Kenya. It is called *Hazina*, meaning "fortune" or "wealth." Our colleagues in Kenya wanted to show how Kenya has for centuries been part of a network of cultural exchange in central Africa, toward the mouth of the Nile, toward Yemen and Oman, toward the Indian Ocean, and that these routes of exchange are far older than the Colonial interlude and indeed, survived it. We gave them free run of the museum's African collections. I think it is the first time that an exhibition has been organized by African colleagues from a European collection. What they chose to show were objects not from Kenya, but from all around Africa, from Somalia, Burundi, and the Kenya coast, objects from the southern Sudan and north Kenya, collected by slave traders from Khartoum coming into Kenya and Sudan from the north; and the whole Swahili, Islamic, Indian Ocean convention of games and music, which links Kenya with Madagascar, Mauritius, and the Gulf.

What this exhibition has done, in keeping with the founding principles of the British Museum, is to allow its collections to provoke people from one part of the world to think about the world itself. And it has done this because the museum holds its collections in trust "for natives as well as foreigners," and for all of time. This ideal must be an essential part of the discussion about context, about archaeology, about national laws as they pertain to museums' acquiring antiquities, as well as artifacts of a modern nation's cultural property. There are, I would argue, truths and insights that can be gathered only in this kind of context: the context of an encyclopedic museum. This ideal has nothing to do with national ownership, although inevitably it is aided by a past of national wealth and imperial power. That cannot be denied. But such wealth and powers is an inheritance that can—and should—very properly be put at the disposal of the whole world. And it is surely more important now than ever to insist that the world is one and that we who work in museums are doing something to shape the citizen of "that great city, the world."

This is the founding principle of the British Museum, as an encyclopedic museum, and the principle we seek to adhere to with everything we do, as we encourage confrontations with and discussions about our diverse collections and what they can tell us about themselves, about the past, and about us and our world today. This, I believe, is the great benefit, and obligation, of the encyclopedic museum, and something we need to encourage everywhere.

"And What Do You Propose Should Be Done with Those Objects?"

Philippe de Montebello

I shall begin by quoting George F. Comfort of Syracuse University's College of Fine Arts, in a speech he gave in 1870, incidentally the year in which the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Metropolitan were founded. It describes an encyclopedic museum.

True art is cosmopolitan. It knows no country. It knows no age. Homer sang not for the Greeks alone but for all nations, and for all time. Beethoven is the musician not of the Germans alone but of all cultivated nations. And Raphael painted not for the Italians alone, but for all of whatever land or age, whose hearts are open to sympathy with the beautiful in art.

An ideal museum must thus be cosmopolitan in its character and it must present the whole stream of our history and all nations and ages. A work of art serves as a link in the great aesthetic development of the human race. Much has happened in the world of museums since 1870, but I would not change a word of Professor Comfort's statement; nor has anything occurred in those years to cause us to think that the traditional mission of museums is no longer pertinent today.

A museum's mission is to acquire, conserve, display, and publish its collections. And with these goals is the museum's obligation to provide the broadest possible access to the works of art in its care, to encourage

their being studied and preserved for the benefit of current and future generations, and, through the display of works of ancient art, to continue to serve as an inspiration for young people who aspire perhaps to a profession in archaeology.

Access is a key word and concept when we speak of the value of museums. Works of art are vital pieces of history and the heritage of us all, and thus deserve as broad an audience as possible and need not be restricted only to the audiences of Europe and North America. They should be made available through well-thought-out programs of loans to all parts of the globe, and pointedly to those nations that do not happen to have the arts of other parts of the world.

In this respect, we should note that one of the first true encyclopedic collections was not in a Western capital at all, but in what was considered at the time to be in the East, in Constantinople (today's Istanbul) at the Topkapi Palace, where Sultan Mehmet II, the Ottoman conqueror of the Byzantine Empire, formed in the second half of the fifteenth century one of the greatest collections of Yuan and Ming porcelains; also great Persian manuscripts, even a number of Italian paintings, drawings, and prints. In the nineteenth century, the collections were further enriched in a global sense with Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman antiquities, and a bit later when they were found in the twentieth century, with Hittite material. Like the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, the Louvre, and the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, the Topkapi is one of our great encyclopedic museums; and its origins date back some five hundred years, hundreds of years before the others.

The principle of presenting the art of all nations in all nations does not mean that existing encyclopedic collections should be dismembered and dispersed. The collections of the encyclopedic museums in the large Western capitals, as well as museums in Greece or in Italy or in Egypt—or indeed, Istanbul—are all rich and deep enough that a premium can begin to be placed on long-term loans and exchanges to achieve much wider access worldwide, than now exists. This is not to say that acquisition and ownership are things of the past. Museums are buildings with a physical reality and constraints, and the care of works of art is sometimes best achieved through stability. Installations call for vitrines, platforms, lighting,

labels, climate control, and so forth, and of course substantial resources. Museums cannot simply become turntables for incoming and outgoing loans. There is the need for predictability in what works of art may be available to staff in order to create intelligent presentations and well-planned educational programs. There are also gaps in all collections, which it is the role of the curator to try to fill in order to present a more complete and meaningful picture of a civilization, and opportunities will always present themselves, that if seized, will lift the level of quality of what is displayed. But still, a thoughtful program of loans between museums can be to the benefit of us all.

That said, it is nevertheless the collection that defines the museum: the better the collection is, the better the museum is and the better it is for all of us. Indeed, maintaining the integrity of collections is key to the value of museums. Thanks to their high concentration in both primary and study collections, works of art from many civilizations can be studied in depth and most importantly, in a cross-cultural, comparative context. In museums such as the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, one can view, for example, classical works of the Augustan period and within a two to three minute walk, encounter contemporaneous objects produced under the distant Han Empire. This is a most rewarding collapsing of time and distance, and it can only occur in encyclopedic museums.

Likewise, it is in museums that there exists the flexibility and capability to recreate through different juxtapositions and accompanying explanations more than one context for works of art. It might even be argued, in some instances, that the museum can return an object to its original context, rather than to its "final" one, which is to say where it was most recently found. The case in point is the third millennium BC stele of Narâmsîn, ruler of the Akkadian Empire in greater Mesopotamia, which is now in the Louvre Museum (fig. 2.1). In the twelfth century BC, Elamite rulers took the stele as booty from Sippar, which is north of Babylon in present-day Iraq and where it presumably had been seen and on view for hundreds of years. And then they brought it to their capital of Susa in modern-day Iran, which is where the French found it in 1898, and from there they removed it to the Louvre Museum. Today it is shown in the museum with

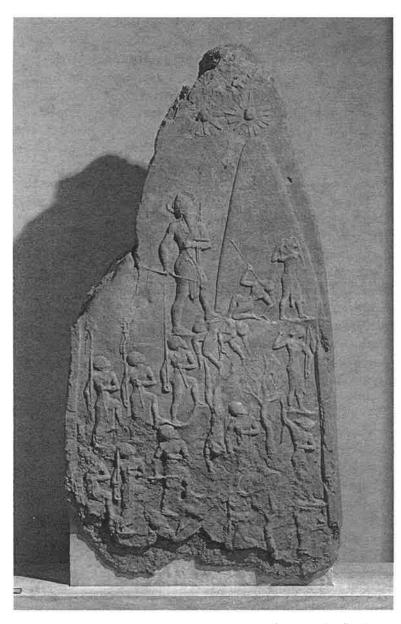


Fig. 2.1. Victory stele of Narâm-sîn. Akkadian Dynasty, reign of Narâm-sîn (2254–2218 BC). Susa, Iran; Sippar, Iraq. Morgan Excavations. Pink limestone (h. 78 in., w. 39 in.), Louvre Museum, Paris. RMN-les frères Chuzeville.

related material in the Mesopotamian galleries, which makes more sense—and is arguably more culturally accurate—than to have preserved it in a strictly political, Elamite context. It is shown with other examples of art from the culture in which it was made and where it was first put on display and for its original purpose. To have had it remain in Iran would have been a testament not to its origins—its original context—but to latter-day politics: to the context and culture of military conquest.

The ability to see and study works of art in museums is to be able to study the similarities among objects of the same culture as well as the differences among diverse cultures. One need not choose between these contexts. And as a result, one can better understand the uniqueness of each. This makes one wonder about the impassioned arguments put forth by some for keeping all ancient objects as near to their site of excavation as possible, for the purposes not only of satisfying local pride but also and mainly of keeping them in their archaeological context so that they are not condemned, as a prominent archaeologist sees it, to quote, "their sad life in a museum."

I must say, there does not seem to be any good scholarly reason—nor, as far as I can see, a public benefit—for excavated objects to be the exclusive preserve of one discipline: of archaeology or another, single discipline. As for the notion that it is best to keep antiquities in their archaeological context, it seems of dubious merit for several reasons. It is the case, after all, that objects from a particular excavation, once out of the ground—even when stored in the local museum when there is one—are already out of their archaeological context. Their primary value to the archaeologist—their historical record—is already noted and one hopes, promptly published.

When scholars try, with the aid of forensics, to assign alienated objects to a putative site, it can be even more problematic. This is the case with the Metropolitan's disputed Hellenistic silver, allegedly made in Morgantina. This theory has yet to gain full acceptance. One has to be absolutely sure before making a specific claim in such matters. After all, one is writing history: a form of scientific inquiry. And to me, this is the strongest argument for redoubling all efforts to preserve archaeological sites: we want to know, with certainty, the precise, archaeological context of

major objects of antiquity. But when the context has not been preserved, for a variety of reasons—due to chance finds or construction projects, natural disasters, or unfortunately the looting of sites—it is difficult, indeed rarely possible, to assign antiquities to specific sites with any confidence. One can only, at best, suggest a possible site, which of course pales against the supposed benefit of keeping the antiquity there: it is almost always only a presumed, possible site and not the confirmed site or "original" context.

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As important as it may be, the archaeological context is only one of several contexts. It happens of course to have been the last context in the life of an object before it enters a private or public collection. To insist that it is the only context that really counts, which is what is meant when it is repeatedly asserted that an object without provenance has no meaning, is to invite examination of our ancient past through a rather narrow lens and one that does not put much of a premium on the aesthetic dimension of objects, which is hardly the least dimension of their merit.

It is indifference to the object on the part of some archaeologists indifference to the object as opposed to the information it yields at its site of excavation—that provides one explanation for the incomprehensible restrictions placed on publications of such objects. We are talking, after all, of a humanistic discipline. And the categorical interdictions proposed or imposed on the acquisition of these objects, no matter their beauty and importance, compromises the potential benefit of the disciplinary inquiry. Allowing greater flexibility, greater mobility, and accessibility for excavated and unexcavated antiquities is not only possible but also desirable. We have to remember that many antiquities found in the ground were, after all, mobile in their lifetime: traded, sold, carried vast distances along caravans throughout Asia, around the Mediterranean, and in Africa. And there has always been a correlation between the movement of objects and the growth and transmission of knowledge. And this argues for the mobility of excavated objects, in breach of no laws and resulting in much greater access for far more people; it promises the prospect of new and more broadly shared knowledge, which is in keeping with the principles of the humanistic discipline of which museums are part.

Furthermore, the insistence for keeping objects at their excavation sites is contrary to the principle of encouraging broad access to works of art since most archaeological sites are, by dint of historical circumstance, in remote locations. Let me give you an example, a rather dispiriting one at that. As you well know, the Metropolitan Museum of Art returned to Turkey in 1993 a group of spectacular West Anatolian objects of precious metals: the so-called Lydian Treasure dating back to the sixth century BC. After considerable research, it was determined that it had been illegally removed from a site in or near Uşak in the 1960s. Because pieces of the Treasure have reportedly been recently stolen from the Uşak Museum, press attention has focused on the museum, its professionalism and visitation. An April 20, 2006 article in the Turkish press quotes the chief officer of the Uşak culture and tourism department as stating, and I quote, that "in the past five years, 769 people visited the musèum in total."

But it is possible, if there is the will, to share archaeological material with distant museums for greater accessibility. Indeed, the recent exchanges proposed for the Metropolitan Museum's return to Italy of a Laconian kylix and the Euphronios krater are not simply for single objects "of equivalent beauty and importance." For each of these antiquities, the Italian government has offered instead of one equivalent piece, a fine excavated vase accompanied by the complete contents of its tomb group, more than fifty pieces in one case, including a number of other decorated and some undercoated vessels. And in the other case, the Italian government has offered the loan of some thirty antiquities. Many are modest in artistic terms, but when displayed as a group with appropriate text labels, they will serve to instruct our public about the nature of archaeological excavations. I think this is a most imaginative and compelling way to share archaeological material broadly, for which I am very grateful to my Italian colleagues. It was their initiative.

But elsewhere in our museum we have long presented objects from excavations, excavations organized and directed by members of the museum's staff. Notably in our Egyptian galleries and our Islamic galleries. In the latter, there will be, as once there was before the current renovation of

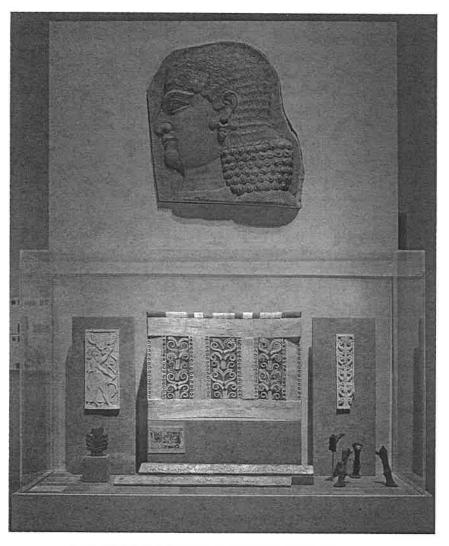


Fig. 2.2. Archaeological finds from Nishapur, Iran, excavated in the 1930s and 1940s, as exhibited in the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Gallery for Assyrian Art, April 2008.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 2.3. Plaque with Griffins, 8th–7th century BC, Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), ... Ivory (h. 4 1/8 in., w. 4 5/8 in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197₁1). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the galleries, archaeological finds from Nishapur, Iran, excavated in the 1930s and 1940s and displayed as a group together (fig. 2.2). We also display, as a group, the Nimrud ivories excavated by the Metropolitan (fig. 2.3), along with our colleagues from the British Museum, and shared through the practice of partage with the museum in Baghdad. Tragically, most of these ivories have almost certainly been irretrievably damaged in Baghdad by poor storage conditions and their inaccessibility, which prevented their being removed and saved in time during the chaos that ensued after the coalition forces invaded Iraq in 2003.

Now although partage with transfer of title is no longer an option, in most source countries at least (there are a few that do), little notice has been paid to a farsighted clause in our agreement with Italy governing future excavations. Namely, were the Metropolitan Museum to collaborate with Italy on archaeological excavations, which is a distinct possibility, the finds, if they are significant, would be sent to the Metropolitan for conservation and then displayed as long-term loans in the museum's galleries. This is a new and welcome version of partage without transfer of title: a creative solution to the matter of accessibility, and one that will permit the objects to be studied initially in the archaeological context and then through the installation in the Metropolitan's encyclopedic collections, in a broader cross-cultural context.

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Let me conclude with the subject of collecting antiquities. I want to try to inject some perspective on an issue that has deeply polarized the fields of archaeology and museum work and led to the most senseless and useless palavers among us. Where instead we should be united in a common cause, in a civil discourse in search of ways to try and stem the looting of archaeological sites and in the process act in concert to preserve our artistic and cultural heritage and ultimately to make it widely accessible to a very broad public, we are senselessly opposed to each other.

To this end, it will be essential to defuse the stridency of the rhetoric that has poisoned the atmosphere. And the best way to do so is to begin talking with and not at each other. I hope that some basic views, some profoundly held beliefs on both sides, may be reconciled in a calm and measured colloquy. (Of course, our positions may turn out not to be so divergent, after all.)

It will also be important to debunk at the start the exaggerated and often fanciful claims that have been and continue to be made, such as the claims that the trade in unprovenanced antiquities amounts to some multi-billions of U.S. dollars. Every serious survey of the art market and museum acquisitions points to a figure closer to \$100 million to \$150 million a year for all antiquities, provenanced and unprovenanced, which is a fraction of those billions.

Then there is the claim that if an object has an incomplete provenance, it must surely be looted. In far too many instances, that is probably

the case. But there are also chance finds, there are flash floods and earthquakes, building projects as I've said, and yes, lots of old collections. It is not always easy to identify their full provenance, which incidentally is a phenomenon that is not unique to antiquities. Very few Old Masters paintings and sculptures in our collections—those dating from the Renaissance through the baroque periods, just a few hundred years ago—can be traced all the way back to their makers.

Finally, the contention that without knowledge of its find spot or specific, archaeological context, an antiquity is meaningless, or as my Italian colleagues at the Ministry of Culture put it—they were describing the Euphonios krater—"without its tomb group, an antiquity is a cosa morta." Few, I expect who have marveled at the scale and majesty of the Euphronios krater and the precision and elegance of line and its poignant depiction of a Homeric epic of the death of Sarpedon would concede that it is a cosa morta (fig. 2.4). Although having not been properly excavated, it is far from meaningless. I should point out that it is signed by both the painter and the potter and that most of the figures are clearly identified by name on the vase, and that this is information independent of any knowledge the tomb itself would have yielded, though it would have been clearly preferable to know the totality of the krater's original, found context. This I do not contest.

All great works of art have, in addition to their historical and other learned contexts, an aesthetic context as well. As I've said earlier, this is not the least important. Which is why an appreciation of the aesthetic quality of works of art is at the heart of the museum's approach to its collections, and, I daresay, most likely also to be the primary and most exalted feature in the confrontation of the visitor with the work of art.

Yet museums also have pioneered much scholarship in ancillary disciplines such as epigraphy, which I mention in order to remind us that the study of cylinder seals and cuneiform tablets would not exist were it not for the availability of thousands of unprovenanced antiquities preserved, for the most part, in our museums. Furthermore, in many areas, a critical mass of excavated objects exists to allow for informed conjecture about many pieces whose origins are not known. That is because the pieces have intrinsic value and are not meaningless. And, for the life of me,



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Fig. 2.4. Terra-cotta calyx-krater (bowl for mixing wine and water), ca. 515 BC; Archaic. Signed by Euxitheos, as potter; signed by Euphronios, as painter (h. 18 in., d. 21 3/4 in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by the Republic of Italy (L.2006.10). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

I cannot see any reason why to acknowledge the deeper meaning of works of art, even beyond what is learned from its archaeological find spot, is such anathema. It is as if holding that view, acknowledging that fact, were somehow to condone or even encourage the looting of archaeological sites. L'un n'empêche pas l'autre. One can study unprovenanced objects and at the same time deplore the looting of archaeological sites, and forcefully assert that crucial information about such objects, let alone about history, has been lost in the process of looting and that we are the poorer for it.

One among many examples of this is the Ghandaran ivory that is now in the museum in Pompeii. It was found in one of the city's villas and attests to the distances such objects have traveled in antiquity. Had this Ghandaran ivory, which most likely came to Pompeii from what is now Afghanistan, simply come up on market, everyone would instantly have presumed that it came straight out of Afghanistan or Pakistan and not ever that it could have been found in southern Italy.

What we in museums find so inexplicable and objectionable in the discourse against museums is the dismissal of the object, as such, the innocent, yet intrinsically valuable object. I've already said, and don't mind repeating, that to acknowledge the possible value to knowledge of an object's internal evidence does not mean that one condones the practice of looting sites. And I actually know archaeologists who refuse to even look at such an object. Can one really trust the scholarship of those who allow politics and ideology to trump their intellectual curiosity like that? It seems to me that one keeps one's opprobrium for the looter or the circumstances of the event, but not for the looted object itself. To turn away from it in moral indignation is foolish, and in the end can lead to the suppression of knowledge.

Let me cite but one example of the potential value of unprovenanced objects, the case of these strikingly realistic third millennium copper alloy lion foundation figures from Mesopotamia that were purchased on the art market in 1948 by the Louvre and the Metropolitan, fortunately (fig. 2.5). O tempora o mores. It would be hard to dismiss these lions as meaningless, since their inscriptions provided the earliest evidence that the city of Urkesh known in later mythological texts as the home of the chief Hurrian deity, Nergal, god of the underworld, had in fact existed, and as an important Hurrian center; even the name of the Hurrian ruler, Tishatal, is provided on the inscription.

The lions, though, in and of themselves did not provide the clue for where the ancient city of Urkesh might be found. And here the tale has its ironic side. We all want to drive out the black market in looted antiquities. But it will take time and an international well-coordinated effort to do this, if it's at all possible. For now though, what we have achieved through strict purchasing guidelines, international conventions, and the courts' criminal actions, is to drive the market for unprovenanced antiquities underground, with the result that valuable provenance information that

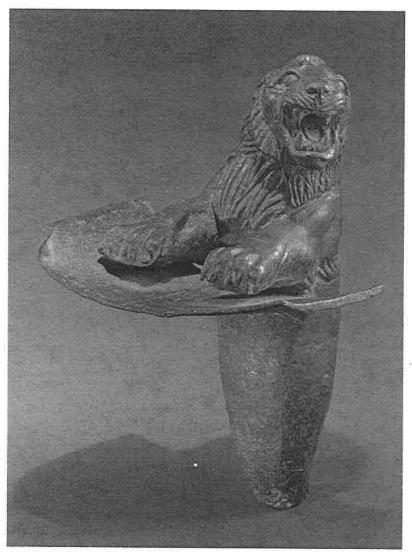


Fig. 2.5. Foundation peg in the shape of the forepart of a lion, Akkadian, Tish-atal of Urkish, 2200–2100 BC, Syria, probably Tell Mozan (ancient Urkish) (h. 4 1/2 in,). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1948 (48.180), Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

was once available in a more permissive environment is now carefully suppressed by the vendors. And I make this point not to condone such traffic; it's just an observation.

So what led archaeologists to Tel Mozan, where they found the remains of the ancient city of Urkesh? The knowledge that the lions were said by the vendor who sold them to have been purchased in a nearby town. This led to a consideration of one site, which, however, since the mound associated with it was not large enough to contain ancient Urkesh, led Professor Giorgio Bucellatti and his team to another site, at Tel Mozan, where they excavated and found Urkesh. And all thanks to the information provided by the vendor of the unprovenenced and unexcavated Hurrian foundation figures.

The past is the past. Autres temps, autres moeurs. But what about the present? Today governments are, in fact have for some time, moved rapidly to restrict purchases of antiquities found on their soil. The United Kingdom, Germany, and U.S. museum organizations have all issued guidelines for their member museums. The U.K. and German museums now require for any purchase, with the exception of minor objects in the United Kingdom, provenance that goes back to 1970, the date of the UNESCO Convention. Our association in the United States (Association of Art Museum Directors, or AAMD) previously used a prohibition for acquisition by purchase or gift of any antiquity that cannot be shown to have been out of its country of origin for at least ten years with no exception. We now accept 1970 as a way to help insure that no material incentive is provided to potential looters. The AAMD guidelines allow for the possibility of considering the acquisition of truly exceptional antiquities, if it is thought that by rejecting them the loss to humanity's cultural heritage is likely greater than the fiduciary risk taken by the institution—but still applying the 1970 rule.

It might be of interest to know that the idea behind sanctioning the acquisition of truly magisterial works of art, even of unprovenanced antiquities, actually had been expressed some years ago by the most hawkish anticollecting body, namely the International Council of Museums (ICOM), which includes in its code of professional ethics the following: "in exceptional cases, items without provenance may have such an inherently outstanding contribution to make to knowledge, that it would be in the public interest to preserve them."

Now in making the case for the continuing acquisition according to AAMD guidelines and of course entirely within the law, I must reiterate that museums do not hoard. The objects they buy, they conserve, put on display, promptly publish, and illustrate both in print and electronic media for greatest possible access, and thus bring into the public domain. This way potentially suspicious objects can be more easily found by a potential claimant nation than if they were not acquired by museums but remained, instead, in private circulation. And as recent events at the Metropolitan Museum have shown, serious claims will be dealt with responsibly.

It must be said that these above-mentioned national guidelines have been extremely effective. We now see a markedly diminished supply of antiquities for sale. And as a result, acquisitions today by museums in Europe and North America are but a fraction of what they once were. On a global scale, now, quite simply, acquisitions of antiquities by these museums are inconsequential quantitatively, representing as they do only a tiny fraction of the estimated global market in antiquities, even if one uses the lowest of the numbers cited.

Frankly, the refusal to acquire an important antiquity merely because its provenance cannot be traced beyond, say, an auction in mid-1970 benefits no one. It will remain unknown, unpublished, inaccessible, and most likely will be driven underground and not, I'm afraid through some stroke of providential luck, back *into the ground* out of which it might have come.

So to those who say, do not buy unprovenanced antiquities, no matter how unique, brilliantly conceived, and masterfully crafted they may be, I would ask, as I have done repeatedly, "And what do you propose should be done with those objects?"

Of course it is to be deplored that works of ancient art are removed clandestinely from their sites. Much knowledge is lost as a result. But we should not compound that loss by helping the works of art disappear. It would be a violation of our raison d'être and an incalculable loss for scholars, the public, and history itself. And it would contradict the very purpose of museums, the purpose museums have avidly and admirably pursued for more than two hundred years. And that would be a tragedy.

Whose Culture Is It?

Kwame Anthony Appiah

1.

"There is no document of Civilization," Walter Benjamin maintained, in his most often-quoted line, "that is not at the same time a document of barbarism." He was writing—some sixty-five years ago—with particular reference to the spoils of *victory* carried in a triumphal procession: "They are called cultural treasures," he said, but they had origins he could not "contemplate without horror."

Benjamin's provocation has now become a commonplace. These days, museum curators have grown uneasily self-conscious about the origins of such cultural treasures, especially those that are archaeological in nature or that come from the global south. A former curator of the Getty Museum is now on trial in Rome, charged with illegally removing objects from Italy, while Italian authorities are negotiating about the status of other objects from both the Getty and the Metropolitan Museum. Greece is formally suing the Getty for the recovery of four objects. The government of Peru has recently demanded that Yale University return five thousand artifacts that were taken from Machu Picchu in the early 1900s—and all these developments are just from the past several months. The great international collectors and curators, once celebrated for their perceptiveness and perseverance, are now regularly deplored as traffickers in, or receivers of, stolen goods. Our encyclopedic museums, once seen as redoubts of cultural appreciation, are now suspected strong-rooms of plunder and pillage.

And the history of plunder—the barbarism beneath the civility—is often real enough, as I'm reminded whenever I visit my hometown in the