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The Twins Meet Dvīņu satikšanās

(In defence of worldly Hindu ethics)

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The sacred Hindu books can be read in such a way that the complete surrender of the ego in order to achieve moksha, which seems unacceptable from the the point of view of humanistic goals, remains only as a theoretical possibility whereas purely worldly interests guide the people's everyday existence. Just as it is in the West.

Keywords: Hindu ethics, Hinduism testimonies, spirituality.

Rudyard Kipling once stated that East is East and the West is West— the twins will never meet. And indeed our living conditions sometimes differ very much due to climate peculiarities, geographical situation, historical development, the state of economy and so on. It is a well-known fact that most civilisations have words denoting those outside their lap and therefore to be treated as lower— “barbarians” in ancient Rome or “mlecchas” in India. For many of today's santals— one of the so-called tribal peoples in India — the word “man” in its full meaning is often attributed only to a santal.

On the other hand, there are innumerable arguments in favour of the idea, that man is the same everywhere and that differences between people are of a superficial character. If that were not so we Europeans would not be able to read, understand and appreciate the greatness of Buddha or Confucius or to enjoy Chinese, Indian, Arab belles-lettres. If Rabindranath Tagore as a human being would be very much different from the rest, he would not have become the most widely published poet in the world in the early nineteen twenties, goods produced in one part of the world would not have found eager buyers elsewhere since most ancient times. Buddha, Jesus Christ, Mohammed in their teachings would not have addressed the whole of humanity.

Having in mind the generally human values and morality quite a few leading Indian intellectuals increasingly start finding faults in what their sacred books teach. This criticism also proves that the twins— the East and the West— have very much in common and practically everything that is not acceptable to a Bengali critic of Indian traditions as expressed in the very good literary magazine “Desh” will be hardly acceptable to rational minds anywhere in the world. The issue of 22 June, 1991 was called “Brainwashing” and so was also entitled the article, in which Dipangkar Ray wrote: “One shudders thinking that “Gītā” proves how a certain shrewd person induces a relatively humble intellect (Arjuna–V.I.) to kill and that as a result of this instigation countless people were massacred. Arjuna's brains were washed.”(p.17). On November 15, 1997 we could read about Krishna: “It is the greatest mystery in what way such a character, being the embodiment of adharma, could become the avatāra of the supreme god Vishnu.” (p.11).

On the whole such judgements are not very original. Harsh attacks on the most powerful gods— usually through the mouths of demons can be found already in the Purānas— very bulky writings that perhaps are the main sources for today's Hinduism. The daitya Tāraka in “Śiva Purāna”, for instance, is allowed to say: “You gods are shameless, especially Indra and Vishnu... Vishnu is deceptive, defective and indiscreet... Taking birth as Rāma he killed a woman... Sinful as he was he forsook his own wife (Sītā – V.I.)... In the sixth incarnation (as Paraśurāma – V.I.) he cut off the head of his own mother... Incarnating as Krishna he defiled the wives of others and forced them to violate the traditional virtues of the family.”¹ Even taking into account that judgements about Vishnu occur in a shivaistic source, still it is remarkable that this happens within the fold of the same religion. One may agree here with the widely spread opinion that Hinduism is an extremely tolerant religion in all aspects. But a different interpretation is also possible: as morality in India was always regarded as part of the natural order of the Universe, authors in one way or another couldn't escape making gods act as people are acting.

The main task of this paper is to find in authoritative sources of Hinduism testimonies to the fact that strong mundane individual and social ethics in them have always coexisted with spiritual strivings and that India does not really need to import Kant's or some other Westerner's ideas to tackle contemporary ethical problems. The preoccupation with moksha or liberation as the supreme goal, the identification of one's innermost soul with the Soul of the Universe, at the cost of enjoying pleasures provided by the senses, seems to dominate all traditional Indian thinking, including literature, theatre and other arts. But there is also a genuine striving to advise the human individual to concentrate his efforts mainly on artha (worldly success) and kāma (mainly love) at the expense of dharma (religious ends).

This idea may be rooted in the commonplace assertions that being one of the many living beings man still stands above them and even above the devas— lower gods. “Mahābhārata” declares that “there is nothing higher than the human being” and in “Śiva Purāna” we read: “Even to the god and the asuras the birth of the human being is very rare to be achieved... Human birth is glorified as the root cause for the four aims of life.”² One can say that Vivekānanda even sneers at gods by saying: “For instance, Indra and Varuna are not the names of certain persons, but the names of positions as governors and so on. These are certain positions, which are filled successively by human souls who have raised themselves to the conditions of gods, and yet even they die.”³ And indeed we do know from the Purānas that even the great triad— Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva die whereas the person's karma which is not exhausted, survives through all pralayas (regular dissolutions of the world) when everything else is reduced to the primeval state.

Karma, which affects all beings, operates without the intervention of any great supernatural authority but with absolute inevitability. In theory we get in this life what we deserve for our good or bad deeds in the previous ones and there no escape from the possible misfortune. Yet, interestingly, karma which often is also dharma sometimes becomes destiny— a notion which is easily understandable to anyone anywhere. Even the powerful Shiva, admitting his own helplessness in fighting the anonymous superforce behind the world order says: “What should happen necessarily must happen. There is none to stop it.”⁴ The incarnation of Viṣṇu— Rāma acknowledges: “Hap-

piness and sadness, fear and anger, gain and loss, birth and death– all things such as these must surely be the affects of fate.”⁵. Kuntī (the mother of several princes –V.I.) in “Mahābhārata” is also convinced: “The Kurus will meet destruction, o Karna, destiny is the most powerful.”⁶.

The leading – Vedantic philosophy teaches that the entire reality is spiritually meaningful, that not only all living creatures but also material objects have a role in the general scheme of existence. Therefore it is difficult to say what does not belong to dharma in its aspect as a cosmic moral order. “The Bhāgavata Purāna” comments on what happened after Krishna’s death: “...Finding the spread of a number irreligious tendencies such as avarice, untruthfulness, crookedness, violence in houses, towns, the nation, and in his own self, the wise Judhishthira (the emperor– V.I.) decided to go away from the wordly life...Clad in the tree–barks, abstemious in food, desisting from speech, with dishevelled hair, showing himself like a dullard, madman or a goblin, expecting nothing (or without waiting for anyone) he went out (of the palace and the capital) like a deaf incapable of hearing (anything)”⁷. As the fate of gods is intertwined with that of the humans the divine Krishna himself dies due to Gandhārī’s curse, who condemned him for not preventing the horrible carnage at the Kurukshetra field, where her all hundred sons died. That is, Krishna, who proclaims in “Bhagavadgītā” that he fulfills even the functions of Brahman – the only Absolute, dies as a result of a curse of a human being who as mother has been true to her dharma.

It is clear that the individual’s thirst for life, manifested by all living beings, also makes him naturally hold onto whatever sustains his/her existence. The conception of moksha being reached at the expense of fully developed earthly life runs counter to this common human desire. Therefore there is such a divergence in instructions how one is supposed to live. It is thought that the Indians have enjoyed being told their duties more than other people. Not in vain the shāstras teach: “To live according to the rule of conduct is doubtlessly the highest duty of all men. He whose soul is defiled by vile conduct perishes in this world and in the next.”⁸. That is, spiritual ends are foremost among duties. Yet there is enough in “Manu Laws”, the epics or Purānas that does not always conform to this view. What noble spiritual or human goals has in view ashwamedha in “Mahābhārata” or elsewhere? The sacrifice of a horse in such a way is the declaration of war of a king to his neighbours without any provocation on their part– they have either to fight or submit to a powerful conquerer who sends a white horse before his army. To a person, who is not a Hindu and, consequently, who can afford not to believe every word the religious literature teaches, it seems very much that the authors of “Mahābhārata” are not particularly glad in describing Arjuna’s exploits following the horse and devote to them only a sufferficial attention and that they are at least as much on the side of women in the “Strī parva” of the epic, who accuse Krishna of instigating the carnage of their beloved ones, as on the god’s intention to eradicate the evil Kuru race by all means. What good can teach Krishna’s complicated sex with 16.000 women at once even if we believe that this a metaphorical way of showing the god’s love of people? In quite a few places in the Purānas or “Manu Laws” we see such exaggerations (including Krishna’s sexual exploits) that it seems– they were intended only to cause laugh. Perhaps a good– hearted one. After all, those who made up all those plots, were talented people of flesh and

blood. And perhaps not always they were so much god – fearing as it may seem to us today.

In this author's view, it is most interesting to look into the many "commandments" of human behaviour offered by different Sanscrit texts. On the whole they by far do not always particularly conform to what one understands by dharma, karma or moksha notions. It is obvious what was intended by the dying Bhīshma's lecturing to Yudhisthira: "They who fear no obligation of returning to this world (after death), they who have no fear of the next world, they who do not take animal food and who have no liking for what is agreeable and no dislike for what is otherwise, they to whom good conduct is always dear, they who practise self-restraint, they who consider pleasure and pain as same, they who have truth for their refuge, they who give but not take, they who have mercy, they who adore, Pitris, gods, and guests, they who are always ready to work (for the behoof of others), they who are universal benefactors, they who are endued with great courage (of mind), they who follow all the duties sanctioned by scriptures, they who are devoted to well-being of all, they who can give their all and sacrifice their very lives for others, are considered as good and virtuous, o Bharata."⁹. Even stronger the supremacy of the spiritual over the mundane is stressed in some places of "Manu Laws": "Refraining from oppressing any living being, so that they might become his companions in the other world, he should gradually pile up his religious merit just as ants pile up an ant hill. For there (in that world) father, mother, wife, son and relative do not endure as his companion; religion alone endures. A living creature is borne alone and alone he dies; he alone reaps the benefits of good deeds and the consequences of bad deeds."¹⁰.

In the teachings of the very influential Upanishads we find a well expressed negligence of a person's body and worldly life. But in practical precepts to a student, who has finished his Veda learning, in the same Upanishads a teacher includes also fully worldly instructions, such as: "One should not be negligent of virtue. One should not be negligent of welfare. One should not be negligent of prosperity... Be one to whom a mother is a god. Be one to whom a father is a god. Be one to whom a teacher is a god. Be one to whom a guest is a god."¹¹. Who among the Non-hindus can object to such a set of advices? The authors of "Mahābhārata", omitting guest, about the adoration of mother, father, and preceptor say: "They are the three worlds. They are the three modes of life. They are the three Vedas. They are the sacred fires."¹². Rāma proves in practise what the parents' decision concerning their child means, by leaving the castle and without slightest objections facing the enormous difficulties of life in the forest. He tells Sītā: "But it is righteousness, my smooth-limbed wife, the righteousness good men in the past have practised, that I am set on following today, as its radiance follows the sun. And righteousness is this, my fair-hipped wife: submission to one's mother and one's father. I could not bear to live were I to disobey their command."¹³. Manu raises this adoration to the highest possible level: "The teacher is the physical form of the ultimate reality, the father the physical form of the Lord of Creatures, the mother the physical form of the earth, and one's own brother the physical form of one's own self."¹⁴. Whatever differences between those assertions, mother, father, teacher and brother are purely earthly notions for each person.

The authors of the Upanishads state: "Now the man who does not desire – he who is without desire, who is freed from desire, whose desire is satisfied, whose desire is

the Soul— his breaths do not depart. . . As the slough of snake lies on an ant–hill, dead, cast off, even so lies his body. But this incorporeal, immortal Life (prāna) is Brahma indeed, is light indeed.¹⁵ From this idea it naturally follows that there is no joy in the finite— be it even one’s own son. Yet Manu, by far not being the defender of the importance of wordly life, indicates: “Acting out of desire is not approved of, but here on earth there is no such thing as no desire; for even studying the Veda and engaging in the rituals enjoined in the Veda are based upon desire.”¹⁶ Long life as a reward for good behaviour also cannot be regarded but as the satisfaction of every living being’s most basic desire: “A man who follows the conduct of the virtuous, has faith and is free from envy, lives a hundred years, though he be entirely destitute of auspicious marks.”¹⁷ It is also Manu – the spiritual teacher who establishes the ratio between highest and lowest wages as six to one. In what contemporary country is anything like that established? The same law– giver also declares: “Anything that a man does with the eye on the afterlife, and that is done at the expense of his dependants, has an unhappy consequence for him both while he is living and after he dies.”¹⁸ One also should remember that both Shiva and Vishnu’s heaven offers its happy inhabitants by far not only spiritual but also wordly pleasures. So much so that one starts wandering how, for instance, a person whose body has been discarded (obligatorily cremated if he is not a sanyāsī) can enjoy the pleasures offered by heavenly beauties.

It seems at least to me that in the enumerations of duties or among the traits of recommended good behaviour almost purely mundane and generally human aspects even in later religious literature often predominate. What else can be said about “Vishnu Purāna’s” mentioning the obligations of all four varnas: “These are, the acquisition of property, for the support of their families; cohabitation with their wives, for the sake of progeny; tenderness towards all creatures, patience, humility, truth, purity, contentment, decency of decoration, gentleness of speech, friendliness; and freedom from envy and repining, from avarice, and from detraction. These are also the duties of every condition of life.”¹⁹ Different but hardly more otherworldly are the ten sins mentioned by another Purāna: “Not giving a gift on auspicious days, doing forbidden things, violence, committing adultery, speaking harsh words, uttering falsehood, scandalising words, nonsensical words, coveting another man’s death, wishing evil of others”²⁰.

There is much supernatural “Mahābhārata”. Yet the main action is driven ahead by purely worldly motives, it is only superficially covered by a veil of religious injunctions. The Pāndavas and Kauravas fight for power, the enlargement of the state and personal gains, be it wealth or fame. Even to us – people of different cultural background is understandable what Bhīshma tells Yudhisthira: “Pride, malice, slander, wiliness and incapacity to hear other peoples good, are vices, o Kuru chief, that are to be seen in persons of impure soul under the influence of covetousness.”²¹ Regardless of Yudhisthira’s pious but unconvincing speeches and Bhīshmas sermons, which were hardly a part of the original epic, artha – worldly gains practically is the only aim of the warrior varna. This is well revealed in Arjuna’s, Bhīma’s, Draupadī’s and even Krishna’s utterances at the end of the epic. The warriors of both sides know that if they die, the heaven will keep its doors open to them, yet none is ready to part with his body and to end the supposed sufferings it causes. All Krishna’s tricks with the help of which Arjuna kills his most outstanding enemies are also of a purely

mundane nature. Purely human and even noble is Karna's attitude to the three older Pāndavas after he hears from his mother Kuntī that Yudhisthira, Bhīmasena and Arjuna are his half-brothers. Karna promises to her: "I shall not kill such of your sons as are capable of being withstood and killed by me, in the battle. There are Yudhisthira, Bhīma and the twins, in fact everyone save Arjuna; Arjuna alone in the army of Yudhisthira is worthy to fight with me. Having killed Arjuna I shall achieve a reputation for great prowess; or being myself killed by Savyasachin I shall be endowed with renown."²² "Mahābhārata", reflecting, indeed, natural human weaknesses as much as merits, may not always be an example of military nobleness. Yet Manu asks any soldier: "Fighting in a battle, he should not kill his enemies with weapons that are concealed, barbed or smeared with poison or whose points blaze with fire. He should not kill anyone who has climbed on a mound, or an impotent man, or whose hair is unbound, or anyone who is seated or who says: "I am yours"; nor anyone asleep, without armour, naked, without a weapon, not fighting, looking on, or engaged with someone else; nor anyone whose weapons have been broken, or who is in pain, badly wounded, terrified, or fleeing— for he should remember duties of good men."²³ Is this not purely wordly ethics? One only should note: if such injunctions were at least partly observed in the many battles Indian kings fought against each other, then that was something positively and humanely unique in world history. Especially in so very ancient times.

As one could expect, earthly aims in human life most ardently are defended by Kautilya in his famous "Arthashāstra", written in the beginning of our era. After declaring that it is necessary for the people to fix the bounds of the Aryan rule of life, to establish securely the varnas and the stages of life, follow the assertion that material well-being alone is supreme. We meet with phrases like "wealth is the root of virtue", "virtue is attained by wealth and wealth by virtue", "morality as means to serve political ends", "strength is power, success is happiness". Duties common to all are: abstaining from injury (to living beings), truthfulness, uprightness, freedom from malice, compassionateness, and forbearance.

Even more than in "Arthashāstra", whose influence on the Hindu's everyday life may be very much questioned, worldly values predominate in the wonderful beast fables of "Pancatantra" and "Hitopadesha". Their philosophy, which must have been true to life, was acceptable not only to Indians, but also to many other nationalities. Not in vain in Europe it was once thought that all fairy-tales originated in India.

It is extremely easy to find evidences in literature that women were regarded to be much lower than men and that wives could be treated as something like the property of their husbands. In this connection Manu – a specific authority on the questions of marriage and family life – says: "Horses and chariots, elephants, parasols, money, grain, livestock, women, all sorts of things and non-precious materials belong to the man who wins them."²⁴ We know well how the widows of the three upper varnas are treated even now or what the child marriage means for a girl. At the same time, if we regard Hinduism as an ancient creed, it is obvious that women's position in China or Greece, for example, was hardly better. The very humane Indian injunction not to kill a woman in any circumstances seems to have been strictly observed. Bhīshma allowed himself to be slaughtered because he thought that he had to fight a person whom he knew as a woman. For killing of a woman capital punishment is

prescribed. To die in the defense of a woman meant to go to heaven. There are prescriptions involving harsh punishments even for what we would call today sexual harassment. Mother is until now adored in many families by men even after their marriage.

The strangest thing is that both the respect and disrespect for women are often expressed in the same work and by the same person. A good example of this are Bhīshma's very long sermons when he lies as in bed on Arjuna's arrows. He informs that "Women are deities of prosperity. The person that desires affluence and prosperity should honour them. By cherishing women, O Bharata, (Yudisthira– V.I.) one cherishes the goddess of prosperity herself, and by afflicting her, one is said to pain the goddess of prosperity. Honour, good treatment should be given to the maiden whose hand is taken in marriage. "The virtue of men depend on women."²⁵ But in the same most authoritative source we read: "Women, o King, are fierce. They are gifted with fierce powers. They have none whom they love or like, so much as them that have sexual intercourse with them."²⁶

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Kopsavilkums

Hindu svētos rakstus ir iespējams lasīt, pilnīgi pakļaujot savu *ego*, lai sasniegtu *moksha* stāvokli, taču tas šķiet nepieņemami no humānistisko mērķu viedokļa un kļūst vienīgi par teorētisku iespēju, jo tīri sadzīviskās intereses nosaka cilvēku ikdienas dzīvi. Tieši tāpat ir arī Rietumos.

Der neue Turm zu Babel

Zur polyglotten Signatur der postmodernen Erzählprosa der letzten Jahre

The New Tower of Babel

Notices to the Polyglot Signature of the Post-Modern Narrative Prose in the last Years

Jaunais Bābeles tornis

Piezīmes par daudzvalodības ietekmi postmodernisma vēstījuma prozā pēdējo gadu laikā

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Jacques Derrida hat sie an der Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel verdeutlicht, der er einen neuen Sinn unterlegte. Im Turmbau wollte die Moderne sich im Geiste einer alles beherrschenden Einheitsprache verewigen. Die Einheitsprache ist in eine Fülle von Sprachen zerfallen, die alle das gleiche Recht für sich beanspruchen. Das ist die "polyglotte" Signatur der Postmoderne. Der Text produziert seine eigenen Sinnverbindungen. Alle Bücher sind nur "Echos der Intertextualität"(Umberto Eco). Sie alle sprechen von anderen Büchern und jede Geschichte erzählt eine längst schon erzählte Geschichte. Der Beitrag untersucht „Patchwork“ –Struktur in der deutschen Prosa der Postmoderne.

Keywords: Jacques Derrida, Jürgen Habermas, polyglotte Signatur.

Wenn Literatur tatsächlich, wie behauptet wird, das kollektive Gedächtnis der Menschheit spiegelt, dann erfahren wir beim Vergleich zwischen der Literatur der 1960er/70er Jahre und der 1980er/90er Jahre des gerade abgelaufenen Jahrhunderts eine überraschende Tatsache. Jacques Derrida hat sie an der Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel verdeutlicht, der er einen neuen Sinn unterlegte¹. Im Turmbau wollte die Moderne sich im Geiste einer alles beherrschenden Einheitsprache verewigen. Doch der Bau ist an seiner Vermessenheit und Überspitzung gescheitert. Die Einheitsprache ist in eine Fülle von Sprachen zerfallen, die alle das gleiche Recht für sich beanspruchen. Das ist die "polyglotte" Signatur der Postmoderne. Die Zustimmung zur Pluralität und die Verabschiedung restriktiver Einheitsperspektiven – Inklusivität statt Exklusivität – ist weit über den ästhetischen Bereich zu einer Grundtendenz zeitgenössischer Philosophie und Weltanschauung geworden.

Jürgen Habermas hat für die disparaten Tendenzen unserer Zeit mit dem Titel seiner Aufsatzsammlung "Die neue Unübersichtlichkeit" Mitte der 1980er Jahre ein treffendes Charakterisierungsmerkmal gegeben². Simultaneität und Simulation erhalten eine neue Zauberkraft. Die simultane Verfügbarkeit der Traditionsbestände in der Kunst der Postmoderne führt zur Wiederkehr des gegenstandes, zur Neubewertung des Sinnlich- Gestischen, des Interesses am Mythos in der Malerei – und nicht nur dort –, zur Wiederaufnahme der Schmuck- und Redeformen in der Architektur, zur Collage verschiedener Stile in allen Medien, tonaler Mittel in der Musik, des auf Spannung bedachten Erzählens, der Lust am Narrativen in der Literatur. Die Tradition wird zur abermaligen Avantgarde. Phänomene und Erfahrungen, die vom modernen Denken negativ bewertet worden sind, wie

Unbestimmtheit, Pluralität, Sontaneität, Beliebigkeit, Synkretismus, Trivialität, erfahren in der Theorie der Postmoderne Anerkennung als menschliche Schlüsselerfahrungen und soziale wie ästhetische Grundphänomene. Die modisch-inflationäre Verwendung droht den Terminus Postmoderne geradezu zum sinnentleerten "Passepartoutbegriff" – so warnte Umberto Eco – zu machen³.

Als typischer Ausdruck postmodernen Selbstverständnisses kann der Autor Bod Kirchoff zitiert werden: "Der Intellektuelle und die aus allen Fugen geratene Welt des 20. Jahrhunderts – dazu gibt es längst unübertreffliche Gedanken und Bilder, das wichtigste ist gesagt. Dem Epigonen, der sich jetzt noch äußern soll, bleibt nur, wichtig zu tun und dies zu erkennen...Mein Tschernobyl ist die Medienmaschine, die längst das sogenannte Ernste geschluckt hat – mir droht der Unterhaltungs-GAU. Das Schicksal meiner Eltern hieß Krieg, mein 'Schicksal' heißt Banalität"⁴.

Den postmodernen Schriftstellern geht es nicht mehr um eine erkenntnisorientierte Wltinterpretation oder die Problematisierung des herkömmlichen Geschichtenerzählens. Ihre Romane wie Sten Nadolnys *Die Entdeckung der Langsamkeit* (1983), Patrick Süskinds "Das Parfum" (1985), Christoph Ransmayrs "Die letzte Welt" (1988) oder Bodo Kirchoffs in diesem Jahr erschienener "Schundroman" lassen sich auf der Textoberfläche fast durchgängig als Unterhaltungsliteratur, bisweilen an der Grenze zum Trivialen, lesen. Ihr Stoff ist reizvoll, die Handlung spannend konstruiert und die sprachliche Darbietung voller Effekte. Sie zeigen die Welt ohne Mittelpunkt, ohne Ich. Der Identitätsbegriff wird gänzlich aufgelöst. Der postmoderne Roman wird als großes Vernetzungswerk, als Flickwerkstruktur gesehen. Er bietet für jeden etwas: historische Belehrung, phantastische Geschichte, Sex and rime im virtuosen Bestsellermix. Er ist ein Mimikry ohne Original.

Patrick Süskinds Erfolgsroman "Das Parfum – Die Geschichte eines Mörders" (1985) distanziert sich nicht nur von der oftmals larmoyanten Selbstbeobachtungsliteratur der 1970er und beginnenden 1980er Jahre, sondern imitiert ironisch zitierend traditionelle Erzählhaltungen und fügt literarische Motive aus vergangenen Epochen bei: "Das Parfum" greift zurück auf das Kleistsche Kohlhaas-Motiv, auf das romantische La Belle-et-la-Bete-Thema, auf Erzählungen E.T.A. Hoffmanns, das Musical "Phantom der Oper" von A.L. Webber, auf die besonderen Fähigkeiten Oskar Matzeraths im Grass-Roman "Die Blechtrommel", den Film "Rosemary's Baby" von Roman Polanski, auf berlegungen Friedrich Nietzsches, George Batailles, Albert Camus', Elias Canettis und Michel Foucaults, dessen analytische Untersuchungen zur Zivilisationsgeschichte dem Postmodernismus zugeordnet worden sind, und vieles andere mehr.

Süskinds "Das Parfum" ist Bildungsroman (besser: Verbildungsroman), biographischer Roman, historischer Roman, Kriminalroman, Reiseroman, phantastischer Roman, Parabel und Gedankenspiel in einem. Verschiedene Erzähltraditionen werden hier virtuos miteinander kombiniert; verschiedene Stilelemente, die für das Märchen, den historischen Bericht, die Bibel, das Drama u.a. charakteristisch sind, werden variiert. Im Zentrum des Romans steht das Paris des 18. Jahrhunderts und die Gestalt des Jean-Baptiste Grenouille, eines häßlichen Gnoms, der die Fähigkeit besitzt, Tausende von Düften zu identifizieren, und der menschenmordend den "absoluten

Duft" erfindet: Aus dem Duft junger Mädchen, die er ermordet hat. Grenouille wird zum Tod auf dem Schafott verurteilt, versetzt mit dem geheimnisvollen Parfüm die zu seiner Hinrichtung herbeiströmenden Schaulustigen in einen ekstatischen Taumel und wird so Opfer seiner eigenen Erfindung. Geschickt verbindet der Roman triviale, unterhaltende und ernste Elemente. "Das Parfum", dieser Pastiche-Roman (Pastiche hier als Flickwerkstruktur) ist vielschichtig konstruiert und bietet dem Leser eine Fülle ironisch gebrochener, intertextueller Anspielungen an, deren Erkennen aber für das Verfolgen der Handlung nicht unbedingt erforderlich ist.

Dagegen mischt Christoph Ransmayr in seinem Roman "Die letzte Welt" (1988) mythische Geschichten aus der Vergangenheit mit dem Wissen aus der Gegenwart, so daß die Verflechtungen der Zeiten und die damit verbundenen Anachronismen eine neue Art von Lesevergnügen sichern sollen. Obwohl – ähnlich wie in Umberto Ecos Erfolgsroman "Der Name der Rose" – Geschichten (hier um Ovid) erzählt werden, entspricht dieses Buch nicht dem Typus des Geschichtsromans. Er produziert vielmehr eine neue, mit historischen Elementen durchsetzte Wirklichkeit. Erzählt wird, wie der Römer Cotta sein Interesse auf Ovids "Metamorphosen" lenkt, die vernichtet sind und rekonstruiert werden müssen. Gestalten aus Ovids Dichtung treten auf und werden aus mythischer Vorzeit in die Epoche Cottas und in die Zeit des Autors Ransmayr versetzt. Ovids Verfehlung besteht darin, "das zum Staat verblaßte Rom an archaische, unbändige Leidenschaften erinnert" zu haben⁵.

Cotta, der Amateurdetektiv, kann am obskuren Zufluchtsort Ovids – dessen Bewohner ihre Gestalt ständig ändern und die deshalb ebenso ungreifbar wie unbegreifbar sind – weder einen Hinweis auf den Gesuchten – Ovid – ausfindig machen noch auf dessen Manuskript "Metamorphosen", das zu verbrennen Ovid angekündigt hat. Ransmayr verbindet so das Thema der vergeblichen Recherche mit einem anderen postmodernen Lieblingstops: mit dem des verlorenen, verschollenen Buches – also mit einer Metapher für den Verlust des Sinns, des codifizierten geistigen Zusammenhangs. Eigentlich geht es um das Buch heute, um die Frage, was Literatur heute vermag, um "Poesie" als "letzte" Welt. Dieser Lesart zufolge steht die "letzte Welt" also hier nicht primär als apokalyptisches, sondern als utopisches Kürzel.

Aus der scheinbar bloßen Stasi-Geschichte "Ich" (1993) von Wolfgang Hilbig wird die brillante Umkehrung des Bildungsromans und der "postmoderne" Gesellschaftsroman über die Endzeit der DDR. Wirklichkeit entblößt sich als Simulation und entpuppt sich gerade darin als wirklich. Der Identitätsbegriff ist aufgelöst und das "postmoderne" Sprachspiel soll dem Leser durchaus Unterhaltung und Vergnügen bereiten, das bald aber in bitterbösen Sarkasmus umschlägt. Hilbig schreibt über einen jungen Mann namens M. W., den die allgegenwärtige Stasi durch Verführung, durch Druck, durch versteckte Intrige und offenbarte Intelligenz zu einem Dichter und einem IM (informellen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit) macht. Wenn er schon einmal schreibt, kann er auch Berichte schreiben. Zwischen "IL" (Inoffizielle, unerwünschte Literatur) und IM liegt im Alphabet nur eine winzige Leerstelle. Die Selbstverwirklichung beginnt als Selbstauslöschung. Obwohl M.W. zu fliehen versucht, nach Ostberlin, das damals Hauptstadt der DDR hieß, in die Szene, in den Kelleruntergrund, entkommt er der Stasi nicht. Er wird geführt, er wird beobachtet, er

beobachtet selbst. Alle wichtigen Personen des Romans, auch die unwahrscheinlichsten, enthüllen sich schließlich als Informanten des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit, verstrickt in ein Spiel, das niemand beherrscht, niemand überblickt und das dennoch einen Staat ergibt: "Ziel des Dienstes war es, alle...Ich sagte alle! dachte er. Ausnahmslos alle...zu Mitarbeitern des Dienstes zu machen, auch wenn dieser Gedanke wahnsinnig klang. Damit alle von allen überwacht werden konnten...War dies nicht das unausgesprochene Ziel aller großen Utopien, von Platon über Bacon bis Marx und Lenin? Daß jeder jeden in der Hand hatte, vielleicht war dies das letztendliche Ziel des utopischen Denkens..."⁶.

Die in unendlich vielen Anläufen durchgespielte Idee Hilbigs: Der Gegensatz von Geist und Macht ist eine Chimäre, tausendfach ausgebeutet von der Stasi wie von den Dichtern. Im Gegenteil: Dichter und Staatsschützer sind sich ähnlich, aufeinander verwiesen, sie agieren in ähnlichen Strukturen. M. W. wird Schriftsteller, weil die Stasi Opposition braucht wie die Opposition den Staatsschutz. Stasi wie Dichter sind abwesend hinter ihren papiernen Entwürfen; beide hegen ein tiefes Mißtrauen gegen die Wirklichkeit; beide können nicht mit Menschen umgehen, können sie nur erforschen, ausforschen; beide kommunizieren nicht, sondern leben hinter den Zeichen; beide ersetzen Reales durch beliebige Kopfgeburten. Der Dichter ist "der Wahrnehmungsmensch, dessen Sinn darauf trainiert war, seine Beobachtungen in methodisch aussehende Sprachraaster zu fügen"⁷. Der IM auch. Der Dichter lebt in der Welt der Zeichen. Der IM auch. Beide sind Simulationsagenten. Atemberaubend ist diese Hypothese, die dem Ganzen zugrundeliegt.

Der Ich-Zerfall in einer Welt verlorener Sicherheit und vorgefertigter Normen ist die Voraussetzung für den postmodernen Roman. Norbert Niemanns Roman "Wie man's nimmt" (1998) handelt von jungen desolaten Figuren, die nach sich selbst suchen, aber bei dieser Suche immer nur auf vorgestanzte Meinungshülsen stoßen. Eigentlich ist an den Figuren, die wie aus Fertigbauteilen zusammengesetzt sind, nichts Eigenes mehr. Und eigentlich wiederholt auch Niemanns Sprache das Phrasenhafte und will so die Ohnmacht vor der phrasenhaften Welt zeigen. Die Medialisierung und Vernetzung ist so allgegenwärtig, daß es überhaupt keinen Zugang mehr zum Echten gibt. Verkürzt also: Die Welt ist eine riesige Konserve, was man wiederum nur mit Konservensätzen zeigen könne.

Auch Steffen Kopetzky läßt in seiner Prosaarbeit "Einbruch und Wahn" einen jungen Dichter den Boden unter dem Denken verlieren. Seine aberwitzig verschachtelten Sätze, deren Teile sich ständig selbst ins Wort fallen, sich durch die Form schon der Lüge bezichtigen, führen in einen geschlossenen, realitätsleeren Wahnkosmos, der sich selbstgenügsam und nach dem Schneeballprinzip ins Gewaltige fortspinnt. Sowohl Niemann als auch Kopetzky inszenieren und verabsolutieren die Unwahrheit. Beide Texte richten sich im Unechten, im Uneigentlichen, im "uneigentlichen Konservenschreiben" ein.

Gerade die Tendenz des "uneigentlichen Konservenschreibens" löst ein Motiv ab, das die Literatur noch bis in die 1980er Jahre bestimmt hat: die Eigentlichkeit. Schaut man auf die Themen und Motive, trifft man immer wieder auf die damaligen Themen und Motive, trifft man immer wieder auf die Eigentlichkeit und die Sehnsucht nach dem Unvermittelten, dem Echten. Und zwar nicht nur bei Peter Handke und

Botho Strauß, sondern auch in Großstadtromanen von Ulrich Woelk, Ulrich Peltzer und Richard Wagner, die einem absoluten Gegenwartsmoment hinterherjagen. In den virtuellen Räumen der Computerliteratur, bei der die Entwirklichung der Welt auf die Spitze getrieben wird, um dann in einen ganz wirklichen Moment zu kippen.

Jochen Beyses Erzählung „Ultraviolett“ (1990) handelt von einem Börsenmakler, für den die Welt längst zum Bildschirm geworden ist: Zahlenkombinationen und oberflächliches Bildgeflimmer, das man beliebig steuern kann. Die Figur selbst ist eine Art Hih-Tech-Bewußtseinsmaschine, ein hochsensibler Wahrnehmungsapparat, sonst allerdings ziemlich leblos. Der plötzliche Augenblick hat bei diesem Spiel eine entscheidende Funktion. Er bezeichnet den Augenblick, in dem die Figur bestimmt, auf welche Taktik sie umschaltet. Permanent spielt sie diverse Handlungs- und Sprechmöglichkeiten durch, um im richtigen Augenblick die richtigen Entscheidungen zu treffen, die genau dann richtig sind, wenn sie der Figur das Gefühl geben, die größte Kontrolle über sich zu behalten. Diese permanenten Entscheidungen halten das Lebensspiel in Fluß, und dieser Fluß suggeriert das Gefühl von Sinn. In Wahrheit ist es aber genau umgekehrt. Der Fluß läßt keine Ruhe und keinen wirklichen Gedanken zu. Die ohnehin künstliche Welt wird luftdicht verfugt und perpetuiert ein Gefühl der Leere, das um so größer wird, je virtuoser der Erzähler seine Erzählung beherrscht. Wirklich an dieser Figur ist nur die Leere. Die Angst vor ihr treibt die Figur zu ihren Inszenierungen an, und die Leere schwebt ihr letztlich auch als Erlösungsvision vor. Der Makler jagt sein Bewußtseinsspiel auf solche Touren, daß die Maschine endlich heiß läuft und schließlich versagt: Absoluter Kontrollverlust ist das Ergebnis. Der Makler betritt das knirschende Eis eines zugefrorenen Kanals: „Du bist wirr, dachte er, verrückt, du setzt dein Leben aufs Spiel – und jetzt brach der Schirm, endlich, endlich“⁸. Der ekstatische Augenblick, in dem sein Bildschirm bricht und die Welt als eigentliche Wirklichkeit ihn endlich umspült, führt zum Tod. Ein Tod, der wie eine Erlösung wirkt.

Das Spiel mit den Identitäten war in den 1980er Jahren wirklich nur ein Spiel gewesen. Ein rein ästhetisches Problem, das inzwischen zum existentiellen geworden ist, weil die Diskurse, mit denen man im achten Jahrzehnt noch spielerisch jongliert hatte, sich als Vernetzung und Medialisierung inzwischen bis in die kleinsten Lebensbereiche hineingefressen haben. Während die Literatur der 1980er Jahre noch damit kokettierte, daß Ich jeder sein kann, weiß Ich in den 1990er Jahren tatsächlich nicht mehr, wer und was Ich ist.

Stirner, von Beruf Innenarchitekt, der Erzähler in Ulrich Woelks Berlin-Roman „Rückspiel“ (1993), verwechselt ständig Leben mit Konstruieren. Er fühlt sich wie in einem unwirklichen Secondhand-Leben. Eine Sehnsucht nach Direktheit hat auch er, und da man in den 1990ern am meisten Gegenwart im konfliktreichen Berlin findet, schickt Woelk seinen Helden über die Mitfahrzentrale mit der weniger gehemmten Lucca dorthin. Die beiden verlieben sich ineinander, und Stirner kann mit Lucca wenigstens für kurze Zeit seine Verkrampfung vergessen. Denn sein Problem wird er nicht los, überall dort, wo etwas lebendig ist, automatisch auch ein Konstrukt hineinzulesen. Sein Hirn hat eine eingebaute Fiktionalisierungsautomatik und bastelt aus sich, Lucca und noch anderen Figuren eine wahnhafte Liebes- und Kriminalgeschichte, die der wirklichen Liebe zu Lucca das Leben nimmt. Im verzweifelten Rettungsversuch greift Stirner auf einer Silvesterparty zum Speed, das

seine Hirnverkrampfung aufsprengt und ihn endlich in die ersehnte Jetztzeit befördert: „...und ich bekam kaum Luft, aber wir hopsten und hopsten, ich war glücklich, wir alle waren glücklich, und jetzt war der richtige Zeitpunkt...weil jetzt der Jüngste Tag war“⁹. Nur weilt Lucca längst in einer anderen Gegenwart und schläft gerade mit einem Künstler. Das ist die Ironie: Im Rausch der Jetztzeit ist man utopisch mit allem verbunden und kann doch so entsetzlich allein sein.

Die Autoren der 1990er Jahre wissen, daß sich der Moment der Jetztzeit nicht einstellt, sondern er muß virtuell hergestellt werden. Durch Sex, Musik, Liebesromantik oder Drogen. Freilich ein Paradox: das Eigentliche, also nicht Inszenierte wird möglich nur in der Inszenierung, und der absolute Glücksmoment ist, wie Stirner erfährt, eben nur an der inszenierten Oberfläche absolut und wirklich und geht ansonsten schmerzhaft an der Wirklichkeit vorbei. Auch muß man wohl unterscheiden zwischen dem Willen zum absoluten Augenblick der Autoren und dem, was ihre Sprache zu vermitteln vermag.

Der Cyberroman „Die Quotenmaschine“ (1996) von Norman Ohler spielt in New York und reflektiert das Lebensgefühl von Techno und der sogenannten Internetter. Das Ziel ist auch hier Jetztzeit, absolutes im-Fluß-Sein, was für den Detektiv Maxx Rutenberg vor allem Ich-Auflösung bedeutet. Im Square Park verliert er sich auf Techno-Parties, und in „Maxxenx Kopf schwammen die Worte Ja Ja Ja Ja“¹⁰. Daneben verliert er sich auch im Internet. Er schickt die Geschichte, an der er recherchiert, ins Netz, aus dem sie kommentiert zurückkommt. Der Text wird also ortlos, was Maxx als totale Befreiung erlebt. Und das ist ja auch die Paradoxie an der Sache. In dem Augenblick, in dem er sich, sein Ich losgeworden ist, fühlt Maxx sich erst eigentlich bei sich angekommen.

Das postmoderne Sprachspiel soll – um es noch einmal zu wiederholen – dem Leser nicht nur Erkenntnis vermitteln, sondern durchaus auch Unterhaltung und Vergnügen bereiten. Das gesellschaftliche Engagement als der entscheidende Impuls zur Produktion von Literatur wird ausgeschlossen. Umberto Eco sagte nach dem Welterfolg von „Der Name der Rose“: „Ich habe einen Roman geschrieben, weil ich Lust dazu hatte. Ich halte das für einen hinreichenden Grund, sich ans Erzählen zu machen. Der Mensch ist von Natur aus ein animal fabulator“¹¹. Der Text also produziert seine eigenen Sinnverbindungen. Alle Bücher sind nur „Echos der Intertextualität“¹². Denn sie alle sprechen von anderen Büchern und jede Geschichte erzählt eine längst schon erzählte Geschichte.

ANMERKUNGEN

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- ² Habermas Jürgen. Die neue Unübersichtlichkeit. 1985.
- ³ Eco Umberto. Nachschrift zum „Namen der Rose“. – München, 1986, S. 77.
- ⁴ Kirchhoff Bodo. Ich bin ein Möchtegernschriftsteller, in: Martin Lüdke und Delf Schmidt (Hg.): Rowohlt Literaturmagazin 19, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1987, S. 68 f.
- ⁵ Ransmayr Christoph. Die letzte Welt. – Frankfurt/M, 1988, S. 173.

- ⁶ Hilbig Wolfgang. Ich. Roman. – Frankfurt/M, 1993, S. 75.
- ⁷ Ebenda, S. 335.
- ⁸ Beyse Jochen. Ultraviolett. Erzählung. – Frankfurt/M, 1990, S. 135.
- ⁹ Woelk Ulrich. Rückspiel. Roman. – Frankfurt/M, 1993, S. 272.
- ¹⁰ Ohler Norman. Die Quotenmaschine. Roman. – Hamburg, 1996, S. 211.
- ¹¹ Eco Umberto. A.a.O., S. 21.
- ¹² Ebenda, S. 21.

Summary

Jacques Derrida has attached a new meaning to the tale of the construction of the Tower of Babel. The modern men wanted to perpetuate the ruling language of unity in the construction of the Tower. But the fact that the language of unity has divided into a copiousness of languages, and that all of them demand the same rights, means the polyglot signature of post-modern. The text produces his connections of sense. All books would be “responses of the intertextual” (Umberto Eco), then all writers talk about ot

her books and each story tells a tale that was told long ago. The Post-modern roman is seen as a great network. The patchwork structures of the post-modern narration in Germany should be researched in this paper.

Kopsavilkums

Žaks Derida ir piešķīris jaunu nozīmi stāstam par Bābeles torņa celtniecību. Modernais cilvēks vēlējas iemūžināt valdošo un vienojošo valodu Bābeles torņa celtniecībā. Taču fakts, ka vienojošā valoda ir sadalījusies valodu daudzveidībā, kur katra no tām pieprasa vienādas tiesības, ir viena no svarīgākajām postmodernisma poliglotiskajām iezīmēm. Teksts rada savas jēgpilnas sakarības. Tādējādi visas grāmatas ir “responses of the intertextual” (Umberto Eko), visi rakstnieki runā par citu sarakstītajām grāmatām un ikviens stāsts atkārtο jau sen uzrakstīto. Postmodernais romāns ir uzskatāms par lielu sakarību tīklu. Referātā tiek aplūkotas Vācijas postmodernā vēstījuma mozaikas struktūras.

The Postcolonial Syndrome and Identity Crisis in Latvia

Pēckoloniālais sindroms un identitātes krīze Latvijā

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The society in contemporary Latvia experiences the same problems other Asian or African countries had had after regaining independence. Thus the statement is valid that Latvia is in a postcolonial situation characterised by the postcolonial syndrome and crisis of identities. A successful integration of society in the future is possible only rehabilitating the principle of historic justice, attributing a contemporary content to the notion of “national” and continuing to build Latvian state structures on the basis of principles of parliamentary democracy.

Keywords: Identity, post-colonialism, society integration.

The modern world influenced by globalisation has created a number of problems. One of these problems is preserving the identity. This problem has affected not only a mere individual, but also the state. To solve this problem states establish relevant institutions and hire professional image makers. Individuals had to cope with this problem by themselves since the beginning of time. The philosophers of antiquity and Orient were encouraging people to it by teaching: “Know thyself!” Even today the individual who was raised from his anonymous existence and turned into a personality by the ideology of the Renaissance risks losing this identity in the modern world. In Latvia both these problems – the problem of preserving the identity of the state and the problem of preserving one’s personal identity – are equally important. They are closely intertwined.

Presently Latvia finds itself in a postcolonial situation. In the twentieth century Latvia has liberated itself from colonial regimes twice. In 1918 it proclaimed its independence for the first time liberating itself from seven hundred years of German and two hundred years of Russian/German rule, and for the second time in 1991 when it broke away from the Soviet system. In the postcolonial discourse this topic is often neglected. There are many reasons for this. In the 1950s these reasons were well described by Czeslaw Milosz in his “The Captive Mind”. Recently I found a profound analysis of this problem in an article by Dr. Kārlis Racevskis called “Toward a Postcolonial Perspective on the Baltic States”. In Latvia the philosopher Vilnis Zariņš has analysed the topic in a most interesting way.

As the former minister of foreign affairs Georgs Andrejevs has stated, on the official level the evidence suggests that there can be no doubt about the fact that the Soviet regime was imposed on Latvia first by occupation and then by the following colonisation of an independent state.¹ The first document to state the occupation was the report by Marie Antoinette von Lowzow (Doc. 1173) presented to the Consultant (now Parliamentary) Assembly of the Council of Europe on its 19th session September 28, 1960 on the situation in the Baltics to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the

loss of independence of the three Baltic states. The day after the Assembly approved Resolution 189 “On the Situation in the Baltic States on the twentieth anniversary of their forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union” in which the Soviet military occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was denounced, and which stated that the illegal annexation was carried out without the consent of the people of these three states. Along with this document three more resolutions on this topic were passed in the following years: Doc. 1665 “On the Present Situation in the Baltic States”, Sept. 19, 1963, in which the colonization of Latvia under the Soviet rule was analysed and denounced. On Jan. 13, 1983, the Parliament of Europe discussed the report of the Political Commission (Doc. 1–656/82) about the situation in the Baltics and passed a “Resolution about the Situation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania” which was later published in the official newspaper of the European Union “Journal officiel des Communautés européennes” Febr. 14, 1983 (No C 42/77). In this document, in paragraph D of the Statement, it is stressed that the Parliament of Europe denounces the occupation of the formerly independent and neutral three Baltic states that started in 1940 as the result of Molotov–Ribbentrop pact and continues still now. Paragraph F states that during the 8 years of local resistance more than 665 000 Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian civilians were killed or deported to the labour camps of Siberia. This figure does not include the thousands of those who were killed in the war or during the guerilla movement after the war. It should be noted that in the coming years around one and a half million people from other the territories of the Soviet Union were brought to the Baltic states. Up to this day Latvia seems to be the only European state that has not restored its pre-war human resources.

In the Recommending part in paragraph 2 European Parliament encourages the foreign ministers of the member states to bring the question of the Baltic States to the attention of the UNO Special Sub-Commission on of Decolonisation. This appeal was signed by 10 member states: United Kingdom, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Germany.

The last document in this line is Resolution (No 872.) On the Situation of the Baltic Peoples on (Jan. 28, 1987), adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Paragraph 6 expresses regret about the policy of assimilation of the Baltic nations. By this time the European Union had expanded to 21 states, all of which signed this document.

It does not seem that the world community is particularly well informed about of the situation the Baltic states are facing at present. We still feel that scholars rarely deal with these countries in terms of the postcolonial discourse. Is this because the idea of colonisation is normally associated with white people “who carried their burden” to other races on different continents, in previous centuries? And does the idea about white people colonizing white people seem absurd? To the reasons stated here I would like to add a certain uneasiness or reticence of a victim to speak about being victimized. This rather complex moral problem is made even more difficult by the philosophy of libertarianism and an ethical relativism which is typical of the modern world. It is also generally believed that the leftist or Marxist movement was essentially anti-colonial. One of the first voices raised against this erroneous assumption was that of Czeslaw Milosz. Why was he not heard by western intellectuals? Was it because they thought that they “knew better”?

Dr Kārlis Racevskis gives a detailed analysis of the reasons for this neglect. In the introduction to his article he writes:

The idea that the Baltic states might be considered as a former colonies of the Soviet Union is clearly a vexing one – untenable in some quarters, irrecusable in others, but mostly ignored or deemed irrelevant. The theme certainly appears incongruous in the context of the ever-expanding field of postcolonial studies. ...One notable exception to this neglect is a recent article by David Chioni Moore, in which he observes “first, how extraordinarily postcolonial the societies of the former Soviet regions are, and, second how extraordinarily little attention is paid to this fact, at least in these terms”. He argues further that “it should be clear that the term ‘postcolonial’, and everything that goes with it – language, economy, resistance, liberation and its hangover – might be reasonably applied to the formerly Russo–and Soviet–controlled regions post–1989 and –1991, just as it has been applied to South Asia post–1947 or Africa post–1958.”²

The common traits that make the situation in present day Latvia comparable to the situation in South Asia or Africa in the respective period of time, colorfully described by D.Ch. Moore as “hangover of liberation”, I shall call the “postcolonial syndrome”.

The postcolonial syndrome is more or less typical of all the countries that have regained their independence. The postcolonial syndrome is characterized by a variety of emotions, ranging from euphoria brought about by the belief that freedom would automatically solve all problems created by the previous regime, down to a complete loss of illusions, bitter disappointment and depression when it turns out that things do not happen automatically. This feeling of disillusionment is aggravated by the discovery that capitalism in its formative stage is not very humane, and it is simply not possible to jump from the Soviet type socialism right into the welfare state. Even more: to our great surprise we found in many cases that people corrupted and deformed by the previous regime had come to power again. J. Nehru has described such a situation, writing about the first years of the Independence of India. After all, they were the only people in India who had at least some knowledge of the state and society management.

In 1993, when I happened to meet colleagues from the School of East European and Slavic Studies at the University of London, I asked the Head of the School, Professor Michael Branch, “What do you think, when will the people of Latvia start living normal human lives?” Smiling, and not hesitating for a moment, he replied: “In 35 years.” “But why in exactly 35 years?”, wondered I. “Because only then will you start electing people to your Parliament who were born in freedom.”

During those twelve years of independence we all had moments when we were proud and happy to witness these years of great changes, but there were also moments when we felt frustrated and miserable. “God save you from living in times of great changes”, the ancient Chinese saying goes. People in all countries of the former Eastern Block have experienced this feeling.

Characterizing the present situation in Poland, Marcian Krul, Professor of History at the University of Warsaw, writes:

The Soviet-type economies could pretend that they were the very embodiment of industrial modernization, still in most parts of the former USSR satellite states the Marxist–Leninist economy imprisoned an enormous number of people on in their farms. Today this reserve army creates the most serious political conflicts in Poland since the fall of communism and right at in the time when the country is trying to become an EU member state.³

The postcolonial syndrome is essentially a chain of effects provoked by drastic changes of social roles and identities. On a personal level it may often result in a profound identity crisis. Such is the case with the Polish farmers. The situation in Latvia can be characterized in similar terms.

After independence was restored, the indigenous population, at least in theory, had their former rights restored, whereas the new-comers, who had arrived with the Soviet occupation troops or later, suddenly turned from ‘liberators’—a role they identified themselves with—into ‘colonizers’. Neither of the groups was ready for this kind of change. Independence this time had come to Latvia faster than people had expected. Actually, the coup of August 1991 solved the problem in a couple of days. This was the time when many non-ethnic Latvians living in Latvia supported the idea of independence, and that is why this though unofficial change of their social role was painful to them. In the past those people had arrived in in Latvia quite differently. The first group came to Latvia at the end of World War II, along with the Soviet army, convinced of their mission as li-berators, though for the local people they were just another occupation army. Then there followed the retired officers who, just in the tradition of the Roman Empire, were allowed to settle down in its the colonies and enjoy certain privileges. It is those two groups of settlers to whom it would be politically correct to apply the term ‘colonizers’. They were followed by economical refugees, – initially from regions ruined by the war, and later from regions ruined by mismanagement, and then by those who were sent there by warrants after graduating from high schools and universities. This process intensified after 1959 – it might be called the secret colonization of Latvia. Although these new-comers enjoyed the kind of privileges the local population had been denied, for instance language (Latvian at that time was a kind of a second class language), accommodation, work, career opportunities etc., they were brought to Latvia in such large numbers that the regime could not provide them with normal living conditions. They were pining away for decades in hostels and communal flats, waiting for a flat of their own, and when they were confronted with the bureaucratic state machinery their lack of rights brought them together with the local people, though the fundamental difference between the two groups remained, the difference of the psychology of a grinding-stone and a grain.

Not just the people of Baltic states, but also the inhabitants of other Soviet satellite states felt like grain between grinding stones, though colonization there was more of a spiritual type. Karlis Racevskis characterised this method of colonization, i.e. the colonization of people’s minds, when he quoted Vaclav Havel:

Vaclav Havel provides a most compelling description of the method that was perfected during the years of Soviet occupation in Eastern Europe. In order to suggest the insidious subtlety of a system that remained to-

talitarian while pretending to be something else entirely, Havel terms it post-totalitarian:

The post-totalitarian system touches people at every step, but does so with its ideological gloves on. This is why life in the system is so thoroughly permeated with hypocrisy and lies: government by bureaucracy is called popular government; the working class is enslaved in the name of the working class; the complete degradation of the individual is pretended as his ultimate liberation; depriving people of information is called making it available; the use of power to manipulate is called the public control of power, and the arbitrary abuse of power is called observing the legal code; the repression of culture is called its development; the expansion of imperial influence is presented as support for the oppressed; the lack of free expression becomes the highest form of freedom; farcical elections become the highest form of democracy; banning independent thought becomes the most scientific of world views; military occupation becomes fraternal assistance. Because the regime is captive to its own lies, it must falsify everything. It falsifies its past. It falsifies the present, and it falsifies the future. It falsifies statistics. It pretends not to possess an omnipotent and unprincipled police apparatus. It pretends to respect human rights. It pretends to persecute no one. It pretends to fear nothing. It pretends to pretend nothing.⁴

The main difference in the psychology of the newcomers and the basic indigenous population of Latvia was the fact that the former believed into this ideology and the latter did not. The question that emerges is this: if they believed in this ideology, was it because it was convenient to believe in it, or was it the result of naiveté and lack of education? This is a very delicate question. One can answer it frankly only deep down in one's own heart. If the belief in this ideology was genuine, it grew out of insufficient knowledge, or lack of education. It proves that Russia was colonising neighboring territories that had generally reached a higher level of development than Russia itself. If, on the other hand, the answer is that it was a matter of convenience to believe in this ideology, then the talk about theory of "liberation" and "rendering fraternal help" collapses automatically. This brings about the feeling of uneasiness that occasionally springs up between two groups: one of whom has been telling lies, and the other one who was forced to pretend to believe them.

This is why the postcolonial syndrome in Latvia has its own specific features:

1. After Latvia regained its independence the new-comers did not leave the country, like in "classical" colonial states such as India, Algeria etc. Instead they remained, trying to live on keeping appearances, pretending that nothing has happened, that they are still living in the same country as before (i.e. USSR). This feeling is supported by the informative space they live in. And that is why they often keep presenting the loss of their privileges as the oppression of minorities, or a violation of human rights.
2. The native population in its turn is also caught up in deception. They treat the new-comers as if they do not exist at all and ignore them, regarding their prob-

lems as their problems, and not the problems of Latvia. There is no dialogue between the two groups of inhabitants, just as there is no real dialogue between Latvia and Russia. It seems that the shortest way were if Russia brought forth its apologies for what it has done to the Baltic states, to acknowledge their borders officially, and to start a constructive dialogue, instead of blackmailing them periodically. Russia will have to dissociate herself from the former USSR and to open a new page in its relationship with the Baltic states.

3. The former metropolis does not need its own people back. Their children who were born in Latvia regard this country as their only homeland.
4. After the independence was restored, the political powers was wielded by the indigenous inhabitants, but the economic powers, to a large extent, was wielded by the new-comers. Making skilful use of their contacts and the privileged positions which they had enjoyed in the Soviet times, as well as of the financial assets of the former Communist party and Komsomol they got hold of, they created the most powerful private capital structures of the new Latvia and its shadow economy.
5. In many cases this situation provided the basis for corruption, smuggling, and tax evasion, that is for attempts to avoid paying taxes etc.. This was often stimulated by a the lack of experience and knowledge in legislation and state administration.
6. A poorly developed feeling of statehood among vast layers of the population explains the inability to identify themselves with the state of Latvia. It is "rising to power and welfare of morally inferior people, demoralization of vast layers of the society" (7, 130) that should be regarded as the most tragic aftereffect of colonization. The people who came to power immediately after independence were often the same people who were brought to the fore by the colonial apparatus. They have been splendidly described by J. Nehru (on the basis of India):

As was natural under the circumstances, they became arrogant and overbearing and contemptuous of public opinion. Narrow and limited in outlook, they began to look upon themselves as the wisest people on earth. The good of India meant to them primarily the good of their own service. They formed a kind of mutual admiration society and were continuously praising each other. Unchecked power and authority inevitably lead to this, and the Indian Civil Service were practically masters of India.⁵

This quotation can easily be applied to the present society in Latvia. It is less topical than 10 years ago, but the fact that morally inferior people have acquired power and wealth is one of the most appalling consequences of the colonial regime.

7. The fact that the indigenous population of Latvia for centuries was deprived of the rights to set up their own state and that the Latvian nobility was wiped out in the fourteenth century (around the time when national states emerged in Western Europe) was a serious loss to the Latvian society. It had been the nobility that which had played an important role in the creation of the idea of statehood; in Western Europe those were the representatives of the nobility who had from generation to generation established a tradition of professional diplomacy and the principles of strategic state loyalty.

8. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that Latvians were allowed to practise the rights to deal with law, religion, professional arts and commerce. In the Soviet times Latvians were not allowed to practise seafaring professions that had been a traditional source of livelihood engagement for the native population since “time out of mind.” (Blackstone)ever. It was the new-comers and not the indigenous inhabitants of Latvia who took these niches. And that is why there still is no strong tradition among Latvians in these fields yet. As a result, we often witness insufficient ability of Latvia to defend her national interests on an international level and incapability of creating an internationally recognizable image.
9. The Soviet style of communication greatly has been preserved i.e.: 1) directing oneself to corporative or party-oriented interests instead of national interests; 2) misinterpretation of the term “national” to mean “ethnic” instead of “belonging to the state” or “stately”, with the ensuing problems; 3) groundless suspicion and the prevalence of conspiracy theories, popularity of the theory of conspiracy among the population as a consequence of the experience of numerous political treasons in the 20th century and the Soviet totalitarian system; 4) secrecy of decision making and implementation ; 5) lack of interpersonal skills and distrust of team work; 6) rudeness and bossiness towards the subordinates; 7) a loud and aggressive manner of speech.

In a larger context Latvia occupies a unique place. Estonia has formed a close partnership with Finland partly because of a common ancestry. Lithuania, due to its history and a strong Catholic tradition, is closer to the traditional Catholic countries. As the contemporary Latvian poet and ex-President of the PEN Club of Latvia Knuts Skujenieks points out:

If the Baltic states take a very special place in the panorama of Europe then Latvia takes a very special place in the Baltics. Historically Latvia had been lying on the crossroads not only of the Baltics but on the whole of East Europe. In ancient times it was here that the top people of Baltic and Finno-Ugrian tribes met, whereas the bulk of the tribes was living in neighboring areas which ethnically were more monolithic. It is a fact of historical importance that this conglomeration of ethnic diversity eventually became the Latvian nation. The echo of these remote times is still felt in the multicultural panorama of Latvia. For centuries the neighboring big powers had been partitioning and dividing our land and our people. And it was only in the twentieth century right after the First World War that Latvia became independent and united.⁶

It was starting from the thirteenth century that tribes and clans who lived on the territory of Latvia built the Latvian nation by defending themselves against foreign invaders. Foreign invasion, on the one hand, stimulated the formation of the Latvian nation; whereas, on the other, it hindered its development by enslaving its the people. In the fourteenth century Latvia marked the borderline between the western Hanseatic Union and the oriental Golden Horde, which actually was the genuine border between the West and the East. In a broader sense it was the demarcation line between the psychology of farmers and cattle-breeders. Farmer psychology is characterized by “the respect for any object of nature or a living being; no need to take

up more space in the world as necessary; the balance of positive and negative forces in nature and in the human soul”⁷. Out of this approach there grows the tradition of onkeeping one’s environment in order and protecting it. The farmer’s way of life has created monogamous relationships that encourage consequent partnership and mutual respect between man and woman in all aspects of life.

The psychology of the cattle-breeders is quite different. For cattle-breeders it is important to take up and use as much space as possible, and then move on with their flock. Consequently, much attention is given to the comfort of the dwelling place, whereas the environment is more or less neglected. Cattle breeders could afford more than one wife and more children than farmers, because cattle-breeding provides people with food more solidly than farming. Women were less engaged in cattle breeding than men, and were accordingly treated as less important members of the society.

Psychologically this demarcation line between the West and the East runs through Latvia right up to the present day. It can be traced in the present discussion about the relations between the individual and the state. Some people in this country believe that there should be a kind of “social contract” between the state and the people, with clearly defined duties and rights on both sides, whereas other people are more concerned with their own rights. Actually, there is a debate whether Latvia should remain a country of Parliamentary democracy or should become a Presidential democracy. In the latter case the President would be elected by the people and would become a powerful executive. Thus in a country without a well-functioning lasting democratic tradition the President would have the potential of becoming despot. The fact that this issue has been raised speaks for itself. It may mean 1) that the people of Latvia do not trust the representatives they have elected to Parliament themselves (a TV poll quiz after the last elections in October 2002 when the results of the elections were not yet known showed that only 1:10 of the population believes that the recently elected MPs are not going to pursue selfish goals in their new post); 2) they believe that everybody is corrupt and if elected to MP themselves they would pursue selfish goals. 3) It may mean that under totalitarian/authoritarian regimes people can turn into a mob and then long for someone to take care of and be responsible for them.. Ha-ving been deprived of participation in policy making for a long period of time, they have lost all confidence belief that they could ever affect and shape it. This is the worst thing that totalitarian /authoritarian regimes do to people, but it is far from new; the same problem has been depicted by Shakespeare in “Julius Caesar” and “Henry VIII” in its full complexity.

The relations between the individual and the state have a lot to do within the role of the church and its tradition. In the West, historically speaking, in the course of time the Church has defended the principles of humanity against the interests of separate states. Later the idea of free choice and individual responsibility emerged, leading to the formation of the principles of fraternity, equality and liberty. It is important to note that these principles are arranged exactly in this order, because that is how they still shape contemporary democracy. Freedom is impossible without equality.

The Christian Orthodox Church developed along a different lines in Eastern Europe. There it was shaped and developed in the form of national churches. It created

the idea of a national church, being part of a national state. Thus serving to the state simultaneously becomes serving to the Church, at the same time; this was regarded as an act of piety. In contemporary Latvia one can find both of these attitudes.

The identity of Latvia as a state in the future will be highly dependent on what kind of society model the people of Latvia are going to develop. The population of Latvia has to solve several dilemmas: are non-Latvians able to identify themselves with the state of Latvia, or do they perceive this country as a temporary homeland before moving on? The dilemma for Latvians is to grasp the fact that the term “national” in the modern world has the connotation of “belonging to the state” (not merely based on ethnic identification) and open their society to the people loyal to Latvia.

The Russian journalist Alexander Shabanov in his article “The Russians of Latvia, What Kind of People Are We?” (10,2) has taken a courageous step: he is one of the first to discuss this problem openly – eleven years after the independence was restored:

... our society (at least the Russian-speaking people of Latvia) is still very much Soviet and totalitarian. Though historically, geographically and with regard to the life-style belonging to the West, people still hesitate to admit it.

The Russian – speaking people are against the language policy of Latvia and the introduction of Latvian in the secondary schools in 2004, trying to explain it by the fear of losing their (ethnic – S.A.) identity. To my mind this identity is neither Russian nor Slavic, but essentially Soviet, or totalitarian. There are lots of Russian features in this Soviet attitude and totalitarianism. But the Soviet Union does not exist anymore, its identity is about to disappear, and from this emerges the spiritual suffering of the ‘Soviet man’. Yes, the Soviet Union is still alive in Bielorusia and the Republic of Pridnester. Yes, it does exist in a large part of Latvia. But for how long?

Why am I describing the mentality of the people living in Latvia as “Soviet”? I do not want to hurt anybody’s feelings but Soviet is the celebration of the May 9th, with the red flags of the Soviet Union at the statue of Victory, the speeches, songs and the rest of entourage of the Soviet time. On that day and in that place it seems that nothing has changed in the last 11 years, and the organizers and participants of this affair promote this feeling deliberately. It is clear to any objective observer that this is nostalgia for the USSR, just as the features of despotism in songs and speeches. sVictory in WWII accounts for the means (as the song “Mī za cenoj ne postojm” says it. (We are ready to pay any price – transl. SA). Obviously the victors are not tried.

I understand the necessity to conquer fascism – there was no other way, and there will be no other way. But the time has come to analyze this

victory and to say that not every detail in this victory was good. And the major bad thing in the victory of the USSR was the complete disregard of a human life.⁸

To prove his point the author exemplifies it with the fact that among all the war films created by the Russian cinema there is not a single one resembling in its ideology the American movie "Saving Private Ryan" in its basic assumptions. Russian war films are based on a completely different ideology which is still ruling in that part of the world. A. Shabanov touches on the problem of Latvians who were affected by the Soviet totalitarian regime and retained many features of it. And here he delicately does not go any further, saying that he is not an ethnic Latvian. As I am an ethnic Latvian myself, I have tried to pursue this topic.

Contemporary Latvians should be aware of the strong and week weak spots of their identity. To their "weak spots" I would attribute the fact that their identity got strongly deformed under the Soviet regime: a degradation of virtues, especially the virtue of diligence, is undeniable. Latvians are often outwardly reticent about their ethnicity, or –they are haughty, as if being a Latvian is it their own achievement, or merit. At the same time they pollute their language with the slang that arrived along with the Soviet occupation. V. Zariņš, who has gone deeper into this topic, writes:

One of the drawbacks that has formed itself in the character of the Latvian nation as the result of extended lasting foreign rule is the lack of refinement so often found among the wealthy and ruling elite of Latvia. Those layers of Latvian society which might have reached and maintained high standards of education, professional qualification and culture, and which were independent enough as to their material well-being as well as to their spiritual development in order to maintain the sovereignty of their judgement, simply could not emerge during the long years of dependency. They were assimilated or destroyed already in their embryonic stage. That is why Latvians have not produced the spiritual aristocracy and the social elite that would have acquired the tradition of high culture. Latvians often have bad manners and unrefined taste. They often offer little resistance to alcoholism, drug addiction and other social vices, and there is a lot of inertness and a general lack of initiative. To their weaknesses one should also attribute the slow emancipation of their conscience which is a result of being a minority and a subjected nation and insufficient determination to fight for their own interests.

In some of the people who belong to the ruling elite of Latvia one can find the thinking of a lackey being developed in the long period of dependency – it is a desire to gratify hostile foreign powers and get satisfaction from demonstrating an upstart's attitude to the world i.e. desire for luxury cars, pretentious private houses, debauchery, carousal and lavish trips. Though it is not something typical to Latvia and to the Latvian nation exclusively. Imitation of the lifestyle of the ruling elite of other nations in the behavior of the Latvian parvenus is as common as in the

behavior of the upstarts of other European nations and the first generation of the ruling circles of the African states after they their regained independence. The lifestyle of other 'nouveaux riches' who belong to other ethnic groups and live in Latvia is just as uncivilized. When smugglers and drug-dealers are punished in accordance with the law and according to their misdeeds, the number of uncultured people among the wealthy surely will go down.

There are also other vices which are wide-spread widely spreading among Latvians and which are typical of young societies after their liberation from a the colonial regime. For example like: an insufficient grasp of the concept of statehood, a strong desire to be in opposition, being irresponsible and inefficient. If people get into a top position or have to carry out public tasks of importance, they often demonstrate a striking inability to think strategically. In vast layers of society the ability to fight for ideals, no matter how realistic or unrealistic they are, is still alive. The belief in beautiful promises amounts to sheer credulity. Still, if the democratic society in Latvia is going to develop for a few more years, it may happen that the understanding among the people will grow faster than the virtues of the ruling elite and those who try to join it.⁹

It seems that this has happened even faster than was predicted in the articles published in the spring of 2002. In the October elections it became clear that the majority of the people had voted against all the ruling political parties.

To one of the "weak spots" of Latvian ethnic identity I would also attribute the cultivation of a restrictive social shyness and the timidity of children. Actually, it is the excessive desire not to take up too much space which is typical for the farmer psychology; when it is exaggerated, it may well become an obstacle for Latvians in their quest to for self-realization and progress in the modern world.

To the "strong spots" of Latvian identity I would attribute the multi-layeredness of the Latvian mentality, which explains why there are very few if any xenophobic tendencies in our society. Latvia's modern culture is multi-layered, too. This multi-layeredness expresses itself in space and in time. German, Russian, Polish, ByelorussianByelorussian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Jewish influences can be traced everywhere. When speaking about the multi-layeredness in time it should be noted that alongside with modern, Christian, Greek and Roman concepts there exists a very ancient mythological heritage in Latvian culture that other European nations have already lost. Our genetic memory is strong. It has withstood the test of the twentieth century, its aggression, cheating, betrayals, and has cultivated in many of us the feeling that we can truly rely upon ourselves alone.

Facing the prospect of joining such a huge political and economic entity as the European Union (to which we feel we had always belonged, but from which we had been artificially kept away), this feeling is gradually fading away. Here we stand, open to the world again.

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Kopsavilkums

Mūsdienu Latvijas sabiedrībā vērojamas līdzīgas problēmas kā citās valstīs (piemēram, Āzijā, Āfrikā) pēc neatkarības atgūšanas, tāpēc ir pamats secināt, ka Latvija atrodas postkoloniālisma situācijā, kam raksturīgs postkoloniālisma sindroms un identitāšu krīze. Veiksmīga sabiedrības integrācija nākotnē iespējama, tikai atjaunojot vēsturiskā taisnīguma principus, piepildot jēdzienu “nacionāls” ar mūsdienīgu izpratni un turpinot veidot Latvijas valsti uz parlamentāras demokrātijas principiem.

A Case of Mixed Identity: Simone de Beauvoir's "The Second Sex" in Estonian Translation Identitātes sajaukuma gadījums: Simonas de Bovuāras romāna "Otrais dzimums" tulkojumā igauņu valodā

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Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, the first and for a long time the only significant feminist text published in Estonian bears the heavy and thankless burden of representing feminism to a very male-dominated society. It has undergone serious ideological changes in its Estonian translation: there are lengthy omissions in the argumentation and supporting material. This not only mangles Beauvoir's arguments but may also have a lasting effect on the Estonian perception of feminism and women's rights.

Keywords: gender studies, feminism, ideology and translation, Estonia.

Estonia is a country that has been obsessively modernizing itself in the past ten years in order to earn a place among the "developed" countries of the West. Thus we have been extremely quick to adopt radical market reforms and consumer culture that outdo those of most Western countries, to name but a few notable features. However, Estonia has exercised remarkable selectivity in the range of influences that have been adopted. Some features that have made an important contribution to the Western public discourse in the past 40 years are conspicuous in their absence, for example, multiculturalism or feminism.¹

Estonia has started to develop a feminist community, if not a grassroots women's movement, but the group of people interested in women's issues remains small and the general public has received a rather warped image of both feminists and the feminist movements, one that is not much more sophisticated than the cartoons presented in the mass media and film. There are serious and quite successful attempts to change the state of affairs in mainstream media (for example, in the articles of Barbi Pilvre in the weekly *Eesti Ekspress* or the mere existence of the gender studies journal *Ariadne Lõng*) but there still is very little literature on women's movements or feminism that an Estonian could read in their native tongue.² In addition to academic articles there are only three individual volumes: Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, published in 1997, a collection of feminist art criticism and theory, published in 2000, and Evelyn Fox Keller's *Reflections on Gender and Science*, published in 2001.³ Only two women have been published in the around-60-book series of Western thought, Beauvoir and, very recently, Susan Sontag.⁴ As can be seen, Beauvoir was the first and for a long time the only significant woman thinker published in Estonian and thus it is clear that her book does and will continue to influence the Estonian perception of feminist thought. She bore and continues to bear the heavy and thankless burden of representing feminism to a very male-dominated society where feminism and what it stands for continue to be an anathema to a sizeable proportion of society. Thus it

both is and is not that surprising that the reception of the text was relatively quiet—it did get its share of reviews in leading cultural journals and mainstream press but did not spark a discussion of feminism. In fact, there seemed to be more interest in the visit that Beauvoir made to Estonia with Jean–Paul Sartre in 1964.⁵

The relative silence could be read as evidence of the fact that much of what Beauvoir was challenging has become passé in today's world and women's position in society has undergone a dramatic change since the 1940s. It was a great shock, therefore, to discover that the Estonian version of Beauvoir bore startlingly little family resemblance to her French original or even the much–lamented English version.⁶ The translator, Howard Parshley, was a zoologist with no training in philosophy and little fondness for feminism and thus he deleted portions of the book, distorting Beauvoir's arguments on socialist feminism and existentialism.⁷ As Sherry Simon has stated, "just as the naked woman on the cover of one of the paperback editions of *The Second Sex* misrepresents the tenor of the content, the translation of this feminist classic seriously distorts its scholarly underpinnings."⁸ However, the damaged text still proved to be immensely influential in the English–speaking world, even more so than in the French.⁹

The Estonian version of the book has suffered even more in the hands of translators and editors and thus ends up misrepresenting Beauvoir's case and, by that, also affecting the Estonian reception of feminist thought as such, with potential dire consequences. Ideology is inevitably present in translation. In the words of Peter Fawcett, "throughout centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation."¹⁰ He cites a set of questions, the last of which, "How is the material translated (what is omitted, added, altered, to control the message?)" is of special relevance in this context.¹¹ If a prominent feminist text is misrepresented in a culture, it will affect the responses to feminism as a philosophy and maybe even women as thinkers. The following paper does not aim to prove the presence of a grand conspiracy but just to discuss, on the basis of omissions and alterations, the possible consequences of the "re–written" Beauvoir in the Estonian cultural space. The two flawed editions, English and Estonian, are placed side by side to tease out ideological differences in their stance towards the text.

The first and most marked divergence of the two works is their length—the English translation covers 767 pages, without references and index, while the Estonian book is only 482 pages—and that at a wider line spacing and larger font size. It should also be stated right away that the Estonian translation mentions the fact that the text has been presented in an abridged form only in a very fine print on the reverse side of the title page—something that many readers would not notice. Even more disturbing is the fact that the book lacks the translators'/editors' commentary on the translation/editorial choices. Omissions and changes have not been indicated inside the text in any way. This could have been easily done with the help of either footnotes or even more simple punctuation marks or spacing. Although feminist translation theory calls for an active engagement with the text, misrepresentation is not what it has in mind.

A closer reading reveals that omissions occur not only on the level of chapters but also inside paragraphs. What more, paragraph boundaries are violated, not as an

exception to smooth the sections that would have remained uneven after heavy surgery but, rather, as a rule. Paragraphs are blended at will which, in addition to violating the original, also makes the text more difficult to follow. Again, it is not the invisible editors who take the blame but the author. Also, the dubious editorial practices cannot be explained away by space limits—other books in the same series, often bulkier than Beauvoir's, have not suffered a similar fate.

Since such cutting and blending is so frequent, one is led to suspect that the translation has been done not from the French original, as the title page claims, but from an abridged version in some other language.¹² The next stage in the current project will involve a close study of the Finnish translation as a possible source of "inspiration". As Marek Tamm has suggested, the translators and editors have lacked respect for both the author and the reader.¹³ That is, they have attempted to do the thinking and selecting for the reader and limited their freedom of interpretation, blocking out certain choices and fronting others. Damage to the author is more than clear.

A feature that catches the eye all through the text is the disrespectful handling of the references to source material. The copious notes of the original have been squeezed to 4.5 pages in the Estonian translation. What more, the references have been deleted rather arbitrarily—sometimes references are missing even from the text that has not been omitted. Again, no explanation has been given. Since the book was published in a philosophy series the primary audience of which is not the TV-dazed everyman with a limited attention span, it is odd that the staple of academic literature has been sacrificed without regret. Aristotle and Freud, also published in the same series around the same time, have not suffered the same fate—comparable in length, they are supplied with ample commentaries as well as a bibliography. In the case of Beauvoir, the readers have also been denied access to the material that informed Beauvoir. Dated or not, the references are indispensable in appreciating the line of reasoning of the author and her dialogue with the thinkers of the past and her contemporaries. One can only speculate about whether the reason for such manhandling is the relegation of Beauvoir into the lower tiers of contemporary thought and a consequent disregard for her intellectual apparatus.

This omission is made even more glaring by the fact that the translation has systematically erased references throughout the text. Thus we lose much of de Beauvoir's support material—philosophers like Merleau-Ponty, Levinas, Heidegger, even Sartre, historical figures from all time periods, anthropological examples, references to natural sciences. Again, the only rational explanation could be the editors' desire to make the reading easier. Yet, consciously or unconsciously, the translation actually succeeds in watering down Beauvoir's thought and reducing her credibility as an academic. (This was one of the first features that bothered me on my first reading of the Estonian text and led me to criticize her for sloppy arguments that might not have made it through freshman course in academic writing.) Also, the omissions do not result in a text that is easier to consume—instead, the lack of examples, parallels and illustrations makes the argumentation hard to follow and many passages remain abstruse or even demagogic.

The indiscriminate editing and the omission of references are visible all through the book. However, there are several chapters that are omitted in full. The following

will try to speculate about the rationale of the editorial choices in all the chapters. Thus *Book I, Part I: Destiny* includes sections on biology and historical materialism (in however flawed form) but lacks the psychoanalytical point of view. Psychoanalysis has not acquired a prominent position in the Estonian public discourse. However, this lack of a Freudian background system in Estonian intellectual landscape should not be taken as a valid justification of the omission. It lifts Beauvoir from her historical context and also distorts her intellectual lineage. Odder still, even Engels, whose presence in our mindscapes can be resented but cannot be disputed, has fallen victim to a boisterous editing spree.

Outside the chapter on psychoanalysis, Beauvoir's argumentation on the danger of equating biology and sexuality has been stunted. Beauvoir denies simple and easy equations between sexuality and reproduction—but an Estonian reader will never see her discussion of parthenogenesis or intersexuality, among other nuances in the discussion. Instead, the Estonian version lays a more noticeable emphasis on the chromosomal differences between the active sperm and the passive egg as the sources of sexual difference as well as situation of the woman as the de-individuated procreator of the species. Although de Beauvoir dwells on the enslavement of the woman for the sake of her species, she does concede, by comparing humans with lower life forms, such as crustacea or termites, that in humans the individuation of individual members of the species is higher than in lower animals and that also gives women roles outside the reproductive cycle. Again, these qualifying features do not appear in the Estonian text that is focused on male–female differences and the subjugation of the woman to her sex. Although the material is all there in the original Beauvoir, the lack of the surrounding discussion increases the determinist stance of the claims—and is thus in perfect harmony with the Estonian public discourse.

Part II: History loses all its sub-chapters and acquires new and seemingly quite random divisions that erase the Jewish, Islamic and Greek experience and blend Rome with the Middle Ages, to mention some examples of proliferating random choices. The whole part is characterized by a very hurried overview, which has resulted in the loss of the famous women who are mentioned throughout the text. The impression of the Middle Ages is especially vague, although there has been enough room for all the misogynist church fathers from St. Paul onwards. Interestingly, the losses have been the greatest when single or widowed women and prostitutes are concerned and the smallest in connection with marriage. Again, this may reflect the attempt of the editors to “domesticate” Beauvoir and reduce her conflict with the “traditional” gender roles and thus make her arguments seem less frightening. Indeed, the Estonian Beauvoir is certainly more domestic and family centered and less involved in the public sphere than the original.

Part III: Myths has suffered from heavy editing—the only section that is left deals with dreams, fears and idols. Yet, owing to the peculiar idiom of the volume, we are presented with a collection of fragmentary thoughts without the illustrating anthropological detail and discussion. Even if the anthropology is dated to today's audiences, the shortcomings could have been easily clarified with an apt choice of footnotes and a brief consultation with an anthropologist—surely not an impossible feat. Sections “The Myth of Woman in Five Authors” and, most notably “Myth and Reality” have been deleted completely. Although the editors may have thought that

lengthy literary examples are inappropriate in a philosophical treatise, they once again destroy the integrity of the argument as well as the style of Beauvoir. Since none of the analyzed authors, with the exception of Montherlant, is an unknown on the Estonian literary scene (others are Lawrence, Claudel, Breton and Stendhal), their presence would have added to Beauvoir's interdisciplinary breadth and allowed the Estonian reader to appreciate the elegance of her original style.

The omission of the discussion of myths in the changing 20th-century reality remains a mystery. Here Beauvoir repeats her idea that the myth is considered the absolute to which individual mortal women have to conform and, in general, explains how myths derive from the interests of men. However, she also comes to her central belief that considering women human beings, not mythological creatures does not impoverish men but allows them, too, a more satisfying form of human interaction. Beauvoir does see considerable hope in the life of the 20th century but also has to acknowledge that it is still difficult for a woman to accept both her status as an autonomous individual and womanly destiny. Again, this discussion is missing from the Estonian version—one can only guess whether the editors deem such de-mystified state inappropriate to Estonian women or whether we are just dealing with carelessness. The first option certainly harmonizes with the values that are prominent in the Estonian public discourse and thus the omission seems to perpetuate the ideologically laden myths of womanhood.

The structure of *Book II* bears closer semblance to the original but here, too, significant cuts have been made. A certain method can be detected in the seemingly irrational shearing of the text. Thus the Estonian text gives access to the development of woman from childhood to youth and sexual initiation but is bashfully silent on lesbianism. The only rational explanation might be an attempt to “protect” the reputation of Beauvoir from associations with sexual preference that is still stigmatized in Estonia. This omission might also reflect an attempt to protect feminism from its stereotypical yoking with lesbianism—however, in the light of the editorial choices of the rest of the volume, this interpretation seems unlikely.

The “domestic” Beauvoir is visible also in the next section that records the roles of women in marriage, motherhood and old age, thus faithfully reflecting the predestined life-cycle of a woman in her roles in the private sphere. Quite tellingly, the sections that are conspicuous by their absence deal with social life and prostitution and, later on, with narcissism, love and mysticism. The impression one gets is that a woman's access to sexuality and pleasure is limited and associated with family circle only. Indeed, short excerpts from *The Second Sex* were first translated in the leading housewife-oriented women's magazine *Eesti Naine* (Estonian Woman) in 1992, side by side with an article that told women what they should wear on their heads. The headgear certainly did not include feminist ideas.¹⁴

Thus, although we get the last sections of the book that deal with women's movement towards liberation and independence, the Estonian public does not get to share Beauvoir's conclusions. This should not be surprising in the light of the editing in the previous sections—since the translation does not grant the readers access to Beauvoir's philosophical argumentation, it also does not deem it necessary to let us read her own conclusions, indebted as they are to Karl Marx who still seems to be

relegated to a pariah status in the neo-liberalist Estonia. The conclusion of the Estonian *The Second Sex*, thus, calls for the liberation of women and celebrates their equality with men but without the thoughtful supporting material and well-reasoned argumentation, the text resembles a political pamphlet and not a serious work of philosophy, like the original. It does plant some troubling thoughts in the mind of the reader about the role and fate of women but it does not fully persuade the reader that a woman can be a serious public intellectual—a troubling conclusion, considering the prevalent negative stereotype of feminists as angry and ill-reasoned hot-heads. Simone de Beauvoir deserves better and so does the Estonian reading public.

Any translation reflects its time and so we can also trace the lines of the neo-liberalist patriarchal Estonia of the late 1990s in the editorial choices of *The Second Sex*. The Estonian de Beauvoir differs significantly from her French mother and English step-sister. Unfortunately, with a small publishing market as ours, it is unlikely that a new translation would appear any time soon. After all, the often criticized English translation still waits for revisions 50 years since its original publication. Thus it can only be hoped that academic analyses like the present one would alert readers to the flaws and maybe help countries that still have to undertake the challenge of translating Beauvoir avoid the traps.

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Kopsavilkums

Simonas de Bovuāras romānam “Otrais dzimums” – pirmajam un ilgu laiku arī vienīgajam igauņu valodā publicētajam nozīmīgajam feministu tekstam – ir bijis smagais un nepateicīgais uzdevums pārstāvēt feminismu vīriešu dominētajā sabiedrībā. Igauņu tulkojumā tajā ir notikušas nopietnas ideoloģiskas izmaiņas: tā argumentācijā un papildu materiālos ir plaši īsinājumi. Tie ne tikai izkropļo Bovuāras argumentus, bet, iespējams, atstās arī ilgstošu iespaidu uz feminisma un sieviešu tiesību uztveri Igaunijā.

Здоровье и красота: круг «мужских» тем пополнился

Health and Beauty: the Range of Masculine Themes is Repelonished

Veselība un skaistums: vīriešu tēmu loks ir papildinājies

Журнал «Men's Health» как инструмент продвижения «нового» стиля жизни

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В предлагаемой работе анализируется формирование «новой» мужской идентичности через призму текстовой реальности журнала русской версии Men's Health. Показывается, как текстовая реальность влияет на процесс формирования сознания добавляя «старые» маскулинные ценности – «*физическая сила*», «*статусная и высокооплачиваемая работа*», «*секс к «новым»*», например, «*сила*», «*здоровье*», «*умение радоваться жизни*», «*интересная работа*» и «*гармоничные отношения с женщинами*».

Keywords: Периодическое издание как текст, текстовая реальность, процесс означивания, конструирование социальной реальности.

После появления на российском и белорусском¹ рынке периодической печати транснациональных и российских изданий для мужчин, эти журналы не раз становились объектом исследовательского внимания². Вместе с тем, проблема текста как самодостаточной реальности в изданиях такого рода до сих пор не попадала в поле зрения исследователей. В предлагаемой работе формирование «новой» мужской идентичности рассматривается через призму текстовой реальности журнала Men's Health³.

В философии постмодернизма понятие текста конституируется через отказ от референциальной определенности, однозначности, внетекстовой онтологической заданности и гарантированности текстовой семантики. Последняя фундируется пониманием языковой среды как исчерпывающе самодостаточной и отношением к тексту как к тотальности, в которую включен субъект, и за пределами которой ничего не существует. Это приводит к переосмыслению самого процесса смыслопроизводства. Вместе с провозглашением «смерти Автора» уходит в небытие и монополия на смысл, исчезает сама возможность говорить о полном или неполном, правильном или не правильном понимании текста. В данной системе отсчета акцент смещается на Читателя, который, впрочем, не занимает место Автора в процессе смыслопроизводства, но, будучи, по формулировке Ж. Дерриды, не более чем текстом, сотканным из культурных универсалий и дискурсивных матриц, культурных кодов и интерпретационных конвенций, лишь привносит в текст культурно ангажированные смыслы, создавая его семантику. По мысли Ж. Дерриды, сам знак становится проблематичным, как только мы ставим под сомнение возможность означаемого

и признаем, что всякое означаемое есть также нечто стоящее в положении означающего. По мнению этого же автора, означаемое никогда не представлено в знаке само по себе, в той форме присутствия, когда оно соотносится лишь с самим собой. Любое понятие описывается в некоторой цепочке или системе, в рамках которой оно соотносится посредством упорядоченной игры различий с другими понятиями⁴.

Иными словами, человек живет внутри вербализованных и визуализированных феноменов социальной реальности. Свои знания об этой реальности он получает через различные тексты (литература, кино, массовая музыкальная культура и т.п.), в которых описываются/конструируются удовольствия, желания и формы их удовлетворения. Это позволяет говорить о погруженности человека в поток означающих, которые не имеют иного референта, кроме как другие означающие. Вне конкретного текста любому означающему может соответствовать любое означаемое⁵. И только императивный характер текста накладывает ограничения на это взаимодействие, взаимопревращение означающих/означаемых. Таким образом, в своем анализе текстовой реальности журнала *Men's Health* мы исходим из представления о тексте как игре означающих.

Отличительной особенностью периодического издания как текста является неоднородность его элементов. Вербальный текст, иллюстративный ряд, колористическая и шрифтовая гамма, реклама – те составляющие периодического издания–текста, взаимодействие которых задает направление, прочерчивает смысловые линии. Эти элементы, выступая в текстовой реальности периодических изданий в качестве наррации, способа рассказывания, подчиненного определенной цели, конструируют реальность на их страницах.

Для журнала *Men's Health* такой целью является воспитание потребителя–мужчины. Это может быть выявлено уже на уровне контент–анализа распределения журнальной площади (август 2001 г.):

Советы, рекомендации, часто содержащие скрытую рекламу	58.3%
Реклама	31.7%
Познавательная общекультурная информация	7.9%
Письма и вопросы читателей	2.1%

Фактом, свидетельствующим в пользу этого утверждения, является также время появления русской версии журнала. Глобализация – закономерный итог качественных изменений в мировой экономике, для своего закрепления требует новых механизмов. Одним из них являются транснациональные издания, такие как журналы *Marie Claire*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Playboy*, *Men's Health* и др. С их помощью создается, во–первых, унифицированный потребитель, во–вторых, активно расширяется круг потребителей за счет вовлечения в сферу потребления мужчин.

После 1985 года продвижение транснациональных корпораций в страны бывшего СССР в поисках новых рынков сбыта привело к появлению русских версий многих международных изданий. Журнал *Men's Health* на русском языке появился в 1998 году. И стал знаковым явлением на пост–советском пространстве.

Прежде всего потому, что открыл для «советского» мужчины тему здоровья вообще, и *мужского* здоровья в частности. Журнал ввел ее в дискурс мужественности, результатом чего стало не только утверждение представления о здоровье как ценности, но и как ценности, за которую в ответе ее владелец. С подачи этого издания границы понятия «настоящий мужчина» расширились за счет включения в него понятий «красивое тело», «ухаживанный внешний вид», «здоровый образ жизни», «приятный, изысканный запах», а также «искусство жить одному». Все это вроде бы позволяет говорить о рождении «новой» мужественности. И предлагаемая идентичность на первый взгляд действительно выглядит новой. Более того, кажется, что издание отвергает традицию, уже зафиксированную исследователями. Как пишет российский исследователь С. Ушакин, анализируя российский же журнал для мужчин «Медведь», маскулинизация потребительства на Западе шла именно по пути маскировки «пассивного» (т.е. традиционно «женского») желания наслаждаться предметом в форму агрессивного желания овладеть им⁶. Изучение рекламы в журнале Men's Health дало иной результат. Здесь при описании товара акцент делается на его стильность и внешнюю привлекательность. Например, «Движение этого хронографа было изменено с тем, чтобы через циферблат можно было любоваться механизмом колонны и колесика: очевидное доказательство технического совершенства», «Изысканность форм. Это – магия. Магия уникального дизайна «Мерседес–Бенц», «Сотрап – это всегда защищенность информации, надежность компонентов и ... просто красивая вещь», «Совершенство деталей, гармония целого» (столовая посуда). Представление о «новой» мужественности формируется на страницах этого журнала не только посредством определенной модальности рекламных слоганов и ракурса товара, который запечатлевается в этих слоганах, но и через выбор рекламируемых товаров. Так, среди рекламы традиционных автомобилей и часов помещена реклама презервативов, стиральной машины, столовых приборов и продуктов быстрого приготовления. Реклама последних сопровождается слоганом «Почувствуй себя свободным».

Однако вне конкретного текста все, приведенные выше знаки, лишены определенности содержания. Ассоциации, которые они вызывают, практически не ограничены. Для того чтобы сделать заключение относительно сути «новой» мужской идентичности, которую Men's Health предлагает своим читателям, необходимо обратиться к текстовой реальности журнала. Важным для ее понимания является цепочка означающих, заданная в номере, посвященном двухлетнему юбилею русской версии журнала. Его редактор напомнил тогда читателям о цели издания: «...никакие географические и политические различия не влияют на основные ценности современного мужчины. В любой стране мира мы хотим одного и того же – быть здоровыми и сильными, уметь радоваться жизни, иметь интересную работу и гармоничные отношения с женщинами»⁷. Очевидно, что продекларированные ценности – «сила», «здоровье», «умение радоваться жизни», «интересная работа» и «гармоничные отношения с женщинами» – не более чем означающие, последовательность пустых знаков, которые в разных текстах могут вызывать различные ассоциации, наполняться различным содержанием. Однако конкретный текст всегда содержит в себе самом

детерминанты смысла, «руководит» пониманием читателей, предлагая скользящему потоку означающих вполне определенные означаемые, наполняя их содержанием. Какие же означаемые соответствуют в тексте журнала выделенным выше означающим?

«Сила» ассоциируется с физически развитым телом. Начиная с обложки журнала, читателя сопровождает визуальный образ мускулистого мужского тела. Играющие мышцами тела представлены не только на фотографиях, но и в рисунках. Собственно говоря, других мужских тел на страницах журнала практически нет (не учитывая рекламу, визуальные образы которой служат означаемыми для других знаков). Вербальные тексты описывают способы достижения такого результата и сам результат: «сильная грудь», «накачанные руки», «плоский живот», «отсутствие жира», «крепкие ноги», резюмируя это как «тело что надо»⁸. В период СССР мужчины, занимающиеся боди-билдингом и «играющие» мышцами, обозначались презрительной кличкой «качки» и относились, скорее, к маргинальной части населения. Журнал Men's Health, изменяя модальность восприятия массовым сознанием накачанного мужского тела, реабилитирует его и вводит в понятие «норма».

К означаемым этого же смыслового ряда можно отнести вербальные тексты и иллюстрации о «вечно молодом мужчине». Таковы заголовки материалов: «Как я избавился от 20 кг за 150 дней», «Почему ты все еще толстый?», «Кого съесть на завтрак?», «Смешные упражнения с самыми серьезными результатами»⁹. А наиболее показательным в этом отношении является материал «Тебе сорок?». В нем – советы о том, «как перевести стрелки назад», в том числе и с помощью косметических процедур. Вербальный текст сопровождает соответствующая фотография: молоджавый мужчина в джинсах и свитере ломает о колено палку – символ старости и немощи¹⁰.

Означаемое «*интересной работы*» представлено прежде всего через рекламу дорогих товаров и услуг. Иначе говоря, «интересная работа» – это статус плюс деньги, интересная работа – это та, которая позволяет зарабатывать на приобретение дорогих швейцарских часов и автомобилей, туры в далекие экзотические страны, услуги спортзалов и косметических салонов. Примерный перечень такой работы представлен в материале «Первым делом – самолеты»: «ты – владелец хлебопекарни», «ты – работник турагентства»¹¹ или с некоторой долей иронии описан в тексте «Положение: женщина сверху»: «Наверное, цель твоей карьеры – стать Главным Начальником Всего. Там очень приличный оклад...»¹². Очевидно, что никакой иной работы, кроме как статусной и денежной, в качестве «мужской» журнал не видит и не предполагает для своих читателей.

Три других означающих: «*здоровье*», «*умение радоваться жизни*» и «*гармоничные отношения с женщинами*» имеют одно общее означаемое – секс. Здоровье определяется через способность заниматься сексом, иметь хорошо функционирующий «аппарат», «прибор», «Боинг-747», «танкер», «лимузин»¹³. Гармоничные отношения с женщинами предполагают только сексуальные отношения. Материал «Элементарно» дает советы, как вести себя во время первого свидания, точнее, за что трогать и к чему не прикасаться во время

первой встречи с женщиной, резюмируя советы так: «Потому что совсем не трогать у тебя, конечно же, не получится»¹⁴. Причем вербальные тексты и откровенные иллюстрации навязывают это означаемое агрессивно. Уже цитированный нами материал «Положение: женщина сверху» в качестве совета, как строить отношения с женщиной–руководителем включает в себя и подраздел «Как ее приручить»: «На страстные поцелуи в тени офисного фикуса можешь смело рассчитывать. Правда, ничего серьезного из этого, скорее всего, не получится...»¹⁵. А в качестве факта журнал приводит такой: «Мужчина за свою жизнь испытывает в среднем 6500 оргазмов общей продолжительностью 18 часов»¹⁶.

Тенденция последних номеров журнала такова (а она проявляется как в вербальных текстах, так и на уровне иллюстраций), что означаемое «секс» становится таковым для всех пяти выделенных означающих. Ответ на вопрос, зачем быть сильным, здоровым, иметь интересную работу один: для того чтобы заниматься сексом. В этом же состоит умение радоваться жизни и только это понимается, когда речь заходит о гармоничных отношениях с женщинами. В свою очередь на более высоком уровне, означаемое «секс» переходит в разряд означающих и становится знаком «настоящего» мужчины.

Таким образом очевидно, что формирование идеологии «новой» мужественности на страницах русской версии журнала Men's Health идет по традиционному пути. Конкретная текстовая реальность ограничивает процесс смыслопроизводства и закрепляет за «новыми» (для дискурса мужественности) означающими – «сила», «здоровье», «умение радоваться жизни», «интересная работа» и «гармоничные отношения с женщинами» – «старые» маскулинные ценности – «физическая сила», «статусная и высокооплачиваемая работа», «секс», «потребительски–пренебрежительное отношение к женщине». А заявленные в редакционной статье всеобщие и основные ценности современного мужчины – не более чем испытанный уже ранее на женщинах прием символизации, мифологизации товаров и услуг для наиболее эффективного вовлечения мужчин в сферу активного потребления. В сущности, это издание сближается с журналом для женщин Cosmopolitan в том, что является таким же кукольным домом. На страницах Men's Health конструируется жесткий миф, только на этот раз для мужчин. Миф, в котором мужчина всегда молод, красив, здоров и «абсолютно зверский сексапил»¹⁷

ПРИМЕЧАНИЯ

- ¹ Журнал Men's Health, о котором пойдет речь, как и все остальные транснациональные брэнды для мужчин и женщин, издаются в Москве. В Беларусь эти издания попадают через частных распространителей.
- ² См.: Юрчак А. Не до глупостей, когда карьеру куешь; Боренштейн Э. Ах, «Андрюша», нам ли быть в печали...Национализм современных «мужских» журналов»; Ушакин С. Видимость мужественности //О муже(N)ственности: Сб. ст. /Сост. С. Ушакин. – М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2002; Кулинка Н. А. Проявление гендерных стереотипов в изданиях, рассчитанных на женскую и

- мужскую аудиторию: на примере журналов //Медведь, июнь, 1999; Cosmopolitan, июль, 1999; //Материалы 2-ой международной междисциплинарной научно-практ. конф. «Женщина. Образование. Демократия». Минск, 3-4 декабря 1999 г. /Женский негос. институт ЭНВИЛИА. – Минск, 2000, с. 141–148; К вопросу о типологическом разнообразии прессы для мужчин //Матэрыялы Міжнароднай навукова-практ. канф. «Журналістыка – 2000». Мінск, 21 лістапада 2000 г. /Беларус. дзярж. ун-т. Факультэт журналістыкі. – Мінск, 2000, с. 111–113; Картины мира двух мужских журналов как способ конструирования реальности //Материалы IV Международной научной конференции «Язык и социум». Минск, 1–2 декабря 2000 г. В 2 ч. Ч. 1 /Белорус. гос. ун-т. Филол. факультет. – Мн.: БГУ, 2001, с. 160–163; Периодическое издание как знак социальной и политической реальности: опыт исследования мужского журнала Меведь; //Принципы и методы исследования в филологии: конец XX века: Сб. науч. ст.: В 3 ч. Ч. 2 /Под ред. д-ра филол. наук, проф. К. Э. Штайн. – С-Петербург, Ставрополь: Изд-во Ставроп. гос. ун-та, 2001, с. 278–289.
- ³ Работа выполнена на анализе текстов журнальных номеров за январь–февраль 2000 г., август 2001 г. и август 2002 г.
- ⁴ См.: Деррида Ж. Письмо и различие. Академический Проект. М., 2000; Деррида Ж. Позиции. Киев, 1996; Барт Р. S/Z. УРСС. М., 2001; Барт Р. Избранные работы: семиотика. Поэтика. М., 1989.
- ⁵ Об игре, в которую вступает означающее «любовь» с различными означаемыми в зависимости от погруженности в определенный контекст, – в работе Лакоффа Дж., Джонсона М. Метафоры, которыми мы живем //Язык и моделирование социального взаимодействия: сб. ст. /Общ. ред. Петрова В. В. . – М.: Прогресс, 1987.
- ⁶ Ушакин С. Видимость мужественности //О муже(N)ственности: Сб.ст. /Сост. С. Ушакин. – М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2002, с. 500.
- ⁷ Men's Health, январь–февраль 2000 г., с. 11.
- ⁸ Там же, с. 100–101.
- ⁹ Men's Health, август 2001 г.
- ¹⁰ Men's Health, август 2001 г., с. 102–104.
- ¹¹ Men's Health, январь–февраль 2000 г., с. 75.
- ¹² Men's Health август 2002 г., с. 77.
- ¹³ Там же, с. 74.
- ¹⁴ Там же, с. 19.
- ¹⁵ Там же, с. 79.
- ¹⁶ Там же, с. 16.

Summary

This paper analyses the formation of the “new masculinity” ideology in the Russian version of the “Men’s Health” journal. It shows the ways in which textual reality shapes the process of sense-making and attaches “old” masculine values – such as “physical strength”, “high-status and high-paid job”, “sex”—to new signifiers, which include “strength”, “health”, “optimism”, “interesting job” and “harmonious relationship with women”.

Kopsavilkums

Referātā analizēta “jaunās vīrišķības” ideoloģijas veidošana “Men’s Health” žurnāla krievu versijā. Parādīts, kā tekstuālā realitāte ietekmē apziņas veidošanas procesu, pievienojot “vecās” vīrišķības vērtības, piemēram, “fizisko spēku”, “augstu statusu sabiedrībā un augsti apmaksātu darbu”, “seksu”, jaunajiem simboliem: “spēks”, “veselība”, “optimisms”, “interesants darbs” un “harmoniskas attiecības ar sievietēm”.

**Männer im Frauenland: Männerdarstellungen in einer
ostdeutschen Frauenzeitschrift**
**Men in the Womenland: Representations of Men in
Popular Women's Magazines in GDR**
**Vīrieši sievietu zemē: vīriešu attēlojums
VDR populārajos sievietu žurnālos**

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Der Beitrag untersucht die Wandlung und die Tendenzen von Männerdarstellungen in der Frauenzeitschrift *Für Dich*, ein Zeitschrift, der in der ehemaligen DDR eine grosse Bedeutung zukam. Es werden einige Hauptmännerbilder untersucht, die immer wieder auftauchten, Figuren, die auf eine große Resonanz der Autorinnen der Zeitschrift als auch ihrer Leserinnen stießen: Der Vater und (Ehe)Partner, der Arbeiter und der Soldat. Es werden die Veränderungen und Modifikationen des Männerbildes im Laufe der Zeit verfolgt.

Keywords: Gender in der DDR, Frauenzeitschrift, Männlichkeit in der DDR.

Die ehemalige DDR ist in letzter Zeit zum Gegenstand mehrerer Untersuchungen geworden, welche Geschlecht und Geschlechterverhältnisse in Betracht nehmen. Vor allem im Hinblick auf die Stellung der Frau und die Entwicklung und Ausarbeitung einer oft gefeierten aber doch nur zweifelhaft geglückten Gleichberechtigung bietet das Land ein höchstinteressantes und einzigartiges Forschungsobjekt. Die Mehrheit dieser Studien richtet ihre Energie natürlich dann auf die Frau, auf ihre Erwartungen, Enttäuschungen und eigentlichen Erfahrungen im, anderen Deutschland.‘ Fragen nach ihrer Beziehung zu und Einordnung innerhalb der Gesellschaft beschäftigen diese Analysen, und die Ergebnisse sind sowohl faszinierend wie einleuchtend. Aber diese Fäden der zeitgenössischen Forschung lassen verständlicherweise etwas außer Acht. Zu Recht klagt DDR–Wissenschaftler Günter Kracht, “Der DDR–Mann, seine Männlichkeit und sein Mannsein als kulturelles Konstrukt, findet keine große Beachtung.”¹ Um ein ganzheitliches Bild der DDR zu entwickeln, muß tatsächlich auch die Frage gestellt werden, “Was hat der Sozialismus aus den Männern gemacht?” Hier versucht diese Arbeit, ihren kleinen Beitrag zu leisten. Durch eine Untersuchung von Männerdarstellungen in der Frauenzeitschrift *Für Dich* möchte ich näher an das ‘Konstrukt Mann’ kommen und damit die

Frauenzeitschriften bieten einen einzigartigen Blick in die DDR–Gesellschaft. In einem Land, das den wahnsinnigen Verlusten des Kriegs zufolge zum ‘Frauenland’ geworden war, und im Bezug auf den Sozialismus der Frau eine außerordentliche Wichtigkeit verlieh, spielte dieses frauenspezifische Medium eine bestimmte und sehr geschätzte Rolle in der Entwicklung und Verbreitung einer sozialistischen Öffentlichkeit. Staatlich unterstützt als wesentliches Teil des Aufbaus der DDR,

gewann es hohes Prestige und Aufmerksamkeit. Seine Macht und sein Einfluß wurden oft politisch betont, da "als 'Sinnstifterin,' als Trägerin kommunikativen Inhalts, ... [die Frauenpresse] das Wertesystem der Gesellschaft um die Frauenperspektive [erweitert]: Sie bringt frauen-spezifische Wertvorstellungen, Erwartungen und Verhaltensweisen ins gesellschaftliche Normen- und Wertesystem ein ... die Frauenzeitschrift leistet soziale Orientierung und kann als Sozialisationsinstanz auch belehren."² Im Hinblick auf diese vielfältigen und bedeutungsvollen Aspekte der Frauenzeitschrift, möchte ich die Frage stellen: wie wird der Mann in den Blättern verstanden und definiert ?

Meine Arbeit behandelt primär die Zeitschrift *Für Dich*, eine Zeitschrift, der in der ehemaligen DDR eine große Bedeutung zukam. Als ein "Vorzeigeobjekt der SED,"³ genoß die *Für Dich* besondere Vorteile und Unterstützungen, aber auch besondere Wachsamkeit und Kontrolle. Als die Frauenzeitschrift überhaupt⁴ sollte sie vor allem einem politischen Bewußtsein förderlich sein; sie "wendet sich an alle Frauen und sieht ihre Hauptaufgabe darin, die bei uns bestehende Gleichberechtigung weiter vertiefen zu helfen."⁵ Durch das staatlich gewollte Privileg wöchentlicher statt monatlicher oder vierteljähriger Erscheinung, deutlich billiger als andere Frauenzeitschriften verkauft, und mit dementsprechend höheren Auflagenzahlen und eine "hieran zu erkennende größere Bedeutsamkeit in den Augen der Partei,"⁶ wurde *Für Dich* zu einer prägenden Stelle in den Diskursen der DDR verholphen. Aus den Heften stellten sich einige Hauptmännerbilder heraus, Figuren, die auf eine große Resonanz der Autorinnen der Zeitschrift als auch ihrer Leserinnen stießen: Der Vater und (Ehe)Partner, der Arbeiter und der Soldat. Dies waren die Männerkörper, die immer wieder auftauchten. Und sie erlebten heftige Veränderungen und Modifikationen im Laufe der Zeit. Ich hoffe, daß dieser offiziell propagierte aber immerhin oft kontroverse und uneinige Frauenblick ein anderes Licht auf den symbolreichen und schattenhaften Männerleib werfen kann.

Zu erst betrachte ich die erste *Für Dich* von den Jahren 1948–1950. Diese Jahrgänge waren von einem radikalen, oft männerfeindlichen Geschlechterbild geprägt. In einer „grauenvoll zusammengebrochenen Männerwelt ist den Frauen eine Aufgabe von nie zuvor gekannter Schwere und Größe auferlegt."⁷ Die unmittelbare deutsche Vergangenheit wurde vor allem als eine aus Geschlechterungleichheit entstandene Bosheit dargestellt, und der Nationalsozialismus als eine Zeit des Sexismus und der weiblichen Unterdrückung verschrieben. Politik und z.B. rassistische oder antisemitische Aspekte der Nazis fielen weg, statt dessen, was für die Frauen Deutschlands wichtig zu wissen war, „die nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung lehrte das Primat des Mannes in allen Funktionen des gesamten staatlichen Lebens, anerkannte die Gleichberechtigung der Frau nicht und begrenzte das weibliche Geschlecht in seinen Rechten und Pflichten als Wesen minderen Wertes auf den engen Kreis häuslichen Lebens oder auf untergeordnete Stellungen und der Erwerbstätigkeit." (1948) Der 'Krieg aller Kriege' wandelte sich zum Geschlechterkrieg, und das Leiden unter Hitlers Herrschaft ausschließlich den (ostdeutschen bzw. ‚uns‘) Frauen zugeordnet. Das Geschlecht war fast automatisch als Beweis politischer Überzeugung (gut oder böse) zu sehen. Immer wieder wurden die deutschen Soldaten, die diese Verbrechen verursacht hatten, uns vorgestellt. Diese zeitweiligen Gefangene lächeln die Leserinnen glücklich, gesund und mit reinem

Gewissen an. Ein Wort des Bereuens oder Zeichen der Unsicherheit tauchte nie in Bezug auf diese Kriegsmitmacher auf. Diejenigen Soldaten, die noch in Lagern gefangen waren, wurden mit kritischen und zugleich neidischen Augen betrachtet. In den Artikeln der Zeitschrift sahen Leserinnen diese Männer konsequent beim Faulenzen, nie beim körperlichen Leiden oder strapazierender Arbeit in diesen östlichen bzw. Russischen Lagern. So heißt es in einem Artikel: "diejenigen, die es nicht vorziehen, in der Sonne zu liegen oder zu lesen, finden sich zu einem Skat zusammen." Immer betont wurde auch das leckere und vor allem reichlich vorhandenes Essen in den Lagern.

Der Verdacht, daß er 'mitgemacht' hatte, färbte fast jeden starken, gesunden Mann in den Augen der Redaktion. Aber diese überwiegender Verachtung des jungen deutschen Mannes war vorübergehend wie intensiv und absolut. Mit der formellen Gründung des DDR-Staates und einem demzufolge großen Bedarf an männlichen Arbeitskräften gewann der DDR-Mann wieder einen guten Ruf. Es kam doch blitzschnell in der allgemeinen DDR-Gesellschaft zu einer intensiven Umformulierung des Männerbildes statt; innerhalb wenigen Jahren entstand so die Figur des neuen ostdeutschen Arbeiters, die als positives Sinnbild der Nation fungiert. Die Muskeln des Arbeiters, sein Fleiß und Pflichtgefühl dienten plötzlich als Kennzeichen des sozialistischen Wesens, und nicht mehr als Beweis einer Verbindung zu den Nazis und dem Krieg darzustellen. Parallel dazu verlor die Figur der Frau als Alleinverantwortor für den nationalen Aufbau rasch an rhetorischer Bedeutung. Allerdings zeigten sich in den Frauenzeitschriften die Kompliziertheit und Ambivalenz dieser Entwicklung des Männerbildes. Die Seiten meiner Frauenzeitschriften waren keineswegs von arbeitenden Männerkörper überfüllt. Im Gegenteil schien der männliche Arbeiterkörper der Redaktion und Leserschaft von relativ niedrigem oder sehr beschränktem Interesse zu sein.

Während des langen Lebens *Für Dich* tauchte der Arbeiterkörper recht selten auf, und wenn, dann eher als ein Symbol sexueller Potenz, welcher mit einer problematischen Männlichkeit sogar mit einem unausgesprochenen Sexismus verbunden wurde. In den Seiten der Zeitschrift wurde der arbeitende Körper mit traditionellen, teils doch dubiosen Eigenschaften des Männlichen verbunden, sein Leib mit einer verführerischen, fast verbrecherischen Romantik geladen. Sein starker, fleischiger Körper steht konsequent im deutlichen Vergleich zu weiblichen Gestalten, und sieht sowohl höchsterotisch wie auch äußerst bedrohlich aus, und sein Körper wurde häufiger als irgendwelche anderen zum Objekt weiblicher Kritik ausgewählt. "Männerbetriebe und (die damitverbundenen) hartnäckige Denkgewohnheiten" sind konsequent als Feinde der Frau dargestellt. Die Darstellung einer Welt, wo Frauen gegen Bauarbeiter kämpfen für einen berechtigten sozialistischen Staat, wurde immer wieder und in unterschiedlichsten Weisen aufgegriffen. Aber während der männliche Arbeiterkörper sich als problematisch und schwer greifbar bewies, bot die Frauenzeitschrift der Leserschaft die Figur des neuen, von Frauen 'gut-erzogenen' DDR-Mann, mit Schürze und Besen ausgerüstet als positives Alternativ.

Der hilfsbereite Mann im Haushalt war ein stetiges und beliebtes Thema in der *Für Dich*. Sowohl Frauen wie auch Männer wiesen auf eine gleiche Verteilung der privaten Putz- und Kocharbeit als stolzes Beispiel einer verwirklichten

Gleichberechtigung hin. Es wurde von “Männer[n], die wir lieben,” erzählt, von Frauen, die sich so sehr freuen, weil sie “so einen prima Mann habe[n]. ... Der Haushalt ist tiptopp in Ordnung, alle Kinder gebadet und versorgt ... Unsere 12 Fenster ... putzt mein Mann besser als manche Frau.” (1970) Männer könnten mit Mühe und Überzeugung doch fast so gut wie eine Frau werden, wie im glänzenden Beispiel von ‘Vati zu Hause,’ ein DDR Bürger, der “trotz seines unregelmäßigen Dienstes im Gesundheitswesen, erledigt ... alles mit einer so großen Ruhe und ordentlich, wie es eine Frau nicht besser machen könnte... wenn es auch draußen mal grau aussieht und regnet, in unserer Wohnung ist Sonnenschein!” (1970)

Daß aber vielleicht nicht alles nur ‘Sonnenschein’ war, läßt sich auch klar vermuten. Böse und ‘altkapitalistische’ Gerüchte wie “Hausarbeit ist nichts für richtige Männer,” (1963) Meinungen, die von älteren Familienmitgliedern geäußert wurden und dadurch als Überreste eines vergangenen faschistischen Zeitalters implizit entschuldigt waren, waren den Autorinnen bekannt. Es wurde schnell klar, daß die neue Männlichkeitsmodell tiefste Schwierigkeiten verursachte. Die Sorge, die Männer würden dadurch zum Pantoffelheld verwandelt, war doch weitverbreitet in der DDR und demzufolge häufig thematisiert, sowohl innerhalb wie auch außerhalb der DDR. Eine “von der Westseite beobachteten ‘Feminisierung’ der Männer — oder jedenfalls eine ganz andere Art von ‘Männlichkeit,’”

Sorgte für Aufregung auf beide Seiten der deutsch–deutschen Grenze. Männer fragten öfters in der Zeitschrift, “warum sollen denn Hausarbeit und Männlichkeit unvereinbar sein? ... ‘Bin ich ein Pantoffelheld?” (1963) Die tiefe Unsicherheit, die die Aufforderungen an die Männer zum Putzen verursachte, wurde zwar nicht direkt angesprochen aber doch thematisiert. Äußerungen wie “wir helfen gern, aber Männer wollen wir trotzdem bleiben,” (1963) sollten dazu dienen, ein Bild von einem Mannsein, das gerade auf der Kippe stand, zu verbreiten.

Lösungssuchend und Männertröstend versuchte *Für Dich* eine neue, moderne DDR–Männlichkeit herzustellen, deren Wesen mit einer gleichen Teilung der Hausarbeit in Einklang kommen konnte. Die Wende in der Männlichkeit, die eine gleichberechtigte Lebensbeteiligung verursachen sollte, wurde in zweierlei Hinsichten vollzogen. Es gab viele Versuche, weiblich–konnotierte Arbeit mit männlichen Attributen zu belegen. Dies fand am einfachsten durch ziemlich platte Analogien statt. So hieß es beispielsweise, daß vielleicht der besorgte Ehemann sich in seiner männlichen Potenz nicht so verletzt fühlte, wenn er wissen wurde, daß “den gleichen Kraftaufwand, den sie in einem Jahr zum Bügeln braucht . . . muß ein Forstarbeiter aufbringen (muß), um 265 Bäume durchschnittlicher Stärke zu fällen,” (1963) würde vielleicht die männliche Potenz eines besorgten Ehemanns sich beim Abwaschen nicht so verletzt fühlen. Viel häufiger aber als solche Gleichnisse, proklamierte die Redaktion, nicht eine männlichere Weiblichkeit sondern eine neue, andere Männlichkeit. Die Männer, die jetzt so gern putzten, wuschen, flickten und kochten waren zärtlicher, nicht so muskulös, trugen oft Brillen und sahen meist verwirrt oder überfordert aus.

Mehr noch als der aufgeklärte Helfer Zuhause aber gewann der verantwortliche und liebevolle Vater das höchste Lob des Landes. Gerade hier, in der DDR, “wo alles im Umdenken ist ... kann auch der Vater seine Kinder nicht mehr mit

anachronistischen Gepflogenheiten und Denkart erziehen.” (1970) Er verkörperte die feinsten und erstrebenswertesten Eigenschaften der neuen DDR und ihrer neuen Bürger, und er wurde dementsprechend thematisiert, beschrieben und analysiert. Männlichkeit ist zum ersten Mal durch Mütterlichkeit gebildet und bestätigt, “wenn die Kinder mit meiner Frau mal nicht einverstanden sind, sagen sie: Vater ist der einzig Vernünftige in der Familie, ein richtiger ‘Muttervater.’ Darüber freut sich auch meine Frau. Der ‘Muttervater’ ist ihr kein Konkurrent, sondern schönste Bestätigung, daß sie, als sie ihr Ja gab, gut für die Kinder mit entschieden hat.” (1980) Diese merkwürdige DDR–Gestalt des ‘Muttervaters’ dient sowohl als Fortschrittsbeweis als auch Ansporn, denn schließlich “gerade als Väter haben die Männer am meisten aufgeholt ... Dies ist der fortgeschrittenste Bereich der Arbeitsteilung.” (1980) Der *Für Dich* zufolge konnte es im Sozialismus nicht anders sein. Familien- und Gesellschaftspolitik vereinigten sich in dem Vaterleib Leib.

Durch die Jahre der Zeitschrift tauchte die Figur des Vaters zunehmend auf. Wenn er in den früheren Folgen als gelegentlich erwähntes Mitglied einer von Frauen dominierten Familie schien, wurde er in den Siebzigern zum Hauptbestandteil der sozialistische Gesellschaft. Immer mehr Fotos vom Vater mit Kind, oft mit auffällig abwesenden Müttern, wurden veröffentlicht. Die DDR wurde rasch zur Vaterparadies umgewandelt. Die Redaktion reichte immer öfter den symbolischen “April–Blumenstrauß ... der Dank für seine Mühe und Sorge, für sein Verständnis, für seine Liebe,” ‘einem liebevollen Vater’ entgegen; „Mit wenigen Worten – so wie es seinen Art ist— hat Günter Held damals seiner Frau erklärt, daß er die Kinder allein betreuen werde. Und er versprach, niemand werde ihnen anmerken, daß die Mutter nicht zu Hause ist.” (1963)

Daß die stets aufgeforderte Zusammenarbeit sich oft als ‚Geschlechterkrieg‘ entpuppte, wurde erst sehr spät in der Frauenzeitschrift zugegeben. Es war erst in den Achtzigern das dieses Geschlechterdilemma direkt und zum Teil aus reiner Verzweiflung angesprochen wurde. 1980 scheint eine Wende für die Männerdarstellung in *Für Dich* zu markieren. Mit der langen und hochstrebenden, ziemlich willkürlich konzipierten Serie “Junge Männer Heute” sprach *Für Dich* die komplizierten und oft paradoxen Männlichkeitkonstrukten an, die sie so lange diskutiert und verbreitet hatte. Während es früher meistens der trostlose sitzengelassene Soldat oder der ratsuchende junge Vater war, der in der Zeitschrift zu Wort kam, lernten die Leserinnen jetzt eine neue Art Mann kennen. Jetzt kamen “junge Männer vom Bau zur Diskussion.” Auf der Suche nach einer Lösung der drückenden Männerfrage besuchten die Mitarbeiterinnen der Zeitschrift “die ‘Rüster,’ wie sie sich nennen, in ihrer Mittagspause. Von der Arbeit her gewohnt, alles kräftig und zügig anzupacken, kamen sie auch ohne Umschweife sogleich mit uns ins Gespräch.” (1980) Vor allem beklagten die ein Mangel eines klaren und einheitlichen Männerbildes. Die Leserinnen wurden aufgefordert sich zu fragen: „Weiß er denn wirklich, wie Er heute nun zu sein hat ... Frauen [sind] in ihrer Forderungen rigoros: Einerseits soll er ein ‘richtiger’ Mann sein, souverän, aktiv, entscheidungsfreudig, stark – und andererseits wird Sensibilität, Zärtlichkeit und Versiertheit im Haushalt gefordert – also Macho und Softy in einem ... Aber solche Ansprüche und Forderungen verunsichern und desorientieren – und sie haben sicherlich auch ihren Anteil daran, daß Männer sich zögernder vom althergebrachten Rollenverhalten trennen als Frauen. Schließlich hatte

da alles seine unverrückbare Ordnung, über die man nicht weiter nachdenken mußte: ein richtiger Mann war, wer seine Familie gut versorgte und die richtigen Entscheidungen traf. Und heute?“ (1989)

Mit dem neuen Verständnis, daß Männer genau so viel und vielleicht noch mehr als Frauen unter den alten patriarchalischen Gewohnheiten litten, versuchten diese neuen Männerartikel vor allem den Mythos “Männer haben es einfacher” (1989) zu durchbrechen. Plötzlich war der Männerkörper nicht mehr das Objekt des weiblichen Neids, sondern des weiblichen Mitleids. Nicht mehr Konkurrenz an der Werkbank oder verantwortungsloser Partner, schien der ‘junge Mann von Heute’ eher ein verlorenes Kind, Trost- und Führungsbedürftig. Die Tatsache, daß es “offensichtlich ... Ihm schwerer [fällt,] sich zu ändern als Ihr ...” wurde als Grund für übertriebene Unterstützung der Frau gesehen. Statt Vorwürfe wegen mangelnder Haushaltshilfe oder beruflicher Unterstützung sollte jedes beschmierte Brot oder abgeholtos Kind tausendmal gefeiert werden. (“kleiner Hinweis: Emphatisch jubeln ist weniger anstrengend als alleine putzen. Also, warum sollten wir Frauen uns nicht immer wieder deutlich freuen, wenn er ein Glanzstück in Küche oder Bad vollbracht hat?“ (1980)) “So leicht ist es für Ihn nicht, sich aus seiner Bequemlichkeit zu lösen und neue Funktionen in der Partnerschaft und in der Familie zu übernehmen,” (1980) und ohne weibliche Hilfe, schafft er es überhaupt nicht.

Die Schwierigkeiten, Vorstellungen und Verständnissen von Männlichkeit mit den eigentlichen Männern der DDR zusammenzubringen, ergaben ein Komplex uneindeutiger Bilder des männlichem Selbst. Weder weiblich genug auf die Baustelle noch männlich genug am Herd, blieb der DDR-Mann ungreifbar. Durchs ganze Leben der Zeitschrift pendelten die Redakteurinnen zwischen diesen Polen, ohne eine klare Lösung zu finden. Wo der DDR-Mann sich befinden soll, wie er sich gestalten und verhalten soll, und welche Rolle die DDR-Frau damit spielen soll, waren Fragen die sich als äußerst schwer zu beantworten bewiesen. Es gab aber einen anderen Körper, der sich völlig außerhalb dieses Dilemmas befand: der neu erfundene und ewig populäre DDR-Soldat. Die Zeitschrift räumte ihm einen Ort ein, wo die tiefen und unlösbaren Debatten um Männlichkeit nicht eindringen konnten. Auf Grund seiner Stellung als Schützer und Verteidiger konnte und sollte er sich außerhalb der normalen Geschlechtsmuster, die in den Zeitschrift sonst als allgemeingültig und wesentlich zum Erfolg des sozialistischen Staates propagiert waren, bewegen. Sowohl die weibliche wie auch männliche Öffentlichkeit schätzte den Soldat als fast mythische Gestalt, als letzten eigentlichen Repräsentanten des unproblematischen und nicht in Frage gestellten Männlichen. Der Soldat war sowohl bestmöglicher Vertreter von Werten und Sitten der DDR, wie auch jemand, der völlig außerhalb dieses Systems stand, als Grenzschrützer nicht nur buchstäblich sondern auch abstrakt an seine Grenzen.

Anfang der sechziger Jahren und mit der Einführung der Wehrpflicht wurde der DDR Soldat zum neuen Bestandteil der öffentlichen Gesellschaft. Die tiefe Abneigung allem Militärischen gegenüber, die die DDR-Bevölkerung früher auszeichnete, mußte schnell überwunden werden. Der Staat widmete dem Aufbau eines positiven Bildes des neuen DDR-Soldaten, ein Mann, der nicht den Krieg sondern “de[m] Frieden und [der] Liebe” dienen sollte, viel Energie. (1963) Diese DDR Soldaten

repräsentierten eine neue Art Mann, der mit den 'faschistischen Kämpfern' die Deutschland zerstörten nichts gemeinsam hatten, und das Bedürfnis, das Dasein dieser 'Friedenskämpfer' zu rechtfertigen, war überall in der Öffentlichkeit zu spüren. Um eine sanfte Annahme dieser Militarisierung der Gesellschaft zu gewährleisten, stellte die Zeitschrift der Leserinnen u.a. Helmut Poppe vor. Dieser sympathischer Mann war bloß 17 1/2 Jahre alt, „als er in den furchtbarsten Krieg aller Kriege geschickt wurde. Er erlebte das Ende derer, die ihn betrogen hatten; doch er konnte sich nicht vorstellen, daß es wieder einen Anfang geben sollte ... Als Helmut Poppe 1948 nach Hause kam, erlebte er, wie im östlichen Teil Deutschlands alles zur demokratischen Erneuerung getan wurde. Diejenigen, die die Völker in einen Krieg gestürzt, die ihm Jahre seiner Jugend geraubt hatten, die Militaristen und Junker wurden entmachteter. Um das neue Leben zu schützen, begann er als Wachmeister . . . „(1963) Solche Versuche, die ostdeutsche Armee von der abschreckenden jungen deutschen Vergangenheit zu distanzieren und dagegen mit dem Streben nach Frieden zu verbinden, prägten die ersten Jahrgänge der Zeitschrift.

Zahlreiche kurze Berichte zeigten den Soldat zu Hause und in der Freizeit, und sollten dazu dienen, den Soldatenkörper ‚normal‘ und ‚positiv‘ zu konnotieren. Um den Soldaten annahbarer zu machen, richtete *Für Dich* überraschend viele Aufmerksamkeit auf die vielfältige Seiten seiner Persönlichkeit. Seine Normalität wie auch seine Separation von der Gesellschaft sollten gleich repräsentiert. Reportagen sprachen kaum über die eigentliche militärische Arbeit der Soldaten, beschränkten sich statt dessen auf 'Freizeit und Glück' in der Armee. 'Während des Diensts' blieb fast Tabuthema, aber "nach dem Dienst finden die Soldaten bei ihren Lieblingsbeschäftigungen Ruhe und Entspannung," (1963) und diese 'Lieblingsbeschäftigungen' wurden dann für die weibliche Leserin in Detail aufgelistet und abgebildet.

Die *Für Dich* versuchte, die Stellung des Soldaten in der DDR-Gesellschaft zu definieren und zu normalisieren. Sein Körper blieb dabei schwierig einzuordnen, da durch den Dienst war der Soldat von der Gesellschaft abgeschnitten, und untereinander bildeten die Soldaten eine Art Randgruppe, die eine offen gefeierte Befreiung von der Gleichberechtigungserwartungen beinhaltete. Soldaten waren die einzigen Männer in *Für Dich*, die von weiblichen Kritik oder Vorwurf verschont blieben. Frauen erhoben ihre Stimme, aber nicht um anzuklagen, sondern um zu behaupten, "inzwischen ist [mein Mann] Offizier geworden, und wir drei sind stolz auf ihn." (1963). Wegen "ihre[r] Liebe zur Arbeiterklasse, ihr[es] Einsatz[es] für unseren sozialistischen Staat" mußte die Frau eines Soldaten "viele persönliche Interessen zurückstellen." Forderungen auf Hilfe beim Abwaschen oder sogar auf die einmal-im-Monat-Kocherei wurden hemmungslos abgelehnt, um die Annahme eines soldatischen Geschlechtsmusters, das die Interessen der Frau deutlich unterordnet, zu vereinfachen.

Die Spaltung zwischen ‚normale‘ DDR-Mann und ‚besondere‘ DDR-Soldat wurde vor allem durch seine allgegenwärtige und unvermeidbare Uniform ausgedrückt. In jedem Bereich eines normalen Alltags sowie bei den spezialisierten Aktivitäten des militärischen Diensts wurde er eifrig und häufig abgebildet, aber immer wurde sein Körper durch seine Kleidung hervorgehoben und abgesondert. Das Soldatensein definierte den Mann oder besser die Männlichkeit, es war wie eine

zweite Haut, die sich permanent am Leib sichtbar war. Schürzen bleiben seinem getarnten, muskulösen Körper fern, selbstbewußte und hemmungslose Bewegungen markierten ihn, genau so wie seine Bereitschaft zu lächeln und zu küssen, zwei Eigenschaften, die sonst kaum unter abgebildeten Männerfotos zu finden waren. Eine tiefe Zufriedenheit und eine Sicherheit sowohl in seiner sexuellen wie auch körperlichen Potenz trennten diese Männer von ihren Zivilistenbrüdern.

Diese einfache Art von Männlichkeit, die sonst als sexistisch, kindisch, kapitalistisch oder faschistisch verschmäht wurde, war allein in der Armee zugelassen und toleriert. Die Armee wurde zum Männerhersteller— was als Junge reingeht, kommt “reifer und klüger zurück ... Jedenfalls ist er ein Mann, wenn er wieder nach Hause kommt.” (1963) Als der ‘echte’ Mann der DDR, blieb der Soldat offenbar der einzige Körper in den Zeitschriften, dem eine deutliche und vor allem positive Erotik zugeordnet war. Das Liebesleben des Soldaten spielte in der *Für Dich* eine wichtige Rolle und wurde in der Mehrheit der Artikeln über die Armee behandelt. Tatsächlich war die Stimme des betrogenen, eifersüchtigen, oder verwirrten Soldaten die oftgehörteste männliche Stimme der ersten Jahre der Zeitschrift überhaupt, eine Figur, die vor allem als Opfer weiblicher Gleichgültigkeit, Ignoranz, oder Tücke dargestellt wurde. Das Sexleben des Soldaten legendär, er soll es gern und viel treiben, und war von jedem Tadel oder Vorwurf befreit. Er liebt, er verläßt, er geht fremd und alles mit der Erwartung um Verständnis und Unterstützung der Redakteurinnen der *Für Dich*. Weder Treue noch Respekt gegenüber Frauen wurde von ihm erwartet, er mußte nur seine Pflicht erfüllen, und dazu durfte er seinen Körper fast unbegrenzt befriedigen. Allein unter DDR– Männern durfte er ‘bloß ein Kerl’ sein, ohne fragen zu müssen, was das eigentlich hieß.

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Kracht, S. 132.

² Tonsheidt s. 157.

³ Tonsheidt s. 237.

⁴ Sie “gilt in der DDR als einzige Frauenzeitschrift. Die übrigen Zeitschriften, die an den weiblichen Leserkreis gerichtet sind und überwiegend Mode enthalten, fallen dem Sprachgebrauch in der DDR entsprechend nicht in diese Kategorie.” Mischker in Tonsheidt s. 227.

⁵ Chefredakteurin Jutterman in Tonsheidt s. 226.

⁶ Tonsheidt s. 228.

⁷ Brenner in Budde, 1997, S. 247.

Summary

My paper, examines the shifts and trends in representations of men in *Für Dich*, the most-read women’s magazine of the former East Germany. I examined dominant images of men in the magazine, in an attempt to understand how masculinity and gender relations were constructed in one of the few media made by and for women.

I show how paradoxical and difficult the construction of an East German masculinity seemed to be. I argue that the magazine *Für Dich* shows an ambivalence and insecurity in its discussion of masculinity. Most praise is reserved for the father and husband; the ‚Worker‘ on the other hand seems an object of distrust. These magazines dedicate much energy to instructing their audiences on how to produce the perfect East German Man, at the same time that they constantly acknowledge that this perfect masculine specimen does not exist. The actual men in the GDR are heavily criticized and attacked, and the idea of a successful masculinity is challenged.

Kopsavilkums

Referātā pētītas izmaiņas un tendences vīriešu attēlojumā bijušās Austrumvācijas vispopulārākajā sieviešu žurnālā „Für Dich”.

Es analizēju žurnālā dominējošos vīriešu tēlus, centos noskaidrot, kā vīrišķība un dzimumu attiecības parādītas vienā no retajiem sieviešu radītajiem un sievietēm domātajiem preses izdevumiem. Redzams, cik paradoksāla un grūta bijusi Austrumvācijas vīriešu vīrišķības atainošana. Uzskatu, ka žurnāls „Für Dich” savās diskusijās par vīrišķību bija divkosīgs un nepārliciecināms. Tajā atzinību izpelnās tēvs un vīrs, bet strādājošs vīrietis bieži tiek pieminēts ar neuzticību. Sieviešu žurnāli daudz enerģijas veltījuši, mācot lasītājus, kā izveidot ideālu austrumvācu vīrieti, vienlaikus nepārtraukti uzsverot, ka šāds ideāls nemaz neeksistē. Reālie VDR vīrieši pastāvīgi tiek kritizēti, un tiek apšaubīta pati pozitīvās vīrišķības ideja.

Female Identity in the Postcolonial Situation: The Case of the Ukraine

(*Field Research in Ukrainian Sex* by Oksana Zabuzhko)

Sieviešu identitāte postkoloniālā situācijā: Ukrainas gadījums

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Using key concepts of postcolonial theory, I argue that they are applicable to the contemporary Ukrainian context and to Ukrainian literature. I prove this hypothesis by applying these concepts (in particular the notion of a subaltern) to Oksana Zabuzhko's *Field Research in Ukrainian Sex* (1994), demonstrating that postcolonialism can provide both an explanation for various cultural formations in the Ukraine and a framework for interrogating and subverting them, as well as open space for female self-identification, which is to say for topics which have been traditionally marginalized and silenced.

Keywords: postcolonial theory; Ukraine; female identity; national identity; autobiography.

For Ukrainians, the early nineties, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and rapid social and political changes in the Eastern bloc, were also a period of a radical reconceptualization of their national identity. What makes this a special process within Ukrainian culture, compared with other East European countries which underwent similar processes, is a strong feeling of coloniality, of a post-imperial legacy which still influences and deforms the mentality of the people. *Field Research in Ukrainian Sex* (1994) by Oksana Zabuzhko was a first attempt not only to reflect this feeling but to analyze it on a literary level and thus not only to turn the colonial powers against themselves but to transform them into a powerful source of the reconceptualization of Ukrainians, and in particular of Ukrainian women. In this paper, grounding my discussion in feminist postcolonial criticism and relying upon the notion of the "subaltern" proposed by G.C. Spivak in her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?", I will argue that the protagonist of the novel, Oksana, establishes herself as a representative of her own nation who tries to give voice to the experience of being a woman in a society disfigured by famine, purges, and a repressive colonial legacy. I will argue that re-constructing herself and her life as an embodiment of Ukrainian national identity, Oksana constructs herself as a voice coming from the margins which becomes a center of radical openness.

From the very moment it was published, *Field Research in Ukrainian Sex* was regarded by the public as an account of one of the author's love affairs because the novel is blatantly autobiographical. Besides, its unusual literary form which plays

around with the genres of autobiographic novel, confession, and public speech (or academic presentation) and presents itself as a report on a research project, interspersed with poetic fragments, was perceived as an insult to literary taste¹. Zabuzhko's novel "breaks many of elite literature's laws..., it is overtly political..., always pressing the boundaries of established genres"². And indeed, this writing is an infringement upon the laws of the novel as a genre³.

That is why, while the title of the novel apparently stresses the veracity of the facts presented (with the allusions to academic research), the text itself erodes any autobiographic truthfulness. For example, the prefix "auto-", which is always "the single, imperious sight of the self express"⁴, never appears in the text; this underlines the impossibility of establishing power relations between author and text, narrator and narration. This is additionally confirmed by the lack of a stable narrator in the text, which is also a violation of the narrative laws of autobiography as a manifestation of the power of a male mind over his personality and life. In the novel, the narrative shifts between the first, second, and third person narrators, which seem to have different identities and to address different issues. For example, global perspectives issues related to Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation, are always presented by the first person narrator who is quite self-conscious and self-critical. Passages which discuss 'Ukrainian' issues are usually preceded by a phrase emphasizing that the text is actually a public speech on a research project ("...the topic of my speech today, ladies and gentlemen, as it is stated in the program, is "Field Research in Ukrainian Sex ..."⁵) – with a bitter taste of irony to it ("Ladies and gentlemen, I feel a bit uncomfortable touching this topic since, of course, it fits a sermon better than a serious academic speech, and I already see that you are – one by one – leaving the room, sarcastically curling your lips: *crazy stuff*, typical *Slavic mysticism...*"⁶). Second and third person narrators retell the personal stories of Oksana and her lover, Mykola, and the story of their relationship. But however intimate the tone of the story might be, there is always an ironic undertone, concealing rage, or humiliation, or helplessness.

From my point of view, a separation of the narrative voices in the novel is necessary to distance the protagonist from her personal experience, thus distancing *Field Research* from autobiography once again. Through the second and third person narration, Oksana once again relives her relationship with Mykola, joining it with her family experience. The first person narration functions differently: it opens up a fictional space for the female perspective of the community she lived, and is living, in, a fictional space where Oksana's personal experience became a representation of a communal experience.

The personal enters *Field Research in Ukrainian Sex* with sex, namely with 'painful intercourse'⁷, as referred to by the protagonist herself. Introduced in this novel, pure sexual relations, the whole discourse on female sexuality, that was never a literary topic in Ukrainian literature before,⁸ are related with a number of issues that are still not only sensitive, but painful: the Famine of 1932–33, the purges, family relations within society affected by the fear of purges. On the one hand, such approach depathosizes the history of the community. On the other hand, in Spivak's terms, it can be seen as an attempt of an intellectual to voice an experience that has been silenced, a 'non-literary' experience of a female in Ukrainian society.

One such experience is becoming a female, a process already painful in itself, which is further complicated by a mother–daughter relationship in a situation where the traditional family gender roles are reversed. Using the words of Ketu Katrak (understanding, though, that her primary sphere of interest is the plight of post–colonial women writers from Africa, India, and the Caribbean), in her novel, Oksana Zabuzhko “cover[s] a range of issues that share a concern with gender – how their female protagonist’s self and sexuality are constructed and controlled by indigenous patriarchies and [the colonizer’s] colonial practices”⁹. Oksana does not construct her own identity in the void, for her heritage, both personal and communal, is embedded in every moment of her life. Besides, Oksana does not have control over the construction of her identity, her sexuality; it is constructed for her, on the one hand, within her family, by her parents, and, on the other hand, by the society she lives in. According to Elizabeth Grosz’s interpretation of Lucy Irigaray’s theory, “she sees the female body (like the male body) as sites for the inscription of social significances. Here it is not that the female body is silenced, but rather that it is ‘spoken through’, produced as such, by a wide variant of forces of social representation”¹⁰.

In her novel, Zabuzhko demonstrates how the social experiences are inscribed in the body in the world of the protagonist. The story of Oksana’s parents, presented through the prism of Oksana’s enraged perception of her own childhood, of her own teenage years, of her own family life, can serve as a direct illustration of Irigaray’s claim. The protagonist states that her mother “was altogether frigid...what else could she be, if not frigid, – a child of famine...”¹¹. From the protagonist’s point of view, women of that generation did not possess sexualized body; they did not exist bodily but through food. As I see it, the frigidity of her mother is yet another reason for Oksana’s painful teenage search for sexual identity. The bodily does not come to Oksana naturally; it is transformed into an incomprehensible, unrecognizable sickness, for the feminine lineage in their family has been disrupted by the socially caused frigidity.

The social had a different influence on Oksana’s father. As Oksana describes him, ...he was a guy, a talker, with a good sense of humor, who liked life a lot, and women liked him, and he would easily find how to break his fast outside the house, why then did he guard his virginity that strictly..., because my mama got married with him, when he still was *not* rehabilitated, isn’t it so, and his whole life he shivered inside, being afraid to hear aloud from her what he was eating himself with, – that he ruined her life, but to stay himself, *without* her, – again, he was afraid?...¹²

The fact that her father went through the camps as an ‘anti–Soviet propagator’ reversed the traditional gender roles in their family, for he was not able to support the family. It was the mother who became a breadwinner in this family, and who, at the same time, attempted to make a career in academia (which was later closed to her as a wife of ‘the unreliable’). From Oksana’s point of view, in her father this produced a dependency from his frigid wife which firstly was grounded in guilt and secondly locked him in himself, prohibiting him to open up his sexuality. Thus, in her parents’ family, it was not only female body that was produced as silent, but the male body, too. But while the silencing of the female body turns out to be a result of historical conditions, it is the socially constructed feeling of guilt and helplessness that silences the male body.

The only way for her father's sexuality to emerge is through his attempts to control Oksana's growth. In her words, she was "the only woman in his life – the one he himself gave birth to"¹³. From the first glance, it seems that this is yet another point of reversal of gender roles in the family: it is her father who fulfils the mother's functions, explaining to her, for example, what menstruation is. But here such a reversal serves as a tool to control the development of her identity through her sexuality, and her sexuality itself. Oksana describes her painful attempts to break out from that control (mascara, stolen from an open bag belonging to the older girl, rock bands, first attempts at truancy, the refusal to undress in front of the father) – admitting at the same her inability to break away. This inability to break with her family as well as the constant demand for submission from her father, produce, in my view, in the protagonist the necessity to submit, something which she clearly recognizes herself.

Thus it is her body that becomes a map of control. It is first fully controlled by her father ("she will manage to lose [virginity] only after her daddy's death)..."¹⁴). Later, when she becomes a woman, this control transforms all her sexual relations into some form of incest, committed on the level of her feelings: "...and later, each time, – the same feeling of daughterly *submissiveness*, completeness of patrimonial intercourse, from which men, not even getting where it comes from, of course, go crazy"¹⁵. From my point of view it is this very feeling of control that disallows her to view her body as a subject: "You are a woman. This is your limit"¹⁶. Therefore, she conceptualizes herself as an object of male control and male desire, viewing her body through the prism of the masculine gaze only.

The only time that the bodily slips away from some form of control, when the bodily, both male and female, has a chance to speak up, to rebel against all forms of control, is through sickness. From the point of view of Susan Sontag, "the diseases around which the modern fantasies have gathered – TB, cancer – are viewed as forms of self-judgement, of self-betrayal"¹⁷. It is through the sickness of her body that Oksana can actually express her internal discomfort with the painful, destructive relationship with Mykola. And it is exactly through cancer of his sexual organs that her father was able to express "his panicking fear of [his daughter's] unstoppable growth"¹⁸ – his fear of the inability to control his growing daughter.

At the same time, from the protagonist's viewpoint, it is not simply her upbringing that produces the necessity of subjugation in her. For Oksana, the feeling of subjugation, closely tied with the feelings of fear and humiliation, comes from the feeling of fear, subjugation, and humiliation that her community experienced. She relates her own growth, her own sexual relations to the social patterns, arguing that it is not simply the patriarchal order in both family and society that results in a dependency "poured into blood"¹⁹, but slavery and subjugation experienced by this society.

For the protagonist the story of her nation is a history of defeat. She regards the last century of her nation's history as the history of 'degeneration'²⁰, and it seems to her that her own country turns into "Cronus, who eats his children up, together with their little hands and feet"²¹, into a "cellar where... it was stinking with half-decayed talents, rotting... lives...: with Ukrainian history"²².

Of course, taking into account that it is a first person narrator who brings up the topic of slavery as part of the national heritage, and that her reliability may be ques-

tionable in this respect, it is possible to argue that her attempts to interpret the national history through certain sexual patterns can be discarded as unreliable as well. It seems to me that the addition of irony and self-consciousness, symptoms of unreliability, to the narration results from Oksana's need to achieve some distance from the personal. Such distance allows voicing the personal, with its attempts to become a woman and a personality in society, yet hostile to both, and therefore allows the opening up of space for history to be talked about from a position of the subaltern, in a way the national history had never talked about before.

Rethinking the history of her nation, Oksana believes that history is a struggle of those who were humiliated and subjugated, i.e. the struggle of men (for, as Anne McClintock has pointed out, it is always just men who are conceptualized as representatives of the nation²³) to set up themselves as victors. And the only space for that was the sphere of familial relations where they could gain control over the only 'other' they could find – women. Such necessity results in a violence which can either be violence in the relations between a father and a daughter, or violence in sexual relations. Thus, humility and slavery turn into a sexually transmitted disease ("Slaves should not have children... Because it is inherited..."²⁴) and punishment, serving as a tool to ensure the subjugation of women.

Besides, the male need to dominate transforms the female body into a battlefield for power struggles: "You are screaming, for you are being ravished, and they think that your scream is because of pleasure, but maybe they don't think this way, maybe it is your pain that they are coming from?"²⁵ In the novel, this is the only way for the body, besides illness, to express itself: in screams of pain. But at the same time, for the protagonist it is impossible to reject the existing form of relationships with Ukrainian men because it is the only way to pledge an allegiance with them.

For the protagonist, the world is constructed along the line dividing the victim and the executioner, where the victim is always a Ukrainian man, and, in the end, it is her, a Ukrainian woman who carries a double burden of subjugation in a subjugated society. Oksana, living and experiencing such subjugation, which starts on the level of the family where she has been silenced in her bodiliness, views herself as doomed to choose between non-existence, which is everything Ukrainian for her, and the existence-that-kills, which is everything that subjugated her community. And placing herself in the 'non-existence/existence-that-kills' dichotomy, in spite of her successful attempts to break out of it (by defeating militiamen and by gaining the world through traveling made possible by her profession as a poet and an academic), Oksana accepts the national defeat as her own defeat, thus accepting the silence imposed upon her by society.

The only place that claims as her own, the only home Oksana finds, is her language. In the novel, even though it is an ironical situation, the Ukrainian language (which is the language of the novel and the language of the protagonist) is defined according to the typical colonial formula: it is something 'that is not': "You mean it is not Russian?"²⁶ Accepting the Ukrainian language as her own, Oksana accepts this colonial heritage, which is not that much different as it is something that is not the dominant element. On the other hand, she accepts the Ukrainian language as a collective memory and "a struggle of memory against forgetting"²⁷, in bell hooks' words.

But, like her choice in the ‘non–existence/existence–that–kills’ dichotomy, her choice of language becomes a choice imposed on her. Besides, taking into consideration “the general idea of the interdependence of language and identity”²⁸, it is possible to presume that it is precisely by accepting the Ukrainian language that Oksana defines her own identity as Ukrainian.

At the same time, choosing both the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture as starting points of her identity in her youth – even though later this allows her to assert herself in the world outside her community (she travels around the world and is accepted in the world community exactly because she is a Ukrainian poet) – she chooses the necessity to hide, to watch herself, to be careful not to betray herself. Because it is this identity that defines her father as ‘anti–Soviet propagandist’, and herself as ‘unreliable’. Therefore, it is through her language that her position as the subaltern in the colonized society is stressed once again.

This point can be proved by the way she uses other languages in the novel, Russian and English, by the way she conveys meaning through them. Russian and English come into the novel in what sometimes seems to be free indirect speech, violating integrity of the Ukrainian language text. They come into the text untranslated most of the time, though Russian words and phrases are transcribed. From the point of view of Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, “the use of language as untranslated words does have an important function in inscribing difference. They signify a certain cultural experience which [post–colonial writers] cannot hope to reproduce but whose difference is validated by the new situation”²⁹. Thus, for example, most English words in the novel can be interpreted as introducing ‘estrangement’, in Victor Shklovsky’s sense, into the text. Firstly, most of the time Oksana uses English words and expressions ironically, mocking both the community she describes and the general, Western³⁰, perception of the mentality she represents herself (Slavic mysticism, Slavic charm, for example). Secondly, English, from my point of view, appears in the novel when the protagonist is trying to bring in the experience she cannot accept as her own, in spite of its similarity to her own experience, not seeing herself within it and thus denying any similarity. Oksana’s conversation with an Afro–American woman who tells her that in her relations with the father of her kids she has been through the same experience (“fear of intimacy, fear of frigidity, suicidal moods”³¹) can be an example of such rejection.

As for the Russian language, most of the times it comes into the novel hand in hand with the “boys in rustling cloaks”³², as a manifestation of power, nevertheless providing a chance to subvert it. It is through the use of Russian that Oksana manages to win over militiamen who are the representatives of power in the novel. But at the same time it is through a Russian word that Mykola defeats her in their relationship, when she says “Are you feeling yourself a winner, or what?”³³. The word ‘a winner’ used ironically in its female form in Russian, as a signifier of an experience that could never be expressed in Ukrainian.

Thus the protagonist of the novel accepts her own place in a society that controls and marginalizes her both as a Ukrainian and as a woman. Nevertheless, the novel itself can be interpreted in Spivakian terms as an attempt of the subaltern woman to voice her experience, even though it is a voice from the margin. After all, according

to bell hooks, it is margins that may become centers of radical openness, because only margins offer a position that is both in and out of the center.

This is a reason why, I believe, the novel's protagonists were not placed within Ukraine only, or outside Ukraine only: complicated grammatical structures allow the author to cross the borders back and forth, yet staying within the limits of one sentence, creating an effect of 'omnipresence', breaking temporal and spatial limits, making freedom possible not only on the physical level, but on the intellectual, too.

It makes freedom possible, a freedom which is further emphasized by the profession of the protagonist: she is a poet and an academic. Both poetry and academia are products of social power structures, stressing Oksana's dependency upon her national cultural heritage, but at the same time, as it was mentioned before, they assert Oksana in the world. In the novel, even the language appears to be not just a tool of subjugation; it constantly reminds the woman of the social, but also of escape routes from it. Besides, it is the Ukrainian language (and the literature written in this language) that can be "a form of national therapy"³⁴, as the protagonist suggests maliciously, a possibility to talk about the national experience and to widen its boundaries.

That is a reason, in my view, why the protagonist rejects her dream to die in the sky: death is an escape towards non-existence which she rejects, too, choosing life instead and choosing resistance instead. Such kind of life brings hope. And so the life is ended with the Ukrainian life-asserting "Haj!"³⁵, which recognizes the happiness of living and the hopes for being alive.

The novel *Field Research in Ukrainian Sex*, written by the Ukrainian woman writer Oksana Zabuzhko, is just one attempt by a woman-intellectual to understand and to define herself and her place in a system of colonial powers of domination. The personal and the bodily aspects which the writer brings into the book open a specifically female perspective on national history, heritage, identity, and language in the novel. Voicing the female experience in colonized societies – and describing these societies through those experiences – creates alternative histories that allow for questioning and, as a result, for a reconceptualization of the main cultural assumptions of the nations involved, which are constructed as exclusively male establishments. Voicing the female experience provides a chance to overcome the mechanisms of marginalization and silencing women which were deployed by these societies, enabling the female voice to gain credibility.

This reading of *Field Research in Ukrainian Sex* is just an attempt to put it on a larger scale within the postcolonial framework. Within the Ukrainian critical paradigm it might serve as a starting point for forming of a new understanding of the Ukrainian national identity, for introducing a new critical paradigm into Ukrainian literary and cultural studies. Therefore I believe that the introduction of postcolonial contexts into comparative literary studies in the Ukraine (and, on a larger scale, into the Eastern European context) can have wideranging consequences for the field. It would not only enable the establishment of a critical paradigm to encompass the literary expression of female experience in colonial and postcolonial situation, but also open up new ways for questioning and reevaluating the main cultural assumptions of Ukrainian culture, thus providing patterns for questioning, re-defining, and re-assessing the self-visualization of Ukraine by discussing issues which have been socially marginalized,

silenced, and thus were largely invisible. But it is also necessary to remember that such inquiry into the postcolonial theory will call for new discussions of some of the theory's key notions and concepts. The introduction of postcolonial theory into regional studies will effect changes in the postcolonial discourse itself, calling for a redefinition of the term 'postcolonialism' in the first place.

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- ⁵ Oksana Zabuzhko. *Poliovi Doslidzhennia z Ukrayinskoho Seksu*. – Kyiv: Fakt, 2000: 29.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, 97.
- ⁷ *Ibid*, 27.
- ⁸ As far as I could recall the whole sexual discourse in Ukrainian literature is limited to the writings of five male writers: V. Vynnychenko and V. Pidmohylnyj (1920–s), V. Domontovych (1930–s–1940–s, a representative of a Second World War wave of Ukrainian emigration), D. Pavlychko, who wrote a number of erotic poems between 1970 and 1990), and Yu. Andruhovych, a contemporary writer. Recently, erotic novels and poems by another male writer, Bohdan Boichuk, have been added to this list.
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- ²⁰ *Ibid*, 68.

- ²¹ Ibid, 23.
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- ²³ Anne McClintock. *Imperial Leather...*: 360–368.
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- ²⁵ Ibid, 103.
- ²⁶ Ibid, 16.
- ²⁷ bell hooks, “Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness”, in bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. – Boston: South End Press, c1990: 146.
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- ³⁰ It seems to me that the usage of the word ‘Western’ can be justified here, because the protagonist is writing her novel in the United States, firstly, and, secondly, because it is precisely Americans that she is paraphrasing when using English words.
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- ³² Ibid, 53.
- ³³ Ibid, 28.
- ³⁴ Ibid, 113.
- ³⁵ “Let it be!”

Kopsavilkums

Izmantojot postkoloniālās teorijas galvenos jēdzienus, es konstatēju, ka tie ir piemērojami mūsdienu Ukrainas kontekstā un ukraiņu literatūrā. Hipotēzi pierādu, izmantojot šos jēdzienus (īpaši pakļautības jēdzienu) Oksanas Zabužko teksta “Pētījums par dzimumu attiecībām Ukrainā” (1994) izpētei un parādot, ka postkoloniālisma teorija var sniegt gan skaidrojuma par dažādām kultūras formācijām Ukrainā, gan noderēt par struktūru to apšaubīšanai un noliegumam, gan arī radīt pietiekami plašu telpu sieviešu pašidentifikācijai un tādējādi arī tādu tēmu apspriešanai, kas tradicionāli bijušas marginalizētas vai noklusētas.

Homeliness and Loneliness in Afro–German Women Narratives Vientulība un ilgas pēc mājām afrovēcu rakstnieču literārajos darbos

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The term “Afro–Germans” often causes surprise and misunderstanding in the society of “white” Germans. The notion “Afro–Germans” was introduced at the end of the 20–th century (in 1984). With it women of African origin who were born in Germany in racially mixed families wanted to express their protest to racism and discrimination in everyday life. The main aim of Afro–German women was to create an identity of their own thus avoiding racist definitions, such as “mulatto”, “coloured” or “bastard” used by the society of “white” Germans. Speaking about the creation of Afro–German identity and literature, it is important to note the influence of Afro–American culture and literature. The aim of this work is to analyse and compare Afro–German and Afro–American literatures as well as to investigate the meaning of the notion of “home” in both literatures.

Keywords: Afro–German, African Americans, home, boundaries, women literature.

The notion of Afro–German literature may not be familiar to many people inside and outside of Germany. Cultural and literary initiatives of Afro–Germans that began in the 1980s arose as a response to the experience of marginalization. Excluded from the participation in the dominant white German society and perceived as strangers in their own homeland, Afro–Germans try to define their identity and search for role and home in German society. In 1984, together with an African American poet, Audre Lorde, black women living in Germany developed the term “Afro–German” which signified an affirmation of a double identity and quest for home. The fact that the term “Afro–German” was developed together with Audre Lorde suggests that African American literature presided in a sense over the birth of Afro–German identity and literature.

Therefore, I want to explore the differences and similarities between African American and Afro–German literatures. My comparative analysis will involve the texts of Audre Lorde *Zami* and May Ayim’s poem “*schwarz weiss monolog*” (“black white monologue”) as well as the personal history of Ayim, included in the ground breaking book *Farbe bekennen. Afro–deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*, (Showing Our Colors. Afro–German Women Speak Out) produced in 1986. The main focus of my analysis will be placed on the notion of home for I consider this category to be one of the most crucial features in African American and Afro–German texts. This statement, however, requires some explanation. African slaves, brought to the New World were homeless, therefore black people had a ne-

cessity to find and build their home in the New World. Blacks created a strong community and their own culture in the New World in order to fight the “peculiar institution”—slavery. Creating Black Christianity and producing significant literary narratives, African Americans “built” home where everybody could be a subject and not an object. Similarly Afro-Germans, although of course not enslaved, produced their narratives in order to create their home and claim their rights to home.

Thus, I want to investigate what home means to African Americans and Afro-Germans and which literary strategies are employed to fight isolation and exclusion from the participation in the dominant cultures. Additionally I will examine the essay of Molefi Kete Asante “*African Germans and the Problems of Cultural Location*” which is my chief scholarly source. Asante, who is the leading figure in the Afrocentrism school explains the complexity of the situation of Afro-Germans and deals with such issues as the myth of blood purity and Afro-German community.

However, before I turn to my comparative analysis I want to explore and understand the theoretical meaning of home. Therefore, I will examine the issues, presented in the works by Homi K. Bhabha *The Location of Culture* and Heidrun Suhr *Ausländerliteratur: Minority Literature in Federal Republic of Germany*.

Heidrun Suhr writes: “There are no satisfactory English equivalents for “Heimat” or “Fremde”. Both terms imply far more than simply “homeland” or “a foreign place”. “Heimat” also connotes belonging and security, while “Fremde” can refer to isolation and alienation. This is not simply a problem of translation. Precise definitions of these terms cannot be given in German either, for their meaning depends to a large degree on context.”¹ Suhr’s statements beg the question of what is meant by “context” here.

In her work, Suhr analyzes the development of minority literature in the Federal Republic of Germany, by explaining the context of the history of “*Gastarbeiter*” (guest workers). “*Gastarbeiter*” or guest workers first arrived in 1955 when treaties for the recruitment of workers were concluded with Italy and later with other South European and North African countries. The residence of guest workers was considered to be a temporary phenomena and they were expected to return to their home countries which means that despite mastering the German language and living in Germany for about twenty years these people were considered as foreigners. Now returning back to Suhr’s argument that the meaning of home depends to a large degree on context, which, of course, proves that home is a social construction, it suggests that context here is the way white Germans approach racial and ethnic differences. Thus the notion of home is shaped according to these racial and ethnic categories which implies that home is a place with certain boundaries. However, these boundaries may seem unnatural to the members of the second and third generation of Turkish people or Afro-Germans, for instance, who were born in Germany and speak German fluently, yet they are not perceived as full members of German society. They are expected to return home, but there is no home to return to, suggests Suhr.

In contrast with Suhr, who views home as a place to which people are bound in a sense, Homi K. Bhabha in *Location of Culture* claims that: “...we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion. For there is a disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the “beyond”: an exploratory,

restless movement caught so well in French rendition of the words au-dela – here and there, on all sides, fort/da, hither and thither, back and forth.”² Here the notion of “the beyond” requires an explanation. Bhabha states that “the beyond” signifies a spatial distance that marks progress and promises the future. “To dwell in the beyond is also to be part of revisionary time, a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity; to reinscribe our human, historic communality; to touch the future on its hither side.”³ “Going beyond and dwelling “in the beyond” implies a constant movement that might produce a feeling of homelessness because the movement of transit prevents one from settling down into primordial polarities, emphasizes Bhabha. Now the question, which arises here, is: what does this have to do with the notion of home? To my mind, Bhabha suggests that to be part of “revisionary time” is to be at home. In order to explain what I mean here, I will illustrate this statement with an example, using the situation of Afro-Germans.

Afro-Germans search for their home in German society; at the same time they investigate the history of their African or African American roots, which shows that they are trapped between the present and the past. They [Afro-Germans] must confront the history, which is thrust upon them by society in order to return back to the political present. This is a moment when I see that Afro-Germans are part of revisionary time. Still I have not answered the question: what revisionary time has to do with home. To be part of revisionary time denotes redescribing and recreating the world. In their narratives, Afro-Germans create their image of the world and home in order to cope with reality. Therefore, I consider that the very act of narration symbolizes the notion of home in the case of Afro-Germans. Afro-German women authors build their home in their narratives, sharing the experiences, acknowledging racism and developing strategies of resistance towards the dominant white society. Thus, Bhabha says that: “To be unhomed is not to be homeless.”⁴ Although Afro-Germans are deprived of their home, they are not homeless for they are capable of restoring home in their narratives.

However, Afro-Germans do not only fight for their home in Germany, but they are also forced to face the myth of blood purity according to which they are not recognized as Germans. This issue is analyzed by Molefi Kete Asante who is the leading figure in the Afrocentrism school.

Molefi Kete Asante in his article “*African Germans and the Problems of Cultural Location*” writes that “whiteness becomes a legal and social property bestowed upon the population of Germans by their ancestors, and it cannot be lost except in the “mixing” of the blood...”⁵ Thus, Asante suggests that to be German means to be German by ancestry and to be African German is not to be German in the German mind. Afro-German women writers such as Katharina Oguntoye, Ika Hügel-Marshall and May Ayim confront this issue in their works. For example, in her poem “schwarz weiss monolog”, Ayim writes:

“du siehst
mich hinter
deiner pocket kamera
erinnerungen aus ostafrika
und das

was du gelesen hast
darüber
bereit es auf mir abzuladen.”⁶
“you look at me
from behind your pocket camera
memories from East Africa
and the things you have read
you are ready to load on me.”

These very lines, though indirectly, show that Ayim is not accepted as a German because she is not white and because Germans are supposed to be white. Ayim is perceived as a stranger in her own home and I would go even farther to claim that she is viewed as an exotic object. The poem demonstrates the attitude of white Germans who are unaware that German society is not one hundred percent white anymore and who stick to the myth of blood purity. Therefore it appears that Afro-Germans are regarded as foreigners and newcomers to Germany. Here, I think, it is significant to point out the major difference between the situation of African Americans and Afro-Germans as the main emphasis of my work is to examine the similarities and differences between these two literatures.

While Afro-Germans are confronted with the myth of blood purity, it is impossible to define who is an American in the first place. Asante considers that: “That the reason is that nationality of Americans does not reside in blood but in national allegiance.”⁷ He emphasizes that people born into American citizenship, whether their origins are Chinese or Japanese are linked to other Americans by acceptance of common the citizenship bestowed upon by one’s virtue of birth or allegiance. Besides all Americans except indigenous people are relative newcomers to America and cannot claim special privileges, regarding the land. Afro-Germans in contrast are supposed to return to their mythical home countries. I am saying “mythical home countries” because first of all there is no such home to return to because Afro-Germans are already at home in Germany and, secondly, many Afro-Germans do not have any contacts with Africa or their African relatives and they are not familiar with the African cultures and languages and the ways of life African peoples lead. Here I can trace one more difference between African American and African German peoples. For instance, bell hooks in her *Bone Black Memories of Girlhood* describes her grandmother Saru who used to tell stories about Africans who were brought as slaves to the New World and spoke different languages, whereas African Germans were left in the dark about the history of their African parent. What I mean is that many generations of African Americans grew up with the stories about the motherland Africa and the history of slavery. Today, however, it is obvious that African Americans do not perceive Africa as their motherland and they are not familiar with African cultures. Still, one should not disregard richness of African American literature which serves as a testimony against oppression of the dominant culture and which revives African American history and the development of African American community. African Germans in contrast with African Americans do not share this feeling of community because Afro-Germans are products of individual unions that exist in highly dispersed areas, suggests Asante. Thus, Afro-Germans are still in a process of developing a

community, which could operate on a national level in a collective way. This very aspect certainly leads to many differences when examining African American and African German literatures. The differences in a size of community, history and a political situation shape African Americans' and African Germans' perception of home. In order to show the differences between Audre Lorde's and May Ayim's works, I have selected two main points to discuss:

- 1) The first point is that both Lorde and Ayim create imaginary homelands in order to cope with reality. I want to explore how the imaginary homeland of Lorde differs from the homeland of Ayim and what are the aims for creating an imaginary homeland.
- 2) Secondly, how Lorde and Ayim are influenced by their own created homelands.

To start with, I will examine Lorde's work *Zami*. Lorde's imaginary world is represented through her mother Linda. Linda, who finds it difficult to struggle with racism and segregation, recreates the homeland she has lost; it is important to note that Lorde's parents came to the United States in 1924 from Grenada and Barbados. This is the very point where a conflict begins. Instead of dealing with racism and establishing a relationship with the new world, Linda dwells in her created homeland. Her knowledge of, for instance, heating a black elm leaf over the wood fire to prevent infection in an open cut, becomes useless because there is no black-elm in Harlem. Thus, the speaker in *Zami* says: "Trapped. There was so little that she really knew about the stranger's country."⁸

This example demonstrates that by creating her lost homeland, Linda acknowledges herself as unhomed. Moreover, here I see a deliberate act of isolation and unwillingness to deal with the outside world, for Linda clearly draws boundaries between home and a foreign place. The question I am interested in is: how do Linda's attitude towards the outside world and her fantasies of home affect her children? The speaker in *Zami* tells that Linda's children are made to believe that home is somewhere far away and that this cold country called America is just a temporary abode. The children are fascinated by the beautiful stories about home they have never been to; at the same time they are forced to come to terms with the outside world. However, the outside world is as obscure as the imagined home to Linda's children. When Linda faces a new crisis, she changes her perceptions of reality and the children are made to believe that she has the world in her palms. Considering the aspect that Linda refuses to explain the real situation to her children, they are isolated from the outside world and the only home they are provided with is Linda's fantasies. However, it does not mean that Linda's children, because they are unhomed, are homeless—their home is the mother's dream and stories.

Now analyzing the works of Ayim, one can detect many differences when comparing with Lorde's *Zami*. Ayim constructs an imaginary homeland, which fails to exist because she realizes that she does not belong in this imaginary homeland. Therefore, I want to explore Ayim's reasons for constructing an imaginary homeland.

In her personal history, Ayim describes her childhood. As a child she is forced to be an outsider because she is different. In order to cope with isolation and loneliness

Ayim constructs an imaginary homeland, Africa, where everybody looks like her. So what are the reasons for constructing an imaginary homeland and why does Ayim perceive Africa as her home? One of the reasons for constructing an imaginary homeland is that Ayim's present home fails to provide a place where she is accepted and loved. Secondly, Ayim is obliged to construct the world where she belongs. Ayim's "difference" and double heritage is forced upon her by society and because she is perceived as a stranger, she is supposed to have a place, which she can call "home". In this case Germany cannot be her home. This aspect leads farther to the answer of the question: why does Ayim perceive Africa as her home? Ayim explains that because she is Black, she is automatically perceived as an African, therefore she is as if forced to identify Africa as her home. However, later Ayim understands that Africa is not her home because she is not familiar with African cultures and languages. This very aspect signifies that Ayim sits on two chairs simultaneously which means that Ayim is trapped between two cultures. Being trapped between two cultures, Ayim still searches for home.

Concluding my work, I will point out the differences between Lorde's and Ayim's imaginary homelands:

- 1) The first difference is that Lorde perceives her imaginary homeland as a place where it is possible to return, whereas Ayim realizes that there is no home to return to.
- 2) The second difference is that the imaginary homeland of Lorde performs a function of isolation and unwillingness to deal with reality. Ayim in her turn is forced to invent her imaginary world in order to be able to identify her origin with a country, which other people consider to be her home country. The very fact that Ayim begins to identify herself with Africa show that Ayim has internalized the prejudices of white Germans.

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Kopsavilkums

Vārds “afrovācieši” nereti izraisa izbrīnu un pārsteigumu “balto” vāciešu sabiedrībā. Jēdziens “afro–vācieši” tika ieviests divdesmitā gadsimta beigās (1984); tādējādi afrikāņu izcelsmes sievietes, kuras ir dzimušas Vācijā “jauktās ģimenēs” (vācu un afrikāņu), protestēja pret rasismu un diskrimināciju ikdienā. Afrovēcu sievietes galvenie mērķi bija radīt savu identitāti un nepakļauties “balto” vāciešu rasistiskajiem definējumiem: tādiem kā “mulate”, “jauktene” un “krāsainā”. Runājot par afrovēcu identitātes un literatūras radīšanu, svarīgi ir atzīmēt afroamerikāņu kultūras un literatūras ietekmi. Tādējādi mana darba mērķis ir analizēt un salīdzināt afrovēcu un afroamerikāņu literatūru, kā arī pētīt jēdziena “mājas” nozīmi šajos literatūras virzienos.

**Alternative Languages in “*Gut Symmetries*”
by Jeanette Winterson: a Combination of Linguistic
Self-consciousness and *écriture féminine*
Alternatīvā valoda Dženetes Vintersones romānā
“*Gut Symmetries*”: lingvistiskā pašapzināšanās un
sieviešu sarakstītā literatūra**

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The current paper is an attempt to demonstrate how Jeannette Winterson’s novel endeavours to establish new discourses in language and verbal communication in order to give one a more efficient tool for expressing oneself and ordering one’s reality. The paper treats *Gut Symmetries* as a text that is self-conscious about its language and employs the ideas of the theory of *écriture féminine* for the analysis of Winterson’s narrative strategies. The idea of the bisexuality of language is used to reveal the ways in which Winterson’s novel attempts to acknowledge the differences between men and women and to establish a discourse that would not only reflect the differences between the two sexes but also help men and women communicate with one another.

Keywords: metafiction, postmodern, *écriture féminine*, feminism, language.

Introduction

Walk with me.¹

The three narrators in Jeanette Winterson’s novel *Gut Symmetries* (1997) acknowledge the need to reconceptualise language but also the necessity to create new languages in order to move beyond conventional ways of understanding and ordering of the universe. This paper is an inspired attempt to demonstrate how the novel endeavours to establish new discourses in language and verbal communication in order to have a more efficient tool for expressing oneself and ordering one’s reality. However, as I will show, the necessary endeavour to construct a more sufficient language finally fails.

The novel itself has a simple plot that is narrated by the main characters Alice, Stella and Jove. Jove and Alice are physicists who meet on a ship and become lovers. Stella is a poet. Jove and Stella have been married for about twenty years. Then, “his wife, his mistress, met”² and Stella and Alice become lovers. All three give their views and understanding of the intimate relationships between them and of the universe in which they are positioned. The narrators intermingle elements from religion (Stella is a Jew), fairy tales, myths, quantum physics, alchemy, Tarot cards, the zodiac, literature. During the course of the narrative Jove, Alice and Stella find and lose themselves, love and passion, although not necessarily the kind they desired into their lives.

My analysis consists of two parts. Since the novel includes explicit thematisation and problematisation of language, I will discuss the notion of the *prisonhouse of language*³ and following from this, theories of metafiction (theorised mainly by Patricia Waugh and Linda Hutcheon) are invoked to discuss how the narrators are self-conscious of their medium. This framework is the basis for expanding the notion of linguistic self-consciousness into the analysis of the novel from the point of view of *écriture féminine* and the bisexuality of language (Luce Irigaray). The theory of *écriture féminine*, elaborated mostly by Hélène Cixous in the middle of 1970s, claims that due to the specificities of women's body and sexuality, women potentially possess an extraordinarily special language of their own desire and pleasure that, ideally, is written down into the so-called feminine texts. Luce Irigaray explores a similar idea when she aims at redefining women's sexuality on the basis of female pleasure which is supposedly fundamentally different from male pleasure.⁴

Thus I will first discuss the novel as a text that is self-conscious about its language. Then I will continue by analysing *Gut Symmetries* from the point of view of *écriture féminine*, relying on Cixous's and Irigaray's works on sexuality, language and writing, arguing that this novel itself is a piece of *écriture féminine*. In the end I will combine the two lines of argument into a whole to claim that literary self-consciousness and the so-called feminine writing are interdependent and rely on each other to a rather remarkable degree.

Self-consciousness about Language

As pointed out above, *Gut Symmetries* includes elements of linguistic self-reflexivity so that language becomes one of the novel's primary themes. Narrators in *Gut Symmetries* reflect on language and its limits as well as potentials which contributes to their quest to go beyond the conventions of language and find alternative ways of expressing oneself. According to Waugh, an important conviction in metafiction is that "language is not simply a set of empty forms filled with meaning, but that it actually dictates and circumscribes what can be said and therefore what can be perceived."⁵ That this novel is self-conscious about its own status as a piece of fiction is explicitly expressed by Alice:

So I go on puzzling over new joints for words [...]. Walk with me. Hand in hand through the nightmare of narrative, the neat sentences secret-nailed over meaning. [...] And if I were not telling this story to you but to someone else, would it be the same story? (24) [...] It is just as likely that as I invent what I want to say, you will invent what you want to hear. (25)

These revelations in the text underline the three basic concerns of all metafiction: the problematisation of narrative and linguistic structures as well as of the role of the reader. Here I will mainly concentrate on the linguistic structures of the novel. Alice is concerned about the complexity of reaching another person through language when, after her father's death, she wants to communicate with her grandmother. She struggles with the feeling that her words cannot reach her grandmother: "Each speaks a private language and assumes it to be lingua franca. Sometimes words dock and there is a cheer at port and cargo to unload and such relief that the voyage was worth

it." (163) Hence while being aware of the difficulty of communicating, Alice also acknowledges that it is still, in rare occasions, possible to connect with the other person by using language. When Stella and Jove are on their sailing trip and lost at sea, Stella starts to write a letter to Alice. She realises the limits of language: "What marvellous things we could say if we could? What of the stories still to be told?" (173) Thus in *Gut Symmetries* the two tendencies of recognising the extraordinary potency of words or perceiving language as an inadequate medium⁶ are intermingled.

Several instances of word play are present in the text. Frequently metafiction confuses literal and figurative meaning, emphasising the contradictions in language, so playing with "metaphorical substitutions taking an apparently literal status."⁷ In this novel the metaphorical expression 'pull yourself together' is given a literal meaning:

Yes. Just pass me my leg will you? It's on top of the wardrobe where he threw it, and I think my right arm is leaning over by the wall. My head is in the gas oven but it will probably be all right, I'm told that green colour wears off. Unfortunately, I threw my heart to the dogs. Never mind. (43)

Hence the narrator is reminding the reader of the textual quality of the narrative and therefore of the verbal constructedness of both written texts and the so-called 'real' life that is also determined by language. In some examples Alice applies alliteration to underline the sound of words and their phonetic texture, for instance in "[y]es, look at her, bunioned, bulbous, hair in bulrush rolls, butt-headed, butter-hearted and tenacious as a buckaroo" (64) Such a strategy is also an illustration of poetic prose that is underlying the narrative which also aims at establishing a different way of using language.

The names of the main characters serve as intertextual metafictional elements and thus become potential interpreting devices. According to Waugh, "proper names are often flaunted in their seeming arbitrariness [...] or placed in an overtly metaphorical or adjectival relationship with the thing they name."⁸ The names Alice, Stella and Jove are clearly not void of meaning. Alice was originally named Alluvia but she chose to call herself Alice. She explains the meaning of her name: "Alluvia: the deposits collected and jetted by the river." (121) Earlier in the text she also identifies herself with Athene, daughter of Zeus.⁹ In Greek mythology Athena is a warrior goddess, goddess of wisdom and patroness of the craft of weaving and other handicrafts. Here there can be drawn a parallel between weaving and narrating as a reference to Alice's/Athene's narrator's role in the novel. Stella's name was given to her by her mother. Stella, meaning a star, hints at a certain heavenly air around her. Whereas Alice defined her full name as "the deposits collected and jetted by the river" (121), Stella's name refers to an idealistic and unreachable personage. At the same time the expression *stella maris*¹⁰ is often considered to refer to Virgin Mary, hence again reinforcing the idea of heavenly or godly importance. Here the contradiction between the meanings of Alluvia and Stella, earth and the sky, is revealed. Stella is depicted as more idealistic and even heavenly, while Alice's name refers to dirt the river has rejected. Therefore from Alice's point of view there is an opposition between herself and Stella, as if she was not equally relevant.

Jove's name also refers to God: "liked her [his mother's] nickname for him as King of the Gods. He could not bring himself to disbelieve it quite, nor could he quite forget

that his real name was Giovanni.” (99) When listing three most famous seducers, Stella elaborates on don Juan/Giovanni as following: “A fiction/fact. Nobody knows whether or not he was real.” (99) The name Jove is also an alternative variant that the Romans had for the god Jupiter (which derives from an alteration of *Jovis pater*, father Jove). Jupiter, however, is the Roman counterpart of the Greeks’ Zeus.¹¹ Strangely, earlier Zeus was related to Alice’s father. Therefore a connection between Alice’s relationships with her father and Jove is clear from the elaboration on their names. By relating the names to the so-called real life (i.e. Greek mythology or religion), the text aims at confusing the conventional boundaries between fact and fiction.

Linguistic self-reflexivity is a useful tool for becoming aware of language’s limits and potentials, furthermore such self-consciousness also opens up a possibility to move beyond conventional and frozen ways of expression as well as even find alternative languages. As shown above, in *Gut Symmetries* self-consciousness about language underlines the concerns about the difficulty of expressing oneself with a medium that so restricts its user. Since there is no other alternative to verbal language, the narrators endeavour to create a language that would be more adequate and efficient. In such a process a novel is shaped into an *écriture féminine*.

Alternative Languages

This is a sea story, a wave story, a story that breaks and ebbs, spilling the
boat up on the beach [...]. Hear me. Speak to me. Look at me.¹²

In order to have a framework for discussing *Gut Symmetries* as an instance of *écriture féminine*, I need now to outline the core ideas behind Irigaray’s and Cixous’s works on sexuality, language and writing. Both Cixous and Irigaray aim at redefining first women’s sexuality and pleasure and then also women’s language. “This Sex Which Is Not One” (1977) by Irigaray argues for the existence of innate and authentic sexuality. She argues that throughout history female sexuality has been constructed to ensure the maximum quality of male sexual pleasure.¹³ Her purpose is to rethink women’s sexuality in relation to women themselves rather than putting their pleasure in the context of reinforcing dominating male sexual pleasure. Irigaray claims that the multiplicity of female genitalia and desire as well as the diversity of female pleasure create the multiplicity of women’s selves and identity. Developing from the idea that female genitalia and thus sexual pleasure are multiple, Irigaray wants to establish a new language and space for women. She declares that “hers are contradictory words, somewhat mad from the standpoint of reason, inaudible for whoever listens to them with ready-made grids, with a fully elaborated code in hand.”¹⁴ Irigaray’s preoccupation with linguistic structures underlines the very immediate lack of women’s sexual and other experience in language. Yet, as Monique Wittig has pointed out, emphasising the differences between men and women and celebrating female biological potential might also only reinforce women’s mythical position and lesser value and status as compared to men.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the importance of creating alternative languages for women to express themselves is extremely relevant for literary and linguistic analyses.

Toril Moi summarises *écriture féminine* as writing that "strive[s] in the direction of difference, struggle[s] to undermine the dominant phallogocentric logic, split[s] open the closure of the binary opposition and revel[s] in the pleasures of open-ended textuality."¹⁶ So 'writing said to be feminine' or 'decipherable libidinal femininity which can be read in writing produced by male or a female'¹⁷ endeavours to go beyond the dominant patriarchal logic and rationality that derive from thinking based on binary oppositions. Instead, "her writing [...] can only go on and on, without ever inscribing or distinguishing contours [...]"¹⁸ Despite Cixous' somewhat idealistic position, her insistence on finding a new language and her idea of writing differently from the dominant discourses are highly relevant. Furthermore, her idea of *écriture féminine* being multiple, diverse and flowing is a resourceful tool for analysing *Gut Symmetries*.

Alice, Stella and Jove are unreliable first person narrators giving their alternative versions of the same story that includes tales about childhood, parents, grandparents. Alice's narration is the longest, intertwined with elements from quantum physics, alchemy, Tarot cards. Stella draws on her Jewish religion and myths as well as on water as the element of great importance in her identity creation. Jove narrates only one chapter which resembles what could be called a 'masculine' writing – clear-cut, without excesses, concise, concrete, claiming a status of both factual and actual, of knowing the truth and presenting it most clearly. His narration clearly contrasts with how Alice and Stella articulate their versions of the story. Whereas Jove as a narrator is presented as self-confident and secure in his words, both Alice and Stella are constantly in search for words, trying to get beyond clichés. For instance, Stella is pondering upon the weakness and potential power of words:

I want to tell you how... and so these words are speared for you, tasted for you, fed one by one. [...] The words go deeper, far out of reach of vessels, blood vessels bursting, that thick humming in the head. To find the words, just out of reach, beyond my hand, the coral of it, pearl of it, fish. (173)

As in this quote, water in different forms runs through the entire narrative. First of all, "it began on a boat." (9) Alice was born on a boat, Jove and Alice met first time on a cruiser QE2 in between Southampton and New York, the story has its main conclusions on the boat when Stella and Jove are on a sailing trip. Hence the story is constantly underlined by the emphasis on water, consciously drawing parallels between water as a soft, floating, changing element and language or this particular narrative itself. Cixous also frequently draws parallels between the sea or water and women's writing, for instance when claiming that "her text knows in seeking itself that it is more than flesh and blood, [...] a turbulent compound of flying colours, leafy spaces, and rivers flowing to the sea we feed."¹⁹ Adjectives describing *écriture féminine* – flowing, changing, unstable, contradictory, unfinished, infinite – may also be used for characterising the sea. Thus I would argue that the women narrators knowingly play with the parallel between language and writing and the sea, especially when overtly claiming that "this is a sea story, a wave story."²⁰

In his chapter Jove opposes Stella by disagreeing with her narration as well as her way of looking at what surrounds her:

My wife believed that she had a kind of interior universe as valid and as necessary as her day-to-day existence in reality. This failure to make hierarchy, this failure

to recognise the primacy of fact [...]. She refused to make a clear distinction between inner and outer. (191)

Jove is presenting himself as void of illogic, mystery and irrationality. Hence while Jove opposes himself to Stella and Alice, the two women narrators have a somewhat similar attitude towards the universe around them. Alice's mysticism and belief in magic derives from her fascination with physics and alchemy. Stella relies mostly on Jewish traditions, views and customs but also on her fiction readings. From their narratives it seems that they have in common the understanding that Alice once reveals: "Past. Present. Future. The rational divisions of the rational life. And always underneath, in dreams, in recollections, in the moment of hesitation on a busy street, the hunch that life is not rational, not divided." (20) Both Alice and Stella strive for expressing their stories in a language that is drawn from the mixture of science, magic and the myth rather than remaining on the level of simplified truths that negate any possibility of the beyond. Often their overt quest for beauty is more relevant than fidelity to reason and rationality. Alice claims that

[t]he separateness of our lives is a sham. Physics, mathematics, music, painting, my politics, my love for you, my work, the star-dust of my body, the spirit that impels it, clocks diurnal, time perpetual, the roll, rough, tender swamping, liberating, breathing, moving, thinking nature, human nature and the cosmos are patterned together. (98)

Therefore what she wants to do, is to unite or rather explore the separated spheres of the so-called rational and irrational to achieve new beauties or truths. By moving beyond rationality based on the natural sciences, Alice's narration endeavours to connect several discourses to reach a novel language and go beyond concentrated thought towards multiple, diverse and changing realities. Cixous proposes that "her libido is cosmic, just as her unconscious is worldwide"²¹ and in *Gut Symmetries* narrators indeed relate to the wider contexts of their existence, including the galaxies, planets, the cosmos in general. In addition, in the quotation above an example of floating language and implied infinity of realities is presented. So by indicating a universe that consists of multiple combinations and possibilities, the text creates a feeling of the unbounded connectedness of everything.

In *Gut Symmetries* the endeavour to get beyond the clichés, quotes and ready-made expressions is strongly in the foreground. Furthermore, it seems that the endeavour is not so much towards a women's language as it is towards a *human* language that would connect different human beings independently of their sex. In *I Love to You: Sketch of Possible Felicity in History*, (1996) Luce Irigaray argues that the whole world is based on one fundamental dichotomy – two-sexed nature – that is or should be the basis of everything: "the natural is at least two: male and female."²² Here she continues her project of sexual difference but adds a new angle. Namely she claims that there is a "need for a new alliance between the female and male genders."²³ Therefore while stressing the importance of acknowledging and accepting differences based on sex, she also underlines the relevance of redefining relationships between men and women that should move towards a humanity that is based on respect, love and desire. In her opinion one of the obstacles is that women and men do not have a language with which they can communicate effectively. Or as Irigaray puts it, "[i]sn't it time for us to become capable not only of speech but also of speaking to *one another*."²⁴ Such communication needs a new lan-

guage, a language that would respect basic sexual difference. As Irigaray outlines, to develop the language of communication, “*touching upon* [has to] intervene, a touching which respects the other proffering him/her attentiveness, including carnal attentiveness.”²⁵ Special attention is needed towards the tone and rhythm of speech as well as to semantic and phonetic choice of words. In addition, Irigaray emphasises the importance of changing syntax. A new syntax should choose verbs²⁶ that do not express imperatives or belonging, but rather dialogue and doing together but remaining separate (also using prepositions like ‘to’, ‘between’, ‘with’, ‘together’ not to put the other person into the position of an object; the best known example here is to substitute ‘I love you’ with ‘I love to you’). In addition Irigaray argues for the basic duality of a subject (based on sexual difference) which should be represented in language as well. Hence ‘they’ and ‘you’ should always entail in them either ‘he’ or ‘she’ as to signify the separation between men and women. Such an emphasis would not alienate women and men from each other, instead it would establish a respect for difference and other’s interior existence and identity.

Therefore while *écriture féminine* argues for a specifically feminine language and writing, Irigaray’s concept from *I Love to You* refers to the new language of all humans that would respect sexual difference in everything. While the *prisonhouse of language* indicates that there is no meaningful existence outside language and Cixous’s *écriture féminine* underlines the specific linguistic prisonhouse for women, then Irigaray wants to argue that by acknowledging differences in a new language, men and women could potentially get beyond the prisonhouse and reach one another as well as themselves with the new language of communication.

In *Gut Symmetries* there is an attempt to create new languages that would help people to communicate with each other. This text attempts to acknowledge and respect differences, especially within the bisexual relationship between Alice, Jove and Stella. Although there is strong effort, especially from Alice, to create an efficient communicative environment between them, they do not reach each other, mainly because the languages they speak do not match. Within the framework of *écriture féminine* as well as different feminist analyses of language,²⁷ women and men have basic difficulties in communicating because women and their experiences are not represented in language and so they cannot express themselves adequately. Irigaray wants to go beyond such views and move towards a more positive, although perhaps also more utopian, project of changing language in a way that would respect the differences between and separate identities of men and women but that would also connect them and at the same time help men and women to remain themselves. In *Gut Symmetries* Alice, Stella and Jove fail (in an attempt to love differently and perhaps better and also in trying to communicate with each other in a more effective way) and stay alone. Following Irigaray’s ideas, the language they had did not allow them to remain themselves within their relationship. Hence, they depart and remain alone as to be who they want to be.

I began with the analysis of *Gut Symmetries* as a metafictional text that is self-conscious about its language and claimed that such a self-consciousness opens up a space for creating alternative languages that attempt to move beyond the *prisonhouse of language*. The concept of *écriture féminine* was used to analyse how the narrators strive towards different narrative and linguistic structures. The idea of the bisexuality

of language was invoked to underline the attempt in the novel to acknowledge the differences between men and women but, at the same time, also move beyond dichotomous oppositions and establish a human discourse that would respect the differences but also help women and men connect with each other. Nevertheless, the characters fail in creating a language with which they would connect but remain themselves at the same time. Thus in order not to lose one another into each other, they decide to stay alone.

In conclusion, the inefficient language tends to result, both in fictions and the world outside them, in a failure to construct an integral existence for oneself. Instead, characters in fictions and people outside fictions tend to become lost in the universe where certainty and stability has ceased to exist. Despite such an unpromising statement, the novel also points out the importance of disregarding failure in order to reach perhaps short but still relevant moments of beauty. Therefore what the narrative communicates is that the process or development of one's quest is more important than the actual end result which, as the novel demonstrated, tends to be failure anyhow.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Jeanette Winterson. *Gut Symmetries*. – London: Granta Books, 1997. P. 20.
- ² *Gut Symmetries*. P. 17.
- ³ Term coined by Fredric Jameson in his influential work *The PrisonHouse of Language*. – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); referring to the state of being conditioned by and within language.

- ⁴ This paragraph is informed by Héléne Cixous's text "Sorties: Out and Out: Attacks/ Ways/ Out/ Forays" and Luce Irigaray's essay "This Sex Which Is Not One."
- ⁵ Patricia Waugh. *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction*. – London and New York: Routledge, 1984. P. 25.
- ⁶ *Narcissistic Narrative: the Metafictional Paradox*. P. 29.
- ⁷ *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction*. P. 140.
- ⁸ *Ibid*, p. 93.
- ⁹ There is a parallel here between Alice's father and Zeus; why Athene is spelled like this instead of Athena, is unclear.
- ¹⁰ In Latin: star of the sea.
- ¹¹ Information about Jove's name comes from Classical Mythology Online: Words/Phrases Glossary. [http://www.oup-usa.org/sc/0195143388/glossaries/phrase_b.html]. June 2002.
- ¹² *Gut Symmetries*. P. 157.
- ¹³ Luce Irigaray. *This Sex Which Is Not One // This Sex Which Is Not One*. Transl. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke. – New York: Cornell University Press, 1985. P. 25.
- ¹⁴ *This Sex Which Is Not One*. P. 29.
- ¹⁵ Monique Wittig. *One Is Not Born a Woman // The Straight Mind and Other Essays*. – New York, 1992. P. 13.
- ¹⁶ *Sexual/Textual Politics*. P. 108.
- ¹⁷ Moi points out the potential terms avoiding dualism feminine/masculine that Cixous herself has offered. P. 108.
- ¹⁸ Héléne Cixous. *Sorties: Out and Out: Attacks/Ways Out/Forays // The Feminist Reader*. Eds Catherine Belsey and Jane Moore. Blackwell, 1997 (c. 1975). P. 96.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*. P. 97.
- ²⁰ *Gut Symmetries*. P. 157.
- ²¹ "Sorties." P. 96.
- ²² Luce Irigaray. *I Love to You: Sketch of Possible Felicity in History*. – New York and London: Routledge, 1996. P. 35.
- ²³ *Ibid*, p. 11.
- ²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 45.
- ²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 124.
- ²⁶ E.g. verbs like hail, praise, ask, offer, celebrate, thank.
- ²⁷ E.g. Dale Spender's *Man Made Language* or Deborah Cameron's *Feminism and Linguistic Theory*.

Kopsavilkums

Rakstā atspoguļots, kā Dženeta Vintersone (Jeannette Winterson) savā romānā cenšas panākt jaunu izteiksmes veidu valodā un verbālajā saziņā, lai radītu efektīvāku pašizpaušmes un apkārtējās realitātes sakārtošanas līdzekli. Šajā pētījumā romāns "Gut Symmetries" tiek uzskatīts par tekstu, kas apzinās savu valodas vērtību un izmanto idejas par *écriture féminine*, lai analizētu Vintersones vēstījuma stratēģiju. Doma par valodas biseksualitāti tiek izmantota, lai parādītu, kā Vintersones romāns mēģina atklāt atšķirības starp vīriešiem un sievietēm un izveidot izteiksmes veidu, kas ne tikai atspoguļotu atšķirību starp abiem dzimumiem, bet arī palīdzētu vīriešu un sievietes savstarpējā saziņā.

Gender and Autobiography in Contemporary Russian Literature

Dzimums un autobiogrāfija mūsdienu krievu literatūrā

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The article analyses contemporary Russian autobiographical writing by women and men. The aim is to explore how gender influences the representation of life and experience in the genre of autobiography. By comparing textual strategies and contrasting notions of authorship in women's and men's texts, the article shows how the former are concentrated on telling the truth about the past, whereas the latter express disillusionment with the representation of reality.

Keywords: gender and literature, Russian women's writing, autobiography.

Introduction

Interrelations between genre and gender in autobiography have gained wide attention by feminist literary scholars,¹ but, not many of the previous studies have explored the national specific features of autobiography.² This article explores the influence of gender on the genre of autobiography in Russia of the 1990s.³ The time scope is interesting both from the perspective of genre and gender: first, autobiography has become very popular among readers and writers in Russia; second, writing on women's perspective on society has increased since the perestroika period. My discussion includes the following three questions: How are women's life stories constructed? What differences are there between men's and women's life stories? What is the significance of gender in women's autobiographies? My research material encompasses published texts, which have been written according to the autobiographical pact.⁴

Feminist theories have emphasised that it is crucial to consider that women's relation to authorship is historically different from that of men's and it has not always been self-evident that women have had access to agency. Scholars have pointed out that women's texts have far more often than men's remained invisible in the literary canon and in literary studies.⁵ This holds true also in Russian literary history.⁶ In studying women's writing it is important not to impose on it the norms of already existing literary canon, which consists largely of men's works.

Heldt has suggested that the genre of autobiography has offered Russian women more freedom in the literary representation of their lives than fiction, which was dominated by male literary tradition especially in the 19th century.⁷ Recent studies on the

topic show, however, that the genre is not free from the prevailing models of femininity. Holmgren has pointed out that in her material, Russian women often conformed to the prevailing images of womanhood.⁸ Savkina states in her study that in women's autobiographies there can be detected the presence of a patriarchal censor influencing the inscribing of the female "I".⁹ These studies challenge Heldt's view of female autobiographical tradition as a genre which could liberate women from the constraints of the more established male prose tradition. Russian women have used autobiography as a socially and culturally approved passage way to the sphere of literature because it apparently did not transgress the implicit boundaries for a woman to enter the public sphere, which was male dominated.

In today's Russia literature as a whole has gone through profound changes during and after the perestroika and glasnost period since the late 1980s. One of these changes is that "everything is allowed", there is no official censorship, nor official literary trend, as socialist realism used to be.¹⁰ Instead, there is a multiplicity of topics and modes of writing.¹¹ Thus, even on the basis of a relatively small number of autobiographies, it can be noticed that they offer diverse but rich material for research: they are different in form and content, which is also typical of the genre. What unites these texts is their concentration on the Soviet past from the point of view of a woman.

Analysing women's autobiographies in the 1990s

The authors ground their representation of the past on their own, subjective, experiences, which they believe to be representative. The leitmotif in the texts is "to tell the truth" about the Soviet past. The texts aim at a documentary presentation: the authors seek to describe "how things were" and not to imagine anything. During the Soviet regime the documentary genre was an important vehicle in the making of the heroic communist past. It was also used by the anti-Soviet movement for making their opposition against the official regime heard in samizdat publications.¹² Even now in the post-Soviet period there is still a distinct meaning for telling the truth: because of the Soviet regime's manipulation of history individual memory became a site for unofficial collective history. When reading the texts therefore I was at first surprised by their emphasis on remembering the past¹³ as I had expected to read women's life stories rather than testimonies about the past events of Soviet history. As an author of memoirs on her imprisonment in the Gulag notes: "We have been asked many times: How could you live through it? This confession is an attempt to understand and answer the question How could we?"¹⁴ Women write in order to commemorate the lives of those who were ruined by the Soviet regime. One author describes her writing of memoirs as a means to transmit knowledge to children.¹⁵ These motifs are not reducible to mere platitudes, as they echo the need to pass on knowledge on past events which had been repressed and the quest for national identity.

The insistence on the past is expressed in phrases contending that something really was or happened in the past. One writer depicts her experiences under the siege of Leningrad during the Second World War. Her aims in writing are not literary, but, as she notes: "I only want to write down the course of events and to avoid delivering

any literary, artistic description. That is not possible for me and it's not my task".¹⁶ Sometimes the insistence on actuality, however, is overcome by the insistence of telling the truth: "If you ask me: Did this happen? I will reply: No. If you ask me: Is this true? I will say: Of course."¹⁷ This points to the discursive work of representation and signification the subject is going through in the process of writing. The documentary phraseology can be interpreted as a sign of refusing to forget the past events and experiences.¹⁸

The difference in relation to previous times is that there is no one cause or ideology which empowers them to write. There is a situation of identity crisis and confusion about what to remember and what not.¹⁹ It has brought up the question of differences in postsocialist societies. During the Soviet era, "We" had repressed these differences. The situation during and after perestroika has opened up new possibilities also for women to represent their experiences.

One of the important common features of the women's life stories is their focus on everyday experiences: they either reveal the truth behind the myth of a strong Soviet woman²⁰; or represent the past relying on memories of past feelings, sounds, smells; or the authors contrast their public image with their hideous everyday life. These details are not only meant to authenticate the narrative, but to reproduce the past in the way the writing subjects have experienced it. They search for a unity between their past and present by restoring the everyday experiences in their life stories.²¹

To find out whether this is a gender-specific feature of women's texts, or a more general trend in autobiographical writing in today's Russia, I have also explored autobiographies by men.

Autobiographical writings by Russian men

Grounding the focus on a selective group of men's autobiographies, it can be noticed that they also are re-interpreting the Soviet past. The means of representation, however, are different from women's: for instance, one author writes in his memoirs mostly about his literary career and the political developments affecting it during the Soviet era, saying little about his family life. His text does not give many descriptions of everyday life. More importantly, the author declares at the beginning of the text, that while writing it was hard for him to distinguish between fact and fiction, since he had written many fictive stories based on his life.²² By contrast, another author lists failures in his professional career, and informs the reader why he could not become successful in any particular profession. He also supposedly undermines the meaning of his writing by stating near the end of his autobiography: "I don't know why this book has been written, whether it has been written, and whether it is a book, – honestly, I don't know."²³ This differs from the position of the women writers quoted earlier, who distinctly wished to tell the truth about their lives.

My aim is not simply to compare women's and men's texts as such. The reason for referring to men's texts is that a certain problem in exclusively researching women's literature is that it remains a separate area with consequently little influence on the already existing literary canon. As a possible way of avoiding this, Miller sug-

gests: “To repair our sense of the literary tradition it seems necessary to reject the dominant monologic ... tradition and replace it with a dialogic one. This means, however, that we will encounter asymmetry everywhere. The challenge is to make a productive sense of it.”²⁴ With “dialogic” Miller refers to reading men’s and women’s texts side by side. This is necessary in order to revise literary tradition so that women’s texts would not remain outside this tradition. This does not mean finding complementarity between men’s and women’s texts. As studies on Russian women’s writing show, that would not be a fruitful approach because the traditions of women’s and men’s writing follow different patterns of influence.²⁵

The following observations give an idea of just how gender can influence the production of literary works in contemporary Russia. I seek to bring together different trends and paradigms in order to contrast them in the spirit of dialogic reading of men’s and women’s texts. A finding that strikes me as most intriguing is that, while not so many professional women authors have written their autobiographies, prominent postmodernist men writers have done so. The attitude towards the genre of autobiography in these postmodernist texts is, obviously, very different from the texts of women autobiographers quoted above. The women’s texts concentrate on the content of the writing, while those of men’s concentrate on the aspects of language. Is it not, one can ask, problematic to compare these texts which have totally different approaches to writing, and belong to different paradigms of literature? Not necessarily, if we do not compare the texts in themselves but look at the places where they are situated within the contemporary literary space by asking what their reception is like and what the understanding of authorship is like in them. Then, the exercise of contrasting could become more interesting and valuable.

Russian postmodernism appears in literary devices: deconstruction, irony, authorial position, linguistic play, which have been said to reflect the spiritual situation of culture after the collapse of previous values and ideologies. What is deemed characteristic of postmodernist writers is the mixing of the borders between the author, narrator and protagonist, and autobiographical strategies of writing, such as the use of the author’s actual name in the text and the appearance of the author as a protagonist.²⁶ An example of this device can be read in a text where the narrator describes, for example, a fire in Moscow and himself as an eyewitness of this fire. However, soon after the description he states: “But, everything was, of course, not like that. That is, everything was like that. But if one remembers differently, then, naturally, it was not like that”.²⁷ The referentiality of the narrative is deconstructed by representing the narrator as an unreliable source of information, and as a result, attention is oriented towards the manner of narrating. Postmodernist authors use linguistic play in order to point to the impossibility of writing the truth.

If we look at the use of autobiography in postmodernist women writers’ texts we can observe that the I-narrator is used quite frequently, but, the real name of the author is seldom used.²⁸ In male-authored texts, the use of real names is typical. This is an interesting difference, for which I cannot claim to have found an unequivocal interpretation. It could be that men’s use of their own name in literary texts is more readily accepted as a literary device than women’s. It is a continuing stereotype that men’s use of autobiography is considered as an artistic device, whereas in women’s texts it is often evaluated as lack in artistic quality.²⁹ There prevails a certain dichotomy between life

and art: woman's writing is either seen negatively as a "personal document", not literature, or, by contrast, the value of Russian women's writing is seen in its simplicity and immediacy.³⁰ This is a culturally embedded space for women's writing, where Woman becomes naturalized and her text equated with her life.

Gender influences the use of autobiography in various ways: it is connected with the differences in social and cultural status of the writers, and the differences between literary traditions and the influences of women's and men's writing. The task of literary research is to make these differences visible in the interpretation of literary texts.

Instead of a Conclusion

The significance of gender in Russian women's autobiographies, I suggest, can be sought in the specificity of female authorship as formulated in feminist literary studies. However, we need to situate the case in contemporary Russian culture. The writers of autobiographies analysed here are often considered exceptional women, who preserve certain cultural values through their writing. While this position gives them a possibility for representing their lives through a literary discourse, their writing is not primarily concerned with aesthetic values or literary representations; on the contrary, they strive to avoid literariness and desire to tell the truth about the past. This calls forth the function of a literary text as a means to promote moral values and mediate knowledge. The comparison with certain contemporary texts by men offers a contradiction which highlights the difference of gender in genre. In recent autobiographical writing by men one can decipher disillusionment with the capacity of literature and language to create authentic representations of reality. In their textual practices the so-called postmodernist authors focus on deconstructing previous literary discourses and questioning the status of a literary text as a medium of social reality. In the women's texts the strategy in representing their lives in the context of the Soviet history was to give a documentary account of the individual's everyday life, which had been repressed by the official representations. It is crucial to see in these women's texts that there is a certain unarticulated tension between the state, the individual and the woman. To illustrate this line of thought further I borrow the idea of the Belorussian writer, Svetlana Aleksievich, on the significance of documenting the stories of those whose voices were not heard during the Soviet era. These stories indicate that the Soviet past still affects people and is an important part of their "quest for identity".³¹ In this connection women's autobiographies are responding to the crisis after the collapse of ideologies and systems, of "We", and represent the search for voicing the experience of the "I", of the differentiated subject, and in that context, of the female subject.

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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā analizēti mūsdienu krievu rakstnieku – sieviešu un vīriešu – autobiogrāfiskie darbi. Raksta mērķis ir izpētīt, kā dzimums ietekmē dzīves atspoguļojumu un pieredzi autobiogrāfiskā žanra literatūrā. Salīdzinot teksta stratēģiju un atšķirīgos priekšstatus par rakstnieka darbu sieviešu un vīriešu autoru tekstos, rakstā parādīts, ka sievietes vairāk uzmanības pievērš patiesības atklāšanai par pagātni, bet vīrieši pauž vilšanos realitātes atspoguļojumā.

Peculiarities of Latvian Women's Autobiographical Writing in the 1990s.

1990. gadu latviešu rakstnieču autobiogrāfiskās literatūras raksturojums

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The article investigates a few important traditions of autobiographic writing at the end of the 20th century, taking as an example the writings of such Latvian authors as Anita Liepa, Agate Nesaule and others. In the introductory part of the article the findings of Jerome Bruner, Robert Folkenflik, Sidony Smith, Philippe Legen and others have been summed up, turning attention to definitions of the genre of autobiography in the context of the most recent theories of literary criticism – poststructuralism, feminism, postcolonialism.

Keywords: autobiography, writing, feminine, modality, testimony.

The autobiographical mode of writing has been a dominant form in the last decades of the 20th century. Critics like James Olney and Robert Folkenflik regard it as a general trend in postmodern times where, according to Jean-François Lyotard, the great narratives have experienced a crisis of legitimation and have been ousted by small narratives. James Olney in *Metaphors of Self: the Meaning of Autobiography* (1972) writes that the autobiographical tradition has taken the place of history. Robert Folkenflik in his introduction to *The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self-Representation* (1993) regards autobiography as a key notion of contemporary culture and provides a historical survey of its institutionalization in the Western literary tradition from the 18th century onward. In the 1970s, autobiographical writing witnessed an unprecedented amount of theoretical attention from diverse theoretical positions – poststructuralist, psychoanalytical, postcolonial, feminist, etc.¹ This involved a broad array of issues, referentiality, textuality, the remembering and the writing subject, inscribed in the autobiographical text, the testimonial mode of relation to the recalled events, etc.

The problem of autobiography as a genre is the first major issue which is raised and discussed in recent investigations. The basic aspect of the generic problem concerns the relations between autobiography, history, and fiction. In the 1970s, Philip Lejeune, Louis Renza, and John Sturrock located autobiography at an intersection of history and fiction, defending its place in the literary canon.² More recent critics, like Jerome Bruner, have revised the traditional distinction of autobiography and fiction. Bruner considers autobiography as an extension of fiction. He argues that the shape of the individual life in autobiography emerges from the imagination rather than from experience, and in the process of writing the author of an autobiography forges his/her possible selves.³ Hence, autobiography should be considered not as a genre, but as a mode of writing which spans a spectrum from 'documentary' texts, based on letters, diaries, to autobiographical fiction and poetry.⁴ Moreover, it is often quite

impossible to establish clear-cut boundaries between autobiography, autobiographical fiction, and biography. Philip Lejeune has defined autobiography in terms of an 'autobiographical pact' between author and reader. There are a number of conditions which the author has to observe so that the reader can treat the text as autobiographical and distinguish it from a fictional text. Of the four categories introduced by Lejeune the most compelling one is the identification of an author-narrator and the principal character.⁵ Yet, feminist critics of women's autobiographies have noted a recurrent tendency to establish a distance between female autobiographical authors and their protagonists, generally achieved by the 3rd person narrative.⁶

These critics, proceeding from poststructuralist and psychoanalytical positions, have tried to define the internal tension of autobiographical writing by analyzing 'autobiography' as a compound of 3 components: auto (Gr. *authos* – self) – bio (bios – life) – graphy (graphes – writing, from *graphein* – to write). They regard autobiography as an inherently impossible project, problematizing each component separately and dealing with the pressures and contradictions they inflict upon one another. Hence, writing mediates the space between 'self' and 'life' and makes it impossible to recapture the self and set up a plausible life-script, marked by closure. The term 'autobiographical act' is used to express the idea of life construction within autobiography. Elizabeth W. Bruss defines the autobiographical act as "an interpretation of life that invests the past and the 'self' with coherence and meaning that may not have been evident before the act of writing itself".⁷

Regarded as an intentional act, the construction of one's own life-story is determined by a specific *stance of the narrator in relation to his/her recalled and related experience*, which determines the narrative *modality* of autobiographical writing as its crucial element. The analysis of autobiographical modality is highly problematic. It cannot be fully captured and analyzed by formal means, as it indicates an intentionality that cannot be reduced to formal or grammatical markers. At the same time, formal markers such as person, point of view, frame, etc., are very important, and their analysis is very helpful. The recurrent use of the 3rd person narration in women's autobiographies is notable also in Latvian women's autobiographical writing, e.g. Anita Liepa's *Exhumation*, Vizma Belševica's *Bille Trilogy*.

Latvian women's autobiographical writing of the 1990s reveals diverse autobiographical acts. Produced by women authors of the generation which experienced World War II as the central event of 20th century European history, these texts provide historical evidence of a very complicated period in contemporary Latvian history. This entails the pre-Soviet decade of the 1930s (coincident with their childhood), the beginning of World War II, and Soviet-German-Soviet occupation of Latvia at the beginning of 1940s, as well as the end of the 50 years long Soviet occupation at the end of 1980s and the reconstruction of Latvian statehood at the beginning of 1990s. At the same time these texts function as autobiographical accounts of the girls' childhood, interrupted by the war, which further determines their life, either under the occupational regime or in exile. Thus, Agate Nesaule in *A Woman in Amber* (1997) relates to the painful experience of a small girl who together with her family is driven out of her homeland, forced into exile, subjected to the horror of refugee camps in Germany and the difficulties of getting political asylum in the U.S. A similar experience is related in Margita Gūtmane's *Vēstules mātei* (*Letters to Mother*;

1998), a book which emphasizes the hardships of living in exile and returning to one's homeland, only to find it foreign as well. Anita Liepa in her autobiographical novels *Ekshumācija* (*Exhumation*, 1990), *Kumeļa gadi* (*The Colt Years*, 1993), *Vējgāze* (*Windstorm*, 1996) relates her life under Soviet occupation. Vizma Belševica in her autobiographical trilogy about *Bille* (1995, 1996, 1999) narrates episodes from her childhood in the 1930s and the early 1940s.

The modality of these texts is determined by the fact that these authors feel compelled to produce historical evidence for that history which became also a part of their lives. Moreover, their memories fit into the 'great project' of rewriting history that Central and Eastern Europe faced during the so-called 'transition period' of the 1990s. Notwithstanding this common point of departure, each individual author takes a different stance towards her recalled life and writes it either as a story of testimony (Anita Liepa), or a story of healing (Agate Nesaule), or a melancholy story (Margita Gūtmane, Vizma Belševica).

Anita Liepa's *Exhumation* is a paradigmatic instance of the autobiographical tradition of the 1990s. Defined by the author as a documentary novel, it reveals the range of autobiographical writing mentioned above: from documentary literature to fiction. This is marked by the author's playing around with the heroine's name. On the one hand, the author disguises the relation of the heroine to her autobiographical self by giving her a fictitious name – Nameda Lapa. Thus she maintains a distance between the genuine biographical space and the literary space, foregrounding the latter so that the story of the Sondors family gains symbolical status. On the other hand, the enclosed photographs reveal the disguised relation: on the photos Nameda Lapa appears as Anita Liepa, reminding us that the novel presents a documentary record of her family history.

The novel spans the life-stories of three generations of the Sondors family, with the focus on the second generation – two sons, Aleksandrs and Anatolijs, who became officers and took part in World War I. After that Aleksandrs remained in Soviet Russia, was arrested in 1937 and executed during Stalin's campaign of ideological cleansing, whereas Anatolijs returned to Latvia and, after a successful military career, became the commander of Daugavpils fortress, a major place of dislocation of the Latvian infantry and cavalry corps, close to the Latvian border with Russia. Shortly after the Soviet occupation, Anatolijs Sondors and other Latvian army officers were brought to Litene military camp where most of them were shot and others were secretly deported to the Far East. Mass deportations of civilians and the massacre of Latvian army officers are two major manifestations of the violence of the Soviet regime against the Latvian nation. It was revealed in the period of *glasnost* and legally promoted by decrees of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR in 1989 concerning the rehabilitation of the politically repressed and deported citizens, as well as by the criminal case of the killing of officers in Litene, instigated by the Office of Public Prosecution of the Latvian SSR in October, 1988. On December 2, 1989, the reburial of the murdered officers took place in the Brethren Cemetery in Riga. The title of Liepa's novel *Exhumation* actually refers to the reburial of the officers as an act of restoring their honour and status. Her novel, completed in 1988 and published in 1990, was a highly topical book in the context of these events, which is testified by its wide public resonance. However, its political significance cannot be dismissed as

the product of *glasnost* alone, as the published version of the novel was in fact the fifth one. The writer states in her postscript to the novel that the material for it had been gathered for 45 years. Thus, the history of writing the novel goes back to the mid-1940s; it symbolically embraces the whole period of Soviet occupation and sets up the author as a dissident, situating the text within the tradition of dissident memory evidence and resisting the enforced amnesia of the regime. The author as a dissident is embodied in the heroine, the author's disguised *alter ego*.

Sondor's foster daughter Nameda is the representative of the third generation of the family. Her lot is to live under the Soviet regime in its everyday manifestations. She is made to withdraw from her studies at the department of journalism because of too straightforward ideas; later on she is continually persecuted by the authorities in her teacher's career. She has to give up several positions because she belongs to a family of politically repressed people. Her most daring action is a trip to Siberia in 1953 in search of her foster-father Anatolijs Sondors. Unluckily, the trip coincides with the rebellion of political prisoners in Norilsk which Nameda describes in her diary. Because of these notes Nameda is accused of collecting anti-Soviet information and collaborating with foreign intelligence services, arrested and sent to labor camps in Arhangelsk and the Perm region. However, Nameda's imprisonment and the time spent in these camps (the autobiographical part of the text) is presented in a much shorter account than the fictionalized version of Anatolijs Sondors' experiences in Litene and in the Far East. Instead of self-dramatizing the author prefers the imaginary dramatization of her foster-father's experience, inscribing it into the masculine heroic plot, while organizing her own experience around the dissident figure whose greatest 'betrayal', from the standpoint of the Soviet regime, is to keep alive memories of previous times, thus providing a link with the past. Hence the symbolical significance of Nameda's search for her father, the denial of oblivion, the resistance to the official image of Latvian officers as criminals and enemies. The masculine heroic plot employs the search for her father as a powerful life-script for the daughter. Nameda's Antigone-like opposition is motivated and becomes functional first and foremost within the masculine heroic plot, with the father as the central figure. The limited functionality of the autobiographical heroine provides yet another account of the distance between her and the author, created by the 3rd person narrative. By refusing a straightforward identification with the heroine, the author situates herself as an actant on a higher level of the structural organization of the novel: the heroine's message (the author's story about Nameda's opposition to the regime) is appropriated as part of the author's message, encoding memory as a form of resistance. Anita Liepa has said in an interview that the writing of the novel was motivated by an urge to testify to the historical truth: "I became a witness for the defense of my heroes, I wanted them to be rehabilitated. Now there are others who write about those events. I began writing when no one else dared."⁸

Another important formal marker is codification of the autobiographical writing within a certain genre specified by the author. Thus Anita Liepa subtitles her *Exhumation* a documentary novel, *Colt Years* a memory novel; Vizma Belševica calls her *Bille Trilogy* a memory story; Agate Nesaule refers to her *A Woman in Amber* as a story. Consequently, the life-stories are organized according to the compositional, structural, etc. logic of the respective genre. This provides the author with additional

options: she can dramatize certain memories, play around and interpret them, provide emphases and additional nuances etc. The author's manipulation of memory – omissions, silences, interruptions, additions – are 'legitimized' by the conventions and restrictions of the genre. Agate Nesaule introduces her memory story in the following way: "I know that memory as such is unreliable: it selects, changes, deforms. Others would relate the same events in a different way, while I can tell only what I remember. I cannot promise historical precision; I can tell just what I recall. I will have to imagine and guess, even invent something, so that *the story becomes more fluent and plausible.*" (Translation and italics mine – S.M.)⁹ Jerome Bruner extends this argument even further, arguing that the shape of life as it is experienced is as much dependent upon the narrative skills of the autobiographer as is the story s/he tells about it.¹⁰

Agate Nesaule's *A Woman in Amber* foregrounds the connection of the generic framing, emplotment and thematic focus of the story. The author, a Latvian émigré to the USA, has encoded her life-story within the psychoanalytical discourse. It is alluded to in the subtitle, *Healing the Trauma of War and Exile*, as well as in the author's preface which directly brings out the features of a psychoanalytical case-study. The heroine's narrative is organized as a recollection of her discussions with her psychoanalyst Ingeborg Casey (clinical talks) and her lover John (bed talks). The narrative proceeds along with the verbalization of traumatic memories of the heroine's war experiences, charged with agonizing affects – shame, anger, and a sense of guilt. The result is defined in the preface: "My story proves that healing is possible."¹¹ The heroine's narrative reveals the drama of her psychic constitution against a background of war and exile. War is presented as a painful experience in Agate's life when she and her family are driven out of their homeland and into exile, passing through the horror of refugee camps in Germany and the endless difficulties of getting political asylum in the USA. Violence, hunger and humiliation experienced in the camps are the trauma that is projected onto Agate's life, turning her into a victim in her relations with others and life in general. The victim's position is particularly obvious in her hasty marriage with Joe. Trapped in this marriage for years, Agate breaks free from the mysterious power of her violent American husband after she has discovered in Joe the features of the Russian soldiers who she saw raping women in the refugee camp. Only then does she realize that her marriage had been based on this violent scenario which she witnessed as a young girl. This episode is described like a therapeutic insight: as a result of specific factors (Joe's attempt at raping her) the heroine is able to reconstruct the traumatic collision and to gain an insight into the history of accepting the role of a victim, thus finding the way to transcend it. After ending the unhappy marriage, Agate is reconciled with her mother (in the dream of the deceased mother who turns out to be alive). The recovered maternal bond leads Agate to a close and happy relationship with John, testifying to her capability of forming an intimate loving relationship. Finally she is healed from the traumas of the past.

Taking into account the tripartite structure of autobiography, discussed above, it should be noted that the 3 components – authos, bios, graphe – coexist in an intricate dynamics. Bruner suggests that we consider an autobiographical text as a discourse of witness (mimesis), discourse of interpretation (diegesis, explicating the means by which the discourse of witness has been organized, framed and emplotted within the

narrative structure), and the autobiographer's stance or diatactics (negotiability, performativity, that is, how the autobiographer, by taking a certain posture to the world, self, fate, etc., communicates his/her organized experience). The discourse of witness in Nesaule's *A Woman in Amber* would comprise Agate's recalled episodes of her life, the discourse of interpretations determine the way these episodes are selected and organized (e.g. broken chronology of events, representing lengthy periods of life by few episodes, etc.). The principles of selection and organization are, in their turn, determined by the author's diatactics, her wish to tell precisely *a story of healing*, with conventional happy ending.

Thus, autobiographical modality should not be reduced to the focused intentionality of a self-present authorial voice that wants to tell his/her life-story for more or less obvious reasons. It is permeated with pressures and contradictions, which are triggered off by the act of writing which, within the poststructuralist tradition, undermines any illusion of self-presence in the text. At this point the poststructuralist and feminist positions diverge: the poststructuralist critics would reveal these pressures and locate the textual patterns and configurations that emerge in the process, only to be rewritten anew in the next reading. For feminists it would be impossible to abandon the attempt of a political reading of women's voices in the text. Feminist critics of autobiographies, like Donna Stanton, Bella Brodzki and Sidonie Smith, make a point of interpreting women's autobiographical acts as entering into writing as the other partner of a discourse in search of a voice and a transformative script.¹²

They treat 'graphe' as a voice-gaining process, in the sense that through writing women can gain the speaking position which otherwise is denied to them, according to the patriarchal definition of woman as deficient (of subjecthood, voice, speaking position, etc.).

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Autobiography, Biography, and Gender. S. G. Bell, M. Yalom eds. – State University of New York Press, 1990; The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self–Representation. R. Folkenflik ed. – Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993; Life/Lines: Theorizing Women’s Autobiograph. Bella Brodzki, Celeste Schenk eds. – Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1988.

⁷ Smith S. A Poetics of Women’s Autobiography, p. 46.

⁸ Interview with Anita Liepa, cited by Biruta Gudriķe //Jaunākā latviešu literatūra 1998. – Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC, 1999, p. 99.

⁹ Nesaule A. Sieviete dzintarā. – Rīga: Jumava, 1997, 7. lpp.

¹⁰ Bruner J. The Autobiographical Process, p. 41.

¹¹ Nesaule A. Sieviete dzintarā, 8. lpp.

¹² Watson J. Toward an Anti–Metaphysics of Autobiography //The Culture of Autobiography. Folkenflik ed., p. 71.

Kopsavilkums

Rakstā aplūkotas dažas būtiskākās autobiogrāfiskās tradīcijas iezīmes 20. gadsimta nogalē latviešu rakstnieču – Vizmas Belševicas, Margitas Gūtmanes, Anitas Liepas, Agates Nesaules un citu daiļradē. Raksta ievaddaļā rezumēti izplatītākie atzinumi autobiogrāfiskās tradīcijas izpētē Džeroma Brunera, Roberta Folkenflika, Sidonijas Smitas, Filipa Ležēna un citos pētījumos, pievēršot uzmanību autobiogrāfiskā žanra definējumam un īpatnību apskatam jaunāko literatūrteorijas virzienu – poststrukturālisma, feminisma, postkoloniālisma kontekstā.

**Frauentagebuch der “Wiener Moderne”:
Alma Mahler–Werfels “Tagebuch–Suiten”
Women Diaries in the “Wiener Moderne”:
“Tagebuch–Suiten” by Alma Mahler–Werfel
Sieviešu dienasgrāmatas “Wiener Moderne” laikā:
Almas Māleres–Verfeles “Tagebuch–Suiten”**

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Die “Tagebuch–Suiten”(1996) von Alma Mahler–Werfel(1879–1964) ungeachtet dessen, dass sie postum erscheinen, sind als Versuch des Eindringens einer Frau in das ästhetische Feld der “Wiener Moderne”, das um 1900 immer noch ein männliches bleibt zu deuten. Der Beitrag skizziert die Entstehungsgeschichte von “Tagebuch–Suiten,, und geht auf einige Probleme der diaristischen Struktur ein. Es zeigt sich, dass Alma Mahler– Werfel eine eigene Tagebuchform gestaltet, die nicht zuletzt auf die Strategien des Sich–Erinnerns hinausläuft.

Keywords: Frauentagebuch, Alma Mahler–Werfel, Wiener Moderne.

Alma Mahler–Werfel (1879–1964) – in ihrer Jugend als “das schönste Mädchen Wiens” und später in den 20er – 30er Jahren in Wien als “Femme Fatal” bezeichnet, war vor allem bekannt als eine der größten “professionellen” Musen der Geschichte und Freundin und Gefährtin berühmter Männer: Gustav Klimt, Gustav Mahler, Oskar Kokoschka, Walter Gropius, Franz Werfel und neben diesen Beziehungen wurden ihr dank solcher Berühmtheit weitere zugeschrieben.

Es sind viele Geschichten, Legenden und Anekdoten um Alma Mahlers–Werfel entstanden. Ihre Zeigenossen und Lebensgefährten haben oft über sie in den Tagebüchern und Briefen geschrieben, haben sie in ihren Büchern oder auch in den Bildern zu legendären Frauen–Figur stilisiert, gleichzeitig aber ein recht widerspruchsvolles Bild von Alma entworfen.

Es liegt inzwischen eine Reihe romanhafter Biographien vor – Françoise Girodos Buch “Alma Mahler oder die Kunst geliebt zu werden”(1986), Karen Monsons “Die Alma oder die unbezähmbare Muse” (1986) oder Hilde Bergers Roman “Ob es Hass ist, solche Liebe. Oskar Kokoschka und Alma Mahler” aus dem Jahre 1999 können hier als Beispiele angeführt werden, die uns aufs neue beweisen, dass abgesehen davon, wie Alma–Mahler–Werfel–Figur im einzelnen hier akzentuiert wird, erscheint sie nach wie vor im Kontext ihrer “glänzender Begleiter”. Dazu kommt noch folgendes: Alma Mahler–Werfel hat sich immer um ihr Image gesorgt. 1915 erscheint zum Beispiel in Peter Altenbergs Buch “Fechung “ eine dem Andenken Gustav Mahlers gewidmete Geschichte unter dem Titel “Alma”. Als Alma Mahler sie liest, reagiert sie darauf in einem Brief an Oskar Kokoschka sehr emotionell: “ Altenberg hat mich in seinem letzten Buch angenagelt.” Und resümiert etwas weiter: Von A bis

Z vollkommen verlogen”¹ So blieb das Alma-Bild „ schon lang genug entstellt und verdunkelt”².

Dass Alma selbst eine grosse Persönlichkeit war, wurde zwar nie geleugnet, trat jedoch im Laufe der Geschichte kaum in den Vordergrund. Ihre Weiblichkeit und Schönheit wurden meistens bewundert, ihre intellektuellen Begabungen dagegen kaum beachtet. Relativ wenig ist bekannt, dass sie in die Geschichte des XX. Jahrhunderts als österreichische Komponistin eingegangen ist und Instrumentalstücke, den Beginn einer Oper, vorwiegend aber sensible und nuancenreiche Klavierlieder nach Gedichten von Richard Dehmel, Rainer Maria Rilke, Heinrich Heine, Novalis und Franz Werfel geschrieben hat, die aber erst in den 90er Jahren des XX. Jahrhunderts wieder ins Zentrum der musikwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen gestellt wurden³.

Mit der Herausgabe ihrer Selbstzeugnisse in der 2. Hälfte des XX. Jahrhunderts: „Mein Leben” (1960) und vor allem “Tagebuch–Suiten” (1997), rückt Alma Mahler–Werfel auch als Autorin immer stärker in den Vordergrund.

Die Veröffentlichung des Tagebuches nach mehr als dreissig Jahren nach dem Tod der Verfasserin beruht auf den handschriftlichen Tagebuchaufzeichnungen von Alma Schindler, die sich in der Bibliothek der University of Pennsylvania befinden und die einer der Herausgeber der „Tagebuch–Suiten” Antony Beaumont während der Suche nach Material für eine Monographie über den Komponisten Alexander Zemlinsky Anfang der 90er Jahre gefunden hat. Dass es fast hundert Jahre gedauert hat bis diese Tagebuchnotizen an die Öffentlichkeit kamen, hängt nicht damit zusammen, dass die Herausgabe der “Tagebuch –Suiten” testamentarisch verordnet oder verboten war, sondern ist eher mit einem banalen Umstand verbunden. Antony Beaumont kommentiert wie folgt: “Als ich das Manuskript sah, wurde mir aber klar, warum man bisher einen Bogen um sie gemacht hat: Almas Schrift ist schwer, ja beinahe unleserlich”⁴.

Die Aufzeichnungen beinhalten die Zeitspanne zwischen 1898 und 1902 und vertreten damit die um 1900 im allgemeinen sehr verbreiteten Form der literarischen Selbstdarstellung, die gerade in der Wiener Moderne – im Zentrum der modernen Identitätskrise und der damit verbundenen Sprachkrise – mit „ausserordentlichen Leidenschaft und Genialität praktiziert”⁵ wurde.

Darüber hinaus sind die “Tagebuch–Suiten” als Zeugnisse aufzufassen, die von einer Frau geschrieben wurden, die im künstlerischem Milieu aufwächst –was in starkem Maß ihren Lebensentwurf bestimmt – und die sich selbst auf dem Gebiet der Kunst (und als Tagebuchschreiberin auch in der Literatur) zu bestätigen sucht.

In der Forschungsliteratur über Spezifik der Wiener Moderne wird oft darauf hingewiesen, dass obwohl die Frauen im allgemeinen an den Rand der literarischen Szene geschoben wurden, in Österreich um 1900 eine markante Wende eintritt: auf verschiedenen Wegen versuchen die Frauen, sich einen qualitativ neuen Zugang zur Autorenschaft zu verschaffen. Der Übergang zum “Sprechen als Frau” vollzieht sich im Kontext einer für die Moderne spezifischen Situation in bezug auf die Geschlechterbeziehungen: die historische Rollenverteilung gerät deutlich in Krise. Der “Geschlechterkampf” wird dabei laut Le Rider in verschiedenen Varianten thematisiert: in seiner “avantgardistischen Fassung (nach dem Modell von Strinberg,

Karl Krauss), in seiner konservativen Fassung–(eine Unzahl von Romanen haben als Thema die emanzipierte Frau, welche die ganze Gesellschaft ins Unglück stürzt!), und seiner irren Fassung bei Otto Weininger.⁶

Die Selbstzeugnisse von Alma Mahler–Werfel, ungeachtet dessen, dass sie postum erscheinen, gehören in das Umfeld dieser Tendenzen und sind als Versuch des Eindringens einer Frau in das literarische Feld, das um 1900 immer noch ein männliches bleibt, zu deuten. So gesehen stellen die “Tagebuch–Suiten” ein wichtiges Untersuchungsobjekt dar.

Einen ausdrücklichen Grund des Tagebuchschreibens gibt die Diaristin nicht an. Das lässt sich auch im Nachhinein kaum feststellen, jedoch könnten der frühe Tod des Vaters und die darauf folgende Heirat der Mutter vielleicht das treibende Motiv für das Schreiben sein: Einerseits wünscht sie sich die Familie als Ruhepol, andererseits gibt es viele Aufzeichnungen, die dafür sprechen, dass sie aus diesem Kreis hinaustreten möchte. Rückblickend konstatiert sie in „Mein Leben“: „Diese Jugendjahre trennten mich innerlich vollkommen von meiner Umgebung“⁷, „Ich ging jetzt allein aus, denn meine Mutter hatte Gott sei Dank wenig Zeit für mich“⁸ und spricht etwas weiter über ihre “sogenannte Familie”⁹ Oft werden in dem Tagebuch die Streitigkeiten in der Familie erwähnt: die Mutter beschimpft Alma in der Öffentlichkeit, schreibt sie an, kann gewalttätig sein. Repräsentativ kommentiert sie an einer Stelle das Verhalten der Mutter: “Alles, was sich Mama über mich Böses dachte und denkt, kam da heraus gesprudelt”.¹⁰

Der psychische Diskomfort, der oft über ihre Beziehung zu der Mutter definiert wird, die problematische familiäre Situation stimulieren folglich das Tagebuchschreiben. Andererseits wird in den “Tagebuch–Suiten” ihre Sehnsucht nach dem Selbstausdruck immer wieder thematisiert. Gleich zu Beginn der Aufzeichnungen schreibt sie: “Ich möchte eine große That thun. Möchte eine wirklich *gute* Oper komponieren, was bei Frauen noch nicht der Fall war. Ja, das möchte ich. Mit einem Wort, ich möchte etwas sein und werden.”¹¹ Zu ihrem künstlerischen Vorbild wird in diesen Jahren die Sängerin Lilli Lehmann: “Große Künstlerin und große Frau!”, – drückt die Diaristin beinahe formelhaft ihre Begeisterung aus.¹² In dem Streben nach der Selbstverwirklichung –einem wichtigen Kriterium ihrer künstlerisch veranlagten Natur –spielt das eigene Geschlecht eine grosse Rolle. Dennoch wird von Anfang an die Möglichkeit angezweifelt, sich als Frau schöpferisch realisieren zu können. Nach einer Musikstunde bei ihrem Lehrer Josef Labor notiert sie in ihr Tagebuch: “Labor. Ich spielte ihm heute alle 8 Lieder vor, und er sagte: Das ist aller Ehren wert ... für ein Mäd. Ja, es ist ein Fluch, Mäd. zu sein, man kann über seine Grenzen nicht hinaus”¹³ Überlegungen dieser Art werden zur Obsession des Diariums. Mit dem Beginn der regelmässigen Aufzeichnungen sichert sich die junge Diaristin den eigenen freien Raum, in dem sie als weiblich artikulierendes Subjekt, ihre Innerlichkeit auf vielfältige Weise bewusst auszudrücken versucht.

Der Form nach stellt dieses Tagebuch, “ein unglaublich langer Text”(XI), eine komplizierte vielschichtige stark gegliederte Struktur dar, was auch in dem Doppeltitel programmatisch angekündigt wird: Tagebuch–Suiten. Dass die Diaristin den musikalischen Begriff “Suite” – in den Musiktheorie soviel wie ein Instrumentalstück, das aus mehreren Sätzen entweder einer Oper oder eines Baletts oder aus Elementen

anderer Genres bestehen kann, aber auch Zusammenstellung von einzelnen Tänzen – aufgreift und in den Bereich der Literatur transportiert, ist sicher nicht zufällig. Der Suite–Begriff erweist sich als formprägend für die Struktur des Tagebuches. Damit wird auch die Freiheit des Tagebuches von jeder Art poetologischen Normen postuliert.

Als einzelne Texteinheiten sind die Suiten mit der kapitelweisen Einteilung eines Romans (einige Suiten wurden mit dem Motto versehen) oder mit der Szene bzw. dem Akt im Drama vergleichbar¹⁴

Es sind 21 Hefte, oder 25 Suiten, d.h. einzelne Hefte, in die in Alma Schindler über eine Zeitspanne von vier Jahren – vom 25. Januar 1898 bis 16. Januar 1902 – ihre Eintragungen gemacht hat.

Die Anlage einzelner Suiten, die Notate eines Tages unterliegen keinen Regeln. Sie umfassen Beschreibungen alltäglicher Begebenheiten, der familiären Verhältnisse, impressionistische Naturbeobachtungen, Frustrationen in ihrem Liebesleben, denn eben in diesem Zeitraum entfalten sich ihre Liebesbeziehungen zu Gustav Klimt, Alexander Zemlinsky und Gustav Mahler, die drei wichtige thematische Konzentrationen des Tagebuches bilden. Überraschend wirkt die Erlebnisintensität der jungen Alma: Ihre Tage sind meistens ausgefüllt mit Lesen, Komponieren, Zeichnen, Klavier spielen, Theaterbesuchen und natürlich mit dem Tagebuchschreiben. Die Materialfülle, die die Vielseitigkeit des Lebens der Diaristin widerspiegelt, wird– und hier zeigt sich die Affinität zur Suite – in verschiedenen Aussageformen erfasst: Berichte, Parodie, literarische Porträts, Briefe, Briefentwürfe, Aphorismen, Skizzen, Dialoge, Träume und darüber hinaus seitenlange Reflexionen über die Kunst und Literatur, die sich durch Souveränitätsgeist auszeichnen. Das Tagebuch wird für das schreibende Ich auf weiten Strecken zum Arbeitsjournal.

Parallel dazu konstituiert sich eine andere Ebene im Tagebuch: Die Diaristin sammelt und klebt in ihre Tagebuchhefte Eintrittskarten, Theaterprogramme, Postkarten und Ansichtskarten, Photographien ein, illustriert die Eintragungen mit eigenen Zeichnungen, meistens Selbstporträts und stellt damit visuelle Bezüge zu dem Geschriebenen her.

Hier macht sich die Tradition verschiedener Formen des Stammbuches bzw. des Poesiealbums bemerkbar¹⁵, die in der Rolle eines "Gedenkbuches", eines Erinnerungsbüchleins auftrat und neben Notaten reichlich mit Zeichnungen, Scherenschnitten und insbesondere ab zweite Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts mit ganz "weiblichen Beigaben" wie gepressten Blumen, Spitzenbildern u.ä. versehen wurde.

Gleichzeitig steht dieses Verfahren ganz im Zeichen der ästhetischen Bestrebungen der Wiener Moderne. Jacques Le Rider, der die Skizzen von Peter Altenberg als Gattung des "intimen Albums" auffasst, stellt fest, dass bei Altenberg die Grenzen des traditionellen Tagebuches eines Schriftstellers oder eines Intellektuellen, das im allgemeinen auf Schrift und Text beschränkt bleibt, gesprengt werden, um Bilder und Collagen von verschiedenen Dokumenten hinzuzufügen¹⁶. Darin sieht Le Ride "den entscheidenden Einfluss einer besonders in Wien gängigen Gattung der "Chronik", die sich Feuilletton nannte"¹⁷.

Das Tagebuch von Alma Mahler–Werfel verfügt folglich über eine Reihe von Mitteln und Mechanismen, die einerseits die Wahrheits–Illusion vermitteln und der Tagebuchaussage den Anschein der Authentizität verleihen, wodurch der Text

zusehens in die Kategorie des Zeitdokuments gerückt wird. Gleichzeitig tritt der Einsatz von verschiedenen Dokumenten, von Tatsachenmaterial als Erinnerungsstütze auf und ermöglicht die Fehlbarkeiten und Lücken der Erinnerung umzugehen.

Das Tagebuch beginnt mit der Suite 4 – die ersten drei sind entweder nicht vorhanden oder verschollen – mit einer belanglosen Aufzeichnung: “Schwänzte Laborstunde.”¹⁸, was man als eine Art offenen Anfang deuten kann und was auf Unabgeschlossenheit und Prozesshaftigkeit der Tagebuchaufzeichnungen hinweist und als eine mögliche Fortsetzung der früheren Aufzeichnungen zu verstehen ist.

Am 16. Januar 1902, kurz bevor Alma Schindler Gustav Mahler heiratet (am 9. März 1902), werden die Aufzeichnungen abgebrochen. Ein derartiger Schluss, weist Sabine Voigt hin, ist durchaus für ein Frauentagebuch typisch: “Eine Heirat beendete häufig das Führen eines Tagebuchs, was in der Regel mehrere Gründe hatte: Zum ersten wurde innerhalb der Ehe die Identität der Frau über den Mann definiert, die Frage nach der Standortbestimmung ihres Selbstbewußtseins wurde damit zumindest nach gesellschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten beantwortet. Zum zweiten galt in der Ehe offiziell die Prämisse der Offenheit, das heißt, die Frau sollte vor ihrem Mann keine Geheimnisse haben, wenn sie keinen Verdacht erregen wollte.”¹⁹. Wenn man die bekannte Passage aus Gustav Mahlers Brief vom 20. Dezember 1902: “...Du mußt Dich mir *bedingungslos* hingeben, Dein zukünftiges Leben in jeder Einzelheit ganz nach meinen Bedürfnissen ausrichten...”²⁰ – in Betracht zieht, scheint dieses Gattungsmerkmal des Frauentagebuches leicht auf die “Tagebuch–Suiten” zu übertragen. Denn wenigstens auf den ersten Blick willigt Alma in diese Forderung ein.

Dennoch funktioniert diese Besonderheit des weiblichen Diariums im Fall von Alma Mahler–Werfel wohl kaum. Man kann annehmen, dass Alma Mahler ihre Aufzeichnungen zwar unterbrochen jedoch später dann weitergeführt hat. Es gibt zum Beispiel auch Tagebücher, die bis jetzt noch nicht veröffentlicht wurden (Tagebuchnotizen aus dem Jahre 1913, die sich im Privatbesitz befinden und deren Kopie man in Oskar–Kokoschka–Archiv finden kann²¹. In “Mein Leben” kann man den Verweis darauf finden, dass die Verfasserin für die Beleuchtung der Ereignisse aus den 20er Jahren oft nach einem Tagebuch greift. Oder es wird zum Beispiel bei der Beschreibung der Ereignisse aus dem Sommer 1940 der Verlust des Gepäcks „mit allen meinen Aufzeichnungen“²² bedauert. Aufschlussreich ist, dass der Autobiographie “Mein Leben”, in die u.a Fragmente des Tagebuches von Franz Werfel einmontiert werden, das, wenn zum Teil transformierte, Prinzip des Tagebuchs–Aufzeichnens zugrunde liegt. Die die Prozessualität bzw. Kontinuität des diaristische Schreibens von Alma Mahler–Werfel rückt das Tagebuch in die Kategorie des Hauptwerkes ihres Lebens. Somit wird die Schrift für Alma Mahler–Werfel zum Medium, in dem sie ihre Subjektivität zu behaupten versucht. Das Schreiben wird damit zu einer wichtigen Bedingung ihrer weiblichen Identität.

Gattungsgemäss finden sich in den “Tagebuch–Suiten” nicht wenige Überlegungen in hinsichtlich des eigenen Tagebuchs. Sie werden dabei oft mit der Frage nach der Wahrheit verbunden, die von vielen Diaristen als Kernproblem des Tagebuches aufgefasst wird. Während der Italienreise im April 1899 notiert sie: “Gestern sprach ich mit Karlweiss über das Tagebuchführen. Er sagte, es ist gut sich zu gewöhnen, mit sich zu rechten, aber ganz wahr ist man nie mit sich selbst, es ist

immer eine gewisse Koketterie dabei, und ich musste ihm leider rechtgeben." Und stellt weiter fest: "Ich habe mich oft belogen in diesen Blättern und viele meiner Thaten beschönigt"²³. Das Tagebuch –Ich fühlt sich folglich überhaupt nicht dem Postulat der Wahrheitsfindung verpflichtet. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um das spezifische Problem der Jahrhundertwende, etwa um das Schnitzlersche "Ineinanderfließen von Wahrheit und Lüge, sondern vielmehr um das Erkennen der besonderen Rolle des Ich im Laufe des Tagebuchschreibens, denn laut Manfred Jurgensen „wo immer sich das Individuum sprachlich reflektiert, entfaltet sich ein Prozeß der Fiktionalisierung"²⁴. Das heisst, das Ich, wenn es durch die Sprache ausgedrückt wird, erscheint als etwas anderes. Es kann zugleich wahr und unwahr sein. Damit wird das Tagebuch auch als fiktionaler Selbstentwurf aufgefasst, was nicht zuletzt den Einsatz des breiten Spektrums der Techniken der Selbststilisierung voraussetzt und rechtfertigt.

Am 6. September 1898 notiert die 19-jährige Alma Schindler: "Ich schreibe vielleicht nicht alles in mein Tagebuch, aber ich *deute* alles an – meine geheimsten Empfindungen – und wenn ich nach Jahren nicht mehr im Stande // sein kann [bin]" zwischen den Zeilen "zu lesen, dann ist es gut, dass ich es noch angedeutet habe – denn dann bin ich nicht werth, mich je ganz und voll zu kennen. Und wenn ich mich je meiner Meinung schämen sollte."²⁵ (116). Man kann diese Eintragung nicht nur mit der im allgemeinen für jeden Diaristen typischen Angst verbinden, dass ihre Aufzeichnungen von anderer Person gelesen werden Obwohl das Tagebuch Hinweise enthält, die darauf schliessen lassen, dass es unter Kontrolle der Mutter stand. In "Mein Leben" wird rückblickend konstatiert: "Ihr Ehrenwort brechend, studierte sie(die Mutter–) täglich mein Tagebuchstammeln..."²⁶. Auch die Alma Mahler–Wurfels oft zugeschriebene Sorge um das eigene Erscheinungsbild scheint von sekundärer Bedeutung zu sein. Vielmehr zeichnen hier sich bestimmte Strategien des Tagebuchschreibens ab. "Andeuten", "nicht alles schreiben" und das sich daraus resultierende "zwischen den Zeilen lesen" erweisen sich als bewusst von der Diaristin eingesetztes Verfahren der textuellen Konstruktion. Sie entwirft damit auch die Vorstellung von der alles bestimmenden Rolle des Tagebuch–Ichs, das über völlige Freiheit einer Selbstgestaltung verfügt.

"Andeuten" zu können, heisst auch eine eigene Sprechweise zu entwickeln, eine kodierte Sprache, Chiffren benutzen, um eigene Gedanken und Empfindungen bei der späteren im Diarium bereits "vorprogrammierten" Lektüre eigener Notizen abrufen zu können.

Die Relektüre eigener Tagebücher, eine für dieses Genre durchaus charakteristische Erscheinung, wird auch von Alma Mahler–Wurfel ständig praktiziert. Auf dieses Problem macht Alma Mahler –Wurfel aufmerksam in einem Gespräch mit Arthur Schnitzler vom 24. März 1928, das in „Mein Leben" erwähnt wird: "Ich erzählte Schnitzler, daß ich meine alten Tagebücher gelesen wieder hätte, daß sie mir gemäßer seien als die Aufzeichnungen der späteren Jahre..."²⁷

Die Herausgeber weisen darauf hin, dass der Vergleich von Tinten und Schriftzügen des Originalmanuskripts Beweise dafür liefert, dass Alma Mahler–Wurfel ihre Schrift zu verschiedenen Zeiten gelesen hat. Sicher hat sie das auch zu verschiedenen Zwecken getan. Auch in den Anmerkungen der Herausgeber zum

Tagebuchtext finden wir gelegentlich Kommentare solcher Art: “Es folgen drei kräftig durchgestrichene Zeilen”²⁸ oder: “An dieser Stelle folgen mehrere, vermutlich von AMW nachträglich entfernte Seiten”²⁹ „AS hat die folgenden 4 Zeilen unleserlich gemacht”³⁰ Karen Monson, Alma Mahler–Werfels Biographin, verweist darauf, dass Alma etwa ab Anfang der 30er Jahre ihre Tagebücher zu “zensieren” beginnt³¹ welche Tagebücher dabei gemeint sind, bleibt allerdings offen. Eigentlich macht Alma Mahler–Werfel auch kein Geheimniss daraus. Ihre Relektüre gibt sie als solche im Text des Diariums deutlich zu erkennen. Meistens sind es lakonische Kommentare unterschiedlichen Charakters: Von sachlich–neutraler Notiz: “Anfang Jänner 1963 durchgeschaut”³² über die emotional–kommentierende Aufzeichnung: “Schwerste Zeit überwunden! A.M.W.”³³ bis zu kühl–sezierender Bemerkung: “durchgesehen u. corrigiert”³⁴ oder: “gelesen und gekürzt A.M.W.”³⁵ Überprüft Anfang Jänner 1963”³⁶ Hier tut sich die Frage auf nach dem Ziel der Korrekturingriffe. Ging es Alma Mahler–Werfel wirklich um das Retuschieren des eigenen Bildes? Man könnte vielleicht die Vermutung wagen, dass das redigierende Ich eher den Versuch unternimmt, ein klareres Bild von diesen Jahren zu geben, indem das Nebensächliche entfernt wird und das Wesentliche erhalten bleibt?

Mit den “Tagebuch Suiten” gestaltet Alma Mahler–Werfel eine eigene diaristische Form, in deren Zentrum ein ausserordentlich dynamisches, ständig Sich–Aufbauendes Ich steht.

Es zeigt sich, dass die Reflexionen der Diaristin über Möglichkeiten und Notwendigkeit des Tagebuches, die sich aus der eigenen diaristischen Tätigkeit resultieren und die auch als Ergebnisse der eigenen Schreiberfahrung präsentiert werden, nicht zuletzt auf die Strategien des Sich–Erinnerns hinauslaufen.

ANMERKUNGEN

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Summary

The “Diaries” by Alma Mahler–Werfel (1879–1964), in spite of their publishing after the death of the author, depict an entering of a woman into the “Wiener Moderne”, which still was dominated by men at 1900. This paper shows the story of beginning of “Diaries” and examines several diary structure problems. It shows that Alma Mahler–Werfel created her own diary form, which is connected with the self-remembrance strategies.

Kopsavilkums

Lai gan Almas Māleres–Verfeles (*Alma Mahler–Werfel*) dienasgrāmata “Tagebuch–Suiten” (1996) bija publicēta pēc viņas nāves, to var uzlūkot par mēģinājumu izprast sievietes iekļaušanos “Wiener Moderne” estētikas laukā, kurā ap 1900. gadu joprojām valdīja vīriešu dominante. Šis raksts analizē “Tagebuch–Suiten” rašanos, kā arī dažas dienasgrāmatu struktūras problēmas. Alma Mālere–Verfele radīja pati savu dienasgrāmatas formu, kas saistīta ar pašatcerēšanās stratēģiju.

**Гражданское мужество театроведа Б. Рейха в
интерпретации пьесы Ф. Шиллера “Мария Стюарт”
в Советской России времен массового террора
B. Reichs Civil Courage in the Interpretation of
Schillers Play “Maria Stuart” in Soviet Russia During
the Years of Mass Terror
B. Reiha pilsoniskā drošme F. Šillera lugas “Marija
Stjuarte” interpretējumā Padomju Krievijā masu
terora apstākļos**

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Постановка пьесы Шиллера «Мария Стюарт» во время сталинского террора побудила немецкого режиссера и театрального критика еврейского происхождения Бернгарда Рейха, жившего в Советском Союзе, высказать осуждение репрессиям. Своей интерпретацией образа Марии Стюарт Бернгард Рейх вступает в дискуссию об актуальности классики, которая велась уже с основания государства рабочих и крестьян. Премия образ Марии Стюарт к современным ему событиям, Бернгард Рейх проводит параллели между судьбой этого исторического персонажа и судьбой спутницы своей жизни и многими другими похожими судьбами.

Keywords: Шиллер, “Мария Стюарт”, Бернгард Рейх, современность классики.

**«Могут с нами низко / Здесь поступать –
унизить нас не могут»**

То, что классика читается и интерпретируется вновь и вновь, не новость. Но особенно увлекательна такая интерпретация, когда она связана с личной судьбой интерпретатора. Мы получаем возможность взглянуть на произведение его глазами и вместе с ним открыть ранее неосознанные взаимосвязи в хорошо известном нам произведении. Таким примером является пьеса Шиллера «Мария Стюарт», поставленная театром Ленсовета в 1938 году¹, увиденная и прочувствованная человеком, боящимся за свою жизнь и прежде всего за жизнь своей возлюбленной в эпоху массового террора. Кстати заметить, что Шиллер был одним из наиболее игранных авторов на сценах Советского Союза и фашистской Германии во второй половине тридцатых годов.

В июльском номере журнала «Театр» от 1940–го года опубликована статья Бернгарда Рейха (1894–1972) “Классика всегда современна!”² Австрийский еврей, доктор юридических наук, театральный режиссер, переезжает на постоянное жительство в СССР уже в середине двадцатых годов. Это происходит из любви к театру Мейерхольда и из любви к женщине, латышскому

режиссеру Асе Лацис, которая принимает активное участие в культурной жизни Берлина и Москвы. Немцев она знакомит с новинками русской сцены и режиссерскими новшествами, русским же в свою очередь рассказывает о современном немецком театре. Б. Рейх, в то время режиссер в театре Рейнгардта, знакомится с Асей Лацис в 1922 году в Берлине. В 1925 году он переселяется в Москву, немного позже туда же едет и Лацис. Связь обоих режиссеров длится всю жизнь, официальное оформление отношений происходит только в 1957 году после долгой разлуки, войны и ГУЛАГа.

Немецкой публике Рейх известен в первую очередь своей книгой воспоминаний «Im Wettlauf mit der Zeit» (Берлин, 1970), изданной и на русском языке, но в несколько ином варианте под названием “Вена. Берлин. Москва”, в которой он описывает свое сотрудничество с Максом Рейнгардтом, Эрвином Пискатором, Бертольтом Брехтом и др. В СССР Бернгард Рейх заботится об издании и популяризации сочинений Бертольта Брехта. Его вклад на этом поприще еще не оценен. Причиной тому, возможно, его родной язык – немецкий, а не русский – и европейская образованность, которая не особенно приветствуется в послевоенном Советском Союзе. Сколько еще других рукописей Б. Рейха покоятся в московских архивах, покажет время.

Для получения разрешения на работу в Берлинер Ансамбль, театре Б. Брехта, куда его приглашал лично Брехт, Рейх пишет в своей автобиографии:

“Др. Бернгард Рейх, рожд. 20 июня 1894 года в городе Преров, ЧСР. В 1915 году защитил диссертацию на степень кандидата юридических наук в Венском университете. 1914–1920 режиссер и драматург в различных венских театрах. В 1920 году был приглашен на должность режиссера в театр Рейнгардта и проработал там до 1925 года, с одним годичным перерывом, во время которого являлся главным режиссером Мюнхенского Камерного театра. Назову несколько наиболее важных постановок:

«На дне» Горького, «Игроки» Гоголя, «Король Лир» Шекспира, «Стакан воды» Скриба и др.

С 1925 года нахожусь в Советском Союзе, где работаю режиссером, театральным критиком и научным сотрудником.

С 1934 года член Союза писателей. С 1942 по 1943 год был в Ташкенте секретарем группы антифашистских писателей. С 1929 по 1931 научный секретарь Театральной секции при Литературном институте Коммунистической академии, действительный член Государственной Академии Искусств, с 1931 по 34 заведующий учебной частью ГИТИСа, с 1935 по 1937 главный редактор МОРТа³.

Советское гражданство имею с 1932 года. С 1931 года кандидат в члены КПСС, в 1938 исключен из партии за знакомство с Вильгельмом Кнориным. В 1943 репрессирован, освобожден в январе 1951. С тех пор живу в г. Валмиера и занимаюсь писательским трудом.

Москва, 25.05.1955”⁴

В 1940 году Б. Рейх находится в Москве, а его гражданская жена А. Лацис арестована еще в январе 1938 года вместе с другими сотрудниками латышского эмигрантского театра «Скатуве». Дочь Аси, Дагмара Кимеле, тогда еще

школьница, пишет в своих воспоминаниях, изданных в Риге в 1997 году под названием «Ася»:

«Мать арестовали 12-го января 1938-го года. Уже задолго до этого чувствовалось, что воздуха становится все меньше. В латышском театре «Скатуве», где Ася тогда работала, начали арестовывать людей. Об этом громко не говорили, они просто исчезали. Один за другим.»⁵

Согласно воспоминаниям Дагмары Кимеле, Рейха пригласили в КГБ и предложили подписать, что Ася Лацис сотрудничала с антисоветской организацией, и что он от нее отказывается. Рейх этого не сделал, хотя наверняка понимал, чего ему это будет стоить. Он больше не был деканом Театрального факультета, не имел права читать лекции. Из милости ему предложили работу в архиве института. Каждую ночь он ждал, что за ним придут, и всегда держал наготове мешок с необходимыми вещами.

С Дагмарой они стояли в изнурительных очередях у Бутырской тюрьмы, где сначала держали Асю. Однажды передачу больше не приняли. После долгих расспросов Рейху удалось узнать, что Ася осуждена и сослана на десять лет в Казахстан. Оттуда она ему писала. Во время войны следы ее затерялись.

В 1941 году Рейх остался единственным из прежних русских знакомых Брехта, с которым он встретился во время переезда в Америку. Рейх рассказывал Брехту о своем «несчастье»⁶, но более конкретных сведений нет. В 1943-м году Рейх разделил судьбу Аси Лацис, сосланной в Казахстан.

Неудивительно, что в такой личной ситуации идеи Просвещения – свобода и самоопределение личности – получают особое значение. На спектакле «Мария Стюарт» зрителю Бернгарду Рейху открываются взаимосвязи, которых в стране всевидящих и всеслышающих стен лучше не допускать и в мыслях. Но молчать и похоронить в себе эти навязчивые мысли – тоже не выход. Б. Рейх решает говорить, но говорить так, чтобы читателю, а уж тем более цензору, не до конца стало бы ясно, что же так волнует автора статьи в пьесе Шиллера «Мария Стюарт».

Рейх использует в своей статье три голоса, которые близки психотерапевтическим голосам самоанализа: голос начинающего актера А, который в своей юношеской пылкости похож на образ молодого коммуниста; драматурга П с богатым жизненным опытом, который охарактеризован автором статьи как «оппонент из принципа»⁷; и художника сцены Л, который в своей эмоциональной и гуманистически направленной интерпретации наиболее близок автору. Эти три персонажа ведут в доме отдыха художников ночной разговор об актуальности классики для советского зрителя во время, когда:

«Безумным вихрем несутся сейчас мировые события. Судьбы миллионов людей меняются с невероятной быстротой, за день, за час. Вчера, сегодня, завтра происходили и будут происходить события, определяющие судьбы целых поколений, еще не родившихся, еще не зачатых.»⁸

Начинающий актер недоволен тем, что он должен играть в «Трех сестрах», в «Как вам это понравится», только потому, что нет хороших пьес современных советских авторов. Драматург защищается:

«Вы казните нас за то, что мы не так талантливы, как те десять–двадцать человек, которых человечество (заметьте, не один народ, а все культурные народы, вместе взятые) с величайшим трудом и усилиями произвело на свет за несколько столетий.»⁹

Актер А сам невольно приходит к мысли об актуальности классики, когда он говорит о необходимости показывать на сцене «реальность настоящего». Он вспоминает о сильной реакции публики во время представления «Марии Стюарт» в местах, где

«(...) политические интриги и комбинации, лицемерное соблюдение правовых форм (чуть было не сказал: правовых форм буржуазной демократии) используются для маскировки зверского насилия, жестокости, вопиющего беззакония – это капиталистическое сегодня.»¹⁰

Как и в дальнейшем в интерпретации, здесь важны примечания в скобках. Говорится ли здесь лишь о капиталистической действительности, судить читателю. Примечателен уже тот факт, что «правовые формы буржуазной демократии» упомянуты в положительном смысле. В другом месте Рейх высказывается более конкретно, вкладывая в уста драматурга П следующую характеристику Марии Стюарт, звучащую в тогдашних условиях по меньшей мере дерзко:

«Она – государственная преступница. Она поддерживает связь с... (простите за модернизацию, но это определение напрашивается само собой) шпионскими организациями иностранной державы и с заговорщическими группами внутри страны.»¹¹

Несмотря на то, что историческая Мария Стюарт считается отрицательной, реакционной личностью, драматург П восхваляет ее душевное величие:

«Мария обладает у Шиллера чертами подлинного душевного величия: она говорит горькие истины Елизавете, королеве, от которой зависит ее жизнь и которую она во что бы то ни стало должна была бы постараться расположить к себе. Над головой ее и так занесен меч. Она знает это, знает, что говоря правду, она подталкивает руку, держащую этот меч, и все–таки говорит правду.»¹²

С другой стороны, драматург П называет Марию Стюарт «распутной бабенкой», «имевшей тьму любовных приключений и даже убившей одного из своих мужей; интриганткой чистой воды»¹³. Сделать такую личность героиней пьесы является «психологическим нонсенсом», так объявляет драматург П, чтобы спровоцировать своих собеседников. Он приходит к следующему выводу:

«Несмотря на отдельные блестящие места, недюжинный темперамент и чувство сцены, драматург Фридрих Шиллер не справился со своей задачей и потерпел творческое поражение.»¹⁴

Здесь следует заметить, что Шиллер не писал историческую пьесу. Он использовал этот сюжет, чтобы показать «неомощность и власть отдельного индивидуума». Исследователь творчества Шиллера Гельмут Коопман характеризует эту драму как «в широчайшем смысле этого слова политическую пьесу»¹⁵.

Сквозь эти очки смотрел и Б. Рейх, когда он в Марии Стюарт видел свою безвинно осужденную Асю. Устами художника сцены Л Рейх говорит в своей статье:

«(...) Представьте себе на мгновение, что Марии Стюарт никогда не существовало на свете. Представьте себе, что героиню зовут не Мария Стюарт, а Икс, Игрек. (...) Тогда перед нами будет просто женщина, которую несправедливо держат в тюрьме, которая страстно жаждет свободы и лишает себя последнего шанса добиться освобождения, потому что не хочет, даже во имя свободы, поступиться своим человеческим достоинством.»¹⁶

Мария говорит своей няне Кеннеди: «Могут с нами низко / Здесь поступать – унижить нас не могут».¹⁷

Вновь и вновь в процессе осмысления пьесы Рейх открывает «связи, которых раньше не понимал».¹⁸ Так, если сравнить описание некоторых сцен с практикой сталинских процессов, нельзя не заметить сходства, прежде всего в ведении суда.

Мария говорит: «Уж сколько тяжких дней прошло с тех пор, / Как сорок комиссаров в этом замке / Напали на меня и с непристойной / Поспешностью, не дав мне даже в помощь / Защитника, поставили нежданно / Перед судом, доселе небывалым! / Неподготовленной, ошеломленной, / Пришлось мне отвечать на обвиненья / В неведомых поступках и делах. / Явился суд – и сгинул, словно призрак.»¹⁹

Процесс формален и ведется только для того, чтобы имеющую власть Елизавету легитимировать перед народом. Подписывая смертный приговор, Елизавета пытается освободиться от собственных комплексов – по поводу того, что она не производит большого впечатления на мужчин, и прежде всего своей незаконнорожденности: «Так я убудок, говоришь? Пусть так!»²⁰ Елизавета завидует Марии, потому что та «пила из чаши наслаждений, пренебрегая голосом рассудка»²¹.

Для поворота своей судьбы Мария надеется на личную беседу с королевой, как и многие заключенные надеялись на личное вмешательство Сталина или Берии. Театроведом В. Колязиным найдено и письмо Аси Лацис к Берии. Мария говорит: «Вся Англия хранит ворота замка! / И разве лишь приказ Елизаветы / Откроет их.»²² Художник сцены Л жаждет того же:

«Поговорить этак с глазу на глаз с кем–нибудь из великих мира сего. Я бы ему сказал, ну, сказал бы все то, что должен сказать свидетель теперешних ужасов. Хотя бы мне грозил арест, тюрьма, расстрел.»²³

В решающих ситуациях Елизавета поступает так, как будто судьба Марии зависела бы не от ее воли; она пробует снять ответственность с себя и переложить ее на плечи государственного секретаря Дейвисона, на волю народа, на решение суда.

В пьесе заметны еще некоторые параллели с судьбами жертв террора, которые Б. Рейх не имел возможности заметить в 1940–м году. В конце пьесы идет речь о возобновлении процесса и возможной посмертной реабилитации Марии. Конечно, это помогает власть имущим смыть свою вину. Поскольку

некоторые аспекты в то время еще не могли быть раскрыты, драматург П в заключение не без иронии произносит следующую реплику:

«Мы советские люди – люди большого размаха. Наша история научила нас великодушию и широте. Нас восхищает талант, сила личности, яркая индивидуальность; мы охотно позволяем себя растрогать прошлым и многое прощаем классикам. Попробовал бы какой–нибудь советский драматург написать такую *Марию Стюарт*! То–то был бы скандал! Подумать страшно, что бы тут поднялось. Автору инкриминировалось бы: а) фальсификация истории, потому что Елизавета Английская – исторически прогрессивная личность, а в *Марии Стюарт* она личность безусловно отрицательная, коварная, злая, жестокая, мелочная женщина; б) апология политически реакционной фигуры Марии; в) отсутствие внутренней логики.»²⁴

ПРИМЕЧАНИЯ

- ¹ Режиссер спектакля – Бромлей, Елизавета – Куракина, Мария – Будрейко.
- ² Рейх Бернгард. Классика всегда современна! //Театр, № 7, Москва, 1940, с. 47–55.
- ³ МОРТ – Международное объединение Революционных театров.
- ⁴ Неопубл.; Фонд Академии Искусств Германии, Архив Б. Брехта 717/16.
- ⁵ Ķimele Dagmāra, Strautmane Gunta. Režisores Annas Lāces dēkainā dzīve. Rīga, 1997, 146. lpp. „1938. gada 12. janvārī māti apcietināja. Jau labu laiku pirms tam varēja just, ka gaiss sabiezē. Latviešu teātrī *Skatuve*, kur Asja strādāja, sāka apcietināt cilvēkus. Par to skaļi nerunāja, viņi vienkārši pazuda. Viens, otrs, trešais...”
- ⁶ ср. Reich Bernhard: Im Wettlauf mit der Zeit. Berlin 1970, с. 377: “Brechts erste Frage galt Anna Lazis. Man hatte ihm wohl schon von unserem Unglück erzdht.”
- ⁷ Рейх Бернгард. Классика всегда современна! С. 47.
- ⁸ Там же, с. 47.
- ⁹ Там же, с. 47.
- ¹⁰ Там же, с. 48.
- ¹¹ Там же, с. 49.
- ¹² Там же, с. 49.
- ¹³ Там же, с. 49.
- ¹⁴ Там же, с. 49.
- ¹⁵ Koopmann Helmut. Nachwort //Schiller Friedrich. Maria Stuart. Mit einem Nachwort hg. v. Helmut Koopmann. Paderborn u.a. 1980, S. 144.
- ¹⁶ Рейх Бернгард. Классика всегда современна! С. 50.
- ¹⁷ Шиллер Фридрих. Мария Стюарт //Собрание сочинений. Москва, 1955, т. 2. Пер. Н. Вильмонта, I, 2, с. 651.
- ¹⁸ Рейх Бернгард. Классика всегда современна! С. 50.
- ¹⁹ Шиллер Фридрих. Мария Стюарт: I, 2, с. 653.
- ²⁰ Там же, IV, 10, с. 776.
- ²¹ Там же, II, 9, с. 720.
- ²² Там же, I, 6, с. 669.
- ²³ Рейх Бернгард. Классика всегда современна! С. 50.
- ²⁴ Там же, с. 49.

Summary

The performance of Schiller's play "Maria Stuart" in Russia during the period of Stalin's terror and purges had urged the Jewish-German producer and theatre critic Bernhard Reich, at that time living in the Soviet Union, to express veiled condemnation of repressions. Bernhard Reich entered a discussion on topicality of classics, which had gone on since the time of creation of the state of proletariat and peasantry. He managed to single out Mary Stuart speaking about Schiller's heroine in uncharacteristically bold terms for that given period, seeing in the fate of Mary parallels to the fate of his repressed spouse and many other repressed persons.

Kopsavilkums

F. Šillera lugas "Marija Stjuarte" iestudējums rosināja Staļina terora laikā Padomju Savienībā dzīvojošo ebreju izcelsmes vācu režisoru un teātra kritiķi Bernhardu Reihu uzveduma zemtekstā izteikt nosodījumu represijām. Bernhards Reih uzskatāmi parāda klasikas aktualitāti, par kuru diskusijas noris jau kopš proletariāta un zemniecības valsts dibināšanas, un aktualizē Marijas Stjuartes tēlu tajos apstākļos pārsteidzoši drosmīgā aspektā, saskatot Marijā savas represētās dzīvesbiedres un daudzu viņai līdzīgo likteni.

**Московская сцена в парадигме современной
культуры**
**Moscower Stage in the Paradigm of Contemporary
Culture: The Russian theater at the turn of the
millenium**
**Maskavas skatuve mūsdienu kultūras paradigmā:
Krievijas teātris tūkstošgades maiņā**

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Автор обращает особое внимание на характерные особенности нового российского театра и на тенденции его развития в контексте современной культурной системы. Современное искусство находится в пространстве медиа, в пространстве средств массовой информации. Клиповое или экранное сознание вытесняет аналитическое.

Ойкумена нового сценического языка простирается между перформансом и хэппенингом. Для новой русской драматургии и, в особенности, для современного московского театра характерна эстетика экспериментального «театра жестокости».

Keywords: Глобализация, театр, индустрия культуры.

Сегодня уже всем очевидно, что мы живем в эпоху тектонического сдвига во всех сферах нашей жизни. Сдвиг этот вызвал смену парадигм – набора ценностей, типов сознания, мировоззренческих стратегий и установок повсеместно. Попробуем понять происходящие перемены, прибегая к свидетельству московской театральной сцены и жизни. В данном контексте любопытно все, не только выбор репертуара, постановочные новации, новые имена драматургов и режиссеров, но и новое лицо зрительного зала. Театральный зал – это тоже портрет эпохи.

Новейшая российская театральная сцена, которая начала складываться после распада СССР в 1991г. необычайно многолика и неоднозначна, как, впрочем, и вся постсоветская действительность. С одной стороны, «постсоветский мир – это мир одиноких дезориентированных тел»¹. Эта потерянности и разобщенность в культурном сознании и в театральном искусстве, в частности, сказывается прежде всего в потере единых эстетических и идеологических критериев. С другой стороны, свято место пусто не бывает, и старую идеологию сегодня заменяет отчасти новая идеология единого мирового информационного пространства. Глобализация, коммерциализация и виртуализация таковы одни из основных составляющих черт как новой социальной, так и культурной парадигмы.

Театральное искусство по-своему реагирует на глобализацию. Самобытные национальные черты театра, как и любого другого вида искусства, сегодня часто либо уходят в область, близкую к фольклорно-этнографической, либо все более стираются. Глобализация погрузила искусство в общий котел мирового стандарта, безостановочно вырабатываемого сегодня мощной индустрией массовой культуры. В частности, современный русский театр в своей наступательной абсурдистско-игровой ориентации становится мало отличим от театров других стран. В целом в области индустрии развлечений Запад и Восток стали уже почти не различимы меж собой. Именно эта область оказалась той общей точкой, в которой соединились две мировые цивилизации, доселе несоединимые.

Театр рыночной эпохи подвергся в первую очередь радикальной коммерциализации. Мы сегодня являемся свидетелями мощного развития массовой «индустрии культуры». Театр на глазах переориентируется на вкусы и запросы публики с хорошим достатком. Триумфальное (и так неожиданно трагично обернувшееся) нашествие на московскую сцену мюзиклов тому яркое подтверждение. Сейчас в Москве идет 5 мюзиклов, через полгода их уже будет 10, и Москва по их количеству сравняется с Парижем, обогнав Берлин. В перспективе формирование собственной высокотехнологичной индустрии, нацеленной на серийное производство мюзиклов и долгую их эксплуатацию. Если, конечно, последние события не изменят этих планов. *Жанр мюзикла*, с одной стороны, и *новая отечественная драматургия*, с другой, два полюса, определяющих лицо нового русского театра и, прежде всего, московской сцены. Между ними бьет ключом вся остальная театральная жизнь.

В России 90-х годов произошло резкое, доселе не столь заметное и значительное размежевание театра на большую и малую сцены. Первая особенно ярко демонстрирует ту эволюцию, о которой было сказано выше. Она стала открытым воплощением рыночной идеи в театре. Особенно ярко это заметно на примере главной драматической сцены страны – МХАТа им. Чехова под руководством О. Табакова, с его кассовыми, чутко улавливающими поп-артовскую художественную конъюнктуру времени спектаклями. Малая сцена, многочисленной сетью покрыв не одно лишь московское театральное пространство, оставила за собой более ощутимые демократические тенденции и имеет большую свободу выбора. Если на большой сцене чаще бросается в глаза коммерческий размах, культ звезд, ориентация на законы шоу-бизнеса, моды и рыночной психологии, то малая сцена охотнее демонстрирует изнанку общества потребления и изобилия, но, как правило, с обязательными элементами и атрибутами того же поп-арта. Для малой сцены тоже характерна *агрессивная с акцентом на зрелищности* режиссура, использование *скандальных*, подчас сомнительных сценических приемов и форм, которые имеют покупательский спрос, умелое *манипулирование клишированным сознанием* сегодняшнего зрителя. С точки зрения здравого смысла, как отмечают сегодня отдельные культурологи, массовая культура в современном мире является не просто неотъемлемой частью культуры, но господствующей ее частью. Гегемония маскультуры так или иначе сказывается почти повсеместно. Иная ценностная ориентация и значительно отличная от прежней

расстановка содержательных и формообразующих координат, является еще одной составляющей новой культурной парадигмы.

Новая театральная эстетика активно подкрепляется новейшими технологиями. Реальность в новой парадигме искусственного происхождения, она стала виртуальной, она производится телеобразами по разработанным искусством методам. Мы живем в мире, где миражи не отличаются от действительности. Современное искусство находится в пространстве медиа, в пространстве средств массовой информации. Театральное искусство не является в этом плане исключением. В наступившей экранной эре определенные видеоизменения коснулись и консервативного по самой своей природе языка театра. Буквально на глазах состоялся его очевидный зримый прорыв за границы классической театральной традиции. Ойкумена нового сценического языка простирается между перформансом и хэппенингом – действенной акцией, представленной артистами с элементами случайности и риска, а также с использованием всех видов искусства и всех воображаемых технических возможностей. Соединение видеоарта с живой игрой актеров создает особую интерактивную сценическую среду и демонстрирует многообразные технологические возможности новой театральной эстетики. В последнее время происходит активное смешение и сближение языков искусств, где все сплавляется в единый продуманный видеоряд: к примеру, привычная уже театрализация современного изобразительного искусства и постановка спектаклей в пространстве выставочных инсталляций с использованием его особой, отличной от театра ауры, иногда с вкраплениями видео и аудио монтажа, элементов цирка, балета и пр. Элементы экранной культуры активно внедряются в сценическое пространство.

Киноэкран давно уже диктует театральной сцене новые эстетические каноны, основанные на скорости сменяющихся картинок и остром монтаже. Головокружительным пластическим мастерством и стремительно несущимся темпоритмом сегодня уже мало кого удивишь. Этот стиль быстро превратился в общее место как мирового, так и нового русского театра. Услышать живой голос актера сегодня на большой сцене удается все реже, лицо актера и крошечный микрофон все чаще составляют единое нераздельное целое, что еще более усиливает эффект механистичности современного сценического языка. При этом зрительские ожидания требуют все нового допинга невиданных средств театральной выразительности и образности, постоянно будирующих режиссерскую и актерскую фантазию. Следом за театрами Ленком и Сатирикон новую театральную эстетику, основанную на освоении языка мюзикла подхватил даже Малый театр. Пример тому новый его спектакль – «Усилия любви» Шекспира.

Социально–культурная энтропия, переживаемая современным российским обществом повлекла за собой не только распад всей системы ценностей, но и распад цельности мировосприятия, потерю культурно–эстетической ориентации. Результатом этого в театре как и во всей постсоветской культуре явилось торжество стилистики постмодернизма с ее установкой на «иронический модус», или пастиш, редуцированную форму пародии, цитатную интертекстуальную конфигурацию.

Наиболее характерными и яркими примерами, демонстрирующими новое мировосприятие, можно назвать спектакли Владимира Мирзоева, в которых гротеск стал «прикольным», подобным бесконечной метафорической клоунаде. Стиль этот впервые был опробован Мирзоевым на московской сцене несколько лет назад в спектакле «Хлестаков» (1996г.). Спектакль, появившийся уже на обломках крушения всей прежней эстетической системы и в разгар победоносного шествия экранной и сценической «чернухи», вполне подтверждал господство новой тюремно–блатной эстетики на нашей сцене. Персонажи пьесы во главе с Хлестаковым были превращены режиссером в уже хорошо знакомых гражданам страны обитателей тюремного мира, ставшего в короткое время почти родным и близким со всем присущим ему образом поведения и мышления. В «Хлестакове» Мирзоев впервые опробовал на московской сцене определенную систему приемов, на несколько лет ставшую для него актуальной и имеющую определенный зрительский спрос. Бесконечные игровые провокации, череда сменяющихся масок, за которыми скрывается неуловимая, растекающаяся личность. Игра здесь – самотворящая питательная среда, выливающаяся в эксцентрику, эпатаж, провокацию, аттракцион, бесконечные метаморфозы.

Мирзоев – один из тех режиссеров, который начал широко использовать на русской сцене «стёб» – отличительный язык и стиль молодежной среды, состоящий в радикально–тотальном ироническом редукционизме. Стёб – это ирония без мысли. Сегодня многие могут назвать себя детьми стёба. Современный театр, как и современная культура – тоже дитя стёба. Мы все находимся сегодня в сквозном ироничном, но немощном в плане собственного осмысления субкультурном пространстве. Переход на этот язык означил для отечественного театра вхождение в «цивилизацию молодых», где каждое следующее поколение агрессивно вытесняет предыдущее, т.е. приобщение к общемировой тенденции всеобщего заигрывания с молодежной культурой.

Игровое буйство «эпохи ребячества» (или «эпохи пуерилизма» – термин Ортеги=и=Гассета) естественно сочетается с всеобщим ослаблением способности суждения. Режиссер чутко улавливает и воспроизводит в своих спектаклях атмосферу своеобразного карикатурного антимира и, как правило, получает ответный восторженный отклик «своей» части аудитории, которую радует характер «пародийного модуса повествования» или форма «корректирующей иронии», присущие постмодернистскому искусству, принимающему «мир как хаос» или «мир как текст», превращенный в бесконечное поле для игры.

В русле все той же постмодернистской стилистики наиболее заметным явлением на московской сцене 1990–х годов стал акционизм – искусство жестоких, порой экзгибиционистских перформансов, в которых актуализированы телесность, физическая агрессия, ненормативная лексика. Его сердцевина – жест. Эпатаж, провокационность – органичные свойства перформанса. Именно в этой стилистике прежде всего создается новая отечественная драматургия.

В новой жестокой, но при этом бесконечно «играющей» реальности естественно проснулся интерес к языку и эстетике «театра жестокости»

Антонена Арто, режиссера, кстати, так и не воплотившего свои идеи, и не понятого современниками пророка новой театральности. Центр им. Мейерхольда, открывшийся в Москве в феврале 2001 г., свой первый полнокровный сезон провел под знаком Арто. Программа «Антонен Арто. Новый век» задумывалась как многоступенчатая конструкция, состоящая из тематических блоков – художественных и просветительских. Одними из показательных примеров этой программы стали сценические работы уже довольно известного московской театральной публике руководителя «Прок-театра» или Фабрики кардинального искусства В. Епифанцева, показавшего в ЦИМе спектакли «Маяковский» и «Макбет. Bloody Pit of Horror». Обнажение себя, выворачивание наизнанку с одновременным грубым и зримым ударом по нервам зрителей – программный прием режиссера. Акцент на первичности и самодостаточности творческого акта как такового. Художественной сверхзадачей в этих спектаклях является утверждение идентичности творца. Спектакли сегодня – это часто боди арт, в котором используется тело актера, для того чтобы подвергнуть его опасности, выставить напоказ или с целью предоставить возможность зрителю просто анализировать его образ. Так в спектакле «Ромео и Джульетта», поставленном тем же В. Епифанцевым, на территории настоящей московской фабрики, перед зрителями предстает современное переложение шекспировской трагедии без слов. Полуобнаженный Ромео здесь изображает страдания дикого зверя, чей рык периодически раздается в записи, а полуодетая Джульетта оказывается в плену его любви–истязания: Ромео то разливает на ее простертом на столе теле чай, то опускает ее руку в горячий чайник, то бьет ее мухой или просто набрасывается на нее как голодный зверь и т.д. Вопрос брутально–агрессивного вторжения телесности в современный сценический язык становится в новых условиях весьма актуальным. Сегодня все театральные звезды качают мускулы и сели на тренажеры, занятия на которых превращаются в обязательные, почти как станок у балерины. Тренированность духа нынче явно уступает место физической подготовке. Время неукоснительно вносит свои коррективы во все, в частности, и мхатовская школа искусства переживания вряд ли сохранилась в том виде, как понимал ее Станиславский. Сегодня мы являемся зрителями и свидетелями некоего сплава всех известных актерских и режиссерских школ и направлений, что вполне отвечает той же всеядной постмодернистской стилистике, когда все используется и находит применение в зависимости от поставленной задачи. В этот контекст логично вписывается и новый спектакль «Имаго» по пьесе «Пигмалион» Б. Шоу, переложенной модным в Москве драматическим виртуозом М. Курочкиным все в том же перформансном ключе. Яркая демонстрация самопоказа прекрасной актрисы – Анастасии Вертинской, изобретательных, зрелищных костюмов художника П. Каплевича, роскошного декорационного оформления Юрия Кулера. Зрелище ради зрелища. Искусство мгновения, балансирующее на грани бытия и небытия. Перформанс в культуре постмодернизма, вообще, есть символ забвения.

Современные художественные приемы и эстетические каноны рождает опять же кино и видеопродукция. Примечателен, однако, тот факт, что сама фактура человеческого тела в современной театральной эстетике приобретает

новое важное и существенное значение. «Телесному» «физиологическому» ключу, будет поддаваться в значительной степени уже все искусство конца XX века. Эта очевидная победа тела над духом позволит, к примеру, писателю В. Ерофееву утверждать, что XXI век в русской культуре будет веком телесным, или, другими словами, веком «телесной культуры». Во многом он это объясняет тем, что русская культура прошла через многое, знает многое, но только не тело. Русская литература бестелесна, новый век окончательно исправит это сложившееся в прошлом одностороннее «искривление». А те, кто этого не принимает, по мнению писателя, пусть лучше не живут в этом веке.

К концу второго тысячелетия массовое сознание перестало различать добро и зло, прекрасное и уродливое, возвышенное и низменное, идеальное и безобразное. В этом смысле теория относительности, открытая Эйнштейном, оказалась для XX века пророческой не только в области физики, но и в более глобальном масштабе. Одновременно с утверждением релятивизма или плюрализма в общественном сознании происходил процесс вытеснения понятий прекрасного и идеального как определяющих целей искусства и жизни. И то, и другое становилось сначала безразличным к положительному идеалу, а уже потом релятивистки бездушным и опустошительным, ведущим к исчезновению «слишком человеческого»...

Уже Хайдеггер предчувствовал тот рубеж, которого ныне достигло развитие культуры. Стрелка на циферблате истории подошла к цифре 12, движение ее перестало быть поступательным. XX век, как век различных *процессов*, по словам писателя Вл. Сорокина, уже завершился, наступило время *состояний*. Социокультурное время, охватывающее пространство человеческого развития, утратило характер бесконечности, сделалось замкнутым. Идея инноваций пришла к своему естественному концу. Подобно тому как язык для искусства XX века превращается в беспредельную звуковую ткань, где теряет реальность его семантический механизм, так и смысл дрейфует где-то на самой периферии его произведений, – это смысл, как сказал Р. Барт, позволяющий расслышать изытость смысла.

В частности, современная российская драматургия выросла уже в основном на традициях контркультуры и «антидраматургии», заложенных западно-европейским литературным и театральным авангардом второй половины XX века. Том Стоппард заметил в свое время, что после Беккета ничто в театре не могло остаться неизменным. Любые человеческие действия теперь кажутся рутинными, ритуалы существуют, только чтобы прикрыть болезненное осознание того, что наша жизнь лишена смысла. Абсурд как норма и жизнь как аномалия, давно воспринятые западным культурным сознанием и искусством, необычайно быстро прижились не только на российской сцене, но и в жизни. Абсурдистская концепция жизни вдохновляет на превращение спектакля в розыгрыш и бесконечную провокацию. Широко распространившийся «стёб», подразумевающий тотальную ироническую манеру поведения и отношения ко всему в жизни, в особенности к высоким идеалам и ценностям, произрастает оттуда же. Если говорить о тенденциях новой драматургии, то сами молодые российские драматурги выделяют две основные линии. Первая – реалистическая, внимание к правде жизни и ее болезням

точкам. Само собой разумеется, что реализм этот особого толка. Он либо тяготеет к духу театра жестокости, либо пронизан все тем же ироническим редукционизмом. Вторая линия – игровая, «постсорокинская», которой «прикольный» гротеск и «стёб» отвечают как нельзя лучше. Жестокость и смех смешиваются сегодня. Театральные представления изобилуют пародийными или реальными ужасами и злодействами. Постмодернистская ирония мрачна, почти всегда провокационна, граничит с пошлостью и нарочито демонстрирует развязную свободу языка и тела. Следуя эстетике и культурной политике своего времени, смех сегодня не заряжает, а исключительно разряжает и расслабляет публику, выражая разрушительную вялость своеобразного наркотического забвения или новую форму гражданской пассивности общества, в котором трудно что–либо изменить к лучшему.

Один из показательных, заслуживающих серьезного внимания, примеров мрачно иронического и одновременно комично–театрализованного текста новой драматургии спектакль «Пластилин» по пьесе молодого драматурга Василия Сигарева, поставленный режиссером Кириллом Серебренниковым в Центре драматургии и режиссуры п/р А. Казанцева и М. Рощина. В основе сюжета – жизнь подростка, по–сценарному раскадрованная между похоронами друга и собственной смертью. Язык пьесы, свободный от любых литературных норм, сопутствует переведенной в трагифарсовый театральный текст картине страшной повседневной жизни, где жестокость происходящего сочетается с уже привычной ироничной манерой ее подачи. Спившаяся опустившаяся мать погибшего подростка, больная сгорбленная бабушка главного героя пьесы, с которой они вместе полуголодно существуют, девочка в инвалидной коляске, наркоманы и гомосексуалисты – таковы персонажи спектакля. Нищета, беспросветность, внутренняя опустошенность – это априорная условная атмосфера, из которой рождается данный сценический текст. При этом авторы спектакля более всего далеки от жанра социально реалистического или критического повествования. Скорее, это представление–гиньоль, в котором страшные сцены насилия переведены на язык обнаженной пластики, а действие перемежается комическими номерами, что логично вписывается в знакомый стиль, сочетающий «стёб» с торжествующей театральностью.

Другая пьеса В. Сигарева «Черное молоко», поставленная на сцене сразу двух московских театров: в театре им. Н.В. Гоголя и в Театре У Никитских ворот особенно ярко демонстрирует тот новый жесткий реализм, о котором шла речь выше. Снова пьеса о жизни далекой российской провинции, про обездоленных людей, живущих в глухомани, на неизвестной станции под названием «Моховое», мимо которой проносятся не останавливаясь скорые поезда. Снова чернуха, страшная нищета и уже становящаяся обыденной и привычной ненормативная лексика на сцене. Жестокая и убогая среда обитания «ниже поясицы» наших людей осваивается новой драмой в столь же откровенной и на первый взгляд иронично–бездушной манере. Но судя по всему, это новый способ, попытка молодого поколения, сохранившего энергию жизни, на пепелище сожженных ценностей отыскать слабый свет надежды, рожденный на пожарище души. Соединение чувства глубокой святости жизни с ее предельным непотребством утверждается новой драмой как неизменная вечная данность.

Сегодняшний зритель опустошен, дезориентирован и подвержен аутизму. К тому же он живет в эпоху новых, так называемых информационных войн, в эпоху массовой обработки сознания. Человек под воздействием ежедневного огромного потока информации перестает эту информацию различать и анализировать. Он бездумно поглощает ее с экранов телевизора и со страниц газет, но воспринимать ее адекватно, а тем более адекватно реагировать на нее уже не в состоянии. Происходит распад общества на отдельные атомы. Неустойчивые, лишённые убеждений люди способны к замкнутой сосредоточенности исключительно на самих себе. Постмодернистское общество – это общество скольжения, где процветает индивидуалистический нарциссизм.

Схожий процесс происходит и с восприятием произведений искусства и литературы. Они потребляются как продукты и после потребления выбрасываются из памяти как отработанные и лишние отходы и без того перегруженного различной информацией сознания. Современные режиссеры учитывают это обстоятельство, оттого, с одной стороны, либо делают ставку на максимальный удар по нервам в духе театра жестокости, чтобы хоть на время вывести зрителя из расслабленно наркотического состояния, либо, наоборот, пытаются удержать его в нем путем создания роскошного зрелища, ласкающего взор и слух и позволяющего поддерживать состояние расслабленного наслаждения. Важно отметить, что эстетика наслаждения, удовольствия также заменила поколению 90–х идеологию. Это очень существенный культурный и социальный фактор нашего времени, во многом определяющий его лицо.

То, что выпадает из этого потока, тоже неоднозначно. К примеру, театр «Мастерская П. Фоменко», кажется, явно свидетельствует о продолжении традиций психологического реализма на русской сцене. Тем не менее, в искусстве этого камерного театра есть своя тонко уловимая грань с современностью. Акварельные, легкие, часто в форме этюдов и сценических зарисовок, предельно условные и открытые для зрительского восприятия спектакли П. Фоменко, с одной стороны, входят в контрастный диссонанс с современностью, но, с другой, может быть, несколько отраженным светом передают сегодняшнюю повышенную неустойчивость, душевную слабость, особую текучесть и нервность современной человеческой природы. Актеры в этом театре, начав работать со студенческой скамьи и рано достигнув мастерства, все еще наслаждаются состоянием затяжной молодости. И эта их отличительная особенность очень близка и созвучна современной «цивилизации молодых», с ее узнаваемой внешней и внутренней инфантильностью и нежеланием, а может быть, неспособностью взростеть. У спектаклей этого театра удивительное «легкое дыхание». Грусть, юмор, ирония, переливы света и поэзия ушедшего мира русской усадьбы в спектаклях «Волки и овцы», «Месяц в деревне», «Семейное счастье», «Война и мир. Начало романа. Сцены» – легкие, почти эскизные. Это «легкое дыхание», конечно, помогает ненадолго продышаться чистым воздухом акварельного искусства, но не спасает от общего загрязнения атмосферы. По крайней мере рубеж тысячелетий московская сцена, как и город встретили с изрядной дозой смога и отравляющего газа в воздухе. Будем надеяться, что когда–нибудь он рассеется.

ПРИМЕЧАНИЯ

¹ 1 Деготь Е. Русское искусство XX века. – М., 2000, с. 204.

Summary

The author concentrates own attention on the characteristic traits and tendencies of the new Russian Theatre in the context of the contemporary cultural paradigm. Contemporary art lies in the media space, in the space of the modern means of mass communication. The clip or screen consciousness is ousting analytical consciousness. The Oikumene of the new scenic language stretches between the art of Performance and Happening. Besides the esthetics of the experimental «Theatre of Cruelty» characterizes the «face» of the new Russian drama and contemporary Moscow stage in particular too.

Kopsavilkums

Galvenā uzmanība pievērsta jaunā Krievijas teātra raksturīgajām iezīmēm un attīstības tendencēm mūsdienu kultūras uzskatu sistēmas kontekstā. Mūsdienu māksla atrodas mēdiju telpā, moderno masu komunikācijas līdzekļu telpā. Klipu vai ekrāna apziņa izspiež analītisko apziņu. Jaunā vispasaules skatuves valoda atrodas teritorijā starp performances un hepeninga mākslu. Jaunajai krievu dramaturģijai un jo īpaši Maskavas mūsdienu teātrim ir raksturīga arī eksperimentālā “cietsirdības teātra” estētika.

**„Der Roman zum Film“, oder: Bücher im
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Im Zuge der allgemeinen McDonaldisierung ist der Verbraucher verschiedenen visuellen Stimuli ausgesetzt, die die Wahl des einen oder des anderen Produkts bestimmen. Solche visuellen Stimuli dominieren auch den Büchermarkt.

Keywords: McDonaldisierung, Vermarktung, Buch, Verfilmung, Internet.

Einer der mächtigsten visuellen Stimuli ist zweifellos der Buchdeckel, der eine Verbindung zwischen dem Buch und der jeweiligen Verfilmung herstellt. Dadurch wechselt sich die Perspektive und der Film bzw. die Verfilmung wird zum Primär–, die literarische Vorlage aber – zum Sekundärprodukt. Die deutschen Verleger versehen sogar die Buchcover mit einen Hinweis “Roman zum Film” und betonen damit, dass das Buch einen Zusatz, eine Ergänzung zum Film darstellt. Die Verleger synchronisieren sogar ihre Marketingmaßnahmen mit der Ausstrahlung der jeweiligen TV–Serie oder der Premiere des jeweiligen Films.

Darüber hinaus wird nach dem *Added Value* zum literarischen Produkt gesucht, so werden z. B. Homepages eingerichtet und unterhalten, auf welche Bezug im literarischen Werk genommen wird; es werden *Internet–3D–graphic–shooter–games* als Fortsetzung des literarischen Werkes angeboten, dem Leser stehen Internet–Quiz zur Verfügung, die Fragen zu der jeweiligen Lektüre bieten.

Trotz dieser Beispiele kann man auch von einer Gegentendenz sprechen, indem digitale Literatur auch im Buchformat erscheint u. ä.

Bereits in den neunziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde von dem amerikanischen Soziologen George Ritzer die Idee der allgemeinen McDonaldisierung der Gesellschaft formuliert: immer weitere Bereiche der Gesellschaft in den USA und der restlichen Welt werden von Grundsätzen dieser fast food–Restaurantkette dominiert (George Ritzer: *Die McDonaldisierung der Gesellschaft*. S. Fischer Verlag 1997). Eine Facette der McDonaldisierung ist sicher die Dominanz des Visuellen, der visuellen Stimulierung, des Zeichens. Die visuelle Stimulierung besteht aus genauen, leicht wahrnehmbaren Signale, die den Konsumenten zum Handeln, nicht zum Nachdenken animieren sollen. Die schnelle Aktion tritt an die Stelle des langen Grübelns. Don't let the consumer think ...

Das Ikonenhafte eines McDonalds–Menüs lässt sich leicht auf andere Bereiche übertragen, auch auf den des Buchmarkts. Die sog. Wobblers, kleine Schilder mit Wörtern wie “Bestseller”, “Neu”, “Sonderausgabe” dienen dem Leser zur Orientierung in einer Buchhandlung und machen aus einer „Unübersichtlichkeit“ eine markierte und geordnete “Übersichtlichkeit”. Die nächste Orientierungshilfe bzw. das nächste Instrument zur Steuerung des Lesers, i.e. des Käufers, ist das Titelblatt. Die deutsche Ausgabe von „Bridget Jones’s Diary” von Helen Fielding (Goldmann 1997) trägt den Titel “Schokolade zum Frühstück. Das Tagebuch der Bridget Jones”; das Cover illustriert den Titel, indem es eine Tasse Kaffee, ein Glas Orangensaft und einen Teller mit Kuchen od. Brötchenresten präsentiert. Nach vier Jahren hat sich der Frühstückstisch transformiert in Renée Zellweger als Bridget Jones, in knielangen Stiefeln, mit rotem Tagebuch in der Hand, einer Schachtel Pralinen links und einem Aschenbecher rechts. Das Titelblatt trägt jetzt den stolzen Hinweis “Die hinreißende romantische Komödie, jetzt verfilmt mit Renée Zellweger, Hugh Grant und Colin Firth in den Hauptrollen” sowie den Zusatz “Roman zum Film” (Goldmann 2001). Die gleiche Metamorphose ist auch der englischen Originalausgabe widerfahren. Zwar hat die englische Version nicht den (erniedrigenden) Zusatz “Roman zum Film” bzw. Film Book, dafür sehen wir auf dem Titelbild alle drei Hauptdarsteller; die After–Film–Ausgabe ist mit weiteren Szenen aus der Verfilmung von Sharon Maguire aus dem Jahr 2001 versehen.

Ähnlich haben sich Bücher nicht nur in Deutschland oder Großbritannien, sondern auch in Lettland verwandelt. Ein Beispiel ist die lettische Übersetzung von “Gone with the Wind” von Margaret Mitchell (Liesma 1987). Im Jahre 1939 kannten nur wenige in Lettland den Film mit Vivien Leigh und Clark Gable (David O’Selznik, Victor Fleming: *Gone with the Wind*. USA 1939); das Titelbild war damals eine Reproduktion des Portraits von Regīna Razuma, der lettischen Star–Schauspielerin, die nach wie vor ein Inbegriff von Charme und Eleganz ist. Nachdem der Film seine lettische Kino– und Fernsehpremiere erlebt hatte, änderte sich das Titelbild. Die Ausgabe von 2000 (Zvaigzne ABC 2000) zeigt Vivien Leigh als Scarlett O’Hara, wie sie von Clark Gable als Rett Buttler umarmt wird.

Es handelt sich hier nicht nur um eine Änderung der ästhetischen Qualität des Buchlayouts, sondern um einen Perspektivewechsel. Die Perspektive, der Blickwinkel ist nun verkehrt; das Titelblatt verweist unmittelbar auf den Film, als sei er primär, das Buch, die Quelle dagegen sekundär. Die Interpretation gewinnt dadurch Vorrang gegenüber dem Ursprünglichen. Das second–hand–Produkt, das eine Verfilmung immer nur sein kann, hat aber für den Leser bzw. Konsumenten oder Käufer einen offensichtlich höheren Wert und dient als Maßstab für die ästhetischen Qualitäten eines Kunstwerks. Der Film dient für den Leser als Referenz und Sicherheit, eine Art “Stiftung–Warentest–Qualitätsurteil: lesenswert”, so dass der Hinweis “Roman zum Film” erforderlich ist, um den Käufer bzw. den potentiellen Leser auf das bereits Bekannte aufmerksam zu machen und ihm das gleiche Vergnügen zu versprechen, das er bei einem Kinobesuch gehabt hat. Zweifellos hat der Film als ein visuelles Medium, das Bild, Farbe, Ton, Bewegung kombiniert, eine größere Wirkung als das Buch, ein schwarz–weißes Schriftmedium; Verleger und Buchhändler sind sich dieser Tatsache sehr bewußt. Darüber hinaus wird ein Kinobesuch, mit Popcorn und Coca–Cola, eher zum “Ereignis” als eine zeitlich ausgedehnte, nicht kontinuierliche, einsame

Lektüre. Übrigens, auch Zugaben werden mit Referenz zum Film vermarktet – kauf dir eine Tüte Chips, gewinne eine „The Lord of the Rings“-Videokassette.

Kann man unter diesen Umständen von einer Konkurrenz zwischen Film und Buch sprechen? Besteht hier eine Gefahr für das Medium Buch? Wohl kaum. Eher profitiert das Verlagswesen von Aktivitäten der Kinobranche. Eine erfolgreiche Verfilmung, ein berühmter Hauptdarsteller können für die Vermarktung eines Buches mehr bewirken als eine millionenschwere Werbekampagne. In Lettland haben sich bis zum November 2002 seit dem Kinostart am 21. Sept. 2001 den Film „Tagebuch der Bridget Jones“ 22 585 Zuschauer angesehen (Quelle: Baltic Cinema). Leider gibt es keine Angaben darüber, wie hoch die Auflage des lettischen Ausgabe von „Bridget Jones's Diary“ war; es lässt sich nur spekulieren, dass sie den Durchschnitt (2100 Exemplare bei übersetzter Belletristik; Quelle: Die lettische Presse. Statistik des lettischen Verlagswesens 2001. Riga 2002) überstieg. Ein Beispiel hilft diese Spekulation belegen:

Der Valters un Rapa Verlag hat die Vermarktung der lettischen Übersetzung von Candace Bushnells „Sex and the City“ mit dem Fernsehstart der dritten Staffel im Februar 2002 abgestimmt. Das Kalkül des Verlags stimmte:

- 1) die Auflage belief sich auf 3000 Exemplare und lag damit über dem statistischen Durchschnitt und
- 2) die Gesamtauflage wurde innerhalb von 7 Monaten ausgeliefert (üblich sind 24 Monate).

Die Serie hatte im TV3-Sender das Durchschnittsrating (Gross Rating Point) 4,2. Die Zuschauerzahl schwankte je nach Folge zwischen 75 Tsd. und 250 Tsd. (Quelle: Baltic Media Facts 2002).

Auf dem Cover fehlt der Verweis „Roman zum Film“, weil die Serie im Grunde keine Verfilmung ist; sie basiert lediglich auf Gestalten und Situationen des Buches. Abgebildet ist darauf Sarah Jessica Parker als die New Yorker Kolumnistin Carrie Bradshaw.

Dabei geht es nicht nur um eine erfolgreichen Marketingidee des Verlags, es geht um die Auswirkung dieser amerikanischen Sit-Com auf die lettische (Frauen) Gesellschaft. In Lettland ist ein Sex-and-the-City-Diskurs entstanden. Da es in der TV-Serie um vier Freundinnen Anfang Dreißig geht (nur Samantha ist älter), kommt es unter Frauen in Lettland zu einer Rollenverteilung: wer ist die prüde Charlotte, die aufgeschlossene Samantha, wer die beruflich erfolgreiche Miranda und wer die labile Carrie? Die Lettinnen sollten sich von diesen Archetypen fasziniert fühlen. Auch das größte lettische Frauenwochenmagazin „Ieva“ (Auflage rund 75 Tsd.; Quelle: Baltic Media Facts 2002) brachte im Juli 2002 eine Fotoreihe „Sex and the City, bei uns in Riga“; die Frauen sollen gestylt sein wie Carry (Ieva 03.04.2002 Nr. 27).

Es muss zugegeben werden, dass dieses second-hand-Produkt, wie es genannt wird (obwohl das nicht abschätzend gemeint ist) für die lettischen Leser, die es vorziehen würden, in ihrer Muttersprache zu lesen, oft die einzige Möglichkeit darstellt, Werke der Weltliteratur kennenzulernen. So ist z.B. der Skandalroman der achtziger Jahre „Die Klavierspielerin“ von Elfriede Jelinek nicht ins Lettische übersetzt worden (die Lektüre könnte zu deprimierend sein); dafür lief im Winter 2001 die Verfilmung mit Isabelle Huppert (Michael Haneke: Die Klavierspielerin. Österreich,

Frankreich 2001). Die Mehrheit der Zuschauer wußte sicher nicht, dass es sich hier um eine Verfilmung handelt. Das gleiche gilt für “Eyes Wide Shut” von Stanley Kubrick mit Kidman und Cruise (USA 1999), einen Film, der sich auf die “Traumnovelle” von Arthur Schnitzler stützt, einem der bedeutendsten Vertreter der Wiener Moderne. Es sei an dieser Stelle zugegeben, dass ich mit dem Roman “Die Blechtrommel” von Günter Grass zuerst durch den Film von Volker Schlöndorff (Deutschland 1978) vertraut wurde. Aale esse ich seitdem nicht mehr, und den Roman habe ich erst viele Jahre später gelesen; ins Lettische ist er übrigens erst 2001 übersetzt worden (Atēna 2001).

Eines liegt auf der Hand – eine Vielzahl literarischer Werke verdankt gerade ihren Verfilmungen, dass sie (wieder) gelesen und diskutiert werden und dass ihre Figuren zu Verkörperungen bestimmter Lebensstile bzw. Probleme werden, auf die immer wieder Bezug genommen wird. Andererseits wird es auch immer wieder Zuschauer geben, die eine Verfilmung oder ein Theaterstück nach einem literarischen Vorbild viel spannender als die literarische Vorlage finden werden.

Wenn aber die Markierung „Roman zum Film” als eine Metapher für mediale Interferenzen verwendet werden darf, so gibt es m. E. ein Medium, das in mancher Hinsicht noch mächtiger zu werden droht als der Film: das Internet. Interaktivität, Aufhebung der Passivität des Lesers, Visualität, Vernetzung, Verlinkung sind nur einige seiner Vorteile. Es sei hier die digitale bzw. die Literatur im Netz absichtlich ausgespart, da mein Interesse Beispielen der “analogen” Literatur (sowohl der Belletristik, als auch der Fachliteratur) gilt, die in Verbindung zu Internet ihren “added value” sehen.

Das erste Beispiel ist Günter Grass’ Novelle „Im Krebsgang” (Steidl 2002). Den Wendepunkt in den Recherchen des Protagonisten, der Fakten und Dokumente über den Untergang des KdF-Schiffes “Wilhelm Gustloff” am 30. Januar 1945 sammelt, stellt das Anklicken der Internetadresse www.blutzeuge.de dar – eine literarische Fiktion des auf einer alten Olivetti tippenden Günter Grass, die vom Steidl-Verlag zur Realität gemacht wird. Klicken wir auf www.blutzeuge.de, finden wir eine von Steidl Verlag gestaltete Internetseite mit Informationen über den Autor, mit Lese- und Hörproben, dem Text seiner Rede in Vilnius etc.

Der Kritiker Marcel Reich-Ranicki bietet in der Website www.derkanon.de zu seiner Sammlung “Der Kanon. Die deutsche Literatur. Der Roman” (Insel Verlag 2002)) Ausgaben deutscher Romane, die er kanonisieren möchte, darunter auch “Die Blechtrommel”, samt Informationen zu den jeweiligen Autoren sowie die Rubrik “Das Quiz”; er lädt Besucher der Internetseite ein, sich an dem großen Kanon-Quiz zu beteiligen – jede Woche können Fragen zu einem der 20 Bände des Kanons beantwortet werden. Wer an dem Quiz kein Gefallen findet, kann per E-Mail Kontakt aufnehmen oder unmittelbar bei www.libri.de bestellen.

Der Literaturwissenschaftler Jochen Vogt, Autor der “Einladung zur Literaturwissenschaft” (Wilhelm Fink Verlag 2001), fordert seine Leser auf, ihre Kenntnisse im Internet, in einem Hypertext-Vertiefungsprogramm, zu verbessern (siehe www.uni-essen.de/literaturwissenschaft/einladung).

Ein weiteres Beispiel der analogen und digitalen Vernetzung, des verzweifelten Versuchs, an den Leser heranzukommen, ist der Roman von Nika Bertram “Der

Kahuna modus” (Eichborn 2001). Das Buch ist nicht nur wie ein Computerspiel strukturiert (Level 1, Level 2, Level 3 etc.), es enthält auch Comics und einen Verweis auf www.kahunamodus.de, wo ein „aus dem Roman generiertes multimediales Textabenteuer und einen Einblick in die Entstehung des Romans und seiner Figuren“ enthalten sein soll, ein Computer- bzw. Internetspiel also. „What is this game all about?“, heißt es in der Einleitung zum Spiel im Internet. “Basically, it is a no-budget experiment in electronic story-telling. It is not a first-person-3D-graphic-shooter game. So, before playing this game, please relax, take your hands off the mouse and put them on your console keyboard ...What is the story ... and how can I reach a high score? On entering the game you find yourself changed into a novel character called Nadine – and your life in ruins. However, you decide to fight for fictional independence, for your right to create your own story, reach kahuna level 3, win a woman’s heart ... and keep it.”

Daraus lässt sich folgern, dass die Verleger sich zur Vermarktung von Büchern immer neuer Instrumente bedienen und dass die Leser bzw. Käufer immer neuen Reizen ausgesetzt werden. Dabei bewegen sie sich in einem kulturellen Raum, in dem ein ständiger Wechsel zwischen allen Genres in verschiedene Richtungen stattfindet – aus Büchern werden Filme, aus Filmen Fernsehserien und aus Fernsehserien Filme; aus Filmen und Fernsehserien entstehen Bücher (denken wir an X-Files oder Star Wars), Theaterstücke, Musicals, Soundtracks, Spielzeuge und Videospiele. Genauso verwandeln sich Videospiele in TV-Serien oder Spielzeuge usw. usw. Der Grund dafür dürfte neben Kostengründen ganz einfach sein – man weiß nie, wie der Käufer reagieren wird. Verschwommen sind die Beweggründe, die aus einem potentiellen Kunden einen Kunden machen – wird der Autorenname für ihn ausschlaggebend sein, wird das Titelblatt alles entscheiden, wird er doch lieber einen “Roman zum Film” kaufen? Experten behaupten: auch ein Bestsellerautor ist keine Garantie dafür, daß sich sein nächstes Buch gut verkauft.

Unter solchen Umständen wäre eine Lösung die Umwandlung des Erscheinens eines literarischen Werkes in ein Ereignis (event), dessen Höhepunkt die Verfilmung ist, mit anschließendem Verkauf von Stickers, Posters, T-Shirts, Computerspielen usw. (denken wir an das Phänomen Harry Potter oder an The Lord of the Rings). Diskussionen im Internet oder Fernsehen oder auch öffentlicher Skandal tragen ebenso zur Vermarktung bei.

Ob man sich trotzdem über die Fortexistenz von Büchern Sorgen machen muss? Ob sie doch eines Tages als “Roman zum Film” überflüssig werden und durch den Film oder das Internet verdrängt werden können? Es gibt keine eindeutigen Antworten auf diese Fragen, aber drei beruhigende, obwohl marginale Beispiele gibt es:

- 1) zwei Journalistinnen haben ein Buch über die TV-Serie „Sex and the City“ geschrieben mit dem Titel “Die Stadt, der Sex und die Frauen” – sie versprechen “ungeahnte Blicke” hinter Kulissen “der Filmwelt der New-Yorker-Kultserie” (Wilhelm Heyen Verlag 2002);
- 2) vor kurzem ist im Valters un Rapa Verlag eine Prosa- und Lyriksammlung der Netzliteratur aus dem Internetportal www.delfi.lv erschienen – das Digitale wird zum Analogen (ein Buch kann ja nicht “absterben”, und einem Buch mangelt es nicht plötzlich an Speicherkapazität) (Valters un Rapa 2002);

- 3) vor ein paar Wochen habe ich in einer Buchhandlungen eine Art “Bedienungsanleitung” von Gertrud Teusen mit dem Titel “Partnersuche im Internet. Per Mausclick zum Liebesglück” (Goldmann 2002) gesehen. Ein Buch also.

Summary

Living in a world of total McDonaldization the consumer is affected by visual stimuli to make a purchase decision; visual stimuli increasingly dominate the book market as well.

One type of visual stimulus is a book–cover that establishes a straight link between a book and a film, or a TV serial, based on a novel. It changes the relation between literary work and film – the film becomes a primary product, with the literary model a secondary one. In Germany publishers often use a specific slogan on the book–cover: “Roman zum Film” (Film Book), implying that the book is somehow an appendix to the film. Besides visual stimulation, publishers synchronize their marketing activities with the screening of a film or TV serial.

Publishers and writers look for additional means to publicize their literary production, such as web sites created after a site mentioned in a novel, or web games based on the plot of the novel, or a web quiz. Internet elements are increasingly implemented in the structure of a literary work – the narration has the structure of a web site, with links and levels replacing chapters.

Despite this development there are instances indicating a reverse movement, i.e. books are being published on how to search for a partner in the web, and digital literature, initially published in the web, is subsequently published as a hard copy.

Kopsavilkums

Vispārējās “makdonaldizācijas” apstākļos viena tās izpausme ir vizuālā stimula dominēšana un patērētāja mudināšana ātram pirkumam; arī grāmatu tirdzniecībā jāizmanto vizuālie stimuli, lai grāmata nonāktu iepirkumu grozā.

Viens no šādiem stimuliem ir grāmatas vāka dizains, kas rada tiešu saikni starp grāmatu un pēc šīs grāmatas motīviem uzņemtu filmu vai TV seriālu. Tādējādi grāmata tiek pozicionēta kā sekundārs, bet filma un TV seriāls – kā primārs produkts. Šī parādība ir raksturīga gan Latvijai, gan Rietumeiropai, turklāt Vācijā uz grāmatas vāka nereti tiek dota tieša norāde: “Roman zum Film“, kas burtiskā tulkojumā nozīmē “Romāns pie filmas“ un liecina par perspektīvas maiņu, raugoties uz literārā darba un filmas attiecībām. Arī grāmatizdevēju mārketinga aktivitātes tiek saskaņotas ar filmas vai TV seriāla demonstrēšanas laiku.

Līdzās tam rakstnieki un grāmatizdevēji meklē iespēju „pievienot” literārajam darbam “vērtību“, piemēram, romānā minēto mājas lapu no ficijas pārvērst realitātē, piedāvāt pēc romāna motīviem veidotu spēli internetā vai konkursu ar iespēju laimēt

dažādas balvas. Arī darba struktūrā nereti tiek izmantoti interneta elementi – gan stāstījuma „tīklojumā“, gan formālā nodaļu aizvietošanā ar „līmeņiem“, turklāt “analogā” formātā tiek izdota gan „lietošanas instrukcija“, kā iepazīties internetā, gan sākotnēji internetā publicētā daiļliteratūra.

Tomēr pagaidām grāmatas joprojām ieņem stabilu vietu patērētāju apziņā.

The *Handelsgeist* and Cosmopolitanism: Kant and Herder Today Tirdzniecības gars un kosmopolītisms: Kants un Herders šodien

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In the 1795/6 “Perpetual Peace” essay, Kant ascribes an important role to commerce and economics in the bringing together of humans within a cosmopolitan system: warmongering is deemed by him to be incompatible with the stability of relations requisite for mercantile exchange. Whilst not exactly promoting the cause of peace out of moral conviction, Kant suggests that the “spirit of trade” (*Handelsgeist*) in effect acts *as if* morality were its guiding motive. In this paper I explore this analysis of international trade and, by extension, of the deemed “civilising” role of international trading posts, such as the port-cities of Riga and Königsberg, in the works of Kant and Herder.

Keywords: trade, cosmopolitics, Kant, Herder.

In the 1795/6 “Zum ewigen Frieden” (“Perpetual Peace”) essay, Kant ascribes an important role to commerce and economics in the bringing together of humans within a cosmopolitan system: warmongering is deemed by him to be incompatible with the stability of relations requisite for mercantile exchange. Whilst not exactly promoting the cause of peace out of moral conviction, Kant suggests that the “spirit of trade” (*Handelsgeist*) in effect acts *as if* morality were its guiding motive. This paper seeks to explore such an analysis of international trade and, by extension, of the perceived “civilising” role of international trading posts, like the port-cities of Königsberg and Riga, in the works of Kant and Herder.

When Herder hastily left Riga in 1769, sick of everything about the place (*alles also war mir zuwider*), he claims to leave behind him a city which is characterised by merely desultory vestiges of its former stature as member of the Hanseatic League:

The former freedom of Riga, when the alderman left his hat in the town hall to hurry off to Sweden to defend the city, where is it now? Everything has collapsed: with soft morals weakness, falsity, inactivity and political expediency have crept in; the spirit of the Hanseatic towns has left Northern Europe; who wants to reawaken it? And isn't it at all important for cities such as Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig, Riga to know how this spirit was lost? Not how their trade, privileges etc were lost but rather how their animating spirit diminished and has now definitively left Europe? What is Riga now? Poor and more than poor, lamentable! The town has nothing and spends more than it has! It has a needy, useless splendour, which costs... Everything is this city rubs against everything else!^{1, 2}

Musing on the historical importance of *die Hanse* and its potential importance for a cooperative and cosmopolitan Europe of the future, Herder half regrets devoting his time to fanciful literary works and suggests that a truly great mission to take on would be to dedicate oneself to analysing the world of trade and its historical development, thereby making a more decisive contribution to current affairs. One happy consequence of such an active involvement with the “spirit of the Hanse in Northern Europe” might be the restoration of a sense of identity to his home city, Riga: *wie groß, wenn ich aus Riga eine glückliche Stadt mache*.³

In the passage from *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* just cited, Herder identifies the characteristics of the “commercial spirit” he sees epitomised in *die Hanse*. These are: a transnational allegiance forged through trading channels (whereby a resident of Riga can feel obliged to defend a city in Sweden); a rigorous system of moral values (whose decline into “political expediency” (*politische Biegsamkeit*) and impotence accompanies the demise of the Hanseatic League itself); and lastly, he registers the loss of stature, dignity and privileges of the former Hanseatic cities themselves, but insists that far more important are the repercussions of the loss of this “spirit” for Europe itself.

The *Seerepublik*, the international union of sea traders, which later (at the end of thirteenth century) became known as *die Hanse*, represents to Herder a model, not only of how commercial exchange should proceed, but also of how Europe and, by extension, how the planet earth should evolve socio-politically. It developed as a response to the actions of pirates, the pillaging of shipwrecked vessels by coastal dwellers and to the practise of *Fremdschuldhaftung* or the taking of reprisals, the seizing by force of property (or persons) of subjects of another nation or citizens of another city in retaliation for loss or injury suffered because of one of their fellow countrymen or city residents.⁴ The dangers faced by the traders personally and the risk that their goods could vanish without trace or any accountability were factors understandably most uncondusive to foreign exploration and long distance exchange. In the place of such insecurity, traders gradually developed (from the eleventh century onwards) an international system of right to provide protection and guarantees for their reciprocal activities. For historians, including Marxist historians, of *die Hanse* this is a crucial point to make: it was originally a system of principles established over time between *the traders themselves* (and not between states or Lords); indeed it was precisely characterised by the lack of elements pertaining to national states.⁵ The specialist, Klaus Friedland writes the following about its motivating “spirit”:

...the foreigner arrives as a guest, as a partner; he who comes from afar will no longer, as was earlier the case, be perceived as an enemy, a threat, or an alien, but will rather be welcomed in for short or longer periods; his distant origin will be noted and appreciated as an enriching acquisition and as indicative of a new mobility^{6,7}.

The evolution of long distance trading went hand in hand with the growing urbanisation of Europe as traders frequented annual markets and fairs, traversing the seas and land and enjoying the hospitality and protection that accompanied their status as member of the Hanseatic League. Celebrated by Herder as “the workshops of industrious work”, the Hanseatic cities of “Germany and the Netherlands, and in the

northern regions, Poland, Prussia, Russia and Latvia” flourished as a result of their trade associations with England, France, Portugal, Spain and Italy and, says Herder this *Bund* did more to bind Europe together as a community than any “crusades or Roman codes”. It cut across national and religious differences and grounded the connections between states in “reciprocal interest, competitive hard work, honesty and order”. He concludes: “cities accomplished what regents, priests, and aristocrats were unable yet wanted to carry out: they created a communally acting Europe” (*ein gemeinschaftlich wirkendes Europa*)^{8,9}

In stark contrast to *die Hanse* (which should be regarded as a *Vorbild des künftigen Zustandes aller handelnden europäischen Völker*), stands the crude, pared down *bloäer Handelsgeist* of the eighteenth century and Herder cuttingly remarks on how short it falls from fulfilling enlightened expectations.¹⁰ In *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (published in 1774) he writes:

In Europe slavery has been abolished, because it has been calculated that these slaves costs more and brought in less than free people: just one thing have we nevertheless allowed ourselves and that is to use the remaining three quarters of the world as slaves, to banish them to silver mines and sugar mills. But what does that matter? They aren't Europeans, not Christians and in return we take silver, precious stones, spices, sugar and— hidden illnesses; all this for reasons of trade and for the mutual help between brothers and the great community of all lands^{11,12}

Enlightenment and its educative mission (its promotion of *Bildung*) is revealed as *de facto* limited in scope, having managed only to affect and take root in a narrow strip of the globe (it has *nur einen schmalen Streif des Erdballs berührt*).¹³ Herder ruthlessly points out the hypocritical inadequacy of this limited eurocentric concern as, ultimately, the progressive project of Enlightenment *has to be* global to be consistent with its universal claims. It should not and cannot be that the glories of European modern technology are transported to the colonies to become there weapons of subjugation, deception and plunder. He also suggests that this failure to apply moral principles universally might spell the undoing of Europe as people living in dehumanising servitude eventually revolt.

Kant reinforces and elaborates on the necessarily global application of enlightened thought and tries to establish its foundations in natural, or more precisely, in a physico-geographical law. In the “Perpetual Peace” essay he anchors everyone’s right to visit foreign lands in the primordially communal possession of the earth’s surface (*des Rechts des gemeinschaftlichen Besitzes der Oberfläche der Erde*).¹⁴ This “right to the earth’s surface” arises by virtue of the planet’s spherical shape, which pre-empted an infinite dispersal of human beings. Earth dwellers are therefore ultimately obliged to find means of getting on with each other as there is no alternative, no escape as there would be with an endless, flat surface. He also reminds us that originally, before the springing up of states and countries, no-one had any more right of possession to patches of the earth’s surface than anyone else: the right to hospitality draws on this natural law as well. Loosening the possessive grip yet further, he states that large areas of the globe are inhabitable for us as a species, comprising of perilous seas, recalcitrant deserts, unsurmountable mountain ranges. The effect of these

vast expanses of land and sea is to separate humans from one another. Hence the importance of systems of transport and communication— whose motor is trade— for overcoming such elemental adversity and for bringing humans, against the odds, into contact. Understood at this humbling level— from the perspective of vulnerable creatures clinging to a finite, limited planet, mastering as best they can, the hostility of climate and terrain— the diligent activity of traders emerges as valiant and constructive. Whereas sea—robbers and pillagers work against the natural law in their disrespect for the primordial right to hospitality (since no human is originally more at home on this planet than another), traders, cognisant of the attendant dangers of travelling to foreign territories, build up helpful reciprocal arrangements for the protection of goods and for the shelter of the person. As such the spirit of trade (*Handelsgeist*) is seen as paving the way towards an eventual cosmopolitan constitution establishing international law and universal human rights.

Despite such apparently wholehearted and misguided optimism, Kant reveals himself to be equally well aware of the detrimental effects commercial rivalry can have on human minds and behaviour. In the *Anthropology* he defines the *Handelsgeist* as intrinsically “unsociable” (*an sich ungesellig*), each business being a trader’s castle separated from others as if by a drawbridge, prohibiting friendly, informal intercourse.¹⁵ He is also not ignorant about real world trade practises. Like Herder, he shows himself in the “Perpetual Peace” essay to be well informed about the “inhospitable” conduct of “civilised” trading states whose only conception of foreign lands is one of zones inhabited by inferiors to be colonized and exploited mercilessly. Discussing the “cruellest and most calculated slavery” of the Sugar Islands, Kant acidly concludes: “And all this is the work of powers who make endless ado about their piety and who wish to be considered as chosen believers while they live on the fruits of iniquity”. However, his ensuing sentence, whose logic might well seem contradictory, runs as follows:

The peoples of the earth have thus entered in varying degrees into universal community, and it has developed to the point where a violation of rights in *one* part of the world is felt *everywhere*^{16,17}

His guiding idea appears to be that the development of long distance trading, with all its concomitant injustices and abuses of power, is steadily becoming a global phenomenon. A positive outcome of this expansion is the proliferation of links between disparate parts of the earth and the ensuing gradual formation of a world community. Indeed the mere fact of this Königsberger professor being informed about slavery in the West Indies, indicates just how open lines of communication were becoming. Kant’s suggests that injustices in one part of the globe reverberate along these ever developing lines of communication, consolidating a public sphere which is, which should, be the concern of all rational beings. Slavery in the West Indies, as the inverse of an event like the French Revolution, analysed in *Conflict of the Faculties*, is another type of “sign of history”; it “can never be forgotten”.¹⁸

Kant is keen to defend his vision of a future cosmopolitan community from accusations of fanciful thinking and hastens to reassure those who are sceptical of humans’ capacity for perfectibility, that it is not reliant on us overturning nature and becoming

angelic. Indeed, as we will see, the gel used to bind together egotistical and greedy humans draws its cohesive powers from these very mortal instincts. It is not dependent on some miraculous moral conversion and can function even in a “nation of devils”.¹⁹

In nature, humans are divided amongst themselves by differences in religion and language, which provoke, of course, much suspicion, hatred and an excuse for war-mongering. However, with a gradual *rapprochement* between the peoples of the world, furthered by a basic agreement about fundamental principles, these same differences can give rise to “lively competition” and between a variety of multicultural forces a positive equilibrium can be found. Compared with the amalgamated uniformity of identity desired by despots, such an irreducible divergence of socio-cultural perspective is decidedly healthy. The community Kant is aiming for is one which brings together people in their differences, even because of their differences. In his analysis Kant relies on a force which is stronger than the respect for the concept of cosmopolitan right and that is the wish for financial gain. It is this force which motivates the spirit of commerce (*Handelsgeist*) whose transactions are alimanted by difference, whose links are cemented by mutual self-interest and which much prefers the stability of peacetime to war for its business exchanges.²⁰

As we have seen, the *Handelsgeist* plays a major role in Kant and Herder’s vision of a future cosmopolitan community and the latter specifically evokes its embodiment in *die Hanse* as a model of unmediated, non-alienated, cross-cultural relations of exchange and communication.

Retrospectively it could indeed be maintained that *die Hanse* was a period in the history of commerce perched on the verge of, but not yet to be characterised as, nascent capitalist manufacturing with its “objectified labour” and its colonial slavery. Hence its attraction for Herder as he attempts to charts through the ages the fortunes and achievements, misfortunes and wastages of human industry (*Fleiß*).

Die Hanse was originally a loose association, or – to use Friedland’s word “*Schar*”, of traders, authorised to carry out transactions abroad, who were not bound indissociably together by an oath of allegiance (as guild members were), but rather joined together by purposive self-interest necessitating reciprocal arrangements with and guarantees from others.²¹ However, the traders who chose to enter the League themselves in turn belonged to their respective guilds which promoted the skills of the various crafts, protected working conditions, controlled the quality of the artefacts and regulated the size of the masters’ workshops thereby – according to analysts such as Marx – thwarting their transformation into full blown capitalists.^{22,23} The protectionism of the guilds at least was able for a time to maintain the specificity of different trades and crafts whilst, through the interface of the Hanseatic League, reaching foreign markets – thereby making giving rise to a different vision of globalisation from that experienced, enjoyed and suffered today, where multinationalists can be seen as emitting the same commodities everywhere.

The inviting and intriguing image of globalisation I locate in the work of Kant and Herder is one for which the local (regional, national, ethnic) particularity counts and is not submerged under blanket categories. For instance Herder’s chapter on the Slavs in the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* traces their general

decline into subjugated serfdom and muses on the contribution to the rich tapestry which is for him humanity (*die Menschheit*) were they one day able to affirm their identity²⁴. This concern for singularity within a global framework, married with Kant's concern for international law and fundamental rights for all "rational beings" might, I suggest, have something to offer us for a thinking of cosmopolitics today.

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- ¹ The original text by Herder reads: „Alte Freiheit von Riga, da der Altermann seinen Hut auf dem Rathause lies und nach Schweden eilte, um die Stadt zu verteidigen, wo jetzt? Alles ist zurückgefallen: mit weichen Sitten ist Schwachheit, Falschheit, Untätigkeit., politische Biagsamkeit eingeführt; der Geist von Hanseestädten ist weg aus Nordeuropa, wer will ihn aufwecken? Und ists für jede dieser Städte, Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig, Riga, nicht groäe wichtige Geschichte, wie sich dieser Geist verloren? nicht, wie sich ihr Handel, ihre Privilegien u.s.w. sondern ihr Geist vermindert und endlich Europa verlassen hat, und haben wir solche Geschichte von Hanseestädten?.. Jetzt Riga was ists jetzt? Arm und mehr als arm, elend! Die Stadt hat nichts, und mehr auszugeben, als sie hat! Sie hat eine dürftige, nutzlose Herrlichkeit, die ihr aber kostet! ... Alles reibt sich an der Stadt...” //The *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* can be found at: <http://www.gutenberg2000.de/herder/jour1769/jour1769htm>. References to the text refer to this electronic edition; translations are my own.
- ² Herder J. G. //*Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* at <http://www.gutenberg2000.de/herder/jour1769/jour1769htm>, p. 8.
- ³ *Ibid*, p. 8.
- ⁴ Friedland K. *Die Hanse*. – Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1991, p. 195ff.

- ⁵ Ibid, p. 17.
- ⁶ The original text reads as follows: „der Fremde wird zum Gast, zum Partner; wer von weither kommt, wird nicht mehr, wie früher wohl, als feindselig–bedrohend, zumindest fremdartig empfunden, sondern für kurz oder dauernd aufgenommen, seine aufwärtige Herkunft wird vermerkt und bleibt bewusst als ein Stück zugewonnener Raum, Ausdruck einer neuen Mobilität“.
- ⁷ Friedland K. Die Hanse. – Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1991, p. 37.
- ⁸ We might find Herder’s, to coin a term, „urbanocentric” perspective politically suspect at this point– too indicative of his privileged position as one of the Prussian colonising elite?–, seeing that it seems to neglect, if not dismiss, what is happening amongst the Latvian serfs, bound to the countryside, excluded from the city and its economic and cultural activities. We will return to the question of serfdom and Herder’s position on this subject shortly.
- ⁹ Herder J.G. Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. – Wiesbaden: Fourier Verlag, 1985, 548–9.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, 528.
- ¹¹ The original text reads as follows: „In Europa ist die Sklaverei abgeschafft, weil berechnet ist, wie viel diese Sklaven mehr kosteten und weniger brächten als freie Leute: nur eins haben wir uns noch erlaubt, drei Weltteile als Sklaven zu brauchen, zu verwandeln, in Silbergruben und Zuckermühlen zu verbannen– aber das sind nicht Europäer, nicht Christen, und dafür benommen wir Silber und Edelmetalle, Gewürze, Zucker und– heimliche Krankheit: also des Handels wegen und zur wechselseitigen Bruderhilfe und Gemeinschaft der Länder”. In this passage, which displays a keen awareness of the brutality and injustice of slavery, Herder seems to overlook the fact that serfdom is still enforced in the “Eastern territories” (it was only gradually abolished as from 1806 onwards). However, elsewhere he does address the subject: in Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit where he writes about the “yoke of serfdom” (Joch der Leibeigenschaft) and the exploitative indolence of the aristocracy, both factors are regarded as a massive waste of human industriousness (Fleiß) which is the motor furthering a civilising and civilised evolution of the species.
- ¹² Herder J. G. Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Geschichte. – Stuttgart: Reclam Verlag, 1990, 74.
- ¹³ Ibid, 89.
- ¹⁴ Kant I. (1977) Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik I Werkausgabe Bd. XI. – Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 214ff; 1994, 106ff.
- ¹⁵ Kant I. Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht //Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik Werkausgabe Bd. XII. – Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1964, 664.
- ¹⁶ The original text runs as follows: „Da es nun mit der unter den Völkern der Erde einmal durchgängig überhand genommenen (engeren oder weiteren) Gemeinschaft so weit gekommen ist, dass die Rechtsverletzung an einem Platz der Erde an allen gefühlt wird”.
- ¹⁷ Kant I. (1977) Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik I Werkausgabe Bd. XI. – Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 216; 1994, 107–8.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, 357.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, 224; 1994, 112.
- ²⁰ Ibid, 226; 1994, 114.
- ²¹ Friedland K. Die Hanse. – Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1991, 23.
- ²² In Capital Vol I Marx implies a very different analysis of the role of sea–ports from that of Kant and Herder, who, as we have seen, ascribe a “civilising role” to them. For Marx

sea-ports work against the guilds and the traditional work activities they protect, as such they represent “the new seed beds of industry”. 1979, 915.

²³ Marx K. Capital. Vol. I trans. B. Fowkes. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979, 423, 459, 479–80, 1030.

²⁴ On this subject see the unattributed article “Johann G. Herder und die Slaven” at http://www.celtoslavica.de/bibliothek/herder_slavica.html.

Kopsavilkums

1795.–1796. gadā sarakstītajā esejā “Mūžīgais miers” Kants tirdzniecībai un ekonomikai paredz svarīgu lomu cilvēku apvienošanā kosmopolītiskas sistēmas ietvaros. Viņa ieskatā kara kurināšana nav savienojama ar attiecību stabilitāti, kas nepieciešama tirdznieciskajai apmaiņai. Kaut arī Kants tieši neiestājas par mieru morālas pārlicības dēļ, viņš tomēr uzskata, ka “tirdzniecības gars” (Handelsgeist) būtībā darbojas tā, it kā tā virzošais spēks būtu morāle. Referātā es pētu šo starptautiskās tirdzniecības analīzi un – plašākā nozīmē – tādu starptautisko tirdzniecības centru kā Rīga un Kēnigsberga iespējamo “civilizējošo” lomu Kanta un Herdera darbos.

The space of differences: Constructing the images through the multicultural dialogue Atšķirību telpa: tēlu radīšana multikultūru dialogā

Slavica Srbinovska (Macedonia)

The main object of the analysis is the construction of the identity of the Balkans in the society, and especially in the 'space of culture' and the circumstances of making the fixed concept of someone's identification in the reality. Through the periods of transition in the post-communist countries the problems of differences, gender, class, race and sex become a very important part of the life that has to be analysed as a global cultural problem with many trans-national and inter-textual connotations. We are speaking about very divisive dialogues between the people and the instruments of their real proof as persons who are included in human communications. The main object of analysing will be the narratives that are representative forms of different cultural aspects of believing and living. What can narrative discourse make to represent and change the practical life of the people on the territory of their homeland where cultural aspects of representation are different, although in close connection? How can sex and gender show their specificity in the reality of their country and outside? The main period of interest is the period of post-communist era of transformations and of multicultural integration. Are there any subversive instruments for changing the image except the discourse of the texts?!

Keywords: differences, difference, Balkan, human being, dialogue, gender.

There will be *no unique name*, not even the name of Being. It must be conceived without *nostalgia*; that is, it must be conceived outside the myth of the purely maternal or paternal language belonging to the lost fatherland of thought. On the contrary, we must affirm it—in the sense that Nietzsche brings affirmation into play—with certain laughter and with a certain dance.

Jacques Derrida

Differance

1. The photography and a performance of art

I will start my explanation by applying the same narratological model that is my subject of analyzing. That means that I will point out to some specific aspects of *my experience* and I want to represent them from my point of view. The narrating in the first person and speaking about the *individual experience* of the reality is the simple cliché of every autobiography, and its transcendence in to the art. An artistic perspective will explain this experience: its tendency is to *become universal* and additional building of any particular image of the Mediterranean world.

Last year I spent my vacation near by Ku□adasi, one of the famous tourists places on the Turkey's coast. The name of the city means 'the Island of birds'. Nearby Ku(adasi, the ancient cities Ephesus, Millet, Didyma, (Didim) Prien that belong to the different periods of the history, such as Antic Greek or Roman period BC, spread out beside the sea. Inside of them, besides the tourist voices, you can *listen the sound*

of time and you may feel such as someone who is out of the objective time, or like someone who is free of the border system of his life. A photography that I made there corresponds with my imaginary picture of freedom and humanity. It is an artificial structure, which is free of all oscillations actual in *national vision*. I can say, that it is an example of a Trans-cultural form of art and communication. On the photography and in the reality (because the reality itself is the referent of the photography, according to Roland Barthes¹) there is a hill with the buildings/monuments constructed in a different periods of the history; they are made from different empires, Greek, Roman Empire and Ottoman Empire. Those buildings are the magnificent results of different cultures, ethnic or folklore groups, different religions and politic systems. Up on the hill, you can see the Church of St Johan, in the middle is an Isa Bey Mosque and on the bottom, there is a temple devoted to goddess Artemis (Diana)– Artemision temple– that is one of the worlds miracles. It isn't an abstract body. It is a real body that insists to ruin the borders and exists for someone who has specific interior sense, an ability to cross the borders of all past and present times and places and to concentrates him to this artistic reality made of time and space. This is a sublime picture of Mediterranean world.

I would like to make the comparison between this reality and the performance called “Culturalization or ontological missing of the tragedy” which was made by Zaneta Vangeli in Skopje. She tries to displace the codes, or better to make the mixture of codes from different cultural systems and refers to the procedure of shifting and transformation in their meaning. Her sublimation is realized through *an imaginary reproduction* of the interior of the church of St Sophia/Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. This building was an orthodox temple, a church, but through the period of Ottoman Empire it was transformed in a mosque, but today it is a museum, or *a building of a culture*.

I use this performance to explain the possibility of transformation, or better of shifting the codes and to accord to their projection on the actual and contemporary *dialogues* and *misunderstanding* between the people, between “I” and the “Others”. My photography and this performance clearly points to the James Donald's thought that ‘a nation doesn't express itself through its culture, it is culture that produces the nation’.² He also means about the “culturalisation of the social by the culture.” From this beginning I would like to point out to the whole heterogeneous world of living from which is consists the reach base of European culture, it creates the Mediterranean world of differences.

Before all my explanations, I would like to say something about the sense of the text or narration and about the interpretative response of the reader.

There are many conflicts between “the will” of the person and the construction of the rules in the community upon which we have to coordinate our narratives. I know that differences between the affective and cognitive constructions in the consciousness of the reader are usually active aspect of the mind of the narrator who decides to narrate the story of his everyday life. With full awareness about that fact, I will start my story that has to be believable for the others, full of many arguments and at the end, I know that the story must be rather good organized than to be real. That is a complex construction of the rhetorical tools with the general aim: constructing the identity through the story, not even more in the life, but through the narration.

2.The Philosophy of Differ(A)nces

The philosophy of *Differance*, according to Derrida, was created upon the specific point of view of the Being that includes its understanding through the movement, activity and origin situated in the primordial spatiality. It is a *middle voice* that “precedes and sets up the opposition between passivity and activity.” The start point of the problem of including the letter “a” instead of “e” in the word “differance” that change the meaning of the word “difference” and makes a new philosophical word key, can be explained by the sentences taken from Derrida’s text titled *Differance*: “With it’s *a*, differance more properly refers to what in classical language would be called the origin or production of differences and the differences between differences, the play (*jeu*) of differences. Its locus and operation will therefore be seen wherever speech appeals to difference.”³

If someone wants to establish the ontology of Being, that usually goes through the language as an instrument of mediation and as a system of signs of representation, he has to accept the speech as a signification or better as an referring instrument with which he can make an identification. Our theses are that it is a simple process of *identification* if we insist to accept only a clear concept that understands and constructs the image of the Being with some specific qualities that usually bordered its existence, and excluded the other qualities that are also parts of the existence about we are talking about. Acceptance of this new construction of the meaning in the discourse of philosophy by including the term of DIFFERENCE, solves the problem of integration of differences between complex elements and qualities of the Being. This problem is explained by Derrida on this way: “But the word ‘difference’,” he said,” (with an *e*) could never refer to differing *as temporalizing* or to difference as *polemos*. It is this loss of sense that the word differance (with an *a*) will have to schematically compensate for. Differance can refer to the whole complex of its meanings at once, for it is immediately and irreducibly multivalent, something which will be important for the discourse I’m trying to develop.”⁴

If the explanation starts with the polemic of presence and absence of meanings and with the idea of trace or chain, system in which every concept refers to the others and, they continue to point out to another concepts, than we think about the system of *playing* with the differences. Because of it, as Derrida points out, we can speak only about the possibility of conceptualizing, and not for the stabile and fixed concept of Being.⁵ If we accept this kind of play of the differences, we couldn’t speak about the summation of that what is inscribed in our epoch, but about the juncture, about the functioning of the present Being posed on the trace of transformations and movements, Being that is unacceptable as a close concept, but as an active and diverse existence, always in connection with its past and future elements. That kind of understanding is activated through the signs as the instruments of representation and constructing the images. But they are never stabile and fixed; *differance* is the movement through which the signification becomes possible but in a special way of making the correlations: each element that is said to be present, appeared on the stage of presence, but always in a correlation with the other as a retained element from the past, and with its projection that belongs to the future.

Leaving the philosophy of precise concepts, we are involved in the *dialogue* as an instrument of making the trace of constant playing between the past and the future, we are included in the system of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of the elements that are separated in the space, and differ one of another. By this kind of understanding the world we are in a position to speak about the problem of *constructing the images through the multicultural dialogue*.

3.The ontology of beings and being ness/ globalization or multicultural dialogue

Great demonstrations of the students, and the polemics of the intellectuals in Europe in 1968 introduce in our thought about the world system, an idea of a new politic which was evaluated as a politic of humanity, understanding and developing, It seems that the world was set up for changes and for a better direction of developing its potentials for democracy and dialogue. Everybody was admiring of the possibility and needless of showing the differences between the existences of everything, first of all importance of exchanging the ideas that were presented as human and positive. It also includes the differences of the human beings; differ in their sex, race or class position. In that space of open dialogue between the differences was established *the desire for dialogue* and exchanging the ideas between the cultures from the north and south, from the west and east.

Contrapuntal explanation of the great expectation of this positive flow inscribed in the slogan “Vive la difference”, according to Balibar, start with the problem of its deconstruction, or with something that is not marked ‘in it’. Positive and negative elements included in the concept are limited in its appearance as fullness. It is impossible to escape from the past or historical background of the concept of difference that pointed out to the dominant understanding of the differences as differences in hierarchy, domination, injustice, or social inequality. Contradiction of the positive explanation of developing the differences was the social or racist claims, which are also included in the meaning of the slogan “Long live the difference”. Balibar explain that new racism is ‘differencialist’.⁶

Although, the demonstrations from 1968 seems like a positive event, because they express the changes that were expected to enter and to be applied in the documents of the representative institutions of the state, in the politic of governments, it was impossible to delete the negative consequences and the crisis. Freedom and liberty were accepted as a model of living in the communities that exist as *alternative* and separated from the elite part of the state.

Latter, many of us attach their hope for better future by making the connection with the time of the “great event in the next decade of great expectations and hope”. It was in 1989, and the great historical event was the event of “breaking the wall “in Berlin with which starts the great concept of making the integration or rather construction of the global relations between many different parts of the world. This kind of expectations, as an action brings the world to the new ideology of globalization and signalizes full changing of the position of the people. Instead of fixed existence, they accepted the dynamic culture of living in constant movement.

Maybe, 1969 was in the name of celebrating the differences, freedom and liberation from the norms of believing and leaving. Before that year, many countries in the world were liberated and decolonized; they start with the process of constructing the system of the *western model of state organization*.

I have to say that the event in the 1989 looks like a great transformation that becomes a part of a definitive establishing of the separate states in the East Block. That was a process of ‘transition’, or on Russian, „perestrojka”. But, it doesn’t occur with out negative connotations. According to Rada Ivekovic, the problem is in the concept of “transition”, she explains that it is a “pitifully misleading and empty (...) in itself, (...) pragmatically practical, (...) used for post–socialist and post–colonial transition, what means from one ideological system of leaving to another. But this concept never explains *to what it is meant to be a transition.*” She concludes her explanation with these words: “Surely, it must be a globalization of the Western/Nordern pattern of post–modern neo–liberal capitalism.”⁷

That means that this transition or the phenomenon of trans/nationality could be understood as the battle against *the differences* and as a phenomenon that leads to the system of integration under the ‘monetary system’ of power. Because of that, 1989 was the demarcation line of the end of socialism and the date of embarkation of the past socialist transition, which was never clearly defined. On the micro–level the differences appear as a forceful disintegration of the Soviet Union or Ex–Yugoslavia. The process of making the clear national states was in its beginning and was realized by horrible events that stigmatised peoples life in the period of nineties. The situation of differing could be also definite as a retrograde process of disintegration and a contrapuntal process of European integration. The whole societies that were built as a universal model of socialism had to be reconstructed and they were put in a crises of transformations, they had to change the paradigm through the processes of negotiation and renegotiation by signifying many specific contracts with the European Community as a guarantee. Many of them were not applicable for the countries that are in a phase of their establishing. These renegotiations were achieved through the war. In these contacts were included the dimensions of a new models of dialoguing between the different communities of people that belong to the different national or cultural traditions “condemned” to live side by side in one country, but with appetites to differ and to border their separate territory of the new “clean” national state.

4. Differences as a stigma: image of the Balkans

The problem of differences could be expressed by specific complex of characteristics registered with the concept of *balkanization*. According to Marija Todorova, there are several terms that differ the people from this region from the other nations of the Europe. It is not a region of the “clear and clean” national states, but the territory settled with the people from different nations.

I would like to say something about the specific way of living in this part of the world: Mediterranean world. The traditional image points out that it is established through the others, it is mottled carpets consists of different colors and different im-

ages of the ethnic, national or cultural identities. Paradoxically or not, the main characteristic of the end of the 20th century becomes the essential examination of the identity, provokes by the others, but also confronts with the process of deleting the identity of the others like an act of violent elimination and radical insisting of one's identification. That usually leads to the result of violent resolving the life with dead or with war. According to Prof. Rada Ivecovic, it is a strong tendency of bordering the territories and creating the identity by that lend.⁸ In that context, we are witnesses of a total disappearing of any reflection of the Other and the whole effort is concentrates on the distinguish oneself. By that way we touch the bottom of the life, the death, the violence, and we can see the practicing of violence that characterized most of the histories of the nations that live in the Mediterranean world.

If in the center of our thinking we emphasize the idea of establishing the identity, we have to speak about the national, ethnic or cultural identity, but usually about the identity through its reflection in the eyes of the others. Identity always asks for the territory, it establishes its imaginary borders, but he/she can insist to master the history or the time, and at least the universal, the humanity. All the territories on which insists one's identity couldn't be real, they have to exist as an imaginary land of human living, and after that as a real living, for example our living on the territory of the Mediterranean world of rich and worth.

The identity nests through the story and images, but it usually need the others to listen and accept these images, to react and confirm the existence. The story, also means developing the dialogue through the borders between the territory of the "I" and the existence of others in its world. I pretend to eliminate the established histories and to accept the representations of the individual imaginary world of identifying through the story. All histories in the past in this Mediterranean world insisted on its validity and on its true. I want to point out to the "other", sophisticated stories, which are not representative for a country, or material world, but are usually straitened in its borders. Narration in my essay is some kind of an effort to make a revival of an individual explanation as a story, which will be able to save the past and to integrate the differences, and not recognized aspects of individuality in a space of the text as an example of a dialogue with the thoughts of many Others. It needs its identification by the others. That is a narrative as a Utopia in which the time and space are compressing by texturing the story. By that way I couldn't accept the long tradition of the "Balkans specialties" that wanted to promote the validity of their individual perspective of the events by deleting the history of the others.

First of all, as a region, Balkan is traditionally bordered/divided from the other parts of Europe as a lagging region, although it belongs to the continent although, the roots of the European civilization were planted here, this part was rather separated than integrated in the Europe.

Balkans were traditionally characterized as an *ethos*: independent, proud, courageous and honor. The concept of "balkanization" is derived from the phenomenon of "kleinestaat", according to Erik Hobsbaum. By analyzing the etymology of this term, we can find the same explanations. The verb „balkaniser" means "national fragmentation" as it is pointed out with the situation in the Balkan region" after the First World War. „Balkanisieren" signifies the process of fragmentation of the state by making a

many, many mini-national projects that are enemies between them. In the *Oxford Dictionary of English language*, Norman Paunds explains the term and concept of „balkanization” as elimination or destroying the territory of one geographical region through establishing the micro-national states that are usually in relations of the enemy. In the Dictionary of Italian language „balkanization” means despotism, revolution, contrarevolution, guerilla and attempting of one’s life. After the Second World War the term balkanization was activated in connection with the process of decolonisation.⁹

Today this is concept with a specific interpretation. It is a term that points out to the connotation of *multicultural dimensions* of a society, or it is used as a metaphor of postmodernism or post-communism. Harold Blum used this term as a synonym of dehumanisation, deestetization, or as a process of ruining the civilization. Out of his explanations we have to accept the concept of balkanisation as a concept that always refer to *fragmentation*, and it is too dangerous if it points out to the ideological fragmentation, which always convey the process of consolidation of the external power that usually dictates the construction or reconstruction of the model of existence in these “kleinestaat”.¹⁰

The opposite side of this process could be understood by looking for the transnational *perspectives* or multifocal approaches to the world accepted as a text of the culture, according to J. Lotman. It could be explained as a necessity of every human being to make the projection of himself in the mirror of the universal community as an equal person in the unity of many different persons that are included in it. The problem of any person as an identity could be understood through the attempts of integration his very close, but differ aspects: wide „ego” aspect and „the aspect of the other as unconscious part of the mind”. But that problem of the human beings according to our starting positions points out to the solicitation for *differance* as mark of a subversion of every realm, which is fixed and bordered. Making the identity is a process of constant deployment of human being, or rather of his ontological differences. It is a confirmation of a specific thought that covey to the possibility of conceptualising the *differance*. It is a process of making the marks of the transnational *and intercultural movement of this deployment*.

It is easier to analyse the problem of differentiation, instead the possibilities of intercultural integration or trans-national dialogue of cultures. Contemporary life corresponds with the process of differentiation with many dilemmas about the new integration, although the globalisation is constantly presence in all dialogues about the power of the integrated capital in the trade system. The problem of the differences could be shown through the specific movements in the contemporary life. The societies in transition loose their epistemological coherence or pattern, although the start point of our explanation is the ontological status of living in a society that has confirmed its coherence through the power of integration of different cultural and national traditions.

Each society or each culture has some epistemological coherence, says Rada Ivekovic, where everything holds within the same logic: inter-communications, exchanges between groups and generations, the transmission of knowledge, certain coherence between a self-image and reality. When it is gone, the loss is ‘desperately’

being 'repaired'. In that process the actors are other social subjects. No such coherence holds the reality any more. The society ruptured and it is a beginning of the process of balkanisation understood as a process of ruining the whole.

If I speak about the subject and its identification in the multicultural zone or transnational zone of Ex-Yugoslavia in the past, I couldn't forget the presence of ideal that was physically embodied and through whose presence we measure and integrate our identity. Our growing was a long process of constructing the self and the self-reality through the images of the others. As a younger generation, we enjoyed in the mythical time of present that exists without the continuum of changes. With stability of its institutions that represents and constructs the ideal or fixed image of identification, we were bordered in the space of 'equal' and uniform people who's established their life in constant and authorial world of living. By that way of understanding the world, as R. Ivekovic points out, we loose the feeling of time. By making the contraction of time we loose the reality of historical process of changing. It was easier to produce the reality out of the historical periods of changing and movement. Reality was a happy world situated in an ideal present that deleted any consciousness of our individual past life, or our future. We were loose in the myth of the population that was constituted from the non-responsible people who leave upon the decisions of the father-figure, or, as Rada Ivekovic said, upon the decisions of the "founding fathers". The main position has the founding fathers. We were more pseudo-subjects or rather no-subjects.¹¹

My efforts to explain the space of differences and the relation between the local or different, and the global, or transnational concept of the culture, will point out to some other complex term that was introduced by prof. Zoran Konstantinovic. The term "balkanisation" is very close to the Turkish word and a very complex concept of "palanka". The palanka, is a form of leaving, a society that is emerging as a rural, patriarchal culture, with constant tendency to access the form of urban culture. The world of "palanka" exists only through the dream and constant desire for a different world, because of what the palanka is only an imitation of life. People live in a community with a high degree of safety life, but they live in a melancholy because of constant lack or unfulfilled desire to become someone who is the Other.

By including the problem of palanka against the urban life, we speak about the relations between the province and central cities, about the centre and margin, or about the local bordered world as it is the national state and the universe of the global world of transnational living through the multicultural dialogue realized from the separate positions.

The spirit of palanka is a symbol of our living on the Balkan, the phenomenon of existence that will never be the part of the urban European life? It is also a description of a difference between the minority and the majority. This is why the description of palanka suits to all types of contemporary societies, especially post-colonial ones that are on their way of transition to modernization or post-modernization of the life. According to R.Ivekovic, if the concept of palanka continue to exists without changes or movement that leads our minds to the consciousness of the necessity of multicultural relations, than we are surely accept the direction to nationalism and to fascism.¹²

5. Differentiation and inter-cultural dialogue through the paradigm of gendering: possibility of life as an androgyny

I would like to finish my explanation by speaking about my point of view, or rather from the position of the woman from the Balkan. That is also an aspect of differences that fill the space of our everyday living with the other. This position, also, points out to the problem of intercultural and inter-subjective dialogue between the people. The difference female/male was the first boundary or limitation imposed in the language and in the reality between the people that are treated as different categories of people with unequal opportunities.

The philosophy of differences is anticipated historically very early by founding the differences that look coming natural, but they have their social implications. Because of that we are speaking about the gender, although the difference or boundary between sex and gender relations, that are inscribed in English language, doesn't explain where sex stops and gender starts, that means that the limit between the terms is very difficult to be established. *The oldest difference inscribed in the language and thought is the sexual or gender difference.* It is basic although unquestionable and un-problematised; it is a part of our life where we have a habit to sexualize everything. That means that the process of making the identification is usually followed by the process of making the differences, the oppositions always go together: integration and isolation, universality and differences. The status of women is usually analyzed by speaking about differences, but with approaches that are included in the former analyzing of the philosophy of differences, 'theory' of "balkanization" or "europeisation". Using the symbol, we can remember about the story/myth about the Beauty/ Europe, and the wild and barbarian man from the Balkans that seduce her, or try to kidnap her and get her from her own place of order and organization, cosmos, to his chaos and natural way of leaving.

Women from the Balkan are usually represented as an incarnation of the boundaries, they are poor, but natural and contradictive in themselves, "*balkandzika*" is a word of their stigmatisation. Although we speak about the state or the nation organized through the process of establishing the identity in the figure of the Father, women are subordinated in their position of the guarantee of the hegemonies of the nation.

At the end, we have to accept the argument that the gender relations exist in all type of communities and they don't need a state. First boundaries are incarnate inside the community of people; they point out to the differences by dividing people into categories with unequal opportunities.¹³

The role of the woman is to incarnate the role of the universal pattern to the extent that even the organization of the state follows it. The women are *the limit* of the masculine universality under the mask of neutrality. Within the family, the women are relegated to the private space and rendered symbolically invisible and without publicity. They have their function to represent the clean line of the nation and its foundation in the institution such as family is. How can be explained the relation between the women and the state, between the limit and border, from one side and universal and global world of the people to the other side?

Process of external colonization is a process of involution of the ready-made people that are coming to build the states. Territories, geography, countries, borders, for the new universal masters, were created *ex nihilo*. In North and Latin America where nations are created with out the local population or in disregard of it, imported population from Europe or a ready-made people appeared as a political subjects, or citizens and they started with using the instruments that helped them to create the European model of a national state, or rather the state of equal people, what means that everybody has to accept the same language, behaviour, habits or religion by which he/she will be included in the same type of community, in the national state different from the others states. To be alive meant to accept all this norms of behaviour; on the contrary you were the enemy of the state.

Parallel of that external geographical colonization, and the constitution of a national state, is the process of internal colonization, which is among other things inscribed on the body of the women as well as on the body of a collective imaginary "womanhood". In the latter, female autonomy, the citizen ship of women and their human rights are made subordinate to the interests of the community (religious or national) and of the state. We point out to this very clear explanation of prof. Rada Ivekovic who says: "Women are made to incarnate the nation and national (male) order. The process of nation building or a process of partition is not intended to allow women to be subjects or agents of change. The women are put in a position of instruments for the transmission the messages. The women don't belong to the nation or the race in the same way the man do, because they are not entitled bearers or representatives, except in some chosen figures." The women get their position of a citizenship two hundred years after man do.

But the identity principal basic on the national identity through which the culture is treated as a representative form so clear defined through the state and nation is a problem that shows the difficulties of women as the representatives of hegemonies.

Interesting example of differences and the efforts to make the bridge is Balkan itself. The Balkans is treated as a strong people and heroes only in a mythological story of Europe who was kidnapped, and than backed to the island.

The Balkans are different in this rendering situation of differing the centre from the margins, in that situation we made our choice long time ago, we decide to be "the other" as a woman or woman from the Balkan, we have our position on the margin rather than the people the first world.

We continue to live on the place that is usually symbolized as a bridge, or windy place of dangerous leaving. How long can we stand here and live in those difficult conditions of life? Is it possible to stand on the bridge through the years that come forward in the next century? If the Balkans is so vulgar and violent people prepared to contract their border and will to grasp the women, how can be integrated them in the civilized Europe? Balkan is also a part of Europe? Nizche said that the man is a bridge, not the aim, but Marija Todorova asks how long can we stand there, on that bridge as a windy place without any dialogue or understanding from the people that

are close to us, as a human beings but so far as an Europeans?!

Gloria Azaldua said:

“In the country of the border you are on the field of war, where the enemies are relatives between them,

At home you are the stranger,

To survive in the country on the border you have to live the blue ‘fronteras’,

You have to be a crossroad...”

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Kopsavilkums

Galvenais analīzes mērķis ir parādīt Balkānu identitātes veidošanos sabiedrībā un it īpaši “kultūras telpā”, kā arī tos apstākļus, kādi nepieciešami noteiktas identifikācijas koncepcijas pārtapšanai realitātē. Pārejas periodos postkomunistiskajās valstīs dzimuma, šķiru un rasu atšķirību problēmas ir kļuvušas par svarīgu dzīves sastāvdaļu, – tā jāanalizē kā globāla kultūras problēma ar daudzām pārnacionālām un intertekstuālām konotācijām. Runa ir par dziļu domstarpību izraisošiem dialogiem

starp cilvēkiem un līdzekļiem, kurus tie izmanto, pierādot, ka ir personības, kas tiek iekļautas cilvēciskās saziņas procesā. Analīzē izmantoti galvenokārt vēstījuma prozas teksti, kas pārstāv dažādu kultūru uzskatus un dzīves formas. Vai šādu tekstu dialogs spēj atspoguļot un panākt izmaiņas cilvēku praktiskajā dzīvē to dzimtenes teritorijās, kur valda atšķirīgi, kaut arī visai tuvi priekšstati par dažādiem kultūras aspektiem? Kā atšķirīgie dzimumi var izpaust savas specifiskās īpašības savas valsts reālajā dzīvē un ārpus tās? Pētījumā galvenā uzmanība pievērsta postkomunistiskās ēras pārmaiņām un multikulturālajai integrācijai. Vai bez tekstu dialoga eksistē vēl kādi spēcīgi līdzekļi pārmaiņu panākšanai?!

Americanization of Estonia: social mechanisms and literary manifestations

Igaunijas amerikanizācija: sociālais mehānisms un literārie manifesti

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The article argues for an analysis of processes of cultural Americanization on the basis of a broad sociological notion of culture, i.e. culture as a “way of life”, via a dialectic of deep-seated processes of value change and the reception of cultural icons as mediated through these processes. An attempt to articulate socio-economic mechanisms operant in recent Americanization of the dominant Estonian value system is checked against tracing the resultant new ethos in the work of the Estonian best-selling author Kaur Kender.

Keywords: Americanization, Estonia, culture.

The discourse of cultural Americanization, be it couched in negative terms (as “a discourse of rejection to point to the variety of processes through which America exerts its dismal influence on European cultures”¹) or in positive ones (American culture as a “zone of liberation or democracy”, America as “a locus for pleasure”, America as utopia or “a fantasy zone”²), tends to deal with culture in the relatively narrow sense of the term, as one area of human activity alongside others such as economy, politics, etc., all of them closely interrelated, of course, yet in the final analysis separate. Hence the focus on dichotomies such as popular culture/high culture with the attending laments of American popular culture “invading” European high culture and undermining its authority or, on the positive side, the exultation over Whitman’s “word democratic, word en masse” challenging the cozy high cultural consensus of Europe³. Within the bounds of this approach to cultural influence, cultural iconography, symbols, objects, artifacts, operate on their own – via the media, advertising and other channels – and can be either passively absorbed by the recipients, contested and resisted, or, to take the middle ground, freely “taken out of their historical and cultural contexts and juxtaposed with other signs from other sources”⁴. What seems to be lacking, however, is an explanation for the predilection of representatives of recipient cultures in particular contexts of one or another of the wide range of possible responses.

It is the present author’s conviction that reception of culture in the narrower sense is predicated on culture understood far more broadly – one might say, sociologically or anthropologically – as “behavior patterns associated with particular groups of people, that is, /.../ ‘customs’ or /.../ a people’s ‘way of life’”⁵. This broad unified concept of culture, originally borrowed from anthropologists, in particular Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, a concept that encompasses not only works of art – be it high or popular – but also institutions, behavior, values, and mentalities, has indeed

been seen as pivotal to the whole project of American Studies as an interdisciplinary field⁶. However, in the actual practice of the discipline, and most conspicuously so in research into Americanization, the broadening of the notion of culture has been limited to its democratization through the inclusion of popular culture and everyday artifacts, while the sociological dimension has been all but neglected⁷.

Central to the sociological notion of culture is the concept of “shared meanings”⁸, among which shared values occupy pride of place. Indeed, according to Hofstede⁹, it is values that constitute the “deepest manifestation of culture”. Culture in the narrower sense, then, is able to exert its influence in a form and to an extent largely determined by the governing value system of the recipients. This is not to deny the dialectic of the processes: the lure of new cultural icons clearly plays a significant role in the very transformation of the value systems that condition the mode of their reception. Yet the role should not perhaps be overestimated, not even in this age of mass communication: cultures with strongly ingrained value systems may enthusiastically espouse the external trappings of, say, imported popular culture (cf. the immense appeal of American action movies in the Arab countries), with the deeper layers of mentality remaining untouched.

The complex mechanisms that change culture as a “way of life” largely defined by the dominant set of values cannot, thus, be reduced to an influx, however massive, of foreign cultural artifacts, and have to be studied separately, with input from various disciplines¹⁰. Meanwhile, the results of such a study can well be checked against the manifestation of (transformed) values in indigenous cultural products. This is the approach I am going to take in the present article: instead of tracing direct influence of American literature on present-day Estonian literature – a perfectly feasible project, of course – I am going to attempt to unravel – admittedly in a sketchy manner – social mechanisms operant in the Americanization of the dominant Estonian value system and, as the next step, the manifestation of the new values in the work of the Estonian best-selling author Kaur Kender. The analysis cannot be unidirectional, though, since many of the social changes underlying the value shift are also documented, one might say almost on-line, in the works of the author, starting from “Independence Day”, his first and most acclaimed novel (translated into several languages) up to the latest novel “The Bank Fraud”. Indeed the multi-directionality of the analysis seems to point to another advantage of a symbiosis of traditional American Studies with Social Sciences where, this time, it is the Social Sciences that are the beneficiary: (changes in) dominant cultural values can oftentimes be more authentically revealed through an analysis of culture in the narrower sense, particularly through works of wide popular appeal, than, e.g., via the traditional – at times questionable – method of questionnaires.

I have ventured the claim elsewhere¹¹ that if Europe is currently being Americanized, this happens chiefly, indeed massively, through former East and Central European countries. Paradoxically, while discourse of Americanization is vigorous in Western Europe, in much of Eastern Europe it is conspicuous by its absence. Yet, on reflection, the paradox is only seeming: American influence on these countries is, to paraphrase Stuart Hall¹², concealed by its very visibility, by its omnipresence, as it were. While even in the period when Western Europe was picking itself up from the ravages of war, it never lost a basic

continuity of its values and, consequently, the capacity to filter foreign influences to suit the local landscape – as well as an acute awareness of the nature and origin of the influences, East and Central European countries, entering an affluent West as new but poor capitalist countries, were caught in a maelstrom of change that all but deprived them of the capacity of selective absorption/appropriation of foreign values. Like genomes in the process of meiosis, these societies in transition were and still are vulnerable to foreign influences to an extent that has recently necessitated the use of the term “syndrome of social immunodeficiency”.

How did the situation come about? The well-worn cliché – one that the present author resolutely opposes – has it that the old values that people were bereft of were those flaunted by official Soviet ideology. In fact, it has repeatedly, and with full justification, been claimed that in socialist countries Communists and the people spoke different languages. This implies a schizophrenic co-existence – sometimes in the same individual – of two different cultures that could be characterized as the official and the resistance one, the latter embracing far more than the openly dissident activities of a relatively small group of people.

Resistance culture operated in the framework of what might be termed warrior mentality whose values (solidarity, strong emotional bonds, glory) centered round a heroic struggle for freedom. The struggle followed the typical scheme of fighting the Other – viz., official culture – through a significant Third – viz., the democratic West. What is crucial, however, is how the Third was constructed. In a schizophrenic society the operation of the semiotic boundary between society and its environment (with its dual functions of communication and filtering) assumes atypical forms. In particular, the filter, as it were, takes on an agency of its own: information that official culture attempts to filter out paradoxically increases manifold in significance while information officially admitted is rejected by resistance culture irrespective of its truth value.

Thus, information about the Third accepted and absorbed by resistance culture was idealistically biased, and, more importantly, predominantly took the form of visual images of abundance, ironically so, since for warrior mentality quest for abundance is strictly irrelevant. However, since the freedom fought for was an abstract notion rather than experienced reality, visual images of abundance easily assumed the role of its symbol. With the collapse of socialism the symbol overpowered what it symbolized. Resistance culture, though instrumental in bringing about the collapse, did not come out of it as a winner, the parallel polis dreamed of by Vaclav Havel¹³ never materialized.

Instead, abundance, turned from a symbol into a primary goal, brought about a new prevailing mindset, best described as merchant mentality, the seeds of which had always been there in the form of parallel, network-based economy, and opened the floodgates for the real Third. The former socialist countries underwent what amounts to not just a culture shift but rather a collective cognitive frame shift which wiped out not only official but also resistance culture and, with them, the indigenous genomes of the societies, carried primarily by the latter¹⁴. Moreover, having been forcibly excluded from much of the real operation of society, resistance culture was in no position, within a short space of time, to establish a semiotic boundary of its own.

In the new situation, with affluence the uppermost value, it was only logical for the countries to turn to the US as an affluent nation *par excellence*. Also, alternative models such as the Scandinavian or German one (which prevailed in prewar independent Estonia¹⁵), are heavily dependent on social trust and bonds of tradition, the mechanisms of which can only properly function on the basis of a society's own genome. Indeed, it is the very bonds of trust and tradition that function as a basis for national pride – some would say “dignity”, though others would prefer, say, “hide-bound insularity” – that makes people both aware of and wary of foreign influences and accounts, in particular, for much of West European anti-Americanization rhetoric. With the tradition disrupted, specifically American values couched in individualistic and materialistic achievement-through-action discourse naturally become the easiest to adopt, all the more so as they hold the highest promise for a close advent of affluence.

One should here return to an aspect of socialist society earlier mentioned only in passing, viz., the seeds of merchant mentality that had always been there in the form of parallel, network-based economy. At least two social groups were particularly well-prepared for the robber capitalism that ensued the collapse of socialism: the top of the *nomenklatura* with its access to information and social networks, and the notorious small traders swarming round Intourist hotels to exchange goods with foreigners. The disproportionate representation of these groups among present-day economic and political elites would be amazing if one did not take into account the mechanisms of transition described above. In his “Independence Day”, Kender gives a vivid cynical description of how the seeds of merchant mentality at its worst blossomed forth, in particular, how the small traders amassed their proverbial “first million”. The title, apart from being intertextually teasing, is outrageously ironical, since Estonia's regaining of independence catches the main character in the midst of the amassment of the million through highly imaginative large-scale robbing of innocent Finns, and leaves them totally indifferent. These people have clearly had no part in the resistance culture, and their final triumph – in “Independence Day” as well as in reality – is testimony to the impotence of the latter in the face of altered circumstances.

I have pointed out elsewhere¹⁶ that the circumstances that reigned in post-independent Estonia in the first half of the 1990s remind one almost uncannily of the American Frontier, both in terms of the literal opening up of new spaces and in the economic sense. The characters of the “Independence Day” put the spotlight on the Estonian “Frontier's” shady side. Let us here recall Philip Slater's words to the effect that the demographic selection that produced the present-day American, starting with the immigration and reinforced by the westward movement on the Frontier, favored, on the one hand, “energetic, mobile, ambitious, daring, and optimistic persons” while, on the other, America “also gained the lion's share of the rootless, the unscrupulous, those who value money over relationships, and those who put self-aggrandizement over love and loyalty”¹⁷. That the latter group was successful in the social-darwinistic atmosphere of the Frontier needs hardly to be proved.

Yet the former group was there as well – both on the American Frontier and its Estonian reincarnation, where economic success could also be achieved through entrepreneurship, i.e. by persons “energetic, mobile, ambitious, daring, and optimistic”.

Estonians took advantage of their propitious situation where they, on the one hand, possessed a network of relationships in the West, and, on the other, had ready access to Russian natural resources which for a time they were able to trade to the West at a profit margin approaching 1000%. This was a time of the lone entrepreneur whose firm was “his lengthened shadow”¹⁸. Economic success was very much an individual matter and, as such, a source of individual pride. It was also, in true frontier fashion, a matter of adventure, and as such, emotionally satisfying, not to say exhilarating. Though in the second half of the nineties, as large Western companies, too unwieldy, bureaucratic, routinized and impersonal for an individual to identify with, moved in, and “the man became the shadow of the firm”¹⁹, the American values that the Estonian “Frontier period” had had such a potent role in entrenching went on of their own momentum.

The present author is equally far from either lamenting over or extolling Americanization here understood as a wholesale adoption of American values. For one, the values themselves are ambivalent – which is probably the underlying reason for the diametrically opposite attitudes in much of West–European discourse of Americanization. One can well imagine fascination with “freedom, casualness, liberality, vitality, modernity, and youthfulness”²⁰ co-existing with at least cautious condemnation of excessive materialism, obsession with measurable achievement, an almost religious belief in the redemptive power of money – obtained honestly or otherwise –, contempt for poverty, indifference toward the past that comes close to amnesia, the attitude of “self is what self does” and the resulting absence of reflection, the cult of youth, or the uncritical acceptance of change, movement, and technology as valuable *per se*²¹. However, whatever one’s personal attitude, there is overwhelming evidence that Estonians – with the possible exception of the old generation – are in the process of espousing all of these (mainstream) American values. For results of sociological surveys (together with a critique of their methodology), evidence from the media, etc., see, e.g., Vogelberg 1999, 2000²². Here, however, let us have a look at the reflection of the values in Kender’s work. A passage from his third novel – “The Abnormal” – almost seems to have been written with a view to illustrating the sociological analysis. The setting is, appropriately, New York.

“YOU know: one has to be a 21st century writer. Young. Strong. Aggressive. Gone are the days when writers were hoary tottering old men or bespectacled old women in cardigans. /.../ Step aside, Dostoyevsky. *We* are not going to return to the scene of the crime, for we remember neither what we did nor where, to whom and why we did it. /.../ We need literature of the extreme. “If you are so clever than show me the MONEY” /the quote is in English in the original:/ – this is what one says to old writers. And one says it only once. If they have nothing to show for it, they’ll be forgotten.

/.../ Your long black coat is flapping in the wind, you are standing slightly straddled, your head is just a shade tilted, nobody can see behind your black glasses. You need a new Sony VAIO laptop. It is three times as thin as Dostoyevsky’s “Idiot”, yet the whole of Russian literature fits on its hard disk. You need a cell phone. A global cell phone that works in the remotest spots of the world. /.../ You produce columns and reviews, you give interviews, write poems and novels. You are productive. And well paid. /.../ Present-day life realizes itself in you and through you. You write

fast. You have nothing but pity for those who lose a manuscript and then boast that they can restore 98% of it. Wretched creatures. *You* can restore nothing. Because whatever you write is born for that unique moment only. You are insured in Lloyd's. If something is lost, you get the money back. And you move on. Not backwards. Indeed you think that in the work of those restorers that 98% is trash and it is only the missing 2% that are creative, new, unique. /.../ You have to act like Woody Allen. Spit on conventions. You have to produce, produce, produce incessantly. Until the time comes when critics are talking about your previous work, the readers are reading the new one, and you are talking about the coming one. Before long, the critics are completely fooled and there is nothing to prevent you from freely entertaining people. On-line. Real time. 24/7/365. /.../'²³.

In the fast-paced vibrantly energetic cadences of the passage, one can, of course, easily detect direct American literary and, perhaps even more obviously, cinematic influences. Kender himself has repeatedly and emphatically spoken about his admiration for and spiritual affinity with Tarantino. But one can also look at the text as a straightforward credo of a young Estonian out to conquer the world – a reading rendered all the more plausible by Kender's own ambivalence about his status as a writer, his refusal to take on the high moral responsibilities traditionally associated with the role. What is more, judging by Kender's phenomenal success, the credo is clearly shared by the majority of Estonians of at least his own generation. And the credo celebrates nearly every American value listed above.

What is more, an Estonian would recognize in the passage a not-so-hidden polemic with the Grand Old Man of Estonian literature, the Nobel-nominee Jaan Kross, who did indeed lose a manuscript and declared that he had been able to restore 98% of it. However, it is not the personal polemic that is significant here (in an interview Kender actually admits to rather liking Kross's novels), nor even a clash of generations, but rather an impassioned refutation by Kender – and his impressively large following – of the whole set of values, indeed the ethos, predominant in prewar independent Republic of Estonia and adhered to by resistance culture throughout the Soviet period, an ethos, as already mentioned, of predominantly German origin. The Estonian writer Tõnu Õnnepalu has perceptively pointed out that the anti-German ideology of prewar Estonia was, paradoxically, thoroughly German in its deeper layers²⁴. Perhaps this is not so paradoxical, after all, as the German masters, though hated, were also actively emulated since the beginning of the Estonian National Awakening (a movement that itself was, of course, rooted in Herderian ideology). Jaan Kross, with the bulk of his work devoted to the exceptional Estonians who at various historical periods have managed to break free from their own ethnos and, as it were, become Germans, epitomizes this German ethos in more ways than one, starting with his choice of themes and the values he espouses up to his own manner of writing – meticulous, craftsmanlike, given to display of erudition, with passages carefully wrought and assiduously polished, every detail exuding the aura of the Teutonic style

Kender's revolt against this ethos is symptomatic of a general, though gradual, shift in newly independent Estonia from German to American values, as witnessed, for example, by the switchover of the Estonian mainstream press from the German paradigm, with its long, discursive, reflective, abstract essays, to the American one²⁵. The gradual nature of the shift and a continued coexistence of the two mentalities,

with all the resultant creative tensions, should, however, be emphasized: hence also the poignancy of the revolt. In a way, what is happening here is another struggle against the Other with the help of the Third, yet now, in altered circumstances, the Other is not the Soviet system but the serious, profound, yet at times stifling German ethos, and the Third is no more represented by the (imagined) democratic West in general, but by the openly, indeed cynically, materialistic yet refreshingly vigorous America.

One can here trace a curious parallel with the case of Britain where hard-boiled American detective fiction of Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler attained high popularity as early as the 1930s precisely because it embodied values radically different from those of the British upper-middle class posturing as universal.²⁶

While in prewar independent Estonia the German upper class was physically no longer there and was indeed openly detested, its ghost, in the guise of the supposedly universal values that it left behind, was nevertheless widely venerated. For Estonia, as in fact for a number of other post-Soviet societies, the fact that pre-Soviet values preserved by resistance culture were in reality also imported ones, may provide an additional reason for the social immunodeficiency syndrome: it might be easier to shed something that was not genuinely indigenous to begin with.

Yet even in the case of Kender, can we really speak of an unconditionally enthusiastic espousal of American values, ecstatic and exhilarating though the passage quoted seems? Let us read on.

“You have the program of how to be a writer. There is a tiny detail yet to be taken care of, though. You do not have a book. You believe that writers of the 22nd century will be better off. They won’t have to go to the trouble of writing a book. They simply have to *be* writers. And to live as writers live. Going to every extreme. Many marriages, cohorts of children, car accidents, arrests, lovers, overdoses, waking up from coma, air crashes, natural disasters, cosmic collisions /.../ You know that you are immortal. But not the way Pushkin and Dostoyevsky are. You are immortal because a moment arrives when nobody needs you. Your name, your image, your media appearances, your new novels, rumors about you will never be lost. They are produced by a huge concern. You will forever be under thirty. Young, Strong, Aggressive. Well, if not forever, then at least until this sells. And actually you’ll be made into two brands. The first is the one who writes columns and reviews. And the other the one who writes novels and poems. /The first is/ *pržt-ā-porter* and universally available. The other /.../ *haute couture*. Exclusive. And expensive. And you sell. Sooner or later you go to the Stock Exchange. IPO. 51% for sale. You’ll become Blue Chip. And you are not interested in management buy-out. In secret, to prevent inside tradings from troubling anybody, you’ll sell all of your shares. And you’ll be free. And you won’t ask yourself what the point of it all was. New York. New York”.

The passage is admittedly ambivalent and open to divergent interpretations. It might be viewed as a crescendo in the young hero’s exaltation of America, a kind of inebriation where all limits are freely crossed and the very absurdity reached is exulted in. This reading of Kender as a “straightforward”, unreflecting author, who “takes the tide at the flood” and gives himself up to it (finding himself, variously, led on to literary flop or fortune), is at least in part supported by the rest of his work.

However, Kender's work also sustains a subtler interpretation which does not exclude (possibly unconscious) irony and self-irony. Which could, in the final analysis, very well form a substantial part in Estonians' adoration and imitation of Americans.

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- ²³ Kaur Kender. *Ebanormaalne (Eesti Keele Sihtasutus)*. – Tallinn, 2000, 83–85, my translation.
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- ²⁵ see Vogelberg 2000.
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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā pierādīta nepieciešamība kultūras amerikanizācijas procesus analizēt, balstoties uz plašāku kultūras socioloģisko izpratni, proti, izprotot kultūru kā “dzīves veidu” un dialektiski aplūkojot vērtību maiņas dziļākos procesus un tajos mainīgo kultūras “ikonu” uztveri. Mēģinājums noteikt tos sociāli ekonomiskos mehānismus, kas pēdējā laikā darbojas dominējošās igauņu vērtību sistēmas amerikanizācijas procesā, tiek veikts, pētot izveidojušos jauno etosu igauņu fenomenāli populārā rakstnieka Kaura Kendera darbos.

**Bordercrossings in Janice Kulyk–Keefer’s Novel
“Honey and Ashes”
Robežpārejas Dženisas Kulikas–Kīferes romānā
“Medus un pelni”**

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The book *Honey and Ashes* published in 1998 by the Canadian writer of Ukrainian and Polish origin, literary critic and university professor J.Kulik–Keefer is devoted to the investigation of a family history and ethnic roots. In order to write a family history the author has not only to write down the stories of grandparents but also to read books on history, to investigate geography maps and archive materials. During this process the author has to cross borders between countries, between the present and the past, the imagination and the reality and to overcome language barriers. Though the village by the name of *Staromiszczyna* (in translation – the Old Place) still exists in the place where it has been for hundreds of years everything in it has changed and there is no possibility to visit the past. Travels in imagination and visits to the archives in the Ukraine and Poland discover new discrepancies and tragic events in the lives of people and whole nations which previously have been hidden and not spoken about. Looking from the transcultural point of view chosen by the author it is impossible to find a clear cut and unambiguous answers to a large number of questions about the past or the present. Instead of that it is necessary to try to live without the burden of past wrongdoings and biases and not to impose one’s views on the future.

Keywords: borders, Ukrainian, Polish, Canadian, past and present, transcultural fictions. Janice Kulyk Keefer, a second generation immigrant writer, is an outstanding representative of the so-called hyphenated Canadians – her roots are largely Ukrainian and also Polish. She is the author of more than ten books – poetry, fiction and criticism (*Reading Mavis Galant, Under Eastern Eyes: A Critical Reading of Canadian Maritime fiction etc.*). She is also a professor of English at Guelph University, Ontario.

The full title of the novel, published in 1998 is *Honey and Ashes: A Story of Family*. The author has explored aspects of her Eastern European heritage in other, earlier writings – a number of short stories, scholarly articles, interviews and her 1996 novel *The Green Library*. Keefer is also a frequent transatlantic traveller and has visited many countries of the world. Her fiction is largely written from a transcultural perspective, bridging different ethnic discourses, past and present, written history and the oral tradition. Elisabeth Marald in her study of Keefer’s transcultural travels points out that her fiction it is affirmative rather than nostalgic, “*does not hide its less admirable legacies*” and brings into light and interrogates “*the prejudices held by one’s own group*”¹

The transcultural topic is also conveyed by Keefer’s literary technique. By means of different border-crossing structures, the literary discourse proves to be an alternative means of unmasking cultural assumptions. Spiral narratives, narrative voice,

unreliable narrators and the carnivalesque convey multiple and contradictory images thereby subverting the truth claim of the realist text. /.../ Keefer's life-writing texts challenge the claim of official history that it is a transparent reflection of the world and therefore objective.²

Honey and Ashes contains not only the text of the story, it is also lavishly illustrated by old and not so old family photographs, a family tree; like an academic study it contains historical maps of Eastern Europe, acknowledgements on two pages, notes and selective bibliography.

Writing a family history means more than just fixing the oral tradition of grandparents and parents stories of their European past or verifying dates, names of places and people in the Polish and Ukrainian archives, refreshing the knowledge of XX century history. It implies crossing several borderlines: between the present and the past, lives lived and lives reconstructed in imagination, linguistic barriers, as well as actual country borders in quest for a place.

I hope to tell a story that will speak across any number of borders, to anyone who lives in two countries of the heart and mind at once. We live in a time when to be a migrant or refugee is one of the commonest human conditions; we also live in a time when many immigrants are flagrantly attacked or covertly despised. And though there are tremendous differences among immigrants – differences of culture and history, language and looks, that compound the difficulty of making new lives in strange countries – I believe there's a continuum of experience and, most of all, imagination that can bring us all, however momentarily, together.³

Janice Kulyk Keefer, writing the story of her family, her roots, is at the same time writing her own very private life story. These roots, as Neil Bissoondath has remarked on a somewhat different occasion, are a part of an individual as the sum of historical, familial and personal experience, the very sense of self, not ever to be forgotten.⁴ The immigrant inhabits more than just one cultural space. Therefore, crossing the border between reality and imagination is a habit the narrator has acquired since childhood.

My childhood was filled with astounding stories of the Old Place, stories that fed my experience of, my desire for difference. If, with a name like Kulyk, I did not belong in a world of Smiths and Browns, then I longed for that place where I did belong to be something richer and finer.⁵

Growing up, as it were, in two worlds at once her “*passion for one could make the other as unreal as the images on the screen of that sacred toy, the television.*” Crossing over into the country of family lore, of imagination is a complex exercise of traversing more borderlands than just those between the realms of reality and fantasy.

And real jumping over the border between there and here, then and now, so many times when I was a child, and my mother spoke in her own language that was never mine. ... I hardly knew where or when or even who I was. Except that I was split and doubled: wanting nothing else than to be haunted.⁶

To enter the land of imagination it is usually necessary to cross an imaginary boundary – whether the river Zbruch – for twenty years also a very real frontier between Poland and the Soviet Union, or just to pass through a garden gate “*to a yard and a garden closed off by wooden palings and a high gate so narrow that the children always scrape their ankles when they ride their cousin's horse inside.*”⁷ Another

entrance to the fantasy world was in the basement and it lead directly into the Old Place root cellar – the Lyokh.

There actually is a small town or village, still on the map of Eastern Europe – Staromischna, its Ukrainian name meaning just that – the Old Place. These are the borderlands of the Old World – once the Eastern provinces of Austria–Hungary, then Poland, still later – the Western regions of the Soviet Union and finally – part of the Ukraine. There is a considerable ethnic variety: Ukrainians, Poles, Jews and more. However, even more ethnic and cultural variety is to be found in the new home – Toronto, Canada. How Then is this modern history to be told, how is the tale of nomadic post–modern existence to be coherently related when even the story of one’s own family at times seems to be full of silences and gaps, dark things unsaid, possibly even hidden horrors. Janice Kulyk Keefer suggests:

*Courage, then and love – these are what we need to take along with me as well as passports, visas, scraps of foreign languages. As I make this journey, first into a world of stories and then to the very place where those stories start, a place that belongs not only to my family but to those who hover ghostlike art the edges of storytelling, who materialize in the differences between Staromischna as it is and the Old Place as memory fashions it. Between the shaded complex lives of the people who lived there and their images handed down to me – bright clear as the pictures on an Easter egg.*⁸

The Old Place in her grandmother’s stories and the child’s fancy acquires features of a veritable Garden of Eden – predominantly orchard scenes of apple trees in bloom, abundance of cherries, plums, apples and peaches; it is right in the centre of a very rich and, therefore very precious and much coveted agricultural countryside. True, everyone, including the children, has to contribute more than just a fair share of effort to reap the fruits of this soil. Passionate love binds the grandparents in early youth, love that is above all material considerations and disregards the disapproval of relatives. The consequences of passion are hardship, rejection and hate of kinsfolk, desperation and pain at the loss of young children. Even if there is Eden, there is also a snake or snakes in it. There is a price to be paid for transgressing the bounds of customs, breaking with the established tradition. Further research into history reveals not just serpents but demons of crime, mutual senseless wartime killings of Ukrainians by Poles and Poles by Ukrainians as well as scenes of Holocaust. The rich soil is also made rich by all the blood spilt upon it. In an article published shortly before the appearance of *Honey and Ashes* Keefer writes:

*For me, Honey and Ashes is a bridge between past and present, private and public history, sanctioned and secret stories, and the fraught, often tragic narratives of Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, all of them sharing the charged ground of “The Old Place” – a literal translation of the name of my mother’s village, Staromischyna. It will be a controversial text, and its eventual reception by my family, as well as the Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish communities in Canada will, I’m sure, be problematic. But I’ve come to think of it as the most important work I’ve ever attempted, in terms of what drove me to write this particular book, and where it’s taking me.*⁹

The crossing of actual state borders is in itself quite an enterprise. The Ukrainian bureaucracy is very much of the same kind as the Soviet one and seems to be unrea-

sonably reluctant to grant the entry visa. While Western borders can be crossed without difficulty, the Polish – Ukrainian border presents a real challenge to the narrator, travelling by car from the Netherlands. But there is one more border, barrier or wall, the narrator fails to fully cross. It is manifested as a self-imposed distancing from the Ukraine of the present day, its culture and people. Eastern Europe in general and Ukraine in particular is seen as a dangerous and lawless territory – sort of modern Wild East. All possible precautions should be taken:

*Along with the dictionaries, phrase books, foreign grammars, we pack what guide books advise for out-of-the-way places in Poland and Ukraine: tissues and toilet paper, thick bars of soap, aspirins and toothpaste, bandages, antiseptic and emergency syringes (accompanied by a doctor's prescription). We've already had typhus shots; for hepatitis, gamma globulin should do the trick. We bring water purification tablets, contact lens solutions, chewing gum and chocolate and coffee for strangers who do us kindnesses. Dried nuts and fruit for our son who eats neither meat nor fish, and who may lose a good many pounds in Ukraine, since our doctor's warned us to stay clear of raw fruit and salads there. Money belts with Deutsche-marks and American dollars in small denominations to be smuggled round our waists: the open sesame of currency in Eastern Europe.*¹⁰

It is not only family history but the collective memory of most survivors that has even more gaps and silences than words for actual happenings in the not so recent past. No archives and no helpful interpreters and guides like the young Ukrainian Olena can help recover what has been cast into the darkest corners of memory. Therefore it is not possible to simply go back and find the Old Place of Imagination. When revisited, Staromischyna looks bleak, even hostile, not a place to linger but one to leave without much regret.

*I'd planned to spend days in the village, looking, listening. I'd wanted to find my grandparents' fields, I'd wanted to steal the past right out of the arms of the present. Now all I can think of is rushing back to Poland, to a small town by the Baltic, to an old woman who may or may not remember what happened in a small village on the Russian border, more than half a century ago.*¹¹

Time spent talking to Adela – her father's cousin instead of casting light on shadowy patches in the family history just adds more obscurities and ambiguities. The old woman is more than reluctant to cross the border between then and now – Staromiszchyna of more than half a century ago and her peaceful life in the small Baltic town Skarszewy near Gdynia. In the slow, tortuous process of communicating across linguistic borders the language of communication is the narrator's imperfect German.

*Sometimes my mouth fills with gaps – I forget the simplest words /.../ At other times I pour out a mishmash.... The table's littered with what gets left out in translation: nuances, resonances scattered like breadcrumbs.*¹²

At the end of the day there are still many questions that have not been asked, questions that have to remain unanswered till some vaguely hypothetical “next time”. The stories remain untold, memories unlocked, painful silence of aunt Adela behind the exchanges in what the narrator calls “skeleton speech”. And then again comes the crossing of all the national borders on the way back to Canada. Once in Toronto,

at home with her family, the traveller still has to face more doubt and confusion as her experiences can not be properly communicated even to her mother. Mother examines the photographs but does not recognise what is shown in them, listens to her daughter's story and does not find satisfactory answers to her query. What and where, then, is one's home? Keefer does not provide a definite answer to this question but rather suggests that

Rest, refuge, satisfaction – none of these fit what I feel about Staromischna, or about the Ontario to which I have returned. Perhaps home is only this: inhabiting uncertainty, the arguments fear picks with desire. Not belonging but longing – that we may live in the present, without craving the –past or forcing the future.¹³

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Kopsavilkums

Ukraiņu un poļu cilmes kanādiešu rakstnieces, literatūrzinātnieces, universitātes profesores Dženisas Kuļikas–Kīferes 1998. gadā publicētā grāmata “Medus un pelni” veltīta ģimenes vēstures, etnisko sakņu izpētei. Lai uzrakstītu ģimenes vēsturi, ir ne tikai jāpieraksta vecvecāku nostāsti, bet arī jālasa vēstures apcerējumi, ģeogrāfiskās kartes, arhīvu materiāli. Šajā procesā nākas šķērsot robežas starp valstīm, starp tagadni un pagātņi, iztēli un īstenību, pārvarēt valodu barjeras. Kaut gan ciemats, kuru sauc Staromiščina (tulkojumā Vecā Vieta), joprojām ir turpat, kur bijis jau simtiem gadu, tajā viss ir mainījies, un ciemoties pagātnē nav iespējams. Ceļojumi iztēlē un arhīvos, viesoššanās Ukrainā un Polijā atklāj vien jaunas pretrunas un noklusētus traģiskus notikumus tautu un cilvēku pagātnē. Raugoties no autores izvēlēta transkulturālā viedokļa, nav iespējams rast viennozīmīgas atbildes uz daudzajiem pagātnes un šodienas jautājumiem. Jāmēģina dzīvot bez pagātnes aizspriedumu sloga, necenšoties arī uzspiest savu gribu nākotnei.

Naratīva attiecības ar pašreferenci latviešu kultūras tekstuālajā telpā Narrative Relation with Selfreference in Latvian Textual Room

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Veids, kā indivīds nolasa, saprot un apraksta sevi, veido pašreferences naratīvu.

Naratīvs apzīmē ne tikai akadēmiskus tekstus (runātus, rakstītus, drukātus), bet arī ikdienas apziņas rotācijā esošās runas. Stāsti, dzīvesstāsti, atmiņas veido tādus uzkrājumu veidus, kurus var dēvēt par naratīva laukiem, kuri, lietoti ilgākā laika periodā, spēj iegūt noteiktu sociālu nozīmi un pāriet pašreferencē. Šajā darbā aplūkotas pašreferences un naratīva attiecības no 1920. gadiem līdz pat mūsdienām.

Atslēgvārdi: naratīvs, pašreference, pašapraksts, sistēnteorija, kolektīvā atmiņa.

Modernās sabiedrības mainīgās realitātes novērošanā un fiksēšanā sociālās zinātnes vērtību ierāda naratīvam. Naratīvi ir teksti, kuri piedalās sabiedrībai vēlamu vērtību un normu atražošanā, tiem ir moralizējošs raksturs, un tie sastopami gan drukātā, gan mutvārdu veidā (*H. Whit* 1987, 1990, *M. Freeman*, 1993 u.c.) .

Socioloģijā fokusē uzmanību ne tikai uz faktiem, bet arī uz tieši neredzamajiem procesiem sabiedrībā, lai iegūtu izpratni par indivīdu un grupu darbību un meklētu atbildes pēc šīs darbības izraisītāja – motīva. Kāda loma motivācijā ir naratīvam? Naratīvs taču ir klātesošs sabiedrības pašnovērojumā, aprakstīšanā un galarezultātā – pašreferencē. Vai pašreference ietekmē nākamos naratīvus un veido “tekstuālu telpu” cilvēka dzīves un vērtību interpretācijai, un pārstāv ne tikai individuālo, bet arī kolektīvo pieredzi, tā atsedzot sabiedrības rakstītos un nerakstītos likumus, vērtības, normas?

Latviešu kultūrā viena no pašreferencēm ir: *mēs – zemnieku kultūra (arāju tauta)*, kura latviešu sabiedrības sociālajā atmiņā veidojās kā pārļaicīgs un noturīgs paštēls, ko simboliski pauž tēls – *brīvs un neatkarīgs zemnieks*. Politiskais konteksts izsaka ideālu indivīdu, kurš ir brīvs un neatkarīgs no jebkādam (arī koloniālām) varām un ir brīvs zemes turētājs (*zemturis*) – saimnieks. *Brīvais un neatkarīgais zemnieks* izteica arī vēsturisko paštēlu līdz kolonizācijas un kristianizācijas laikam. Pirmās neatkarīgās brīvvalsts gadi radīja atmiņas par lauku sētu kā Latvijas ekonomiskās varenības simbolu. *Brīvais un neatkarīgais zemnieks* dzīvo savā lauku īpašumā, ir dziļās attiecībās ar dabu, tās ritmiem, un viņa dzīve rit nesteidzīgi un rāmi, pēc paša noteikta plāna. Īpašība lēni domāt, runāt un rīkoties ir pieņemta kā viena no latviskās mentalitātes izpausmēm.

Izmantojot socioloģijas jēdzienu *mentalitāte*, varam atrast tekstus, kuros tā analizēta salikumā *zemnieku kultūras mentalitāte* – kā vēl viens aspekts pašreferencē. Mentalitāte (no angļu val. *mentality* – nozīmē indivīda prāta un intelektuālo stāvokli) tiek izmantota gan personības līmenī, gan arī attiecināma uz lielākām sociālām

kopībām. Latviešu mentalitāti un kultūru 30. gadu akadēmiskajos tekstos analizē kā piederīgu pie Eiropas ziemeļniekiem un izmanto tradicionālo pašreferences veidu: *tā kā mūsu tauta gadu simteņiem ilgi bija zemnieku tauta un zemniekiem raksturīgs stiprs konservatīvisms.(..) Zemnieku kultūra vispārīgi ir lielā mērā pretstats pilsētu kultūrai, un tāpēc mēs daudz ko varam mantot sava rakstura un kultūras noskaidrošanai, iepazīstoties ar zemnieka psiholoģiskajām īpatnībām. Daudz kas no šīm īpatnībām ir saskatāms latviešu tautā arī vēl šodien.*¹

Latvieša garīguma apvārsņi starp abiem pasaules kariem fokusējas zemnieka sētā un zemes darbos; kultūrā nenotika tas sociokultūras lūzums, kurš būtiski mainītu tautas kultūru uz urbānisko kultūru. Šāds lūzums nevarēja būt komfortabls; izsakoties teorijas valodā, sabiedrības pašreference vēl nebija atnākusi līdz pilsētai. Literatūrā dominēja acīmredzami pasaulīga, proti, zemnieciska orientācija.² Rakstnieks Anšlavs Eglītis, attēlojot zemes reformu Latvijā 1920. gadā, raksta: “.. *katrā latvietī, lai viņš darītu ko darīdams un domātu ko domādams, joprojām iemājo laba daļa zemnieka gara, iegūt īpašumā stūri zemes nozīmēja svarīgu pagrieziena mūža gaitā.*”³. Tēvu, kuram pēc agrārreformas, tāpat kā citiem rakstniekiem un sabiedriskiem darbiniekiem, piešķīra jaunsaimniecību ar zemi, dēls raksturo kā tādu, kurš atkārt kultūrā pieņemto sevis redzējumu – *latvietis ir zemnieks*. Anšlavs Eglītis arī vēlāk, Amerikas dzīves tēlojumos, par jaunības dienu zemi Latviju raksta, ka “*zemnieciskajā Latvijā vairāk cienīja dzīvniekus; neviens ķekatnieku bars neiztika bez lāča, kazas, dzērves, šeit, Jaunajā pasaulē, kur dzīve kļuvusi daudz abstraktāka, redzami gandrīz vienīgi aizsaules rēgi*”.⁴ Anšlava Eglīša ironija par piezemēto pašreferenci un zemniekiem balsīta atšķirībā, jo viņa daiļrade ir urbānās kultūras reprezentante un neiekļaujas tajā sevis redzējumā, kāds galvenokārt dominē latviešu referencē. Latviešu kultūrā sociokulturālais konflikts starp pilsētu un laukiem, tāpat kā 20. gs. sākumā, saglabājies vēl šodien, gadsimtu beigu kultūras un mākslas diskursā. Pārlūkojot latviešu oriģinālliteratūru 19. gs. beigās un 20. gs. sākumā, redzam, ka tajā attēlotā darbības vide galvenokārt ir lauki, zemnieku dzīves likteņi un zemnieku mentalitātes tēlojumi. Latvieti mentāli mācīja sevi literāros tekstos atpazīt kā zemnieku, kura dzīves vērtības ir pretrunā ar moderno pilsētu. Šodien I. Ābeles drāma *Tumšie brieži* līdzās V. Kairiņa filmai *Pa ceļam aizejot* latvieti mūsdienās atkal rāda laukos, un kādā no zemnieku sētām tiek izspēlēta latviešu dzīves telpas drāma.

Kāpēc zemnieks?

Latviešu saistība ar zemi, kura bija politiski un kulturāli determinēta kopš 19. gs. vidus, kā pašreferences elements iekļuva arī izglītības programmā gadsimta garumā. Pārlūkojot skolas mācību programmas, literatūras hrestomātijā arī šodien kā obligātā literatūra dominē grāmatas, kurās stāstīts par zemnieka dzīvi, vērtībām un normām.

Pašreference *mēs – zemnieku kultūra (mēs – arāju tauta)* kultūrā ieguvusi paradigmas izteiksmi, jo kā viena no stabilākām sevis atpazīšanas un identitātes izpausmēm kļuvusi par noturīgu sevis redzēšanas veidu, arī tādu, kurai ir saistība ar latvietību – katru zemniekiem nedraudzīgu žestu sabiedrība uztver kā latvietības apdraudēšanu. Iespējams, tāpēc samērā grūti atrast latviešu kultūrā pēc ietilpības, ilgstamības un sabiedrības identificēšanās līdzīgu pašreferenci. Protams, sabiedrības modernizācijas posmā urbānā vide radīja savas pašreferences, bet vairāk tādas, kas

atbilst identitātes izpratnei, kā, piemēram, saistībā ar kādu lokalitāti (šajā gadījumā – urbāno), gan arī saistībā ar nacionālās kulturālās apzināšanās sākumu, piemēram: *mēs – dziedātāju tauta*. Taču tās nekad neieguva tik stabilu vietu sevis atpazīšanā un pašreferencē kā *mēs – zemnieku kultūra*. 19. un 20. gadsimta garumā tā tika piepildīta ar tādu saturu, kas aizpilda latviešu vēsturiskās (objektīvi iztrūkstošās) identitātes nišu, dodot iespēju sevi redzēt pietiekami stabilā un atpazīstamā strātā. Tāpēc, ielūkojoties tekstuālajos uzkrājumos, pašreferenes veidošanā svarīga loma ir bijusi un ir naratīviem.

Naratīva attiecības ar pašreferenci

Naratīvam, tāpat kā vēsturei, ir daudznozīmīga daba, ko sadzirdam naratīvā. Naratīva lomu kultūrā arvien vairāk izmanto arī citu disciplīnu pārstāvji, lai raksturotu to runāto tekstu, kas parādās gan zinātnē, gan filozofijā un literatūrā. Savukārt psihologi pievērš uzmanību naratīva lomai atmiņas darbībās un arī visos citos psiholoģiskos procesos (cilvēks sarunājas sevī ar sevi pašu; iekšējais dialogs), un tas veido svarīgu savienojumu ar realitāti, dzīves faktiem. Runa, teksts (teksts izprotams visplašākā nozīmē, tas ir drukātais, izteiktais, domās plūstošais teksts, pat arī darbību var uzlūkot kā tekstu) ir aplūkota saistībā ar noteiktu strukturētu naratīvu veidošanos par sevi. Veids, kā indivīds nolasa, saprot un apraksta sevi, veido pašreferences naratīvu.

Naratīvs sazimējams ne tikai akadēmiskos tekstos (runātos, rakstītos, drukātos), bet arī ikdienas apziņas rotācijā esošās runās. Stāsti, dzīvesstāsti, atmiņas veido tādas uzkrājumu veidus, kurus var saukt par naratīva laukiem, kuri, lietoti ilgākā laika periodā, spēj iegūt noteiktu sociālu nozīmi, un tas pāriet pašreferencē.⁵ Narativizācijā gan indivīda, gan sabiedrības pieredze pārvēršas tekstos.⁶ Naratīvi atspoguļo no apkārtnes iegūtos sabiedrības priekšstatus par sevi, vērtību sistēmu un veido nākotnes perspektīvu. Citiem vārdiem sakot, teksts, kuru runājam, nav tikai troksnis, tam ir noteikta nozīme, jo ar viņu un caur viņu vēl nepārrēdzamajā nākotnē ir iespējama darbība. Naratīvus varam izmantot arī kā *tērpa šuves*, kas ir kā metafora, kura raksturo metodi, lai atpazītu sabiedrības nemainīgās dzīves vērtības, pašapraksta veidošanos, un kura no naratīviem kā tērpu šuves veido pašreferenci. Tas, par ko cilvēki runā, ko ierauga savā apkārtņē, veido arī par sevi priekšstatus, kuri latviešu vēsturē pārauga par noturīgiem sevis izpratnes tēliem un vēl šodien veido kultūras identitāti. Saskaņā ar N. Lūmana sistēmteoriju, sabiedrība ir darbīga un dzīvīga sistēma, kura ar komunikāciju starpniecību atražo priekšstatus par sevi (pašreferenci), un tā izaug *autopoiesis*, kas atražo ne tikai identitāti, bet arī mentālās un fiziskās darbības.⁷ Jāņem vērā, ka, atlasot pašnovērojumam īpašības un vērtējumus, tādējādi veidojas izpratne par sevi. Tajā var parādīties tādi pagātnes naratīvi, kuri veido negatīvu pašaprakstu, jo tos devuši novērotāji no malas, kuri nepieder pie dotās kultūras. Tāpēc svarīgi, kādā kontekstā tie teikti, ko nozīmē šodien un vai tie saistāmi ar pašreferenci. Ja atceramies, ka pašreferenci atlasa raksturojumus no pārrēdzamā kultūras resursu horizonta, tad jāraugās, vai šie horizonti nav apzināti sašaurināti un vai izmantoti visi resursi. Analizējot avotus, no kuriem tie nāk, kā arī izprotot to būtību un nozīmi, sabiedrībai jāzina, ka, saskatot tikai negatīvos aspektus un tos atstāstot, pagātnes naratīvi spēj veidot sabiedrībai sapratni par sevi, kurā var dominēt

no malas uzspiestais (kolonizētas tautas vienmēr uzlūkoja kā vērtību un normu nozīmē nevērtīgākas) vērtējums, un, nekritiski tos pieņemot, var izveidot deformētu, patībai neatbilstošu paštēlu, kā arī radīt traucējumus *autopoiesis* procesā.

Amerikāņu pētnieks Makss Frīmans⁸, runājot par individuālajiem dzīves stāstiem, norāda uz savdabīgu diskursu un sapratni par sevi, ko veido naratīvs, kuram nav laika ierobežojumu un kurš ir kaut kādā ziņā pārlaicīgs. Tā ir triāde, ko veido *vēsture–atmiņa–naratīvs*, kurā atmiņai un naratīvam atmiņās ir nozīmīga loma. No tās tiek paņemts pašaprakstam tas, ko atceras, redz un saprot no apkārtnes, arī no laika un telpas distances. Individuālais dzīves stāsts ir sevis interpretācija, izdoma ar sevis prezentācijas nozīmi, tāda, kura rada jaunas attiecības starp pagātņi un tagadni.

M. Frīmanam tā ir jauna poētiska kontekstualitāte individuālajā dzīves stāstā, un tas parasti ir noteiktas kultūras produkts. Ja M. Frīmana pieeju attiecina uz lielāku sociālu grupu, piemēram, uz laikabiedru veidotiem naratīviem, kuros dominē līdzīgas tendences dzīves aprakstos, lielāka vai mazāka kolektīva izpratnē par sevi, kuru iespaido atsevišķie stāsti, dzīvesstāsti, tos varam analizēt kā vienas sociālās laiktelpas naratīvus. Sabiedrība bieži lieto vienas vai otras paaudzes naratīvus, kurus vieno vēsturiskie notikumi, piedzīvojumi un pārdzīvojumi, un tas kļūst par veidu (paradigmu), kā tiek prezentēti ne tikai vienas paaudzes, bet arī kultūras simboli, vērtības, praktizētās normas.

Varam runāt par nepārtrauktu vienu tekstu atgādināšanu, bet citu noklusēšanu – tas ir kolektīvs process. Individīds identificējas ar tekstiem sociālajā atmiņā (runātiem, rakstītiem, tēliem, darbībām utt.), kurus uzskata par piederības grupām nozīmīgiem. Kādi priekšstati un kādi teksti ir indivīdu galvās tādā kultūrā, kurā tikpat kā nav varonības naratīva, kuras vēsture un arī sociālā atmiņa veidojusies ar koloniālas tautas pieredzi, ar uzspiestu pašreferenci?

Latviešu kultūrā dominē uzspiestie naratīvi, kuru autori nepieder dotajai kultūrai, un līdz ar to novērojums vēstures perspektīvā veidojās no svešinieku vērtību un normu horizonta, kuri tos tekstuāli nostiprināja. Naratīvs atrodas darba attiecībās ar vēsturisko prezentāciju, un tāpēc vēsturiskā naratīva diskurss nereti ir tālu no reālo notikumu būtības, un tajā ir izdomas elements ar ironijas taktiku. Jau kopš Hērodota laikiem tradicionālā historiogrāfija ticēja, ka vēsture sastāv no individuālajiem un kolektīvajiem dzīvajiem stāstiem un ka vēsturnieka uzdevums ir atklāt tos un pārstāstīt kā naratīvus, parādot kontekstu kā paradigmas veidojošo apkārtni. Lai aptvertu naratīva diskursu, jāaptver kultūras faktu universāliju summa. Pašreference vai reference tiek atlasīta atbilstoši situācijai, un tas lieku reizi atgādina, ka nav objektīvu kritēriju un novērtējumu, ka tie vienmēr ir vēsturiskās situācijas, intences vai konjunktūras veidoti. Hermeneitikas valodā runājot, laikmets kaut ko aktualizē no runātā vai rakstītā, bet ne vienmēr varam analizēt izsekot, kāpēc tieši tas vai cits tiek aktualizēts. Naratīvs kā vēstījums iespaido nākamās paaudzes, kuras savā pašreferenē var pārņemt (atlasēs ceļā) no iepriekšējām paaudzēm mantotus redzējumus par sevi.

Naratīva attiecības ar pašreferenci

Naratīvam ir saistība ar vēstures notikumiem, un naratīva vērtība attīstās no moralizēšanas impulsa, kas ir saistīts ar tādām iztēles izpausmēm, kuras sabiedrībai piešķir nepieciešamo koherenci, integritāti, piepildījumu un noslēgtību.⁹ Tā ir sava

veida izdoma, kuras nozīme nav pasaules determinēta, bet gan attīstās kā nespēja novērot un atstāstīt notikumus bez izpratnes par morālo kārtību. Meklējot sociētālās dzīves saistelementus, varam runāt par naratīviem, kas veicināja šos koherences un integritātes procesus – tās ir atmiņas un stāsti par to, cik laba bija dzīve lauksaimnieciskajā Latvijā, tie bija un ir naratīvi, kuri saliedēja un veidoja kultūras vēsturisko integritāti – arī latviešu kultūras vēsture “veidojas” laukos. Latviešu kultūra īpaši atgādina, ka viņas inteliģence, tautas radošie gari nāk no lauku sētām un šo saiti ar laukiem saglabā visu mūžu. Latvijas kartē latviešu rakstnieku un kultūras darbinieku dzimtās mājas – tagad jau kā muzeji – ir lokalizētas laukos un šodienas dzīves diskursā turpina priekšstatu par sabiedrības ideālu – inteliģento zemnieku. Neformāli sabiedrībā arī 1990. gadu sākumā atdzima doma, ka latviešu kultūra nāk no laukiem un ka arī tagad tā atdzims no laukiem. Kā redzam, naratīvs nav neitrāls, jo veids, kā tas tiek prezentēts, izsaka atmiņas, kas savienotas ar ekspektācijām, ka kaut kas līdzīgs ir vēl iespējams vai arī ir vēlams, lai tas vēlreiz atkārtotos. Naratīvs var nepastarpināti radīt klausītājā vēlmi tam sekot kā jau gatavai un pārbaudītai dzīves vērtībai iepriekšējās paaudzēs.

Sabiedrības komunikācijā pašai par sevi ir arī tādi naratīvi, kuri izteica vienu no kopības izjūtu veidojošām referencēm un aizpildīja informāciju par sevi, raidot to uz nākamajām paaudzēm. Piemēram, Livonijas Indriķa hronika ir teksts ar noteiktu morālu, didaktisku, vēstījošu un skaidrojošu nozīmi, no kuras vienā vēstures posmā tika izveidota latviešu historiogrāfijas nacionāli romantiskā tradīcija. 20. gadsimta 20.–40. gados tika ieraudzīta, aprakstīta un izveidota reference, ka latvieši ir vardarbīgi kristianizēti, pakļauti, kolonizēti utt. Taču hronika stāsta arī par ko citu, ko 20. gadsimta pirmās puses latviešu historiogrāfijas tradīcija neiekļāva pašaprakstā. Protams, jebkuras kolonizācijas vēsture ataino vardarbību, – bet kurš naratīvs par vardarbību tiks paņemts pašreferenci? Vardarbības apraksti Indriķa hronikā un stāsti par senajām Latvijas ciltīm rāda pretrunīgu ainu, tāpēc nacionāli romantiskā historiogrāfija strukturēja sociālo atmiņu, lai nepieminētu, ka t.s. senie latvieši karoja ar kaimiņiem, pat vēlajos viduslaikos karoja starp Latvijas teritorijā esošajiem apgabaliem, zaga sievas līdz pat 16. gadsimtam¹⁰ un vardarbība tajā laikā bija tikpat izplatīta kā mūsdienās. Tas neveido labu sabiedrības pašapziņu, un laba pašapziņa sabiedrībai ir svarīgs centrs sociālai sistēmai, jo svarīgākie ir varonības naratīvi. Hronika vēstī par seno latviešu varonību pastarpināti, tikai noprotot, ka vietējās ciltis aktīvi piedalījās sirojuma karos. Tā nevēstī par varonību, bet vairāk par neaizsargātību un vāju orientēšanos politiskajos procesos aprakstītajā periodā.

Izceļot kristianizācijas un kolonizācijas negatīvos aspektus, historiogrāfija veidoja latviešu pašnovērojumā mūžīgā upura tēlu. H. Vaits, runājot par ideju arheoloģiju, saka: sociālā stresa laikā ir nepieciešamība pēc pozitīvas pašdefinīcijas, no kuras atlasīt kritērijus pašidentifikācijai. Viņš izsaka domu, kurai līdzīga ir arī N. Lūmana sistēmas teorijā, proti, ka sabiedrība ņem kādus atskaites punktus no apkārtnes, kas ir atšķirīgi no pašas. To var dēvēt par šķietami negatīvu pašdefinīcijas tehniku, kura, protams, ir daudz biežāk praktizēta kultūras polemikā kā jebkura cita definīcija.¹¹ Saskaņā ar H. Vaita pieeju, varam teikt: lai izceltu seno cilšu barbarismu, savstarpējos konfliktus un neskaidros vēsturiskos mērķus, no konteksta tika izcelta vardarbīgās kristianizācijas paradigma, veidojot cietēja paštēlu, jo kultūrai nebija sava varonības pašapraksta.

Vēsture un naratīva modi

H. Vaitis vēsturiskā naratīva pētniecībā izdalīja četras skaidrojošas stratēģijas: romance, komēdija, traģēdija, satīra; tām atbilst četras paradigmas: ideogrāfiskā, organiskā, mehāniskā un kontekstuālā. No tā izriet arī skaidrošanas mods, un tam atbilst šāds dalījums: anarhistiskais, konservatīvais, radikālais un liberālais. Attiecinot šo naratīva struktūru uz minēto Livonijas Indriķa hroniku, redzam, ka tā vairāk atbilst traģēdijai un mehāniskam skaidrošanas modam, kuri vēstures interpretācijā veicina radikālas ideoloģijas iesaistīšanu. Vēstures interpretācijas stratēģijā radikālas ideoloģijas veidojas, kad ir konflikts starp nācijām, šķirām un politiskām partijām. Pirmās brīvvalsts laikā tāds konflikts pastāvēja starp vācu minoritāti un latviešu mažoritāti, kurai vajadzēja izveidot savu vēstures paštēlu, un tas bija upuris. Izmantojot naratīva paradigmas, varam teikt, ka latviešu sabiedrības naratīvs ir radikalizējies – sašaurināšanas nozīmē – pašreferenci. Sistēmteoriā pašreferenci minēta gan kā atvērta, gan slēgta vienlaikus. Jāņem vērā, ka vēl nav uzrakstīta latviešu sociālā vēsture, tātad pagaidām dominē frontālais skatījums uz latviešu vēsturi, kurā pārsvarā dominē svarīgākā sociālā grupa – zemniecība. Šādu radikālu pašreferences tehniku lieto grupas, kuras ir neapmierinātas un kurām ir grūtāk atpazīt savas vēsturiskās un juridiskās tiesības. Vēl šodien, dzirdot vai lasot naratīvā radikālu izteiksmes veidu, teiksim, gadījumā, ja kāds publiski nolamāts, varam sastapt radikālu naratīva tipu, kurā dominē nespēks un beztiesiskums.

Latviešu kultūras naratīvā satīriskā stratēģija parādās naratīvos par latviešiem, kuri, aizejot dzīvot pilsētās 18., bet īpaši 19. gadsimtā, zaudēja latvisko identitāti. Tā radās stāsti par *kārķļu vāciešiem*, švaukstiem (kā tipāžu raksturojošs apzīmējums), kas pašnovērojumā ar laiku veidoja negatīvu attieksmi pret pilsētu kā latvietībai naidīgu vidi un līdz ar to kontekstuālā paradigma naratīvā veidojās pilsētai nedraudzīga.¹² Izpalika komēdija kā stratēģija; tas veidoja ideogrāfiskās un organiskās paradigmas iztrūkumu, ko pašreferencē izsaka attiecībās ar humoru. Vēl šodien dominē dzēlīgā dainu apdziedāšanas tradīcija, kura ir tuvāka satīrai. Komēdija kā žanrs apspēlē ikdienišķas situācijas un cilvēku vājības, bet neizsmej. Spēlēt un apspēlēt tēmas vai situācijas var kultūrā, kuras pašreferenci ir dinamiska un atvērta, jo komēdija ir spēka un pārliecības naratīvs.

19. gadsimta vēstures notikumu skaidrojums, saskaņā ar H. Vaitu, teorētiski izsakāms divos veidos: 1) ar plāna (nodoma) struktūru, kas dod naratīvam atpazīstamu formu – upuris, zemnieks utt., un 2) skaidrojuma paradigmu, kura dod argumentus noteiktām jūtām (piemēram, Atis Kronvalds uzrunā laikabiedrus: “Mēs esam sena tauta...”), – vai tās būtu saistītas ar lepnuma izjūtu (pusgadsimtu vēlāk E. Brastiņš: “Mēs esam laimīgākā no tautām...”) vai neērtības sajūtu par piederību (maza zaglīga tauta – pēc *Tacita*), un to kopumā sauc par sabiedrības sevis artikulācijas veidu. Vēstures skaidrojumā divi elementi veidoja trešo – pamatu interpretācijai: morālai vai ideoloģiskai. Latviešu sabiedrība, kura izveidojusi un pieņēmusi pašreferenci saistībā ar zemniecību, izjūt lepnumu par šo identitāti, un, pieaugot riska situācijām, zemniecībā saskata ideoloģisku un morālu pamatojumu atgriezties pagātnē.¹³

Pašreferences saskaņošanas laikā notika informācijas apstrāde, latviešu sabiedrība nolāsīja savu pašnovērojumā ar vienīgo atšķirību no apkārtnes. Vai tā bija vienīgā, vai arī šajā pašreferencē parādījās kaut kas no 19. gadsimta “tradīciju” arsenāla, ko

jau minēja P. Bērks? Antropoloģe M. Gulestada norāda, ka norvēģi, veidojot nacionālo identitāti, 19. gadsimtā idealizēja dažus tautas dzīves aspektus, īpaši brīvos zemniekus.¹⁴ Norvēģi no 15. līdz 19. gadsimtam bija Dānijas, tad Zviedrijas pārvaldē, tomēr viņu vēsture nelīdzinās latviešu zemnieku pieredzei, kuri dzīvoja dzimtbūšanas sistēmā. Eiropas kultūrās zemnieku dzīves romantizācija ir saistīta ar herderisko tradīciju, kura zemniecībā meklēja katras tautas dvēseli un bija pretrunā ar apgaismībai raksturīgo racionālismu.¹⁵ Herders neatfistīja politisko nacionālismu, bet veidoja labvēlīgus nosacījumus politiskā nacionālisma attīstībai. 19. gadsimtā Latvijā gruva kārtu barjeras un mainījās ekonomiskās attiecības. Daļa no jaunās latviešu inteliģences pārvācojās, citi tiecās apliecināt latviešu saimniecisko un kultūras patstāvību. Zemniecība, tāpat kā citur Eiropā, arī latviešiem simbolizēja pieņemumu par autentisko kultūru, kura izsaka kaut ko specifiski īpašu. Tādējādi latvieši 19. gadsimtā savā pašaprakstā nolasīja savu vienīgo atšķirību no sociālās apkārtnes – vācu un krievu sabiedrības, kuras rokās atradās politiskā un ekonomiskā vara, un saskaņā ar dabisko likumu tautas tiesības uz savu teritoriju nosaka no tās grupas pozīcijām, kura apstrādā zemi.

Kā atzīmē arī P. Bērks grāmatā *Atmiņa un vēsture*, poļiem, līdzīgi arī īriem, pagātne, sociālā atmiņa un mīti tiek lietoti, lai definētu identitāti; abas tautas pasaka, kas “mēs esam”.¹⁶ Tas ir pašreferences akts, kurš piedalās šodienas *autopoiesis*. Ko šodien latviešu modernā literatūra pasaka par to, kas mēs esam? Ņemsim, piemēram, divus tekstuālus reprezentantus – *Tumšos briežus* un *Pa ceļam aizejot*: mūsu priekšā ir references par dzīves vērtību neskaidrību un arī nespēku tās risināt. Cilvēku attiecības, pārceļot sociālo teoriju valodā, turpina ārdīt pašreferenci par lauku sētu kā kultūras atdzimšanas vietu. Tā tiek tēlota kā vide, kurā izspēlēti latviešu pašreferences drāmas *mēs – zemnieku kultūra* pēdējie cēlieņi.

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- ¹³ *Ibid*, 156, 159.
- ¹⁴ Gullestard M. *The Art of Social Relation*. – Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1992, 39.
- ¹⁵ *Tabuns*, 1998: 8–9.
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Summary

The way how individual reads, understands and describes himself forms self-references narrative. As a narrative we understand not only academic texts, but also daily conversations rotating in consciousness. Stories, life stories make certain fields in humans memory, which can be named as narrative fields, who, when using in long term, can get certain social meaning and to go over in self-reference. This paper examines relations between self-reference and narrative, starting from 1920 up to nowadays.

Ojārs Vācietis kā latviešu padomju dzejas interteksts An Intertext in the Latvian Soviet Poetry: Ojars Vacietis

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Katrs teksts savā ziņā ir interteksts. Ojārs Vācietis pieder pie tiem latviešu autoriem, kuru dzejai raksturīgas sevišķi bagātas un daudzveidīgas intertekstualitātes formas gan sava-padomju laika dzejas un sociālo norišu kontekstā lasot, gan atsaucoties tām mūsdienu pārvērtībām, kas aktīvi līdzdarbojas Vācieša dzejas tekstuālās nozīmes radīšanā un atražošanā. Viņa dzejas idejiskās ievirzes dēļ Ojārs Vācietis ir viens no vispretrunīgākajiem un neviennozīmīgāk vērtētajiem latviešu dzejniekiem, un tas ir veicinājis spēcīgu ārpusliterāro kontekstu (vēsturisko, politisko, sociālo) klātbūtni viņa dzejas uztverē un vērtējumos. Neraugoties uz to, ka formāli Vācietis bija totalitārā padomju režīma "angažēts" dzejnieks, viņa teiktais un rakstītais vārds ir guvis ārkārtīgi spēcīgu atbalsi brīvdomīgo literātu vidū, iedvesmojot pretestībai, radošai brīvībai un pašizpaušmei. Vācieša izredzētība dzejā izteikt un pārstāvēt daudzus, viņa ietekme uz atsevišķām radošām individualitātēm un literatūras procesu kopumā sevišķi uzskatāmi parādās dzejniekam rakstītos vērtējumu dzejoļos, kā arī sarakstē. Jāatzīst, ka tik daudz un tik poētiski spilgtu, semantiski piesātinātu un kontekstuāli bagātu vērtējumu dzejoļu nav rakstījis nevienam citam latviešu autoram. Šajos vērtējumos saplūst Vācieša un viņa paaudzes dzejai būtiskās intonācijas, motīvi, poētiskās stratēģijas un filozofiskās refleksijas. Cenzūras apstākļos tā funkcionēja kā īpaša, poētiski konspiratīva komunikācijas forma, kļūstot par savdabīgu laikmeta ideoloģisko pretmetu un radošo meklējumu kopsaucēju. Raksta pamatā ir referāts, nolasīts starptautiskajā zinātniskajā konferencē "Cilvēka brīvība. Cilvēka balss" (Rīga, 2003. gada 10.–12. novembris), kas veltīta O. Vācieša 70. dzimšanas dienai.

Atslēgvārdi: dzeja, dzejnieks, literārais grupējums, totalitārisms, vērtējums, teksts.

Intertekstualitāte ir literatūrzinātnes un kritikas teorija, kas īpašu uzmanību pievērš literāro tekstu savstarpējai saistībai un atkarībai gan kādas vienas nacionālās literatūras ietvaros, gan pārnacionālā skatījumā. Tomēr savā būtībā intertekstualitāte ir pārnacionāla parādība. Starp ievērojamākajiem šīs teorijas un literatūrkritiskās prakses pārstāvjiem minami literatūrfilozofi Mihails Bahtins, Martins Bubers, Jūlija Kristeva, Rolans Barts, Žaks Deridā un citi. Kaut arī intertekstualitāte ir sena literāra parādība, tā ir samērā jauna humanitāro zinātņu kategorija: jēdzieni intertekstualitāte un interteksts aktualizējas 20. gs. 70. gados, kļūstot par akadēmiskās kritikas "čata" (angliski *catch-word*) jeb modes vārdu un, līdzīgi kā daudziem citiem mūsdienu modernās literatūrteorijas raksturvārdiem, tam trūkst viennozīmīgas izpratnes un skaidrojuma.¹

Saskaņā ar intertekstualitātes teoriju katrs teksts savā ziņā ir un var tikt analizēts interteksts, atklājot tajā kādu vienu vai vairākus intertekstualitātes tipus vai izpaušmes formas. Starp dažādām literatūrpētniecībā biežāk minētajām intertekstualitātes formām jāmin: 1) skaidri izteikta, tieša (kad iespējams noteikt ģenētisko saikni starp

tekstiem) un netieša intertekstualitāte; 2) strukturālā (piemēram, žanriskās struktūras) un satura/tematiskā intertekstualitāte; 3) apzināta/ gribēta un nejauša/negribēta intertekstualitāte; 4) nacionālā (vienas literāras valodas ietvaros skatīta) un pārnacionāla intertekstualitāte; 5) viena un tā paša dzimuma valodas paradigmā sakņota, atšķirīgu dzimu valodas paradigmā sakņota vai universāla (bezdzimuma) valodas diskursā tverta intertekstualitāte; 6) personiska un anonīma intertekstualitāte. Par intertekstualitātes dziļāko būtību, to vārdā nesaucot un neapcerot teorētiski, ir aizdomājies arī Ojārs Vācietis. Tā, piemēram, apcerē "Dostojevskis" viņš raksta: "Man šķiet, ja analizētu vienalga kura mūsdienu romānista darbus, visur atradīsies kaut kas "no Dostojevskā", kurš, tāpat kā Šekspīrs, skāris gandrīz visus cilvēka dvēseles stāvokļus. ././ Nevienam nav jāmetas zem vilciena, lai saprastu Annu Kareņinu, vai jāšaujās, lai saprastu Oņeginu un Ļenski."²

Vācietis pieder pie tiem latviešu autoriem, kuru dzejai raksturīgas sevišķi bagātas un daudzveidīgas intertekstualitātes formas gan sava laika dzejas kontekstā lasot, gan atsaucoties tām mūsdienu pārvērtībām, kas aktīvi līdzdarbojas Vācieša dzejas tekstuālās nozīmes radīšanā un atražošanā. Būtisks intertekstualitātes priekšnosacījums un vienlaikus arī intertekstualitātes izpausmes forma ir teksta dialogiskums, tieksme uzrunāt un jautāt, provocēt un saņemt atbildes reakciju. Dzejniekam adresētie veltījumdzejoļi ir principiālas atbildes reakcijas uz jautājumiem, kurus provocēja gan laikmeta sabiedriskās norises, gan viņa emocionāli ekspresīvā dzeja. Domājot par O.Vācieša dzejas padomisko un reizē brīvdomīgo raksturu un iedarbības spēku, Vitolds Valeinis raksta, ka viņa dzejai ir "sveša jebkura pliekaniība, ar ko nereti nākas sastapties darbos, kas barojas no ierastā un pieņemtā" (šinī gadījuma – padomju dzejā ierastām tēmām un idejām).³ Dzejas analītiķa V. Valeiņa vārdiem runājot, tā ir "ar autora ideāliem uzlādēta" dzeja, kurā "verd kaislību un dailes kontrasti".⁴ Šim dzejas raksturojumam ir jāpiekrīt, piezīmējot, ka tās savā ziņā ir "kolektīvas kaislības", un ideālu (ētisko, estētisko, nacionālo, sociālo) uzlādēti ir arī Vācietim adresētie veltījuma dzejoļi, to autori un arī lasītāji.

1987. gada Dzejas dienu atklāšanā pie Raiņa pieminekļa Rīgā (dažus gadus pēc O.Vācieša aiziešanas mūžībā) Māra Zālīte saka: "Dzeja ir vienots organisms, pasaule, ekosistēma, kurā katram tās loceklim ir paredzēta sava vieta, sava loma, sava misija."⁵ – un veltījumi Vācietim viņas teikto apstiprina. Tos caurstrāvo dzejas un dzejnieka sociālās misijas apziņa – padomju laika, īpaši 20. gs. 60.–80. gadu dzejā tik klātesoša un izteikta, bet gadsimta nogalē pieklususi un šobrīd līdz nepazīšanai pārvērtusies parādība. Ojāra Vācieša 70.– 80. gadu dzejā tā bija ne vairāk ne mazāk kā glābšanas un glābšanās misija. Šis motīvs izskan vairākos krājuma "Nolemība" dzejoļos, piemēram, "Sakarā ar sauso un karsto laiku"; tas norāda uz dzeju kā glābjošu domu un jūtu avotu:

*Ne jāglābj cilvēce,
bet jādzemdē glābēji,
glābjošas domas
un glābjošas jūtas.*⁶

Bet dzejoļi "Pie zemes turēties" debesu bērnu dzejnieku glābiņš un mierinājums ir zeme:

*Pie zemes
glābiņu meklē
debesu bērni
kā bērni
pie mātes.⁷*

Dzejas un dzejnieka (arī padomju) misijas izpratne un tās poētiskās transformācijas laika gaitā ir pati par sevi un arī intertekstualitātes meklējumos būtiska tēma, kas iezīmē vienu no O. Vācieša kā padomju dzejas interteksta un arī viņam adresēto veltījumdzejoļu interpretācijas perspektīvām. O. Vācieša dzeja kā padomju interteksts spilgti izpaužas tematiskajā amplitūdā un krāsu poētikā, piemēram, dzimtenes un globalizācijas motīvu (lielā un mazā) emocionāli ekspresīvajās pārējās, abus tonējot intensīvi sarkanā krāsu gammā, kas, sākot ar 70. gadiem, Vācietim ir nevis padomju ideoloģijas (karoga un kaklauta), bet gan dzīves, brīvības, cerības, ticības un mīlestības krāsa.

Runājot par intertekstu nevis laikmeta un literatūras universa mērogos, bet konkrētu autoru daiļrades sastatījumā, jāatgādina, ka intertekstualitāte neaprobežojas ar t.s. literāro ietekmju jomu, bet ietver sevī ievērojami plašāku literāro un ārpusliterāro parādību loku. Domājot par veltījumu intertekstualitātes slāņu veidošanos O. Vācieša dzejas lasījumā, sevišķi trāpīgs šķiet angļu literatūrzinātnieces Katarīnas Belsejas (*Catherine Belsey*) secinājums, ka "teksta intertekstuālās attiecības nekad nav tīri literāras"⁸. Proti, apzināti vai neapzināti teksta lasījumā un līdz ar to tekstuālās nozīmes (līdz)radīšanā allaž izpaužas cīņa par sabiedrisko domu un ietekmi sabiedrībā, par varu, un šajās teksta attiecībās ar sabiedrību neizbēgami iesaistās vēsture un politika. Literatūras, politikas un vēstures interteksta kontekstā autore izdala trīs daiļdarbu veidus: deklarātīvie (lasītājā tiek ievietotas lietošanai gatavas "zināšanas"); imperatīvie (propaganda, kas pārliecina, pierunā un dod instrukcijas); interrogatīvie (problematizē, izvirza jautājumus un iesaista pretrunās). Ojāra Vācieša dzejā atradīsim visas trīs komunikācijas formas (deklaratīvo, imperatīvo, interrogatīvo), bet viņam adresētie veltījumdzejoļi galvenokārt radušies kā atbildes reakcija uz pēdējo – interrogatīvo jeb jautājumu un pretrunu.

Tāpat kā cilvēka un dzejnieka biogrāfiju nekad nevar fiksēt un iegrāmatot pilnībā un bez atlikuma, arī kāda konkrēta dzejoļa izcelsmi un dzīves līniju meklējot, jāsamierinās, ka dzejas pasaulē nākšana ir cēloņsakarīgi neizdibināma un pētnieku darbos atklājas tikai aisberga redzamā daļa. Sevišķi, ja runājam par dzejdarba tautā iešanu un dzīvi pēc tā publicēšanas (neteiksim – radīšanas, jo saskaņā ar mūsdienu lasīšanas shēmu teorijām dzejolis tiek jaunradīts katrā tā lasīšanas aktā). Ieskatoties veltījuma kā liriskas žanra vēsturē, J. Kursīte norāda, ka veltījums parasti ir vēršanās pie kādas konkrētas personas "ar lūgumu, pateicību vai jūtu apliecinājumu"⁹. Ojāra Vācieša gadījumā veltījums parasti ir pateicība vai jūtu apliecinājums, bet parasti tas ir nevis personisku, bet pārpersonisku motīvu vadīts un izpaužas kā pateicības parāda "atdošana" to vispārcilvēcisko vērtību un ideālu apliecinātājiem un apliecinājumam, ko sevī iemieso Ojāra Vācieša darbi – piedošanas izlūgšanās bez vainas vainīgajiem. Salīdzinājumā ar veltījuma žanra vēsturiskajām formām veltījumos O. Vācietim nav vērojamas tādas tendences kā, nodevas amatam vai titulam, uzspēlēta pazemība, apveltāmās personas kanonizācija, retorika un publicistisks patoss.

Liels skaits O. Vācietim adresēto dzejoļu ir tapuši jau dzejnieka dzīves laikā, nevis viņa spilgtās aiziešanas mūžībā provocēti, kā varētu domāt, un tos rakstījuši dažādu paaudžu un estētisko uzskatu pārstāvji gan dzejas formā, kā Māris Čaklais, Jānis Peters, Imants Ziedonis, Mirdza Ķempe, Anatols Immermanis, Arvīds Skalbe, Anna Sakse, Klāvs Elsbergs, Jānis Rokpelnis, Māra Mišņa, Leons Briedis, Aivars Neibarts, Pēteris Jurciņš, Ausma Pormale, Leons Āre, Elmārs Kuršis, Andrejs Balodis, Imants Auziņš, Lija Brīdaka, Marta Bārbale, Igors Jakaitis, Jānis Plotnieks, Gunta Šnipke, Aleksandrs Pelēcis, Vitauts Ļūdēns, Egils Plaudis, Eduards Aivars, Kornēlija Apškrūma, Laima Līvena, Juris Kunnoss, Jānis Sirmbārdis, Anda Līce, Velga Krile, Valentīns Pelēcis u. c., gan arī lieliskas veltījuma potretesejas prozā, ko rakstījuši Roalds Dobrovenskis, Velta Kalniņa, Vizma Belševica, Jānis Stradiņš, Māris Čaklais, Jānis Peters, Imants Ziedonis, Jānis Rokpelnis, Pēteris Zirnītis, Jānis Streičs, Marģeris Zariņš, Ābrams Kļeckins, Lilija Dzene, Rita Valnere, Monika Zariņa ar savu lielisko "kapitālistisko" tomātmaizīšu ieēdināšanas stratēģiju, apmulsušajam padomju dzejniekam viesojoties Skotijā ("Ēd, lūdzu! Tās taču arī ir sarkanas")¹⁰, – un šo uzskaitījumu varētu turpināt. Ārpus šī uzskaitījuma palika Ludmilas Azarovas "Magnētiskais Māras ezers",¹¹ jo viņas veltījumu dāsnums un nozīme dzejnieka liriskajā un dramatiskajā biogrāfijā būtu atsevišķs stāsts, daudz atsevišķāks par visiem pārējiem, – ne tikai visus kopā, bet arī katru par sevi ņemot, nenoliedzami būtiskiem. Domās pārcilājot bijušo, dzejniece Ludmila Azarova raksta:

*"Nav jēgas vienkāršot
ne likteni, ne laiku."*¹²

Un dzejniecei taisnība – vienkāršot nozīmētu O. Vācieša unikalitāti zaudēt. Jāatzīst, ka lielā mērā tā bija un ir uz "kreisajām" vērtībām balstīta dzeja un domāšanas kultūra. Tālab viens no būtiskākajiem, iespējams, pats galvenais O. Vācieša dzejas interteksts var tikt formulēts kā padomju (sociālistiskais) literārais un kultūras mantojums, nevis literārās dzīves atkritumi (ko ražo katrs laikmets), bet mantojums paliekamas literārās un kultūras vērtības nozīmē.

Var ironizēt, ka padomju dzejnieki bija veltījumdzejā labi trenēti (veltījumi Ļeņinam, Staļinam, Sarkanajai armijai, Lielajam Oktobrim un to analogiem savienotajās republikās, arī Latvijā, bija padomju dzejas neatņemama sastāvdaļa). Tomēr te ir runa par kaut ko principiāli citu: veltījumdzejā O. Vācietim nav ne vēsts no kampaņveida atrakstīšanās, ideoloģisku nodevu vai vadonisma dvakas.

"Par literatūras teorētiķiem es nerunāšu, jo neticu, ka tiem pa prātam var uzrakstīt. Rakstīšu pats sev pa prātam ..., un būšu laimīgs, kad kaut rinda no mana dzejoļa izdarīs savu darbu – paliks līdz tam brīdim kādā nezināmā sirdī,"¹³ – būdams ceļā uz savu pirmo grāmatu, Ojārs Vācietis raksta draugam Gunāram Grāvim. Pieticīga un reizē tik pārmērīga (dzejnieka, cilvēciskās) laimes formula, kam bija lemts nežēlīgi piepildīties visā viņa radošā mūža garumā.

Veltījumu O. Vācietim kvalitāte un kvantitāte rosina domāt par jautājumu, ar ko izskaidrojama šī literatūrvēsturiski fiksētā laikmeta koncentrēšanās ap O. Vācieti, nemaz nerunājot par to, cik daudz nezināmu siržu Vācieša dzeja ir aizskārusi, sevi atražojot un vairojot arī anonīmas lasīšanas un līdzpārdzīvojumā veidā. Vai, paša Vācieša vārdiem runājot, – cik rindu no viņa dzejoļiem būs izdarījušas savu darbu, paliekot nezināmo sirdīs.

Mana personiskā pazišanās ar dzejnieku ir notikusi tikai caur viņa dzeju, un es nevaru lepoties ar to, ka līdz šim būtu bijusi nopietnās pētnieciskās attiecībās ar Ojāru Vācieti. Lasīšanas un patikšanas attiecībās gan, arī spilgtu un neaizmirstamu bērniības un jaunības atmiņu attiecībās, kaut arī pavisam provinciālā un šķietami bezpersonisku attiecību veidā. Tas sākas, domājams, 1967. gada rudenī, kad viņš kopā ar citiem dzejniekiem viesojās Jaunpiebalgas vidusskolā un varbūt pret paša gribu izrādījās Dzejas dienu sabiedriskās kārtības traucētājs. Nezinu, varbūt tāpēc, lai attiecības starp dzeju un auditoriju neveidotos pārāk oficiālas un nogurdinošas, viņš bija izvēlējis klausītāju vecuma grupai un sociālajam statusam neatbilstošu dzejas repertuāru un tāpēc radīja nenopietna cilvēka iespaidu. Viņš skolotāju pavadībā uz skolas zāli atvesto skolēnu priekšā lasīja “Dziesmiņu par trako Līzi” no svilpojamo dziesmiņu cikla, kura centrā izvirzīta pavisam nepareiza liriskā varone un dzejas aina kopumā:

*Pērkoņlietus šonakt līs,
Trako Līz, trako Līz,
Nāc pie manis labi drīz,
Trako Līz.*

*Tavos matos, trako Līz,
Trako Līz, trako Līz,
Velni ūdensrozes pīs,
Trako Līz.¹⁴*

Jau pēc pirmajām “trako Līz, trako Līz” ritmiskajām atkārtojuma figūrām dzejnieka priekšnesumā zālē sākās smieklī, nevaldāma smieklu lēkme, un skolotājiem vajadzēja celties kājās un skaļi klauvēt pa prezidija galdu, aiz kura sēdēja virkne dzejnieku un vakara vadītājs, lai mūs nomierinātu un Vācietis savu lasījumu varētu turpināt. Kas daudz maz atceras dzejoli tālāk, zina, ka dzejoļa izskaņā šai orgijā iesaistās arī govis un bērni, bet runa, protams, nav par latviešu rakstniecībā ierastajām ganu gaitām. Reizē smieklīgi, bet arī aizdomīgi. Trakā Līze kā sociālistiskā reālisma un jauno dzejnieku pilsoniskās stājas paraugdemonstrējums lauku skolā. Kas gan O. Vācieša dzejas cilvēkam varētu būt kopējs ar velniem un tādu Līzi!

Pēc “Dziesmiņas par trako Līzi” dzejnieks pieteic, ka nākamā svilpojamā būšot “Dziesmiņa par labo roku”, un pretstatā Līzei tas esot pavisam parasts dzejolis, jo normāli taču katram esot labā roka un labus darbus darīt arī esot normāli:

*Ar labo roku,
Aņņemt var sievu,
Ar labo roku
Nolauzt var ievu,
Ar labo roku
Var glaudīt pa spalvu,
Ar labo roku
Nocirst var galvu,
Un, darot labu,
Pa galvu var dabūt.¹⁵*

Abus Dzejas dienās “priekšā celtos” Ojāra Vācieša dzejoļus šodien pārlasot, redzams, ka tās ir varen ķecerīgas vārsmas – tik progresīvā valstī un iekārtā, darot kādam labu, pa galvu var dabūt? Un tieši Vācieša repertuāra izvēles un padomju dzejnieka stereotīpam un publiskajam tēlam neiedomājamās uzvedības dēļ es atceros šīs Dzejas dienas un viņu pašu. Visu citu Dzejas dienu viesu vārdi un tēli ir atmiņā pagaisuši. Pavisam viņi bija kādi pieci seši, varbūt vairāk, bet O. Vācietis bija tieši tik nepareizs, lai klausītāju acīs viņu nevarētu padarīt par elku vai paraugcilvēku.

Vēl kāda man personiski būtiska liecība par Ojāra Vācieša dzejas dzīvotspēju un recepcijas formu daudzveidību jau tālajos sešdesmitajos. Kādu gadu pēc trauksmainajām Dzejas dienām turpat Malienas pierobežā no pavisam nedzejiskas kaimiņu ģimenes pilngadības svētkos (tos atzīmēja iesvētību vietā) saņēmu apsveikuma karti ar ierakstu, kas apliecina, ka citādi diezgan kareivīgā dejdarbā (to es atklāju vēlāk) "Pāri pasaulei saule" no pirmā krājuma "Tālu ceļu vējš" vismaz šīs četras rindas savu darbu ir padarījušas pie daudziem:

*Visu, ko jaunība mīl,
Pie sirds tā sasildīt var;
Visu, ko jaunība nīst, –
Ar sirdi var sadedzināt.*¹⁶

Tādās sajūtās un cerībās mēs dzīvojam un tādi ideālisti, laimes un patiesības meklētāji bijām. Bet kas to būtu domājis, ka tas jocīgais svilpojamo dziesmiņu lasītājs var just, domāt un rakstīt arī tā? Ojāra Vācieša interteksta sakarā tas nozīmē, ka viņa dzeja dzīvoja, folklorizējoties albumu dzejas veidā, kas gāja no rokas rokā vidusskolniecēm, kolhozniecēm, kantoristēm un citiem pavisam tā dēvētajiem vienkāršajiem lasītājiem.

Ir teikts, ka latviešu literatūras vēsture nav sevišķi bagāta ar literārajiem grupējumiem, kas, vairāk vai mazāk noformējušies, būtu nākuši klajā ar saviem manifestiem, programmām vai aktivitātēm un ietekmējuši literatūras procesu, bet gluži uz vienas rokas pirkstiem tos saskaitīt nevar: Dzelves, Trauksmes, jaunacionālistu, Kazas, Elles ķēķa, t.s. Franču grupa, jaungaitnieki... Šai uzskaitē trūkst 20. gadsimta latviešu rakstniecībai varbūt paša būtiskākā grupējuma ar Ojāru Vācieti avangardā un viņa ciešākajiem sekotājiem – Imantu Ziedoni, Vizmu Belševicu, Māri Čaklo un Jāni Peteru centrā, kas jau 60. gados konsekventi un neatlaidīgi sāka rakstīt savu neatkarības deklarāciju dzejā.

Kaut vārdā nenosaukts, varbūt tas ir vienīgais "līdz galam" noformējies, savu mērķi sasniegušais literārais grupējums: to apstiprina šajā sirds asins brālībā ierakstītā dzejas pēctecība un sociālā atbildība. Patiesības instinkts šai brālībai bija stiprāks par pašsaglabāšanās instinktu, un zem šī manifesta instinktīvi parakstījās nākamās dzejas jaunaudzes avangards: K.Elsbergs, J.Rokpelnis, L.Briedis, U. Bērziņš, J. Kunnoss, P. Brūveris, M.Zālīte un citi. Varbūt tāpēc, ka plika sabiedriski politiska brāļošana, klaji pretvalstiskas akcijas un viņu literārā sadzīve vai sadzīviska čupošanās zināmu iemeslu dēļ nevarēja kļūt par masu mediju un plašākas sabiedrības interešu objektu, šī brālība literatūrvēstures annālēs netika iegrāmatota.

Pretstatā mūsdienu izpaušmēm, šī aizgājušā laikmeta dzejas sugestivitātes pamatā bija tās sabiedriskais aktīvisms, līdzpārdzīvojums un sociālā atbildība. Paradoksālā kārtā šī laika dzejai bija ne tikai ideoloģiski aizbarikādēts, bet tīri fiziski atvieglots ceļš pie

lasītāja, jo literatūra jau pēc definīcijas bija ierocis, ar ko tēmēt uz sabiedrību – to ietekmēt, pilnveidot, iedvesmot, noskaņot, (pār)audzināt utt. O. Vācietis riskēja paņemt labāko, nevis virspusējo no sevis un sava laika, un, viņa vārsmu vai laikmeta pretrunu iedvesmoti, tam sekoja citi. Šodien dzīve un dzeja ļaujās itin kā apmānīties un nenonākt pretrunā ar sevi vai neatļaujas atzīties lielās pretrunās nonākusi. O. Vācieša dzejas laikam atgriezeniskā saite ar sabiedrību bija ļoti būtiska, bet vai tālab šodien viņš būtu piedabūjams iet lasīt dzeju gaļas paviljonā vai autostacijā? Par šodienas būšanām grūti spriest, bet tolaik attieksme pret tādām lietām bija pavisam cita – ja padomju dzejnieks būtu iegājis (vai norīkots) lasīt dzeju autoostā, tirgus paviljonā vai fabrikā, reisi tiktu atcelti, kases aparāti izslēgti un konveijeri apstādināti. Un, neraugoties uz situācijas nopietnību, O. Vācietis un viņam līdzīgie bija gatavi nākt klajā katrs ar savu Trako Līzi un atklāsmi, ka, “darot labu, pa galvu var dabūt”.

Ojārs Vācietis – mīlestības dzejnieks no pirmās līdz pēdējai rindai, laimes un patiesības meklētājs sociālistiskajā reālismā un ideālismā, Malienas maizē, dzelzs priekšskara šaipusē audzis globālists, kurš jau 60. gados neklūdīgi apgalvoja, ka "daudzas nelaimes mūsdienu pasaulē ir tikpat internacionālas kā gripa".¹⁷ Protams, pašas galvenās un nozīmīgākās vērtības Vācieša dzejā ir jāatrod katram pašam, tomēr šodien ir svarīgi ieraudzīt un nedefinēt O. Vācieti un viņa interteksta fenomenu (dzīves, literatūras, vēstures un politikas tekstus kopā ņemot) literatūrzinātnes annālēs, kamēr vispārējā infekcija ar viņa dzeju vēl nav pārgājusi, infekcijas nēsātāji vēl dzīvi un 60.–80. gadu literārā grupējuma kodols ir mūsu dzīves un literatūras procesos aktīvi klātesošs.

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Summary

To some extent any text is an intertext. Ojārs Vācietis is among those Latvian authors whose poetry bares a clearly idiosyncratic richness and a diversity of intertextual forms both in the context of their time – the Soviet rule and social developments – and also with regard the modern changes that actively partake in creating and reproducing the textual meanings of his poetry.

Ojārs Vācietis is one of the most controversial Latvian poets who has been valued in the most ambiguous fashion due to the idea positioning of his poetry; this has also encouraged the presence of powerful extra-literary contexts (historical, political, social) in the perception and interpretation of his poetry. Disregarding the fact that Vācietis was a poet in formal agreement with the totalitarian soviet regime, the things he said and wrote in his poetry, journalism, and positions on life had powerful resonance among the free-thinking literati; they inspired intellectuals to resistance, freedom and self-manifestation. The special favor granted to Vācietis to express and represent the masses in his poetry, his impact on singular creative personalities and the process of literary development as a whole clearly come to surface in works devoted to Vācietis as well as in correspondence of the poet. It must be said here that poems inscribed for Vācietis specifically are beyond compare with anyone else in terms of their number, poetic brightness and contextual richness. The essential intonations, motives, philosophical reflections and poetic strategies that are important for Vācietis poetry merge and collide in writing devoted to Vācietis individually. These specific poems function as a unique form of communication in poetic code and serve as a common denomination for idiosyncratic contrasts of the ideologies and existential spiritual quest of their time.

Lithuania and Lithuanians in the Yiddish Literature of Inter-war Lithuania

Lietuva un lietuvieši jidiša literatūrā starpkaru Lietuvā

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The era of Independent Lithuania between the two World Wars was a complex period for the Jewish communities there. The era began with an idealistic autonomy for the Jewish community, and enthusiastic Jews worked to create their Utopia within Lithuanian society, contributing to the national economy and social life; developing in their communities institutions for secular and religious learning, cultural associations, social and support organizations, an outstanding Yiddish and Hebrew press, and sports activities.

Politically in the ensuing decades, Jews proceeded from a heady pro-Lithuanianism to attempts to alter their apparent economic fate, to efforts to recreate a more insular autonomy or to escape from the country itself. Jews were an intensely active minority in internal and co-communal transition, within a new-old country struggling through its own transitions.

To the end of Independent Lithuania, some Jews continued to believe in a version of historian Shimen Dubnow's "*doikayt*" ["here-ness"] that would allow them to live full Jewish lives as full citizens in an integrated Lithuania. One such figure was Leyb Garfunkl, an attorney, a member of the Lithuanian Sejm, a writer and social organizer.

Literature in Yiddish often reflects these various ideals, with writers looking to create a distinctive Jewish culture while being totally cognizant of their Lithuanian environment. Among young Yiddish writers who wrote of Lithuania—her bountiful countryside, her antiquity, her peoples living alongside each other, her struggle to recover from years of occupation and relative stagnation—are the three Gotlib brothers; Eliezer Heyman; Yisroel Kaplan; and the brothers Mayer and Khaym Yelin, all working and publishing in Kaunas/Kovne.

What does this special notice, this incorporation of the two worlds connote? How did it affect the Jews who read it, and did it affect the Lithuanian majority that lived alongside? Fresh interpretations of several works of the above-mentioned authors, and others, illuminate a shadowed area of Jewish literature and reveal sentiments that a dreadful history has blocked out for many years.

Keywords: Yiddish literature; Lithuanian Jews; inter-war Lithuania.

Lithuania emerged after World War I independent, idealistic, and determined, after generations of occupations. When the new state of Lithuania was declared, many of the Jewish families who had been expelled by the Russian army, returned to re-establish their homesteads and small businesses, and they invested themselves in the heady dream of an independent Lithuania that would be home to political and religious freedom, to prosperous business networks, and to hopeful education and social goals.

Lithuania created a very generous minority treaty, of which the Jewish community was one beneficiary. Yiddish—the thousand-year-old European language of the Jews—was one of three official languages, and the reports to the community from the Ministry of Jewish Affairs were printed in Yiddish. Enthusiastic Jews worked to

create their Utopia within Lithuanian society, contributing their resources to the national economy and to educational and social life. In their own communities, they developed institutions for secular and religious learning. (The religious schools of Lithuania were already famous, and supplied scholars to Jewish communities around the world.) Jews formed cultural associations, social and support organizations including hospitals, specialty schools and orphanages; an outstanding Yiddish and Hebrew press, and competitive sports groups. Even when a less liberal administration took over the governance of the new state, many Jews simply worked harder—alongside their Lithuanian compatriots—to maintain the ideal of an intelligent, enlightened society in a proudly Lithuanian autonomy. Jews were an intensely active minority in internal and inter-community transition, within a new-old country struggling through its own transitions.

From our current historical remove, and standing as we are on this side of the great divides of the Holocaust and the Soviet occupations—and with Lithuania and her Baltic neighbors in transition today into modern democracies once again—it is nearly impossible to reconstruct what life was like in post-World War I Lithuania. What were the normal relationships and expected interactions between Jewish and non-Jewish Lithuanians? There are few people to ask, and human beings are themselves vulnerable to change and to modifying themselves and their attitudes in order to survive in volatile circumstances. Yet there are some records of social attitudes, in newspapers and other publications from by-gone years. There is also evidence in literature produced by keenly observing artists. I have found very interesting, if not plentiful, information about normative relationships of Jews and Lithuanians in the inter-war years, in Yiddish literature written in the 1920s and 1930s, and here I begin an examination of some surviving works from that period.

One comment about my terminology: Despite my best efforts I use two names for these cities interchangeably: “Kaunas” and “Kovne” and “Vilnius” and “Vilne”. I will use “Jews” to describe Jewish Lithuanian citizens and “Lithuanians” to describe Christian Lithuanian citizens, with the understanding that neither term determines a better or a lesser citizen.

Creative Yiddish literature in the first days of the new state reflected mostly an older sensibility, unchanged by the new political realities. An early publication was the periodical “*Vispe*”, which included work by some younger but mostly older writers. That body of work did not in general connect to the changed environment in which the writers were living. It is an important fact that the capital city and cultural center of Kaunas was cut off from the traditional capital of Lithuania, Vilnius, which had been retained by independent Poland. This meant less “cross-pollination” for Yiddish writers in the two cities, but it permitted the development of a particular, and particularly Lithuanian, Yiddish literature.

Already in the 1920s new attitudes were evident, as a specific and modern approach developed. A loose group was formed, called *Mir aley*n, or “we ourselves”. The writers drawn to this group—again both young and old—were looking with new eyes at their surroundings. They formed their group in a time when the economy was very weak, emigration from Lithuania was high, and the general mood was low. Predictably, much of their early work was gloomy and in a minor-key.

In 1930 they declared their existence and their approach to culture in the journal *Mir aleyn*, a collection of poetry, short stories, literary criticism, and essays on art and criticism. A key article was an essay on the meaning of “*mir aleyn*” as it suited their situation both politically and artistically. The journal was meant to be the first of a series, but it was the only one published. Yet the journal was received to high critical acclaim. Critics wrote that this group “hears Lithuania”¹; and that the journal was “full of longing to throw off the bonds...that Lithuania is sunk in”². In other words, the writing reflected both the difficulties of the political and social transition, and the vision that there would be a freer, better time on the other side of the struggle. They saw the generations—long history of Jewish life in Lithuania in a long and rich procession that led to the present. While it was not necessarily clear where the path would lead from here, the interest was in pressing on.

Yiddish newspapers in Kovne were an important outlet for new literature. Two of the senior members of the *Mir aleyn* group worked at two of the main daily newspapers: Rubin Rubinshteyn was editor of the “*Idishe shtime*” and Mendl Sudarski was editor of the “*Folksblat*”. Both these editors were also writers who sought out and were eager to publish interesting writing even by unknown talents. It was through their efforts that some very young writers gained good reputations, and became more widely published.

A number of these promising young writers belonged to *Mir aleyn*: Yankev Gotlib, Neyekh Itsik Gotlib, Eliezer Heyman, Yisroel Kaplan, and Khaym and Mayer Yelin. All were born in Lithuania. Most died in the Holocaust in their early 30s, never to develop their mature talents. Although Heyman and Khaym Yelin both wrote during their incarceration in the Nazi ghetto in Kovne, very little or none of that work could be salvaged.

Among the latest examples of the free work of these writers exists in the 1938 collection, *Bleter*³, or Leaves. The book’s introduction states that “the leaves gathered here are conceived as continual growth from the tree of the young Yiddish literature”; that the collection itself is “a further milestone on the course of Jewish artistic creativity”; that it is “a gathering—point of the Yiddish literature so deeply rooted in Lithuania”.

The collection consists of short stories and poetry. There are three women poets who write with astonishing clarity about the personal and the political. There are two stories⁴ about odd, damaged characters and the damage they can inflict on the communities that they ostensibly depend on. There are beautiful painterly poems about the long way Jews took and the precious baggage they carried to arrive in Lithuania and the present. But these do not fit the topic under examination, and will have to await their own opportunity, which hopefully will come before another 60 years have passed since their publication.

Yankev Gotlib⁵ was the most—published writer to contribute to *Bleter*, having four books of poetry in print by 1938. Gotlib’s first poem was printed in the “*Idishe shtime*” in 1925—when he was 14 or 15 years old. He was published in numerous other newspapers and journals in Lithuania, in Warsaw, in Riga and in New York. His books, all published in Kaunas, are the 1931 *Gold un blut* or Gold and Blood, which Gotlib identifies as the glorious and comforting colors of the Lithuanian sunset. The poems are both loving and despairing, as he describes his home in a sad beauty, and

sees his land unable to break free of some lingering malaise. He wishes for the white dove to come down and rescue her.

Koyles fun der vayt or *Voices from Afar*, published in 1933, comprises one 47-page-long lyric poem that utilizes a dawn-to-dusk day as a metaphor: Life begins with the cry of a bird in the dark before the first light of day; the poet sees human life as the common experience; he longs for meetings and partings, for the stuff of which life is woven; he longs for love, and for God. Gotlib's connection to ancient suffering is as profound as his comprehension of the world immediately around him, and one informs the other. His question, is there life after death, does not have to do with a future for the soul but with the continuation of life on earth after so many painful experiences. There is a price to pay for living. Yet the beauty of the natural world can cause weeping. He doesn't want to be separated out as a Jew. Still he will comfort anyone, the world, he will spread his life over any lonely soul in the storm. Peace comes at the end of the day, as a night bird calls and there is darkness and quiet.

In 1936 Gotlib published *A verbe baym taykh* or *A Willow by the River*, a collection of related poems. These short poems, many about September or May, are not about nature so much as they use the transitions of the natural world—sunset and sunrise, changing seasons, shifting winds, leaves turning, skies darkening or lightening—to address or explain equally familiar emotions or situations that elude expression.

Sonetn or *Sonnets* appeared in 1938. Gotlib's 14-part sonnet on Jewish history is a centerpiece here, and is the piece he chose for *Bleter*, printed the same year.

Bleter includes two poems by **Shmuel Matis**⁶—poems about war, in protest of war. Both contain vivid imagery of violence and pain on the battlefield, yet both convey a deep dignity. “The Ballad of the Unknown Soldier” describes a youth from the countryside inducted into the army. Innocent youth is attacked in the black of night by red hatred. Our youth is pierced by a hot bullet, grapples to comprehend what has happened, stumbles, falls. His death becomes an anthem in which he gathers and bears the souls of the other dead soldiers upward to heaven. But their young lives are over, their potential unfulfilled, their innocence slaughtered in the name of hatred. This is the price of hatred, of mistrust, a price that we should be unwilling to pay.

Matis' second poem, “A Mother in the Land of Battle”, has a similar theme and motive, only this time a fleeing mother carrying a baby is caught in the cross-fire of the two armies. Her child is struck by a bullet. We don't know from which side. We don't see that either side ever knows that the child has been killed. The Mother kneels by the Madonna. Matis names the image of her with her mortally wounded child, “Pieta”. Again, the price of hatred. The mother can never forgive. And is she now among those who must hate, or will she simply be dissolved by grief? How many lives were lost in this single incident? Are these deaths calculated into the cost of war, or are they invisible?

While it is always assumed that Jews are fighting in the armies that represent their countries, there are no specific Jews in these poems. Matis was himself too young to have fought in either World War I or the battles for Lithuanian Independence. His quest is for humanism and understanding. But these two gripping pieces, in Yiddish, are both about patently Lithuanian characters who are sanctified by inadvertent sacrifice.

Khaym Yellin's⁷ story "*Afn dorf*" or "In a village" focuses on two old friends consoling one another. Nature is an important component in many of Yelin's stories, and here we arrive in the village by way of a road whose beauty draws one to walk along it. The scene is summer, there is a drought. It is hot, dry, parched. The heat draws the smell of pine and pitch from wooden boats at the river's edge. At night, the Jewish shoemaker Leybe cannot sleep, and sits in his garden. The Lithuanian fisherman Jozif shuffles over and they sit together on a fallen tree, observing that trees usually become stronger as they age, and men become weaker. The tax laws are changing, and assessors will soon arrive to count and evaluate. How will these old friends measure up in the new order? Will they be evaluated properly? Will they lose out? Should they see this as a threat? Their long friendship and commiseration will help them to muddle through.

This story represents an older population in transition, as observed by a new generation of writers, sympathetic to their situation and their efforts to cope in the new order of things. Yelin often was able to look beyond the apparent and address the feelings of his subjects.

The writings of **Eliezer Heyman**⁸ were copied by hand in the 1960s from old newspapers in Lithuania, and published in Israel in 1972 by a surviving writer from "*Mir aleyh*". This near-miraculous access to his writing helped to suggest the examination of social norms in his work.

Heyman was born in Kavarsk, Lithuania. His family was expelled by the Russian Army during World War I, but returned later and settled in Kaunas. This is relevant because, although he lived in cities for significant parts of his life, his writing is almost invariably set in the countryside, and near the river Shvente.

His first published story, in 1926 in a Yiddish newspaper, was really a sketch about nature. The natural environment with its leaves and seeds is drawn in quiet, sensory detail. Every word is carefully chosen and placed. Heyman's stories often have no plot or central action: they are stories of nature, studies of a human dilemma, of a person in a pivotal moment in life. Heyman's knowledge of human nature and his interest in writing about the simplest people and the most basic, essential happenings—however small, however private—are illuminating.

One of his stories is about a Jewish girl who works in her family's store, speaking Lithuanian with the customers, and also wistfully wondering who in this tiny town will emerge to be her beloved, her future husband. This is a "slice of life" story, in which a moment from an ordinary life is examined, no conclusion is reached, and the frogs continue to chirp in the night. A second story does involve an action taken, by an impatient Lithuanian man. He is angry at his wife and even angrier at God, who have not given him children. Effectively blinded by his fury, he so antagonizes his wife that she miscarries the child growing inside her. The story is a close study of resentment and the agony of a missed opportunity, factors that create a small and private hell for this couple.

Heyman's world is the land, the plants, the animals, the people—all components of an inseparable whole. He finds optimism in the ancient Lithuanian soil: In deepest winter the villagers cherish the idea of the tiny heads of rye pushing up under the

blankets of snow. His stories often begin at dawn or dusk, and time passes slowly; there are no destinations, no politics, no discernable government; and no time period can be determined, except that no one speaks Russian! The language of the stories is Yiddish, but Lithuanian words and sentences are transliterated and are organic components of the story. There are stories with no Lithuanians, as there are stories with no Jews. But every story that involves more than one household involves both Jews and Lithuanians. They know one another's children and great-grandparents. They recognize one another's animals. They all have gardens and they exchange advice about them. They address one another as "du", that is with the familiar pronoun. The Jews know the peals of the church bells, so that when, for example, a death is announced by the bells, they hurry to find who has passed away so that they may pay their respects.

Heyman's submission to *Bleter*. is "*Di letste idn*" or "The last Jews". In it, Shleyme, a middle-aged Jew, and Bulyolis, an elderly Lithuanian, discuss the flight of the young people from the villages, and what the future will be. It is Bulyolis who helps Shleyme acknowledge how things have changed and decide what he should do.

It is difficult to know if Heyman and these other writers were documenting something in the countryside that was beginning to disappear in the cities in the 1930s—or whether that is my hindsight imposing an agenda that the writers lacked. It seems more likely that they chose to ignore the winds that blew fascism from Western Europe and complicated their fragile peace: they had all elected to remain in Lithuania out of love for the place. Indeed, Neyekh Itsik Gotlib had moved to Canada, but there continued to write about Lithuania, including his poem "*O Lite land!*", a hymn to the landscape and countryside. After the Holocaust, he sat in Canada and wrote a novel about a Jewish youth movement in Kaunas in the 1930s.

Yankev Gotlib foresaw a "third catastrophe"—the first two being the destructions of the two Temples in ancient Jerusalem—and this idea of impending doom began to shadow his late writing.

Dovid Mayerovitsh foresaw a fine and good future, that he felt he would miss. His poem in the "*Bleter*", "*Tsu der kumendike sheynkayt*", an ode to the bright future, indicates that he felt used up and no longer suited to the task of managing the future, yet he saw it coming. He urged people to fight for it, and he willed it to those who could appreciate it.

We will never see the normal resolution of the transitions of the previous Independent Lithuania. That rich and promising brew has been spilled out by the Holocaust and obliterated by the Soviet occupations. The few Yiddish writers who survived, live outside the environments that brought out their first creative expressions. What happened to the Jewish population of Lithuania could not have been foreseen even by a madman. But as we look back on their history, it is important to make the effort to see them accurately, living and working in Lithuanian towns and villages, eating the same grains and wearing the same flax as their neighbors. It seems the least we can all do as neighbors, and for constructing a future on a realistic reading of the past.

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- 6 1914–1941. Born in Alita, Lithuania; shot by Germans near Svencion.
- 7 1907–1944. Born in Kaunas; either shot by Germans or slit his own wrists before being apprehended by Germans.
- 8 1908 – July 1944. Born in Kavarsk, near Vilkomir (Ukmerge). Burned along with his wife and writings in the liquidation of the Kovne Ghetto.

Kopsavilkums

Neatkarīgās Lietuvas laiks starpkaru posmā bija sarežģīts periods tur dzīvojošajām ebreju kopienām. Šī ēra sākās ar ideālistiskiem priekšstatiem par ebreju kopienas autonomiju, un, entuziasma pārņemti, ebreji darbojās, lai izveidotu savu Utopiju Lietuvas sabiedrības ietvaros, dodot savu ieguldījumu valsts saimniecībā un sabiedriskajā dzīvē. Savās kopienās viņi veidoja laicīgās un reliģiskās mācību iestādes, kultūras biedrības, sabiedriskās un palīdzības organizācijas, izcilus preses izdevumus jidišā un ivritā, kā arī organizēja sporta pasākumus. Politiskā ziņā nākamajās desmitgadēs ebreji no izteiktā atbalsta lietuviskumam pārgāja pie mēģinājumiem mainīt savu ekonomisko situāciju, atjaunot savu vairāk izolēto autonomiju vai arī vispār emigrēt no Lietuvas. Ebreji bija ārkārtīgi aktīva minoritāte iekšējo un starpkopienų pārmaiņu laikā, jaunajai valstij cīnoties ar pārejas perioda grūtībām.

Līdz pat neatkarīgās Lietuvas galam daļa ebreju turpināja ticēt vēsturnieka Šimona Dubnova “doikayt” (šejienības”) idejai, kas tiem kā pilntiesīgiem integrētās Lietuvas pilsoņiem ļautu saglabāt ebreju tradicionālo dzīves veidu. Viens no šīs idejas atbalstītājiem bija advokāts Leibs Garfunkls – ebrejs, Lietuvas Seima deputāts, rakstnieks un sabiedriskais darbinieks.

Jidišā rakstītā literatūra nereti atspoguļo šos dažādos ideālus, jo rakstnieki centās radīt izteikti ebrejisku kultūru, vienlaikus pilnīgi apzinoties lietuvisko vidi, kurā tie dzīvoja. Jauno ebreju rakstnieku vidū, kuri rakstīja par Lietuvu – par tās dāsnajiem laukiem, vēsturi un dažādajām kopā dzīvojošajām tautām, par tās centieniem atkopties pēc ilgajiem okupācijas gadiem un relatīvās stagnācijas – ir jāmin trīs brāļi Gotlībi, Eliezers Heimans, Isroels Kaplans, kā arī brāļi Maijers un Haims Jelini, kas visi dzīvoja un strādāja Kauņā.

Ko nozīmēja īpašā uzmanības pievēršana divu pasaulu saplūšanai? Kā tā ietekmēja literāros darbus lasošos ebrejus, un vai tā ietekmēja blakus dzīvojošo lietuviešu vairākumu? Augšminēto, kā arī citu autoru atsevišķu darbu jauna interpretācija izgaismo ebreju literatūras mazāk zināmo nostūri, atklājot tādas jūtas, kuras uz daudziem gadiem ir apslāpējusi drausmīgā vēsture.

Dažas paralēles Hermaņa Zūdermaņa un Rūdolfa Blaumaņa daiļradē

A Few Parallels between Hermann Sudermann's Works and the Writings of Rūdolfs Blaumanis

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Vācu rakstnieks Hermanis Zūdermanis (1857–1928) ir latviešu rakstnieka Rūdolfa Blaumaņa (1863–1908) laikabiedrs.

Hermaņa Zūdermaņa darbi ir atstājuši zināmu iespaidu reālisma attīstībā latviešu literatūrā. Zūdermaņa lugu iespaids ir jūtams arī Rūdolfa Blaumaņa darbos.

Rūdolfs Blaumanis labi pazina vācu dramaturģiju. Lai gan par izcilāko vācu dramaturgu Rūdolfs Blaumanis uzskatīja Gerhartu Hauptmani, viņš tomēr augstu vērtēja arī Hermaņa Zūdermaņa darbus.

Atslēgvārdi: Zūdermanis, Blaumanis, dramaturģija.

Latviešu rakstnieks – noveles un drāmas žanru un reālisma kā virziena iedibinātājs latviešu literatūrā – Rūdolfs Blaumanis (1863–1908) un vācu rakstnieks Hermanis Zūdermanis (Hermann Sudermann (1857–1928)) ir laikabiedri un dramaturģijā ienāk gandrīz vienlaikus. 1890. gadā publicēta H. Zūdermaņa drāma “Gods” un R. Blaumaņa komēdija “Zagli”.

H. Zūdermanis ir viens no visvairāk tulkotajiem vācu autoriem latviešu literatūrā, īpaši populāri lasītāju vidū ir viņa romāni: romāns “Kaķu laipa” latviešu valodā izdots piecas reizes. Iznākuši arī H. Zūdermaņa Kopoti raksti 16 sējumos.

19. gadsimta 90. gados H. Zūdermaņa drāmas “Gods” un Aspazijas drāmas “Zaudētas tiesības” iestudējumi Rīgas Latviešu teātrī izraisīja vienu no lielākajām diskusijām latviešu kultūras vēsturē, kuru centrā ir reālisma attīstības un sievietes emancipācijas jautājumi.¹

Latviešu literatūras vēstures pētījumos pieminēta arī H. Zūdermaņa darbu ietekme reālisma attīstībā latviešu literatūrā, īpaši to sociālkritiskā ievirze.²

Mazāk latviešu literatūras vēstures pētījumos ir skatītas R. Blaumaņa un H. Zūdermaņa daiļrades paralēles, arī vācu dramaturga lugu ietekme R. Blaumaņa darbos.³

R. Blaumanis labi pārzināja sava laika vācu dramaturģiju un par nozīmīgāko personību tajā uzskatīja Gerhartu Hauptmani, bet R. Blaumaņa darbos sastopams arī atzinīgs H. Zūdermaņa vērtējums:

“Patiešām, Zūdermaņam ir viss, kā īstam dramatiķim vajaga: skaidrs skats priekš dramatiskiem pretekļiem, dzirds stils, kas nekur par daudz neizplūst, gars, atjauta un tāds ugunīgs spars, kas klausītāju beztrūcīgi aizraun līdz.”⁴

Gan R. Blaumaņa, gan H. Züdermaņa skolotāji drāmas laukā bija franču “labi taisīto lugu” autori (E. Skribs, V. Sardū, A. Dimā dēls u.c.). R. Blaumanis saista H. Züdermaņa darbu skatuvīskums, labi organizētā, godrā dramatiskā darbība. Arī viņu pašu latviešu dramaturģijas vēsturē uzskata par labāko drāmas uzbūves meistaruru.

1893. gadā R. Blaumanis H. Züdermaņa drāmas “Gods” varoni grāfu Trastu min kā vienu no saviem mīļākajiem literārajiem varoņiem:

“Tavi mīļākie raksturi dzejā?

Sidnejs Kartons (Dikensa “Divas pilsētas”). Hamlets. Grāfs Trasts (Züdermaņa “Gods”).”⁵

H. Züdermaņa grāfa Trasta galvenās morāles vērtības ir pienākuma apziņa, cēlsirdība, goda izjūta. Goda jēdziens ir nozīmīgs R. Blaumaņa drāmā “Pazudušais dēls” (1893). Savukārt gan personiskajās attiecībās, gan kā savu lugu personu (vecais un jaunais Indrāns, Roplainis, Kristīne u.c.) rakstura īpašību R. Blaumanis augstu vērtēja pienākuma izjūtu. Dzīvē tā kavēja viņa rakstnieka darbu, radīja nemitīgu spriedzi starp vēlmi rakstīt un lauku māju rentnieka darbu, starp rūpēm par māti un saimi un radošu brīvību, starp aizņemtību laikrakstu redakcijās un iespēju rakstīt. Grāfam Trastam H. Züdermaņa lugā izdodas labāk iemiesot savas krietnās īpašības, kārtējot lugas personu dzīvi nekā R. Blaumanim attiecībās ar citiem cilvēkiem un sevi pašu. Grāfa Trasta dzīves un rakstura atveids redzams R. Blaumaņa drāmā “Potivāra nams” (1897). Ar šo drāmu R. Blaumanis cerēja kļūt pazīstams ārpus latviešu lasītāju un skatītāju vidus, rādot “modernās” Eiropas problēmas.

Lugai “Potivāra nams” ir līdzība ar Bībeles pirmās Mozus grāmatas stāstu par Jāzepu, kuru Ēģiptē netaisni apsūdz kunga jaunās sievas pavešanā. Lugā 19. gadsimta namā paveca saimnieka jaunā sieva apvaino vīra audzudēlu Jozefu seksuālā uzmācībā. R. Blaumanis lugā ir atteicies no sev ierastās zemnieku dzīves attēlošanas un iedziļināšanās cilvēku psiholoģiskajos pārdzīvojumos. Acīmredzot H. Züdermanis, viens no tā laika ievērojamākajiem un modernākajiem dramaturgiem, viņam bija ceļa rādītājs gan jaunu tēmu apguvē, gan tēlu izveidē. R. Blaumaņa lugā darbojas absolūti cēls varonis Ringolts, tikpat shematiski konstruēts kā grāfs Trasts H. Züdermaņa lugā. Gan grāfs Trasts, gan Ringolds ir pārradušies dzimtenē ārkārtīgi bagāti no aizokeāna zemēm, abi jaunībā bijuši uzdzīvotāji, abi cēlsirdīgi rūpējas par jaunu cilvēku materiālo un sirds labklājību, abi jau pirmajā dienā atklāj jaunu, it kā godīgu, skaistu sievieti dziļo samaitātību, tās mēģinot pavest, abi filozofē par personības brīvību, lugu beigās abi atstāj dzimteni. Ringolta tēls ir grāfa Trasta tēla atdarinājums, R. Blaumanis šo paņēmieni izmanto, lai tuvinātos sava laika vācu literatūrai, lai viņa darbi kļūtu līdzīgāki Eiropas dramaturģijai. Abi tēli ir arī modifikācijas gadsimta mijā populārajam Fr. Nīčes stiprās gribas cilvēka – pārcilvēka – tēlam.

1898. gadā R. Blaumanis publicē vienu no savām ievērojamākajām novelēm “Purva bridējs”, žurnāla “Mājas Viesa Mēnešraksts” stāstu konkursā tā bija ieguvusi pirmo vietu. Novelī bija izlasījis arī Rainis, un viņš vēstulē “Mājas Viesa Mēnešraksta” redaktoram P. Zālītim (vēstule nav saglabājusies) aizrādīja, ka R. Blaumanis galvenos tēlus – Edgaru un Kristīni – aizguvis no H. Züdermaņa lugas “Lai me nomaļē” (“*Das Glück im Winkel*”). R. Blaumanis pēc Raiņa vēstules izlasīšanas raksta atbildi, kurā uzsver: “Šis Pēteris (Edgara prototips) ir viens no tiem cilvēkiem, kuri man dzīvē vismīļāki bijuši. Tik dzīvi, cik spēdams, es viņu aprakstīju

un par pateicību no kritiķa dabūju dzirdēt, ka šī figūra aizņemta no Zūdermaņa “*Weh dir, dass du ein Kleinerer bist* resp. Enkel, jo “*Glück im Winkel*” laikam kādus gadus agrāk iznācis nekā “Purva bridējs”. Es tiešām nezināju, kur Elizabete un Reknics (vai kā to kungu sauc) atronami, un to dabūju tikai no Zālīša kundzes zināt. Luga guļ tagad jau ilgāku laiku uz mana galda, bet vēl neesmu paspējis to izlasīt un nezinu tādēļ arī, ciktāl Jūsu pārmetums būtu dibināts, ja es arī jau iepriekš būtu lasījis.”⁶

Protams, ir neiespējami pierādīt abas versijas – R. Blaumanis bija vai nebija lugu lasījis, mēs varam tikai salīdzināt abus tekstus un meklēt paralēles tajos.

H. Zūdermaņa drāma “*Glück im Winkel*” publicēta vācu valodā 1896. gadā, latviski tā tulkota kā “Lai me kaktā”, “Laima nomalā”, “Lai me nomale”. Baltijā tā pirmo reizi vācu valodā uzvesta Rīgas Vācu teātrī 1896. gada 27. janvārī, latviešu valodā 8. decembrī Arkādijas dārzā, bet Rīgas Latviešu teātrī 1898. gada 25. novembrī. Pēc lugas pirmizrādes Rīgas Latviešu teātrī (R. Blaumanis par to publicē arī recenziju)⁷ viņš raksta vēstuli Rainim, kurā vēlreiz atgriežas pie ietekmju jautājuma novelē “Purva bridējs”: ”Izlasot “*Glück im Winkel*”, biju pārsteigts, cik līdzīgs tur viens skats manējam – vai otrādi. Bet ko Jūs būtu teikuši, ja Kristīnes vārdā būtu licis Elīze? Tā biju šo dāmu papriekšu nokristījis. Taču tas lūgšanās vairs nelīdzētu? Ir reizēm tādi atgadījumi, kuri piespiež neticēt. Ar varu.”⁸

R. Blaumanis konkrēti nenorāda skatu, ko viņš uzskata par līdzīgu, bet varam uzskatīt, ka tas ir skats, ko R. Blaumanis vienīgo kā pieminēšanas vērtu apraksta recenzijā par lugas “Laima nomalā” izrādi un kam ir attāla līdzība ar R. Blaumaņa noveles situāciju. H. Zūdermaņa drāmas galvenā varone ir Elizabete, spēcīga rakstura, jauna, skaista, lepna sieviete, audzūmāte trim bērniem, neievērojama skolotāja sieva, kas pirms trim gadiem pēkšņi apprecējusi skolotāju un atstājusi brīvkunga fon Reknica, arī savas draudzenes vīra, māju. Tagad viņas pieticīgo laimi trūcīgā mitekļī ieradies traucēt Reknics, kas joprojām mīl Elizabeti un vēlas, lai viņa dzīvotu brīvkunga tuvumā. Vakarā abu kaislība uzliesmo ar jaunu spēku, un Elizabete pirmo reizi pasaka, ka viņa mīl Reknicu. Abu izskaidrošanās ir vienīgais īsti spēcīgais un dramaturģiski izstrādātais skats lugā. Arī novelē “Purva bridējs” ir līdzīgs skats – noveles galvenā varone Kristīne, muižas istabmeita, barona kambarī pretēji prāta apsvērumiem atzīstas staļļa puisim Edgaram, ka viņa to mīl. Pirmo reizi viņi tik ļoti viens otru alkst un atklāti atzīst, ka viens otru mīl. Šī epizode ir viņu jūtu atklātākais un augstākais kulminācijas punkts darbā. Atšķirīgs ir abu tekstu personu attiecību turpinājums – H. Zūdermaņa varone pēc smagiem pārdzīvojumiem spēj novērtēt kakta laimi un atgriežas pie vīra, bet R. Blaumaņa Kristīnei tieši šis kaisles un mīlas mirklis liks palikt kopā ar Edgaru.

Recenzijā R. Blaumanis uzsver, ka viņš netic H. Zūdermaņa darba nobeigumam:

“Tādi kaislību viļņi, kādus mēs otrā cēlienā redzam, noslīcinot visus prāta un konvencijas celtos likumus, tie neliksies apsaukties no Viedemaņa frāzēm “Ilgas iemīgs...vēlēšanās aplklusīs, mums visiem jāatsakās, jāpiekāpjas...Ej gulēt, bērns!” Būtu viņš vēl sacījis “Nāc gulēt, bērns”...”⁹

H. Zūdermaņa Reknicu R. Blaumanis nosauc par baudu cilvēku, kam piemīt dēmonisks pievilšanās spēks, līdzīgi mēs varam dēvēt arī Edgaru, taču atšķirībā no Reknica Edgars Kristīni uzskata par brīvu personību, bet Reknics Elizabeti – par lietu. Savukārt Elizabeti ar Kristīni vieno intravertais cilvēka tips, abas ir noslēgtas un

lepnas. R. Blaumaņa darbos noslēgtie sieviešu raksturi, kas slēpj no cilvēku acīm savus pārdzīvojumus, ir sastopami jau no viņa pirmajiem darbiem (Līze stāstā “Nezāle”, Raudupiete novelē “Raudupiete”, Ilze drāmā “Pazudušais dēls” u.c.), Kristīnes tēls nav radies tiešā H. Zūdermaņa Elizabetes ietekmē.

H. Zūdermaņa klātbūtne R. Blaumaņa novelē un lugā ir jūtama, bet te nav tiešu atdarinājumu vai aizguvumu, drīzāk ir redzama divu rakstnieku netieša polemika par jūtu spēku. H. Zūdermanis vācu konservatīvajā literatūrā rādīja tradicionālo morāli ignorējošo baudu cilvēku, kas nespēj gūt uzvaru pār nomales laimi, bet R. Blaumaņa novele “Purva bridējs” un drāma “Ugunī” ir pirmie darbi latviešu nedaudz didaktiskajā literatūrā, kurā godīga, jauna, skaista sieviete iemīl netikumīgu dzīves baudītāju, kur tradicionālā vidē parādīts, ka nav prāta vai morāles žogu, kam jūtas netiktu pāri.

H. Zūdermaņa daiļradei ir nozīme un ietekme latviešu literatūrā, arī R. Blaumaņa darbos, kā ierosmes avotam dažādu ierobežojumu atcelšanai, kā jaunu tēmu, tēlu ierosinātājam.

1889. gadā sarakstītajā A. Strindberga drāmā “Jūlijas jaunkundze” (“*Froken Julie*”) darbība noris Jāņu naktī, 1900. gadā H. Zūdermanis uzraksta drāmu “Jāņu ugunis” (“*Johannisfeuer*”), 1904. gadā R. Blaumanis sacer komēdiju “Skroderdienas Silmačos”, kuru darbība risinās Jāņu laikā. Laika izvēlē visu trīs autoru darbos vērojama tipoloģiska līdzība – viņu darbos pagāniskie vasaras saulgrieži atmodina modernajā cilvēkā jūtas un kaislības. Šajā laikā mitoloģijas pētniecībā izveidojas antropoloģiskā skola, kuras pārstāvis Edvards Tailors uzsver, ka starp primitīvo sabiedrību cilvēka un modernā eiropieša domāšanu nav nepārvaramu šķēršļu, arī tā domāšanā vērojamas aizgājušo laiku “paliekas”. Savukārt gadsimta mijā dramaturģijā (H. Ibsens, A. Strindbergs, A. Čehovs u.c.) pieauga interese par disharmoniju cilvēka personībā, par viņā apspiestajiem instinktiem, cerībām un vēlmēm, kas neļauj veidot harmoniskas attiecības tagadnē. Folkloras tradīcijā vasaras saulgrieži – Jāņi – ir gan kā Eiropas pagātnes liecība, gan kā pagrieziena punkts, grieži dabā, kur haosa un kosmosa spēki ir līdzvērtīgi un kur tikai no cilvēkiem – rituāla dalībniekiem – ir atkarīgs, vai Saule atgūs savu harmonisko gaitu.

Vasaras saulgriežu tēlojuma veidu A. Strindberga, H. Zūdermaņa un R. Blaumaņa lugās nosaka, protams, arī apstākļi, ka divas no lugām ir drāmas, viena – komēdija, bet visi trīs autori ar šīm lugām pārstāv naturālismu un reālismu, un visas trīs lugas skatuviskajās interpretācijās vairs netiek saistītas ar noteiktu literāro tradīciju. Kas ir Jāņi katram no autoriem?

A. Strindberga drāmas “Jūlijas jaunkundze” remarkā teikts, ka “pavards bērzu meijām rotāts, grīda paegļu zariņiem nokaisīta”;¹⁰ to, ka ir Jāņu vakars, piemin Žans, viens no trim varoņiem, mājas sulainis, trīsdesmit gadus vecs vīrietis, kad viņš runā par Jūlijas jaunkundzi:

“Jocīgi tomēr, vai ne, ka jaunkundze... hm... Jāņu vakarā labāk paliek mājās kopā ar ļaudīm un nebrauc tēvam līdz pie radiem!”¹¹

Kungu mājā netālu no Malmes Jāņi ir ieguvuši civilizētu formu – viesošanos, mājas rotāšanu, bet svētkus atsevišķi svin kungi un kalpi. Lugā ir spilgts pretstats: mēs – kungu mājas iemītnieki, un viņi – ļaudis. Ļaudīm pagāniskās Jāņu tradīcijas ir vēl dzīvas – tie dejo, dzied, dzer, izsmej, priecājas, bet pils iemītnieki Jāņu tradīcijās saskata rupjību un prastumu, zemnieku svētki ir vide, kur var neievērot tradicionālās

morāles normas. Jūlija, apgalvojot, ka “Šovakar mēs svinam svētkus un liksmojamies, visi ļaudis kopā un visi rangi atmesti pie malas!”¹², cenšas pieklājīgā veidā aizsegt vēlmi iegūt un pakļaut vīrieti. Dažādo Jāņu nakts tradīciju pieminējums Žana mutē (viņš nāk no ļaudīm un tās zina) ir tikai erotiskas un materiālas rotaļas daļa:

“Jāņu naktī jāguļ uz deviņām Jāņu zālēm, tad sapņi piepildās.”¹³

A. Strindberga civilizētajā sabiedrībā (aristokrātijas vai buržuāzijas) Jāņi attīsta tikai cilvēka slēptos instinktus un vēlmes, atraisītais destruktīvisms iznīcina Jūlijas jaunkundzi, vārdu savienojumā ‘vasaras saulgrieži’ akcentēts griežu motīvs.

H. Zūdermaņa lugā “Jāņu ugunis” darbība noris vācbaltiešu vidē Mazajā Lietuvā (lietuviskajā Prūsijā). Jāņu vakarā arī te līdzīgi kā A.Strindbergam parādīta opozīcija – mēs un viņi; “mēs” ir vācbaltieši, bet “viņi” – leiši. Viena no lugas varonēm saka:

“Mums jau šovakar ir Jāņu vakars. Ļaudis nodedzina divas darvas mučeles, un mēs dzeram vīna boli.”¹⁴

Mēs – vācbaltieši – pat spējām pasmieties kopā ar mācītāju par tradīcijas pagānismu, kas jau kļuvis tik civilizēts, ka vienīgais uztraukums ir, lai viņi – lietuvieši – nenodedzinātu kādu šķūnīti. Bet arī H. Zūdermanis parāda, ka kultūras cilvēkā slēpjas aizgājušo laiku dzirksteles:

“..kāda dzirkstelīte pagānības kvēlo iekš mums visiem. Iz sirmas senatnes jau tā ir pārļaiduse gadu tūkstošus. Vienreiz gadā tā spilgti uzliesmo un tad to dēvē par – Jāņa ugunīm. (..) tanī pamostas mūsu sirdīs kaislās vēlēšanās, kuras dzīve nepiepildīja un – saprotat labi – nedrīkstēja piepildīties (..) Vienreiz gadā ir burvju nakts, un kas tanī liesmo, vai zināt, kas tas ir? Tie ir mūsu nobendēto vēlēšanu māži, tie ir sarkani spārnotie paradīzes putni, kurus mēs drīkstējām lolot varbūt veselu mūžu un kuri mums aizlidojuši, – tā ir veca pirmviela, tā ir – pagānība iekš mums.”¹⁵

Lugā galvenās personas – Georgs un Marika – Jāņu naktī vienīgo reizi atzīstas mīlestībā un kaislīgi mīl viens otru; abi labi apzinās, ka viņu mīla ir grēcīga, bet atteikties no tās Jāņu naktī nav ne vēlēšanās, ne gribas, pirmatnējie instinkti ir uzvarējuši. Atšķirībā no A. Strindberga drāmas “Jūlijas jaunkundze” personām Georgs un Marika Jāņu rītā spēj atbrīvoties no kaislības varas, vīrietis dodas ģimenes akceptētā laulībā, viņa uzvarējis ir modernais cilvēks, Marika dosies prom no dzimtās mājas, viņas dzīves labklājība ir iznīcināta. Arī H. Zūdermanim Jāņi ir skaists, bet destruktīvs spēks.

R. Blaumaņa komēdijā “Skroderdienas Silmačos” Jāņu tradīcijai ir pakļautas visas personas, te nav opozīcija “mēs” un “viņi”. Arī R. Blaumaņa lugā Jāņi atraisa cilvēkus, spiež tiem atklāt savas patiesās jūtas, bet Jāņi nav destruktīvs, personību sagraujošs spēks.

Tāpat kā saule Jāņu rītā atjauno savu harmonisko tecējumu, R. Blaumaņa lugā atšķirībā no A. Strindberga un H. Zūdermaņa darbiem arī cilvēku dzīvē iestājas miers un saderība. R.Blaumaņa skatījumā pagāniskā tradīcija nav naidīga modernajam cilvēkam, viņa personas neizjūt pretstatu starp mītisko tradīciju un kristīgo vai moderno pasauli, tās nedzīvo ārpus tradīcijas. 20. gadsimta sākumā ne tikai R. Blaumaņa darbos, bet arī kopumā latviešu literatūrā netiek akcentēts pretstats: kultūras cilvēks / dabas cilvēks.

H. Zūdermaņa un R. Blaumaņa lugās līdzās cilvēku jūtu un kaislību kulminācijai arī daba ir auglības pilnbriedā, cilvēku un dabas dzīve rit paralēli. A. Strindberga drāmā “Jūlijas jaunkundze” dabai nav nekādas nozīmes. Iespējams, ka tieši tā abu

autoru darbos parādās baltiskā pieredze. R. Blaumanis dzimis un daļu mūža pavadījis Ērgļos, Vidzemē, kur salīdzinājumā ar citiem Latvijas novadiem Jāņu tradīcijas vēl 20. gadsimta sākumā bija organiska tautas dzīves daļa un Jāņi – lielākie kalendārie svētki. H. Zūdermanis dzimis Macikāi (*Matziken*) Šilutes rajonā (*Kr. Heidekrug*), kur lietuvieši 19./20. gadsimta mijā bija saglabājuši senās ieražas un tradicionālo kultūrvīdi. Latviešu un lietuviešu Jāņu tradīcijā ļoti spēcīga 20. gadsimta sākumā vēl bija auglības maģijas manifestācija visdažādākajās formās.

H. Zūdermaņa un R. Blaumaņa daiļradi skatot, redzami gan atdarinājumi, ietekmes, gan tipoloģiskas līdzības. 19./20. gadsimta mijā latviešu literatūra atradās ciešā mijiedarbē ar Rietumeiropas, it īpaši vācu, literatūras procesiem un tendencēm, kā arī atsevišķu autoru daiļradi. Šajā laikā ir vēl iespējams saskatīt un sameklēt tiešas kādu Rietumeiropas autoru ietekmes latviešu autoru darbos, 20. gadsimta gaitā šie procesi kļūs arvien sarežģītāki gan dažādu tautu literatūras tekstu mijiedarbē, gan literatūras salīdzinošā pētniecībā.

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Summary

Rūdolfs Blaumanis (1863–1908) is a Latvian writer. German writer Hermann Sudermann (1857–1928) is his contemporary.

Hermann Sudermann's works exerted influence on the development of realism in Latvian literature. His plays had an impact on Rūdolfs Blaumanis' writings.

Rūdolfs Blaumanis was well acquainted with German drama. Although Blaumanis considered Gerhart Hauptmann to be the most outstanding German playwright, he also valued Hermann Sudermann very highly.

Morphosyntactic Features of English and Latvian Linguistic Structures that Serve Politeness Function Pieklājības formu izteikšanai angļu un latviešu valodā lietoto lingvistisko struktūru morfosinaktiskās īpašības

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Sociolinguistic and related investigations have proved that usage of expressions of courtesy in any language is not only mirroring of the corresponding culture but also a cognitive process that is independent of the surrounding world. According to principles of Chomski's universal grammar (UG) it follows that morphosyntactic features of expressions of courtesy are similar in different languages, i.e., they are universal. This work investigates the structure of courtesy phrases both in English and in Latvian.

Keywords: face threatening, face saving, impersonalisation, nominalization.

Current research in sociolinguistics and related disciplines suggests that politeness is universal not only from the cultural viewpoint, but also from cognitively since humans seem to be cognitively predisposed to use certain language patterns that serve politeness function. This paper presents a comparative study of morphosyntactic patterns and, to a certain extent, lexis used in politeness formulas in English and Latvian. Brown and Levinson¹ in their extensive study on language pragmatics claim there is universality not only at the level of social behavioural patterns but also at the level of morphosyntax. Indeed this claim is only logical and once again views language and cognitive patterns in some systematic correspondence. This paper aims to demonstrate that English and Latvian share the same morphosyntactic patterns to serve politeness function and specify the principal linguistic features of the respective patterns. The study is aimed at giving an insight in impersonal structures and nominalization which are the two principal face saving strategies explicated in Brown and Levinson's² cross-linguistic investigation.

1. Impersonalisation of the Speaker and/or Addressee

In a face threatening speech act (FTSA)³ where the Speaker doesn't want to overtly attack the Addressee, the Speaker may choose to use language structures that impersonalise either the Speaker alone or both the Speaker and the Addressee. This strategy implies using forms indicating that the agent is other than the Speaker, or not overtly stating it is the Speaker or implying it is a group of people rather than the Speaker alone. Regarding the Addressee, the impersonalisation strategy allows to imply that the Addressee is not alone but part of a group thus scaling down the emphasis put on the Addressee. Impersonalisation also allows one to assume the Addressee might be other than the respective Addressee. All the above mentioned strategies serve to hide the Speaker and create an 'armour' for the Addressee.

I will demonstrate how impersonalisation is rendered through imperatives, impersonal verbs and modals, passive constructions and impersonal or deleted pronouns as these linguistic forms are believed to be the principal linguistic structures where impersonalisation occurs for the reason of moderating a FTSA.

1.1. Imperatives

Commands, commonly verbalized by imperatives, no doubt are the most straightforward FSAs. It should be stated at the outset that in imperatives the Speaker is not linguistically present at all and thus all strategies to save the face concern the Addressee only.

Commands are face threatening intrinsically and are realized by a very peculiar linguistic form, namely, the subject that normally is the agent, in imperative structures becomes the potential agent. Thus the argument structure of imperatives is, if not morphosyntactically, then semantically a bit awkward. Be it for this reason or other there is compelling evidence that in many languages imperative forms do not contain the second person pronoun, i.e. the addressee, and it remains to be implied. The following are imperative forms in English and Latvian:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) Bring it now! | Atnes tūlīt! |
| (2) You bring it now! | Tu atnes tūlīt! |

Both in English and Latvian, it is still possible to mark the addressee explicitly as illustrated in (2) but such form of a command is regarded as extremely rude as instead of hiding the Addressee it is disclosed and thus goes against the above mentioned face saving strategies. It can be further hypothesized that in English where the verb has a zero inflection both for the plural and singular second person the Addressee cannot be readily labelled as one particular person since it may well be a group. In Latvian the verb inflections encode the number leaving the Latvian imperative more face threatening than its English counterpart.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3) (Tu) atnes tūlīt! (2 nd , sing) | (Jūs) atnesiet tūlīt! (2 nd , pl) |
|--|--|

Brown and Levinson claim that in a great many inflected languages the imperative inflection does not encode person while other inflections do. It can be thus concluded that the imperative being one of the most face threatening language structures has certain linguistic features that help to save face.

1.2. Impersonal verbs

In many languages, in intrinsically face threatening speech acts, certain verb forms are impersonalised. Both in English and Latvian verbs that normally take dative agents, in potentially face threatening speech forms the dative agent is normally deleted:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (4) It appears (to me) that.... | (Man) šķiet, ka... |
| It seems (to me) that ... | (Man) liekas, ka ... |
| It looks (to me) that.... | (Man) izskatās, ka... |

Omission of the agent makes the statement less aggressive because the Agent, the Speaker, remains to be implied and, if implied, it can be either one person (me) or a group (us). The dative agent affects the verb morphology neither in Latvian nor English. As before, the strategy of not defining the number of agents is typical of face saving.

In many languages with dative-agent deletion the verbs taking such agents are intrinsically face-threatening. Modals of obligation, sometimes referred to as ‘impersonal modals’¹, are central in this group. In the languages where verbs take oblique-case agents, such verbs normally include modals of obligation.

To illustrate, in Latvian verbs with the meaning of obligation take dative agents can be either deleted or retained. Such verbs also do not have an inflection that encodes either person or number.

- (5) (**Man**) jāiet. (I) ought to go.

In English the agent is nominative but it still can be deleted in informal register.

- (6) Ought to go.

1.3. Passive voice

The passive voice is an excellent means of avoiding reference to persons involved in FTSAAs. While it is true that the passive voice has another function – topicalisation, Brown and Levinson claim that passive is first of all means of impersonalisation and serves basic politeness needs. Both in English and Latvian the passive voice may be used to remove direct reference to the Speaker, as in

- (7) Certain things will be changed. Dažas lietas tiks mainītas.
(I/we will change certain things). (Es/ mēs mainīšu/sim dažas lietas).

or to remove direct reference to the Addressee, as in

- (8) If it can be done. Ja to var izdarīt.
(If **you** can do it). (Ja **tu** to vari izdarīt).

Latvian is among those few languages⁵ that have obligatory deletion of the demoted subject in the sense that it is impossible to verbalize the doer by a complement as it is in English.

- (9) The newspaper was brought (by the postman).
Avīze tika atnesta.

It may be hypothesized that the passives in Latvian and other languages that have only the option of agentless passives, among them classical Arabic and Hungarian, are morphosyntactically radical. I suspect this is one of the reasons why passives in Latvian are markedly less frequent than in English.

1.4. Replacement and deletion of pronouns

In potential face threatening situations both in English and Latvian personal pronouns can be replaced by impersonal pronouns.

(10) **Someone** has eaten all chocolate. **Kāds** ir apēdis visu šokolādi.
instead of

You have eaten all chocolate. **Tu** esi apēdis visu šokolādi.

Even if the context is such that there is only one potential Addressee, the impersonal constructions are no doubt more moderate and thus more polite and face saving.

It is often claimed by applied grammarians that structures with impersonal pronouns should be substituted by passives and instead of saying ‘Someone has eaten all chocolate’ one should say ‘All chocolate has been eaten’ because the agent is not known anyway. The above examples and context the impersonal pronoun is a face saving device rather than an agentless statement. But if to compare both, by all means an agentless passive is more moderate than a construction with an impersonal pronoun.

In Latvian verbs expressing obligation take a dative agent which can be omitted. In English, however, such verbs can take an impersonal agent ‘one’ rather than a personal pronoun.

(11) **One** shouldn’t do things like that.
instead of

You shouldn’t do things like that.

Not only modals of obligation can be face threatening. The modal of probability ‘might’ can be face threatening in certain contexts too and thus it tends to take an impersonal pronoun in English whereas in Latvian the nominative agent is deleted.

(12) **One** might think this is totally wrong.
Varētu padomāt, ka tas ir pilnīgi nepareizi.
instead of

I might think this is totally wrong.

(**Es**) varētu padomāt, ka tas ir pilnīgi nepareizi.

2. Nominalisation

It is a well-accepted claim now that syntax is a continuum from verb through adjective to noun instead of sharply cut categories of the verb, adjective and noun. This continuum, also called ‘category squish’, can be observed with clauses where a certain concept is expressed by a verb, gerund and noun:

- (13) a. You performed well on the examinations and we are favourably impressed.
b. Your performing well on the examinations impressed us favourably.
c. Your good performance on the examinations impressed us favourably.⁶

In the set we can observe a certain gradation of formality. The observation is that the (c) clause with a noun 'performance' is more formal than both (a) and (b) while (b) containing a nominalised verb, a gerund 'performing', is still more formal than (a) containing a verb 'performed'. The category of verb seems to be more moderate in this sense than the noun and thus less face threatening. The same can be said about Latvian except for the fact that in Latvian there are no two distinct forms for the gerund in (b) and the noun in (c) and the set would be reduced to two entries.

It is interesting to note that both in Latvian and English not only subjects and predicates have gradation of formality corresponding to word categories but also complements.

- (14) a. I am surprised that you failed to reply.
 b. I am surprised at your failing to reply.
 c. I am surprised at your failure to reply.⁶

The complements here demonstrate the same pattern of formality, namely the more nouniness the more formality and, as earlier, Latvian is the same in this respect.

Morphosyntactic features in English and Latvian linguistic forms that serve politeness function demonstrate strong similarities and this supports the claim that morphosyntactic features of politeness forms are universal.

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³ I will follow Brown and Levinson's definition of a Face Threatening Speech Act who write they are "acts that threaten the positive-face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants etc." (ibid) Face saving is a converse action in which the Speaker shows respect for the Addressee's feelings be it a genuine respect or often just a social convention requiring to behave in a certain way.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid, p. 279.
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Kopavilkums

Sociolingvistiski un ar to saistītu akadēmisko disciplīnu pētījumi ir pierādījuši, ka pieklājības frāžu lietošana valodā ir ne tikai attiecīgās kultūras normu atspoguļojums, bet arī kognitīvs process, kas nav atkarīgs no vides. Pēc Čomska universālās gramatikas (UG) parametriem izriet, ka tādējādi arī šādu pieklājības frāžu morfosintaktiskās īpašības ir universālas, t.i., vienādas visās valodās. Šis pētījums analizē pieklājības frāžu struktūru latviešu un angļu valodā.

**Rethinking Jane Austen's *Persuasion*:
A Novel of Its Time
Pārdomājot Džeinas Ostinas darbu
"Pārliecība": sava laika romāns**

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The current paper places Jane Austen's last completed novel *Persuasion* in the social and political context of the early nineteenth century England and shows that *Persuasion* can be read not only as a romance but also as a condition-of-England novel. In *Persuasion* Austen draws parallels between the management of a country estate and the governing of the country, revealing the inadequacy of the system of inheritance in both cases. Austen seems to challenge the convention of patrilineal succession. She also criticizes the snobbery of the nobility and questions its suitability to govern an estate. *Persuasion* reflects the social mobility that characterized the early 19th century society and the values of both the aristocracy and the middle class.

Keywords: Jane Austen, *Persuasion*.

Jane Austen is not usually considered to be a writer of her time, and her novels have hardly been a source for readers to learn about the social and historical context her works were written in. Austen's novels spin a familiar web of romantic relationships wherein heroine goes through a test of judgement in order to get the husband she deserves. Austen's characters enjoy the small world of the gentry, which is seldom penetrated by the troubles beyond that. Austen does not introduce politics into her novels nor the topic of war, which was so current at that time. However, we cannot ignore the references in her novels, which reveal that Austen was a keen observer of her time. The Regency Crisis and threats to security and stability coming from overseas made people to estimate their country's situation from new perspectives. Though the country was not subject to radical changes, the events on the Continent gave rise to apprehension and brought up novel debates about the future of Britain.

Persuasion is Jane Austen's last completed novel, and it offers a somewhat different perspective for reading the novel as an account of the sentiments the gentry shared during the monarchic crisis, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, and in the light of the social changes that started to influence the well-established social hierarchy. Those who had considered the clear-cut distinction between the social strata self-evident had to acknowledge now the first newcomers from the middle classes among them. The men of considerable achievements in law, medicine, business or military service had made their way up in society, and they did not want to be denied the position they had truly earned. The Regency Crisis and the shifts in the hierarchical system of the society where boundaries between the classes became more flexible seem to have given Austen inspiration for her last novel. The issues that revolve around the inheritance of Kellynch Hall and the navy officers who are supposed to replace the corrupt and arrogant nobility have a lot in common with the problems of the early nineteenth century England. The questions concerning both the governing of the state and country estate seem to run parallel.

The Regency Crisis, which forms an important historical background for *Persuasion*, caused much confusion and heated debates on the question that should rule the country. In 1811, the illness of King George III led to a serious constitutional crisis in Britain. Already in 1788, the King had suffered a serious bout of insanity, which 23 years later resulted in his permanent incapacity. Fears about the security and stability of the country were also increased by the events across the English Channel, which became even more threatening in the light of the domestic troubles. The weakness of the state could have encouraged foreign invasion at any time. The ailing King and the Regent, the future George IV, were unable to guarantee the stability and order the kingdom needed.

In connection with all-out dissatisfaction with the Prince Regent's policy, the question of efficient management of a country estate arose. It became very characteristic of the period to draw parallels between the government of the state and an estate or a house.¹ The estate was seen offering commentaries on the government of the state and vice versa. According to Anne Elliot in *Persuasion*, each house is a "little social commonwealth" on its own where the welfare and happiness of its inhabitants depend on the management of the estate.² The country estate was like a small state to be governed according to similar principles as the state itself. In *Persuasion*, Kellynch Hall is a country estate on the verge of troubles caused by its inner weakness like the state itself during the Regency Crisis.

The reasons for raising the issue of patrilineal descent in the novel lie in this uncertain and precarious period of British history. The problem of succession in *Persuasion* seems to be tightly connected with the political situation in England at that time. According to the laws of succession, the Prince of Wales, the King's eldest son should have become the Regent. Prince George, however, had marred his reputation and title with gambling, marital chaos, debts and reckless extravagance which was anything but expected from the future king. The Prince's unsuitability to rule the country led to various disputes on the efficiency of the laws of succession. The inflexibility of the laws that had been valid since the Middle Ages offered no alternative in situations like this. Even the Tories who had always supported more conservative approach raised the question of female rule for the state itself in an attempt to prevent the Prince of Wales from gaining control of his father's political house.³ The debates on the Regency Crisis included the subject of investing Queen Charlotte with some of the Regent's powers. Though such innovative ideas did not find enough support in general, the question of the patrilineal descent was brought up. In *Persuasion*, this social aspect is vividly reflected in the problem of who should inherit Kellynch Hall, the estate of the Elliots. Sir Walter Elliot, a widower and the owner of the estate, has three adult daughters who cannot inherit the estate because of the exclusion of female descendants from the line of succession according to the convention of patrilineal descent.

The system of inheritance current at that time had many drawbacks because of its strict adherence to the conventions. For the inheritance of the title as well as of the land, estate and family heirlooms, definite laws had been evolved. As the continuity of a house was valued very highly, the laws of succession established several aspects that were in service of this aristocratic principle. The most important institutions concerning inheritance were inalienability and entail that "settled the succession of an estate inalienably upon the descendants of an individual owner".⁴ The aspect of primogeniture whereby the preference in inheritance was given to the eldest son was an essential complement to

the institutions mentioned above, and it secured that the property was kept within the family. The limits of ranks were clearly marked, and the strict conventions had to guarantee the continuity of aristocratic families. The issue of inheritance was tightly connected with these principles; the property was handed down within the closed system and no outward influence could hinder its going into the hands beyond the aristocracy. The institution of entails and inalienability served these interests and excluded every measure to be taken against the convention. In case there was no direct male descendant, the aspect of patrilineal descent guaranteed a male heir among the closest relatives. In *Persuasion*, the heir presumptive, according to the laws, is William Elliot, a distant relative to Sir William, and not his eldest daughter.

Persuasion by Austen seems to challenge the convention of patrilineal succession. The story of the Elliots is an illustration of the case where the patrilineal descendant who has unquestionable rights to inherit does not have appropriate qualities expected from a governor of a country estate and a representative of a honourable house. In this novel, the heir presumptive William Elliot does not meet these needs; he is a person only interested in property and the privileges and comforts accompanying it. He had only one object in view— "to make his fortune, and by a rather quicker process than the law".⁵ His intentions in connection with Kellynch Hall are revealed in one of his letters written to Mrs. Smith, Anne's former friend whose husband had been ruined by William Elliot's financial mismanagement: "...my first visit to Kellynch will be with a surveyor, to tell me how to bring it with best advantage to the hammer".⁶ As Mrs. Smith says it, "his chance of the Kellynch was something, but all the honour of the family he held as cheap as dirt".⁷

George IV also used his position and access to resources to enjoy an easy life without caring about the good name of the royal family. His conspicuous consumption had never been equalled before in his family. His illegal andmorganatic marriage to Maria Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic and twice a widow, did not support the idea of continuity which was one of the most important aspects of the laws of succession. Although the Royal Marriage Act of 1772 stipulated that the members of the royal family under the age of twenty-five could not marry without the sovereign's consent,⁸ George married secretly against the law and his father's will. The marriage was, of course declared invalid, but the relationship continued even after the Prince of Wales had wed Caroline of Brunswick, a German princess chosen for him by his father. William Elliot in *Persuasion*, the heir presumptive of Sir Walter, had also disappointed the old baronet with his misbehaviour. He would be the future master of Kellynch Hall and should act accordingly, but every episode gradually reveals his true nature. William's aim was to make his fortune by marriage, but not by that to Elizabeth, Sir Walter's eldest daughter whose dowry was not enough. When the match had been designed between the heir presumptive and the young lady, it made William draw back because "it was impossible that such a match should have answered his ideas of wealth and independence".⁹ A widower of no means, he later proposed to Anne in order to secure his position as the heir presumptive. After her refusal, he turned to Mrs. Clay, a fortune hunter who aimed to be Lady Elliot either wed to Sir Walter or William, his heir. According to Jane Austen, the estate going into the hands of such a dandy and rogue would only mean its end. Neither William Elliot nor the Prince of Wales is suitable to govern their estate and state respectively, but the laws exclude those who would really merit it.

Austen's support in the question of who should inherit Kellynch Hall does not even seem to belong to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir Walter who could thus have more chances to be the heiress, but to Anne, the second daughter of Sir William. Although the novel does not present a clear demand that Kellynch Hall should be left to Anne, she is characterised as the most suitable person to inherit the estate. Austen's support for Anne is seen in her disapproval of Sir Walter and Elizabeth. In the novel, Anne is always contrasted with other members of the family. Her qualities like fortitude, modesty and gentleness help to remain balanced and composed in every situation. Anne's reason and judgement are opposed to her father's and sister's narrow-mindedness. When Sir Walter removes to Bath because of his financial mismanagement which made him let his house, Anne is sure that Kellynch goes to better hands for the future tenants present the values that are in great contrast to the ones held dear by the baronet.¹⁰

There is also a striking resemblance between George IV and Sir Walter Eliot, neither of them is capable to run his property in the way expected from him. The Prince Regent, later George IV, had a talent for spending money never seen in the royal family before. His debts were constant, and there seemed to be no end to them nor the scandals that accompanied the Regent everywhere. George's manias were adornment, building, furnishing, gambling, fancy clothing, and horse racing. Parliament repeatedly voted huge sums to restore his solvency, and the prince became a paragon of conspicuous consumption. The Prince Regent was obviously more interested in changing the furnishings of his houses rather than dealing with the policy of his government. Sir Walter in *Persuasion* is also fond of decorating his house, and the sums spent on new furniture, fashionable accessories and trinkets lead to financial problems that make the owner finally decrease his costs. Sir Walter yields with a heavy heart to his daughter's proposal to postpone purchasing new drawing-room furniture in order to retrench.

Dandyism and fashion were the great passions of both the Prince Regent and Sir Walter Elliot.

Sir Walter is more fascinated by expensive and trendy outfit than taking care of his estate. When the question of renting the Kellynch Hall to a navy officer arises, Sir Walter seems to be more concerned about the looks of the future tenant for he has heard that a naval profession is very likely to spoil one's complexion. And a man "exposed to every climate, and every weather" would not be "fit to be seen".¹¹ The whole house is arranged according to the needs of a dandy. The condition of the room that Sir Walter has left behind allows Admiral Croft come to the conclusion that the owner of the estate "must be rather a dressy man for his time of life. – Such a number of looking glasses! Oh Lord! There was no getting away from oneself".¹²

The beginning of the 19th century was also a period that witnessed various alterations in the system of social ranks. The progress in different fields of life, e.g. economy, military affairs, diplomacy, law etc. produced new moneyed families that started to make their way up in the society. Maclagan¹³ indicates the circumstance that "the industrial revolution produced new moneyed families which, usually by purchasing estates, could ease themselves into society", and the fact that "from about the turn of the century peerages were more commonly bestowed for public service than for territorial influence".

The influx of newcomers was very often seen as a threat to the upper class conventions including the strategy of continuity of old aristocratic families. The English elite were sensitive about admitting a self-made man of obscure origin among them, but on the other hand, they seem to have had relatively little objection to the son of such a man, provided that he had suitable manners, education and values of a gentleman.¹⁴ However, it was important to make distinction between upwardly mobile men by occupation and by source of wealth.¹⁵ The newcomers, i.e. the representatives of the middle class who had risen to their position due to their successful careers, invaded gradually the domain of the aristocracy. The fortunes they had made because of their profession were sufficient enough to allow them to buy, or at least to rent, the estates of their own. The country estate had always been a symbol for power and status, and now it was going into the hands of those who were not supposed to have them.

In *Persuasion*, Austen's criticism of the snobbery of the nobility seems to question the latter's suitability to govern an estate. The practicality and rationality are not the strengths of the nobility in the novel, though these are the qualities that an owner of a country estate should possess. The depiction of the nobility in a discredited light in *Persuasion* is balanced by offering the navy as the substitute for those who are supposed to represent all the sublime features. The navy in the novel is seen as a combination of gentlemanly behaviour and rationality. Characters with a naval background seem to refute the conviction by which rank is considered the only source of goodness. Austen presents Admiral Croft and his wife who become the tenants of Kellynch Hall in a more favourable light than the real owner of the estate. Their practical mind and conscientiousness are opposed to Sir Walter's inability to make appropriate decisions. The good qualities of the men from the navy are already predicted in the first chapters of the novel when Sir Walter's agent tries to convince the baronet in the suitability of his future tenants: "They are so neat and careful in their ways. Everything in and about the house would be taken such excellent care of".¹⁶ In this novel, the substitution for the aristocracy is seen in the men of the navy who represent all the qualities necessary for ideal government of country estates.

The Navy's confrontation with the aristocracy in the novel very likely proceeds from the immediate aftermath of the British war against Napoleon. Jane Austen does not introduce the topic of war or dispute over power into the novel but she seems to be very interested in the controversies of social classes originating from these affairs. Austen's own family belonged to the minor gentry and her brothers had all made successful careers in the navy, the law and Church. This example testifies that a professional success opened the doors to the society that had formerly been controlled only by those from higher ranks. This fact also illustrates the social mobility that characterized the early 19th century society, and offered new perspectives to define the social relations. Both Admiral Croft and Captain Wentworth have no aristocratic blood in their veins. These men are capable of making practical decisions, and they both estimate partnership very highly. Mr. and Mrs. Croft are seen as a team which guarantees their success. Even Anne, though sorry for the removal "could not but in conscience feel that they were gone who deserved not to stay, and that Kellynch Hall had passed into better hands than its owners".¹⁷ Although Austen depicts the naval officers in a favourable light, the novel is not a call for replacing the aristocracy with self-made men from the middle classes. The men of the navy are just the carriers of those virtuous qualities and worthy manners lacked by the

degenerated aristocracy who should govern the country. The gentlemanlike naval officers are the saviours of the notion of the idealized past; they are the true carriers of noble manners which under the depraved nobility would fall into oblivion.

Jane Austen's last completed novel is an interesting source of author's acute observations of her time. The problem of succession, the Regency Crisis and the scandals associated with it provide an interesting perspective for reading the novel. The political and social background necessary for understanding the issues and conflicts in *Persuasion* establish a new context the novel could be read in. *Persuasion* is not just another romance, but a condition-of-England novel, which opens up new ways of interpretation.

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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā pētīta Džeinas Ostinas pēdējā pabeigtā romāna “Pārlicība” iekļaušanās agrīnā 19. gadsimta Anglijas sociālajā un politiskajā kontekstā, parādot, ka romānu var uzskatīt ne tikai kā romantisku darbu, bet arī kā stāstu par Anglijā eksistējošajiem apstākļiem. Romānā “Pārlicība” Ostina salīdzina muižas pārvaldi ar visas valsts pārvaldi, abos gadījumos atklājot mantošanas sistēmas nepilnības. Rodas iespaids, ka Ostina apšaubā vīriešu līnijā balstītos mantošanas principus. Rakstniece arī kritizē aristokrātijas snobismu un tās spējas pārvaldīt īpašumus. “Pārlicība” atspoguļo sociālo mobilitāti, kas ir raksturīga agrīnā 19. gadsimta sabiedrībai un parāda gan aristokrātijas, gan arī vidusslāņa pieņemtās vērtības.

**Rethinking the Enlightenment in Postmodern Fiction:
Hawksmoor by Peter Ackroyd**
**Pārdomas par apgaismības laikmeta nozīmi
postmodernajā daiļliteratūrā: Pītera Ekroida romāns
“Hawksmoor”**

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The current paper examines the representation of the Enlightenment culture in the novel *Hawksmoor* by Peter Ackroyd. In his novel Peter Ackroyd gives expression to the views of the thinkers who espouse the ideas of the Enlightenment philosophy and juxtaposes them with the views of their opponents, thereby creating a dialogic text. *Hawksmoor* deals with the world visions of the English scientists and mystics at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Ackroyd's novel there is a continual dialogue between Wren, the chief advocate of the new materialistic, mechanistic and experimental natural philosophy and Dyer, who is a mystic espousing an eclectic doctrine similar to Gnosticism. Ackroyd represents the culture of the Enlightenment as heterogeneous and full of contradictions. By contrasting rationalism with mysticism, he reveals the limitations and drawbacks of the Enlightenment views on man and society.

Keywords: Enlightenment culture, postmodern literature, philosophy.

Surveying the contemporary literary scene both in Britain and in the United States, one notices a great number of historical novels partly or entirely set in the eighteenth century known as the age of the Enlightenment, the epoch which glorified reason and ended in the inglorious bloodshed of the French revolution.

One of such novels is *Hawksmoor* by Peter Ackroyd. *Hawksmoor* is set on two temporal levels: in the eighteenth century and at the end of the twentieth. It is a book that binds the past and the present together into an indivisible whole and investigates the innermost essence of time. Its very first pages transport us back in time to the beginning of the 18th century. The tumultuous events of that distant period, seen through the eyes of a talented but tormented architect Nicholas Dyer, are ingeniously juxtaposed with Detective Hawksmoor's fevered investigation of a series of macabre murders on the sites of Dyer's churches at the end of the 20th century. The chapters describing the murders and their investigation by Hawksmoor in contemporary London alternate with the chapters narrating the dramatic events of Dyer's life.

In his study of the Enlightenment published in the year 2000, Roy Porter, who is a professional historian, speaks of the culture of the period in almost unequivocally positive terms, representing it as a homogeneous cultural movement imbued with the spirit of optimism and characterized by an unshakable belief in the perfectibility of human nature and in the possibility of progress. He believes that the leading thinkers

of that period had sufficient grounds for optimism and that their rationalistic project was perfectly justified¹. The picture of the Enlightenment culture in Ackroyd's novel is very different. In his novel Peter Ackroyd gives expression to the views of the thinkers who espouse the ideas of the Enlightenment philosophy and juxtaposes them with the views of their opponents, thereby creating a polyphonic text. *Hawksmoor* deals with the world visions of the English scientists and mystics at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Ackroyd's novel the rationalistic philosophy of the English Royal Society is contrasted with the ideas of gnosticism and mysticism. However, it is not a truly dialogic text in Bakhtin's sense of the term as the part of the book relating the construction of the seven churches by the diabolical architect, who makes human sacrifices, is a first-person narrative privileging the position of the narrator over that of his opponents.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Enlightenment had become the dominant trend in the leading intellectual circles of Europe. One single human faculty – Reason – was celebrated and glorified at the expense of all the others.¹ It was believed that the natural light of reason was capable of illuminating the darkest corners of the world and of human nature. Reason would reveal all the mysteries of the human and material world and lay the foundations of natural religion, natural morality and natural law. The Enlightenment philosophers thought that once reason and knowledge became widespread, humanity would make great progress and irrationalism and ignorance would be eliminated.

In Ackroyd's novel there is a continual dialogue between Wren, the chief advocate of the new materialistic, mechanistic and experimental natural philosophy based on observations, measurements and mathematical calculations, and Dyer, who is a mystic espousing an eclectic doctrine similar to Gnosticism. Dyer feels great contempt for the rationalistic philosophers who tended to explain both physical and human nature in mechanistic and materialistic terms.

Dyer's extremely traumatic childhood experience led him to doubt the rational and orderly structure of the world of which the representatives of the new science were convinced. While the Enlightenment thinkers believed that human nature was also governed by harmonious laws and that man was reasonable, Dyer perceived human nature as degenerated. For him people are "the Heirs of Hell and Children of the Devil"³ and "Human life is quite out of the Light and ... we are all Creatures of Darknesse"⁴. His experience of the Plague and the Great Fire of London made him doubt that the world was orderly and harmonious, that it was designed and built by the Creator along rational lines and that it operated according to the immutable laws of mechanics. He believes that there is very little, if, indeed, any, order and harmony in the universe or in human nature. For Dyer the world is fearful and "Humane life was of no certain course"⁵. In other words, it is certainly not governed by reason. Consequently he rejects the rationalistic and mechanistic philosophy, which constituted the dominant mode of thinking of his age, and adheres to the dualistic, Gnostic mystical teaching of a secret society into which he was initiated when he was still a child. It sees man as an unchangeable evil and teaches that all men are damned. Christianity is rejected because it is hollow – it has been emptied of all its mysteries and miracles. Everything is given a rational natural explanation. Mysteries are abolished

and miracles are explained away. The supernatural is rejected. There is no place for mystery in the mechanistic world vision of the enlightened thinkers of the Royal society because they view the world as consisting solely of material particles in motion. The spiritual vacuum is filled by the demonic cults and mystical teachings.

The plague and the fire were for Dyer what the earthquake in Lisbon would be for the philosophers in 1755. The earthquake in Lisbon dashed the most cherished hopes of the Enlightenment. It shook the belief of the philosophers in an ordered, predictable world and in a benign rational God. Voltaire said: "After all, the world does contain evil" ⁶. The rationalistic thinkers say that the devil is dead – they deny the wickedness and corruption of the world. Dyer rejects the mechanistic scientific philosophy of the Royal Society because it takes a very narrow view of human nature, seeing man as a rational being and ignoring man's irrational impulses and desires. It views humanity as progressive and believes in man's perfectibility. Rationalist philosophers emphasize the orderly and harmonious nature of the world functioning according to the principles of Newton's mechanics. Dyer, on the contrary, has a very gloomy and pessimistic view of human nature and of the world. Having experienced the plague and the Great Fire of London, he finds it impossible to believe in the existence of order and harmony in the world or in man's reasonableness and perfectibility. He speaks about "the Barbarities of Mankind" and of "the weakness and folly of Humane life" ⁷, not of harmony or "Rationall Beauty" ⁸. He "saw the true Face of the Great and Dreadfull God" ⁹, and that was the face of Satan, not of the Christian god of love and compassion. For him human life is full of misery and despair, of pain and suffering. Human existence is wretched and miserable. He "saw that the intire World was one vast Bill of Mortality" ¹⁰ rather than an orderly and harmonious universe smoothly operating according to the mathematically expressed laws of physics. He thinks that "Daemons might walk through the Streets even as Men (on point of Death, many of them) debauch themselves" ¹¹. Men are like "the Flies on this Dunghil Earth" ¹². Dyer deplores the misery, wretchedness and corruption of the world "in this Rationall and mechanicall Age" ¹³

Dyer does not believe in the power of the experimental philosophy to be of benefit to humanity as it ignores the actual state of affairs: "when the Cartesians and the New Philosophers speak of their Experiments, saying that they are serviceable to the Quiet and Peace of Man's life, it is a great Lie: there has been no Quiet and there will be no Peace. The streets they walk in are ones in which Children die daily or are hang'd for stealing Sixpence; they wish to lay a solid Groundwork (or so they call it) for their vast Pile of Experiments, but the Ground is filled with Corpses, rotten and rotting others" ¹⁴. The project of the new philosophers is doomed to failure precisely because they want to base it upon the imperfect and flawed human nature.

Likewise, Dyer doubts the capacity of reason to penetrate the mystery of human nature and to uncover all its secrets. He thinks that the glorification and privileging of reason over intuition, emotion, imagination, spirit and revelation is unjustified. When Wren and Dyer visit Bedlam, Dyer asks "What little Purpose have we to glory in our Reason when the Brain may so suddenly be disorder'd?" ¹⁵ For Dyer the light of reason does not illuminate the world, which is full of uncertainties and hazards. It is the world of shadows rather than light: "This mundus tenebrosus, this shaddowy

world of Mankind, is sunk into Night” and, consequently, “We are all in the Dark, one with another”¹⁶.

Thus, Dyer dismisses “the narrow Conceptions of this Generation of Writers who speak with Sir Chris. of a new Restauration of Learning, and who prattle something too idly on the new Philosophy of Experiment and Demonstration: these are but poor Particles of Dust which will not burie the Serpents”.¹⁷ The new experimental method will not and cannot put an end to man’s irrational desires, nor will it satisfy man’s yearning for the bizarre, exotic, unusual, mysterious, supernatural, inexplicable in terms of a materialistic and mechanistic philosophy. Dyer calls the new philosophy “fantasticall and perishable Trash”¹⁸.

According to Locke the mind is a blank sheet (*tabula rasa*) on which physical objects make their imprints. It is a receptacle for sensory inputs from the external world¹⁹. For Wren perception is a simple contact of the mind with an external object, whereas for Dyer perception is inseparably linked with emotions, imagination and memory. For Dyer Stonehenge is a monument to Eternity impervious to the destructive passage of time, a place of worship full of mystery and enchantment, possessing the power to have a great impact upon man’s psyche. For Dyer visiting Stonehenge is an awe-inspiring, mystical experience. He “was struck by an exstatic Reverie”²⁰. He calls it a “huge and monstrous Work”²¹ and sees its elements as “Men metamorphosised into Stone”²². In contrast, the only thing that Wren is interested in when visiting Stonehenge is the geometric and mathematical properties of the place. He is fascinated by its beautiful proportions. Wren sees Stonehenge simply as an architectural monument designed according to the laws of mathematics and mechanics. Dyer’s perceptions of Stonehenge are interconnected and filled with the images of his imagination. As he leans against the stones he can perceive not only their cold surface but also “the Labour and Agonie of those who erected it, the power of Him who enthral’d them, and the marks of Eternity which had been placed there”²³. Also, he could hear their “Cryes and Voices”²⁴.

We see, thus, that Dyer’s perceptions of external objects are inextricably interconnected with his emotions and with the images of the imagination, completing and enriching each other²⁵. In Wren’s mind, however, perceptions are dissociated from the imagination and memory. Wren talks about Stonehenge solely in terms of its proportions and other mathematical properties. In contrast, Dyer contemplates its mystical aspects. He feels, hears and sees the ancient builders of Stonehenge. While Wren’s perceptions are subjected to the scrutiny of reason, Dyer’s perceptions immediately evoke intense emotions in his soul and provoke the working of his imagination.

Similarly, Wren’s and Dyer’s perceptions of an autopsy are very different. Dyer contrasts the story of the flagellant, who scourged himself for his sins to relieve his torment and anguish, with the story of Sir Chris., who besmeared himself with blood when dissecting a woman’s corpse to satisfy his curiosity. Wren’s speech when he is preparing to dissect and examine the corpse is interspersed with Dyer’s extremely rude and anguished remarks. Dyer is disgusted by Wren’s disquisition on human anatomy because for Wren “the Body it self is a perfect peece of Work from the Hand of the Omniscient Architect”²⁶ and the bodily processes simply “the Union and Dissolution of little Bodies or Particles”²⁷. Dyer believes that “The meerest Rake–hell has a

finer Philosophie”²⁸. When dissecting the woman’s corpse, Wren’s perceptions of the corpse evoke no images in his imagination, conjure up no memories or associations. His perceptions are wholly dissociated from his memory and imagination. In contrast, the perception of the body evokes an emotional response in Dyer and stimulates his imagination. It makes Dyer imagine the death of the woman and sympathise with her. While Wren is examining the corpse, Dyer relives the death of the woman in his imagination.

Locke and other Enlightenment thinkers believed that human beings were rational and therefore equal, that they possessed the same natural rights of life, liberty and property, and that their behaviour was governed by the law of reason²⁹. To subvert this view Dyer talks about the world of the vagabonds and beggars, who are unreasonable, uneducated, unenlightened, and whose behaviour is irrational. They live in the darkness and are not aware of the passage of time. Society extols the virtues of liberalism and social progress and emphasizes the equality of all men, and yet the poor and the underprivileged are marginalized or excluded from it. London for Dyer is not a city full of light and merriment but rather a “Nest of Death and Contagion”³⁰. The people tend to think that since London has been rebuilt its character has changed, but for Dyer London still is the “Capital City of the World of Affliction”, “the Capitol of Darknesse”, and “the Dungeon of Man’s Desires”³¹. He contrasts the vision of the privileged with that of the outcasts: “Those in their snug Bed-chambers may call the Fears of Night meer Bugbears, but their Minds have not pierced into the Horror of the World which others, who are adrift upon it, know”³². Society is to blame for the miserable condition of the poor and the outcast, and yet it severely punishes those whom it has consigned to a life of misery and deprivation: “most Men owe not only their Learning to their Plenty but likewise their Vertue and their Honesty. For how many Thousands are there in the World, in great Reputation for their Sober and Just dealings with Mankind, who if they were put to their Shifts would soon lose their Reputation and turn Rogues and Scoundrels? And yet we punish Poverty as if it were a Crime, and honour Wealth as if it were a Vertue. And so goes on the Circle of Things: Poverty begets Sin and Sin begets Punishment”³³.

Like most Enlightenment thinkers Sir Christopher Wren disregarded tradition and authority. “He liked to destroy Antient things: sad and wretched Stuff, he called it, and he us’d to say that Men are weary of the Reliques of Antiquity”³⁴. Instead he praised “Sensible Knowledge” and “the Experimentall Learning”³⁵, but Dyer was not convinced, and still doubted man’s ability to lay new foundations, having no better foundations to build upon than man’s nature. Dyer derived his knowledge of architecture from ancient authors. He is in favour of the ancients rather than the moderns: “We live off the past: it is in our Words and our Syllables. It is reverberant in our Streets and Courts, so that we can scarce walk across the Stones without being reminded of those who walked there before us”³⁶. He studied “the antient Architects, for the greatness of the Antients is infinitely superior to the Moderns”³⁷. Likewise, he believes that the truths expressed in art are eternal and that the ancient works of literature may be more truthful in their depiction of human nature, which, for Dyer, is changeless, thoroughly corrupt and impossible to perfect, than the works of contemporary writers. The Ancients’ “Tragedy reflects Corruption, and Men are the same now as they have ever been”³⁸.

Hobbes and Locke subordinated faith to reason. According to them reason should judge the validity and nature of a revelation³⁹. Toland, the author of *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), dismissed religious mysteries as nonsensical and believed that supernatural experiences, such as religious visions or apparitions of demons, could be explained by the mechanical philosophy⁴⁰. Reason alone could make man just and virtuous as it was the law of reason that governed human nature. Commenting upon the project of the Enlightenment philosophers to formulate a moral theory without recourse to religion or to man's spiritual experience, Dyer remarks that they "wish to bring their mathematical Calculations into Morality", but they are so "fixed upon *matter, experiment, secondary causes* and the like" that they "have forgot there is such a thing in the World which they cannot see nor touch nor measure: it is the Praecipice into which they will surely fall"⁴¹. They ignore the world of man's lived experience, of man's psyche (or in Descartes' terminology *substantia cogitas*), which, unlike *res extensa*, can never be subject to quantification; they pay no attention to the evil in human nature, or to man's irrationality; consequently, their project is doomed to fail.

In Ackroyd's novel, Priddon, the vicar of Mary Woolnoth, seems to share Toland's view. Toland believed that man's mental life could be given a thoroughly materialistic explanation, the mind being simply a function (epiphenomenon) of the brain⁴². Thus, similar to Hobbes⁴³, Toland modified the materialistic model of the world to subsume man's mental processes. According to Priddon, all miracles and mysteries are explicable by plain reason. Dyer is indignant as he clearly sees the dark side of human nature pointedly ignored by Priddon and other religious reformers: "Who then can talk of the Good of Mankind and the Publicke Benefit when there is nothing but Rage and Folly on the Streets? ... Men are not rational Creatures, ... they are sunk into Flesh, blinded by Passion, besotted by Folly and hardened by Vice"⁴⁴.

Dyer believes that it is more important to study human nature than the physical world, and that one cannot use the methods and tools of natural sciences to study man. Experimental philosophy views man simply as an object of investigation not much different from any other object of the world of physical nature, and thus ignores man's subjective experience of the world, man's lived world (*Lebenswelt*⁴⁵). For example, when Wren talks about science discovering "the Secrets of the Attracted Sea and the Magnetical Direction of the Earth", Dyer thinks about "the horror of the Waves and the Night"⁴⁶, that is about man's subjective experience of these natural phenomena, which the laws of physics can never explain. The moon's tidal effects on the oceans can be explained by the law of gravity, but no law can explain man's sense of awe when confronting "the Immensity of the Void"⁴⁷, which is something like the experience of the sublime. Likewise, even though Wren claims that he can explain the natural causes of the contagion that killed Dyer's parents, he cannot comprehend the suffering and the pain of the people who suffered from the contagion, and Dyer sarcastically remarks "You may tell that ... to those dying of the Distemper: they will be greatly comforted"⁴⁸. Dyer believes that Wren understands nature but has no idea of the mysterious and obscure workings of the human mind.

Dyer can be seen as a pre-romantic, an anti-enlightenment figure who was disillusioned with the promises of progress and the perfectibility of the human race and

rejected the Enlightenment philosophy as confined to and dominated by reason. Dyer's mysticism may be seen as a protest against the world vision that ignores the inner world of human feelings, the spiritual and supernatural spheres of human experience. Science can't embrace the totality of human experience precisely because it ignores the lived experience, the dark, hidden areas of the mind and the realms of feeling and imagination. Therefore, it cannot discover the inner workings of the human spirit and the way it relates to nature and society. It cannot explain the behaviour of Dyer himself. However, the fact that Dyer is portrayed as a fanatical murderer, a tormented personality, indicates that irrationalism may be as inadequate a philosophy as rationalism. What is needed is a more comprehensive, inclusive vision than that of the Royal society or that of the mystics, for "there is no Light without Darknesse and no Substance without Shaddowe"⁴⁹

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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā analizēts apgaismes laikmeta kultūras attēlojums Pītera Ekroida romānā "Hawksmoor". Savā romānā Pīters Ekroids parāda domātājus, kuri atbalsta apgaismes laikmeta filozofiskās idejas, un izvirza tās pretī savu oponentu viedokļiem, tādējādi veidojot dialoga tekstu, uzskatus.

Romāns "Hawksmoor" atspoguļo angļu zinātnieku un mistiķu pasaules uztveri 18. gadsimta sākumā. Ekroida romāns ir nerimtīgs dialogs starp Renu, materiālistiskās, mehāniskās un eksperimentālās filozofijas galveno aizstāvi, un Daieru, – mistiķi, kurš atbalsta eklektisko doktrīnu, līdzīgu gnosticīmam. Ekroids attēlo apgaismes laikmeta kultūru kā neviendabīgu (heterogēnu), pretrunu pilnu. Salīdzinādams reālismu ar misticismu, viņš atklāj probežotību un trūkumus apgaismes laikmeta uzskatos par cilvēku un sabiedrību.

***New Dubliners* of J. O'Connor:
coherence of the Irish literary tradition
Dž. Konora jaunie dublinieši:
Īrijas literārās tradīcijas pēctecība**

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During the last decades the Irish culture is said to experience a revival, which in its turn finds its expression in a remarkable upsurge in literary production. Being firmly grounded on Irish traditions contemporary Irish writings exhibit a strong sense of Ireland and Irishness is at the centre of the narrative. In this connection it is interesting to trace the continuation of literary tradition containing many prominent names such as J. Swift, J. Joyce, S. Beckett, and others. Therefore a comparative analysis of any two Irish writers separated in time but united by their national belonging is more than pertinent.

The article *New Dubliners of J. O'Connor: coherence of the Irish literary tradition* is a comparative analysis of two books, namely *True Believers* by Joseph O'Connor and *Dubliners* by James Joyce where O'Connor's collection is to be the centre of attention, and Joycean short stories serve mostly as the material for cross-references. Analogies in many cases are immediate; however the most important quality is that both authors follow the realistic tradition in their short stories and create images of hope rather than hopelessness in the absurd world. The present paper is an attempt to show how 'Irishness' in general is mirrored in the contemporary collection, and how Joycean thought in particular is carried on. Moreover, the analysis of the given collection provides an opportunity in a concise form to show the whole range of themes the contemporary Irish writers are concerned with. Except for the strong feeling of belonging to a certain literary tradition, O'Connor's collection puts a question of belonging as a whole. Therefore, a special attention is paid to the space-identity relationship. The existential idea that human situation is entirely absurd is relevant here: in the situation when habitation is problematized, communal spirit, family values (which in fact are traditionally important for the Irish people) take a double load. Using Camus' claim, the only luxury which is left for people in the absurd world is human relationships.

Following the motto of contemporary Irish writers that the story of Ireland must be rewritten again and again, the main aim of the paper is to show the transforming face of Ireland as it is represented by a contemporary Irish author.

Keywords: Irishness, belonging, narrative space, absurdity, *Dubliners*, traditional.

***New Dubliners* of J. O'Connor: coherence of the Irish literary tradition**

Many critics acknowledge that over the last decades the Irish culture has experienced a remarkable upsurge in literary production. In this connection it is interesting to trace the continuation of literary tradition which includes many prominent names such as J. Swift, J. Joyce, S. Beckett, and others.

As it is observed by Derek Hunt, “*The kind of critical approach of trying to understand Ireland in terms of other cultures fails to recognize what our writers have always known: to write Ireland is to write it on its own terms.*”¹ Thus a comparative analysis of any two Irish writers separated in time but united by their national belonging, including belonging to a certain tradition, is more than pertinent.

It is obvious that the contemporary postmodern world has brought forward new demands for people to live in it, and caused subsequent changes in attitudes and viewpoints. Globalization is one of such processes that have considerably influenced the human thinking and found their reflection in literature. However, speaking about literature, and the contemporary Irish literature in particular, a contrary tendency very often could be observed. Many recent books, and the collection of short stories *True Believers* by Joseph O'Connor among them, could be said to express a strong sense of Ireland and Irishness that is at the centre of the narrative. Being firmly grounded on Irish traditions O'Connor's collection draws immediate strong association with another prominent book *Dubliners* by James Joyce. Apart from many obvious analogies, the most important quality is that both authors create images of hope rather than hopelessness in the absurd world. The whole discourse is not only about reflecting reality, but about going beyond it to the world of potentiality.

The short stories of both authors belong to realistic tradition. Since “*the realist model... reconfirms our worst suspicions about the world*”², the hero is immediately immersed into the ‘absurd’ condition in A. Camus’ terms.

Here the meaning of ‘absurd’ as it is used in the context should be specified. According to Camus,

In a universe that is suddenly deprived of illusions and of light, man feels a stranger. His is an irremediable exile... This divorce between man and his life, the actor and his setting, truly constitutes the feeling of Absurdity.³

Therefore the human situation according to Camus is essentially absurd.

In Joyce absurdity can be easily observed, and it is especially apparent where the imminence of “*the solid world*” trespasses into “*the region where dwell the vast hosts of the dead*”⁴. All the *Dubliners* of Joyce yearn for something, but the greater the longing is, the greater is the chance for disillusionment. For Camus to desire something causes to bring paradoxes into existence⁵; any disillusionment prepares the ground necessary to the initial understanding of the absurd. The fact that human situation is entirely absurd has a psychological response in a person. However, Camus claims that to reject hope does not immediately signify to despair, and that is what O'Connor demonstrates in his book.

The book opens with the words from the Bible:

I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.

(Revelation 3:16)

The immediate reaction is that one should be either a believer or a disbeliever, but the situation does not presuppose 'neutrality' in a person. In other words, it does not matter what one believes, the saturation of feeling is essential. It is appropriate here to mention Camus' description of the universe of 'the absurd man' as "*consisting of ice and fire*"⁶; his heart glowing with passions and indifference at the same time.

One more interpretation, although in no way interfering with the previous one, comes into life after reading O'Connor's book, namely, that having left their original space, Irish people find themselves nowhere; they never entirely habituate a new space and never stop feeling nostalgia for the native land.

To write of other places too, but not to forget that space or place known as Ireland: for that story despite what people might think is still open to interpretation, has in the present moment still to be written; or, rather, the story of Ireland must be rewritten again and again and again.⁷

At this point the dissimilarity of approaches becomes apparent: Joyce in his *Ulysses*, for example, made "*his hero, a Dublin Jew named Leopold Bloom, the universal modern citizen and Dublin the archetypal metropolis of western civilization,*"⁸ when O'Connor fragments the space of metropolises and shows only those parts belonging specifically to the Irish community. The divergence is easily explained: for Joyce it is essential to create a centre from the colonial periphery, to prove the validity of its existence, on the whole, to shift the focus of public attention. Almost a century later, in a new political and social environment, O'Connor still needs to restore the nation in its full right, however, the strategy is different. Fragmentation does not affect the feeling of unity; transference of the characters from Ireland, as a result, moves the latter from the still marginalized periphery to the centre.

In any case, such an imaginative interaction with the land, or, to be more precise, the recognition of the existence of this bound, leads to a sort of closer engagement with that space through the narrative.

The Irish have always resided in a problematic world or space: in terms of physical space within Ireland and in relation to vexed problems of emigration, of being Irish in Berlin or Boston. These difficulties register also for those left behind in a depopulated Ireland: where space carries the residue of those who have gone away.⁹

O'Connor's collection opens with reminiscences of school years told by a narrator who has not gone too far from that age. From the very beginning the local colour could be distinctly felt; for example, the discussion on Catholic Ireland and the feeling of necessity to escape – "*We were all repressed, and we had to escape. James Joyce was right.*"¹⁰ In fact, the expression of this envy complex could be found in the predecessor's book: "*There was no doubt about it: if you want to succeed you had to go away,*"¹¹ Little Chandler muses in *A Little Cloud* by Joyce. Eddie in *Last of the Mohicans*, the first story of O'Connor's collection, is more explicit on the subject: "*London was where the action was. He was sick and tired of this [Dublin] place anyway. It was nothing. A glorified tax haven for rich tourists and popstars. A cul-*

tural backwater that time forgot. He said no one who ever did anything stayed in Ireland. You had to get out to be recognized."¹²

However, as it is proven later, he heavily pays for his youthful maximalism. Everything is reversed in this modern version of exile; although the causes of emigration such as "inflatons, cuts, unemployment, all of that" are "[the] same old story"¹³, Eddie has not achieved anything in comparison to his Joycean counterpart Gallaher. In several pages, or in several years if we follow the plot, there comes a refutation: "*The old career hadn't been going exactly to plan. He was getting there alright. But much slower than he thought. Still, that was the business. Things got a bit lonely, he said. He got so frustrated, so down. It was hard being an exile. He didn't want to be pretentious or anything, but he knew how Sam Beckett must have felt.*"¹⁴ The last words of the invitation "to come here [in London] for good"¹⁵ sound as unconscious self-mockery.

The first story sets the tone for the whole volume: the time for emigration has gone; now it is time to see the results. The reader enters the space where former or, rather, New Dubliners strive to live. The previously unknown territory today is rendered habitable, nevertheless the background constantly reminds of itself, making Irish people alien or Other.

The demarcation line is deeply rooted in the minds of both parties. A taxi driver whose wife is half Irish "loved Ireland". "*Lovely country. Terrible what was going on over there, though. He said they were bloody savages.*"¹⁶ Thinking of the problematic space, he unintentionally switches to the usage of the pronoun 'they', thus subconsciously marking the border separating two worlds.

The experience of crossing the real border is vividly described by the narrator of the next story *Mothers Were All the Same*. "*I hadn't done anything but the way he [custom officer] looked at me made me feel like some kind of terrorist, just the same.*"¹⁷ The topical theme of terrorism is ever-present in the book. "*There were posters everywhere, saying that unattended luggage would be removed by the cops and blown up.*"¹⁸ The territory of the conflict is full of soldiers; "*everybody seemed to be wearing a uniform*".¹⁹ These are only small fragments to construct the whole picture from; the oppressiveness of the atmosphere is masterfully recreated through such unobtrusive remarks.

Irish authors naturally concern themselves with the problems of power; terrorism, the police state, armed rebellion as well as the nature of politics and the consequences of political action are the themes Irish writers are drawn to. They, "*conscious of the troubled history of their country struggle for independence and by the continuing sharp and cruel division between Catholic and Protestant in the North, cannot avoid acquiring [such] a body of experience...*"²⁰

But, returning to the plot line, finally the narrator comes to London, "*such an overwhelming place. So huge and anonymous and impersonal. So different from Dublin.*"²¹ However, impressions become ambiguously verbalized when realistic details such as dirty phone boxes full of prostitutes' advertisements, too expensive cafés and El Dorado hotels immediately ruining any expectations raised by the name, are depicted. Certainly it is not the whole picture, but that is the part observed by the majority of newcomers. Feelings of unreality, irrationality and absurdity sprout from the tension between great expectations and freezy welcome of the paradise regained.

The next story *The Wizard of Oz* closely resembles *A Little Cloud* by Joyce, in respect that it juxtaposes a boastful successful former Dubliner and the narrator, who has not become 'former' yet and is trying to make his first steps in that direction. The deviation from the traditional pattern here lies in the complete lack of sympathy towards the young nipple (here nipple, a witty abbreviation instead of yuppie, stands for a New Irish Professional Person in London) by the name of Ed. We cannot say that Joyce makes the reader sympathize with Gallaher, but he makes his character less repellent for the reader.

The main character, Dave, is evidently not a survivor in new circumstances. The feelings of humiliation and unreality incite him to commit a petit crime, the act which makes one think that he is subconsciously eager to be caught; eventually his protest bursts out in open hooliganism barring all the possibilities to stay in London.

The story *Phantom* immediately provokes comparison to *The Dead*; even the title seems to be a periphrasis. An evening two pairs spend together reveals the breach between present and former Dubliners. Pete and Maria come home to Dublin for a few days, "just to say hello,"²² and pay a visit to Jimmy and his new, by the time being, pregnant girlfriend Coral. All the 'traditional' things are there: excessive drink, talk of politics and nostalgia for the past,

We're talking about the old days. We're talking about all the people who've gone away now. We think it's sad, the way people have to go away from here to do anything. Jimmy says we just don't care in this country. We treat people like sheep, then we're surprised when they bleat.²³

Finally Maria tells a story which she is always telling when drunk. "*She's very sentimental. She thinks about the past too much. Always this story too.*"²⁴ The constant negotiating with the past on both communal and personal level discloses the indestructible ties of former Dubliners to their previous living space.

The rough argument arising in the end can be explained away by alcoholic intoxication, "*It's just a love affair;*" Jimmy sighs, "*us Irish and drink...*"²⁵, or some secrets and lies; however, interpreted symbolically, it demonstrates a lack of communication between the past and the present. When Pete blames Jimmy that he will never change, the latter responds: "*I hope not, Pete,*" he says. "*I'll leave all that to you.*"²⁶

One more peculiarity strikes the attentive reader, and that is Maria's bareness. Catriona, another female character in *Mothers Were All the Same*, came to London to make an abortion which could be interpreted as a symbolical entrance fee. Besides, the theme of sterility enters the story *Glass Houses* as well. These evidences evoke the association with animals who cannot breed in an alien environment. Notwithstanding how primitively behavioristic it seems to be, this way of interpretation emphasizes that former Dubliners forever stay connected to their native land and alien to any new place of living. Unless, of course, they do not change themselves.

Refusal of 'Irishness' is shown as corruption in the book. Thus Shirley, a minor character, "*trying to make it as a model*"²⁷ pretentiously "*was no good at all for Irish names. She really regretted it, actually, specially since she moved over here [to London], but she couldn't speak a word of Irish.*"²⁸ An attempt at mimicry based on the model of the former colonial subject is self-evident.

Shrewdness in Aunt Martha in *Mothers* finds its expression in her voice. The narrator “noticed her weird accent. She nearly didn’t sound Irish at all.”²⁹ It may be argued that Ireland as a space is directly associated with the past. In order to move onward into the future one needs to come to terms with it. Being cut off presents a negative state of existence, and, first of all, it is expressed through the loss of ‘Irishness’.

Far from the original habitat, sense of belonging acquires additional significance. This feeling may be effectuated not only through the land; if habitation is problematized, communal spirit, family values, which are traditionally important for the Irish people, take a double load. In this connection, Camus claims that the only luxury which is left for people in the absurd world is human relationships.³⁰

In *The Long Way Home* “running away from the wife” is equated to “running away from reality,”³¹ being lost in the yellow mist proves to be a natural outcome of or punishment for leaving one’s family. No less natural seems the decision of the hero, Ray Priest, to come back home in the end. Ray’s final epiphany gives an insight into the complex notion of love.

Ray Priest clung to his wife’s body. As he drifted into sleep, he began to see things clearly. He thought about his night, about the loneliness of a man who finds that he has to run from love. And he knew in those moments that love is not always about freedom. He could see it then, with the clarity that only half-sleep brings. He could see that love is often just a homecoming, and little more. And that the journey home of the heart is sometimes the longest of all.³²

The story under the title *Sink* is less explicit; it serves as a metaphor of the inability, unwillingness to accept loneliness. *Freedom of the Press* highly praises the stability that only family can provide with in this unstable ever-changing world.

In the story *The Bedouin Feast* the author has transferred the action to Tunisia. Although the narrative space is not problematic, the situation illustrates the old truth that “holidays...bring out the worst in people.”³³ All the controversy about the general recognition of the independent Republic of Ireland is brought along. “In this century, of course, the disjuncture has become more extreme, with the division between Ulster and Eire, one assertively within ‘the United Kingdom’, the other an independent state.”³⁴ The notions of ‘Ireland’ and ‘Irish’ are not commonly separated from ‘British’ or sometimes ‘English’; it is necessary to explain that Dublin is not a part of Britain, and “that the Republic was actually a separate country.”³⁵

Joseph, as the central character, is an ideal type to bring the conflict into existence. His quick temper, lack of self-control and excessive drinking (all the features belonging to the stereotypical comic vision of an Irishman in literature) serve as a constant provocation.

The problematic relationships between the Irish and English tourists are shown through a number of clichés: open accusations like “murderers” vs “savages”, strategy of nicknaming “Brit” vs “Paddy” witness strong resentment on both sides.

“Strange how it all comes down to words, in the end.”³⁶ This line is from *The Hills Are Alive* which could be called a Belfast Romeo and Juliet story if it were not so queer. In fact it is about gay love between an IRA volunteer, Danny Sullivan, and

a squaddy, Private Henry Wood. A strange relationship in a strange world where one remembers his first mission rather than “*a first day in school. A first trip to the dentist maybe. A first kiss.*”³⁷ A world where the only distinction of importance is whether you are “*one of us or one of them.*”³⁸ Everyone is made to take sides, but considers it “*all a matter of free will and history.*”³⁹ The deviation from traditional sexuality here leads to questioning of all other relationships and disruption of ‘official’ narratives.

The narrators grow more mature towards the end of the story collection, although the fact finds its expression not through the age of the narrator. The essential indication is reaction to the events which ranges from the less responsible to the more “adult” one. For example, in *Mothers*, the narrator facing the harsh reality and feeling his inability to cope with it, expresses the unconscious wish to return into the state of the embryo:

I went to bed and stared at the ceiling. I wrapped the blanket tight around me. Really tight. Over my head. So tight that it felt like a second skin. And the whole world was shut out now, on the other side of the darkness.⁴⁰

In the last story *True Believers*, despite the young age, the narrator outgrows his father.

And this was also the night that God died in my life. I found myself in a new world, into which death had come, a world in which death was now a possibility, and a fact which seemed to change the way I saw everything, in an instant of time...⁴¹

On the whole, the story mentioned above and *The Greatest of These is Love* are the most powerful and serve as a culmination point for this seemingly disunited collection.

Since *The Greatest of These is Love* is about a Catholic Irish priest in London, naturally the Bible again makes an appearance, this time introduced by one of the most powerful and explicit *Love Chapter*, called so because of its influential description of love. In the context of the book the content of this sermon is a direct answer to the main question, namely, what it means to be a true believer, what is necessary ‘to bear all things’. Love does not prevent sufferings, rather multiplies them, for “*things don’t get any easier, no matter what people believe.*”⁴² At the same time love gives purpose, the pivotal point for one’s mind in this world full of absurdity.

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Kopsavilkums

Pēdējo desmit gadu laikā Īru kultūras dzīvē notiek „renesanse”; tās izpausme spilgti parādās arī daiļliteratūrā. Stingri sakņojoties Īru tradīcijās, mūsdienu Īru rakstniecība ataino spēcīgo Īrijas izjūtu un “īriskumu”, kas ir jebkura vēstījuma centrā. Šajā sakarībā ir lietderīgi pievērst uzmanību literāro tradīciju kontinuitātei, kura ir saistīta ar daudziem slaveniem vārdiem – Dž. Sviftu, Dž. Džoisu, S. Beketu un citiem. Tāpēc būtiska ir jebkuru divu Īru rakstnieku darbu salīdzinošā analīze, jo, lai gan šos rakstniekus šķir laiks, tos vieno nacionālās piederības izjūta.

Šis raksts ir divu grāmatu salīdzinošā analīze, proti, tiek salīdzināts Džozefa O’Konora stāstu krājums „Patiesi ticīgie” (*True Believers*) un Džeimsa Džoisa “Dublinieši” (*Dubliners*). Diskusijas centrā ir O’Konora stāsti, vienlaikus Džoisa krājumu izmantojot par atsauci. Analogija parādās ātri, tomēr svarīgi, ka abi rakstnieki ievēro savos stāstos reālistisko tradīciju un vieš cerību, nevis bezcerību absurda pasaulē. Šajā rakstā mēģinu parādīt, kā O’Konora darbā atspoguļots īriskums un kā tiek attīstīti Dž. Džoisa uzskati. Turklāt O’Konora krājuma analīze dod labu iespēju kodolīgi parādīt visas tēmas, kuras uztrauc mūsdienu Īru autorus. O’Konora krājumā jūtama ne vien stipra piederība literārai tradīcijai, bet tas rosina arī domāt par vispārējo piederību. Tāpēc īpaša uzmanība veltīta telpas un identitātes kopsakarībām. Eksistenciālajai domai, ka cilvēka stāvoklis jau pēc savas būtības ir absurds, ir svarīga nozīme: situācijā, kad dzīves telpa ir problemātiska, kopapziņa, ģimenes vērtības (kas patiesībā Īriem ir tradicionāli svarīgas) kļūst divkārši nozīmīgas. Pēc Albera Kamī domām, vienīgā greznība, kas cilvēkiem iespējama absurda pasaulē, ir cilvēciskās attiecības.

Ievērojot mūsdienu Īru rakstnieku moto, ka Īru stāsts jāpārraksta vēlreiz un vēlreiz, galvenais darba mērķis ir parādīt, kā mūsdienu Īru autori atklājuši Īrijas mainīgo seju.

Is T.S. Eliot's objective correlative necessarily a male correlative?

Vai Tomasa Stērna Eljota mērķa korelatīvs ir obligāti vīriešu korelatīvs?

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The paper is an attempt at illuminating Eliot's theory of an objective correlative in a somewhat wider context than the aesthetic-formal perspective of post-symbolism and new criticism. Eliot's famous impersonal theory of poetry contains a strong element of repression. Also interpretation or explanation are repudiated, which is explained by the fact that interpretation (explanation) threatens to disclose what is feared or denied. Women or the female are among what is being repressed, but Eliot is also constantly trying to overcome his antagonisms.

Keywords: objective correlative, impersonality, interpretation, explanation, gender conflict, the other.

The critic and literary theorist T.S. Eliot is primarily associated with four concepts: *objective correlative*, *dissociation of sensibility*, *impersonality* and *tradition*. Here I'm going to focus on how Eliot's theoretical and critical concerns are permeated by questions of gender.

Eliot's attitude towards women is by now a branch of Eliot studies. Several scholars have been anxious to point out that Eliot is depicting both men, women and sexuality in a disgusting way and that in *The Waste Land* it is primarily women who are made to suffer by male protagonists. David Moody diagnoses "a fear of the human city and of human relations", a fear of being an "alien drowning in the feminine element" in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock". In "*The Waste Land* it is women who suffer the anxiety" being "the victims of a man's world [...]" "But they cannot be said to arrive at a detached consciousness of it. It is the male subject who practises detachment, and precisely from them in their suffering."¹

Colleen Lamos in *Deviant Modernism* sees Eliot's critical writings as a "sustained attempt to identify and weed out error from the practice of literary criticism", errors which she categorises into "*perversion, inversion, impure mingling, and dissemination*".² Eliot explicitly connects personality and subjectivity with *perversion* in "Tradition and the Individual Talent". Lamos, like Frank (below), sees Eliot as betraying subjective personality in the very act of renunciation, referring to the host of critics "discovering that Eliot commits the very mistakes that he decries"³: "The impersonality thesis seems designed to fail [...] the disavowal of the expression of one's feelings may be another way of indulging them, through the act of renunciation."⁴

It is not possible here to enter into a full discussion, in all its ramifications, of the questions of gender and sexuality in Eliot. I shall restrain myself to some comments

on Jacqueline Rose's question, in an essay entitled "Hamlet, the Mona Lisa of Literature?"⁵ whether Eliot's objective correlative is a male correlative (perhaps the term *corrective* would be more appropriate in the case Rose is arguing).

The idea of an objective correlative was presented in a review article, "Hamlet and his Problems" (1919), which came to be included in *The Sacred Wood* (1920), where Eliot advocates the idiosyncratic view that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is an artistic failure. Here I'm going to offer a rough interpretation of the concept of an objective correlative and then confront it with a feminist assault.

Louis Menand doesn't find the concept of an objective correlative a particularly original one, adding that it immediately collapses under analysis. Nonetheless everybody "almost intuitively" seemed to understand what Eliot meant.⁶ Hugh Kenner pertinently points out that Eliot had a dangerous gift of phrase.⁷

This is how Eliot defines the objective correlative:

The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an "objective correlative"; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked.⁸

In a fairly representative survey, *Literary theory: From Plato to Barthes* (1999), Richard Harland sees the objective correlative as an extension of the *symbol* lining up with the more "technical" attitude of the new criticism with its stress on imagery, aesthetic autonomy and impersonality (anti-intentionalism).⁹ In opposition to Harland-type interpretation of the objective correlative (a dominant internal aesthetic point of view) I believe that the notion of an objective correlative is best understood from the point of view of semantic-epistemological considerations and also from the point of view of the problem of expression within philosophical aesthetics. (I'm not going to deal with the latter question in this paper.) "Hamlet and his problems" can be illuminated by Eliot's occupation during his Harvard years with questions of epistemology and hermeneutics. With Eliot problems of interpretation, understanding and explanation were deeply embedded in religious and existential meditations.

The *locus classicus* concerning Eliot's ideal of impersonality is of course "Tradition and Individual Talent" (1919),¹⁰ but as will subsequently become clear there is a charge in the Hamlet-essay against Shakespeare's being unable to objectify his emotions; hence becoming too personal. Ronald Bush, in *T.S. Eliot. A Study in Character and Style* (1984), manages to strike a delicate balance in his assessment of *impersonality* in Eliot: "In the time of 'Gerontion' and *The Waste Land*, Eliot's poetry is 'obsessed with disclosing [...] 'the self that wills' [...] his prose of the same period is devoted to establishing a theoretical basis for discriminating between the two selves." Bush argues that Eliot found this theoretical basis in the philosophy of the idealist philosopher G.H. Bradley, whose philosophy was subjected a doctoral dissertation by Eliot, *Knowledge and Experience* (1916). Through notions like "locus of experience" or "point of view" or "finite center" Bradley offered a way "to discount the naive view that the poet's work is continuous with his breakfast conversation. A problem arises, however, when critics superimpose the terms of Eliot's dissertation on a few

of his famous essays (especially ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’) and speak of his rigorously ‘impersonal’ poetry.”¹¹

A similar dissociation of “personality” into two senses found in Rémy de Gourmont enabled Eliot “to characterize it [impersonality] to be something to be both wished for and disdained”.¹² According to Bush Eliot is “true to the romantic attitude that ‘the business of the poet’ is to express his feelings..... ‘the creation of a work of art... consists in the process of transfusion of the personality, or, in a deeper sense, the life, of the author into the character’”.¹³ According to Armin P. Frank, *Die Sehnsucht nach dem unteilbaren Sein* (1973) the very fervour with which Eliot in 1919 denies the importance of personal experience for creating poetry betrays his very personal motivation, while “auch das Unterdrücken von Persönlichkeitszügen ist eine Form ihres Ausdrucks”. Frank also notices the elements of life–nausea and awareness of sin, which underline the element of repression in Eliot’s theory of impersonality.¹⁴ True, Frank speaks primarily about “Tradition and Individual Talent” but his comments are obviously pertinent to the Hamlet–essay as well.

“Hamlet and his problems” starts as a review of two scholarly works on Shakespeare. Their historical matter of fact–approach is amply praised by Eliot, who proceeds to repudiate interpretation:

Qua work of art, the work of art cannot be interpreted; there is nothing to interpret; we can only criticise it according to standards, in comparison to other works of art; and for “interpretation” the chief task is the presentation of relevant historical facts which the reader is not assumed to know.¹⁵

Creative interpretation only expresses the personality of the interpreter, which means that the repudiation of interpretation merges with the repudiation of the expression of personality or self. Goethe and Coleridge both instantiate “that most dangerous type of critic: the critic with a mind which is naturally of the creative order”; hence their “writing of Hamlet is the most misleading kind possible”. As will become evident, Eliot does not stick particularly close to his *against interpretation* – stance. The tension between *description* and *interpretation* is essential to Eliot’s thinking. During his Harvard years Eliot was occupied with hermeneutical questions, such as how do we understand another culture, is it possible to acquire scientific knowledge of cultures or of history or are we confined within a web of interpretations? The leap from *facts* to *interpretation* is analogous to the anthropologist’s step from collection of facts to explanation or interpretation. In the preface to his mother’s dramatic poem *Savonarola* (1926) Eliot remarks that the role of interpretation has been *unduly neglected* within epistemology referring to an early “paper” read at the Josiah Royce seminar at Harvard, “The interpretation of primitive ritual” (1913). The paper is characterized as “a humble attempt to show that in many cases *no* interpretation of a rite could explain its origin”.¹⁶ Obviously Eliot’s attitude towards interpretation is ambivalent. This ambivalence is also displayed in his assessment of the respective virtues of Freud and Frazer. Reviewing the final, abridged, edition of *The Golden Bough* in 1922 Eliot praises Frazer for abstaining from hypotheses [explanations or interpretations] and limiting himself to descriptions:

[W]ith every fresh volume [...] Frazer has withdrawn in more and more cautious abstention from the attempt to explain [...] It is a work of no less importance for our time than the complementary work of Freud [...] and it is a work of perhaps greater permanence, *because it is a statement of fact* which is not involved in the maintenance or fall of any theory of the author's.¹⁷

But Frazer is a typical representative of “positivist” reductionism regarding religion as some sort of primitive science which has long ago been superseded by real science! Reviewing a violently abridged edition of Frazer's work, Eliot obviously distorts the picture of what Frazer aimed at achieving. As Richard Wollheim has remarked, there is in Eliot a fear of the intellect.¹⁸ An aspect of this fear is Eliot's hostility towards explanation or interpretation.

There is a shyness–theory to explain Eliot's repudiation of the expression of personality as well as of creative interpretation. Of more general interest I find an explanation that considers the ethical and religious restrictions on the expressing of personality. Why does Eliot repudiate explanation or interpretation within the humanities? Well, explanation or interpretation within the humanities tend to be projective or expressive on a par with artistic self-expression. Interpretation or explanation within, say, psychology, religion and ethics tend to promulgate your own convictions in these areas. Correspondingly, and this I think is most pertinent in Eliot's case, they risk challenging your own convictions and ideals. Interpretation or explanation came to represent a “modernist” threat to Eliot's personal convictions and to his upholding of the notion of tradition. When Eliot in 1913 started attending the philosopher Josiah Royce's seminar he had earlier that year produced a “paper” which concludes that the attempt at reducing “ethics to a logical science (as well as the modern attempt to reduce it to a biological science) must end in partial failure”. Müller, Tylor and Frazer as well as the French sociologists Durkheim and Lévy–Bruhl seemed to Eliot to threaten “the very existence of religious beliefs”.¹⁹

Just as Eliot praises Frazer's pure descriptions or statements of fact (in the same breath as he condemns Freudian explanation or interpretation) he repudiates the interpretation of works of art in favour of “the presentation of relevant historical facts”. Interpretation of *Hamlet* would lead Eliot not only to “the inexpressibly horrible” but to his “inexpressibly horrible”. But obviously Eliot is unable to uphold his anti-interpretationalist stance.

What I'm driving at here has been illuminatingly caught in David Spurr's *Conflicts in Consciousness: T.S. Eliot's Poetry and Criticism* (1984):

Eliot's elaborate display of objectivity [...] may momentarily divert our attention from the strong undercurrent of fear and violence that runs through the essay “Hamlet and his problems” [...] Eliot really wants a better defence against the forces of madness that surface only too clearly in Shakespeare's play [...] Eliot offers his notion of the objective correlative as a possible means of controlling these dark powers [...] as a defence against his personal involvement in the struggle he ascribes to Hamlet.²⁰

You can not really understand the ardour with which Eliot repudiates interpretation and personality apart from the fact that Eliot involves himself in a contradictory strategy since he is himself offering a roughly Freudian interpretation of Hamlet the character as well as of *Hamlet* the play and Shakespeare, its author. And in these manoeuvres in obscure ways he is mirroring himself.

*

Anti-expressivism and anti-interpretationalism thus merge in a repressive movement in some of Eliot's critical writing as well as in some of his poetry. Of course Eliot is repressing sexuality, but is he therein also repressing the female? Rose argues that the concept of the 'objective correlative' [...] was originally [...] a reproach against the character of a woman. The woman in question is Gertrude [who] is not good enough aesthetically, that is, *bad* enough psychologically, which means that in relationship to the affect which she generates by her behaviour in the chief character of the drama – Hamlet himself – Gertrude is not deemed a sufficient *cause*.²¹

Rose like Spurr sees the notion of an objective correlative as the upholding of decorum. To this analysis she adds the notion of the "difference", what cannot be understood or expressed, as "femininity". Eliot's diagnosis of *Hamlet* as the *Mona Lisa* of literature is taken to reveal that to Eliot the feminine is the archetype of the enigmatic. Rose's analysis is certainly pertinent to the deeper layers in "Hamlet and his Problems". Still her focusing on gender issues can be better understood within a wider context. The fear of or repudiation of women is part of a cluster of antagonisms: the savage, the (working class) mob, the stranger, or the immigrant. These fears in the urban jungle of *The Waste Land* are highlighted in Joseph Mc Laughlin's *The Urban Jungle. Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (2000). The corresponding obsession with the question of eugenics in its literal and metaphoric modes is studied by Donald J. Childs in *Modernism and Eugenics. Woolf, Yeats, and the Culture of Degeneration* (2001).

But it must also be emphasised that these are no clear cut antagonisms. In a fascinating study, *Modernism and Mass Politics* (1995), Michael Tratner convincingly argues that Eliot along with co-modernists held an ambivalent attitude towards the mob, women, and savages. Often these agents merge: the mob is often given female characteristics or identified with woman. But Eliot also wants to identify with his own "mob part of the mind".²² Modernist difficulty has often been seen as an expression of elitist arrogance, of the modernist in the *ivory tower*, but Tratner sees modernist difficulty as expressive of a will to represent and identify with the mob. Culture could offer something to both the mob and the intellectuals: what Eliot called "myth." He saw, for example, Communism and Catholicism both possessing these ingredients:

"The great merit of Communism is the same as the one merit of the Catholic church, that there is something in which minds at every level can grasp.... Communism has what is now called a 'myth'" [...] *The Waste Land* is a poem aimed at producing a myth ... Eliot's focus in *The Waste Land* was consequently on transforming leadership. The poem is a critique of high culture for having lost touch with the mob and the mob part of the mind – having lost touch with the roots of culture.²³

You also find this *ambivalence* in Eliot's attitude towards women and sexuality. William Skaff senses a will to overcome the gulf between subject and object in the theory of an objective correlative.²⁴ This conflict also is mirrored in the conflict between body and soul, the thwarted attitude towards sexuality.

Discussing the imagery of Dante Eliot concludes that the inferno of Dante is not a place but a state that can only be thought and experienced "by the projection of sensory images". This is a not too distant echo of the characterisation of the objective correlative: "the only way to express emotion in a work of art [...] must terminate in sensory experience". Eliot continues that "the resurrection of the body has perhaps a deeper meaning than we understand".²⁵ The gloss on Dante, obviously echoing the theory of an objective correlative, are thus associated with the resurrection of the body, which in context also means a confession to the body. Dante is favourably compared to Donne: one abyss Donne according to Eliot cannot bridge is the one between body and soul: "The apparent "glorification of the body appreciated by many admirers of Donne is really a puritanical attitude." In Dante, however, "There is no imagined struggle of soul and body, only the one struggle toward perfection."²⁶ This theme of harmonizing, or rather overcoming, body and soul is captured in the title of Armin P. Frank's magisterial *Die Sehnsucht nach dem unteilbaren Sein*. The title is pertinent not only for the criticism of Eliot but also for his poetry and drama.

*

There is then more than something to Jacqueline Rose's analysis of the gender-tension in "Hamlet and his problems". Still her analysis, to my mind, is somewhat simplistic. One obvious objection to her conclusion that Eliot is finding the female not worthy as an objective correlative is to point out the possibility that *Mona Lisa* is merely figuring as an archetype of an enigmatic *work of art*, and that it is not *femininity in itself* which is found enigmatic and hence abominable. (The possibility also remains that Eliot's connecting the enigmatic to the abominable in "Hamlet and his Problems" is *ad hoc*.) The fact that Gertrude isn't *bad enough* hardly proves that Eliot is finding fault with the woman. Rather he's finding fault with *Hamlet* the play, Hamlet the character and Shakespeare the author. Furthermore, Eliot's positive example of an objective correlative is associated with one of Shakespeare's most austere and forbidding female characters, Lady Macbeth, by common consent "bad enough":

If you examine any of Shakespeare's most successful tragedies, you will find this exact equivalence; you will find that the state of mind of Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep has been communicated to you by a skilful accumulation of imagined sensory expressions; the words of Macbeth on hearing of his wife's death strike us as if, given the sequence of events, these words were automatically released by the last event of the series. The artistic "inevitability" lies in this complete inadequacy of the external to the emotion; and this is precisely what is deficient in *Hamlet*.²⁷

In this short paper I have tried to illuminate Eliot's theory of an objective correlative in a somewhat wider context than those of post-symbolism and new criticism. Anti-expressivism (impersonality) and anti-interpretationalism have been

regarded from the perspective that interpretation (explanation) threatens to disclose what is feared or denied; hence the strong element of repression in Eliot's hostility towards interpretation and self-expression. Women or the female are among what is being repressed, but Eliot is also constantly trying to overcome his antagonisms.

My own motivation in writing this paper can, at the risk of sounding pretentious, best be described in the words of the American poet Denise Levertov, "Pleasures": "I like to find / what's not found / at once, but lies / within something of another nature ...". In no way have I been trying to perform any kind of *Ehrenrettung* of Eliot confronted with feminist criticism.

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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā mēģināts aplūkot Tomasa Stērna Eljota objektīvo korelātu teoriju ne tikai no postsymbolisma un jaunās kritikas estētiski formālās perspektīvas viedokļa, bet gan nedaudz plašākā kontekstā. Eljota pazīstamajai dzejas bezpersoniskuma teorijai piemīt spēcīgs represīvs elements. Tā arī noraida interpretācijas vai skaidrojuma iespēju, skaidrojot to ar faktu, ka interpretācija (skaidrojums) draud atklāt to, kas izraisa bailes vai tiek noliegts. Sieviete vai sievišķais tiek apspiests, kaut gan Eljots pastāvīgi cenšas pārvarēt savas pretrunas.

**Das eigene und das fremde – land und folk in einigen
kulturhistorischen schriften baltischer herkunft
The Own and the Foreign: Land and People in Some
Baltic Writings of Cultural Historical Importance
Savējais un svešais – zeme un ļaudis dažos baltiešu
izcelsmes kultūrvēsturiskos tekstos**

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Eigenes und *Fremdes* – diese zwei Erscheinungen sind wesentlich sowohl für literarische Texte, als auch für kulturhistorische Schriften. Deshalb erscheint es angebracht, aus geschichtlicher Perspektive mögliche Ausdrucksformen dieser Begriffe zu untersuchen.

Als zeitlicher Ausgangspunkt wird hier wegen einer Beschleunigung ökonomischer– und Handelstätigkeiten im Herzogtum Kurland, so auch der Reformansprüche der schwedischen Regierung in Liefland das XVII. Jahrhundert gewählt.

Aus der Vielfalt der literarischen Genres haben mehrere eine nahe Verwandtschaft zu dokumentarischen Materialien. In der Untersuchung werden folgende kulturhistorische Erscheinungen analysiert: ein Tagebuch (Erik Dahlbergh *Tagebuch*), zwei Autobiographien (Urban Hjärke *Die Autobiographie* und Agneta Horn *Das Leben*), eine Reisebeschreibung (Johann Arnold von Brand *Die Reisebeschreibung*) und ein panegyrischer Text (das Poem von Christian Bornmann *Mitau*).

Ein öfters vorkommendes Merkmal in der Grenzziehung zwischen dem *Eigenen* und dem *Fremden* in den Texten des XVII. Jahrhunderts ist die historisch bedingte Einteilung in Christen (Deutsche) und Heiden (Letten, Liefen – „Undeutsche“), eine andere Art der Differenzierung – nach der sozialen Zugehörigkeit und zuletzt, aber nicht minder wichtig – im Persönlichen, Privaten einerseits, und den Vorgängen in der umgebenden Welt andererseits (in Tagebüchern).

Bemerkenswert, dass es keine spezielle Teilungsabsicht nach der nationalen Zugehörigkeit gibt, im Gegenteil – in einem multikulturellen Milieu erscheint eine Möglichkeit der Herausbildung eines gesunden Lokalpatriotismus.

Keywords: Latvija, Baltija; literatūra, kultūrvēsture; XVII–XX gs. avoti vācu un zviedru valodā.

Die Präsenz *des Eigenen* und *des Fremden* als wesentliches und Wert bestimmendes Element ist ein wichtiges Merkmal literarischer Texte und kulturhistorischer Schriften. Deshalb erscheint es angebracht, aus geschichtlicher Perspektive mögliche Ausdrucksformen dieser Begriffe zu untersuchen. Als Beispiel dafür eignet sich – wegen der internationalen Bedeutung und der damit verbundenen komplexen Geschichte — besonders das Baltikum, und hier vor allem Kurland und Liefland. Als zeitlichen Ausgangspunkt wählen wir das XVII. Jahrhundert: das Leben im Herzogtum Kurland nimmt in dieser Zeit dank einer Beschleunigung der ökonomischen Aktivitäten und der dadurch verursachten Zunahme der ausländischen

Handelstätigkeit einen deutlichen Aufschwung. Die liefländische Lebensart erfährt anstelle des früher herrschenden polnischen Einflusses einen neuen, schwedischen Einschlag, der zugleich mit der politischen Macht auch Ansprüche auf Reformen erhebt (z.B., Güterreduktion, Einführung der allgemeinen Grundschulpflicht durch Karl XI.) und schwedische Beamte ins Land bringt. Unverändert aber bleibt die einheimische (d.h. lettische) Mehrheit und die deutsche Oberschicht sowohl in Kurland als auch in Liefland. Es soll hier betont werden, dass schriftliche Zeugnisse von lettischen Muttersprachlern bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert wegen des historisch bedingten nationalen und sozialen Untertanenstatus praktisch fehlen. Den Letten bleibt nur die mündliche Überlieferung des Volkslieds, sowie die Volkstrachten und die Volkskunst in Gebäuden, Geräten und Schnitzereien.

Aus der Vielfalt der literarischen Genres, die eine nahe Verwandtschaft zu dokumentarischen Material zu haben pflegen, kann man das Tagebuch, die Selbstbiographie und die Reisebeschreibung hervorheben. Hier sollte man auch ältere Gelegenheitsdichtungen oder panegyrische Texte nennen. Dieses Material besitzt, wenn auch in unterschiedlichem Maße, einen unverkennbaren kulturhistorischen Wert.

Es gibt natürlich deutliche Unterschiede zwischen den genannten vier Genres, was den Grad des Vorherrschens *des Eigenen* betrifft: es ist meist mehr mit dem Privaten und Intimen von Tagebüchern und Selbstbiografien verbunden, während unmittelbar an die Öffentlichkeit gerichtete Reisebeschreibungen und Lobgedichte dadurch charakterisiert sind, dass sie die *Eigen-Fremd*-Beziehungen auf komplizierte Weise darstellen.

Zu den charakteristischen Besonderheiten von Tagebüchern gehört es, dass die täglichen Beobachtungen und Erlebnisse eine direkte Aufzeichnung erfordern und sich meistens über längere, nicht selten lebenslange Zeiträume erstrecken. Dies begünstigt eine stilistische Vielfalt. Ein gutes Beispiel ist etwa das Tagebuch des schwedischen Kriegsherren, Zeichners und Amtmannes Erik Dahlbergh (1625–1703).

Sein letzter Posten im Auftrage des Königreichs Schweden war der des Generalgouverneurs von Liefland mit Sitz in Riga (1696–1702). Zum Unterschied von den breit angelegten, belletristisch orientierten Tagebuchaufzeichnungen seiner Jugend in Schweden fällt auf, dass die Bemerkungen über seine Zeit als Gouverneur in Liefland überwiegend sachlich sind – es werden aktuelle Aufträge mit Angaben zurückgelegter Wegstrecken aufgezählt (eine Art Berichterstattung über Dienstreisen). Der Verfasser beginnt bzw. endet seine Berichte oft mit kurzen zeittypischen andachtsliterarischen und auf das persönlich *Eigene* gerichteten Redensarten, so z.B. in der 'Inscription vom Jahre 1699': *Der Allerhöchste, belohne uns mit einem freudigen Neuen Jahr. Da nun einmal Seine Königliche Majestät gnädigst befiehlt hat, dass die Akademie, welche der König Gustav Adolf Anno 1632 in Dorpat errichtet hatte, wegen des Ortes Unbequemlichkeit nach Pernau transportiert werden müsse und ich als Cancellario den Auftrag bekommen habe, deren Inauguration zu verrichten, darum reise ich den 18. August von Riga aus nach Zanikou, 3 ¼, und dann nach Byrings Krug, 3 ½, 6 ¾ Meilen. Den 19. nach Pernigel, 3 ¼, Frietags Krug, 3 ¼, und nach Salis Krug, 3 ¼, 9 ¾ Meilen. Den 20. nach Gudmansbach, 5 Meilen. Den 28. August geschah die Inauguration, von mir glücklich und wohl geleitet, mit gehörigem Pomp und Ceremonier, Ehre sei Gott, zu meinem größten Lobe.*¹

Den Hang zur Darlegung des persönlich *Eigenen* mit mehr ausgeprägter Einbeziehung des auf Reisen reflektierten Lebensmaterials beobachtet man z.B. in der Autobiographie des schwedischen Arztes, Literaten und Sprachforschers Urban Hjärne (1641–1724). Nach dem Aufenthalt in Reval (Tallinn) und Studien in Dorpat (Tartu) führt ihn eine Dienstverpflichtung im Jahre 1666 nach Riga, wo er zum Leibarzt des derzeit neu berufenen liefländischen Generalgouverneurs Claes Tott wird.² Nichts mehr erfahren wir als bloß diejenigen Tatsachen, dass Hjärne in seiner Rigaer Zeit, um besser die Zeit zu verbringen und sich in seinem Beruf zu üben, Soldaten der schwedischen Garnison nicht nur am Rande der Stadt, sondern auch die in den Festungen von Cobron und Neumünde besucht.³ Er betont hier auch seine *Neigung zum Reisen und Wandern*⁴, die in Verbindung mit eigenen dienstlichen Aufträgen ihm die Möglichkeit erschafft, sich auf den Weg zu begeben *durch Kurland, das vom Herzog sehr gut und mächtig gepflegt*⁵ ist.

Also, in der Lebensbeschreibung ist diese lakonische, aber deutliche Bewertung des *Fremden* Kurlandes anzutreffen. Ausführlicher, mit Anspruch auf eine kurze Schilderung, wird die Stadt Hamburg vorgestellt – der Verfasser erinnert sich *des schönen Gartens, welcher damals in voller Blüte stand, ... großartige Bauten*.⁶

Eine weibliche Alternative der Selbstbiographie jener Zeit bildet mit sich das bekannte Agneta Horns (1629–1672) *Leben oder Beschreibung über meine Wanderungszeit*. A. Horn beginnt ihre Lebensbeschreibung mit einem solchen Hinweis: *Am 18. August Anno 1629 und an einem Montagmorgen um 7 Uhr bin ich, Agneta Horn, Tochter von Gustaf, geboren in dieser bösen und für mich sehr mühseligen und jammervollen Welt in der Stadt Riga...*⁷ und ein wenig weiter folgt eine Erklärung für diese klägliche Bewertung: *Sofort, in meiner frühesten Kindheit, begann man mich um die Welt herumzuschleppen. Denn meine Frau Mutter nahm mich mit sich von Riga weg, als ich 6 Wochen alt war, und reiste zu meinem Herrn Vater, der sich damals im Lager gegen die Polen in Kurland bafand, und dort lagerten wir den ganzen diesen Herbst bis zum Winter*.⁸ Danach verlässt Agneta Horn die baltischen Gebiete. Ihre Erzählweise zieht von Anfang an eine deutliche Grenze zwischen *dem Eigenen* – dem persönlichen und im Rahmen der Familie zu behaltenden emotionellen Faden – einerseits, und *dem Fremden*, d.h. Unannehmbaren der umgebenden Welt – andererseits. Dieses offenbar angeborene Unterscheidungsbedürfnis verlässt die Verfasserin im Laufe der Beschreibung nie. Es soll hier angemerkt werden, dass A. Horn in der Einleitung die Absicht zum Ausdruck bringt, mit ihrer Erzählung *der elenden und sehr abscheulichen Wanderungszeit* indem zum Ausdruck bringt, dass sie zeigen will, *...wie der Gott immer... geholfen hat, mit guter Geduld durch alle Widerwärtigkeiten*.⁹ Der Christliche Gott ist also das wahre *Eigene*.

Als eine genug würdige “Gegenspielerin” (und in gewissem Sinne auch “Mitspielerin”) der Selbstbiographie im Kontext des Begriffspaares *Eigen contra Fremd* kann schon der Mission nach auf *Fremdenerkenntnis* fixierte Reisebeschreibung gelten. Aus kulturhistorischer Perspektive beachtenswert erscheint hier die Leistung des Johann Arnold von Brand. Er war der Begleiter des Abgesandten des Kurfürstentums Brandenburg und verfasste eine Reisebeschreibung mit dem Titel *Reysen durch Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plescowien,...*

Twerien und Moscowien. Die Reise selbst wurde Ende des Jahres 1673 ausgeführt, die Veröffentlichung aber – wahrscheinlich aufgrund der Bemerkungen – erst im Jahre 1702 realisiert (die Ursachen dieser zeitlichen Distanz sind noch ungeklärt).

Der Struktur nach sieht man hier eine ziemlich deutliche Aussonderung *des Eigenen*, d.h. der Darlegung des Reiseverlaufs – als eines Rechenschaftsberichtes über zurückgelegte Wegstrecken, Speisungs- und Übernachtungsstellen, aber auch kurzer Angaben über die Lage der Wege (z.B., *übler, ziemlich böser, sumpfiger, ziemlich guter Weg*) und militärisch solide, genaue Beschreibungen *fremder* Verteidigungsanlagen wie z.B. Bollwerke usw. Eine literarisch karikierende Tendenz hat z.B., die Schilderung der diplomatischen Begegnung an der russischen Grenze zwischen dem Abgesandten und dem vom Zaren abgeordneten Pristaff aus Plescow, der 4 Tage auf sich warten läßt.¹⁰

Den eigentlichen kulturhistorischen Wert der Erkenntnis des *Fremdenwesens* haben diejenigen Kapitel, wo der Verfasser mit genügender Takt, objektivierend (d.h., auch unabhängig der nationalen Zugehörigkeit) und im möglichst weiten Ausmaß die Lebensweise in Kurland und Liefland darlegt. Es wird hier sowohl eine ziemlich genaue ethnographische Beschreibung des Bauernlebens vorgestellt [Kleidung, Häuser, Wirtschaft, Bräuche, Heilkunde (mit Hilfe der Badestuben und des Brandweins), Religionswesen (wo nach mehreren Jahrhunderten seit der Einführung des Christentums oft noch abergläubische, im Heidentum verwurzelte, Opfertraditionen existieren, die dem Verfasser als *fremd* und beseitigungswert erscheinen)], als auch ihre sozialrechtlichen, von der Leibeigenschaft bedingten, Beziehungen zu den hauptsächlich deutschen, aber auch polnischen (in Kurland) Edelleuten gezeigt. Anders als in Kurland dürfen die liefländischen Bauern zu schweren körperlichen Strafen nicht ohne die Hinzuziehung eines ordentlichen Gerichtes verurteilt werden. J.A. von Brand sieht die schlechte Situation der Bauern sehr deutlich, erkennt aber die positiven juristisch–reformatorischen Tendenzen in dem von Schweden verwalteten Liefland; außerdem werden auch die Leistungen des schwedischen Landvermessungswesen im XVII. Jahrhundert anerkannt: nach Brands Beobachtungen werden *von Riga an bis durch ganz Liefland alle Meilen auf sonderbaren an den Landstraßen aufgerichteten Pfählen abgemessen.*¹¹ Die ökonomische Lage ist in Kurland besser. In Liefland sind, abgesehen vom regen Handelsverkehr mit Holland in Riga, viele durch „*Moscowiten*“ verursachte Zerstörungen zu beobachten (russisch–schwedische Kriegshandlungen von 1656 bis 1661).

Man spürt, dass Brand mit dieser Reisebeschreibung schon im XVII. Jahrhundert einen Versuch unternommen hat, dem eventuellen *Fremdenverkehr* im damaligen Sinne das geographisch, ethnographisch und sozialpolitisch Entfernte dem Einheimischen näher zu bringen. Es werden auch einige Beispiele von Volksliedern und des „Vaterunser“ auf Kurländisch und Liefländisch (wie es bei Brand heißt) angeführt, wobei zu erkennen ist, dass es bei den ersteren um das Lettische handelt, beim „Vaterunser“ aber um das Estnische (der Norden des damaligen Lieflands bildet den Süden des heutigen Estlands aus). Außerdem, es ist zu bemerken, dass schon etwa 100 Jahre vor der berühmten Ausgabe von G. Merkel — *Die Letten, vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Völker- und*

Menschenkunde, (1796) – Brands Reisebeschreibung deutliche Hinweise auf schwierige und bedauernswerte Lage der Bauern enthält, z.B.: *sie leben der Sklaverey und Dienstbarkeit so gar ergeben als ob etwan die Natur sie dazu verordnet hatte*.¹²

Paul Johansen hat die Erklärung angeboten, dass die Unterwürfigkeit der baltischen Urbewohner historisch mit ihrer bei der Unterwerfung erzwungener Anerkennung der Schwächlichkeit ihrer *eigenen* heidnischen Götter gegenüber dem mächtigen Christengott begründet werden kann.¹³

Einer ganz vielseitigen literarischen Charakteristik der Lebensweise des geknechteten Bauernstandes sind die abschließenden Verse des langen Lobgedichtes zur Stadt *Mitau* gewidmet. Dieses Beispiel der Gelegenheitsdichtung entstammt dem Jahre 1686 und ist dem ‘Kaiserlich gekrönten Poeten und Rektor der Mitauischen großen Stadtschule’ Christian Bornmann zugeschrieben worden. Zeittypisch und dem *eigenen* Stande gemäß belehrend differenziert der Verfasser die Qualitäten des Volkes:

*Überfluß macht Übermuth, Müssiggang verkehrte Sinnen,
Straffe macht die Bosheit gut, Armuth lernet Brod gewinnen.
Sonsten sind zu allen Sachen diese Kuhren wohlgeschickt,
Können alles artig machen, was ihr Auge nur erblickt.*¹⁴

Die ganze heimatkundliche Schilderung beginnt er aber mit einem historischen Überblick, wo deutlich als ob eine Grenze gezogen wird, nämlich — zwischen dem *Fremdenwesen* des *tummen Volkes der Heiden*, von welchem

*Niemand wußte was von Gott, Blindheit hatte sie umgeben,
Ordnung hielten sie für Spott, Ehrbarkeit herbes Leben,
Ihre Götter waren Bäume, Bären, Elend, Holz und Stein,
Ihre Priester lehrten Träume, die doch Schaum der Sinnen seyn*¹⁵,

und der Ankunft des eigenen wahren Christentums, also *bis die Teutschen... Landes=Herren worden seyn und ihr Wohnhaus hier genommen, und gepflanzt Gottes Ehr*.¹⁶ Die dem Verfasser zeitgenössische lobende Charakterisierung der Hauptstadt und des ganzen Herzogtums Kurland wird dann mit der topographisch als auch geistig einigenden Rolle der Christlichen Kirche sogar verschiedener Konfessionen begonnen. Darauf folgen der Reihe nach einzelne Lobverse auf die Schule, den Herzog, auf Prediger, Ratsherren, Bürgermeister, verschiedene Amtleute, Händler und Handwerker. (Chr. Bornmann vergisst auch nicht die Bauern; sein Stadtbild enthält darüber hinaus auch die Darstellung öffentlicher Einrichtungen wie Druckereien, Post, Büchlerläden und Wirtshäuser.)

Standes- und nationalbewusste Grenzziehungen werden vom Verfasser vorgenommen, wenn er die Vorliebe *der bescheidenen Leute...*, *wenn nur die Thaler klingen* für die *liebe Gottes=Quelle*¹⁷, d.h. für den Wein erwähnt, während

*Jedes Haus hat seinen Krug, da Unteutsche Leute wohnen,
Da gibt's Bier und Trinker genug, die den Heller nicht verschoh – nen;
Da sich Mopsus so beschürzet, daß er oft den Weg vergißt,
Und mit Pferd und Wagen stürzet, wo der Koht am tiefsten ist.*

*Denn der liebe Gersten=Saft, den das Edle Mitau zeuget,
Gibt den Gliedern Stärk und Kraft, die ins Gehirn steiget,
Und den Geist zur Lust erreget; Aber ein zu großes Glaufß
Auch den Risen niederschläget; Darum trink, und trink mit Maaß.¹⁸*

Traditionsgemäß verwendet Chr. Bornmann hier den seit dem Mittelalter üblichen Sammelbegriff *undeutsch* mit negativer Bedeutung für Esten, Letten und Liefen, der im Laufe der historischen Entwicklung immer stärkeren sozialen Aussagewert erhalten hat.¹⁹

Lobenswert erscheint dem Poeten die gleichzeitige Existenz unterschiedlicher nationalen Eigentümlichkeiten in Mitau; diese Tendenz wird im Gedicht immer deutlicher:

*Mitau ist als wie ein Port, da man sich nicht darf entfernen,
Und kann doch an einem Ort, und zugleich fünf Sprachen lernen,
Wie die Lituanen reden, wie die Kuhren sprechen raus,
Und die Polen, Teutschen, Schweden, hört man fast in jedem Haus.*

...

Alles unser Mitau häget, und an beide Brüste drückt.²⁰

In dieser fruchtbaren Ebene wächst ein gesunder Patriotismus; die letzte Zeile des folgenden Zitats gibt eine treffende, allgemeine Charakteristik von Kurland:

*Drumb, ihr Käse, kommt heran! Sachsen rühme seine Kwärge,
Welschland seinen Parmisan, Schweiz die Käs= und Anken=Berge,
Limburg seine fette Ziegel, Schweden seines Ostes Schatz,
Holland seine Molken Hügel, Böhmen seinen Stänkermatz.*

*Alles ist nur Phantasei, alles sind nur Maden=Leichen,
Nichts kömmt diesen Käsen bei, nichts ist ihnen zu vergleichen,
Edam selbst, die Käse Mutter, in der Mitau wird verlacht,
Weil in Kuhrland mager Futter gleichwohl fette Käse macht.²¹*

Wenn man von den Texten des XVII. Jahrhunderts zu späteren Texten mit einschlägigem kulturhistorischen Wert übergeht, könnte man die Reisebeschreibung des pensionierten Militärs Johann Gottfried Seume *Mein Sommer 1805* erwähnen. Interessant ist hier allein schon die Tatsache, dass Kurland und Liefland sowie andere baltische Gebiete inzwischen von Rußland einverleibt worden sind. Gleich nach dem Erscheinen der Abhandlung wird diese den Versagungsmaßnahmen untergestellt. Die Ursache dafür: neben völkerkundlichen Beobachtungen, so z.B., dass Litauer bei alltäglichen Problemen Hilfsbereitschaft zeigten, welche *man nur selten in unserem lieben deutschen Vaterlande²² findet, oder ...du wirst fühlen, wie wohltätig, welche gesellige Wiedergeburt es ist, wenn du in Kurland in ein reinliches, freundliches Zimmer trittst, von einem artigen, nett gekleideten Mädchen bewillkommt und mit einer guten Mahlzeit bewirtet wirst,²³ also – neben diesen Episoden finden sich*

zunehmend kritische Bemerkungen zur allgemeinen sozialen und politischen Lage der betroffenen Nationen.

Eine gewisse Politisierung und damit eine verstärkte Differenzierung in *das Eigene* und *das Fremde* zeigt sich auch in der deutsch verfassten und in Stockholm gedruckten Abhandlung von Jānis Čakste *Die Letten und ihre Latwija: Eine lettische Stimme* (1917)²⁴

In der für eine kleine und auf lange Zeit unterdrückte Nation komplizierten Zeit des I. Weltkrieges unternimmt der spätere erste Präsident Lettlands den Versuch, eine internationale Leserschaft mit der Geschichte, Kultur, den ökonomischen und politischen Bedingungen des lettischen Volkes bekannt zu machen – dies alles mit dem vorläufigen Ziel – einen autonomen *eigenen* Staat zu gründen; diese Abhandlung ist als die Quintessenz der Bestrebungen der lettischen Intellektuellen seit der Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts anzusehen.

Die Zielsetzungs- und Politisierungstendenzen dieser späteren kulturhistorisch beschreibenden Schriften heben sie von denen des XVII. Jahrhunderts deutlich ab.

ANMERKUNGEN

- ¹ Erik Dahlbergs dagbok (1625–1699). – Uppsala&Stockholm 1912, S. 285.
- ² Siehe: Svenska Ä. Biografier. – Uppsala: Uppsala Universitets Aarskrift, 1916, S. 149.
- ³ Ebenda, S. 150.
- ⁴ Ebenda, S. 150.
- ⁵ Ebenda, S. 152.
- ⁶ Ebenda, S. 151.
- ⁷ Horn A. Beskrivning över min vandringstid. – Uppsala&Stockholm, 1959, S. 3.
- ⁸ Ebenda, S. 4.
- ⁹ Ebenda, S. 3.
- ¹⁰ Siehe: J.A.v.Brand, Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland etc., Wesel 1702, S. 128.–133.
- ¹¹ Ebenda, S. 120.
- ¹² Ebenda, S. 136.
- ¹³ Siehe: Johanson P. Vorteile und Minderwärtigkeitsgefühle als sozialer Faktor im mittelalterlichen Livland //Alteuropa und die moderne Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Otto Brunner. – Göttingen, S. 97.
- ¹⁴ Bornmann C. Mitau, Ein historisches Gedicht aus dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert. – Mitau, 1802, S. 44.
- ¹⁵ Ebenda, S. 2.
- ¹⁶ Ebenda, S. 3.
- ¹⁷ Ebenda, S. 25.
- ¹⁸ Ebenda, S. 27.
- ¹⁹ Siehe: Johansen P. und H.v. Zur Mühlen. Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval. – Köln&Wien, 1973, S. XXI.
- ²⁰ Bornmann C. Mitau, Ein historisches Gedicht aus dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert. – Mitau, 1802, S. 23.

²¹ Ebenda, S. 35.–36.

²² Seume J. G. Mein Sommer 1805. – Leipzig, 1978, S. 36.

²³ Ebenda, S. 38.

²⁴ Tschakste J. Die Letten und ihre Latwija: Eine lettische Stimme. – Stockholm, 1917, 67 S.

Summary

The presence of these notions on the essence observational and the value determinational level is an important feature both in literary texts and in culture historical writings, therefore it appears for reasonable from the historical point of view to find out and to represent available and possible expressing ways of the Own and the Foreign experiences.

As a starting–point here is taken the 17th century because of a rather rapidly acceleration of economic and trade activity in the Dukedom of Courland and a new political and reformational swedish influence in Livonia as well.

Out of the multiplicity of literary genres, which has close relations to documentary materials, in this report there are pointed out following units and investigative objects: the diary (The Diary by Erik Dahlbergh), the autobiography (The Autobiography by Urban Hjärke and The Life by Agneta Horn), the travel book (The Travel Book by Johan Arnolds von Brand) and the occasional poetry (the glorifying poem Mitau by Christian Bornmann).

One of the common and most important signs in the border setting between the Own and the Foreign in these writings of the 17th century is the historical determined division in the Christian (Germans) and the Heathen (Latvians, Lives – “Undeutsche”), the other one – after the social rank, and last but not least – in the inner, private and “the rest of the world” (in the diaries).

It is to note, that there are no special intentions regarding to seperation after the national possession, on the contrary – on a multicultural ground it is possible to create a rather healthy patriotism (in the poem Mitau by Chr. Bornmann).

Kopsavilkums

Savējais un svešais – šo priekšstatu esamības būtība izzinošā un vērtību noteicošā pakāpē ir gan literāru, gan arī kultūrvēsturisku tekstu svarīga pazīme, tāpēc ieteicams vēsturiskā skatījumā pētīt abu jēdzienu esošos un iespējamos izteiksmes veidus.

Par laika atskaites sākumpunktu sakarā ar ievērojamo ekonomiskās un tirdznieciskās aktivitātes uzplaukumu Kurzemes hercogvalstī un reformpolitisko Zviedrijas ietekmi Vidzemē ir ņemts XVII gadsimts.

Daudziem literatūras žanriem ir cieša radniecība ar dokumentālo materiālu. Pētījumā analizētas šādas kultūrvēsturiskas parādības: dienasgrāmata [Erika Dālberga (*Erik Dahlbergh*) *Dienasgrāmata*], divas autobiogrāfijas [Urbana Jērnes (*Urban*

Hjärne) *Autobiogrāfija*, Agnetas Hornas (*Agneta Horn*) *Dzīve*], ceļojuma apraksts [Johana Arnolda fon Branda (*Johan Arnolds von Brand*) *Ceļojuma apraksts*] un veltījumu dzeja [Kristiāna Bornmaņa (*Christian Bornmann*) veltījuma poēma *Mītava*].

Viena no visizplatītākajām un svarīgākajām pazīmēm robežu noteikšanā starp *Savējo* un *svešo* XVII gadsimta tekstos ir vēsturiski nosacītais dalījums kristiešos (vācieši) un pagānos (latvieši, līvi – “nevāci”); ir arī cita veida dalījums – pēc sociālās piederības; un, visbeidzot, bet tas nav mazāk svarīgi, mēs nošķiram personisko, privāto dzīvi, no vienas puses, un apkārtējās pasaules norises – no otras (dienasgrāmatas).

Jāpiezīmē, ka nav vērojams īpašs nolūks dalīt pēc nacionālās piederības, gluži otrādi – vairāku kultūru saskarsmē ir iespējas radīt veselīga lokālpatriotisma pamatus (K. Bornmaņa poēma *Mītava*).

From Llareggub to London and Back Again: Province and Metropolis in Dylan Thomas' Writing No Laregibas uz Londonu un atpakaļ: Province un metropole Dilana Tomasa darbos

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The article "From Llareggub to London and Back Again: Province and Metropolis in Dylan Thomas' Writing" investigates the dialogue of two cultures and literary traditions in the work of the famous English and Welsh poet. On the basis of the radio play "**Zem Piena mēža**" it has been analysed how Dylan Thomas had used the stereotypes of Wales and Welshmen created by the dominating English culture in order to speak about their ambiguous role in creation of the Welsh identity and self-esteem. Special attention has been paid to the interpretation of the city as a symbolic space, to the usage of myths and pseudomyths and to the carnivalisation of central culture and literary codes.

Keywords: Dylan Thomas, Llareggub, Under Milk Wood.

In a letter to his friend Vernon Watkins Dylan Thomas wrote, *'I'm not a country man, I stand for, if anything, the aspidistra, the provincial drive, the morning café, the evening pub.'*¹ This statement is at odds with the two most popular images of the poet: Dylan Thomas the inspired nature poet, linear descendent of the Celtic bards, and Dylan Thomas the obscure surrealist, interested more in the mazes of his own subconscious than the world outside him. However the present article *From Llareggub to London and Back Again: Province and Metropolis in Dylan Thomas' Writing* does not attempt to treat his works as traces in the hunt for the empirical (or even implied) author. Emphasis is laid on the state of culture, not the state of author's conscious or unconscious mind.

The research reconsiders Dylan Thomas' relationship to the literary canon and the variety of cultural codes that have been played one against the other in such definitive works as *'Under Milk Wood'*, *'After Funeral'*, *'The Portrait of an Artist as a Young Dog'*. Hence terms 'province' and 'metropolis' assume metaphorical meaning. They stand not only for locations: rural Wales and cosmopolitan London, but express also the interaction of the marginal, peripheral tendencies and the English poetic canon that in the first half of the 20th century still remained largely intact. The work chosen for case study is the radio play *Under Milk Wood* the emphasis being laid on Llareggub as a symbolic space that contains within itself the above-mentioned tension.

Under Milk Wood can be called the most popular work written by Dylan Thomas whose setting at first sight seems to be thoroughly provincial. It describes one day in a small fictional Welsh town Llareggub (spelling backward 'buggerall'). London or any other centre has not been mentioned even once. Yet at an earlier stage in the pro-

cess of composition Dylan Thomas had toyed with a plot in which an inspector from London comes to declare the town insane. The townspeople instead of giving up their madness give up sanity and agree to be separated from the rest of the world. The plot has not been realised in the play however the opposition between Llareggub and London or the periphery and the centre is still present, if less obvious.

This opposition is encoded first of all in the temporal and spatial structure of the play. The truism that space and time in literature very easily translate into symbols requires no commentaries. Yet the specific meanings generated by the time–space or the chronotope are extremely multiform. According to Bakhtin exactly time and space largely determine the genre of the text and the behaviour of the characters, which lead symbiotic existence with the fictional reality that they establish and are established by.²

Llareggub as a symbolic space does not yield itself to definitions easily. The most obvious approach would be to classify it as a comic version of the actual Welsh towns familiar to Dylan Thomas. As such it combines realistic and fantastic features, although Dylan Thomas has remarked that it is a picture of Wales that never was. Yet it does not exhaust all the interpretative possibilities. In several aspects Llareggub is a middle point, territory that exists on the borderlines.

The Russian semiotician Jurij Lotman has remarked that city/town occupies a special place in the system of symbols formed in the course of the history of culture.³ In the article *'Symbolic spaces'* he distinguishes two types of city: city which has concentric location in the semiotic space representing the link between the heaven and the earth, 'the eternal city', or 'the city on the hill'. The other type of city is located on the margin of the cultural space: traditionally it is a city lying in the estuary of a river or on the seashore. It activates the opposition between the natural and the artificial for it is a city that is built in violation of the laws of nature. This type of city offers two possibilities of interpretation: it can be interpreted either as a victory of human reason over the elements or perversion of the natural order.⁴

Llareggub evidently belongs to the second type, however not because it is in opposition to nature, but because it is to such an extent submitted to natural processes that what remains of the urban threatens to be swallowed up by the surrounding natural world. As artificially constructed space, human microcosm, which is opposed to nature, it disintegrates already at the beginning of the play when the night mockingly repeats the waking activities of the sleeping town and the dreamers conjure topsy–turvy versions of their daily routines. This feature further affiliates it to the 'eccentric' type of city that attracts to itself eschatological myths, normally about the destruction of a city through floods. Llareggub is not simply a town located at the sea and so potentially endangered. It is a town, which has already sunken. In the first dream of the dream sequence Captain Cat, a retired blind seacaptain, drowns in a dream. He sees *'never such seas as any that swamped the decks of his SS. Kidwelly bellying over the bedclothes and jellyfish–slippery sucking him down salt deep into the Davy dark where the fish come biting out and nibble him down to his wishbone and the long drowned nuzzle up to him...'*⁵ The theme of drowning is continued or implied in the following dreams of the various characters where the sea associates with the subconscious in which they forget their social identity. The names of the streets (Cockle Row, Duck Lane) and the fact that in the opening paragraph of

the play the wood limps towards the sea strengthen the impression. Yet the eschatological aspect is strangely non-dramatic.

Llareggub is not destroyed in the historical time, but in the psychological, inner time that dissolves it into a dream. It is a point of transition where dreams and the waking world meet. One can even say that it assumes the nature of a myth, first of all, because through stressing the element of drowning Dylan Thomas draws parallels with the popular legend motive of the land under the waves. Secondly, the action of the play lasts over one night and one day. The twenty-four hours are represented as the model for all nights and days of Llareggub. It is indicated in the play that the characters follow a routine that repeats day from day (e.g. Cherry Owen every night comes home drunk and throws something at the picture of his aunt hanging on the wall, Captain Cat every night dreams of his drowned mates, etc.). Lord Cut-Class who possesses a collection of clocks is not concerned with the accurate historical time, for each of his sixty-six clocks shows a different time. The famous opening words of the play *'To begin at the beginning'* underline the intransitory quality of time that constitutes one of the distinguishing features of the myth. However the term myth in this particular case carries more ambiguous meaning than usual. Dylan Thomas seems to include double references to the original Celtic myths and to the apocryphal additions, sham antiquities and pseudo-scientific interpretations that have accumulated around them. And here the distant and seemingly absent metropolis plays a crucial role.

Llareggub is an eccentric town also in the sense that it combines in itself elements of two cultural codes. As a small, provincial town Llareggub mirrors the city and the central culture. It borrows and uses ideas, modes of behaviour from the city, metropolis that defines it. Yet it can never fully identify itself with the centre. There always will be variations, misunderstandings and transformations of the central culture. Yet the same can be said about the city that will misrepresent the province. Llareggub reflects the metropolitan idea of the province, in this case Wales. The comedy of *Under Milk Wood* is largely based on the clash of discrepant cultural stereotypes that explode each other. Dylan Thomas as a Welshman who did not speak Welsh and a poet who wrote in English was acutely aware of the complex nature of 'Welsh' identity and the influence that the dominant English culture exercised over the Welsh. The process had started in the 18th C with the antiquarian movement when both Welsh and English enthusiasts consciously created a romantic version of Welsh history and identity. Romantic and Victorian castings of Celtic themes made this model so popular that it obscured the actual Wales and Welsh. Dylan Thomas has not attempted to create a realistic description of Wales. He rather explores the comic possibilities embedded in such stereotypical notions as the extreme musicality of the Welsh or the legendary remnants of arcane druidic knowledge embedded in Welsh poetry. The most memorable embodiment of a stereotype come alive is Eli Jenkins, poet and preacher, who punctually delivers his morning and evening poems for the benefit of the community. He serves as a link between the seemingly autonomous world of Llareggub and the background of myths and pseudo-myths that frame it. The most obvious of these linking elements is the book being written by him, *'The reverend Eli Jenkins in his cool front parlour-room tells only the truth in his Lifework: the Population, Main Industry, Shipping, History, Topography, Flora and Fauna of the town he worships*

in: *the White Book of Llareggub.*'⁶ The title of his book can be traced back to the Black Book of Carmarthen, a medieval manuscript collection of Welsh verse. And although Eli Jenkins alludes to episodes from *The Mabinogion*, the medieval Welsh tales that contain genuine relicts of older mythological tales, the context in which the allusions occur make them seem grotesque and unreliable. So the reference to Blodeuwedd, the wife magically made out of flowers,⁷ is found in a paragraph that eulogises Llareggub Hill as '*mystic tumulus, the memorial of peoples that dwelt in that region before the Celts left the Land of Summers*'.⁸ While earlier in the play the Llareggub Hill has been described as a place where a '*small circle of stones, made not by druids but by Mrs Beynon's Billy*' is located. It is noticeable because it is '*old as hills*', part of the natural world, not a result of human activities.⁹ Thus Eli Jenkins brimming over with enthusiasm personifies all the romantic mythmakers with one essential difference: he is a prophet without followers. His morning and evening poetry recitals that for him have almost sacred quality serve his neighbours as convenient means of deciding whether it is time to get up.

The transformation of accepted, canonical discourses into parodies that sometimes verge on the grotesque equally affects texts belonging to Welsh and English cultures. For example, the Voice of the Guide–Book introducing Llareggub a moment before the dawn establishes it as a place without any claims to popularity, "*Less than five hundred souls inhabit the three quaint streets and the few narrow bylanes and scattered farmsteads that constitute this small, decaying watering–place which may, indeed, be called a 'backwater of life' without disrespect to its natives who possess, to this day, a salty individuality of their own.*" And the description ends with an ironic reversal of a popular guidebook phrase: "*The one place of worship, with its neglected graveyard, is of no architectural interest.*"¹⁰ Thus what in effect is intended to be a typical celebration of rural charms from an average tourist guidebook turns into one more statement forbidding the outsiders entrance to the enchanted land of Llareggub. The English language itself becomes a target of the travesty tendencies of the radio–play. It abounds in misunderstood meanings (as in the episode of the bird–watching gentleman who through rumours is changed from an innocent amateur ornithologist into a voyeur, because the birds are interpreted as 'girls'), long alliterative sequences whose meaning can be shifted in oral delivery, imitations of nursery rhymes and popular ballads. Finally the very genre – radio–play – determines the ephemeral quality of the work. It has full–bloodied existence in the act of oral delivery only.

The radio–play features of *Under Milk Wood* converge with the qualities of another genre or rather mode of expression present in the work. In spite of its semi–urban setting *Under Milk Wood* has been classified as a pastoral. It definitely creates an idyllic world that in its own way is as happy as the classical Arcadia and as free of guilt. But Dylan Thomas has activated one more typical function of the pastoral. The pastoral setting can be the wood of Arden or the coast of Wales, but both will serve as a refuge from the negative tendencies of the central culture, an alternative to the dominant norms. The shelter provided by Arcadia is fragile and short–termed, '*Its emphasis on the contrast between the here of the country and the there of the city or court is the spatial analogue to its recurrent temporal preoccupation with then and now; the former generally represented as the idyllic time before the pastoral world is threatened, whether by the new inhabitants who displace the shepherds in Vergil's*

first eclogue, by love, or by that figure who is both enemy and sibling of love in pastoral, death.'¹¹ The most ominous threat to the pastoral of Llareggub, especially love in Llareggub is death, but it is also endangered because it represents a minority attitude and culture that can easily succumb to the pressures of the majority culture.

The deviations from the canonical in Dylan Thomas' writing and the stress upon the provincial gain special significance if to take into account the prevailing attitude of this period towards the regions and regional culture. John Wain characterises it as follows, "... Today there is a general acceptance that Britain is multi-racial community and there is no pressure on poets to be anything but what they are. In those days there was an untroubled assumption, in metropolitan England, that 'the regions' were dead and had no right to be anything else but dead."¹² And he quotes the opinion expressed in 1946 by an eminent literary critic, that, "...if anything has died in the last thirty years, it is regionalism. Our society – why pretend – has made war on regionalism and has destroyed it. We may question whether, under any guise, it can be reborn in the modern world."¹³ The current collapse of a homogeneous 'English' literature proves how erroneous this statement is. Yet Dylan Thomas lived in a period when the regional literatures existed on sufferance or at best were considered inferior variants of the central literature. Wherefore the question to what extent he incorporated himself in this central London-based and English-oriented literature still remains debatable. The answer is relevant not because it might offer an insight into the personality of Dylan Thomas, but because it largely determines the interpretation of his literary heritage.

Wynn Thomas in the collection of essays '*Internal Difference*' considers that Dylan Thomas through his writing '*completed the journey up, out, and away from one culture, first to the peripheries and then to the very artistic centre of another. He is the mesmeric Lloyd George of modern Welsh letters, except that he did not have to attempt to unite in himself two disparate cultures.*'¹⁴ I would like to disagree with this supposition. Dylan Thomas' letters indicate that he was acutely aware of the division within himself and his work. He came to the artistic centre of English culture, if the artistic centre is defined as popularity and recognition, however that was not the end of the journey. He never actually completed it. He remained suspended in the middle of the way, neither completely English nor truly Welsh. Yet this peculiar situation also made him especially sensitive to the constructed nature of what was then called English culture and literature. Even before post-colonial discourse declares the collapse of the canon, he in subtly reveals the dialogue of the various cultural and literary codes that make up the central 'English' culture and literature, for the link between the literary and cultural traditions in his case is mostly reciprocal.

Perhaps the best estimation of this duality belongs to the poet himself, '*Regarded in England as a Welshman (and a waterer of England's milk), and in Wales as Englishman, I am too unnational to be here at all. I should be living in a small private leperhouse in Hereford or Shropshire, one foot in Wales and my vowels in England. Warning red flannel drawers, a tall witch's hat, a coracle tiepin, and speaking English so Englishly that I sound like a literate Airdale... piped and shagged and tweeded, but also with a harp, the look of all Sussex in my poached eyes and a whip-pet under my waistcoat.*'¹⁵ The same combination of bitterness and comedy surfaces in *Under Milk Wood*. The resistance to classification, the elusiveness of Llareggub in

time and space, the carnivalisation of the central literary code, place the work on the uncharted and unchartable boundaries of English and Welsh cultures.

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- ⁶ *Ibid*, p. 54.
- ⁷ The story of Blodeuwedd, the unfaithful wife of Lleu is told in the tale ‘Math son of Mathonwy’ from *The Mabinogion*.
- ⁸ Thomas D. *Under Milk Wood*. Penguin Books, 2000, p. 60..
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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā aplūkots divu kultūru un literatūras tradīciju dialogs slavenā anglovelsiešu dzejnieka Dilana Tomasa daiļradē. Analizējot galvenokārt raidlugu “Zem Piena meža”, tiek vērtēts, kā autors izmanto dominējošās angļu kultūras radītos Velsas un velsieša stereotipus, lai runātu par to neviennozīmīgo lomu velsiešu pašapziņas veidošanā. Īpaša uzmanība pievērsta pilsētas kā simboliskas telpas interpretācijai, mītu un pseidomītu lietojumam, centrālās kultūras un literārā koda karnevalizācijai.

Native American Mythologies Amerikas indiāņu mīti

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The primary object of this research is to look at the psychic realm within the mobile construed of possible worlds within the mythologies where worldly time and space are just a relative factor.

The consideration of mythologies craves for the knowledge of cultural and historical realia of Ancient America and its peoples, but once a myth starts unfolding it offers a greater knowledge in return. The conceptions, beliefs and philosophy of the First Nations differ greatly from European mental and spiritual conventions and one should bear it in mind while looking for the possible worlds of a myth the reality of which is not what can be found or actualised but what is made and activated by the story-teller and subsequently calls for as many interpretations as we are ready for and good at. By all means not only the symbolic meaning of a myth but its plot as well is of interest because of its abundance in ethnographic details.

The mobile of possible worlds keeps the ideas of good and bad, reality and non-reality, dream and tangible world properties, conscious and unconscious as one, granting harmony to diversity.

Culture, nature, and nature of psyche meet in the mythologies of Native Americans.

The door between multiplicity and unity; upper, middle and under worlds is ever open unless we block it ourselves rationalizing and reasoning over.

The myths referred to in the given article are mostly the cultural heritage of the First Peoples of Canada but not solely because the political division being an artificial border imposed on American aborigines does not conform with the cultural one.

Keywords: mobile¹, possible worlds, “journey”, cultural realia, sanity versus insanity/rational versus irrational.

Possible worlds within the mythological realm and in the given case within the mythologies of the First Peoples of Canada, give a vision of the universe as a mobile of possible and impossible rather than pre-established and final or irrevocable situations. The narrative text of a myth contains a mobile construed of possible worlds, which are not to be perceived as independent, autonomous or secluded. Lewis in his writings considers possible worlds and the actual or tangible one as equally realized possibilities. These considerations stand true also regarding the Universe created by the mythologies of aboriginal peoples.

“There is nothing so far away from us as not to be part of our world. Anything at any distance at all is to be included... Maybe, as I myself think, the world is a big physical object... But nothing is so alien in kind as not to be part of our world, provided only that it does exist at some distance and direction from here, or at some time before or after or simultaneous with now.”²

Possible worlds of myths stand for a certain outcome of a mental act of understanding or imagining. Every narrative situation is active and having a number of propositions it is open to pursue a new direction, for instance, Cree storytelling conventions encourage a story-teller to invent slight variations, the ability to improvise is highly appreciated by the audience. However, special stories which refer to the origins of sacred ceremonies and the creation legend, in particular, call for great care and precision. The dynamics of myth-plots and the disposition to change and improvisation are the ones to contribute to the delineation of narrative flow. For example, stories about Wisakecak who is one of Cree mythological heroes are called story-cycles because they are interwoven, in a way. The story-teller is free to add characters from another story or change the story to point to some occurrence of his interest or to make the moral of the story clear.

Myth being a fictional narrative possesses some non-fictional properties, thus establishing the relationship with the actual world which is still more a symbolic one. Symbolic world here is a concept to apply to the stratum wherein one is expected to operate with respect to common norms and shared common values.

The inter- and intra-related possible worlds of myth give a lot of room to explore the psychic realm within the symbolic universe of the First Peoples of Canada. At the heart of Indian cosmology and belief-system which has its implicit representation in their mythologies was the go to find a mystical reality beneath the surface layer of actual state of things. In its various forms experience of differently trimmed sanity hosted by the narratives of aboriginal people seems extremely coherent. However fantastic the figures are, they are originated to help man on his way to decode secrets and vocations of his own nature. The binary opposition sanity versus insanity is not so much linked to the mobile created of possible worlds as to man, to his fears, weakness, anxiety, dreams, visions and illusions. The world of shaman or medicine – man as presented in the myths of various nations peopling Canada is quite hospitable, in all senses, to unreason in a number of its manifestations. Myths now and again describe various physical and spiritual journeys. The re-occurring image of shaman regarded by many tribes in their storytelling culture dwells in a multidimensional realm of the activated mobile. Quite a number of myths are devised around the theme of “journey” one is to undertake departing from the realm of so-called tangible – reality stratum to the inner regions of psyche to find some comfort within chaos and confusion. Myths narrating different “journeys” are not exclusive to the others apart from shaman – rank. They show the active characters to project soul as if letting it step out of the body to accomplish “journey” otherwise physically impossible. The journey which appears to be actual within the possible world of mythological realm frequently calls for interpretation via more subtle and intricate instrumentalities. Jung theory of collective unconscious and archetypal figures is of help deciphering aboriginal mythologies. Tohltan tribe myths “The Man with the Toothed Penis”, “Story of Gonexhataca, The Snail”, “The Cannibal Women Who Lured Men”³ include the elements of human experience both in the psychological and sexual realms.

Eskimo myth “The Old Man of the Volcano”⁴ peaks of the process of one’s “becoming”, the struggle to become an individual Self, of feminine and masculine aspects, initiation rites, symbolic death to undergo the renewal of the Self, a cosmic

conflict between forces of Good and Evil, on other pairs of opposites, a feeling of being overwhelmed by the opposite sex etc.

Mythological perspective on the theme of “journey” lets transform wide human experience of personal symbolism into a collectively understood phenomenon. Mythological concepts, however paradoxical those appear to be, organize, explain and give direction to seemingly irrational worlds. However, the themes activated with the help of by and large constantly same psychological processes vary. To illustrate the above-mentioned let us turn to the initiation rituals in the myths where adolescent Indian boys and girls are entrusted with some secret knowledge during their vision quests as, for instance, it is presented in the myth “No Tongue” (Mandana, Plains)

“One day, after thinking for a long time, the girl told her brother that she thought he ought to go up on the hill and fast and pray, as the warriors do. In that way, they might get many good things, and good spirits would come to him.”⁵

These dreams or visions actually give shapes to one’s expectations and ambitions.

To be entrusted with the secret knowledge the boy was asked for a sacrifice, he was to give his tongue to the Sun – Man who on receiving the demanded promised to make him a great hunter and warrior, to make boy powerful. The secret knowledge obtained in vision quest was not to be boasted of and spread around, it was to be preserved and passed on under special care and rituals, thus the symbolic sacrifice of a tongue appears in the myth.

The activation of the deepest structures of psyche manifests itself in confrontation with demonic forces, dismemberment, trial by fire, communion with the world of spirits and creatures, assimilation of the elemental forces, abduction by a demon – monster, relationship with a chthonic deity, sickness, madness, formal trials and ordeals and the idea of “return” to the realm of one’s fellow-humans. Algonquian Myths and Legends, viz. story – cycles The Snow – Lodge, The Lord of Cold Weather; The Star Maiden, Algon’s Strategy, The Star – Maiden’s Escape; Cloud – Carrier and the Star – Folk, The Star Country, The Sacrifice; The Spirit – Bride, The Island of the Blessed, The Master of Life; Otter – Heart, The Ball – Players, Otter – Heart’s Strategem, The Beaver – Woman, etc.⁶ are of that type. There is another aspect to touch upon while discussing the psychic realm of Indian mythologies with its binary oppositions of sanity versus insanity, rational versus irrational, supernatural versus natural. And it is the category of madness within aboriginal storytelling culture, both its mystified origin and consequences for the realm of ordinary waking consciousness.

The theme of madness does not seem to be topical but it is still one of the phenomena addressed. Some of the myths are devised around and / or about so-called “half-wits” and there alike European tradition they possess some secret knowledge of things in the universe surrounding them. The main figure in the Eskimo myth, Ughek, is disliked by all the people of his village. The chief calls a meeting and the decision is taken “to leave the village for a time”⁷ leaving Ughek behind hoping that a sea monster Schwichileghk puts an end to their fellow-man. However Ughek

intuitively knows the path into the complex interrelationships of the material world, animate force, and powers of transformation, thus he survives. Moreover he punishes his wrong-doers.

“The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls. All the creatures that we have to kill and eat, all those that we have to strike down and destroy to make clothes for ourselves, have souls, souls that do not perish with the body...”⁸

And it seems to be one of the truths known to Ughek, thus he cuts monster killed by the stone into small pieces, cooks him and leaves on the dishes as a treat for the villagers who subsequently drop dead on having consumed the flesh of the monster but Ughek himself returned to his hut to live with his store, and there he is now.⁹

In other cases madness is brought forth for the sake of its origin, hence pointing to its metaphysical nature, as when the soul of a human is captured by the evil spirit and is to be released via sacred rituals.

The Kwakiutl Hamatsa Dance for instance is based on the myth of an ancestor who encountered the supernatural cannibal spirit Bakhbakwalanooksiwey and later on returned to his fellow-villagers in a wild state. With the help of ritual dances he was restored to his normal state. In a while the boundaries between the realms of human creatures and spirits, between the dimensions of present and past were secured again.

Life, out there in the wild of Canada is a constant concern about survival. The idea of “enemy” or “threat” is an external world realia, yet the experience of this phenomenon results in internal pressures and tensions. Fear and panic are one of the most threatening correlations of the internal and external realms. The vitalized embodiment of “threat” sits itself somewhere on the threshold of internal and external reality where Self is opposed to the notion of Other, Unknown, Incomprehensible, which is incorporation of animosity. “Enemy”, “threat” or “fear” often disguise in symbolic representations. The mythologies explore the passage between the inner and outer worlds calling for wide-ranging perspectives. They are neither inside nor outside, they serve as a medium.

The underlying mechanisms of mental disorders quite common in the Arctic are obscure. Some part of the mind which usually is reality-bound frees itself to turn to fantasy and eventually to hallucination. Inner factors of the mind being projected outward lead one to see monsters, hallucinate his past, become “at one” with the cannibal spirit. The supernatural reality of Canada was no less threatening and severe to the peoples of Canada than its physical world. The myths about the Cannibal monsters of the Canadian forests is one of the examples to the above – mentioned.

The Windigos who were given various names by different bands of Algonquian peoples are one of those threatening realias. The description of their outlook also could vary but by and large the existent narrations show them as the most evil and appalling of spirits.

“Windigos arose in the deep forests in the dead of winter; they stood 20 to 30 feet tall; their lipless mouths contained great jagged teeth; their eyes rolled in blood; and their footsteps in the snow were soaked with blood... They were friendless, enemies to each other as well as to man”¹⁰

As all the mythologies of aboriginal culture this legend wasn't invented out of the blue. It was triggered by the continual difficulties of existence, viz. starvation which by and large was a quite frequently occurring phenomenon. In general, Indians didn't take to cannibalism in such a situation, however, for some of their fellow-men it was a resolution. Considering the fact that cultural realities are telling precursors and instrumentalities to form social mechanisms and mediate psychological structures one can refer Windigo psychosis to culturally – bound disorders.

Mental disturbances point to the specific kinds of value conflicts in a society as culture nourishes certain stress systems and encourages definite ways of emotional expression and response. And all that finds its reflection in the mobile of mythological worlds.

It is obvious that mythologies being a mobile non-actualizable in the factual world belong to a different sphere of rational and irrational altogether therefore the possibility of reasonable rendering of mechanisms and instrumentalities within mythological structures is out of question. The core interest lies in the adopted conventions to scrutinize one's spiritual search, to invent answers.

It may be worth half a word to mention that when reality of a possible world is a matter of belief-system, there is little point in trying to draw a borderline to split the whole of binary oppositions sanity / insanity, rational / irrational, supernatural / natural and to distinguish the “truth” of every possible world within mythologies as each is true within a particular paradigm.

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- ¹ mobile – (term coined by Marcal Duchamp; Kinetic art) detached bodies floating in space, of different sizes and densities, ... some at rest while others move in peculiar manners. Symmetry and order do not make a composition. It is apparent accident to regularity that makes or marks a work. (The Illustrated History of Art, 1995: 429)
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Kopsavilkums

Pētījuma galvenais mērķis ir ielūkoties garīgās jomas mainīgajās konstrukcijās, ko veido iespējamās mitoloģiskās pasaules, kurās reālās pasaules laiks un telpa ir tikai relatīvi faktori.

Mitoloģiju pētīšanai ir nepieciešamas zināšanas par Senās Amerikas un tās tautu kultūras un vēsturiskajām reālijām, un iedziļināšanās kādā no mītiem paplašina šīs zināšanas. Amerikas pirmiedzīvotāju priekšstati, uzskati un filosofija ievērojami atšķiras no eiropiešu mentālajām un garīgajām tradīcijām, un tas jāpatur prātā, pētot iespējamās pasaules ainas mītā, kura realitāti nav iespējams konstatēt vai aktualizēt, jo to rada un iedzīvina stāstnieks, un stāstījumam var būt tik daudz interpretāciju, cik klausītāji ir spējīgi pieņemt vai iztēloties. Jebkurā gadījumā interesi izraisa ne tikai mīta simboliskā nozīme, bet arī tā sižets, sniedzot lielu daudzumu etnogrāfisko detaļu.

Iespējamo pasaulu mainīgās konstrukcijas saglabā nedalītas idejas par labo un ļauno, par realitāti un nereālo, par sapņu un reālās pasaules īpašībām, par apziņu un zemapziņu, tādējādi harmonizējot dažādību. Amerikas indiāņu mitoloģijās apvienojas kultūra, daba un garīgā pasaule.

Durvis vienmēr ir atvērtas starp daudzpusību un vienotību, starp augšējo, vidējo un pazemes pasauli, ja vien mēs tās paši neaizveram, sākot meklēt loģiskus pamatojumus un izskaidrojumus.

Šajā rakstā pieminētie mīti galvenokārt ir Kanādas pirmiedzīvotāju kultūras mantojums, taču tie nav raksturīgi tikai un vienīgi Kanādas indiāņiem. Politiskais sadalījums ir radījis mākslīgu robežu starp Amerikas aborigēniem, kas neatbilst kultūru robežām.

Qur'ān 102:8. Irony? Korāns 102:8. Ironija?

Uldis Bērziņš, dzejnieks

Maskavas iela 54-3, Rīga, LV-1003

In Qur'ānic translations and in commentary literature, there exist more than one approach to 102:8.

Let me submit my Latvian rendering of the whole short sura.

102. sūra. Sacensties

Līdzcietīgā, Žēlsirdīgā Dieva vārdā!

- (1) Pa prātam jums gūt un sacensties,
- (2) kamēr kaps klāt –
- (3) bet nē! – gan zināsi!
- (4) un vēlreiz nē! – gan jūs zināsi!
- (5) Ak, nē – ja jūs zinātos pavisam skaidri,
- (6) jūs tad ieraudzītu Elli!
- (7) Reiz jūs to ieraudzīsiet pavisam skaidri –
- (8) gan tanī Dienā jums pavaicās:
kā labpatīk?!

(Now a gross rendering of my Latvian translation with a few explanatory notes in brackets.)

Sura 102. Piling up

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful!

- (1) You delight in (=are absorbed by) piling up,
- (2) – this up to your getting to the grave –
- (3) but no! – you will come to learn!
- (4) and once more not! – surely you will come to learn!
- (5) Oh, no – if you were to know absolutely clearly ('with mind of certainty'),
- (6) you should see Hell!
- (7) Once you will see it absolutely clearly ('with an eye of certainty'),
- (8) surely on that Day you will be asked –
what's your pleasure?

The Qur'ānic translations and tafsīrs I have had an opportunity to consult on 102:8 tend to one of two possible interpretations: Those who indulged in piling up

worldly riches and worldly renown, become interrogated about the ‘pleasant’ things – ani–n–naīmi – they had preferred to the real and eternal joys of the Garden, or, otherwise, They are asked about the real Pleasant, which they had rejected for the questionable ‘joys’ of piling up... Let the both renderings be represented by Rudi Paret’s translation: “An jenem Tag werdet ihr dann bestimmt nach der Wonne (des Paradieses) gefragt werden (oder: An jenem Tag werdet ihr bestimmt nach der Annehmlichkeit (eures Erdenlebens) gefragt werden (mit der ihr der Lohn des Paradieses verscherzt habt)).¹

As a working hypothesis I above submitted my ‘ironic’ interpretation of 102:8 which I first presented at the Islamic Seminar, Lund University in November 2000 and which was met with an equivocal reaction. Is one authorised to speak about irony in the Qur’ān? Or, for that matter, about a ‘sense of humour’ in the Qur’ān?

What is for us the present Qur’ānic text? A message reflecting a superhuman reality in human terms? Or a human response to (questions put by) man’s own existence and some guessed Presence in the universe? For many readers, including this perplexed translator, there is still no answer. And still, none of the alternatives disallows an ironic touch in passages like 102:8.

As a furthermore and generally recognized illustration to Qur’ānic irony I submit Surah 111 in my Latvian and Abdullah Yusuf Ali’s English rendering.

111. sūra. Vīta virve

Līdzcietīgā, Žēlsirdīgā Dieva vārdā!

- (1) Kaut Abi/Abu? Lahabs* putēdams izputētu!
- (2) Ko līdz nu tam viņa manta un viss, ko tas guvis?/un ko tas guvis?
- (3) Viņš cepsies/degs uguns liesmās,
- (4) un viņa sieva, ie/naida kūrēja** –
- (5) kaklā tai vīta virve!

* “Liesmu Tēvs”, “Liesmvaizis”.

** Vai: un viņa sieva par šķilu pienesāju... ((4) and his Wife, the stirrer of strife... – or: and his wife, the gatherer of firewood...The text plays ironically with the literal meaning of the idiom: Abi Lahab’s wife is bringing branches for Hell’s fire in which her idolatrous husband is burning – or, perhaps, left after his death without protection or help, she is forced to gather branches for her hearth as she once gathered fuel for flames of intrigue and enmity?)

Sūra CXI.***Lahab, or (the Father of) Flame.***

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

1. Perish the hands/of the Father of Flame!/Perish he!
2. No profit to him/From all his wealth/And all his gains!
3. Burnt soon will he be/In a Fire/Of blazing Flame!
4. His wife shall carry/The (crackling) wood – /As fuel! –
5. A twisted rope/Of palm–leaf fibre/Round her (own) neck!²

If on the Day I happen to enter the gates of Hell I might be asked by a sarcastic officer of az-Zabāniyya (96:18) or by some other representative: What [specifically] would you enjoy, sir?

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Мифологические герои в монгольской, тибетской и бурятской версиях «Гесера»

Mythological Characters in Mongol, Tibetan and Burjat Versions of “Geser”

Mitologiskie tēli epa “Geser” mongoļu, tibetiešu un burjatu variantā

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В монгольском, тибетском и бурятском эпосе «Гесер» есть три главных группы мифологических образов: боги, не боги (асуры – монг.) и демоны (мангус – монг.).

В монгольских, тибетских, бурятских и индийских мифах у богов разное происхождение и, несмотря на то, что они являются героями одного и того же эпоса все таки они очень разные.

В бурятской версии эпоса божествам присущи человеческие черты и поступки, а в монгольской и тибетской – образ богов приближается к буддистским идеалам.

У богов есть враги – асуры или не боги. У них так же отличается происхождение в зависимости от мифологических традиций. Будучи равны по силе с богами, асуры сделать много зла.

Демоны являются врагами людей. Мангус является владыкой человеческого мира – сансара.

Keywords: «Гесер», монгольская, тибетская и бурятская мифологии.

Первый раздел нашего сообщения посвящен небожителям «Гесера».

1. Тэнгри

Слово тэнгри, древнеуйгурское *tngrī*, соответствует тибетскому *lha*. Согласно буддийской мифологии, боги появляются на свет сами собой «с большим искусством производят свое возникновение». Бог самозарождается на коленях у другого бога или богини, которые говорят: «Это мой сын» или «Это моя дочь». Новорожденный бог похож на человека пяти или десяти лет и очень быстро вырастает. В средневековых индийских и тибетских сочинениях говорится, что боги на земле появились из ясных лучей света, поэтому назывались «–od gsal – gyi lha» – «боги ясных лучей света». В монгольских мифах боги созданы Хормустой, Буддой или и тем и другим вместе, или происходят от матери Этуген и моря. В более поздней бурятской мифологии прародительницей тэнгри становится Маанзан – Гурмэ – тоодэй, воплощение матери Этуген. Однако по отношению к тэнгри употребляется также эпитет *ebusuben*, *ebudegsen* (монг.), *rang bzin* (тиб.), *svabhava* (санскр.). В древних шаманских текстах тэнгри – это нечто аморфное: «возникли, не показывая себя», «не имеющие рук и ног». Антропоморфными тэнгри становятся только в более поздних мифах.

Несмотря на то, что и понятие *tngri*, и *lha* обозначают божество, мифы о происхождении божеств у тибетцев, монголов и бурят не тождественны, поэтому, хотя в тибетской, монгольской и бурятской версиях «Гесера» речь идет, видимо, об одних и тех же божествах, благодаря различным мифологическим традициям, божествам присущи разные черты, в зависимости от места, где бытует определенная версия.

В бурятской версии «Гесера» на западной стороне неба появляются пятьдесят пять тэнгри, среди них «первородный» тэнгри – Хормос, на восточной стороне неба появляются сорок четыре тэнгри, среди них «первородный» тэнгри Атай Улаан.

В бурятских мифах Хормуста – тэнгри – властелин пятидесяти пяти западных долин, сидит на вершукше девяти высоких небес, творит историю девяти глубоких земель. Атай Улаан – тэнгри («Ата– красный тэнгри», «Красная зависть, вражда») – властелин сорока четырех небесных долин, сидит выше тринадцати мирозданий, видит ниже тринадцати пропастей. Между западными и восточными царствами находятся земли никому не подчиняющегося хана Сэгэн Сэбэга.

Восточные злые тэнгри враждебно настроены к людям, они насылают ссоры и болезни. Но сначала все тэнгри были добрыми и вместе заботились о людях, тогда все девяносто восемь тэнгри подчинялись Асаранги – тэнгри, но после его смерти Ата – Улан тэнгри и Хурмас – тэнгри заспорили, кому быть старшим. В результате пятьдесят три тэнгри поддержали Хурмаса, а сорок три – Атай – Улаана, последние ушли к востоку и образовали свое царство, и с тех пор воюют с западными тэнгри.

Разделение небожителей на две враждующие группы есть в мифах многих народов, взять хотя бы дэвов и асуров в индийских мифах, асуры отличаются воинственным характером и причиняют много вреда девам.

В бурятской версии «Гесера» беды на земле начинаются из-за того, что части тела убитого восточного тэнгри упали на землю и породили зло, а в монгольской и тибетской версиях, где также происходит противостояние между асурами и девами, которых мы можем сравнить с восточными и западными тэнгри, хотя Хормуста подозревает асуров в том, что они разрушили угол его дворца, нет указаний на то, что беды на земле начались из-за асуров, а сказано: «... дьявольский род размножился и дьяволы начали захватывать страну людей» (тиб.) и «... возросли сторонники дьяволов – шимнусов (...), свирепые (...) дьяволы стали занимать землю нижнего мира» (монг.).

Насчет добрых и злых божеств Ариэль Голан сообщает, что в русской летописи XI в. говорится: славянские волхвы верили, что «... два суть боги: один небесный другой во аде». Свет, атрибут дня, по мере развития религиозных представлений, стал связываться с «богом неба», противопоставленному «демону мрака и тьмы».

В монгольской и бурятской версиях «Гесера» верховный небожитель, фигурирующий в повествовании – Хормуста – тэнгри, образ которого восходит к Индре. В тибетском варианте Гесеру покровительствует Брама – *tshangs – pa*, в монгольском «Гесере» Хормусте соответствует *esgo – a*, также Брама.

Следующий раздел нашего сообщения посвящен верховному божеству.

2. Хормуста – тэнгри

Образ Хормусты – тэнгри восходит к согдейскому Хурмазде, который был отождествлен с Индрой, после принятия согдейцами буддизма, а затем перешел к уйгурам и монголам. Он покровитель теплых дождей и кузнечного ремесла.

В индийских мифах Индра – великий воин, перед которым трепещут боги и асуры, владыка небесного царства, которого боги сами сделали своим царем, попросив об этом Брамму.

Согласно буддийским мифам, Индра – громовержец, его второе имя – Шакра.

В монгольском «Гесере» даны скупые описания Хормусты, уделяется совсем мало внимания его внешности и чертам характера, то же самое происходит в тибетском «Гесере». Зато бурятская версия изобилует деталями облика и описаниями дел Хана – Хурмаса. В бурятской версии он веселый языческий бог, любит войну и пиры. Его образ совсем не соответствует буддийским идеалам спокойного мирозерцания. Беды на земле возникают по его вине, и небожители решают послать одного из его сыновей на землю только из уважения к его сединам. Хурмас – настоящий хан, обладатель всевозможных богатств: стад овец, рыже-красного коня, волшебного меча, лука и колчана стрел, кроме того полного гардероба роскошных одежд, описанных с тщательностью до пуговиц. Хурмас обожает пиры, иногда веселье чуть не приводит к беде: однажды он едва не откусил себе пальцы, их намазали волшебной мазью и они сразу зажили.

Теперь перейдем к асурам – противникам божеств.

3. Асуры

Согласно индийскому мифу, после того как Брама создал мир, он передал власть богам и асурам. Асуры были мудры, сильны, владели тайнами колдовства – майя, могли принимать различные образы и становиться невидимыми. У них были несметные богатства, три небесных города и города в подземном царстве. Пока асуры были благочестивы, счастье пребывало с ними, но они склонились ко злу и были низвержены богом Рудрой на землю.

В переводе на тибетский язык асура значит «не бог» – “lha ma yin” или “lha min”, асуры враги девоу, не уступающие им по силе.

В бурятских мифах асуры – «асаранги арвангурван тэнгри» – покровители злых шаманов и кузнецов, которые служат восточным тэнгри. Они причиняют людям вред, «съедают» душу человека, от чего люди умирают.

В последнем разделе обратимся к образу мангуса.

4. Мангус

Мангус – обитатель буддийской области «властвующих над превращениями других», в которой находятся существа, способствующие рождению других

живых существ. Это область чувственных наслаждений, обманчивости чувств, изменчивых форм материи – мир царя Шимнусов – неумолимого врага нирваны.

После заимствования монголами индийской и тибетской мифологии, мангусом стал называться ракшас – *sgin – ro* (тиб.). Этимология слова не ясна, С.Ю. Неклюдов считает, что это название может означать либо плохого, либо хорошего героя, в зависимости от обстоятельств.

Видимо, образ мангуса восходит к иранскому божеству тьмы – Арихману, который позже был отождествлен с Марой согдейцами, а затем перешел к уйгурам и монголам.

В монгольской версии мангус – враг людей в отличие от асуров, воюющих с богами. Он обладает даром ясновидения и превращений, а в остальном мало отличается от обычного хана.

Summary

There are three main groups of mythological characters in the Mongolian, Tibetan and Buryat epic "Geser": gods, non-gods (asuras, mong.) and demons (mangus, mong.).

As for gods, they have different origin in Mongolian, Tibetan, Buryat and Indian myths, although all of them act in the same epic, actually they are not similar.

In the Buryat version the gods are described with human traits, but in the Mongolian and Tibetan versions the images of the gods tend to the ideals of Buddhist life.

The gods do have enemies, they are the asuras or the non-gods. They also have different origin according to the different mythological tradition. They are as strong as the gods and make a lot of harm.

The demons are the enemies of people, Mangus is the king of the human world – sansara.

Kopsavilkums

Mongoļu, tibetiešu un burjatu eposā "Gezer" ir trīs galvenās mitoloģisko tēlu grupas: dievi, ne-dievi (asuras – mong.) un dēmoni (mangus – mong.).

Mongoļu, tibetiešu, burjatu un indiešu mītos dieviem ir dažāda izcelsme, un, kaut arī tie visi darbojas tajā pašā eposā, būtībā tie ir ļoti atšķirīgi.

Eposa burjatu versijā dieviem tiek piedēvētas cilvēciskas iezīmes un rīcība, bet mongoļu un tibetiešu variantā dievu tēli tuvojas budistu ideāliem.

Dieviem ir ienaidnieki – tie ir asuras vai ne-dievi. Dažādajās mitoloģiskajās tradīcijās arī tiem ir dažāda izcelsme. Būdami tikpat stipri kā dievi, asuras spēj nodarīt lielu ļaunumu.

Dēmoni ir cilvēku ienaidnieki. Mangus ir cilvēku pasaules valdnieks – sansara.

The Idea of Synthesis of Cultures: R. Tagore's Influence on N. Roerich's Thought Kultūru sintēzes ideja: Rabindranāta Tagores ietekme uz Nikolaja Rēriha filozofiju

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To solve the problem – to what extent R. Tagore (1861–1941) had influenced the world vision of N. Roerich (1874–1947) – the author has investigated: firstly, the dynamics of their relations and, secondly, the history of the idea of synthesis of cultures. Basing her work on the exchange of letters between the Russian artist and the Bengali poet, analysing their world vision and documenting the usage of the notion “synthesis” in their works, the author of the investigation proves that N. Roerich has become the prophet of the Future Culture due to the influence of R. Tagore.

Keywords: Tagore, Roerich, Theosophy, Synthesis, Culture.

N. Roerich's (1874–1947) vision of a future world reunited on the basis of culture, is closely connected with the ideas of the Bengali poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). N. Roerich has pointed out: “In Tagore we see a wonderful synthesis of the thinker, the poet, the bard, the artist, and the teacher of life”¹. In order to determine how deeply R. Tagore exerted an influence on N. Roerich's thought, let us pay attention, firstly, to their relations, secondly, to their ideas.

1. Relations between N. Roerich and R. Tagore

The Europe to which R. Tagore brought his translated religious verse² proved to be extraordinarily receptive to his modernized Hindu outlook. Before he met R. Tagore, N. Roerich was already familiar with R. Tagore's poem “Gitanjali”:

She [H. Roerich] often through her great intuition, found in bookshops something new, needed, and inspiring. Thus she brought Tagore's “Gitanjali” in translation of Baltrushaitis³. These beautiful sonorous poems radiated like a rainbow, and in the Russian translation of Baltrushaitis they sounded as a clarion call. Up to that time Rabindranath Tagore was not known in Russia in his entire scope; it was known that Tagore's name was acclaimed all over the world, but we, Russians, had no occasion to cognise the depth of the heart of this great poet⁴.

N. Roerich who was already familiar with the idea of cosmic unity announced by Theosophy, was fascinated with R. Tagore's mystical experience of oneness with the

world expressed in beautiful poetical images. N. Roerich was especially devoted to the Bengali poet. Indeed, for him, R. Tagore was not only a poet: “‘Gitanjali’ came like a revelation.”⁵ N. Roerich was so excited with R. Tagore’s poems that he finished the play entitled “Ġčēīnāśāčā” (Mercy or Charity) dated November 1917 with a translation of R. Tagore’s poem.

Fascinated with Eastern culture, philosophy, and religious teachings known through the Bhagavad Gita, and the works of Tagore, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the Roerichs began to make plans for their trip to India in the summer of 1918. After a sequence of exhibitions in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, in the fall of 1919 the Roerichs arrived in London, where they hoped to obtain visas to India. In May 1920, while N. Roerich was mounting an exhibition of his works in the British capital, R. Tagore left India for a fifteen-month tour of Europe and the United States. Finally, while N. Roerich was working on a series called by him “Ńķū Āīñīžā” (Dreams of the East), R. Tagore came to see the Russian painter.

The next question, then, is that of the cause of their meeting. N. Roerich described it as follows:

Will not fate bring about a meeting here, on this plane, with him who so powerfully called towards Beauty the Conqueror? Strangely, Providence transforms imperative dreams into reality. Indeed unforeseen are the paths. Life itself weaves the beautiful web as no human imagination can visualise it⁶.

J. Decter, for her part, has expressed the following opinion: “*Coincidentally* [italics – A. S.], [...] Rabindranath Tagore came to see him at his studio”⁷. These considerations suggest the idea to put their meeting in a concrete context. It is important to observe that in England R. Tagore was received by his “old friends”⁸ Rothenstein⁹ and W. B. Yeats¹⁰. Stephen N. Hay points out:

Shortly before Tagore’s arrival [in 1912] he [W. B. Yeats] had been persuaded by an American medium that his mind was being guided by his astral counterpart, the darkskinned medieval poet Leo Africanus¹¹. Small wonder that the arrival in the flesh of an exotic poet from India should have so elated the susceptible Yeats¹².

Consequently, when R. Tagore met N. Roerich, he was already familiar with theological and spiritualistic circles of London. We may suppose that R. Tagore had heard of N. Roerich’s “Russian paintings” from these circles. Therefore, their meeting at N. Roerich’s studio can be considered as a consequence of their links with Theosophy. Moreover, it was not their last meeting: “Then we met in America [...]”¹³

In order to clarify the development of N. Roerich’s and R. Tagore’s relations, let us pay attention to the way in which N. Roerich addresses the Bengali poet in their correspondence which lasted from 1920 to 1939. In the first letter, N. Roerich addresses R. Tagore: “Dear Master!”; in the second letter of July 26, 1920: “Dear Master and Friend!”; in the third one (of December 27, 1929): “My Dear Friend!”; later, in the letter of April 20, 1931: “Dear Brother in Spirit!”¹⁴ Without proceeding to a deeper analysis, we can point out the word *friend* as the axis of further addresses

during the period of their correspondence, because the address “Dear Brother in Spirit!” was used only by N. Roerich – R. Tagore always answered: “My Friend!” The dynamics of their relations reflects, firstly, N. Roerich’s deepest conviction that R. Tagore is a great prophet – a master to be followed, secondly, N. Roerich’s belief in his own spiritual kinship with R. Tagore, and, consequently, in his own prophetic mission.

2. Converging Lines of Thought

N. Roerich, who “at once became imbued with love for Tagore”¹⁵, has a particular link with the Bengali poet because of his care for the people’s education. Let us take into consideration that an international university *Visva-Bharati* founded by R. Tagore in Santiniketan was inaugurated with a formal ceremony on December 23, 1921, but the cornerstone was laid in 1918, i.e., in 1920, when N. Roerich met R. Tagore, the Bengali poet was primarily concerned about his *Visva-Bharati*. Moreover, he gathered around him co-workers from the West. In this light, let us seek to understand why “Tagore was enthusiastically persuading Nikolai Konstantinovich to visit India [...]”¹⁶

The ideal of R. Tagore, in establishing an international university, was cooperation. It is meaningful to specify that cooperation was the keynote of the new institution, and it had three levels: cooperation among the various regional and religious cultures of India¹⁷, cooperation among the cultures of the East, cooperation between Eastern and Western cultures – among the aims of the university was indicated “a true cooperation of East and West”¹⁸.

A point that should be made here is that in November, 1921, N. Roerich founded the Master Institute of United Arts. Although it may seem that this institution is a continuation of educational work begun by N. Roerich already in 1906 when he was promoted from secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts to director of its school, in reality the Master Institute of United Arts was founded with more extensive plans than the above mentioned art school. These plans are expressed in the school’s credo:

Art will unify all humanity. Art is one – invisible. Art has its many branches, yet all are one. Art is the manifestation of the coming synthesis. Art is for all. Everyone will enjoy true art. The gates of the “sacred source” must be wide open for everybody, and the light of art will influence numerous hearts with a new love. At first this feeling will be unconscious, but after all it will purify human consciousness, and how many young hearts are searching for something real and beautiful! So, give it to them. Bring art to the people – where it belongs. We should have not only museums, theaters, universities, public libraries, railway stations and hospitals, but even prisons decorated and beautified. Then we shall have no more prisons¹⁹.

In order to determine how deeply N. Roerich’s thought is influenced by R. Tagore, let us draw a rapid sketch of their intellectual landscape, pointing out some

parallels. The remarkable similarity between N. Roerich's and R. Tagore's ideas apparently resulted from their similar reactions to the decay of traditional culture in their respective countries. Let us recall that at the turn of the century N. Roerich was preoccupied with increasing industrialization. He was worried about conservation of folk arts and crafts and he felt called to study, collect, and preserve the art and architecture of the past. R. Tagore, in his turn, expressed pride in the ancient civilization of India, coupled with sorrow at its decline in more recent times.

R. Tagore, like many Asian scholars, writers, politicians, and religious leaders, was fascinated by the idea of Eastern spiritual culture. The idea of India's spiritual greatness increased in popularity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the appearance of the Theosophical Society. The theory of Eastern spiritual culture held attraction for N. Roerich; he was fascinated with the idea that Asia possesses a uniquely spiritual culture. Indian motifs began appearing in N. Roerich's writing and painting as early as 1905. That year he wrote a fairy tale based on an Indian legend entitled "Devassari Abuntu".

Although Indian intellectuals recognized the advantages brought to their society by Western technology and accepted British commercial domination as beneficial to India, they affirmed that Western civilization is not perfect, because it is a secular and materialistic civilization. R. Tagore who was absorbing these ideas became convinced that Asia had a spiritual message for the West. N. Roerich, in his turn, was disillusioned with "Christian" Europe in consequence of the holocaust of the 1914–1918 war. Consequently, he comes to the conclusion that the West needs the healing power of Oriental religion and philosophy to save it from its own self-destruction.

The very insistence on the importance of Eastern culture as a counterweight to Western civilization was a basis for the theory of Eastern spiritual civilization completing Western materialistic civilization. Thus, the opposition between Eastern spirituality and advanced Western secular and materialistic civilization was one of R. Tagore's favorite themes. He, like many Indian thinkers before him, for example, Rammohun Roy (1772–1833), and Keshub Chunder Sen (1838–1884), attempted to reconcile the conflict between Eastern and Western cultures. The most original feature of the Indians' approach to this problem was that they tried to eliminate this conflict by projecting into the future the great synthesis of cultures. Thus, R. Tagore proposed the synthesis between Eastern spirituality and Western materialistic civilization. Moreover, he was convinced that the spiritual ideals of ancient India could become the foundation of a new world civilization incorporating the best qualities of both East and West.

N. Roerich, in his turn, was seeking to elaborate a specific ideal, a special form which will be to the benefit of all humanity. He founded this ideal in the synthesis of religions, races, and cultures. He affirmed that there was no East and West in the cultural sense: despite their fundamental differences they are mere variants of a single culture. This notion of a synthesis was the "message" which N. Roerich began to deliver to his audiences after the year 1920.

It may appear that N. Roerich and R. Tagore were thinking along parallel lines. Indeed, this is the most common viewpoint expressed by different authors. Nevertheless, if we pursue the line of N. Roerich's thought in chronological order, we can note

an important detail: the preservation of Russia's and the world's cultural heritage was the main theme to which N. Roerich devoted his articles and many of his paintings during the years 1899–1920; i. e., until 1920 N. Roerich was primarily concerned with the process of revitalization of ancient cultural traditions. We must bear in mind that the first edition of “Leaves of Morya's Garden” was published in 1923. It is evident that N. Roerich presents himself not only as a painter, but as a prophet calling for revival of spirituality only after 1920, i. e., only after his meetings with R. Tagore in Britain and America “where the poet [R. Tagore] lectured so convincingly about the immutable laws of beauty and about mutual human understanding”²⁰. Therefore, in order to understand N. Roerich's motives for assuming the role of a prophet, we must take into consideration his previous intellectual development, particularly, his close links with Theosophy, which prepared a background for N. Roerich's transformation into a prophet, as well as R. Tagore's influence on his thought.

To determine how deeply R. Tagore has influenced N. Roerich's thought, let us pay attention to the fact that during the years 1899–1920 the idea of synthesis of cultures did not appear in N. Roerich's articles. Moreover, the first time this idea appears is in the credo of the Master Institute of United Arts, founded by N. Roerich in New York, November 17, 1921: “Art is the manifestation of coming synthesis”²¹, as well as in an essay “Īīeāķāķčā āōōā” (Impoverishment of spirit) written by N. Roerich in 1921, in Chicago: “And behind the nations emerges the Face of Humankind”²². In a more explicit way, the notion *synthesis*²³ appears in his works in 1929, but *co-operation*²⁴ – in 1930. To this must be added that R. Tagore was already writing and talking about cooperation and synthesis for many years²⁵; for example, in “Sadhana. The Realisation of Life”, speaking about the aspiration of ancient India to live in Brahma, the all-conscious and all-pervading Spirit, by extending its field of consciousness all over the world, he is talking about “a search for unity, for synthesis”²⁶; i. e., for R. Tagore *a search for unity* and *synthesis* are synonymous. Thus, we may suppose that after 1920, even in his expressions, the Russian painter begins to sound like the Indian poet-sage: in his vocabulary appear two very significant notions: *co-operation* and *synthesis*. N. Roerich, who sees in R. Tagore “the mighty teacher of life”,²⁷ points out that R. Tagore possesses the knowledge:

... [which] has reached us from the depths of antiquity. In Tagore such wisdom is inborn, and his deep understanding of modern literature and science gives that equilibrium, that golden path, that to the majority seemed an utopia²⁸.

Quite naturally R. Tagore's influence on the development of N. Roerich's thought can be considered as a strong impetus which helped to transform N. Roerich from a Russian painter into a tireless prophet bringing to the world at large a grand design for the synthesis of cultures. Immensely impressed by R. Tagore's concepts, N. Roerich dedicates his activity to the idea of the synthesis of cultures and defines his own personal mission in terms of beauty and knowledge. Without the risk of oversimplification, it can be affirmed that the notion *culture* becomes the central point of N. Roerich's theosophical thought.

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- ² In 1912 the “Gitanjali” poems, translated in English prose, reached an ever-widening circle of appreciative readers in Europe and America. The publication of R. Tagore's poems in English and their retranslation into other European languages brought his work to the attention of the Nobel Prize Committee, and in 1913, the Bengali poet received the Nobel Prize for Literature.
- ³ An example would be Тагор Р. Гитанджали. Жертвенные песни // *Заветы* 11 (1913) 116–120. [Пер. с англ. Ю. Балтрушайтиса]
- ⁴ ROERICH N. *Himavat. Diary Leaves*. – Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1946, 96.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, 96.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, 97.
- ⁷ DECTER J. *Nicholas Roerich The Life and Art of a Russian Master*. – Rochester, Vermont: Park Street Press, 1989, 113.
- ⁸ Cf. *Ibid*, 130.
- ⁹ In 1912 R. Tagore showed translations of some of his poems to Rothenstein, who passed them on to the poet William Butler Yeats.

- ¹⁰ The poet William Butler Yeats had his first contacts with Theosophy “in 1884, when Mohini Chatterji came to Ireland with Olcott, during the period HPB visited Europe. Two years later, when he was going to art school, he read Sinnett’s “Occult World” and his “Esoteric Buddhism”. [...] He became an active member of the Dublin TS and its predecessor, the Hermetic Society, of which he was chairman. In 1887, the Yeats family moved to London. He first visited HPB when she was at Maycot and then later at Lansdowne Road, where he became a member of the Blavatsky Lodge. When the Esoteric Section was formed in 1888 he was one of the early members”. (Cranston S. *The Extraordinary Life and Influence of Helena Blavatsky, Founder of the Modern Theosophical Movement*. – New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1993, 465.) For details, see W. B. YEATS, *Autobiographies*. – London: Macmillan & Co LTD, 1955.
- ¹¹ Stephen N. Hay refers to R. ELLMANN, *Yeats, the Man and the Masks*. – New York, 1948, 195–196.
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- ¹³ ROERICH N. *Himavat. Diary Leaves*. – Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1946, 97.
- ¹⁴ Cf. “Из переписки Н. К. Рериха и Рабиндраната Тагора” // *Мир через Культуру: Ежегодник*. – Москва: Сов. писатель, 1990, 28–29.
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- ¹⁶ С. Н. Рерих. “Слово об отце” // *Рерих Н. К. Жизнь и творчество*. – Москва: Изобразительное искусство, 1978, 26. (Author’s translation.)
- ¹⁷ R. Tagore was convinced: “Before Asia is in position to co-operate with the culture of Europe, she must base her own structure on a synthesis of all the different cultures which she was”. (Tagore R. *Creative unity*. – London: Macmillan and Co., 1950, 174.)
- ¹⁸ THOMPSON Ed. *Rabindranath Tagore. Poet and Dramatist*. – Oxford: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948, 266.
- ¹⁹ Рерих Н. *Пути благословения*. – Рига: Алгас, 1924, 143.
- ²⁰ ROERICH N. *Himavat. Diary Leaves*. – Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1946, 97.
- ²¹ Рерих Н. *Пути благословения*. – Рига: Алгас, 1924, 143.
- ²² *Ibid*, 76. (Author’s translation.)
- ²³ Roerich N. *Realm of Light*. – New York: Nicholas Roerich Museum, 1931, 312.
- ²⁴ *Ibid*, 33.
- ²⁵ The book of R. Tagore “*Sadhana. The Realisation of Life*”, published in October of 1913, was reprinted in November and December of 1913, in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 (twice), 1919, 1920 etc. Without any doubt, the ideas of R. Tagore were disseminated over the whole world.
- ²⁶ Tagore R. *Sadhana. The Realisation of Life*. – London: Macmillan and Co., 1946, 25.
- ²⁷ ROERICH N. *Himavat. Diary Leaves*. – Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1946, 100.
- ²⁸ *Ibid*, 100.

Kopsavilkums

Risinot jautājumu, cik lielā mērā R. Tagore (1861–1941) ir ietekmējis N. Rēriha (1874–1947) ideju pasauli, raksta autore aplūko, pirmkārt, viņu attiecību dinamiku, otrkārt, kultūru sintēzes idejas vēsturi. Balstoties uz krievu mākslinieka un bengāļu dzejnieka vēstulēm, analizējot viņu pasaules uzskatus un dokumentējot jēdziena *sintēze* lietošanu viņu rakstos, autore pierāda, ka N. Rērihs ir kļuvis par nākotnes kultūras pravieti R. Tagores ietekmē.

Ja­pāna pasaules kultūras kontekstā: kultūras interpretācija Vacudzi Tecuro agrīnajos darbos Japan in the Context of World Culture: Interpretation of Culture in Early Writings of Watsuji Tetsuro

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Rakstā aplūkots japāņu kultūras attēlojums japāņu filosofa Vacudzi Tecuro (*Watsuji Tetsuro*, 1889–1960) agrīnajos darbos. No filosofiskā personālisma pozīcijām Vatsuji pēta Japānas un Rietumu pretstatu paradigmu, apgalvojot, ka Rietumi jāuzskata kā dialektiskās vienotības divas puses. Tā kā nacionālā kultūra ir pasaules kultūras dinamiskā procesa būtiska sastāvdaļa, kultūras mantojums jāpārvērtē un jāpārskata, ņemot vērā tā ieguldījumu pasaules kultūrā.

Keywords: Japāna, modernizācija, eiropeizācija, nacionālā kultūra, pasaules kultūra.

Japāņu filozofa Vacudzi Tecuro (*Watsuji Tetsurō*, 1889–1960) rakstu un eseju krājums “Elku restaurācija” (*Gūzō saikō*) publicēts 1918. gadā, t.i., apmēram Taisjo perioda (1912–1925) vidū. Tajā apkopotie darbi acīmredzot tapuši no 1916. līdz 1918. gadam, kaut arī daudzos gadījumos grūti noskaidrot to precīzu sarakstīšanas laiku¹. Šis krājums dokumentē pārejas periodu autora intelektuālajā biogrāfijā un vienlaikus iezīmē arī paradigmas maiņu Japānas un Rietumu attiecību interpretācijā. Tomēr, iekams pievēršamies Rietumu un Japānas kultūru saskares interpretācijai Vacudzi esejās, nepieciešams īsi ieskicēt tās intelektuālās tradīcijas kontūras, kuru kontekstā tās tapušas.

Taisjo perioda publikācijas, kas veltītas Japānas kultūras būtības un transformācijas, Japānas un Rietumu kultūras saskarsmes problēmām, turpina tradīciju, kuras pirmsākumi meklējami jau ap 1868. g. Meidzi restaurāciju. Izvēloties Rietumu attīstītās valstis (*Seiyō senshinshokoku*) par Japānas modernizācijas modeli, 19. gs. otrajā pusē Japānā tiek mērķtiecīgi realizētas valsts institūciju reformas pēc Rietumu attīstīto valstu parauga, importētas progresīvas tehnoloģijas, tā cenšoties paātrināt rūpniecības attīstību un stiprināt valsts aizsardzības potenciālu saskaņā ar principu “Bagāta valsts – stipra armija” (*fukoku kyōhei*). Vienlaikus plašāka sabiedrība tiek iepazīstināta arī ar eiropiešu parašām, uzvedības noteikumiem u.tml., kas ātri nostiprinās ikdienas dzīvē, tā radot populāro ilūziju par neparasti ātriem modernizācijas un eiropeizācijas tempiem.² Meidzi periodā valdošo laika garu īsi un kodolīgi raksturo cita populāra frāze: “Apgaismība un civilizācija” (*bummei kaika*), kas kļūst par vesela laikmeta simbolu. Tomēr, par spīti neapšaubāmajiem panākumiem modernizācijas praktiskā realizācijā un nedalītai jūsmai par visu eiropeisko, kas valda sabiedrībā, vēl trūkst nopietnas refleksijas par Japānas kultūras transformāciju, tās rezultātu un nozīmes izvērtēšanu nācīgas dzīvē – Meidzi perioda sākumā to aizstāj informatīva un propagandas rakstura darbi, kuros galvenokārt uzskaitītas eiropeizācijas priekšrocības.

Tikai 19. gs. 80. gadu beigās līdz ar oficiālās ideoloģijas pievēršanos lojalitātes un patriotisma propagandai parādās gan teorētiski, gan arī populāri apcerējumi, kuros mēģināts apkopot līdzšinējo modernizācijas un eiropeizācijas pieredzi un rast Japānas nācijas būtības (*kokusui*) definīciju. Modernizācijas un eiropeizācijas nepieciešamība netiek apšaubīta, kaut arī tās rezultātu vērtējums var būt samērā pretrunīgs. Tomēr gandrīz visās publikācijās tiek uzsvērta Japānas citādība salīdzinājumā ar Rietumiem, atzīstot to par vienu no būtiskākajiem faktoriem, kas nodrošinājis nepieredzēti strauju ekonomisko izaugsmi. Jautājums par nepieciešamību saglabāt un pilnveidot Japānas un japāņu nācijas raksturīgākās iezīmes tiek saistīts ar modernizācijas turpmākajiem panākumiem. Tātad 19. gs. 80.–90. gadu mēģinājumos definēt Japānas nacionālo identitāti Rietumu attīstītās valstīs tiek atzītas par Japānas “Citu”, par būtiskāko atskaites punktu, uz ko nepieciešams atsaukties, lai saskatītu un izceltu Japānas un japāņu nācijas savdabību. Citiem vārdiem sakot, šīs publikācijas atspoguļo Meidzi perioda japāņu inteligences psiholoģiski sarežģīto attieksmi pret Rietumiem (*Seiyō, Ōbei*). Nacionālās pašapziņas pieaugums un pirmie mēģinājumi rast pozitīvu nacionālās identitātes definīciju sadzīvo ar slēptu vai atklātu atpalcības un mazvērtības apziņu.

20. gs. sākumā, it īpaši Taisjo periodā (1912–1925), Japānas intelektuālajā klimatā sāk iezīmēties jaunas vēsmas, ko būtiski ietekmē Japānas panākumi internacionālajā arēnā. Japāna vairs nav bezcerīgi izolēta un atpalikusi valstiņa, bet pilnvērtīga attīstītāko valstu saimes locekle. Rietumi un Japāna joprojām tiek uztverti kā pretstati, taču nacionālās pašapziņas pieaugums ļauj paraudzīties uz Rietumiem ar daudz kritiskāku skatienu. Diskusijas centrā izvirzās nevis Rietumu ekonomiskais pārākums un Japānas modernizācijas nepieciešamība, bet kultūras atšķirības, turklāt Rietumi vairs nav vienīgais atskaites punkts Japānas identitātes meklējumos. Modernizācijas panākumi ir radījuši distanci starp moderno Japānu, kas spējusi iekļauties pasaules attīstītāko valstu saimē, un pagātnes Japānu, kas iegūst jaunu eksotikas un citādības oreolu.³

Japānas kultūras problēma Taisjo perioda intelektuāļiem saistās ar nostalgiju pēc industrializācijas neskartas, autentiskas Japānas, pēc senatnes vērtībām, kas, saglabājot savu radikālo citādību, vienlaikus atbilstu universālam ideālam. Senās Japānas kultūra tiek definēta kā “Japānas kultūru” *par excellence*, ignorējot vēsturisko laiku, tomēr vienlaikus tas ir arī mēģinājums skatīt atsevišķo, oriģinālo un citādo kā būtisku vispārīgā un universālā sastāvdaļu, iekļaut nacionālo kultūru pasaules kultūras kontekstā. Līdz ar to Rietumi vairs nav absolūts, bet tikai relatīvs atskaites punkts, kādas lielākas vienības atsevišķa daļa, kas ir atšķirīga, taču vienlaikus līdzvērtīga Japānai. Šeit nepieciešams īpaši pasvītrot, ka šī paradigmas maiņa, no jauna atklājot Japānas kultūru, risinās paralēli, ja ne pretēji nacionālistiskās ideoloģijas centieniem glorificēt Japānas nacionālo esenci (*kokutai*). Japāņu nācijas patriotisma, pilsoniskās lojalitātes un kareivīguma slavinājums, kas kopš 19. gs. 80. gadu beigām ietekmē oficiālo Japānas vēstures interpretāciju, ir viens no galvenajiem iemesliem, kāpēc daudzi jaunās Taisjo perioda inteligences pārstāvji ilgu laiku paliek uzticīgi Eiropas kultūrai, noraidot jebkuru mēģinājumu saskatīt universālas vērtības Japānas senatnē. Skaidrojot savu sākotnējo intereses trūkumu par Japānas kultūru, šādu iemeslu min filozofs personālists Abe Dziro (*Abe Jirō*), viņa viedoklim pievienojas arī Vacudzi Tecuro.⁴

Taisjo perioda sākumā vēl aizvien netrūkst publikāciju, kurās gloricēta Rietumu kultūra un nosodīta Japānas atpalcība kultūras jomā, taču ieskanas arī atklāti kritiskas balsis. Piemēram, Taņidzaki Dzjuničiro (*Tanizaki Junichirō*) kādā no saviem darbiem (*Dokutan*, 1915) eksaltēti slavina visu eiropieško, neslēpjot nožēlu par to, ka, būdams japānis, nespēj visā pilnībā iekļauties Rietumu kultūras strāvojumā.⁵ Savukārt citi autori, t.sk. Endo Kičisaburo (*Endō Kichisaburō: Seiyō chūdoku*, 1916) dedzīgi aicina izvairīties no Rietumu kaitīgās ietekmes, realizējot savdabīgu “kultūras izolācijas” politiku (*bunkateki sakokushugi*).⁶ Neraugoties uz šīm galējībām, tendence absolutizēt Rietumu un Japānas pretstatu vairs nav dominējoša – lielākajā daļā publikāciju sniegts daudz niansētāks vērtējums, norādot gan uz pozitīvajām, gan negatīvajām iezīmēm, turklāt te jāpiemin ne vien pazīstamu rakstnieku raksti (piemēram, *Nagai Kafū: Kawaya no mado*, 1915)⁷, bet arī pamatskolām domātas mācību grāmatas.⁸ Daudzās Taisjo perioda publikācijās, kurās mēģināts definēt japāņu nacionālo raksturu (*kokuminsei*), visā nopietnībā tiek sastādīti veseli pozitīvu un negatīvu japāņu nācijai piemītošu īpašību katalogi, nobeigumā secinot, ka valsts uzplaukuma labad nepieciešams saglabāt un attīstīt pozitīvās iezīmes, iznīdējot vai pārveidojot tās īpašības, kas atzīstamas par negatīvām. Īpaši uzsvērts, ka japāņu nacionālā rakstura pilnveidošana ir nepieciešams priekšnoteikums sakaru nostiprināšanai ar citām valstīm (sk., piemēram, *Noda Yoshio: Nihon kokuminsei no kenkyū*, 1914)⁹.

Vienlaikus tiek pārvērtētas un no jaunas perspektīvas aplūkotas arī Japānas un Rietumu kultūru saskares funkcijas. Sāk dominēt atziņa par selektīvas izvēles nepieciešamību turpmākās modernizācijas gaitā, atzīmējot, ka Japāna jau sasniegusi tādu attīstības pakāpi, kurā vairs nedrīkst aprobežoties tikai ar mehānisku Rietumu kultūras atdarināšanu. Ir jārisina ne tikai jautājums par to, ko Japāna mācījusies no Rietumiem, bet arī par to, vai Rietumi varētu kaut ko gūt no Japānas. Okakura Kakudzo (*Okakura Kakuzo*) savā darbā “Japānas atmoda” (*Nihon no mezame*, 1904) atzīmē, ka Āzija daudz mācījusies no Eiropas, apgūstot daudz ko svarīgu un noderīgu, taču jautā, vai nav pienācis laiks, kad Eiropai un visai Rietumu pasaulei būtu jāšāķ mācīties no Āzijas. Eiropā valda naudas vara, koloniālisma laikmets vēl ne tuvu nav beidzies un individuālisms bieži robežojas ar egoismu. Okakura uzskata, ka šādas visai negatīvas Eiropas kultūras iezīmes būtu jāņem vērā tiem japāņiem, kas novērsušies no savas kultūras vērtībām, lai akli un nekritiski pārņemtu visu eiropieško¹⁰. Šādu publikāciju parādīšanos var uztvert kā signālu, ka pamazām tiek pārvērtēts Meidzi laikam raksturīgais radikālisms, Japānas un Rietumu pretnostatījuma un viennozīmīgi pozitīva vai negatīva novērtējuma absolūtais raksturu, kaut arī vienlaikus tās sāk veidot mītu par Japānas un Āzijas kultūru unikalitāti.

Sarežģītāks un niansētāks kļūst arī Japānas kultūras transformācijas procesa portretējums. Tiek runāts par to, ka Japānā nepieciešams apzināti veidot savdabīgu Japānas un Rietumu kultūras sintēzi, kas spētu saglabāt tradīcijas un vienlaikus atbilstu modernās pasaules prasībām. Lekcijā “Mans individuālisms” (*Watashi no kojinsugi*, 1915) Nacume Soseki (*Natsume Sōseki*) norāda, ka joprojām aktuāla ir nepieciešamība mācīties no Rietumiem, taču uzsver, ka ne mazāk svarīgi ir prast saskatīt un novērtēt savas, t. i., Japānas, kultūras pamatus. Apgalvodams, ka nepieciešams iepazīt un prast cienīt citu, lai izprastu un attīstītu savu patību, Soseki

izvirza tēzi, ka, apzinoties savu patību (*hon'i*) un vienlaikus ar cieņu izturoties pret cita patību, kosmopolītisms (*sekaishugi*), individuālisms (*kojinshugi*) un nacionālisms (*kokkashugi*) papildina viens otru, eksistējot harmoniskā vienībā.¹¹ Proti, indivīds, nacionālā kultūra un pasaules kultūra Soseki skatījumā eksistē nesaraujamā saistībā. Individuālā patība paredz piederību nacionālajai kultūrai un vienlaikus pasaules kultūrai, savukārt nacionālās kultūras identitāti var konstituēt attiecībā pret citu kultūru un vienlaikus pasaules kultūru kā visaptverošu vienību.

Mēs varam izvirzīt hipotēzi, ka Soseki lekcijā formulētā ideja par pasaules kultūru kā visaptverošu veselumu, kas neizslēdz, tieši otrādi, paredz tās atsevišķo sastāvdaļu atšķirību, iezīmē jaunu pavērsienu Taisjo perioda Japānas un Rietumu interkulturālo attiecību problēmas risinājumā. Proti, Japānas un Rietumu kultūra tiek skatīti kā dialektiski pretstati, atzīstot, ka to vienība veido pasaules kultūru kā augstāko pakāpi. Līdz ar to aktuāla kļūst nepieciešamība sniegt nacionālās kultūras definīciju un interpretāciju, jo tikai tādējādi iespējams ne tikai saglabāt nacionālo identitāti, bet arī sniegt noteiktu ieguldījumu pasaules kultūrā. Arī Vacudzi Tecuro agrīnajos darbos nedalītu apbrīnu par Rietumu sasniegumiem kultūras jomā pamazām nomaina atziņa par nepieciešamību izprast Japānas senatnes kultūru, lai tādējādi pamatotu Japānas harmonisku iekļaušanos pasaules kultūras kontekstā.

Vacudzi pirmie nozīmīgākie darbi “Pētījums par Ničes filozofiju” (*Nichie kenkyū*, 1913) un “Sērens Kirkegors” (*Sēren Kērukegōru*, 1915) veltīti Rietumu filozofijas analīzei, bet kopš 1920. gada, kad iznāk “Svētceļojums uz senajiem tempļiem” (*Koji junrei*, 1919), filozofs aizvien vairāk pievēršas Japānas kultūras interpretācijas problēmai, publicējot virkni pētījumu kultūras un mākslas vēstures jomā. Krājuma “Elku restaurācija” pirmajā, 1916. gadā sarakstītajā esejā Vacudzi runā par pavērsienu cilvēka dzīvē, kas prasa veco vērtību pārvērtēšanu un jaunu radīšanu, tā iezīmējot arī pagrieziena punktu savā intelektuālajā biogrāfijā.¹² Diemžēl Vacudzi izvēlētais vārds ‘*tenkō*’, t. i., ‘pavērsiens’, 20. gs. 30. gados iegūst negatīvas politiskas konnotācijas, kas saglabājušās līdz mūsdienām. Vārds ‘*tenkō*’ 30. gadu militarisma un nacionālisma eskalācijas laikā ticis plaši lietots, lai apzīmētu kreisi noskaņoto intelektuāļu publisku atteikšanos no savas pārliecības, vismaz ārēji atzīstot oficiālās nacionālistiskās ideoloģijas pareizību. Līdz ar to daudzi Vacudzi filozofijas pētnieki, arī Roberts Bellā (*Robert N. Bellah*), interpretē Vacudzi *tenkō* kā pāreju no Eiropas filozofiskās tradīcijas universālisma uz šauri nacionālistisku partikulārismu un Japānas nācijas un kultūras unikalitātes glorifikāciju, kā atteikšanos no modernizācijas un eiropeizācijas sludinātā racionālisma, individuālisma un universālisma ideāla, lai pievērstos japāņu tautas (*minzoku*) kolektīvās eksistences pamatu meklējumiem senās Japānas kultūrā.¹³ Bellā oponente La Flērs (*La Fleur*), norādot, ka šāds skaidrojums nepieļaujami vienkāršo problēmu, jo Vacudzi agrīnajos darbos, arī “Elku restaurācijā” iekļautajās esejās, jaušama kritiska attieksme kā pret virspusēji izprastu universālismu, tā arī pret šauru nacionālismu. Saskaņā ar La Flēra uzskatu, Vacudzi “Elku restaurācija” un “Svētceļojums uz senajiem tempļiem” lasāmi kā kultūras kritika, kas vērsta pret Meidzi periodā (1868–1912) pieļautajām kļūdām Rietumu civilizācijas sasniegumu adaptācijā un Japānas kultūras mantojuma izvērtēšanā.¹⁴ Tādējādi arī Vacudzi esejas, kurās aplūkota Japānas kultūras problēma, būtu iekļaujamas darbos, kas norāda uz Taisjo periodā vērojamo intelektuālās paradigmas maiņu.

Kā Bellā, tā arī La Flērs norāda, ka Vacudzi “Elku restaurācija” ir sava veida prelūdijs tādiem vēlākajos gados publicētajiem darbiem kā “Svētceļojums uz senajiem tempļiem” un “Pētījumi Japānas kultūras vēsturē” (*Nihon seishin-shi kenkyū*, 1926), taču neskaids paliek jautājums, vai šos darbus iespējams saistīt ar agrāk publicētajiem Nīčes un Kirkegora filozofijas analīzei veltītajiem apcerējumiem. Karube Tosio (*Karube Toshio*) uzskata, ka “Elku restaurāciju” var aplūkot kā loģisku turpinājumu Vacudzi pirmajiem darbiem, norādot, ka šī krājuma pirmajā esejā minētais *tenkō* saistās ar konkrētiem notikumiem autora dzīvē. Ap 1911. gadu Vacudzi atsakās no studenta gadu literārajām ambīcijām un estētiskā ideāla absolutizācijas. Estētiskais ideāls, kas izslēdz morālisko jābūtību, Vacudzi skatījumā ir tikai mēģinājums maskēt bezatbildību un egoismu, tātad to nevar uzskatīt par augstāko cilvēka patības realizāciju.¹⁵ Cilvēka patības realizāciju var panākt tikai nemītīgas pilnveidošanās, personības attīstības gaitā. Proti, saskaņā ar Karubes uzskatu, Vacudzi *tenkō* interpretējams kā pievēršanās jautājumam par personības pilnveidošanās iespējām, kas atbilst Taisjo periodā aktuālajam kultivācijas (*kyōyōshugi*) un personības pilnveidošanās ideālam. Jāatzīmē, ka arī 1913. un 1915. gadā tapušajos pētījumos Vacudzi interpretē Nīčes un Kirkegora filozofiju no personālisma pozīcijām, uzsverot, ka Nīčes pārcilvēks simbolizē iespēju attīstīt ikvienā cilvēkā slēptās iespējas, tādējādi realizējot dzīves patieso būtību (*seikatsu no honshitsu*). Šāda personības attīstība ir pašas dzīves attīstība, tās pacelšanās augstākā pakāpē. Egoisma un altruisma morālais pretstats tiek atcelts, jo pati morāle ir sasniegusi augstāku pakāpi. Tā kā ir realizēta pašā dzīvē slēptā potenciāla attīstība, šī pakāpe būtu jāuzskata par morālisku ideālu.¹⁶

Pilnveidošanās kā nepieciešamība realizēt cilvēkā slēptās iespējas, tādējādi sasniedzot augstāku, pilnvērtīgāku dzīves attīstības pakāpi, ir tēma, kas pastāvīgi atkārtojas arī “Elku restaurācijas” esejās, tā ļaujot saskatīt saistību ar Rietumu filozofijas analīzei veltītajiem darbiem, taču ap 1916.–1917. gadu rakstītajās esejās šī tēma iegūst jaunu nozīmi. Vacudzi norāda, ka spēja realizēt savu patību piemīt ne tikai ikvienam atsevišķam indivīdam, bet arī veselai kultūrai. Vacudzi definē kultūru kā vienotu procesu, kurā iekļaujas visa cilvēce, virzoties uz vienotu mērķi, kas interpretēts kā nepieciešamība sasniegt pārcilvēka ideālu.¹⁷ Tiek norādīts, ka šī procesa gaitā cilvēce pamazām aizvien skaidrāk apzinās savu vienību un kopējo mērķi, un tādējādi top pasaules kultūra kā vienota vērtību sistēma. Tas ir iespējams, jo, neraugoties uz atsevišķu kultūru atšķirībām, vienotā pasaules kultūrā tās apvieno kopējais, mistiski universālais pamats, kas Vacudzi izpratnē ir pati dzīve. Proti, vienotā pasaules kultūras veidošanās procesā, ko Vacudzi izprot kā nemītīgu pilnveidošanos, tiekšanos uz aizvien augstāku attīstības pakāpi, organiski iekļaujas gan ikviena atsevišķa indivīda, gan arī atsevišķu kultūru, arī Grieķijas un Indijas, unikālā pieredze.¹⁸

Tātad līdzīgi Soseki Vacudzi savā kultūras definīcijā tiecas ietvert un apvienot individuālo, nacionālo un universālo aspektu, turklāt skatīt kultūru dinamiskā attīstības procesā. Protams, šo vīziju par pasaules kultūru kā nemītīgu un aizvien apzinātāku pilnveidošanās procesu vienlīdz ietekmējusi gan Nīčes ideja par pārcilvēku, gan Hēgeļa vēstures filozofija, taču nepieciešams atzīmēt, ka Vacudzi interpretācijā vienotajā pasaules kultūras procesā kā neatņemamas un vienlīdzīgas sastāvdaļas organiski iekļaujas arī Āzijas kultūras – ideja, kuras trūkst Rietumu 19. gs. filozofu darbos.

Raugoties no šādas globālas perspektīvas, Japānas un Rietumu, Āzijas un Rietumu kultūru absolūts pretnostatījums ir absurds, jo ikviens no tām dod savu ieguldījumu vienotajā cilvēces kultūrā, vienlaikus savstarpēji bagātinoties. Vacudzi norāda, ka Japānas kultūrā saskatāma Ķīnas un Indijas ietekme, pēdējos gados, protams, Rietumu ietekme, taču galvenā un aktuālākā Japānas kultūras problēma ir nevis šo atšķirīgo ietekmju izdalīšana vai jautājums par to, cik augstu tā tiks novērtēta, bet gan jautājums par to, kādu ieguldījumu tā ir devusi un arī turpmāk dos kopējā cilvēces kultūras attīstības procesā.¹⁹ Proti, apzinoties noteiktas attīstības pakāpes sasniegšanu, Vacudzi runā par pilnveidošanās nepieciešamību, tā norādot uz kultūras kā procesa ilgstamību un radikālo nepabeigtību. Kāda loma šai vīzijā var būt tam, ko pieņemts dēvēt par senās Japānas kultūru?

Ap 1916. gadu senā Japāna, pēc Vacudzi paša atzinuma, vēl joprojām bijusi *terra incognita*²⁰, tādēļ šajā laikā rakstītajās esejās visai skeptiski vērtēti mēģinājumi postulēt Austrumu vai Japānas kultūras vērtību pārākumu attiecībā pret Rietumu gara mantojumu. Vacudzi neapšaubāmi nostājas opozīcijā gan panaziātisma ideālam, gan arī nacionālistiskajai ideoloģijai, atzīmējot, ka jebkurus sasniegumus jebkurā jomā un vēstures periodā iespējams uzskatīt par pietiekamu pamatu kādas kultūras, arī Japānas kultūras, pārākuma pierādījumam, taču šāds nacionālais narcisisms vēlamo bieži vien uztver kā esošo. 1916. gadā tapušajā esejā “Ar ko Japāna var lepoties?” Vacudzi skaidri un gaiši norāda, ka Japāna joprojām nesasniedz Rietumu valstu standartus, ja par galveno kultūras attīstības kritēriju izvirza ekonomisko, politisko un militāro varenību.²¹ Savukārt Japānas gars un japāņu mīti, kurus uzskata par nepārspētiem un pasludina par “pasaules augstāko sasniegumu”, diemžēl neiztur salīdzinājumu kaut vai ar sengrieķu mitoloģiju, kurā daudz reljefāk iezīmējās dzīves varenības izpausmes.²² Nenoliedzot senās Japānas kultūras vērtības, arī tās, ko var saskatīt “*Kojiki*” mītos un uz kurām tik bieži atsaucas Japānas identitātes definīcijas meklējumos, Vacudzi jautā, kādu nozīme tās var iegūt tagadnē.²³ Tomēr tas nenozīmē, ka Japānai būtu bez ierunām jāatzīst Rietumu pārākums, drīzāk jāatsakās no pārsteidzīgas un nepamatotas atdarināšanas, izvēloties citu pieeju. Vacudzi atzīmē, ka visos prātojumos par Rietumu vai Austrumu, Japānas vai Eiropas kultūras pārākumu parasti pietrūkst paša galvenā – jēdziena ‘kultūra’ definīcijas un pasaules kultūras attīstības procesa dinamisma izpratnes.²⁴

Tādējādi varam secināt, ka ap 1916. gadu Vacudzi savu teorētisko uzskatu loģiskās attīstības gaitā jau faktiski nonāk pie nepieciešamības pārvērtēt Japānas kultūras mantojumu. Notikumi filozofa dzīvē, kas, pēc viņa vārdiem, bijuši tiešs stimuls šādai vērtību pārvērtēšanai, acīmredzot uzskatāmi par svarīgu, taču nebūt ne vienīgo izšķirošo iemeslu.²⁵ Lai izprastu, kādā veidā Vacudzi skatījumā iespējama pagātnes vērtību atdzimšana tagadnē, nepieciešams atsaukt atmiņā La Flēra piedāvāto Vacudzi tekstu lasījumu, kas norāda, ka Vacudzi ieskicēto indivīda pilnveidošanās, nacionālās un pasaules kultūras attīstības dinamisko procesu var skatīt atbilstoši attieksmes pret to, kas tiek dēvēts par ‘elku’ (*gūzō*). La Flērs savā pētījumā norāda, ka šis vārds Vacudzi esejās apzināti lietots vairākās nozīmēs, šaurākā nozīmē tas attiecināms uz tēlu kā reliģiskas pielūgsmes objektu un tēlu kā mākslas darbu,²⁶ plašākā un lielā mērā negatīvā nozīmē tas attiecināms uz jebkuru stingušu dogmu. Pašu attīstības procesu var raksturot kā trīsdalīgu shēmu, kurā iekļautā “elku pielūgšana” (*gūzō sūhai*), “elku sagrāve” (*gūzō hakai*) un “elku restaurācija” (*gūzō saikō*) tiek tvertas kā praktiskas, konkrētas un vienlaikus simboliskas norises.

Nepieciešams pasvītrot, ka šī shēma liecina par to, ka Vacudzi skatījumā Eiropas un Japānas kultūru attīstība pakļaujas vienām un tām pašām attīstības likumsakarībām,²⁷ proti, te var runāt par vienota procesa līdzvērtīgām sastāvdaļām. Turklāt, tā kā pēc Vacudzi atziņas pagātnē meklējamas cēloņsakarības, kas ietekmē tagadni, var uzskatīt, ka zināmā mērā pagātne turpina eksistēt tagadnē. Līdz ar to pagātnes absolūts noliegums nozīmētu arī tagadnes noliegumu, dzīves sastingumu, kas būtu pielīdzināms nāvei. Savukārt pagātnes pieredzes saglabāšana, tās harmoniska iekļaušana tagadnē spētu atjaunot un bagātināt cilvēka dzīvi.²⁸ Tātad šeit saskatām jauna būtiska Japānas kultūras problēmām veltīto Vacudzi darbu iezīmi – atziņa par to, ka Japānas kultūras sakņu meklējumi nepieciešami tādēļ, lai būtu iespējams izvērtēt un aktualizēt tagadnes, 20. gs. sākuma, Japānas kultūras nozīmi. Protams, vēl joprojām atklāts paliek jautājums, cik korekti Vacudzi nākamajos darbos tiks interpretēta un izvērtēta Japānas kultūras mantojuma nozīme.

Tātad Vacudzi *tenkō* kā vērtību pārvērtēšana jeb elku restaurācija simbolizē gan paša autora personisko pieredzi, gan ir kultūras attīstības procesa interpretācijas simbols. Pagātnei nav iespējams reanimēt autentiskā veidolā, kaut arī tai var piešķirt zināmu autentiskuma auru, tāpat kā nav iespējams atgriezties pie kādreiz par pareizu atzītas un vēlāk noliegtas ticības dogmas. Tā kā saskaņā ar Vacudzi atziņu pagātne turpina eksistēt tagadnē, pareizākais ceļš būtu apzināties un izprast tās modificēto veidolu un iekļaut to “dzīvās dzīves” plūsmā, respektīvi kultūras attīstības procesā. Tādējādi ideja par “elku restaurāciju” nav mēģinājums rekonstruēt pagātnei tās absolūti autentiskajā veidolā, bet gan mēģinājums sniegt tādu pagātnes interpretāciju (atzīstot tā relatīvo raksturu), kas piešķirtu jaunu nozīmi un aktualitāti tagadnei. Elku restaurācija faktiski ir jaunu veidolu ieguvušas pagātnes iekļaušana tagadnes kontekstā un līdz ar to atzīstama par universālu simbolisku darbību, kas spēj revitalizēt ikvienu pasaules kultūras procesā iekļauto nacionālo kultūru.

Protams, problemātisks ir jautājums, kāds ir kritērijs, kas ļauj veidot jaunu pagātnes nozīmi un aktualitāti. Ja šāda kritērija trūkst, nākas atzīt, ka ikviena jauna pagātnes interpretācija ir tikpat laba kā jebkura cita, un tādējādi Vacudzi un citu Taisjo intelektuāļu vīzijas par Naras perioda mākslas darbiem kā Japānas kultūras vērtībām nav būtiski atšķirīgas no nacionālistiskās ideoloģijas postulētajām lojalitātes un patriotisma vērtībām, jo arī to avots meklēts Japānas senatnē. Tomēr mēs varam izvirzīt hipotēzi, ka Vacudzi agrīnajos darbos saskatāmā atziņa par pasaules kultūras kā vienota procesa pastāvēšanu un vienotu mērķi, uz ko šis process virzās, norāda uz to, ka par šādu kritēriju var atzīt vērtību universalitāti. Atšķirībā no nacionālistiskās ideoloģijas, kas definē Japānas valsti un nāciju kā absolūtu, ko nav iespējams transcendentēt, Vacudzi Taisjo perioda darbos izvirzīta ideja par atsevišķā un vispārīgā, nacionālā un globālā dialektisku vienotību pasaules kultūras dinamiskās attīstības procesā.

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Summary

The article discusses the problem of Japanese culture as addressed in the early works of Japanese philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro (1889–1960). From positions of philosophical personalism Watsuji examines the paradigm of Japan–West opposition arguing that Japan and the West should be seen as two parts of a dialectical unity. Since national culture is a necessary part in the dynamic process of world culture, the value of cultural heritage should be reconsidered and reevaluated according to its contribution to world culture.

Rethinking the Methodological Approaches of Cross–Cultural Hermeneutics Pārdomas par starpkultūru hermeneitikas metodoloģiju

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In this paper the author elaborates on two extremely interesting, though ambiguous concepts, those of intercultural philosophy and analogous hermeneutics, utilised as a methodological tool in cross–cultural hermeneutics. The hermeneutic situation calls for direct involvement since the de facto geopolitical, social and economical development of global community has drawn various cultures in closer contact. This paper is dealing with a critical analysis of a few approaches towards cross–cultural (intercultural) hermeneutics devoted to interpret different philosophical traditions, other than European, namely Chinese philosophy.

Keywords: Hermeneutics, Intercultural philosophy, the Other, Chinese philosophy.

In supposedly communication oriented modern world its modes of dialogue between cultures display polyphony of different voices. Many–faceted and extremely ambiguous post–modern critical discourse on understanding the Other and the Otherness has at least secured a territory within human sciences creating the room for further discussions. The necessity to understand and interpret other cultures different to perception of our own identities has outgrown merely ethnological interest. The hermeneutic situation calls for direct involvement since the de facto geopolitical, social and economical development of global community has drawn various cultures in closer contact. Regardless of equally blurred future of the globalised world we are faced with a dilemma: how are we to understand the Other and what methodologies are there for our disposal to make this understanding possible. This paper is dealing with a critical analysis of a few approaches towards cross–cultural (intercultural) hermeneutics devoted to interpret different philosophical traditions, other than European, namely Chinese philosophy.

Due to the historical contingency, China and its intellectual milieu has felt the growing influence of its Other for more than 150 years. For the Occident the Oriental exoticism has always been the source of romantic admiration, be it either the age of Romanticism or post–modern diversity. Unfortunately the Chinese Other has come as the dominating power of unfamiliar universalizations, subduing bewildered inhabitants of the Middle kingdom: the opium was the first to come; the second was the revolution which overthrew the thousand year old, though already disintegrating, Empire; then followed the deadly amorous marriage with Marxist egalitarian zeal, which, although freed China from old shackles of tradition, still destroyed nearly everything that was tradition; now China has faced another challenge – modernity and modernisation.

Chinese philosophical thought has endured similar ups and downs. The tradition, largely intact for hundreds of years, was awakened from its hibernation to face its Other. The identity of its traditional discourse in the course of the last hundred years has suffered serious blows from outside. The Western sciences and their methodologies, diverse philosophical theories and ideas have challenged Chinese minds. The challenge has become even more serious in the face of the post-modern age of borderless communication.

The third generation New-Confucianism philosopher Cheng Chung-ying has described it as follows: "Understanding contemporary Chinese philosophy is a philosophical enterprise that poses a methodological task: we must seek to understand how Chinese philosophers view and appraise Western philosophical thinking and how Chinese philosophy has rediscovered itself and defined its own identity."¹

In the following passages Cheng Chung-ying also defines the task of a modern Chinese philosopher who is faced with the challenges coming from the Western philosophical tradition: "There have been two major tasks involved in responding to the challenge posed by Western philosophy. The first task is to understand and interpret the old in the new and interpret the traditional in the modern."²

"In responding to the West and constructing a new identity, it is necessary to distinguish between the modern and the Western."

"We must accept that science and technology can be adopted universally and are neutral regarding cultural values, but everything beyond science and technology is a reflection of traditional values or a reaction against them. ... the task of contemporary Chinese philosopher has two aspects: the first is to seek forms of rationality that conform to science and democracy; the second is to find suitable place and voice for traditional values."³

The core meaning of these passages might be summed up in one simple expression: the quest for an identity. The ongoing experience of modernity has brought about the clashes of traditional identity with the expanding otherness, namely the universalising discourse of Western philosophical systems and previously unknown categories and preassumptions. The redefining, rethinking and evaluating this clash-like dialogue with the Western philosophy has occupied the minds of Chinese intellectuals since the time when the gunshots threatened the very survival of the tradition. The move by Western powers was supported and legitimised by their own universalistic assumptions of the role of the Other in their worldviews, which has been brilliantly shown by Edward Said in his epoch-making *Orientalism* and in its inner discourse carried to the extreme.

From the passages quoted above, it is obvious that modern science, originally being the product of the Western Europe and via which the Other was oftentimes subdued, due to its universal and formal character of the language it uses to convey its theories, is no longer a threat, nor even is being perceived as dangerous for the survival of the tradition. It is the Western paradigm of philosophy, which is in a dialectical, even antagonistic relationship with the tradition.

Much has been written and said about the possibility and impossibility of the enterprise to make different cultures intelligible to each other. For the most part the West had attributed itself the role of the discoverer, had legitimised it by its own

conceptions of precise scientific discourse. On the other side, Chinese blaming the West (I must excuse myself for still using such empty and ambivalent notions as Orient, East, Occident and West) for an attempting to persuade them to become the believers of the Western universalism, still find themselves trapped in Marxist theories of history of philosophy, being mostly Western by origin. The never-ending accusations of the misuse of unkindred and unfitting concepts on the one side and the persistent strife to give a universal validity to its tradition, without becoming the part of a more universal universalism, on the other side, will still dominate the hermeneutical understanding of different cultures.

Ram Adhar Mall, who has elaborated on the concept of intercultural philosophy, has defined it more precisely: “Europeanization stands for the software of Western culture and religion, whereas westernization represents its hardware.”⁴ Europeanization is still being perceived as centred in itself, claiming universalised insights of understanding human history and the human agent’s place in it. Both philosophers belonging to different traditions, namely Chinese and Indian traditions, both seem to agree that the modern science is neutral in its universalistic claims, whereas Western philosophy and religion has remained deeply entrenched with eurocentrist prejudices. Although both strive to show that philosophy should be placed in the same category as science, since no one should claim the absolute possession of it. Cheng Chung-ying defines philosophy as follows:

“Philosophy is the core of a tradition because it is both a mode of thinking and a normative direction of action towards ideal values of the tradition. Philosophy is both the consciousness and the conscience of a culture and civilisation because philosophical views, formulated by recognised philosophers and accepted by common people over ages, inspire and guide culture and action.”⁵ Cheng Chung-ying has obviously chosen to lay stress on the connection between the tradition and philosophy being its core, not considering the breaking-with-the-tradition character of many philosophical ideas and philosophical currents. In the post-modern period, which has seen too many radical iconoclasts of the tradition of Western philosophy, no one still dares to pronounce the philosophy as being homogenic. Such a definition might be applied to the Chinese tradition, which has always tended towards universism of its concepts and homogenic character of the tradition embodied by them. It can not serve as a suitable definition. And are there any for all purposes?

Ram Adhar Mall, whose ideas on intercultural philosophy we discuss in the following passages, on the other hand feels the necessity to defend the universal application of the term philosophy, arriving at the conception of interculturality: “The general concept of philosophy possesses a universal connotation over and above its particular, adjectival qualifications, such as Chinese, Indian, European, and so on. This connotation gives us the right to speak of interculturality.”⁶ The attempt to generalise the term philosophy to the extent where it acquires the universal connotation seems futile, since the most universal concept is the most emptiest one, though the author writes that, “Intercultural philosophy does not deny the universal connotation of the term *philosophy*; it only makes clear that its general applicability is not a concrete universal but is on the line of the Wittgensteinian idea of a world language that is not the name of a particular language but the name of the class of all language games.”⁷

Ram Adhar Mall proceeds to explain that the name intercultural philosophy does not stand for a special branch of philosophy but for philosophical conviction, approach and standpoint which denies both the total untranslatability and absolute translatability of cultures. The term of analogous hermeneutics is set forth: "Intercultural philosophy favours an analogous hermeneutics of overlapping structures beyond the two fictions of total identity (commensurability) and radical difference (incommensurability)."⁸

The author has elaborated on two extremely interesting, though ambiguous concepts, those of intercultural philosophy and analogous hermeneutics, utilised as a methodological tool in cross-cultural hermeneutics. The approaches of intercultural philosophy can only serve as an ideal precondition for understanding to be carried out and for prejudices to be eliminated. This inevitably brings us back to the assumptions held by Schleiermacher and Dilthey on the role of the hermeneutics and the proper scientific understanding of the history and the place of the scientist in rediscovering and evaluating the tradition. The belief that by merely adopting such attitudes we can free ourselves of misconceptions and prejudices has been rendered futile by many 20th century authors such as Gadamer and Derrida, just to mention some of them. Both assumptions reflect the attitudes might be criticised as being Eurocentric, since total identity and radical difference renders the other impossible. The understanding is found in the breaches of commensurability and incommensurability. The former approach of re-living the historical reality of the Other, being humanistic in its treatment of different cultures, subjectivizes the possible outcome of such research, unable to escape the culturally sedimented worldviews. The other approach which favours dialogue and to some extents, dialogue and negotiation, by stressing the importance of prejudice for the inevitable process of the fusion of the horizons, renders futile any scientific project. For Ram Adhar Mall analogous hermeneutics seems to a flexible attitude towards the understanding of the other itself, not a rigid set of instrumental methodologies. It explores the possibility of similarities in overlapping structures found in texts, and contexts of the culture.

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Kopsavilkums

Šajā darbā autors detalizēti aplūko divas ļoti interesantas, bet neskaidras koncepcijas: starpkulturālo filozofiju un analogo hermeneitiku, kuras izmanto kā metodoloģijas līdzekli starpkulturālajā hermeneitikā. Hermeneitiskā situācija prasa analizēt tiešākas kopsakarības, it īpaši tādēļ, ka globālo komunikāciju dēļ notikusi ģeopolitiska, sociāla un ekonomiska attīstība, kura ciešāk saista dažādas kultūras. Šajā darbā dota arī dažu starpkulturālās hermeneitikas pieeju kritiska analīze, lai interpretētu dažādas filozofiskās tradīcijas, piemēram, ķīniešu filozofiju.

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