Dilemma 10 – Recht en opleiding

Regelmatig zijn binnen en buiten de juridische discipline pleidooien gehouden om in de rechtenstudie meer plaats in te ruimen voor vakgebieden zoals de sociologie, de psychologie en de economie. Een breder opgeleid jurist zou beter bij de huidige complexe samenleving passen. Meer aandacht voor deze niet-juridische vakgebieden gaat echter ten koste van specifiek juridische vakken. Aldus komt de rechtenfaculteit voor het dilemma te staan:

meer aandacht in het onderwijs voor andere dan juridische disciplines en dus minder op de rechtspraktijk gericht onderwijs of weinig aandacht voor andere dan juridische disciplines en dus meer op de rechtspraktijk gericht onderwijs.

Recht te voet – Nawoord & Personalia

Wandelen door Juridisch Utrecht
We hebben gewandeld door Juridisch Utrecht. Het was doelgericht en tegelijkertijd ontspannen. De routes liepen van A naar B en we zijn op een prettige wijze bij de hand genomen om na te denken over een aantal belangrijke, voornamelijk juridische, thema's. Onderweg kwamen we portretten tegen van markante Utrechtse historische figuren. Het waren wandelingen en geen dwalingen. Dat is voor mij als rechter een geruststellende gedachte.

De redactie stond voor ogen dat in dit boek een aantal schrijvers aspecten van ordening van de samenleving zouden behandelen in een voornamelijk juridische context door de eeuwen heen, tegen de achtergrond van historisch Utrecht. De

schrijvers hebben daarbij vooral naar de Utrechtse geschiedenis gekeken maar de onderwerpen zijn net zo goed van toepassing op de rest van Nederland en over de grenzen heen. Het zijn soms beladen thema's maar de benadering is lichtvoetig. Lichtvoetigheid komt de lezer goed van pas bij het afleggen van de in het boek beschreven wandelroutes. Die leiden langs plaatsen in de prachtige binnenstad van Utrecht, waar historische gebeurtenissen hebben plaatsgevonden. Dit zijn vaak gebeurtenissen met een juridische dimensie, maar daarmee niet alleen interessant voor juristen. Zo prikkelt een bezoek aan historische plaatsen, waar moord en doodslag of belangrijke politieke gebeurtenissen hebben plaatsgevonden, immers niet alleen de fantasie van juristen. Dat weten we allemaal als we als toerist een vreemde stad bezoeken.

Het is een lezenswaardig boek geworden, dat ik met plezier heb gelezen. Het boek heeft daarnaast iets van juridische reisgids, een soort Lawyer's Planet Utrecht. Je gaat de stad met andere ogen zien. Dat de NSB in 1931 is opgericht in een zaaltje aan het Domplein 25 (pag. 119) wist ik niet. Het boek nodigt uit om er eens een kijkje te nemen. Datzelfde geldt voor De Lichte Gaard no. 8, waar in 1935, op de zolderverdieping boven het eerste Chinese restaurant van Utrecht, in een opwelling van woede de kok een kelner keelde (pag. 81). Voor juristen interessant is de geschiedenis van de Gertrudiskapel en de historische context waarin deze zich afspeelt (pag. 166). In deze kapel en het daarmee verbonden kleinschalige, gastvrije zalencentrum "De Driehoek" vinden tegenwoordig veelvuldig symposia en andere bijeenkomsten van rechters plaats, niet alleen van de rechtbank Midden-Nederland maar ook landelijk. En wie wist dat aan de "achterkant" van het Centraal Station, tussen het Station en de Jaarbeurs, bij de Croeselaan een gedenksteen te zien is voor brigadier Arie Kranenburg, die daar op 22 september 1977 werd doodgeschoten door Knut Volkerts, lid van de Rote Armee Fraktion (pag. 34). Zijn proces, in de oude rechtbank aan de Hamburgerstraat, waarvoor de halve binnenstad werd afgezet, zullen veel mensen zich nog herinneren. Het zijn maar een paar voorbeelden.

De beschreven wandelingen leiden ons door de binnenstad. Het boek biedt echter ruime gelegenheid om buiten de binnenstad je eigen wandeling samen te stellen aan de hand van het boek. Weer een paar voorbeelden. Boomstraat 20-bis, vlakbij het Diaconessenhuis, is zeker een bezoek waard, want het was in het trappenhuis van deze bovenwoning dat Gerrit Achterberg in december 1937 zijn hospita doodschoot (pag. 89). Ik loop hier graag langs. Er is geen gedenksteen. Een

gedenkplakkaat is er tegenwoordig wél, zo ontdekte ik naar aanleiding van het boek, aan de woning Prins Hendriklaan 4, waar tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog een heldhaftig rechtenstudente Truitje van Lier 150 Joodse kinderen liet onderduiken (pag. 127). Paul Schnabel waarschuwt overigens terecht dat daar een gevaarlijk punt is voor fietsers, maar voor wandelaars zijn er volgens mij geen risico's. Behalve als het glad is, want uit milieuoverwegingen wordt er op het bruggetje geen zout gestrooid (pag. 13). Ik kijk nu met een andere blik naar het fietspad door het Wilhelminapark. Ook neem ik mij voor om eens een bezoekje te brengen aan Maliebaan 43b, het huis waar Molengraaff ging wonen na zijn benoeming in 1885 tot hoogleraar handelsrecht en burgerlijke rechtsvordering in Utrecht (pag. 213). In het begin van de jaren tachtig heb ik, na mijn studie, gewerkt aan het Molengraaff Instituut, dat toen was gevestigd aan de Nieuwe Gracht 58-60. Molengraaff hoorde dáár voor mij. Gek dat hij ergens anders blijkt te hebben gewoond. Zo kan het boek, juist in de kleine details, een nieuw licht op je eigen beleving van de stad werpen.

Tenslotte stimuleert het boek Utrechtse juristen om hun hoogst persoonlijke wandeling samen te stellen langs de plaatsen, waar zich zaken afspeelden waarbij zij professioneel betrokken waren. Zo wandel ik zelf binnenkort weer eens langs de zaak van de middenstander die op gewelddadige wijze werd overvallen, langs het huis van de te ontruimen huurster die indruk op mij heeft gemaakt bij de descente, en langs de flat van de psychiatrische patiënt, met wie ik zo'n bijzonder gesprek had bij een huisbezoek in het kader van een verzoek om een rechterlijke machtiging om hem in een psychiatrisch ziekenhuis op te nemen. Zaken die niet opmerkelijk werden, omdat ze geen publieke belangstelling trokken, maar die wel diep ingrepen in het leven van de betrokkenen, zoals zo vele duizenden Utrechtse zaken die jaarlijks in de rechtbank Midden-Nederland worden beslist.

Personalia/CV

Willem (W.M.J.) Bekkers
studeerde Nederlands Recht aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. Hij was van 1974 tot 2012 advocaat en is begonnen als advocaat-generalist. Hij heeft zich gespecialiseerd in continuiteits- en discontinuiteitsvraagstukken, morele professionaliteit, governance en compliance, toezicht en alternatieve geschillenbeslechting. Van 1985 tot 1990 was hij Deken van de Utrechtse Orde van Advocaten en van 2007 tot 2010 Algemeen Deken van de Nederlandse Orde van Advocaten.

Alex (A.F.M.) Brenninkmeijer
is sinds 2014 lid van de Europese Rekenkamer, daarvoor was hij ruim acht jaar Nationale ombudsman, daarvoor was hij onder meer hoogleraar en decaan bij de faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid in Leiden en rechter in verschillende rechterlijke colleges. Van 1988 tot 2005 was hij respectievelijk raadsheer, vice president en raadsheer-plaatsvervanger bij de Centrale Raad van Beroep te Utrecht.

Winny (W.L.) Bierman
is onderzoeksassistent bij het departement Geschiedenis en Kunstgeschiedenis van de Universiteit Utrecht. Zij is recent afgestudeerd historica, tijdens haar opleiding heeft ze zich vooral verdiept in sociaal economische vraagstukken; hierbij valt te denken aan vraagstukken zoals 'Waarom zijn sommige landen rijk en anderen arm?' en 'Hoe zorgden gemeenschappen voor (sociale) zekerheden tijdens perioden waarin zij nog niet konden terugvallen op een verzorgingsstaat?'. Momenteel werkt Winny onder andere mee aan een onderzoeksproject over de 'Corporate Governance' van Nederlandse bedrijven tijdens de twintigste eeuw.

Frits (F.G.M.) Broeyer
studeerde theologie en geschiedenis aan de Utrechtse universiteit. Tot aan zijn pensionering was hij als docent en hoofddocent kerkgeschiedenis werkzaam bij de Universiteit Utrecht. In zijn publicaties richtte hij zich vooral op onderwerpen van kerk- en wetenschapshistorische aard uit de zeventiende eeuw. Maar daartoe beperkte hij zich zeer zeker niet. Recent wijdde hij een aanzienlijk deel van zijn tijd aan 'Het Utrechtse universitaire verzet in de jaren 1940-1945.' Het beoogde boek van hem hierover verscheen in maart 2014.

Renger (R.E). de Bruin
studeerde geschiedenis aan de Universiteit Utrecht. Hij promoveerde in 1986 op het proefschrift *Burgers op het kussen. Volkssoevereiniteit en bestuurssamenstelling in de stad Utrecht 1795-1813.* Hij werkte als docent en onderzoeker aan de universiteiten van Utrecht, Leiden en Greifswald (D). Sinds 1994 is hij als conservator stadsgeschiedenis verbonden aan het Centraal Museum Utrecht. Van 2001 tot 2011 was hij bovendien bijzonder hoogleraar Utrecht Studies aan de Universiteit Utrecht. In 2013 presenteerde hij een internationale herdenkingstentoonstelling over de Vrede van Utrecht in het Centraal Museum Utrecht. Deze expositie is vervolgens op reis naar andere vredessteden in Europa: Madrid, Rastatt (D) en Baden (CH).

Bas de Gaay Fortman
is emeritus hoogleraar van het Institute of Social Studies in Den Haag (Political Economy, 1972-2002) en honorair hoogleraar aan de Universiteit Utrecht (Utrecht Law School, vanaf 2000). Hij studeerde Economie en Rechten aan de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam en promoveerde daar in 1966 op het proefschrift "Theory of Competition Policy. A confrontation of economic, political and legal principles". Van 1967 tot 1971 was hij verbonden aan de Universiteit van Zambia in Lusaka. Van 1971 tot 1977 was hij lid van de Tweede Kamer als politiek leider en fractievoorzitter van de Politieke Partij Radikalen (PPR), die toen deelnam aan het kabinet Den Uyl. In 1977 werd hij fractievoorzitter van de PPR in de Eerste Kamer, waarvan hij tot 1991 lid was. Onder zijn visiting professorships is de Mgr. Willy Onclin leerstoel in vergelijkend kerkelijk recht aan de KU Leuven. Hij heeft een preekconsent van de Protestantse Kerk in Nederland. Zijn laatste boek is *Political Economy of Human Rights. Rights, Realities and Realisation* (Routledge, paperback 2012).

Marie Elske (M.E.C.) Gispen
rondde in 2011 haar studie Nederlands recht – grondslagen van het recht af. Een verkorte versie van haar scriptie is als het rapport "Poor Access to Pain Treatment: Advancing a Human Right to Pain Relief" door de International Federation of Health and Human Rights Organisations gepubliceerd. Tijdens haar studie was zij onderzoeksassistent bij het Studie- en Informatiecentrum Mensenrechten (SIM) van de Universiteit Utrecht, en de Essential Medicines and Pharmaceutical Policies afdeling van de Wereldgezondheidsorganisatie in Genève. Na haar studie bleef zij verbonden aan het SIM als junior onderzoeker, waar zij in opdracht van het Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn, en Sport onderzoek verrichte naar de aard en reikwijdte van verplichtingen voortvloeiend uit het VN Gehandicaptenverdrag. Momenteel werkt zij als AIO-onderzoeker bij het SIM en het Ethiek Instituut van de Universiteit Utrecht waar zij haar dissertatie schrijft over de toegang tot gecontroleerde medicatie, zoals morfine voor pijnbestrijding, onder de internationale drugscontroleverdragen. Naast haar werk voor het SIM is zij als research-associate verbonden aan het International Centre on Human Rights and Drug Policy in Essex.

Willem Hendrik (W.H.) Gispen
is rector magnificus emeritus van de Universiteit Utrecht. Veel van zijn recente publicaties zijn geïnspireerd door Utrecht, als stad en als decor voor cultuur en

reflectie. Daarnaast verdiept hij zich in de rol die vogels in de cultuurgeschiedenis van de mens spelen, zie bijvoorbeeld zijn laatste boek *Het geluk van de ijsvogel.*

Antoine (A.) Hol
studeerde Rechten en Wijsbegeerte aan de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen. Totdat hij in 1994 werd benoemd tot hoogleraar Rechtstheorie aan de Universiteit Utrecht was hij werkzaam aan de Universiteit van Leiden. Hij is directeur van het Montaigne Centrum voor Rechtspleging en Conflictoplossing en al geruime tijd actief in de rechtspraktijk als raadsheer- en rechter-plaatsvervanger.

Corjo (C.J.H.) Jansen
studeerde en promoveerde in de jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw aan de Utrechtse universiteit. Hij is thans hoogleraar Rechtsgeschiedenis en Burgerlijk recht aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. Hij is tevens voorzitter van het door de KNAW erkende Onderzoekcentrum Onderneming & Recht (OO&R) en van het Centrum voor Postacademisch juridisch Onderwijs (CPO).

Kim (K.G.F.) van der Kraats
is sinds 2010 (kanton)rechter in de rechtbank Midden-Nederland, locatie Utrecht. In het kader van haar opleiding (raio) werkte ze bij de rechtbank Groningen, Amsterdam en in Alkmaar en bij het Joegoslavië-tribunaal. Naast Nederlands en Internationaal recht heeft zij ook Geschiedenis en Italiaans gestudeerd. Naast haar werk als rechter is zij onder meer bestuurslid van de NVvR, geeft zij cursus op het gebied van het arbeidsrecht en schrijft zij een proefschrift over “De eigen(aardig)heid van de kantonrechter”.

Willem (J.W.) Noyons
is ontwerper en beeldend kunstenaar. Hij is opgeleid in Tilburg, Antwerpen en Utrecht. Atelier Willem Noyons is sinds 1983 gevestigd aan de Biltstraat in Utrecht. Het is al vele jaren actief voor inspirerende opdrachtgevers. Het atelier is werkzaam op verschillende terreinen, zowel twee- als driedimensionaal en digitaal. Ontwerpen van Willem Noyons vonden hun weg naar internationale musea en particuliere collecties. www.noyons.com

Jaap (J.A.) Röell
studeerde sociologie in Utrecht. Hij was fractiemedewerker van een politieke partij in de Tweede Kamer en tevens lid van Provinciale Staten te Utrecht. Vervolgens directeur/bestuurder van een zorginstelling op het terrein van de

ouderenzorg, verstandelijk gehandicapten en psychiatrische cliënten te Amsterdam en omgeving. Röell publiceert recensies over hedendaagse kunst en is eigenaar van KuuB, Ruimte voor Kunst en Cultuur in het museumkwartier van Utrecht. Verder is hij bestuurlijk betrokken (geweest) bij instellingen en organisaties binnen Utrecht op het brede terrein van de kunst- en cultuurhistorie.

Paul Schnabel
socioloog, was van 1998 – 2013 directeur van het Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. Sinds 2002 is hij universiteitshoogleraar aan de Universiteit Utrecht, waar hij ook studeerde en in 1967 met de universiteit kennismaakte in een van de eerste gebouwen van De Uithof. In Utrecht was hij onder meer hoofd onderzoek van het Nederlandse Centrum Geestelijke Volksgezondheid (nu Trimbos-instituut), hoogleraar klinische psychologie (1986-1998) en decaan van de Netherlands School of Public Health. Hij was vice-voorzitter van de Stichting Vrede van Utrecht en is lid van de Raad van Toezicht van Museum Catharijneconvent.

Herco (H.A.E.) Uniken Venema
is de eerste president van de rechtbank Midden-Nederland, die haar hoofdzetel heeft in Utrecht. De rechtbank is met ingang van 1 januari 2013, in het kader van de herziening van de gerechtelijke kaart, ontstaan uit de rechtbank Utrecht, het gedeelte Lelystad van de rechtbank Zwolle-Lelystad en de rechtbank Amsterdam, waarvan het Gooi en de Vechtstreek zijn afgesplitst en aan de rechtbank Midden-Nederland zijn toegevoegd. Vóór 1 januari 2013 was Herco Uniken Venema onder meer de laatste president van de rechtbank Utrecht (vanaf 2007), president van de rechtbank Arnhem en advocaat in Den Haag.

Jan Luiten (J.L.) van Zanden
is faculteitshoogleraar Global Economic History aan de Universiteit Utrecht en honorair hoogleraar aan de Universiteiten van Groningen en Stellenbosch (in Zuid Afrika). Hij houdt zich vooral bezig met de economische geschiedenis, daarnaast raakt hij steeds meer geïnteresseerd in de milieugeschiedenis en in de geschiedenis van de sociale ongelijkheid. Een greep uit zijn meest recente boeken: redacteur, samen met Maarten Prak, *Technology, Skills and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West* (Brill 2013), samen met Maarten Prak, *Nederland en het poldermodel. Sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Nederland, 1000-2000* (Bert Bakker 2013), samen met Daan Marks, *An Economic History of Indonesia 1800-2010* (Routledge 2012; vertaling in het Indonesisch 2013).

African Activist Archive Project

The *African Activist Archive* is preserving and making available online the records of activism in the United States to support the struggles of African peoples against colonialism, apartheid, and social injustice from the 1950s through the 1990s. The website includes:

– growing online archive of historical materials – pamphlets, newsletters, leaflets, buttons, posters, T-shirts, photographs, and audio and video recordings
– personal remembrances and interviews with activists
– an international directory of collections deposited in libraries and archives

The African Activist Archive Project is collaborating with activists across the U.S. who supported African liberation struggles to create this online archive of more than 5,000 items. The project also assists individuals and groups to deposit their collections in public repositories, including the African Activist Archive collections in the Michigan State University Libraries.

Read more: http://africanactivist.msu.edu

Van Linschoten's Itinerario 1598, First Book, Chapter One: Discours of Voyages into y East & West

Indies

Frontispiece: Gerard Mercator's map of the Arctic, published in his atlas of 1595. This map explains why the Dutch, discovering Spitsbergen, believed they had run into Greenland.

Being young and living idly in my native country, sometimes applying myself to the reading of histories and strange adventures, wherein I took no small delight, I found my mind so much addicted to see and travel into strange countries, thereby to seek some adventure, that in the end to satisfy myself I determined and was fully resolved for a time to leave my native country and my friends (although it grieved me). Yet the hope I had to accomplish my desire together with the resolution taken in the end overcame my affection and put me in good comfort to take the matter upon me, trusting in God that he would further my intent. Which done, being resolved, I took leave of my parents who as then dwelt at Enkhuysen, and being ready to embark myself I went to a fleet of ships that as then laid before Texel, weighing the wind to sail for Spain and Portugal. I was determined to travel to Sevilla, where as then I had two brothers that had gone there several years before; so to help myself the better and by their means to know the manner

and customs of those countries and also to learn the Spanish tongue.

And the 6th of December in the year of our Lord 1576 we put out of Texel with about 80 ships and set course for Spain. 9 December we passed between Dover and Calais […]. Upon Christmas Day we entered into the river of St. Lucas de Barameda [Sanlucar de Barrameda] where I stayed two or three days and then traveled to Sevilla. On the first day of January I entered the city where I found one of my brothers. And although I had a special desire presently to travel further, yet for want of the Spanish tongue, without which one can hardly pass the country, I was constrained to stay there. In the mean time it chanced that Don Henry, the King of Portugal died, which caused great consternation and debate in Portugal for reason that the said King by his will and testament made Philip King of Spain, the son of his sister, lawful heir to the throne of Portugal. The Portuguese, always deadly enemies to the Spaniards, were wholly against it and elected to their King Don Antonio, Prior de Ocrato, brother's son to the King that died.

The King of Spain upon receiving this news prepared himself to go into Portugal to receive the crown, sending the Duke of Alva before him to cease the strife and pacify the matter. In the end, partly by force and partly by money, he brought the country under his subjection. Thereupon many men went out of Sevilla and other places into Portugal, where they hoped to find some better means. All was quiet in Portugal and Don Antonio was driven out of the country. My brother fell sick to a disease called Tuardilha, which at that time reigned throughout the whole country of Spain, whereof many thousands died; and among the rest my brother was one [died]. Not long before the plague had been so great in Portugal that in the timespan of two years 80,000 people died in Lisboa; after which plague, the said disease ensued which wrought great destruction.

On 5 August, having some understanding in the Spanish tongue, I placed myself with a Dutch gentleman who was determined to travel into Portugal to see the country. We departed from Sevilla on 3 September and after eight days arrived at Badajos, where I found my other brother following the Court. At the same time died Anne of Austria, Queen of Spain, the King's fourth wife; sister to Emperor Rodolphus and daughter to the Emperor Maximilian. This caused great sorrow through all Spain: her body was conveyed from Badajos to the cloister of Saint Lawrence in El Escorial, where with great solemnity it was buried. After having traveled by several towns we arrived at Lisboa on 20 September, where at the time we found the Duke of Alva being Governor for the King of Spain; the whole

city making great preparation for the coronation of the King. While staying in Lisboa I fell sick through the change of air and corruption of the country. During my sickness I was seven times let blood, yet by God's help I escaped. […] About the same time the plague, not long before newly begunne, began again to cease, for which cause the King till then had deferred his entrance into Lisboa.

On the first day of May, 1581 the King entered with great triumph and magnificence into the city of Lisboa, where above all others the Dutch had the best and greatest commendation for views, which was a bridge that stood upon the river side where the King must first pass as he went out of his galley to enter into the city, being beautified and adorned with many costly and excellent things most pleasant to behold, every street and place within the city being hanged with rich clothes of tapestry and arras. In the same year on 12 December died the Duke of Alva in Lisboa in the King's palace. During his sickness over a period of fourteen days he received no sustenance but only women's milk. […]

* * *

2. Van Linschoten's Itinerario, 26. Chapter: Of The Island Of Japan

The island or the land of Japan is many islands one by the other, which are separated and divided only by certain small creeks and rivers. It is a great land, although as yet the circuit thereof is not known, because as yet it has not been explored, nor by the Portuguese sought into. It starts under 30 degrees and runs until you come to 38 degrees, lying about 80 miles east of the firm land of China.

The Portuguese travel about three hundred miles northeast from Macau. The Portuguese commonly lie in a harbor named Nagasaki, but also in others. The country is cold, proceeding of much rain, snow and ice that falls therein. It has some wheat-lands, but their common wheat is rice. In some places the land is very hilly and unfruitful. […] The country has some mines of silver. The silver is yearly brought by the Portuguese to exchange for silk and other Chinese wares that the Japanese have need of. The Japanese have among them very good craftsmen. They are sharp-witted and quickly learn anything they see. The common people of the land are much different from those of other nations, for that they have among them as great courtesy and good policy as if they had live continuously in the Court. They are very experienced in the use of their weapons as need requires,

although they have little cause to use them. If anyone begins to draw his sword he is put to death. They have no prisons because he who deserves to be imprisoned is presently punished or banished from the country. When they mean to lay hold upon a man, they must do it by stealth and deceit, for otherwise he would resist and do much mischief. If it be a gentleman or man of great authority, […] he often chooses to be killed by his servants. And it is often seen that they rip their own bellies open, which is often likewise done by servants for the love of their masters. The like do young boys in presence of their parents, only for grief or some small anger. They are in all their actions very patient and humble, for that in their youth they learn to endure hunger, cold, and all manner of labor, to go bareheaded, with few clothes, as well as in winter as in summer. They account it for great beauty to have no hair, which with great care they pluck out, only to retain a pluck of hair on the crown of their heads, which they tie together.

In the land of Japan they only eat the meat of wild animals and these are hunted with great expertise. They have cattle like cows and sheep, but cannot eat those, as we refuse horse meat. They don't take milk or milk products, like we don't drink blood, because they say that milk although it is white, yet it is true blood. They enjoy fish, of which they have many kinds, as well as all kinds of fruit, as in China. Their houses are commonly covered with wood and straw, and built fine and workman-like, especially the rich men's houses. […] Their manner of eating and drinking is: every man has a table alone, without table-clothes or napkins, and eateth with two pieces of wood, like the men of China. They drink wine of rice, wherewith they drink themselves drunk, and after their meat they use a certain drink, which is a pot with hot water, which they drink as hot as ever they may endure, whether it be winter or summer.

[…] The aforesaid warm water is made with the powder of a certain herb called *Chaa*, which is much esteemed, and is well accounted of among them. The said water is kept in a secret place and the gentlemen make it themselves, and when they entertain some friends, they give them some of that warm water to drink. The pots wherein the herb is kept, with the earthen cups they drink it in, are esteemed as much as we do of Diamonds, Rubies, and other precious stones,and they are not esteemed for their newness, but for their oldness, and for that they were made by a good workman. To know and keep such by themselves, they take great and special care. As with us the goldsmith values silver and gold: so if their pots and cups are of an old and excellent making they are worth 4 or 5 thousand

ducats or more the piece. The King of Bungo did give for such a pot, having three feet, 14 thousand ducats. They do likewise esteem much of any picture or table, wherein is painted a black tree or a black bird, and when they know it is made of wood, and by an ancient master, they give whatsoever you will ask for it. […] And when we ask them, why they esteem them so much, they ask us again why we esteem so well of our precious stones and jewels, which serve to no use. […] Their religion is much like the Chinese, they have their Idols and ministers, which they call *Bon*, and hold them in great estimation, but since the time of the Jesuits being among them, there have been many baptized and become Christians. The number of Christians increases daily; among those are the kings of Arima, Omura, and Bungo.

The King of Bungo is amongst the most important kings of Japan. […] They send their sons and nephews via Goa to Madrid and Rome, where they are received by the King and nobles of Spain, and the Pope,who did them great honor and bestowed many presents on them. After travelling to Florence, Venice, Ferrara, etc., they returned to Madrid with letters from Pope Sixtus, and some holy relics of the cross that Christ died on, to present to the Christian kings of Japan. In the end they arrived in India again, during my being there, which was Anno 1587, and were received with great joy. So they set sail to Japan, where again they were received with great admiration. […]

The Jesuits, then, thought it best to christen all Japanese and teach them the magnificence of the country of Europe. However, the principal reason and intent of the Jesuits was to reap great profit, and to get much praise and commendation. Most of the gifts given to them by the princes of Japan fell to their shares; they likewise obtained from the Pope and the King of Spain that no man might dwell in Japan, either Portuguese or Christian, without their license and consent, so that in all Japan there are no other orders of monks, friars, priests, but Jesuits alone. […] They have almost all of the country under their subjection; such I mean as are converted to the faith of Christ, making the Japanese believe what they wish, whereby they are honored like gods. The Japanese make such great account of them that they do almost pray to them, as if they were Saints. They had obtained so much favor of the Pope, that he granted them a bishop of their order (which is contrary to their profession), who came out of Portugal to be bishop of Japan, but died underway. […] There is not anything from which they will not suck or draw out some profit or advantage. […] It seemed in a manner that they bewitch men

with their subtle practices and devices, and are so well practiced and experimented in trade of merchandise, that they surpass all worldly men. To conclude, there is not any commodity to be had or reaped throughout all India, or they have their part therein, so that the other orders and religious persons, as also the common people, do much murmur thereat, and seem to dislike of their courteous humors.

* * *

3. Gerrit De Veer's True And Perfect Description 1598: Dedication


THE
True and perfect De-
scription of three Voy-
ages, so strange and wonderfull,
that the like hath neuer been
heard of before:
Done and performed three yeares, one after the other, by the Ships of
Holland and Zeland, on the North sides of Norway, Moscouia and
Tartaria, towards the Kingdomes of Cathaia & China, shewing
the discourse of the Straights of Weigats, Nova Zembla,
and the Countrie lying vnder 80. degrees: which is
thought to be Greenland: where neuer any man had
ben before: with the cruell Beares, and other
Monsters of the Sea, and the vnsup-
portable and extreame cold
that is found to bein
those places.
And how that in the last Voyage, the Shippe was so lockt in by the
Ice, that it was left there, whereby the men were forced to build a
house in the cold and desart Countrie of Nova Zembla where as
they continued 10. monthes together, and neuer saw nor
heard of any men, in most great cold and extreame
miseries, and how after that, to flee their liues, they
were constrained to flyte about 150. Dutch
miles, which is about 1000. miles English,
in litle open Boates, along and ouer the
maine Seas, in most great daunger,
and with extreame labour, vn-
speakable trouble, and
great hunger.
Imprinted at London for T. Fawler
1609.

Title page of the 1609 English edition of De Veer's work.

To the Noble, Mighty, Wise, Discreet, very Provident Lords States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the Council of States, and the Provincial States of Holland, Zeeland, and West Friesland – and also the Serene Highness and lord Maurits, born Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, Katzenelleboge, Vianden, Diets, etc., Marquis of Veere and Vlissingen etc., Lord of Saint Vith, Doesburg, the town of Grave and the Land of Cuijk etc., Stadholder and Commander-in-chief of Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, West-Friesland, Utrecht en Overijssel etc. and Admiral at Sea; and to the Noble, Honorable, Wise, Discreet Lords the Commisioners of the Admirality in Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland. Gentlemen. The art of navigation exceeds in utility all other arts; during the past years this science has wonderfully improved and has brought especially our countries great prosperity, notably by skilful piloting, and experience in the measuring of latitudes and bearings of countries according to the rules of mathematical science; as a result of which we sail to all countries lying at the very end of the world and return their products. This demonstrates that the science of navigation, which has emerged from cosmography, is of greater service than any other in the world, because she does not merely offer science, but also has application in the description of bearings, courses, capes, promontories and their respective coordinates, which have not even been mentioned by Ptolemy or Strabo and remained unknown long after those two existed, but which have come to our knowledge as a result of research and development of this knowledge. Many places that were previously unknown have only been found after repeated effort, and likewise attempts by our countries

investigating whether one would be able to find a passage to the Kingdoms of Cathay and China round by the North, which have been unsuccessful until now, do not remain entirely fruitless or hopeless.

Hence I have made a short description of the aforementioned journeys (in the last two of which I was engaged) sent from our countries, along the north of Norway, Muscovia, and Tartaria to the named Kingdoms of Cathay and China, because during these voyages many noteworthy events have passed. I think that the right course may still be discovered, as the direction and position of Vaygach and Novaya Zemlya are now ascertained, as well as the eastern cape of Greenland (as we call it) at 80 degrees [Spitsbergen], in a location where it was formerly believed that there would be only water and no land, and there at 80 degrees it is less cold than at Novaya Zemlya at 76 degrees. At those 80 degrees in June early in the summer there was grass and green things growing and animals were grazing, while at 76 degrees in August, during the peak of summer, there was neither any green leaves nor grass, nor animals that feed on grass. From this it appears that not the proximity of the Pole causes the ice and cold, but the Tartarian [Kara] Sea (called the Ice Sea) and the proximity of land, where the ice floats close to. Because in the open sea between the land at 80 degrees and Novaya Zemlya, which lie 200 [German] miles [1260 km] apart ENE and WSW, there was little or no ice, but soon as we approached land, we immediately entered into cold and ice; yes because of the ice we knew we were close to land, before we could even see it.

Furthermore on the east side of Novaya Zemlya, where we wintered, the ice drifted away with W and SW wind and returned with NE wind. From all this it appears that between both lands there is an open sea and that it is possible to sail much closer to the pole than has previously been assumed. And notwithstanding the ancient writers, who argue that the sea within 20 degrees of the pole is unnavigable because of the intense cold and that on account of the cold nobody can live there, we have been at 80 degrees and at 76 degrees with limited means have passed the winter. It therefore seems that between those lands one would be able to complete the voyage holding a NE course from Norway’s North Cape. This too was the opinion of Willem Barents, the famous navigator, and Jacob Heemskerck, our captain and supercargo; that they, if they would hold that course, would succeed if God granted them to. Notwithstanding that during our last journey through our manifold difficulties we were totally exhausted and often

in peril of death, yet it did not break our courage and if our ship (which remained locked in the ice) had been released in time, we would once more have ventured on that same course to demonstrate that we believe that it can be done, although this last journey had been very difficult and we (speaking without vanity) have not avoided any labor, effort, or danger to come to the desired end, as the story will show; but neither time nor fate permitted it. And because the said three journeys occurred at Your Lordships' expenses and the result that would have come out of it would have been Yours, I have taken the liberty of dedicating this narrative (which if not an eloquent, is at least a faithful one) to Your Lordships. Praying to God that he will bless Your Lordships' wise government, in the honor of His name, and for the prosperity of these States, from Amsterdam, the last day but one of April, in the year 1598, Your noble, mighty, illustrious, E., wise, provident Lordships' indebtedly, Gerrit de Veer

* * *

4. Gerrit De Veer's True And Perfect Description: Introduction

4 June 1596: "Plate of a miraculous heaven" depicts the phenomenon of sun dogs, caused by ice crystals high in the atmosphere.

It is a most certain and assured assertion, that nothing doth more benefit and further the common-wealth (specially in these countries) than the art and knowledge of navigation, in regard that such countries and nations are mighty and strong at sea, have the means and ways to draw, fetch, and bring the principal commodities and fruits of the earth […], and carry and convey to the same places such wares and merchandise whereof they have great store and abundance […]. There are continually more voyages made and strange coasts discovered; perhaps not in a first, second, or third journey but [only in full extent] by continuance of time reaped. […] As long as the results are useful, there is no more meaningful exertion than toil in the common good and benefit of all men, whatever the unskillful, disdainers, and deriders of men's diligence may say. […] The famous navigators Columbus, Cortez, [Vasco] Nonius [de Balboa], and Magellan, (who discovered distant islands and kingdoms) […] did not leave off and give over their navigation after the first voyage […] Alexander the Great (after he had won Greece and from there Little and Great Asia) said: 'If we had

not gone forward and persisted in our intent, doing what others found impossible, we would have stayed at Sicily instead of going through all those great countries, for there is nothing that is started and completed at the same time'. To which end Cicero wisely said: 'God has given us some and not all things so that our successors will have something to do'. Therefore, one shouldn't stop midway whenever there's even the remotest chance of some achievement, for the greatest and richest treasures are the hardest to find. […] Let us look to the White Sea north of Muscovy that is now so commonly sailed. Is this not the same long voyage it was before it had become completely explored? True, but finding the correct route, previously requiring reconnoitering via careful cruising, has made the difficult voyage a routine. […]

* * *

*5. Barents Reaches His Northernmost Latitude In 1594**

Willem Barents' signature on the winterers' apologia.

The 29th of July [1594] the height of the sun was taken with the cross-staff, astrolabium, and quadrant and found to be 32 degrees above the horizon. Because her declination is 19 degrees this subtracted from 32 degrees leaves 13, which subtracted from 90 gives 77 degrees. Here the nearest north point of Novaya Zemlya, called the Ice Cape, lay right east of them. There they found certain stones that glittered like gold, which for that reason they called gold-stones, and they had a faire bay with sandy ground. […] From the Ice Cape they went east a little south 6 miles to the Islands of Orange; there they tacked between the land and the ice, with fair still weather, and upon the 31 of July [1594] got to the Islands of Orange. And on one of those islands they found about 200 walruses or seahorses, lying upon the shore to bask themselves in the sunne. This seahorse is a wonderful strong monster of the sea, much bigger than an oxe, which keeps continually in the seas, having a skin like a sea-calf or seal, with very short hair. It is mouthed like a lion, and many times they lie upon the ice; they are difficult to kill unless you strike them just upon the forehead. It has four feet but no ears and commonly it has one or two young at a time. And when the fishermen

chance to find them on an ice floe they cast their young into the water. The mother then takes it in her arms and so plunges up and down with it, and when she will revenge herself on one of the boats, she casts her young from her again and with all her force will attack that boat, whereby our men once were in no small danger, for that the sea horse had almost stricken her teeth into the stern of the boat with the intention to overthrow it […]. They have two teeth sticking out of their mouths, on each side one, each being about half an ell long, and these are esteemed to be as good as any ivory or elephant's teeth, specially in Muscovia [Russia], Tartaria [Siberia], and thereabouts where they are known (Note: In 1594 one Francis Cherry imported 595 kg (1311 lb) of walrus ivory from Arctic Russia *[Vaughan 1994]*). Our men, supposing that they could not defend themselves being out of the water went on shore to assail some sea horses that lay basking on the beach, to get their teeth that are so rich, but they broke all their hatchets, cutlasses, and pikes in pieces and could not kill one of them, but [285] struck some of their teeth out of their mouths, which they took with them. […]

Willem Barents had begun his journey on the 5th of June 1594 and set sail out of Texel, arriving before Kildin Moscovia on the 23 of the same month, and then set course to the north side of Novaya Zemlya, wherein he continued to the 1st of August till he came to the Islands of Orange […]. Finding that he could hardly get through, to accomplish his intended voyage, his men began to become weary and refused to sail further, so they agreed to turn back and meet with the other [Zeeland and Enkhuizen] ships that had set course for Vaygach to find what discoveries had been made there.

Appendices

* De Veer copied the journal of the first expedition, in which he did not participate, probably from Barents' log, converting 'we' into 'they' (errata on e.g. 18 and 23 July 1594). On the map the farthest point reached during this first expedition is named Cape Desire, signifying the desire to continue across the Pole, which translated into Russian has become Mys Zhelaniya.

* * *

6. Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten 's Voyage Round By The North 1601

[Introduction] According to the writings of the Ancients, like those of Nepos, Pliny and others, there is a way round by the north to Cathay (northern China) and

China. Some Indians that came from the Far East fell through a storm on the Norwegian coast. Hence it is certain that they came into the Atlantic Ocean by way of Strait Yugor. So why is it that this passage is so hard to find? […] On the 11th [September 1595] the Admiral called another meeting to consider whether we would undertake one more attempt and see whether we would be able to get through. So was decided. We set sail under a stormy wind but after three hours large ice masses obstructed our further progress and we laveered back to the Twist Cape (Cape Quarrel) and from there through open water to the Cross Cape. Here we anchored because the storm intensified. I used the opportunity the measure the tides and the direction of flow of low tide and high tide.

This strengthened my opinion that the sea east of the strait is a continuing sea. Several men went ashore and discovered a whale stripped by the Samoyedes. The cheekbones measured 16 feet. They brought five for display as oddity in our country. One may see them in the Doelen in Enkhuizen and another one in the city hall of Haarlem; I presented them to these cities for eternal memory, and love for patria.

a. Willem Barents; b. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten; c. Jacob Heemskerck; d. Petrus Plancius; e. Jan Cornelisz Rijp

[13 September 1595] The storm came from the SW and grew so powerful that it seemed as if heaven and earth united. We lowered all sails and dropped a second anchor. Our boats filled with water and in the midst of the tempest we feared that our lines and anchors would not hold. The skippers said that they had never experienced anything like this; however the storm passed without causing damage. Now that I have been through this it does not surprise me that there is so much driftwood high on the beaches. […] To our dismay we saw large amounts of ice floating back into the Yugor Strait. We immediately hauled the anchors and tacked about past the Cross Cape. During the night Vaygach had been covered with snow. We were much surprised to see the ice return because it had seemed as if the storms of the past few days had cleared the way for at least six days' sailing. From this we understood that we should not hope that the situation would improve this year. Under sail we gathered on the admiral's vessel and prepared a statement to summarize the reasons that would make us decide to return home. This statement is: 'Today the 15th of September 1595 we met near Cross Cape on the orders of Admiral Nay and each without further dissimulation gave our opinion as to what could be done

within the breadth of our instructions.

After it has been concluded that we have tried our utmost to answer to our duty and responsibility we declare that God does not want to grant us success and the ice has prevented us from reaching our destination. [The continued presence of sea ice] we explain from last year's severe winter. [De la Dale: The most severe winter in living memory *[Mollema 1947]*; Therefore we unanimously decided that we should use the first opportunity to sail home in order to save our ships and escape the onset of freezing and winter, protesting before God and the world that we fulfilled our duty and trusting that all the signatories would never speak differently, that we would continue to defend our point of view and that our logs should show the same. To ensure that on return there would not be any rumors started or blame spread that could damage our reputations, even though we voluntarily faced dangers for the glory of our fatherland, we agreed to sign this declaration, which has been composed by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten with Francois de la Dale'. […]

On this day we had a breeze from the NE and during the night sailed out of the strait. Snow showers and hail accompanied our departure as heralds of winter. It was so cold that our sail hardened and my breath froze into my moustache. The water however was free of ice with just the individual floe. It seems to me that this confirms the information of the Samoyeds and Russians that there is a passage between Vaygach and Novaya Zemlya, through which the ice is transported into the Kara Sea. […] Between Novaya Zemlya and Cape Tabin [Cape Chelyuskin] there must be a channel as between the heads of Dover and Calais. This stops the ice from floating east or north and it assembles into large ice fields and wind nor sea have sufficient power to break the ice, because the ice fields dampen the sea and prevent swell, which normally breaks the ice. The warmth of the sun one can easily forget because it means nothing in this region. […]

On the 24th the weather worsened beyond description. Hailstorm followed on hailstorm, the sea and the heavens became one and it was dark so we could not see a ship's length ahead. During a short clearing we saw straight ahead snowcovered land, where we would certainly have run aground because our estimated position was 20 miles out of the coast. The maps of this region are not good […]. The next day the sky cleared; some showers remained, but the fury of the past few days had gone. We guessed that the land we had seen yesterday was

Svyatoi Noss [Kola Peninsula]. We tacked about to and from the coast but did not make much progress. […]

[28 September 1595] Around this time scurvy started to spread. It began with stiffness in the limbs and waist and rotting gums, which was painful to see. The cold and nasty humidity causes all this. Also the lack of refreshing and clean clothes did much damage; it felt terrible to be helpless against these threats. […]

[8 October 1595] Weather was boisterous and dark again. During the night our yachts got separated from us and we continued with the Admiral. In the evening the sun appeared, which surprised us because we hadn't seen her for a long time. Soon the wind increased from the north and to our joy we were able to sail west again. We thank God passed the North Cape and the northern winds did no longer hinder us; on the contrary it brought us much pleasure. […] We estimated our latitude to be 73.5 degrees. On the 9th there was such a powerful snowstorm that the entire ship was covered by it. It was so cold that we were unable to manipulate the main sail and had to beat it with sticks before we were able to set it […] Due to poor sight we also lost track of the Admiral and continued by ourselves. Overall we made good progress. […] In the rare clear nights there is much more light here than in our country, the stars almost shine as bright as the Moon. If one happens to have a clear night one may see the amazing radiation of the 'northern light' as seamen call this phenomenon, a play of colored rays, which emits a wonderful light that fills a man with awe. Anyone, who sails in the High North knows the 'northern light' and in this region it occurs frequently when the winter night draws near.

The interior of the Saved House, as depicted in the German edition of the "True and Perfect Description" (Hulsius 1598). This plate accurately depicts the lamp that burned day and night (27 October 1596; 12–13 February 1597), the wine barrel turned into a steam bath (4 November 1596), the bunks, kettle (Fig. 7.8), and clock (Fig. 7.9). When the clock froze, the passing of time was recorded with an hourglass.

On the 12 [October 1595] we saw the sun and could finally measure an afternoon height. Our latitude appeared to be 73°20′ and we estimated to be off the coast of Tromsø. This is the same latitude as Vaygach, Kanin, or Svyatoi-Nos, but here it wasn't as cold as it was there, even though it was later in the season. This is remarkable but one may explain it from the large amounts of sea ice near Vaygach, which probably severely cool the air. It remains an open question why in these

areas, even when there is no ice, it can be so much colder than west of the North Cape. Our human intellect cannot grasp: we are too insignificant to fathom God's wonders.

Who in ancient times would have believed that one may be able to navigate the '*Zona frigida*' north of the Arctic circle, yes that even people are living there. Likewise people did not believe that the '*Torrida zona*' is navigable and habitable. Here the scorching-sweltering heat, there the unbearable cold would prohibit it. And still the unthinkable has appeared to be possible, as I have found, although I must admit that the intemperate of the Cold Zone is incomparably worse than that of the tropics. It is understandable because what should one expect in October at a latitude of 74°N, when the sun has a southern declination of 7° and therefore is 81° distant. Something like that was unimaginable to the Ancients and it still makes us feel humble. […]

On the 15th we crossed the Arctic Circle and had finally escaped the intemperate zone. The wind blew from the north but it was warmer than the warmest winds around the North Cape, although our latitudes do not differ that much. The explanation I gladly leave to those who are more familiar with the sciences of physics and astronomy and heavenly effects; I leave the rest to the care of God. […] On the 18th we sighted Statland at 62°10'N, we saw a sail on the lee side and were hoping it was one of ours, but it disappeared in the coast so it was probably a Norwegian. With quick pace we sailed along the coast, which did not show any snow. This is quite a miracle because at the North Cape it snowed and hailed continuously and here it wasn't any colder than with us in Fall. How does this agree with the hypothesis of the learned astronomers and cosmographers in our country, who, without any personal experience maintain that at 60° it is as cold as at 70°? If these gentlemen would themselves ever sail along, they would certainly learn to appreciate observation more than theoretical knowledge. […]

On the 24th [October 1595] the storm settled but a good breeze continued. The water became whitish and earthy so that we estimated to have reached the south side of the Dogger Bank, which during the night we probed at 15 fathom [~25.7 m]. The sky cleared during the evening and at night in the moonlight we sailed between the herring boats and contacted one. They informed us that Texel was to the SE, which agreed with our estimate. We passed another fisherman the next day and then a Rotterdammer coming from Norway. In the afternoon we spotted the coast of our fatherland. We got a bearing on the cathedral of Haarlem and put

our location between Beverwijk and Zandvoort. About three miles off the coast we sailed north and the 26th we anchored on the roadstead of Texel. We had been out for four months and came home the majority of the men sick from scurvy and other illnesses. On our home journey we mourned two deaths: the bottler who died four days before our return and the provost who passed away in the night of our sailing inside. We could therefore bury the provost in Huisduinen a grave in the earth. We found out that there was no word on any of the other ships from our expedition and prayed to God to bring them home safely. With this the Principalest King and Lord is glorified and praised from now to eternity Amen.

Conclusion or Epilogue. The above is the account of our farings during the journey of 1595; from day to day, from hour to hour I accurately kept notes without adding or removing anything later. I hope and expect that my fellow travellers [Barents] will acknowledge the truth of what has been put down. Our principals who no doubt had been inspired by God commissioned this great endeavor without caring for costs and although God did not want us to succeed, because a lengthy winter had barely ended, I am of the opinion that we should not give up this cause and should not forget our heroic attempt. More research is needed to get insight into the possibilities. The greater the effort and objections, the more respectable the work is and the purer the ultimate triumph.

The backdrops have not been so severe that we should consider the northern seaway impossible. Seasons do differ and we experienced that. The Portuguese didn't discover the east Indies on their first journey. Many years passed before they found the right conjunction of circumstances and before that, their efforts were in vain. […]

Should your Lords however be of the opinion that enough has been done and we should let the matter rest, then I still have the submissive request to grant me the right for publication* of my journals and drawings, in order to let truth prevail and the Prince, and you, My Lords, who took the laudable initiative for the venture, will get your well-deserved praise for your involvement. Through my work the world will know what has been done and found and all rumors and

false messages that are sold with the necessary adornments will be silenced. My journals may inspire others to continue on the road travelled, and this would be my greatest reward for all trouble and dangers. Also the Lords can be assured that I will be available when I am needed in their service.

* On 20 May 1597 Van Linschoten was awarded for 10 years the rights to publish both journals. Penalty for infringement on these rights was set at 600 Flemish pounds, a third of which was to be made out to the author, a third to the executor, and a third to the poor *[translated from Mollema 1947, p. 204–213]*.

* * *

7. Van Linschoten 's Round By The North 1601: The Beginning Of Whaling

[14 July 1594, between Kolguev Island and the mainland] we entertained ourselves with the whale hunt. Some of those animals came swimming onto our roadstead; we jumped into the boats and drove some in shallow water, but for lack of harpoons we could not do much more. At last we caught one, we threw a harpoon in its back which caused him to swim around fiercely, while the water colored red with its blood. The boats chased it until it was exhausted and had to give up the fight. Then the men towed it onto the shore and skinned it; the blubber was packed in barrels to make train oil. It was a young animal but already fearful to behold. The monster was 34 feet long, its tail 8 feet wide, and on both sides of the lower jaw it had 268 feathers, which are called baleens. We won 20 barrels of blubber from this animal, but the meat, guts, and skin we left as unusable waste, and also the liver which alone weighed three tons. We did not have enough barrels to store it all. As we were cutting the whale, his partner often surfaced at a stone's throw and watched the spectacle. We could easily have caught it but let him be because we did not have enough barrels. The whales came close to shore every evening; they appear to breed here. Whale hunting would be profitable if one came here well equipped.*

Appendices

* De Moucheron was quick to speculate with this bit of information in his letter to the States of Holland and Zeeland on 6 April 1595 (Chapter 4): "A large part of the costs of a fortification [of the Yugor Strait] can be won back with the letting out of permits for whale hunting and the hunt of seal and walrus. Train oil represents a value greater than the expenses of a fort, because these animals abound in the sea". Although whales had been known for more than twenty years for their industrial potential as a resource of train oil and baleens, Van Linschoten described the killing of the first known whale to fall victim to Europeans other than Basques *[Vaughan 1994]*. The whale bone found on

Vaygach Island and kept in Haarlem's City Hall (11 September 1595) suggests that this whale was a bowhead (*Balaena mysticetus*), the only large whale species endemic to the Arctic, today almost extinct.

* * *

8. De Veer: Encounter With The 'Samoyeds'

Samoyeds and their kingdom (Hulsius #10), with firearms demonstration in background.

Their apparition is like we used to paint wild men; but they are not wild, because they are of reasonable judgement. They dress in deer skins from head to feet, unless it be the chief among them, which, man or woman, are dressed like the others, as said, except for their heads, which they cover with a colored cloth lined with fur. The others wear caps of deerskin, with the rough side out, which close around their heads. They have long hair, which they braid with a long tail on their backs. They are (most of them) short and of low stature, with broad flat faces, small eyes, short legs, their knees standing outward, and they are very quick […] Their sledges stood always ready with one or two deer, which run so swiftly with one or two men in them that our horses would not be able to follow them. One of our men shot a musket towards the sea, wherewith they were in such great fear that they ran and leapt like mad men; yet at last they calmed down when they perceived that it was not maliciously done to hurt them. We told them by our interpreter, that we used our pieces instead of bows, whereat they wondered, because of the great blow and noise that it gave. To show them what we could do with [our muskets], one of our men took a flat stone about half and a handful broad, and set it upon a hill a good way off from him. They perceived that we meant [to demonstrate] somewhat thereby, and fifty or sixty of them gathered around us, yet somewhat far off. He with the musket shot it and when the bullet smashed the stone in pieces they wondered even more than before. After that we parted, with great friendship on both sides; and when we were in our boat, we all put off our hats and bowed our heads unto them, sounding our trumpet. They in their manner saluted us and then went back to their sledges [31 August 1595].

* * *

9. Through The Arctic Night And Observation Of The 'Novaya Zemlya Effect'

15 December [1596] it was bright weather. That day we caught two foxes and saw the moon rise ESE, when it was 26 days old, in the sign of Scorpio. [On 16 December] we had no more wood in the house and had to go out to get more, which we had to dig out of the snow. […] This we did taking turns, two and two together, wherein we were forced to use great speed, for we could not long endure without the house, because of the inexpressible, intolerable cold, even though we wore the fox skins on our heads and double apparel on our backs. […] On 18 December we went out to the ship to see how it was and hoping to catch a fox. Below decks we found none but in the hold when we had stricken fire to inspect the water level we discovered a fox, which we caught and brought to the house to eat, and found that in eighteen days the water had risen about a finger and the barrels with drinking water we brought from Holland were frozen solidly.

19 December it was fair weather with a wind from the south. Then we comforted each other that the sun was on the other side of the globe and ready to come to us again. We sorely longed for it; […] the greatest comfort that God sent onto man here upon the earth and that in which every living thing rejoices.

[…] The 22nd of December it was foul weather with lots of snow and wind from the southwest, blocking our door again, so we had to dig ourselves out, which we now did almost every day. 23 December, foul weather, wind southwest with lots of snow, but we were comfortable knowing that the sun was on its way to us again, for (we calculated) that day it had reached the Tropic of Capricorn, which is the utmost limit it reaches before returning north. This Tropicus Capricorni lies south of the equinoctial line at 23 degrees and 18 minutes.

12 June 1597: "Plate of how we with great effort leveled a way across the ice." Although the plates by De Bry in the German (Hulsius) edition are less artistic than the Doetecum plates, they are more informative. Plate #27, shown here, includes the Saved House as it was left behind: partly torn down.

24 December, Christmas eve, it was fair weather. Then we opened our door again and though there was no daylight we could see much open water in the sea, as we had heard the ice crack and drive. […] On Christmas day it was foul weather with northwest wind and despite the weather we heard foxes running over our house, wherewith some of the men said it was a bad sign. We disputed why this would be a bad sign and some of our men answered it would be better if we could catch some and put them in the pot or on the spit, then it would have been a very good sign. On the 26 with foul weather it was so extraordinarily cold that we were unable to keep ourselves warm, by all means: with a large fire, extra clothes, and heated stones and cannon balls around our feet and body as we lay in our bunks. In the morning the bunks were frosted white which made us behold one the other with sad countenance. But we comforted ourselves again as well as we could that the sun was on its way back to us and as the proverb goes 'days that lengthen are days that strengthen'; hope put us in good comfort and eased our pain. […]

The 24th of January [1597] it was fair calm weather, with a southwest wind. The four of us went to the ship and comforted each other, thanking God that the most difficult part of winter had passed, in good hope that we would live to talk of those things back home in our own country. While we were in the ship we found that the water in it had risen higher. We all took a biscuit or two and went back. On the 24th it was fair, clear weather again, still with a west wind. I went with Jacob Heemskerck and another one to the end of the cape where, totally unexpected, we saw the top edge of the sun, I first, and we hurried home to tell Willem Barents and the others the joyful news. [The sun had not been seen since 4 November]. However, Willem Barents being a wise and experienced pilot did not believe it, estimating that it was fourteen days too soon for the sun to shine in this part of the world. We earnestly affirmed that we had seen the sun and bets were laid. The next days it was misty and overcast and we couldn't see anything. Those who betted against us thought they had won, but the 27th it was clear and bright weather and we all saw the sun in its full roundness above the horizon. [This observation] was clean contrary to the opinions of all old and new writers,

yes, contrary to the nature and roundness both of heaven and earth. Some of us said that because we had lived in the night for such a long time we might have overslept ourselves, with respect to which we well know the contrary. Considering this spectacle in itself God is wonderful in all his works, we refer for that to his almighty powers, and leave it to others to dispute. But for that no man shall think that we doubt [the accuracy of our measurements] we present some declaration thereof […]. Otherwise I leave the discussion to those who make their profession of it; suffice to say that we were not mistaken with respect to the time.

* * *

10. Escape From Novaya Zemlya And Barents' Dying

The "Plate of a cruel bear" of 12 February 1597 has a detail in the German edition that does not appear on the original plate in the Dutch edition: the burial of the "sicke".

The 13 June [1597] it was fair weather. The master and the carpenters went to the ship and prepared the boat and the sloop. The master and those that were with him, seeing that there was open water and a good west wind, came back to the house and he said to Willem Barents (who had long been sick) that it was a good time to leave. They resolved jointly with the ship's company to take the boat and the sloop to the waterside and in the name of God begin our voyage to sail away from Novaya Zemlya. Willem Barents had previously written a small scroll, which he then placed inside a bandoleer and hung in the chimney. […] The master also wrote two letters, […] one for each of our sloops in case we would lose each other by storms or other misadventure […]. And so, having finished all things as we determined, we drew the boat to the waterside and left a man in it, and went back to fetch the sloop, and after that eleven sledges with goods, such as victuals and some wine that yet remained, and the merchants goods of which we took every care to preserve as much as possible, viz. 6 packs with the finest woolen cloth, a chest with linen, two packets of velvet, two small chests with money, two trunks with men's clothes such as shirts and other things, 13 barrels of bread, a barrel with cheese, a fletch of bacon, two runlets of oil, 6 small runlets of wine, two runlets of vinegar, packs and cloths belonging to the sailors. Piled altogether one would not believe that it would fit in the boats. Which being all put away, we went to the house and first

drew Willem Barents on a sledge to the waterside, and then fetched Claes Andriesz; both of them had long been ill. So we got into the boats, equally dividing ourselves between them, and with a patient in each. The master asked that the boats were aligned together so that we could sign our names under both letters. After that we committed ourselves to the will and mercy of God; with a WNW wind and open water, we set sail and put to the sea.

The 14th of June in the morning with the sun in the east [ca. 4 a.m.] we put off from the land of Nova Zembla and the fast ice thereunto adjoining, with our boat and sloop, and sailed ENE all day to Eylandt's Hoek, which is five miles [1 German mile = 6.3 km: Verhoeff 1983]. We didn't start off very well because we came between ice floes which were lying together hard and fast and it put us in no small fear and trouble. Four of us went ashore to explore the situation. In the cliffs we caught four birds, which we killed with stones. The 15th of June the ice drifted away and we went under sail again with a south wind, passing by Hooft Hoek en Vlissinger Hooft, stretching northeast to the Cabo van Begeerte (Cape Desire, Mys Zhelaniya): 13 [German] miles. There we lay until 16 June. [16 June 1597] We got to the Orange Islands with a south wind, which is 8 [German] miles from Cape Desire; there we went ashore with two small barrels and a kettle, to melt snow and put the water in the barrels, and also to search for birds and eggs for our ill, and being there we made fire with the driftwood that we found there, but we found no birds. Three of our men went over the ice to the other island and caught three birds. As they came back, our master (one of the three) fell through the ice, and feared for his life because there was a strong current, but by God's help he came out and came to us to dry himself by the fire that we had made. […] We filled our two runlets with water that held about eight gallons a piece; which done we put to sea again with a southeast wind and nasty drizzly weather, whereby we became all damp and wet, for we had no shelter in our open boats. We sailed west to the Ice Cape and when we arrived there, we put our boats hard by each other and the master called to Willem Barents how he was doing and Willem Barents answered: 'Well mate, thank God, I hope to walk before we get to Waardhuus'. Then he spoke to me and said: 'Gerrit, if we come about the Ice Cape you should lift me up again, I must see that cape once more'. We had sailed from the Orange Islands to Ice Cape about 5 [German] miles and the wind went round to the west, so we attached our boats to the ice floes and there ate somewhat; but the weather became fouler and fouler and the ice enclosed us and forced us to stay there. […]

[17 June 1597] We drove away so forcefully with the ice and were pressed sorely between the ice floes that we thought verily that the boats would burst into a hundred pieces, which made us look pitifully at each other because good counsel was dear. Every instant we saw death before our eyes. At last someone suggested we should take a rope onto the fast ice, so that we may draw the sloop out of the icedrift. […] This was a good advice but no man dared to follow through for fear of drowning. In that perplexity and with little choice (it is easy to risk a drowned calf) I being the lightest of our company took it on me to carry the rope onto the fast ice, crawling from one floe to the other. With God's help I reached the fast ice and tied the rope to a tall hill. […] As we all had gotten there in all haste we took the ill out of the boats and laid them on the ice, with clothes underneath them, and threw all our goods onto the fast ice, whereby for that moment we had escaped danger and been delivered from the jaws of death. […]

The 20 of June it was indifferent weather, the wind west, and when the sun was southeast [~7 a.m.], Claes Andriesz began to be extremely sick, whereby we perceived that he would not live long. The boatsman came into our scute and told us in what case he was and that he could not long continue alive; whereupon Willem Barents spoke: 'I guess with me too it will not last long'. Yet we did not judge Willem Barents to be so sick, because we sat talking one with the other and spoke of many things, and Willem Barents studied the map that I had made during our voyage (and we had some discussion about it). Then he put away the map and said 'Gerrit, can you give me something to drink', and he had no sooner drunk or he was taken with so sudden a qualm, that he turned his eyes in his head and presently died. We had no time to call the master out of the other boat to talk to him; he died before Claes Andriesz, who died shortly after him. The death of Willem Barents put us in no small discomfort as being the chief guide and only pilot on whom we reposed ourselves. But before God we are helpless and had to submit ourselves.

The 21 of June the ice began to drive away again and God made us some opening with a SSW wind and when the sun was about NW [midnight] the wind began to blow SE with a good gale and we began to make preparations to go from thence. The next morning there blew a good gale out of the southeast and the sea was reasonably open. We drew our boats over the ice to get to it, which was a great pain and labor to us, because we first needed to go over a piece of ice [snow?] of 50 paces long and then put the boats into the water, and then again pull them

onto the ice and pull them at least a 100 paces, before we would come to a place where we could get out. […]

* * *

11. Return Of The Netherlanders To The North Russian Coast In 1597

Table 2: *Crew accounted for by De Veer*

Signed Barents' statement before departure on 13 June 1597	*'Have returned' according to De Veer on 29 October 1597**	*Neither*
1. Jacob Heemskerck (commander)	Jacob Heemskerck	
2. Willem Barents (pilot)† 21/6/97		
3. Pieter Pietersz Vos (first mate)	Pieter Pietersz Vos	
4. Gerrit de Veer	Gerrit de Veer	
5. Meester Hans Vos ('surgeon')	Meester Hans Vos	
6. Lenaert Heijndrĳcsz	Lenaert Heijndrĳcsz	
7. Laurens Willemsz	Laurens Willemsz	
8. Jacob Jansz Schiedam		
9. Jan Hillebrantsz		
10. Jacob Jansz Hooghwout		
11. Pieter Cornelisz	Pieter Cornelisz	
12. Jacob Jansz Sterrenburgh	Jacob Jansz Sterrenburgh	
13. Jan Reyniersz		
14. Jan van Buysen		
15. Jacob Evertsz		
16.		'Van Purmerend' (carpenter) † 8/96
17.		'The sicke' † 24/1/97
18.		Claes Andriesz Goutijck † 21/6/97
19.		Jan Fransz van Haerlem † 5/7/97

Note Table Two

* With Jan Cornelisz Rijp, the winterers returned to Maassluis (west of Rotterdam) on 29 October 1597. In two days they travelled via Delft, The Hague, and Haarlem to Amsterdam. When they arrived in Amsterdam, around noon on 1 November, the news of their return spread through the city. While reporting in at the office of the ship's owner, Pieter Hasselaer, they were called to join a reception at the Prinsenhof and greet the burgomaster and company and the Lord Chancellor of Denmark, ambassador of the Danish King. The Prinsenhof on the Oudezijdsvoorburgwal (No. 195–199) was originally a nunnery, but after the Reformation it became a lodging for 'princes' and, from 1597, also the meeting place of the Amsterdam Admiralty Board. Today it is still a hotel, down the canal from Plancius' parish and opposite the Oude Kerk, where Van Heemskerck lies buried. The reception of the winterers in the Prinsenhof, fox fur hats and all, was depicted in an engraving in Pontanus' *Rerum et Urbis Amstelodamensium Historia* (1614).

(28 July 1597] We sailed 6 miles [40 km] southeast of St. Laurens Bay or Schans Cape [southern Novaya Zemlya], when we saw two Russian lodyas, which

comforted us, although we were careful for reason of their numbers, because we counted at least thirty men, and knew not what sort of persons they were; savages or other un-Dutch. With much effort we got to shore and when they saw us, they left their work and came towards us […]. Some of them knew us, because they visited our ship the year before when we past through Vaygach […]. They asked us for our 'korabl', meaning our ship, and we gestured as well as we could that we had lost our ship in the ice; wherewith they said: 'korabl propal', which we understood to be: 'Have you lost your ship?' and we answered: 'Korabl propal' […]. They expressed their grief for our loss […], and gestured that they had drunk wine in our ship [two years ago], and asked us what drink we had now. One of our men went back to the scute and drew some water, and let them taste it, but they shook their heads and said 'No dobre', not good […]. It had been thirteen months since we departed from Jan Cornelisz [at Bear Island] and we had not seen any man, only monsters and ravenous wild bears, so that we were in great comfort to see that we had lived so long to come in the company of man again.

[…]

28 July 1597: "Plate of how we after a long and sad journey encountered two Russian lodyas." Van Heemskerck is recognizable up front on the right, fox-fur hat in left hand.

[20 August 1597] Then we went on land [on the western shore of the White Sea] into the houses that stood upon the shore, where they showed us great friendship. They led us into their rooms and bade us to sit down and cooked us a dish of fish, and made us right welcome. […] They lived very poorly and ordinarily eat nothing but fish. During the evening, when we prepared ourselves to go back to the sloop, they prayed the master and me to stay with them in their houses, which the master thanked them for, and he went back to the boat, but I stayed the night. Beside those thirteen Russians, there were two Laplanders and three women with a child, which lived very poorly of the remains given to them by the Russians; a piece of discarded fish or some fish heads. We found it quite disturbing to see that their poverty was so great that those leftovers were gratefully accepted.

[29 August 1597] [After four days], the Laplander returned [from Kola], without our man, and this troubled us; but he brought us a letter that was written unto our master, which he opened before us. The writer wondered much about our

arrival in that place, and that he verily thought that we had lost our lives, but that he was exceedingly glad of our arrival. […] We wondered quite a bit who it could be that showed us such great favor and friendship, and according to the letter knew us well. Although the letter was signed 'by me Jan Cornelisz. Rijp', we could not perceive that it was the same Jan Cornelisz who the year before had set out with us in the other ship, and left us at Bear Island.

The 2 of September in the morning we rowed up the river and as we passed along we saw trees on the sides, which comforted us and it made us glad to enter a new world, because all the time we were out we had not seen any trees. […]

With the northwest sun [in the evening] we got to Jan Cornelisz' ship, into which we clambered and had some drinks. There we began to make merry with the seamen and were happy to see each other again. We rowed on and later that night arrived at Kola [Murmansk] where some of us went on land, and some stayed in the boats to look after our goods. To those we sent milk and other things to comfort and refresh them; and we were all exceedingly glad that God of his mercy had delivered us out of so many dangers and troubles.

[11 September 1597] By leave and consent of the boyard, governor to the King of Muscovia, we brought our scute and boat into the merchants' place and left them there as a monument to our long, distant, and never before sailed voyage, made in those open boats along almost 400 German miles [2520 km] of coastline to the town of Kola, whereat the inhabitants thereof could not sufficiently wonder.

————————

These fragments are from '*The True and Perfect description* ' were taken from William Philip's 1609 translation, reproduced in Beke (1853 and 1876, available as facsimile edition reprinted by Elibron, n.d.), and compared with a translation of de Veer's original text into modern Dutch by Arjaan van Nimwegen (1978, Spectrum). De Veer's dedication, not included in the 1609 text, has been translated from Van Nimwegen's text. Texts from the 'Itinerario' were adapted from the edition of John Wolfe, London 1598, facsimile edition reprinted by Johnson (Norwood, New Jersey: 1974). Texts from Van Linschoten's 'Voyage round by the North' were translated from Mollema (1947) and cross-checked with the original text reproduced in L'Honoré-Naber (1914).

JaapJan Zeeberg – Into the Ice Sea – Barents' wintering on Novaya Zemlya: A

Renaissance voyage of discovery
Rozenberg Publishers, Amsterdam, 2005. ISBN 978 90 5170 926 1

Rock Art Research in South Africa

Therianthropes and trance dance from artwork painted by Kalahari artist, the late Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper (with permission)

Ethno-archaeology: Oral narratives and rock art

The focus of my research is on the method of recording oral narratives and their link to, and possible use in, the interpretation of rock art, specifically rock engravings. Research on indigenous knowledge and artefacts falls within a contentious area of indigenous archaeology associated with colonialists' geographic and intellectual imperialism. It is necessary for my contextual approach to include, as in the exploration of myths, the theoretical setting of ethno-archaeology within which my research takes place. In the discipline of archaeology the use of ethnography falls under what Renfrew and Bahn (1991: 339) call '*What did they think?*' The use of '*they*' points not only to ethical issues of '*othering*', the negative artificial construction of two camps of cultures and the corresponding approaches of scholars and present day descendants of the artists, but also to the time gap between the artists of the past and the present (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004).

The rock paintings situated in caves, shelters and on portable stones, mostly in

the mountainous regions in South Africa, and rock engravings situated predominantly in the plateau areas, on boulders on hills or near rivers, date mostly from within the last few thousand years. However, small mobiliary painted stones from Apollo 11 Cave and an engraved ochre piece from Blombos Cave date from some 25 000 and up to 70 000 years ago respectively (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004). This considerable antiquity complicates any attempts at interpreting the rock art by way of oral narratives, even those recorded by the earliest colonialists. Furthermore, our views and therefore theories on art, oral narrative and methodology are constantly changing (Bahn, 1998).

3.1 Early recordings and attitudes: evolutionist thinking and sympathetic magic
The Islamic incursions into Asia, Europe and Africa approximately 1 300 years ago and the interest of Western countries in foreign countries after the Middle Ages are cited historical events that precipitated an awareness of, and interest in, recording the customs of foreign cultures (Maree et al, 1997). The arrival of foreigners in ships, using horses and later ox wagons, was recorded in rock paintings and engravings by the indigenous people of South Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1983).

Travellers, adventurers, missionaries and soldiers in turn recorded aspects of African cultures in their diaries and reports prior to the formal emergence of anthropology as a science and the development of an evolutionist approach. The contribution that the drive for material rewards played in the early visitors' hazardous journeys to the southern part of Africa was recorded by a Dominican priest in 1586:

The country is very hot, unhealthy, and prejudicial to foreigners, especially the Portuguese, who generally fall sick and die of fever; but this is not sufficient to restrain their avarice and the eagerness with which they go thither in search of the mines and riches of the country. (Dos Santos, 1586)

The '*gaze*' of the colonialists on the '*exotic other*' is apparent in these writings which, despite attempts to include the voice of the indigenous people, often reveal more of the attitudes and perceptions of the writers than about the cultural features they seek to portray. An example is this account of the Khoikhoi/ Khoekhoen by Christoffel Langhansz when stopping at Cape Town on his way to the Indies in 1694:

As to their religion, they have none, but live like the unreasoning brutes from day to day. Although some say of them that they reverence the moon this is not so, although it is true that by night, especially at the New Moon, they dance, or better said leap before it, and thereby howl rather than sing. But this dancing is done only for their pleasure, since leaping against their shadows and clapping their hands delights them especially, in that they see their shadows also do this; and this they continue so long as the moon shines on them, so that this dancing is thus to be considered as solely and entirely for their pleasure and amusement. (Langhansz, 1694 in Maclennan, 2003: 50)

The recording of rock art during this time was incidental and did not follow any formal methodology. The Chinese have the earliest recordings of rock art dating back to approximately 2 300 years ago by Han Fei (280-233 BC) (Bahn, 1998: 1).

Mention of rock art in Europe is minimal before the 19th century.

The colonisation of the New World in the 16th century resulted in identification of rock art in South America. The link between the rock art and indigenous religion, particularly belief in '*Quetzalcoatl*' (the feathered serpent God), caused Spanish missionaries to destroy or attempt to allocate Christian meaning to the images (Bahn, 1998: 9-10). In Ireland recordings of engravings in a burial tomb were made by Edward Lhwyd (1660-1708). The negative colonial attitudes of scholars of the time to this type of art, labelling it '*primitive*' (Smith & Blundell, 2000:8) and of little aesthetic value, is reflected in Lhwyd's reference to the art as '*rudely carved*' and '*Barbarous a sculpture*' when referring to a '*spiral like a Snake, but without distinction of Head and Tail*' (Bahn, 1998: 6).

Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) impacted not only on ideas concerning man's origins but, as mentioned previously, on the recording of cultures. In the field of rock art, evolutionist thinking in terms of categorization from simple to complex forms led to South African rock art – especially geometric engravings – being interpreted as the idle doodlings of a primitive people (Maree et al, 1997; Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004) or caricatures (Bahn, 1998). The earliest recordings of rock engravings in South Africa and specifically the Northern Cape are credited to H J Wikar from Sweden on his journeys along the Gariep/Orange River in 1778. Not all early Europeans dismissed the value of the rock art in South Africa and some, such as Barrow in 1797, attempted an understanding of rock art and appreciated the

realistic depictions of animals within it (Bahn, 1998). When the beauty and artistic merit of the rock art was acknowledged, some Europeans considered the art beyond the scope of the 'primitive' indigenous people, the San. Alternative cultures were invoked and the art was attributed to visiting '*Caucasians*'. The best known example is the '*White Lady*' of the Brandberg (South West Africa/Namibia), so named by Breuil in 1917 (Smith & Blundell, 2000; Bahn, 1998: 62-63): '*Heading the* 'early' *school Abbe Breuil had seen, in such paintings as the famous* 'White Lady'*, early Mediterranean influences, and attributes an age of several millennia to much of the art*' (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown (approx late 50s).

The impact on meaning attributed to rock art during the unilineal or classical phase of evolutionist thinking was the view that '*primitive*' art was linked to '*primitive*' religious practice, namely belief in magic. In the same way that '*civilized*' man controls his environment with science and technology, this theory proposed that '*primitive*' man controlled his environment with magic. This conjecture was applied to the interpretation of rock art in Europe by historic figures such as Breuil, who regarded rock art '*primarily in terms of hunting magic*', in that the depicted animal and an associated ritual were believed to influence the outcome of the hunt (Bahn, 1998: 62; Smith & Blundell, 2000).

3.2 Early records and analysis: traditional systematic

The development of anthropology and archaeology as sciences at the beginning of the 20th century resulted in an emphasis on quantitative methodology and positivist research theory. Diffusionist theory in the late 19th and early 20th century emphasized the need to record as much data as possible before it disappeared. In archaeology and specifically the recording and analysis of rock art, a traditional, systematic approach entailed definition of artefacts in space and time. In reaction to previous subjective guesswork and '*imaginings*' as to the significance of artefacts including rock art (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991), emphasis was placed on artefacts that could be analysed scientifically to achieve knowledge of the '*true*' past. The excavation system of General Pitt-Rivers, developed between 1880 and 1900, influenced the recording and publication of archaeological finds (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991; Webley et al, 2000). This system required occurrence distribution maps, stratigraphic allocation and finally the assignation of artefacts or assemblages to a specific archaeological culture (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991).

Further systematic analysis of rock art in the traditional approach includes description of rock engravings in terms of place, techniques and time. Accordingly, Northern Cape rock engravings are found predominantly on '*rocky outcrops of dolerite and diabase*' (Morris, 1998); they are divided into three techniques whereby the patina (rock crust) is removed, using another hard stone to expose '*the lighter coloured rock beneath*' (Morris, 1998: 16), namely: fine lined (cutting with a sharp stone), scraped and pecked techniques (Dowson, 1992: 1). The three types sometimes overlap in a single site but may be assigned by archaeologists to different cultures and time periods. There is not yet unity amongst archaeologists and anthropologists regarding the culture(s) to which the rock engravers belonged. Some engravings in the Northern Cape have been dated broadly by their association with different stone tool assemblages (Morris, 1998):

The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group [Bushmen]. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry. (Schapera, 1930: 211)

Broadly, the fine line/ hairline engravings may date back up to some 8 000 years and appear to be generally older than the pecked and scraped techniques engravings, of which the oldest may extend back to approximately 3 000 years ago, with the most recent being dated 150-200 years from the present (Beaumont & Vogel, 1989; Morris, 1988; 1998; Dowson, 1992). Direct cation ratio dating of rock engravings has been attempted (Whitley & Annegarn, 1994) but the plausibility of the results has been questioned (Morris, 2002). Different engraving '*traditions*' have been attributed to San hunter-gatherers, Khoekhoe pastoralists or Bantu-speaking farmers (Smith & Ouzman, 2004).

3.3 A Multilinear evolution, cultural ecology and rock art

Unilineal evolutionist thinking theorizing that all cultures could be graded on one path to Civilization was replaced in the 20th century with multilineal evolutionist thinking, which emphasized rather that cultures developed '*along different paths and at different rates*' (Webley et al, 2000). This approach falls within American cultural anthropologist Frans Boas's (1858-1942) theory of '*historical relativism*', which called for a break away from broad unilinear evolutionary research and

greater detailed focus on individual sites (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991). The '*classification and consolidation*' of artefacts in order to record a culture was extended by the work of Marxist-influenced Gordon Childe in Europe with publications such as *The Dawn of European Civilization* (1925), in which he posed questions of archaeology that applied not only to the '*what*', '*where*' and '*when*' of a culture's prehistory, but included an attempt at '*why?*'. The impact of this type of research on the theory and practice of rock art research is that focus is not solely on chronology and cultural sequences but includes the historical, cultural or ecological context of their creation. The cultural historians '*described*' rather than '*explained*' prehistory (Webley et al, 2000: 7).

In the 1940s North American anthropologist Julian Steward and British archaeologist Graham Clark promoted the inclusion of the ecological impact as an additional factor alongside intercultural impact (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991). Towards a more ecologically inclusive approach, Clarke incorporated the investigative skills of specialists in animal bones and plant remains to develop the archaeological record. This type of approach is reflected in South African rock art through an emphasis on the inclusion of rock art as part of the archaeological record: '*after all, the art is a part of the culture of the peoples who created it, and must be studied along with bones and stones, pottery, houses and graves*' (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown [approx late 50s]). Northern Cape rock art research *"in the 1980's was very much concerned with seeing rock art as part of the broader archaeological record (cf. Inskeep, Parkington), and I still believe this to be a crucial perspective"* (Personal correspondence, D. Morris 2009).

Fig.3.1 Mc Gregor Museum archaeologist, David Morris, shares the historical context of

Wildebeestkuil rock engraving site with visiting students. Photograph: K-S Lange (with permission)

In 1948 WW Taylor published *A Study of Archaeology* wherein he opposed the culture-historical approach with his call for a cultural anthropological methodology, which echoed contemporary ethnography (Webley et al, 2000). The dissatisfaction with older forms of archaeological research culminated in the 1960s with the formation of a much more positivist '*New Archaeology*'.

3.3B Quantitative studies: search for patterns and rock art
In South Africa during the 1950s the theory of interpretation of rock art included '*art for art's sake*'; that is, that the rock art was created with no specific meaning but purely for recreational purposes. Unlike in the colonial approach, the aesthetic merits of the art were recognised:

The aesthetic value of such paintings is widely appreciated and has already been greatly exploited by the makers of fabrics, ashtrays, and beer mugs[…] Carefully protected and properly published, it may provide a wealth of information for those interested in Africa's past, and a source of pleasure for generations to come. (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown (approx late 50s)

But no symbolic meaning was attached to the images, as illustrated in *The Rock Paintings in Africa*, published by The South African Archaeological Society (date unknown [approx. late 1950's]. The images of the rock art are grouped geographically but no interpretation is imposed in the caption, for example:

Human-headed seals or fishes at Ezeljachtspoort, George district, Cape Province. A painting 10 ¼ inches (26 cm) in horizontal diameter, generally known as the Mermaid Scene, and probably represents a local legend linked with the sea. (Plate XXXV Copied by Miss M. Wilman. Vol. ii, No. 7)

An explanation for this lack of interpretation is given as follows: '*partly because it is thought that this is an exercise in which readers may wish to indulge according to their own tastes and theories without interference from the editor!*' (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown). Although meaning was not attributed, the significance of motivation and examples of possible inspirations for the art were proposed:

It is important to attempt to arrive at the motives underlying the art […] there seem to be a variety of motives. Hunting magic may well be one, but it is less easy to be sure than in Europe. Some, such as the lone piper, may well be simply the expression of artistic feelings, but elsewhere there is good reason to believe that some paintings are true pictograms recording particular events in the life of a group of people. Others are almost certainly connected with initiation centres and ceremonies. (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown)

An emphasis on quantitative studies was influenced by scientific discoveries in the mid 20th century and a dissatisfaction with the lack of scientific procedures as expressed by the South African Archaeological Society in the above-mentioned publication regarding the dating of rock art: *'There are two main schools of thought (how nice it would be to replace them with volumes of facts!)'* (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown [approx late 50s]).

Quantitative studies in rock art meant further categorization according to details typical of a structuralist approach, whereby understanding is sought within the break-down into smaller segments. The styles of engraving were divided further than the categories mentioned earlier (such as technique) into the type of images depicted; that is, representational and non-representational or geometrics. Representational rock engravings were also categorized into either specific animals as opposed to humans, or into types of animals such as rodents, mammals etc; the frequency with which each of these appeared on a site was noted, for example, in the records of rock engravings of South Africa by G J Fock in the 1960s and 1970s (Smith & Blundell, 2000).

The development of scientific dating, such as dendrochronology in 1929 by A E Douglas and radio carbon dating by W Libby in 1949, shifted the emphasis in archaeology from merely descriptive and inductive approaches (that is, looking for generalizations from specifics) to a more deductive approach (that is, explaining processes, which could now be dated more securely, rather than just describing them). This approach was led by Lewis Binford and other American archaeologists in the 1960s and named '*New Archaeology*'. This type of archaeology, also known as *processual archaeology,* called for a process in archaeology and therefore rock art research that required: '*the formulation of a hypothesis and then testing it through a carefully designed research project*'. Research, however, was still situated within '*culture historical reconstruction*'

(Webley et al, 2000: 10).

3.4 Multiple voices and rock art

The influence of post-structural semiotics and the unstable sign or multiple meanings impacted rock art research theory with the appearance of several new theoretical approaches. The functional and evolutionary approaches discussed previously were rejected in favour of a more human based approach. Post-processual archaeology emphasized people as:

knowledgeable actors who construct, change and manipulate their social worlds. Meaning is more important than materialism and is always actively created, mediated in relation to interests and social strategies. (Binneman, 2000: 45)

In South African rock art though '*the history of rock art research does not simply follow that of archeaology*' (Ouzman, Sven 2007), as in other parts of the world, research approaches that emphasized quantitative processes were not discontinued but were found to be inadequate: '*counting and listing require enormous amounts of time and labour, and at the end of the day do not reveal anything much about meaning – they merely provide the raw material on which hypotheses can be based*' (Bahn, 1998: 68). New approaches in archaeology are reflected in some South African rock art research, where bridging the gap between the sign and relative interpretation is attempted by means of emphasis on universal physiological traits, as in the psychoneurological theory of Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1989) or emphasis on landscape context, for example, Deacon (1994). Solomon (2006) developed a research process intended to reveal the ideology behind the sign, with an emphasis on post-colonial theory including feminism and the rights of indigenous people. There is new focus on intertextuality and pluralism either by emphasizing the multiplicity or '*multivocality*' behind the text or through inclusion of multiple voices, especially the voice of indigenous people and the marginalized, as in the work of Morris (2010 in press).

Fig. 3.2 – The 'power of the place' Wildebeestkuil rock engraving site. Photograph: K-S Lange (with permission)

3.5 Psychoneurological/ Shamanistic model of rock art

Archaeology differs from historical studies in that it is not only a discipline of the humanities but also a science, and as such requires scientific investigation of material traces from the past (a past which extends right up to the present) – investigation that emphasizes the importance of the archaeologist's analysis as much as it does the '*instruments of a laboratory*' (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991: 10).

Lewis-Williams and Dowson made use of 'controlled experiments, observations of contemporary hunter-gatherers [...] and formulations' that '*translated the contemporary observations of static material things, and quite literally, translated them into statements about the dynamics of past ways of life*' (Fagan, 1994:26). Lewis- William's breakthrough in rock art interpretation was ten years before Dowson collaborated with him (Ouzman, Sven 2007). His work '*came in via structural Marxism, an offshoot of especially Childe's culture history*' (Ouzman, Sven 2007). The formulation used by Lewis-Williams and Dowson, initially for the interpretation of South African rock art but later attributed international relevance, is known as the neuropsychological or shamanistic model of rock art interpretation (Lewis-Williams, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1988; Lewis-Williams & Loubser, 1986; Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

The focus of this research requires exploring the neuropsychological model in some detail, given its marked influence on contemporary rock art interpretation, whether in terms of inclusion or opposition:

The ground breaking work of David Lewis-Williams not only introduced a new paradigm in our understanding of San rock art, but an increasing number of researchers utilised aspects of this shamanistic model into their own work. However, the absence of any substantial body of southern-San ethnography cast doubt for some workers on aspects of the shamanistic model, which was essentially based on Kalahari San ethnography, intertwined with historical records of the southern San. (Prins, 1999: 47)

Contemporary interpretative archaeology, according to Prins, often exists within a positivist view of reality (one true, knowable, reality) and *'is still practiced largely along the empirical and scientistic frameworks of the 1960s and 70s'* (Prins, 1999: 43). Lewis-Williams & Dowson made use of two *'interlocking approaches'* of processual archaeology, namely *'ethno-archaeology'* and *'experimental'* archaeology (Fagan, 1994: 328). Rock art research focused on the meaning the art held for the artists (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

Ethnography became 'the key to the art' when archaeologists turned to indigenous people's beliefs for understanding of rock art (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 11). The early diaries of travellers, missionaries and explorers provided the first written records of the customs of the Khoisan speaking people of Southern Africa. These recordings were limited by the majority of these first writers not speaking the indigenous languages, as well as by their context and their colonial prejudices, specifically regarding the religious and spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people of South Africa.

The necessity of understanding the religious and spiritual beliefs of a people in order to understand their art is communicated by Lewis-Williams and Dowson through the analogy of Leonardo da Vinci's artwork in *The Last Supper*. Quantification of images present in the artwork does not bring the viewer closer to understanding the significance of the artwork within a Western Christian context, neither does an aesthetic (discussion of the use of colour and composition) or narrative (the art as a record of the customs, dress and so on of the time) description of the artwork. Knowledge of the role of Christ, the Eucharist (the Last Supper) and Christian or Western symbolism transforms the

artwork from being merely a record of a group of men eating to the representation of an important Christian ritual (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lewis-Williams, 1990).

The neuropsychological model accommodates the religious and spiritual beliefs of the rock artists, acknowledging the integral role of spiritual life in everyday activities and the lack of compartmentalization between the sacred and the secular (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989). Lewis-Williams and Dowson used the following sources to research these beliefs: recordings made in 1873 by Natal Government magistrate Joseph Millard Orpen of Bushman guide Quing's stories and explanations of rock paintings in Lesotho; the 1870s records of German philologist Dr Wilhelm Heinrich Immanual Bleek and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, based on the testimony of Southern /Xam Bushmen prisoners in Cape Town; information on the ingredients used in rock painting from Mapote, a Basuto man whose father Moorosi had painted in the caves as recorded by Marion Walsham How in the 1930s (How, 1970); the American Marshall family's written and filmed ethnographic records of the Kalahari !Kung in the1950s (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 12); as well as:

…research done on the Kalahari Bushmen during the last three decades. Writers such as […] Mathias Guenther, Philip Tobias, Alan Barnard, Marjorie Shostak, Richard Katz, Nancy Howell, Patricia Draper, George Silbauer and Polly Wiessner. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 28)

Criticism mentioned earlier by Prins of the use of Kalahari !Kung ethnography for interpretation of art by a completely different San/Bushmen language group in South Africa, namely the /Xam, was addressed through emphasis on the similar 'ritual practices' of the two peoples (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 12):

San beliefs and rituals still form an important aspect of their lives. The basic structure and metaphors in this belief system have strong similarities with those used by the /Xam and Quing and it is these that have shed welcome light on the rock art. And because these similarities can be identified from information gathered a century ago and several thousand kilometres apart, we feel confident about using the general principles of the beliefs and rituals to interpret the rock art. (Deacon & Deacon, 1999:169)

Further ethnography on the southern San was introduced into the archaeological

research arena by Prins and Jolly in 1986:

With the publication of two articles relating to the discovery of a first generation southern San descendant, known as M, with authentic knowledge of rock art production and symbology (Jolly, 1986; Lewis-Williams, 1986). M's father Lindiso was probably the last known San painter, and he passed on some of his knowledge to M (Prins, 1994). Given developments in rock art research at the time it is not surprising that M's testimonies were largely utilised to validify and to complement aspects of the shamanistic model or the trance-hypothesis, as it was then known. (Prins. 1999: 47)

Lewis-Williams's current work includes reference also to the ethnographic research of Megan Biesele in the Kalahari, specifically regarding maidens and '*metaphors of transition*' (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004: 160).

3.6 Aspects of the neuropsychological model

The neuropsychological model proposes that rock art was painted by medicine men or shamans and that the content of the rock art largely comprises a record of the shamans' trance hallucinations. The neuropsychological model bases its hypothesis on three aspects of research, namely: Western neuropsychological laboratory experimentation on the effects of mind altering drugs on patients and the stages of '*trance*'; ethnography of the trance or curing dance from the Kalahari !Kung, and the prominent role in trance dance of the eland in /Xam and !Kung spiritual beliefs and rituals.

Fig.3.3 Eland rock engraving at Wildebeestkuil rock engraving site. Photograph: K-S Lange (with permission)

The work of Patricia Vinnicombe in 1976 is cited by Lewis-Williams as a turning point in rock art research, as she (along with Tim Maggs in the same year) revealed the significant contribution of breaking away from the narrative approach to rock art research. Quantification indicated the eland as the most frequently depicted animal in most parts of South Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Ethnographic collections in South Africa revealed the eland as an integral part of San/Bushman rituals and thought (Smith & Blundell, 2000). As mentioned previously, multiple meanings (polysemy) influenced the interpretation of rock art in the 1970s, particularly with regard to the frequent depiction of the eland in rock paintings and engravings in southern Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Narrative interpretations had previously read the depictions of animals in specific places as indication of the prevalence of that type of animal within that area, but in the 1970s the influence of research into the beliefs of the artists led to the eland gaining multiple meanings, including religious symbolic status.

Not only were words indicating respect attributed to the eland by the San/Bushman, but sometimes the strength of naming it was considered too strong and therefore a taboo. Lorna Marshall mentioned the !Kung word *n/om* for the power or energy that certain animals and people contain at certain stages of their

lives. Like electricity, the potency could be useful or dangerous. Shamans and the eland (and parts of the eland such as its fat and blood) were considered to be full of potency, which the shaman was required to control *'for the good of all people'* (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989:32). The eland was part of the most important rituals of the San/Bushmen's lives, namely: the boys' hunting rituals, the girls' puberty rituals or Eland Bull dance, the curing and rainmaking dances. All these rituals were important for the unity of the people and therefore the eland brought with it connotations of 'fatness, well-being and rain' (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 82). In the initiation rituals the fat of the eland was used on the initiates (Lewis-Williams, 1990) and in the paintings the eland blood was used in the ingredients (How, 1970).

3.6B The trance dance

A ritual central to the neuropsychological model of rock art interpretation is the trance or curing dance (Deacon & Deacon, 1999). This dance is led by medicine persons in the San/Bushmen groups. Lewis-Williams and other archaeologists and anthropologists name these spiritual leaders of the San/Bushman, *'shamans'*:

'Shaman' is a Tungus word from central Asia. It has been accepted in the anthropological literature to mean someone in a hunter-gatherer society who enters a trance in order to heal people, foretell the future, control the weather,ensure good hunting, and so forth. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 30-31)

In the 1830s, the French Protestant missionary Thomas Arbousset described a dance called *'the dance of blood'* because of the number of nose bleeds during the dance (Maclennan, 2003; Smith & Blundell, 2000). The trance dance is performed in order to *'obtain supernatural power from God'*, which is mainly used to heal people, as well as for rain making, game control and group cohesion (Deacon & Deacon, 1999: 168). Unlike shamans in other parts of the world who do not participate in everyday life, the Bushman shamans are non-privileged *'ordinary people'* with approximately half the men and a third of women in a particular group claiming to be shamans (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989:31; Deacon & Deacon, 1999). Ethnography recorded from Quing by Orpen refers to an apprenticeship training whereby experienced trancers taught new pupils, over a few years, the techniques needed for trancing, and imparted potency (Deacon & Deacon, 1999).

The trance dance of the Kalahari !Kung and !Xo, like other traditional San/Bushman dances, usually takes place around a central fire with the women sitting and clapping the rhythm and men and women dancing around the women, or with the dancers inside with the clapping group standing or sitting around them (Marshall Thomas, 1959; Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lange et al, 2003b).

Shamans traditionally wear a kaross around their shoulders for a trance dance and have a stick in one hand and often a fly whisk, which is made from the tail of a buck and used to '*remove the arrow of sickness*', in the other hand (Deacon & Deacon, 1999:173). The Kalahari !Kung and !Xo dancers tie rattles made from dried cocoons and small pebbles, pieces of ostrich egg shell or camel thorn tree seeds around their legs (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lange et al, 2003b). The /Xam are recorded as also making rattles out of '*dried springbok ears*' (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 44). On their heads, the dancers often wear headdresses made of animal skin and designed with animal qualities such as horns or ears and a tail (Lewis-Williams, 1990).

The intense dancing, singing, clapping, rattles and stamping continue for hours until the shamans, aided by '*intense concentration and hyperventilation*', enter a mind-altered state of trance. Physical indicators of the shaman having entered this state recorded by Orpen include bending over, falling down and blood running from the nose (Deacon & Deacon, 1999: 170-171). During this state, *n/om* potency builds up painfully in the body as the dancer gasps for breath, sweats and trembles, feeling hairs standing up on the body (Lee & Woodhouse, 1970). Metaphors used for this experience include dying, drowning and flying (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

Depending on the dance, the shaman can harness the potency in different ways; for example, during a trance dance the shaman would, trembling, place hands on a sick person to draw out the illness. In rainmaking ceremonies, when the shaman collapses, his spirit leaves his body to harness a rain animal and bring it across the mountains and veld where, on its killing, the blood or milk would provide rain. These scenes were depicted in rock paintings in which Lewis-Williams and Dowson read the eland, the favourite animal of the San/Bushman trickster-God /Kaggen (Deacon & Deacon 1999), as mirroring the shaman in trance with buckled crossed knees, blood from the nose and potency indicated by continuous or dotted lines emitted from behind the neck (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Shamans

drawn in association with eland, in postures such as touching their tails, are read as drawing strength from the potent animal. Lewis-Williams and Dowson regard the eland as a metaphor for the trancing shaman; that is, a symbol of entering an altered state of consciousness, entering the spirit world with the rock face as the veil between the real and the spiritual world (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1990).

The depiction in rock art of therianthropes – creatures with animal and human features – is also read in the trance hypothesis as an indication of an altered state of consciousness and therefore supportive of the shamanistic model. The reason for this attribution is discussed below.

Fig.3.4 Therianthropes and trance dance from artwork painted by Kalahari artist, the late Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper (with permission)

3.6C Neuropsychological research

Lewis-Williams insists that neuropsychological research was not used to 'show that the art is the product of altered states of consciousness', as he believed the ethnography had already proved this. Neuropsychological research was used for further understanding of rock art as depictions of '*visions and experiences of shamans who entered trance*' (Lewis-Williams, 1990: 55-56). This was particularly relevant for Lewis-Williams and Dowson's (1988) interpretation of geometrics.

The neuropsychological research approach used by Lewis-Williams and Dowson was applied by Siegel to '*the experiences of people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in different countries around the world who have taken hallucinatory drugs*' (Deacon & Deacon, 1999: 172). The laboratory experiments made use of '*hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD*' (Lewis-Williams, 1990: 55). The

experiments noted that all subjects went through three stages: a first stage of seeing *'entoptics'* (geometric shapes); a second stage of trying to make sense of these entoptics according to the cultural context of the subject, for example: a u-shape interpreted as a boat; a third stage where the subject loses a grip on his sense of reality and entoptics are no longer important. Images seen are no longer *like* but rather *are,* as the subject hallucinates *'animals, monsters and other things with a powerful emotional content'* (Lewis-Williams, 1990: 56-57).

The third stage was used to explain the depiction of therianthropes within a trance hypothesis. The shamans depicted animals that they experienced themselves *becoming* (Lewis-Williams, 1990). (This aspect and others mentioned previously relating to states of altered consciousness and the production of rock art will be explored further in the discussion of rock engravings in the research area.) Other sensations related by the subjects such as lengthening and extra digits were also used to interpret rock art that had fallen outside of the narrative approach (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989). Lewis-Williams noted the greater concentration of entoptics in rock engravings as opposed to rock paintings but, in the 1990s, could only speculate as to the significance of this phenomenon (Lewis-Williams, 1990).

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About the author

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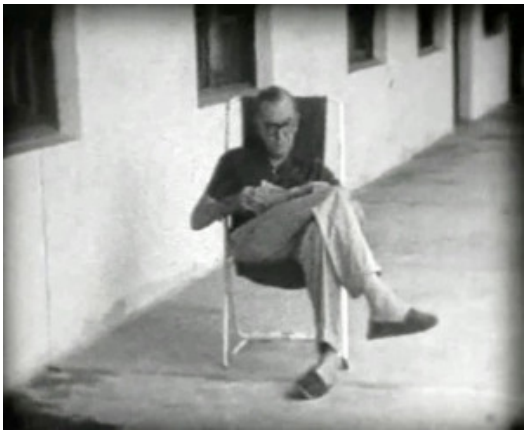
From: Mary Lange – Water Stories and Rock Engravings- Eiland Women at the Kalahari Edge

Rozenberg Publishers 2011 – ISBN 978 90 361 0245 2

Tiny Bouts Of Contentment. Rare Film Footage Of Graham Greene In The Belgian Congo, March 1959



Graham Greene in the Belgian Congo

My purpose in this contribution is to present and contextualize the only film footage ever recorded of the novelist Graham Greene (1904-1991) in the Belgian Congo in 1959. The footage was filmed with an 8mm camera, which did not record sound. It belongs to Mrs. Édith Lechat (*née* Dasnoy;1932-) and her husband, the leprosy specialist Doctor (later Professor) Michel Lechat (1927-2014).

From 1953 through 1960, Dr. Lechat was head of the leper hospital and colony of Iyonda, a village and mission station some 15 kms south of the city of Coquilhatville (now, Mbandaka) in central-western Congo. Greene stayed a

number of weeks in Iyonda and other mission stations in the region in search of inspiration, a setting, and material for a new novel. The novel, *A Burnt-Out Case*, appeared in 1960, and was dedicated to Dr. Lechat. Greene occupied a room in the house of the missionary fathers in Iyonda, but spent long parts of his days with the doctor and his family. The film reached me through the hands of Édith Lechat, who had it transposed to a DVD-playable format, and via my friend Hendrik (a.k.a., "Henri" or "Rik") Vanderslaghmolen (1921-), who was a missionary in the region at the time. As he was one of the only Belgian missionaries there with some knowledge of English, he often accompanied Graham Greene during his trips from one mission station to another. Rik Vanderslaghmolen and the Lechats are still close friends today.

Much of the information I offer below stems from conversations I had with both Rik Vanderslaghmolen and Édith Lechat in July and August 2013. Regrettably, Dr. Michel Lechat's poor health condition did not allow me to probe his memory, but an interview he gave for the Brussels-based weekly *The Bulletin* on the occasion of Greene's death in 1991 is available (Lechat 1991), as well as a closely similar talk he gave at the 2006 Graham Greene Festival in Berkhamsted, published in the *London Review of Books* in August 2007 (Lechat 2007). Édith Lechat has given me the kind permission to share the film with the readership of *Rozenberg Quarterly* and to add the necessary contextual information on both the historical situation and the contents of the film.

Graham Greene (right, 54 years old) with Dr Michel Lechat (31 years old) and Lechat's two first-born children, Marie and Laurent. Car park in front of the airfield of Coquilhatville, the

Belgian Congo, 5 March 1959. Photo reproduced with permission from Edith Lechat.

Snippets of the film were used in a documentary the BBC produced on Graham Greene in 1993 (*The Graham Greene Trilogy*, by Donald Sturrock). Yet, the order in which the documentary presented the snippets did not respect the original course of the film and they were, in any case, fragmentary. Also, neither the film bits nor the voice-overs in the documentary provided much information on Greene's stay in the Congo and his relation with the Belgian missionaries, but rather served to portray Greene's personality, i.e. to illustrate what some interviewees described as his tendency to falsely pretend happiness and gaiety while in reality being a sombre and depressed man, especially in those years. My contribution here is thus an opportunity to present, for the first time, the film in its full and unedited length, and to zoom in on the Congolese and missionary circumstances under which it was made.

Graham Greene's journey to the Belgian Congo took place in the beginning of 1959; to be precise, he arrived by plane in Leopoldville (now, Kinshasa) on 31 January and left that city again for Brazzaville on 7 March 1959. He was in Iyonda from 2 to 11 February and again from 26 February to 5 March, visiting other mission stations in between these two periods. The reason why some 35 years later Greene wrote that "In 1959 I spent about three months in and around the leper colony of Iyonda in the then Belgian Congo" (Greene in Hogarth 1986: 108) and why in the same way he mentioned "months" in an interview heard in part 2 of the BBC documentary, remains unclear. His stay in the Congo must have appeared much longer to him with hindsight than it had been in reality. Either way, in 1958 he had a rough idea for a book in mind, namely a stranger arriving in a leper colony run by a missionary order. When Greene was searching for a suitable leper colony in a remote place of the globe which he could visit to substantiate his technical knowledge of leprosy and where he could spend time with missionaries, a mutual Belgian friend told him about Michel Lechat and his work in the Congo (Lechat 1991, 2007). He wrote three letters to the doctor, who in turn discussed it with the missionary fathers of Iyonda and Coquilhatville, and his stay was arranged.

The missionary congregation in charge of Iyonda, Coquilhatville, and the other

mission stations Greene visited during his Congo journey was the Belgian branch of the Catholic Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (*Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus*, MSC), which included among its members the famed specialists and guardians of the Mongo people, Edmond Boelaert (1899-1966) and Gustaaf Hulstaert (1900-1990), and which produced the proto-scholarly and socially committed journal *Æquatoria* (1937-1962), later succeeded by *Annales Æquatoria* (1980-2009) (see Vinck 1987, 2012 and www.aequatoria.be for more details). The MSC missionaries and their bishop Mgr Hilaire Vermeiren (1889-1967) were particularly proud to receive the famous author, who had not only converted to Catholicism in his early twenties but some of whose books, such as *Brighton Rock*, *The Lawless Roads*, *The Power and the Glory*, *The Heart of the Matter*, and *The End of the Affair*, also developed profoundly Catholic themes.

Entrance to the Iyonda leprosery, with the missionary fathers' house on the left, where Greene was accommodated. The first part of the 8mm film was recorded on the loggia of this house. Photo reproduced with permission from R. Vanderslaghmolen.

During his stay in the Congo, Greene kept a diary in which he noted down daily observations, thoughts and conversations, and in which he tried out some characterizations and pieces of story for the novel: "I took advantage of the opportunity to talk aloud to myself, to record scraps of imaginary dialogue and incidents, some of which found their way into my novel, some of which were discarded" (Greene 1968 [1961]: 7). Afterwards, the diary was thoroughly

proofread by Dr. Lechat, who did not only correct technical errors related to leprosy and leprosy treatment but also cleaned out quite some painful descriptions of real people and situations, before it was published, in 1961, under the title *In Search Of A Character: Congo Journal*. It contains the dates and locations of Greene's whereabouts, and mentions the various missionaries, colonials and other people he met on his way. In an article posthumously published in *Annales Æquatoria*, Gustaaf Hulstaert identified each MSC missionary mentioned in the diary and also attempted to find clues in *A Burnt-Out Case* (Hulstaert 1994). Hulstaert ends his article with a defence of his fellow missionaries, most of whom Greene had depicted in not so favourable terms in the diary and, less explicitly identified, in the novel as well. Greene had found many of them, although kind and hospitable (see also his words in Hogarth 1986: 108), not widely educated, rather naive and infantile, easily amused by college types of humour and immature games, some of them cruel with animals, others lazy, and all of them occupied with all sorts of logistics, such as constructing buildings, running schools, laying in provisions, but not with the spiritual fundaments and higher goals of motivated Christianity.

One of the exceptions was the bishop, Mgr Vermeiren. Greene and Vermeiren seem to have shared the same perception of the priests; testament to this is what Vermeiren wrote to the MSC provincial superior in Belgium in 1957: "It is my impression that quite a number of our priests are not mature. For people holding university degrees, they sometimes behave so childishly" (letter to Jozef Van kerckhoven, 26 April 1957, MSC Archives). In his diary, Greene appreciates Vermeiren for being "a wonderfully handsome old man with an eighteenth-century manner – or perhaps the manner of an Edwardian boulevardier" (Greene 1968 [1961]: 26), and lauds his cultivation as well as his bravery and tenacity in the difficult years of decolonization (1968 [1961]: 40; see also Hulstaert 1989). In the many years of professional and friendship contacts I have had with members of the MSC, I have learned that priests and friars who worked under Vermeiren are in general less eulogistic about him, remembering him especially for his aloofness and sense for pomp and rank – a characterization which also surfaces in biographical sketches such as Van Hoorick (2004: 26). This discrepancy is indicative of Greene's general preference for patrician class and high-cultured milieus, and in any case suggests that his interpretive grid was considerably remote from the fathers', leading more than once to a misunderstanding or at least to a lack of connection. This want of mutual understanding and connection is

also mentioned by Hulstaert (1994: 501-502) and was similarly reported to me by Rik Vanderslaghmolen and Édith Lechat.

One of the MSC missionaries working in the Congo was Martin (Adolf) Bormann Jr. (1930-2013), first-born son of Adolf Hitler's private secretary Martin Bormann, and Hitler's godson. Converted to Catholicism at the age of 17, he studied theology and was ordained priest in 1958, in the Austrian-German branch of the MSC (MSC 1963: 255). He went to the Congo for the first time in May 1961, where he was assigned to the mission station of Mondombe, in the easternmost diocese of the MSC mission region, some 800 kms east of Iyonda and Coquilhatville. In 1964, fleeing the advancing Simba rebels, he lived for some days hidden in cassava fields, but was nonetheless caught (Bormann 1965, 1996). In November 1964, he was freed by Belgian paratroopers and repatriated to Europe. He went back to the Congo for a second term of one year in March 1966 and left priesthood in 1971. On 12 February 1959, the day when Greene arrives in the mission station of Bokuma, located some 70 kms northeast of Iyonda but still some 700 kms away from Mondombe, he writes "Incidentally Martin Bormann's son is somewhere here in the bush" (1968 [1961]: 44-45). However, in 1959 Bormann had not yet arrived in the Congo. An explanation for this confusing anachronism in Greene's diary is to be found in the fact that, as Édith Lechat and Rik Vanderslaghmolen reported to me, Martin Bormann's entrance in the congregation of the MSC and his being assigned to the missions in the Belgian Congo raised some dust among missionaries and colonials in the vicariate of Coquilhatville. In 1959, Bormann's anticipated arrival was, in fact, the talk of the town in Coquilhatville and depending mission stations. Greene must have picked up the news and misinterpreted it, believing Bormann had already arrived.

A Burnt-Out Case is set in a leprosery in the Belgian Congo and has as one of its protagonists a Belgian doctor (Dr. Colin), head of the leprosery, who, moreover, works in close collaboration with a group of missionaries, whose personalities and characters conjure up the MSC missionaries Greene met during his journey. In his dedication of the novel to Dr. Lechat (Greene 1977 [1960]: 5), Greene insists that the leprosery in the novel is not literally the one in Iyonda, even if he may have copied "superficial characteristics" from it. He also avers that Dr. Colin is not Dr. Lechat: apart from the fact that he has the same experience of leprosy, the character is in "nothing else" based on him. As far as the missionaries are concerned, Greene admits that he gave the Superior of the mission station to

which the leprosery is attached in the novel, the same habit of smoking one cheroot after the other and of spilling ashes on everything and everyone in his vicinity as he had seen the Superior in Iyonda, Pierre Wynants (1914-1978), do. Also, Greene says the river boat on which the main character Querry, and later Parkinson, travel to and from the leprosery is inspired by the steamer which Mgr Vermeiren had put at his disposal in 1959 and on which he was often accompanied by Rik Vanderslaghmolen. But apart from that, Greene insists, none of the central characters is based on any particular person he had met in the Congo, and the novel "is not a *roman à clef*, but an attempt to give dramatic expression to various types of belief, half-belief, and non-belief, in the kind of setting, removed from world-politics and household-preoccupation, where such differences are felt acutely and find expression" (Greene 1977 [1960]: 5). Yet, however much I agree that reading *A Burnt-Out Case* as a *roman à clef* would severely miss the author's point and defeat the purpose of the artistic experience, there do seem to be closer resemblances than Greene admits.

The river steamer Theresita, property of the MSC missionaries in the Congo and used by Graham Greene in 1959 to move from one mission station to another. Photo reproduced with permission from R. Vanderslaghmolen.

First of all, much like Greene, Querry, too, defends himself against allegations,

from Marie, that the story he is telling her would be an allegory of his past and that he would be the boy appearing in it. Querry retorts to her: “They always say a novelist chooses from his general experience of life, not from special facts” (Greene 1977 [1960]: 152). Greene could have spoken exactly the same words in defence of *A Burnt-Out Case*. Secondly, Querry displays the same lack of impatience with what he feels to be the priests’ mediocrity as Greene shows in his diary, and both Greene and Querry are sickened by the fondness for gratuitous game hunting of one particular missionary, who, moreover, is both in the novel and in real life the captain of the river steamer (real person: Georges Léonet, 1922-1974). Thirdly, the bishop in the novel is depicted as an aristocratic and highly refined gentleman. He is described as “an old-fashioned cavalier of the boulevards” (Greene 1977 [1960]: 64), which is no less than an immediate echo of the words “Edwardian boulevardier” Greene used in his diary to describe Mgr Vermeiren. What is more, the bishop in the novel is a fond player of bridge (1977 [1960]: 64). The diary does not make mention of Vermeiren’s avid passion for this card game, but this passion is still legendary among MSC members today – not in the least Rik Vanderslaghmolen, who was often summoned to drive Mgr Vermeiren to outlying bridge venues. Fourth, in the same way as Greene is on record for having been a womanizer, drawing much of his success with the other sex from his fame (i.a., Shelden 1994), Querry, too, looks back on a life in which his status and celebrity as an artist-architect earned him considerable attention from women. Fifth, Greene was already world-famous before his departure to the Congo, and as the anticipation of too much attention annoyed him greatly, he travelled in the Congo under the pseudonym “Mr. Graham” (Lechat 1991, 2007). In the diary, Greene more than once noted down his irritation with admirers, mostly Belgian colonials, who in spite of his attempted anonymity managed to approach him to discuss literary matters or submit creative writings of their own to his appreciation and advice. Michel Lechat recounts the funny anecdote of how Greene, upon spotting from far an admirer driving in the direction of the leprosery, would run into the Lechats’ house, jump out of the rear window of their bedroom, and run away into the forest (Lechat 1991, 2007). Querry, too, is an internationally renowned artist, whose success and praises have worn him out. In fact, the very reason for his leaving Europe and hiding away in the Congo is his self-unmasking as a second-rate artist and his related desire to vanish from sight. The nail in Querry’s coffin is Mr. Rycker, Marie’s husband and a Belgian colonial entrepreneur relentlessly exasperating Querry with tributes and references to his grand artistic achievements. Again, the resemblance

between Querry and Greene is too striking to be left unnoticed. Lechat in fact also remembers a number of other anecdotes and actual situations that befell Greene in the Congo and that are almost literally lived by Querry in the novel (Lechat 1991, 2007). Decidedly, as the biographer Norman Sherry put it, "in describing […] Querry, Greene is describing himself" (Sherry 2004: 194), and much more so than the novelist was prepared to recognize.

A Britain-based author of many novels set in tropical places, who goes to the Congo in order to find inspiration for a new book, travels the Congo river or its tributaries on a steamer, keeps a Congo diary in preparation of the book, and, in his literary creation, connects outer-world removal from all things familiar with inner-world self-confrontation, despair, and madness – one cannot help being reminded of Joseph Conrad and his *Heart of Darkness* and *An Outpost of Progress* (for Conrad's Congo diary see Najder 1978 and also Stengers 1992).
Evidently, in terms of writing style, no two authors could be more unlike than Greene and Conrad. Although both privilege themes of gloom, failure, and disillusion and even though they both gauge the characters' psychological and emotional states and changes (see also Stape 2007, among others, on Conrad's heritage in Greene' s work), Greene's style is much less oriented towards sensuality and sensation, is story-practical, and is above all narrative- and action-driven whereas Conrad's is description-based. Of more importance is the fact that, and the ways in which, Greene invokes Conrad on more than one occasion in his Congo diary. The diary entries reveal how heavily Conrad's shadow had been hanging over Greene since his first days as a novelist.

First of all, we find several appropriate but terse and spontaneous citations from *Heart of Darkness* in the diary. When contemplating Leopoldville, Greene briefly cites, without any identification of the self-evident source: ""And this also", said Marlow suddenly, "has been one of the dark places of the earth"" (Greene 1968 [1961]: 15). And when admiring the Congo river at Iyonda, he writes down "This has not changed since Conrad's day. 'An empty stream, a great silence, an impenetrable forest.'" (1968 [1961]: 18). We later on learn that Greene has found his Congo journey to be a perfect occasion to reread *Heart of Darkness.* In itself, this is not particularly noteworthy, as many a European has done the same when travelling to the Congo for the first time. What is of interest is that, on the day of 12 February 1959, Greene confesses that in 1932, i.e. at the age of 28 already, he had abandoned reading Conrad altogether, because it filled him with a strong

sense of inferiority as a writer: “Reading Conrad – the volume called *Youth* for the sake of *The Heart of Darkness* – the first time since I abandoned him about 1932 because his influence on me was too great and too disastrous. The heavy hypnotic style falls around me again, and I am aware of the poverty of my own” (1968 [1961]: 42).

At that young age, Greene thus stopped reading Conrad – “that blasted Pole [who] makes me green with envy”, as he once referred to him (Keulks 2006: 466) – in order to avoid the risk of being too much influenced by him. Could this be where we have to find the origins of Greene’s strongly opposite writing style, a style he developed in reaction to Conrad’s, which he held in great awe and at the same time considered unattainable? Édith Lechat recalls how she and her husband once mentioned their great keenness for Conrad in a conversation with Greene, and how his reaction was unusually evasive and crabby. So crabby that the three never raised the subject Conrad again. Fascinatingly, a bit later, when he has progressed further in the book, Greene makes a new assessment of the novel as compared to his reading of it in his twenties: “Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* still a fine story, but its faults show now. The language too inflated for the situation. Kurtz never comes really alive. […] And how often he compares something concrete to something abstract. Is this a trick that I have caught?” (Greene 1968 [1961]: 44). Whether one agrees with Greene’s appreciation or not (at least as far as Kurtz is concerned, I do), what we seem to be witnessing here is a moment later in Greene’s life at which he overcomes his self-degrading veneration of Conrad. The 54-year old, mature Greene, now rereading *Heart of Darkness* “as a sort of exorcism” (Lechat 1991: 16), has found faults in Conrad’s characterizations and has discovered a stylistic trick he believes he was overusing. These demystifying discoveries seem to enable Greene for the first time in his life to step out of Conrad’s overpowering shadow, to free himself from the burden of his inescapable ubiquity, now undone.

http://rozenbergquarterly.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/GG_titles_08092013_25MB.mp4
8mm film of Graham Greene in Iyonda, the Belgian Congo, 5 March, 1959. Reproduced with permission from Edith Lechat and Rik Vanderslaghmolen.
Click video to play. Click lower right corner of video to enter full screen. Press “escape” to exit full screen. Note: We are aware of an issue with this video in some internet browsers and are working on a solution.

The camera for this 8mm film was held by Father Paul Van Molle (1911-1969), the later superior of the Iyonda mission and leper colony. Greene mentions Father Paul only once, and briefly, in his diary, namely on 10 February, when receiving a haircut from him (1968 [1961]: 38). Greene himself does not mention or allude to the filming in his diary in any way. On the basis of a series of clues, Édith Lechat has been able to reconstruct that the filming took place in the morning and at lunch time of Greene's last day at Iyonda, namely Thursday 5 March 1959. Later in the afternoon, the Lechat family would drive Graham Greene to the airfield of Coquilhatville, where he was to board a plane to Leopoldville. With Greene's departure imminent, Father Paul realized the fathers and the Lechat family had not yet captured his presence among them on film, and therefore hastened to do so.

The film as shown here was not edited: all 'cuts' are moments at which Paul Van Molle switched the camera off and on again. The film, 4 minutes and 40 seconds in length, can be said to consist of two main parts, each filmed at a different time of the day and at a different location in Iyonda. The first part, running until 2'19", is shot in the morning time on the loggia, named *barza* in Belgian colonial parlance, of the fathers' house, where Greene was accommodated (see also photo of Iyonda above). The second part, running from 2'23" until the end, is an hour or two later, i.e. at lunch time, in the Lechat house, which was a few hundred meters away from the fathers' house. On 27 February, Greene writes that "I no longer bother to go to the Congo [river] to read" (1968 [1961]: 66), a habit he used to entertain during his first stay in Iyonda from 2 to 11 February. The first twelve seconds of the film show Greene stretched out in a deck chair on the fathers' *barza* reading a book, which according to the diary must be Belloc's Catholic testimony *The Path to Rome* (1968 [1961]: 76). The fact that he is doing his daily reading there, and not on the banks of the Congo river, confirms that the film was recorded during Greene's second stay in Iyonda.

The other details of the first part of the film are as follows. After 0'12", we see that Greene has put the book aside and is engaged in a conversation with whom we discover a bit later to be Édith Lechat, then 27 years old, standing on the edge of the *barza*. Shortly after that, Father Rik Vanderslaghmolen, aged 38, joins in from behind Greene. As I mentioned above, Rik was one of Greene's main escorts during his Congo journey, and in that capacity his name reappears quite frequently in the diary. At the time of Greene's visit, Vanderslaghmolen was on

leave in Iyonda to recover from illness (see also Hulstaert 1994: 498). Both the film and the diary show a Vanderslaghmolen as his family, confreres, and friends, including myself, know him best, namely as a frolicsome practical joker, an impish leg-puller, an ever good-humoured, jesting entertainer. As the three are having an amicable, relaxed conversation, Greene remaining seated, the zoom is close enough for an experienced lip reader to decipher what Greene is saying, probably in (broken) French, the language in which he habitually conversed with Édith Lechat (whereas he mostly used English with her husband). From 0'32" through 0'39", Greene is entertained by the Lechat children, Marie (4.5 years old) and, on his little tricycle, Laurent (2.5). Then, from 0'39" to 0'45", Greene is filmed holding a camera to photograph the cameraman, Rik stepping in and whimsically hindering Greene from looking into the camera viewer. After that (0'46" – 0'58"), Greene and Rik are larking about, Rik blocking the door of the house to prevent Greene, clutching his inseparable whisky flask, from coming in. In the following bit, until 1'13", we first see Greene with Édith Lechat, lighting a cigarette, and her two children, immediately followed by Rik and Greene sillily engaged in a mock waltz, a stunt clearly triggered by the filming occasion. Next (1'13" – 1'20"), Rik amuses his company by trying to squeeze his lofty body into little Laurent's tricycle. After Greene picks up his book and glasses and regains his deck chair, and Édith Lechat, following her daughter, leans through a window of the fathers' house to have a conversation with someone inside, Dr. Lechat has joined the company and a chat ensues between the three (until 2'19"), Greene still seated, Michel and Édith Lechat standing. Michel Lechat's and Greene's gazes (1'56" – 1'59") reveal a light, good-hearted annoyance with the camera's intrusion.

The second part of the footage is shot in the house of the Lechats, showing Greene with the Lechat family at lunch, assisted by their Congolese servant Mongu Henri (year of birth unknown). This takes place only a few hours after the morning scene at the fathers' house. It can be noticed, however, that Greene has changed shirts, possibly in anticipation of his flight to Leopoldville (notice that it is the same shirt as in the photo above, taken in the car park at the Coquilhatville airfield). Gazes into the lens and nervous laughter make it clear that the company, although trying to behave naturally, remain acutely aware of the camera's presence during the entirety of the meal. My poor lip reading skills aside, I venture to say that at 3'36" – 3'38", Mrs. Lechat, slightly embarrassed, addresses the cameraman with the words*"Père Paul, arrête! Arrête de filmer, s'il te plaît!"* ("Father Paul, stop! Stop filming, please!"). Between 3'16" and 3'20", we witness

Dr. Lechat repairing his photo camera, the same camera with which, a few hours later, his wife would take the picture in the airfield car park.

The second half of the 1950s was one of the darkest periods in Greene's life, specifically after the break-up with his mistress Catherine Walston (i.a., Shelden 1994; Sherry 2004; R. Greene 2008). His manic depression reached the most severe point he had experienced until then, he self-reported to feel chronically miserable, even to have turned into a misanthrope. In the BBC documentary, relations and friends of Graham Greene's narrate how he was an absolute master in masking away this gloominess and dejection, concealing it under the exact opposite – merriment, smiles, superficial gaiety. Appearing in off-screen voice, his wife Vivien Greene explains that: "I've discovered, and I'm sure I'm right, that people who are great on practical jokes are very unhappy. And I think it was when Graham was most unhappy that he started all these practical jokes. […] It was I'm quite sure when he was most deeply unhappy that he had this spell of practical joking, which people think of as high spirits but I don't think it is." Her off-screen voice is heard over (very short) bits of images showing Graham Greene dancing around with Rik Vanderslaghmolen on the fathers' *barza* and looking happily entertained at lunch with the Lechat family. The message of the documentary makers is clear: Greene's gaiety and insouciance visible on the Congo footage are make-believe, a shallow pose that when scratched away reveals a deeper, lurking despondency. I do not wish entirely to refute this analysis, but at the same time would like to invoke the album, also mentioned above, that the graphic artist Paul Hogarth made on the locations appearing as settings in Greene's novels (Hogarth 1986).

In commentaries Greene added to Hogarth's paintings in this album, the novelist remembered his time in Iyonda as not particularly gloomy: "It was not a depressing experience. […] Most of my memories of the *léproserie* are happy ones – the kindness of the fathers and friendship of Dr. Lechat to whom the book is dedicated" (Greene in Hogarth 1986: 108-112). Certainly, the late 1950s were dark, dismal years in Graham Greene's life, and to be sure the writing of *A Burnt-Out Case* constituted a terrible artistic ordeal for him – as he put it: "What was depressing was writing the novel and having to live for two years with a character like Querry. I thought it would be my last novel" (Greene in Hogarth 1986: 108). But perhaps the time he spent in the Congo with Dr. and Mrs. Lechat and with the fathers, among whom the comic and generous teaser Rik Vanderslaghmolen, who

according to Édith Lechat was “the only person really capable of making Graham Greene laugh and have fun”, triggered off tiny bouts of contentment in Greene’s tormented soul. A contentment surely initiated from the outside, and maybe ephemeral and fleeting, but nonetheless momentarily highly efficacious.

Acknowledgments
I sincerely wish to thank Édith Lechat and Rik Vanderslaghmolen for all the information, feedback, and viewpoints they so kindly offered me. Both of them have given their approval to this text. My gratitude also goes to Honoré Vinck for his assistance with a number of archival issues and to Jürgen Jaspers.

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See also: http://grahamgreenebt.org/

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