

Introduction

Cristiana PANELLA¹

(Gramo, the bad half): 'If only I could halve every whole thing like this,' said my uncle, lying face down on the rocks, stroking the convulsive half of an octopus, 'so that everyone could escape from his obtuse and ignorant wholeness. I was whole and all things were natural and confused me, stupid as the air; I thought I was seeing all and it was only the outside rind. If you ever become half of yourself, and I hope you do for your own sake, my boy, you'll understand things beyond the common intelligence of brains that are whole. You'll have lost half of yourself and of the world, but the remaining half will be a thousand times deeper and more precious. And you too would find yourself wanting everything to be halved like yourself, because beauty and knowledge and justice only exist in what has been cut to shreds.'

(Buono, the good half): 'Oh, Pamela, that's the good thing about being halved. One understands the sorrow of every person and thing in the world at its own incompleteness. I was whole and did not understand, and moved about deaf and unfeeling amid the pain and sorrow all round us, in places where as a whole person one would least think to find it. It's not only me, Pamela, who am a split being, but you and everyone else too. Now I have a fellowship which I did not understand, did not know before, when whole, a fellowship with all the mutilated and incomplete things in the world. If you come with me, Pamela, you'll learn to suffer with everyone's ills, and tend your own by tending theirs.'

Italo Calvino, *Il Visconte dimezzato*, 1952
(*The Nonexistent Knight and The Cloven Viscount*, 1962)

Viscount Medardo of Terralba, speaking here to his nephew and to Pamela, his beloved, was split in half by a cannonball during a battle with the Turks. Half of him was saved and continued to exist; the other half vanished before reappearing as a leper. Each of the halves would nonetheless

1. Royal Museum for Central Africa; cristiana.panella@africamuseum.be

inherit opposite parts of the other by provoking paradoxical situations. Good and evil would shift from one part of the unfortunate to the other, rendering the 'good' half unable to do without the 'bad' one. At the same time, each half, freed from the other, won the ability to see the surprising and the unexpected. A 'magical realism' is created in the endless to-and-fro between the two parts, viewed through the surreal's biased lens. The same familiar markers of yore would be reset backwards, like those butterflies, probably seen nowhere else in the world, that would become the viscount's foe.

Danielle de Lame would love the character of Medardo. As a tireless embroiderer of the links of daily life, she has always used contradiction as a preferred filter for reading the human condition. As an 'in-disciplined' woman and scholar, she seems to consider it a duty to scrutinize the discomfort of life, the jagged situations, the silent gnawing of invisible humanities; this orchestra of furtive gestures, of worried glances, of gaps and silences, of revealing objects, of words used to express one thing in place of another, of near-imperceptible shifts that foreshadow major upheavals. The work of Danielle de Lame is a lacemaker's frame where meticulous descriptions follow each other with painstaking steadiness to reveal, at the end of labour, a drawn-out fresco of the outcasts of History, a History with unrelentingly uneven conclusions. For these reasons, at a time when the future of anthropology as a 'critical in-discipline' (Comaroff 2010) is once again called into question, this book offers an 'in-disciplined' approach to practices of social change, through the contributions of anthropologists, historians, and political scientists on issues of materiality, memory, corporality, and normation.

In these pages, Danielle will find photograms of life shared with friends and colleagues who, through this volume, wished to celebrate her work and sharpness of mind, offering a view of their own internal world and questioning. They have also offered a moment of their lives to Danielle, in tribute to the enriching exchanges shared with her. Sincere thanks to them for their noble efforts.

Materiality as norm, corporality as resistance. Objectivation/Subjectivation trajectories in Time and Space

The adjective 'in-disciplined' and its less incisive noun form, in-disciplinarity, imply a repeated reflection on multi/interdisciplinarity in its broadest sense.² However, in order to recreate the 'wonderful world of Danielle',

2. Reference works on interdisciplinarity include: Thompson Klein 1990; Bates, Mudimbe & O'Barr 1993; Morin 1994; Marcus 2002; Loty 2005; Passeron 2005;

I find it more relevant to emphasise how this adjective reflects the precarious condition of human interaction that is determined in the state of structural contradiction owing to the interwoven heterogeneous value spheres of daily life. A universe where 'everything changes in exchange' following 'a geography of tense and related spaces'; where splitting and fragmenting are an integral part of the workings of the *bas-monde*, and, in a way, represent its harmony in the apparent ambient disorder. Jean-François Bayart's contribution to this volume reflects this fragmented, contradictory, self-referential rhythm of human action remodelled in spatiotemporal layers where the globalized dimensions of history, the temporalities of social practices, the representation of the Self, and the social lives of objects can be found. By pursuing his thoughts on the *fabrica* of the Subject (Bayart 1996, 2004), in the wake of Foucault, Bayart delves into the modes by which individuals set themselves up as 'moral subjects', that is, in non-linear entities. According to the author, they can only be understood when they are considered as 'enonciative' subjects stemming from modes of production of the Self, rather than as 'essences'. In this framework, Bayart views the use of biography as a preferred tool for revealing the cracks of contradictions that implies the confrontation between norms and practices, rather than for reconstructing a truth. Consequently, by moving away from the assertive mark of the *agency studies* approach, which views agency as a methodological tool suited for unearthing the underground connections between individuals and things, the author takes the biographical tool as an indicator of contradictions that does not necessarily suggest a completed action rationale.

The Ivorian *jeunes patriotes* who hold forth in the street parliaments of Abidjan are an example of these subjectivation pathways. Armando Cutolo, in this volume, analyses the construction of regimes of truth through the oratorical arts used by these young activists in a synergy of gestures, tones, and interaction with the public. His method draws on the praxeological and sensorial approach to daily life (Warnier 2004) and the theorisation of the concepts of 'tool' and 'apparatus' proposed by Foucault and Agamben. As such, oratorical rhetoric would be 'the product of an apparatus that captures, orients, and models behaviour, with gestures and speech both leading simultaneously to dynamics of subjectivation and subjection'. Cutolo notes, with cause, that these oratorical expressions are far from being free initiatives. As 'regimes of truth', these political speeches can only be made in regulated spaces run by the leaders of local political federations and according to templates approved by them. Indeed, the hierarchical habitus implies the interiorisation of social and economic dependence relationships follow-

Strathern 2005; Cerwonka 2007; Dubrueil 2007; Olivier de Sardan 2008; Faubion & Marcus 2009; Frodeman, Thompson Klein & Mitcham 2012; Ambler 2011.

ing, according to Bourdieu, 'a *lex insita* inscribed upon the body by identical histories, which is the condition not only of the dialogue of practices but also the practices of dialogue' (Bourdieu 1979: 99)³.

The case of the circuit of these young activists shows, as do other cases⁴, that the exercise of violence, in this instance in the form of relationship power, does not imply two separate and opposing macro-systems as Paul Farmer views it (Farmer 2004) but is reproduced, according to similar compartmentalisation strategies, within and throughout all links in the chain by determining, at the level of each chain, the establishment of hierarchical relationships.

Despite the social control wielded by dominant players – federation leaders in this case – subaltern actors use the competition between orators to create, in their turn, micro-areas of power. The internalisation of hierarchical relations does not obstruct the flourishing of the individual careers of these 'younger brothers in power' who manage the restrictions of authority that lead, in Foucault's view,⁵ to 'micrologies of power', from the margins of freedom, no matter how limited.

The extreme variety of these contributions notwithstanding, it seems nonetheless possible to note a fundamental confrontation that underlies these unexpected encounters: the one between the worlds of materiality and corporality. To introduce this theme, here is a brief overview of this confrontation in relation to the debate on cultural heritage, as I find that it represents an enlightening example of the political, aesthetic, and representational issues at stake. In recent years, *heritage studies* have seen a shift from a universalist material acceptance of cultural heritage to an intimate and corporeal one. The former reflected the post-war perspective which viewed 'heritage' in legal terms of property and collective memory (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). The latter makes note of the recent, more functionalist, turn taken by the theorization of heritage, oriented upon the interlocking relationships of inequality in the national and international management and representation of cultural heritage. This second perspective suggests the questioning of the principle of preservation that underlies the mate-

3. By '*habitus*', Pierre Bourdieu means the set of historical uses designating a system of dispositions that are lasting, acquired, and generative (Bourdieu 1979: 89).

4. Using the case of the relationships of dependence within the outflow channels for archaeological objects in Mali, I have attempted to show how the players in these circuits integrate symbolic dynamics of violence that are found within a relational matrix that could be defined as a hierarchical '*habitus*' of power management. This leads to indirect social control through the reification of the channel's referents of management and control and the perception, by the dominated players, of a mandatory circuit of mediation and duress (Panella 2010).

5. Foucault 1994, IV (356): 720.

rial acceptance of heritage for the benefit of the principles of interaction and change (Loulansky 2006). It falls within the scope of criticism led by the Frankfurt school (Butler 2006) of universalism as a totalitarian tool as well as the 'bottom-up' reading of cultural heritage management through intellectual rights defence movements (Nicholas & Bannister 2004; Dikirr, Ostergard & Tubin 2006) and cultural development policies associated with decentralisation (Fay, Kone & Quiminal 2006).

A biopolitical approach to cultural heritage theorization conceives the dynamics of corporality through social memory, acts of production and subsistence strategies. Investigating the indigenous reception of material culture (Karp, Kratz, Szwaja and Ybarra-Frausto 2006) and the representation of cultural difference (Sherman ed. 2008) thus involves rethinking the intellectual and physical management of 'places' and 'environments' of memory through recourse to microhistory and dynamics of embodiment, especially analysed through the social memory of landscape (Harrison 2004; Fisher & Feinman 2005). The cases of District Six in Cape Town (Rassool & Prosalendis 2001) and of Soweto (Nieves 2009) are examples of the rapid development of 'landscapes of memory' through the filter of the social memory of suffering (de Jong & Rowlands 2007; Logan & Reeves 2009; dos Anjos 2009). This new tendency simmered at a panel discussion that Danielle de Lame and I put forth in the framework of the First AEGIS International Conference organized in 2005 by SOAS in London.⁶ This panel proposed rethinking the concept of 'loss' applied by UNESCO to 'endangered' immaterial heritage. Discussion went so far as to consider that the concept does not apply to the intellectual potential invested in economic subsistence strategies determining a value discrimination between the conception of cultural products and the acts of production. The panel proposed a 'total' reading of cultural facts in relation to the dynamics of integration or rejection implemented by contemporary societies in the context of physical and economic subsistence capable of achieving perennation. 'Making sense of exile: versatility and the 'behavioural aesthetics' of Sudanese Acholi refugees in Uganda' by Tania Kaiser (SOAS) illustrated Sudanese refugee subsistence strategies and representation systems in a context of shock and change through the concept of 'behavioural aesthetics' by outlining an individualization of the concept of 'cultural heritage'. 'An understanding of such social processes – which stress continuity of causality and experience', writes Kaiser, 'is critical for any attempt to understand the specific ways in which displaced people (who are often characterized as passive and marginal in a range of ways) exert their agency by actively

6. Title of the panel : 'Dynamics of Social Change and Intangible Cultures – a Paradoxical Dialogue'. Convenor: Danielle de Lame.

managing their predicaments with explicit reference to the past, as well as to the future.'

Materiality contra corporality: the farmers-diggers in the Inland Niger Delta (Mali)

One of the issues in the theorization of corporality involves inequality relationships. In particular, a major confrontation is taking shape between the 'rhetorics of materiality' reiterated by the State (legislation, traces, *corpus delicti*) and the corporality of acts of production and embodiment issues of memory undertaken by 'liminal' or 'illegal' agents hovering outside the circuits of the national and international visibility of the State. To give but one example, in the case of the Malian state's fight against illegal digs on archaeological sites in the 1990s, objectivation attempts connoted ancient terracotta from the Inland Niger Delta and farmers-diggers ('looters') as objects steeped in the same 'illegality' scenario, reified as a 'looting phenomenon' (Panella 2012a). One of the levels of contradiction in the reification process for farmers-diggers is especially illuminating in relation to the dynamics of political appropriation described in this book. It concerns the lag between the space-time of 'looting' (location of digging sites, social organisation of teams, outflowing) and the delayed timing of media coverage of illegal digs (national and international media, international organisations, national and international legislation). The time separating the digs themselves from their coverage in media and the use of the 'ethnographic present' in press articles has led to the reification of dig-related social practices and the construction of a virtual-cum-real temporality owing to the reiteration of the same information in press and academic circles as well as the cultural elite's approval. The objects' pedigree is matched to a corresponding label of 'looter' forged from a stereotyped image in national and international networks (administration, media, literature, workshops). Moreover, since these diggers are often illiterate and embedded in hierarchically structured compartmentalised outflowing circuits, they have no access or impact on official policies on cultural heritage. In other words, they are excluded from all dynamics of representation that could have granted them an active role in the official position on heritage management.

The visibility of heritage as a tool for inequality can be seen in the synergy between national policy and international media. When farmers are presented with their faces hidden from view and their work tools in the foreground, with the caption 'looters caught red-handed' (Brent 1994), this only increased the label of illegality and clandestinity of digging. In the iconography of 1990 press photos, the image of the looter is, in general, that of the Dogon and Peul Rimaibe seasonal migrants from the Mopti region. But these two categories are, from numerous viewpoints, 'marginal' players. For one, as seasonal migrants, the Dogon are socially and economically

marginalised because they lack family ties in the host region. In addition, even in the 1980s, the Rimaibe were viewed among the Peul as belonging to a low social category because of their historical status as emancipated slaves. At the representational level, therefore, the two categories were connoted as 'the poorest of the poor' from both a material and a symbolic point of view. Farmers are marginalised twice over: first, through their representation as voiceless agents in a simplistic view of poverty that does away with the complexity of individual and familial economic paths of rural trade networks for objects and the stratification of the circuits' social organisation; second, through their depiction as 'looters' of objects that have become part of national heritage via a passage through the pedigree of the international market (Panella 2004, 2012).

These attempts by the State to reify social practices as part of anti-looting measures to protect archaeological sites imply a collective and economic dimension to the concept of 'loss' tied to what it claims is a national cultural heritage, as well as the obvious market value of these objects. From the viewpoint of the farmers-diggers, however, these objects are filters of memory through which they redeploy the photograms of their lives. Most of the diggers from the early days (the 1960s-1980s) contacted during my research considered the partial or total interruption of their digging activity as a 'loss' of an essential part of their life, that in their search for objects, they had invested their youth, know-how and courage. As a result, their concepts of 'loss' and 'value', which draw upon the memory bound to objects, are above all tied to an intimate, affective and corporal dimension that is poles apart from the collective, official dimension promoted by the State.

Anthropologist Daniel Miller distinguishes multiple spheres of non-economic value and 'loss' in his ethnographical enquiry on anonymous family objects and individual memories of suffering (Miller 2008; Miller & Parrott 2009).⁷ In particular, his reflection concerns links between objects, death, mourning and process of divestment in London. Raising an economy of relationships based on selective memories of daily life objects underlines a 'refurbishment of memory' (Marcoux in Miller 2009) and thus a resettlement of our own past.

On this matter I find it pertinent to underscore a split in the value schemes with regard to the object/body that is found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the case of Malian farmers-diggers as well as in the bodies of genocide victims in Rwanda, the latter representing, ultimately, all of History's violated bodies. The bodies of farmers labelled as 'looters' in the reified scenario of 'looting'

7. For an analysis of the relationship between aesthetics and poverty, see Lunghi & Transforini 2010.

lies against the individual memories of the pain experienced by these same persons, all capable of tying each remembered object to the sometimes-tragic circumstances that are associated with their unearthing and outflow.

Contrary to the logic inherent in repeatedly publishing images of 'holes', something done especially by archaeologists and international institutions, the cartography of looted sites becomes a cartography of affection and experienced space. The comparison and contrast between this map of the heart, founded on a corporal dimension of the act of digging, and the 'map of evidence' based on a visual and material approach employed by archaeologists, leads to surprising results (Panella, Schmidt, Polet & Bedaux 2005). In the same way, the searing rows of skulls and piles of machetes that built the 'virtual' collective memory of the 'Rwandan genocide' throughout the world also carry the echo of the corporal and sensorial memories of mangled bodies still in the minds of those still left behind, of eyes that have seen the unseeable, ears that have heard the inaudible.

This volume presents several examples of scenarios of 'truth'. René Lemarchand offers an analysis of 'top-to-bottom' political representation with regard to the construction of collective memory in Rwanda and Burundi. He shows how the memory of genocidal waves that have marked the recent history of the two countries are characterised by either forgetting, in Burundi, or emphasis, in Rwanda, of the killings of 1972 and 1994, according to the selective approach of the ruling powers. At the same time, the author raises the ghosts of 'ethnic memory' in the transmission of genocide memory in Burundi, by pointing out the *crescendo* of macabre descriptions of massacres, fed and repeated by both the Hutu and the Tutsi. Lemarchand sees the creation of a shared collective Banyarwanda memory through a rethinking of interethnic relations as the only salvation that would lead to true regional reconciliation. One of the striking aspects in Lemarchand's contribution is that the handling of memory by the elites did not undergo a monumentalisation of the past, as was the case in, for instance, Mali in the early 1990s (Jansen 2001; Rowlands 2005; Panella 2012). The process of Malian national integration was characterised by a dilution of the temporalities of the present in favour of a landscape frozen in the Maninka ethical values of Sunjata Keita's epic, of which the debate – in Mali and Guinea – around the Kouroukan Fouga Charter was an example of neotraditionalist historiography (Simonis 2011)⁸. In Rwanda, mean-

8. 'Sunjata Keita et Sumaworo Kanté, fondateurs de l'empire du Mali' by Francis Simonis (Université de Provence Aix-en-Provence), *Actes des 10^e Rencontres de La Dur@nce*. Site académique Aix-Marseille d'histoire-géographie. http://www.ac-aix-marseille.fr/pedagogie/upload/docs/application/pdf/2011-08/divo63_simonis.pdf. Consulted on 6 August 2012.

while, the past was suppressed in favour of a regimented present for the purpose of optimising time and space through the rhythm of an omnipresent, even insistent, normation⁹.

In the same vein, Filip Reyntjens analyses the effects of political control by analysing the power abuses in Rwanda that came alongside the 'Vision 2020' plan, through the institutionalisation of *gacaca* popular courts and agrarian reform, two moves strongly backed by international organisations and donors.¹⁰ In both cases, Reyntjens denounces a discriminatory course of action perpetrated by urban Tutsi elite against, in particular, Hutu peasants. This discrimination is said by the author to come from a series of bans and obligations aimed on one hand at ensuring international visibility through the reinforcement of the bureaucratic apparatus and on the other hand at maintaining the *status quo* by redistributing arable land to the country's strongmen. Once again we find power exercised over the body, this time in the guise of discrimination against Rwandans that do not match the image of the 'good citizen' as imposed by the Kagame regime. The social differentiation engendered by the numerous dress codes mentioned in Reyntjens' article is an example. The modelling of these moral subjects does not, however, stem from submission to an external rule but rather from the instillation of a sense of belonging that prompts individuals to adhere to the rule and feel obliged to apply it (Bayart 2004). In the case of Rwanda, the discriminatory power of material culture arises in the management of public space, an ulterior domain where one can observe the transversality of the power of action of the objects. This normalisation of the body is but one of many vectors that transmit the general tendency of contemporary States to marry law and morality and, consequently, impose a de facto distinction between individuals who are capable of 'moral' self-government and those who are not (Zigon 2008).

[...] Whereas secrecy, conformism and fears as well divining in its ancient and recent forms are in the dominant tones of the cultural register, the most commonplace sign of the dislocation of representations resides in the rearrangement of space to serve the central government, now connecting Rwanda with the outside world. Rwanda was sensationally proclaimed to be open and at one and the same time an educational reform barred the majority of people from effective access to the written word and more specifically to any communication in an internationally spoken language. Salvation came from the outside world, in the form of cooperation, trade and inter-

9. My sincere gratitude to René Lemarchand for sharing his thoughts on national integration in Rwanda and the ambiguity of political strategies in Mali (E-mails dated 2, 6 and 9 August 2012).

10. For an analysis of the political control that governed the *gacaca* in Rwanda, see Waldorf 2010.

national aid of various sorts. Rwanda's economy and its mental representations, previously functioning within a self-centred kingdom, were precipitated onto the outskirts of the world. Brokers still maintain their exclusive access to the new sources of wealth [...] (de Lame 2005b: 93).

The target-bodies of this omnipresent regulatory course of action are there, to paraphrase the poet Giuseppe Ungaretti, 'like leaves on the trees in autumn'.¹¹ These actors are only 'visible' in the normative landscape shaped for them by the powers-that-be, the coherence of which implies erasing acts of production of rural daily life. The agents described in these contributions are bit players in a structurally non-egalitarian world marked by economic insecurity, absence of prospects, risk, accidentality, existential uncertainty. In Lemarchand's and Reyntjens' landscapes, temporality does not respond to the present. On the contrary, 'the exigencies of performance' (Thrift 2006) freeze temporality in a homogeneous and homogenizing package comparable to the one envisioned by Brian Axel, in using the concept of 'fantasy', with regard to the national integration processes in India (Axel 2002). Synergy between 'spatial scenes' and 'disjunctive temporality' generates a collective horizon of the Nation-State. In this frame, the concept of 'fantasy' allows the formation of identifying relationships that can transform individuals and bodies into representations of an abstract entity (Axel 2002: 250). While real, semiotic processes need a spatial location before they can happen; in language, such a location takes shape through physical metaphors (Handler 2003). In political discourse, these metaphors go through the objectifying approach of representation. The 'poorest of the poor' are an example, owing to their voicelessness, invisibility, and powerlessness to act. The contributions of Lemarchand and Reyntjens take note of the total absence of a link between the daily life and its *mise en scène*, and consequently, of an irreconcilable dichotomy between urban elite and backcountry. Another comparable process of the reification of daily life is the one described by Paul Basu in his analysis of memory and representation of the civil war in Sierra Leone (Basu 2007). By taking two loaded examples of the memory of suffering, the cotton tree and the mass grave, Basu analyses the discrepancy in the interpretation of the past by, on one hand, international organisations and, on the other hand, Mende populations. The former turn to a homogenous myth of reconciliation incarnated by the monumentalisation of the past (Herzfeld 2004); the latter to a mnemonic mechanism of synchronic heterogeneity facing towards daily life and the present. Similarly, the analysis of the Kintu origin myth in the

11. *Soldiers*, translated by Stuart Flynn. 2004. *Modern Poetry in Translation* 18. London: King's College London. <http://www.poetrymagazines.org.uk/magazine/record.asp?id=13028>. Consulted 30 August 2012.

18th and 19th centuries made by Henri Médard in this volume also reflects how representation is spread out over time, while underscoring the importance of reconstructing a chronology from oral sources. By reconstructing the political history of the Great Lakes region (the Bunyoro-Baganda conflict), Médard shows how the historiography of this region was shaped by local and colonial political powers and religious (Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim) powers in place as well as by Ganda-Luo and Ganda-Gusii interethnic border relations.

The deep entanglement of politics and religion in the Great Lakes region permeates David Newbury's contribution. Newbury analyses the effects of political instability in Rwanda at the turn of the 20th century, using the vicissitudes of two Catholic missions as his starting point. The missions of the White Fathers in Zaza and Rwaza had contrasting experiences; one developed greater solidarity with the local population, while the other found itself enmeshed in the power structure of the royal court and the German overseers. Newbury provides a detailed analysis of the profound changes in the kingdom of Rwanda following the death of *mwami* Rwabugiri (1895), in terms of rural economy as well as succession of power, and the missions' relationships with the Catholic church. Several cogent examples from the ground illustrate how changes affecting rural populations and the powers-that-be in place had an obvious influence not just on mission activities, but also on their *raison d'être* and their official position with regard to political power: '[...] is political authority to be judged by its effect on the people or by its advancement of the power of the state? [...]' (Newbury in this volume). This crucial question travels through the years to meet its reflection a century later in the analysis of contemporary Rwanda sketched here by Filip Reyntjens.

Danielle de Lame wrote that time is, ultimately, 'nothing more than the trajectory of our bodies and space nothing other than the collection of our journeys' (de Lame 2007: 10). This 'bottom-up' approach of spatiotemporal dimensions is mirrored in Newbury's article. It underlies the question of the researcher, also found, on different timescales, in the contributions of Lemarchand, Reyntjens, and Médard: '[...] under which conditions, we can ask ourselves, will it become acceptable to recognise historical realities, with such recognition being a necessary prelude to the appropriate analysis of recent and contemporary events, and thus to the ownership of these events by social agents? This requires a perception of the risks of mystification and manipulation, rather than their benefits, but risks and benefits do not affect different people in the same way [...]' (de Lame 2007: 37).

The landscapes of power sketched by Lemarchand and Reyntjens connect to a wider theorisation of the political creation of illegality. We have seen that the production of normation underlies a confrontation between

