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Athens Journal of Philology

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The *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)* is an Open Access quarterly double-blind peer reviewed journal and considers papers from all areas of sports and related sciences. Many of the papers in this journal have been presented at the various conferences sponsored by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER). All papers are subject to ATINER's [Publication Ethical Policy and Statement](#).

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The current issue is the second of the eleventh volume of the *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)*, published by the published by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



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A World Association of Academics and Researchers

17th Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics 8-11 July 2024, Athens, Greece

The [Languages and Linguistics Unit](#) of ATINER, will hold its 17th Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics, 8-11 July 2024, Athens, Greece sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The conference is soliciting papers (in English only) from all areas of languages, linguistics and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream organizer, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2024/FORM-LNG.doc>).

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Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **28 May 2024**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **10 June 2024**

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- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
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A World Association of Academics and Researchers

17th Annual International Conference on Literature
3-6 June 2024, Athens, Greece

The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Consistent with the theme of ATINER's small academic events, all programs may include a few sessions on current topics in education and research.

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, [Literature Research Unit](#), ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **deadline closed**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **2 May 2024**

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Advocating for Mother Tongue as a Medium of Instruction in Moroccan Multilingual Public Schools

By Rabia Redouane*

Since independence, Morocco has adopted Arabization, a monolingual policy that entails the use of Standard Arabic as the sole medium of instruction in public schools. But recent policies have advocated for a multilingual education that promotes mother tongues' use in early instruction in public schools and foreign languages. In 2003, a National Education and Training Charter called for teaching the mother tongue Tamazight. As a result, Tamazight was recognized as an official language and was integrated into the school system. Although Moroccan Arabic or Darija is also the mother tongue that most Moroccans learn to speak since their birth, and the language of daily communication, it is overlooked in the education sector. Recent debates have advocated for its use in public schools and for its standardization to obtain an official standing with Standard Arabic and Tamazight. This paper aims to contribute to discussions about mother tongues education and attempts to shed light on the importance of both mother tongues, Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight in Morocco. First, I will provide a description of Moroccan linguistic landscape considering all languages spoken, their status and their use. Secondly, I will discuss different past and present linguistic and educational policies focusing on the current one advocating for mother tongue Moroccan Arabic. Thirdly, I will examine challenges and problems that could face the implementation of this mother tongue policy. Finally, I will end this paper with recommendations for using Moroccan Arabic along with Standard Arabic and Tamazight in public schools.

Keywords: *mother tongue policy, Moroccan educational policies, implementation assessment*

Introduction

Upon their independence, colonized countries faced myriad issues and challenges such as infrastructure, economic instability and dependence, ethnic rivalries, and lack of resources. But one of the key issues is the return to national identity and use of the national language as the sole medium of instruction in schools, a language that was eradicated and replaced by the language of the colonizer. This paper reports, on the one hand, the debate about the current educational reform that advocates for the use of mother tongue Moroccan Arabic in early instruction in public schools, and on the other hand, discusses challenges that face its implementation. It consists of five sections. First, a presentation of local and foreign languages spoken in Morocco that characterizes a linguistic diverse and complex society will be followed by an examination of past and present linguistic and educational policies that have influenced the choice and the

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vehicle of language(s) in schools. Third, challenges and problems that could face the implementation of this mother tongue policy will be investigated, and finally recommendations for the use of Moroccan Arabic along with Standard Arabic and Tamazight will be offered.

Moroccan Linguistic Situation

National Languages

Morocco is a multilingual country that boasts a rich linguistic diversity characterized by a presence of two mother tongues (Moroccan Arabic or Darija, and Berber or Tamazight), Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic or Fusha and foreign languages, mainly French, Spanish, and English. All these languages have a different status and do not benefit from equal footing in Moroccan's society in the education. First, Berber is the language of Berbers, the Indigenous population of Morocco. Berbers call themselves Amazigh and refer to their language as Tamazight which is used in reference to a particular variety of Berber in Morocco, of which there are three dialects: Tarifit spoken in Rif mountains in the North, Tashlehait spoken in the Southwest, especially in the Souss Valley, and Tamazight spoken in the Middle Atlas and the eastern half of the high Atlas Mountains. At least 30% of Moroccans speak one of the three Berber dialects and deem it their mother tongue (El Amraoui 2007).

Second, Arabic language which was introduced to Morocco in the seventh century during the Arab invasion and was adopted by Berbers as the language of administration, legislation, and education during that time. Today, three varieties of Arabic are in use in Morocco and stand in a triglossic relationship, that is three varieties of the same language existing side by side, each enjoying a particular status and fulfilling different sociolinguistic functions: Classical Arabic, the high variety, is the language of the Qur'an taught in religious schools and used in religious functions (Ayoub 2017, p. 2). The Modern version of Classical Arabic is Standard Arabic (SA). It is the official language of Morocco used in formal settings, government, administration, and education. The third variety is Moroccan Arabic (MA) or Darija spoken by 60% of the population. It is the low variety of Arabic since it is an oral and non-standardized language. It is the mother tongue of all Moroccans, except in Amazigh-speaking area and used for everyday communication by both Arabic and Amazigh speakers. This is the variety that some concerned Moroccans advocate for its use in early instruction.

Foreign Languages

In addition to these local languages, three major foreign languages (French, Spanish, and English) are added to Moroccan repertoire. Among these foreign languages, French is still prevalent in Morocco even after sixty-seven years of independence from French occupation, and it is used significantly in many spheres of Moroccan public life, overshadowing local languages in official and unofficial

communication. Spanish, on the other hand, is spoken mostly in the North of Morocco because of its geographic proximity to Spain. It is also spoken in the Western Sahara region of Southern Morocco. Spanish “has been in constant decline because of its absence in the unified educational system (Benzakour et al. 2000, pp. 71-72).

The last foreign language is English which occupies a considerable place near French due to the advent of globalization. It is used particularly in the fields of tourism, media, and finance. In education, it is taught as a foreign language in high schools and universities, and for several private institutions for a higher education, it is the only language of instruction.

Pre-and Post-Independence Educational Policies

The French and Spanish Educational Policy

During the French protectorate in Morocco from 1912 to 1956, French was imposed and instituted as the main language of instruction at all levels of education in schools, and Standard Arabic as a foreign language. French colonizers practiced a linguistic policy “based on what they perceived to be their *mission civilisatrice*” (Ezzaki and Wagner 1991, p. 216) – spreading their language and values by educating Moroccans to believe in the universality and superiority of the French culture and language, which they then imposed in the cities and certain selected rural areas as “the only language of civilization and advancement” (Bourhis 1982, p. 14). This French educational policy intended to weaken the status of Standard Arabic, the perceived symbol of national and cultural identity by promoting mother tongues (Tamazight dialects and Arabic vernaculars) through formal teaching, and by closing Arabic Koranic schools in Amazigh-speaking regions. This was done through the *Dahir berbère* (Berber Decree) of 1930, which created a type of schools, where Standard Arabic was excluded and only French and Tamazight were taught.

During the Spanish occupation in the Northern part of Morocco and Western Sahara, even though the Spanish hounded the same language policy as French in advancing their language and culture in Morocco at the disadvantage of Arab culture and Islamic schools, it did not influence the linguistic situation of Morocco as French did because “there was not any sort of Spanish-style “civilizing mission” directed toward the local population. In the education, Spanish has not played a significant role “due to the fact that it is not normally a first language even for the relatively few who speak it fluently.” (Daniel Myra and Ball 2009, p. 128).

Arabization Policy

Since Morocco obtained its independence in 1956, it has been a national priority to eradicate the use of French and promote Standard Arabic as the sole medium of instruction and as the language of literacy and wider communication. A monolingual policy known as Arabization was adopted. It is a cultural counterpart of

political and economic independence aiming at restoring ‘authenticity,’ asserting Morocco’s Arabo-Islamic identity, and removing French cultural influence. Arabization was at first implemented sporadically, as teachers and funds were available. In the 1970’s, Standard Arabic was added to existing curricula in French at elementary and secondary schools; and by the end of 1990-1991, it was completed for all primary and secondary levels in public schools and became the language of all subjects across all grades. While widespread support for this principle was politically inevitable, its implementation has proven an arduous process. For example, a politically charged and sustained debate developed between the proponents of a modern and Westernized trend who favor balance bilingual education and the supporters of the Arabo-Islamic culture who advocate radical Arabization. Also, its pace and scope has depended largely on which of these groups has had more power in the government at a given time.

Mother Languages (Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic) Policy

Arabization was carried on until 2000, a year that marked the launching of the national Charter of Education and Training by King Mohamed VI. This Charter provided major changes and reforms in education and introduced a new educational policy that stressed a multilingual education in Morocco by improving the teaching and use of Modern Standard Arabic and promoting the diversification of foreign languages for teaching science and technology. Most importantly, it called for the openness to teaching all the three Berber dialects (Tarifit, Tamazight, and Tashelhit) to satisfy the regional needs of the heterogeneous population, and to give local independence to schools (Daniel Myra and Ball 2010, p. 131). For the first time in many decades, Tamazight language is officially recognized and deemed as a valued component of Moroccan identity, and “part of the country’s cultural inheritance” (COSEF 2000, p. 43). It was constitutionalized by a Royal Dahir decree as a national language, and declared in 2011 as an official language of Morocco besides, Standard Arabic as proclaimed in Article 5 of Morocco’s constitution:

“Tamazight [Berber/amazighe] constitutes an official language of the State, being common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception. An organic law defines the process of implementation of the official character of this language, as well as the modalities of its integration into teaching and into the priority domains of public life, so that it may be permitted in time to fulfill its function as an official language.” (Morocco’s Constitution 2011).

As a result, Tamazight has changed from a spoken non-recognized language to a written codified and standardized language, and its status has been uplifted. In 2003, Tamazight was integrated into the school system, first in elementary level across the country and gradually in all levels (Errihani 2006). Based on the household and region, Tamazight has been taught in the three varieties (Tomastik 2010).

Although Moroccan Arabic or Darija is the mother-tongue that most Moroccans learn to speak since their birth, it is not taught in schools. Formal

learning in public schools is conducted in Standard Arabic, a language considered a second language for Arabic and non-Arabic speaking Moroccan students. A Moroccan child, whether Berber or Arab origin, it is within his family that he learns gradually, without even being aware of it, his mother tongue Moroccan Arabic or Berber (Tamazight). Once he gets to school, he will learn Standard Arabic and other foreign languages. The educational system includes three levels: 6 years of primary, 3 years of lower-middle and 3 years of upper secondary. Most Moroccan families enroll their children for two to three years in pre-school and in Quranic pre-school. In this latter, they learn the Arabic alphabet and Quran verses until they are of age to attend primary school. At the ages of 5 to 6, children will then attend primary school for the following 6 years where they are taught in Standard Arabic and French. English as a language is introduced in public schools until the seventh grade. In the middle school, students also learn another foreign language either English, Spanish, or German.

But, in recent years, there is an urge for the use of Darija in instruction at the elementary level to ease the learning of Standard Arabic. The emerging interest in reinforcing the significant role played by the mother tongue languages in the domain of education emerged right after King Mohammed VI's speech on August 20th, 2013, in which he drew attention to the educational problems and crisis in Morocco and urged for an educational reform. One of the reasons of Moroccan education failure stated by King Mohammed VI in his speech is "the disruptions caused by changing the language of instruction from Arabic, at the primary and secondary levels, to some foreign languages, for the teaching of scientific and technical subjects in higher education" (Morocco World News 2013). After the King's speech, Nourredine Ayouch, a well-known Moroccan businessman and a founder of a local educational foundation Zakoura, organized an international conference "Le chemin de la réussite" (The Path to success) in Casablanca on October 4th and 5th 2013 that gathered policy makers, scholars, linguists, and educators to discuss the origins of public schools' problems and propose solutions to these problems. One of the educational claims was to advocate for the use of the mother tongue Darija as the language of instruction from preschool through the first years of primary school with a gradual shift to Standard Arabic in the third grade. A rationale behind this proposal was that Moroccan children struggle and drop out of school because they are taught in a language they do not speak at home. So, since Darija is the mother tongue of most Moroccan children and is spoken and understood by most Amazigh-speaking children, its use in the educational system in early years of education might be beneficial for early leaning because it would facilitate and ease the acquisition of SA (Hall 2015, p. 278).

The use of mother tongue as medium of instruction has been found by researchers and educators to be valuable for school learners, especially in the first years of primary school. According to a report of the Hong Kong Education Department (1965), the use of mother tongue in teaching and learning facilitates the intake of knowledge, mastery of concepts, and discussion in the classroom. Also, in 1984, a Commission Report of the same department indicated that mother tongue is the best instructional medium for teaching and learning. Various research

studies on mother tongue education carried out in different contexts (e.g., Ndamba 2008, Iyamu and Ogiogbaen 2007, Ejieh 2017, Abiri 2003, Mohanlal 2001, among others) reveal that the best medium for teaching a child is the mother tongue because this is the language that children understand best and express themselves freely in (Ndamba 2008, Njoroge and Gatambuki Gathigia 2011).

Advocating for Moroccan Arabic in early instruction was met with resentment and skepticism and initiated heated debates among policy makers, activists, scholars, and linguists. While some advocate for the use of Darija in early instruction, others oppose firmly to its application and implementation. The paragraphs below present these contrasting views and positions of different Moroccans. Following the October colloquium, a debate between Nouredine Ayouch and the historian Abdellah Laroui took place on November 27, 2013, in a televised program called “Moubacharat Maâakoum”. Ayouch supported the use of Darija as a language of instruction arguing that is the main mother tongue and more than 89% of Moroccans use it to communicate. He also endorsed his argument by referring to the UNESCO’s (2008) recommendations, which propose that children who begin their instruction with their mother tongue continue to perform better than children who must acquire another language when they enter school (Ball 2010). UNESCO also declares that the teaching in the mother tongue helps in reducing the number of school dropouts (Bender et al. 2005).

Laroui, on the other hand, opposed to this policy stating that “Standard Arabic is linguistically rich, and that Darija is not qualified to cover Sciences and Academia because it lacks rules and standard practices in writing and syntax” (cited by Ait El Caid 2014, pp. 2-3). He argued that Darija should not be used into the scholarly domain because it “is not sufficiently rich to be utilized as a part of the educated community and is not able to offer the information base that [standard] Arabic is right now giving” (Al Jazeera English 2015, p. 2). He added that since teaching and learning are associated with written textbooks, and that the leading role for oral communication in school is to access these written books, Darija thus cannot fulfil this role. He also claimed that Darija cannot be a medium for higher learning because it is not a language ‘of culture’ that can be classified at the same level as other foreign languages (Hall 2015, pp. 283-284).

Another advocate of this policy is Ahmed Najim, Chief executive of Goud Ayouch, an online magazine who asserts that the use of Darija in early instruction could help improve Morocco’s education dilemma because Moroccan students are often baffled by the switch from Darija at home to Fusha at school. According to him “Darija is fascinating in the sense that it is close to the Moroccan psyche. It simply strikes a chord with readers and has an enormous impact.” (Al Jazeera 2014, p. 2).

Other adversaries like Fouad Abou Ali, president of the National Coalition for the Defense of Arabic Language, a grassroots advocacy organization, and Moqri Abouzayd, member of the Justice and Development Party (PJD) and of the parliament assert that the problem is not simply linguistic but political averring that this is another ploy to divide Moroccan society and deprive it from its Arab and Islamic bequest (Al Jazeera 2014, p. 2), and adopting an unwritten tongue with a regional variation in instruction is an attempt to divide Moroccan society

and culture. For instance, Fouad Abou Ali affirms that Fusha is “the language of Islam and “endeavors to estrange it focus on the social and religious quality framework it speaks to and will strip away Morocco’s Arabic and Islamic characters” (Al Jazeera 2015). Moqri Abouzayd, on the other hand, criticizes this policy and condemns it as “an endeavor to obliterate the establishments of the country and a scheme against Islam.” (Al Jazeera 2014, p. 2).

The above reactions demonstrate that the issue of language of instruction in school is not only a pedagogical concern, but also a social and political issue. They also show that most Moroccans do not approve of this reform and the use of Moroccan Arabic in schools instead they believe clearly in the significance and the value of Standard Arabic as the language of public education.

Problems Facing Implementation of Mother Tongue Policy

Most educational policies face challenges that hinder their implementation and this policy is no exception. One of the challenges could be attributed to practical factors. Individuals who called for this policy seem to act alone and are driven by ideological considerations rather than by educational values of the policy and real needs and concerns of individuals. Ayouch, one big proponent of this policy and who is mostly known as “an adamant francophone” has been accused by critics of “trying to serve a foreign agenda against the Arabic and Islamic identity of the country, though creating a dis-unified society whose communities would have different views shaped by their distinct languages, which would eventually lead to the alienation of SA” (Loutfi and Noamane 2020, p. 3). He was even attacked by Abdelilah Benkirane, the former Prime Minister of Morocco, who called him a businessperson who continuously tries to find someone to sell his country to (Al Raji 2014). In addition, the proposal for the reform was not supported by the Ministry of Education. Until now no partnership has been established between this governmental entity and Ayouch to carefully study this proposal and evaluate its validity.

Another challenge could be appertained to an attitudinal factor. A considerable number of studies have reported that most Moroccans hold negative attitudes towards their mother tongues -Darija and Tamazight (e.g., Loutfi 2020, Loutfi and Noamane 2020, Belhaiah and Lamallam 2020, Ait Dada 2011, El kirat El Allame et al. 2010, Errihani 2008 among others). For example, in Loutfi’s (2020) study that examined the status of language in use in Morocco and the impact of Arabization on the status of mother tongues, the findings reveal that most respondents (teachers and students) express negative attitudes towards their mother tongues and disapprove of the idea of introducing them in education because these languages might undervalue the status of Arabic. “For them, Arabic is the language which represents them and with which they project their identity in the world. The nature of this negative attitude is motivated by the fact that these mother tongues, particularly MA, are neither officially recognized by the state nor the language guarantees economic returns” (p. 10). Also, findings of Belhaiah and Lamallam’s study (2020) which examined students’ and teachers’ perceptions on

the use of Amazigh and Darija as medium of instruction in Morocco show that “while teachers and students alike agree that mother tongues can facilitate learning, mother tongues are less likely to be adopted as official media of instruction due to economic and socio-political factors” (p. 92). In addition, the results of Ait Dada’s (2011) study about Moroccan’s attitudes towards their mother tongues reveal that Darija is perceived as “corrupt and incorrect form of Arabic, which is associated with poverty and downgrade and therefore considered to be inferior to Classical Arabic for it is neither codified nor standardized” (p. 19). Furthermore, in El kirat El Allame et al. et al.’s (2010) study, about language attitudes towards the mother tongues and the language in use in Morocco among the students at Mohammed V University in Rabat, it was revealed that respondents’ language choice and attitudes are determined by their language instruction and by the importance of global impacts of the language. Several respondents have expressed an instrumental attachment to French and English through their use for social promotion, a sentimental attachment to Standard Arabic. However, the use of mother tongues was associated with communication in informal domains for the use of mother tongues (p. 348). Even though Darija is one of the mother tongues along with Tamazight, Moroccans hold negative attitudes towards it because they consider it not a significant and valuable language to be used in instruction in schools. Moroccans who are for bilingual education in two languages might appreciate the principles behind teaching Darija, but, for practical reasons, they prefer foreign languages in particular French because of their value and their guarantee of success in the job market. Others, however, hold a favorable attitude toward teaching and learning Moroccan Arabic, feeling that using Moroccan Arabic is somehow the right thing to do and that there is an obligation for them to promote its merit.

The nature of Moroccan Arabic could also be a factor causing hindrance to a successful implementation. In Morocco there are an abundance of regional varieties of Moroccan Arabic, namely Rabati, Fassi, Marrakshi, shamali, etc. These dialectal varieties bear many linguistic differences concerning mainly phonetics, pronunciation, morphology, and lexicology. So, the question which dialect variety should be resorted to for instruction in schools? The Moroccan variety used in two central Moroccan regions (Casablanca-Settat and Rabat-Salé-Kenitra) represents the largest population group and which according to Ayouch and his team is understandable in all Morocco could be the one taught in all schools (Chabal 2016). In fact, this variety is used to create the first Moroccan Arabic dictionary by Zakoura foundation. Of equal importance is impoverishment of Moroccan Arabic lexicon due to lexical borrowings from French and Spanish. These borrowings make Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic two deviated and separate languages rather than varieties on a continuum. Thus, the transition from one to the other could be uncertain and difficult and there is a need to renovate Moroccan Arabic and develop and adequate terminology compatible to Standard Arabic. For these reasons both Ayouch and Laroui recommend a new form of Moroccan Arabic as the language of instruction that would be easy for children to learn and understand. Ayouch suggested an “elevated” Moroccan Arabic that would be codified and

could be used in writing whereas Laroui recommended the creation of a “simplified” Standard Arabic only for oral use.

In this regard, Ayouch launched a first Moroccan Arabic dictionary which explains Arabic words with Moroccan Arabic. In a press conference held in Casablanca, Ayouch explained that this dictionary, prepared by the Zagoura Development Center, was supervised by several Moroccan experts and researchers who worked on it for four years. He added that this dictionary is “the first of its kind to make Moroccan Arabic language alive and continuous, pointing out that for every two years there will be a publication of a new dictionary, and soon there will be a preparation of an electronic dictionary in the Moroccan dialect to enable Moroccans from different places to add words and their explanation. Khalil Mgharfaoui, university professor pointed out that “this dictionary is part of a range of projects that aim to use Moroccan Arabic professionally,” and that the team who worked on this dictionary “tried to make it easy and clear and avoid separating between Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic”. Mgharfaoui also added that the team faced great problems, especially the way of writing because words vary in pronunciation, therefore different writing was required. He, moreover, emphasized that the method of writing used in the dictionary is based on principles that facilitate the passage from Moroccan Arabic to Standard Arabic, especially for learners. Other future projects of the Zagora Center involve the publication of a selection of texts in Darija to strengthen its presence, as well as preparation of grammatical rules that will help with understanding the rules to facilitate their learning.

Recommendations for the use of Mother Tongue (Moroccan Arabic) along with Standard Arabic and Tamazight

In the remaining pages, some recommendations for the use of Moroccan Arabic in early instruction. First, attention should be paid to the way Standard Arabic is presented to the students. Since it is not the first acquired language, but is formally taught in school, an alternative approach to its teaching should integrate Moroccan Arabic in the classroom context. A significant merit of this approach is that it takes advantage of the fact that Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic are varieties of the same language which share a number of linguistic features and alleviates some of the problems between the dialect and the standard in instructing and explaining the language would ease some of the problems facing the students in learning Standard Arabic and facilitate their understanding as it was expressed by primary and secondary teachers who were observed by Loutfi (2020) in his study. Even though teachers expressed negative attitudes on their questionnaire answers, their classroom observation showed the opposite. Moroccan Arabic was extremely used as the language of introduction and explanation in both schools because it makes students “feel at ease and have access to the information being delivered easily” (Loutfi 2020, p. 10).

Offering instruction in a specific variety of Moroccan Arabic could help smooth the transition from Moroccan Arabic to Standard Arabic. Since Moroccan

Arabic and Standard Arabic are varieties of the same language which share several linguistic features, alternating between the dialect and the Standard in instructing and explaining the language would ease some of the problems facing the students in learning Standard Arabic, and facilitate their understanding.

Providing competent and suitably trained local teachers on effective language teaching based on the latest innovations in language pedagogy to provide instruction in any Moroccan Arabic variety chosen as well as in Moroccan Arabic would avoid the problem of having students, upon achieving a more advanced level, will face the problem of not continuing with the same variety of the dialect. Teachers should also be trained and taught the teaching pedagogies and methods of learning and teaching languages that will be equipped for teaching better. Upgrading methodology for teaching Moroccan Arabic right in the pre-schooling would be another worthwhile step for successful transition to Standard Arabic. Teaching Moroccan Arabic must also introduce textbooks that deal with everyday life situations and reflect meaningful real situations and contexts. Teachers should be supplemented with interesting and authentic materials and use communicative-based tasks and activities to make Moroccan Arabic more attractive and livelier. Most textbooks that have been used so far in public schools to teach Standard Arabic are predominantly centered on written materials ignoring the oral skill. This is in fact an area in the language that needs to be developed. Some Arabic and Berber-speaking Moroccan children before reaching the age for schooling, they attend Koranic pre-schools from age 4 to 6 where they learn Arabic alphabet and reading skill in Standard Arabic. So, this written and reading knowledge in Standard Arabic gained in Koranic schools should be used as early as kindergarten to foster oral competency in Standard Arabic. It could also “serve as a scaffold to more successful reading development in the Arabic language.” (Daniel and Ball 2010, p. 133).

Conclusion

Even though the claim to implement Moroccan Arabic in the educational system is still debatable and has received many criticisms, the reality is that in recent years, its use has increased significantly among Moroccans in social and academic life. Moroccan Arabic has moved from being a dialect into a potential and operative language in many domains. Nowadays, it is used “as a medium of communication between members of Moroccan organizations and in conferences and seminars among intellectuals, linguists and journalists” (Zouhir 2013, p. 276), and widely used in advertising and marketing, online media, and in cartoon strips and kid’s shows. More importantly, it is used in television and radio for broadcasting programs and debates between politicians about political subjects and problems (Al Jazeera 2014, p. 3). This paper about Moroccan Arabic, mother tongue policy and its implementation in early instruction offers an opportunity to better understand the issues of using mother tongues, local and national languages in multilingual societies. It also serves as an example and resource for dealing with the same problems and disputes involving other countries that have same linguistic diversity

as Morocco. Most importantly, it makes a significant contribution in the field of language policy, and in particular mother language policies.

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Translation and Memory from the Cremation Ovens in Poland to Freedom in Greece and the US: The Journey and the Manuscripts of Marcel Nadjary

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*In a timeframe of 35 years, from 1945 to 1980, some manuscripts left by 5 Jewish members of the Sonderkommando were found buried near the crematories in Auschwitz-Birkenau. These prisoners were forced to do activities directly connected to the genocide, and because of that they were considered as bearers of secrets. Known as The Scrolls of Auschwitz, these manuscripts have been held as sources of high historical-social-psychological value. The narrative found in 1980 was written by a Greek Jew called Marcel Nadjary (1917-1971), the only amongst the authors to survive the Lager. The degradation of the papers demanded a long recovery work that recently produced two books: *Μαρσελ Νατζαρή Χειρόγραφα 1944-1947* (2018) and *Marcel Nadjari's Manuscript November 3, 1944* (2020). The work of translation from Greek to Portuguese has allowed us to examine the paths in which a survivor of the Gray Zone builds his memories, in two different moments: at the time of the event, and a posteriori. Therefore, it is possible to identify what is kept and what changes in the subjective assumption of History itself, and in the way the author uses the words to narrate his memories and transmit the secrets he carried.*

Keywords: Marcel Nadjary, translation, testimony, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Sonderkommando.

In this paper we will analyse the two remaining fragments of one of the survivors of the group of Nazi prisoners called *Sonderkommando* to observe how the memories he writes about are constructed through time. The fact that he left us the two fragments, one written during the development of the events, and one written a couple of years after the events took place but that narrates the same events, provides us with this unique opportunity. Marcel Nadjary, the Greek-Jew that left us the two manuscripts translated by and commented by us in this paper, was one of the few people that lived through this horrendous experience of belonging to the *Sonderkommando* group and that was able to register his story in paper. We start this article with a peep at the historical part of the *Sonderkommando* and the memory the survivors of Auschwitz-Birkenau left of it, we also mention a bit of the organization of the Greek-Jewish community at the same Camp and make a quick overview of Marcel Nadjary's background in northern Greece, where he was born and lived until he was captured, and of his path since. In the main text of this paper, we offer commentaries on Nadjary's two manuscripts: first on the one of 1944, when he was still a prisoner in Auschwitz-Birkenau, and then on the one of 1947, when he had already been freed and recounts the same events

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he lived through *a posteriori*. These commentaries are based on the translation we did directly from Greek into Brazilian Portuguese, the first time they were ever translated into this language. Therefore, we also offer some insights of the translational work. We finish our paper with the hope it can bring some light to an understudied part of the History of the Extermination Camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau that is extremely important for understanding and combating violence that intervenes against the civilizing process.

The Memory of Auschwitz-Birkenau

It is widely known that the SS guards took pleasure in telling their Jewish prisoners that, despite the end, “we have won the war against you. No one will be left to testify, but even if one of you does survive, the world will not believe you. (...) they will call them exaggerations of Allied propaganda (...). We are the ones who will dictate the history of the Lagers” (LEVI, 2015). *Lager*¹ is the German word used to refer to the Concentration or Extermination Camps. Faced with imminent death and the quotidian vanishing of proofs of the Nazi barbarism, some prisoners tried to leave behind evidence and written record of what they saw and knew about the “Final Solution to the Jewish Question”, a euphemism used to cover the truth: the genocide perpetrated by the Nazi.

The prisoners that had more to reveal, for they saw the facts up close, were part of a small group of complex status in the concentrationary system. They were members of the stigmatized *Sonderkommando*, the Special Commando, in Nazi irony. The term *Sonderkommando* was introduced in Auschwitz-Birkenau around September 1942, when the crematory ovens started to work; in other Camps different denominations were used to designate this group (GREIF, 2005). According to rumours, they were periodically eliminated. However, “research into the history of the *Sonderkommando* does not support this interpretation” (BARTOSIK, 2019, p. 4). Until mid-1944, it was the weakest and the ones caught doing something wrong that were mostly eliminated. After all, to guarantee the efficiency of the process, the Nazi needed to keep these groups in a more “permanent” status. Known as *Geheimnisträger*, “bearers of secrets”, they directed the newcomers at the *Lager* to the gas chambers, collected their objects left at the undressing room, took the bodies out of the chambers, cleaned the chambers, searched for valuables hidden in the bodies’ orifices, extracted golden teeth, cut long hairs, burnt the bodies, ground the bones that remained after the burning, and disposed of the ashes. One could question why they did not prefer death to performing such duties, but choosing death is not an easy enterprise. Zalman Lewenthal, a Jewish prisoner from the *SK*² murdered before the end of the war left

¹The German word *Lager* is used by Nadjary in his 1944 manuscript and lesser times in the 1947 manuscript. However, he uses the Greek equivalent, στρατόπεδο, on more occasions. Nadjary keeps some words in German in both his narratives. In the 1944 one this use can be explained by the hurry in which the writing action had to be performed, but in the 1947 one this rush did not exist, which may highlight the lasting exchange of words of diverse languages during the imprisonment periods.

²We will use the traditional abbreviation *SK* to represent the word *Sonderkommando*. Nadjary uses the short *Sonder*, Ζόντερ in Greek, in his 1947 manuscript.

it registered: “the truth is that one wants to live at any cost” (BROWN, 2015, p. 1). Besides, apart from the members of the *SK*, a few people were able to bear testimony of the final steps of those pushed into the abyss of death. Thus, if we did not possess such testimonials, these horrendous moments would be erased forever from the annals of History.

Given the nature of their work and the secrets they bore, the members of the *SK* were kept isolated from other prisoners. There are, however, registers proving that sporadic clandestine contacts happened. The members of the *SK* could be identified by their civilian clothing, marked with red ink, but what distinguished them the most was the strong smell of smoke that they exhaled (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). Positive that they would be killed at any moment because of what they knew, some *SK* members decided not to take the Nazi secrets to their grave. The greatest part of them was murdered, indeed. Approximately 2.000 prisoners were part of the *SK* in Auschwitz-Birkenau. The exact number of survivors after the Death Marches and the events that followed until the liberation of the Camps is unknown.

Under risk of being caught leaving evidence behind, some prisoners of this *kommando* buried, alongside the crematory ovens, as many teeth as possible, to ensure that, in the future, proof was found that millions of people had been assassinated there, and to corroborate their testimonies (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). It is fundamental to highlight the extreme risk these prisoners ran into to leave traces of what was happening. After all, as mentioned in the beginning of this text, the secret operation of the Extermination Camps was not supposed to be revealed. *SK* activities did not allow them the use of office supplies, like paper and pen, which they had to acquire. In their context, accessing stationary goods implied exchanging food rations or personal valuables for such items with whoever possessed them. Another way to get them was through the *Organization System*. In the vocabulary of the Camp, “to organize” meant to steal items from the Nazi system, which included the undressing room, where the newcomers left their valuables. However, it was forbidden to be caught bearing anything diverse from what was used routinely in Camp life, the penalty for that being costly, and thus both the “organization” and the writing had to be carried on in absolute furtiveness. Therefore, leaving their testimonies buried amongst the crematory ovens was a highly risky task which demanded planning, dedication, and bravery. This deed was, in consequence, an act of resistance, of great danger and, above all, an act that was only possible to those in a “privileged position”, that could access certain resources (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017).

Right after the demise of the Third Reich in 1945, the first manuscripts left by the Jews forced to work in the Nazi-death-machine were found. Named *Scrolls of Auschwitz*, they were accidentally uncovered from 1945 to 1980. However, as the *SKs* were deep into the Gray Zone of supposed “protekcja [privilege] and collaboration” (LEVI, 2105), these manuscripts were ignored to the point that one of them, found in 1952, was even lost (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). The ignorance of what had happened to the operators of the crematory ovens generated mistaken and accusatory interpretations, both from scholars and survivors (GREIF, 2005). The first inferences around the *SKs* derived from a few observations used to

sustain generalizations that did not consider that they were themselves captives from diverse origins and formation. That meant that these people responded inevitably in distinct ways to the contingencies of the *Lager*, each one according to their own possibilities. It is estimated that around 30 manuscripts left under the soil of Auschwitz-Birkenau are still buried (HOPPER, 2017). Nowadays, we have knowledge of the testimonies of 5 members of the *SK*. Because of both the time they remained buried under adverse climatic conditions and the circumstances they were written under, these manuscripts offer fragmented and incomplete testimonies. Moreover, they present partial narratives, covering events that were still in course, from a restricted context, and written with openly declared hate to the Nazi, as it had to be (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017).

Despite Primo Levi's (2015) arguments that the testimonies of the *SK* members are "something set amongst lament, blasphemy, expiation and the effort of justification, of the recovery of oneself" (e-book), scholars have been following the lead of Gideon Greif in his analysis registered by Bignotto (2014): in the *SK*'s testimonies, despite their precarious survival condition, far from showing signs of incapacity of reflection, they all reveal a keen conscience of their tragic roles, of the position from where they speak. The historian Pavel Polian considers the *Scrolls* as the central documents of the *Shoah*, given the proximity of the eyewitnesses to the epicentre of the genocide (HOPPER, 2017). This opinion is shared by other scholars, that affirm that these manuscripts are an important-and-not-enough-read register of the *Shoah* (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). We also agree with such understanding, after all, the members of the *SKs* were themselves victims of the concentrationary context, subject to oppression, various kinds of arbitrariness, and frequent death threats. They are considered as victims put "on a special position, in which it was not only necessary to testify (...), but to speak from a place in which not even the hope to get heard was part of reality" (BIGNOTTO, 2014, pp. 244-245). It is from that place, doomed initially to silence and condemnation, that their testimonies emerge.

Aside from the lost manuscript of unknown authorship, the manuscripts found until 1962 are attributed to prisoners Zalman Gradowski, Zalman Lewenthal, Leib Langfus³ and Herman, or Hersz, Strasfogel⁴ (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a). On October 24, 1980, a group of students working on maintenance in Auschwitz-Birkenau found a leather briefcase buried next to the ruins of Crematory III (2). Inside the briefcase there was a bottle containing rolled papers. The students knew they had found something valuable and delivered it to the Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau (MMAB), that identified the author of the manuscript as a Greek-Jewish man named Marcel Nadjary. It was the last *SK* manuscript found since 1962. The state of degradation of the papers demanded a long recovery that culminated in two books: *Μαρσελ Νατζαρή Χειρόγραφα 1944-1947* (2018), written in Greek, and *Marcel Nadjary's Manuscript November 3, 1944* (2020), a trilingual

³In the first publications of the *Scrolls*, Leib Langfus had not been identified as one of the authors of these testimonies, and his narrative was identified as "The manuscript of an Unknown author". (BEZWIŃSKA, CZECH, 1973).

⁴This testimony was attributed to Chaim Herman till 2019.

version, in Greek, Polish and English.⁵ Marcel Nadjary was the only *Scrolls*' author to survive the *Lager*, and for this reason the Greek book contains a testimony written by him in 1947. The translation work of these materials from Greek to Portuguese has been allowing us to examine the ways in which the memory of a survivor of the Gray Zone functions, in two logical/chronological timeframes: at the very moment of the events, and *a posteriori*.

Through memory, experiences of the human organism are subjectivized, “that is, it becomes a narrative of events endowed with intentionality, inscribed in time and made comprehensible through the concepts of cause, motive, aim and purpose” (Costa, 2019, p. 104). This does not happen in a linear way, for memory, whose definition is variable and controverse in psychopathology, is not a photographic device nor a filming camera, which registers everything in a uniform way. Even “in normal conditions, it ‘fails’, it does not reproduce the object as it really is” (Bogochvol & Teixeira, 2017, p. 204). Forgetfulness and memory are part of an intricate web in which the subject is more an effect than the agent. Freud ([1930]/2020) evokes Rome, the Eternal City, when addressing the permanence of historical elements in the psychic apparatus. The extensive history of the Roman constructions, from its beginning, created layers that can still be found scattered, coexisting in relative harmony with modern buildings. It is possible to find ancient sections, rubble, ruins and, under the ground of the contemporary city, signs of its old buildings remain. Similarly, in the psychic apparatus, the past “can be preserved in the life of the soul and does not need, necessarily, to be destroyed” (p. 315). Some memories are more protected and preserved while others take the form of rubble, meaning that only traces of their passage are left over from the original construction. Therefore, there are layers of memories, preserved depending on favourable or unfavourable conditions, that coexist and are as important as what is operating in the present. Memory often works in cycles: there are times when evocation or reminiscence is prompted, for example, by a correlated experience, and there are times when forgetting is reinforced (Seligmann-Silva, 2021; Ricoeur, 2007). Memory may also be affected by a traumatic experience. Trauma is a Greek word – *τραύμα* – that means “wound” and that has been metonymically used to indicate that which causes the wound (Caldas, 2015) as well. Thus, trauma is a wound that affects language and memory, and that, at the same time, is a persistent memory about what caused the wound in the first place. If we are allowed an exaggeration of the formula, it would be as a combination of the contradictory pair ‘not remembering’ and ‘never forgetting’. To Psychoanalysis, trauma – a theory used to address the concepts of memory, trauma, and testimony – refers to a mark that points at a gap in the history of the subject that, at the same time, summons and fixes the subject to the point in which the trauma itself occurred. Consequently, and in the light of these characteristics, it must be said that “of course, the most substantial material for reconstructing the truth about the camps is the survivors’ memories.” (Levi. 2015), and that is precisely the reason we decided to base this study in one of them.

⁵We have recently come across a French edition, released in June 2023 and translated by Loïc Marcou (Éditions Signes Balises). We haven't had the opportunity to read it until the deadline of this paper due to the incredible and most unfortunate difficulty to acquire it from Brazil.

The Greek-Jewish Community in Auschwitz-Birkenau

Leon Haguel, a Greek-Jewish survivor of Auschwitz, testifies that the Jewish prisoners from Thessaloniki spoke more Greek when in Auschwitz than they did at home, for they were in exile. One can consider that, both symbolically and in practice, the use of their mother-language defined the Thessalonian-Jewish prisoners' social and cultural barriers in relation to the others, establishing their Greek identity through the affectionate use of their own language as well (CHRONAKIS, 2018). Primo Levi (2015), an Italian-Jewish prisoner, in his book *If this is a Man*, designates the Greek Jews as “tenacious, thieving, wise, ferocious, and united, so determined to live, such pitiless opponents in the struggle for life” (e-book). They were not many, but they did know how to fool the others with their immobile and silent behaviour, like sphinxes. The presence of the Greek community was so marked that even the Germans respected them, the Polish feared them and, despite being hard, they had great national solidarity, they danced and filled the *Lager* with songs. Still according to Primo Levi's memories, the Greeks contributed to both the physiognomy and the language utilized in the concentrationary universe, adding vocabulary of Spanish and Hellenic origins, as well as a concrete and earthly wisdom. Most of the Greek-Jewish prisoners knew Hebrew but were not familiarized with Yiddish and the Slavic languages, which excluded them from those linguistic communities. They were called “cholera” (anger, the affection) and “korva” (whores) by the Polish and the rest of the Eastern European Jewish prisoners (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). About the Greek-Jewish community, Levi (2015) concludes that they were the “most coherent national group in the Lager and, in this respect, the most civilized” (e-book). Primo Levi's narrative refers to the Greeks in Auschwitz III-Monowitz, but the testimony of other prisoners corroborates his perception of the Hellenic community. The Greek Jews had fundamental importance in the organization of the Revolt of October 1944 (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a) and in participating in other resistance acts within the *Lager*, like escape attempts and the production of varied testimonies, including the creation of songs (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017).

Marcel Nadjary

Transliterating the manuscripts' author's name was one of the first issues we got stuck with during this process. The Greek original, Μαρσέλ Νατζαρή, has been transliterated in different ways. The closest transliteration to the Brazilian Portuguese would be Marcel Natzari, as it was recorded by Fleming in his book *Testimonies of resistance* (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a), but it is also possible to find the spellings: Nadjar, Nadjari (used by the MMAB), Nadsari, Nadzari, Natsaris and Natzari. As the spelling “Nadjary” was his and his wife's choice when they moved to the United States, we decided to adopt it in this work.

Nadjary was born in Thessaloniki, Greece, in 1917, son of the new recently-separated-from-the-Ottoman-Empire Greece. He studied in Greek schools and in the Alsheikh French school. He had Greek Christian friends: to Nadjary, “being

Jewish” did not rival “being Greek” (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a; GREIF, 2005). In 1937, at the age of 20 years old, he was called to serve in the Greek army. His first mission was in 1940, when fascistic Italy invaded Albania (GREIF, 2005). In 1941, year of the German invasion, Nadjary returned to Thessaloniki and joined a military resistance group called ELAS: the Hellenic People’s Liberation Army⁶. In December 1943 he was caught by the Germans and taken to Averoff prison, where he was violently tortured and interrogated, and confessed that he was Jewish. In February 1944, Nadjary was transferred to Haidari Camp, close to Athens, from where, on April 2nd, 1944, he was sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau (CHARE; WILLIAMS 2019a; GREIF, 2005).

Upon arrival at the *Lager*, Nadjary was marked with the number 182669 (PŁOSA, 2020) and was put in a 30-day quarantine. Then he was designated to the SK. It was May 1944. Many members of this *kommando* were Greeks for, before the war, many had been into activities that allowed for their physically strong bodies (KIRSHNER, 2018). Nadjary was remembered by the other prisoners as a joker and a good mimic: some said he could make even the SS guards laugh. One can notice some doses of sarcasm in his 1944 manuscript, despite its brevity. Daniel Benahmias, another Greek Jew that was part of the SK, affirms that even the Polish Jews, that were always deriding the Greeks, liked Nadjary (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). After the liberation of the *Lager*, Nadjary returned to Greece and got married, in 1947, to Rosa Saltiel, a survivor herself, and in 1951 they moved to New York. According to his daughter Nelli, Nadjary rarely spoke of what he lived through as a member of the SK (HOPPER, 2017). He died in 1971, at the age of 54, in New York. We know, from the pages his children Nelli and Alberto dedicated to him, that he was a beloved father, an “excellent husband, a tender, hard-working person, a fighter, someone funny, the very soul of any group, a brave, strong, energetic man⁷” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 13, our translation). Nadjary, who died when his children were still very young, left them with flashes of his experience in the *Lager*, even though he said he would talk about it one day. Despite his silence about Auschwitz, the nightmares and certain sombre moments were always with him. As a legacy, Nadjary imprinted on his children that, despite his forced extreme experiences, he lost neither his humanity nor his faith, having always believed in resistance. Nelli and Alberto received not only their Jewish identity from their parents, but also their love for Greece, a country they visited three times with their parents, in 1956, 1961 and 1968. And even though Nadjary would not speak often of Auschwitz, he would not avoid telling his kids all sorts of stories of his childhood in his birthland. Their house was filled with Greek music and his love for the sea and fisheries.

⁶The ELAS (Ελληνικός Λαϊκός Απελευθερωτικός Στρατός) was the military branch of the EAM (Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο), the National Liberation Front, a left-wing resistance group facing the Germans from the occupation of Greece to 1945, when it was dismantled. It was the biggest of the Greek resistance armies. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ELAS>.

⁷Εξάireτος σύζυγος, στοργικός, εργατικός, μαχητής, αστείος, η ψυχή της παρέας, γενναίος, δυνατός, ταραγμένος. All the translations from Nadjary’s manuscripts are our own, unless noted otherwise.

The 1944 Manuscript

Scholars estimate that Nadjary's letter was written sometime between the end of October and the end of November 1944, weeks after the revolt which disabled Crematory IV (3) and when the Germans started to dismantle the *Lager* by Crematories II (1) and III (2), to eliminate the vestiges of their corpses-machine. To purge the revolt and the sabotage of Crematory IV (3), around 450 *SK* members were killed. This scenery of death and disappearance of memory was what motivated Nadjary to leave a register of his internment in the *Lager*. In the text he refers to a transport that arrived from Theresienstadt, Czechoslovakia⁸, on the exact day he was writing (page 6 of the manuscript). The last transport that came from there arrived on October 28th, 1944 (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a). The day of November 3rd, 1944, is also mentioned in Nadjary's letter, on page 12. The citing of these two different dates may mean that the letter was not written at a single blow.

Nadjary buried a 6-page letter addressed to his friend Dimitrios A. Stephanides, nicknamed Mitso. The manuscript is in Greek, except by some instructions in German, Polish and French on the first page, with three diverse handwritings, which indicates that other people wrote in German and Polish (MACIASZCZYK, 2020). The writing is irregular and with undulated phrases, the strength Nadjary used is patent and reveals that the ink's supply was limited (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017). The analysis of some samples showed that two types of blue ink were used, which implies that he had to change pens during the process (MACIASZCZYK, 2020). Chare and Williams (2019a) observe that there is a certain lack of air in the writing, which denotes the rush in which the process was conducted. There is also an ambiguity in the use of verbal tenses and a lack of punctuation that make the text less fluid and harder to follow. In his letter, Nadjary spoke of his misfortunes, talked about his beloved ones, and passed on the last words and wishes of a man who predicted his hour was nigh.

Upon its uncovering, the manuscript was photographed in black and white, to have its state registered, with faded and tattered pages (CHARE, 2013). For a long time, most of the letter was unreadable. However, sometime after its finding, the MMAB started a thorough and time-consuming process of treatment and restoration of the pages, to clean and repair them, and to improve legibility (CHARE, 2013). Editions of the manuscript were published with what corresponded to 15% of the text, or what could be read with the naked eye (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a). From 2017 on the text gained media appeal for it underwent a very modern procedure which revealed parts of the writing that were nothing but stains in tainted paper. Russian historian Pavel Polian and Russian engineer Aleksandr Nikityaev used a common desktop and an image-processing software, and thus were able to read digitalized copies of Nadjary's manuscript, received by them in the beginning of 2000 (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a). They exposed the manuscript to red, green, and blue light levels, and spectra filters (RGB). The text was more visible under the red light – in general terms, the manuscript had its legibility increased by 80 to 85% (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a). The treated

⁸Czech Republic was still Czechoslovakia at that time.

version of the letter gained its first publication in 2013, in Russian, and its English version in the end of 2017, followed by the Greek version in 2018 (INGLE, 2019). The delay in the English translation of this manuscript, and of other texts concerning *SK* members' testimonies as well may indicate certain discomfort with the investigation of such matters within the Anglophone World (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2017).

During years, the Conservation Department at the MMAB used several modern digital devices of ultraviolet, near and far infrared bands, and X-ray fluorescence techniques without achieving satisfactory results (ZBIROHOWSKI-KÓSCIA, 2020). From 2014 on, in cooperation with Dr. Tomasz Łojewski, great part of the text achieved legibility with the use of an industrial monochrome camera with wide spectral sensitivity range (ŁOJEWSKI, 2020), which resulted, in 2018, in a version of the manuscript that was even more complete than the one obtained by the Russians. This version was published by the Museum in 2020.

Marcel Nadjary (2018) dedicates his letter to some of his dear friends “whom I always remember⁹” (p. 40) and to his “beloved homeland Greece¹⁰” (p. 40). The importance of remembering and being remembered is omnipresent throughout the letter. Concerning Smáro Efremídou, as an example, who would bring him food whilst he was locked up in Haidari, he asks Dimitrios to “tell her that Manolis hasn't forgotten her for a single moment and that unfortunately it seems that we won't be able to meet again¹¹” (NADJARY, 2020, pp. 53; 59). Nadjary managed to preserve a photo of her during the whole time of his imprisonment, hidden from the Nazi. To Mítso he asks: “Remember me from time to time as I remember you¹²” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 95). In many moments in the letter Nadjary reaffirms his Greek identity and his love for his country. He says that “at least as far as Greeks [are concerned], we're determined to die as true Greeks, as every Greek knows how to die, showing, till the last moment, and despite the superiority of the fiend, that through our veins runs Greek blood¹³” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 83), that to “whoever asks of me, say that I no longer exist and that I [died] like a true Greek¹⁴” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 95) and that “I will not live, let others live, my last words will be: Long live Greece!¹⁵” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 101). Nadjary writes the name of his country in capital letters, ΕΛΛΑΣ, revealing his dedication to his homeland. This is a point to which Fleming draws attention (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a), for it was just in 1912 that Thessaloniki was freed from Ottoman rule and transformed, from a multicultural and largely Jewish city, into a nationalistic

⁹που πάντα τους θυμάμαι.

¹⁰αγαπημένη μου πατρίδα «ΕΛΛΑΣ».

¹¹να της πείτε ότι ο Μανώλης δεν την ξέχασε καμία στιγμή και ότι δυστυχώς κατά τα φαινόμενα δεν θα μπορέσουμε να ξανασυναντηθούμε πια (NADJARY, 2020, p. 51; 57)

¹²Να με θυμάσαι από καμιά φορά όπως σας θυμάμαι και εγώ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 93)

¹³Τουλάχιστον για τους Έλληνες είμεθα αποφασισμένοι να πεθάνουμε σαν πραγματικοί Έλληνες όπως ξέρει να αποθάνη ο κάθε Έλληνας, δείχνοντας μέχρι τας τελευταίας αυτάς στιγμάς παρά την υπεροχήν των κακούργων. Ότι στις φλέβας μας ρέει Ελληνικό αίμα (NADJARY, 2020, p. 81)

¹⁴Όποιος και να ρωτήσει για μένα να πείτε ότι δεν υπάρχω πλέον και ότι πήγα σαν πραγματικός Έλληνα (NADJARY, 2020, p. 93)

¹⁵δεν θα ζήσω εγώ, ας ζήσουν οι άλλοι, η τελευταία μου λέξη θα είναι Ζήτω η Ελλάς (NADJARY, 2020, p. 99)

Christian place. Between 1912 and 1943, year of the deportation of the Jews to the *Lagers*, the First World War, the Big Fire of 1917, and other events occurred that marginalized Jews to a point to which Ladino¹⁶ was even forbidden to be used in public. Despite all the suffering, Nadjary, through his manuscript, shows us that he and others of his generation were proud of being patriotic Greek Jews.

In his letter Nadjary is also worried in narrating what was happening in Birkenau, reflecting that “the horrible things my eyes have seen are indescribable¹⁷” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 71). He comments that many of the newcomers to the *Lager* and selected to die did not have a clue about what waited for them, and that he would not confirm if they were going to have a shower or not, pretending not to understand their languages. He describes the undressing chambers and the “chamber of death¹⁸” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 59) – the gas chamber –, with its false showerheads. 3.000 people would enter in the chamber each time, for “Holding whips, the Germans forced them to collapse so as to fit in as many as possible, a real tin of sardines mad of people¹⁹” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 42). According to Dario Gabai, a Greek-Jew survivor of the *SK*, the most common finding amongst the belongings left in the undressing chambers were sardine tins, a typical Mediterranean food (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a). It is, therefore, a metaphor built from a particularly familiar element.

The prisoners were locked by the Nazi and gassed for 6 or 7 minutes till “they yield up the spirit²⁰” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 59). After half an hour the doors would be opened, and the *SK* prisoners would start their job. The bodies burnt without the help of any fuel “on account of the fat they contain. Each human being [produced] approximately just half an *oká* (640 g.) of ash, which the Germans forced us to pulverize, to sieve²¹” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 71). After that a car would take the ashes to Vistula River to be discarded, and “this way they eradicate every single trace²²” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 71) of their horrendous acts. When describing the “fine work that the Almighty wanted us to do²³” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 59), Nadjary does not forget he would be judged. He ponders that “my dear ones, reading what work I was doing you will ask how I, Manolis, or anybody doing this work, was able to burn my coreligionists, I too at the beginning thought many times to enter the furnaces] with them and end [my life]²⁴” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 83; 89). However, something stopped him from doing so.

¹⁶Ladino or Judeo-Spanish is a language like Castilian, used by the Sephardic Jews, expelled from the Iberic Peninsula in the 15 and 16 centuries.

¹⁷Τα δράματα που έχουν ιδή τα μάτια μου είναι απερίγραπτα (NADJARY, 2020, p. 69).

¹⁸θάλαμος του θανάτου (NADJARY, 2020, p. 57).

¹⁹Με το μαστίγιο στο χέρι οι Γερμανοί τους ανάγκαζαν να συμπτυχθούν για να χωρέσουν όσο το δυνατόν περισσότεροι ένα πραγματικό κουτί σαρδέλες από ανθρώπους (NADJARY, 2020, p.63)

²⁰παραδίδουν το πνεύμα (NADJARY, 2020, p. 57).

²¹λόγω τού λίπους πού έχουν. Από έναν άνθρωπο δεν έβγαιναν παρά ½ οκά περίπου στάχτη και την οποία οι Γερμανοί μας ανάγκαζαν να την κοπανίσουμε, να την περάσουμε από ένα χοντρό κόσκινο (NADJARY, 2020, p. 69).

²²έτσι εξαφανίζονται το κάθε ίχνος (NADJARY, 2020, p. 69).

²³δουλειά που θέλησε ο Παντοδύναμος να πράξομαι. (NADJARY, 2020, p. 57).

²⁴Αγαπημένοι μου θα πείτε μου διαβάζοντας τί εργασία έκαμνα, πώς μπόρεσα να κάνω εγώ ο Μανώλης ή ένας οποιοσδήποτε άλλος αυτή τη δουλειά καίγοντας τους ομοθρήσκους μου το έλεγα

Nadjary did not have much expectation of living, after all, he lived daily with the elimination of the traces of Nazi's actions and witnessed daily deaths, including those of members of the *SK*. He recognised the relevance and the danger of what he knew. In the end of the war an order arrived for the cease of the assassination of Jews but he knew that such law would not be valid for his group, "for us however, things are different, we have to [disappear] from Earth because we know too much about the inconceivable manner in which [Jews] were maltreated and murdered"²⁵ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 77). He did not kill himself because "I wanted, and I want to live to avenge the deaths of Dad, Mom, and my dear little sister Nelly. I'm not afraid of death, is it even possible to be afraid after what my eyes have seen?"²⁶ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 89). He says he does not lament that "I will die but because I won't be able to get the revenge I want and I know [how to exact]"²⁷ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 101). According to Nadjary, there were around 200 Greeks in the *SK* group of which he was a member. After the "Heroic Resistance", the revolt of October 1944, only 26 survived. Nadjary also speaks of his cousin, Sarrika Houli, asking Mitso to take care of her in case she survives, for "all here suffer what one's mind can't imagine"²⁸ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 95). This request he extends to "those who return from the Birkenau Camp"²⁹ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 95; 101). He also donates the valuables of his family to Mitso, except from Nelly's piano, which he says he would like to be given to his cousin Elias Cohen.

Nadjary asks Mitso to tell his kin, in case of any contact, that "the family A[vraam] Nadjary was put out, murdered by the civilized Germans (Nea Evropi³⁰)³¹" (NADJARY, 2020, p. 101). He estimates that around 1.400.000 Jews of diverse national backgrounds, were killed at Birkenau, a number which got extremely close to the real current statistics of 1,1 million victims (HOPPER, 2017). Facing so much death, Nadjary reflects "if there is a God and yet I have always believed in Him and still believe that God wants it, let His will be"³² (NADJARY, 2020, p. 101). The hope his letter would get to Mitso's hands reaching its destination, "is my last wish, condemned to death by the Germans because I'm of the Jewish Faith"³³ (NADJARY, 2020, p. 113).

και εγώ στην αρχή, σκέφθηκα πολλές φορές να μτώ και εγώ μαζί τους να τελειώσω (NADJARY, 2020, p. 81; 87).

²⁵ Για μάς όμως το πράγμα διαφέρει, εμείς πρέπει να λείψουμε από τη Γη διότι γνωρίζουμε πολλά από τους αφάνταστους τρόπους κακοποιήσεως και σκοτωμών των (NADJARY, 2020, p. 75).

²⁶ Θέλησα και θέλω να ζήσω για να εκδικηθώ τον θάνατον του Μπαμπά, της Μαρμάς και της αγαπημένης μου αδελφούλας μου Νέλλης. Δεν φοβάμαι τον θάνατο, είναι δυνατόν να τον φοβηθώ μετά από τόσα που είδαν τα μάτια μου; (NADJARY, 2020, p. 87).

²⁷ Θα πεθάνω, αλλά ότι δεν θα μπορέσω να εκδικηθώ όπως θέλω και ξέρω (NADJARY, 2020, p. 99).

²⁸ Όλοι εδώ υποφέρουνε όσο δεν μπορεί να το φανταστή νους ανθρώπου (NADJARY, 2020, p. 93).

²⁹ Όσους γυρίσουν από το στρατόπεδο του Μπίρκεναου (NADJARY, 2020, p. 93; 99).

³⁰ Nazi newspaper published in Thessaloniki during the Occupation (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019a).

³¹ η οικογένεια Α. Νατζαρή έσβησε δολοφονημένη από τους πολυτιςμένους Γερμανούς (Νέα Ευρώπη) (NADJARY, 2020, p. 99).5

³² εάν υπάρχει Θεός και εν τούτοις πάντα πίστευα σε αυτόν και πιστεύω ακόμα ότι ο Θεός το θέλησας γίνει το θέλημά του (NADJARY, 2020, p. 99).

³³ είναι η τελευταία επιθυμία μου καταδικασμένος εις θάνατον από τους Γερμανούς διότι έχω Εβραϊκήν Θρησκείαν (NADJARY, 2020, p. 111).

The 1947 Manuscript

Written in 1947 the “Χρονικό 1941-1945” is the second of Nadjary’s testimonies, and one of the few registered by a survivor of the *SK à posteriori* (HOPPER, 2017). He did not mean to have it published, but to use it as a means not to forget what he had experienced. Perhaps this is the reason why a topical writing style pervades it all over. According to his son, Nadjary feared people would not believe his words – a common issue for many of the survivors, especially in the first years after the liberation of the *Lager*. Despite being written in 1947, it was published posthumously in 1991, twenty years after his death. Though it was written 74 years ago, and published 30 years ago, this memory relate is little known, since it was written in Greek, and we have no information that it was translated into other languages (INGLE, 2019). In it, Nadjary includes drawings of the *Lager* but does not mention the manuscript buried amongst the crematories.

The 1947’s testimony starts with a topic that goes back to the year of 1940: “on October 28th, 1940, mobilization, village of Chortero Sidirokastro³⁴” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 51). The following topics are the same as this: not fully developed, and not fulfilling a complete and fluid narrative, functioning as a remembrance list. Nadjary points at events that preceded his capture by the Germans on November 30th, 1943. His arrest happened because of his association with the guerrilla group ELAS, that was resisting German Occupation. The interrogations he was put through to reveal information about the ELAS started on January 3rd, 1944, and were so violent that he fainted during the sessions. He was tortured for about a month, a dozen times, till “in the last interrogation that happened I revealed to them that I was Jewish and even my name (Marcel Nadjary)³⁵” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 58). Until this moment Nadjary had identified himself with his codename, Manólis Lazarídis. Not long after that, he was expropriated of everything he owned, including the ring his father gave him when they last said goodbye and he was sent to a prison in Haidari. The prison was getting increasingly filled with Greek-Jews till on April 2nd, 1944, they were sent in a long trip towards Auschwitz.

At first, the impressions from Auschwitz were good, “at first sight all seemed quiet and even the Germans that welcomed us at the station were quite good. We did not see them beating anybody else, on the contrary, they were all good³⁶” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 66). The scene’s purpose was to fool the newcomers so they would not resist and cause problems to the Nazi. Luggage was left at the station, men and women were organised “and then began the so-called selection³⁷” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 66). The doctor indicated with his little finger which direction each one should follow: “the elderly, the young children, the disabled

³⁴Την 28^η Οκτωβρίου 1940, επιστράτευσις, χωρίον Χορτερό Σιδηροκάστρου.

³⁵κατά την τελευταίαν ανάκρισιν που έγινε τους απεκάλυψα ότι ήμουν Εβραίος και συνάμα το όνομά μου (Μαρσέλ Νατζαρή).

³⁶Κατά πρώτην όψιν όλα φαινόταν ομαλά, και μάλιστα οι Γερμανοί που μας υποδεχθήκαν στον Σταθμό αρκετά καλοί. Δεν τους είδαμε να χτυπήσουν κανέναν, απεναντίας ήταν όλοι καλοί.

³⁷και τότες άρχισε η λεγόμενη διαλογή.

and the malnourished to the left, and the young and robust to the right³⁸” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 66-67). Some healthy pretended to limp to escape walking to their destiny and, directed to the left, were taken in a truck to Birkenau, “and since then we have never seen them again³⁹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 67). The ones directed to the right were taken to Auschwitz, “we thought there was a lot of humanity in the Germans, since <work sets you free>, as they say. (...) the only thing troubling our hearts was the electrified barbed wire of the Camp⁴⁰” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 67). The Nazi brought in an interpreter so they could pose many questions to the newcomers that were inspected and taken to another place after that. During displacement, “we would walk like fools, observing everything around us and, above all, trying to see, in the faces of those who looking at us, some of our acquaintances, father, mother, our sister, but in vain⁴¹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 70).

The welcome scene ended right there. They were crammed together for a day and a half in a room called Zάona (Baths), the Nazi ordered them to take off their clothes, except the shoes, and to hand over any valuables they might possess, or they would be killed. It did not take long for them to start beating people. Some could swallow some small valuable object. They remained naked till next day, when they were marked, “they felt a lot of pain because of the marking of the number, but it was only the beginning (...) they even counted the number of gold teeth we had in our mouths⁴²” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 70). From the window of the building where they were they could see two chimneys that “released together a black smoke and a heavy flame that would give you the shivers. We asked what that was. The other prisoners told us that it was an iron smelting plant⁴³” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 72). There was a new selection, and their bodies were completely shaved, they were disinfected and received a radish tasteless soup. In the end they received old, torn, and disproportionate clothes, “when we got dressed, one could not recognise the other. I laughed a nervous laugh⁴⁴” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 73). In sequence they were directed to the “*Lager Quarantine*”, where they remained for 30 days in three-story beds with grass mattresses and a few blankets. There they faced hunger and cold, and misery and

³⁸ γέρους, μικρά παιδιά, ανάπηροι και ραχητικοί από την αριστεράν μπάνταν, και τους νέους ρωμαλέους από την δεξιάν.

³⁹ και έκτοτε δεν τους ξαναείδαμε ξανά.

⁴⁰ σκεπτόμενοι ότι υπάρχει μεγάλη δόσις ανθρωπισμού στους Γερμανούς, αφού <Η δουλειά σε κάμνει ελεύθερον>, όπως τα λεν (...) Το μόνον πράγμα που μας στενοχωρούσε την καρδιά ήταν τα ηλεκτροφόρα συρματοπλέγματα του Στρατοπέδου.

⁴¹ Προχωρούσαμε πάντα σαν χαζοί παρατηρώντας όλα τριγύρω μας και, προπαντός, προσπαθώντας στα πρόσωπα που μας κοίταζαν να δούμε κανέναν γνωστόν μας, τον πατέρα, την μάνα, την αδελφή μας, αλλά εις μάτην.

⁴² Πονούσανε αρκετά κατά το γράψιμο του αριθμού, αλλά ήταν η αρχή. (...) Μας μετρήσανε ακόμη και τα χρυσά δόντια που είχαμε στο στόμα.

⁴³ με δύο φουγάρα λίγο μεγαλύτερα από τα των λουτρών και έβγαζαν μαζί με ένα μαύρο καπνό και μια βαριά φλόγα που σε προκαλούσε το ρίγος. Ρωτήσαμε τι είναι. Μας είπαν οι άλλοι κρατούμενοι ότι είναι ένα εργοστάσιον λιώσεως σιδήρου.

⁴⁴ Όλα αυτά ήταν απολυμασμένα και συνάμα παλιότατα, σχισμένα, χωρίς φόδρες και δυσανάλογα επάνω μας. Όταν ενδυθήκαμε, δεν μπορούσαμε ο ένας να αναγνωρίση τον άλλον. Γέλασα αρκετά από νευρικό γέλιο.

weakness started to overcome them. During this period “diverse rumours began to circulate that the ones that had went left with the trucks when we got off the train had been burnt after being murdered. We obviously did not believe it⁴⁵” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 76). They imagined the Poles wanted them to be depressed in order to take their bread.

When they left the quarantine, they were informed that they would work in a good place, that it would be a lot of work, but that they would have a lot of food as well, and “all of us were very happy⁴⁶” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 76). There was yet a new selection, and they were sent to Block 13, “from which no one could leave alive. It was the block of *Sonderkommando*⁴⁷” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 77). Nadjary did not understand well what they were supposed to do, “but seeing the old *Sonder*, the way they looked at us, I had a small, passing fear, as if a great evil awaited me⁴⁸” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 77). As a matter of fact, this evil would come. Throughout the night, talking with one of the veterans, he started to “understand what kind of hell we had got ourselves into⁴⁹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 77).

On the first day, Nadjary was assigned to work in the courtyard levelling the ground, for the newcomers had been forbidden to enter the building from which the chimneys emerged. Suddenly a whistle blowed and all of them were put in the building. Then “we saw a door open and a mass of corpses right at the entrance. We had a lot of fear. (...) Thus each day they would put us to get a little bit more used to these scenes⁵⁰” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 80). The prisoners ventured to die, “but the [chance] to get revenge held us, to organize an escape (...). Since then, our conspiracy started, we begin to organize for a general attack⁵¹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 85).

There were 35 Greeks in Crematories II (1) and III (2), “the idiots of the crematorium, and of course we looked for nothing else but to make fools of ourselves⁵²” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 85). Since Hungarian Jews started to arrive, the crematories worked nonstop. Many prisoners arrived at the chamber with smiles on their faces, for they did not know they were being sent to their doom. The Nazi scene was made to fool people and it did fulfil its purpose. Some newcomers would give the *SKs* gold coins and they would accept it so they would not get to

⁴⁵ Διάφορες διαδόσεις άρχισαν να κυκλοφορούν, ότι αυτοί που κατά την κάθοδόν μας εκ του τράινου και πήγαν αριστερά με τα αυτοκίνητα τους είχαν κάψει, αφού προηγουμένως τους σκοτώσανε. Βεβαίως δεν τα πιστέψαμε.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Όλοι ήμασταν όλο χαρά.

⁴⁷ το οποίο δεν μπορούσε κανείς να βγη ζωντανός. Ήταν το Block του *Sonderkommando* (ειδικό κομμάντο).

⁴⁸ αλλά βλέποντας τους παλιούς του Ζόντερ, καθώς μας κοίταζαν, είχα σαν ένα περαστικό μικρό φόβο, σαν να με περίμενε ένα μεγάλο κακό.

⁴⁹ καταλαβαίνω σε ποια κόλαση είχαμε μπει.

⁵⁰ βλέπουμε μία πόρτα ανοικτή και ένας όγκος από πτώματα στην είσοδο ακριβώς. Ο φόβος μας ήταν πολύ μεγάλος. (...) Έτσι καθημερινώς και περισσότερο μας βάζανε εις το να συνηθίσουμε στο θέαμα.

⁵¹ αλλά μας κράτησε η που θα μπορούσαμε να εκδικηθούμε, να οργανώσουμε απόδραση (...). Έκτοτε άρχισε η συνωμοσία μας, αρχίσαμε να οργανωθούμε διά μίαν γενικήν εξόρμησιν.

⁵² ήμασταν οι χαζοί του κρεματορίου και εμείς βέβαια δεν ζητούσαμε τίποτε άλλο παρά να κάνουμε τους βλάκες.

the Germans; other more mature captives would ask if they were heading to their deaths. After undressing themselves, “the Germans, to laugh, would tell them to take soap and their shoes with them (...) the main mass thought they would go have a shower, since there was a plate written Desinfektionsraum [disinfection] on the door at the entrance of the corridor⁵³” (NADJARY, 2020, p. 88). After being pushed inside the chamber and locked up, the gas was released, and “people understood they would die. All of them tried to get to the small door, and one would pass over the other. (...) People tried everything to save themselves, scrapped the walls with their nails. (...) The Germans observed everything from the hole and laughed. Why did they laugh?⁵⁴” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 89). An unanswerable question.

Nadjary’s team’s work started when the door of the gas chamber was opened. They collected the clothes to be sent to “Canada”. In the belongings of the murdered they found valuables and food. “We almost always stole everything, and we would give them [the SS] the things that were less valuable⁵⁵” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 90). The objects they stole were used to negotiate with the SS guards, thus “we had them in our hands, they did all we wanted for us⁵⁶” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 90). Despite the optimistic tone Nadjary uses, we know through other testimonies that some guards were more accessible, and that others would just execute the prisoner that was caught stealing. When they took the bodies from the gas chambers, they would realise that the victims “had in their faces fear, terror grimaces⁵⁷” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 91). The crematory ovens worked nonstop and the “batches would happen every 30 minutes or so (...) Every six hours or so the extraction of the ashes was performed⁵⁸” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 92). This “martyrdom lasted for around eight months and a half, waiting, from moment to moment, our redemption by death, but the wish of revenge kept us alive⁵⁹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 92-93).

Since they first joined the *SK* a revolt plan had being plotted. They exchanged several valuables for dynamite bananas, that were hidden, and a naive strategy to face the SS guards that held the crematories was planned. The idea was to overcome the Nazi by taking care of the crematoriums and then freeing the rest of the prisoners of the *Lager*. Several setbacks occurred and the revolt was delayed a few times. With the diminishing number of Jews being sent to Birkenau, the Nazi

⁵³ Οι Γερμανοί διά να γελάσουν τους έλεγαν να πάρουν μαζί τους σαπούνι και τα παπούτσια (...) Ο κύριος όγκος ενόμιζε ότι πήγαιναν διά να λουστούν, αφού στην πόρτα που ήταν στην είσοδο του διαδρόμου υπήρχε μια ταμπέλα Desinfektionsraum.

⁵⁴ ο κόσμος καταλαβαίνει ότι πρόκειται να πεθάνω. Όλοι προσπαθούσαν να έλθουν προς την μικρήν πόρταν και ο ένας ήταν απάνω στον άλλον. (...) Ο κόσμος προσπαθούσε με οτιδήποτε να σωθή, γρατσούνιζε με τα νύχια του τα ντουβάρια (...) Οι Γερμανοί από την οπήν παρακολουθούσαν και γελούσαν. Γιατί γελούσαν;

⁵⁵ Σχεδόν όλα τα κλέβαμε και τα μράγματα με πολύ μικρήν αξίαν τα παραδίδαμε σε αυτούς οι οποίοι πάλιν πρυφά από τους ανωτέρους τους τα κρατούσαν δι' αυτούς.

⁵⁶ τους είχαμε υποχειρίους, μας κάμναν οτιδήποτε χατίρι θέλαμε.

⁵⁷ είχαν στο πρόσωπό τους τον μορφασμόν του φόβου, του τρόμου.

⁵⁸ Οι φουρνιές γινόταν κάθε 30 λεπτά περίπου (...) Κάθε εξάωρον περίπου, γινόταν η εξαγωγή της στάχτης.

⁵⁹ Η μαρτυρική ζωή διήρκεσε περίπου 8½ μήνες, περιμέ νοντας από στιγμή σε στιγμή τον λυτρωμό μας στον θάνατο, αλλά μας κρατούσε στη ζωή η επιθυμία μας εκδικήσεως.

began to select people inside the *SK*, to delete their traces. The first one took 200 prisoners, and “the quicker the time passed, the faster we saw our ending arrive⁶⁰” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 94). Others were separated with guaranties that they would not be killed, just transferred to another function, “but the problem was obvious, where could they send them if not to extermination (for they served as *Sonder*)⁶¹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 94). On a Saturday, the selected ones set fire to Crematorium IV (3). The Nazi isolated the prisoners that were on Crematorium III (2), Nadjary included. The Greeks then decided to set the crematorium on fire, whilst the Poles, in special David “Oler and Strassenvogel, insisted that we should not do anything at all, for it would all be in vain. Then we gave up, for they were most of us⁶²” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 95).

Afterwards, Nadjary heard the mutiny started with the selection of a 100 Hungarians who were sent to the “Gipsy Camp”. Other 100 prisoners were selected, but there were Greeks amongst them that refused to answer to the summoning. A Greek screamed: “is the shower happening, yes or not?⁶³” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 96). Immediately the rest of them threw everything they had at hand in the three SS guards that were there, probably killing one of them. Some prisoners ran to the crematorium and set it on fire to disable it. The guards ran to Crematorium IV (3): the ones that set it on fire were killed when attempting to leave it. After fighting, seeing that they would lose, the other prisoners surrendered. When they saw the fire, the ones on Crematorium I understood it was a sign that the Germans had begun the killing of all the *SK* and decided to run, but the Germans surrounded them. The ones holding the dynamite bananas had no courage to use them, so the explosion on Crematorium II (1) did not occur. All were killed, and the prisoners “thought it was better to die outside than inside the rooms, a little bit later. We burnt them the next day⁶⁴” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 96). A couple of days later, new executions took place till there were only 100 *SK* members left, 26 Greeks amongst them.

As no more trains were arriving, the *SK* was set to demolish Crematories II (1) and III (2), with the help of some women. Nadjary tried, then, as he could, “to explain to Ninetta and to the other girls how the Germans killed so many millions, the system of operation, how we burnt the corpses. Even though they saw all of this in front of them, they could not believe⁶⁵” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 101). He wanted them to believe, for them, the members of the *SK*, “were sure we would not live, they would kill us, from the beginning, before freeing us, for our eyes had

⁶⁰Όσον ο καιρός περνούσε, τόσο Βλέπετε και το τέλος μας να έρχεται.

⁶¹Αλλά το ζήτημα ήταν φανερό, πού μπορούσαν να τους στείλουν, αν όχι για εξόντωσιν (επειδή υπηρετούσανε στο Ζόντερ).

⁶²Oler και Strassenvogel, επέμεναν να μην κάνουμε απολύτως τίποτα, διότι όλα θα ήταν μάταια. Υποκύψαμε μετά, λόγω ότι ήταν οι περισσότεροι.

⁶³<Θα γίνη ναι ή όχι το ντου;>

⁶⁴Σκεφθήκαν καλύτερον να σκοτωθούν έξω παρά λίγο αργότερον, εντός του δωματίου. Αυτούς τους κάναμε εμείς οι ίδιοι, την επομένη.

⁶⁵προσπαθούσα στη Νινέττα και σε άλλα κορίτσια να εξηγήσω το πώς οι Γερμανοί θανάτωσαν τόσους χιλιάδες, τον τρόπο της λειτουργίας, το πώς καίγαμε τα πτώματα. Αν και τα έβλεπαν μπροστά τους, δεν μπορούσαν να το πιστέψουν.

seen more than they should have⁶⁶” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 101). He wanted the secret he kept preserved and revealed to the world. On January 15th, 1945, they heard the Russians were getting closer. At night they heard explosions and gunfire, they thought that “the time of Auschwitz’s liberation was nigh, and the time of our end. (...) Our anguish was indescribable⁶⁷” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 102). On January 18th the evacuation of the *Lager* took place, but, whilst the other prisoners were leaving, the 100 *SK* members were locked up. When they realised the prisoners returned, they managed to escape the block and mingle with the rest. The Nazi looked for them twice but were not capable of locating them.

The *SK* members mixed with other prisoners on the Death March. The phalanx would move with around six or seven thousand people. They left several bodies through the streets; the stops to rest were rare and short; the cold, intense. At night, the prisoners were crammed in big walled properties, and tried to rest over mud and snow. The march continued for days till they were put in trains with open carts, where they faced “another martyrdom, the narrowness of the space, hunger, and thirst. We could not lose our strength and we were lost; we threw the dead ones from up the train⁶⁸” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 103). Some Greeks did not survive the trip. When they passed through Bern, the inhabitants threw them food. Some days later they arrived at Mauthausen where they had their hair cut, had a shower and just got clothes after a few days, the infamous stripped uniform. Around a thousand prisoners were sent to Melk, where they were set into forced labour. Nadjary got a double soup portion, for he put a lot of effort into the activity, to impress the command. However, even though he tried to be diligent at his work, he would be beaten constantly with a hose. Nadjary and Leon Cohen, another Greek Jew, were sent back to Mauthausen, and from there to Gusen II, where they found ways of avoiding the cold and the work. Despite considering the activities at Gusen II easy ones, “the cold, the sleeplessness and the fasting consumed us⁶⁹” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 107). Many times, there was nothing else to eat but hot water, so they learnt to eat coal and potato’s rotten peels, which they would hide in their shoes, and even grass. When they were caught hiding the rotten potatoes they were beaten. Even though, when the hunger was unbearable, Nadjary and Saul Molcho would do this repeatedly. From Gusen II they were sent once more to Mauthausen, where they remained for 4 to 5 days till a long phalanx was formed in the direction of Wels. Once more the tiredness, the hunger and the weakness followed them, making them eat whatever they found along the way, “we were together: me, Saul, Albert Jachon and Leon Cohen⁷⁰” (NADJARY, 2018, p. 110). Thus, Nadjary encloses his testimony, not letting us know how they got freed or how they went back to Greece, but highlighting he was not alone.

⁶⁶ήμασταν βέβαιοι ότι δεν επρόκειτο να ζήσουμε, θα μας σκότωναν από πριν, προτού ελευθερωθούμε, διότι τα μάτια μας είχαν ιδεί περισσότερα από ό,τι έπρεπε.

⁶⁷Πλησίαζε η ώρα της ελευθερίας του Auschwitz και συνάμα το τέλος μας. (...) Η αγωνία μας ήταν απεριόραπη.

⁶⁸αλλά εκεί άρχισε άλλο μαρτύριο, η στενότης χώρου και η πείνα και δίψα. Δεν έπρεπε να χάσουμε τις δυνάμεις μας και πηγαίναμε χαμένοι, αυτοί που πέθαιναν τους ρίχναμε από πάνω από το τραίνο.

⁶⁹μας έτρωγε το κρύο, η νύστα και η νηστεία.

⁷⁰Ημασταν μαζί ο Ζαούλ, Αλβέρτος Τζαχόν και ο Λεών Κοέν.

Brief Aspects of the Translation of the Manuscripts

This commentary on the texts is a quick analysis of Nadjary's writing style, based on what could be apprehended from the first impressions of the translation of his manuscripts. Due to matters of space and time, there is no room here for a deeper study, which we plan to do soon. We understand translation as a rewriting process, essential to the mediation of the eyewitness' narrative and a new audience, the Brazilian people in this case, in which one searches for the preservation of both the context and the political act that such testimony entails (Davies, 2018). It is quite a challenge when the structural characteristics of such different languages is considered.

The 1944 manuscript was written during Nadjary internment in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in a rush and hidden from the Nazi guards. The text reflects these circumstances: it is a very objective, disjointed text. It is a heap of facts with no seam to conduct the narrative. This characteristic reveals the hurry and the unfavourable situation, not adequate for intellectual activities of any kind.

Despite all technological improvements applied to the 1944 manuscript, many words could not be deciphered with clarity – and that explains the differences between the Greek and the Polish versions – and some holes remain in the text, which corroborates its incompleteness. This manuscript is a letter, which means it bears all the characteristics of this format: an addressee is appointed, instructions are given to him on how to dispose of the sender's belongings, and, above all, there are both well-defined start and end, which is more than the 1947 one has.

The general impression of the translation of the 1947 manuscript is that one is watching a slideshow: each click reveals a scene, some scenes are left pending. As in the 1944 manuscript, there is no consistent narrative thread in the construction of the text. Nadjary does not continue an episode he started, breaking the narrative to start yet another episode, completely diverse and, many times, with no direct connection with the previous one. It is, though, important to bear in mind that the text was not thought to be read by strangers. Nadjary's goal was to register the events to retain the memory of what he lived and saw, from the Occupation of Greece to the Liberation of the *Lagers*. Not predicted by the author during the composition of the text, the reader is left with more doubts than certainties: how does this situation unfold, how did they solve this matter, amongst others.

The text of the 1947 manuscript is also very dry, as is the one of 1944: it is composed of a listing of facts; feelings and emotions are briefly mentioned, the author does not linger in debates around such matters. The text ends so abruptly that the reader has the impression the author got suddenly tired of the narrative and abandoned it. A very different ending is given in the manuscript of 1944, in which the author says his goodbyes to his dearest friend. Perhaps the reason why he rarely spoke about it and why he did not return to his writings to finish them is because perhaps that terror never ended for him. Besides that, in the year of 1947 little or nothing had been debated about the testimonies of survivors, the testimonial boom would only happen in the 1980's, some years after Nadjary's death.

Despite his laconic testimony, if compared to others left buried in Auschwitz, Nadjary himself mentions a reason for his dryness and objectivity: “He states after a summary of the process of extermination at Birkenau: ‘The horrible things my eyes have seen are indescribable’. The word he uses here, which is translated as ‘indescribable’, is ‘απερίγραπτα’, which is etymologically linked to ‘γράφω’ (*grapho*), to writing” (CHARE; WILLIAMS, 2019, p. 114) The first letter of the word *απερίγραπτα* is an *alpha*, a vowel that sounds like “a”. This *alpha* in the beginning of a word provokes a negative idea, it is the so-called “*alpha* privative”. The preposition “περί – *peri*” confers the idea of circular movement, denotes the area around something. Thus, the conjunction of these three Greek syntagms in the same word would form a semantic unit that indicates something impossible to be written in those circumstances. Despite his attempts to create a representation, a body, to what he says, he cannot write. Thus, even though the world will not know Nadjary’s reasons for his non-closures, his narrative is a treasure to the construction of the memory of the horrors lived by the peoples persecuted by the Nazi during Second World War, and his bravery in leaving these records to posterity is invaluable. In the end, he did get his revenge.

Final Thoughts

The Nazi lost the battle for the dictation of the history of the *Lager*. They failed because there were survivors that raised their voices and lent their bodies to testify. There is also a group of testimonies that overcame the Nazi’s intentions of controlling the memory about the *Lager*: the relates, and other evidence the dead, left buried alongside the crematory ovens. The manuscripts found enshrouded in Auschwitz-Birkenau are an important record of the horrors of the Shoah, and they are still pending deeper analyses. They remind us of moments that we would prefer had never existed, but that did exist and cannot be ignored like the Nazi wanted. The register of this memory is under conservation, study, and translation, not to be forgotten by the next generations, for this horror never to happen again. There are, however, some misconducts in these preservative acts. Thirty manuscripts still lie in the soil of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and they are not being searched for. Besides that, there is the issue of making the uncovered manuscripts properly readable and amply disseminated. After all, in a general way, what we noticed through research is that there is little interest in the sufferings of the operators of the crematoriums. The Nazi wanted them to be bearers of secrets: relegated to silence, shame and condemnation. However, as they knew their tragic role, they faced the risks of registering what they saw and do, raising the written word to an act of vengeance and resistance against Nazi’s will.

In this sense, each testimony counts, for each is capable of throwing light in the events, dilemmas and inquiries. It is in this sense of recovering memory that Nadjary’s manuscripts are invaluable. Nadjary’s manuscripts confer materiality to his passage through *Lager*. His manuscripts contain the necessary marks so that whoever reads them will come to know not only the number marked in the Nazi records, but also the name and the history of Marcel Nadjary. If, on one side, we

understand the context in which Nadjary registered the 1944 testimony, the same is not true for why he did not want to reveal the existence of the first manuscript while he was still alive. Translating these manuscripts into Brazilian Portuguese has posed challenges, but it has also allowed us to reveal the story of a Greek Jew who loved his homeland; who took the time to name, one by one, the Greeks he met throughout his misfortunes; who, despite not fearing death, did his best to survive and thus avenge, through the registering of memory, his testimonies, all the dead. This is a story worth telling, even in our mother language, Brazilian Portuguese.

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Allegorical Representations of Tudor Princes

By Natalya Davidko *

The problem of studying various types of allegorical discourses is topical. The current research devoted to allegories as a special device in the literary and pictorial art of sixteenth-century England is concerned with three different types of figurative mode of representation, their cognitive content, and their pragmatic effect. The poets, playwrights, and artists developed iconic representations of the Tudor monarchs by means of three forms of allegories: comparisons, impersonations, and personifications whose public aim was the consolidation of the dynastic power and hermeneutic interpretation of abstract concepts which made up the core of Tudor cosmology. The study provides an integrated approach to the allegorical paradigm as the totality of all means (textual and visual) expressing the same conceptual theme. The analysis has a strictly historical character and is put in the context of contemporary events and prevailing philosophical views. The corpus of literary material is discussed in rhetorical and ideological terms,

Keywords: *allegorical comparisons, impersonations, personifications, Moon culture.*

This ornament we speake of is giuen by figures and figurative speeches, which be the flowers as it were and coulors that a Poet setteth upon his language of arte, as the embroiderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold vpon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulors upon his table of portrait; so our Poet is in the discreet using of his figures, by all measure and just proportion, and in places most aptly to be bestowed (Puttenham 1869, p. 150).

Introduction

Many scholars of medieval culture consider that the Middle Ages were the "Age of Allegory." In this article I want to make a case that the Tudor age was the "Age of Allegory," in which it became an intrinsic property not only of literature and art, but of courtly and political life, too. Far from being diminished or altogether extinct, allegory acquired new functions and extended to new cultural areas such as drama, pageants, and pictorial art. "Ancient, medieval, and Renaissance writers distinguished between theological allegory and literary allegory, between allegory as a description of the cosmos and allegory as a rhetorical mode or product of human invention" (Kahn 2017, p.33). Morton Bloomfield considers allegory "the most significant mode of expression" in the early-modern period and the greatest treasure of world literature (Bloomfield 1987). Allegory is a multifaceted device that performs several semiotic functions among which a *propagandist* and *hermeneutic* functions which provide for cult creation and the dissemination of easily understood ideas (be it

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politics, ideology, or religion) are, probably, the most important¹. However, there are few works analyzing various forms of literary allegories of the period in question, as a result, many aspects of allegories have so far been overlooked as many literary works (material for analysis) have been neglected or remained unread. The current article proposes to fill in this gap and answer the following questions: what is the artist's intention in employing allegories; how the use of allegories increases the effectiveness of literary works; what textual paradigms are formed; what are social and political practices in art and literature.

Allegory as Analogy

Our understanding of allegory proceeds from the assumption that allegory is grounded in analogical reasoning as a fundamental instrument of human thought. Analogy (from Greek *analogia*, "proportion") is a cognitive process of transferring information or meaning from a particular object to another. The underlying theory postulates that a nexus is established in representation between two objects. The properties typical of one are ascribed to the other, so they become common for both. Allegories make it possible to look at an object from multiple angles and allow multiple ways of interpreting it.

A comprehensive treatment of the mental process of analogy is given in the works of philosophers, psychologists, and writers. Analogy is viewed as a basic formal mechanism that transposes one category onto another and "apprehends metaphysical relations of identity and difference. It is by analogy that one conceives the likeness of the unlike" (Blanton 2015, p.750). Epistemologically, analogy is a means of cognition; phenomenologically, analogies provide the ways to compare objects and events and establish relationships between them. Baudelaire identified imagination as the governing faculty in the creation of analogies and metaphors and therefore in the creation of new forms (Babuts 1992, p. 26).

In the discussion of analogy, the philosophers are indebted to Aristotle, who draws an analogy between a mode of representation and what it represents. Properties of the representation provide grounds for inferring corresponding properties in the object represented. He also suggested "the doctrine of analogical predication," which illumines many deferent kinds of relationships: "To affirm or deny one thing of many, or many of one, is not one affirmation or negation unless the many things together make up some one thing. I do not call them one if there exists one name but there is not some one thing they make up" (Aristotle 1984, p. 32). Analogical predication illustrates how new properties are added to the subject borrowed from an entirely separate identity. As a result, it creates a new, still-unknown identity.

¹Other functions are: 1) a heuristic function that helps to visualize some phenomenon (person, event or situation); 2) a catachrestic function filling gaps in the system of meanings, which is originally incomplete; 3) an exegetical function explaining complicated or abstract concepts; 4) a propagatory function transmitting knowledge down to new generations.

The Moon Culture

The theoretical basis and aesthetic orientation of the 16th century poetical allegories was the Moon culture that permeated Renaissance England's worldview and became the cultural context of the contemporary writings and paintings.

Veneration of the Moon began early in human societies both in primitive hunting cultures and in sedentary agricultural communities dependent on the cyclical vegetative processes. Though a less common esoteric tradition, the Moon cult is present in many faiths and religions, both old and young. In the *Book of Ecclesiasticus*² written about two hundred years before Christ but considered canonical by the Catholic Church by virtue of being directed by the spirit of God, the Moon is treated as the armament of Heaven, a sign of contemplative life, and a sign of the world. The writer refers to the Moon as an "instrument of the armies above. Stars accompany and wait on the Moon as a reward for her giving light during the darkness in a long night" (Bayley 2000, p. 104). The Moon is

An instrument of the hosts on high,
Shining forth in the firmament of heaven,
The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars,
An ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord,
At the word of the Holy One they will stand in due order,
And they will not faint in their watches (Ecclesiasticus 1896, 43:6–9, p 150).

Viewed in terms of the rhythmic life of the cosmos, the Moon is regarded as a deity that controls life cycles. Being a celestial body that disperses night darkness, the Moon is considered a Luminary that sheds the light of God's knowledge on people. This divine enlightenment invites to contemplation, the highest activity of the mind, to penetrate "the realm of eternal truth and beauty" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 588), which results in the purification of the soul.

In the Egyptian culture, the Moon deity was masculine and identified with Thoth³, the pathfinder and the awakener of sleeping minds. In ancient Indian beliefs, the path of the pious and virtuous led to the Moon, a kind of paradise filled with tranquility and bliss (Bayley 2000, p. 107). The most impressive and exhaustive description of the Moon is given by Plutarch (46–119 AD) in his treatise *The Face In The Moon* also called *De Facie*. Composed as a dialogue between real persons living in Plutarch's lifetime and great minds of the past, *De Facie* reflects contemporary views on the celestial body, its mystical allure and powers. One of the participants, Apollonides, offers an extraordinary idea that "the face, as we call it, is made up of images of the great ocean mirrored in the Moon; and the full moon is of all mirrors the most beautiful and the purest in uniformity

²*Ecclesiasticus* is a work written by the scribe Ben Sira of Jerusalem, originally written in Hebrew on the inspiration of his father Joshua (sometimes called Jesus), son of Sirach. It consists of ethical teachings and contains advice and instruction as to the duties of man toward himself, the poor, society and the state, and most important toward God.

³The god of the moon, wisdom, knowledge, writing, hieroglyphs, science, magic, art and judgment.

and luster. The outer Ocean⁴ is seen in the moon, not where it really is" (Plutarch 1911, p. 18).

The range of ideas about the Moon in Plutarch's treatise is extensive. An important part is his views on the nature and fate of the soul, and the Moon's role in the creation of man: "the earth contributes body to the birth of man, the moon soul, the sun reason, just as he contributes light to the moon" (Plutarch 1911, p.44-45). The distinction between mind (reason) and soul is in their derivation from the Sun and the Moon respectively. In the eschatology of Plutarch, death takes two steps. When man dies, on the earth Demeter parts soul from body; on the Moon, Persephone parts mind from soul. Being freed from mind, souls embrace a life of quiet and philosophical contemplation. Every soul, when it has quit the body, should wander in the region between earth and moon to pay penalties for their wrong doings. (Plutarch 1911, p. 47). The question of the habitability of the moon is solved by Plutarch making it a dwelling place of purged souls; impure souls are rejected by the Moon by scaring them off with her ominous face. Both the separation of Intellect from the soul and the combination of Intellect with the soul happen on the moon. The function of the moon is to receive the soul into itself (by making it a part of itself) and to generate it anew out of itself.

The cult of the Moon flourished in Tudor England and had a bearing on many aspects of English life taking hold of the minds of the contemporary poetical elite and intellectuals. It was during this time that many of the influential thinkers, such as Sir Walter Raleigh, Christopher Marlowe, and George Chapman founded a group of scholars called the 'School of Night.' The doctrine of the School of Night was based on Platonic mysticism whose main postulate was the "pre-existence of a celestial chaos – a divine realm not yet illuminated by the light of the Sun" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 585).

Since the general intellectual life of the Tudor age was closely connected with poetry as a venue of spreading ideology and philosophy, we shall analyze the Moon culture and its main conventions as they were presented in the most illuminating poem by George Chapman (1559–1634) *The Shadow of Night* published in 1594. It was his first extant published poem which articulated in a poetic form the prime ideas of this esoteric and transcendental culture. Roy Battenhouse considers that Chapman formulated a "systematic philosophy of Night" based on "a Platonic natural religion which employs the moon as symbol of spiritual illumination" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 587) in opposition to the orthodox Christian religion.

The first postulate of this occult idealism is that the primordial darkness is not evil but is the first creation of God, the "chaos of our first descent," the time of honor and virtue. Darkness is regarded as a godsend for the purification of human soul: "Chaos had soul without a body then./ Now bodies live without the souls of men" (Chapman 1874, p. 4). It is to be noted that in Chapman's interpretation darkness brings spiritual illumination to people, which the Sun that the poet considers a "false beacon" does not. Night signifies a soul in its prime state, that is

⁴In ancient cosmology, the outer Ocean is a level, flowing ocean stream surrounding the earth and separating the abode of the supreme god/gods and men from the abode of disembodied spirits and rulers of the *dlsukha* and *idakho* of Western Kenya (Fairfield 1882, p. 7-10).

in a state of peace and divine bliss "when unlightsome, vast, and indigest/ The formless matter of this world did lie, /Fill'd'st every place with divinity" (Chapman 1874, p. 4). The second postulate proclaims Night the "most sacred mother both of gods and men" because "Night fosters the inward wisdom, the knowledge of divine things / Night purifies the mind, acts as a purge for pure spirits" (Chapman 1874, p. 6). He addresses Night in a most respectful way: "thou dear Night, O goddess of most worth; great mistress of heaven's gloomy rack" (Chapman 1874, p. 6). Night pours forth "sweet seas of golden humor," i.e., Moonlight that symbolizes divine life and reason and starlight that symbolizes the spirits of virtuous men. The poet distinguishes Mother Night from shadow-Night, the former representing "things eternal, dignified above" (Chapman 1874, p. 6), which people should aspire, the latter the mutable material world in which they live. The Moon is a bright heart of true Night.

A very beautiful description of the Moon is given by Giordano Bruno stressing hazy shimmering luminescence of lunar ambiance and misty outlines of all things:

Next to her stand nocturnal Silence, starry Crown, silvery Gleam, rosy Calm, tawny Pallor, bronze Tawinness, pinkening Mist, divided Half-Shapefulness, shadowy Joy, murky Mutability, golden yellow Brightness, bright Gold yellowness (Bruno 1991, p. 194).

The third postulate hypothesizes that Day and daylight are "sources of corruption of the soul and of mistaken knowledge. The light imagery bears strikingly different connotations in Platonic mysticism and in the orthodox religion. Chapman associates Day with "the whoredom of this painted light" and calls on Night to beat the "haughty Day to the infernal deep" with her starry wings. Day is a refuge for sin. People sink into an abyss of lust, greed, avarice and become "no less than huge impolish'd heaps of filthiness," (Chapman, 1874, p. 6) their hearts are black. Frances Yates summarized Chapman's word picture as an antithesis between Day and Night, "in which the busy occupations of the Day are contrasted with the meditative Night of Melancholy, the former being empty and foolish, the latter profound and holy" (Yates 1979, p. 162).

Her [Night's] trusty shadows succour men dismay'd,
Whom Day's deceitful malice hath betray'd
Come consecrate with me, to sacred Night
Your whole endeavours, and detest the
light (Chapman 1874, p.8).

Shadow-dark meaning ignorance and "blindness of mind" is opposed to Divine dark – intuitive knowledge which apperceives God's truth. The metaphysical significance of this distinction is that the Sun God and the Moon Goddess are an alternative way of expressing the same opposition between the Active and the Contemplative life, living in Time and living in Eternity (Bradbrook 1936, p. 71). The poet calls for a return to the state of the primordial darkness from the man's fallen state and degenerate mind through repentance or death. He appeals to the Moon to send her "chaste daughters, ministers of right,/ The dreadful and the just

Eumenides (Furies)" and let them cure the world of our disease, even if it takes "Drowning the world in blood, and stain the skies/ With their spilt souls" (Chapman 1874, p. 7). He implores Hercules to fall from heaven "and cleanse this beastly stable of the world./ Or bend thy brazen bow against the sun and his envious beams." He wishes the Sun "leave the world to Night and dreams" and retreat to "Somnus' thickets"⁵ (Chapman 1874, p.7). He calls on mankind to "fall worm-like on the ground, round,/ Weep, weep your souls, into felicity/ Come to this house of mourning, serve the Night" (Chapman 1874, p. 8). For such unorthodox views and ideas the members of the school were denounced as atheists and their school was labeled the 'School of atheism'.

The Moon as a Symbol of Divine Power

It is common knowledge that the emperors of late antiquity were represented either as the Sun or the Moon, the astral symbols of power that make the emperor appear a *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* [partner of the stars, brother of the Sun and the Moon] (L'Orange 1953, p. 36). From Roman emperors the sun-moon symbol that emblemized the idea of cosmic kingship (the harmony and motion which the Creator gave to this Universe) was inherited by the medieval rulers of Europe (L'Orange 1953, p.38) and continued well into the 16th century. The crescent moon was associated with the symbol of the Creator because the Moon was held to be a sign of Heavenly host (Bayley 2000, p. 104).

Figures 1 &2. Albrecht Dürer. *The Virgin on the Crescent with a Starry Crown* (1508). *The Virgin on a Crescent. Frontispiece to The Life of the Virgin* (1510)



Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Religious art in its devotional imagery absorbed the star-moon symbols. From around 1500, Albrecht Dürer created numerous representations of the Virgin Mary depicting her standing on the crescent surrounded by radiant light around her body, wearing a crown of stars or with a starry aureole above her head (Figures 1 & 2). Juan Cirlot considers that there is a dual significance in the crescent: it is a symbolic image of paradise (the Land of Heaven) and was used with this import

⁵Somnus, the personification of sleep, residing in the underworld, brother to death.

by the early Christians living in catacombs (Cirlot 1971, p. 44); secondly, it stands for the passive, feminine principle, and for things aquatic as we shall see later.

The 16th Century Understanding of the Use of Allegory

Allegory as a Rhetoric Device

George Puttenham (1529–1590), an English writer and literary critic, whose major work is *The Arte of English Poesie* written a year before his death, calls 'Allegoria' "a long and perpetual metaphor" which alters the "whole and entire speach." He refers it to ornaments of speech which "allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noveltie and strange maner of conueyance, disguising it no little from the ordinary and accustomed" (Puttenham 1869, p. 149). Comparing a literal description of the queen "Elizabeth regent of the great Brittain Ile/ Honour of all regents and of Queenes" with its allegorical representation "The English Diana, the great Britton mayde [maid]" (Puttenham 1869, p. 188), Puttenham comes to a conclusion that the latter has a richer significative meaning (which he calls 'duplicitie' of its sense) combining two personae – Elizabeth and the Greek goddess. Because of such duplicity he calls it a "figure of false semblant or dissimulation" but considers it "the captaine of all other figures" (Puttenham 1869, p. 197), which serves the "enlargement of language". He stresses its prevalence in the speech of Elizabethan courtiers:

The use of this figure is so large, and his vertue of so great efficacie as is supposed no man can pleasantly utter and perswade without it. ... not only every common Courtier, but also the gravest Counsellour, yea and the most noble and wisest Prince are many times enforced to use it (Puttenham 1869, p. 196).

According to Puttenham, a public speech without figures of speech is like an "alehouse tale" told at a tavern table. "The principall vertue of Allegoria is when we do speak in sense transitive and wrested from the own signification, nevertheless applied to another [object] not altogether contrary, but having much conveniencie with it" (Puttenham 1869, p. 197).

Henry Peacham (1546-1634), another well-known rhetorician of the 16th century, in his book *The Garden of Eloquence* published in 1593 analyzed various stylistic devices including 'Allegoria' defining it as a sustained metaphor continued through whole sentences or even through a whole discourse. According to Peacham, "Allegoria is a sentence which means one thing in words and another in sense" (Peacham 1593, p. 26). Allegories attach lively images to things or people; he compares them to cosmic constellations "in respect of beautie, brightnesse and direction", but warns against their excessive use because "unlikenesse of the comparisons do make the Allegorie absurd" (Peacham, p. 27).

A similar understanding is expounded by John Harrington (1561–1612), a poet and translator, in his *Apology of Poetry*. He proceeds from Plutarch's definition that the allegory is "when one thing is told, and by that another is understood" (Harrington 1591, p. iij). Harrington distinguishes at least three layers [rines] in the

allegorical construct: the literal sense [meaning] set forth as an history of notable exploits of some persons (cognitive content); the moral sense approving virtuous actions and condemning the contrary; and finally, some abstract sense of true understanding of "natural Philosophy, or politick government, or of divinity" (Harrington 1591). Allegories are polysemous and display a great richness of meanings and hence interpretations involving many diverse and deep concepts.

Allegory in Tudor England

The sixteenth century saw a new development in the formation of "collective representations" of the Tudor monarchs understood by Durkheim as "ways in which the thought of the collectivity is epitomized" (Durkheim 1915, p. 5). The Tudors created a permanent national consciousness through collective representations which are the result of social cooperation backed by some authority that is selective about ideas and tropes conveying them. Artists and poets began to draw on biblical and classical mythology looking for possible correspondences (factual or factitious) between a sovereign and respective heroes/ heroines of the past, whose virtues or vices, in the perception of an artist, a Tudor prince might have embodied. As a result, verbal and visual arts of the period became highly allegorical. Allegories were not just fragments or "leftovers" of the preceding periods, but a new figurative system based on allegorical thinking because sixteenth century writers "knew what the ancients knew, because they tried to write as the ancients wrote, because they began to think, and soon to feel, as the ancients thought and felt." (Burckhardt 1878, p. 105). The allegorical tradition passed into early modern literature and pictorial art as "allegorical figures served as free and independent elements" (Burckhardt 1878, p. 132). Goethe also noticed it: "Shakespeare is rich in wonderful figures of speech, which arise from personified concepts, which are entirely in place in his work because in his day all art was dominated by allegory" (Walter 2003, p. 228).

Allegory as a literary technique in the description of the Tudor rulers in which two unrelated objects/ personae are compared for their shared qualities became highly inferential. Such analogies establish associations between the two beings (Latin *ens*) to highlight a certain characteristic; there is obvious intent on the part of the author to add depth to a created image by ascribing specific qualities to the sovereign's identity with the aim either to exalt or disparage him/her.

The allegory's meaning is not immediately given, it is based on some cognitive content, the sum of accumulated knowledge, beliefs, or ideas gained through tradition and passed down in history through myths and legends – narratives, which encode previous experience and pool inherited patterns of thought for intellectual conception of an object, event, or person. Allegories orient the perceiver in a particular direction and are used to express concepts in the form of artistic, tangible, and visual images. There is historical evidence that the early Henrician court was obsessed by games, chivalric role-playing, and light allegory. As Scarisbrick puts it, Henry VIII "was a prodigy, a sun-

king, a *stupor mundi* [the wonder of the world]. He lived in, and crowned, a world of lavish allegory, mythology and romance" (Scarisbrick 1968, p. 20). So he was very knowledgeable about Allegory and could appreciate its usefulness as an ideological vehicle.

Type I: Allegories by Comparison

The Allegory becomes a figurative construction of social reality. Since the focal point of our research is the Tudor monarchs, the analysis of allegories is necessarily concerned with power, ideologies, values and cult creation. Allegories are built on several constructive models. The first is a model involving comparison: a certain analogy is drawn between a monarch and a respective mythological or biblical character accompanied with the transfer of cognitive content associated with the latter to the former illuminating some shared property. It imbues a literary text with a symbolic code.

John Skelton (1460-1529) was probably the first poet, who eulogized the Tudors making ample and successful use of allegories as a figurative mode of expression. In his celebration poem of Henry VIII's accession in 1509 *A Laud and Praise Made for Our Sovereign Lord and King*, he uses a device of comparison of young Henry to the heroes of the past. In order to understand the choice of allegorical figures, the context in which the poem was composed has to be examined.

The historical context of Henry's accession directly points to a change in England's policy. Thus, it makes sense to situate allegorical verses within the immediate historical circumstances and see how they affect the employment of allegories and their cognitive content. The young, high-spirited king plunged headlong in military campaigns and personally led the army in many battles. His father, Henry VII, had preferred diplomacy to war. But from time to time he had hinted to young Henry that a moment might come favorable for an English attack on France. In 1513, Henry VIII saw this moment: on June 30, 1513, he invaded France, and his troops defeated the French army and seized Terouenne and later Tournai. Meanwhile, trouble was cropping up on the Scottish boarder, with France bidding Scotland to strike on England. James, King of Scotland, invaded England at the head of a great army. "On the afternoon of September 9th was fought the bloody and decisive battle-of-Flodden. Of the two armies, the Scottish was probably the larger; but the English captains had their troops better in hand" (Innes 1911, p. 67). King James was slain in the field. Other battles were no less successful. The sea-fight off Brest, the successes at Terouenne and Tournai, and, finally, the great victory of Flodden, "proved beyond dispute that Englishmen only needed to be well led to show themselves as indomitable as ever they had been in the past" (Innes 1911, p. 67).

And the leader desirous of military glory was the young king. Thus, it becomes clear why Skelton chooses Alexander the Great (Alexis), one of the greatest military personalities of all time, and Adrastus, a Mythical king of Argos, who

figures in the *Iliad*, in Pindar's⁶ poems, Aeschylus'⁷ play *Seven Against Thebes* and Euripides'⁸ tragedy *The Suppliants*. Skelton uses extended comparison:

Noble Henry the Eight,
Thy loving sovereign lord,
In whom doth well accord
Alexis young of age,
Adrastus wise and sage (Skelton 1879, p. 340).

The name of Alexander the Great whose military exploits are well known does not need any comments; the personality of Adrastus, the king of Argos (one of the oldest cities in the world) and leader of the Seven against Thebes (another large ancient city, often called 'Seven-Gated Thebes') requires some illumination. Adrastus trying to help his son-in-law to be restored to the Theban throne, gathered a sizable army and started an expedition to conquer Thebes; he appointed seven bravest warriors to serve as champions to assault each of the seven gates in the wall of Thebes. The initial attack drove the Thebans back into city, but an attack on the walls failed and the battle proceeded outside the city. At each of the gates, champions fought valiantly with besieged defenders but all perished in the fight except for Adrastus⁹, who was saved by the fabulously fast horse Arion, a gift from Heracles. Ten years later, the sons of the defeated champions headed by Adrastus marched again on Thebes; the war was won this time, but Adrastus paid a high price for the victory – the only one killed in battle was his son.

Allegorical comparisons present a deeper and more particular portrayal of the Prince. The poems written in Henry VIII's lifetime are flattering to the monarch, even more so are poetic pieces written in Elizabeth's reign, which contain only laudatory descriptions of her father. Ulpian Fulwell published in 1575 a tract, half prose, half verse, called *The Flower of Fame*, which he starts with the description of Henry's virtues and his regal prowess.

Among the most fortunate kynges & Princes that euer raigned: let the Fortunes of king Henrie the eyght have a speciall place. There were in his tyme raining more puissant Princes together, than euer were lyuing in any age before, and yet among them all, not one of them equall to the Kyng of Englande in prowes (Fulwell 2022, p. 2).

When comparisons claimed authority the best way was to resort to biblical characters and iconic figures of the Greek and Roman antiquity, among whom we find "The myghtie *Ceasar* [who] would geve place" to Henry VIII, and Alexander, whom Henry matched "in valianties." The choice and combination of allegorical figures created individual characteristics for the Tudor prince ensuring multiple points of view. Thus, Henry is described as:

⁶Pindar (518 - 438 BC) was an Ancient Greek lyric poet from Thebes.

⁷Aeschylus (525/524 –456/455 BC) was considered the father of tragedy and the first dramatist to present plays as a trilogy.

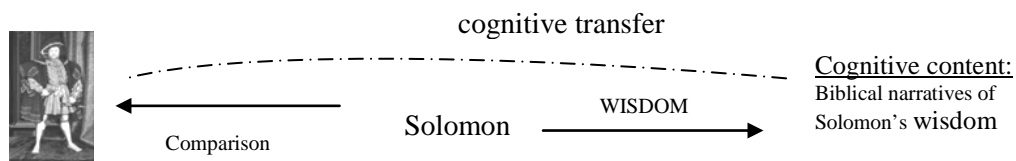
⁸Euripides (480 – c. 406 BC), a tragedian of classical Athens.

⁹For a detailed description of the war and its consequences see Robin Hard (2004).

A Solomon for godly wit,
 A Solon for his constant mind;
 A Samson when he list to hit
 The fury of his foes unkind (Fulwell 2011, p.1).

The demonstrative proposition "Henry is Solomon" understood as "Henry is as wise as Solomon" creates a new identity for the monarch accumulating across a lengthy historical period in the process of propagation the salient features – 'wisdom' and 'royal prowess'. Solomon was a fabulously wealthy and wise king of Old Testament, whose wisdom is described in the Bible. Other objects of comparison were: Solon, an Athenian law maker, who was a person of unwavering moral principles; and Samson, a man of superhuman strength. The device of cognitive transfer invests all perfections of several well-known personalities in one person. These comparisons blend together masculinity and political authority, which was later successfully incarnated in the famous mural by Hans Holbein. Henry's virtues were imparted to his daughter, Elizabeth, who her "fathers steppes treades so ryght and beautifies his fame". Allegory as a mode of signification based on comparison combines analogical thinking with cognitive transfer of any sort of property attributed to historical/ mythological characters (Figure 3). Such analogical allegories gather many comparisons into the image of one unifying figure – the Prince – combining salient pieces of the ideological mythology.

Figure 3. *Cognitive Grounds for Allegories Based on Comparison*



Edward VI's life and reign were so short that he left a tiny trace in poetry and ballads. Nevertheless, in the coronation speech pronounced by Thomas Cranmer, an architect of the English Reformation, we find a very pertinent comparison of the boy-king to Josias, the sixteenth king of Judah (640–609 BCE), who also became king at the age of eight after the assassination of his father and, like Edward, instituted major religious reforms. Cranmer calls Edward "a second Josiah", and Josiah his "predecessor". *Tertium comparationis* is the age of the kings and their devotion to the reformation of the Church.

"Your majesty is Christ's vicar within your own dominions, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshiped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed.... Like unto him, there was no king before him that turned to the Lord with all his heart, neither after him arose there any like him. This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days" (Cranmer 1846, p. 127).

In the case of Mary I, politics and religion were intermixed and this fusion became cognitive ground for comparison. In ballads written by Catholic priests,

Mary's allegorical analogies are based on understanding her as a defender of the True faith, so parallels are drawn with such heroines of the past as Judith or Hester:

Marie, the mirrour of mercifulnesse,
 God of his goodnesse hath lent to this lande;
 Our iewell, our ioye, our Judeth, doutlesse,
 The great Holofernes of hell to withstande.
 Full well I may liken and boldly compare
 Her highnesse to Hester, that vertuous Quene;
 The enuious Hamon to kyll is her care.
 And all wicked workers to wede them out clene (Rollins 1920, p.14).

Judith was a beautiful vengeful widow, who beheaded Holofernes, an Assyrian general intent on destroying her home town. She penetrated his tent, put him to sleep, and decapitated him with a sword. Queen Hester (Esther) is another Biblical person, the wife of the Persian King, whose vizier killed all the Jews. Esther, being a Jew herself, accused him and had him hanged on the highest gallows in the country.

Ballads composed by Protestants, on the contrary, draw comparison between Mary and Jezebel, who was the wife of the King of Israel, worshiped false prophets and expelled true prophets from Israel. In the end, the dynasty was annihilated and Jezebel was defenestrated (thrown out the window). Throughout history the name *Jezebel* had been associated with false prophets. The ballad *A Warning to Queen Mary*, written on Oct. 10, 1553 by a Protestant priest is an admonition to the queen against "that myserable maskyng masse which all good men doth hatte [hate]" and false idolatry. At the beginning, he calls her "O lovesome Rose most Redelente [redolent], of Vadynge flowres most ffresch," but then compares her to "wycked Iessabell" and accuses her of listening to "four hundred prophettes falce" (Furnivall 1872, p. 434).

A more detailed description of Jezebel's sin of pride and her tragic end is presented in another ballad *A Godly and good example to avoid all inconveniencies as hereafter followeth*:

Proud Iesabell [Jezebel], whose sinne so great did move the lorde to Ire,
 Was headlonge from her tower so neat cast in the filthy myre ;
 The raveninge dogges, in open streates, devored her wicked corpse ;
 Her fleshe and blood with horses' feet was trode without remorse (Rollins 1920, p. 247).

Elizabeth I also received her share of flattering comparisons. It is of interest to note that comparisons were drawn irrespective of her gender both to heroes and heroines of the past. However, as will be seen later, a more potent and efficacious type of allegory originated in the works of the contemporary poets. Nevertheless, allegorical comparisons contributed to the glorification of the Queen exposing the most important political and ideological peculiarities of her time.

In the dedication of his book *The acts and monuments* to queen Elizabeth, John Foxe calls her "our peaceable Salome!" (Foxe 1837, p. 502) alluding to a

person of the New Testament – one of the women, a myrrh bearer, who witnessed the crucifixion and later discovered that Jesus' tomb was empty. Her name means 'peace'. Peace was the corner stone of Elizabeth's policy. Another comparison is to Constantine, an emperor who tried to terminate the religious controversies of his Christian subjects: "great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together" (Foxye 1837, p. 250).

Allegories based on comparison show us how the image of a Prince was structured to be presented to the public in the definition of his/her sovereign identity within a specific historical situation, ideology, or political project. The diversity of comparisons creates imaginative plurality and enhances the significance of a royal personality.

Type II: Allegory as Impersonation

No matter how effective the literary device of comparison was, in the 16th century there appeared a different kind of allegory of a more sophisticated cognitive complexity – impersonation, which Quintilian defines in the *Institutio* as:

A bolder form of figure is impersonation, or *prosopopoeia*. This is a device which lends wonderful variety and animation to oratory. ... We are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead (Quintilian 1979, p. 391).

The 16th century saw a fast proliferation of this type of allegory in literature and art. It reached an apogee in the reign of Elizabeth I, when multifaceted allegorical representations were amply used by poets to accommodate political, ideological, moral, and ethical objectives. True, at the beginning it was used with a certain degree of reservation. When Fulwell called Elizabeth Diana, he wrote, "Her godly nature well deserues/ A Goddess for to bee" (Fulwell 2011, p.7). Later, such poets as John Davies and Edmund Spenser took the queen's divine identities for granted and aggrandized Elizabeth with the help of polymorphous impersonations. It was an unprecedented invention when a sovereign was represented as an earthly reincarnation of ancient goddesses. Pagan gods became a suitable means for poetic representation of Tudor princes. With the revival of paganism, the proximity of the gods became the most important element of ideological indoctrination.

In the article we propose to discuss only two hypostases of Elizabeth, their moral and metaphysical significance – Diana and Cynthia. The first literary work written in this manner was Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1590). A whole gallery of famous virgins filled the pages of his book: Gloriana combining the virtues of virginity with the power over the seas and eternal divine light; Britomart, a warlike princess, a female knight (her name is composed of Britain and Mars), the ideal of Chastity; Una, the quintessence of purity and high priestess of the "true sacred lore" leading her people to God; and of course Cynthia/Diana (Moon), a true ruler epitomizing peace and harmony, the name prompted to Spenser by his friend Walter Raleigh. Christopher Marlowe, glorified Elizabeth as

the goddess Ceremony "with a Crowne of all the stars," who descended from above to establish order and true religion. "Heaven with her descended" turning the isle into earthly heaven. Her "shadows" were Devotion, Order, State, and Reverence, "All which her sight made live, her absence die" (Marlowe 1963, p. 88).

Transcending the individuality of Elizabeth

The insightful description of allegory by Arthur Schopenhauer emphasizes allegory's capacity to indicate some idea or ideas current in society (or inculcated in collective conscience) which reflect the spirit of the age. We aim to research the poetical and artistic material from this perspective to detect the prevailing ideas related with the female monarch. We regard such material as an authoritative data source because artistic ideas are drawn directly from life.

An allegory is a work of art which means something different from what it represents. But the object of perception, and consequently also the Idea, expresses itself directly and completely, and does not require the medium of something else which implies or indicates it. ...Therefore through the allegory a conception has always to be signified, and consequently the mind of the beholder has to be drawn away from the expressed perceptible idea to one which is entirely different, abstract and not perceptible, and which lies quite outside the work of art (Schopenhauer 2017, p. 553).

Elizabeth as Diana

Of the mythological figures employed by poets and dramatists in praise of Elizabeth I, the most popular were those associated with the virgin goddess of the Moon – Diana/Cynthia, –who became the prevailing allegorical representations of other European princes, too.

The worship of the goddess Diana (a wood goddess) originated in Italy, on the wooded hills at Aricia about the 6th century B.C.E. and was Hellenized later (Gordon 1932, p. 178). Two centuries earlier, probably in the 8th century B.C.E., in the territory of modern Turkey near the ancient city of Ephesus there had appeared a cult of Artemis, which was taken over by the Greeks and identified with Roman Diana. The indiscriminability of the two goddesses is corroborated by biblical texts. In *King James Version*, the goddess in question is called Diana: "Great [is] Diana of the Ephesians of which the [image] fell down from Jupiter" (KJV 1769, Acts 19:36, p 822). In *The New International Version*, the name of the goddess in the same context is Artemis. "The city of Ephesus is the guardian of the temple of the great Artemis and of her image, which fell from heaven" (NIV 1984, Acts 19:36, p 787).

Sumptuous temples were erected in honor of the goddesses whose main function was to protect and apotheosize the cities they symbolized. The statue of Artemis wears a zodiac necklace showing a part of the cosmos with the sign of the Crab in the center and other constellations on either side most closely associated

with the Moon (LiDonnici 1992, p.407). It was common practice to consider a city's goddess its legitimate wife providing "political and cosmic stability" (ibid. p. 409), an idea that would be later employed by Elizabeth I conventionalizing her relationship with England.

Despite the scriptural condemnation by Paul of the cult of Diana as a handmade idol whose silver shrines "should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed" (KJV 1769, Acts 19:28, p. 822), the new Protestant religion embraced the pagan goddess and the idolatrous cult with all the burning ardor, and made it for half a century one of the central themes of panegyric verse. The aggrandizement of the pagan goddess is intimately related with changing historical and social conditions. The image of Diana as an omnipotent deity over nature emerged early in the Tudor reign. In 1508, a beautiful song was printed the first stanza of which was devoted to Diana extolling her overwhelming power over the awakening nature. Later, Elizabeth I was allegorized as Diana, and the elevation of the Queen to the status of a goddess on earth began.

O lusty May with Flora quene.
The balmy dropis frome Phoebus'
shene, [shine]
Preluciand [predawn] bemes
befoir the day.
By thé Diana growis grene,
Throwch [through] glaidnes of this lusty May (Laneham 1907, p. cliv)

Figure 4. *Queen Elizabeth I as Diana by Frans Floris or Martin de Vos*



Source: The collection of the Marques of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

The impersonation of Elizabeth I as Diana was buttressed by pictorial art, especially by the symbol-laden portrait of Elizabeth by Frans Floris¹⁰ (1560). Diana is depicted with her hunting armor and a half-moon on her head instead of the crown – the virgin queen that can protect her country, feed her subjects by

¹⁰Roy Strong expresses doubts in the attribution of the portrait, "The so-called portrait of her as Diana at Hatfield is a version of a Netherlandish allegorical piece attributed to Frans Floris or Martin de Vos" (Strong 1963, p. 48). He considers that the portrait may be wrongly identified as Elizabeth.

providing both daily bread and spiritual knowledge (hand pointing to her breast¹¹), and crowned as deity (Figure 4). The image was probably prompted by the queen's declaration in Parliament a year earlier of her status as the Virgin Queen wedded to her Kingdom. In Elizabethan England the concept of the marriage of the ruler to her realm was a commonplace. This is how William Camden, the author of the *Annales*, the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I, describes this epoch-making moment. The queen stated in Parliament:

I am already bound upto an Husband which is the Kingdome of England, and that may suffice you: and this makes me wonder, that you forget your selves the pledge of this alliance which I have made with my Kingdome. (With these words she showed them the Ring with which she was inaugurated to her Kingdom in expresse and solemn terms). ... This may be sufficient both for my memory and honour of my Name, if when I have expired my last breath, this may be inscribed vpon my Tombe: Here lyes interr'd Elizabeth, A Virgin pure vntil her Death (Camden 1625, pp. 28–29).

Implicit in this speech is the mysterious powerfulness of Elizabeth's perception of herself as a 'body politic' prevailing over her female identity, which took on almost mystical dimensions. This was explicitly expressed in the letter of Edmund Spenser to Sir Walter Raleigh of 23 January, 1589:

"For considering shee beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull lady, this latter part in some places I doe expresse in Belphoebe, fashioning her name according to your owne excellent concept of Cynthia, (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana) (Spenser 1758, p. xxxv).

From this time on, the perpetuation of Elizabeth's cult based on multiple identifications with various goddesses from Greek/Roman polytheistic theology begins; among them the virgin goddess of the hunt is the earliest and "the most popular of all the figures employed by Elizabeth's adorers, and in the minds of certain poets takes on some kind of esoteric philosophical significance" (Yates 1947, p.72). Diana was a goddess of chastity, untamed nature and the moon, but this is only part of the picture.

Elizabeth's multiple identities are used by Thomas Dekker in his play *Old Fortunatus* (written presumably in 1590) as a stylistic device to describe the queen's many perfections, which made her land "Elycium," and to create an idealized image of the queen as one body and soul.

2nd Old Man: Some call her Pandora: some Gloriana, some Cynthia: some Belphoebe, some Astraea: all by several names to express several loves: yet all those names make but one celestial body, as all those loves meet to create but one soul.

1st Old Man: I am one of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza (Dekker 1904, p. 3).

¹¹In this gesture we find echoes of the earliest sculptural representations of Artemis Ephesia as a many-breasted goddess, a "nourisher".

Impersonation of queen Elizabeth as Diana linked Elizabethan symbolism with several important emblems, cultural and ideological categories. Elkin Wilson considers that idealization and adoration of Elizabeth "was aroused in large part by the most impressive attribute of the "most vertuous and beautifull lady" – her virginity" (Wilson 1966, p. 191). Virginity became a category of power intimately connected with the stability of the empire and the universe. "By the later 1570s, there had emerged a cult of royal virginity that made the queen the inviolable object of universal desire" (Montrose 2002, p 917). The cult assumed a form of ideology enhanced and propagated by contemporary poetry. Frances Yates considers that "the virginity of the queen was used as a powerful political weapon all through her reign" (Yates 1947, p. 82). Philippa Berry asserts that virginity was regarded as "the symbol of the inviolable sanctity of the state" (Berry 1989, p. 41). Richard Barnfield confers on Elizabeth the astral sign of Virgo:

Then, since an heauenly Name doth thee befall,
Thou VIRGO art: (if any Signe at all.) (Barnfield 1990, p. 122).

Besides virginity, the cult of Elizabeth-as-Diana was based on a complex of other mythological and ideological ingredients. Berry considers that being associated "not only with female chastity and spiritual purity but also with matter, in the shape of wild nature," Elizabeth's bodily integrity signifies a possibility of a "harmonious relationship between spirit and matter. Her rulership of the moon suggested not only a quality of unearthly or heavenly purity, but also the ability to transmit this quality to the sublunary realm" (Berry 1989, pp. 37, 39). This motif is present in John Davies' *Royal Dedication* to Elizabeth written probably earlier but not published until 1599:

Faire Soule, since to the fairest body knit
You giue such liuely life, such quickning power,
Such sweet celestiall influences to it
As keeps it still in youths immortall flower (Davies 1876, p. 10).

He compares the queen to the North star that "Doth like another Sunne in glory rise" and "spread her heavenly worth;/ Loadstone [magnet] to hearts, and loadstarre [guiding star] to all eyes" (Davies 1876, p. 9). Davies displays rare subtlety in his understanding of the relations of power in English monarchy, not typical of other poets. He stresses the loneliness of the ruler whose only support, despite countless courtiers and advisors, is God's grace.

That though great States by her support doe stand,
Yet she herselfe supported is of none,
But by the finger of the Almightyes hand (Davies 1876, p. 9).

Diana's power over the yearly awakening of nature turned into a symbol of everlasting spring "the sacred spring whence right and honor streames," which the queen reintroduced in her realm and which was equated with the well-being and

security of the realm. "In her shall last our State's faire Spring,/ Now and for euer flourishing,/ As long as Heauen is lasting" (Davies 1876, p. 131).

As where the sunne is present all the yeere,
And neuer doth retire his golden ray,
Needs must the Spring bee euerlasting there,
And eury season like the month of May (Davies 1876, p. 10).

In pictorial art, the eternal spring is represented by wild flowers embroidered on the queen's bodice in the famous *Rainbow portrait* by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1600-03). The use of wild flowers is only part of allegorical symbolism for a complex system of ideas. Another is a crescent Moon: portraits of the Queen make use of this symbol; the last time it appears at the very top of the Queen's headdress in the *Rainbow portrait*. Sir Walter Raleigh chose a crescent turned down for his impresa in the portrait of 1588 with two words below "Amor et Virtute" (Love and Virtue). He lyricized the image of the Queen as the moon goddess in the poem *The Shepherd's Praise of his Sacred Diana* (1593): Moon beams in the night resemble primordial light. Comparing Elizabeth to the Moon, Raleigh lays stress on her mastery of the floods. Through the use of oceanic imagery, he expresses his devotion to the queen, characterizing their relationship as that between the Moon (empress) and himself as the tides (her servant).

Praised be Diana's fair and harmless light;
Praised be the dews wherewith she moistes the ground;
Praised be her beams, the glory of the night;
Praised be her power, by which all powers abound.
Praised be that force, by which she moves the floods;
Let that Diana shine which all these gives (Raleigh 1885, p. 78).

The European conception of the sacredness of monarchical authority as divinely ordained had close affinity with Diana, who, together with her brother Apollo, was endowed with the capacity to assert the legitimacy of imperial rulers. The representation of Diana as a bearer of the absolutist ideology goes back to the Roman Empire of the 1st century B.C.E. under Augustus, the founder of the Roman empire, where Diana was second only to Jupiter in her political importance. From that time on, Diana had been treated as a protectress of the state. Yates was the first to advance an idea that the conception of religious purity was also related to Diana: "The virgin of imperial reform who withstood the claims of papacy might well become a chaste moon-goddess shedding the beams of pure religion from her royal throne" (Yates 1947, p. 72). So identification of Elizabeth I with Diana Lucina as a light-bearer implies dissemination of true religion by the queen as the head of the Church. Elizabeth was endowed with absolute power in state and royal supremacy over the church. The elevation of the Queen to the status of a goddess had been completed. She rules both on earth and in heaven, inaugurates a second golden age.

In heaven Queene she is among the spheares;
Eternity in her oft change she bears.

Time wears her not; she doth his chariot guide;
 Mortality below her orb is placed;
 By her the virtues of the stars down slide;
 In her is virtue's perfect image cast (Raleigh 1885, p. 78).

One of the most interesting visual representations of Elizabeth as *primum mobile* of England's political system is a remarkable woodcut placed by John Case, one of Elizabethan leading intellectual figures, on the title page of his book *Sphaera Civitatis* (1588); the woodcut depicts the Ptolemaic cosmological set of spheres including five planets, the sun, and the moon with the figure of the Queen embracing the universe. It is she who protects and makes it go round. The central sphere is *Iustitia Immobile* (Justice immovable), which is the axle of the political system of England. Five concentric rings of fixed movements of stars and planets are placed around it, each devoted to one virtue: Plentitude, Fortitude, Religion, Clemency, Majesty, etc. The outmost ring which is not a part of the planetary system includes Elizabeth's description as *Regina* and *Fidei Defenseatrix* (Queen and Faith Protectrix). The woodcut asserts the divinity of the queen by portraying her in the role of Divine Power.

The posthumous image of queen Elizabeth by Nicholas Hilliard (Figure 5) fits in well with her heavenly status. In the cult formation, the artist appropriated many attributes from Marian iconography and created an image of celestial significance. In the engraving, the Queen is depicted against the background of radiance with the halo of stars around her head; in the right-hand upper corner an Angel proffers a crown consisting of the stars, the sun, and the moon. Elizabeth is presented as the second Virgin Mary: "whilest living, the first maid on earth, and when dead, the second in heaven" (Fuller 1642, p. 318). It becomes obvious that fifteen years after her death, Elizabeth's divinity was not questioned.

The allegorical intention of presenting Elizabeth as Diana (a figure fraught with implied meaning) is an attempt to expose hidden truths of Tudor cosmology. Artists deliberately erased distinctions between the divine and the pagan conflating them in one person – Elizabeth. "She is Chastity; she is Elizabeth; she is naked truth; she is beauty; she is imperial power; she is divinity; she is the object of sexual desire" (Freeman 2005, p.74).

O Goddess heauenly bright,
 Mirrour of grace and Majestie divine
 Great Lady of the greatest Isle, whose light
 Like Phoebus lampe throughout the world doth shine (Spenser 1758, p. 4).

Figure 5. *Posthumous Image of the Queen by Nicholas Hilliard¹² for Camden's Annales (1617–1619)*



Source: Roy Strong. Portraits of Queen Elizabeth, post 9, p. 155.

Elizabeth as Cynthia

Eventually, other mythological figures came into play. As "allegories are classically used for moral suasion they may, during times of political revolution, present totally new theories" (Fletcher 1964, p. 120). In the case of Elizabethan England it is a policy of imperialist expansion, the creation of an 'empire of the seas', which could come to fruition only through the unchallenged naval supremacy achieved by the Royal Navy. Diana's power over the sea waves, rivers and floods engendered the worship of Cynthia, another name of Diana, which means a "woman from Cynthus," (a mountain on Delos where Diana was born). Then this separate hypostasis was associated to a great extent with the maritime side of the Tudor mythography. Spenser thus describes this 'personality split' attributing to Cynthia the prowess of a sovereign to rule:

Ne let his fairest Cynthia refuse,
 In mirrors more than one her self to see;
 But either *Gloriana* let her chuse,
 Or in *Belphoebe* fashioned to be:
 In th'one her rule, in th'other her rare chastity (Spenser 1758, p.354).

The cult of Elizabeth-as-Cynthia, a protectress of the "sea-dogs" (adventurers, explorers, privateers, and sailors), who had circumnavigated the globe and headed "homeward by the Moone-shine light", was elaborated in the poetry of the 1590s ministered to by two Elizabethan poets – Raleigh and Spenser,– who created a compelling image of Cynthia-Elizabeth. Cynthia is a compositional center of Raleigh's *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, a long elegy written during his temporal

¹²Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619), the first great native-born English painter of the Renaissance and a miniature painter to Queen Elizabeth since 1570. His portraits raised the art of miniature to its highest point of development.

rejection from court, "in which a gracious servant pictured/ His Cynthia, his heavens fairest light" (Spenser 1758, p. 354). Raleigh's poem is very personal expressing his devotion to Elizabeth and hidden despair at being unjustly vilified and "debarred" from his "Ladie of the Sea." The poem was never published and was considered to be entirely lost. We learn about it from Spenser who characterized its content as lamentation and confessed that his own "senses were lulled in slumber of delight" by this beautiful poem (Spenser 1758, p. 354). When in 1870 a fragment entitled *The twenty - first and last book of the Ocean*¹³ to Cynthia was found it became clear that the elegy really existed and bore evidence that Raleigh's poetical talent was as great as his mastery of the oceans.

Opinions differ as to the date of the poem (suggested dates are from 1589 to 1595) and its *raison d'être*. Unlike Spenser's view of romantic love, some critics consider this poem to be an expression of grief of "a man conscious of his exceptional powers, which have been at the service of Cynthia-Elizabeth-England, and which are now wasting for want of use; a proud man, who cannot contemplate his fall, yet has to" (Johnson 1974, p. 30).

The blossoms fallen, the sap gone from the tree,
The broken monuments of my great desires, —
From these so lost what may the affections be ?
What heat in cinders of extinguished fires? (Raleigh, p. 32).

Others suggest that Raleigh only pretends to be hopelessly in love with the Queen and that "he maintains the fiction of his passion for the elderly and unattractive Queen. Elizabeth must have known that Raleigh's devotion was a convention only, a pretence; and that she was determined to maintain the convention for reasons politic" (Davie 1960, p. 72).

Sir Walter Raleigh provides a compelling example of a court figure who participated in the collective process of Elizabethan cult-formation. He boldly and self-consciously fashioned an idiosyncratic cult of royal veneration in order to gain and maintain Elizabeth's attention and favor (Montrose 1999, p. 133).

Whatever the case, the poem is beautifully composed, contains unique figurality, and reflects Raleigh's restless soul and injured pride.

It is believed that Edmund Spenser borrowed the name Cynthia for his *Faerie Queen* from Raleigh's "sweet verse, with Nectar sprinkled" as he was impressed, by his own admission, "with the wonder of her beames bright." However, he developed a different kind of allegory: while Raleigh elaborated a mythopoetic image of Elizabeth as the Moon whose "waxing and waning caused the rise and fall of 'Ocean,'" whose poignant love for Cynthia was "frustrated by unbridgeable distance" (Bednarz 1996, p. 286), Spenser created an allegory of monarchical authority as the "pivot of national life" (Johnson 1974, p. 17).

¹³Elizabeth liked to give nicknames to her courtiers of the inner circle. She called Raleigh 'Water' twisting his name Walter. Spenser called his friend "the Shepherd of the Ocean", hence his name in the poem.

In the last, probably unfinished book VII of the *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser describes Cynthia's origin and places her among Greek and Roman gods and goddesses:

You fair *Cynthia*, whom so much ye make
Joves dearest darling, she was bred and nurst
 On *Cynthus* hill, whence she her name did take:
 Then is the mortal born, how so ye crake;
 Besides, her face and count'nance every day
 We changed see, and sundry forms partake,
 Now horned, now round, now bright, now brown and
 So that as changeful as the Moon men use to say (Spenser 1758, p. 480).

It is of interest to note that Spenser in his representation of Cynthia resorts to the ancient alchemical conceptualizations when all actions were attributed to the power of gods associated with stars or to natural forces that govern the universe. Marcellin Berthelot¹⁴ in his book *Les origines de l'alchimie* asserts that knowledge took up "une forme mystique." It is not by accident that Spenser described Cynthia's face "stain'd with magick." Alchemists established a rigid paradigm of interconnections between terrestrial and celestial phenomena; mutability of cosmic bodies and natural transformability.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les vieux auteurs s'enrêfèrent perpétuellement au parallélisme mystique entre les sept planètes et les sept métaux. Ainsi dans le symbolisme des vieux alchimistes, le même signe représente le métal et la planète correspondante. Le signe astronomique du soleil est pris pour l'or; le signe de la lune pour l'argent. Elles expliquent le côté mystique des alchimistes.

[In any case, the ancient authors perpetually refer to mysterious parallelisms between the seven planets and the seven metals. Thus, in the symbolism of old alchemists, the same sign represents a metal and the corresponding planet. The astronomical sign of the Sun is employed for gold; the sign of the Moon for silver. They explain the mysterious side of alchemists] (Berthelot 1885, p. 50).

In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser repeatedly employs the epithet "silver" in the description of Cynthia. He calls her "silver Cynthia" who drops silver dew; in darksome night, She breaks her silver beams and her bright head through a "noyous cloud" [harmful cloud] to show the way to all those "that went astray". This extended metaphor has two semantic levels: a literal one meaning actually helping poor travelers who lost their way; and a metaphysical layer concerning "the substance thin and light," showing sinners the right and virtuous way: the "shining ray gave light unto the day". In the circle of the Moon, Cynthia "reigns in everlasting glory." He pictures Cynthia's palace with silver gates which are guarded by hoary Time "with hour-glass in hand". Cynthia is sitting on "an ivory throne/ Drawn of two steeds, th'one black, the other white,/ Environd with ten thousand stars around/ That duly her attended day and night", a motif initiated by

¹⁴Berthelot Marcellin (1827-1907), a French chemist, the first professor of organic chemistry. He also wrote on the history of early chemistry - alchemy.

Ecclesiasticus. Her page is none other than *Vesper* "whom we the Evening-star intend/ That with his torch, still twinkling like twilight/ Her lighten'd all the way where she should wend" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 455).

The *Faerie Queen* had such a great influence on other poets that they began to imitate Spenser. In 1595, Richard Barnfield wrote a poem entitled *Cynthia*. He admitted that the most important poetic influence on his *Cynthia* was Spenser. Literary critics consider Barnfield the first poet to write in Spenserian stanzas as he himself admits: "It is the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet Maister Spenser, in his *Fayrie Queene*" (Barnfield 1876, p. 64). His poem displays a close inter textual and cognitive connectedness with Spenser in the description of the goddess, he calls her a 'Fairy queen,' who combines the virtues of virginity with the power over the seas and eternal divine light. Echoing Spenser, he places Elizabeth's imperial throne amid the ocean. Compare the two stanzas of the two authors Barnfield and Spenser respectively:

In Western world amidst the Ocean maine,
In compleat Vertue shining like the Sunne,
In great Renowne a maiden Queene doth raigne...
In whose faire eies [eyes] Love linckt with vertues been,
In euerlasting Peace and Union (Barnfield 1876, p. 121).

Great and most glorious virgin Queene alive ...
In widest Ocean she her throne does reare.
That over all the earth it may be seene
As morniug Sunne her beames dispredden cleare
And in her face faire pence and mercy doth appeare (Spenser 1758, Book II, p. 114-115).

For his panegyric on Cynthia-Elizabeth, Barnfield chose a time-tested dream vision format in combination with the famous *Three Goddesses* theme popularized in pictorial art by Hans Eworth (1569) whose famous canvass was placed in Whitehall alongside European monarchs to emphasize Elizabeth's superiority over all of them. As well as in painting, the *Three Goddesses* motif was exploited in multiple pageants, entertainments, and plays. In them, Elizabeth is presented either as an unbiased judge or, more often, as a beneficiary. Thus, in Peele's *Arraignement of Paris* the dispute among goddesses is resolved by Diana in Elizabeth's favor, whom she calls "this peereles nymphe whom heauen and earth beloues/ In whom do meete so manie giftes in one" (Peele 1910, p. E iij). In her argumentation, Diana enumerates the gifts of Zabeta (Elizabeth) echoing the inscription on Eworth's painting.

In state Queene Juno's peere, for power in armes,
And vertues of the minde Mineruaes mate:
As fayre and louely as the queene of loue:
As chast as Dian in her chast desires.
The same is shee, if Phoebe doe no wronge,
To whom this ball [golden apple or orb] in merit doth belonge (Peele 1910, p. E iij).

Barnfield also makes Elizabeth-Cynthia a beneficiary; placed in the Olympian framework, justice is thought to be attached more objectivity, the status of the judge is raised: it is Jupiter who issues a pronouncement. The poet in his sleep is directed by "an Angell bright" to a Dale where under a lofty Pine sat gods and goddesses: Jupiter with a wheel of fortune, Mercury, Volcano, three furies, all in armor, Priam's son Paris "wrapt in the Mantle of eternal Night," Pallas Athena, Venus "In glistring Golde," and Juno all in tears. Juno is a Plaintiff and appeals to Jupiter "to judge with equitie." She gives details of her case. Juno, Pallas, and Venus were going to hunt with Diana when a golden Ball trundled from above with an inscription *PVLCHERIMAE* [to the most beautiful]. The goddesses were arguing which of the them was the worthiest when they saw a young shepherd who happened to be Paris and asked him to resolve their contention. They tried to bribe him: Juno with wealth, Athena with wit, but he "bestowed that glorious Prize, On Venus." Juno considered it unjust and Paris was brought before Jupiter. After hearing Juno's complaint, Jupiter pronounces his decision to award the "fairest Fayrie Queene," the sacred Virgin, Muse of chastity – Elizabeth. The poem ends with the poet's awakening at dawn "Frō pleasant slumbring sleepe"; he almost wept "Depriu'd so soone of my sweet Dreame" (Barnfield 1876, p. 122).

Barnfield's *Cynthia* is another step in the development of the royal panegyric genre. He attaches a Conclusion to his poem in which he places Elizabeth above the Moon and the Sun stating that it is she who gives light to the celestial bodies.

Thus, sacred Virgin, Muse of chastitie,
 This difference is betwixt the Moone and thee:
 Shee shines by Night; but thou by Day do'st shine:
 Shee Monthly changeth; thou dost nere decline:
 And as the Sunne, to her, doth lend his light,
 So hee, by thee, is onely made so bright:
 Yet neither Sun, nor Moone, thou canst be named,
 Because thy light hath both their beauties shamed (Barnfield 1876, p. 76).

The most enigmatic and difficult for interpretation poem in the Cynthia cycle is Chapman's *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, in which, according to Yates, the poet "assimilates his imagery to the Elizabeth cult. Cynthia, the Moon, is 'our empress', that is Queen Elizabeth I, appearing in all the purity of her imperial reform" (Yates, 1979, p. 166). For Chapman, the moon goddess is the central figure in his philosophy discussed above. He equates Elizabeth to *Anima Mundi* "Elizabeth is the Divine Soul of England, just as World-Soul is the Soul of the cosmos" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 599). The hymn starts with a rise of "Great Cynthia" from her palace, and her ride in the chariot in "all-ill-purging purity."

NATURE'S bright eyesight and
 The Night's fair soul
 That with; thy triple forehead¹⁵, dost control
 Earth, seas, and hell; and art in dignity
 The greatest and swiftest planet in the sky (Chapman 1874, p. 10).

¹⁵In this description, Chapman follows Orpheus, who said Cynthia is thrice-headed, as she is Hecate (a triple-bodied goddess) Luna, and Diana.

Chapman emphasizes Cynthia's Englishness and her role as the Virgin of the Imperial Reform. He entreats her not to exchange her virginity for "the subject title of a wife." Elizabeth alone withstands European political and religious powers threatening England represented in the poem as an evil Sun. "Here, the reader can see, the Sun has become more than the symbol of hostile Europe and is now the symbol of sin" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 601). Elizabeth's special function is to promote virtue in the face of overwhelming peccancy of Europe.

Then set thy crystal and imperial throne...
Gainst Europe's Sun directly opposite,
And give him darkness that doth threat thy light (Chapman 1874, p. 11).

The poet depicts two opposing pictures of accursed Europe stricken with diseases and famine and the "Almighty state" of England "bless'd" with peace and plenty as it is ruled by "the great enchantress that commands/ Spirits of every region, seas, and lands," who is also "queen celestial" and "rulest/ Round heaven itself, and all his sevenfold heights,/ Are bound to serve the strength of her conceits" (ibid., p 11), whom Jove endowed with "complete Empery"¹⁶. "England that Elizabeth configured is compared to a "rare Elysian palace," so that this "blissful court" could shine "with all accomplishment of architect" and is named *Pax Imperii* (Peace of the Empire).

In which two hundred twenty columns stood,
Built by two hundred twenty kings of blood,
Of curious beauty, and admired height,
Pictures and statues, of as praiseful sleight,
Convenient for so chaste a goddess' fane
(Burnt by Herostratus), shall now again
Be re-exstruct, and this Ephesia be
Thy country's happy name (Chapman 1874, p. 15).

The greater part of the *Hymnus in Cynthia* is devoted to the description of a shadowy hunt where Cynthia is the huntress. From "a white and dazzling meteor", she framed "a goodly nymph," Euthimya (joy is her sacred name)¹⁷, bound to her "golden wings with purple strings," which endowed the nymph with the capacity to take the shape of any beast. Out of the shadows and mists, she made hunters and hounds. Euthimya entices them into a vast dreadful thicket from whose "bosom cast prodigious cries,/ Wrapt in her Stygian fumes of miseries"; and a hot chase begins. At the beginning of the hunt Euthimya is turned to a panther (Pride), later to a boar (Lust). The hunt ends with the coming of night: "Half-slain with fear" mounted hunters retreat, hounds like "vapors wasted" and the goddess was "mounted to her sphere" by Titanides and milk-white heifers.

This rather lengthy passage is interpreted differently by critics. Some see in it the tantalizing pursuit of poetic rhymes and images (Spens 1925), which seems a bit far-fetched; others, a majority, see in it an allegory of earthly desires and

¹⁶Unchallenged political power

¹⁷In philosophy, Euthymia means "gladness, good mood, serenity".

passions which must be quenched (Bradbrook 1936). The most convincing interpretation seems to be the one given by Roy Battenhouse: "The story of Cynthia's activity as a huntress is an allegory of World-Soul acting in her role of providential governor of men and punisher of the wicked" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 604). The author emphasizes the religious import of the mystic hunt – *memento poenae*. The hunt resonates with the myth of Diana and Actaeon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: the mortal hunter glimpses the bathing naked goddess, and she punishes him by turning him into a stag that is destroyed by his own hounds.

The hymn ends with a call on Elizabethan subjects to worship Cynthia-Elizabeth in the manner the Ephesians worshiped their Moon-goddess, Diana, and turn England into a new Ephesus, a realm of peace and prosperity where Cynthia rules with Divine Wisdom and Providence. Cynthia's is a cult of religious submission which instills not only adoration but also dread. The last lines of the poem are the poet's reminder to the reader of Cynthia's supernatural powers, who, in order to punish sinners, can

Convert the violent courses of thy floods,
Remove whole fields of corn, and hugest woods,
Cast hills into the sea, and make the stars
Drop out of heaven, and lose thy mariners.
So shall the wonders of thy power be
seen,
And thou for ever live the planets'
queen (Chapman 1874, p. 16)

At the turn of the century, when it became clear that the queen's reign was coming to its very end, there arose the question of change or mutability. In the *Ode Of Cynthia* written by Lyly in 1600, the brevity of mortal existence and its transiency make up the central theme. But in tune with the general tradition and ideology, he states that time spares Elizabeth who is ageless and timeless.

All things vnder Cynthia tooke
To bee transitory...
Landes and Seas shee rules below,
Where things change, and ebbe, and flowe,
Spring, waxe olde, and perish;
Only Time which all doth mowe,
Her alone doth cherish (Lyly 1902, p. 415).

In his symbolic description of the only constant being in the changing world – Elizabeth – Lyly draws on the same principles and rigorous rules of presenting the Tudor monarch as the famous *Rainbow portrait* produced in 1601. As Lyly put it, "Times yong howres attend her still,/ And her Eyes and Cheekes do fill,/ With fresh youth and beautie" (Lyly 1902, p. 414). These lines resonate with the "Mask of Youth" which presented the queen ageless, emblemizing a victory over nature's tendency to age over time, and had an additional political meaning – an unquenchable driving force of the country's successes. Constancy in all spheres of life was related with Elizabeth.

However, a shift to new imagery and a new worldview is evident in Spenser's last unfinished book of the *The Faerie Queene* devoted exclusively to Change. Mutability, the daughter of Titans, acquired the powers of a goddess over men, changing things on earth, and now "cast in her ambitious thought,/ T' attempt the empire of the heavens height,/ And Jove himself to shoulder from his right" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 455). Then to the circle of the Moon¹⁸ she climbed, where Cynthia reigned in everlasting glory. And when she saw Cynthia's throne and "palace bright," upheld with thousand crystal pillars, her heart burnt with envy and she demanded that Cynthia descend from her throne because she, Mutability, could rule better as "herself of all that rule she deemed most condign" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, 456).

Mutability confronts Jove, accuses him of usurpation of power and demands they take the case to the court of Nature "for trial of their titles and best rights" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, 462). When the thunder-bearer "looked on her lovely face,/ In which fair beams of beauty did appear/ That could the greatest wrath soon turn to grace" he agreed to her demand to go to Arlo-hill, which had been cursed by Diana after the unhappy incident with Faunus (a variation of the Actaeon myth). Nature after hearing the litigants "gave her doom in speeches few": she said that all things change, but stressed their enduring continuity which let them remain fundamentally unchanged: they never change their "first estate" (essence). So "Titaness was put down and whift [made silent]./ And Jove confm'd in his imperial See" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, 482). However, the poet-narrator is left disillusioned with the verdict. In Canto 8, in the very last lines written by Spenser, the poet expresses his inner perception of the historical moment: "though she [Mutability] all unworthy were/ Of the Heavn's Rule:/ yet In all things she beares the greatest sway" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 483). Spenser's poignant wit foresaw great changes England was in for in the days to come after Elizabeth's death. For Spenser, changeability was an inherent characteristic of the cosmos itself, but he looks forward to the time, "when no more Change shall be/ all things firmly stayd/ Upon the pillours of Eternity" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 483), a matter of fundamental importance for England. Spenser's nostalgia for constancy and the Aristotelian doctrine of the changeless and incorruptible heavens come into conflict with the new reality in which, according to astronomic discoveries and the new heliocentric model, heavenly bodies are also subjected to change. Thus, paraphrasing Pushkin we can say, "there ain't no constancy on earth, man, there ain't none higher either."¹⁹

We have analyzed only two impersonations of the queen; there are many others no less picturesque and ideologically charged, all of which presented Elizabeth as the wellspring of the prosperity of the entire country and were the principal vehicle of social propaganda. We witness the appearance of a new allegorical personality in Spenser's last book which is directly connected to sixteenth-century discoveries in astronomy that suggested that the celestial region

¹⁸The sphere of the moon forms the border between terrestrial matter and celestial ether.

¹⁹The original sentence from *Mozart and Salieri* is "there ain't no truth on earth, man, there ain't none higher either."

was not impervious to change either. Unfortunately, we will never know who or what will impersonate this allegory.

Type III: Allegory as Personification

Henry VIII as Magnificence and Imperial Majesty

The third type of allegory is personification, which blossomed in Tudor drama and had a special abstract and visual significance. Allegorical representations of vices and virtues are inherited by the sixteenth century drama from the medieval period where it took pride of place as a mode of a hermeneutical interpretation of religious and moral texts. However, presenting monarchs as personifications of some abstract qualities may be considered an early modern innovation. "Allegories on stage take on an essentially visual, iconographic character; their vividness and tangibility become an essentially defining attribute" (Enders 2015, p. 450).

The drama of Henry VIII's period is less known, so it is significant for understanding the allegorical mode of expressing current ideas through personifications. We found two plays in which the monarch is presented on an allegorical level: *Magnificence*, the only extant play of the English poet John Skelton²⁰ written about 1519, and John Bale's²¹ drama *Kinge Johan* (1538; 1560?), the first history drama with real historical characters. The former may be considered the first important political and didactic allegory, which tackles two important questions: kingly prowess, which depends to a great extent on councilors and the volatility of wealth if handled foolishly and rashly; the latter makes religious issues its focal theme and asserts that the true (Protestant) religion is central to good governance. At the heart of each of the two allegorical dramas is the conflict of authorities. Politics, economics, religion, and history are intimately interwoven in these plays. As Greg Walker has argued, these plays "are themselves political acts as they respond to the contingencies of the time; the stance is in response to specific historical circumstances and conflicts, rather than a reflection of universal values" (Walker 1991, p. 2).

In terms of Tudor cosmology, the human ruler is a vicegerent for God Himself. It is asserted in Bale's drama by Imperial Majesty:

The adminystracyon of a princes governaunce
Is the gifte of God and hys hygh ordynaunce,
Whome with all your power yow thre [clergy, nobility, civil order] ought to support
(Bale 1838, p. 101).

²⁰John Skelton (c. 1460-1529) was a scholar and poet. He became tutor to the future Henry VIII. During 1513 he wrote patriotic verses to celebrate Henry VIII's victories at Tournai and Therouanne. Skelton is regarded as one of the fathers of the English drama.

²¹John Bale was originally a Roman Catholic, became a Protestant, went abroad during the reign of Mary, returned to England after the accession of Elizabeth. He began writing Protestant plays in the 1530s. In 1536, he was charged with heresy, but was saved by Thomas Cromwell who believed in plays as effective propaganda.

St. Thomas Aquinas devoted four articles in his *Summa theologica* to the analysis of Magnificence. In Aquinas' conception, magnificence is the peculiar virtue of the prince, an active virtue, for that matter. Magnificence denotes a perfect degree of any virtue.

It belongs to magnificence to do (*facere*) something great, and not only to do something great but also to tend with the mind to the doing of great things; magnificence is the administering of great and lofty undertakings, with a certain broad and noble purpose of mind.... Magnificence does a great work especially in reference to the Divine honor. For this reason magnificence is connected with holiness, since its chief effect is directed to religion or holiness (Aquinas 1981, pp. 1739–1740).

The third article called *Whether the matter of Magnificence is Great Expenditure* is devoted especially to the question of liberality. St. Thomas emphasizes:

The magnificent man is not lavish towards himself because to do so is not something great, but in order to do something which will reflect honor on the whole state: as when he brings to effect what the whole state is striving for (Aquinas 1981, p. 1741).

The vices that surround the prince try to convince him to the contrary advising him to abandon Prudence and Measure in royal and money policies: measure is for merchants, "But largesse becometh a state ryall. /A lorde a negarde [niggard] it is a shame/ But largesse may amende your name" (Skelton 1879, p. 20). The vices that the prince made his courtiers had the powerful position to influence and take advantage of the king in order to destroy him: "you were somtyme a noble estate,/ Nowe must you lerne to begge at euery mannes gate" (ibid., p. 94). Allegorically viewed, the message of the play is that an emblematic ruler is still to comprehend what real magnificence is. He learns it the hard way: he is robbed of all his wealth, beaten, humiliated by mockery, and nearly driven to suicide. He is restored by Good hope and Redress. The final soliloquies sum up the message of the play:

This mater we haue movyd you myrthys [mirthful] to make
Precely purposyd [briefly discussed] vnder pretence of play
Shewyth wysdome to them that wysdome can take
Howe sodenly worldly welth dothe decay
How wysdom thorowe wantonnesse vanyssheth away (Skelton 1879. p. 123).

The play is a kind of *The Honest Mirror of Youth* for young rulers. It cannot be divorced from the immediate political and economic situation. When Henry succeeded to his father's throne, he inherited immense wealth which his father's avarice had accumulated. "This, however, was in a few years dissipated by the prodigal expenses of the youthful monarch to supply his riot and extravagance" (Ruding 1840, p. 300) and expensive war campaigns of the Holy League²² against France which were paid for mainly with English money. Greg Walker considers

²²In October 1511, Pope Julius II proclaimed the new Holy League against France, including the Papal States, Venice, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, England, and the Swiss Confederacy.

Magnyfycence "to be an intensely political play. It takes as its subject matter questions which contemporaries considered central to effective royal administration" (Walker 1991, p. 65). And that "subject matter" was a particular political event of 1519 – the expulsion of Henry's closest companions (called King's minions) from very high posts to which he had appointed them a year before. For the general public, the removal was portrayed as the King's intolerance to vice and inefficiency among his appointees.

The minions' extravagant behavior, their condescending, disparaging, manner, and especially the over familiar way in which they treated their King, began to alarm the members of Henry's council, who felt that such loutish activities and such disrespectful behavior were bringing the Crown into odium (Walker 1991, p. 68).

The other drama *King Johan* dramatizes symbolic power struggles between English kings and papacy. The plot of the play unites historical factuality and allegory, real historical characters and personified vices and virtues. Widow England complains to King John that she is torn from her husband, God, by the clergy, who profess a false religion. The king promises to help her, repudiates the appointment of the archbishop of Canterbury, which exasperates the Pope, who buys over nobility and commoners, bishops and lawyers, and the clergy. Betrayed by all his subjects, after a two-year standoff, King John resigns his scepter and crown to the Pope, who levies a heavy tribute that drains the king's treasury. Moreover, the Pope sends a monk with a bottle of poison to the contumacious king. The monk and the king drink of the same bottle and die. Eventually, Verity (Truth) and Imperial Majesty, personification of royal authority, namely Henry VIII, appear, drive popery out of England and promise to lead England to "the land of milk and honey".

The closing scene is, by all appearances, a manifesto for a new social order based on Protestantism and the Act of Supremacy²³, in which the struggle between the state and the Church for absolute power is resolved in favor of the royal authority. The act declared that the king was "the only supreme head on Earth of the Church of England" answerable only to God. The doctrinal topics are proclaimed from the stage almost *verbatim* by Verity:

Verity: In hys owne realme a kynge is judge over all,
 By Gods appoyntment, and none maye hym judge agayne,
 But the Lorde hymself: in thys the scripture is playne ...
 King is the supreme head of the church,
 Bishopp, monke, chanon, priest, cardynall, pope:
 All they by Gods lawe to kynges owe their allegeaunce.
 Than shall never Pope rule more in thys monarchie" (Bale1838, pp. 90–91).

Verity calls on all English subjects to "gyve to your kynge hys due supremacye./ And exyle the pope thys realme for evermore" (Bale1838, p. 90).

²³The first Act of Supremacy was passed in November 1534 by Parliament. It granted King Henry VIII and subsequent monarchs Royal Supremacy: he was declared the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

The both plays reflect different stages in Henry VIII's rulership, whose personality is perceptible in the dramatic characters, and were written with the aim of strengthening Tudor political authority. The plays are ideological vehicles for indoctrinating society with "correct" ideas. Thus we see that allegories became a predominant attribute of the sixteenth century drama.

Conclusion

The allegory is only one of a broad repertory of figurative forms aimed to create society's favorable vision of the sovereign in power. They are far from being fossilized systems, but are an ever changing figurative mode of representation developing from simpler forms to more complex and rich in connotations instruments of indoctrination. In the history of political ideas, allegorical representations of the Tudors (both visual and textual) focused on one thing – the ideal ruler, a bearer of absolutist ideology, a ruler that is a divine being.

The allegorical devices studied in the article proved to be a medium through which images of Tudor princes were shaped and transmitted making poetic and drama discourses a part of political culture. Poets fictionalized political, religious, and ideological conceptions informing them with Biblical and mythological content corroborated by visual representations in pictorial art. Allegories were effective in translating ideas and policies into poetic and visual imagery. Starting with allegorical comparisons in writing and later introducing other forms of allegories, "poets, writers and chroniclers structured the Tudors' images with the aim of enhancing the charisma of the sovereign; legitimating the authority of the regime; seeking to solicit royal sympathies in matters religious, civic, and military" (Montrose 1999, p. 109).

Allegorical representations of Tudor monarchs and values changing throughout the century display great flexibility and adaptability to specific political situations (war – peace) and ideologies (Protestantism, absolutism, imperialism). On the face of it, the paradigm may seem eclectic, combining a strong pagan trend and Christian beliefs, the idea of Oneness and Greek polytheism, Aristotelian worldview of constancy in higher spheres and Neo-Platonist ubiquitous mutability. The tensions between the classical inheritance and the religious doctrine are resolved by blending them. Efforts were made to purge Olympian prototypes of protogenic sinfulness and imbue them with divine light.

The textual paradigm is characterized by a high degree of intertextuality. Mega discourses are formed around such issues as 'virginity', 'chastity', 'divine ordinance', 'royal prowess', 'eternity' etc. (Poets were not averse to imitation and plagiarism). The discussion of virtues in relation to the ruling dynasty was densely allegorical, it took the form of mythological reflections and allegorical visualizations, which added picturesqueness to a literary text, enhanced its own pragmatic intent and facilitated the passing on of its message.

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Understanding Metaphors: A Study with Portuguese 4-6 Year-old Children

By Ana Paula Couceiro Figueira^{*}, Cátia Santos[‡] & Celia Ribeiro[°]

We present the first metaphor comprehension data from 36 Portuguese children aged 4, 5 and 6, using the TCM Júnior, a metaphor comprehension test for young children, in its European Portuguese version. This is an exploratory descriptive study, with a view to collecting data, contributing to the measurement and standardization of the resource used. TCM Júnior is an adaptation of its corresponding Italian acronym, which is in the process of being validated for the Portuguese population in this age group (4 to 6 years old). We describe the resource used, the TCM Junior, Metaphor Comprehension Test for 4-6 years old and the results obtained with a sample. The instrument used is in the process of gauging, or external validation that is, meeting normative data, although it is already subject to adaptation procedures, as it is an original test in Italian. In this study, 36 participants of both sexes participated. Although still incipient, because there are still few data, with groups by age and sex that are not equitable and significant, the results are promising. We will report on the data obtained and analyzed. Although still preliminary and exploratory, with a sample that is still not very representative and significant, the results appear to be not very distant from the averages obtained by their Italian counterparts.

Keywords: *metalinguistic awareness, understanding, figurative language, metaphors, TCM junior*

Introduction

As part of a more comprehensive project, to validate assessment resources and intervention in terms of understanding figurative language, metaphors, we carried out an exploratory study, using the tool, already adapted for European Portuguese, the TCM junior, for children from 4 to 6 years old, instrument validated in Italian, its origin. In fact, we believe that work in this area is justified for two reasons:

- absence of valid assessment and intervention resources, on this dimension, for European Portuguese;
- relevance of investigating and intervening at the level of understanding, or metalinguistic ability, in general, and, in general, and, in this case, the understanding of figurative, metaphorical language.

We assume that metalinguistic ability can be defined as the ability to reflect on language as an object of thought and intentional manipulation of language

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(Garton and Pratt 1989). According to Figueira et al. (2019), metalinguistic awareness or metalinguistic capacity is the ability to reflect and elaborate analyzes on language.

As for figurative language, such as metaphors, we consider that it evokes comparisons and distances itself from the literal meaning of words (Figueira et al. 2019). Figurative language differs, therefore, from literal language, since the latter uses words with their true meaning, while figurative language “expresses an idea using other terms, thus appealing to a similarity, whether real or imaginary” (Figueira et al. 2019).

For Black (2019), figurative language consists of any figure of speech that involves a semantic change, transforming the literal meaning of the word/expression. Some examples of figures of speech are irony, where the opposite meaning is used, and hyperbole, exaggeration of meaning. Metaphor is also inscribed in figurative language due to its ability to change the perception/meaning we give to the word or phrase. The metaphor brings together two distinct meanings through an analogy or similarity, and can be described as two ideas in a sentence (Black 2019). According to Black (2019), the metaphorical use of an expression consists of the use of that expression in a non-literal sense and in a context that allows the reader to decipher the transformed meaning. Thus, metaphor processing is the result of an association between two domains in the conceptual framework – the abstract domain, which is beyond direct experience, and the concrete domain, which is easily accessible through sensory experiences. Still, Lakoff and Johnson (2008) consider metaphor as a natural phenomenon embedded in our daily communication and thoughts, “metaphor is predominant in everyday life, not just in language, but in thought and action” (Lakoff and Johnson 2008).

The metaphor has been analyzed in various ways over the last few decades. It began to be seen as a resource to embellish the text very typical of the Aristotelian vision and, more recently, it has been seen beyond language, as a process that influences the way of thinking, acting and perceiving reality.

Methodology

Sample

The sample used in the present study was found using a non-probabilistic convenience or accidental sampling (Hill and Hill 2005). Sample found and used in 2021 (January and April), meaning that the chronological ages correspond, 4 years (range 4-4.11 months), 5 years (range 5-5-11 months) and 6 years (range 6-6.11 months). The sample was selected based on their age and authorization from their guardians and randomly. However, the signaling of weaknesses in terms of development was a criterion for non-inclusion.

The sample consists of 36 participants, 24 males and 12 females, aged between 4 and 6 years: 14 4-year-olds, 17 5-year-olds and 5 6-year-olds (cf. Table 1). All participants in the sample speak European Portuguese as their mother

tongue, and no diagnosis of cognitive or other weaknesses is mentioned, according to the information obtained by the educators.

Table 1. *Sample Distribution by Age and Sex*

Age	Male	Female	Total
4	10	4	14
5	10	7	17
6	4	1	5
Total	24	12	36

Resource(s)/Instrument(s)

Although, for reasons of validation, we also used a reduced version of Raven's progressive matrices (Amaral 1966) and treated the data, in its version with raw data, for reasons of context, we do not present them in this space.

Thus, TCM Júnior, in its original Italian version (Pinto et al. 2008), is an instrument that allows analyzing the understanding of figurative language, metaphors, of the ages targeted by the test, from 4 to 6 years of age. To date, it is in the process of being measured, having gone through all the adaptation phases.

TCM Júnior is an individual, oral administration resource, consisting of 25 items, metaphors, of which 12 are presented in the form of simple sentences (M-S) and the remaining (13) are presented in the context of short stories, in that, for each story, there are 3/4 questions about the narratives (M-SS).

From the perspective of the original authors (Pinto et al. 2008), when the metaphorical expression is used in the context of history, it can facilitate its understanding, since the context in which it is inserted provides the antecedents from which it is possible to approximate the meanings in metaphor. It is interesting to try to analyze this possible variability.

The administrator must have a protocol for each child, where he transcribes the answers given, and may have the help of a recorder so that the answers can be transcribed later.

The instrument should start with metaphors in the form of a simple sentence (M-S), where it is explained to the child that he will hear some phrases, with different words, which may seem "weird" and he must say what he thinks they mean, what they think it means. The examiner and the child analyze two sample items together – "The sun is a ball", "The sun has arms" – in order to become familiar with the instrument. For each item, the child should explore the metaphor presented and will be evaluated by the approximation made between the two terms of the metaphor and understanding of it.

For the analysis and rating of TCM Júnior (Figueira et al. 2023), each item is analyzed according to three levels of semantic conflict resolution, thus the maximum test score is 50 points, or that is, the potentials to be reached can vary between 0 and 50 points. The three levels are: level 0 - deficient or null understanding of the metaphor, no understanding; level 1 - partial understanding of the metaphor; and level 2 - full understanding of the metaphor.

Level 0 corresponds to a score of 0 points, where the answer reveals a misunderstanding of the conflict and the metaphor. At this level, it is possible to

analyze responses ranging from rejection or denial of the metaphor (“I don’t know”) to its acceptance for inappropriate reasons. Regardless of the type, the answer remains distant from the semantic conflict that constitutes the metaphor. They therefore characterize the lowest level of elaboration/understanding. According to the authors, the various reasons can be categorized as:

Zero level:

- a. Global rejection: the association is denied, alleged to be false. Example of response, “It is not true, the moon is not a lamp”, “It is a lie”;
- b. Illusion/deception: search for common ground between T and V,
 1. Total illusion/deception: e.g., “The house has a hat”; response: “I don’t know”;
 2. Illusion/deception by partial centering: the focus is exclusively centered on T or V, for example, “The house has a hat”; answer: “The house is big and the hat is small”;
- c. Literal interpretation: elaboration of an alternative context where the metaphor is plausible. Example response, “The other day I had a dream about a house with my eyes closed at night”;
- d. Magical interpretation: a supernatural force turned one term into the other. Example response, “With a magic wand she had turned her house into a cage”; and. Metonymic interpretation: the meanings of the two words are related to spatial or temporal proximity. For example, “My father is the car doctor”; answer: “It means that he goes and injects people inside the cars”.

At level 1, responses are assigned 1 point. At this level, there is a medium level of understanding and a partial recognition of the conflict and a focus on the commonality between T and V. At this level, there is no exhaustive exploration of the common ground for approximation between the two terms. For example, to the metaphor “The moon is a lamp”, a response of the kind “Send light” is expected, demonstrating an approximation between the two terms of the metaphor, however, in a partial way.

The last level, level 2, with a score of 2 points, corresponds to a total identification of the conflict and an elaboration on the common ground between T and V, identifying not only the similarities but also the differences between the two terms of the metaphor. If we use the example of the previous metaphor, “The moon is a lamp”, it is expected that the child will be able to elaborate a more complete answer, both linguistically and cognitively, for example, “Do you mean that the moon illuminates and emits light like the lamp, but the lamp also illuminates during the day, while the moon only illuminates the sky at night”, showing a higher level of understanding.

The items are presented to the participants, asking themselves if they know what it means, giving these their narrative (Table 2).

Table 2. *Potential Raw Data (Range of Potential Points)*

Age	Range items in sentences 12 items	Range items in stories 13 items	Total range 25 items
4/5/6 years	0-24	0-26	0-50

Procedures

Before administering the instruments, a statement of informed consent was requested from the guardians of each child. The instrument application sessions were scheduled with the educators of the different Childhood Centers, which took place between January and April 2021. Individually, the TCM Júnior was applied.

Before the administration of TCM Júnior, the instrument is explained, in the form of a game, “joke”, and an example of a sentence and response is given so that the subject becomes familiar with the resource. After the brief introduction to the test, it starts with 12 simple sentences and 4 short stories, each story having 3/4 questions about the narrative sentences.

Throughout the entire process of data collection and processing, conditions of anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed for all participants, respecting the ethical principles underlying the conduct of investigations.

After collecting the data, they were inserted into a database of the SPSS version 25.0 program and subsequently analyzed.

Results

The data obtained are presented as a percentage, item by item, from TCM Júnior, and as a function of age. We will also provide examples of responses, depending on the 3 categorized levels (Tables 3 & 4).

Table 3. *Results (Percentages) for the 25 Items, According to Age, and by Response Levels (L0, L1 and L2)*

Item	4 years (N=14)			5 years (N=17)			6 years (N=5)		
	%L0	%L1	%L2	%L0	%L1	%L2	%L0	%L1	%L2
Items in sentences									
MS1	21.4	57.1	21.4	17.6	82.4	0	20	80	0
MS2	28.6	50	21.4	23.5	64.7	11.8	20	40	40
MS3	71.4	28.6	0	41.2	52.9	5.9	80	20	0
MS4	85.7	0	14.3	52.9	47.1	0	80	0	20
MS5	100	0	0	100	0	0	80	20	0
MS6	57.1	35.7	7.1	47.1	41.2	11.8	20	60	20
MS7	42.9	57.1	0	35.6	64.7	0	40	60	0
MS8	35.7	64.3	0	58.8	35.3	5.9	80	20	0
MS9	50	50	0	47.1	52.9	0	20	80	0
MS10	64.3	35.7	0	52.9	47.1	0	80	20	0
MS11	71.4	28.6	0	70.6	29.4	0	80	20	0

MS12	92.9	7.1	0	76.5	23.5	0	80	0	20
Items in stories									
MSS1.1	57.1	21.4	21.4	47.1	35.3	17.6	80	20	0
MSS1.2	42.9	57.1	0	23.5	76.5	0	60	40	0
MSS1.3	64.3	28.6	7.1	11.8	82.4	5.9	80	20	0
MSS2.1	57.1	21.4	21.4	41.2	47.1	11.8	40	60	0
MSS2.2	50	50	0	17.6	82.4	0	20	80	0
MSS2.3	92.9	7.1	0	100	0	0	100	0	0
MSS2.4	71.4	28.6	0	41.2	58.8	0	40	60	0
MSS3.1	85.7	14.3	0	88.2	11.8	0	80	20	0
MSS3.2	100	0	0	88.2	11.8	0	20	80	0
MSS3.3	42.9	57.1	0	58.8	41.2	0	60	40	0
MSS4.1	78.6	21.4	0	70.6	23.5	5.9	80	20	0
MSS4.2	71.4	28.6	0	41.2	52.9	5.9	60	40	0
MSS4.3	78.6	21.4	0	70.6	29.4	0	100	0	0

Table 4. Averages Obtained by this Sample

Age/N	Average items in sentences [Potential sum (0-24), average (12)]	Average items in stories [Potential sum (0-26), average (13)]	Total average [Potential sum (0-50), average (25)]
4 years (14)	5.43	4.57	10.00
5 years (17)	6.12	6.47	12.59
6 years (5)	6.40	4.20	10.40

Analysis of the most salient data, regardless of the age of the participants:

The total averages, and even the partial ones (depending on the type of metaphor) are below the potential average.

The item averages in sentences fall short of the potential average.

Item averages in stories fall short of potential average.

Also, and yet

There is an increase in the average, as a function of age, for items in sentences.

There is an increase in average for items in stories, from 4 to 5 years old, not happening for 6 years old.

Discussion

In fact, generally speaking, our small sample presents results that, under the comparative prism, with the data from Italian samples, can be considered negative. However, they are not to be neglected because, when we compare the total results of the TCM Junior of this investigation with the original study (Pinto et al. 2008), we can see that, considering a potential average of 25 points, the age range of the 4 years has a higher average (M=10) compared to the Italian version (M=8.98).

However, the data for 5 and 6 years are lower than expected. The average for 5 years is $M=12.59$ and for 6 years is $M=10.40$, while the results of the original version show an average of $M=16.75$ for 5 years and an average of $M=21.71$ for 6 years (see Table 5). However, let us not forget that the sample of the present study is too small.

Table 5. Averages Obtained by this Sample Compared with the Italian Sample, for Total Average

Age/N	Portuguese	Italian
4 years	10	8.98
5 years	12.59	16.75
6 years	10.40	21.71

In fact, these results obtained by us suggest the need to continue applying and using this resource. The averages found are below those obtained by Italian counterparts and, equally, below the potential averages; we attribute the sample to being small, unrepresentative and significant. However, we do not neglect the discriminatory tendency, in which younger children obtain lower results.

Conclusion

Metalinguistic awareness was described in this work as the ability to reflect and compare the meanings of language. The development of instruments that aim to assess metalinguistic awareness is a complex process and it is necessary to consider the translation and adaptation of instruments originally constructed in other languages and in other cultural contexts to the national context (Mota 2012).

In fact, given the scarcity, in the national context, there is a need to develop and validate tools for assessment and even intervention of metalinguistic awareness, metalinguistic skills, in Portugal. In the present exploratory study, the main objective was to contribute to the Portuguese validation and measurement of the TCM Júnior (Figueira et al. 2023).

The main limitation of this investigation will be, therefore, the small size of the sample ($N=36$). However, the acceptance of the resource by the children is quite good and even the results are promising. In this sense, it will be necessary to use more representative and significant samples, so that there is equity in relation to age groups, which will allow us to carry out more sophisticated analyses. However, the results, as described above, should not be underestimated, since the study constitutes a test for the use and validation of the TCM Junior, until confronted with the studies with its original Italian version (Pinto et al. 2008).

We also consider, given the characteristics and procedures used in its adaptation, that the TCM Junior resource can and should continue to be used, either in the context of dynamic, universal assessment, or in the context of psychological intervention, initiating studies leading to its validation psychometric.

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Understanding Metaphors: Preliminary Results with Children 9-14 Years Old

By Ana Paula Couceiro Figueira* & Beatriz Marques[‡]

We present the results of a study with a group of children aged 9-14 years old, on the understanding of metaphors. We describe the resource used, the TCM, Metaphor Comprehension Test for children aged 9-14 years and the results obtained with a sample. In this study, 95 subjects of both sexes participated, aged between 9 (4th grade) and 15 (9th grade), from a school in the region of Aveiro. The results revealed that, with increasing age, the rating level of responses tends to increase. The instrument used is in the process of gauging, or external validation, that is, meeting normative data, although it is already subject to adaptation procedures, as it is an original test in Italian. We will give an account of the data obtained and analyzed which, to date, seem to us to be quite promising. Although still preliminary and exploratory, with a sample that is still not very representative and significant, the results appear to be not very distant from the averages obtained by their Italian counterparts.

Keywords: *metalinguistic awareness, understanding, figurative language, metaphors, TCM*

Introduction

The metaphor has been analyzed in various ways over the last few decades. It began by being seen as a resource to embellish the text, very typical of the Aristotelian view (Bailey 2003) and, more recently, it has been seen beyond language, as a process that influences the way of thinking, acting and perceiving reality (Siman and Sampaio 2021).

In fact, metaphor has been thought and conceptualized in different ways, however, in this context, we follow the definition of Pinto et al. (2006), considering it as a form of semantic conflict induced by the anomalous combination of the conventional meanings of its main constituents – tenor (tenor) and vehicle – with the understanding of metaphor framed as a metasemantic skill, based on the analysis of these meanings (Gombert 1990, in Pinto et al. 2006).

In this sense, in a metaphor, the vehicle is the linguistic figure itself, that is, the immediate image that embodies or “carries” the tenor (the theme or tenor of the metaphor). The interplay of vehicle results and content give meaning to the metaphor.

The authors, our references (Pinto et al. 2006), propose a Piagetian functionalist framework, based on Piaget’s last equilibrium model (1975, in Pinto et al. 2006), to analyze how this semantic conflict can be faced and solved by children in the considered developmental period.

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Thus, they question whether “Understanding metaphors is a “thing for children” or not?” Pinto et al. (2006) consider that yes, provided that metaphors similar to those that children of this age spontaneously produce are presented and that a "game" is established with them. Understanding and knowing how to explain the meaning of metaphors is a complex skill, whose relevance has been perceived by various sectors of psychology (cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, developmental psychology, psychoanalysis and other theoretical currents of clinical psychology, social psychology, sport psychology, etc.), generating, for more than forty years, a vast scientific literature.

As educational psychologists, to promote these skills, evaluating and intervening, we consider it necessary to have valid resources. And it is under these assumptions that we find ourselves validating an assessment instrument for understanding metaphors, originally Italian, called the Metaphor Comprehension Test (TCM) (Figueira et al. in press), which is intended for children/young people, between 9 and 14 years of age.

We assume that language is essential and indispensable in the life of the Human Being, allowing communication and interaction with the other to occur (Figueira and Ferreira 2019). As important as the act of communicating, in the sense of using language, whatever it may be, to express ideas, feelings or emotions, is the act of understanding this form of communication, being one of the relevant areas of study in the context of the psychology of education and development.

After all the linguistic adaptation procedures, we present the first results resulting from the use with 95 students. Although very exploratory, these are promising data.

Method

Sample

95 subjects of both sexes participated in this study, aged between 9 (4th grade) and 15 (9th grade), from a school in the region of Aveiro, central Portugal (see Table 1). The criterion assumed is accessibility vs. convenience, having complied with all ethical and informed consent requirements.

Table 1. *Sample Distribution by Age and Sex*

Age	Male	Female
9	7	12
10	10	9
11	19	8
12	5	4
13	8	2
14	6	3
15	2	0
Total	57	38

Resource(s)/Instrument(s)

Although, for reasons of validation, we also used a reduced version of Raven's progressive matrices (Amaral 1966) and treated the data, in its version with raw data, for reasons of context, we do not present them in this space.

Thus, the TCM, Metaphor Comprehension Test (Figueira et al. in press) is an originally Italian instrument (Pinto et al. 2006), which aims to assess the ability to understand metaphors in children/young people, between 9 and 14 years of age (Figueira et al. in press).

This Italian test, in its initial version, consisted of two sets of six metaphors each (evenly distributed in physical-psychological and conceptual), however, the final protocol was changed, resulting in the maintenance of two sets, but one with five metaphors (physical-psychological) and another with seven (conceptual) metaphors (Pinto et al. 2006).

From a structural point of view, the TCM is composed of two parts, corresponding to two different types of metaphors, called "physical-psychological" and "conceptual", which, according to the international literature, and to what has already been mentioned in a (Pinto et al. 2006), seem to express a partially different semantic elaboration, which results in a less linear evolutionary profile in the case of conceptual metaphors. The distinction is based on certain semantic features of the two main components of the metaphor, the "tenor" or content/theme and the "vehicle", T and V, and on the different relationships that are established between them.

In physical-psychological metaphors, the two terms belong to different semantic-conceptual domains: one is taken from the universe of human beings, while the other derives from the inanimate universe of physical objects, or from the animal universe ("my sister is a butterfly"); "that child is a puppy without a leash"). An example is the metaphorical phrase "The prison guard is a rock" which, in order to convey information about a psychological quality, establishes a link between the physical domain (hard rocks) and the domain of psychological traits (obstinate, lack of feeling) (Pinto et al. 2006).

In conceptual metaphors, however, certain concepts or ideas are linked to a concrete object, such as in the example "Memory is a sieve/sieve", through which we want to express some functional (in this case, filter) aspects of the memory process. However, the limits of these categorizations are not always very or so clear, so it can be difficult to decide when a metaphor is unequivocally physical-psychological or conceptual (Winner 1988, in Pinto et al. 2006).

It is important to mention that in this test, despite the attempt to differentiate between physical-psychological and conceptual metaphors presented below, there is, however, a clear understanding that it appears to be difficult to limit in terms of categorization, given that it is not always easy to assign an unambiguous category to them (Winner 1988, in Figueira et al. in press).

However, physical-psychological metaphors are understood to be those that try, in a certain way, to relate, for example, a living being with an inanimate object (ex. "That gentleman is a volcano"), while conceptual metaphors are characterized by presenting, in the final part of the sentence, a concrete object, which relates to

the idea/concept referred to in the initial part (ex. “The family is an umbrella”) (Pinto et al. 2003, in Figueira et al. in press).

However, in this exploratory study, eight physical-psychological and six conceptual metaphors were considered (cf. Table 2). There was a need to create two more physical-psychological metaphors in this study, as we intend to explore the difference in the level of response given by the subjects in relation to the following pairs of metaphors: 2 and 4; 5 and 8. This situation is due to the care that an intercultural translation requires and it is taken into account that this is an initial exploratory study, and there may be a need to use more or less items, as well as to make changes in the categorization, after possible factorial analysis and internal consistency of the items.

The items are presented to the subjects, asking themselves if they know what it means, giving these their narrative.

Table 2. *TCM Items: Physical-Psychological and Conceptual Metaphors*

Physico-psychological metaphors (MPP)	Conceptual Metaphors (C)
1.The prison guard is a rock.	1. The family is an umbrella.
2. My sister is a butterfly.	2. Flowers are the garden calendar.
3. That child is a train without a locomotive.	3. Friendship is a cloak/cover.
4. My sister is an airplane.	4. Autumn leaves are old/old photographs.
5. That child is a puppy without a chain/leash.	5. Intelligence is a skyscraper.
6. That gentleman is a volcano.	6. Memory is a sieve/sieve.
7. Beli is a soap bubble/ball.	
8. That child is a spinning top/wheel.	

In the light of these general criteria of semantic elaboration, four levels of response were equated or established, valid for each item, two of which are pre-metaphorical and two of which are metaphorical. The narrative is then analyzed, its content, using four (4) levels of analysis, that is, four levels of semantic conflict resolution:

- At level 0 (L0) (score 0), pre-metaphorical level: the subject seems to distance himself from the essence of the task, that is, the search for common ground between T and V.

These are answers that elude/avoid the confrontation between the elements that define T and the elements that define V. The answer can take the following forms: a) no answer or answers like, “I don’t know”; b) metonymy: when the two terms are considered only in a relationship of physical contiguity. partial centering: when the analysis develops either in T or in V, but not in both; c) responses without specificity or non-specific in relation to T or V or exclusively centered on V or T: when the analysis is centered on non-specific characteristics of T and or V; d) answers not relevant to the common ground between T and V.

- At level 1 (L1) (score 1), pre-metaphorical level: the subject identifies a common ground, but supported only on physical bases, therefore, it is still below the metaphor.

A specification of common ground between T and V arises, but only for physical reasons.

- At level 2 (L2) (score 2), metaphorical level, instead of level 1, the common ground between T and V is discriminated or specified thanks to the ability to abstract relevant traits in the respective domains and identify similarities between the two, without, however, find the psychological or conceptual plane, reducing it to the physical plane. What is still lacking in this level of conduct/response is the depth and precision of common ground. The answers reveal the identification of common ground between T and V centered on specifically human traits at a generic level or halfway between the psychological and the behavioral.

- At level 3 (L3) (score 3), metaphorical level, finally: the subject combines several elements of the T and V, which justify the identification of a common ground, reaching, in this way, the deepening and refinement of the analysis that was not found in the Level 2. Responses reveal identification of common ground between T and V, but based on elaborate human traits.

In this sense, the potential raw data (range of potential points and potential averages) achievable are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. *Potential Raw Data (Range of Potential Points and Potential Averages)*

Age	Range physical- psychological metaphors 8 items	Potential average	Range conceptual metaphors 6 items	Potential average	Total range 14 items	Potential average
9 years	0-24	12	0-18	9	0-42	21
10 years	0-24	12	0-18	9	0-42	21
11 years	0-24	12	0-18	9	0-42	21
12 years	0-24	12	0-18	9	0-42	21
13 years	0-24	12	0-18	9	0-42	21
14 years	0-24	12	0-18		0-42	21
15 years	0-24	12	0-18	9	0-42	21

Procedures

After the necessary authorizations, by the ethics committees, guardians of education and management of the establishments, the instruments were used (it should be noted that, in a logic of exploring other types of validity, namely, concurrent, of the TCM, the IA (Amaral 1966), a reduced version of Raven's Progressive Matrices, which, for reasons of space, we do not present in this context.

Although, preferably, for individual use or application, in this study, for various reasons, it was done in a group, occupying a class time considered not harmful to learning and not interfering with the programmatic contents of the teachers. Initially designed for individual application, as such a procedure becomes unfeasible, since it could invasively interfere with learning times or after-school hours, not being possible to reconcile this situation, we opted for an application in group, class by class.

In the analysis of responses to metaphors, we followed the protocol taking into account 4 levels of analysis.

Results

In this study, with these data, several types of analysis were carried out, however, by space, we present only some descriptive and very general analyzes (cf. Table 4 and Graphs 1 & 2).

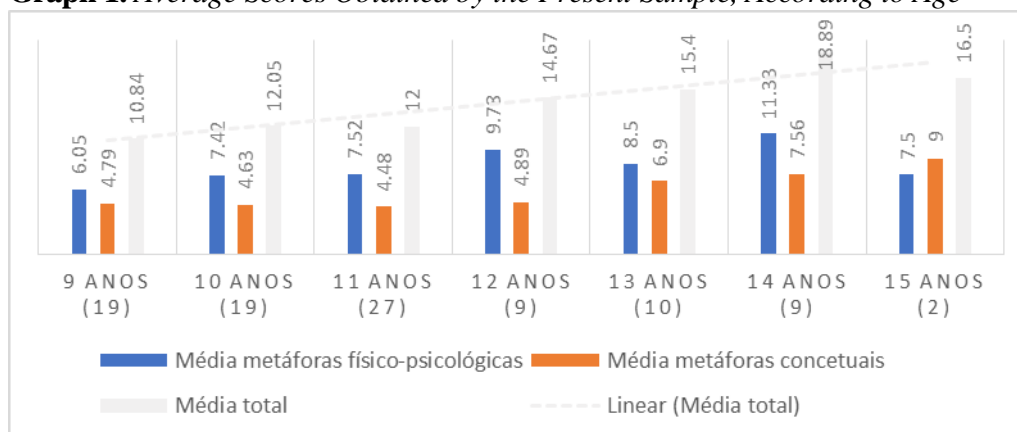
Overall, the results revealed that as age increases, the total MCT score also increases, which means a potential improvement or a more complete understanding of metaphors, regardless of their type, with age, which seems to us very predictable. Still, the results suggest some discriminative and differential capacity, depending on the age, being a good prognosis.

Table 4. Average Quotation by Type of Metaphor, According to Age

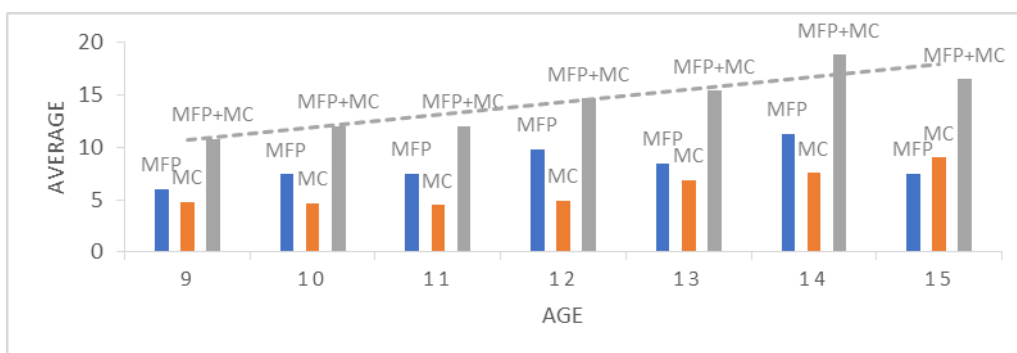
Age	MPP 1	MPP 2	MPP3	MPP 4	MPP 5	MPP 6	MPP 7	MPP8	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	total
9	1,32	0,58	0,84	0,68	1,00	0,79	0,21	0,63	1,05	0,74	1,00	0,89	0,63	0,47	0,77
10	1,42	0,95	1,16	0,74	0,89	0,84	0,53	0,89	0,95	0,63	1,11	0,74	0,63	0,58	0,86
11	1,63	0,81	1,04	0,89	0,89	1,07	0,59	0,59	0,74	0,89	0,85	0,74	0,74	0,52	0,86
12	1,44	1,33	1,22	1,44	1,67	1,67	0,44	0,56	0,67	0,67	1,00	1,00	1,00	0,56	1,05
13	1,50	0,90	1,20	1,10	1,00	1,30	0,60	0,90	1,20	1,00	1,50	1,10	1,20	0,90	1,10
14	2,33	1,56	1,67	1,11	1,44	1,67	0,78	0,78	1,44	1,22	1,78	1,33	0,89	0,89	1,35
15	0,50	1,50	1,50	0,00	1,50	2,50	0,00	1,00	1,50	0,50	2,50	1,50	1,50	1,50	1,25
Total	1,54	0,94	1,13	0,89	1,06	1,14	0,49	0,72	0,97	0,82	1,14	0,91	0,80	0,62	0,94

We would also like to present the results (percentages) for the 14 items, according to age, and by response levels (L0, L1, L2 and L3) (Graphs 1 & 2).

Graph 1. Average Scores Obtained by the Present Sample, According to Age



Graph 2. Average Scores Obtained by the Present Sample, Depending on the



Type of Metaphor/Age

Trying to compare the data obtained with the Italian data, the only ones available, roughly speaking, we can say that they are very close (cf. Pinto et al. 2006).

Conclusions

In this exploratory study, it appears that the average of the sum of the scores at each age tends to increase with age. The results of level 3 responses indicate the difficulty of differentiating the quotation between levels 2 and 3, given the similarity between the correction criteria for the same. This sample is not representative, but should not be underestimated, as all results are important in these exploratory studies.

In general, students were interested and motivated to take the TCM (Figueira et al. in press). It was found, informally, that preferences in certain scientific areas, namely Exact Sciences and Social Sciences, are not determinant for the motivation factor.

This study made it possible to assess the need and relevance of validating the TCM for the Portuguese population, due to the need to create more instruments that can help both in the evaluation and in the intervention process in subjects of different age groups, in the specific case of the metalanguage area, using metaphors.

As this is just an exploratory study, the data are not representative of the Portuguese population, so more studies should continue to be carried out to rigorously validate the TCM, proceeding to collect more protocols that allow the performance of more robust analyses, namely, internal consistency, factorial and correlation analyses.

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