HumaNetten

Nummer 41 Hösten 2018

Om HumaNetten

HumaNetten tillkom hösten 1997 för att förverkliga ett av målen i den dåvarande humanistiska institutionen vid Högskolan i Växjös "Verksamhetsplan och kvalitetsprogram för läsåret 1997/98", nämligen att göra texter producerade vid institutionen tillgängliga för en större läsekrets. Redan från början bestämdes att detta skulle bli en helt och hållet elektronisk tidskrift, med utgivning vår och höst, vilket idag betyder att *HumaNetten* är universitets-sveriges äldsta elektroniska tidskrift! Alltsedan starten har *HumaNetten*, förutom artiklar i skilda ämnen, innehållit recensioner av nyutkommen litteratur en debattavdelning.

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Webb: https://open.lnu.se/index.php/hn/index

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ISSN: 1403-2279

Redaktören har ordet

Julljusen tänds i de snöfria sydsvenska bygderna medan Linnéuniversitetets anställda febrilt avverkar de sista göromålen innan långhelgen. Till dessa göromål hör av hävd årets sista nummer av *HumaNetten* som denna gång har ett tydligt internationellt fokus i tid och rum. Förvånande är inte detta. Fakulteten för konst och humaniora (eller kort och gott FKH) är sedan flera år hemvist för två av de *centers of excellence* som etablerats på Linnéuniversitetet och producerar kunskap i hög fart, ofta på engelska. Två av artikelskribenterna har koppling till *Center for Concurrences in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies*, eller i korthet Concurrences (på svenska Samtidigheter) under det att den tredje studerat för forskare verksamma inom *Intermedial Studies* (IMS). De bägge centrumbildningarna har varit verksamma med konferenser, forskarutbildning och publiceringsprojekt och därmed hjälp till att sätta Linnéuniversitetet på kartan.

I detta nummer beskriver religionsvetaren Torsten Löfstedt i sin studie "Establishing authority in Spiritual Warfare literature" hur föreställningar om en ond andevärld har nått viss spridning bland pingströrelser och karismatiska kristna. Vissa författare hävdar sig ha fått kunskap om ondsinta makter som har satt sig i kontroll av institutioner, städer och nationer, och anvisar medel för att bekämpa dessa. Som Löfstedt påpekar har dessa strömningar mycket gemensamt med New Age trots sina bedyranden om motsatsen. Vi får följa hur författarna till texter om andlig krigföring söker bevisa sin auktoritet och kunskap inför omvärlden. Historikern Stefan Amirell analyserar i sin text "Civilizing pirates: Nineteenth century British ideas about piracy, race and civilization in the Malay Archipelago" en mindre spirituell men så mycket mer fysiskt påtaglig motståndare: pirater. Den malajiska övärlden var under 1800-talet hemsökt av inhemska sjörövare och utgjorde ett problem inte minst för de europeiska kolonisatörer som var i färd att skaffa sig fotfäste i Sydöstasien. Amirell visar på de skiftande europeiska attityderna till pirater och hur man borde handskas med dem, och hur detta påverkade den förda kolonialpolitiken som i sig kunde vara nog så brutal. Våldsamma scener analyseras också av litteraturvetaren Anneliese Fältström i sin studie av en roman av den kinesiske nobelpristagaren Mo Yan, "Filmens tekniker som litterär metod att gestalta våld och kroppslighet som känns mot huden: En medialitetsanalys av Mo Yans roman *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv*". Hon gör här en analys av romanens strategier där hon fördjupar sig i scener som innefattar kroppslighet och våld. Detta blir hos Mo Yan en strategi för att framkalla en kroppslig reaktion hos läsaren, i analogi med filmens tekniker. Intressant läsning tillönskas under juluppehållet.

För redaktionens räkning

Hans Hägerdal

Establishing authority in Spiritual Warfare literature

Torsten Löfstedt

Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity is considered to be the most quickly growing form of Christianity in the world today. Pentecostals and Charismatic Christians belong to many different denominations and engage in a variety of practices but generally agree that the experiences of the working of the Holy Spirit that are described in the New Testament are available to Christians today.[1] While it is the experience of the Holy Spirit that is of central importance to these Christians, some show considerable interest in a malevolent spirit world as well. A large number of books have been written by Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians regarding how to identify and defeat demonic forces. In one subgenre, known as Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare, authors claim to have received supernatural knowledge of spiritual forces that are in control of institutions, cities, and nations, and explain how to go about combating them. Several titles in this genre have become best sellers. In this article I identify strategies that some best-selling authors in this genre use to persuade their readers that their findings are reliable. While the authors in this tradition portray themselves as standing in opposition to the New Age movement, I note how they employ many of the same discursive strategies as New Age authors and others belonging to the Modern Esoteric Tradition (or Western Esotericism), as it has been described by Olav Hammer.[2] By examining these parallels this article contributes to the history of religious ideas, Pentecostal studies and studies of American religion.

The Modern Esoteric Tradition is notoriously difficult to define; it is not an organized religion but includes various spiritual traditions that developed in the western world from about the age of the Enlightenment and were critical of organized Christian religion, incorporating traits from a variety of traditions distant from traditional Christianity.[3] Examples of Modern esoteric traditions include Theosophy, Occultism and modern Paganism.[4] The term 'New Age movement' refers to forms of Western Esotericism that

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1 A. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) characterizes Pentecostalism as "a movement concerned primarily with the *experience* of the working of the Holy Spirit and the *practice* of spiritual gifts" (p. 14). The Pentecostal movement includes both classical Pentecostal denominations established in the early 1900's (such as the Assemblies of God), and Neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic congregations, that is congregations belonging to non-Pentecostal denominations that came to share the same interests in spiritual gifts. These flourished as a result of the Charismatic revival that spread through the USA in the 1960's (p. 144).

2 O. Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge: Strategies of Epistemology from Theosophy to the New Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

3 See W. J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture* (Albany NY: SUNY Press, 1998) pp. 302-303

4 Hanegraaff "Esotericism" in Hanegraaff, (ed.). *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*. (Leiden: Brill, 2005) p. 340, lists four characteristics that are intrinsic to western esotericism and two characteristics that are often but not always present in these traditions: (1) a belief in invisible and non-causal 'correspondences' between all visible and invisible dimensions of the cosmos, (2) a perception of nature as permeated and animated by a divine presence or life-force, (3) a concentration on the religious imagination

developed after World War II, especially in the late 1960s and thereafter. In the view of Pentecostal and Charismatic authors whose works I study here, New Age is a form of demon worship.[5] That of course is not how adherents of New Age movements would see themselves; they are more likely to characterize themselves as spiritual seekers.

The term 'spiritual warfare' is used by Christian authors in different ways. J.K. Beilby and P.R. Eddy identify four views of spiritual warfare, which they refer to as "the world systems model, the classical model, the ground-level deliverance model and the strategic level deliverance model."[6] Authors working in the classical model of spiritual warfare may hold that personal demonic beings exist, but they do not encourage speculation about their actions or nature, and "reject the idea that Christians can be personally demonized".[7] These authors affirm that Satan is real, but they argue that it is primarily in the moral arena that Christians must fight him; spiritual warfare "is a pastoral, theological term for describing the moral conflict of the Christian life."[8] The spiritual forces that the believer must battle are forces of sin and temptation.

Authors who write of spiritual warfare from the viewpoint of the ground-level deliverance and strategic level deliverance models also address the need to withstand temptation and to be set free from bondage to sin but in addition they encourage the use of exorcism to free believers from various personal demonic beings. The strategic-level deliverance model differs from the ground level deliverance model in that in addition to affirming the necessity of delivering people who are demon possessed, its adherents teach that there exist demonic hierarchies in control of geographical territories that need to be identified and prayed against. Peter Wagner is the central figure in this form of deliverance ministries, which he refers to as Strategic-level Spiritual Warfare (SLSW).[9]

I do not aim to account for the development of the Deliverance movements as a whole,[10] but have chosen to focus on the works of a few authors who have been especially influential and have made some particularly bold claims. From the early generation I look at works by

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as a power that provides access to worlds and levels of reality intermediary between the material world and God, (4) the belief in a process of spiritual transmutation by which the inner man is regenerated and re-connected with the divine. Two non-intrinsic characteristics – frequently but not always present are (1) the belief in a fundamental concordance between several or all spiritual traditions, and (2) the idea of a more or less secret transmission of spiritual knowledge." This list is in turn a reworking of Faivre's influential definition of Western Esotericism.

5 See R. Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping in the United States and Argentina, 1989-2005: A Geography of Fear.* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 33.

6 JK Beilby & PR Eddy *Understanding Spiritual Warfare: Four Views*. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012).

7 Beilby & Eddy, *Understanding Spiritual Warfare* p. 35.

8 Powlison, David. "The Classical Model." In Beilby & Eddy (eds.), *Understanding Spiritual Warfare*, p. 92. I find it significant that in contrast to other spiritual warfare texts, Powlison's *Power Encounters: Reclaiming Spiritual Warfare* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995) has not been republished.

9 It is also referred to as Spiritual Mapping. See Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 4. I do not include Gregory Boyd in this direction, because although he mentions some SLSW authors in a footnote (*God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press 1997) p. 294), he does not build on them, nor does he mention SLSW or spiritual mapping. See further Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping*, p. 233.

10 J.M. Collins offers a historical survey of Deliverance literature, identifying several strains. I will focus on books and articles by authors he categorizes as belonging to the Charismatic deliverance movement. JM Collins. *Exorcism and Deliverance Ministry in the Twentieth Century: An Analysis of the Practice and Theology of Exorcism in Modern Western Christianity* (Paternoster, 2009). Collins's findings are summarized in his article "Deliverance and Exorcism in the Twentieth century", in Kay & Parry, eds. *Exorcism and Deliverance: Multidisciplinary Studies*. (Paternoster, 2011)

Derek Prince (1915-2003), Lester Sumrall (1913-1996); and Frank Hammond (1921-2005) & Ida Mae Hammond (1925-1997); from the later generation Charles H. Kraft (1932-), Ed Murphy (1929-), C. Peter Wagner (1930-2016) and people belonging to Wagner's circle including Cindy Jacobs (1951-), George Otis, Jr. (1953-), and Becca Greenwood (1967-). These authors were all based in the USA.[11] They belonged to various parts of the Pentecostal and Charismatic traditions, but their writings have not been commissioned by any denomination.[12] Of these Peter Wagner is of special interest to me. Wagner was an unusually prolific writer and his ideas have had global reach.[13] He started out as a cessationist evangelical who believed that God only spoke to people through Scripture, but came to embrace the notion of extra-biblical revelation, of which he considered himself a recipient.[14] Wagner served for thirty years as professor of Church Growth at Fuller Theological Seminary, an influential multi-denominational evangelical seminary in the USA where Charles Kraft also worked. As will be discussed below, this gave him a unique position of authority.[15] Wagner also founded Global Harvest Ministries and the Wagner Leadership Institute, where he gathered around himself like-minded individuals who helped further propagate his ideas.

Many of the works studied here have been subjected to thorough criticism.[16] Theologians have pointed out instances where the practices described by the abovementioned authors and other like them are based on implausible exegesis.[17] Other scholars have noted how these works encourage a climate of fear.[18] The Assemblies of God, an American Pentecostal denomination, has repeatedly warned its members about dangers with too great an interest in identifying demons, and have declared some spiritual warfare teachings to be unbiblical.[19] But in spite of the substantial criticism these books continue to sell. Some of the works

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11 Prince was born in India to British parents but moved to the USA in 1963.

12 Prince and Sumrall were ordained in the Assemblies of God, a Pentecostal denomination. Prince eventually left his pastorate, presumably because his belief that Christians could be demonized contradicted official AG doctrine (Collins, *Exorcism* p. 45). Collins considers Murphy an example of the convergence of Evangelical-Fundamentalist and Charismatic strains of spiritual warfare thought (*Exorcism* p. 192), and he considers Wagner to be a "significant departure" from the Charismatic deliverance movement (p. 101).

13 Wagner is said to have authored more than 70 books. (Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* (1993/2015, backcover).

14 Wagner, Spiritual Warfare Strategy, p. 52-53.

15 As will be discussed below, many of Wagner's colleagues at Fuller found his views quite controversial.

16 Several important studies of spiritual warfare literature have been written. The most important is *Spiritual Mapping,* a thorough study by Holvast, which examines the history, development, self-understanding and criticism of the SLSW movement. This work engages both literature advocating SLSW and works critical of it. Works not referred to by Holvast include the following: MSB Reid. *Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare: A Modern Mythology? A detailed evaluation of the biblical theological and historical bases of spiritual warfare in contemporary thought.* (Fairfax, VA: Xulon Press, 2002). This work covers similar material to Holvast, but he seems not to have been aware of it. Important studies written later than Holvast include S. McCloud, *American Possessions: Fighting Demons in the Contemporary United States.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), who examines this literature in the context of contemporary American popular culture, and G.R. Smith, *The Church Militant: Spiritual Warfare in the Anglican Charismatic Revival* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016).

17 I give examples of criticism below.

18 See McCloud, *American Possessions,* p. 22. Van der Meer's doctoral thesis (2008) argues that applying SLSW to the cultural context of Malawi would be deleterious, reinforcing the fear of witchcraft.

19 See the AG official position paper "Can born-again believers be demon possessed?" (1972) and their paper "Spiritual Warfare: Attacks of Satan" (no date). https://ag.org/Beliefs/Topics-Index/Spiritual-Warfare-Attacks-of-Satan

studied here were first published in the 1970s and are still in print. The cover of the fiftieth printing of *Pigs in the Parlor* claims that more than one million copies have been printed since the first edition came out in 1973.[20] While most works in this genre are quick reads, even heavier texts in this genre have sold well. Ed Murphy's *The Handbook of Spiritual Warfare* numbers 626 pages; its cover claims: "over 100,000 copies sold."[21] Several of these authors, including Prince, Sumrall, and Kraft, traveled widely. Works by Kraft, Prince, Sumrall, and Wagner have been translated into other languages and have had an impact far beyond the English-speaking world. In his thorough study of the SLSW genre Holvast notes, "there is virtually no country in the world where Spiritual Mapping has not been practiced."[22]

In the pages that follow I identify discursive strategies these bestselling authors use to establish authority. I show that they try to make their assertions plausible by anchoring them in Biblical texts, as do other Evangelical authors,[23] but unlike many of their co-religionists they also employ discursive strategies that they share with authors in the Modern Esoteric Tradition: they construct tradition largely by appealing to experience (their own experiences, experiences of other SLSW authors, and the spiritual experiences of non-western peoples) rather than by appealing to established scholarship, and they use language that sounds scientific while neglecting scientific method.[24] They model for their readers a trusting attitude and discourage them from questioning by limiting the number and kind of references to other literature they make.

Some central teachings in the Spiritual Warfare tradition

Central to SLSW is the notion of territorial spirits, "powerful, high-ranking spirit beings that have authority over particular geographic regions of the earth."[25] SLSW authors teach that these territorial spirits are a hindrance to spreading the Gospel, but they can be defeated through warfare prayer. To defeat the demons, it helps if one can identify them by name, which is something that may be accomplished with the aid of 'spiritual mapping'. Wagner & Greenwood offer the following summary of this practice:

> Spiritual mapping is the practice of identifying the spiritual conditions at work in a given community, city, or nation. By gathering objective information (including key historical facts such as foundational history, locations of bloodshed, idolatrous practices, key historical leaders, broken covenants, and sexual immorality) and combining it with spiritual impressions (prophecy, revelation, words of knowledge, dreams, and visions), believers can prayerfully

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20 F. Hammond & I. Hammond. *Pigs in the Parlor: The Practical Guide to Deliverance*. (Kirkwood, MO: Impact Christian Books, [1973] 2014).
21 E. Murphy. *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare*. Revised and updated. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2003).
22 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 3.
23 Gary Dorrien *(The Remaking of Evangelical Theology*, Louisville, KY 1998) defines Evangelicalism as: "a Christian movement that emphasizes the Reformation doctrine of the final authority of scripture, the real historical character of God's saving work recorded in scripture, salvation to eternal life based on Christ's redeeming death and resurrection, the importance of evangelism and missions, and the importance of a spiritually transformed life." Pentecostals are generally considered to be Evangelical, but not all Evangelicals share the Pentecostal and Charismatic emphasis on experiencing the Holy Spirit.
24 Compare the three major discursive strategies used in the Modern Esoteric Tradition according to Hammer (*Claiming Knowledge* p. 23): "scientism, the construction of tradition and the appeal to experience."
25 Beilby & Eddy, Understanding Spiritual Warfare p. 41.

combine all of this information and draw a map that identifies the open doors between the spirit world and the material world.[26]

By reading up on the history of an area and by receiving wisdom from God, one can identify the powers that rule over an area.

In her guide to Strategic-level spiritual warfare, Rebecca Greenwood gives a list of "root bondages that have powerful effects on a land and its people."[27] It includes War, Trauma, Land violations, Covenants made with darkness, and Freemasonry strongholds.[28] Greenwood also shares with her readers some inside information on the identity of some key demons; one of them is none other than the Queen of Heaven, a term well-known in Roman Catholic circles as a title given the Virgin Mary, but is now revealed to be an evil power:

> The Queen of Heaven is a major demonic personality responsible for hatred toward Jewish people and non-acceptance of any denominations that do not focus their worship toward her and the many forms in which she appears. I believe that this adversarial demonic force played a decisive role in the Holocaust.[29]

To many Christians these claims would seem quite new. SLSW authors claimed however that their belief in territorial demons was supported both by experience and by Scripture.

Construction of Tradition: Selective reading of scripture

While writers in the SLSW warn of the dangers of New Age teachings, they resemble the New Age movement in being critical of mainstream Christianity and Enlightenment thought.[30] They criticize both Roman Catholicism, which they claim involves demon worship, and mainline Protestant denominations, which do not recognize the reality of the spirit world, and instead construct a new Christian tradition pulling from a variety of sources.

In true Protestant tradition, Kraft, Murphy, Wagner and other SLSW authors seek to support their views in Scripture. Unlike Modern Esoteric authors, SLSW authors have to anchor their teaching in the Bible, which they maintain is the ultimate authority.[31] But they differ from other contemporary interpreters in seeking to interpret it without being blinded by the values of the Enlightenment.[32] These authors note that while the Gospels make frequent reference to the devil, demons and exorcism, mainline theologians generally gave these topics short shrift compared to other topics of theology, perhaps because these texts reflected a

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26 Wagner & Greenwood, "Strategic-level" pp. 182-183.

27 Greenwood, *Authority to Tread* p. 93. On root bondages, see Otis "Overview" pp. 46-47.

28 Greenwood, *Authority to Tread* pp. 93-94.

29 Greenwood, *Authority to Tread* p. 49. The notion that the Queen of Heaven is a demonic spirit is widely accepted in these circles. Cf. C. Jacobs. "Dealing with Strongholds" in C.P. Wagner (ed.), *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds in Your City,* (2015), pp 74-75; Lorenzo, Victor. "Evangelizing a City Dedicated to Darkness" in C.P. Wagner (ed.), *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds in Your City,* [1993] 2015, p. 167 (who credits Jacobs). Peter Wagner has authored a book on the Queen of Heaven (*Confronting the Queen of Heaven*, 1998, revised ed. 2001).

30 Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion* p. 302, characterized New Age thinking as a "reaction to the ideas and values which are perceived as having dominated western culture during the past two thousand years."

31 Cf. Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, p. 53: "The Bible remains the only final and authoritative litmus test for divine revelation."

32 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, p. 74-75.

worldview too different from their own.[33] Liberal theologians have tended to demythologize forces of evil in the Bible, rather than considering them to be personal beings.[34] Several authors in the spiritual warfare field relate how they had taken these demythologized interpretations for granted until they were confronted with people in the mission field for whom demons were reality.[35] These encounters caused them to turn to scripture again to see what it actually says about demons. They found that the worldview of biblical authors is much closer to that of 'animist' cultures they had met with on the mission field than to the worldview of Western mainline churches, and they suggest that the New Testament message can hardly be separated from that worldview.[36] Furthermore, the authors claim that the way that New Testament authors viewed the world corresponds better to reality than the worldview colored by the western Enlightenment. SLSW authors claim that there exists an invisible spirit world that animists today are still aware of, and that impacts people today whether they believe in its existence or not. They then proceed to interpret the Bible in light of this assumption and find numerous hitherto neglected references to demons and spirit beings there. They also interpret their own experiences in light of the existence of such beings.[37]

SLSW authors find support for their unique teaching about territorial demons in about a dozen Biblical texts, including: Daniel 10; Deut 32:8-9 (as it reads in the Septuagint); Psalm 82:1-8; Mark 5:1-20 & parallels (the Gerasene demoniac); Luke 11:14-26 & parallels (the Beelzebul pericope); Acts 8:9-13 (Simon Magus), Acts 13:6-12 (Bar-Jesus the sorcerer), Acts 16:16-18 (the python spirit); Acts 19:23-41 (Artemis of the Ephesians) and Eph 6:10-17. Of these, the most important text for SLSW authors is Daniel 10. I will look at how this text has been interpreted in the SLSW tradition.[38] Frank Hammond offers the following summary and interpretation of Daniel 10:

> Daniel was seeking a word from God through prayer and fasting. After three weeks an angel appeared. The angel explained that he has been delayed in getting to Daniel with God's message by an encounter with 'the prince of the kingdom of Persia.' He does not refer to an earthly prince, for no mere man could withstand a heavenly messenger. He is speaking of a

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33 In a review article on studies about the devil in the field of Biblical studies, DR Brown, "The Devil in the Details" *Currents in Biblical Research* 9 (2011), pp. 200-201 argues that "Modern scepticism of the supernatural … led to a general distrust in, or at least a failure to engage seriously with, Satan as an acceptable academic topic."

34 The classical expression of this view is that of Rudolf Bultmann, who claimed it was impossible for modern man to believe in demons (See "New Testament and Mythology" in R. Bultmann, *et als., Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate.* New York: Harper & Row, 1961.)

35 Murphy, *Handbook*, xiii. Kraft (*Defeating Dark Angels,* pp. 12-13) relates that he came to recognize the reality of demons when he taught a class on Signs and Wonders at Fuller.

36 Cf. Wagner & Greenwood, "Strategic-level", p. 126. They have a point. Whereas mainline theologians have previously argued that belief in spirits was part of the cultural background of the early Church but not a core part of the Christian message, several scholars have recently stressed that Jesus' authority over unclean spirits is given central importance in the Synoptic Gospels See Davies, *Jesus the Healer,* Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus,* and Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist.*

37 Collins, *Exorcism*, p. 192.

38 Space will not allow for a proper exegetical study of this passage here. For an exemplary study on Daniel 10 and its implications for spiritual warfare, see T. Meadowcroft, "Who are the Princes of Persia and Greece (Daniel 10): Pointers towards the Danielic Vision of Earth and Heaven. *JSOT* 29 (2004): 99-113.

demon prince. From this it is clear that there are ruling demon spirits placed by Satan over nations and cities in order to carry out his evil purposes.[39]

Wagner briefly discusses this passage: "The Bible teaches that the things we today call 'territorial spirts' do exist."[40] Like Hammond he refers to the prince of Persia and the prince of Greece, and argues simply: "these are, quite evidently, seen as 'ontological' [sic] realities, powerful enough in the invisible world to have delayed Michael, an angel sent by God Himself to deliver an answer to prayer to Daniel, for no less than 21 days."[41] Wagner does not cite Hammond's interpretation, but he refers to a commentary on Hebrews by the respected New Testament scholar FF Bruce, which ties this passage together with that other classic text in SLSW circles, Eph 6:12. Wagner does not offer arguments against alternative interpretations, nor does he explain what he means by 'ontological' or why he put the word in quotes. [42] As others have noted, alternative explanations are generally not given in SLSW literature; their interpretation is presented as the only reasonable one. Otis (who coined the term 'spiritual mapping') offers the following interpretation of Daniel 10 with a very brief supporting argument:

> Here we have a well-defined case of an evil spiritual being ruling over an area with explicitly proscribed boundaries. Even non-scholars must regard it as significant that this creature is not referred to as the prince of China or the prince of Egypt.[43]

That is not much of a defense of what is a rather controversial interpretation of the passage in question.[44]

Scientism and the Ambivalent Relationship to Scholarship

SLSW authors have an ambivalent relationship toward scholarship. They refer to Biblical scholars and others who support their views, but they question the validity of the basic assumptions of contemporary Biblical scholarship and rarely seek to answer their critics. Not being established theologians, and coming up with new interpretations of Biblical texts that in some cases seemed quite strained, they were swiftly criticized by Biblical scholars for not doing proper exegesis.[45] For example, one critic of SLSW notes that Daniel does not learn

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39 Hammond & Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor* p. 14. Hammond has also written *The Saints at War: Spiritual Warfare over Territories* (Kirkwood, MO: Impact Christian Books, 1986) which develops these views.

40 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, 167.

41 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, 168

42 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, 168/288 and "Territorial Spirits" p. 316. Bruce in turn builds on Caird's *Principalities and Powers* (1956. ix, 81 etc.). In the revised edition of the Hebrews commentary (1990), Bruce discusses this passage on p. 72 (re. Heb. 2:5).

43 Otis, "Overview" p. 38.

44 Other SLSW authors who refer to this passage are B. Beckett. "Practical Steps toward Community Deliverance" in C.P. Wagner (ed.), *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds in Your City,* (2015), p. 144 & Caballeros, "Defeating the Enemy" p. 129.

45 E.g. J. Hart. "The Gospel and Spiritual Warfare." *Journal of the Grace Theological Society* 10 (1997): 19-39; Carson, "God the Bible, and Spiritual Warfare." Clinton Arnold, who has also published in spiritual warfare circles (e.g., C.E. Arnold. *Three Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), is a notable exception. His studies of folk belief in Colossians and Ephesians are solid contributions to biblical exegesis (C.E. Arnold. *The Concept of Power in Ephesians*. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989); C.E. Arnold. *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colossae* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996).

the names of the angels in charge of Persia and Greece, nor he does he pray against them.[46] This author dates Daniel the same way Wagner does, but points out that Daniel's prayer did not have immediate effect; "the prince of Persia continued to exert his influence for another two hundred years until the time of the Greek Empire."[47] Clinton Arnold (a Biblical scholar who was sympathetic to SLSW while standing somewhat apart from the movement) noted that while Daniel 10 and two other Old Testament passages may refer to evil spiritual beings, there is no suggestion that these beings are bounded by geographical borders.[48] The way that SLSW authors handle the Bible has been criticized on many other counts as well. For example, they do not discuss the genre to which the passage in Daniel belongs (apocalyptic), nor do they discuss arguments for a later dating of Daniel and the implications that would have for their interpretations, but treat these texts as though they were objectively reported glimpses into heavenly realities dating to the Babylonian exile.[49] SLSW authors have generally ignored the criticism of their exegesis and have continued republishing their works and composing new texts based on the same premises.

The way SLSW authors handle Biblical texts such as Daniel 10 may be compared to the phenomenon of "source amnesia", which according to Hammer is typical of much Modern Esoteric literature. This is "the propensity to gloss over or be unaware of the fact that processes of reinterpretation have taken place."[50] Hammer continues,

> Each major spokesman will regard the more or less radical reinterpretations of his or her predecessors as a self-evident point of departure. With time, a chain of transmission is built up, in which the latest spokespersons may have a horizon in time that stretches no more than twenty or thirty years back, and in which anything older than this is considered to belong to a diffuse, ancient past.[51]

Wagner's followers in spiritual warfare circles repeat his interpretations, which in turn follow in the same tradition as the Hammonds and Sumrall. No serious attempts are made at showing why alternative interpretations do not hold. The readers are led to believe that the interpretations put forward by SLSW authors are the only reasonable ones.

On occasion Wagner does try to defend his controversial teaching, but these defenses verge on *ad hominem* attacks rather than being scholarly exchanges. Wagner, who together with Kraft belonged to the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary, recounts how his teaching on spiritual warfare had been heavily criticized by his Fuller colleagues in the School of Theology.[52] In defending himself against his colleagues Wagner wrote,

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46 Stevens, "Daniel 10", p. 430.
47 Stevens, "Daniel 10", p. 430.
48 Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions*, p. 151.
49 Unlike mainline scholars who argue that large parts of the Book of Daniel, including chapters 8-12, were written in the Maccabean period (see Collins 1993.38), Arnold (*Three Crucial Questions*, p 154) accepts the dating of Daniel given in the biblical texts: "Daniel received his vision during the third year of the reign of Cyrus, king of Persia, in 535 B.C." See also S. Page, *Powers of Evil*, 64: "The portrayal of the princes of the nations in Daniel reveals that the unfolding of human history is not determined solely by the decisions made by human beings, for there is an unseen dimension of reality that must also be taken into account."
50 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p. 180.
51 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* pp. 180-181.
52 Wagner & Greenwood, "Strategic-level", pp. 175-176.

> It seems to me that the most fundamental issue we have before us relates to research methodology. Much of our failure to hear each other stems from this. What is the relationship between theology and experience? Between the exegetical and the phenomenological? Between philosophy and social science? ... Between library research and field research?... Between Western worldviews and Third World worldviews?[53]

Wagner classified himself as a social scientist, someone whose conclusions are based on experience and field research. His colleagues in the School of Theology had in his view uncritically adopted the reductionist premises of the Enlightenment.[54] Their largely secular worldview and their isolation from the world outside of academia kept them from realizing the reality of the spirit world and caused them to misinterpret Scripture.[55] Significantly, however, Holvast notes that Wagner and his SLSW colleagues were roundly criticized not only by theologians but also by anthropologists and other social scientists for their lack of methodological rigor, their confusion of phenomenological description with ontological reality and their tendentious interpretations of the material.[56]

Although he defends himself by appealing to his scholarly credentials, Wagner also argues that he doesn't need scientific proof for his claims. As is discussed below, Wagner and other spiritual warfare authors put great weight on their own experiences. Wagner says, "some parts of reality are primarily *spiritually* discerned, and therefore do not lend themselves to *scientific* analysis;" indeed, "no *scientific* evidence can be cited that proves any reality [sic!] that the Holy Spirit exists".[57] In another article he makes the following distinction between anthropology and spiritual mapping: "Anthropology sees culture *as it appears to be*, while spiritual mapping attempts to see culture *as it really is*."[58] Wagner assumes the identity of an anthropologist to defend himself against those who criticize his scholarship, but it is not something that generally colors his research.

Hammer describes a similar ambivalent attitude toward science and scientific terminology in the Modern Esoteric tradition, and labels it scientism:

> Scientism is the active positioning of one's own claims in relation to the manifestations of any academic scientific discipline, including, but not limited to, the use of technical devices, scientific terminology, mathematical calculations, theories, references and stylistic features – without, however, the use of methods generally approved within the scientific community, and without subsequent social acceptance of these manifestations by the mainstream of the scientific community through e.g. peer reviewed publications in academic journals.[59]

A closer look at SLSW literature gives more examples of this ambivalent attitude toward science. Holvast notes that SLSW authors rarely engage carefully with the works that they cite, they refer to them only in so far as they support their claims.[60] In *Spiritual Warfare*

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53 Wagner & Greenwood, "Strategic-level", p. 176.
54 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 74. Other authors share in this criticism of the enlightenment or post-enlightenment paradigm. Boyd, *God at War*, p. 11, criticizes the "post-Enlightenment naturalistic worldview".
55 Compare Murphy (*Handbook* p. xiii): "In the wake of the eighteenth-century rise of rationalism known as the Enlightenment, Western theology lost an intuitive, historic understanding of the spirit world."
56 See Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping*, pp. 260-271.
57 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 65.
58 Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 58, his emphasis.
59 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* p. 206.
60 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 176.

Strategy, Wagner gives more references to scholarly literature than is typical for books of this genre. But he is not as careful as one would expect an academician to be. In this book, he makes a rather controversial claim that Beelzebub is not to be equated with Satan, but is a high-ranking demon in Satan's service. On what grounds does he reject the traditional interpretation? "The reason I have concluded he [Beelzebub] is a principality under the command of satan [sic] is that the consensus of written materials I have examined and of personal interviews I have conducted with experts about the occult lead me to that judgment."[61] Here we would really like references to specific works and people, but he doesn't give any. Similarly, in *Defeating Dark Angels*, Kraft criticizes Christians who think demon possession is just another culture's name for psychological illness. He claims, "recent studies question the ability of psychological counseling to bring healing."[62] But he gives no references to these studies.

Curiously, SLSW authors don't even relate to earlier works by colleagues in the movement in a systematic way. They give the impression that as spiritual warfare practices were developing quickly and the Holy Spirit was constantly revealing new truths, there was no need to get bogged down with earlier research. Holvast explains, "The tendency was to go by [the movement's] most recent publications and consensus without necessarily comparing it to previous publications."[63] Of course, in refraining from showing in what respects claims that were previously made within the movement are no longer held to be true, the authors also make it easier for their readers to accept what they write without question.

It is typical of the Spiritual Warfare literature studied here that the authors ignore criticism against their claims. In his dictionary article on spiritual warfare, Kraft only includes works that support his perspective, none that question its validity.[64] In his anthology *Supernatural Forces in Spiritual Warfare*, Wagner actually includes responses to most of the papers included, but none of the responses gives any thoroughgoing criticism of the papers.[65] Wagner claims the moral high ground in refusing to answer criticism from other Evangelicals; "We have no intention to make ourselves look good by making our brothers and sisters in Christ look bad, and you will find none of that in this book."[66] In *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* he writes, "I welcome the sometimes energized discussions we have been experiencing about strategic-level spiritual warfare", but he doesn't explain on what points he had been criticized.[67] Wagner comes across as fair and balanced, but his readers remain largely unaware of the many points on which he had been criticized; they are not given the opportunity to weigh the arguments to see which are more plausible. Wagner indeed claims he is acting in this respect on divine command: "since 1980 I had received a clear directional mandate from God not to engage in any more polemics."[68] Were he to answer his critics he would be going against the will of God. Whether God discourages scholarly debate or not, when SLSW authors ignore criticism raised against them, they can more easily persuade

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61   Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* pp. 143-144.
62 Kraft, *Dark Angels* p. 43.
63 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 171.
64 Kraft, "Spiritual Warfare" p. 1096.
65 Wagner, *Supernatural Forces*.
66 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 232 quoting Wagner, *Breaking Strongholds in your City* p. 19.
67 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 33. He gives a brief summary on p. 34.
68 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 35. See also Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 24.

readers without scholarly training that their views are firmly established. Significantly, authors of Modern Esoteric literature also tend to ignore criticism against their claims; this is part of their discursive strategy; Hammer writes, "many Esoteric texts show little or no overt awareness of the controversial nature of the claims they present, despite the ready availability of opposing views." [69]

In short, although they at times use academic language, the attitude Wagner and much of the SLSW movement displayed was generally anti-academic.[70] For evangelical readers distrustful of the findings of liberal theologians and critical Bible scholars, this might actually make the warfare authors more credible. The authors are sufficiently established as scholars to allow readers to suspend their disbelief, while standing clearly apart from the scholarly establishment that they have been taught to distrust.

Construction of Tradition: Experiences read in the light of Non-Christian religions

A key assumption lying behind SLSW literature is that there is a spiritual world of which most traditional Christians are unaware, but which other religious traditions recognize. Wagner suggests Christians should accept large parts of the spiritual worldview of non-Christians. He writes that non-Christians may have spiritual insights Christians could use: "some non-Christians who are deeply embedded with the demonic forces of darkness in the world today might possess valid information about the spirit world, which can be used to help spread the kingdom of God."[71] He explains elsewhere, "the spirit world to which they are dedicated is a real world, not a figment of their 'heathen' imaginations. Therefore, some things about it can be accurately known."[72] Murphy writes along the same lines, "Africans, Asians, Latin Americans, and the inhabitants of Oceania know intuitively the reality of the spirit world. They know invisible spirit beings both good and evil continually interact with human beings."[73] The attitude toward religious tradition that SLSW authors show here is similar to that of those writing in the Western Esoteric Tradition. Traditional Western theology is rejected, and the authors turn to distant peoples who they claim have a better understanding of things spiritual. [74]

While SLSW authors refer to scripture as a central authority and refer to belief systems of animists, their unique theology is arguably most clearly dependent on New Age beliefs. One might say that the SLSW movement piggybacks on an interest in the New Age. Typically, SLSW authors warn about the dangers of New Age, as does Dickason on the first page of his study of angels.[75] But they also borrow ideas from New Age literature. Some SLSW authors recognize similarities between their thoughts and New Age ideas. Cindy Jacobs writes

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69 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* p. 251.
70 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 187; see also Reid, *Strategic Level* pp. 130-131. Collins (*Exorcism*, 192) describes Murphy's *Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* as a work that gives expression to a "militant anti-Enlightenment spirituality."
71 Wagner & Greenwood, "Strategic-level", p. 127.
72 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 67.
73 Murphy, *Handbook* p. xiv.
74 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p. 89.
75 Dickason, *Angels*, p. 9. Compare also Murphy, *Handbook*, p. xiv: "demons flow where Satanism, Satanic occult practices, and the New Age movement flourish."

regarding the term spiritual mapping: "To be honest, I had some reservations about the term when I first heard it. It sounded a bit New Age to me."[76] Greenwood likewise tries to persuade her Christian readers to engage in spiritual mapping, building explicitly on ideas borrowed from New Age circles. She claims that the identification of power points and ley lines is of central importance to successful spiritual mapping. The term 'ley lines' was coined by amateur archaeologist Alfred Watkins (1855-1935), who on the basis of photographs he had taken in Britain argued that significant archaeological features were found along straight lines, which he called ley lines. This notion was popularized by the English esoteric author John Michell in *The View over Atlantis* (1969) who connected it with notions of *feng shui* and filled it with spiritual significance.[77] Greenwood builds on New Age interpretations of ley lines, but claims that these lines rather than conveying positive spiritual energy in fact serve to give Satan control over an area. She continues,

> As the Body of Christ, we have the responsibility of breaking the power of these ley lines and claiming the land for the glory of God! Let's no longer allow the enemy to gain further control over our cities, regions and the nations. The 'energies' between power points need to be broken and the land gripped in darkness set free.[78]

Greenwood thus builds her Christian practice on a reinterpretation of New Age ideas. Wagner similarly grants that New Age gurus have reliable spiritual knowledge.

> Certain people such as shamans, witch doctors, practitioners of Eastern religions, New Age gurus, or professors of the occult on university faculties are examples of the kind of people who may have more extensive knowledge of the spirit world than most Christians have.[79]

It is strategic for SLSW authors to affirm that at least some of the experiences that people in the New Age movement have reflect spiritual realities. Were they to reject all New Age claims on rationalistic grounds, those same rationalistic arguments could be turned against their own claims as well.[80]

Like New Age and other Esoteric authors, SLSW authors incorporate various kinds of modern folk religious material including urban legends and conspiracy theories into their scheme.[81] Wagner for example latches on to the Bermuda triangle which he considers to be of spiritual significance,[82] while Kraft and Murphy speak of "satanic ritual abuse,"[83] a popular theme among conspiracy theorists in the 1980s in America (most notably in the McMartin pre-school trial).[84] McCloud notes that authors in the SLSW traditions have also latched on to the pop-cultural fascination with ghost stories, with the twist that they reveal the ghosts to in fact be demons.[85]

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76 Jacobs, "Dealing with Strongholds" p. 76.
77 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping*, p. 230.
78 Greenwood, *Authority to Tread*, p. 97.
79 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, p. 143.
80 So also Collins, *Exorcism*, p. 125.
81 Hammer (*Claiming Knowledge*, p. 209) notes that the Esoteric Tradition "appropriates contemporary legends," stories relating to Atlantis, crop circles, and ancient astronauts, for example.
82 Wagner, *Supernatural Forces in Spiritual Warfare*, p. 84.
83 Kraft, *Defeating Dark Angels*, p. 61; Murphy, *Handbook*, p..xiv.
84 Collins, *Exorcism*, p. 142. notes, "The Occult Revival and enthusiastic Christianity enjoyed a perverse symbiotic enmity."
85 McCloud, *American Possessions*, pp. 38-39.

SLSW authors create their tradition by combining material from New Age teachers, popular conspiracy theories, reports from the mission field and a handful of Bible passages that they interpret in their own way. No serious attempts at source criticism are made.[86] This combination of material is presented as constituting a consistent whole, as a true picture of the spiritual realm. While the end result is not as creative as what is found in Modern Esoteric literature, it is clear that SLSW authors have also engaged in a non-historical construction of tradition.

Whereas one might have expected that claims that animists and New Age adherents have a better grasp of spiritual realities than Christian theologians would be difficult for their Christian readers to accept, Wagner and other SLSW authors support such claims in part as was noted by questioning the authority of traditional theological scholarship, but primarily by referring to their own experiences. I will look at their use of this discursive strategy next.

Appeal to Experience

Of the various discursive strategies used by SLSW authors studied here, the appeal to experience is most important; the other two (construction of tradition and scientism) follow from it. Their experiences are the lens through which they read scripture, and their experiences are what allow them to question the scholarly establishment.[87] Derek Prince opens his book by referring to the first time he cast out a demon from a Christian; he tells this story in greater detail later on in the same book.[88] Lester Sumrall begins his book by giving a long account of how he set a prisoner in Manila named Clarita free from a demons.[89] Kraft begins *Defeating Dark Angels* by quoting a thank you letter he had received from 'Karen', who had been delivered from a demon, and writes further on "Having worked with the Holy Spirit to bring deliverance to more than 2,000 Christians – and dealing with many thousands of demons in the process—I want to share with you what God has been teaching me.[90] These authors establish their authority by appealing to their own success in deliverance ministries. They also portray their success in terms of their faithfulness to God's calling.

In Christian circles, God is the ultimate source of authority. Wagner bases his authority on divine calling. "While in Manila, the Lord spoke to me in a voice that, although not audible, was almost as clear as if it had been: 'I want you to take leadership in the area of territorial spirits.'"[91] In *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* Wagner explains he had originally planned to write another book first, "But God interrupted me and I strongly sensed that I was to do this book on spiritual mapping next because God wanted church leaders to have a practical guidebook for implementing what the Spirit is saying to the churches about spiritual mapping now."[92] Larry Lea, founder of the Church on the Rock (Rockwall, Texas) and author of *The Weapons of Your Warfare*, also claims a very specific divine calling: "God called me several

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86 I return to the lack of questioning and the role of faith below.
87 Cf. Reid, *Strategic Level* p. 113 regarding Wagner's hermeneutics: "Experience is elevated to a position of high authority when it is confirmed by consensus opinion and apparently positive results; accordingly it may supplant biblical truth."
88 Prince, *They shall expel*, 9, 44-49.
89 Sumrall, *Demons*, 9-27.
90 Kraft, *Defeating*, 5, 13.
91 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 21.
92 Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 19.

years ago to raise up three hundred thousand men and women who would pray daily and intercede for America."[93] Experiencing a divine call to ministry is nothing unique, but these calls are surprisingly specific and grandiose. Wagner was not only called to spiritual warfare; he was a leading figure in the new apostolic movement that taught that in the end times the Holy Spirit would once again anoint apostles.[94] He in fact considered himself an apostle.[95] Apostles are highest in the earthly hierarchy of the church according to Wagner;[96] readers are led to believe that they are in no position to criticize them. Wagner suggests that most people do not have as exciting callings:

> God does not call everyone to frontline spiritual warfare any more than he calls everyone to be a public evangelist or a cross-cultural missionary. […] Only a tiny percentage of those in the Air Force actually fly the warplanes or even ride in them as crew members. The same applies to spiritual warfare.[97]

The authors of SLSW tradition often claim to have received information directly from the Holy Spirit; Wagner refers to such messages as *rhema* words, as distinct from the *logos* words of Scripture.[98] Thus, Frank Hammond explains that God revealed to them the identity of the 'prince demon' that the devil had assigned over his church: "The prince spirit over the community which I pastored was revealed through a vision from God. The vision revealed a large, octopus-like creature hovering over the community. Across its head was written 'Jealousy'."[99] Wagner claims that there are spiritual powers that govern individual cities and states. He refers to Rita Cabezas, who has a Christian psychology and deliverance ministry, and has learned in part through words of knowledge the names of various members of the demonic hierarchies. Wagner summarizes her findings thus:

> She has discovered that directly under satan are six worldwide principalities, named (allowing that this was done in Spanish)… Damian, Asmodeo, Menguelesh, Aris, Beelzebub and Nosferatus. Under each, she reports, are six governors over each nation. … Those over the US are Ralphes, Anoritho, Manchester, Apolion, Deviltook and one who is unnamed.[100]

How did she come to know this? Wagner explains,

> Rita Cabezas has done considerable research on the names of the highest levels of the hierarchy of satan. At this point I will not describe her research methodology, except to mention that the beginning stages were associated with her extensive psychological/deliverance practice and that it later evolved into receiving revelatory words of knowledge.[101]

Among Pentecostals and Charismatics it is widely accepted that people may receive words of knowledge; it is one of the spiritual gifts mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. 12.8). The discernment

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93 L. Lea. "Binding the Strongman" in C.P. Wagner (ed.), *Territorial Spirits*, (2012) p. 111.
94 B.G. McNair Scott, *Apostles Today: Making Sense of Contemporary Charismatic Apostolates: A Historical and Theological Approach*. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014).
95 Wagner is designated "Ambassadorial Apostle" on the back cover of *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds*.
96 Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 14.
97 Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 27.
98 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* pp. 50-53. As Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 181, shows, this distinction has no support in the New Testament Greek texts.
99 Hammond & Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor* pp. 26, 28.
100 Wagner, *Supernatural Forces* p. 85.
101 Wagner, *Supernatural Forces* p. 85.

of spirits (1 Cor. 12.10) is also a spiritual gift that spiritual warfare authors refer to.[102] Wagner has good reasons to believe that his readers would not reject Cabezas's claims off hand.

It is perhaps more problematic that the Holy Spirit is not the only supernatural source of knowledge for those engaged in spiritual warfare. In *Defeating Dark Angels*, Kraft includes a chapter on "Getting information from demons",[103] and in his dictionary article "Spiritual Warfare: A Neocharismatic Perspective" he uses a demon as a source.[104] This practice is supported by reference to Christ's asking the unclean spirit was his name was, and receiving the response "Legion" (Mark 5.9). Wagner offers the following reason for thinking demons may have worthwhile things to say: "Demons are portrayed in the Bible as beings who have personalities and intelligence, and as beings who can and do speak. They are also portrayed as deceivers. It must therefore be concluded that they do possess some valid information."[105] Arnold relates that he knew a minister who used to interview the various demons he cast out of people to determine their hierarchies. He gave up that practice when he discovered that demons lie.[106] Prince relates that in the 1970's some ministers interviewed demons; "in the end this proved disastrous. The group went into serious doctrinal error and some of them died prematurely."[107] Murphy however writes how after he exposed a weak demon named Fear, "I forced him to expose the entire demonic hierarchy working in the woman and in her entire family. I have learned how to keep demons from lying to me, so the 'demon's 'finking' on the other demons was later checked out and proved to be truthful."[108] Thus, SLSW practitioners in some cases identified various demonic hierarchies and territorial demons on the basis of demonic testimonies. This practice among SLSW authors of building up a worldview on the basis of information they claim to have received from demons has striking similarities with Modern Esoteric authors who claim to channel various spirits or "ascended masters".[109] Those who have not made personal context with these celestial beings cannot verify their claims.

"Democratization of privileged experience"

Authors in the SLSW tradition are not unique in claiming privileged access to spiritual information. It is something they have in common with prophets in various religious traditions, and also with Modern Esoteric authors.[110] How are readers to determine whether the spiritual warfare authors are really called by God, whether they have really received words of knowledge, or have accurately discerned the spirits?

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102 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 66; K. Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology: A Theology of Encounter*. (London: T&T Clark, 2008), pp. 78-79.
103 Kraft, *Dark Angels* p. 175.
104 "A demon once responded to a question about reincarnation, 'We know people's lives in detail. It's easy for us to simply tell people someone else's life as if it was their own past life.'" (C. Kraft, "Spiritual Warfare: A Neocharismatic Perspective" *NIDPCM,* 2002, p. 1096).
105 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 67.
106 Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions*, p. 130.
107 Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 249
108 Murphy, *Handbook* p. 53.
109 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, pp. 379-393.
110 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* pp. 372-3. I have taken the heading "Democratization of Privileged Experience" from Hammer p. 415.

SLSW authors claim that their interpretation of Scripture yields practices that actually work and deliver people from oppression.[111] Their experiences in mission field are nothing the reader can verify, but they encourage their readers to try out these practices and see whether their interpretations hold. Wagner argues that spiritual warfare as he presents it should be seen as "at the *least*, a working hypothesis that we can field test, evaluate, modify, and refine."[112] The readers can simply try spiritual warfare practices themselves to see whether they work. Spiritual mapping clearly requires neither the same amount of education nor the same amount of work as historical and ethnographic research as practiced by academicians. It is quicker and easier to ask a minister to deliver you from demons than to change your life style. This kind of teaching is familiar to many readers, as the notion that quick fixes for spiritual problems are readily available is part of the charismatic heritage.[113]

While SLSW authors encourage their readers to expect spiritual experiences, they also emphasize how many such experiences they themselves have had, thereby setting themselves apart from their readers.[114] Kraft quotes approvingly his colleague in spiritual warfare Fred Dickason:

> I have encountered from 1974 to 1987 at least 400 cases of those who were genuine Christians who were also demonized… I would not claim infallible judgment, but I know the marks of a Christian and the marks of a demonized person. I might have been wrong in a case or so, but I cannot conceive that I would be wrong in more than 400 cases.[115]

Kraft himself writes about "having worked with the Holy Spirit to bring deliverance to more than 2,000 Christians – and dealing with many thousands of demons in the process."[116] He mentions how demons acknowledged the authority he had: "As a demon recently said to me, 'Ooh, I'm in trouble now!' Another remarked, 'You really know what you are doing.'"[117] These authors present themselves as "heroes of the faith", tying into a narrative type common in devotional literature.[118]

Some authors also make sure that readers not have too high expectations. Although every reader can get better at spiritual warfare, they cannot count on having as exciting adventures as the spiritual warfare experts. Wagner writes, "It is only natural, while reading a book like this, to say, 'I want to be like Harold Caballeros' or 'I want to be like Bob Beckett.' Nothing is wrong with desiring to do the things they do, *so long as God has called you to do it*."[119] One thing the average reader is encouraged to do is elementary historical research. Wagner lets Mark McGregor, a layman who is not a member of the Spiritual Warfare Network, try out his method of spiritual mapping and write up the results in *Breaking Spiritual*

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111 "The theories I like the best are, frankly, the ones that work" (Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 46).
112 Wagner, *Strategy*, 86.
113 Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions* p. 133, criticizes deliverance ministries that emphasize "immediate cures".
114 Compare Derek Prince, *They Shall Expel Demons*, part 2 "In the school of experience", encompasses chapters 4-10. Derek Prince's six tape series "Deliverance and Demonology" (1971) begins with "How I came to grip with demons" and includes his 'personal testimony'. Only after that does he examine Gospel texts. file:///C:/Users/hloto/Downloads/Deliverance_&_Demonology_DD1ol.pdf
115 Kraft, *Dark Angels* p. 68.
116 Kraft, *Dark Angels* p. 13.
117 Kraft, *Dark Angels* p.41.
118 Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping* p. 178.
119 Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 27.

Strongholds to show the reader, "if he can do it, so can you."[120] The dramatic interpretation of the layman's results is then left up to a professional belonging to the Spiritual Warfare Network.

Exorcism isn't always as difficult as it might seem to the uninitiated. Contrary to traditional Pentecostal belief, several spiritual warfare authors teach that everyone can be under the influence of demons and in need of deliverance.[121] Hammond & Hammond write, "The emphasis in this book is upon personal deliverance. … Does everyone need deliverance? Personally, I have not found any exceptions."[122] The second title of their book is "The Practical Guide to Deliverance", and it does offer very concrete advice on how to go about setting people free from demons.[123] Hammond claims that spiritual warfare is something that concerns all Christians: "demons are spiritual enemies and it is the responsibility of each Christian to deal with them directly in spiritual warfare."[124] But if everyone is in need of deliverance, the experience of actually being delivered is in most cases not likely not to be all that dramatic as those involving the Hammonds. We find a similar approach in Modern Esoteric do-it-yourself practices that amount to little more than a spiritualized redefinition of mundane experiences.[125]

The attitude toward experience shown by the SLSW authors is close to that of New Age authors that they warn their readers about. Like deliverance authors, New Age authors similarly put great emphasis on experience. Hammer writes, "Esoteric movement texts include (and are at times largely constituted by)… narratives of experience, as well as descriptions of rituals that the reader is encouraged to perform in order to gain such experiences."[126] Both New Age authors and Spiritual Warfare authors present their own experiences as unproblematic source material. But as Hammer notes, "experience itself is permanently beyond the reach of scientific investigation. Nobody can have any access to the experiences of another person, since we cannot see the world from the perspective of anybody but ourselves."[127] The fact that our memories are not photographs of the past but are actively reconstructed is also something both groups of authors ignore.[128]

Lack of questioning

The authors refer to their experiences in casting out demons to give them authority. But several are curiously careless in following up on their deliverances. Ida Mae Hammond, who together with her husband helped inspire the SLSW movement, tells of Mary, a six-year-old girl who had been described as being "very stubborn, self-willed and rebellious", whom she delivered of various demons, including demons of fear, of hate, of murder, self-will, mental illness, and insanity. Ida Mae notes that Mary's father said regarding the deliverance session

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120 Wagner, *Breaking Spiritual Strongholds* p. 22.
121 Kraft, *Defeating Dark Angels*, pp. 36-38; Prince, *They Shall Expel*, pp 142-154; Sumrall, *Demons*, pp. 115-123. The Assemblies of God reject this teaching in an official position paper.
122 Hammond & Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor* p. 22.
123 Sumrall, *Demons* p. 148: "Dominion is for you…"
124 Hammond & Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor* p. 13.
125 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* p. 486.
126 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* pp. 331-332.
127 Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* p. 348.
128 Hammer, Claiming Knowledge, p. 348.

that he "thought that the real Mary was treated rather roughly and said that it was all he can do to keep from interfering."[129] Ida Mae ends her success story, "Though I have not personally seen Mary since her deliverance I have received several good reports. Most say, 'She's so different. 'She just isn't the same.' 'I can hold her and she responds to love.' You just wouldn't believe she is the same girl."[130]

Wagner's coworker Greenwood recounts how she helped a mother of three avoid divorce. "Over the next three months I prayed for her and her husband. Not only did I ask the Lord to restore their marriage, but I warred over their marriage and began to break every scheme and curse the enemy had placed on this couple." Greenwood reports that her efforts were successful. She concludes, however,

> We moved to Colorado several months after this occurred, but I firmly believe that she and her family are on the right track and that God will be faithful to bring each of them to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.[131]

Firm belief is good, but if she is going to include this as a success story in her book, one might have expected her to do a follow-up. Greenwood's stance is typical of the authors and their target audience. They encourage faith, faith in scripture, but also faith in fellow Christians. Thus, Wagner characterizes his sources as "sincere, lucid people" and chooses not to question their accounts.[132] He explains, "we validate the authenticity of reported narratives on the basis of the credibility of those who observe them or experience them."[133] In accepting others' claims at face value, the authors are modelling for the readers how they should receive these texts, and show the attitude they should have in their own deliverance ministries: Don't doubt the efficacy of what you're doing, just believe.

Concluding reflections

The SLSW authors studied here seek to establish their authority in various ways: by seeming to ground their views in scripture, the ultimate authority in the eyes of Evangelical readers, by establishing themselves as experts in their fields by appealing both to academic credentials and their own success stories, by referring to those who agree with them and ignoring any dissenting voices, and by encouraging an attitude of faith and discouraging questioning. I have showed that there is considerable overlap between these strategies used by authors in the SLSW tradition and discursive strategies identified by Hammer in Modern Esoteric tradition, namely the construction of tradition, scientism and the appeal to experience. These similarities are perhaps not unexpected; both Modern Esoteric authors and the spiritual warfare authors studied here belonged to the same larger cultural context, one colored by American post-Enlightenment values. It is worth noting that SLSW authors have been criticized by Christian theologians for primarily characterizing the western world in terms of enlightenment rationalism, and neglecting the extent to which it was colored by other

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129 Hammond & Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor* p. 84.
130 Idem.
131 Greenwood, *Authority to Tread* p. 23.
132 Quoted in Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping*, p. 263.
133 Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy* p. 57.

tendencies, such as "mystical romanticism" and "'new age' spiritualities."[134] While they warn their readers of the dangers of New Age ideas, and while they on occasion note that they handle similar subject matter as New Age literature, they appear unaware of how much their own attempts at establishing authority had in common with those of New Age authors.

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134 Priest, Campbell & Mullen, "Missiological Syncretism: The New Animistic Paradigm" 1995 p.11, also quoted in Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping,* p. 266.

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Civilizing pirates: Nineteenth century British ideas about piracy, race and civilization in the Malay Archipelago

Stefan Eklöf Amirell

Introduction

Piracy has long been a prominent topic among historians of the Malay Archipelago, and the numerous studies that have been published over the last half-century have resulted in a substantial corpus of knowledge, both about the phenomena of piracy and maritime raiding in the region as such, and about the efforts of colonial powers to suppress such activities, particularly during the nineteenth century (e.g. Tarling 1978 [1963]; Rubin 1974; Trocki 2012 [1979]; Warren 1981, 2002; Teitler *et al.* 2005; Eklöf Amirell 2019, forthcoming).

One of the main conclusions that emerge from these studies is that there was often a close connection between the suppression of piracy and the extension of colonial territory. Nineteenth-century proponents of colonial expansion often found that allegations of piracy worked well as a pretext for military and political intervention in autonomous Asian states, and that such claims generally carried more moral weight among sceptical governments and residents of the imperial metropole than economic or geopolitical arguments for colonial expansion. The presumptive need to suppress piracy around the world (particularly in parts of Asia and Northern Africa) was thus often used to promote aggressive imperialist policies while serving, more or less successfully, to mask their underlying and generally more pragmatic and self-interested intent.

One aspect that to date has not been systematically investigated, however, is the link which nineteenth-century European actors and observers saw between piracy and civilization, particularly the notion that piracy and maritime raiding in the Malay Archipelago could be explained by the perpetrators' alleged lack of civilization. Against this background, the purpose of the present article is to highlight the ways in which British colonizers from the 1810s until the 1880s, as well as their opponents, sought to understand the historical and cultural reasons for the prevalence of piracy and related forms of maritime raiding in the Malay world, particularly with regard to notions of civilization and progress on the part of allegedly inferior or semi-civilized 'races', such as the Malays. In spite of considerable inconsistency and heterogeneity, such notions had profound consequences both for the development of British colonial policy in the region and for the rise of anti-imperialist opinion and criticism of colonisation in Britain.

Civilization and the suppression of piracy

The word 'civilization' is of relatively recent origin, emerging in Europe only in the eighteenth century. Its root is the older word 'civil', derived in turn from the classical Latin *civilis*, meaning 'relating to the citizen', which by the early modern era had taken on the meaning in French and other European languages of 'courteous' or 'polite'. The idea of civilization, as it developed in French from the mid-eighteenth century, and shortly afterwards in English and other European languages, was thus generically normative (Fisch 1992: 684−92; cf. Elias 1939). The term civilization was part of a dichotomy of so-called asymmetric counter-concepts, as theorized by Reinhard Koselleck (1985), made up of a superior concept which, in order to be meaningful, required an inferior counterpart. The inferior counterpart to civilization was 'barbarism', 'rudeness' or 'savagery'. The latter terms were associated with a wide range of cultural practices and values on the part of non-Europeans which Europeans tended to regard as repulsive or abominable.

The idea of civilization and its asymmetric counterparts contained a strong evolutionary element, as the history of mankind, according to the dominant historicist paradigm, seemed to involve a general movement from the savage or barbarian to ever higher stages of civilization. European civilization was seen as the most advanced, with other nations having developed various degrees of civilization, either autochthonously or through contact with more advanced peoples. Some nations − or 'races' in the vocabulary of the Victorians – also seemed, for various reasons, to have degenerated from formerly higher stages of civilization to contemporary lower levels.

As European economic, military and political superiority over the rest of the world increased in the course of the nineteenth century, this stadial view of history manifested itself in the notion that Europeans had a special obligation to spread their civilization to other people. This was the idea of the so-called civilizing mission, that is, "the self-proclaimed right and duty to propagate and actively introduce one's own norms and institutions to other peoples and societies, based upon a firm conviction of the inherent superiority and higher legitimacy of one's own collective way of life", as put by Jürgen Osterhammel (2007: 14).

The development of the ideas of civilization and the civilizing mission largely coincided with a shift in focus for the European efforts to suppress piracy around the world. Before the mid-eighteenth century the pirates who were of most concern to the European authorities and trading companies were European renegades operating on the fringes of the major colonial empires, where naval presence and government authority was weak, such as in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean.[1] These pirates – the 'enemies of all', as Cicero had famously called them − were to be chased and exterminated regardless of where in the world they were operating, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century the British began to take a leading role in the efforts to suppress piracy around the world. As a result, by 1730, piracy had become all but extinct, at least when it came to the mainly European freebooters who in the previous decades had ravaged parts of the major sea lanes between Europe and the Americas and between Europe and India (Earle 2004; cf. Rediker 2004).

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1 In addition, the Barbary corsairs caused some problems for European shipping in the Mediterranean, and occasionally beyond, from the 1570s to the 1830s. It was not clear to early modern Europeans, however, that Barbary corsairs were pirates as they operated, at least nominally, under the licence of a recognized sovereign, viz. the Ottoman Emperor; see further Kaiser & Calafat 2014; White 2018.

The suppression of European piracy, however, did not mean that the concept of piracy had outlived its usefulness, although it did change in its meaning and function. In 1784, the British Parliament passed the East India Company Act, which aimed to bring the Company's rule over India more firmly under its control. The Act, among other things, limited the authority of the presidencies subordinate to the governor-general in India (whose jurisdiction included Southeast Asia) to make war or negotiate treaties with foreign rulers. The legislation thus limited the scope of action for the Company's officials in Sumatra and the Strait of Malacca, leading them to seek a legal loophole around the new restrictions. Incidentally, maritime raiding emanating from the Sulu Archipelago in the southern Philippines was rapidly increasing at the time, mainly as a result of the increasing demand for slaves needed for the production of export commodities from the Sulu Archipelago to China (Warren 1981, 2002). Against this background, allegations of piracy provided British colonial officials in the region with a pretext for military intervention when deemed necessary, without having to seek permission from their superiors in London or Calcutta. Local officials also believed that it was necessary for the British to demonstrate their control of the major sea lanes and not confine themselves to defensive measures in order to guarantee the free flow of commerce in the region (Rubin 1998: 222).

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the increasingly frequent clashes between alleged pirates and colonial authorities in Asia combined with the influence of stadial theory to create an understanding in Europe of contemporary piracy as associated mainly with less civilized non-European groups of people. Then major piratical nations of the world seemed to be the maritime Malays and certain Arab tribes, particularly the inhabitants of the so-called Barbary states of North Africa and the Al Qasimi of the so-called Pirate Coast of the southeastern Persian Gulf. The propensity to engage in piracy came to be seen as a collective, racial or cultural, trait on the part of certain nations or 'races', rather than as a form of individual delinquency or act of subversion among certain morally reproachable individuals of European nationality (Eklöf Amirell 2019, forthcoming; cf. Layton 2011).

Against this background, the suppression of piracy around the world became not only a pretext for colonization and a sine qua non for free trade; it also became a moral imperative for the European powers to extend the boundaries of civilization by eliminating the remaining pockets of piracy in the world, particularly after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

"We may look forward to an early abolition of piracy"

The foremost British authority on the Malay Archipelago in the early nineteenth century was Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who served as Lieutenant-Governor of Java during the British occupation of the island between 1811 and 1815 and as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra from 1817 to 1822. His extensive writings on the history and culture of the region, including his monumental *History of Java* (1817), formed the basis for much of the subsequent British policies in Southeast Asia, not least with regard to piracy and its suppression.

Raffles' explanations for the prevalence of Malay piracy were not entirely consistent and they changed, as we shall see, over time (cf. Reber 1966). Up until around 1817, his main line of argument was that piracy was an ancient evil and an intrinsic part of Malay culture, as

supposedly demonstrated by the pride with which piracy was spoken of in old romances and fragments of traditional history (Raffles 1817: 232). In a speech before the Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia in 1813 he compared the contemporary situation in the Archipelago, (with the exception of the more advanced civilization of Java), with that which prevailed in early ancient Greece. In both cases the numerous and thickly scattered small islands made sea travel the only viable means of communication, and in both cases the innumerable islands and ports offered outstanding opportunities for piracy. The early Greeks, much like the contemporary Malays, were in a "barbarous state" and their society plagued by "perpetual marauding and piratical warfare", according to Raffles. The opportunities for plunder offered by the Phoenician trade and other interests in the Aegean Archipelago, moreover, turned piracy into a long-standing honourable practice among the Greeks (Raffles 1830: 180).

Apart from the geography and uncivilized state of the Malays, a further cause of piracy among the Malays, according to Raffles, was the "intolerant spirit of the religion of Islam". Arab religious teachers, he claimed, never neglected to enforce the merit of plundering and massacring the infidels, particularly the non-Muslim tribes of the Eastern Islands. This "abominable tenet", according to Raffles, had more than all the rest of the Koran contributed to the propagation of this "robber-religion" among the Malays. The result was that the practice of piracy now is "an evil too extensive and formidable to be cured by reasoning, and must, at all events, be put down by the strong hand" (Raffles 1830: 78).[2]

In 1819, on the other hand, Raffles seemed to have abandoned cultural and religious explanations for piracy. Instead, he now argued that it was the ruthless and monopolistic commercial policy adopted by the Dutch over the past 200 years which was responsible for the general decline and impoverishment of the indigenous Malay states. Such a policy, according to Raffles, was "contrary to all principles of natural justice, and unworthy of any enlightened and civilized nation" (Raffles 1817: 255−7; cf. Reid 1993: 325). The destruction of indigenous trade and prosperity forced the Malays to turn to plunder and piracy in order to recover what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud. The greedy policy of the Dutch, instead of advancing the civilization and increasing the prosperity of the archipelago, brought ruin and desolation for the Malays, according to Raffles (Raffles 1830 [1819]: 10−1).

This analysis led Raffles to take a more optimistic view of the prospects for the British to promote civilization among the Malays. The Malays, he argued, were more open to new customs and ideas than the more civilized people of India, and even Islam, as practiced among the Malays, was now − in contrast to his earlier assessment − characterized by a moderate and temperate spirit. He lauded the Malay sense of honour and habits of reasoning and reflection, as well as their polite and courteous manners, all of which, Raffles argued, provided a basis for their advancement and even made them "congenial to British minds", their piracy and other vices notwithstanding. "Among many of them", Raffles concluded, "traces of a former higher state of civilization are obvious, and where the opportunity has been afforded, even in our own times, they have been found capable of receiving the highest state of intellectual improvement." (Raffles 1830 [1819]: 20−1; quote, 21).

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2 The term 'robber-religion' was only used by Raffles in a letter to Lord Minto, written 1811 or 1812 and published posthumously in 1830, but was left out when an extract from the letter was published as part of the first edition of The History of Java (1817: 233). The same happened with the phrase 'to be cured by reasoning'.

Raffles had by now also changed his mind about how to put an end to piracy. Rather than advocating, as he had done a few years earlier, the strong hand, he now foresaw a swift end to the practice through the adoption of a liberal economic policy and the promotion of free trade under British protection:

> We may look forward to an early abolition of piracy and illicit traffic, when the seas shall be open to the free current of commerce, and when the British flag shall wave over them in protection of its freedom, and in promotion of its spirit. Restriction and oppression have too often converted their shores to scenes of rapine and violence, but an opposite policy and more enlightened principles will, ere long, subdue and remove the evil. (Raffles 1830 [1819]: 20)

Raffles proposed the establishment of a number of emporia in the Archipelago, which would serve both as commercial hubs and as exemplary centres of civilization for the Malays, who were thus to be free to adopt and apply the "arts and rules of civilized life" voluntarily and at their own pace. This policy was implemented in practice with the founding, at Raffles' instigation, of Singapore in 1819, which quickly developed into a major commercial hub in the Archipelago.

Contrary to Raffles' prediction, however, the establishment of Singapore as a node of British civilization in the region did not lead to the swift abolition of piracy. The increased commerce combined with the ready availability of European-manufactured arms and munitions and the lack of regulations and policing capacity instead meant that Singapore because a formidable base for launching pirate expeditions. Pirates of both Malay and Chinese origin were drawn to the port (Mills (1960 [1925]: 263; Chew 2012: 174−5; Eklöf Amirell 2019, forthcoming). Piracy thus continued to be a major threat to maritime commerce until the middle of the century, and the adoption of British civilization among the neighbouring Malay states seemed slow or even insignificant.

Raffles was the first British observer who attempted to systematically study piracy in the Malay Archipelago and who tried to understand the phenomenon historically. His views on the subject developed over the course of the 1810s, possibly as a result of his increasing knowledge of Malay history and culture, but obviously also in order for his observations to fit with his political agenda. Raffles was highly critical of the Dutch administration of the East Indies, and towards 1819 he seems to have become convinced that Malay piracy was the result of the marginalisation of the indigenous population caused by the unjust monopolistic commercial policies of the Dutch East India Company. Such an analysis went hand in hand with Raffles' advocacy of free trade and of a greater British influence in the Archipelago. Revising his earlier argument that piracy was an ancient evil and an integral part of Malay culture also served to strengthen the commercial prospects for the British in the region. The prosperity that free trade would bring to the Malays, Raffles believed, would soon put an end to piracy, and the Malays, given their fundamentally good character and former civilized state, would soon be able to progress toward higher levels of civilization. The role of the British, in that context, was to provide a role model of civilization in the region and to maintain maritime security so that free trade could flourish.

"Barbarous and poor, therefore rapacious, faithless, and sanguinary"

Next to Raffles, the main British authority on Malay piracy (and Malay culture in general) in the nineteenth century was John Crawfurd, a Scottish physician and colonial administrator who, among other things, served as Resident-Governor of Yogyakarta in Java under Raffles and as Resident of Singapore from 1823 to 1826. He was a prolific writer throughout his long life (1783−1868) on a wide range of subjects, including Malay history, language and culture. In many respects, particularly in his advocacy of free trade and economic development, his views were close to those of Raffles. Like Raffles, Crawfurd also saw the similarities between piracy in the contemporary Malay world and ancient Greece, a comparison which he pursued with reference to Thucydides (Crawfurd 1856: 353−4). Crawfurd dealt with the subject of Malay piracy at more length and in greater detail than Raffles, and he was more prone than his former superior to explain it in terms of race and the alleged lack of civilization on the part of the Malays.

In an anonymous article entitled "Malay Pirates", which was most likely written by Crawfurd and originally published in the *Singapore Chronicle* when Crawfurd was the Resident of Singapore, he stressed the importance of the geography of the Malay Archipelago as a fundamental reason for the prevalence of piracy. There were many suitable hiding places and islands from which pirates could prey on the busy commercial traffic passing through the region, according to Crawfurd. A large proportion of the population lived on the coasts or around the estuaries of rivers, and according to the author, they were "barbarous and poor, therefore rapacious, faithless, and sanguinary". These circumstances supposedly explained the origins of their 'piratical character', and what was remarkable, following Crawfurd, was not the prevalence of piracy among the Malays, but rather that the problem was not worse than it was. This, Crawfurd explained, was due to the "feeble and unenterprizing character" of the population. Had the Archipelago been populated by a race of European buccaneers it would soon have become impassable for most of the commercial vessels that now navigated in the area (Crawfurd 1825: 243).

Crawfurd also acknowledged the detrimental effects of the European incursions in the region in the past. Although he seemed less convinced than Raffles that the Dutch policy was the main explanation for the prevalence of Malay piracy, he did acknowledge that the use of sea power by early modern European navigators (particularly the Dutch, but also the Spanish, the Portuguese and the English) to further their commercial objectives encouraged piratical activity among the Malays. Such conduct, he wrote, "brought the European character into the greatest discredit with all the natives of the Archipelago, and the piratical character which we have attempted to fix upon them, might be most truly retaliated upon us" (Crawfurd 1820b: 235; cf. 221−2).

Crawfurd was decidedly more negative than Raffles in his opinions about the indigenous population of the Malay Archipelago. In contrast to Raffles' optimism with regard to their potential for progress, Crawfurd held the Malays to be 'by far the most uncivilized and barbarous' of all the people of the East with whom Europeans had had commercial relations (Crawfurd 1820a: 72). Virtually all maritime peoples of the Archipelago had, according to Crawfurd, at one time or another, practiced piracy, and he traced the historical references to piracy in the region back to the fourteenth century in order to demonstrate its entrenched and

persistent character. Piracy in his own time was most prolific among 'rude and lawless tribes of fishermen' who did not regularly engage in agriculture or trade, and those who were most addicted to piracy were also the most idle and least industrious, according to Crawfurd. By contrast, the more civilized inhabitants of Java, Bali, Lombok, much of Sumatra (except the maritime Malays), Sulawesi (except all mariners) and the Philippines under Spanish control (except the predominantly Muslim population of the southern Philippines) did not practice piracy, at least not in recent times (Crawfurd 1825: 243; 1856: 354).

The surest way to put an end to piracy was encourage industrious habits among the indigenous population. In Crawfurd's mind, piracy was a barbarian residue that would disappear with the progress of civilization, and the absence of piracy among the more civilized and agricultural peoples of the Archipelago, such as the Javanese and Filipinos, seemed to confirm this theory. The only way for the British to encourage industry among the Malays was to provide them with a ready and free market where they could profitably and honestly trade their products. As the most prominent members of the piratical communities would prosper from the trade with the British, they would join the latter in the efforts to suppress piracy, and commerce would be seen as honourable while piracy simultaneously would become hazardous and disreputable. Several Malay princes had, according to Crawfurd, already come to realize that honest trade, rather than piracy or the sponsoring of piracy, was in their best interest, including the Rajas of Terengganu, Kelantan, Pontianak and Johor (Crawfurd 1825: 243, 245).

The encouragement of trade should be accompanied by resolute efforts to suppress piracy, including close collaboration with other colonial governments, regular patrols by steam vessels, strong retributions against indigenous rulers who harboured pirates and the destruction of some of the most notable pirate haunts to serve as an example (Crawfurd 1825: 245).

The last tactic – to attack and destroy the suspected pirates' villages as well as their means of livelihood − was practiced, to varying degrees, by all European colonial powers in maritime Southeast Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century (and sometimes later as well) and was often accompanied by great destruction of human life and property. Like Raffles before him, however, Crawfurd in time changed his opinion about the wisdom of such repressive measures. In 1856 he wrote:

> The destruction of the supposed haunts of the pirates by large and costly expeditions, seems by no means an expedient plan for the suppression of piracy. In such expeditions the innocent are punished with the guilty; and by the destruction of property which accompanies them, both parties are deprived of the future means of honest livelihood, and hence forced, as it were, to a continuance of their piratical habits. The total failure of all such expeditions on the part of the Spaniards, for a period of near three centuries, ought to be a sufficient warning against undertaking them. (Crawfurd 1856: 355)

Compared with Raffles, Crawfurd was thus much more prone to explain Southeast Asian piracy in terms of the alleged lack of civilization on the part of the Malays – particularly the maritime Malays, by which Crawfurd meant fishermen, mariners and other Malay-speakers who lived by the sea and whose main livelihood did not derive from cultivation. He was also markedly more negative in his assessment of the Malays as a nation or race, and he did not see any of the traces of a formerly great civilization among them, as Raffles had done.

However, even though Crawfurd ascribed the propensity to engage in piracy to an inherent deficiency in the Malay character, he believed that they could be civilized and improved upon. To that effect he concurred with Raffles (and many other British observers at the time) that the promotion of free trade was the only way for the British to bring prosperity and civilization to the Malays and to put an end to their piratical habits.

With regard to the use of violence, Crawfurd changed his mind over the course of the three decades between the mid-1820 and the mid-1850s and eventually rejected the policy of destroying the land bases of suspected pirate communities, something which he had advocated during his term as Resident of Singapore. Although he cited the allegedly failed Spanish policy since the sixteenth century of wholesale destruction of suspected pirate haunts in the southern Philippines as a deterrent, his opposition to the more recent efforts of James Brooke to suppress piracy and colonize North Borneo was probably a more important factor in his change of heart (see Knapman 2017: 181−4, 192−6).

"The pirate haunts must be burned and destroyed"

James Brooke was a British soldier and adventurer who in 1841 was installed as the Raja of Sarawak in North Borneo by the Sultan of Brunei, Omar Ali Saifuddien II, after having helped the Sultan to crush an uprising against his rule. For the British government, Brooke's rise to power was troublesome, but not completely unwelcome. On the one hand the government worried about the apparent power vacuum in North Borneo, which might lead to another colonial power gaining a foothold in the area and thereby weaken Britain's influence in the region. On the other hand, Brooke's styling of himself as a white raja seemed like an anachronism and a potential embarrassment to Great Britain and its endeavour to be a model of civilization and progress. In more pragmatic terms, the government was also anxious to avoid costly colonial wars or additional administrative burdens resulting from an unplanned territorial expansion (see Webster 1998: 111−34; Walker 2002).

In this context, allegations of piracy on the coast of North Borneo served Brooke well, both to secure naval support for his colonial ambitions and to win public support for his cause in Britain. His success in casting himself as a pirate hunter and benevolent harbinger of civilization to the indigenous population of North Borneo – many of whom seemed to be victims of the pirates' depredations − turned him into a Victorian celebrity. Throughout most of the 1840s, Brooke and his supporters in Great Britain managed to capture the humanitarian agenda with regard to the British involvement in North Borneo (Knapman 2017: 183). Brooke received the Order of Bath in 1847 and was knighted by the Queen the following year. Soon after, however, his reputation was tarnished by allegations that he had promoted the use of excessive and indiscriminate violence in his efforts to suppress piracy, leading to the killing of numerous innocent people. The criticism against him and the volte-face in public opinion brought an end to official British support for his expansionist policy around 1850 (Tarling 1999: 19−20).

Brooke was a prolific journal and letter writer, but he did not leave a consistent body of ideas, and his opinions about the situation in Borneo sometimes changed from day to day. Apart from Brooke's own attempts to justify his action several of his followers also argued on his behalf, lauding his supposedly unselfish attempts to suppress piracy and bring

civilization to the savages of Borneo while advancing British commercial interests in the region (Knapman 2016: 154). For example, to "carry the Malay races, so long the terror of the European merchant-vessels, the blessings of civilization, to suppress piracy, and extirpate the slave-trade, became his humane and generous objects", wrote his good friend Henry Keppel (1846: 2), who commanded the Royal Navy's corvette *H.M.S. Dido* on an expedition to suppress piracy on the North Borneo coast in the mid-1840s, at Brooke's behest.

Keppel was relatively clear and consistent as to the origins of piracy, not only in the Malay Archipelago but in world history in general. Taking a Hobbesian view, Keppel argued that piracy always had its origin in opportunity, and given favourable geographic conditions, piracy was bound to spring up. Especially in an archipelago, piracy had always been the natural state of things, and, consequently, the "barbarous or semi-barbarous inhabitant of the [Malay] Archipelago, born and bred in this position, is born and bred a thief." (Keppel 1853: 281)

Brooke concurred with Keppel about piracy being a manifestation of the allegedly uncivilized nature of the Malays. "Amongst the Malays, piracy is a national feeling, it is a part of their code of honour, encouraged by their education and habits, and too often fostered by impunity", he wrote in a letter to a friend in 1843 (Brooke 1853a: 277). According to Brooke, the Iranun of the southern Philippines – who for good reason were considered to be the most formidable pirates in the Archipelago – also defended their depredations with reference to the custom and mode of life of their ancestors (Brooke 1848a: 240−1).[3]

A further explanation to the prevalence of piracy offered by Brooke was the lack of law enforcement and other shortcomings on the part of the Malay states. In an official memorandum on piracy written in 1844, he emphasized the condition of the indigenous governments and the "total absence of all restraint from European nations", combined with the local geography, as reasons for the flourishing of the pirate communities in the region (Brooke [1844] 1846: 302). In a letter from 1845, he further touched on the subject of law and sovereignty in relation to piracy:

> The piracy of the Archipelago is not understood; folks, naval officers in particular, talk about native states, international law, the right of native nations to war one on another, &c., &c.; and the consequence is they are very reluctant to act, because they cannot distinguish pirate communities from native states. Some broad and general principle should be laid down, and native states or no native states, I would punish them if they dare to seize a trader on the high seas. (Brooke 1853b: 63; cf. Brooke [1844] 1846: 308; Benton & Ford 2016: 141)

In line with Raffles and Crawfurd, Brooke saw piracy as part of the character of the Malays and other maritime ethnic groups in the Archipelago, and he believed that whole communities of alleged pirates, rather than individual wrong-doers, should be punished:

> I have always urged, that, to eradicate piracy, a force must be sent to the pirate haunts, to burn and destroy their towns. Merely to cruize is to harass your own men, and to gain but very partial and occasional success; but what pirate would venture on his evil course if his home were endangered, − if he be made to feel, in his person, the very ills and miseries he inflicts upon others. Of course this retribution must be inflicted on all classes of pirates: on pirates

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3 Iranun piracy and maritime raiding, however, was of relatively recent origin, taking off only from around 1770; see Warren (2002: 25−6; *passim*)

> direct, and pirates indirect; on the aiders and abettors, as well as the actual perpetrators; […] for the encouragers of theft, and the receivers of stolen goods, knowing them to have been stolen, are to be punished in like manner with the thief himself. (Brooke 1848b: 12−3)

Such ideas about collective guilt and guilt by association when it came to piracy in Southeast Asia also influenced British legal practices. In 1845, the High Court of Admiralty ruled that the killing of thirty alleged pirates and the capture of another twenty-five near the Island of Sarassan (Serasan) in the Natunas, off the north-west coast of Borneo, two years earlier had been justified even though there was no positive evidence of any act of piracy. According to High Admiralty Judge Stephen Lushington, it was sufficient "to clothe their conduct with a piratical character if they were armed and prepared to commence a piratical attack upon any other persons" (British International Law Cases 1965: 779; cf. Rubin 1988: 230−2).

The Royal Navy (and the East India Company) – including its officers, sailors, marines and soldiers – also had a strong financial incentive to adopt a broad definition of piracy and to kill, capture or disperse as many alleged pirates as possible. According to the Bounty Act of 1825 (6 Geo. 4 c. 49), those who took part in an engagement with so-called piratical persons (without further elaborating on what the defining characteristics of such persons were) were to receive £20 for each pirate killed or captured and £5 for each dispersed (Tarling 1978: 101). These provisions probably significantly increased the willingness of the Royal Navy to lend their assistance to Brooke's anti-piracy campaigns.

In spite of the difficulties to decide which groups could be reasonably regarded as piratical and which could not, Brooke argued for a sharp distinction in the treatment of piratical states as opposed to friendly states or communities:

> We must make a broad distinction between piracy and no piracy. We must take care of our honest friends, and prove to them, the advantages of honesty. We must leave an opening for amendment, and trust (wherever it is possible to adopt such a course) to the promises of reformation made by the pirate communities; but when once these promises are duly understood, we must inflict punishment for every breach of them, and for every species of piracy, and we ought to act with perseverance and a rapidity which would take their breath away. (Brooke 1848b: 86)

The repressive policy urged by Brooke was implemented in a series of engagements with alleged pirates in the second half of the 1840s. The most lethal took place in 1849, when the British attacked and destroyed several suspected pirate villages at Batang Marau in Sarawak and killed at least five hundred, and possibly more than a thousand, allegedly piratical Ibans (also known as Sea Dayaks). The event caused some commotion in Britain the following year, when the government asked Parliament for more than £20 000 to satisfy claims for head money due to the so-called Battle of Batang Marau, which comprised more than a fifth of the total bounty of £100 000 that year (Tarling 1978: 136).

At stake was not only the exorbitant amounts to be paid out from the public purse; the affair also drew attention to the brutality of the anti-piracy measures advocated and implemented by Brooke and his followers. A campaign was launched by the Radical Party in Parliament against Brooke and the ruthless anti-piracy measures that he advocated, together with the Aboriginal Protection Society and tacit support from Crawfurd. In 1851 Richard Cobden, a Radical Member of Parliament and a leader of the Liberal Manchester School, said of Batang Marau:

> The loss of life was greater than in the case of the English at Trafalgar, Copenhagen, or Algiers, and yet it was thought to pass over such a loss of human life as if they were so many dogs; and, worse, to mix up professions of religion and adhesion to Christianity with the massacre. If the country had not moral force enough to compel this inquiry [against Brooke], then let it cease its comments on other countries, in whose eyes the people of England wished to set themselves up as examples of morality, magnanimity, and all the other virtues." (House of Commons Debate, 10 July 1851, vol. 118: 498−9)

The Radicals tried, but failed, to block the payment of the head money in 1849, but in the following year they managed to have the Bounty Act of 1825 repealed and replaced with a less costly provision for the payment of prize money. Brooke's opponents also succeeded in having a Commission of Inquiry appointed, which in 1854, however, resulted in his exoneration from all charges against him. The official support for Brooke and his activities was nevertheless discontinued, and he could henceforth no longer call on the Royal Navy to carry out his anti-piracy operations (Knapman 2017: 196−200).

"The most daring and bloodthirsty of all"

In June 1871, the Acting Governor of the Strait Settlements, Colonel Edward Anson, received information about a pirate attack in which thirty-four men, women and children supposedly were murdered in the Strait of Malacca after leaving the British port of Penang for Larut in the Sultanate of Perak on the junk *Kim Seng Cheong*. According to '[s]ome information' received by the Chinese owners of the junk, the perpetrators were fourteen Chinese who had boarded the junk as passengers shortly after departure from Penang. Once at sea, they reportedly took over the vessel, murdered the whole crew and all passengers and threw the bodies overboard. After making investigations in Penang, one of the owners of the junk set off on a steamer bound for Singapore to seek the assistance of the Governor in order to find out what had happened to the junk. En route to Singapore, the owner serendipitously spotted the junk sailing close to the Selangor coast. Governor Anson, upon receiving this information, dispatched the colonial steamer *Pluto* to Selangor. The expedition encountered the junk – quite unexpectedly, according to Anson – and managed to secure the vessel and most of the cargo. The British also managed to apprehend nine of the suspected pirates, but met with resistance when they landed and tried to seize the remaining five (Parliamentary Papers C.466: 1).[4]

Anson requested the assistance of the Royal Navy's gunboat *Rinaldo*, which happened to be in the neighbourhood. The *Rinaldo*, reinforced with troops from Penang, proceeded to Selangor where they dispersed the alleged pirates and their suspected accomplices, who were believed to be based in a fort at the mouth of the Selangor River. "We spent the day in utterly destroying this nest of pirates", the Commander of the *Rinaldo*, Captain Robinson, smugly noted in his report of the operation, which subsequently was published in the London *Times* (5 September 1871). "The town of Salangore is completely burnt down, the forts demolished, the guns spiked and broken up […] Five piratical prows were burnt, three with two 24-pounders and one small gun each" (Parliamentary Papers C.466: 10, 37−8).

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4 This is a brief summary of the so-called Selangor incident of 1871. For more detailed analyses, see Cowan 1961: 66−98; Parkinson 1960: 47−58. For a recent critical account, see Eklöf Amirell 2019, Ch. 3.
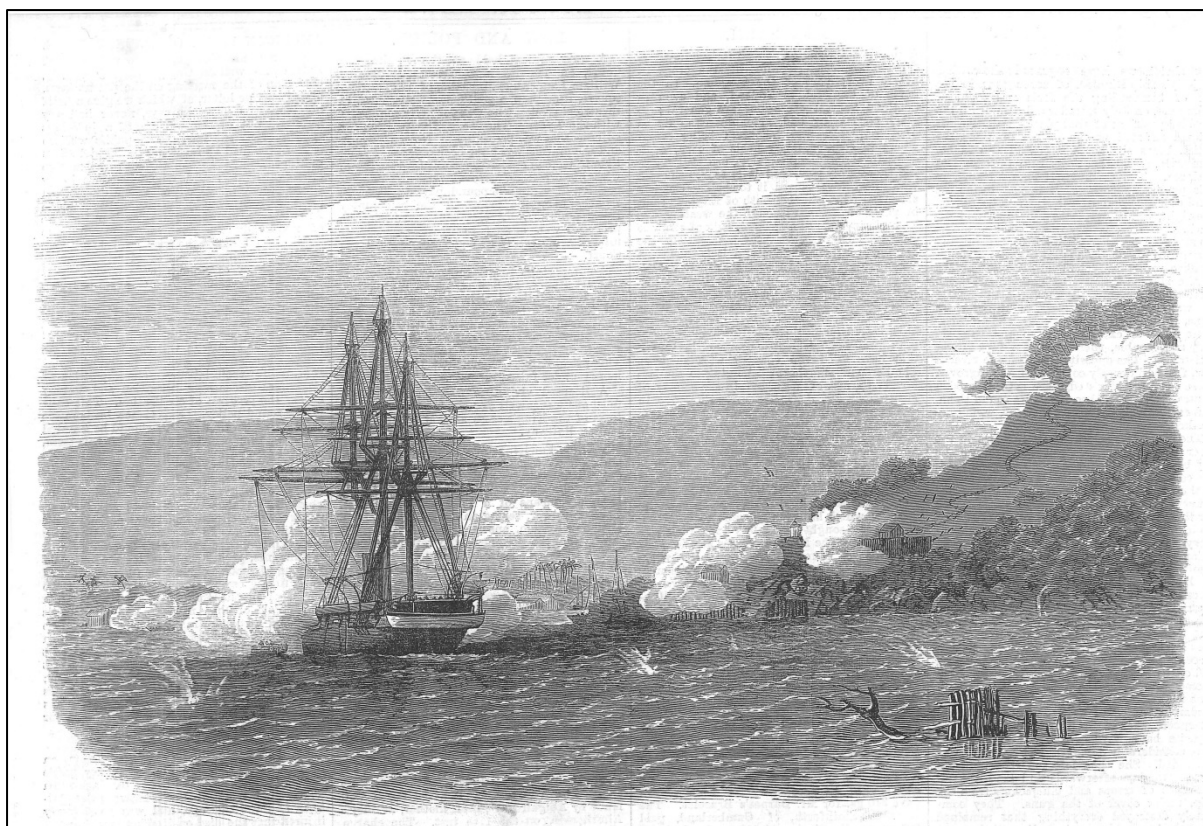
Illustration 1. "H.M.S. Rinaldo bombarding Salangore, in the Strait of Malacca" (Cropped image)

Anson, Robinson and many senior Straits Settlements officials concurred that the destruction of Selangor was likely to have a salutary effect and that no further acts of piracy were likely to emanate from Selangor for a long time (Parliamentary Papers C.466: 2, 10). However, there had in fact been very few reported pirate attacks emanating from Selangor in the preceding years. Anson himself admitted as much in a letter to the Secretary for the Colonies, the Earl of Kimberley, following the so-called Selangor incident, admitting only that there 'had been from time to time complaints of petty piracies along the Malay coast, but it was always supposed that they were committed by small gangs of Malays of bad character, and there was no knowledge of any organized gang of pirates'. Neither did the merchants of Penang and Singapore who traded with Selangor suspect that the Selangor Fort was a nest of pirates, or at the very least they made no communication to the Straits government about it, according to Anson (Parliamentary Papers C.466: 36).

Against this background, it appears that main objective of the intervention was not to suppress piracy but to have the son-in-law of Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor, the British-friendly Tengku Dhiauddin Zainal Rashid, also known as Tunku Kudin, installed as regent. If Tunku Kudin were to receive the support of the British, Anson and other senior colonial officials believed, he would be able to put an end to the unrest and civil war which for several years had plagued Selangor, and create favourable conditions for trade and investment in the Sultanate (Parliamentary Papers C.466: 28; cf. Gullick 1986). To this effect, Anson, supported by senior colonial administrators and naval officers in the region, seized the opportunity to intervene in Selangor offered by the reported attack on the Kim Seng Cheong.

The lack of substantial evidence of organized piracy emanating from Selangor was troublesome for the Straits authorities, however. Moreover, the alleged pirate attack that had triggered the intervention had not emanated from Selangor but from the vicinity of Penang, which was a British port. Sharp criticism of the intervention was voiced in in London, leading the government to take a more cautious non-interventionist policy in relation to the Malay states in the following years. From the end of 1873, however, the official policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Malay states changed in favour of a more assertive and interventionist policy that eventually would lead to the colonization by Great Britain of most of the Malay Peninsula (Tarling 1999: 28−9; Cowan 1961).

In November 1873, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Clarke, a reputed man of action and an experienced military officer, was installed as Governor of the Straits Settlements, bringing with him a more far-reaching mandate from London for intervention in Selangor and other unstable or unfriendly Malay states. Clarke was adamant about how the British should act in relation to the Malay states:

> The Malays, like every other rude Eastern nation, require to be treated much more like children, and to be taught; and this especially in all matters of improvement, whether in the question of good government and organization, or of material improvement by opening means of communication, extending cultivation, and fostering immigration and trade. (Parliamentary Papers C.1111: 110)

Clarke's first priority was to intervene in Perak, where maritime raiding and other forms of banditry were indeed frequent because of the civil unrest involving rival claimants to the throne and rival Chinese societies engaged in tin mining. In Selangor, by contrast, there were still very few cases of piracy, but this circumstance that did not stop the Straits government from making a renewed effort to portray Selangor as a formidable pirate lair. The main responsibility for doing so fell to the Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements, Thomas Braddell, who was a reputed authority and amateur scholar of Malay history and culture (cf. Makepeace 1921: 425−6). Seizing upon a rare and violent case of piracy against a local trading boat at the mouth of the Jugra River on the Selangor coast in November 1873, Braddell wrote in an official report:

> The Salangore pirates are distinguished in the Malayan seas as the most daring and bloodthirsty of all. They are said to be supported by nobles, and even by members of the Royal Family, and are led by men of rank, of Bugghese descent, who are superior in warlike qualities to the ordinary Malayan Chiefs.
>
> […]
>
> The coasts of Salangore are peculiarly well situated as a refuge and haunt for pirates. […] The numerous rivers, great and small, between the Salangore and Lingie Rivers, afford shelter for pirates, who have stockaded defences up the creeks, from which they sally forth to attack the boats which pass close to their stations, making for the Calang Straits. When their work is done, the pirates retire to their strongholds, which are out of sight, and, practically, out of reach of the men-of-war cruizing in these seas.
>
> […]
>
> The piratical practices at Salangore differed from those in other parts of the peninsula, in this; that they were continuous, well organized, and more daringly carried out; showing that they

>were not, as in other places, caused by temporary difficulties in the country, and ceasing with those difficulties, but were the result of long-continued lawlessness in the people, and protected, if not caused, by persons of rank in the country. (Parl. Pap. C.1111: 185, 186)

Braddell's explanation was essentially the same as that which had been advanced by Brooke and his supporters three decades earlier, that is, a combination of inherent racial factors, opportunity offered by geography and the lack of law and order, resulting in a longstanding and institutionalized system of piracy. The course of action taken by Governor Anson and the Straits government in 1871 was also similar to that advocated by Brooke – to destroy the pirate bases – although the use of violence was much more restrained than in the operations instigated by Brooke, with only a handful of reported casualties among the alleged pirates and the British. In 1874, moreover, Governor Clarke managed to have a British Resident to Selangor appointed, after the Sultan, literally at gunpoint, with the guns of the Royal Navy's gunboat *Teazer* pointing at his palace, had been forced to cede to British demands (Eklöf Amirell 2019, forthcoming, Ch. 3).

In the negotiation, Clarke raised the 'unpleasant' subject of piracy with the Sultan, explaining that the piracies emanating from Selangor risked bringing down the 'reprobation of the whole civilized world' on the Sultan (Parliamentary Papers C.1111: 193). In order to impress upon those in Selangor who might be inclined to engage in piracy, Clarke ordered that a trial be held in Selangor, supervised by two Malay-speaking British commissioners, against the suspected perpetrators of the Jugra River piracy in November 1873. The idea was for the trial to set an example in Selangor and at the same time avoid the risk that the case be rejected in a British court of law for being outside British jurisdiction. The outcome of the trial at first seemed satisfactory from the British point of view: All of the eight accused men were convicted and all but one, a teenager who was pardoned, were executed with a *kris* (dagger), which Sultan Abdul Samad, to the satisfaction of the British, provided for the purpose. However, it later transpired that the trial had suffered from several deficiencies, and Frank Swettenham, who served as the British Resident to Selangor in the 1880s, was convinced that those who were executed in fact were innocent and that the real culprits still remained at large (Parliamentary Papers C.1111: 181; Swettenham 1907: 184; cf. Gullick 1996).

"A blush of shame and indignation on every English face"

About a week after the publication in *The Times* of Commander Robinson's report on the destruction of Selangor, on 13 September 1871, a letter to the editor entitled "The destruction of Salangore" appeared in the newspaper. The author was Peter Benson Maxwell, an outspoken Irish lawyer who strongly believed in the perfection of British justice and saw it as a duty for the British to promote justice and the rule of law around the world. He had retired from his position as Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements and returned to England less than half a year earlier, after having served in the Straits judiciary for altogether more than fifteen years, first as a recorder and then as chief justice. During his term in the Straits Settlements, Maxwell had consistently stood up for the integrity of the courts vis-à-vis the executive, which had led to a strained relationship between the two branches of the colonial government (Turnbull 1957: 137, 160−1; Cowan 1961: 95). As a longstanding and leading colonial

official, Maxwell apparently had intimate knowledge about the relations of the British colony with the neighbouring Malay states and the political situation in Selangor. He was also familiar with the pirate incidents that still from time to time occurred in the Strait of Malacca, in spite of the success of the British and other colonial and indigenous governments in suppressing piracy in the region over the previous decades. In March 1871, Maxwell had presided over a trial that resulted in harsh sentences for forty-nine Malays who were responsible for a relatively minor robbery of a ship off the coast of Selangor (*Straits Times Overland Journal*, 20 December 1870; 15, 29 March 1871).

Maxwell, in his letter to *The Times*, took a juridical view of piracy in the Strait of Malacca. Citing Singapore's leading newspaper, the *Straits Times*, he claimed that piracy had ceased to exist as a system in the Malay Peninsula and that there were no professional pirates or pirate-states left – only occasional acts of piracy and robberies at sea, which should be handled through regular legal procedure. In contrast, according to Maxwell the intervention in Selangor was an unjustifiable act of war, ordered by an acting governor who had no authority to wage war on a sovereign state. Such exploits, Maxwell concluded 'should raise a blush of shame and indignation on every English face. They can bring only discredit and hatred upon us, and if they are not sternly repudiated by our Government the face of England, in Oriental idiom, will be blackened, and her name will stink' (Maxwell 1871).

Following the Selangor incident, Maxwell continued to criticize the British expansion in the Malay Peninsula, which, as we have seen, intensified with the appointment of Andrew Clarke as governor of the Straits Settlements at the end of 1873. In 1878, Maxwell published a pamphlet, dedicated to the Aborigines Protection Society and entitled *Our Malay conquests*, in which he briefly outlined and denounced the British policy in the Malay Peninsula in the preceding years. However, in spite of Maxwell's stern defence of the Malay states against the British onslaught, there was no doubt in his mind about the inferiority of the Malays as a race. "The Malays have the defects or vices which are found in other weak and down-trodden races," he wrote, adding that they were "in general invincibly lazy" and "often false, deceitful, tricky, treacherous", although he also pointed out some more positive racial characteristics, such as affection, gentleness and dignity of manner (Maxwell 1878: 4). He was less positive with regard to the privileged classes, however, claiming that they lived "in the same idleness as other barbarous aristocracies, oppressing and plundering the unprivileged class" similarly to how French seigneurs and administrators had done before the Revolution (Maxwell 1878: 5). These barbarous aristocrats and the lack of a central authority capable of imposing law and order were, according to Maxwell, the origins of what traders and colonists called piracy:

> When the chief authority is defied, or his succession is disputed, the Sultan rarely interferes to restore peace, any more than a king of France or emperor of Germany troubled himself with the private wars of his counts and barons. He deems it no part of his duty, and he has no adequate means to do so. The times then become more than usually evil for the inhabitants, on whom double taxes and exactions are inflicted by the contending claimants. The trader, too, who ventures up a Malay river at such times, is subjected to the same duplication of charges, and finds himself the principal contributor to the sinews of the war. Irritated, he returns to the colony, calling both sides "pirates." The term is adopted readily by the European colonists; and even governors and officials take it up and apply it indiscriminately to all who levy a kind of due with which European commerce was familiar for centuries, and the last of which

> disappeared only the other day in the Sound. It is impossible to estimate the amount of injustice done by this idle misapplication of a vituperative term; for it leads those who do not take the trouble of stripping facts of the colouring in which they are presented, to form very erroneous conceptions of the truth, and to deny to the objects of it every human right. (Maxwell 1878: 5−6)

In contrast, Maxwell claimed that there were no grounds for suspecting the Malay states of committing or sanctioning "anything like real piracy", and that there had been no such state-sponsored piracy in the Malay Peninsula for over forty years (Maxwell 1878: 6).

In an appendix to the book dedicated to piracy, Maxwell went on to repudiate the unfounded accusations of Braddell and other colonial officials against Perak and Selangor for sponsoring and harbouring pirates. Drawing on his personal experience of fifteen years of service in the Straits Settlement's judiciary, he claimed that "no crime was rarer in the calendar of the Straits courts than piracy". According to Maxwell, there had been only three incidents that might qualify as piracy on the Selangor coast in recent years. Of these, two were relatively minor, and one (the Jugra River piracy), while serious, occurred so close to the Selangor coast that it was outside British jurisdiction (Maxwell 1878: 122).

Although Maxwell shared many of the stereotypical images and prejudices of other European observers at the time with regard to the Malays, he did not see an inclination to piracy as part of their racial constitution. Instead, he saw the primitive political system and instability – which he compared to that of mediaeval Europe – as the origin of what European traders and colonizers inappropriately called piracy. If a system of institutionalised piracy, in the true sense of the word, had ever existed in the Malay Peninsula (a question that Maxwell did not discuss directly) it had all but come to an end already by the 1830s, if not before. Consequently, the occasional pirate raids that still occurred should be dealt with by regular legal procedure and not by military intervention or colonisation. The responsibility for dealing with alleged pirates, moreover, should not be the responsibility of the British outside their jurisdiction. Instead, Maxwell trusted that the authorities of Selangor and other Malay states would prosecute suspected pirates operating in or dwelling in their territory. By this assumption Maxwell also implicitly assumed that the Malay states met the so-called standard of civilization (Gong 1984; cf. Koskenniemi 2001), that is, that they qualified as civilized states and members of the international community because of their adherence to the rule of law − notwithstanding his largely negative assessment of the Malays, both with regard to their culture and their political system.

Conclusion

After the middle of the eighteenth century, piracy, in the eyes of the British and other Europeans, became increasingly linked to race and civilization, or rather lack of civilization. After the end of the Golden Age of Atlantic piracy around 1730, the pirates of greatest concern to European states and colonizers around the world seemed to be for the most part to be of non-European nationality. Along with the Arabs of North Africa and Oman, the Malays were seen as particularly addicted to piracy, but there was considerable disagreement among nineteenth-century British (and other European) observers about the reasons for this alleged addiction.

Many observers saw the opportunities provided by the geography of the Malay Archipelago as a precondition for piracy, but it was generally seen as a necessary, rather than sufficient, explanation. In addition to the geographical factor, three main lines of argument can be distinguished among the nineteenth-century British observers that have been under study here, all of whom exercised considerable influence in their own time, and in some cases well beyond. The three lines were not necessarily mutually exclusive, and there was often considerable inconsistency in the arguments proposed by any one observer. Nevertheless, distinguishing the following three lines of argument is useful for the purpose of discerning the streams of ideas about piracy and its remedies among nineteenth-century British observers and actors in the Malay Archipelago.

The first line of argument was racial and cultural, and was partially, but not exclusively, linked to the geography. For example, Raffles – at least in his earlier writings − argued that piracy was an ancient, culturally sanctioned practice among the Malays and that it had been further reinforced by the introduction of Islam in the region. Later observers, from Crawfurd to Maxwell, regardless of the means which they advocated to suppress piracy, saw piracy as a manifestation of the lack of civilization on the part of the Malays, both with regard to their cultural development and their social and political system.

Many writers, including Raffles, Crawfurd and Maxwell, used historical analogies to understand the racial and cultural aspects of piracy, comparing the stage of civilization among contemporary Malays to that of pre-classical Greece or mediaeval Europe. This explanation was consistent with the contemporary historicist understanding of the world as being inhabited by numerous and relatively distinct nations or races displaying different stages of development. According to this line of argument, certain races were inherently piratical − whether directly or indirectly involved in piracy – as a result of their level of civilization. Harsh measures, such as wholesale killings and the destruction of alleged pirate nests, were often suggested and implemented in order to eradicate the problem, culminating with the massacres in North Borneo, perpetrated by the Royal Navy at the behest of James Brooke, in the 1840s. Essentially, this was a policy designed to "Exterminate all the brutes", as put by Joseph Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* and later explored in the context of European colonialism by the Swedish author Sven Lindqvist (1996 [1992]).

The second line of explanation was economic and historical. Raffles, and to a lesser degree Crawfurd, saw piracy as a result of the European – particularly the Dutch – incursions in Southeast Asia, which had resulted in a long-standing decline for indigenous traders and polities. This argument meshed well with the advocacy by Raffles and other British colonizers of free trade, which, they believed, would create favourable conditions for economic development based on trade and the production of export commodities rather than plunder and enslavement. This line of argument was generally associated with less repressive measures, and the most important task of the British in the Malay Archipelago would be to provide favourable conditions for trade, including the protection of maritime commerce and the establishment of entrepôts for trade. In addition, the British should establish a model of civilization and good governance at the heart of the Archipelago.

The third line of argument was that piracy flourished because of a general lack of law and order. This in turn was linked to the rude, barbarous or semi-civilized – depending on the observer's point of view − state of the legal and political system of the Malays. Although

some observers, such as Raffles and Crawfurd, realized that the political situation, at least in part, was a consequence of the European incursions since the beginning of the early modern period, they were often less clear about the negative impact of the processes set in motion by the intensified colonial presence and economic exploitation in the region in the nineteenth century. These included, among other things, the import of European-manufactured arms and munitions and an influx of large numbers of Chinese and European immigrants.

It seemed to follow from the last line of reasoning that one of the most important tasks of the British was to see to it that the rule of law was upheld in the Archipelago and that pirates were brought to justice regardless of where they were based or operated. Doing so was not just a matter of law and order, but also of civilization, because the quality of a country's judicial system was seen as a yardstick of civilization. It is from this perspective that Clarke's order that the trial against the perpetrators of the Jugra river piracy in 1874 be held in Selangor should be understood. It is doubtful, however, that the desired effect was achieved, given that the result probably was the execution of seven innocent men, while the actual instigators and perpetrators of the attack remained at large. The outcome of the trial also casts doubt upon Maxwell's argument that the legal system of Selangor was able to deal effectively with piracy, and it is perhaps significant that he chose not to discuss the trial in his pamphlet published in 1882, even though he had access to the proceedings of the trial.

For nineteenth-century Britons the suppression of piracy was not only about bringing civilization to the Malays, although this certainly was an important part of the argumentation of both those who were in favour of harsh repression, such as James Brooke and his followers, and those who advocated less violent measures, such as Raffles (in his later writings), Cobden, Crawfurd and Maxwell. A significant shift in this respect occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. Throughout most of the 1840s James Brooke and his followers succeeded in representing themselves as the torchbearers of humanity and civilization, in spite of the massive destruction of life and property they caused in North Borneo. Brooke's broad and often arbitrary definition of piracy, combined with the excessive use of force and his disregard for the loss of life and property by the allegedly piratical communities, however, led to sharp criticism from 1849 and to a reversal of the official support for his ventures. The controversy not only affected Brooke and British policies in Borneo. It also led to a more cautious British policy in order to suppress piracy in Southeast Asia. The rejection of naval operations of mass destruction from around middle of the nineteenth century shows that humanitarian considerations were of some consequence in shaping British colonial policies in Southeast Asia. By showing restraint in the deployment of violence against supposedly less civilized peoples, whose military technology and strength was vastly inferior to that of the British, the latter could demonstrate their ostensibly advanced level of civilization, not only in relation to their Asian adversaries but also to other colonial powers. The fact that Britain showed such restraint in the Malay Archipelago during the second half of the nineteenth century, however, does not mean that she did so in other parts of the world.

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Filmens tekniker som litterär metod att gestalta våld och kroppslighet som känns mot huden: En medialitetsanalys av Mo Yans roman *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv*

Anneliese Fältström

> [M]y body is not only an object among all objects, ... but an object which is sensitive to all the rest, which reverberates to all sounds, vibrates to all colours, and provides words with their primordial significance through the way in which it receives them1

Att läsa Mo Yans roman *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv* (2016) är som att balansera med kroppen mellan vajande sorghumsfält, doften av blod och krut till ljuden av legender om reinkarnationens hemligheter. Läsningen är samtidigt en process för att kunna distansera sig från det våld och förtryck som gestaltas genom kroppen som förmedlande subjekt. Det innebär att läsaren är delaktig i realiseringen av textens gestaltning av våld och kroppslighet genom att det skapas en illusion av kroppslig identifikation. Wolfgang Iser beskriver denna dialog mellan text och läsare som en fenomenologisk process: "litterära texter omvandlar läsandet till en kreativ process som ligger högt över själva varseblivningen av det som står skrivet. Den litterära texten aktiverar våra egna själsförmögenheter och gör det möjligt för oss att återskapa den värld som denna presenterar" (1993: 324). Realiseringen av den värld som Mo Yan presenterar sker med andra ord i ett samspel mellan text och läsare genom att denne får möjlighet att reflektera över och kan leva sig in i en mikrohistoria traderad genom en gestaltning av utsatta kroppar. Man kan beskriva det som att romanens gestaltning av våld och kroppslighet överskrider litterära tekniker att gestalta som kan jämföras med filmens tekniker att skapa en illusion av kroppslig beröring. Dessa illustrationer av döda och lemlästade kroppar gestaltade genom filmens tekniker har således en säregen förmåga att kommunicera med läsaren. Vivian Sobchack förklarar denna översättningsprocess av att se våld och kroppslighet på film: "the film experience is meaningful *not to the side of our bodies but because of our bodies*" (2004: 60).

I motsats till filmen som medium har en litterär text inte förmåga att bokstavligen *visa* färg och bild, eller producera ljud. Men texten har en förmåga att gestalta i analogi med audiovisuella mediers tekniker. Det är en litterär strategi som kan skapa en illusion av kroppslig identifikation genom en upplevelse av integrering av bild, rörelse och ljud i texten. Det erinrar om filmens tekniker att skapa kroppslig respons hos åskådaren kommunicerad genom en gestaltning av kroppslighet. Jämför med hur Claude Lévi-Strauss beskriver det: "Thought and sensibility take on a new dimension, in which every drop of sweat, every movement of muscle, every quickdrawn breath becomes the symbol of a story; and as my

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1 I "What my Fingers Knew" (2004:53) citerar Vivian Sobchack Maurice Merleau-Ponty ur *Phenomenology of Perception* (2012). Citat kursivt i original.

body reproduces the particular gait of that story, so does my mind embrace its meaning" (Sobchack 2004: 7). En gestaltning av kroppslighet som exempelvis bärare av historiska processer gör det intressant att fördjupa sig i Mo Yans författarskap genom en enskild roman. Min hypotes är att gestaltningen av det grymma våld och förtryck som kropparna utsätts för och som i vissa fall är fysiskt smärtsamt att läsa, fyller en funktion som en litterär metod att förmedla en historia som läsaren kan identifiera sig med genom *hur det känns* (jfr. De Groot, 2015: 214).

Avsikten med artikeln är att fördjupa mig i Mo Yans författarskap genom en medialitetsanalys av de inter- och intramediala strategierna i *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv*. Genom att fördjupa mig i några av de scener i romanen som innehåller kroppslighet och våld är ambitionen att identifiera de litterära strategier som i analogi med filmens tekniker manipulerar en kroppslig respons hos läsaren. Det är en form av medierad gestaltning som historiskt sett har tillskrivits filmens tekniker att genom narrativa grepp skapa kroppsmedvetande. Fokus i analysen är hur filmens tekniker som litterär metod kan upplevas lika skoningslöst (att läsa!) som filmens gestaltning. Det är ett omvänt perspektiv på text och bild som urskiljer sig genom gestaltningen av våld och där kroppens fysionomi och dess möte med våld är central. Utgångspunkten är att filmens förmåga att manipulera kroppslig respons bygger på kognitiva fenomen. Man kan uttrycka det som att de råa gestaltningarna av våld får mening genom hur de kommunicerar med läsaren genom: "('what it felt like') rather than textually" (De Groot, 2015: 214). För att beskriva de litterära strategier i Mo Yans roman som erinrar om filmens tekniker att gestalta våld och kroppslighet hämtar jag inspiration hos Vivian Sobchack. I "What my fingers knew. The cinesthetic subject, or vision in the flesh" undersöker hon på vilka sätt en gestaltning av kroppslighet och våld i film är troper som kan skapa en upplevelse av kroppslig identifikation. Hon lyfter även det faktum att forskningen om filmens kapacitet att skapa en illusion av kroppslig beröring har hamnat i skuggan av en forskning som fokuserar på filmmediets materialitet (2004: 59). En annan inspiration för att beskriva hur det är möjligt för en litterär text att skapa en illusion av kroppslig respons hos läsaren är Sarah J. Paulson. I "The body expressed in word and image: an attempt at defining Cora Sandel´s aesthetics" ger hon exempel på estetiska tekniker att gestalta kroppslighet som överskrider textens/bildens gränser för att uttrycka processer utanför verkets materialitet (2007: 393).

Jag vill förtydliga att det inte är fråga om en assimilering av filmens tekniker då det rör sig om två medier som bygger på olika modalitet och med skilda mediakaraktäristiska uttryck. En assimilering indikerar en sammansmältning av verbalt och visuellt medium (vilket inte är fallet!) eftersom mediet inte ska betraktas som monomedialt. Snarare skapas det genom litterära strategier en illusion av att texten har *iscensatt* gestaltningen genom att *imitera* filmens berättartekniker. Det som är relevant är alltså inte att identifiera på vilka sätt medierna skiljer sig från varandra, utan vad litterär text har gemensamt med exempelvis film och bild. Se exempelvis Beate Schirrmacher som med stöd i Lars Elleströms teorier om medium och modalitet, beskriver intermedialitet som: "ett överbryggande av mediala skillnader med hjälp av transmediala gemensamheter" (2013: 32). Det är en syn på medier som i ett samspel öppnar för ett intersektionellt perspektiv på läsningen av romanen. I texten är det snarare ett intermedialt samspel mellan verbal och visuell representation som urskiljer sig, än en rangordning mellan text och bild/film. Det gör det möjligt att knyta begreppet

intersektionalitet till de maktordningar som Mo Yan belyser, samtidigt som det illustrerar den historiskt sett hierarkiska synen om att bild/film som medier är underordnade litterär text.

Mo Yan och Ximen Nao och hans sju liv

Mo Yan2 (f. 1950) betraktas som en av den kinesiska samtidslitteraturens främste författare. Hans romaner har översatts till 18 språk varav sju av dem till svenska. Fyra av romanerna, däribland *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv*, har översatts från kinesiska av sinologen och översättaren Anna Gustafsson Chen. Det faktum att texten läses i översättning innebär att läsaren behöver ta ställning till att romanen endast utgör en representation av den ursprungliga texten. På så sätt är texten avskild sin ursprungskontext, men samtidigt i ett samspel mellan kulturella och språkliga diskurser. Se exempelvis Chen Maiping: "There is a context for the original text, and there is also a context for its translation into another language; this is called ´co-contextualization.´ Contemporary comparative literature is based on just such a complicated network of texts" (2015: 34). Precis som Mo Yans roman är en mediering mellan språkliga och kulturella diskurser, pendlar den litterära texten mellan olika mediers tekniker att gestalta. Det ger en extra dimension till romanen och vilka historiska processer den kommunicerar utanför själva texten.

 År 2012 tilldelades Mo Yan Nobelpriset i litteratur. Det gav upphov till kritik från akademiker och författarkollegor som ansåg att han förhöll sig passiv till kommunistregimen. Hans författarskap betraktades snarare som ett uttryck för Mao Zedongs vision om ett socialistiskt samhälle. Denna vision var ett av kulturrevolutionens mål och det utmynnade i utrensning av oliktänkande genom etnisk förföljelse och folkmord. Bortsett från kritiken mot Mo Yan för att han inte aktivt tar avstånd från regimen, är de närgångna gestaltningarna av våld någonting som kritiseras. Hans romaner förmedlas ofta i recensioner som en excess i våld och lemlästade kroppar. Det är problematiskt att kritiken inte tar hänsyn till att, när det gäller litteratur från länder i Asien som exempelvis Kina, det finns ett perspektiv på politisk makt knuten till rätten till yttrandefrihet och censur. Romanerna måste läsas på sociokulturella villkor med en förståelse för den samhällskritik som döljer sig bakom metaforer och språkliga ironier. Se exempelvis Chengzhou He (2014: 87).

 Den som är bekant med Mo Yans författarskap känner sannolikt igen den idiosynkrasi som urskiljer sig i texten genom en illusion av motsägelsefullhet mellan textens gestaltning och vilka associationer den väcker. Det kan vara ord som skapar omvända associationer hos läsaren som exempelvis *doften* istället för *lukten* av blod, eller en spänning mellan det poetiska språket som gestaltar det kaotiska och intima våldet. *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv* innehåller även en polyfon röst. Den ger uttryck för individuella och kollektiva erfarenheter av politiskt förtryck. Polyfonin urskiljer sig framförallt genom ett metareflektivt perspektiv på berättarröster inom romanens fiktion. Det skapar ett intryck av att texten består av flera stämmor som överlappar varandra och det understryker samspelet mellan text, musik och film i romanen. Bland annat lyfts polyfonin fram genom att Mo Yan uppträder som en slags mise-en-abyme gestalt som en av romanens fiktiva karaktär, berättarröst eller fiktiva text. Jämför med hur romanens fiktiva karaktär Ximen Gris berättar: "det vore dumt att fästa

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2 Namnet Mo Yan som är en pseudonym för Guan Moye betyder *tala inte*

någon större tilltro till det han [Mo Yan] skriver, eftersom hans berättelser alltid är insvepta i dimmor och består av vilda funderingar som bör granskas ordentligt" (2016: 340). Det metareflektiva perspektivet på berättarröster har en illusionsbrytande funktion som utmanar fiktionens gränser. Men det belyser även det intermediala samspelet mellan visuellt och verbalt språk i texten. De i vissa fall motsägelsefulla rösterna inom romanen är på sätt och vis en instruktion till läsaren att reflektera över fiktion och realism och den historia som förmedlas.

I *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv* utgår Mo Yan från, som i de flesta av sina romaner, hembyn Gaomi där han växte upp som son till en lantbrukare. Berättelsen är knuten till denna plats, men speglar samtidigt ett mikroperspektiv på Kina och kan på så sätt betraktas som ett utsnitt av Kinas politiska historia. Läsaren får följa karaktärerna från början av 1950-talet då Kulturrevolutionen låg i sin linda och jordreformer och kollektivisering var ett faktum, genom revolutionen och Maos förtryck och de politiska effekterna efter hans död fram till millennieskiftet 2000. Berättelsen är en ond men hisnande vacker saga och en labyrint av drömmar och röster ur det förflutna, men den prövar även gränsen mellan organiskt och oorganiskt liv. Romanen inleds med att Ximen Nao som är berättelsens huvudsaklige berättarröst avrättas av revolutionära bönder. Innan han förlorar sin människogestalt presenteras han för kung Yama som ställer honom inför ett ultimatum. Om han inte erkänner en skuld som är knuten till att han äger sin egen mark, döms han att reinkarneras som åsna. Ximen vägrar att erkänna skuld. Han torteras och lämnas med kroppen tömd på vätska och sönderbrända muskler i en pöl av kokande olja för att tänka över sina oförrätter. Under de kommande femtio åren möter Ximen Nao olika existentiella prövningar, kärlekens plågor och ond bråd död och han vet inte hur han ska kunna undkomma återfödelsens cykler. Han reinkarneras som åsna, tjur, gris, och hund för att efter en tid i apans gestalt, återfödas som det nya millenniets förstfödde människobarn. Ur olika perspektiv på Ximen Naos blick får läsaren följa med på en resa genom ett utsnitt av Kinas historia. Men även möjlighet att identifiera sig med den kinesiska befolkningens lidanden och kamp för överlevnad och drömmen om kulturell identitet.

Tidigare forskning och teoretiskt ramverk

I analysen är avsikten att introducera en alternativ läsning av Mo Yans roman genom ett fokus på samspelet mellan medier knutet till en gestaltning av våld och kroppslighet och vad dessa troper kommunicerar för mening utanför texten. Att fokusera på våld och kroppslighet är intressant då det bortsett från Mo Yans eventuella politiska agenda är våldet i hans romaner som framförallt kritiseras i recensioner. Att betrakta romanen som en medierad fiktion genom att bland annat identifiera de intramediala fenomenen, skapar ett utvidgat perspektiv på den forskning som finns om Mo Yans författarskap som inriktar sig på intertextualitet. Se exempelvis Chen Maiping: "The Intertextual Reading of Chinese Literature: With Mo Yan´s Works as Examples" (2015). Ett intertextuellt perspektiv på läsningen av Mo Yans roman kan överbrygga kulturella och språkliga diskurser genom att det uppmärksammar och tar hänsyn till relationen till andra texter inom och mellan olika diskurser. Man kan beskriva det som att det belyser dialogen mellan kulturella och språkliga diskurser. Exempelvis genom att uppmärksamma referenser i romanen till Gabriel Garcia

Marquez magiska realism, eller till Lev Tolstoj, vars roman *Anna Karenina* Mo Yan refererar till i *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv* (2016: 445). Det placerar Mo Yans författarskap i en tradition av en världslitteratur vars syfte är att översättas för att på så sätt cirkulera utanför sin urspungskontext, enligt Chen: "some Chinese writers do not write for Chinese readers, but for readers in other languages. This is known as writing for the translation. The text is therefore disconnected from the Chinese context and associations" (2015: 35).

Jag menar att ett intermedialt perspektiv på Mo Yans roman kompletterar forskningen om intertextualitet, samtidigt som det utgör ett utvidgat perspektiv. I texten urskiljer sig förutom de intermediala fenomen som uppmärksammar dialogen *mellan* medier, *intra*mediala fenomen som pekar tillbaka mot den litterära texten, exempelvis genom referenser till andra texter. På samma sätt som en intertextuell läsning fokuserar på dialogen mellan historiska texter och kulturella diskurser och vad som händer med texten när den rör sig mellan språkliga och kulturella system, definierar intramedialitet fenomen i texten som exempelvis pekar tillbaka mot skrivandet som en metod att vittna om det förflutna. De intramediala fenomenen urskiljer sig bland annat genom referenser till historiska texter ur världslitteraturen, fiktiva och autentiska, till opera och teater, eller genom en fiktiv Mo Yan inom romanens fiktion. På så sätt finns det en samsyn mellan intermedialitet och intertextualitet som öppnar för läsningar som inte inordnar texten i enskilda diskurser, eller rangordnar dem i en hierarkisk ordning. Båda begreppen innebär en inkluderande läsning av Mo Yans roman(er) som en litteratur som ingår i en global litteraturmarknad. Enligt Chen: "[it] places Mo Yan in the context of international literary tradition, and offers an intertextual reading between Mo Yan and other traditional texts in world literature" (2015: 35).

Gestaltningen av våld och kroppslighet i kinesisk litteratur och vad dessa troper speglar för processer utanför texten är teman som varit och är föremål för forskningens intresse. Bland annat genom Michael Berry: "A history of pain: trauma in modern Chinese literature and film" (2008). Berry undersöker våld gestaltat i kinesisk film och litteratur som ett uttryck för ett kollektivt minne om politiskt förtryck. Forskningen om Mo Yans roman(er) som särskilt lyfter visuella element i texten som kan knytas till våld och kroppslighet som ett uttryck för historiska processer framstår som begränsad. I "Mo Yan´s Life and death are wearing me out in a cultural and visual context" har Yuhan Huang ett intermedialt perspektiv på *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv* genom en studie av representationen av propagandaposters. Fokus är mediekombinationer som affischer, reklambilder och illustrationer och de tolkas som ett uttryck för de politiska spänningar som följde på kulturrevolutionen (Huang 2014: 107). I "There is no end to violence" lyfter Shelley W. Chan våldet i Mo Yans romaner som ett uttryck för en subversiv röst om politiskt förtryck. Den subversiva rösten är möjlig att knyta till ett intermedialt perspektiv genom att den uppmärksammar litterära strategier i texten som måste läsas bortom dess semantiska betydelse. Chan uppmärksamma även hur Mo Yan använder litterära strategier för att genom dessa skapa en illusion av ljud, bild, färg, doft och rörelse på ett sätt som erinrar om filmens tekniker (2011: 164).

I analysen refererar jag övergripande till Lars Elleströms teorier om medium och modalitet som han ger uttryck för i "The Modalities of Media: A Model for Understanding Intermedial Relations." Enligt Elleström är det omöjligt att greppa vad intermedialitet är utan att förstå de grundläggande aspekterna av vad som karaktäriserar ett medium (2010: 11). Det gör det nödvändigt att ge en kortfattad introduktion till vad som är ett medium bortom, som

Elleström beskriver dess basala betydelse: "a channel for the mediation of information and entertainment" (2010: 17). För att urskilja hur mediefenomen kan kombineras, transformeras och/eller integreras, det vill säga vilka fyra byggstenar som konstituerar ett medium snarare än vad det *är* per definition, har Elleström utvecklat en modalitetsmodell som bygger på ett fundament av tre ben: "basic media, qualified media and technical media" (2010: 12). Basmediet är texten (inom romanen) och definieras utifrån dess modalitet. Det kvalificerade mediet är exempelvis romanen eller filmen som är beroende av att kontextualiseras för meningsproduktionen. Det tekniska mediet är pärmen/fodralet som omger texterna och realiserar mediet. Bas- och kvalificerat medium är med andra ord *innehåll* medan ett tekniskt medium är *materialisering* av innehåll. Utifrån dessa tre kategorier av mediets teoretiska form definierar Elleström ett mediums modalitet som kan appliceras över texten som ett raster för att urskilja *på vilka sätt* mediala fenomen realiseras och *hur* realiseringen kommer till uttryck. Beate Schirrmacher redogör för dem och dess funktion på ett pedagogiskt sätt med utgångspunkt i Elleströms schema varför jag använder mig av hennes definition. Förenklat består ett medium av fyra modaliteter: "vilket tekniskt medium som används (bok, dator, kropp, ljudvågor), vilka sinnen som tilltalas (auditiva, visuella, taktila), vilket semiotiskt system som används eller skapas (ikoniskt, indexikaliskt, symboliskt) och hur ett medium förhåller sig till tid och rum" (2013: 32). Det är dock viktigt att betona att, enligt Schirrmacher, alla medier har dessa modaliteter gemensamt och att "det är grunden av gemensamma egenskaper som möjliggör intermedial växelverkan" (2013: 32).

Begreppet intermedialitet kan beskrivas som närvaron av skilda mediefenomen inom ett mediums konventionella gränser, hur de samverkar inom mediet och i dialog med andra medier. Enligt Jørgen Bruhn: "[H]ur ett till synes homogent medium inom mediets egna gränser har en eller flera förbindelser med andra medier" (2008: 24). Begreppet intramedialitet kan beskrivas som närvaron av självreflektiva fenomen inom ett medium. I artikeln avses med begreppet de fenomen som pekar tillbaka mot den litterära texten genom direkta och indirekta referenser till litterära genrer, litterära verk och/eller författare (fiktiva och historiska) och till läsande och skrivande som en process. De intramediala referenserna kontrasterar mot de intermediala som urskiljer sig inom mediet men refererar till andra medier än litteratur. Som exempelvis film och bildkonst. De intramediala referenserna definierar med andra ord för den litterära texten mediekaraktäristiska fenomen. I analysen använder jag begreppen inter- och intramedial referens, formell imitation och medial projicering. Inter- och intramedialitet definierar de mediefenomen som urskiljer sig *inom* det egna mediet som en slags intertext (intramedialitet), eller en litterär text som refererar till en annan medietext som exempelvis film (intermedialitet). Formell imitation definierar en mer genomgripande förändring av mediets konstitution. Exempelvis en text som imiterar vad som betraktas som filmens mediekaraktäristiska berättartekniker. Medial projicering definierar de intermediala fenomen i en text som gestaltar genom ett annat mediums tekniker. Exempelvis genom att romanens karaktär upplever verkligheten som om den vore en film eller en tavla. Begreppen är Bruhns definition ur *The intermediality of narrative literature: Medialities matter* (2016: 27ff). I den introducerar Bruhn en trestegsmodell som en metod att analysera narrativa texter med fokus på representationen av mediefenomen. Bruhn beskriver modellen som: "a method of analyzing narrative written literature that is at the same time sufficiently

open towards improvisation and creativity to be useful when analyzing the individual complexities of specific narrative texts" (2016:30).

Avsikten är inte att redovisa de tre stegen i artikeln. Men kännedom om modellen kan skapa förståelse för den komplexa läsprocess som föregår analysen och att den har sin utgångspunkt i ett tvärvetenskapligt perspektiv. Se exempelvis Bruhn som beskriver överbryggandet av mediateori och textanalytisk metod: "there is an unproductive distance between the rich theoritization in media studies and intermedial studies on the one hand, and specific, hands-on analytical practice on the other. It is this gap my model specifically aims to overcome" (2016: 34). I min forskning har jag inspirerats av Bruhns modell för att i första hand fokusera de inter- och intramediala strategierna i texten och identifiera de som till synes har en självreflektiv funktion. Men även för att identifiera de som skapar en illusion av texten som filmisk och på vilka sätt det realiseras i texten i analogi med filmens tekniker. Fokus under inläsningen var de medieringar i romanen som ingav illusionen av kroppslig identifikation. Analysmetoden utgör ett alternativ till intertextuell analys som är en essentiell del av forskningen om Mo Yans författarskap. Ett tvärvetenskapligt perspektiv kan dock skapa en fördjupad förståelse för Mo Yans författarskap och att blandningen av medierepresentationer är en litterär metod att vittna om den kinesiska befolkningens existentiella villkor både under och efter kulturrevolutionen.

Analys

Analysen är strukturerad i tre avsnitt som övergripande speglar romanens inledande kapitels inter- och intramediala strategier genom tre av Ximen Naos reinkarnationer: "Åsnans prövningar", "Tjurens styrka" och "Grisens glädje." Fokus är de intermediala strategier som associerar till filmens tekniker och hur de urskiljer sig genom en gestaltning av kroppslighet och våld. Men även hur texten genom att imitera filmens tekniker skapar kroppsmedvetande och en illusion av upplevd närvaro i gestaltningen. De intramediala strategier som pekar tillbaka mot texten som medium urskiljer sig huvudsakligen genom ett metareflektivt perspektiv på berättarröster. De intramediala strategierna förstärker de intermediala och meningsproduktionen är till synes beroende av detta samspel. Eftersom gestaltningen av våld, om man läser texten bokstavligt, riktar sig mot djurkroppar finns det en risk att det skapas distans till gestaltningarna och att romanen betraktas som en fabel. Därför ber jag läsaren att se människan Ximen under huden på åsnan, tjuren och grisen och att läsa de kroppsliga gestaltningarna som en antropomorf för de människor som inte tillåts en röst.

Ximen Nao målas med åsneblod och byter skepnad

I "Åsnans prövningar" gestaltas Ximen Nao som i ett ontologiskt vakuum mellan organiskt och oorganiskt liv och som en hybrid gestalt mellan olika livsformer. Avrättad, torterad och avskild sin kroppshud, ledsagas han genom en välvd underjordisk tunnel. Tunneln han färdas genom är upplyst av skenet från "lykthållarna" och "vampyrfladdermössens" lysande ögon. Lyktskenet reflekterar de "gigantiska spindlar" som hänger ner från "tunnelns välvda tak" (2016: 24). Tunneln utgör således en medial projicering som indikerar ett begränsat synfält. Intrycket förstärks genom visuella markörer i analogi med seendeprocessen som "lyktsken",

"gula pupiller", eller "gyllene stjärnor" (2016: 24). Detta fokus på ett begränsat synfält har samma funktion som gestaltningen genom filmkamerans lins och det associerar till upplevelsen av att se film. De projiceringar som associerar till att se film utmärker sig genom att Ximen Nao reflekterar över de bilder av ansikten som passerar revy när hans kropp transporteras genom dödsrikets tunnlar: "De var precis som människor. Det enda som utmärkte dem var att deras hud tycktes vara färgad med någon underlig vätska och gav ifrån sig bländande blå gnistor [...] och glänsande ögon som skimrar i mörkret" (2016: 24). Människornas hud som tycks färgad och bländande blå erinrar om det artificiella skenet från Tv-skärmen eller bioduken och är en medial projicering, med Bruhns definition av begreppet, en litterär gestaltning genom filmens tekniker: "which may include a much wider array of medial phenomena. Perceiving and describing particular aspects of the world as if it was, or could have been, either a qualified mediality (like 'music' or more specific 'a symphony'), or a technical mediality (a TV screen, a canvas)" (2016: 28). Till skillnad mot en ikonisk projicering som gestaltar en inramning av bilden som en tavla, markerar tunneln med sitt välvda tak och referenser till filmkamerans lins, ett tidsligt förlopp. Det skapar en illusion av rörelse i texten i analogi med filmens förmåga att projicera en gestaltning.

I "Åsnans prövningar" urskiljer sig en mångfald medierepresentationer som rör sig inom och mellan medier. Referenserna till medier "vädjar till läsaren att tolka texten som om det rörde som en text transformerad till film" (Ohlsson 1998: 207). De framträder genom komplexa perspektivbyten knutna till vem som berättar, ur vilken position eller genom fiktiva texter som skapar en motsägelsefull bild. Förskjutningarna av berättarperspektiv genom fiktiva texter i relief till berättarröst, har samma funktion som kamerans panorering av miljöer och/eller karaktärernas inre tankar. Berättarrösterna upplevs som simultana i texten. Det skapar en illusion av att dialogen består av flera stämmor. Rösterna ger sig ofta till känna inom samma stycke och gestaltas ur ett icke linjärt kronologiskt perspektiv på tid och rum. Det skapar en spänning mellan vem det är som talar, men också en spänning mellan bild, text och kontext. Denna spänning i texten urskiljer sig i den scen som föregår Ximen Naos reinkarnation som åsna. Inledningsvis befinner sig Ximen i dödsriket "Svedd och tömd på vätska" ligger han i "pölen av olja" och hör "knastrandet från [sina] sönderbrända muskler" (2016: 21). Genom en metaleps som indikerar en förskjutning av berättarnivåer färdas han över "Gaomi nordöstra härad." Han reflekterar över "varje berg, varje vattendrag, varje gräsplätt, varje träd" och han betraktar sin söndertrasade kropp utspilld över "de vita vintermelonstora stenarna" under brospannet (2016: 24ff).

Läsarens blick fastnar i den inramning som brospannet skapar, men illusionen av rörlig bild förstärks genom att Ximen Nao, nu genom en proleps, betraktar sig själv och världen ur det begränsade perspektivet av en dörrspringa: "genom dörrspringan kunde [han] se människor skynda fram och tillbaka" (2016: 27). Det är genom den smala dörrspringan han ser tillbaka på sig själv på stenbron med en gevärsmynning riktad mot pannan. Han beskriver eldskenet från geväret, hur han "hörde" en smäll som verkade komma långt bortifrån och kände doften av krut i luften (2016: 27). Han betraktar den sargade kropp som en gång var hans utspilld under bron: "Strax fick jag syn på stenskravlet nedanför brofästet, som bytt färg efter att det dränkts i mitt kött och blod" (2016: 26). Den smygande blicken på världen genom den smala dörrspringan erinrar om en voyeuristisk blick som kan knytas till fascinationen av att se en gestaltning av kroppslighet och våld på film. Det är ett perspektiv

som jag återkommer till i analysen "Grisens glädje." Dessa litterära strategier i texten är en formell imitation av filmens teknik att gestalta händelser till synes synkront genom en manipulation av bildrutor som fungerar som en länk mellan tid och rum. Bruhn beskriver begreppet "formal imitation" som en litterär strategi och en metod att överbrygga en gestaltnings skilda tids- och rumsskikt: "It may 'shut down' a scene, bring it to a halt and possibly to a closure, or it may work as a gateway between different aspects of reality—for instance from reality to dream, or from present to past" (2016: 53). Det skiftande berättarperspektivet erinrar om hur film kan använda litterära tekniker för sin gestaltning som exempelvis "voice-over" (Abbott 2008: 79*)*. Denna voice-overeffekt fungerar för filmen som en "framing advice", enligt Abbott en påminnelse om: "that the sound of the voice must share the sensory arena with the visual" (2008: 79). På samma sätt kan en kursivering av texten fungera som en instruktion till läsaren om en förskjutning av berättarperspektiv och utgör på så sätt en litterär "framing advice." Ett exempel är Ximen Åsnas (驢) första stapplande steg som föl, men rösten som är applicerad över gestaltningen är Ximen Naos: "Mina barn! Far saknar er! Far hoppades att ni skulle växa upp till riktiga drakar och fenixfåglar som skänkte släkten ära, men istället blev ni en annans barn och er far förvandlades till åsna!" (2016: 37)

De medierepresentationer som illusoriskt refererar till verbalt och visuellt språk och som upplevs synkrona i texten, lyfts fram genom en gestaltning av kroppslighet och kroppens reaktion på trauma. Det erinrar om filmens språklighet och förmåga att gestalta kroppslighet som fysiskt berör åskådaren. Men det utgör även en parallell till textens kapacitet att skapa likvärdiga affekter hos läsaren. Det avgörande är inte mediets materialitet utan en kombination av: "the choise of technique" (Paulson 2007: 393) och läsarens kognitiva förmåga att: "återskapa den värld som [texten] presenterar" (Iser 1993: 324). Paulson beskriver skillnaden i upplevelsen av kroppslighet beroende på medium som att åskådaren av bild/film måste förhålla sig till bilden, medan en text erbjuder läsaren att intellektuellt skapa en vision (Paulson 2007: 393). Åskådaren av bild/film blir delaktig i realiseringen genom svårigheten att värja sig. Det är, enligt Anne Gjelsvik, en sådan gestaltning som berör genom att den riktar sig direkt mot blicken: "violence against the eye, against perception, something that is forced upon you and that you can´t protect yourself from or transform into something else like metaphor, so that you can distance yourself from it" (2013: 256).

Ximen Naos reinkarnation som åsna är ett exempel på en litterär gestaltning som erinrar om det audiovisuella mediets förmåga att genom kameratekniker som närbilder involvera åskådaren i gestaltningen. Ximen Naos transformation filtreras genom hans kroppsliga situation med ett narrativt fokus på hans upplösta kropp och kroppsvätskor som blod. Den kroppsliga förvandlingen är ett exempel på en verbal gestaltning genom visuell representation. Jämför med Paulson som beskriver det som en: "'embodied gaze' or personal 'style' and artistic representation of the body" (2007: 388). Ximen Nao gestaltas som i en parallell verklighet mellan olika livsformer. Fången i dödsriket beskriver han de bilder av: "snön som låg kvar i skuggiga diken och bäckar som återkastade det skarpa dagsljuset" som passerar revy för hans inre. I slutet av tunneln möts han av två blå demoner med en "blodfläckad spann" (2016: 23ff). I citatet nedan har jag kursiverat ett urval av intermediala referenser som associerar till filmens tekniker att gestalta tid och konstens förmåga att fånga

ögonblicket, men även de medieringar som i likhet med film och konst väcker kroppsmedvetande:

> En vedervärdig *doft* stack mig i näsan, *kväljande och varm som en levande åsna. Bilden av ett slaktat djur fladdrade förbi min hjärna och försvann.* Demonen med träplattan grep tag i en pensel av svinborst och smetade ut ett lager klibbigt, mörkrött blod över mitt huvud. En underlig blandning av smärta, *domning och stygn från tusen vassa nålar fick mig att vråla.* Från *huden* hördes ett svagt *fräsande* och jag kände hur blodet trängde in i det brända köttet på samma sätt som när den uttorkade jorden plötsligt *välsignas med ett sött regn.* Demonen *drog drag efter drag med penseln,* som en skicklig och snabb lackerare, tills åsneblodet täckte hela mig (2016: 23).

I citatet urskiljer sig bland andra medierepresentationer som erinrar om filmens audiovisuella gestaltning. De ger sig tillkänna genom auditiva och visuella markörer som betraktade tillsammans informerar läsaren om att tolka texten som en filmisk gestaltning. Det urskiljer sig genom ord som direkt och indirekt vädjar till läsarens "bildseende" (Ohlsson 2002:239), exempelvis genom hur Ximen Nao betraktar hur "[b]ilden av ett slaktat djur fladdrade förbi [hans] hjärna och försvann" (2016: 23). Eller genom projiceringar som får läsaren att associera till filmens akustiska förmåga genom ord som "hördes", "fräsande" och "vråla" (2016: 23). I texten är det även möjligt att identifiera ett perspektiv på rumslighet genom referenser till bildkonstens förmåga att gestalta ögonblicket. Det urskiljer sig genom ord som "pensel", "träplattan" och den mörkröda färgen som tränger in i målarduken på samma sätt som åsneblodet tränger in i Ximen Naos "brända kött" (2016: 23). Instruktioner i texten om kroppens reaktion på smärta, domning och "blodet som trängde in i det brända köttet... som... plötsligt välsignas med ett sött regn" har samma funktion i texten som närbilder av utsatta kroppar har för filmen. Jämför med hur Paulson beskriver förhållandet mellan Sandels/Fabricius texter/målningar: "Here bodily movements function in the same way as colors, lines and shapes do in Sara Fabricius paintings" (2007: 388). De intermediala referenserna i texten som belyser textens förmåga att iscensätta en gestaltning genom filmens tekniker urskiljer sig i narrationen snarare än genom intramediala referenser till verkliga eller fiktiva medierepresentationer. På så sätt är de en formell imitation av filmens tekniker. Det bör noteras att film/ konst inte nämns direkt i texten, men Ximen Naos transformation till åsna gestaltas genom sådana strategier som enligt Bruhn: "makes use of devices strongly related to cinematic form in general, and more specifically to the dissolve process used in film" (2016: 52).

I vissa avsnitt är de intra- och intermediala referenserna till synes så sammansvetsade att de är omöjliga att särskilja utan att meningsproduktionen går förlorad. De överlappar varandra och urskiljer sig genom referenser till bild och litterär text. Som i gestaltningen av Ximen Naos transformation mellan dödsriket och hans första reinkarnation. Gestaltningen innehåller intermediala referenser som erinrar om filmens tekniker och pekar mot filmmediet som källa och dess estetiska funktion. Men den innehåller även referenser till litteratur och textens mediekarakteristiska förmåga att gestalta. Ximen Nao beskriver hur de demoner som ledsagar honom genom de underjordiska tunnlarna "liknade sminkade skådespelare" som en referens till teatern och filmens värld, men han tillägger att man "i denna värld aldrig skulle hitta en så underbar och ren blå färg" (2016: 25). Det är en subtil referens till romanens värld och textens förmåga att imitera men inte *visa* färg och bild. De intramediala strategierna

urskiljer sig framförallt genom ett metareflektivt perspektiv som pekar tillbaka mot den litterära texten som medium vilket problematiserar rätten till en röst. Rösten och rätten att tala är återkommande genom metareflektiva instruktioner i texten om att Mo Yan borde "hålla tyst", eller att han "hittar på" (2016: 34). Rösten lyfts fram i texten genom kommentarer om hur en litterär text är berättartekniskt konstruerad vilket belyser textens förmåga till medieöverskridande gestaltning.

Det är ett perspektiv som särskilt framträder genom textens dialog mellan Jiefang och hans barnbarn. Dialogen är konstruerad genom komplexa analepser och prolepser som förstärker intrycket av att rösterna överlappar varandra. Inledningsvis talar Lan Qiansui (barnbarnet). Han riktar sig till ett fiktivt du i romanen: "Vet du vem Lan Jiefang är?" I nästa mening skiftar perspektivet och det är Ximen Nao som talar utifrån ett tredjepersonsperspektiv: "frågar plötsligt vår berättare – Lan Qiansui, det lilla barnet med de gammalmansskarpa ögonen, den tunna kroppen och den överväldigande svadan." I den avslutande meningen sker ytterligare ett perspektivskifte och det är Jiefang som svarar sitt barnbarn: "Såklart jag vet. Det är ju jag! Lan Lian var min far och Yingchun min mor. Men om din historia stämmer måste du ha varit en av våra åsnor?" (2016:38). Dialogen är en instruktion till läsaren om textens komplexa berättarnivåer, men dialogen bekräftar även karaktärernas inbördes kroppsliga och emotionella relationer och det flytande perspektivet på tid och rum. Det får betydelse för meningsproduktionen. Se exempelvis Chi-ying: "times, similar scenarios in different parts of the novel narrated from different perspectives intensify the inner coherence, multiply the layers of meaning, and make a fuller account of the episodes" (2014: 126). Dessa olika röster som till synes är simultana är en metareflektiv litterär strategi som skapar en illusion av polyfoni i texten. Man kan uttrycka det som att perspektivet på berättarnivåer har en illusionsbrytande funktion. Härigenom ifrågasätts och understryks gränsen mellan litterär gestaltning och filmens tekniker. Det är ett perspektiv som förstärks genom hur Mo Yans röst till synes sträcker sig utanför texten för att gestalta historiska processer. Det lilla barnet med en gammal mans ögon och överväldigande svada framstår som en karikatyr av Mo Yan själv. I romanen som helhet är han återkommande representerad i egenskap av författaren som skriker ut sitt budskap i "megafon" (2016: 139), som en skrävlare och "rackare på att ljuga" (2016: 34).

En blodig tragedi under månen

Ximen Åsna går en grym död till mötes. Ihjälslagen av svältande bönder bevittnar han "[a]llt som hänt under de tio år som gått" sedan han reinkarnerades första gången. Hans minnen "blixtrade förbi för [hans] inre syn." Han ser klubban träffa honom i huvudet och själen "lämna[de] kroppen och sväva[de] upp i himlen […]. På avstånd [ser] han hur männen stycka[r] den döda åsnekroppen i ett antal mindre bitar" (2016: 124).

I "Tjurens styrka" urskiljer sig ett komplext samspel mellan medierepresentationer knutna till minnen som ett sätt att gestalta. Enligt Bruhn: "literature [can] uses sound, music, painting, and cinematic devices to produce and reproduce fictive memories" (2016: 58). Samspelet mellan medier understryker att de minnen som återberättas muntligt, skriftligt eller genom bildfragment och som erinrar om konst och/eller filmens tekniker, är en metod att vittna om och bearbeta det förflutna. Gestaltningarna hämtar bland annat inspiration ur den

kinesiska muntliga traditionen där kroppslighet och kroppens förgänglighet är central. Texten är i likhet med avsnittet om Ximen Åsna konstruerad genom en mångfald av berättarperspektiv och röster som överskrider det realistiska. Men texten överskrider även vad som historiskt sett definierar språklighet genom upplevelsen av att text och bild är integrerade. Den hybrida gestaltningen av minnen, vem i texten som talar, för vems räkning och vems minnen det är som återberättas, ger intryck av en polyfoni som överskrider texten som medium. Det framhäver de auditiva elementen. På så sätt inger textens gestaltning en illusion av att den är konstruerad av muntligt och skriftligt språk. Jämför med Anders Olsson som beskriver det polyfona perspektivet som en dragkamp mellan ett centripetalt och centrifugalt språk (2011: 58).

Man kan beskriva det som att det i texten pågår en strid mellan olika språkliga diskurser. Texten är ”modersmålet” och illusionen av film/bild inom texten en medierepresentation som ”bidrar till att skapa den skenbara men illusoriska enheten hos modersmålet” (Olsson 2011: 58). Det ger intryck av en mångstämmighet som förstärks genom att Mo Yan själv uppträder som en fiktiv karaktär i romanen eller genom fiktiva essäer och noveller för att inom mediets konventionella gränser ställas till svars för hur han återger det förflutna. Hans roll beskrivs exempelvis av karaktären Ximen Nao: ”Hela novellen är en lång dröm, ett minne som Mo Yan fabricerade en kväll många år senare när han var i fyllan och villan […] Det Mo Yan skrev är till nittionio procent lögn” (2016: 347). Författaren i texten har en performativ funktion som erinrar om filmens cameo. Med andra ord en motsvarighet till regissörens gästspel inom filmens fiktion. Det är en litterär strategi som enligt Chengzhou skapar ”multiple effects, which is illustrative of what was referred to earlier as performanz. They suggest that the author's experience of a slip between fiction and reality and his enjoyment of the freedom are narrated in the imaginary world of his creation” (2014: 85).

Till skillnad från ”Åsnans prövningar” som är berättad ur Ximen Åsnas perspektiv, är ”Tjurens styrka” berättad ur Ximens framtida farfar Jiefangs ej linjära perspektiv på tid och rum. Samspelet mellan inter- och intramediala referenser ger sig tillkänna i texten genom tidshopp som analepser och prolepser knutna till att minnas och återberätta, skriftligt och muntligt. Jiefang berättar: ”Det är sant att jag är en man på drygt femtio och du är en femårig pojke, men om vi går tillbaka fyrtio år i tiden, till den turbulenta våren 1965, så var jag en femtonårig yngling och du en ung tjur” (2016: 137). I texten berättar Jiefang för sitt barnbarn hur Ximen efter att han har reinkarnerats som tjur säljs till hans far. Fadern fastnar för tjurens ögon som påminner honom om hans egen far (Ximen Nao).

Dessa minnen projicerade genom tjurens blick, blixtrar förbi som ”en scen ur en utländsk film” och får Jiefang att flera år senare, när han återberättar historien för sitt barnbarn, minnas hur hans far såg på tjuren som en som ”återser en älskad som han länge varit skild från” (2016: 132). Texten innehåller direkta referenser till film i synergi med ord som ”ögon” och ”återspeglade” (2016: 132). Orden markerar en medial projicering som bekräftar gestaltningen som: ”'framed' not as if the surroundings are reality, but as if they were a picture, in 'iconic projections.'” (Bruhn 2016: 47). Det är farfaderns röst men tjurens minnen som återges: ”Jag berättar det ur ett människoperspektiv, men du såg det med en tjurs ögon. Kanske vore din berättelse mer intressant. Inte det? Nå, då fortsätter jag väl” (2016: 195ff). Men det är likväl barnbarnets röst och tjurens minnen som återskapas i texten: ”Jag har berättat för dig om mitt liv som åsna och du vet det mesta av det som hände sedan. Under de

år jag levde som tjur följde jag dig i hälarna som en skugga och du känner till nästan allt jag var med om" (2016:129). Dessa gestaltningar knutna till minne och förflutenhet förmedlade genom text och referenser till muntlig tradition, är ett intermedialt perspektiv som bygger på kognitiva processer: "the 'process of remembering is a process of visualization, activated and realized either as film or a photograph.'" (Bruhn, 2016: 55).3 De intramediala referenserna är invävda i texten. De identifierar skrivandet och återberättandet som en minnesprocess att förmedla det förflutna och de löper till synes parallella genom referenser till bild och konst. Det är genom att minnas, vittna och återberätta som samspelet mellan medier i texten är som mest framträdande. Det understryker den muntliga traditionens kraft att gestalta det förflutna, både muntligt men även skriftligt som ett sätt att vittna om förtryck. Som Jiefang beskriver det: "Allt det där hände och det som har hänt är historia och att återberätta historien för de som var där men har glömt detaljerna, det är min plikt" (2016: 240). Temat att minnas och återberätta visualiseras huvudsakligen genom en gestaltning av kroppslighet som någonting fragmentariskt och som en palimpsest av kroppar och kroppsminnen ur det förflutna. Ett exempel är hur Jiefang överskrider ett perspektiv på tid och rum när han ger sig tillkänna i förfluten tid såväl som i framtid. Inledningsvis talar han ur det förflutna, en 15-årig pojke som ser Ximen Tjur (牛) och inte sitt barnbarn framför sig: "Å Ximen Tjur jag orkar knappt berätta om vilket våld han utsatte dig för" (2016: 240).

I meningen efter har det skett en multiperspektivisk förskjutning med samma litterära funktion som filmens teknik att manipulera bildrutor för att skildra karaktärer, tid och rum ur ett icke kronologiskt perspektiv. Här är det Jiefang som återberättar för sitt barnbarn: "Sedan du var tjur har du reinkarnerats fyra gånger och färdats fram och tillbaka genom dödsriket, så det är möjligt att du redan har glömt detaljerna, men jag kommer aldrig att glömma det jag såg" (2016: 240). Textens gestaltning av binära tids- och rumsskikt är en formell imitation av filmens tekniker med samma funktion som filmens övergång mellan två scener. Samtidigt som det i texten finns intermediala referenser till filmens formspråk, urskiljer sig intramediala referenser som pekar tillbaka mot texten. Det bekräftar romanens gestaltning som ett sätt att vittna om förtryck. Som Huang beskriver det: "He [Jiefang] expresses the responsibility to retell what he has witnessed, just as it is the responsibility of all individuals to do" (2014: 116). Jiefang berättar för sitt barnbarn att han "är tvungen att tala" och att vittna om Ximen Tjurs grymma öde. Hans minnen utgör en visualisering av dagen som ett "grönskande träd" och han kan se "vartenda litet löv" framför sig (2016: 241). Orden framhäver dessa visualiserade minnen och vädjar till läsaren att översätta texten till en bild i tid. Som filmens gestaltning av ett förlopp, eller en bild i rum, som fotografiets/bildens gestaltning av ögonblicket. Jiefang berättar att han kan se sig själv som femtonårig pojke bevittna hur Ximen Tjur misshandlas av upproriska bönder då han vägrar att acceptera jordreformerna. Han beskriver gruppen av män som höjer sina piskor och piskslagen som lämnar djupa blödande skärsår i Ximen Tjurs hud. Han hör "det dova ljudet" (2016: 241) när slagen träffar kroppen, som en auditiv gestaltning av ljuden som ekar i luften och vinandet av piskorna som får luften att dallra. Han ser på sitt barnbarn, men han ser också sin far och inser att denne känner varje slag som träffar tjuren och han minns "[d]e heta tårarna som rann ur [tjurens] slutna ögon som fick pälsen på [hans] huvud att mörkna" (2016: 241). Jiefang beskriver för

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3 Bruhn citerar Wyllie, B. 2003. *Nabokov at the movies: Film perspectives in fiction*. Jefferson:McFarland & Co

sitt barnbarn hur männen dansar runt tjuren som nu ligger "med mulen nedtryckt i leran" (2016: 243) men hur de fortsätter slå och sparka på den livlösa kroppen.

På så sätt erinrar textens gestaltning av Jiefang och hans barnbarn om bildens montagetekniker. Dialogen utspelar sig till synes samtidigt, men i skilda tidsskikt. Jiefang förmedlar rädslan i blicken på Ximen Tjurs mor som stel av skräck bevittnar misshandeln och han återger hur bönderna fjättrar henne med ett rep vid Ximens nosring för att tvinga honom att resa sig: "Men du reste dig inte, och jag visste att du aldrig skulle göra det – för i så fall hade du inte varit Ximen Tjur längre" (2016: 244). Han berättar hur nosringen brister av dragkampen och hur det får den mjuka mulen att slitas sönder: "Ett ljud som från ett nyfött, gråtande spädbarn sipprade ut ur dina näsborrar och fick mitt hjärta att brista. Å, Ximen Tjur! Och så rämnade nosen med ett högt, skärande ljud och huvudet föll till marken med en duns" (2016: 244). Dessa gestaltningar som rör sig mellan olika nivåer av berättarperspektiv och kroppslighet har, som jag redogjort för inledningsvis i min analys, en multiperspektivisk funktion som indikerar en förskjutning av berättarperspektiv. Denna förskjutning kan som i analysen av Ximen Åsna gestaltas litterärt genom en *kursivering* av text. Men den kan även gestaltas, som i dialogen mellan Jiefang och hans barnbarn, genom auditiva element i texten. Ljudet från piskorna, nosringen som brister och rämnar "med ett högt skärande ljud som gråten från ett spädbarn", är en litterär strategi som har en liknande funktion för texten som filmens teknik att identifiera en karaktär eller skiftet av berättare, genom ett musikaliskt tema som följer karaktären. De auditiva elementen förstärker textens gestaltning av faderns och Jiefangs kroppsliga respons av misshandeln. Det belyser samspelet mellan auditiva och visuella uttryck inom texten. Liksom en iscensättning av bild i kombination med musik i film förstärker en gestaltning av kroppslighet och våld, har texten förmåga att genom litterära strategier gestalta genom en illusion av musikalisk iscensättning. Enligt Sobchack: "Even at the movies our vision and hearing are informed and given meaning by our other modes of sensory access to the world: our capacity not only to see and to hear but also to touch, to smell, to taste, and always to proprioceptively feel our weight, dimension, gravity, and movement in the world" (2004: 60).

De litterära strategier i texten som associerar till filmens förmåga att skapa kroppsmedvetande urskiljer sig framförallt genom referenser till ett åskådarperspektiv. Det skapar en upplevd närvaro i gestaltningen. Exempelvis genom skildringen av hur Jiefangs far och Ximen Tjurs mor bevittnar misshandeln. Textens brutala gestaltning skapar avsky men även en fascination som erinrar om den attraktion som är knuten till gestaltning av våld på film. Gestaltningen av kroppslighet och våld bär på en ambivalens som får blicken att fastna i våldet, men den inger även en känsla av avsky och lust att väja med blicken. Denna fascination förmedlas genom Jiefangs berättelse. Snyftande ber han männen sluta. Han beskriver den skara åskådare som omringar scenen "för att titta på spektaklet […] De ville absolut se denna blodiga tragedi" (2016: 243) och han berättar hur "männen tog några steg tillbaka." De betraktar tjuren, men fortsätter låta piskorna vina och Jiefang berättar hur piskslagen "ritade ett rutmönster på [tjurens] rygg" som börjar blöda ymnigt "tills rygg och mage liknade stycken av blodigt kött på en skärbräda" (2016: 242ff). I texten har det rutmönster som bildas på tjurens rygg samma funktion för texten som filmens närbilder av utsatta kroppar. På så sätt är den en litterär gestaltning av filmens manipulerade bildsekvens. Inom texten finns subtila instruktioner till läsaren om att en gestaltning av våld mot kroppen

har en särskild förmåga att manipulera åskådaren emotionellt. Det ger uttryck för en gestaltning som är särskilt svår att distansera sig från då den riktar sig mot blicken. Det urskiljer sig bland annat genom hur Jiefang berättar att hans far inte förmår se våldet och hur han gömmer ansiktet för att slippa se.

Det urskiljer sig även genom beskrivningen av faderns kroppsliga reaktioner. Jiefang berättar: "Jag såg hur far slängde plogen åt sidan, föll framstupa till marken och grävde ned händerna och ansiktet i jorden. Han darrade […] och jag visste att han led lika mycket som tjuren" (2016:245). Jiefang ser männen falla i trans av slagen. De slutar slå tillfälligt när de blir tvungna att reflektera över våldets mening: "[de] drog sig plötsligt till minnes olika gamla moralregler och legender. Var det här djuret verkligen en tjur? Eller kanske ett slags gudomlighet, en Buddha som uthärdade allt för att rädda vilsegångna människor och leda dem till upplysning" (2016:243). Svårt misshandlad med det mörka blodet rinnande från den sönderslitna mulen reser Ximen Tjur slutligen på sig till åskådarnas beundrande utrop: "Att en tjur som inte hade en kroppsdel i behåll kunde resa sig och gå var ett mirakel" (2016:245). Scenen utspelar sig på över nio sidor. Avrättningen av Ximen Tjur är illustrativt gestaltad och bitvis svår att läsa, men ger uttryck för en gestaltning iscensatt genom filmens audiovisuella tekniker.

En grym stridsscen som väcker åskådarnas intresse

Efter ett tragiskt liv begravs Ximen Tjur på den plats där han föll omkull: "Ximen Tjur! – du som hellre dog än reste dig för att plöja folkkommunen" (2016: 244), nedgrävd på den bit mark som tillhör Jiefangs far, den sista fribonden i Kina. Tjurens minne bleknar och ersätts av Ximen Naos (2016: 251). Återigen reinkarnerad förbannar han den dag han föddes: "*Släpp mig fri! Låt mig sträcka på mig och spräcka detta smutsiga, avskyvärda svinskal så att jag kan växa och återta Ximen Naos manliga gestalt igen!*" (2016: 254).

I "Grisens glädje" är det liksom i övriga kapitel möjligt att identifiera en integrering av medierepresentationer knutna till att minnas. Det ger uttryck för gestaltningen som en metod att förmedla erfarenheter ur det förflutna. Dessa minnen illustreras genom Ximen Gris blick såväl som genom den röst som fiktiva texter och medieringar i texten består av. De ger sig tillkänna genom ett självreflektivt perspektiv på litterär text. Exempelvis genom hur Ximen Gris, då han inser att han snart kommer dö, erinrar sig den dagen som "en dag lika lång som hundra år" (2016:445) som en referens till Gabriel Garcia Marquez roman *Hundra år av ensamhet* (1967). Han minns känslan av att läsa Lev Tolstojs *Anna Karenina* (1873) och han kan kroppsligen identifiera sig med Anna Kareninas smärta som fick henne att kasta sig framför tåget. Liksom i "Åsnans prövningar" är de komplexa berättarnivåerna framträdande som en litterär strategi att introducera en ny berättare, eller som en upplysning om att det inom texten har skett en förskjutning av tid och rum. Exempelvis genom Ximen Naos *kursiva* utrop som jag beskrev i analysen av Ximen Åsna, är en litterär strategi med samma funktion för texten som "voice-over" för filmen. Om medieringarna i "Tjurens styrka" och "Åsnans prövningar" är förankrade i berättarnivåerna, är de i "Grisens glädje" en instruktion till läsaren om att åskådarperspektivet är knutet till berättarperspektivet. I avsnittet är de intramediala referenser som pekar tillbaka mot texten som medium särskilt framträdande genom gestaltningen av Ximen Gris minnen. Dessa minnen filtreras genom

ögonvittnesskildringar och fiktiva texter som beskriver närgångna bilder av kroppslighet och våld, eller genom scener som präglas av passion.

Det är en voyeuristisk blick som urskiljer sig i texten och som gör läsaren delaktig i en gestaltning av kroppslighet, våld och sex. Den voyeuristiska blicken erinrar om den fascination som är knuten till en gestaltning av kroppslighet på film, men den har också en psykologisk effekt som skapar en illusion av närhet i gestaltningen. Den voyeuristiska blicken urskiljer sig ur ett metareflektivt perspektiv och den är knuten till vem som talar och vem som ser. Det är blickperspektivet som lyfts fram i textens gestaltning av en kärleksscen som Ximen Gris bevittnat i smyg och i skydd av trädens lövverk. Han reflekterar över hur ”månen skymta[r] fram mellan grenarna – stor och rund, som om den skurits ur en tennplatta” och han ser hur den speglar sig i floden, så overklig men övertygande genom ”det klara skenet” (2016: 324). Månens reflex i vattenytan får honom att minnas en kärleksscen som han läst ur Mo Yans fiktiva essä: ”Strålande aprikosblommor” (2016: 324). Den skymtande månen markerar en visuell inramning i texten som erinrar om filmens gestaltning. Den erinrar även om kameralinsens voyeuristiska blick som gör åskådaren delaktig i gestaltningen av den scen som utspelar sig under månen. Illusionen av rörlig bild förstärks genom ord i texten som associerar till kameran lins och filmens förmåga att projicera. Som den stora runda månen som illustreras som skuren ur en tennplatta som erinrar om filmens förmåga att återge genom sken.

Den kärleksscen som utspelar sig i skuggan av ett blommande aprikosträd återges som en dialog mellan Ximen Gris minnesbild och Mo Yans fiktiva essä. Ximen Gris berättar att han minns hur kärleksparet ”rörde sig så hetsigt att blombladen föll som snö över marken” och han läser Mo Yans version: *En lätt vindfläkt fick de översta grenarna att röra sig och tunna blomblad föll som snö och lade sig på marken i ett vackert, jadeliknande täcke*” (2016: 324ff). Gestaltningen av fallande blomblad är en eufemism för den kärleksscen som Ximen Gris minns. Den är samtidigt Mo Yans litterära gestaltning ur den fiktiva essän. Textens presentation av kärleksscenen har samma funktion som filmens gestaltning av erotik och nakna kroppar som kan upplevas problematisk och därför förläggs utanför bild. I texten urskiljer sig med andra ord ett komplext samspel mellan verbalt och visuellt språk som kan knytas till litteraturens förmåga att gestalta minnen genom filmens tekniker. Det belyser litteraturens makt att vittna och återberätta och det belyser samspelet mellan intra- och intermediala referenser i den aktuella romanen. Den voyeuristiska blicken som associerar till ett åskådarperspektiv förmedlas även genom textens gestaltning av Tv-mediets närgångna rapportering och kamerans fokus på döda och lemlästade kroppar. De intermediala gestaltningarna är en litterär strategi med samma funktion som filmens närbilder. Representationen av medier inom textens konventionella gränser understryker hur de inter- och intramediala referenserna löper till synes synkront. De intramediala fenomenen förstärker de intermediala och är ofta representerade som berättarröster och fiktiva texter inom samma stycke. Det gör det till synes omöjligt att separera dem utan att textens meningsbärande funktion går förlorad.

Betraktade som i ett samspel ger medieringarna intryck av en medvetenhet hos Mo Yan om författarens möjlighet att gestalta verkligheten som om den vore en film, som en metod att förmedla historiska processer men undgå censur. De medierade gestaltningarna urskiljer

sig genom hur Ximen Gris (豬) minnen förmedlas i texten. Knutna till faktiska och fiktiva litterära verk och kontaminerade av ögonvittnesskildringar är gestaltningarna ett kluster av referenser till text, bild och opera. Samspelet mellan medier urskiljer sig även genom referenser till adaptionsprocessen och dess förmåga att kommunicera en gestaltning mellan medietexter. Detta perspektiv på transformation av text mellan medier visualiseras genom en instruktion i texten om att den massaker Ximen Gris återberättar bygger på en fiktiv "Maoqiangopera" som Mo Yan gör anspråk på. Operan är i sin tur en mediering av en fiktiv novell som Mo Yan "senare, i efterordet till sin novell [»Om svinuppfödning«] hävda[de] att han hade varit medförfattare till […] men jag är säker på att det är mest struntprat" (2016: 381). Ximen Gris minnen förmedlas i relief till dessa fiktiva texter. På så sätt får läsaren olika perspektiv på massakern. Den version som Ximen Gris återger är i huvudsak Mo Yans ur hans fiktiva novell: "Om svinuppfödning." Ximen Gris läser ur novellen och han beskriver den emotionella effekt som läsningen har på honom: "Det var knappt jag stod ut med att läsa [de grymma stridsscenerna]":

> Den 3 januari 1982 satte en grupp på tio personer under ledning av den före detta soldaten Zhao Yonggang, som deltagit i Vietnamkriget, och med den erfarne jägaren Qioa Feipeng som rådgivare, kurs mot sandön i motorbåtar [….] På fem sekunder avfyrade de sju gevären minst hundrafyrtio kulor som fällde de drygt trettio vildsvinskrigare. Alla hade träffats i huvudet. Kulorna trängde in genom rustningen och exploderade inne i skallen. Det var en grym död – deras hjärnsubstans rann ut på marken och för vissa trängde ögonen ut ur sina hålor [...] Tre eldflammor - tre enorma brinnande drakar – flög ur eldkastarnas munstycken med ett dån som av hundratals tjattrande gäss. Elddrakarna ringlade sina klibbiga tungor runt Trasöra och förenades till en tre meter hög brasa (2016: 436ff)

Citatet är ett exempel på textens förmåga att överskrida den abstrakta gränsen mellan verbalt och visuellt språk. Till skillnad från en visuell gestaltning som realiseras genom att åskådaren, enligt Paulson "co construct the images," realiseras textens gestaltning genom att läsaren "co create a vision (2007: 393). Texten innehåller auditiva illustrationer som "dånet av hundratals tjattrande gäss", men även visuella referenser till blicken som erinrar om filmens förmåga att projicera en verklighet genom ord som "eldsflammor."

De intermediala fenomen som är framträdande är de som erinrar om filmens mediakaraktäristiska tekniker att skapa kroppslig identifikation med en gestaltning, enligt Sobchack: "[t]he film is [a]n unremittingly sensuous experience of music and fabric, of mud and flesh" (2004: 53). Denna illusion av kroppslighet knuten till upplevelsen av att se film är till synes konstruerad av litterära strategier i analogi med filmens tekniker att genom närbilder på lemlästade kroppar skapa en "immediate tactile shock when flesh first touches flesh in close up" (Sobchack 2004: 53). Som exempelvis elddrakarnas ringlande, klibbiga tungor som skapar en länk mellan textens gestaltning av kroppslighet och väcker läsarens identifikation. Textens gestaltning av kroppslighet får en meningsbärande funktion som en materialisering av det förflutna. Enligt Sobchack: "the lived body both provides and enacts a *commutative reversibility* between subjective feelings and objective knowledge, between the senses and their sense or conscious meaning" (2004: 61). Att det finns ett samspel mellan visuellt och verbalt språk urskiljer sig även ur ett åskådarperspektiv och omgivningens och mediabevakningens fascination för de massakrerade kropparna. Det är ur det perspektivet som Ximen Gris vittnar om sin erfarenhet av massakern och som han återger minnet av de

överlevare som flyttar döda och lemlästade kroppar för att placera dem: "på någon öppen plats så att folk kunde få se de[m] på nära håll" (2016: 439). Samspelet urskiljer sig bland annat genom referenser till medias skriftliga och muntliga rapportering av döda kroppar i relief till Ximen Gris redogörelse: "Journalister från länets olika tidningar och radiostationer följde expeditionen i hälarna och lämnade täta och lätt extatiska rapporter. »Alla gator och gränder tömdes« och »åskådarleden var tjocka som murar«" (2016: 439). Vittnesmålet är kontaminerat av Mo Yans version ur hans fiktiva essä om konsekvenserna av massakern: "En enorm trupp på mer än ettusen svinkadaver låg och ruttnade i floden. De svällde, exploderade och blev mat åt maskar och fiskar på sin långsamma färd. Till sist försvann de i det vilda havets svallande vågor: åts upp, upplöstes, omvandlades till en massa olika substanser och blev en del av livets oändliga, aldrig avstannande kretslopp" (2016: 395).

Minnet av massakern och synen och stanken av ruttnande kroppar i kontrast till hur den återges i den fiktiva essän, får Ximen Gris att känna "fysisk avtrubbning, förvrängning och förstoring" (2016: 440ff). Textens fokus på kroppslig identifikation med de upplösta kadavren erinrar på så sätt om filmen som upplevelsecentrum och filmmediets kapacitet att skapa en illusion av en förvrängd och förstorad verklighet. Samtidigt reflekterar Ximen över det stora intresset för dessa döda, fragmentariska kroppar och han överväger att "börja ta betalt av åskådarna" för att få se dessa. Som han säger: "en yan för att få titta, två yan för att fotografera sig tillsammans med kadavret […] fem yan för ett foto där man satt grensle över det döda svinets rygg och tio yan för en bild på både liket och medlemmarna i jaktlaget" (2016: 439). Ximen Gris upplevelse av fysisk avtrubbning och förvrängd verklighetsuppfattning kan knytas till ett åskådarperspektiv och filmens förmåga att etablera kroppslig respons. Se exempelvis Kristina Stenström som i beskriver hur dessa gestaltningar av "överskridna kroppsliga gränser" och "[k]roppens avbildning i skräcken" väcker en lust, men också ett kroppsmedvetande: "[e]n lust som till stora delar är förknippad med det fysiska svar som medieupplevelsen kan ge hos sin publik" (2015: 65).

Avslutande diskussion

Avsikten med artikeln var att analysera Mo Yans roman *Ximen Nao och hans sju liv* med fokus på samspelet mellan medier inom romanen. Men också att presentera Mo Yans litterära strategier som en metod att förmedla processer utanför texten. Att betrakta romanen som ett medierat vittnesmål om förtryck väcker frågor om autenticitet och rätten till en röst. Det väcker även frågor om vems historia det är som återges. Rösten och rätten att tala är ett genomgående tema i romanen. Det komplexa perspektivet på berättarröster som talar utifrån en till synes motsägelsefull agenda har en illusionsbrytande funktion som kommer till uttryck genom en upplevd polyfoni i texten. Det bekräftar att texten innehåller spår av visuellt och verbalt språk och det understryker dialogen mellan text och bild. Jag menar att Mo Yans röst inom fiktionen i form av fiktiva essäer och noveller är en litterär strategi med samma funktion som filmens "[c]inematic intimate writing" (Rossholm 2013: 217). Mo Yan manipulerar romanens fiktion och gör sig till en del av den. Det innebär att han kan gestalta en sociopolitisk historia ur till synes olika perspektiv.

Det är en utmaning att identifiera de litterära strategier som i analogi med filmens tekniker har en förmåga att väcka kroppslig identifikation hos läsaren. Särskilt eftersom det historiskt

sett är forskningens dilemma att etablera en empirisk förklaring till audiovisuella mediers kapacitet att skapa kroppsmedvetande hos åskådaren annat än ur ett metaforiskt perspektiv, se Sobchack (2004: 58). Intermedialitet som berättarstrategi och språklig diskurs kan imitera filmens språk och *ge röst* till de färger, bilder och ljud som texten inte förmår visa. Enligt Gabriele Rippl: "The visual representation cannot represent itself; it must be represented by discourse" (2015: 130). Genom analysen av Ximen Naos skepnader urskiljer sig återkommande litterära strategier som till synes överskrider text och bild som ett uttryck för processer utanför texten. De inter- och intramediala strategierna ger sig tillkänna genom ett åskådarperspektiv knutet till att minnas och återberätta skriftligt och muntligt och genom en gestaltning av kroppens reaktioner på trauma som erinrar om filmens tekniker. De förmedlas även genom intramediala referenser till litteratur som ett sätt att minnas och vittna. Minnena gestaltas som ett våld mot individen och som ett strukturellt och epistemologiskt våld riktat mot befolkningen. Bruhn beskriver det som medieringar som: "inte bara representerar världen direkt, utan snarare orkestrerar en sammansmältning av mediala representationer i en komplex text, som består av flera olika medier, och där relationen mellan medierna utgörs av en strid som på ett mer eller mindre direkt sätt uttrycker konflikter utanför textens rum" (2008: 31).

Våld och kroppslighet är det nav som romanen spinner om och ett tema som kommunicerar den kinesiska befolkningens erfarenheter ur ett mikroperspektiv. Det kommer till uttryck genom en illusion av ett samspel mellan inter- och intramediala strategier i gestaltningen av ett åskådarperspektiv. Det lyfter fram en spänning utanför texten. Det ger intryck av, som jag lyfte fram i avsnittet om Ximen Gris, en medvetenhet hos Mo Yan om författarens möjlighet att gestalta en verklighet som om den vore en film för att förmedla historiska processer men undgå censur. Den litterära gestaltningen av journalistiska mediers rapportering av massakern genom närgångna bilder på lemlästade kroppar och omgivningens fascination av nyhetsrapporteringen erinrar om filmens dokufiktion. Det är en dimension till litterär gestaltning som Josette Féral beskriver som: "a slice of reality imported 'as is' into the theatrical framework, but the image is mediated (2011: 52). Referenser i texten till dokumentära inslag som tidnings- och Tv-mediets nyhetsrapportering, understryker en performativ gestaltning av kroppslighet och våld. Gestaltningarna skapar samma ambivalens som filmens eller Tv-mediets förmedling av en fiktiv ramberättelse genom autentiska bilder eller vittnesmål inom fiktionen. Enligt Féral: "[T]hese scenes bring art, particularly theatrical art, out of its theatrical framework to create the event, in truth, the spectacular, onstage by substituting a violent performativity accompanied by a sense of extreme presence identical to that experienced when faced with a real event" (2011: 52).

Dessa medieringar knutna till att minnas och återberätta belyser perspektivet på intermedialitet som forskningsdisciplin som en röst mellan textytor i dialog med samhälleliga strukturer utanför texten. Det är ett utvidgat perspektiv på litterär gestaltning som kan knytas till hur Mo Yans roman(er) generellt tolkas utifrån en västerländsk diskurs. Härigenom upplever jag en parallell till en av ambitionerna med intermedialitet som forskningsdisciplin. Närmare bestämt att pröva den abstrakta skärningspunkten mellan medier. Som teoretisk grund kan intermedialitet ifrågasätta den historiskt sett hierarkiska synen om konstarternas status. Det vill säga inställningen att bild/film har lägre status än litterär text. Det erinrar om hur litteratur från bland annat Kina marginaliseras i förhållande till västerländska litterära

verk. Parallellen mellan postkolonial teoribildning och intermedialitet uppmärksammas även av Kamilla Elliott som beskriver det i relation till adaptionsprocessen: "As postcolonial scholars attend to how colonized subjects talk and write back to their colonizers (e.g. Spivak 1985: 120ff), so too, adaptations need to talk, write, film, dance, sculpt, game, compose, costume, photograph and computer program (etc.) back to the theories that have colonized them" (2013: 37). Ett intermedialt perspektiv på Mo Yans roman(er) kan således problematisera det faktum att litteratur från länder utanför väst ofta tolkas utifrån ett perspektiv på politik och etnicitet, eller filtreras genom västerländska genrer. Utgångspunkten är att det är samma mekanismer som styr de tankemönster som internaliserar det koloniserade subjektet under kolonisatörens blick och en hierarkisk syn på medietexternas status. Det är ett perspektiv jag har burit med mig i analysen av Ximens öden för att undvika att underordna ett medialt uttryck ett annat, eller att Mo Yans litterära strategier förmedlas som en kinesisk representation av en västerländsk litteraturtradition.

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Höstnumret 1999   speglar årets Humanistdagar vid Växjö universitet.

Vårnumret 1999   rör sig såsom på vingar och berättar om nyss timade konferenser i Paris och Växjö.

Höstnumret 1998   Här går det utför! Såväl med svenskan i Amerika och den tyska litteraturen i Sverige som med Vilhelm Mobergs sedebetyg.

Vårnumret 1998   bjuder på en 'lycklig humanistisk röra' av europeiska författare, svenska lingon i fransk tappning och stavfel(!).

Höstnumret 1997   speglar årets Humanistdagar som hade temat Möten Mellan Människor.