a rat before being summoned to Sir John Kerr's residence? What if he had called a press conference at Parliament House in the morning of that

fateful day November 11th and dismissed the Governor General before Kerr got a chance to dismiss *him*?

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Ouyang Yu: *The English Class*. Transit Lounge Publishing, 2010. 394 pp. ISBN 978 0 9805717 8 3. **Reviewed by Adèle Garnier,** Macquarie University.

Ouyang Yu is a prolific author. In the early 1990s, he travelled from China to Australia to do a doctorate in Australian literature at Melbourne's LaTrobe University. Australia became his country of residence, and by 2012 he had published 61 books according to his website http://www.ouyangyu.com.au. As a writer, Ouyang has embraced numerous genres, especially poetry but also short stories, non-fiction and novels such as *The English Class*, which has won several awards in Australia[25]. His challenging Collage "Essays and Criticism", also published 2010, was favorably reviewed in the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* 25, pp 113-119. Ouyang's work as a translator (of both Chinese into English and English into Chinese) is similarly diverse, including *The Female Eunuch* by Australian feminist Germaine Greer, works of fiction by Chinese novelist and playwright Lao She, and poetry in both languages. Ouyang also gives a platform to contemporary Chinese literature in Australia as the editor of the literary journal *Otherland*.

Beyond this diversity of genres, the challenges and opportunities created by encounters between Chinese and Western English-speaking cultures constitute a dominant topic in his often autobiographic work. For instance, in the recent collection of short essays *On the Smell of an Oily Rag* (2007) Ouyang uses personal anecdotes to address the cultural distinctiveness of Chinese and English. *Oily Rag* is a humorous and often light-hearted book, yet Ouyang's cross-cultural encounters are not always as benign in tone. He won the reputation of an "angry Chinese poet" in

[25] Among other awards, *The English Class* won the 2011 Western Australia Premier's Literature Award and the 2011 Queensland Premier's Literature Award. See the complete list of awards on http://www.ouyangyu.com.au/.

Australia by voicing his discontent with both the lack of freedom in his country of origin and the complacency he was confronted with in his country of adoption.[26]

The English Class's main character, Jing Ying, shares many features with his creator. Jing is a sensitive individualist who eventually leaves China for Australia after having studied English. He is often upset by the disregard of others for his talent with words. Yet in contrast to Ouyang, Jing's creativity remains hidden to most as he is unable to put down on paper the stories that accumulate in his head. This gives an increasingly tragic dimension to a character who once describes himself as an "abominable headwriter" (389). Ouyang intersperses his own thoughts within Jing's story. He reveals that the writing process of *The English Class* was more time-consuming than that of his previous novels, but also wonders if he is not himself becoming his increasingly introspective and withdrawn character.

In the first part *of The English Class*, sarcastically named "The little aristocrat", Jing, in his early twenties, makes a living as a truck driver in Wuhan, Central China in the mid-1970s. The Cultural Revolution's cancellation of university entrance examinations – a real life event: enrolment was based on political criteria between 1966 and 1977 - has deprived him of the opportunity to go to university to learn English. Yet Jing is determined to pass the exam once he is allowed to do so. Convinced that he is the secret child of a European foreigner because of his pale skin, Jing believes that he neither belongs to the town in which he grew up nor amongst a team of uneducated truck drivers. To escape his condition, Jing conscientiously teaches himself one hundred English words daily in his truck cabin. He is most at ease alone in this cabin as his colleagues, while they

[26] See Wenche Ommundsen, "Not for the Faint-Hearted, Ouyang Yu: The Angry Chinese Poet" in *Meanjin* 57(3), 595-609, 1998, and *Bias: Offensively Chinese/Australian*, a collection of essays by Ouyang Yu and others on this very topic, Otherland Publishing, Melbourne 2007.

accept him in the team, are wary of Jing's aspirations as well as his malicious disregard for rules. For instance, having accidentally killed a young buffalo, Jing suggests refusing the complaining peasant compensation as he is annoyed with the request, even though he knows, as he grew up in a village himself, how valuable the animal is to a farmer. Jing is reprimanded by his colleague, yet this has no adverse impact on his truck-driving career.

It is not the last time Jing gets away with his boldness. Having succeeded at the re-established university entrance exam, he is admitted in Master Fu's English class at the fictional East Lakes University in Wuhan (Ouyang himself went to Wuhan University). Fu is impressed by Jing's poetry as well as his penetrating eyes. These are also attributes which seduce the dissatisfied wife of his English instructor, Deirdre, who initiates a romantic relationship with Jing. Jing is not attracted by Australia, Deirdre's country of origin, yet as he is determined to leave China he convinces Deirdre to divorce her husband and to escape to Australia with him.

Before he meets Deirdre, Jing immerses himself in her language:

> Indeed, from time to time, [Jing] felt as if the sky over him was being replaced by a different sky, called English, with words like heaven and firmament, and he was literally living under English, willingly, masochistically, uncritically and perversely poetically. (234)

Contrary to his lonely learning years as a truck driver, Jing's passion for language is shared by others at East Lakes University. The second part of *The English Class*, "Living under English", features numerous conversations amongst students dissecting the similarities and differences between Chinese and English. Jing is eager to please his fellow students with his inventiveness. In a funny and revealing episode, he chooses, for an oral presentation, to declaim the university rules - love the communist party, work hard, have no love relationships with fellow students - in English at the front of the class. English teacher Master Fu brutally

interrupts the representation and scolds Jing's faulty grammar – if not his insolence - yet Jing earns the respect of Ma, a natural leader amongst students, while the other students, "listening to the unfamiliarity of something that was so familiar" (156), laugh hysterically.

This remains a rare moment in which Jing's mischievous originality shines at the front of an audience. As his aspiration to be a writer becomes firmer, he is riddled with self-doubt and unable to overcome the rejection, or even the lack of interest, of others. Jing's alienation reaches a climax in Australia, in which the third part of the book, "The Price of Freedom", takes place. Ouyang abruptly jumps from Jing's years at East Lakes University to his domestic life as aimless "Gene", with his now wife Deirdre in suburban Melbourne. Deirdre financially supports Jing, who refuses to work in menial jobs as he judges them unworthy of his abilities. Unable to write, he resents what his life has become:

> I hate myself so much for being unwhole, for being a traitor to everything I once held dear, for being unable to resist the temptation to fall into delightful peaces, for the delirium that I have courted. (372)

In the last pages of *The English Class*, Ouyang lets the reader know that Jing's future may not be as bleak as this statement suggests. Yet the lasting impression of his emigration to Australia is that of a waste of time and talent.

Ouyang's depiction of Jing's complex, often difficult character provokes laughter, wonderment and irritation – but seldom compassion, as the author stresses Jing's resourcefulness, his ability to overcome obstacles when he is willing to do so, and the mix of fascination and exasperation that his rule-bending impetuosity provokes in others. This is why I found the last part of *The English Class* the least convincing. "Gene" is such an insufferable and passive character that Deirdre's continuous support is hard to grasp; her own personality and motives are barely touched upon. Regardless, Ouyang's elaborated portrayal of

an antihero whose conflicted sense of belonging appears nested in language is compelling, enjoyable and challenging. It also resonated with my own experience of meandering between languages on a daily basis.

Australiadancing – Webseite
http://www.australiadancing.org/
Rezensiert von **Henriette von Holleuffer**, Hamburg

Die Webseite *Australiadancing* lädt ein, den Vorhang zu heben, um Außerordentliches über das australische Ballett in Geschichte und Gegenwart zu lernen: Der Benutzer der Webseite tritt ein in die Welt des australischen Balletts, seiner historischen Entwicklung, seiner Choreographie und seiner Protagonisten. Das Design der intelligent gestalteten Webseite orientiert sich an der graziösen Bewegung einer Ballett-Figur. Schwungvolle, zart akzentuierte Linien ziehen sich über das edle Blau einer in Bewegung scheinenden Seite, die, den Falten eines Gewandes gleich, die Benutzeroberfläche in drei Abschnitte unterteilen. Kunstbegeisterte und enthusiastisch Forschende erhalten auf dieser virtuellen Bühne Gelegenheit, die australische Ballettgeschichte in annähernd allen Facetten dokumentarisch nachzuvollziehen. Die Webseite, die von der *National Library of Australia* konzipiert, unterhalten und inhaltlich bestückt wird, offeriert ein faszinierendes Instrumentarium zur Recherche über Tänzer, Choreographen, Komponisten, Ballett-Ensembles, Aufführungen und Kontexte, in denen berühmte und weniger bekannte Inszenierungen ihren Ursprung hatten. Neben der eigentlichen Suchfunktion gewähren drei zentrale Aspekte den thematischen Zugang zur Materie. Es sind dies die Rubriken:

- The Australian Dance Collection: A Directory of Resources
- Related Links: A Selection of Dance Sites
- AUSDANCE: Australia's Professional Dance Organisation

Über die jeder Rubrik zugeordneten Einzelaspekte erhalten Kundige wie auch weniger Vorgebildete Hilfestellung, um zu entscheiden, welche Suchkriterien optimale Rechercheergebnisse für ihre Anfragen erzielen.

Die Rubrik "The Australian Dance Collection" erlaubt Recherchen zu den Stichworten "People", "Companies", "Performances" und "Oral Histories". Dem Zugriff auf diese ausgewählten Schlagworte folgt die Möglichkeit einer abstrakt gehaltenen Recherche unter der Suchkategorie "Related Links": "Portals", "Directories", "Resource Collections" und "Reference Texts". Beide Recherchepools erschließen über eine durchgängig alphabetische Ordnung den einzigartigen Archivschatz, über den sich annähernd alle australischen Ballett-Inszenierungen in Geschichte und Gegenwart rekonstruieren lassen. Vor allem der *National Library of Australia* und ihrem institutionellen Netzwerk ist diese Möglichkeit einer Rekonstruktion in Bild, Text und Ton zu verdanken. Anzumerken bleibt: Der direkte Zugriff auf Audiodateien über die Webseite ist derzeit nicht möglich. Vorgeschaltet bleibt hier die Kontaktanfrage bei der *National Library of Australia* für jene Forscher, die Zugang zu Audiodateien erhalten möchten. Hier zeigt sich, dass die Webseite vor allem nach dem Muster eines Findbuchs konzipiert wurde und sich somit primär, insbesondere was die Verfügbarkeit umfang-reicher Hintergrundinformationen anbelangt, an professionelle Forscher wendet.

Die dritte Recherche-Kategorie "AUSDANCE" deckt den flexibel gehaltenen Informationspool der Webseite ab: Dort finden sich - zum Teil überlappende - Neuigkeiten, Links und Foren zum Bereich Aktuelles, Ballett-Ausbildung, Preisausschreibung, Projektplanung und Produkt-Offerten; wenngleich eher unorthodox eingeordnet in die Unterkategorien: "News", "Profession", "Resources", "Events". Diese Informationsbörse ist für akademische Forscher von eher sekundärer Bedeutung, da die Informationen auf Nachwuchsrekrutierung und Zuschauerforen zielen.

Von besonderer Relevanz für den akademischen Rechercheur sind die Suchkategorien der erstgenannten beiden Rubriken. Unter diesen Benutzeroberflächen verbirgt sich das historische Erbe der australischen Ballett-Geschichte. Entstanden ist ein virtuelles

Ballett-Archiv, in das die *National Library of Australia* alle relevanten Inszenierungen, Projekte, Ballett-Ensembles und Künstler aufgenommen hat, die "als Teil unseres (australischen) kulturellen Erbes" gelten. Dazu gehören auch Festivals und Festspielorte.

Der Hinweis auf die von der *National Library of Australia* gesponserte Webseite *Australiadancing* ist von aktueller Bedeutung vor dem Hintergrund, dass das amtierende *Australian Ballet* im Jahr 2012 auf 50 Jahre kontinuierlicher Arbeit am künstlerischen Tanz zurückblickt. "Excite us, entertain us, lull us with crooning, amuse us with simple jokes; for God's sake, keep us entertained!": Walter Murdoch fing 1938 den Zeitgeist auf dem australischen Kontinent mit der korrespondierenden Leichtigkeit der schreibenden Feder ein (*The Argus*: 9. April 1938). Unbeschwert, anspruchslos und mit wenig Kunstverstand befrachtet, präsentierte sich dem Schriftsteller und Professor für Anglistik die australische Lust zur Unterhaltung. Kino, Tanz und Sport erfreute in einem Land, das mit der Leichtigkeit des Seins zu kokettieren schien. Seriöses Theater, ernste Musik und anspruchsvolle Literatur agierten dagegen lange in kleinen Nischen der Antipoden-Kunst. Doch der populäre Zeitgeist ist eine flüchtige Erscheinung, wandelbar und unstet – zu allen Momenten und in vielen Sparten. Im Jahr 2012 feiert das *Australian Ballet* offiziell sein 50-jähriges Bestehen. Die Geschichte seiner Entstehung reicht deutlich weiter zurück – sie ist ein Beleg dafür, dass Australiens Kunst-Szene immer präsent war. Durchaus zeitgemäß vermochte sie, die rau anmutende Membran zwischen populärer und feinsinniger Wahrnehmung von darstellender Kunst aufzuweichen: Auch auf dem australischen Kontinent geriet der Tanz zur Kunst und erlaubte Kapriolen über roter Erde.

Bereits 1835 gab es am "Theatre Royal" in Sydney eine erste Ballett-Produktion aus australisch-schottischer Hand: *The Fair Maid of Perth.* Der Impetus für professionelle Ballett-Inszenierungen kam aus Übersee. Die Eröffnung von Theaterhäusern, unter anderem in Melbourne und Adelaide, und

der Wirtschaftsboom im Zuge des Goldrauschs in New South Wales und Victoria animierte Ballett-Meister aus Europa und Amerika schon Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts dazu, nach Australien zu reisen und dort aufzutreten. Madame Celeste feierte 1867 in Australien diverse Bühnenerfolge. Noch fand sich in der Öffentlichkeit kein dauerhaftes Interesse an dieser Kunstsparte. Doch sollte sich dies in den 1890er Jahren ändern. Der Ruf distinguierter Kreise nach klassischen Ballett-Inszenierungen wurde lauter. James Cassius Williamson begründete Australiens klassische Ballett-Tradition: Im Herbst 1893 ließ er in Melbourne die erste klassische Inszenierung eines australischen Balletts (*Turquoisette: A Study in Blue*) aufführen. Williamson arbeitete mit einem rund hundertköpfigen Ballett-Ensemble zusammen. Auch lud er das "Covent Garden Russian Ballet" nach Australien ein.

Die große Ära des australischen Balletts begründeten die Auftritte russischer und osteuropäischer Meister. Im Jahr 1913 besuchte Russlands "Imperial Ballet" Australien. Es folgten Gastauftritte von Anna Pavlova 1926 und 1929. Mit Anna Pavlova kam der Tscheche Edouard Borovansky. Dieser eröffnete 1939 seine Ballett-Schule. Der von Walter Murdoch apostrophierte leichtgewichtige Zeitgeist der 1930er Jahre ließ, dies zeigt die historische Entwicklung, im Kreis der kosmopolitisch Interessierten durchaus Raum für anspruchsvolle Unterhaltung auf der Bühne: Verschiedene russische Ballett-Ensembles fanden seit Mitte der 1920er Jahre ermutigende Rezeption in der australischen Öffentlichkeit. Der künstlerische Einfluss von Edouard Borovansky auf die Ausprägung und Institutionalisierung einer australischen Ballett-Schule reicht weit: Vom Borovansky Ballett (*Borovansky Australian Ballet Company Ltd.*), das 1940 als Kompanie firmierte, führt die Linie zum heutigen *Australian Ballet.* Nach dem Tod von Edouard Borovansky im Jahr 1959, der mit seinen Inszenierungen einen australischen Ballett-Standard in der klassischen Tradition der russischen Meister setzte, wurde Peggy van Praagh künstlerische Leiterin der Ballett-Kompanie. Als diese sich 1961 auflöste, übernahm van Praagh 1962 als künstlerische Leiterin die (Mitbe)Gründung des *Australian Ballet*. Mit Aufführungen in

Australien und Gastspielen auf allen Kontinenten ist das *Australian Ballet* heute ein Ensemble von Welt-Ruf, das seinen markant australischen Stil pflegt.

Dieses interessante Kapitel australischer Musik- und Choreographiegeschichte lässt sich mühelos, systematisch und erheiternd nachvollziehen über die Navigation durch die Webseite *Australiadancing.* Wer hinter den Vorhang australischer Ballett-Inszenierungen schaut, entdeckt, dass die Kapriolen über roter Erde mehr als Akrobatik sind: sie sind erfolgreicher Kunstgriff in das Herz australischer Geschichte und Gegenwart. Wer beispielsweise dem Foto-Link der Webseite (Stand: Juni 2012) über das eingestellte Titelbild der Bühnenproduktion von Stephen Page, "Rites", folgt und weiter vernetzt, lernt, dass die Tänzer Miranda Coney und Albert David 1997 politisches Zeitgefühl inszenierten. Die gemeinsame Produktion des *Australian Ballet* und *Bangarra Dance Theatre* wurde am 29. Oktober 1997 anlässlich des Melbourne Festivals als Premierenvorstellung gegeben. Nach einer Musik-Partitur von Igor Strawinsky entwarf der australische Ballett-Choreograph Stephen Page eine Produktion, die auf den spezifisch australischen Kontext des Landes, seiner Entstehung und archaischen Vorgeschichte Bezug nimmt. Dank des virtuellen Ballett-Archivs der Webseite *Australiadancing* lässt sich Relevantes recherchieren – der Benutzer lernt Ungeahntes über die Inszenierung, die kunstvolle Symbolik und historische Interpretation einer in Australien und Übersee hoch gelobten Ballett-Produktion. Der bekannte Choreograph Stephen Page kommentiert die Konzeption seines Ballett-Werks: "'Rites' is an exploration of the natural forces which determine our ancient landscape. (…) I hope this work challenges some of the current preconceptions about indigenous peoples and propels us all along the path of reconciliation." Des Weiteren findet sich unter der Registerkarte "Oral Histories" der Hinweis auf ein 170-minütiges Interview aus dem Jahr 2003 mit Albert David, dem männlichen Protagonisten auf der Bühne. Der Tänzer, der auf Thursday Island geboren wurde, erinnert sich, wie er erstmals 1988 einer Gastvorstellung des *Bangarra Dance Theatre* auf seiner

Heimatinsel beiwohnte. Es war dies ein wesentlicher Impetus, der den Mann aus der Torres Strait auf die Bühnen der Weltstädte lockte, um australische Ballett-Kunst mit Leben zu erfüllen.

Wer solches lernt, wird die Webseite *Australiadancing* als wichtiges Hilfsmittel zu schätzen wissen, um sicher durch Geschichte und Gegenwart der australischen Ballett-Kunst zu navigieren und Anspielungen richtig zu deuten. In jedem Fall offeriert die *National Library of Australia* mit dieser Webseite eine ungeahnt gehaltvolle, ausgezeichnet strukturierte und äußerst leicht zu bedienende Ressource für solche, die ihren Horizont der Australien-Wissenschaft erweitern wollen. Es ist nur schade, dass Copyrights dem Abruf von Filmaufnahmen jüngerer Aufführungen des *Australian Ballet* entgegenstehen. Auch verlangt es den modernen Web-Benutzer nach mehr Interaktion und freier Bewegung zwischen Text-, Ton- und Filmressourcen. Hier sind die Designer dieser ansonsten höchst anregenden und interessanten Webressource aufgerufen, eine entsprechende Recherche-Funktion mit direkten Möglichkeiten eines Zugriffs auf den Datensatz in die zukünftige Überarbeitung einzubeziehen. Der interaktive Vorhang zwischen Archivar, Web-Designer und Rechercheur, der den Blick auf die Bühne australischer Ballett-Geschichte frei gibt, hebt sich akademisch.

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