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METHIS

STUDIA HUMANIORA ESTONICA

21/22

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ACROSS BORDERS: LITERATURES IN DIALOGUE

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Contact: Methis, Vanemuise 42, 51003 Tartu; methis@kirmus.ee

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Keywords – 4 to 6.
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METHIS

ACROSS BORDERS:
LITERATURES IN DIALOGUE

21/22 2018

METHIS

University of Tartu, Institute for Cultural Research and Fine Arts
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METHIS. *STUDIA HUMANIORA ESTONICA*
Special issue 21/22 (spring/autumn)
Across Borders: Literatures in Dialogue

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Tartu 2018

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METHIS. STUDIA HUMANIORA ESTONICA 2018, NO. 21–22

METHIS

Dynamics Across Borders in Literature, Theatre, and the Humanities. Foreword

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Good research and publication ideas often come on the spur of the moment, and spontaneity gives energy to longer processes. This joint Special Issue of *Methis* was sparked by editor-in-chief Marin Laak's idea on the last day of a recent collaborative conference, who was gladly joined by the conference organizer, Władysław Witalisz.

The present volume is a result of the transdisciplinary conference "Across Borders: Cultures in Dialogue" co-organised by the Estonian Literary Museum and Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. St. Pigonia w Krośnie (Krosno State College) in Tartu on 27–29 April 2017. It was the 7th conference of the series and it brought together international scholars working on culture, literature, linguistics, folklore, communication, humour studies, translation and interpreting. The general focus of the "Across Borders" conferences has always been the dynamics of contacts between different cultures, languages, literatures, genres, media and forms of communication. This time the by-word was the concept of "dialogue" which the participants interpreted variously as influence, reception, exchange, transition, translation, crossing genres and media. Intercultural encounters accompanying the recent movement of individuals and groups receive a variety of expressions and call for a debate in a transdisciplinary context. The conference was an occasion for many discussions on the broad subject of cultural neighbourhood, especially related to:

- minority cultures and literature, migration and narration, the Other
- autobiography and identity
- communication styles, pragmatics of intercultural communication
- communication in institutions
- folkloric communication, ethnolinguistics
- humour and irony in cultural context
- cross-cultural aspects of translation and (language) teaching
- English as an international lingua franca, language contacts
- culture and the teaching of languages, global learning, innovation in education
- contemporary culture and media, transnational/transmedial cultural texts, cultural and linguistic globalization

The Special Issue consists of 11 papers, which reflect the diversity of the conference. Several of these focus on theatre as a complex and multifaceted medium,

particularly open to border crossings in practice as well as theoretical conceptualizations. In her paper, "The Director as Translator: The Case of Latvian Director Oļģerts Kroders", Vēsma Lēvalde discusses options and challenges for the theatre director's handwriting during the Soviet era, based on Olgerts Kroders' (1921–2012) two productions of Alexander Ostrovsky's "Without a Dowry". Stage directing is also central to Ieva Rodina's discussion of more contemporary developments in Latvian theatre, "Blurring the borders between life and the theatre in the stage directing of Vladislavs Nastavševs". In her paper, "The Dynamics of Crossing Borders. The Case of Hella Wuolijoki [1886–1954]", Anneli Saro examines this Estonian writer's changing orientation to Finnish culture, where her plays and political writings are better received. In "Opera Across Borders: New Technologies and Mediatization", Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča approaches the challenges of inter- and transmedial reception situations for opera, and discusses the concept of "liveness" in the works of Paul Auslander and Bruce McConachie.

The thorny, often highly creative problematics of bilingualism is the topic of Irina Belobrovtseva's paper, "The Bilingual Writer", in which she comparatively examines the dynamics of this shift in the works of Estonian-Russian (Jaan Kaplinski, Kalle Käsper) and Russian-Estonian writers (Igor Kotjuh). In her paper, Aija Sakova focuses on the Estonian poet, critic, and literary statesman Ivar Ivask, whose many initiatives sought to disrupt the inward-looking restrictions of Estonian exile literature and situate Baltic literatures in a comparative European frame.

Two literary-historical articles direct the reader's attention to crossing temporal borders to analyse cultural phenomena in the more distant past. In his paper entitled "In Search of Grigory Skovoroda's Motivation", Vadim Vozdvizhensky investigates the little-studied Hungarian period of the Ukrainian Christian writer and philosopher, Grigory Savvich Skovoroda (1722–1794). Kairit Kaur uses intricate archival retrieval and close analysis of texts to illuminate traces of British graveyard poetry in mid-19th century Baltic-German poetry belonging to the *Totentanz* (Dance of Death) topos.

More recent topics are broached by Emrah Atasoy, whose article "Transformational Utopian/Dystopian Projections in Turkish Literature" argues for the broader recognition of the utopian mode of literature in Turkey, and the potential impact of utopian texts on social change, drawing on one of Adam Senel's texts, *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı* that has yet to be translated into larger languages. Dorota Rygiel investigates hybridity in the dynamic process of constructing South Asian immigrant identities in post-World War II Britain through

analysing main characters in Monica Ali's novel *Brick Lane* (2003) and Hanif Kureishi's novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990).

The Special Issue closes with historian Kaarel Piirimäe's review of Epp Annus' monograph, *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands* (Routledge, 2018), and Epp Annus' response to the review. These two texts introduce a new discussion section to Methis, in which the author has a chance to enter into dialogue with the reviewer.

This Special Issue would not have been possible without the hard work and friendly advice of many colleagues both at Krosno State College and the Estonian Literary Museum. We are grateful for the thorough and constructive critique of our peer reviewers in Poland and Estonia, our ever alert and witty technical editor, Kanni Labi; English language editor and proofreader, Marika Liivamägi. Designer Krete Pajo was in charge of pouring out the Special Issue into elegant artistic format.

We are also grateful for the gracious financial subsidies of the University of Tartu Publications Fund, Stanisław Pigoń State College in Krosno, and the Estonian Cultural Endowment. This Special Issue was supported by the institutional research grant "Formal and Informal Networks of Literature, Based on Sources of Cultural History" of the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research (IRG22-2), the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (CEES, European Regional Development Fund), the Estonian Literary Museum and the University of Tartu.

Tiina Ann Kirss, Władysław Witalisz, Marin Laak
Co-Editors of the Special Issue

METHIS

The Bilingual Writer: Two Estonian-Russian Cases and One Russian-Estonian Case[1]

Irina Belobrovtseva

Abstract: The present article addresses the problem of literary bilingualism. Summing up linguists' disagreements concerning the content and scope of the notion of bilingualism, this article, which in its practical part addresses the situation of Russian-Estonian literary bilingualism, can be considered a prolegomenon to this subject. The problem of Estonian-Russian literary bilingualism is discussed on the basis of the poetic output of Jaan Kaplinski (whose native language is Estonian) and Igor Kotjukh (whose native language is Russian), both of whom have been active as bilingual writers for many years, and on the basis of a recently published novel by Kalle Käsper, *Чудо* (*Wonder*, 2017)—Kalle Käsper's debut as a Russian writer. The problem of literary bilingualism will be discussed in the framework of the following methods: stylistic analysis of the text, interviews with bilingual writers, and the analysis of bilingual writers' texts from the perspective of the presence of Russian/Estonian linguistic and cultural substrata.

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Keywords: bilingualism in present-day cross-cultural discourse, literary aspect of bilingualism, bilingual writers' literary output

Due to the very naming of the notion and in historical retrospective, bilingualism has been studied primarily by linguists, yet it is also a subject of interest of such disciplines as philosophy, psychology, sociology, social psychology, and literary criticism. Yet even linguists have discrepancies in their understanding of what bilingualism actually is. What is regarded as a classical definition of the notion is that of Uriel Weinreich, who stated that bilingualism is the individual's ability to know two languages, and switch from one language to another depending on the communicative situation.

In general and at first glance, linguists' attitude to bilingualism approaches the recognition of bilingualism as something that does not necessarily demand the equally ideal command of two languages (André Martinet); neither does it require equal proficiency in such competencies as understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in a foreign tongue (John T. Macnamara). This point of view is shared (with

1 Research for this article was supported by the institutional research grant "Estonia between East and West: The Paradigm of the Images of "Own", "Other", "Strange", "Enemy" in Estonian Cultures in the 20th Century" (IUT18-4) and the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (CEES, European Regional Development Fund).

additions and reservations) by Eduard Blocher, Leonard Bloomfield and others. A more strict definition of bilingualism can be found, for example, in *Словарь лингвистических терминов* (*The Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*) by Olga Akhmanova (1969, 125), who agrees to understand *двуязычие* (diglossia) only as "a perfect command of two languages used in different communicative situations".

Since the present article addresses the situation of Estonian-Russian literary bilingualism, I should say a couple of words about its specific character. While any language pair in the model "Estonian language vs a language X" can be studied objectively, on purely scientific grounds, virtually any inquiry into the situation of Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian bilingualism seems impossible without mentioning specific historical conditions: Estonian linguists remember the times of Russification, which was conducted twice: at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, while Estonia was a part of the Russian Empire, and after the establishment of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in the 1940s. Passive resistance to imperial and Soviet policy was a matter of honour for Estonian intelligentsia, who managed to preserve the Estonian language until Estonia regained independence in 1991.

At times, such a firm resistance to Russification went beyond the scope of purely scholarly discussions, and resulted in speculative hypotheses that lacked well-grounded proofs. For example, according to the opinion of an authoritative Estonian linguist, Mati Hint, at the end of 1980 in an article which would later become a part of his book *Keel on tõde on õige ja vale* (*Language is the Truth, True and False*),

> [. . .] bilingualism is an individual's ability to use two languages equally or nearly equally (also in thoughts). The real bilingual can switch from one language to another even in the middle of a sentence. Bilingualism is achieved in the period of mother-tongue acquisition (until the age of five or six) in families or in foreign-language environments, not in a classroom. (Hint 2002, 309)

Having stated this, Hint made a reference to two already obsolete books by Alfred Koort (1938) and George G. Thompson (1962), which promoted the idea of bilinguals' retarded development.

Following Martinet, who had stressed the fact that the problem of individual bilingualism should be studied more thoroughly, Hint stated that what have yet to be studied are the potential threats of bilingualism. He claimed that although 90 percent of pupils succeed in second-language-acquisition classes (having in mind the Russian language, the obligatory study of which was gradually taking more and more space in Soviet Estonia's school curricula), the remaining 10 percent of pupils were likely to suffer from retarded development caused by bilingualism, thus losing the opportunity to succeed in their adult lives. The political underside of these state-

ments was clear to everyone: the language of a small nation had to be defended, and in *perestroika* times, the linguist preferred to make an unverifiable statement in order to defend his mother tongue regardless of the existence of such an experimentally-grounded work such as, e. g. *The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence* by Canadian scholars Elizabeth Peal and Wallace E. Lambert, who testified to advantages of bilingualism such as "mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, a more diversified set of mental abilities" (Peal and Lambert 1962, 20). That Hint did not refer to this or analogous works, e.g. those of Peter Ball, Howard Giles and Miles Hewstone (1984), in which bilingualism and its issues are not defined strictly as a linguistic phenomenon, can be explained not only by the political agenda itself, but also by the disadvantageous state of Soviet scholars (let me remind that we are talking about the late 1980s, i.e. about the Soviet period in Estonian history), who were cut off from the latest achievements in Western thought by the iron curtain.

During the 30 years following the publication of Hint's article, scholars' treatment of bilingualism changed radically. The most noteworthy change took place at the end of the century.

Most turn-of-the-century studies in this field addressed the cognitive aspect of bilingualism (Genesee 1989; Nicoladis and Secco 1998), and paved the way for a series of experiments by Ellen Bialystok and Michelle Martin Rhee, who in 2004 proved the existence of inborn bilingualism. What was also proved was the concept that bilingualism was formed through learning, i.e. after the completion of acquisition of the mother tongue. More appositely, refuting fears of bilingualism's negative influence upon a fragile human psyche, science has come to the conclusion that bilingualism boosts cognitive abilities, and even prevents dementia in the elderly.

By the mid-20th century, the Cuban cultural theorist Fernando Ortiz introduced the notion of transculturality, implying the development of cultural synergy, i.e. "an individual's simultaneous existence in the role of multiple identities in different cultures preserving footprints of each of them" (Proshina 2017, 158).

The process of globalization contributes to the growth of the number of bilinguals in everyday life; consequentially, the phenomenon of diglossy and polyglossy still preoccupies scholars' minds. Yet the present article addresses a more specific aspect of bilingualism—bilingualism in literature, more precisely Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian literary bilingualism.

It should be noted that there are no discrepancies among definitions of literary bilingualism, unlike studies of bilingualism as a linguistic phenomenon: bilingual writers are those, who have perfect command of two or more languages—endowing them, as Rita Safariants (2007, 193) aptly said, with "multifaceted linguistic capital". Since the very fact of the existence of literary bilingualism is beyond doubt, it is

surprising to come across a work under the essayistic rather than the scholarly title *Литературный билингвизм: за и против* (*Literary Bilingualism: Pro et contra*) (Valuitseva and Khukhuni 2015), as if a personal standpoint could question the phenomenon's very existence. What I see here is a subjective, judgmental aspect. Thus many scholars refer to Mikhail Alekseyev's opinion, who noted—in his study of French texts by August Strindberg, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and Oscar Wilde—that all these texts should have been edited, as they were marred by a "foreign accent," and "inaccuracies from the viewpoint of a natural-born Frenchman." As a result, Mikhail Alekseyev came to the conclusion that "writers' second-language acquisition ability has its limits, and the creative freedom in several languages turns out to be quite illusive" (Alekseyev 1981, 14).

The list of bilingual authors who were active as writers in French, yet did not enjoy French readers' recognition can be extended further. What comes to mind are the names of the great Russian 19th-century poets Alexander Pushkin and Fyodor Tyutchev; in a similar manner Marina Tsvetaeva's French poems were not perceived as originals, but rather as translations from Russian, and there are yet other examples.

The question of "bilingual equality" in the art of bilingual writers is being discussed continuously from various viewpoints. Having in mind the practical component of the present article, that is Estonian-Russian/Russian-Estonian bilingualism, it is interesting to note how often these studies refer to two Russian authors—Vladimir Nabokov and Joseph Brodsky, who worked in two languages (Vladimir Nabokov was also active to some extent as a French-writing author). This fact—and also the specific feature of the bilingualism of these two authors, namely that they started writing in English after they had established themselves as Russian writers—has already generated (and continues to generate) numerous scholarly articles. The reader should consult the above-mentioned work by Rita Safariants, also the contribution of Ilya Grigoryev (2005); Beaujour's (1989) book partly dedicated to Nabokov's case, and McMillin's (1994) article partly devoted to Brodsky's case.

Kseniya Baleyevskikh (2002), who studied the literary bilingualism of Andreï Makine, a French writer of Russian descent, summed up the most burning issues related to the analysis of bilingual authors:

- Why does the writer leave his native language's universe?
- Is there anything lacking in his native tongue?
- What does the writer gain, when he "enters" the culture of his "second home," and what does this culture get in return?
- What is the intellectual trade-off? What does the writer lose as a result of the transition?

Some answers to these questions can be found in Vladimir Nabokov's preface to the Russian version of his autobiography, *Другие берега* (*Other Shores*), in which he stated that his switch from Russian to English was not a switch from the language of Pushkin and Tolstoy (i.e. from that of the major Russian cultural figures of the past), nor from the language of Russian periodicals (i.e. from that of the every-day sphere of language), but rather a switch from his individual mother tongue. He also stressed the fact that his farewell to the Russian language was tremendously painful. He repeated more or less the same in his numerous interviews, for example, in his interview with Robert Hughes, in September 1965: "[. . .] I stopped writing in my native tongue altogether except for an occasional poem [. . .]. My complete switch from Russian prose to English prose was exceedingly painful—like learning anew to handle things after losing seven or eight fingers in explosion" (Nabokov 1990, 54). We know that Nabokov's switch to English took place for various reasons, first the need to move from France to the United States in 1940 before the Nazi invasion, for fear for the life of his Jewish wife and little son. The second reason was the reduction of the readership in the Russian emigration. In his interview with Hughes, Nabokov mentioned Joseph Conrad, stressing his personal idiosyncrasy in the form of a word play on Conrad's last name: "[. . .] I differ from Joseph Conradically. First of all. He had not been writing in his native tongue before he became an English writer, and secondly, I cannot stand today his polished clichés and primitive clashes" (57).

Possible reasons for translingualism or linguistic migration are often explained by the comparison of "great" and "minor" cultures, and at times this results in making such conclusions as the following: "As history of literature shows, translingualism is always about moving toward the more prestigious language/culture or, to the language perceived as equal, and never vice versa." What stimulates this process is the fact that more prestigious cultures "make it possible to expand the horizons of self-expression [. . .] and self-affirmation providing the possibility to become famous outside of the ethnic group of origin" (Baleyevskikh 2001). And yet from my perspective, as I address the problem of Estonian-Russian bilingualism, I should both confirm and refute this statement.

There are three Estonian writers in my paper's focus: two of them, Jaan Kaplinski and Kalle Käsper, are native speakers of Estonian who *also* write in Russian. The third writer, Igor Kotjukh, in his collection of poems *Когда наступит завтра* (*When Tomorrow Comes*) (Tallinn, 2005) puts forward a somewhat ironic form of self-identification: "I can't consider myself an Estonian—my native language is Russian. I can't consider myself a Russian—my temperament is different." In one of his interviews he also says:

> I cannot say for sure that I consider myself a Russian for the simple reason that the environment, I think, forms a person. [. . .] On the other hand, I cannot regard myself as an Estonian for a simple reason: my Estonian isn't without accent, it's not my native tongue. So, it turns out I should state that I equally cherish the fact I am a Russian, and the fact I am related to Estonia. So, a Russian living in Estonia. I can identify myself—through my mother tongue—as a Russian.[2]

In view of the already mentioned complicated status of the Russian language in Estonia, it is interesting how Kaplinski and Käsper explain why they occasionally write in Russian. Let me focus on Kaplinski first, as he is the most well-known of the three. At times Kaplinski stresses the fact that he switches to Russian spontaneously: "Recently, I've been writing poems in Russian only. You can find these poems in my book *Sõnast sõnatusse / Инакобытие* (*From Words to Wordlessness / The Next World* (2005). There was a long break before that. Then it just happened I started writing in Russian."[3] On May 12, 2015, in his interview with Elena Fanailova for Radio Liberty, the poet said that his motivation is twofold. On the one hand, it is prompted by his interest in the subject from his professional standpoint (Kaplinski studied linguistics). He is interested in comparing certain repeating archaic structures in Russian (*гуси-лебеди, тучи-облака, трава-мурава*, etc.) with analogous structures in some Finno-Ugric languages. The very idea that archaica is something that helps a language to survive drives Kaplinski to the conclusion that this *something* has always contributed to the survival of the Russian language against all odds (revolutions, counterrevolutions, etc.), and prompts him to make a statement, which is quite surprising to hear in the context of present-day Estonia: "I experience almost nostalgia for the Russian Empire." In his poems in Russian, this feeling of nostalgia is expressed by means of the old spelling.

Here Kaplinski's explanation brings to mind a well-known Japanese custom: after distinguishing oneself in something, one should change one's given name or even one's occupation: "I am an old man now, and what I want is to transform, to turn from a living classic (as they call me) into a pupil, a poet who is uncertain and far from being self-assured. I am surprised by the warm reception of my Russian poems. It's like my second youth" (Fanailova 2015).

By the time he was awarded a prestigious *Русская премия* literary prize[4] for his collection of poems *Белые бабочки ночи* (*White Butterflies of Night*), Kaplinski man-

2 From Igor Kotjukh's interview in 2016 to Jekaterina Belozerova, a Tallinn University student.

3 From Jaan Kaplinski's interview in 2016 to Jekaterina Belozerova, a Tallinn University student.

4 This prize is awarded to writers in Russian living abroad.

aged to formulate his attitude to his writing in Russian in a more pronounced way. He said:

> The Russian language is closer to me than any other foreign language. After all, it's almost my second native tongue. Russian colleagues and readers seem to comprehend me better than, say, Englishmen or Americans. [. . .] I'm a linguist, and writing in another language is a big challenge. It is difficult, and this difficulty makes me happy. And what also gladdens me are my discoveries in the Russian language, its structure, its semantics. (Logosh 2016)

The case of Käsper and his novel *Чудо (Wonder*) is of a different order. Käsper's interest in Russian developed, according to the author's own account as a step-by-step process. He has always said that he wants to gain access to a wider audience. This corresponds completely to what theoreticians say about the pragmatic aspect of a language switch: the linguistic choice is prompted by a larger country and a "greater" culture. And yet one should not forget about the conditions surrounding the novel's creation. Until 2015, Käsper was a part of a very specific union: his wife was Goar Markosyan-Käsper, a recently deceased Russian prose writer of Armenian descent, and it was she who had translated her husband's works into Russian. According to Käsper, his wife

> [. . .] had a much better command in Russian than I did. I can say that her Russian was outstanding. At the same time, although only she was credited as the translator, I always contributed to the translation process: Goar did not know the Estonian language well, so I always prepared the first draft of the upcoming translation, and then discussed the outcome with her. I had started writing *Chudo* in Estonian, but very soon it occurred to me that nothing would come out of this idea. The reason is that while I was writing something, I used to translate what I had just written spontaneously to Goar, so she could make her suggestions. [. . .] And as I do not have such an opportunity now, I made the decision to translate the text into Russian for the sake of controlling it.[5]

At first glance, the author's explanation here seems purely pragmatic. Yet it is worth re-reading Käsper's novel to understand that this text (balancing on the edge of a "human document", that which what we normally call "non-fiction" and a traditional fictional narrative about the death of the beloved woman and the unbearable feeling of one's powerlessness, about the destruction of the ideal Platonic that consisted of two halves) was written in Russian because it is a requiem *sui generis*. It is

5 From Käsper's letter from 24 February, 2018 to the article's author.

no accident that when the novel's narrator learns about his wife's mortal diagnosis, he thinks: "All [is] over. Now we are dead" (my emphasis—I. B.). Russian was the Käspers' *lingua franca*, and while this language is alive in the narrator's consciousness (as well as due to the specifics of this novel's genre), the beloved is alive in the author's consciousness.

Besides Kaplinski's and Käsper's self-explanatory strategies, another contributing factor that should be taken into account is that of escapism. Judging from its multiple definitions, escapism is a subject of current interest in postmodern culture. The escapism of the present is caused by various inner and outer reasons, yet primarily by the sharp decline in the status of the intellectual. According to Marshall McLuhan, the world nowadays is homogenized, and it is lacking in what he terms individuals' ability for emotional mixes (McLuhan 1994, 61). According to Tomislav Šola (2012, 77), the future of intellectuals is miserable: "Intellectuals have hardly ever had such a poor role in society as they do today. [. . .] We are facing hard times: an immediate future in which culture itself will have difficulty defending its own importance." In addition, while Šola writes about the situation in museums, and Aleksandr Guseynov's (2013) research is focused on work with teenagers, it is clear that the escapism of these two Estonian writers (and the escapist subtext is present in Kaplinski's switch to the Russian language) is related to their protest moods.

A logical question arising from Kaplinski's and Käsper's translingualism is the question of whether they write well in their second languages, which in other words is the question of their linguistic competence. *En passant* I should note that both have degrees in the Humanities (Kaplinski in French and Applied Linguistics; Käsper in Russian);[6] both speak Russian fluently, yet both need an editor for their published works.

Sergei Zavyalov was (and still is) the editor of Kaplinski's Russian poems. He also authored the afterword to Kaplinski's book *Белые бабочки ночи* (*White Butterflies of Night*). Charmed by Kaplinski's philosophical poetry, Zavyalov concluded his afterword with what reads like the renunciation of the importance of literary bilingualism:

> And another important feature: it's not important at all in what language this conversation goes. Just like there are things more important than "poetry" [. . .], there are forms of human nature's expression more important than "language" (if it is not the language of a spring or sparrows), where

6 Igor Kotjukh has a degree in Estonian.

> poems (destined to be written and unwritten at the same time), thoughts (destined to be born and remain unborn), and things (having names and unnamed) become equal. (Zavyalov 2014, 91)

This statement by Zavyalov can be compared to Nabokov's thoughts about the nature of artistic thought in general, and that of a bilingual writer in particular. Answering the question, "What language do you think in?" Nabokov said:

> I don't think in any language. I think in images. I don't believe that people think in languages. They don't move their lips when they think. It is only a certain type of illiterate person who moves his lips as he reads or ruminates. No, I think in images, and now and then a Russian phrase or an English phrase will form with the foam of the brainwave, but that's about all. (Nabokov 1990, 14)[7]

Yet, in spite of what Zavyalov sees as the superlingual nature of Kaplinski's poetry, the editor's presence in *Белые бабочки ночи* (*White Butterflies of Night*) is quite apparent. And this presence is not about corrections of slips of pen; rather, it is more about suggestions (most likely confirmed by the author), which produce new semantic overtones and even new meanings. Let me give just one, yet a very vivid example.

Here is the initial text of Jaan Kaplinski's poem:

> Мы все н ы р я е м в неизвестном месте
> будущее нахлынет на все что осталось от нас
> следы на поверхности переродятся в круги
> [. . .]
> но те кто придут приплывут за нами
> умеют лишь хрюкать и барабанить
> не знают о жажде и не торопятся жить и петь[8]

7 African writer Bernard Dadié said that "a bilingual writer does not translate: the language of a text comes from the depths of his consciousness." He "[. . .] represents the meeting point of two currents, the point where something new is born as a result. This to a certain extent *estranges* him from the chosen language, and helps him to see this language from the outside [. . .] Multilingualism [. . .] serves the purpose of the spread of human thought, and promotes mutual understanding and solidarity" (Dadié 1968, 245).

8 Word-by-word translation: "All we dive in an unknown place / the future will cover everything left from us / traces on the surface will turn into circles [. . .] yet those who will come after us / only know how to oink and strike the drum / unaware of thirst, making time to live and sing" [my emphasis—I. B.]. The manuscript in the personal archive of the author of the article.

And here is the final text as published in his collection *Белые бабочки ночи* (*White Butterflies of Night*):

Рано или поздно мы все нырнем в неизвестное
будущее нахлынет на все что от нас осталось
следы на поверхности переродятся в круги
[. . .]
но те кто придут приплывут за нами
умеют лишь хрюкать и барабанить
не знают о смерти и жажде и не торопятся жить и петь[9]
(Kaplinski 2014, 29)

Two major corrections in the first and the final lines of the poem (the substitution of the present tense for the future tense, the addition of "sooner or later", i.e. always inevitably, and the addition of the word "death", i.e. something that is present in the poem's first version implicitly) make the poem easier to read, yet they do simplify the poem's meaning.[10]

In the view of globalization, one can distinguish two tendencies: firstly, one can foresee a rapid growth in the number of bilingual writers, and secondly, these writers will have an unequal level of competence in the languages they use in art. Besides the factor of globalization, what also influences the situation of literary bilingualism is the very epoch of postmodernity, which regards literature as a game (with its double optics, the absence of hierarchy, etc).

This aspect of literary bilingualism manifests itself in the output of Kotjukh. The major corpus of his texts are poems written in free verse. In Russian literature free verse is something generally understood as a new epoch in the development of Russian poetry: "Nowadays, we see in Russian literature the birth of a new formation, more perfect than prose, and younger than prose. This is *vers libre*" (Chernyshov 2009, 3). Many postmodern Russian poets say that the traditional system of poetry is artificial (as if they were following Russian 19th-century prose writer Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, who compared rhymed poetry to a walk along a rope with sit-ups after each step). One of the most well-known Russian advocates of free verse,

9 Word-by-word translation: "Sooner or later we all shall dive into the unknown / the future will cover everything that is left from us / traces on the surface will turn into circles [. . .] yet those who will come after us / only know how to oink and strike the drum / unaware of death and thirst, making time to live and sing" [my emphasis—I. B.].

10 The text of Käsper's novel is also not free from Estonianisms.

Vladimir Burich (1989, 169), writes: "From the aesthetic point of view, conventional verses [traditional, rhymed—I. B.] embody the category of artificiality (one should not see in this word the negative sense, though), while free verse expresses the aesthetic category of the natural."

What makes Kotjukh different from Kaplinski and Käsper is his desire to be present in two literatures—Russian and Estonian—with the same texts. Some of his poems, initially written in Russian, are self-translated into Estonian, while another portion is translated by poets writing in Estonian.[11] He is also becoming more and more conscious about his experience as a bilingual author. There are not that many statements of bilinguals concerning such experiences, yet there are remarkable descriptions of this phenomenon "from the inside", such as those of an African writer Dadié (1968, 245), mentioned above, who said that "the language of a text comes from the depths of his consciousness," and that a bilingual writer "represents the meeting point of two currents, the point where something new is born as a result. This to a certain extent estranges him from the chosen language, and helps him to see this language from the outside". Kotjukh speaks of a more or less equivalent psychological state, when he says in his interview: "When I write poems, the inner translator in my head is always busy. [. . .] My head is writing a poem in two languages at the same time."

This interesting self-description and some of Kotjukh's translated poems that are almost word-by-word true to the original text, raise the question of the addressee of his bilingual poetry. Students of literary bilingualism pay serious attention to such aspects of bilingual writers' works as the juxtaposition of two cultures, and the merging of two world views, which manifests itself in some specific features of national mentality, literary and linguistic structures, and psychological features. It is in this context that we should read Kotjukh's explanations as to why he was so persistent in pursuing an exact translation of certain details of his poem:

> When I lived in Võru [a small town in Southern Estonia], there was a station out there called "Radio Ring," and there was always some music in the air, some ads, something about what's going on in the city. And often the announcer said that everyone's free to make his or her own ad, and all you need is just to pay some money, and dial the *erakuulutuste telefon* [the number for private announcements] 1616. And I really wanted my poem about Võru to have this stock phrase—*erakuulutuste telefon*, so when my translator offered something different, something

11 Problems of self-translation are beyond the scope of this study, and deserve a more thorough research.

closer to what I had written in the original, I just corrected that for *erakuulutuste telefon*. I just needed that stock phrase in my poem about Võru."[12]

So, in the case of this poem, the ideal reader is not an abstract Estonian addressee, but a person living in the particular city the poem describes.

A counterexample can be found in Kotjukh's poetic cycle "Красота неочевидных вещей" ("The Beauty of Non-Obvious Things"), where poems start from dates (without a year), as if they were diary entries. In the poem entitled in Russian "7 августа" ("August 7") dates, names and events are "equalized" by the absence of capital letters:

разговоры: от шумеров до гитлера, от красных кхмеров до транстрёмера, от португалии до выруского языка, от монаха сюаньтсана до родителей ленина, от финно-угорского субстрата до менделеева, от сапфо до набокова, от латинских максим до французских ругательств, от польши до лао-цзы, от ду фу до паровоза черепанова, от пия в до российских детективов, от эстонских народных песен до церковнославянского языка, от индонезии до куусинена, от римской империи до арво пэрта и тд и тп – с сергеем завьяловым в гостях у яна каплинского[13] (Kotjukh 2017)

The cycle's subtitle "Для 33 читателей" ("For 33 readers"), at first glance defines the ideal reader, yet when we start making guesses about the culture to which these 33 readers belong, the poem's content becomes unhelpful— the scope of details is so broad. What we have here is, most probably, a postmodernist game, where burning issues are mixed with Estonian subjects (the Võru language, Estonian folklore, Arvo Pärt, the Finno-Ugric substrate), occasional Russian names (Mendeleyev, Lenin, Nabokov, Cherepanov) and, probably, multilingual interlocutors' interests, i.e. those of Kaplinski, Kotjukh, and Zavyalov. Defining the mentality of this text's addressee is not easy, and the author, most probably, takes this textual ambiguity into account, emphasizing the fusion of cultures, rather than the extent of their differences.

12 From Igor Kotjukh's interview in 2016 to Jekaterina Belozerova.

13 conversations: from sumerians to hitler, from the khmer rouge to tranströmer, from portugal to the võru language, from the monk xuanzang to lenin's parents, from the finno-ugric substrate to mendeleev, from sappho to nabokov, from latin maxims to french swear words, from poland to laozi, from du fu to cherepanov locomotive, from pius v to russian crime novels, from estonian folk songs to the old church slavonic language, from indonesia to kuusinen, from the roman empire to arvo pärt, and so on and so forth—with sergei zavyalov at jaan kaplinski's

Kotjukh's evolution as a poet reveals his enthusiasm about the postmodern component of poetry. Estonian literary critics have already noticed the abundance of short forms in his poetic output (cf Kaus 2017), yet the linguistic aspect is of no lesser importance. Kotjukh plays with macaronic poetry, putting Estonian words into Russian texts to achieve comic effect. Yet there are also poems, in which the comic counterpart is not important; thus, when choosing between code-switching and mixing, Kotjukh chooses mixing.

He is surely aware that the "[. . .] postulate of the monolingual assumption presumes the need to preserve language purity and to avoid language mixing, most especially in the formal educational context" (Bernardo 2005), and if he chooses mixing, this choice results in his using some extralinguistic factors new to Estonian-Russian/Russian-Estonian literature. Yet what is new for Estonian literature has already been noticed elsewhere. Thus, in view of the problem of the addressee, David Stromberg stated in his foreword to the interview with an American prose writer, Anya Ulinich:

> Ulinich uses transliterated Russian words throughout the book, and takes the liberty not to explain them all directly. At the art academy, Sasha is chided for drawing *babskie shtuchki* (loosely translatable as "chick's stuff") and then is asked "What's next? Fairies? Little angels? Stepashka the Bunny?" Context fills in the lack of literal understanding, while those who understand Russian can appreciate a memory of the language. For a Russian speaker it's an expressive moment, a way to enter the intimacy of that language while remaining in the exile of the Latin alphabet; for an English speaker, it is perhaps a reminder that underneath the seemingly understandable prose is a parallel one that is totally incomprehensible. (Stromberg 2007)

This is yet another evidence of how close (and dependent) the postmodern literary bilingualism is to globalization: the worldwide nomad camp (*мировое кочевье*, to use Marina Tsvetaeva's metaphor) contributes to literary bilingualism, revealing more and more new features in it. In conclusion, it can be noted that at the present time, literary bilingualism is being seriously influenced by two phenomena—the process of globalization and postmodernism. If earlier translingualism or linguistic migration was often explained by the comparison of "great" and "minor" cultures in favour of the more prestigious language/culture, and never vice versa, today, referring to the chosen problem of Estonian-Russian bilingualism, one can both confirm and refute this statement. As the number of bilinguals in everyday reality grows who are capable of understanding both languages in which the writer works, literary bilingualism is increasingly manifested as a postmodern game. Instead of code-switching, the writers use macaronic poetry that allows the author to achieve a

comic effect or demonstrate mixing as a way of co-existence in art (and probably in life). Future studies of literary bilingualism can comprehensively analyse the problem of the addressee of bilingual poetry and, even more clearly, show the importance of extralinguistic factors for literary bilingualism.

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Irina Belobrovtseva—PhD in Russian literature, professor of Russian literature at Tallinn University. Main research interests: 20th–21st century Russian literature and culture, Russian culture in Estonia.
e-mail: venefil[at]tlu.ee

Kakskeelne kirjanik: kaks eesti-vene kirjanikku ja üks vene-eesti kirjanik

Irina Belobrovtseva

Märksõnad: kakskeelsus tänapäeva kultuuridevahelises diskursuses, kakskeelsuse kirjanduslik aspekt, kakskeelsete kirjanike looming

Käesoleva artikli praktiline osa käsitleb vene-eesti kirjandusliku kakskeelsuse olukorda, teoreetilises osas võetakse kokku keeleteadlaste lahkarvamused kakskeelsuse mõiste sisu ja ulatuse üle. Eesti-vene kirjandusliku kakskeelsuse küsimust vaadeldakse eesti emakeelega Jaan Kaplinski ja vene emakeelega Igor Kotjuhi luuleloomingu põhjal. Mõlemad autorid on palju aastaid tegutsenud kakskeelsete kirjanikena. Samuti käsitletakse Kalle Käsperi hiljuti ilmunud venekeelset romaani „Ime" (2017), mis oli Käsperi debüüt vene kirjanikuna. Kirjandusliku kakskeelsuse küsimust arutatakse stilistilise tekstianalüüsi ja kakskeelsete kirjanikega tehtud intervjuude abil, toetudes kakskeelsete kirjanike tekstide analüüsile, mis uurib vene/eesti keelelise ja kultuurilise aluskihi olemasolu nende teostes.

Üldjuhul on keeleteadlaste hoiak kakskeelsuse suhtes üsna lähedal kakskeelsuse tunnustamisele nähtusena, mis ei nõua ilmtingimata mõlema keele võrdset valdamist (André Martinet); samuti ei nõua see ka selliste oskuste võrdset valdamist nagu teisest keelest arusaamine, selle rääkimine, lugemine ja kirjutamine (John T. Macnamara). Enamik sajandivahetusel sel alal tehtud uurimustest käsitleb kakskeelsuse kognitiivset aspekti. Tõestati ideed, et kakskeelsus formeerus õppimise käigus, s.t pärast emakeele omandamise lõpetamist. Lükates ümber hirme, mis puudutavad kakskeelsuse negatiivset mõju haprale inimteadvusele, jõudis teadus järeldusele, et kakskeelsus hoopiski ergutab inimese kognitiivseid võimeid.

Erinevalt kakskeelsuse kui keelelise nähtuse uurimisest pole kirjandusliku kakskeelsuse definitsioonide vahel lahknevusi: kakskeelsed kirjanikud on need kirjanikud, kes oskavad hästi kahte või enamat keelt. Seoses globaliseerumisega võib ette näha selliste kakskeelsete kirjanike arvu kiiret kasvu, kes ei oska oma loomingus kasutatavaid keeli võrdsel tasemel. Kirjandusliku kakskeelsuse olukorda mõjutab ka postmodernismi ajajärk, mil kirjandust peetakse mänguks.

Arvestades vene keele komplitseeritud olukorda Eestis, on huvitav jälgida, kuidas Jaan Kaplinski ja Kalle Käsper seletavad, miks nad mõnikord vene keeles kirjutavad. Kaplinski on märkinud oma professionaalset huvi selle teema vastu: ta on soovinud võrrelda teatavaid korduvaid arhailisi vene keele struktuure analoogiliste struktuuridega mõnes soome-ugri keeles. Tema venekeelsetes luuletustes väljendab nostalgiatunnet vanapärane kirjaviis. Kaplinski on ka väitnud, et teises keeles kirjutamine on kirjanikule suureks väljakutseks.

Käsperi huvi vene keele vastu tekkis kirjaniku enda väitel järkjärgult. Ta on alati öelnud, et soovib jõuda laiema lugejaskonnani. See on täielikus kooskõlas sellega, mida teoreetikud räägivad keelevahetuse pragmaatilisest aspektist: keele valiku dikteerivad suurem maa ja „suurem" kultuur. Lisaks Kaplinski ja Käsperi enesestmõistetavatele strateegiatele tuleb arvesse võtta veel ühte tegurit – see on eskapism. Nimetatud kirjanike eskapism on seotud nende protestimeeleoludega.

Suhteliselt noort luuletajat Kotjuhi aga eristab Kaplinskist ja Käsperist tema soov eksisteerida ühtede ja samade tekstidega korraga nii eesti kui vene kirjanduses. Ta teadvustab ka ise järjest rohkem oma kogemust kakskeelse autorina. Ta rõhutab oma luules rohkem kultuuride ühtesulamist kui seda,

kui erinevad nad on. Tema areng luuletajana näitab luule postmodernistliku komponendi innukat omaksvõttu.

Kui varasemalt seletati translingualismi ehk keelelist migratsiooni tihti „suurte" ja „väikeste" kultuuride võrdlemisega, alati eelistades mõjukamaid keeli/kultuure, siis tänapäeval võib eesti-vene kakskeelsuse valiku raames seda väidet nii kinnitada kui ümber lükata. Kuna igapäevases elus kasvab kakskeelsete inimeste hulk, kes oskavad mõlemat keelt, milles kirjanik kirjutab, siis väljendub kirjanduslik kakskeelsus järjest rohkem postmodernistliku mänguna. Koodivahetuse asemel kasutavad kirjanikud makaroonilist luulet, mis võimaldab autoril saavutada koomilist efekti või näidata segunemist kui üht võimalust kunstis (ja tõenäoliselt ka elus) kooseksisteerimiseks.

Irina Belobrovtseva – PhD vene kirjanduse alal, Tallinna Ülikooli vene kirjanduse professor. Peamised uurimisteemad: 20. ja 21. sajandi vene kirjandus ja kultuur, vene kultuur Eestis.
e-post: venefil[at]tlu.ee

METHIS

Totentanz and the Graveyard Poetry: About the Baltic German Reception of English Graveyard Poetry[1]

Kairit Kaur

Abstract: This paper explores the Baltic German reception of English graveyard poetry. The first translation of a graveyard poem was published in 1783 by Gottlieb Schlegel (Gray's "Elegy"). Next, a poem by Elisa von der Recke is analysed in its dialogue with Blair's "The Grave" and Schiller's "Resignation". The earliest and the most often talked about graveyard poem with the longest reception was Edward Young's "Night-Thoughts". Heinrich Mutschmann, professor for English at the University of Tartu, interpreted it as late as 1939.

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As I was gathering material for my doctoral dissertation about women who wrote poetry in the Baltic provinces of Estland, Livland and Courland in the years 1654–1800 (see Kaur 2013), I came across an extremely exciting occasional poem that had been printed in Tallinn in 1759, preserved in the Library of the Estonian National Archive, EAA.A2.220 (IV-166). It is the first occasional poem signed by a woman in Estland (Northern Estonia) after the Great Northern War (1700–1721)—signed by "all the maternal female first cousins" of the unmarried Baroness Anna Christiana von Delwig who died young. The poem, written in alexandrine verse, depicts the cousins' dialogue with Death. The relatives of the late person blame Death for hurriedly bereaving them of their loved one (see Kaur 2009, 17, reference 17), and Death replies:

Ihr die ihr mich so haß't, so tadelt und so schmähet
Gut! ich gedenck es euch, ihr habt nicht ew'ge Jahre
Komt! sehet Gottes Hand! sehet was hier stehet
Ich rufe jung und alt, der Reihe nach zur Bahre.
Ich bin des Herren Knecht, ich thu was er befiehlet? [*sic*! i.e.!]
Ich trage das herbey, worauf die Allmacht ziehlet.
Haß't immer meine That, verfluchet mein Beginnen;
Ich lache alle dem, ihr könnt doch nichts gewinnen.

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Gewiß! ihr Freundin irr't, ihr habt euch selbst vergessen;
Wiß't ihr vielleicht die Zeit, wenn eur Sarg wird gemessen?
Wen hat das beste Loos, wohl unter euch getroffen?
Christianen oder euch? gewiß! ihr müß't noch hoffen,
Das was Sie schon besitzt, dereinst noch zu erlangen.
Inzwischen kan Sie dort, da ihr hier leidet, prangen.
Sie wählte nicht der Art, wie sonst die meisten wählen
Der Cranz der jene, hier, als Braut nur zeitlich ziert
Der ists mit dem Sie wird dem Heyland zugeführt;
Um sich als Braut mit Ihm auf ewig zu vermählen.[2]
(Bey dem, den 8ten May 1759)

Here, one may discern allusions to the local culture, in particular to the painting "Dance of Death" (*danse macabre*) by the Lübeck master Bernt Notke in the St. Nicholas Church in Tallinn, which dates from the late 15th century, and also to the caption to the painting in Low German (see Notke, Freytag, and Vogeler 1992; Freytag 1993). At the same time, these lines recall something far more contemporary than the medieval Low German text in Estland. For example:

When men my scythe and darts supply
How great a King of Fears am I!
They view me like the last of things;
They make, and then they dread my stings.
Fools! If you less provok'd your fears
No more my spectre-form appears.
Death's but a path that must be trod,
If man wou'd ever pass to God:
A port of calms, a state of ease
From the rough rage of swelling seas.
(Parnell 1760, 129)

2 [My translation]: You that so much hate me, scold me and ridicule me / Well then! I understand you, your years are not endless / Come! see the arm of God! look at what is here / I am calling the young and the old, one after another, to the coffin. / I am a servant of the Lord, obeying his orders? [sic! there must probably be an exclamation mark here!—K. K.] / I am delivering the Almighty's will. / Always hate my deeds, curse my entreprise; / I am laughing at all that, as you have nothing to gain from it. / Indeed! You, lady friend, are mistaken, you have grown oblivious; / Do you know the time when your coffin is measured? / Which of you has drawn the best lot? / Christiane or you? Indeed! You are still to hope / That one day, you achieve what she already has. / Meantime, she may feel proud over there while you are still suffering. / She did not choose the way that the majority chooses. / The wreath that adorns the brides here temporarily / Is the one that adorns her while she is delivered to the Saviour / To marry Him as His bride forever.

These lines come from the poem "A Night-Piece on Death" (1721) by Thomas Parnell, which is considered to be one of the oldest samples of English graveyard poetry, popular in the 18th century. Besides this poem, "The Grave" (1743) by Robert Blair, the long poem "The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality" (1742–1745) by Edward Young, usually just referred to as "Night-Thoughts", and the pastoral ode "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" (1751) by Thomas Gray, are also counted as classical graveyard poetry. Therefore, the question arose, how much the author of the dedicatory poem to Anna Christiana von Delwig might have been influenced, besides local models, by the pre-romantic English poetical trend, fashionable in the 18th century. Considering the rhetorical fireworks in the text, the author must have been a learned man rather than any of the female cousins, as access to the study of rhetoric was complicated for women due to the circumstances of that time. However, I could not find any overview of the Baltic German reception of English graveyard poetry or of English literature in Tallinn, or in Estonia as a whole. To date, I have written a preliminary introductory overview of the Baltic German reception of English-language poetry and drama in (Northern) Estonia, based on subclass 12 of poetry and drama at the library of the Literary Society of Estland (Estländische Literärische Gesellschaft, 1842–1940), preserved in the Baltic section of the Tallinn University Academic Library (Kaur 2018). This article focuses more narrowly and closely on the search for traces of the Baltic German reception of English graveyard poetry in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.

When did the English graveyard poetry reach the Baltic Germans?

The representations of death in the late Middle Ages and in the second half of the 18th century are separated by a long period which cannot be focused upon here (for the examples of such discussion see Ars Moriendi 2013 and Kodres 2017). However, these developments could be lightly marked by an interesting transitional form between painting and printing, namely the vignettes in the occasional poems printed in the territory of Estonia. Such vignettes have been discussed in a recent article by the book historian Tiiu Reimo. The same kind of personification of death as in Notke's Dance of Death and in Parnell's poem can be seen in vignettes representing the skull or the Reaper. According to Tiiu Reimo's observation, vignettes with the Death as the Reaper were popular in this area in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The motif of skulls, which was preferred in local vignettes in the Baroque Age, was used less frequently in the early 18th century. Instead, the motif of the coffin grew popular. In the second half of the 18th century, representations of the coffin gradually vanished. In the last quarter of the century, the hourglass, the scythe and a wing

became the favourite constituents of one small vignette, the use of which can be identified with the period 1776–1828. Once again, the motif of the skull became popular, now in the Rococo style, and this was the case in Tallinn at the time when Axel Heinrich Lindfors became the printer there. In 1775, Lindfors began to use the vignette with a skull entwined with rose twigs, which remained in use till the end of the 18th century (Reimo, forthcoming). Taking such observations into consideration, one can say that the poem dedicated to Baroness Delwig represents an interesting intermediary or transitional phase, as the heading vignette shows a coffin but the vignette at the end depicts a skull. True, the skull is represented in the form which was popular in the early 18th century, along with the motto *Nemo hic excipitur.* Could this re-popularisation of the skull motif be explained by the arrival of the influence of the English graveyard poetry in these areas?

The attentive reader has already noticed that the publication which I relied on for the quotation of the passage of Parnell's poem comes from the collection of poems published in London in 1760, *Poems On Several Occasions*. *Written By Dr. Thomas Parnell, Late Archdeacon of Clogher; And published by Mr. Pope.* To my present knowledge, this is the only book by Parnell in Estonian libraries. Although it was published just a year after the poem of mourning dedicated to Anna Christiana von Delwig, one cannot claim with certainty that it reached Estonia immediately after its publication. Before arriving at the library of the Literary Society of Estland, the book had belonged to Friedrich Wilhelm Schüdlöffel (1791–1837). According to the inscription in the copy (XII-338), he had acquired the work in 1817. Having come from Jõelähtme (German Jegelecht) near Tallinn, he studied philology at the University of Tartu in 1807–1810; subsequently he worked in St. Petersburg as a private teacher, became the inspector of the Tallinn Cathedral School in 1817, and later a teacher and a superior teacher, in which positions he continued until his early death in 1837 (Album Academicum 1852, 15; Album Academicum 1889, 24). Thus, it can be asserted with certainty that Parnell was read in the province of Estland in the early decades of the 19th century, but it is not sure whether the same is true for the second half of the 18th century.

Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" in the translation of Gottlieb Schlegel

Browsing Baltic German magazines of the Enlightenment era, one gets the impression that the Baltic Germans' acquaintance with the English graveyard poetry started with later works than Parnell's "A Night-Piece". The only translation of classical graveyard poetry that was published in the magazines of this region in the 18th century, was "Elegie auf einen Dorfkirchhof, nach dem Englischen des Dichters

Gray" ("Elegy in a Country Churchyard, after the English [Poem] of the Poet Gray"), published anonymously in Riga in 1783 in the first magazine of general knowledge in the Baltics, *Vermischte Aufsätze und Urtheile über gelehrte Werke, ans Licht gestellt von unterschiedenen Verfassern in und um Liefland* (*Miscellaneous Articles and Opinions on Learned Works, Brought into Light by a Number of Authors in and around Livonia*). This magazine aimed to "unite and inspire the Baltic literati for intellectual work" (Jürjo 2004, 217). It was published by the famous Riga publisher Johann Friedrich Hartknoch in 1774–1783 and edited by Gottlieb Schlegel, the rector of the Riga Cathedral School. Alongside writings about theology, philosophy and economy, the magazine also published belletristic works. The translation of Gray's elegy appeared in the third issue of the second volume of the magazine, in the section "Vermischte Gedichte" ("Miscellaneous poems", see Gray 1783), next to another poem inspired by English poetry: "Ode wider den Argwohn. Nach dem Englischen des Akenside" ("Ode against Suspicion. After the English [poem] of Akenside", on pages 151–161; modelled after Mark Akenside's "Ode against Suspicion", 1745). Since the poems were not signed, it is not quite certain who translated or adapted them. Unless there were several authors, they were most likely adapted by the editor Schlegel himself. At any rate, the first poem of that collection, "Ode zum Preise die Religion Jesu bey der Einweihung einer neuen Kirche" had appeared earlier, in 1766, under his name in the Fröhlich printing house, with the title "Ode zum Preise die Religion Jesu. Der Einweihung der Katharinen-Kirche zu Bickern gewidmet von Gottlieb Schlegel".

Julius Heinrich Gottlieb Schlegel (1739–1810) came from Königsberg. At the university of his native city, he had studied theology, philology and law. Having come to Riga in 1765, he worked as rector of the Cathedral School until 1780 and as the inspector of the same educational institution from 1782 to 1790. While working as rector, he acquired the degree of Doctor of Theology at Erlangen University in 1777. After that, Schlegel became a clergyman at the Riga Cathedral and St. Peter's Church. By the end of his career in Riga, he had become the main preacher at St. Peter's Church in 1790. Subsequently, he was invited to Pomerania where he became the general superintendent and professor of theology at Greifswald University.

During his Riga years, Schlegel had undertaken a number of journeys for the refinement of his education: to St. Petersburg in 1768, to Germany in 1771 and, as a real grand tour, to Germany, the Netherlands, England and France in 1782 (DBBL 1970, 681). It may have been the last of these journeys that gave him the inspiration and impetus to render English poetry accessible to the Baltic reader, though an interest in English literature had already been evident in his earlier writings, such as the programmatic work "Von einigen Mitteln, den Werth der Poesie zu erhöhen und ihren Nutzen zu befördern" ("Of Certain Devices for Raising the Worth of Poetry

and Increasing its Benefits", Riga 1779). As was characteristic of the Enlightenment era, in this work Schlegel promotes the poetic ideal of unifying entertainment and benefit, and highlights the contribution of English authors to such poetry:

How many profound philosophical poems, and besides them, how many on arts and civil activities, has the English Parnassus produced? Dyer has thoroughly described the production of wool (as has Vida the making of silk). Granger, in one of his poems, offers instruction on all tasks related to cane; [. . .] Armstrong has written on the craft of preserving health; Downman on the raising of youth; Branston on the art of state. (Schlegel 1779, 7)

Schlegel does not mention Mark Akenside or Thomas Gray here, but obviously the works of both of these men have been translated for the "advancement of virtues" and as examples of the masterful "animation with spirit and colours" of "difficult topics", which Schlegel declared to be the task of poetry in his programmatic writing.[3]In the wording of his translation of Gray's elegy, Schlegel stays rather close to the original, following its pictorial language. At times, he sounds more idyllic, or more "homespun" than the original, as when he replaces "darkness" with "peace" and has the peasant heading for home at a much quicker pace than in the original. Compare the first stanzas:

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me. (Gray s.a.)

Die Abendglocke tönt dem Tage, der schon scheidet.

3 Der Werth einer Sache wird im gemeinen Leben erhöhet, wenn ihr Nutze erweitert, und sie zu wichtigern und anständigern Gegenständen verwandt wird, als sie bisher gebraucht worden. Pflanzen, die sonst eines kützelnden Wohlgeschmacks oder eines erfrischenden Geruchs wegen geliebt wurden, gewinnen einen erhöheten Werth, wenn man sie zu Arbeiten der Manufacturen nützet, oder sie zu einer andern wichtigen Wohlfahrt der Menschen, etwa zu einem wirksamen Mittel gegen tödtliche Krankheiten tüchtig befunden wird. Die Dichtkunst würde also in ihrem Werthe zunehmen, wenn sie größere, und wichtigere Vortheile zu gewähren suchte; Vortheile, meine ich, für die Ausbreitung der Wissenschaften; Vortheile für die Beförderung der Tugend. Und in der That, die Muse der Dichtkunst kann eine gefällige Lehrerin der Wissenschaft, eine stark in die Empfindung redende Predigerin der Sittenlehre, ein lauter Herold der Geschichte werden. Zwar ist die [6/7] Art des Denkens und des Vortrags in den Werken der Dichter von derjenigen unterschieden, welche in den dogmatischen Schriften geübet wird: aber wird nicht eben dieser Unterschied die Geschicklichkeit und das Verdienst des Dichters erhöhen, wenn er schwere Materien mit dem Geist und den Farben seiner Kunst zu beseelen im Stande ist? (Schlegel 1779, 6–7).

Träg schleicht die Heerde hin, da sie sich satt geweidet.
Der Feldmann eilt im Lauf der Hütte schmachtend zu,
Und läßt die Welt mir und der Ruh. (Gray 1783, 162)

Generally, the translation appears slightly more "baroque" and heavier than the simple, airy and brisk original. One of the reasons may be that Gray's elegy is mostly written in iambic pentameter and in quatrains (abab), whereas the verses in the translation, though iambic, vary in length (the syllables number 13/13/12/8) and are in couplets (aabb). If the last verse in the stanza form used by Schlegel also contained twelve syllables, one would be dealing with the heroic alexandrine, the verse form from which Schlegel most likely obtained inspiration in his search for a suitable counterpart to the stanza form. In German secular baroque poetry, pastorals (*Schäferlied*) were written in alexandrines. As late as the 18th century, the same stanza form was used in funeral poems (Frank 1993, 360: 4.120). Schlegel probably saw these two aspects intermingling in Gray's elegy. The last, short verse might have been a concession to more modern times, to the anacreontic and rococo, the joking sense of life, fond of idylls, which often expressed its moods in 4-foot iambics or trochaics. It may have also been meant to recall the more popular stanza forms that resembled the sounds of folk songs. On the other hand, the "baroque" or learned flavour is added by using ancient mythology, which was quite common in Baltic German poetry in the seventies and eighties of the 18th century. To a certain extent, this may also have been inspired by Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty's poem "Elegie auf den Dorfkirchhof" (1771), also shaped according to Gray's model, in which the names of the deities of antiquity can likewise be found. Hölty's poem was published in the famous almanac of muses of Göttingen that was studiously read in the Baltics. Compare the 5th stanzas, Morn versus Aurora (it is also interesting to note that in Gray, straw (*Streu*) is connected with swallows, in Schlegel, considering the local peculiarities, with people):

The breezy call of incense-breathing Morn,
The swallow twitt'ring from the straw-built shed,
The cock's shrill clarion, or the echoing horn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed. (Gray s.a.)

Aurorens Wiederkunft, wenn Thaue Felder salben,
Der Hähne Heroldston, das Zwitschern muntrer Schwalben,
Des Kühhorns heisrer Klang durchbebt nicht mehr ihr Ohr,
Und ruft sie von der Streu hervor. (Gray 1783, 163)

Elisa von der Recke's Dialogue with Blair's "The Grave" and Schiller's "Resignation"

Adaptation did not always mean translation from the direct source. Thus, Robert Blair's poem "The Grave" seems to have influenced the poetry of Baltic Germans in a less direct way. A set of motifs similar to Blair's poem can be found in the short, four-stanza poem "The Skulls" ("Die Todtenköpfe") by the Courland poetess Elisa von der Recke (the author, born von Medem, 1754–1833, became famous by exposing the false count Cagliostro; for the latest wide-ranging overview of von der Recke see Leyh, Müller, and Viehöfer 2018), which was first published in Schiller's "Die Horen" in 1797. Death destroys beauty:

Sieh den Todtenkopf, wie hohl!
Schönes Mädchen, gaubst du wohl,
Daß ihn Schönheit schmückte?
Gräßlich ist sein Reitz dahin!
Und wem kommt es in den Sinn,
Daß sein Kuß entzückte? (Recke 1806, 76)

Beauty—thou pretty plaything, dear deceit!
That steals so softly o'er the stripling's heart,
And gives it a new pulse, unknown before,
The Grave discredits thee: thy charms expunged,
Thy roses faded, and thy lilies soil'd,
What hast thou more to boast of? Will thy lovers
Flock round thee now, to gaze and do thee homage? (Blair 2015)

Death erases differences of estate. The mighty king and the cruel tyrant are indistinguishable from the ordinary mortal person:

Jener wüste Schädel da—
Wie? du tritts ihm nun so nah?
Ahnst nicht Königswürde?
Sieh nur, wie die Zeit ihn bleicht!
Einst gekrönt, war er vielleicht
Seines Volkes Bürde. (Recke 1806, 76–77)
Proud Royalty! how alter'd in thy looks!
How blank thy features, and how wan thy hue!
Son of the morning, whither art thou gone?

Where hast thou hid thy many-spangled head,
And the majestic menace of thine eyes,
Felt from afar? Pliant and powerless now,
Like new-born infant wound up in his swathes,
Or victim tumbled flat upon its back,
That throbs beneath the sacrificer's knife.
Mute must thou bear the strife of little tongues,
And coward insults of the base-born crowd,
That grudge a privilege thou never hadst,
But only hoped for in the peaceful grave,
Of being unmolested and alone.

[. . .] Here, too, the petty tyrant,
Whose scant domains geographer ne'er noticed,
And, well for neighbouring grounds, of arm as short;
Who fix'd his iron talons on the poor,
And gripp'd them like some lordly beast of prey;
Deaf to the forceful cries of gnawing hunger,
And piteous, plaintive voice of misery
(As if a slave was not a shred of nature,
Of the same common nature with his lord);
Now tame and humble, like a child that's whipp'd,
Shakes hands with dust, and calls the worm his kinsman;
Nor pleads his rank and birthright: Under ground
Precedency's a jest; vassal and lord,
Grossly familiar, side by side consume. (Blair 2015)

Death leaves the eloquent and the glib speechless. Compare:

Und der schlaue Höfling dort
Sprach vielleicht manch giftig Wort,
Spottete der Träne,
Die auf sein Gewissen rann.
Ha, wie grinset ihr mich an,
Lippenlose Zähne? (Recke 1806, 77)
Here the tongue-warrior lies, disabled now,
Disarm'd, dishonour'd, like a wretch that's gagg'd,
And cannot tell his ails to passers-by.

Great man of language!—whence this mighty change,
This dumb despair, and drooping of the head?
Though strong persuasion hung upon thy lip,
And sly insinuation's softer arts
In ambush lay about thy flowing tongue;
Alas, how chop-fallen now! Thick mists and silence
Rest, like a weary cloud, upon thy breast
Unceasing.—Ah! where is the lifted arm,
The strength of action, and the force of words,
The well-turn'd period, and the well-timed voice,
With all the lesser ornaments of phrase?
Ah! fled for ever, as they ne'er had been. (Blair 2015)

Nevertheless, Recke's poem ends on a different note than Blair's, who concludes with the Christian expectation of resurrection, comparing death to the night sleep of a little bird, who is about to wake and rise into the air (gain eternal life) at sunrise (the return of the Saviour). Elsewhere, the Courland poetess proceeded from the rather classical treatment, influenced by antiquity, of the soul as a butterfly (*psyche*) who, when the time is ripe, will abandon its pupa/shell and take flight as a winged creature (see, for example, the letter to Giacomo Casanova from 29 April 1798 [quoted after Watzlawick 2018, 144]; for Recke's treatment of the immortality of the soul see also Conrad 2018): "As the beautiful butterfly rises from the miserable shell of the pupa, so our thinking self will reappear in different shapes after leaving this body which was given for a brief period of time to the creature, capable of eternal happiness."

For Recke the soul is eternal. The body, the privileges, the talents are a temporary shell, not to be overestimated. In this, Recke and Blair are still quite similar, though on the theological level one might ask whether Blair proceeds from the resurrection of bodies after the Judgement Day (the bird does not undergo as complete transformation as the butterfly), or whether he just believes in the continuance of souls, as seems to be the case with Recke. However, Recke goes a step further than Blair, adding the aspect of earthly joy of life; as she is convinced of the immortality of the soul, she recommends not getting dismayed by the finality of everything earthly and not being misled onto the atheist, anti-religious path. Here, she argues not so much with Blair as with Friedrich Schiller's poem "Resignation" (1786). Recke was very much upset by this poem. To her, it seemed to abandon the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and thereby promote immorality (Rachel 1902, 330–331), leaving people merely the choice between pleasure (*Genuss*) and hope (*Hoffnung*).

The preference appeared to be for the former, as Schiller's poem ends with the words: "Was von der Minute ausgeschlagen, / Gibt keine Ewigkeit zurück" (Schiller 1876, chapter 30) = "The minutes thou neglectest, as they fade, / Are given back by no eternity! " (Schiller s.a.). On hearing the poem, Recke even demanded that Schiller refute his ungodly idea in some of his future poems, as she mentions in an entry in her diary from May the 31st, 1790 (Rachel 1902, 330). As no such poem appeared, Recke may have used Schiller's request for contributions (see Holmgren 2007, 128–149, 216–220) as a welcome chance to offer a kind of a poetic counter-argument of her own, published as a reply to the Weimar classic's work that had upset her. Recke could not limit herself to emphasising hope in the afterlife as a generally accepted truth. In her days, this had come to be strongly doubted. Rather, Recke tries to show that one possibility does not exclude another, but rather supports it: seeing skulls not only makes her hope for eternal life, but also leads her to appreciate the present earthly life, which she calls to be treated with warm affection.

Wohl uns, wenn es uns nicht irrt,
Was einst unsre Hülle wird,
Wenn auch wir erblassen.
Komm und laß uns sondern Graun,
Auf das frische Leben schaun,
Und es warm umfassen! (Recke 1806, 77)

Elisa von der Recke is not known to have had a command of English. Therefore, she was probably leaning on some direct or indirect intermediary models. For example, she might have gained inspiration from a translation of Blair's poem published in Regensburg in 1793. According to CERL—Heritage of the Printed Book Database, this seems to be the only German translation of Blair's "The Grave" which appeared in the 18th century in book format. The translation into German prose was done by Friedrich Christian August Berg (Blair 1793).

Young's "Night-Thoughts"—from the literature of devoutness of circles of friends to the psychological interpretation of Heinrich Mutschmann

The way Elisa von der Recke might have come across Blair's poem remains somewhat unclear, but she had certainly read Edward Young's "Night-Thoughts". This was mentioned by one of her first biographers, her long-time life partner since 1803, the German clerical poet and children's author Christoph August Tiedge, who discusses Elisa's beginnings as a clerical poetess in her youth, at the start of her unhappy marriage. He writes:

> In that isolation from everything that she was fond of, her heart was only addressed by the soft language of certain books: Gellert, Cronegk, Neander, the early works of Wieland, particularly Young's night-thoughts [my emphasis—K. K.] and other writings that corresponded with her feelings and stood in line with the receptivity of her spirit, now became the close friends of her lonely hours. Due to the consolation which she obtained from those writings, her withering soul straightened up and achieved an elevation which by giving up earthly things, turned to the spiritual world. (Tiedge 1818, 19)

There is a letter from Recke to her friend Doris Lieven from 10 February 1772 in her 1793 epistolary autobiography she compiled of letters written during her unhappy marriage (1771– 1778), in which she mentions Young in the same breath as the melancholy German poet Johann Friedrich von Cronegk, who similarly discusses the topic of eternity (Rachel 1900, 209). She connects the thought of eternal life with the idea of guardian spirits:

> For you, my Doris, the idea of guardian spirits is as holy, as dear as for myself. That idea has supported me a great deal these days! Thanks to that, I have overcome quite a few things with a joyous mind, which would have depressed me a great deal otherwise. (Rachel 1900, 210)

Further, she connects these thoughts with the idea of moral self-education and aspiration for greater virtuousness which she closely ties with Cronegk:

> Our Cronegk can see into my heart—I was protected and encouraged by the thought that one must aspire for the approval of blessed souls!—God is so great, so perfect, that one has to cultivate even more sublime virtues to rejoice at the approval of that purest creature, but the finite spirit also looks at the weaker virtue with sympathetic benevolence. You, noble Doris, understand me when I say that bliss is achieved by increasing the bliss of some blessed spirit! (Rachel 1900, 210)

As we know from Elisa von der Recke's written memories of her childhood and youth, she aspired to be worthy of her early departed mother whom her Latvian nanny always referred to as the model of goodness. "I am trying to win the love of that blessed soul by cleaning my heart of any ignoble passion; she will then be hovering around me as a guardian spirit!" She expresses her hope to Doris Lieven (Rachel 1900, 210).

Later, the idea of the immortality of the soul connected with the idea of guardian spirits also led Recke on erroneous paths. It was the desire to communicate with dear departed souls that led her into the trap of the confidence man Giuseppe Balsamo, also known as Count Cagliostro, who was visiting Mitau on his way to St.

Petersburg in 1779. The man offered the young lady an opportunity to attain contact with the souls of the dead and to be introduced into the requisite secret knowledge. By that time, in addition to her mother, the lady had lost her only child and her close brother. She was in deep despair. Afterwards, influenced by her friends, who were fond of the Enlightenment, and by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* (*Nathan der Weise*), she revised her attitude toward Cagliostro and abandoned the search for contact with departed souls through magic. However, she held fast to the idea of the immortality of the soul. As one might get the impression from the passage of Tiedge's biography, Recke not only read Young in solitude, but also frequently in the company of friends and relatives. For example, from the letter to Charlotte Stoltz of 23 June, 1772:

> Now all the girlfriends of my youth in Mitau are rejoicing!—they must be making dressing plans for tomorrow's ball. I am missed by my friend Lisette, my friend Stoltz, my sister and Lotte Hahn! With my good brother Fritz, I am also thinking about you, my dear ones! The soul of that wonderful youth is on its way to maturity. With him, this bleak castle does not look so forlorn at all. Once in a while, he reads parts of Young's "Night-Thoughts" aloud for me, or translates something from his favourite, Horace. (Rachel 1900, 35; about similar readings in common, see also page 437)

It was Young's extensive poem, consisting of nine "nights", "on life, death, and immortality" that appears to have been the best known work of the English graveyard poetry in the Baltics. Numerous copies of it can be found in Estonian libraries: in the Baltic section of the Tallinn University Academic Library, in the Estonian National Library, as well as in the Library of the University of Tartu, both in the English original and in German and French translations. During the period surveyed here, French was the most widespread foreign language among Baltic Germans, while rather few knew English. "Night-Thoughts" may have been the first work of English graveyard poetry with which the Baltic Germans had contact. The first excerpts in German were published in 1743, alongside the English original, in Part Seven of the anthology *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (*Earthly Delight in God*) by the Hamburg alderman, the poet Barthold Hinrich Brockes. Part Seven of the anthology was definitely read in the Baltic region: an extract from it, actually from one of Brockes' own poems, was used as the motto for the first longer Baltic German nature poem, the verse narrative, *Hinter-Bergens allgemeine und eigene Winter- und Sommerlust* (*The General and the Specific Winter and Summer Joys from Beyond the Hill*, Riga 1745) by Johann Bernhard von Fischer. Passages from the "Night-Thoughts" in the German translation of the Swiss Johann Jakob Bodmer were also published in Zürich in 1749. A couple of years later, in 1751–1752, these were fol-

lowed by the first—initially monolingual and uncommented—translation by the German Johann Arnold Ebert who came from Hamburg and was a teacher, later professor, of English at Collegium Carolinum in Braunschweig, who also taught the language to the local crown prince (Pelters and Socha 2017). Parts of that translation, although in slightly more recent editions (from the period 1755–1763), have been preserved in the library of the Literary Society of Estland (1842–1940), which forms the foundation of the Baltic collection of the Tallinn University Academic Library (location mark XII-682). Thus, it was theoretically possible that the scholar who wrote the poem of mourning in memory of young Baroness Delwig could have been familiar at least through a German translation with that classic of graveyard poetry. Unfortunately, references to the owners of the book are missing from copies of that translation. Therefore, there can presently be no definite answer to the question of when this version of the translation may have reached Estonia.

What became really famous was the commented edition of the translation with parallel texts in German and English, first published by the heirs of Ludolph Schröder in Braunschweig in the years 1760–1771. Several copies and later printings of that issue have also been preserved in Estonia's libraries, including a few references to the provenance of the book. A first volume of *Night-Thoughts*, published in 1760, seems to have originated directly from the Halle Library in Germany (Hallische Biblioth. 1763, XII-342), possibly from the time of someone's university studies. At the disposal of Friedrich Wilhelm Schüdlöffel, mentioned above, there was a second, revised edition from 1768 (XII-383). It may have been through that work that he arrived at his interest in Parnell. Of the classical graveyard poets, Parnell appears to be the latest to reach the sphere of interest of local readers, since access to it required a more serious anglophilia, an interest in philology, and a command of English.

For the wider circle of readers in the region, Parnell probably remained unknown. A revised and supplemented edition of *Night-Thoughts*, printed in the Schwickert publishing house in Leipzig in 1790, belonged to the book donation of Maria Aurora L'Estocq, which formed the foundation of the University of Tartu Library (R XIV 2335, impression MGL). Maria Aurora L'Estocq (born von Mengden, 1720–1808) was a noblewoman born in the Latvian part of Livonia, a grandchild of Gustav von Mengden, known in Baltic German literary history as a clerical poet. Life had taken her to the court of St. Petersburg, where in 1747 she married the personal physician of Empress Yelizaveta, Count Johann Hermann (Jean Armand de) L'Estocq. When he fell into disfavour, she followed him both to prison and into exile (GHBR 1929, 1196; Müller-Dietz 1985).

Three issues of *Night-Thoughts* in English have been preserved in Estonian libraries: the Baltic section of the Tallinn University Academic Library holds two volumes of an issue published in London, ostensibly in 1743, but in fact around the year 1750, without data about the publisher or printer (XII-222). A new edition, corrected by the author, was published by Andrew Millar and Robert and James Dodsley in London in 1760 (XII-2540). The latter edition belonged to the library of the Tallinn Cathedral School. Thus, we can surmise that "Night-Thoughts" became part of the Baltic German school canon. A copy of an edition published in London in 1787 has been preserved (4 XIV A-36595) at the University of Tartu Library. French translations by Pierre Le Tourneur ("Les nuits d'Young") have been preserved at the University of Tartu Library , published both in Paris by Cailleau (1783; 4 XIV A-36220) and in Amsterdam by Harrevelt (1770; 4 XIX A-37048); a selection of "Night-Thoughts", "Esprit, maximes et pensées d'Young, extraits de ses nuits par l'Auteur de l'Ouvrage intitulé L'Ame élevée à dieu", translated by Barthélemy Baudrand (Paris 1787, RBL-787/Young) is preserved at the National Library in Tallinn.

What fascinated the Baltic Germans of the Enlightenment era (which in the Baltic region lasted approximately from 1740/1760 till 1840) in this voluminous poem on the topic of death? The Estonian literary critic and playwright Hugo Raudsepp (1883–1952), who lived about a century later, merely shakes his head at it in confusion in his essay "The Awakening and Development of Emotional Life in English Literature in the 18th Century", published in 1923: "The obstinacy with which Young keeps playing his harp on the same plaintive string, strikes the modern reader as not only tiresome, but even frightening" (Raudsepp 2012, 124). The motives for reading it must have been as different as there were readers. Elisa von der Recke had lost her mother at an early age after her mother gave birth to her brother. As a young woman, she had lost her brother and daughter to illness. She suffered from relationships with her relatives whom she perceived as being spiteful, and from her unhappy marriage. Thus, she was doubtless fascinated by the idea of the immortality of the soul, emphasised in the poem. The same idea might have offered consolation to the Livonian noblewoman Maria Aurora L'Estocq, who had experienced court intrigues and life in prison and exile. "Night-Thoughts" belonged to the literature of devoutness, *Erbauungsliteratur*, literally the "literature of self-edification". Besides the opportunity to contemplate the great topics of life, the schoolteacher of the early 19th century may have been interested in the acquisition of "Night-Thoughts" for the reason that it was commonly recognised at the time as a canonical literary work, to be discussed with the students. The bilingual issue with parallel texts may have been used for the development of English skills. The ownership of Young's works

may have also indicated a general interest in the English language and culture. As an interesting example, one may point to the issue of Young's collected works, printed in Mannheim in 1780, which belonged to the Tallinn merchant family, the Kochs (the Baltic collection of the Tallinn University Academic Library, XII-114). The book was solely in German, but among the family's possessions, we also find the reader *The Select Miscellanies In Prose And Verse, For The Improvement And Entertainment Of Such, As Have A Mind To Learn This Language. Compiled By B. Tanner, Prof. L. A*. (the Baltic collection of the Tallinn University Academic Library, XII-285). In addition to "Night-Thoughts", Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759) also appears to have been a familiar work in this region. For example, it was discussed in the essay "Zerstreute Anmerkungen über die Dichtkunst" ("Diverse Remarks on Poetry" 1774) in the magazine *Vermischte Aufsätze und Urtheile*, edited by Gottlieb Schlegel, mentioned above.

However, even more mysterious than reasons why Young's "Night-Thoughts" so captivated the Enlightenment reader may be the fact that in this area, interest in Young's poems appears to have persisted for an exceptionally long time. Both in England and in Germany, interest in this work seems to have waned by the middle of the 19th century. At least, the appearance of new editions of the work had ended by that time. The main arguments of literary scholarship on Young's German reception emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Yet even in the late 1930s, the professor of English philology of the University of Tartu, Heinrich Mutschmann (1885–1955) writes a number of articles to explain the phenomenon of Young's "Night-Thoughts" (see Mutschmann 1936; 1939). Was this an argument in reply to Raudsepp's opinions? Or was it an attempt to explain the meaning of the work to the literary group Arbujad ("Sorcerers" or "Soothsayers"), who had gathered around the University of Tartu's other, extraordinary professor of English philology, Ants Oras (1900–1982). For these writers, were the paragons of poetry rather the English romantics, Pushkin, Goethe, Heine, and members of the French Parnassus? Or did Mutschmann wish to polemicise with the English and perhaps also (Baltic) German tradition of treating Young as a paragon of morality? In any case, Mutschmann (1939, 13) feels the necessity to refute widespread prejudices about the work and to offer "the real and definitive key to the strange mystery of the famous poem".

Thus, in the introductory passage of his article "The origin and meaning of Young's Night Thoughts", which appeared at the Matthiesen publishing house in Tartu in 1939, Mutschmann states:

> As he [Young] was the author of a famous poem dealing with religious problems, it was considered desirable by the official writers of the history of English Literature to represent him as an

> intensely pious and orthodox person. This legend has to be completely abandoned if a correct interpretation of the Night Thoughts is to be obtained. (Mutschmann 1939, [3])

By producing this argument, Mutschmann was referring to the essay "Worldliness and Other-worldliness: the poet Young", by George Eliot (the pen name of Mary Ann Evans). Not questioning Eliot's evaluation of Young's moral aspect, Mutschmann nevertheless claims that the final word cannot be left to Eliot: "It is the duty of the literary historian to probe deeper into the complicated psychology of this unquestioned poetic genius [. . .] (4). (This can also be read as a polemic with Estonian critics: *Raudsepp, you are not delving deep enough!*) In his further arguments, Mutschmann refers to Hippolyte Taine, who observed that England is exceptionally rich in personalities characterised by *hypertrophie du moi*, the hypertrophy of the self, or an extreme individualism (4–5). He also agrees with Taine. However, he adds that the country is also represented by individuals with an exceptionally fine social nerve, such as Shakespeare, Walter Scott and Charles Dickens. Among self-centred types, Mutschmann lists Marlowe, Milton, Byron, Oscar Wilde and others, including Young. "The reader of his "Night Thoughts" cannot long remain in ignorance on this point. Young, too, is obviously interested in his own self only" (5). Referring to the exclamation found in "Night-Thoughts", "Man! Know thyself!", "all wisdom centres there", Mutschmann likewise explains the reason for Young's preference for the night: at that time, there are few external disturbances. "This is why he was justified in titling his poem, that specimen of passionate self-revelation, the "Night Thoughts"" (5). Mutschmann considered Young to be a follower of Bishop Berkeley, according to whom the whole world of the senses is just a reflection of his own mind or "reason", without real existence. "The soul is the only reality that will endure," he quotes "Night-Thoughts" for evidence (6). To support his thoughts, he also produces quotations from Young's treatise "Conjectures on Original Composition", which focuses on the figure of the original genius (6–7), "completely independent, original and self-reliant" (7). As Mutschmann points out, the treatise did not gain much attention in England but it greatly influenced the development of German literature, bringing about a wave of young authors who regarded themselves as "original geniuses", including the young Goethe (7). In an imaginary dialogue with Oras, the Arbujad, and Raudsepp, he might say: *Nota bene, friends of Goethe! The "tiresome" Young has his merits in the development of your paragon and poetic ideal! And if you wish to find the entire world in yourselves, take into account that the result may turn out to be something as monotonous and monomaniac as you find Young's poem to be.* But Mutschmann goes on to ask, what it was that Young found in the depths of his soul, and gives a positive reply: "It was the awful question of survival after death to which he found no satis-

factory answer" (7), "His self-centeredness made him desire survival with the full force of his emotion: "Religion's all!" we hear him exclaim" (7–8) and "Eternal life is nature's ardent wish" (8). Here, Mutschmann can see Young arguing with Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733) and with other deists who in Young's opinion did not sufficiently emphasise that aspect of immortality. But Mutschmann regards Young as a split soul, who himself had difficulties believing in the immortality of the soul, though he ardently affirmed it: "His reason, too, made him doubt the immortal nature of the human soul; he, too, was addicted to the tempting pleasures of this world" (9). He was therefore trying to console himself, but to no avail. In this respect, Young was merely an outstanding representative of a great number of his contemporaries:

> In the minds of a large section of the latter, the religious element in the human soul, by clashing with the prevailing rationalism, called for similar reactions. This observation explains the tremendous success of this poem. (Mutschmann 1939, 10)

According to Mutschmann, the impulse for Young's poem came from an intensive fear of death and from the conflict between the real, earthly, sinful self and the ideal and pious self, personified in the two characters mentioned in the poem, Lorenzo and Philander (14–15). Referring to Young's conversation with a young person from Switzerland named Tscharner, Mutschmann refutes the theory that the poem had its beginnings in the death of three persons close to the author. Mutschmann regards the data about the first two deaths as being probably true: Tscharner identified the character of Lucia as the poet's wife who died in 1740 and the character of Narcissa as the poet's stepdaughter who died in 1736. However, he disagrees with Tscharner's claim that the third impulse originated in the death of "Narcissa's" husband, Henry Temple, in 1745 (13–14). Instead, he considers the real impulse to have come from a severe attack of illness that seized Young during a journey from France to England, causing the poet to face the possibility of his own death. He was only saved from an unexpected death that would have taken him to the grave unprepared (for the life in heaven) by the intervention of his doctor, Meade, to whom he expressed his gratitude in the poem (15). Mutschmann concludes:

> The situation, thus, is as follows: the poet feels that there are two souls inhabiting his bosom—to use expressions taken from Goethe's *Faust*—one of which tends upwards, whereas the other clings to the things of this world. These two souls, or tendencies, are, so to speak, personified in the characters of Philander and Lorenzo respectively. Having thus externalized the internal conflict, Young preaches, in his long drawn-out poem, to his real self, i.e. Lorenzo, to become like the

> dead Philander, his ideal self. This is the scanty plot of the Night Thoughts: all the rest is lyricism, philosophizing, and moral exhortation. (Mutschmann 1939, 16)

A few more references and discussions follow, which were intended to support the claims of the interpretation.

Later echoes in Estonian literature

In spite of Mutschmann's interpretation, which attempted to gain "Night-Thoughts" a position equal to *Faust,* the poem has acquired no foothold in Estonian literature. (*Faust* was translated into Estonian by Ants Oras in exile, and by one of the Arbujad, August Sang, in Estonia.) There is no information about "Night-Thoughts" ever having been translated into Estonian. However the poem has not totally escaped the attention of Estonian poets: the facsimile printing of the first Swedish translation of "Night-Thoughts" (*Sömnlösa nätter*, 1770) belonged to the library of an Estonian exile poet, the surrealist Ilmar Laaban (now in the Archival Library of the Estonian Literary Museum, EKM IL 1411). In the foreword of the issue, published by Surrealistförlaget in Stockholm in 1988, the relevance of "Night-Thoughts" as a source of inspiration for several precursors of Surrealism and for early Surrealists is emphasised (Jacobs, Strömberg 1988, I). The only classical work of graveyard poetry that has been translated into Estonian, appears to be Gray's elegy. There exists an unpublished translation of it by Ants Oras, preserved in the Estonian Literary Museum (EKM F 237: 2: 1). The final epitaph from that translation has appeared in the magazine *Vikerkaar* (1990 (1), page 1). This year, the full Estonian translation of Gray's elegy by *Vikerkaar's* long-time editor-in-chief, translator, critic and lecturer in literary theory at Tallinn University, Märt Väljataga, was published for the first time in Väljataga's one-man anthology of English poetry (Väljataga 2018, 70–74). The elegy also seems to have inspired the literary scholar and poet Ivar Ivask to write his *The Baltic Elegies* (1986/88).[4] In a way, the circle closes here, as Ivask, the son of a Latvian mother and an Estonian father, whose domestic language was German, lived for a remarkable part of his life in Riga, as did Gottlieb Schlegel.

Translated by Lauri Pilter

4 I thank Tiina Kirss for the reference.

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Kairit Kaur—PhD in Comparative Literature. Chair of Comparative Literature at the University of Tartu, Research Fellow; Academic Library of Tallinn University, Research Fellow. Main research interests: Baltic German literary culture, its contacts with Western Europe, history of women's writing in the Baltics.
e-mail: kairit.kaur[at]ut.ee, kairit.kaur[at]tlulib.ee

METHIS
SUMMARY

***Totentanz ja graveyard poetry*: inglise kalmuluule baltisaksa retseptsioonist**

Kairit Kaur

Märksõnad: baltisaksa, retseptsioon, inglise, luule, surm, surematus

Tõukudes ühest 1759. aastal Tallinnas trükitud matuseluuletusest, mis meenutab nii hiliskeskaegset Niguliste „Surmatantsu" kui 18. sajandil populaarset inglise kalmuluulet (vt Kaur 2018, 365–366), vaadeldakse käesolevas artiklis inglise kalmuluule baltisaksa retseptsiooni. Ehitamaks silda Notke „Surmatantsu" järgse ja 18. sajandi teise poole baltisaksa surmakujutuste vahele, on alustuseks lühidalt resümeeritud raamatuteadlase Tiiu Reimo artiklit surma visualiseerimisest 17.–18. sajandi Eesti ala võõrkeelsetes matuseluuletustes, täpsemalt vinjettides. Selle põhjal võib aimata, et uudsem, barokist inspireeritud, kuid nüüd juba rokokooliku kuju võtnud surmakäsitlus hakkas siinkandis maad võtma alates 18. sajandi teisest poolest, selle kõrgaeg jäi aga 18. sajandi viimse veerandi ja 19. sajandi esimese kolmandiku vahele. Kas võiks seostada sellise surmakujutuse populariseerumist inglise kalmuluule mõjude jõudmisega siiakanti?

Esimene teadaolev inglise kalmuluule tõlge Baltimail (nüüdsel Eesti-Läti alal) ilmus 1783. aastal Riia toomkooli rektori Gottlieb Schlegeli sulest ajakirjas Vermischte Aufsätze und Urtheile. Selleks oli Thomas Gray „Külasurnuaial kirjutatud eleegia" („Elegy Written on a Country Churchyard", 1751), tõlgitud ilmselt „vooruste edendamiseks" ja näitena, kuidas „raskeid teemasid" meisterlikult „vaimu ja värvidega hingestada", nii nagu Schlegel ühes oma 1779. aastal Riias avaldatud programmkirjutises luulele ülesandeks seadis. Schlegel jääb oma Gray eleegia tõlkes sõnastuslikus plaanis üsna originaali lähedale, järgneb sellele pildikeeles, mõjudes ehk sellest kord veidi idüllilisemalt, kord „maavillasemalt", kuid ka baroksema ja õpetatumana; baroksele muljele aitab kaasa ka stoofivormivalik, mis erineb originaali lihtsast ristriimilisest viisikjambist.

Järgmise retseptsiooninäitena on vaadeldud kuramaalanna Elisa von der Recke dialoogi Robert Blairi poeemiga „Haud" („The Grave", 1743) ja Friedrich Schilleri luuletusega „Resignatsioon" („Resignation", 1786) luuletuses „Surnupead" („Die Todtenköpfe", esmatrükk Schilleri „Hoorides" („Die Horen") 1797). Nagu Recke päevikust ilmneb, oli ta Schilleri teosest väga häiritud, kuna see näis tema jaoks hülgavat kristlikku hinge surematuse doktriini ja nõnda edendavat moraalitust (Rachel 1902, 330–331). Tundub, et toetudes just Blairile, astub Recke Schilleri käsitlusele vastu, Blairi poeemi siiski edasi arendades. Teadaolevalt Elisa von der Recke inglise keelt ei osanud ja tugines tõenäoliselt mingitele vahe-eeskujudele.

Kõige enam retsipeeritud kalmuluule teoseks paistab olevat olnud siiski ulatuslik, üheksast osast või „ööst" koosnev Edward Youngi pikk poeem „Kaebus ehk Öömõtteid elust, surmast ja surematusest" („Complaint, or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality", 1742–1745), mida kinnitavad nii teose arvukad eksemplarid Eesti raamatukogudes kui ka mainimised kaasaegsete kirjades ja mälestustes. See kujutas endast nii harduskirjandust kui ka lugemisvara sõpruskondade ühisteks ettelugemisteks. Selle omamine võis anda märku üldisemast huvist inglise keele ja kultuuri vastu (kõige tuntum oli inglis- ja saksakeelse rööptekstiga Braunschweigi õpetlase Johann Arnold Eberti tõlge saksa keelde aastatest 1760–1771). 19. sajandi alguskümnenditel paistab poeem „Öömõtteid" olevat jõudnud ka baltisaksa koolide kirjanduskaanonisse. See võis olla ka kõige varem baltlaste huviorbiiti jõudnud kalmu-

luule teos: esimesi katkeid saksakeelses tõlkes avaldas sellest Hamburgi luuletav raehärra Barthold Hinrich Brockes [loe: Brooks] oma antoloogia „Maine rõõm Jumalas" („Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott") 7. osas (1743), just siit pärineb aga Baltimaade ühe esimese pikema loodusele pühendatud poeemi, Johann Bernhard Fischeri värssjutustuse „Mäetaguse üldine ja eriomane talve- ja suverõõm" („Hinter-Bergens allgemeine und eigene Winter- und Sommer-Lust", Riia 1745) moto. Seevastu ilmumisajalt varaseim klassikalise kalmuluule teos, Thomas Parnelli „Ööpala surmast" („A Night-Piece on Death", 1721) tundub olevat jõudnud vaid tõsisemate anglofiilideni, kes oskasid inglise keelt ja kõige hiljem, 19. sajandi alguskümnendeil. „Öömõtteid" jäi baltisaksa retseptsioonis oluliseks ka erakordselt kauaks. Kui nii Inglismaal endal kui ka Saksmaal näib huvi selle teose vastu 19. sajandi keskpaigaks raugevat, vähemasti lõpeb selleks ajaks uustrükkide ilmumine teosest ja peamised kirjandusteadus-likud kokkuvõttedki saksa Youngi-retseptsioonist jäävad 19. sajandi lõppu, 20. sajandi algusse, siis veel 1930. aastate teises pooles kirjutas Tartu Ülikooli inglise filoloogia korraline professor Heinrich Mutschmann (1885–1955) mitmeid artikleid Youngi „Öömõtete" fenomeni selgitamiseks (vt Mutschmann 1936 ja 1939), pakkudes teosele välja oma, psühholoogiast inspireeritud tõlgenduse. Viimast artiklit on siin ka lähemalt vaadeldud.

Eesti kirjanduses ei ole „Öömõtetel", vaatamata Mutschmanni seda Goethe „Faustiga" võrdsustavale tõlgendusele, õnnestunud kanda kinnitada. Ei ole teada, et seda oleks tõlgitud. Päris eesti luuletajate tähelepanuta see teos siiski ei ole jäänud: faksiimiletrükk esimesest rootsikeelsest „Öömõtete" tõlkest (1770) kuulus väliseesti poeedi, sürrealist Ilmar Laabani raamatukokku. Ainus eesti keelde jõudnud kalmupoeesia klassikasse kuuluv teos paistab olevat Gray eleegia. Sellest leidub Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumis avaldamata tõlge Ants Oraselt, mille lõpuepitaaf on ilmunud ajakirjas Vikerkaar (1990, nr 1, lk 1). Trükki jõudis täiemahuline tõlge sellest Gray teosest Märt Väljataga tõlgituna alles 2018. aastal (vt Väljataga 2018, 70–74). Ka inspireerinud see teos kirjandusteadlast ja luuletajat Ivar Ivaskit tema „Balti eleegiate" („The Baltic Elegies", 1986/88) loomisel (tänan vihje eest Tiina Kirssi). Siin ring omamoodi sulgub, sest ka Ivask, lätlasest ema ja eestlasest isa poeg, kelle kodune keel oli saksa keel, oli märkimisväärse etapi oma elust riialane nagu Gottlieb Schlegelgi.

Kairit Kaur – PhD maailmakirjanduse alal, Tartu Ülikooli maailmakirjanduse teadur; Tallinna Ülikooli Akadeemilise Raamatukogu teadur. Peamised uurimisteemad: baltisaksa kirjakultuur, selle kultuurikontaktid Lääne-Euroopaga, naiskirjanduse ajalugu Baltimaades.
e-post: kairit.kaur[at]ut.ee, kairit.kaur [at]tlulib.ee

METHIS

Neither Eastern nor Western: Cultural Hybrids in Modern British-Asian Fiction

Dorota Rygiel

Abstract: The concept of cultural hybridity has been widely discussed since the 1980s, especially within cultural and postcolonial studies. Hybridity directly results from cross-frontiers movements of migrants and cross-cultural flows that in Britain extended beyond WW II. It opposes the idea of limited or even closed identity and cultural bonds. The notion of hybridity has mainly been related to second-generation immigrants who were brought up in between two different worlds and two societies: the ethnic and the dominant ones. The paper focuses on first-generation immigrants of South Asian origin portrayed in literary works by Monica Ali and Hanif Kureishi in terms of the phenomenon of hybridity and the level of the immigrants' assimilation into the host community.

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Second generation immigrants of South Asian descent tend to develop hybrid identity, which results from the fact that they grow up in Britain but are still affected by their parents' culture of origin. The aim of this paper is to outline the process of hybridisation undergone by the characters of Monica Ali's *Brick Lane* (2003) and Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990). The article focuses on the identity formation of two middle-aged men, Chanu and Haroon, who represent the first generation of South Asian immigrants in Great Britain.

The term *hybridity* originates from natural science, where it means making new combinations by cross-pollination or grafting one kind of plant onto another. With time the term began to be related to humans, initially, in a mostly negative sense as an attribute of "racial impurity" resulting from the interaction between the colonizer and the colonized (Wisker 2006, 190). The term was mainly used to describe a person born to mixed-race parents. Historically, however, hybridity is an old phenomenon which emerged as early as the pre-colonial period. In colonial and post-colonial times hybridisation soared and was considered a threat to national and cultural purity; the term became associated with a homogeneous group of people who steered clear of potentially dangerous strangers. Towards the end of the 19th century, Rudyard Kipling warned against any social intercourse with people who did not belong to one's ethnic community. He stated: "A man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed. Let the White go to the White and the Black

to the Black. Then, whatever trouble falls is in the ordinary course of things—neither sudden, alien, nor unexpected" (Kipling 2009, 189). According to Spencer (1857), continuous exposure to foreign influences led to their interfusion and change from homogeneous to heterogeneous, which was an inseparable part of cultural progress. Hybridisation, then, became an unavoidable phenomenon and a significant element of human progress and the development of communities.

Hybrids are perceived as the final product of acculturation and the consequence of interaction between cultures. One of their sources is the colonial encounter; hybridisation is a direct result of social mobility, when the self and the other begin to culturally contaminate each other. It may lead to dialogical linguistic, cultural and political relations "in which the global mongrelization or *métissage* of cultural forms creates complex identities and interrelated, if not overlapping, spaces" (Lionnet 1995, 7). Interfusion of different traditions is the moment when, as Ashcroft (2001, 24) notes, hybridity comes into being. The other source of hybridisation relates to adaptation to new surroundings: it can also result from being rootless, since individuals leave their homes and move to a new place where they live in between two worlds: their homeland and the host area, to neither of which they feel real attachment. On the one hand, they are uprooted from the place that used to be their home. On the other hand, they fail to adjust to the predominant society in their new place. As a consequence, they may experience what Salman Rushdie (1991, 124) calls the union of two selves, i.e. the union of their original identity and influences of the host community. Living in between two worlds, then, requires some common space where the dominant and ancestral traditions can be reconciled. Individuals like Chanu and Haroon, the two literary characters to be examined in this article, who spend their life in this heterogeneous space and are exposed to culturally various influences, establish multiple identities.

Hybridity, then, directly relates to the combination of different behaviours, lifestyles and practices. Stuart Hall (1992, 311), for whom hybridity is a "cut-and-mix" process, argues that such mixes have a very positive meaning because thanks to their creative force completely new forms are created. Hall's observations seem very apt since the characters of the novels I shall discuss are no longer authentic in their Asianness, though they are still not considered British. Their hybridity opposes essentialism and casts doubt on the credibility of any fixed identities, at the same time promoting change and lack of social pigeonholing. In no way does hybrid identity depend on purity or fixed boundaries because within them it would be moot. Ali's and Kureishi's characters adopt hybrid identities which are, as Bhabha notes, a mix of the colonizer and the colonized (Rutherford 1990, 211). They are far from being static and will never become fully established because the characters are exposed

to different influences which make their identities undergo constant changes. Hybridity, which Bhabha terms the Third Space, blurs the limitations of fixed borders and questions established categories of identity (cf. Bhabha 2006). It is the dynamic production of a new cultural meaning, where the old is translated into the new, as is evident in the case of both characters.

Chanu, one of the main characters of Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*, arrived in London in the 1970s with the aim of earning a lot of money, making a political career, and returning to Bangladesh as a successful and highly respected man. He wanted to earn enough to buy a house in Dhaka and provide his son with good education. Contrary to his expectations, he is neither given an enthusiastic welcome nor offered a worthwhile and responsible job that he has intended to find. Like other Bangladeshi immigrants, he has to join the Bangladeshi diaspora residing in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, despite being a degree holder from Dhaka University. However, he tends to present himself as a sufficiently educated, open-minded man and underestimates those Bangladeshi immigrants who have not received proper education. This is what he says about Razia and her family:

> [. . .] I would not call [her] a respectable type. [. . .] Her husband does some menial sort of job. He is uneducated. He is probably illiterate. Perhaps he can write his name. If he can't write his name, he will put a cross. Razia cuts her hair like a tramp. [. . .] Her son is roaming around the estate like a vagabond, throwing stones [. . .] When I spoke to him he put his fingers in his nose. (Ali 2003, 67)

Chanu takes pride in his country of origin and its heritage, but he resents generalization and being regarded as one of Bangladeshis. His irritation with the British view of Bangladeshi immigrants as a homogeneous community arises every time he talks about himself and the uneducated inhabitants of Tower Hamlets. He states: "[t]hese people didn't know the difference between me, who stepped off an aeroplane with a degree certificate, and the peasants who jumped off the boat possessing only the lice on their heads" (26).

Chanu's mind is overpowered by a long period of colonisation, which has made a superior-inferior relationship natural for him. Like other formerly colonized people, he is settled in his inferiority and treats White British as superior to him. Preferably, he would become one of them because only then would his social status be high enough to satisfy him. Chanu's pursuit of the host society's approval results from what Frantz Fanon calls an inferiority complex. In his outstanding work *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1986, 25) states that the inferiority complex is a direct consequence of colonisation, deeply rooted in the minds of the colonized. It is very intense

among the best educated who copy the host group's way of behaving and dressing, speak their language and use characteristics of their social intercourse in order to feel equal with them. Although Chanu cultivates Bangladeshi tradition at home, he tends to adopt the western rather than eastern code of behaviour. He drinks alcohol and his wife never sees him pray, which is uncommon among Muslims. Unlike others in the diaspora, he never haggles because he does not want to "'abase' himself, or act like a primitive" (Ali 2003, 73). Fanon (1986, 17) also emphasises the great power of the majority language, which can make a person of different ethnic origin "more white" and closer to the host community. Ali seems to share Fanon's view on the significance of the majority language and makes Chanu a fluent English speaker. He is strongly convinced that his excellent command of English and a degree received in Britain are the best ways to gain a high social position and a post in the British Civil Service.

Chanu finds it difficult to completely shake off the identity of the colonized. By following western ways of thinking, he seeks the acceptance of the host community. Among numerous examples of his westernisation is his unfavourable attitude towards unskilled Bangladeshi immigrants whom he depicts as unambitious, narrow-minded peasants cut out for menial jobs only. He sees himself as distinctly superior to those Bangladeshis who "are peasants. Uneducated. Illiterate. Close-minded. Without ambition" (Ali 2003, 21). He also does not object to his wife's waged employment although, according to traditional norms, the woman should only be responsible for household chores. Furthermore, Chanu turns a blind eye to Nazneen's extramarital affair with Karim, which is inconceivable in the traditional value system.

Jane Hiddleston (2005, 58–59) points out that Ali's characters live "at once within and outside British society and [their] cultural practices continue to provoke bafflement and alarm". Chanu is a good example of being inside and outside the host community since he always follows dual standards. He tries hard to copy British patterns of thinking and codes of behaviour, whereas at home he exercises his typically Asian patriarchal authority over his wife and daughters. He considers Nazneen inferior and limits her freedom as if he wanted to make up for his own subordinate position in the new society. Initially, Chanu makes decisions concerning the household on his own. He discourages his wife from further education, working and even going out, and always walks one step ahead of her. He requires Nazneen to cut his hair and treat his corns, while his daughters are told to arrange his pillows and pull the curtains. Although all the duties are performed properly, Chanu is usually dissatisfied with their execution, as if he wanted to show his supreme authority to his family. He may not want to lose his patriarchal status in the Bangladeshi community since he has no authority within the white society.

On the one hand, he condemns colonisation, though he sometimes treats certain aspects of the colonizers' world as superior and more reliable. While lecturing his daughters on the history of Bangladeshi people, he approvingly quotes what Sir Warren Hastings said about the colonized: "Do you know what Warren Hastings said about our people? [. . .] 'They are gentle, benevolent…' So many good qualities he finds. In short, he finds us 'as exempt from the worst properties of human passion as any people on the face of the earth'" (Ali 2003, 152). He seems to be delighted with these words as though they increased his self-esteem and made Bangladeshis a really gentle and benevolent nation.

On the other hand, he constantly emphasises the importance of his own cultural roots and takes pride in his Bangladeshi origin. This echoes Fanon's idea of reconstruction of identity through turning to one's own heritage. Fanon claims that people who are reminded of their great heritage preserve their national feeling. Glorification of the nation and its history is also a way to deny the lies that colonizers told about the barbaric and primitive colonized only to demonstrate their own superiority (Fanon 1963, 212). Chanu often recalls the golden age of 16th-century Bengal which at the time was called the Paradise of Nations. He also acknowledges the significance of his country in the colonial era, saying that Bengal used to be the centre of trade and "[i]t provided—we provided—one third of the revenues of Britain's Indian Empire" (Ali 2003, 153). Chanu is steeped in his tradition and by clinging to the past, he preserves a bond with his ethnic group. He tries hard to make his family respect community norms, including those referring to language and dress, and attaches great importance to preserving Bengali culture at home. He wants his children to feel a bond with Bangladesh because "[i]f you have a history [. . .] you have a pride" (151). He contends that the loss of pride is the worst thing that an individual can experience (153). It is pride in his roots that, as Jean Phinney (1991, 193) states, boosts his self-confidence, which later decreases when he fails to find a satisfying and well-paid job.

Chanu lives in between two entirely different worlds, where he tries to redefine his identity. On the one hand, Britain impresses him and its superiority is ingrained in his mind. When he gives up the Open University course, he promises himself to devote more time to his first love, that is, William Shakespeare. He says: "English literature at its finest. You've heard of William Shakespeare. Yes, even a girl from Gouripur has heard of Shakespeare. [. . .] Have you heard of King Richard II?" (Ali 2003, 74). On the other hand, he is proud of his own origin and returns mentally to his past in order to redefine his identity. Chanu intends to return to his homeland to protect his children from being as spoilt as the British youth, as well as from any form of racial discrimination: "I don't want him [son] to grow up in this racist society.

I don't want him to talk back to his mother. I want him to respect his father" (91). He builds an idealized picture of Bangladesh and considers it to be the place where he will gain respect and find happiness. He admits that "[h]ere I am only a small man, but there..." (108). He feels he could live a happier life in Bangladesh and finds nothing he could miss in Britain. According to him, British life boils down to "[t]elevision, pub, throwing darts, kicking a ball" (210). Chanu asks his daughters, who do not share their father's enthusiasm for returning to Bangladesh: "When you go there [to Bangladesh], what will you lose?" and says bitterly: "Burgers and chips and [. . .] tight jeans. And what will you gain? Happiness" (290).

Despite having lived in Britain for over 20 years and recognizing the superiority of British culture, Chanu has never succeeded in fully integrating with the host community. He speaks English and mimics the British code of behaviour but integrates with the British only as much as it is required at work. When he fails to find a satisfying job, he retreats into his own Bangladeshi world. His decision to return home may be his desperate attempt to defend male honour and save face. Chanu's plan to return to Bangladesh makes him reclaim his Bangladeshi identity and visualise himself as a successful Bengali who has never stopped declaring his unrequited love for Bangladesh.

Haroon, one of the first-generation characters of Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia*, is a first-generation immigrant of Indian origin who was born into a rich, upper-class family in India. He lived in India during colonial rule, and this is where he encountered English people for the first time. He attended good schools and became well-educated in British literature and language. During his studies, he would go round to London pubs with the aim of discussing Lord Byron's literary works with English students. Surprisingly, they knew hardly anything about this great poet not to mention reading his poems. Like Chanu, Haroon was taken aback by the fact that young British people were often much worse educated than he was, though he had spent his childhood and teenage years under colonial rule in India. Haroon is disappointed with real life in Britain because it sharply contrasts with countless examples of English superiority that he was taught back in India. He admits to considering every Englishman a superior being, and to never having seen one who lived in severe poverty or on a very poor diet. Apparent weaknesses of the British strike him and he comes to the conclusion that they are as numerous as those found among Indian people. It becomes clear to him that White British develop the same vices as they attributed to the colonized earlier. Therefore, when he faces grim reality, he feels disappointed because it does not correspond to the image of happy, rich, and spotless people that has been ingrained in his mind. Karim admits that his father

> [. . .] had never seen the English in poverty, as roadsweepers, dustmen, shopkeepers and barmen. He'd never seen an Englishman stuffing bread into his mouth with his fingers, and no one had told him the English didn't wash regularly because the water was cold—if they have any water at all. (Kureishi 1990, 24)

Despite Haroon's disappointment with real life in England, he makes an attempt to adjust to the new world, but this proves unsuccessful. No matter how hard Haroon tries to integrate with the prevailing society, he remains a stranger—an Indian immigrant who arrived in London. His fluency in English and vast knowledge of English tradition and literature do not increase his chances to become one of "them". Like Chanu, he is of the opinion that the failure to get promoted in his clerical job, where he earns a mere £3 per week, results from racial intolerance. He admits bitterly: "The whites will never promote us. [. . .] Not an Indian while there is a white man left on the earth. [. . .] they still think they have an Empire when they don't have two pennies to rub together" (27).

His attempts to behave and look like an Englishman do not yield any results. Haroon regularly reads the *Daily Mirror* and every day before going to work, he carefully selects his shirt, tie and cufflinks, puts on his brushed suit and finely polished shoes. He prepares his garment every Sunday and cleans it himself. These are the duties that he, as a member of the upper class, never performed back in India. "He'd never cooked before, never washed up, never cleaned his own shoes or made a bed. Servants did that. Dad told us when he tried to remember the house in Bombay he could never visualise the kitchen: he'd never been in it" (23). The fact that he does these tasks now proves his determination to become part of the dominant society. Haroon tries hard to look like an Englishman in order not to stand out from the crowd, but despite his efforts he will remain a short Indian immigrant in an elegant suit and polished shoes. He will not be able to dispose of his otherness because it is not his professional look but his skin colour that determines the way he is perceived. As Bhabha (2004, 114) puts it, skin colour is "the cultural / political sign of inferiority". During the party in Haroon's mistress' house, one of the Englishmen wonders: "Why has our Eva brought this brown Indian here? Aren't we going to get pissed?" (Kureishi 1990, 12). Whites see him as an uneducated immigrant from a distant exotic country who deals with magic. During the same meeting with Eva's guests, one of them ironically asks: "And has he got a camel parked outside?", and the other answers: "No, he came on a magic carpet" (ibid.). The fact that he is a dark-skinned stranger makes Haroon occupy an inferior and underprivileged position.

Haroon comes to London as a young man with the aim of studying law. He marries an English woman from the lower middle class and settles down in the suburbs,

dividing his time between his family life and a dead-end clerical job. Like Chanu, he follows a western code of behaviour in order to integrate with the mainstream society. He spends a lot of money to look like an Englishman and often wears black clothes that he buys in posh shops in Bond Street. However, this is the image that he creates so that the outside world could accept him. At home, he does not shake off his Indian identity but holds onto the Muslim system of values, despite being married to an English woman. Haroon is a faithful follower of the customary order at home. His subdued wife, Margaret, works in a shoe shop but after returning home, she does all the household chores: "But Mum did all the housework and cooking. At lunchtime she shopped, and every evening she prepared the meal" (19). Although his wife prepares meals every day, Haroon often chooses a traditional Indian dish for himself. His son recollects: "More normally, he handed Mum his supper: a packet of kebabs and chapattis so greasy their paper wrapper had disintegrated" (3). It is not that he does not like his wife's cuisine but he rather finds it difficult to eat something that is not traditionally Indian. Haroon also preserves his Indian identity in his interests. He is fond of eastern philosophy and, at his lover's suggestions, he starts to run yoga and meditation classes for Londoners. It soon becomes a successful business which attracts people with its exoticism, because at the time India was associated with spirituality and profound traditional wisdom (Bald 1995, 77).

Haroon's mistress Eva Kay, whom he meets at writing classes, encourages him to take up yoga and to share his meditation skills with her friends. She believes that his ethnic origin is a great advantage because it will make his teachings more authentic and credible. When his business becomes successful, Haroon soon undergoes self-transformation from an underpaid ordinary civil servant into a popular yoga trainer and oriental mystic. His return to his cultural roots may be a consequence of the trends in the 1970s, when preserving them was in fashion. As Kureishi puts it,

> [. . .] in the sixties [. . .] the idea was that you should become as English or as American as you could if you were an immigrant. You would strip yourself of the past, of your identity [. . .] Then through the seventies and eighties there was a sense of holding on to your own culture, whatever that was. (Kaleta 1998, 17)

Haroon becomes a spiritual counsellor—the Buddha of Suburbia, who teaches his "students" of the necessity of searching inward for higher potential and better self-understanding. His intention is to show them "the Way. The Path" (Kureishi 1990, 13). In his red and gold waistcoat and pyjamas, he wins the respect of rich Londoners who regard him as the source of eastern wisdom and a person who can

solve their problems. With time, the sessions fill him with confidence and give him the new identity he had been looking for. The fact that he did not manage to blend into the dominant community before does not matter much now, because due to his originality and Indian descent, he has won social respect.

Wearing the colourful, dripping-with-gold outfit, he is not authentic but mimics the Indian way of life. He employs such teachings of Indian philosophy as are suited to the conception of Indianness held by the participants in his yoga sessions. Haroon realizes that he gains social acceptance only when he adjusts to the demands of the whites. That is the reason why he never reveals that he was born into a Muslim family and grew up within the Muslim tradition. He does not know much about Buddhism because he has always followed Muslim religious rules. He is more like "a renegade Muslim masquerading as a Buddhist" because his own knowledge of Buddhism comes from the books on Buddhism, Zen, Confucianism and Sufism that he bought in an oriental shop (16). However, the participants are not aware of this because they have little knowledge of India, which they stereotypically associate only with exoticism and bright colours. Haroon exaggerates his Indian accent, makes his voice sound deep and hisses occasionally but sees nothing wrong in mimicking his ancestral tradition as long as it provides him with social respect and a decent income. The change of his identity seems strange and unexpected to his son who remembers "[his father] had spent years to become more of an Englishman" (21). Haroon makes use of his ethnicity but is not authentic in what he is doing; rather, he becomes a caricature of himself. Graham Huggan perceives this type of behaviour as a need not to be marginalised. He asserts: "Minorities are encouraged, in some cases obliged, to stage their racial/ethnic identities in keeping with white stereotypical perceptions of an exotic cultural order" (Huggan 2001, 95).

Haroon switches his Indian and English identities, sticking solely to neither of them. He is a hybrid who combines the elements of both, which, as Lois Tyson states, is a natural process for each immigrant. She claims: "[P]ostcolonial identity is necessarily a dynamic, constantly evolving hybrid of native and colonial cultures" (Tyson 2006, 422). On the one hand, Haroon tries hard to look and behave like an Englishman, wearing casual black shirts or sweaters, a jacket made from imitation leather and Marks and Spencer trousers. Unlike other Indian immigrants, he is an intellectual who reads English dailies and speaks fluent English but also keeps a mini-dictionary in his pocket to learn more sophisticated vocabulary. He also cares about his intellectual development and joins a writing-for-pleasure course, where he meets Eva Kay. Like other dark-skinned people, he puts on a white mask in the hope that it will make the fact of his otherness vanish. However hard he tries to adopt the British way of life, or, as McLeod puts it, "don the white mask of civilisation that will cover

up the 'uncivilised' nature indexed by [his] black skin", he will never be regarded as one of the whites (McLeod 2000, 21).

On the other hand, Haroon's pursuit of whiteness fades away when he turns to exoticism and takes on the mystic appearance of the spiritual guru. He develops multiple identities, but none of them is authentic. He used to mimic the stereotypical British code of behaviour and worked hard on losing his Indian accent. When he becomes the Buddha, he abandons his previous efforts to sound authentically English. This is surprising because he "spent years trying to be more of an Englishman, to be less risibly conspicuous" (Kureishi 1990, 21). His adoption of a new identity of the pseudo-spiritual guide does not involve returning to his cultural roots. It is yet another example of his lack of authenticity and mockery. Susie Thomas (2005, 66) states that "Haroon starts off as the mimic Englishman and, when he fails, he becomes a mimic Indian". He mimics what is Indian because his ethnicity, which once was a burden, now becomes a useful asset. His mimicry has nothing to do with his identity, but, to use Ball's (2004, 233) observations, it is rather a display of artifice. Haroon has not given up his efforts to assimilate into the predominant community; he has only changed the way to gain social acceptance. When he discovers that by mimicking Englishness he will not win the acceptance of the host community, he makes use of his otherness to achieve his goal.

His hybridisation also touches Haroon's attitude to religion. He was brought up as a follower of Islam but got married to a Christian woman from London. When the necessity arises, he begins to study Buddhist literature and becomes a Muslim who regularly practises Chinese Buddhism. When he is making love with his mistress, his son hears him crying out "Oh God, oh my God, oh my God" (Kureishi 1990, 16) which is another evidence of how confused his religious identity is. The fact that he established a hybrid identity is also evident in his family life. He mimics English way of life but, concurrently, he follows the traditional code of Muslim values that was ingrained in his mind when he was a child: "Dad had firm ideas about the division of labour between men and women" (19). He often behaves like "a little household tyrant" and never helps his wife, Margaret, with the housework because it is her duty to do it.

In the end, Haroon intends to return to his cultural roots. While talking to a journalist, he states: "I have lived in the West for most of my life, and I will die here, yet I remain to all intents and purposes an Indian man. I will never be anything but an Indian" (263). Such an attitude results from his belief that British society is soulless and that, contrary to his own heritage, it has nothing to offer.

Intercontinental migration is a painful experience for both Chanu and Harooni since it is always accompanied by displacement and being uprooted. They settle

down in a new place and try to adapt to the mainstream lifestyle, which is not easy, as it often collides with their own cultural norms. The characters live in between two worlds: their past and the present; their homeland and their new place of settlement; their ethnic community and the host society. Their identities undergo constant changes because they are exposed to different cultural influences: they feel the bond with their own ethnic group but they also encounter new norms and practices that they treat as superior to their ancestral culture. They still carry the colonial stigma and are not able to break off the domineering-oppressed relationship. They go as far as mimicking the British in order to win social acceptance but they never completely deny their own heritage. At times, they turn into caricatures of themselves but they do not mind this as long as they are socially accepted. Both Chanu and Haroon go through the process of hybridisation because they are influenced by different cultures. They are neither Asians nor Europeans, neither Muslims nor Christians, but become a new cultural construct in which both eastern and western traditions intermingle.

Hybridity has been a widespread phenomenon because of large-scale migrations and that uprootedness that follows upon displacement. Living in a cosmopolitan metropolis, people have to respond to unfamiliar practices and take part in the process of the interaction of cultures. In recent years, hybridity has also become a response to rapid globalisation. In fact, we all can be called cultural hybrids because currently, as Bhabha puts it, each culture lacks its primordial fixity and is not free of external influences. Hybridisation, then, is unavoidable in today's globalized world where different cultures interact on daily basis.

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Dorota Rygiel—lecturer at the Department of English at Krosno State College, where she teaches cultural studies courses, especially British Studies and history of Great Britain. In 2017, she obtained her PhD in cultural studies from the University of Opole. She is a participant and co-organizer of international and domestic scholarly conferences. She has authored several publications on intercultural communication and identity formation in modern immigrant literature. Her academic interests include intercultural communication, multiculturalism in Great Britain and modern immigrant literature.
e-mail: dorota.rygiel[at]poczta.fm

METHIS
SUMMARY

Ei ida ega lääs: kultuurihübriidid tänapäeva Aasia päritolu Briti kirjanike teostes

Dorota Rygiel

Märksõnad: hübriidsus, Briti-Aasia ilukirjandus, esimese põlvkonna immigrandid

Kultuurihübriidsuse mõiste üle on eriti just kultuuriuuringute ja postkoloniaalsete uuringute vallas laialdaselt arutletud alates 1980. aastatest. Artikli alguses mainitakse hübriidsuse kõige olulisemaid definitsioone, sest see mõiste koondab väga paljusid ideid. Kõigepealt selgitatakse mõiste bioloogilist tähendust, kirjeldatakse hübridiseerumise allikaid ja liigutakse tunnustatud teoreetikute Stuart Halli ja Homi Bhabha pakutud definitsioonideni. Hübriidsus on migrantide piireületava liikumise ja kultuuride vaheliste mõjude otseseks tulemuseks, sellele vastandub piiratud või lausa suletud identiteedi idee. Tegemist on vana nähtusega, mis tekkis juba kolonialismieelsel ajajärgul, kuid muutus järjest üldisemaks sõjajärgsel perioodil, kui Suurbritannias toimus massiline immigratsioon endistest kolooniatest. Termin on peamiselt seotud teise põlvkonna immigrantidega, nagu näiteks Suurbritannias elavad Lõuna-Aasia maade päritolu inimesed, kes kasvasid üles kahe erisuguse maailma ja ühiskonna – oma etnilise ühiskonna ja domineeriva ühiskonna vahel. Tuleb märkida, et tavaliselt teevad just teise põlvkonna immigrandid läbi hübridiseerumise protsessi. Mis toimub esimese põlvkonna immigrantidega? Kuidas mõjutab nende identiteeti fakt, et nad elavad oma kodumaast kaugel?

Artikkel püüab vastata küsimusele, kas Suurbritannias elavaid esimese põlvkonna Lõuna-Aasia maade päritolu immigrante võib ka hübriidsetena identifitseerida. Keskendutakse identiteedi formeerumisele kahel tegelasel, kes esindavad Lõuna-Aasia immigrantide esimest põlvkonda Suurbritannias: Monica Ali raamatu „Brick Lane" („Telliskivitee", 2003) tegelane Chanu ja üks Hanif Kureishi raamatu „The Buddha of Suburbia" („Äärelinna Buddha", 1990) peategelasi, Haroon.

Chanu saabus Londonisse 1970. aastatel eesmärgiga teenida palju raha, teha poliitilist karjääri ja pöörduda eduka ning lugupeetud mehena tagasi Bangladeshi. Ta lõpetas Dhaka Ülikooli, kuid otsustas Inglismaale emigreeruda, kus ta lootis leida tasuvat ja vastutusrikast tööd. Ta kavatses teenida piisavalt palju, et osta Dhakas maja ja anda oma pojale hea haridus. Vastupidiselt tema ootustele ei lange talle osaks mingit eeliskohtlemist, vaid ta peab minema elama teiste Bangladeshi immigrantide juurde Londoni Tower Hamletsi linnaossa. Hoolimata sellest, et ta elab Londonis, ei unusta Chanu kordagi oma kultuuripärandit ja peab oma kultuurilist tagapõhja äärmiselt tähtsaks.

Haroon käis koloniseeritud Indias korralikes koolides ja sai hea Briti kirjanduse alase hariduse. Nagu Chanu, lahkus temagi kodumaalt, et osa saada Inglismaa kõrgest elustandardist. Tegelik elu Inglismaal ei vasta aga ta ootustele. Tema hea inglise keele oskus ja suured teadmised inglise kultuurist ja kirjandusest ei suurenda tema võimalusi saada enamusühiskonna osaks. Ta üritab igati valdavasse ühiskonda integreeruda, kuid jääb siiski võõraks – üheks paljudest Londonisse jõudnud India immigrantidest. Ühest küljest unistab ta vastuvõtva ühiskonna täieõiguslikuks liikmeks saamisest, teisest küljest aga ei loobu ta oma kultuurilisest tagapõhjast. Niipea, kui ta mõistab, et tema India päritolu võib osutuda eeliseks, käivitab ta omaenda äri, mis tõmbab valgeid inglasi ligi eksotitsismi ja müstikaga.

Artikkel analüüsib mõlema tegelase identiteeti kujundavaid elemente ja kirjeldab, kui suurel määral neil õnnestub vastuvõtvasse ühiskonda assimileeruda. Artikli viimane osa võtab kokku nende iden-

titeedi formeerumise protsessi ja vastab küsimusele, kas Suurbritannias elavaid Lõuna-Aasia päritolu esimese põlvkonna immigrante võib nimetada kultuurihübriididideks. Samuti selgitatakse lühidalt hübriidsuse rolli tänapäevases maailmas.

Dorota Rygiel – Krosno Riikliku Kolledži Inglise keele osakonna lektor, ta õpetab kultuuriuuringuid, eriti Briti uuringuid ja Suurbritannia ajalugu. 2017. aastal sai ta Opole Ülikoolist doktorikraadi kultuuriuuringutes. Ta on osalenud ja korraldanud kodumaiseid ja rahvusvahelisi teaduskonverentse. Ta on ka mitmete kultuuridevahelist kommunikatsiooni ja nüüdisaegses immigrandikirjanduses kirjeldatud identiteedi formeerumist käsitlevate publikatsioonide autor. Tema akadeemiliste huvide hulka kuuluvad kultuuridevaheline kommunikatsioon, multikulturalism Suurbritannias ja tänapäeva immigrandikirjandus.
e-post: dorota.rygiel[at]poczta.fm

METHIS

Transformational Utopian/Dystopian Projections in Turkish Literature: *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı by Adam Şenel*[1]

Emrah Atasoy

Abstract: This article aims to inform international scholars about the existence of an utopian tradition in Turkish literature and explicates the increasing interest in utopian literature in Turkey. The first part of the article presents an insight into the literary and historical progress of the Turkish utopian tradition within the context of a tradition that is predominantly Western. The second part engages in a critical and thematic analysis of Adam Şenel's novella, *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı*, first published in 1968 by Bizim Publishing House. It can be translated as *Marriage Life in Teleandregenos's Utopia*. In this article, the 2003 version is used and cited.

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Keywords: utopia, dystopia, utopianism, Turkish utopianism, Turkish literature, Adam Şenel, *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı*, gender, social order

Utopian Thought and Utopian Studies in Turkish Literature & Academia

Utopian literature is generally attributed to the West; however, utopian or dystopian projections have not been produced solely by Western intellectuals, philosophers or writers. It is possible to come across exemplary representative texts from many different literatures. Turkish literature in this sense does provide numerous literary examples of utopianism, which Sargent (1994, 3) explains as "social dreaming". Some of these Turkish texts emerge as literary productions inspired by the Western utopian tradition, whereas others strive to find their own unique disposition. These texts include utopian or dystopian elements blended with the local colours of Turkey and Turkish culture. Due to the insufficiency of works in English translation or of academic articles written in English concerning the nature of Turkish utopian thought, international scholars are unable to read these literary utopias and dystopias. This paper thus hopes to inform these scholars about the existence of such texts, as there is a huge gap in this aspect.

The numerous translations of Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) explain and justify the substantial interest in utopianism in Turkey. Different translations of *Utopia* exist such as those of Sebahattin Eyüboğlu, Mina Urgan and Vedat Günyol's translation

1 This article is the revised and expanded version of the paper presented at the conference, "His Master's Voice 4th Annual Symposium Utopias, Dystopias, and Ecotopias", March 23–25, 2017, organized by Jagiellonian University & Facta Ficta Research Centre, Krakow, Poland.

(1968), Çiğdem Dürüşken's translation from Latin into Turkish (2009), and Sadık Usta's translation (2005, 2016). The list is not limited to these examples, and can be expanded since this has become a popular book among Turkish readers. Most of the translations into Turkish are based on the English translations such as those of Ralph Robinson's (1551, 1556), Gilbert Burnet's (1684), and the Everyman's Library version (1992). In addition to these translations, *Utopia* continues to be taught within academic disciplines, for example, at Political Science and English Studies departments in compulsory or elective courses. Furthermore, More's text finds its place at various book fairs such as Ankara Book Fair (*Ankara Kitap Fuarı*), International Istanbul Book Fair (*Uluslararası İstanbul Kitap Fuarı*) and Izmir Book Fair (*İzmir Kitap Fuarı*), which are events organized on a regular basis.

In a similar vein, there is a growing popularity of dystopian novels, such as George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) and *Animal Farm* (1945), Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange* (1962); these are among the most widely read books in Turkey. One can find Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which is ranked as the second or third most-selling book by different websites and publishing houses (like *DOST* book store in Ankara), and *Animal Farm* in almost any bookshop. One may explain this popularity as the result of the socio-political conjuncture and the ensuing political predicament both in Turkey and in the world. Turkish readers continue to feed their interest in the imagination of another, or a different world. Moreover, TV series such as *Black Mirror*, *Westworld*, *The Walking Dead*, *The Handmaid's Tale*, and *The Man in the High Castle*, which contain utopian or dystopian elements are also becoming increasingly popular, especially among teenagers and university students as well as wider audiences.

Similarly, academic conferences and creative workshops are being organized to discuss utopian studies. Academic or popular journals publish issues which deal with utopian literature. When one looks at some library collections in Turkey, especially in Ankara, the number of primary and secondary materials on utopian literature is worthy of attention. Hacettepe University Library, located in Ankara, has invested a good amount of money to provide many relevant sources, thereby ranking as the number one library in Turkey with excellent collections in this academic field. Different academic branches of Hacettepe University have organized conferences discussing the subject. The Department of English Language and Literature organized the one-day conference, "International Graduate Conference: Innovative Representations of 'Utopias' in English," on March 15th 2016 in celebration of the 500th anniversary of Thomas More's text, *Utopia*. The Faculty of Communication also organized a similar academic conference in the Turkish language, which provided a fruitful platform for the presenters and the audience.

Workshops contribute to the critical reception of utopian thought, reaching a wider range of readers and audience. To this end, Sadık Usta, an important scholar of utopian literature who publishes on Turkish utopias, organizes workshops and lectures on utopian thought in Turkey. His publications on this genre are at this point worth mentioning, e.g., *Türk Ütopyaları: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Ütopya ve Devrim* (2014, *Turkish Utopias: Utopias and Revolution from Tanzimat*[2] *to the Republic*), which deals with the gradual historical progress of utopian thought both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Republic of Turkey. It presents translations from Ottoman Turkish into modern Turkish of some Turkish literary utopias such as Namık Kemal's *Rüya* (1874 or 1875, *Dream*), İsmail Gaspıralı's *Darürrahat Müslümanları* (1906, *Muslims of Peaceful Land*), Hüseyit Cahit Yalçın's *Hayal Edilmiş Hayat* (1898, *A Dreamed Life*) and Ahmet Ağaoğlu's *Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde* (1930, *In the Land of Free Men*).

Namık Kemal's *Rüya* reveals the writer's utopian views on freedom and a yearning for an ideal homeland: "Namık Kemal not only dreams about such a land but also explains the necessary steps to achieve it. In his opinion, it is only possible to reach such an ideal state through freedom, national will, equal responsibility and equality[3]" (Yürek 2013, 255). İsmail Gaspıralı's *Darürrahat Müslümanları* criticizes ignorance, darkness and backwardness in some Muslim-majority countries and socio-political problems in the Ottoman Empire. The protagonist, Molla Abbas, travels through France and Spain and finds the opportunity to visit the Alhambra Palace, located in Granada, Andalusia, Spain.

There, he is introduced to the Peaceful Land (*Darürrahat Ülkesi*) under the guidance of twelve fairies and one host. This utopian land is portrayed as the ideal land, where Muslims lead a peaceful life. Gaspıralı in this sense mirrors the major problems extant in the Ottoman Empire by depicting an ideal land of Muslims:

> How about the Muslim world in reality? [. . .] Citizens live in poverty, there is almost no production because the Ottoman Empire does not have the required technology [. . .] In this peaceful land, however, every citizen is provided with education. There, religious bigotry is a sign of backwardness. (Usta 2014, 99)

In a similar manner Ayhan Yalçınkaya's book, *Eğer'den meğer'e: Ütopya Karşısında Türk Romanı* (2004, *From "if" to "but": Turkish Novel in the Face of Utopia*) offers a critical academic insight into Turkish literary utopias. The Journal *Doğu Batı* (translated

2 *Tanzimat* stands for reorganization, namely reforms between 1839–1876 in the Ottoman Empire.

3 All Turkish quotations are translated into English by me.

as *East West*), which publishes academic and intellectual articles and appeals to a wider range of readers across Turkey, dedicated its 80th issue to dystopia. In this issue, academics and independent researchers published articles on various aspects of utopianism, offering a critical analysis of utopian thought, and of some literary utopias, dystopias and films. The chief editor, Taşkın Takış (2017, 8) explains their reason for this publication as: "Our contemporary world is evocative of dystopian visions and permanency of bitter experiences leads us to pay attention to dystopias rather than utopias." This issue is especially important because it is the only journal issue in Turkey which has been completely dedicated to utopian literature.

In addition to these academic and non-academic studies on utopianism, it is important to briefly name some Turkish literary utopias and dystopias. As of yet, almost none of these texts have been translated into English, but I do hope that some publishing house will voluntarily take the initiative to provide English translations of these works in order to promote the utopian tradition in Turkey and to reflect the Turkish intellectual mind through these representative texts, some of which have played a significant role in establishing the foundations of modern Turkey by certain substantive revolutionary changes.

The Western tradition of utopian literature, which is regarded as the primary source of utopian literature starting with Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), played a crucial role as an inspirational source for the disposition of Turkish utopian texts. However, fascination with this Western literary tradition also led to a controversial point regarding a new question: How would it be possible to come up with a unique voice within the boundaries of a literary tradition that is shaped by European cultural parameters and dominated by the Western intellectuals and writers? Since utopian tradition does not take up an indispensable position in Turkish literature, Turkish writers could not live up to the expectation of accomplishing a unique voice. Instead, most of the writers consciously or unconsciously chose to imitate the Western narrative pattern of utopian literature. Although some writers strive to be unique in their literary disposition, they end up following the same Western pattern in narrating their utopian or dystopian visions.

These texts, like their Western counterparts, have "a dream of order conceived of in a world of disorder" (Ferns 1999, 14). In some of these imaginary projections, the pattern is as follows:

> [. . .] one essential feature of the traveller's tale is that it is already *finished*: the experience it relates has to be completed before it can be narrated [. . .] For him, the experience of utopia lies in the past, elsewhere in time, as well as in space. And because that experience has been completed, it can be presented as a whole, static entirety. (Ferns 1999, 20)

In many Turkish literary utopias or dystopias, the reader is introduced to a narrator, a traveller like Raphael Hythloday of More's text, or to a Socratic dialogue between the traveller and the locals, through whom the secrets of the utopian society are revealed.

The traveller visits an unknown, exotic land with a unique disposition of the social order. S/he is exposed to the internal dynamics of the utopian order and to the cultural norms of the utopian land. When the traveller returns to his/her land, s/he recounts what s/he has experienced there, which results in his/her transformation. This narrative pattern is utilized to project an alternative way of living and to communicate an alternative ideological mindset. This method of narration also plays a vital role in critiquing the contextual social and political problems by posing a "what if?" question.

As can be seen, the Turkish utopian tradition is under a strong influence of the Western utopian literature; however, despite many such correlations, Turkish writers' handling of various social, cultural and political issues differ extensively, depending on the cultural concerns. Some literary utopias were produced in the form of a political dream, which is a frequently used narrative method in Turkish intellectual life. There are many similarities between these political dreams and the Western literary utopias; however, these Turkish utopias uniquely voice and reflect the concerns, worries, yearnings, and hopes of their times. Therefore, I find it important to touch upon the literary portrayals of utopian thought in Turkish literature as a member of a society that has been enriched by both the European culture and the Middle Eastern cultures due to its geo-political and geo-strategical position.

Furthermore, the socio-political and historical events[4] of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, such as the Imperial Edict of Reorganization (1839, *Tanzimat Fermanı*), the Imperial Reform Edict (1856, *Islahat Fermanı*), and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's reforms, such as the promulgation of the republic (October 29, 1923), Unification of Education (March 3, 1924, *Tevhid-I Tedrisat Kanunu*), promotion of the farmer (1925), the Latin alphabet (November 1, 1928), establishment of the Turkish Language Institution (*Türk Dil Kurumu*, 1932), the Regulation of Dressing (December 3, 1934), granting women the political right to elect and to be elected (December 5, 1934), the military coups and environmental concerns (the list can be

4 Since the Turkish utopian tradition is not a well-established tradition, it is not possible to categorize all the texts. These texts may be pursuing gender equality, religious tolerance, political justice and a meritocratic society.

expanded), played a key role in the production of these literary utopias and dystopias.

In an interactive relationship these literary works were influenced by such contextual events, whereas promising utopian thoughts/works had their influence on these incidents and developments. Ziya Paşa's *Rüya* (*Dream*, 1868), Molla Davudzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumi's *Ru'yada Terakki ve Medeniyet'i İslamiyeyi Rü'yet* (*Envisioning Progress and Islamic Civilization in Dream*, 1913), Raif Necdet Kestelli's *Semavi İhtiras* (*Heavenly Passion*, 1933), Memduh Şevket Esendal's *Yurda Dönüş* (*Return to Homeland*, 1940), Şevket Süreyya Aydemir's *Toprak Uyanırsa* (*If the Land Wakes Up*, 1963), Cüneyt Arcayürek's *Ku-De-Ta* (*Coup d'état*, 1987), Adam Şenel's *Ozmos Kronos* (1993), Zühtü Bayar's *Sahte Uygarlık* (*Fake Civilization*, 1999), Latife Tekin's *Unutma Bahçesi*[5] (*The Garden of Forgetting*, 2004), Oya Baydar's *Çöplüğün Generali*[6] (*The General of the Garbage Dump*, 2009), Zülfü Livaneli's *Son Ada*[7] (*The Last Island*, 2009), and Ayşe Kulin's *Tutsak Güneş*[8] (*Captured Sun*, 2017) can be listed as some of the important representative literary Turkish utopias and dystopias.

Some of these works struggle to represent and to realize (or to impose) their utopian dreams based on the practice of religious doctrine, freedom of religion, gender equality or inequality, and use of power. Since this objective requires political power, such an utopian practice is very much concerned with the represented governing body. These upholders of power express their utopian or dystopian ide-

5 Tekin's novel, *Unutma Bahçesi* (*The Garden of Forgetting*, 2004) presents the story of a group of people who struggle to establish a new utopian life, which is in complete peace with nature in a small Aegean town, Turkey. These people try to run away from the rat race and impositions of the mainstream society. It brings the concepts of identity, forgetting, memory and the past into question.

6 This novel is being translated into English and will hopefully reach the international reader.

7 As far as I am concerned, there is an English translation of this novel. It is unfortunately not possible to find the translated versions of other texts. Livaneli's novel, *Son Ada* (*The Last Island*) is an important literary dystopia or critical dystopia in Turkish literature. It narrates the story of the last utopian island on earth and its gradual transformation by one fictional character called the President (*Başkan*). The narrator elucidates the gradual destruction of this last utopian haven by the President in the aftermath of a fierce struggle between the President and the seagulls. This novel in this sense sheds light on the dangers of limitless power, tyrannical power practice, herd mentality, and blind conformity. Since it is a significant text, some theatrical performances have been produced. Doğan Egmont publishing house came up with a version for children with illustrations, named *Son Ada'nın Çocukları* (*Last Island's Kids*, 2014).

8 Kulin's dystopian text, *Tutsak Güneş* (*Captured Sun*, 2015) projects a dystopian society designed in the form of a kind of police state, which is under the control of religious figures. The majority in this society are manipulated by upholders of power and their freedom is suppressed. The novel concerns itself with the gradual awakening and rebellion of the protagonist, Professor Yuna Otis, resulting in her questioning the past in this fictional illustration.

ologies through their manipulative discourses in order to maintain their current status and to have an impact on the majority of the population. Some others, on the other hand, project their utopian or dystopian visions and concerns through speculative literary texts which, being inspirational sources, affect people's way of thinking. Until translators take up the challenge, those who are interested in the utopian tradition in Turkey can read these works on the condition that they have a sufficient command of the language.

In the rest of this article I will carry out critical analysis of Adam Şenel's novella, *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı*[9] to introduce this exemplary text of Turkish speculative fiction. I have chosen this particular text due to its unique treatment of relationships between men and women and its critique of gender inequality.

Adam Şenel's novella *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı* (*Marriage Life in Teleandregenos's Utopia*)

Brief biographical and plot information is useful prior to discussing the text. Adam Şenel (Alaeddin Şenel, born 1941) was a Professor at the Department of Public Administration in the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University. He wrote on numerous topics and issues such as history, history of civilizations, political ideologies, race and the ideology of racism, dictatorship and democracy, and the Middle East. He is known for his two literary texts, *Ozmos Kronos* and *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı*. His novella, *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı*[10] concerns itself with the representation of marital life, domestic life, familial relationships, parental responsibility and connection to children, gender inequality, isolation and religion in the *utopian*[11] land of Teleandregenos.

Since it is limited to the portrayal of issues of gender and upbringing, the novella does not illustrate society on a broader level or engage itself with other social issues. Rather, similarly to early classical utopias, it presents a guided tour of an imagined country, but does not hint at possibilities of transformation or flexibility in the current order. The latter is accentuated at the end of the novella when the narrator ends his account: "This is all I can say about the family life in the land of

9 There is no academic article written on the text; therefore, this paper hopes to provide an insight into Şenel's vision through critical analysis.

10 This book was first published in 1968 by Bizim Publishing House; in 1985 by Kuzey Publishing House; in 1990 by Verso Publishing House; in 2003 by İmge Publishing House. In this article, the 2003 version is used and cited.

11 It is up to the reader to decide whether this land is utopian or dystopian. Therefore, I find it useful to italicize the word, utopian. The tone of this narrative reads like utopian due to its way of narration; however, there are many characteristics that can be regarded as dystopian in Şenel's text.

Teleandregenos" (Şenel 2003, 93). Through this projection, it is possible to fathom Şenel's critical perspective into gender roles on both the domestic and universal levels through the text's implications.

Şenel's text begins with lines questioning Adam and Eve's sexual instincts and fidelity: "Do they desire this slavery? If not, who is responsible for it?" (12). The narrator introduces the concept of marriage and familial relationships in the land of Teleandregenos based on the accounts of the writer of a papyrus the narrator finds. His account of socio-political practices demonstrates Şenel's critique of the relationships between men and women and how the inequality between sexes maintained since childhood leads to drastic social problems when they became adults. Şenel's narrative stimulates the minds of the readers, and questions the ingrained gender roles by recounting a domestic life of Siamese twins.

The reader is led to ruminate critically over the mainstream discourse and its epistemology of truth. This shatters the fixed idea of the dogmatism of truth and brings the relativity of truth as belief or belief as truth into question:

> [. . .] a belief is *true* when it *corresponds* to a certain associated complex and *false* when it does not [. . .] A mind, which believes, believes truly when there is a c*orresponding* complex not involving the mind, but only its subjects [. . .] Minds do not *create* truth or falsehood. (Pojman 1999, 187)

Both the narrator's perspective and that of the writer of the papyrus display the deep problems extant in the social order since there are constant references to the blind adherence of the citizens to the dogmatic nature of the system.

Although the narrative does not revolve around the quest of a specific protagonist, a rebel, or a misfit, references to some misfits and the ensuing punishments highlight the strict structure and functioning of the system. In the land of Teleandregenos, children are born as conjoined twins (Siamese twins). They are often a girl and a boy. These twins mate with each other, but are allowed to do so only after marriage. The umbilical cord or the navel string is not cut immediately. This period is prolonged up to two years, and gradually gets longer. There is a compulsory symbiotic living of twins and parents, which engenders a love-hate relationship between children and parents, leading in turn to a familial civil war. The parents show a cupboard love towards their children for the sake of public name and fame. The umbilical cord is always attached first to the son, and then to the daughter, which has a negative impact on the development of girls both mentally and physically. When the cord is cut, children are left to their individual development until the age of thirteen.

However, the gender separation silences girls, and boosts the boys' ego and their superiority complex. It also diverts them to different games and hobbies. Accordingly, girls are engaged with wedding games and playing house, whereas boys are encouraged to be involved in physical games. In this world, everyone marries at the age of twenty-three, and honor is highly respected as the chief pillar of society. Premarital sex is strictly forbidden and regarded as a sin. Furthermore, women are made to live in cages, one for pre-marriage life and the other for after-marriage life. Encaged life is highly respected, and connotative positive meanings are attached to it.

This cage can be compared to the clothing a woman wears. The cage has two locks: her husband has the first key and the public officers have the second key. This cage blocks her social life, and has a mouth-bolt, keeping the woman almost completely quiet when necessary. This encaged life implants an inferiority complex, submission and loyalty in women's minds; by labelling girls as domestic animals, it is a process of taming. The punishment is enforced in case of twins' premarital sexual attempts. This leads to their public denigration since they are sworn at and spitted at. Ultimately, they are executed, and the final message is conveyed to other citizens: there is no tolerance; failure to conform to the social rules results in strict punishment. Furthermore, divorce is not allowed. The dead are turned into sculptures and idolized, worshipped as holy figures in the sacred family temple, "it is not surprising that the most grandiose, splendid building is the sacred family temple since family plays the most important role in the land of Teleandregenos" (Şenel 2003, 93).

These despotic impositions are indoctrinated in the members of society. The narrator's account implicates and reveals unhappiness as the main social problem, which it is attempted to disguise or substitute for something else. The status of Siamese twins accounts for such unhappiness and dejection since it does not give personal space to either side. It prevents one side from realizing his/her ultimate purpose: "If happiness means being together like a forest, yet individual and free like a tree, one side of happiness is always lacking in the land of Teleandregenos" (77). Accordingly, Şenel aims his harsh critique toward the inequality of women's and men's relationship, and the unequal relationship between the individual and society. Through a fictional depiction of such gender inequality, Şenel's utopian narrative implicitly animadverts upon the problematic aspects of social relationships both in Turkey and on the international level:

> The writer remains governed by the realities of his or her own society, extrapolating from its more positive aspects, reacting against its more negative ones, recasting it in the light of social

> and political theories generated by the imperfect reality from which utopia separates itself. (Ferns 1999, 2)

Although many official reforms have been made and legislation has been passed to contribute to the betterment of gender relationships in Turkey, there are still deep-rooted problems concerning gender inequality in the contemporary relationships between some couples, which are the result of manipulative power dynamics and hierarchical domestic social organization. This unhealthy approach towards gender can also be witnessed in parental treatment of childrearing and providing education to both sexes. Although substantial progress has been made, unfortunately, the unequal approach to girls as compared to boys can still be seen, and has also been observed by researchers.

In socially conservative parts of Turkey, a traditional view of gender roles prevails. Indeed, several studies that have conducted face-to-face interviews with parents, teachers and local officials in Turkey report conservative views against girls' education as a major impediment: "In a traditional and low-income city [. . .] parents stated that low income and social pressure against sending girls to mixed sex schools as the most important reasons for keeping girls out of school" (Caner et al 2016, 1232).

Whereas this work of speculative fiction does not have any direct references to Turkey or any real places, allusively, it communicates its critical contextual message regarding such disparity, bias and discrepancy as a cautionary work. By arguing against the traditional way of raising boys and girls, Şenel offers a new manner of bringing children up, bestowing a sense of equality and self-esteem for both sexes, and facilitating self-actualization and self-fulfillment in Maslowian terms. His proposed new approach strives to do away with the extant prioritized male supremacy and female inferiority in order to promote and inaugurate parity, a culture of tolerance and resilience. The text does not cover and illustrate social life on an extensive level; we are not provided with all the aspects of social order, but merely a partial insight into relationships between men and women. It accentuates and highlights the domestic familial relationships, and criticizes the aspects that are lacking through the portrayal of the symbiotic life of Siamese twins. This misogynistic approach accordingly fails to accomplish "considerably *improved* behaviour as an attainable norm" (Claeys 2010, 108).

In conclusion, this study has attempted to discuss the Turkish utopian tradition, to inform international scholars about the existence of this tradition in Turkish intellectual life and in Turkish literature, with a brief textual and thematic analysis of Şenel's text, *Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı*. This text is instrumental in

terms of portraying implicitly and explicitly the problematic nature of social relationships and gender inequality. The Turkish Utopian tradition may not be as rich as the Western tradition, yet more and more Turkish intellectuals are writing speculative texts about alternative envisioned worlds. This might be due to the fact that the precarious current socio-political conjuncture is leading intellectuals and writers to push their limits and seek possible alternative ways of living through their powerful imagination, envisioning a more ideal meritocratic society.

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Emrah Atasoy—PhD student and a Research Assistant at the Department of English Language and Literature at Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey. His dissertation deals with the twentieth-century dystopian literature with a special focus on Katherine Burdekin, Anthony Burgess and P. D. James. He spent an academic year as a visiting scholar at the Penn State University under the academic guidance of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jennifer Wagner-Lawlor. His areas of interest include utopian literature, the twentieth-century utopian & dystopian thought, utopian hope, critical dystopias and Turkish utopianism.
e-mail: atasoy.emrah[at]hacettepe.edu.tr

Transformatsioonilised utoopia/düstoopia projektsioonid türgi kirjanduses: Adam Şeneli „Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı“

Emrah Atasoy

Märksõnad: utoopia, düstoopia, utopism, türgi utopism, türgi kirjandus, Adam Şenel, „Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı“, sugu, ühiskondlik kord

Utopistlik kirjandus köidab jätkuvalt laiu lugejate hulki paljudes kultuurides, sest see kujutab erisuguseid maailmakordi, millest mõned võivad muutuda tegelikkuseks selleks spetsiaalselt moodustatud kogukondades, teised aga jäävad väljamõeldiste valda, kuid pakuvad siiski vaateid tegeliku elu küsitavatele aspektidele ja toovad esile vastandlikke hääli, sarnasust, paljusust ja mitmekesisust. Kirjanikud kujutavad lootust reformidele ja parema, isegi ideaalse ühiskonna otsinguid nende enda vaatepunktist loodud kujutletavates maailmades. Mõned kirjanikud otsivad utoopilist lootust, teised autorid võivad utoopiliste ootuste realiseerumise võimatuse tõttu esitada luupainajalikke ühiskonnakordi düstoopiate abil, mida professor Sargent kirjeldab kui „mitte-eksisteerivat ühiskonda, mida kirjeldatakse märkimisväärse üksikasjalikkusega ja mis on tavaliselt asetatud aega ja ruumi, mida kaasaegne lugeja peaks, autori kavatsuse järgi, nägema tublisti hullema ühiskonnana kui see, kus ta parajasti elab.“ Nende tekstide kaudu näitavad kirjanikud, intellektuaalid ja filosoofid alternatiivseid süsteeme ja ideoloogilisi formatsioone kriitilisest perspektiivist ja/või vastandlikust seisukohast.

Need spekulatiivsed teosed käsitlevad selliseid probleeme nagu ühiskonna hierarhiline ülesehitus, võimukasutus, manipulatiivne epistemoloogia, sotsiaalne manipuleerimine, ajalugu ja rõhumine, mis panevad meid mõtlema ühiskondlik-poliitilise olustiku ja selle võimalike arutlusvigade üle. Ingliskeelsetel teostel on võimalik jõuda rahvusvahelise lugejani, samasugustel spekulatiivse kirjanduse teostel, mis pole inglise keeles kirjutatud, on aga juhul, kui neid ei tõlgita, ainult piiratud kohalik lugejaskond. Seetõttu püüab käesolev artikkel heita valgust utopistlikule mõttele türgi kirjanduses ja teadustöödes, mille põhjuseks on Türgis kasvav huvi utopismi ja kirjanduslike utoopiate/düstoopiate vastu. Artikkel tutvustab ka Adam Şeneli lühiromaani „Teleandregenos Ütopyasında Evlilik Hayatı“ („Abielu Teleandregenose Utoopias“).

Emrah Atasoy – doktorant ja nooremteadur Hacettepe Ülikooli (Ankara, Türgi) inglise keele ja kirjanduse osakonnas. Tema doktoritöö käsitleb kahekümnenda sajandi düstoopilist kirjandust rõhuasetusega Katherine Burdekinil, Anthony Burgessil ja P. D. Jamesil. Ta veetis ühe akadeemilise aasta Penn State University's dots. Dr. Jennifer Wagner-Lawlori juhendamise all. Tema huvide hulka kuuluvad utoopiline kirjandus, 20. sajandi utoopiline ja düstoopiline mõte, utoopiline lootus, kriitilised düstoopiad ja türgi utopism.
e-post: atasoy.emrah[at]hacettepe.edu.tr

METHIS

Opera across Borders: New Technologies and Mediatization

Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča

Abstract: This article aims to address the impact of new technologies and mediatization of the opera genre in the 2nd decade of the 21st century taking into account the discussion on "liveness" and mediated artistic experiences offered by Philip Auslander and Bruce McConachie. The inquiry outlines three key modalities of interaction between opera and mediatization: 1) multimedia as a part of an opera production, 2) media as channels for opera distribution, and 3) mediatization as a communication tool. Excluding opera films and history of opera recordings, the main focus here concerns HD live and online transmissions of opera performances. Mediatization has introduced notable changes in the perception of this genre of performing arts, questioning the phenomenon of operatic immersion and leading to the transformation of operatic culture.

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Keywords: opera, audience, mediatization, new technologies, liveness, immersion

The rocketing development of new technologies today has had an impact on every genre of performing arts, even on opera, which is considered one of the most conservative forms of musical theatre. The widespread everyday use of technologies sets forth a new framework of requirements, challenges, and opportunities. Technological innovations, beginning with subtitle machines and ending with live online transmissions, diversify distribution channels and make opera available both beyond the opera house and across social and cultural boundaries. In this article we will consider mediatization in the framework of the definition offered by Friedrich Krotz (2009, 23): "Media is something that modifies communication [. . .] Media operates simultaneously on four different levels: as a technology, a social institution, an organizational machine, a way of setting content in a scene, and a space of experience of the recipient."

Media offer wide-ranging possibilities for stage directors and producers to make the audience experience the classical opera repertoire anew, through visually impressive productions that offer new forms of interpretation and operatic immersion both directly, in the opera house, and virtually—through live or recorded musical and visual transmissions of opera online, as well as via cinematic platforms and TV. All of these aspects arouse debate on operatic experience today, problematic strengths and weaknesses of mediatization in terms of producing, enjoying, researching and teaching opera, and open up new questions about mediatized artistic experience.

Since the 1990s, these issues have been widely discussed by scholars of media and performance studies, such as Peggy Phelan, Philip Auslander and Bruce McConachie, to mention just a few. Peggy Phelan (1993, 146) claimed that "Performance's only life is in the present. Performance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations; once it does so, it becomes something other than performance." However, along with technological developments, scholars have tended to become less strict regarding the difference between live and mediatized theatrical experiences.

At the end of the 1990s, Philip Auslander argued about the boundaries between live and mediatized experience, in response to the progressive invasion of mediatization in people's lives and the performing arts (see also Auslander 1999, 7). Less than a decade later, he wrote:

> [. . .] the live was articulated in relation to technological change. Recording technology brought the live into being, but under conditions that permitted a clear distinction between the existing mode of performance and the new one. The development of broadcast technology, however, obscured that distinction, and thus subverted the complementary relationship between live and recorded modes of performance. (Auslander 2007, 526)

In addition, Auslander (2007, 531) claimed that digital technologies have reopened the question about the previously established distinction between the live and the mediatized—"live performance is not recorded". For instance, HD live transmissions offer the audience engineered sound and image adjustments as recordings; however, such performances are subject to the same unpredictable conditions as live performance "here and now" in the opera house. In several forms, the performance and the experience of the audience can be said to be live and mediatized at the same time.

Nevertheless, media and performance-related theories hardly ever cover opera as a particular, synthetic genre of performing arts, not to speak of its interaction with media. Clemens Risi (2011) has tackled this subject in his research on immersion and bodily participation in opera,[1] Christopher Morris (2015), in his turn, has analysed the latest wave of Italian opera films shot for TV which aim to offer a hyperreal experience to the audience through site-and time-specific conditions.

1 See also Risi's keynote "Opera and/as bodily participation" at "Operatic Immersions: The Inaugural Conference of Northern Opera Research Network", University of Huddersfield (UK) 23.04.2016 (https://nornnetwork.files.wordpress.com/2015/10/immersions-programme_forweb.pdf).

Obviously, being fans of live opera performances in the traditional sense, that is, the experience of directly sitting in the opera theatre, opera researchers mostly share the opinion of Berry Kosky, the intendant of *Die Komische Oper Berlin*, that opera in cinemas is like *Starbucks* (Allison 2013). Such scholars regard mediatized opera as a mass-oriented shadow or a surrogate of the "real" opera performance. I would argue instead that opera in cinemas (for instance, HD transmissions), like *Moët&Chandon* champagne in a paper cup, presents noble contents through a mass culture distribution model, and that the difference is actually a matter of reception. This discussion can be closely related to such notions as "liveness" and "engagement" as addressed by Auslander and McConachie. McConachie criticizes Auslander's view on "live" and "mediated" performances as equals:

> [. . .] Philip Auslander in *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, discerns no fundamental differences along the continuum separating "live" and "mediated" performances. Auslander argues that live performances of *The Phantom of the Opera*, for example, especially after its one-thousandth franchised showing, are little different from a film of the same productions; audiences will have much the same experience at both. (McConachie 2008, 57)

In the case of the opera film or recorded transmission ("conserved" or purposefully produced performance), this might be true. However, there is a certain difference in the case of a HD live transmission, where the audience deals with mediated and engineered operatic experience; the "here and now" is happening at the same time and is subject to the same unpredictability in terms of singing and acting qualities as live performance at the theatre. McConachie (2008, 1), rather, admits that "[. . .] engagement happens among live participants in the same space and during the same time, theatre usually has more in common with face-to-face conversations than do other mediated events [my emphasis—L. M.-B.], such as viewing films and Web sites."

This article aims to outline some of the main problems related to the use of new technologies in opera in the second decade of the 2000s, touching upon issues of collective and individual reception and the development of operatic culture cultivated by means of opportunities provided by new technologies and media. I apply Auslander's analysis of the historical development of liveness represented in the 2nd edition of his book, quoted above (see Auslander 2008, 61) and use some examples to demonstrate the main changes in operatic reception today.[2]

2 Analysis of new (and mediatized) forms of opera, such as operas for mobile phones, video operas, silent operas (enjoyed through headphones) will be postponed for a separate article I hope to write in the near future.

There are at least three modalities of how media can amplify an opera production:

1) Media integrated into the stage reality, contributing to the aesthetics of the production;
2) Media used as opera distribution channels;
3) Media as a communication tool.

Apart from these three modalities of mediatization, opera films represent a particular phenomenon, another type of production, where the outcome is more relevant to the context of the film and TV industry. In opera films, the boundaries of two genres of the performing arts (opera and cinema) are merged, but this is not synonymous with "mediatizing" the opera production. Although opera films are not the focus of this article, they deserve a short comment. Since the 1980s, the making of opera films (for example, *La Traviata*, directed by Franco Zefirelli (1983)), particularly for television, has been enabled by media technology and the possibilities of sound and image montage. Today, the most representative examples are probably the films initiated by Andrea Andermann and shot in the setting and location featured in the opera libretto to intensify immersion through cultural context. Examples include *Rigoletto in Mantua* (directed by Marco Belocchio (2010)); *Tosca* in Rome (1992), *La Traviata* in Paris (2000) and *La Cenerentola* in Turin (2012)). In his article dedicated to *Rigoletto in Mantua*, Christoper Morris discusses the issues of temporal and spatial immersion provided by cinematic tools. The city itself and its sightseeing objects serve as a set for the production and create a "real life" effect, both using typical exterior and interior spaces specified in the libretto, as well as requiring strong involvement of media technologies. Technically, singers perform followed by the cameras, meanwhile the orchestra is located somewhere else and is linked to the soloists through monitors and headphones. Morris claims that opera films usually insist on hyper-presence—emphasizing the "here and now of the text"—and sometimes on hyper-liveness. For instance, *Rigoletto in Mantua* linked the time markers of the libretto to the broadcasting schedule: the first act was broadcast in the evening, according to the time setting of the libretto; the second act was broadcast during the day and the last in the evening again according to the action-time suggested by the libretto (Morris 2015, 52). Opera films usually offer a cinematic type of immersion with distance views and close-ups, rotating cameras and different angles of view, increasing the sense of presence for the spectators.

To a certain degree, these effects are also a part of the live HD transmissions I will examine below. Christopher Morris writes:

> Television establishes a new representative compact, substituting scenery flats with flat screens and dispersing spectatorship across myriad domestic spaces, each a theatre in and of itself. "Rigoletto in Mantua" plays on these ambiguities, situating living bodies in ever-shifting visual and acoustic tension with their monumental surroundings. At first glance, bereft of any obvious critical intent, the production actually poses questions that offer to unsettle some entrenched thinking about performance and media technology, presence and absence, animate and inanimate. (Morris 2015, 53)

In opera films, being conscious of the engineered reality, the spectator is subjected to seduction by the immersive effects of cinematic technologies similar to Hollywood movies on TV. Yet, in terms of Auslander's classification of liveness, opera films, along with CDs and DVDs belong to the category of "live recordings", characterized by a "temporal gap between production and reception; possibly of infinite repetitions" (Auslander 2008, 61).

Media integrated into stage reality

The first and the simplest modality of integrating media into stage reality uses visual media technologies as a means of expression or an artistic tool within the framework of the in-house opera production. Nowadays, this usually means on-stage video projections, background screens, live-camera projections and so on, that form a part of the stage reality along with the sets, organizing the space or providing visual support to the director's concept. Currently, video or computer graphics projected on screens located on the stage or curtain screens is common practice in opera productions, and the video designer has become an almost irreplaceable member of the team along with the lighting, sets, and costume designers. The distinguished theatre theoretician Patrice Pavis (2012, 137) writes: "Multimedia performance is not simply an accumulation of arts (theatre, dance, music, projections and so on); it is in its true sense the merging of technologies in the space-time of representation." As for video applied in dramatic theatre, Pavis comments:

> From the 1990s, theatre artists such as Robert Lepage, Peter Sellars, Giorgio Barberio Corsetti and Frank Castorf began a new phase in the use of video: video is no longer limited to the margins or used as mere provocation, but takes its place at the heart of a stage set-up, and instigates a new way of telling stories by means of theatre. In this sense, video has become no longer an end in itself, but a new departure point for unknown lands. (Pavis 2012, 139)

The use of video, animation, collage, 3D, and different hybrid techniques on stage reshapes the spatial and conceptual *mise-en-scène,* changing audience per-

ception and increasing the degree of immersion through visual images, sometimes competing with audial effects provided by the orchestra, chorus and soloists.[3]

The idea of reshaping the *mise-en-scène* finds its quintessence in such productions as Giorgio Barberio Corsetti's *Fra Diavolo* by Daniel Auber (Teatro dell'Opera di Roma, 2017) or *Don Pasquale* (Latvian National Opera and Ballet, 2018). In *Don Pasquale*, the video art and animation collage strive to amplify the fantasy of the audience during arias and ensembles, instead of serving as an illustration of the text or music. Further examples include Marie-Eva Signeyrole's *Carmen* by Georges Bizet (Latvian National Opera and Ballet, 2017) or Krszystof Warlikowski's *Don Carlo* by Giuseppe Verdi (Opera Bastille, 2017). These performances combine video recordings, film, computer graphics and live or recorded on-stage camera projections to merge several levels of fictional realities in the visually perceivable part of the production. Giorgio Barberio Corsetti states:

> As any opera stage director, I have the utopic ambition to make music visible. Theatre for me is the place where it is possible to see the invisible and to hear the not hearable, to bring the hidden in the lights. Mostly, it happens through visual images, moving images. (Mellēna-Bartkevica 2018)

Nowadays, opera is more insistently visual than it ever has been before. Sometimes the question is raised of the difference between the overwhelming visual vs musical experience. However, to a certain degree, the increasing diversity of visual media on the opera stage is a 21st century development of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, since visual media contribute to the synthesis of different arts in opera, and they are incorporated into the totality of the production.

Mediatization as an opera distribution tool

The second type of mediatization in opera relates to the distribution of an art product. In Auslander's classification of liveness, this means both recording and broadcasting. These two categories differ only in terms of the temporal conditions of production and reception. The first refers to the temporal gap, as in the case of opera films; the second, to simultaneity.[4] In the sense of the typology offered in this article, "mediatized" opera generally means all kinds of "opera packaging" or recordings (audio and video) available on different data carriers ranging from vinyl

3 Except for off-stage musical scenes in some operas, the sound amplification in opera theatres is a marginal phenomenon.

4 Auslander lists them vice versa, but my aim is to skip the long history of opera sound recordings; therefore I prefer this sequence.

discs to MP4 files. Their main value today is the status-conferring value of the documented history of opera performances, legendary casts and voices. Both sound and video recordings currently serve more as collectors' items or research materials for scholars than art consumed by large audiences. The culture of records has been replaced by the culture of HD transmissions in cinemas and TV, as well as by live streaming online and archived streaming records online that can be replayed for a couple of months, depending on the conditions of the initial agreement. There are still full radio transmissions available, yet nowadays this type of mediatized experience provides only a very partial and insufficient impression of an opera production, again serving mostly informative purposes (for instance, about the success of role debuts for singers, if relevant). In such a context, mediatization as an opera distribution tool approaches the next type in Auslander's classification of liveness, which he actually borrowed from Nick Couldry[5] in 2004—Internet liveness—characterized by the sense of users' co-presence.

At first glance, this term might seem inadequate for HD transmissions in cinemas, yet is an intermediate form between traditional and collective live opera theatre experience on the one hand, and mediatized operatic adventure on the other, engaged in individually or in a group in front of a computer or other electronic device. Currently, several opera houses, for instance, the MET, Teatro alla Scala, Bolshoi, and the Vienna State Opera offer worldwide HD transmissions in cinemas and on-street screens outside the opera house—, thus reaching large audiences worldwide for a bargain price or even free of charge, while keeping the idea of opera as a collective artistic experience.

Auslander writes:

> The default definition of live performance is that it is the kind of performance in which the performers and the audience are both physically and temporally co-present to one another. But over time, we have come to use "live" to describe performance situations that do not meet those basic conditions. [. . .] The liveness of the experience of listening to or watching the recording is primarily affective: live recordings allow the listener a sense of participating in a specific performance and a vicarious relationship to the audience for that performance not accessible through studio productions. (Auslander 2008: 60)

What we always have to remember in the case of any "live" transmission, is that we are dealing with e n g i n e e r e d presence and liveness. The sound and image

5 Auslander refers to Couldry's "Liveness, 'reality', and the mediated habitus from television to the mobile phone" (2004).

are mediatized to adapt them to the particular distribution channel, whether this be the broadcasting set of cinemas or online platforms. Patrice Pavis (2012, 140) writes about the "change of scale, well known in photography and in cinema, leading to a spatial and corporeal disorientation for the spectator". In Latvia, for instance, opera transmissions are streamed using top-notch film technologies. HD transmissions from the MET are broadcast in the so-called Space Auditorium at the cinema (Kino Citadele), equipped with "Barco 4K" laser projectors for a wider range of colours; better contrast proportion both for light and dark frames; 3D effect on large and curved screen, and, a "Dolby Atmos" sound system with 87 loudspeakers located in the ceiling all over the auditorium. However, the presence effect provided by the aforementioned technologies sometimes turns into an "operating theatre effect" (what a homonymy between arts and medicine!): often the camera angles and close-ups approximate to a voyeuristic position, producing too naturalistic an effect. It might be a matter of individual taste, yet seeing the drops of sweat rolling down the face of the singer, counting all his or her wrinkles under the make-up or catching yourself following the strap of the bra slipping off the singer's shoulder can sometimes make one feel rather uncomfortable. Besides, the all-around sound tends to produce a kind of exaggerated resolution, similar to the colour intensity on some smartphones, as when striving toward a "real" effect results in an over-real or overly zoomed experience.

Nevertheless, in comparison to live streaming and online recordings, HD transmissions imitate the real theatre experience in a way that it remains a collective artistic experience in a dark room shared with hundreds of strangers. Therefore in-theatre reactions, such as applause or bodily participation signs can sometimes be observed. For instance, in Latvia, in the cases of HD transmissions of MET productions with the participation of Latvian opera singers, such as mezzosoprano Elīna Garanča, sopranos Kristīne Opolais and Marina Rebeka, and tenor Aleksandrs Antonenko, the audience often applauds collectively after the transmissions, although they are aware of the absence of the traditional "energy exchange" attributed to live performance in an opera theatre.

On the contrary, live streaming and online video recordings, such as www.operaplatform.eu (since 2008—www.operavision.eu), and the websites of different opera houses, for instance, *Théâtre La Monnaie* in Brussels, and the Vienna State Opera turn opera into an individual and virtual experience, where the spectator is not obliged to dress up, displace themselves, nor observe any particular code of behaviour. On the one hand, this can be considered a privilege enabling the avoidance of the "champagne and salmon" society side-effects that often have little to do with the arts; on the other hand, a clear alienation and virtualization effect takes

place in which collective experience (euphoric or disappointing) is replaced by individual or shared experience adaptable to the consumer's time, habits, and preferences. For researchers, however, the availability of mediatized opera is an irreplaceable bank of findings, rich source material incomparable to ephemeral performances. As a method, the re-examination of recordings often beats the documentary protocol with respect to details and in-depth analysis of the production.

Communication about and around opera

The third type of opera mediatization is the use of media as a communication tool. This is also a relatively recent phenomenon. In the marketing communication of opera companies, this refers to materials such as official videos, teasers, highlights, backstage insights, scenes from productions, interviews and rehearsals that offer wide-range information on ongoing or forthcoming opera productions. Such information is made available online on webpages and social media accounts, often also at opera houses, where it is projected on large screens inside and outside the building. Media technologies allow the combining of different kinds of montage that tease the spectator's imagination; for instance, mixing scenes from performances, artistic videos, and documentary with behind-the-scenes interviews with cast members during the rehearsal process, thus creating the illusion of presence behind the scenes. This makes the spectator feel more privileged, involved, and engaged, in comparison to the theatre audience which lacks such an opportunity to look behind the scenes.

For example, the teaser for the production of Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* at the Royal Opera House of Covent Garden (2015, directed by Tim Albery) consists of the following elements. First, a video of a stormy ocean (an obvious imaginary speculation associated with the music); second, fragments of the production starring the Welsh bass-baritone Sir Bryn Terfel in the title role; third, a the backstage interview with the soloist dressed in a regular T-shirt, telling about the role in the larger context of his career, and interpretations of the character. There are plenty of similar examples in almost every webpage or social media account of opera theatres, agencies and singers themselves.

Another form of mediatization, this time on the audience side, concerns social media—shared information platforms (including unofficial videos and records), news, audience feedback, comments, and the creation of fan groups. Actually, YouTube alone deserves a separate research project examining its wide range of opera-related contents. I will limit myself to a well-known example which clearly demonstrates the splitting of reception of the operatic audience, confirming McConachie's statement about the immersion of the spectators:

> On the one hand, spectators collaborate with blended actor/characters when they are immersed in the affective flow of the performance. Audiences happily adjust their perceptions to accommodate theatre artists, who push the blend toward the actor or the character end of the continuum. On the other hand, if spectators are considering the person on stage simply as an actor or are thinking about the character written by the playwright apart from the performer playing the role, they have momentarily reversed the blend; its component parts fall into the separate concepts of actor and character. We oscillate between these inside and outside positions throughout all theatrical performances. And, as with all forms of conscious attention, we can shift from inside to outside perspectives in a matter of milliseconds. (McConachie 2008, 47)

A dedicated operagoer seldom goes to the theatre to see something new in terms of repertoire. Mostly s/he is interested in the performance of particular singers in particular roles. Operatic audiences often follow names that guarantee vocal virtuosity and the artistic quality of performance. Thus hearing "E lucevan le stelle" performed by Jonas Kaufmann is more relevant than revisiting the well-known dramatic tale of *cavaliere* Cavaradossi in Puccini's *Tosca*, Parsifal, or de Grieux on stage. Audiences gather to see and hear Kaufmann.

Let us recall the video from the Vienna State Opera, dated 20 April 2016[6], when Angela Gheorghiu, a lead singer in "Tosca", missed her entrance in the third act after Jonas Kaufmann, at the audience's demand, repeatedly performed the Cavaradossi hit aria "E lucevan le stelle". Hearing Tosca's musical motif in the orchestra and not seeing Gheorghiu on stage, Kaufmann first looked truly confused, and then found a solution in an improvised recitativo "Oh, non abbiamo il soprano!",[7] which made the audience laugh. This accident definitely broke the integrity of the operatic performance in terms of space and time, and, while the backstage staff looked for the lost diva, Kaufmann apologized to the spectators in German. Once Gheorghiu finally appeared on stage, the performance was continued from the bar where it was stopped to the end.

This particular video has been shared hundreds of thousands of times; it was reproduced in all news, and social networks. Therefore this information not only reached the few thousands of spectators present in the theatre house that evening, but also a much broader audience, producing widespread social discussions as to whether this was a case of professional jealousy, an attempt at sabotage, or just an accident. Social media have made possible the participation of audiences in operatic

6 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NnT4QTdzP_I

7 "Oh, we don't have the soprano" (in Italian).

discourse through virtual platforms and communities. Opera fans can take advantage of following their idols, communicate with them directly or indirectly, watch their communications, as well as upload information, including illegal videos (most opera houses and other producers prohibit recordings during the performance).

Illusions of closeness?

To conclude, mediatization in opera leads to notable changes in this genre of the performing arts, particularly in relation to its perception, encouraging both the audience and scholars to reflect on new topics; for instance, questioning the phenomenon of immersion, comparing the in-theatre situation to the media-modified experience in cinema or online. On the one hand, mediatization leads to some degree of "democratization" of the opera genre in terms of availability of the top-class opera performances worldwide for a bargain price or even for free. Currently, to a certain degree, mediatized opera has moved closer to people than ever before, at least in terms of the opportunity to experience the emotional effects of the genre virtually, where such experience consists of a synthesis of various arts. On the other hand, it can be asked whether mediatized opera experience can replace in-house experience in terms of live presence, unmodified sound and visual effects, and collective experience. Due to different types of mediatization, the relation between reality and the virtual experience of opera is becoming more and more sophisticated, deserving new research and analysis. Each time the moderators of the MET HD transmissions remind us: "Nothing compares to live performance. So, come to the MET or visit your local opera company!". However, if you had the choice to pay the same price for mediatized MET transmission from New York or for any local opera production where the quality of the live performance is not always competitive, which would you choose? Direct experience in-house or a mediatized performance? Unless you belong to the community of the so-called "opera travellers", who book entrance tickets, hotels and flights to come to Vienna, New York, Berlin, Munich, or Paris in order to visit the world's most famous opera houses or to follow their favourite opera singers, or unless you are a professional, you would probably consider the mediatized opera as an option without calling it "surrogate". However, I am sure that the relationship between opera and mediatization is not limited to the three modalities I have suggested in this article. It is still a phenomenon in progress, which in the nearest future will affect this genre of performing arts significantly, raising new topics for exploration and new theories to develop.

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Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča—PhD candidate in theatre theory and history at the University of Latvia. She is completing her doctoral thesis, *Productions of Richard Wagner's operas in the 21st century: the "Ring" cycle in Riga and its contextualization,* dedicated to the *Ring* staged at the Latvian National Opera in 2006–2013. She is a music journalist, critic and researcher, focusing on contemporary production of classical operas and stage direction strategies.
e-mail: lauma@idea-media.lv

METHIS
SUMMARY

Piire ületav ooper: uued tehnoloogiad ja mediatiseerimine

Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča

Märksõnad: ooper, publik, mediatiseerimine, uued tehnoloogiad, elav ettekanne, immersioon

Artikkel käsitleb uute tehnoloogiate ja mediatiseerimise mõju ooperižanrile 21. sajandi teisel aastakümnel, võttes arvesse Philip Auslanderi ja Bruce McConachie arutelu elava ettekande (*liveness*) ja vahendatud kunstilise elamuse üle. Uurimus visandab kolm olulist ooperi ja mediatiseerimise vastastikust toimet puudutavat modaalsust: 1) multimeedia ooperi lavastamise osana, 2) meedia kui ooperi levitamise kanalid, 3) mediatiseerimine kui kommunikatsioonivahend.

Uute tehnoloogiate ülikiire areng mõjutab tänapäeval kõiki esituskunstižanre, isegi ooperit, mida peetakse kõige konservatiivsemaks muusikateatri vormiks. Tehnoloogiate laialtlevinud igapäevakasutus loob uue nõuete, väljakutsete ja võimaluste raamistiku. Tehnoloogilised uuendused, alates subtiitrimasinatest ja lõpetades elava esituse *online*-ülekannetega, varieerivad levikukanaleid ja teevad ooperi kättesaadavaks väljaspool ooperimaja, hoolimata vaatajate kultuurioludest ja sotsiaalsetest piiridest. Meedia annab lavastajatele ja produtsentidele ohtralt võimalusi, kuidas klassikalise ooperirepertuaari kogemist publiku jaoks uudseks muuta ja pakkuda neile visuaalselt muljetavaldavaid lavastusi. Publik saab ooperit vaadata, tõlgendada ja sellesse süüvida (*immerse*) nii otse, ooperimajas kohal viibides kui ka virtuaalselt, elava voogesituse või salvestatud ooperietenduse *online*-esituse kaudu, aga ka kinoseanssidel ja TV-saateid jälgides. Kõik need aspektid algatavad tänapäevase ooperielamuse üle väitlusi, mis käsitlevad mediatiseerimise nõrku ja tugevaid külgi ooperi lavastamisel ja nautimisel, teaduslikul uurimisel ja õpetamisel ning mis uurivad mediatiseeritud kunstielamust.

Meedia ja esitamisega seotud teooriad käsitlevad harva ooperit kui konkreetset sünteetilist esituskunsti žanri ja selle suhteid meediaga. Clemens Risi puudutas seda teemat, uurides ooperisse süüvimist (immersiooni) ja sellest otseselt osavõtmist, Christopher Morris on analüüsinud televisiooni jaoks valmistatud Itaalia ooperifilmide viimast lainet, kus püütakse publikule pakkuda hüperreaalset elamust asukoha ja toimumisajaga seotud eritingimuste kaudu. Ülalmainitud Auslanderi ja McConachie arutelu järgides pakun ma välja tüpoloogia selle kohta, kuidas meedia võimendab ooperi lavastamist.

Esimene modaalsus puudutab visuaalsete meediatehnoloogiate kasutamist väljendusvahendina või kunstilise abivahendina ooperi lavastamisel ooperimajas. Tänapäeval tähendab see enamasti video projitseerimist laval, taustekraane, veebikaamera projektsioone jne, mis on koos dekoratsioonidega osaks lavategelikkusest, korraldavad lavaruumi või pakuvad lavastaja taotlustele visuaalset tuge. Teist tüüpi mediatiseerimine on ooperi puhul seotud kunstitoote levitamisega. Autor keskendub HD-ülekannetele kinos ja ooperimajast väljaspool tänavaekraanidel – see on üle maailma laiali paiknevate suurte vaatajahulkade jagatud, soodushinnaga või hoopis tasuta saadud mediatiseeritud kogemus, kus ühtlasi säilib ettekujutus ooperist kui kollektiivsest kunstielamusest. Publik peab siiski meeles pidama, et igasuguse „elava" ülekande puhul on tegemist planeeritud ja produtseeritud kohaloleku ja elavusega, modifitseeritud heli ja kujunditega, mis võivad immersiooni võimendada või hoopis vastupidi, ebamugavaks muuta. Kolmas ooperi mediatiseerimise tüüp on meedia kui kommunikatsioonivahendi kasutamine mitte ainult turundamisel, vaid ka publiku poolt, sotsiaalmeedias – see on jagatud info platvormidel (publiku tagasiside, kommentaarid, jne).

Ooperi puhul viib mediatiseerimine märgatavate muutusteni eriti just selle tajumises, mis julgustab nii publikut kui teadlasi mõtisklema uutel teemadel, näiteks uurima sellist nähtust nagu immersioon või võrdlema teatris toimuvat meedia poolt modifitseeritud elamusega kinos või veebis.

Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča – Läti Ülikooli (Latvijas Universitāte) doktorant teatriteooria ja teatriajaloo erialal, väitekirja teemaks „Richard Wagneri ooperid 21. sajandil: tetraloogia „Nibelungide sõrmus" Riias ja selle kontekst, pühendatud tetraloogia lavastusele Läti Rahvusooperis aastatel 2006–2013". Ta töötab muusikaajakirjanikuna, kriitikuna ja uurijana, keskendudes klassikaliste ooperite nüüdisaegsetele tõlgendustele ja lavastusstrateegiatele.
e-post: lauma@idea-media.lv

METHIS

Director as Translator: The Case of Latvian Director Oļģerts Kroders

Vēsma Lēvalde

Abstract: The article aims to tackle the creative work of the eminent Latvian stage director Oļģerts Kroders (1921–2012). Kroders, as a representative of the psychological theatre, was one of the first in Soviet Latvia who dared to break with the canon of socialist realism and portrayed the characters of literary classics on the stage without heroic overtones. The cornerstone of his creative work was a detailed approach to the literary source text, adapting it to the intended concept of the production. He even used to adjust the interpretation of the text to the potential of a particular actor in a particular role. The article deals with text interpretation in two productions of Alexander Ostrovsky's play "Without a Dowry", translated by the director himself and adapted for two different productions. The article demonstrates that due to the director's careful interpretation the spoken text is precisely integrated into the performance.

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Keywords: translation, text, interpretation, psychological theatre, Oļģerts Kroders, Alexander Ostrovsky

The article aims to analyse the work of the eminent Latvian stage director Oļģerts Kroders (1921–2012), who was the leading representative of the psychological approach in Latvian theatre. Kroders used to translate plays from Russian and English into Latvian, simultaneously adapting texts for the purposes of staging. Thus, Kroders combined the translation and text interpretation that paved the way to new stage versions of the classical drama. The article argues that Kroders' approach to the literary text while translating Alexander Ostrovsky's play "Without a Dowry" ("Бесприданница") from Russian into Latvian, and adapting the text for each of the different productions of the play, was an innovation in the Soviet theatre of the 1980s. The research is based on the ideas of hermeneutic scholars, who argue about the openness of the literary text as a structure and the vastness of context, as well as on theatre semiotics, which allows comparing the different and complex languages and sign systems present in literature and theatre.

Among Latvian theatre directors, Kroders had the longest professional career. He worked at various professional theatres in Latvia for 53 years, and received several national and international awards. The main line in the creative activity of Kroders is marked by the stage interpretations of classical drama and prose. About a half of his 134 productions are based on literary works that due to their impor-

"Without a Dowry" at the Liepaja Theatre (1981). Knurov—Mārtiņš Vilsons; Vozhevatov—Juris Bartkevičs. Photo from the archive of the Liepaja Theatre.

"Without a Dowry" at the Valmiera Drama Theatre (2012). Knurov—Agris Masēns; Vozhevatov—Krišjānis Salmiņš. Photo by Matīss Markovskis from the archive of the Valmiera Drama Theatre.

tance can be regarded as classics, a stable cultural value. Kroders staged some of the classical pieces several times at different theatres with different actors and in various historical and social environments[1]. All these productions raise similar themes: they deal with the disharmony between morals and power; they tackle problems of individual's spiritual freedom; they look for a psychological motivation of action within existentially important moments of choice. However, keeping the same dominant motive, the interpretation of characters is rooted in the mood of a specific period.

The personality of Kroders was formed in the circles of intelligentsia of the independent Republic of Latvia in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as his early acquaintance with different forms of stage art that provided him with an understanding of theatre, literature, and other cultural values (Kroders 1993). His deportation to Siberia in 1941 was a traumatic physical and mental experience that stimulated his perception of theatre as a spiritual asylum. However, he always actively kept abreast of contemporary social life, with deep interest and emotional perception of reality that had a substantial impact on his creative activities. During the last years of his exile, Kroders started autodidactic studies of theatre theories, and staged his first productions with the participation of his co-deportees and local people. After returning to Latvia in 1956, he worked unofficially as an assistant to the great Latvian director Eduards Smiļģis at the Daile (Arts) Theatre in Riga for two years. In 1959, Kroders took the position of a director at the Liepaja Theatre. A few years later, in 1963/64, Kroders attended the advanced courses of stage direction, provided by the Lunacharsky State Institute of Theatre Arts (GITIS) in Moscow. After studies in Moscow, he worked at the Valmiera Drama Theatre, and later returned to the Liepaja Theatre for the period between 1974 and 1990 as the main stage director. Only in the 1990s, when Latvia regained independence, did Kroders finally have the opportunity to work in Riga, since former deportees had not been allowed to work in the capital after their return. During his last creative period (2001–2012), Kroders once again worked and lived in Valmiera.

Kroders' approach to the work of the director incorporates a continuous search for a new theatre language and constant innovations. His early productions were influenced by Peter Brook, Anatoly Efros and Jerzy Grotowski. Kroders was the first Latvian director to stage a production without a curtain, in which the action takes place on the proscenium (1959). He was one of the first directors in the Union of

1 Especially Shakespeare's tragedy "Hamlet", which Kroders staged four times (1972, 1984, 1997, 2008), as well as dramas by Friedrich Schiller, Anton Chekhov, Alexander Ostrovsky, Ferdinand Bruckner, and other well-known authors.

Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to democratize Shakespeare's protagonists and make them contemporary (1966), as well as the first to apply postmodernist aesthetics in Latvian theatre while staging a classical play ("The Seagull" by Anton Chekhov, 1987, Liepaja Theatre). Kroders admitted the importance of the literary source and the spoken word in a production, and paid scrupulous attention to the quality of the text. Work with the literary text was a fundamental element of Kroders' concept in all of his productions. By adapting the text to the psychology of each character and the potential of a particular actor—body language, emotional amplitude, and natural acting skills, the director created a psychologically motivated development of action. In the rehearsal period, Kroders always worked carefully with the text of the play, adapting it to his vision, and often combining the work of a translator and a dramatist. Kroders avoided deconstruction of the original text; he respected the author and maintained the literary qualities of the source text, at the same time recontextualizing the main ideas in a contemporary environment. His attitude towards drama material is marked by three different approaches to the creation of the production text. The first one is the adaptation of an already translated play for a particular production. The second approach refers to the creation of the stage version of novels, transforming the prose text into performance. The third approach means the translation of the play was done by the director himself. This article examines an example of the third type. These approaches differ in detail and aim at a single goal—the exact message of the performance.

Why should a stage director himself translate a play if the quality of the original text was sufficient as rendered by professional translators or writers to create a congenial translation into Latvian? The translation theorist and scholar of comparative literature Susan Bassnett admitted the difference between drama translation "for pages" and "for stages" as the written text in the performance is only a part of a larger complex of sign systems, including paralinguistic[2] and kinesic[3] signs, the translation for reading is *a priori* incomplete, containing a concealed gestic text:

> And whereas Stanislavski or Brecht would have assumed that the responsibility for decoding the gestic text lay with the performers, the assumption in the translating process is that this respon-

2 Paralinguistic signs are the part of communication outside of the words themselves—the volume, speed, intonation of a voice along with gestures and other non-verbal cues.

3 Body language.

> sibility can be assumed by the translator sitting at the desk and imagining the performance dimension. (Bassnett 1991, 3)

Although the difference between the text for reading and the text for staging is acknowledged, Bassnett does not mention a very important subject—the director's vision. Since the beginning of the 20th century, as the scenic interpreter, the director is a demiurge of performance, while the dramatist is the author of the play. The concept, genre and style of the production, even the function of the spoken text, all depend on the director. Kroders considered that

> [. . .] without the director and actor, the play is literature. It can be picked up and read, just like a novel or a book of poetry. In the theatre, something completely different is created on the basis of the play—a production. [. . .] The performance becomes so meaningful and unique in the artistic composition, that the creation of it is unthinkable without the director's leading role. [. . .] Theatre is actually a conversation, where the spectator has an internal dialogue with the Stage.[4] [My emphasis—V. L.]

This idea relates to what is accepted in hermeneutics.

> One partner in the hermeneutical conversation, the text, speaks only through the other partner, the interpreter. Only through him are the written marks changed back into meaning. [. . .] It is like a real conversation in that the common subject matter is what binds the two partners, the text and the interpreter, to each other. When a translator interprets a conversation, he can make mutual understanding possible only if he participates in the subject under discussion; so also in relation to a text it is indispensable that the interpreter participate in its meaning. (Gadamer 2013, 405, 406)

For Gadamer, a work of art is a form of knowledge that can be interpreted as text, where the interaction between the artwork and the audience results in self-acquaintance and self-comprehension. This process is accompanied by the confrontation and tension between how the work of art is perceived both in the past and the present, as well as between the artwork and the audience (Gadamer 2013, 88–90). According to Kroders, the task of the stage director consists of the following steps: firstly, decoding the author's text; secondly, adapting this text to the director's vision; thirdly, achieving the best possible interpretation of the director's perspective for the audience. Thus, the work of each and every stage director with the

4 Oļģerts Kroders, interview by Vesma Lēvalde, 2011. Recording kept in personal archives of the author.

text is a creative activity, which starts with identifying the meaning created by the author, the comprehension of it, followed by a new, individual interpretation in order to uncover the text to the audience.

The first play translated and staged by Kroders at the Liepaja Theatre (1962) was "The Little Foxes" by the American dramatist Lillian Hellmann. Later, in 1968, Kroders translated and was preparing to stage at the Valmiera Drama Theatre the script of the movie "Youthful Sinners" ("*Les tricheurs*") by the French film director and screenwriter Marcel Carné, to address young audiences who could identify with Carné's protagonists, "rejecting the austerity and discipline of the previous generation" (Travers 2002). Unfortunately this plan was stopped by the theatre management and replaced with a Soviet play without any explanation.[5] At the end of the 1970s, Kroders returned to the Liepaja Theatre as the main director and spent several years translating the famous play "Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf?" written by the American playwright, absurdist Edward Albee. He entrusted the production of the play to the young and innovative stage director Nauris Klētnieks in 1980.[6] The motivation to translate the aforementioned western sources into Latvian came from an acute lack of high-quality world drama on the stages of Soviet Latvia and Kroders' personal ambition to enrich a theatre repertoire dominated by low-quality and Soviet ideology-based plays. It was difficult to put on Western plays due to the censorship, but there was no obstacle to staging Russian classics. Clever interpretation of classical texts allowed an interpretation of psychologically refined and contradictory characters that differed from those portrayed in the socialist realist plays.

The Russian classic Alexander Ostrovsky (1823–1886), often called "the Russian Shakespeare" in Russian literary history, is one of the authors whose play "Without a Dowry" was staged by Kroders twice—in 1982 and 2012. Spoken texts of the two productions were different with respect to detail as well as in their message. Kroders translated the play specifically for his own 1982 production at the Liepaja Theatre. During the translation process, the language was adapted to the character and specific features of the actor or actress playing it in the particular production. Subsequently, the spoken text was intentionally transformed according to the intended *mise-en-scène* and adapted to the director's vision.

Kroders' translation differs from the previous translations of the play in its modern and stylistically pure Latvian language[7]. While translating the play, the

5 Rihards Rudāks, interview by Vesma Lēvalde, 2016. Recording kept in personal archives of the author.

6 Dzintra Klētniece, interview by Vesma Lēvalde, 2015. Transcript kept in personal archives of the author.

7 A previous translation was made in 1948, and the language used in it was outdated, literal and cumbersome.

director tried to adapt every single word and phrase to the Latvian language, to modify the syntax and the word order according to the rules of the Latvian language, as well as to adapt semantically all Russian expressions and phraseology to avoid literal translation. Thus, the text became more emotionally expressive, facilitating the audience`s perception of the idea, and creating a subtle linkage, even a space of mutual understanding between the stage and the audience.

The content of the play "Without a Dowry" tells about Russian society of the late 1870s. In the play, the audience encounters a young woman Larisa, the main character, at the most critical moment of her life. Passions have already burned out, hope replaced by disappointment hundreds of times. Larisa decides to marry the first man who would approach her, and this happens to be Karandyshev. The return of Paratov, her former lover, provides the last seduction, a deceitful call for happiness, followed by her personal crisis and moral breakdown. Larisa feels humiliated, betrayed and compromised. The millionaire Knurov, Larisa's childhood friend, and a successful merchant, Vozhevatov, discuss her position between themselves; they end up tossing a coin to decide who will be lucky enough to take her on to a romantic trip to Paris. Knurov wins while a drunken Karandyshev appears and implores Larisa to return home. Full of desperation, he draws a pistol and shoots her.

The production of "Without a Dowry" staged by Kroders in 1982 at the Liepaja Theatre is considered one of the best productions in Kroders' career. Critics wrote that "the interpretation breaks away from the usual interpretation of this work rooted in theatre tradition, namely, the division of characters into "wolves and sheep; those, who pick up the fruit of life, on the one hand, and their victims, on the other" (Čakare 1983, 111). Kroders saw the events differently: he examined human nature as subject to the impact of the immoral, power-based and betrayal-based system that was corrupting everyone. The most striking example is the interpretation of Larisa[8], traditionally portrayed as the victim of immoral, cruel and greedy people, with her spiritual superiority being her only value. In Kroders' interpretation, Larisa is trying to find her place in society under the rule of power and false moral principles. The director focused on Larisa's feelings, analyzed her personality, and made the audience realize that Larisa is a person unable to reconcile. The concept of the first production of "Without a Dowry" and the interpretation of Larisa's character reflected the main theme of Kroders' creative work in the 1970s and the early 1980s—the protagonist is forced either to submit to a cruel and immoral sys-

8 Played by Indra Briķe.

tem or die[9]. In Kroders' version, Larisa intentionally defies Karandyshev, who has the gun in his hands. It is essentially suicide. This interpretation is emphasized in the final words of Larisa's death scene. Kroders describes the fatal choice—"to succumb to perversion or to commit suicide" (Freinberga 1996, 181). The director has omitted the part of Larisa's text that sounds like the farewell of an all-forgiving victim[10]. In Kroders` version, Larisa's last words are: "No one is to blame. I did it [myself]."[11] The intonation is calm, even slightly ironic. Larisa realizes the paradoxical situation—the gunshot released her from the submission to a system completely ruled by power and influence, revealing that the price of recovery of one's dignity and self-estimation is death. Only death allows moral resurrection.

As for Karandyshev, Kroders portrayed this character differently compared to earlier productions. Traditionally, in Soviet theatre, Karandyshev used to be a personification of the tragic fate of a "little man", thus bringing his suffering and despair to the point of absurdity. In Kroders' version, this miserable man is no less power-hungry than the others. On the contrary, his morbid ambition combines with small-mindedness and meanness. He kills Larisa realizing that his newly acquired "property" is slipping out of his hands. He is miserable and therefore deserves Larisa's irony instead of honour for her disengagement. Kroders also emphasized the miserable nature of Karandyshev in a tiny nuance of the linguistic text, namely, translating the name of the place where Karandyshev plans to stand for elections—Zabolotye—literally as "Over-the-Swamp", providing the connotation of a place in the middle of nowhere, far from civilization, in a swamp. In the conversation between Larisa and Ogudalova this location sounds like the place where one might serve a sentence. Karandyshev appears as a caricature of power; meanwhile the embodiment of power is Knurov[12]—a powerful and charismatic personality taking everything he wants without any moral judgement. The dominance of power in this production is also revealed in the scene where Knurov tries to convince Vozhevatov[13]

9 First of all, Shakespeare's "Hamlet" which became a cornerstone in the series of creative manifestos for Kroders, a play to which he returned several times, creating a new version every dozen years. For further reading, cf. Lēvalde 2016.

10 Larisa (gradually weakening voice): No, not, why ... Let have fun to whom it is cheerful ... I don't want to disturb anybody! Live, live! You should live, and I should ... die ... I don't complain of anybody... I don't take offence ... All of you are good people ... All of you ... I love. (Sends a kiss)

11 My translation—V. L.

12 Played by Mārtiņš Vilsons.

13 Played by Juris Bartkevičs.

not to stand in the way regarding his plan to make Larisa his lover. During the dialogue, Vozhevatov takes a coin out of his pocket and offers to play a game where Larisa is the prize, yet he loses. The actor interprets this moment as emotionally thrilling to Vozhevatov, revealing his internal battle between the desire to protect Larisa and the submission to "merchant's honour"—following business principles without involving any feelings even in a questionable deal: "Yours. Well. Maybe it's even better..."

One of the most complicated roles in Ostrovsky's play is Paratov. It is not easy for an actor to embody his superiority over the merchants and his power over Larisa. In Kroders' version, he was neither a malicious pragmatist nor a spendthrift. Played by a very young and handsome actor, Aigars Birznieks, Paratov appeared as a latitudinarian, young man of a wide scope and the ability to capture the right moment. For Paratov, egoism is as natural as the ability to ignore disturbing facts. His words in conversation with Ogudalova sound like a practical credo of life: "Aunty, we lose in one place, win in another: this is how we live." The original text contains another nuance[14]—"this is our story"—keeping the focus on the particular story of lost fortune and marriage. The relationship between Larisa and Paratov is not a sentimental romance; it is rather a battle between two equal and proud characters.

With minor stylistic changes, Kroders used the same text in 2012, when he staged the play at the Valmiera Drama Theatre. In the 2012 production, Kroders again referred to several important themes—the resistance to the system and betrayal as an established norm of the system. This time the accents were put differently, determined by the different period in which the play was staged. According to the American scholar Lawrence Venuti:

> The foreign text is not only de-contextualized, but re-contextualized insofar as translating rewrites it in terms that are intelligible and interesting to receptors, situating it in different language use, in different cultural values, in different literary traditions, in different social institutions, and often in a different historical moment. (Venuti 2009, 162) [My emphasis—V. L.]

Power is replaced by money as the strongest motivating force. And Larisa has become a more contradictory character. This production of "Without a Dowry" does not show strong personalities acting as the driving force of the play. Rather, it calls to mind the interpretation of the last production of "Hamlet" by Kroders in 2008

14 *На одном потеряем, на другом выиграем, тетенька; вот наше дело какое.*

where Claudius was an absolute non-entity, seeing the throne primarily as a guarantee of luxurious life. Like Larisa, Hamlet was a young person trying to find his place in a society ruled by money and the lack of moral principles. These features, inspired by 21st century reality, were reflected in changes of the literary text. For instance, in the Valmiera Theatre production, the same dialogue between Knurov[15] and Vozhevatov[16] sounds terse and business-like. Vozhevatov does not face an emotional dilemma; his betrayal of Larisa seems to be a self-evident deal: "Yours. It means I will travel alone to Paris. Though, I haven't lost much: at least it will be less expensive."

The last production of "Without a Dowry" by Kroders portrayed Knurov and Vozhevatov as equals. Unlike other characters, their games and intrigues are not about survival but the quality of life (Čakare 2012). This is what makes the 2012 production of Ostrovsky's play different from the previous one. The aspiration for power is emphasised in the context of the 1980s. The 21st century production tells about the dominance of money in the value system of society. In both cases, the dissonance between morals and power is emphasised. Nevertheless, the actors in the 2012 production bring in different nuances to the characters. In the new production, Larisa seems more demoralised. The actress Ieva Puķe plays Larisa not as a victim driven into a corner but as a mature woman unable to resist the temptations of passion and riches. Possibly, this is the reason why the final scene of the latest production seems stilted in comparison to the production of the 1980s. However, both productions of Ostrovsky's play staged by Kroders precisely reflect their time, the 1980s and 2012, respectively. The spoken text is precisely integrated into the performance text[17], taking into consideration the contexts deliberately accentuated by the director.

Conclusions

Kroders treats the drama text as a source for interpretation and considers the work of the director as an original creation, providing a new, individual sense to the particular production.

Self-made translations of the play by the director allow the written source (or drama text) to be contextualised according to the director's vision and the intended

15 Played by Agris Māsēns.

16 Played by Krišjānis Salmiņš.

17 PT is the relationship of all the signifying systems used in performance, whose arrangement and interaction constitue the mise-ne-scene (Pavis 1998, 261).

portrayal of the characters, while emphasising and expressing the director's perception of the time and society in which the staging was created. By adapting the text to the planned cast and the director's vision during the translation process, the director achieves more precise compliance of the spoken text to the performance as a synthetic artwork, which includes other elements of the production and affects the audience during a particular situation in the performance.

Ostrovsky's play "Without a Dowry", staged by Kroders in 1982, reveals Larisa as a contradictory personality in an immoral system with machinery of power that cannot be ignored. Kroders showed the fatal choice of the protagonist which makes her either fall in line with the immoral system or die and be morally resurrected.

In the production of "Without a Dowry" staged in 2012, Kroders' changes to the literary text were adapted to the psychological nuances of the characters. The narrative was re-contextualised in a different time frame aimed towards the dominating desire for money, as opposed to the influence that was attributed to the role of power in the 1980s.

Kroders' method of adapting the interpretation of the text to the potential of a particular actor and their understanding of the character achieved an emotionally effective psychological expression of the characters, extending the stylistic framework of mainstream interpretations of the classics.

Kroders' thinking in stage language crosses the borders of the drama text, creating new and contemporary artworks, and paving the path to an approach which is one of the most important trends in Latvian theatre today.

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Vēsma Lēvalde—Doctor of Arts (subfield Theatre Theory and History) is a researcher at Kurzeme Institute of Humanities (since 2015) and the assistant professor at Liepaja University (since 2017). Major publications: the monograph *Words of Hamlet*, Liepaja University, 2017, 240 p. (in Latvian); "William Shakespeare's "Hamlet" in Oļģerts Kroders's Stage Versions: the Text and Its Interpretation", in *Old Masters in New Interpretations: Readings in Literature and Visual Culture*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.
e-mail: vesma.levalde[at]liepu.lv

Lavastaja kui tõlkija: läti lavastaja Oļģerts Kroders

Vēsma Lēvalde

Märksõnad: tõlkimine, tekst, tõlgendamine, psühholoogiline teater, Oļģerts Kroders, Aleksandr Ostrovski

Artikkel käsitleb väljapaistva läti teatrilavastaja Oļģerts Krodersi (1921–2012) loomingut. Psühholoogilise teatri esindaja Kroders oli üks esimesi lavastajaid Nõukogude Lätis, kes julges eemalduda sotsialistliku realismi kaanonist ja kujutada kirjandusklassika teoste tegelasi laval ilma kangelasliku alatoonita. Kõik need lavastused on sarnastel teemadel: nad uurivad ebakõla moraali ja võimu vahel, lahkavad üksikisiku vaimse vabadusega seotud probleeme ja otsivad eksistentsiaalselt olulistes valikumomentides peituvat psühholoogilist tegevusmotivatsiooni. Krodersi lähenemine lavastajatööle kujutab endast pidevaid uue teatrikeele otsinguid ja katkematut uuenduslikkust. Kroders tunnistas kirjandusliku allika ja kõneldud sõna tähtsust lavastuses ja pööras üksikasjalikku tähelepanu teksti kvaliteedile. Krodersi meetod, mis seisnes kirjandusliku teksti tõlgendamise kohandamises konkreetse näitleja potentsiaalile ja tema võimele oma tegelast mõista, saavutab emotsionaalselt mõjuva psühholoogilise väljenduse, avardades tavapärast klassikute tõlgendamise stilistilist raamistikku. Artikkel vaatleb teksti tõlgendamist Aleksandr Ostrovski näidendi „Kaasavaratu" kahes eri lavastuses. Näidendi teksti tõlkis lavastaja ise ja kohandas selle kahe lavastuse jaoks. Artikkel näitab, et tänu lavastaja hoolikale tõlgendamisele on kõneldud tekst väga täpselt lavastusse integreeritud. Artikkel näitab, et Krodersi lavakeelne mõtlemine ületab näidendi teksti piire, luues uusi tänapäevaseid kunstiteoseid, mis on üks tänapäeva läti teatri tähtsamaid suundumusi.

Vēsma Lēvalde – kunstiteaduste doktor teatriteooria ja -ajaloo alal, Kurzeme Humanitaarteaduste Instituudi teadur (alates 2015) ja Liepaja Ülikooli õppejõud (alates 2017). Peamised publikatsioonid: monograafia „Hamleti sõnad", 2017 (läti keeles); „Oļģerts Krodersi lavaversioonid William Shakespeare'i „Hamletist": tekst ja selle tõlgendus" kogumikus „Old Masters in New Interpretations: Readings in Literature and Visual Culture", Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.
e-post: vesma.levalde[at]liepu.lv

Blurring the Borders between Life and the Theatre in the Stage Directing of Vladislavs Nastavševs

Ieva Rodiņa

Abstract: Vladislavs Nastavševs is one of the leading contemporary Latvian theatre directors. Nastavševs' stage productions are constructed by combining elements of psychological theatre, performance art and postdramatic theatre, deliberately expanding the traditional boundaries between the stage and the audience, actors and spectators. Nastavševs' performances usually contain visually impressive stage metaphors that generate both emotional and psychophysical influence on the spectators, thus exploring new types of performance perception and blurring the boundaries between life (reality) and theatre (fiction).

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Keywords: theatre, semiotics, postdramatic theatre, physicality

Introduction

Vladislavs Nastavševs (born 1978) is one of the leading stage directors in contemporary Latvian theatre. Together with Elmārs Seņkovs, Laura Groza-Ķibere, Valters Sīlis and others, Nastavševs belongs to the over-thirty generation of stage directors who started their work in Latvian theatre around the second decade of the 2000s. However, in many ways, Nastavševs' position in Latvian theatre has been independent and different from his contemporaries from the very beginning. While almost all Latvian theatre directors of this generation received their education at the Latvian Academy of Culture, Nastavševs chose to acquire knowledge abroad—first, he studied acting at the Russian State Institute of Performing Arts in St. Petersburg (*Российский государственный институт сценических искусств*, 1999–2004), followed by two years of theatre directing studies at the St. Martin's College of Arts and Design, Drama Centre in London (2005–2007). These educational impulses have formed the artistic signature of Nastavševs, mixing two different theatre traditions—on the one hand, psychological theatre which emphasises the actor's work in the Russian theatre school and, on the other hand, aesthetic strategies typical of 21st century Western theatre, for example, the dominance of visual and physical elements in the structure of performance. In addition to theatre studies, Vladislavs Nastavševs also has a basic musical education, which has had a strong impact on the artistic language of his performances: Nastavševs mostly composes the original scores for his stage productions, and tends to use music as the prevailing ele-

ment to create ambience, thus almost making it a materialistic element of the performance space.

This article tackles the question of blurring the boundaries between the stage and spectators in Nastavševs' performances, exploring how the theme of dissolving the thin line between life (reality) and theatre (fiction) is embodied in the discourse of Nastavševs' stage productions. Therefore, the performances mentioned in this article will be analysed from a semiotic perspective[1], as a system of theatrical signs[2], mostly focusing on actor- or space-related theatrical codes and exploring the different strategies through which Nastavševs challenges traditional performance perception models.

Context. Blurring boundaries in the 21st century theatre

Theatre is an art form which is based upon direct, "live" communication between spectators (audience) and actors (stage). Traditional dramatic theatre forms are based upon the principle of representation and imitation, or, as the semiotician Keir Elam (2001, 102) writes, "[. . .] the fiction of the presence of a world known to be hypothetical: the spectator allows the dramatis personae, through the actors, to designate as the 'here and now' counterfactual construct [. . .]". In most theatre forms, it is vital that the spectator accepts the fictive reality represented by the actors as "actual", not fictional, believing in the reality constructed on the stage. On the other hand, since the 1960s and 1970s, contemporary Western theatre has been strongly influenced by the aesthetics of performance art, exploring the possibilities of performance as a live event "here and now". Accordingly, theatre has been shifting towards more active communication with spectators and making theatre a part of "real life" by disrupting the distinction between theatre as fiction and life as reality (Fischer-Lichte 2008, 139). Contemporary theatre is challenging both the institutional (theatre as an organization, institution, or building) and the artistic borders between real life and the world of art. Just like many others of his Latvian stage directing peers, Vladislavs Nastavševs seeks to explore different possibilities and

1 The semiotic approach, as stated by the distinguished theatre theoretician Patrice Pavis (1982, 20), is mostly concerned with the discourse of staging, with the way in which the performance is marked out by the sequence of events, by the dialogue and the visual and musical elements, investigating the organization of the performance text, that is, the way in which it is structured and divided.

2 In the semiotic paradigm, all the stage elements (set design, costumes, lighting techniques, the actor's body language, sounds, music, etc.) are identified as theatrical signs, which are both carrying an individual symbolic meaning, and also participating in a complex signifying process where the spectator is free to create his own associations for the theatrical signs presented in the performance according to the individual perception mechanisms (Elam 2001, 28).

aspects of the relationship between theatre as an illusion (fictional work of art) and real life in his performances.

Another contemporary theatre tendency, which can be observed in the creative work of Vladislavs Nastavševs is blurring the boundaries between different art forms and shifting to an interdisciplinary performance language. In her study *(Syn)aesthetics: Redefining Visceral Performance* (2009) Josephine Machon, Associate Professor of the Performing Arts Department of Middlesex University, London, writes:

> The fusion of arts practice from high and low culture has become patently clear in both mainstream and experimental performance. Work that straddles disciplines such as theatre, dance, visual art, virtual realities, online gaming, closed-circuit surveillance, opera, pop-music and stand-up comedy is increasingly prevalent and defies categorization. (Machon 2009, 29)

Contemporary theatre uses elements of different art forms to create a synaesthetic work of art, which can influence the spectator at many levels of perception. German theatre scholar Erika Fischer-Lichte (2008, 36) writes: "The audience's physical participation is set in motion through synaesthetic perception, shaped not only by sight and sound but by physical sensations of the entire body". Like many contemporary Latvian and European theatre artists, such as Alvis Hermanis (Latvia), Ivo van Hove (Belgium), Frank Castorf, Thomas Ostermeier (Germany), Katie Mitchell (United Kingdom) and others, Vladislavs Nastavševs' performances combine strong visual, physical, and auditory theatrical signs[3] to create a complex performance aesthetics.

As for many contemporary theatre artists, one of the inspirational sources of Vladislavs Nastavševs is Antonin Artaud and the concept of "Theatre of cruelty". In his theoretical work *The Theatre and Its Double* (1938) Artaud suggests that by its emphasis on the spoken word and the intellectual, the psychological, 'traditional' theatre has lost connection with the metaphysical dimension of theatre as ritual. Artaud writes that instead, theatre should use such dynamic visual, auditory and physical stage elements as

> [. . .] cries, groans, apparitions, surprises, theatricalities of all kinds, magic beauty of costumes taken from certain ritual models; resplendent lighting, incantational beauty of voices, the charms of harmony, rare notes of music, colors of objects, physical rhythm of movements whose

3 French theatre semiotician Patrice Pavis defines the theatrical sign as the union of a signifier with a signified (see Pavis: 1998, 335).

> crescendo and decrescendo will accord exactly with the pulsation of movements familiar to everyone, concrete appearances of new and surprising objects, [. . .] sudden changes of light, the physical action of light which arouses sensations of heat and cold, etc. (Artaud 1958, 93)

The theatrical elements Artaud enumerates belong to different (auditory and visual) sign systems, meaning that the structure of the performance allows the formation of dynamic interactions between various theatrical sign systems. Artaud also mentions the need to arouse physical sensations in the spectator during the performance, and this principle appears in the stage language of Vladislavs Nastavševs' performances.

The characteristics of Vladislavs Nastavševs' stage directing

Vladislavs Nastavševs has the reputation of an authoritative director who challenges actors and offers them tasks that seem almost impossible to execute. His productions are based on the aesthetics of physicality. Writing about the language of contemporary theatre, German theatre scholar Hans Thies-Lehmann uses the term *postdramatic theatre*. This theoretical concept, expanded in Lehmann's fundamental research study, *Postdramatic Theatre* (1999, Frankfurt am Main), suggests that contemporary theatre forms have shifted away from the tradition of drama and become more visual and physical, making the actor's body one of the main "stage tools" in 21st century theatre:

> The body becomes the centre of attention, not as a carrier of meaning but in its physicality and gesticulation. The central theatrical sign, the actor's body, refuses to serve signification. Postdramatic theatre often presents itself as an *auto-sufficient physicality*, which is exhibited in its intensity, gestic potential, auratic 'presence' and internally, as well as externally, transmitted tensions. (Lehmann 2006, 95)

The aesthetics of physicality, meaning that the actor's body is placed on stage as a self-sufficient element of the performance, and not as a carrier of meaning (role), is one of the main characteristics of Vladislavs Nastavševs' stage directing. In his performances, Nastavševs often uses the actor's body as material to build complex stage metaphors. In one of his more critically acclaimed productions, *Travelers by Sea and Land* (*Peldošie-ceļojošie*, The New Riga Theatre, 2014), all the characters on the stage have their own *alter-egos*—grand pianos, which symbolize their souls. During the performance, these pianos are pushed around, deconstructed and even climbed on, into and out of, making the stage action a physical challenge for the actors who are dressed in fine evening gowns, representing the high society of the

Russian Silver Age. This corresponds to the tendency articulated by Lehmann (2006, 163) that, in comparison to dramatic theatre, where the dramatic process occurs "between the bodies", the postdramatic process occurs "with/on/to the body".

One of the most characteristic qualities of Nastavševs' stage directing is the physical impact his performances have on spectators—the stage metaphors he uses are so tense and sometimes naturalistic that the spectators view the performance not only emotionally or rationally, but also psychophysically. In her research paper about the stage metaphors in Vladislavs Nastavševs' stage directing, Latvian theatre scholar Silvija Radzobe states that the metaphors Nastavševs creates mostly impact the spectator's senses and nerves, not the mind or feelings:

> V. Nastavševs' stage metaphors have a more universal effect; no one is protected from them, even if the viewer is unaware of this influence or doesn't like it. When choosing objects and procedures for the metaphors, V. Nastavševs prefers those with strong authenticity. These are real things that are assigned a second, figurative meaning. Since the metaphors created by V. Nastavševs are multilayered and often spatial, it is important that he is the stage designer of his own performances. (Radzobe 2013)

In Nastavševs' performances, the manipulation with the spectator's perception is usually attained by provoking such strong psychophysical reactions as fear or disgust, for example, when seeing fluids that represent human blood, saliva, or sperm, or, as in the case of *Travelers by Sea and Land*, when the spectators actually fear that the actors will harm themselves in the process of the performance. As suggested by Silvija Radzobe, Nastavševs uses authentic objects to provoke authentic feelings based on the spectator's senses—such as passionate spilling of cherry compote in the stage production of August Strindberg's *Miss Julie* (*Jūlijas jaunkundze*, Valmiera Drama Theatre, 2012), squishing of tomatoes in *The Black Sperm* (*Melnā sperma*, a stage version of Sergey Uhanov's stories, Ģertrūde's Street Theatre, 2015). Nastavševs' performances are always unique and absolutely unpredictable—they offer new theatrical techniques and artistic challenges, making the premieres of his stage productions much awaited in Latvian theatre.

The true and live reactions of the spectators usually become an important part of Nastavševs' performances, creating a bond between the stage and auditorium, and therefore blurring the boundaries between theatre and life. As stressed by Lehmann,

> The theatre performance turns the behavior onstage and in the auditorium into a *joint text*, a 'text' even if there is no spoken dialogue on stage or between actors and audience. [. . .] the thea-

> tre situation forms a whole made up of evident and hidden communicative processes. (Lehmann 2006, 17)

Since starting his career in Latvian theatre, Nastavševs has become the absolute author of his performances, being not only a talented and extraordinary stage director but also creating the stage design, costumes and music for most of his productions[4]. Nastavševs himself has stated: "I want to be the total author of my performances. It is the old association with visual art—a painter and his painting. I put so much of myself in my work, that right now I can't imagine anyone who could do the same [. . .]" (Gulbe 2012). Since 2010, Nastavševs has also participated in some of his performances as an actor, by playing himself. For example, in his production of William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (*Makbets*, Valmiera Drama Theatre, 2013) Nastavševs appeared on stage in the role of Director, alongside five other actors who all at some point played the role of Macbeth. The performance ended with a scene where the Director, portrayed by Nastavševs, killed all the actors on stage by strangling them with a microphone wire. The topic of the conflicting worlds of actors and the director was similarly interpreted in the production *The Truth I Have Been Longing For* by the Estonian theatre *NO99* (*NO49: Tõde, mida ma olen igatsenud*, 2014), where at a certain point the actors could not stand the orders from above (the director), and fired a gun pointed above the heads of the spectators, shooting or at least symbolically silencing the director.

Blurring boundaries

Lately, the theme of blurring the boundaries between theatre and life, actors and the director, the stage and the audience has become one of the leading motifs in the stage directing of Vladislavs Nastavševs. He explores this theme in three major aspects.

First aspect: life as theatre, or 'theatre within theatre'. Vladislavs Nastavševs plays with the idea of life as theatre and theatre as life. All of his newest productions are based upon the principle "theatre within theatre", where the actors play characters who are also behaving like actors in their lives. The French theatre scholar Patrice Pavis defines this process as 'metatheatre' or "theatre which is centred around theatre and therefore "speaks" about itself, "represents" itself". The theatre

4 In some productions Vladislavs Nastavševs has worked in close and regular collaboration with several theatre artists, such as stage and costume designer Monika Pormale or the musical consultant and composer Toms Auniņš.

semiotician also stresses that the phenomenon of 'theatre within the theatre' "does not necessarily involve an autonomous play contained within another [. . .]. All that is required is that the represented reality appear to be one that is already theatrical, as in plays in which the main theme is life as theatre" (Pavis 1998, 210). Pavis also mentions William Shakespeare, Pedro Calderon, Luigi Pirandello and other authors whose plays might be considered already theatrical in this sense.

Yet, Nastavševs mostly chooses to stage the works of Russian Silver Age modernists. The Russian Silver Age can be described as one of the most artistic periods in Russian culture, when theatricality was not only a means of expression in the artist's creative work, but also a mode of life; theatrical behaviour was a principle both on stage and in real life (Jestrovic 2002). Vladislavs Nastavševs has staged several literary works from the Russian Silver Age, most recently—two performances based upon the novel *Travelers by Sea and Land* by Mikhail Kuzmin; the first part at the New Riga Theatre (2014), followed by a second production two years later at the Daile Theatre. Both performances apply theatre or 'theatre within the theatre' as the principle of life.

The performance of *Travelers by Sea and Land*. Part II (*Peldošie-ceļojošie. 2. daļa*, 2016) continues the same plot line and visual code as the first part, staged at the New Riga Theatre. Although the second part is played by a different cast and in another theatre, the costumes and set design, created by the artist Monika Pormale, are practically the same, giving the impression that the characters who were introduced at the first performance have travelled to another theatre with an even larger stage in order to continue their never-ending story. At the same time, this context is clear only to those spectators who have seen the first performance of *Travelers by Sea and Land* at the New Riga Theatre. Although the second part can be regarded as an autonomous performance, the director has intentionally attached the words "Part II" to the title, suggesting that the full message of this performance emerges from the diptych. In her review, Latvian theatre critic Maija Svarinska writes the following:

> *Travelers by Sea and Land. Part II* is trying meritoriously to compete with the first part, which Nastavševs staged at the New Riga Theatre. In the directing and actor's work one can feel the same painfully ironic message about the world of feelings that maddens and enslaves a man's life. The smile's power is even bigger. Especially in the characters. (Svarinska 2016)

The large stage of the Daile Theatre is the biggest stage in Latvian theatre, and in *Travelers by Sea and Land. Part II* Nastavševs and the stage designer Monika Pormale use this space to create the impression of a large float made of grand piano

covers. It is very significant that the subtitle of the performance is "The end of a wonderful era": when the actors in fine evening gowns climb on these grand pianos, it creates an impression of a sinking island, or symbolically—a sinking Atlantis.

The characters of the performance are Russian aristocrats who are bored with their lives and seeking new relationships, forming various love triangles and quadrangles, and creating new scandals. Nastavševs shows these characters as actors who seek each other's attention; they are never themselves, hiding their real faces under real or symbolic masks. For example, the women in this performance are coquettes and seductresses, who change their love objects like gloves, floating around the stage like leaves of water plants. The idea of life as theatre culminates in the character of Orest (played by the actor Ģirts Ķesteris), a clear prototype of Mikhail Kuzmin and perhaps Vladislavs Nastavševs himself. Orest tries to lead the stage action, sometimes even physically conducting other characters as an orchestra, thereby becoming a symbolic director of this society and the performance as a whole.

Second aspect: self-reflexivity as a theatrical strategy. Another stage work in which Nastavševs explores the relationship between life and the theatre is the performance *The Lake of Hope* (*Cerību ezers*, 2015), staged at the New Riga Theatre. The performance received the Latvian National Theatre Award as the *Best Large-Space Theatre Production* and was well received by Latvian and foreign theatre experts. In this case, Nastavševs develops the theme of borders between life and the theatre by making himself the main character of the production. On stage, the character of Nastavševs is played by Intars Rešetins, an actor from the Daile Theatre, who tries to replicate Nastavševs' looks, body language and voice authentically, creating an autobiographical image.

The performance consists of three plot lines or levels. The first shows the psychological relationship between Nastavševs and his mother Nadežda (translating from Russian—*hope*), exposing a diversity of feelings from love to hate. Secondly, it is a story about the community of Russians in Latvia. The performance portrays the situation in Latvia's society as a post-soviet space, where the Latvians and Russians live in socially, politically and symbolically separated worlds. This idea is developed not only by the character of the mother, but also in the plot line about Nastavševs as a Russian director who stages performances in Latvian theatre. The deliberate choice of Rešetins draws not only on the visual resemblance between the two artists, but also on the fact that Rešetins is an actor from the Daile Theatre giving a "guest performance" at the New Riga Theatre. Considering the fact that most actors at Latvian theatres are employed by the theatre as an institution rather than individually contracted for particular theatre productions, this choice represents the

theme of "the other". Of course, this aspect can also be interpreted as a subtext about Nastavševs as a Russian working in Latvian theatre despite otherwise separated ethnic communities. The third plot line is dedicated to the similarities between real life and theatre, telling a story about a director who tries to stage a performance at the New Riga Theatre, while at the same time Nastavševs desperately tries to be the director of his private life, where the "actors" (people) are not as easily controllable as on stage. The culminating point of the performance is an episode where Nastavševs, played by Rešetins, tries to "direct" the repairmen who are renovating his flat. When trying to set the interior elements in his bathroom, he arranges the repairmen like actors on stage in a beautiful *mise-en-scène*, but they neither care for nor understand his artistic ideas. This episode becomes a self-reflexive metaphor for the relationship between the director and actors in theatre, likewise foregrounding the similarities between everyday situations and theatre.

The tendency for self-reflexivity and self-thematization in Vladislavs Nastavševs' stage directing relates to several artistic ambitions. First, there is the attempt to be the total author of his performances. Theatre theorist Patrice Pavis states that the role of the director as the author of the performance is more complicated than it seems at first glance, because "the moment authority over the text or the performance is surrendered, the power of decision is transferred to the actor, and in the final analysis to the spectator's gaze" (Pavis 2013, 45). Making himself present in his performances ensures that the spectators are at all times aware that the author of the performance is Vladislavs Nastavševs. Secondly, the self-reflexive tendency can be analysed as a broader phenomenon of the contemporary theatre process. Self-reflexivity, as described by Lehmann in his study *Postdramatic Theatre*, has been emerging as a strategy of the theatricalization process, and remains a permanent potential and necessity in contemporary theatre, "forced by the coexistence and competition (paragon) of the arts" (Lehmann 2006, 51). By staging 'theatre within theatre', theatre artists reflect upon their personal experience in the theatre and simultaneously try to define the specific nature of theatre as an independent, sufficient art form. On the other hand, the level of self-reflexivity in this particular production, Nastavševs' *The Lake of Hope*, also raises the controversial question of art as self-healing therapy. For example, in her review of the production, Latvian theatre critic Zane Radzobe states: "Undoubtedly, *The Lake of Hope* leaves a strong emotional aftertaste. Although it seems to me that it would fit into a therapist's office, rather than on stage [. . .]" (Radzobe 2015).

Third aspect: Blurring the spatial boundaries between the stage and audience. The third performance in which Nastavševs specifically explores the borders

between life and the theatre is *The Blood Wedding* (2016)—a stage production of the play by Federico García Lorca at the Latvian National Theatre. The performance triumphed at the Latvian National Theatre Awards ceremony, receiving 4 awards—for *Best Theatre Music*, *Best Large Space Performance*, *Best Director* and *Grand Prix.*

The performance takes place on the large stage of the Latvian National Theatre. While usually the spectators are seated in the great hall, Nastavševs completely changes the perspective and seats the audience on the stage, with a wide view of the spectators' hall, and using all the visible spatial levels—from the parterre to the second balcony. Thereby Nastavševs physically changes the spectators' point of view, reversing the usual spatial borders in theatre without making the audience physically move. During the performance there are no direct interactive elements, but the stage action is constructed so precisely that it affects the spectators on all possible levels—intellectually, emotionally and psychophysically.

The main stage action is concentrated on a small inclined platform in front of the audience which is made to look like a dry, dead square of land, as described in the play by Federico García Lorca. All the actors are dressed in black, emphasizing that Lorca closely connects the cheerfulness of life (the wedding) with blood and ultimately—death. During the performance, the spectators are watching the actors try to keep their balance on this steep platform, their feet touching the hard ground, which sounds, like a rock being scratched. The stage metaphor of rocky, hard ground is created using both the visual and auditory theatrical signs, thereby triggering the psychophysical reflexes of the spectators. For example, when the spectators s e e the actress Daiga Kažociņa (Mother) lying on the hard ground with bare legs, and h e a r the sound of rock scratching when stepping on the ground, this creates specific psychophysical associations based upon real-life experience. The spectator automatically acknowledges that the rock is hard, that stepping on it with bare feet is connected to pain; therefore this knowledge creates empathy for the actress, who has to walk barefoot on the hard ground. Once again, psychophysical reactions are used in order to challenge the perception process of the spectators and to blur the boundaries between life (as a place of "real senses" where people can get hurt) and theatre (as a world where all the actions are considered to be "fictional", not real). In *The Blood Wedding*, as in most of Nastavševs' stage productions, the spectators cannot be sure that the actors will not harm themselves during the process of the stage action, and this links the aesthetics of Nastavševs' stage directing to the unpredictability of performance art.

As the action of the performance develops, Nastavševs deliberately expands the borders of space. At the culminating point of Lorca's play, the Bride runs away with

Leonardo, her lover, and the chasing of the runaway lovers in the performance takes place in the spectator's hall.

So far, the hall has mostly been darkened; only intermittently does the lighting artist Oskars Pauliņš draw attention to the golden furnishings of the balconies, or the grand chandeliers at the ceiling, symbolizing the richness of the family to which the Bride wants to belong. However, at the end of the performance, when the Groom and Leonardo have killed each other, and the runaway bride returns home alone, the lighting completely changes. The actors who portray the surviving stage characters stand on the platform looking out on the spectator's hall which is now fully lit—the performance has ended, and we the spectators are on stage, looking out at the empty spectator's hall, and therefore symbolically at our own lives, to which we now have to return from the exciting world of the theatre.

Another technique Nastavševs uses to bring the performance closer to the spectators in the production of *The Blood Wedding*, is connected to the symbolic character of the Moon. The actor portraying the Moon (Uldis Siliņš) just sits in front of the spectators with an accordion and watches over the actions of the stage characters. Even more than in Lorca's play, the Moon comments on the action, gives advice and warnings, thus functioning like the ancient Greek chorus. However, the stage director has created another level to this character—the actor playing the Moon does not speak in his own voice but sings in the voice of Nastavševs himself—the music has been pre-recorded, and the actor brilliantly imitates the facial expressions of the director, becoming a symbolic *alter-ego* of Vladislavs Nastavševs. This is not the first, nor presumably the last performance in which Nastavševs deliberately breaks down the borders between life and the theatre, making his voice and his personality an important part of his artistic work.

Conclusions

Vladislavs Nastavševs is a stage director whose performances are always very personal and intentionally life-like. The principle of blurring boundaries between life and the theatre can be observed in many levels of his stage directing:

1. Nastavševs usually chooses to stage dramatic works (plays, stage scripts and so on) which allow exploration of the subject of theatricality. The characters usually behave like being on the stage, playing different social roles. The principle of 'theatre within theatre', or 'metatheatre', is a substantial theme in Vladislavs Nastavševs' stage directing. Nastavševs uses the aesthetics of theatricality to highlight the theatrical nature of everyday life and thereby reminds us that the borders between life and the theatre are fragile *per se*.

2. The theatre of the 21st century has become self-reflective. Like many directors in Latvian and also European contemporary theatre, Vladislavs Nastavševs has turned the theatre and its artistic process into a research field, where the boundaries between life and the theatre are becoming more and more indefinite. By making himself (his personality, artistic or personal experience) a part of his performances, Nastavševs manifests as the total author of his stage works. This allows him to create a more direct communication with the spectators, blurring the boundaries between performance as a fictional work of art and the director's personality in real life.
3. Theatre semiology investigates contemporary theatre as a complex system of theatrical signs (Pavis 1998, 334). Just like many 20th and 21st century theatre innovators (such directors as Antonin Artaud, Jerzi Grotowski, Peter Brook, Ariadne Mnoushkine), Vladislavs Nastavševs organizes the visual and auditory discourse of his performances to expand the traditional relationship between the stage (actors) and audience (spectators). The stage metaphors Nastavševs uses are complex and based upon sensual objects (for example, such bodily liquids as blood, saliva), in order to provoke strong emotional and psychophysical reactions in the audience. Another strategy that Nastavševs employs is expanding the realms of theatre space, thereby transforming the traditional relationship between spectators and actors. Blurring the boundaries of the theatre and life is an essential part of the stage directing of Vladislavs Nastavševs and in the context of the 21st century, theatrical art justifies the classification of his creative work as author's theatre.

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Ieva Rodiņa—professional Latvian theatre critic and researcher; editor-in-chief of the only Latvian theatre webpage *Kroders.lv*. She is currently working as a research assistant at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art (University of Latvia) and lectures on different theoretical angles of the contemporary theatre. At present, Ieva Rodiņa is a PhD Candidate at the University of Latvia, working on her doctoral thesis in the field of theatre history—specifically, about the legendary Latvian modernism theatre director Eduards Smiļģis, analysing his creative work in the timeframe of 1920–1945 and comparing it to the process of European and Russian modernist theatre.
e-mail: ieva.rodina@gmail.com

Elu ja teatri vahelise piiri hägustumine Vladislavs Nastavševsi lavastustes

Ieva Rodiņa

Märksõnad: teater, semiootika, postdramaatiline teater, füüsilisus

Vladislav Nastavševs (1978) on üks tänapäeva läti teatri juhtivaid lavastajaid, kes alustas tegevust 21. sajandi teisel aastakümnel. Ta omandas teatrialase hariduse välismaal (Peterburis Vene Riiklikus Etenduskunstide Instituudis ja Londonis St. Martin's College of Arts and Design, Drama Centre'is). Psühholoogilise teatri, *performance*'i ja postdramaatilise teatri elemente ühendades on ta välja töötanud väga erilise kunstnikukäekirja.

Artikkel vaatleb piiride hägustumist lava ja vaatajate vahel Nastavševsi lavastustes ja uurib, kuidas elu (tegelikkuse) ja teatri (fiktsiooni) vahelise eraldusjoone kadumine väljendub tema lavastuste diskursuses.

Nastavševsi lavastajategevust võib seostada tänapäeva teatri mitme tendentsiga. Esiteks, alates 1960. aastate lõpu performatiivsest pöördest on teater nihkunud aktiivsema vaatajatega suhtlemise poole, võttes teatrit osana „tegelikust elust" ja muutes vahe teatri kui fiktsiooni ja elu kui tegelikkuse vahel segasemaks. Vladislavs Nastavševs vaidlustab oma lavastustes pidevalt piire tegeliku elu ja kunstimaailma vahel, püüdes uurida eri võimalusi ja aspekte teatri kui illusiooni (fiktsionaalse kunstimaailma) ja tegeliku elu vahelistes suhetes.

Teiseks, nüüdisaegseid teatritendentse järgides sulatab Nastavševs oma lavastustes ühte eri kunstivorme (teater, tänapäeva tsirkus, visuaalne kunst, muusika, tants, *performance*, jne), kaldudes seega interdistsiplinaarse esituskeele poole.

Kolmandaks, nagu paljud tänapäeva Läti ja Euroopa teatritegelased, näiteks Alvis Hermanis (Läti), Ivo van Hove (Belgia), Frank Castorf, Thomas Ostermeier (Saksamaa), Katie Mitchell (Ühendkuningriik) ja teised, seob ka Vladislavs Nastavševs oma etendustes keeruka etendusesteetika loomiseks ühte tugevad visuaalsed, füüsilised ja auditiivsed teatrimärgid. Antonin Artaud' „julmuse teatri" idee mõjul kalduvad Nastavševsi lavastused tekitama vaatajas füüsilisi aistinguid – kasutatud lavametafoorid on niivõrd pingsad ja mõnikord naturalistlikud, et publik ei taju etendust mitte ainult emotsionaalselt või ratsionaalselt, vaid ka psühhofüüsiliselt (näiteks võib tekkida tugevaid reaktsioone nagu hirm või vastikustunne). Vaatajate tõeline elav reaktsioon muutub enamasti Nastavševi etenduste oluliseks osaks, luues lava ja publiku vahel sideme ja hägustades teatri ning elu vahelist piiri.

Neljandaks, vastavalt postdramaatilise teatri ideele, mille tõi sisse saksa teatriteadlane Hans Thies-Lehmann, kasutab Nastavševs keeruliste lavametafooride ülesehitamiseks tihti näitleja keha, luues sellega füüsilisuse esteetikat. See tähendab, et toimub nihe dramaatilistelt (tekstipõhistelt) teatrivormidelt, kus tähendust (rolli) kannab näitleja postdramaatilise märgisüsteemi poole, kus näitleja keha pole lavale toodud etenduse iseseisva elemendina.

Elu ja teatri, näitlejate ja lavastaja, lava ja publiku vaheliste piiride hägustumise teema on muutunud üheks Nastavševsi lavastuste juhtmotiiviks, mida on võimalik näidata kolmest peamisest aspektist.

Esimene aspekt: oma lavastustes mängib Vladislavs Nastavševs ettekavatsetult ideega elust kui teatrist ja teatrist kui elust. Kõik tema uusimad lavastused põhinevad printsiibil „teater teatris" ehk

„metateater", kus näitlejad mängivad tegelasi, kes käituvad ka oma elus nagu näitlejad. Valides lavastamiseks vene nn hõbedase ajajärgu modernistide teoseid (näiteks Mihhail Kuzmini romaan „Rändurid merel ja maal" – esimene osa Riia Uues Teatris (2014), teine osa Daile Teatris (2016)), kujutab lavastaja seda vene kultuuri üht kunstirohkeimat perioodi tegevuspaigana, kus teatraalsus polnud ainult kunstniku loominguline väljendusvahend, vaid ka tema elulaad.

Teine aspekt: oma lavastustes käsitleb Nastavševs teatristrateegiana enesepeegeldust ise oma lavastustes kohal olles. Suurema osa lavastuste puhul on ta totaalne autor (lavastaja, lava- ja kostüümikunstnik, helilooja, koreograaf, mõnikord ka näitleja) ning näiteks „Lootuse järve" („Cerī bu ezers" 2015, Riia Uus Teater) puhul ka lavastuse peategelane, luues sel viisil autobiograafilise lavateose.

Kolmas aspekt: ühes oma kõige silmapaistvamas lavastuses, Federico García Lorca „Verepulmas" (2016, Läti Rahvusteater), uurib Nastavševs elu ja teatri vahelisi piire, muutes tavalist ruumilist tegevuspaika. Ta asetab vaatajad lavale, kust avaneb täisvaade kogu publikualale, ja kasutab kõiki nähtaval olevaid ruumipindu saalipõrandast kuni teise rõduni. Lavaline tegevus on üles ehitatud nii täpselt, et see mõjutab vaatajaid kõikvõimalikel tasanditel nii intellektuaalselt, emotsionaalselt kui psühhofüüsiliselt, võimaldades nii hägustada lava ja publiku vahelisi piire.

Artiklis mainitud suundumused lubavad asetada Vladislavs Nastavševsi lavastajatöö nüüdisaegse Euroopa teatri raamistikku.

Ieva Rodiņa – professionaalne teatrikriitik ja -teadlane; Läti ainukese teatrile pühendatud võrgulehekülje Kroders.lv peatoimetaja; ta töötab Läti Ülikooli Kirjanduse, Rahvaluule ja Kunsti Instituudis teadurina ja peab loenguid nüüdisaegse teatri teoreetilistest aspektidest. Praegu on ta Läti Ülikooli doktorant ja kirjutab doktoritööd teatriajaloost, legendaarsest läti modernistlikust teatridirektorist Eduards Smiļģisest, analüüsides tema loomingut aastatel 1920–1945 ja võrreldes seda Euroopa ning Venemaa modernistlike teatriprotsessidega.
e-post: ieva.rodina@gmail.com

METHIS

The Dynamics of Crossing Borders. The Case of Hella Wuolijoki[1]

Anneli Saro

Abstract: The focus of the article is Estonian-born Finnish playwright Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954). The article concentrates on the process of becoming the de-familiarized Own and subsequently the Other, i.e. on the process of acculturation. The change of language from Estonian to Finnish but also Wuolijoki's ethnic and political self-identity as expressed in her fictional works and memoirs illuminate these dynamics. The reception of Wuolijoki's first fictional works (written in Estonian) is analysed with the aim of understanding the communication between the writer and her audiences and the reasons behind her change of language and ethnic identity.

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Keywords: Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954), acculturation, reception, Estonia and Finland

Throughout history the cultural connections between Estonia and Finland have been quite close. One has to admit that the relationship has not been entirely equal, and Finnish cultural influence on Estonia has been stronger than vice versa. But this remains a hypothesis. A current research project uniting Finnish and Estonian theatre researchers in mapping intercultural communication between theatre makers and audiences of the two countries may prove or disprove some part of this hypothesis. In this article, an attempt will be made to investigate intercultural communication and dynamics through a personal history.

The focus of the article is a well-known Finnish playwright, Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954) whose plays helped build up Finnish national (and feminist) identity. Internationally she is often mentioned in connection with Bertolt Brecht's play *Mr Puntila and his Man Matti* that is based on Wuolijoki's original version. Wuolijoki was actually an Estonian, born Ella Marie Murrik, and she went to study at the University of Helsinki in 1904 because of the very limited opportunities for women in Tsarist Russia to acquire higher education. At that time Finland was also a part of Tsarist Russia, but it enjoyed political autonomy. Murrik, who was associated with the Estonian nationalist movement, became involved with social democrats in Finland.

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After graduation from the University of Helsinki in 1909, she married a Finn, social democrat Sulo Wuolijoki (1881–1957), took his last name, stayed in Finland and quite soon came to be viewed by Estonians as an outsider.

Wuolijoki's biography and literary legacy has been investigated thoroughly both in Estonia and Finland. In what follows, references will be made to the major works. However, no attempt has yet been made to use a theoretical framework to analyse cultural transfer and acculturation in Wuolijoki's life and career. This article concentrates only on the process of becoming 1) the de-familiarized Own and, subsequently, 2) the Other, i.e. on the process of crossing borders. The change of language from Estonian to Finnish in Wuolijoki's literary production can be considered the most significant sign of this acculturation process. Her ethnic and political self-identity as expressed in her fictional works and later memoirs also illuminates these dynamics. In what follows, the reception of Wuolijoki's first fictional works (written in Estonian) will be analysed with the aim of understanding the communication between the writer and her audiences, and the reasons behind her change of language and ethnic identity.

Hella Wuolijoki 1941.
Photo: Estonian Cultural History Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum: EKM EKLA, A-37: 4797.

Theoretical and cultural contexts

In her article "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research", Jean S. Phinney has summarised various theories of acculturation. The concept of acculturation is usually related to changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviours that result from the contact between two distinct cultures. Phinney distinguishes between two different models: a linear, bipolar model and a two-dimensional model.

> In the linear model, ethnic identity is conceptualized along a continuum from strong ethnic ties at one extreme to strong mainstream ties at the other. [. . .] The assumption underlying this model is that a strengthening of one requires a weakening of the other; that is, a strong ethnic identity is not possible among those who become involved in the mainstream society, and acculturation is inevitably accompanied by a weakening of ethnic identity. In contrast to the linear model, an alternative model emphasizes that acculturation is a two-dimensional process, in which both the relationship with the traditional or ethnic culture and the relationship with the new or dominant culture must be considered, and these two relationships may be independent. According to this view, minority group members can have either strong or weak identifications with both their own and the mainstream cultures [. . .]. (Phinney 1990, 501)

Table 1 is an illustration of this model. Strong identification with both groups is indicative of integration or biculturalism; identification with neither group suggests marginalisation. An exclusive identification with the majority culture indicates assimilation, whereas identification with only the ethnic group indicates separation from the majority (Phinney 1990, 502).

Identification with majority group	Identification with ethnic group	
	Strong	Weak
Strong	Acculturated Integrated Bicultural	Assimilated
Weak	Ethnically identified Ethnically embedded Separated Dissociated	Marginal

Table 1. Terms Used for Four Orientations, Based on the Degree of Identification With Both One's Own Ethnic Group and the Majority Group (Phinney 1990, 501–502).

This means that ethnic identity should not be considered as homogenous and monolithic, but can rather consist of different and sometimes also oppositional layers. Phinney (502) also stresses that ethnic identity is a dynamic process, achieved through an active process of decision-making and self-evaluation, i.e. it is an active process of creation and conceptualisation of one's personal identity. Most empirical research on ethnic identity is group-based and the level of individual change is ignored. Contrary to the general trends, my article concentrates on an individual. Before analysing Wuolijoki's acculturation process, a comparison should be made between the political, social and cultural contexts of Estonia and Finland at the beginning of the 20th century.

Finland and Estonia are neighboring countries that are united by similar Finnic languages but separated by different histories. German crusaders invaded Estonia in the early 13th century and since then the country was ruled by Baltic-German landowners, mostly nobility, who exerted strong economic, political, and cultural influences. From 1710–1917, Estonia was a part of the Russian Empire and went through a severe Russification at the end of the 19th century. Until 1809, Finland was a part of the Swedish kingdom and enjoyed more liberal legislation than Estonia. During the years 1809–1917, Finland belonged to the Russian Empire as an autonomous duchy. Class and economic differences were not as strong in Finnish society as they were in Estonia, where the yoke of serfdom was only lifted at the beginning of the 19th century and the antagonism between the German-speaking nobility and the Estonian-speaking lower classes was a central force until the achievement of independence.

Intercultural communication between Finland and Estonia started to blossom in the 1860s in the tide of the national awakening movement. Finland became a paragon for Estonians, mostly in the cultural sphere, because Estonians had rather low political and economic ambitions. Finnish linguists and folklorists were the first to show their deeper interest in Estonia. The phrase "Finnish bridge" started to symbolize mutual collaboration (Alenius 1997, Karjahärm 1997).

As an example, the Estonian-language theatre was established a year after the first production performed in Finnish, Aleksis Kivi's *Lea* (1869), and partly in virtue of the encouragement of Finns. The mother figure of Estonian theater was the influential poet Lydia Koidula, who hesitated about the appropriateness of theatre in the context of national awakening movement. However, her friend, the Finnish journalist Antti Almberg reported about enthusiastic reception of the first production in Finnish and suggested to Koidula that she follow the example. As a result of the correspondence, Koidula adapted Theodor Körner's play *Der Vetter aus Bremen* (*The*

Cousin from Bremen) from German and staged it under the title *Saaremaa onupoeg* (*The Cousin from Saaremaa*) for the Estonian-speaking community in 1870.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Estonian national movement split into different political wings, and attitudes towards Finns became class-based; thus the utterly positive projection of Estonians towards Finland disintegrated. The Russian revolution of 1905 resulted in extended rights for local institutions in Finland and Estonia, and Finnish women were the first in Europe to win the right to vote and to be able stand as candidates in elections. In relation to the Russian revolution, Finland accepted Estonian political refugees and Helsinki gradually became the center of Estonian emigrants. Thus at the beginning of the 20th century, Finland was not only a cultural paragon, but it also became a political exemplum for Estonians. The other way round, Finns felt a certain superiority towards Estonians (Alenius 1997, Karjahärm 1997). This means that for Estonians, Finland was an object of identification, the desired Own, but for the majority of Finns, Estonia definitely remained the familiar Other.

Reception of Hella Wuolijoki's first literary works written in Estonian

Like many other writers, Ella Murrik wrote her first piece of literature in childhood. Her father, Ernst Murrik earned a living as a teacher, bookshop keeper and legal adviser and supported the intellectual ambitions of his five children. Since at the turn of the 19th century the educational languages in Estonia were German and Russian and the language spoken in her family was also German, Ella imitated the games of German children and wrote a drama about a brave schoolgirl. Her father's criticism made her tear up the manuscript (Wuolijoki 1995, 25, 36).

Since 1902, during her studies in Tartu and Helsinki, Murrik published several short stories, articles, and poems in the Estonian newspaper *Postimees*, the women's magazine *Linda* and in the first albums of Young Estonia (Kruus 1999, 22, 27–28;

Dwelling house of the Lupe farm which belonged to Hella Wuolijoki's grandfather. Photo: Estonian Cultural History Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum: EKM EKLA, A-101:762.

Liivson 2008, 13–15). Most of these texts were published anonymously and did not elicit the attention of literary critics.

In 1904, Ella Murrik went to study at the University of Helsinki and quite soon she started to use the name Hella Murrik as her pen name. When Hella married Sulo Wuolijoki in 1909, she became Hella Wuolijoki. (In Estonian media, she was sometimes introduced also as Wuolijoki-Murrik or Vuolijoki-Murrik until the end of 1930s.) Thus marriage was the decisive point for Murrik to transfer her identity from an Estonian girl to a Finnish woman. Gradually, a certain estrangement from Estonia and her old friends took place during her years of study in Helsinki, because Wuolijoki had become a social democrat while her Estonian friends held a conservative bourgeois world view. In her memoirs written in the 1940s, Wuolijoki reports telling her friend Jaan Tõnisson about her decision to rip out her Estonian roots because she was unable to live with constant homesickness. She intended to become a true Finn (Wuolijoki 1996, 215). In her letters to her father from 1909, Wuolijoki expresses contradictory emotions: after a visit to Estonia she is concerned about her inability to settle in and acculturate in Finland; some months later she is euphorically enthusiastic about Finnish nature and people (Wuolijoki 2004, 51–53). After that, she did not visit Estonia for five years but when she did, she realized that "the wounds were not healed over" (Wuolijoki 1996, 2015).

Wuolijoki established herself as a writer with the play *The Children of the House* (*Talulapsed*), published in Tallinn (1912), performed in Tallinn (1913), then in Helsinki (1914). She wrote the play while nursing her first-born child Vappu, and one of the impulses that motivated her to write in Estonian was penury and the hope to earn some money. *The Children of the House* was based on Wuolijoki's earlier play *Madonna Marianna*, inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1905 and partly also by the author's own life. She had sent the earlier play to the Vanemuine Theatre's play competition but was not successful. Five years later Wuolijoki rewrote the text keeping the main characters and the central conflict. *The Children of the House* tells a love story between childhood friends Marianne, the daughter of Alaste farm (in Estonian 'down', 'low') and Peeter, the son of Mägiste (in Estonian 'hill') farm. After studies abroad, they have both returned home. Peeter leaves his rich Baltic German fiancée, saves the Alaste farm and proposes to Marianne. But class consciousness and socialist ideas awaken in Marianne and instead of marriage she chooses freedom and the fight against the inequitable system. In the play, socialism is opposed to nationalism, as represented by Peeter. Oskar Kruus (1999, 52) has interpreted the play as Wuolijoki's literary response to the Estonian journalist and national leader Jaan Tõnisson, with whom she had an intellectual, maybe also a romantic relationship and who was probably the prototype of Peeter. Marianne can also be easily

interpreted as Wuolijoki's *alter ego*, because of their socialist and feminist sympathies and textual references to Ala tavern where Hella spent her childhood.

At first, Wuolijoki sent her play to Karl Menning, the artistic director of the Vanemuine Theatre, who found the piece to be too political and refused to produce it. But 1000 copies of *The Children of the House* were printed by the publishing house Maa in 1912. The play was relatively well received but critics pointed out that sketchy characters were subjected to political ideas and the overall atmosphere was more melodramatic than realistic (Kruus 1999, 52–53).

It seems that critics at the time missed or consciously hid the subtext of the play. Kaarina Leppänen (2013, 29) has recently pointed out how Wuolijoki harshly criticized the nationalist movements in Estonia and Finland in her play. Conflict erupts not only between a socialist woman and a nationalist man but also between the solidarity of the socialist and the egotism of the nationalist. The upward mobility of the nationalist movement is allegedly driven by the urge to accumulate material wealth (through marriage) or to make a fortune through education. Thus, in the play, the Estonian and Finnish nationalist movements that stressed the importance of education in building up the nation are confronted with the peasant class. Leppänen (30–31) concludes that *The Children of the House* offers an alternative to perceiving the nation and that it performs a discursively subversive act.

In 1913, the play was performed once at the Estonia Theatre. Unfortunately, the production was banned both before and after the first night because of the main character's leftist sympathies (Issakov 1983, 261). In Tsarist Russia, censorship of plays was regulated by an act adopted in 1876, according to which all plays had to obtain a performance permit from the Main Office of Publishing Affairs in St. Petersburg, and all performances required a permit from the police (Rahi 1992, 27). The Estonia Theatre just ignored the fact that the play had not obtained a performance permit and continued rehearsals, but had to stop performing after the first night.

Despite the ban, the play was taken into the repertoire of the People's Stage (Kansan Näyttämö) in Helsinki and performed once in 1914. The theatre was related to leftist circles and information about the banned play in Estonia had aroused its interests. Wuolijoki had already translated the play into Finnish before the Estonian performance ban and corrected the original version a bit, placing more emphasis on the importance of passionate love of the main characters. Finnish critics received *The Children of the House* more warmly than Estonians: they admitted the dramatic weaknesses of the play (lack of action and rhetorical speech) but found the content interesting, even exotic. Finnish censors substantiated the ban as follows: the play had been rejected earlier; the female character is involved with revo-

lutionaries and sympathizes with revolution; Estonia is treated as not being a part of Russia (Koski 2000, 38–39, 42–44).

Wuolijoki later reassessed her play as weak and amateurish but admitted that this was her most realistic text (Wuolijoki 2004, 124–125). *The Children of the House* has not been staged publicly since the 1914 Finnish performance; however, Marja Rankkala wrote a radio adaption in 1966.

Wuolijoki's next work, the novel *Those Behind the Fog* (*Udutagused*) was published in 1914, again by Maa. In her letter to the publisher, Wuolijoki admits her urgent need for money and lack of time to rewrite the text (Kruus 1999, 55). In genre terms, *Those Behind the Fog* is the author's memoir based on her childhood recollections from Mulgi parish. First of all, the title refers to the temporal distance between experience and the act of storytelling. Since the novel depicts the decline of a large patriarchal rural family signalling the end of an era, the title also alludes to Valgemäe farm as a lost world and to the physical and mental isolation of the characters. The reception of the work was quite lively, despite a considerable range of opinions. It seems that the topic, unusual for Estonian literature, and the point of view fascinated readers. The main criticisms of the novel were related to its form (poor composition and style, weak characterisation and descriptions) as well as to its melodramatic attitudes and the author's overt ideological (both national and socialist) aims. Eduard Hubel (pen name Mait Metsanurk) was the severest critic of the work. He pointed out that the beginning of the story was beautiful and elaborate, but the rest seems to be written in haste. For example, 72 pages out of 180 were dedicated to the description of the wedding. Hubel compared Wuolijoki's style and language to that used ten years ago in stories about village life. "Achievements of language and style, hailed here from Finland, have not affected Wuolijoki living in Helsinki," is his final conviction (Hubel 1914).

As an outcome of her studies of folkloristics at the University of Helsinki, Wuolijoki compiled a 856 verse long metric poem *Song of War* (*Sõja laul*) based on approximately 500 variants of the theme in Jakob Hurt's collection of Estonian folk songs. The poem was published in the newspaper *Tallinna Kaja* (1914) and as a separate book (1915), but it did not draw much attention because of the First World War. The text was republished in 1984 with a German translation in Finland and in 1986 in Estonia, and in 1987 performed at Schauspiel Köln in Germany (Kruus 1999, 61). In 2007, the poem was also published in English under the title *My brother is going off to war—Variations on a Theme* together with Kristiina Ehin's variation of the poem and a short story (Ehin and Wuolijoki 2007). However, Wuolijoki's most famous international contribution with respect to this poem is hidden in Bertolt Brecht's play *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (*Der kaukasische Kreidekreis*, 1948). Brecht used 17 lines ver-

batim from the part of the poem commonly referred to as "The sister's advice to the brother" and some lines from the segment "The brother's account of the horrors of war" (Kitching 1982, 314). Wuolijoki herself was translating parts of *Song of War* to Brecht when she hosted him as a war refugee at her manor house in Finland in 1940.

Wuolijoki's intentional efforts to establish herself as a writer spanned the years 1911–1914, when she was nursing and caring for her small child, translating and studying law at the same time. Her motivation at that time was not only financial but also psychological: a hiatus in her relations with Estonia, her extended family and the years of her youth, and the country and people who were "behind the fog". Wuolijoki had studied literature at the university but this knowledge did not particularly help her in mastering literary techniques or following genre codes. The Estonian literary context had also changed considerably during the first decade of the 20th century: realism had nearly achieved the central position in the literary canon, and although there were modernist experimentations, these sometimes also merged with realism. But Wuolijoki's drama of ideas (*The Children of the House)* and her novel, which combined national romantic ideology with realistic descriptions of life (*Those Behind the Fog)* contained anachronistic as well as nostalgic effects, and had an alienating effect as well as a mesmerizing effect on readers. Almost all of Wuolijoki's works center on a strong, educated and independent female character, thus contributing to laying a foundation for Estonian feminist literature. Unfortunately, Wuolijoki's Estonian language was a bit outdated. Mentally she wanted to return to the lost world of her youth, but the fact that she chose the style and language of that lost era (as was also true of many Estonian refugee writers after the Second World War) made Wuolijoki's works seem strange to modern readers. Finally, the breach between the writer and her audiences was deepened by Wuolijoki's socialist views and Tsarist Russian censorship. All these aspects weakened Wuolijoki's sense of belonging to the Estonian community.

Wuolijoki's return to the Estonian cultural field

During the First World War Wuolijoki started her business career. Her husband became more and more addicted to alcohol and this led to a divorce in 1923. After that, Hella needed to provide an income for her family. She started as a secretary at Kontro & Co but soon established her own limited-liability company trading in coffee beans, sugar and grain. This process is also illuminated in her memoirs titled *I Became a Business Woman*, the second, posthumous printing of which was titled *I Became a Finn* (1987). After World War I, Wuolijoki settled in her Marlebäck manor and started a sawmill business across the Finnish-Soviet border. However, the

world economic crisis drove the company into bankruptcy in 1931. Wuolijoki had to scale down her business ambitions and could concentrate on literature again.

In the first half of the 1930s, Wuolijoki started writing (actually dictating to her secretary) fictional works, alternately in Estonian and Finnish, often translating them subsequently from one language to another. In 1931, she wrote a play in Estonian with the bold title *The Minister and the Communist* (*Minister ja kommunist*, later also *The Minister and the Devil*) that was reminiscent of *The Children of the House* in its plot and ideological stances. The new play was based on an actual court case in which Aleksander Oinas, the Minister of Home Affairs, was accused of private peace negotiations with Viktor Kingissepp, the leader of the Communist movement in 1919, during the Estonian War of Independence. The Estonia Theatre started rehearsing the play in 1932, but the rehearsals were stopped for political reasons.[2] It is unclear who gave the order, but it was probably Minister Oinas himself, who had friends active in theatre circles. Basically, Wuolijoki had ignored and simultaneously offered a provocation to current Estonian politics. The play was staged in Helsinki in 1933 (one guest performance was given both in Tallinn and Turku), after that in Stockholm and Norway under the title *It happened in Estonia*.

In Wuolijoki's earlier works, Estonian and Finnish worlds had probably already begun to blend. Later, in her memoirs Wuolijoki (2004, 129) admits that when reading the novel *Those Behind the Fog*, she recognized scenes she had borrowed from Häme county in Finland and passed on to Estonian literature. Oskar Kruus (1999, 76) has criticised the depiction of life in the Minister's farm, Hiidna, in *The Minister and the Communist*, which is more reminiscent of Finnish manors and seems implausible to Estonian spectators. Contrary to criticism, the play was accepted in Finland and regarded as topical for Finland at the time (Koski 2000, 52). A contemporary Estonian review merely pointed out the scandalous reputation and dramaturgical weakness of the play (K. B. 1933).

Wuolijoki's next play, *Koidula*, subtitled *A Play About a Woman Who Wanted to Be Like All the Others* was about Lydia Koidula, an Estonian poet and playwright of the 19th century, who also became a symbol of national awakening. The text was provocative because it drew on the rather subjective biography of Koidula, written by the Finnish-Estonian writer Aino Kallas, and interpreted Koidula's life from a feminist perspective. Wuolijoki wrote the play partially as a reaction to the romantic

2 The Communist Party was banned in Estonia from December 1918 onward; nevertheless members of the party continued their activities, leading in turn to the major political lawsuits in 1920–1924 resulting in the conviction of several hundred communists of crimes against the state. In the Estonian republic communism was an underground movement; all communist or leftist propaganda was officially prohibited.

depiction of Koidula in the play titled *The Father of Song and the Penmaiden* (*Lauluisa ja kirjaneitsi*) by Artur Adson, performed at the Estonia Theatre in 1931. But Wuolijoki definitely also wanted to tackle the more general problem of the different, sometimes contradictory social roles of female artists and to integrate her own experiences in the character of Koidula. Another aspect that united these two women was the fact that because of marriage both of them moved to foreign cultural surroundings. After her marriage to the military physician Eduard Michelson, Koidula moved from Tartu to the military city of Kronstadt, 30 kilometers from St. Petersburg, but she never fully integrated into the German-speaking bourgeois society there. In contrast to Wuolijoki, Koidula's acculturation process might be characterized by terms such as "ethnically identified", "ethnically embedded", "separated" or "dissociated". Wuolijoki (1932, 43) describes this feeling using the metaphor of a hungry, lonely wolf abandoned by others. In the play, she also stresses Koidula's longing for her Finnish friend Antti Almberg (implicit in the character of The Unknown) and explores her idea of Estonian-Finnish transcultural society (59–60).

Koidula won the highest honours at the play competition of the Estonian Learned Society, premiered in two different cities and was published in autumn 1932. The play represented Koidula as a hypersensitive or a hysteric woman (her husband's diagnosis) with the social role of housewife, a victim of her Russian-minded chauvinistic husband, Doctor Michelson. Koidula is torn between conflicting expectations: her husband accuses her of not being a truthful wife and mother, while The Unknown states that Koidula has killed the artist in herself. The first production at the Estonia Theatre immediately caused a scandal because of the dramatic representation of Koidula by Erna Villmer. A heated media debate took place with the participation of literary critics, psychiatrists, and intellectuals. Wuolijoki was accused of ignoring historical "truth" as it was expressed in Koidula's own letters and the memoirs of her children's nanny, and of disrespectfulness toward a national symbol. Despite its aesthetic failures (stylistic eclecticism, sentimentality, defective composition), the play risked demolishing the national myth about Koidula. The Vanemuine production that opened eight days after the Tallinn premiere was more realistic in style as well as in its depiction of the main characters, and therefore it did not anger spectators as much.

In addition, two literary court hearings of fictional characters took place in Tallinn and Tartu respectively. Wuolijoki herself participated in the first performances and literary court sessions. In Tallinn, she performed the role of Koidula's mother and in Tartu, that of a witness. Both courts ruled that Koidula should divorce her husband. An anonymous critic admitted the influence of performativity over the historical "truth", pointing out, for example, that Rasmus Kangro-Pool performed

so ingeniously in the role of Michelson's attorney that he brought the house down. Though the trial was held against the fictional Koidula, the real person also came under fire. The critic alleged that the trial clearly had business aims during which spiritual values were sacrificed (Postimees 1932). With *Koidula,* Wuolijoki definitely crossed not only national borders (becoming the Other, outsider) but also the borders of decency in breaking gender and national stereotypes.

Wuolijoki's play about Koidula has not been produced since (Liivson 2008), even though Koidula as a dramatic character has appeared on the stages of Estonian theatres several times since in the following plays: Aino Undla-Põldmäe, *Viru Bard and Koidula* (1967, Pärnu Draamateater; 1969 and 1982, Draamateater; 2013, Pärnu Koidula Museum), Mati Unt, *The Witching Hour in Jannsen Street* (1984, Pärnu Draamateater; 2008, Endla); Kulno Süvalep, *Summer Nightingale of the Emajõgi* (1993, Vanemuine); Urmas Lennuk, *Koidula* (2003, Emajõe Suveteater); Loone Ots, *The Blood of Koidula* (2008, Vanemuine).

At the same time as *Koidula*, Wuolijoki also finished the sequel to the novel *Those Behind the Fog* titled *Udutaguste Leeni in Tartu* (*Udutaguste Leeni Tartus*, published in 1933 by the author) but the work attracted very little attention, because Wuolijoki's

Production of Hella Wuolijoki's *Heta of Niskavuori* at the Tampere Workers' Theatre; Heta – Rauni Luoma, Loviis – Elsa Turakoinen.
Photo: Estonian Cultural History Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum: EKM EKLA, B-37: 5719.

Estonian language and romantic style were utterly outdated. Also, the love story of a heroine who crossed social borders through marriage was considered farfetched. Dating from the same period is the manuscript of Wuolijoki's symbolist play about the Estonian national poet Juhan Liiv—*Dr Lucius and the Poet* (*Dr Lucius ja Luuletaja*, published in 2013; a new version of the play was performed under the title *The King and the Jester* in 1945 in Helsinki (Koski 2000, 162–165)).

A turning point in Wuolijoki's career were her plays written in Finnish. *Law and Order* (*Laki ja järjestys*, staged in Helsinki in 1933) depicts the Finnish civil war; *The Blazing Land* (*Palava maa*, staged in Tampere and in Tallinn in 1936) represents the suppression of the Russian revolution of 1905 in Estonia). Wuolijoki's breakthrough play, *The Women of Niskavuori* (*Niskavuoren naiset*), opened in Helsinki in 1936. After this success Wuolijoki concentrated her literary works around Finnish women and life in the countryside, and she became an influential Finnish writer. Later on, she never stressed her Estonian roots, despite retaining a heavy accent in Finnish until the end of her life. For Finnish audiences, Wuolijoki was first and foremost a politically engaged writer.

Over two years (1931–1932), Wuolijoki had written three plays and a novel in Estonian. Two plays never saw Estonian productions, and the novel received really negative criticism. It was only with *Koidula*—despite, or even because of causing a scandal—that Wuolijoki achieved wider recognition (not even full success) in Estonia. Critics did not discuss the source of her unconventional cultural ideas—the context of the playwright—, but great efforts were made to analyse the meanings and aims of the provocative encounter and to include or reject these new perceptions of the customary value system. Nevertheless, *Koidula* opened an important discussion about the representation of national symbols and basic functions of art.

In the 1930s, realism was the dominant artistic style both in Estonia and Finland. However, Wuolijoki's Estonian plays from the 1930s bear Ibsenian influences: strong and educated women as main characters, conversations and conflicting ideas dominating over action, and the enrichment of realism by symbols and symbolic characters (The Devil, The Unknown, Dr. Lucius, The Poet). This type of realism did not fit well with the local literary canon and was severely, perhaps unjustly belittled. (See an example of the critical rehabilitation of *Dr Lucius and the Poet* in Talvet 2013.)

Wuolijoki probably also perceived the growing emotional, linguistic and mental distance between herself and her compatriots and decided to withdraw from Estonian culture. At the same time, the Finnish environment, people, languages and

stories, i.e. the context[3] which was close to her physically and emotionally, nurtured her creative works. Thus her closeness to the subject matter guaranteed a feeling of authenticity to her works written in Finnish, and this was the main secret of Wuolijoki's success in the Finnish literary and theatre field.

Conclusions

This article has analysed Hella Wuolijoki's transfer from Estonia to Finland, from the Estonian to the Finnish cultural and political field. This process can first be tracked through the usage of language in her fictional works: Wuolijoki's Estonian became gradually anachronistic and inadequate as a creative language. She first dictated her works to an Estonian secretary and later switched to Finnish, asking somebody to translate her works into Estonian. The transfer from the Estonian to Finnish cultural world can also be explained by the rather tepid or even negative reception of her idiosyncratic works in her homeland. In Finland, Wuolijoki quite soon became a politically engaged citizen, while her Estonian compatriots and critics did not welcome her political affiliations. Besides, Wuolijoki had to be aware of the restrictions of censorship both in Tsarist Russia and in the Estonian Republic. She decided to test the limits of this censorship and as a result, two of her plays were banned in Estonia. Thus the reasons for Wuolijoki's transfer from the Estonian to Finnish cultural field are geographic (related to her place of residence), linguistic, artistic, and ideological/political.

During the years of the transfer (from 1904, when Wuolijoki moved to Finland until 1933 when she stopped writing in Estonian or about Estonia) from one sociocultural context to other, i.e. in the process of acculturation, Wuolijoki's identity was also transformed. In the article cited earlier, Phinney (1990, 503–506) pointed out the main components of ethnic identity: ethnic self-identification, sense of belonging, positive and negative attitudes towards one's ethnic group, and finally ethnic involvement (social participation and cultural practices, including the use of language). Wuolijoki (2004, 128) has commented on her national transfer in the memoir *I Became a Business Woman*: "A person cannot have two fatherlands. I had to choose and I chose. Finland had become closer to me than Estonia during the years of studies and youth because maybe I have suffered here more than in Estonia. I have paid a high price for my new fatherland." It appears from this and earlier citations that

3 Psychologists often rely on Erik H. Erikson's assumption of identity "as a result of the mutual interaction of individual and context; while individual interests and capacities, wishes and desires draw individuals to particular contexts, those contexts, in turn, provide recognition (or not) of individual identity and are critical to its further development" (Kroger 2018, 4).

Wuolijoki (1996, 215) did not consider acquiring a hybrid ethnic identity but intended "to become a true Finn". One strategy for coping with the new situation was the transfer of familiar subjects from Estonia to Finland through sublimation. For example, Wuolijoki compares her father- and mother-in-law to her parents (Wuolijoki 2004, 30); the mother-in-law's handmaiden to a great foremother (34); Professor Kaarle Krohn to his father (45); Wuolijoki's farm resembles her home in Estonia (36), etc. Literary transmissions and sublimations over cultural borders in Wuolijoki's works were noticed by the author herself and also by her critics. Thus one can assume that even though Wuolijoki wanted to identify herself as a Finn, her sense of belonging was more ambivalent, at least until the beginning of the 1930s. Based on her memoirs, quite soon after she left Estonia for Finland, Wuolijoki started to share the Finns' feeling of superiority towards Estonia as a smaller and younger brother, but on a personal level she did not seem to evaluate people based on their ethnicity. Throughout her life Wuolijoki had quite tight connections with her Estonian family (many relatives and her parents moved to Finland), and hosted Estonians at her Finnish homes which became salons of cultural and political life. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, having an international circle of friends and colleagues and being a practical woman, she usually did not stress her roots. In conclusion, one can state that Wuolijoki had quite a strong identification with both groups, the Estonians and Finns, during her period of acculturation and identity exploration (1904–1933), which is indicative of integration or biculturalism. Later on, when Wuolijoki's ties with Estonia and the Estonians became rather occasional, the term "assimilation" might be considered appropriate to describe her identity despite strong hesitations, because Wuolijoki remained in many ways a rare bird (*rara avis*) (the subtitle of her book *I Became a Business Woman*) in Finnish society.

Wuolijoki's role as a bicultural mediator between Estonian and Finnish cultures can be compared to the similar position of Aino Kallas[4] and Sofi Oksanen[5]. These empirical case studies exemplify the influential role of the de-familiarized Own or domesticated Others in cultural dynamics. The mediators, i.e. the persons in-between-cultures might come from the target culture itself, as was partly the case with Hella Wuolijoki, but they might also represent the Other. With respect to the Estonian context, Aino Kallas and Sofi Oksanen come from the so-called source

4 Aino Kallas (1878–1956) was a prominent Finnish writer, who was born in Helsinki, married the Estonian folklorist (later ambassador) Oskar Kallas, lived in Estonia (1904–1918, 1934–1944) and wrote about Estonian history and mythology in Finnish.

5 Sofi Oksanen (1977) is a prominent Finnish writer, who was born in Finland, has an Estonian mother and has achieved her reputation mainly by works depicting Estonian history.

Production of Hella Wuolijoki's *Green Gold* at the Tampere Workers' Theatre. Vappu Elo and Edvin Laine. Photo: Estonian Cultural History Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum: EKM EKLA, B-37: 5736.

cultures, and thus the latter description may be more appropriate. But sometimes intermediators never find their "true home", remaining in an in-between position. Leppänen's (2013, 23) characterization of Kallas and Wuolijoki illustrates the following statement quite well: "They represented something foreign and dangerous, especially when the political climate became instable." Nevertheless, in the era of globalization and migration, the ambivalent role of the de-familiarized Own or domesticated Other in the process of cultural dynamics and diversification definitely deserves more thorough research.

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Anneli Saro—PhD, Professor of Theatre Research at the University of Tartu. Her research fields include European theatre systems, Estonian theatre history, theatre theory.
e-mail: anneli.saro[at]ut.ee

Piiride ületamise dünaamika. Hella Wuolijoki juhtum

Anneli Saro

Märksõnad: Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954), akulturatsioon, retseptsioon, Eesti ja Soome

Artikli fookuses on tuntud Soome näitekirjanik Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954), kelle näidendite varal ehitati üles Soome rahvuslik (ja feministlik) identiteet. Wuolijoki oli tegelikult Eestis sündinud Ella Marie Murrik, kes aastal 1904 läks Helsingi Ülikooli õppima, abiellus seal Sulo Wuolijokiga (1881–1957) ning jäi aegamööda eestlastele võõraks.

Hella Wuolijoki biograafiat ja kirjanduslikku pärandit on põhjalikult uuritud nii Eestis kui ka Soomes, kuid tema kultuurilist ülekannet ja akulturatsiooni pole teoreetilises raamistikus käsitletud. Käesolev artikkel keskendub eelkõige ülekandele, s.t piiride ületamise protsessile, sellele, kuidas Wuolijokist sai 1) võõritatud Oma ja seejärel 2) Teine. Kõige silmatorkavam märk tema akulturatsiooniprotsessist oli üleminek eesti keelelt soome keelele kirjanduslikus loomingus, aga ka etnilise ja poliitilise identiteedi muutumine, nagu see väljendub Wuolijoki fiktsionaalsetes ja hilisemates memuaarsetes teostes. Artiklis analüüsitakse Wuolijoki varaste, eesti keeles kirjutatud teoste retseptsiooni eesmärgiga mõista kirjaniku ja tema publiku vahelist kommunikatsiooni ja põhjuseid, mis viisid kirjandusliku keele väljavahetamiseni ja etnilise identiteedi muutumiseni.

Wuolijoki püüdis kehtestada endale kohta eesti kirjanduses aastail 1911–1914 ning selle taga olid paljuski nii majanduslikud kui ka psühholoogilised põhjused – hüvastijätt kodumaa ja suguvõsaga. Kuigi Eestis oli juba kanda kinnitanud realism, mõjusid Wuolijoki ideedraama „Talulapsed" ja rahvusromantiline romaan „Udutagused" nii teema kui ka väljendusvahendite poolest anakronistlikult, kuigi teatud määral ka kütkestasid. Ka tema eesti keel oli vananenud. Wuolijoki vasakpoolsed ja feministlikud vaated ühelt poolt ning Venemaa tsensuuriaparaat teiselt poolt suurendasid kirjaniku ja tema publiku vahelisi mõistmisraskusi veelgi. Tema teoste vastuoluline retseptsioon kodumaal nõrgendas ka Wuolijoki ühtekuuluvustunnet Eesti ühiskonnaga.

Teise katse end eesti kirjanduses kehtestada tegi Wuolijoki aastail 1931–1932, kirjutades lühikese ajaga kolm eestikeelset näidendit ja ühe romaani. Viimane sai üsna hävitava kriitika osaliseks ning näidenditest pääses lavale vaid „Koidula", mis põhjustas küll skandaali, kuid tõi kirjanikule siiski ka tasu ja kuulsuse. Wuolijoki selle perioodi näidendites on tunda Ibseni mõjutusi: tugevad ja targad naised peategelastena, konfliktsed ideid arendatakse vestluse, mitte tegevuse kaudu ning realistlikku elukujutust rikastatakse sümbolite ja sümboltegelastega. Need teosed ei sobitunud 1930. aastatel valitsenud realistliku kaanoniga ning said mõnevõrra ebaõiglase kriitika osaliseks. Kuna Wuolijoki ilmselt tajus ka kasvavat emotsionaalset, keelelist ja mentaalset distantsi endiste kaasmaalastega, otsustas ta eesti kultuurist tagasi tõmbuda, jätkates kirjanduslikku tööd talle Soomes emotsionaalselt lähedaseks saanud teemade ja motiividega, mis tagasid ta teostele ka autentsuse efekti.

Wuolijoki ületas Eesti ja Soome vahelise piiri ehk liikus teise sotsiaalkultuurilisse konteksti vähemalt neljas tähenduses: geograafiliselt, keeleliselt, kunstiliselt ja ideoloogiliselt/poliitiliselt. Selline mitmekordne ülekanne ehk akulturatsiooniprotsess mõjutas loomulikult ka tema identiteeti. Perioodil 1904–1933 identifitseerus Wuolijoki selgelt mõlema etnilise rühmaga, nii eestlaste kui ka soomlastega, nii et seda protsessi võib nimetada integratsiooniks või kakskultuurilisuseks. Hiljem muutusid Wuolijoki

suhted Eesti ja eestlastega juhuslikumaks ning see juhataks justkui termini „assimilatsioon" juurde, kuid seda saab kasutada ainult reservatsioonidega, sest kirjanik jäi ka Soome ühiskonnas valgeks vareseks – kosmopoliidiks.

Anneli Saro – PhD, Tartu Ülikooli teatriteaduse professor. Uurimissuunad: Euroopa teatrisüsteemid, Eesti teatri ajalugu, teatriteooria.
e-post: anneli.saro[at]ut.ee

In Search of Grigory Skovoroda's Motivation[1]

Vadim Vozdvizhensky

Abstract: The article aims to explain a particular thread of Hungarian motifs in the literary and philosophical works of Grigory Savvich Skovoroda (1722–1794), the first Russian and Ukrainian Christian philosopher. The Hungarian period of his biography remains the least studied; therefore, it demands special attention in the interests of determining objective reasons for the themes of his writings in the context of the formation of Russian and Ukrainian literature of the period.

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Keywords: *srodnost*, antithetics, symbolic cognition and interpretation, duality of the world, *strannichestvo*, Slavonic interiorism

And Italy has a habit of treading out the grain with oxen…
(Skovoroda 1973, 1:388)

The European or foreign period in Skovoroda's biography is one of its least studied periods and deserves special attention in order to determine the motivation behind the diverse themes of his poetic and prosaic writings. This subject has been frequently discussed before, but without a proper account of the geographical places and historical conditions directly connected to Skovoroda's Imperial Service in Hungary, Austria, Italy and Poland in 1745–1750. Notwithstanding the considerable stretch of time and the extent of scholarly research, the name of this talented but often unjustly neglected Ukrainian master of *belles lettres* continues to invite the scrutiny of modern scholars. The current interest in Skovoroda can be explained by various intercultural processes coursing through united Europe. On both sides of the new political borders, this interest has a positive influence on the relations between the nations visited by the young poet and future philosopher Skovoroda more than two hundred and seventy years ago.

Drawing thematic parallels, it should be stressed that Skovoroda's literary and philosophical works were greatly inspired by the Moravian visual world of Comenius, the French sacral psalms of Muretus, the Dutch esoteric symbols of Wetstenium and, last but not least, by the Chinese humanistic teachings of Confucius, according

1 The article is dedicated to the 295th anniversary of Skovoroda's birth.

to which eternal truth lies behind that which is evident. Skovoroda's spiritual heritage has continued to combine the best features of the national cultures of Russia, Ukraine, Hungary, Austria, Italy, and Poland, thereby constituting an excellent example for new European men of letters to follow. Among numerous works of biographical character, it is necessary to note the essay of the Russian writer Kovalensky, *The Life of Grigory Skovoroda*, written in 1795 and based upon the author's personal experience as Skovoroda's close friend and disciple. Furthermore, it is important to point to the article by the Hungarian professor Gustav Hess de Calve, "Skovoroda—the Cynic of the Present Age", which appeared under the common title, *Skovoroda, the Ukrainian Philosopher*, in the *Ukrainian Vestnik* in April 1817 alongside the short memoirs of the Swiss journalist Ivan Vernet, entitled "The Lopansky Bridge—an Excerpt from the Reminiscences of Kharkov"; Vernet had personally known Skovoroda and argued hotly with him more than once on different pedagogical matters.

Serving as a *pridvorny ustavshchik*[2] for the Imperial Commission of Hungarian Wines at Tokay under the command of General-Mayor Vishnevsky, Skovoroda composed a whole series of colourful writings vividly describing the everyday life of common Magyars, who in many respects greatly resembled his native Malorosses. During the reigns of the Russian Empresses Elizabeth and Catherine the Great, Skovoroda became a practical follower of the pansophical teaching of Comenius, an ingenious Moravian educator of the seventeenth century, bringing his ideas to a higher academic level in spite of severe episcopal censorship. Summing up the results of his five-year Imperial Service in Hungary, we should not forget the positive influence he incurred from Hungarian culture and his encounters with the representatives of various social layers and religious denominations. In today's language, we should say that Skovoroda stepped forward as the first Malorossian dissident to travel on the thorny paths of the Russian Empire, showing his unwillingness to follow the dark clerical dictatorship and, by his symbolic allegory, throwing down the gauntlet to openly challenge church censors. His banned treatises, *The Wife of Lot, The Serpent of Israel* and *The Flood of the Serpent*, as political *samizdat*[3] of the time, turned into an inexhaustible source of Christian symbols and ideas, inspiring a large number of artists and narrators to create enthusiastically, regardless of their ethnic origin and social background.

2 Court regulator responsible for the maintenance of domestic churches and chapels at royal palaces, as well as the order of organized church services (in Russian).

3 Unofficial reproduction of unpublished manuscripts (in Russian).

The literary and philosophical works of Skovoroda are traditionally divided into three main parts: the spiritual poetry of *The Garden of Godly Songs*, the Aesopian prose of the *The Kharkovian Fables* and the exegetical treatises, dialogues and parables, including the interpretations of Muretus, Ovidius, Vergilius, Hosius, Cicero, Plutarch, Terentius, Horatius and Tertullianus. Moreover, it is important to mention his private correspondence consisting of 125 letters, 79 of which were addressed to his soul mate Kovalensky, 14 to Pravitsky and 32 to different friends and other people, such as Yakubovich, Liashevetsky, Zhebokritsky, Maximovich, Bazilevich, Tamara, Dolgansky, Teviashov, Norov, Disky, Karpov, Zemborsky, Soshalsky, Kurdiumov, Donets-Zaharzhevsky and others. Kovalensky's biographical essay, *The Life of Grigory Skovoroda*, occupies an important place in his heritage, allowing an understanding of current historical events of the time and personalities who surrounded Skovoroda, with whom he had a long-term association. Alongside this essay, and thanks to his article "Skovoroda—the Cynic of the Present Age" (1817), Hess de Calve, a native of Pest-Buda and a professor of philosophy at Kharkov University, justly deserves the honourable title of the first biographer of Skovoroda in Hungary. The archival research of the Russian and Hungarian historians Aleksandr Rachinsky and Lajos Tardy helped clarify the real reasons for the centuries-old popularity of high-quality Tokayan Aszu, a specialty indispensable to the festive tables of Russian and Polish noblemen. As for the work of the Russian historian Rachinsky (1875), *Russian Commissars at Tokay in the XVIII century*, this was written on the basis of Rachinsky's findings at the Central Moscow Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia and published in the *Russkii Vestnik*. There, for the first time, a full account was given of the activities of the Imperial Commission of Hungarian Wines, established by the order of Empress Anna Ioannovna in June 1733, which for many years was headed by General-Mayor Vishnevsky, about whom Kovalensky wrote in connection with Skovoroda's departure abroad. Having at his disposal some unique documents and letters from the official correspondence of the Russian Empress Elizabeth and Court Commissar Vishnevsky, Rachinsky eventually managed to shed light on some less known facts concerning Skovoroda's five-year Imperial Service at Tokay, without which his biography would have remained incomplete and unfinished. According to Rachinsky, Empress Elizabeth, by her personal edict of 6 April 1745, dispatched Vishnevsky to produce, purchase and supply Tokayan wine to Russia. Thanks to the military and political union between Peter the Great and the Transylvanian Prince Ferenc Rakoczi II, Tokayan wine had acquired a huge popularity in the highest circles of Russia; the Hungarian historian Tardy (1963) provides a detailed account of this in the Sarospatakian study, *The History of the Tokayan Wine Trade Commission (1733–1798)*.

There is practically no exact information left about the official position that Skovoroda held at the Imperial Commission of Hungarian Wines and about the Hungarian scholars he met. The reason for this may be the fact that commercial and political goals were pursued simultaneously, and were often expressed as religious propaganda among the Slavonic speakers inhabiting the Habsburg Empire. These efforts were directed at the mass resettlement of Rascians, or Serbs in the free *volosts*[4] of southwestern and throughout southeastern Russia in order to establish New-Serbia and Slav-Serbia. This plan was successfully carried out in July 1751 under the leadership of the Serbian Colonel Horvath, who subsequently became a general and the first Governor of the Novoserbian Province, by the mutual agreement of the Austrian Archduchess Maria Theresa and the Russian Empress Elizabeth, who planned to declare the Seven Years' War against Prussia. In the hope of a better life and obtaining fertile lands, thousands of settlers originating from the Balkan and Transylvanian regions moved from Austria and Hungary to the territories of the Kropivnitsky (Kirovograd) and Lugansk (Voroshilovgrad) *oblasts*[5] of modern Ukraine, where their genetic descendants still live today. It is quite possible that Skovoroda had played an active part in the preparations for this geopolitical process while serving at the Tokayan Gardens from approximately 20 September 1745 to 8 September 1750 (according to the chronological calculations of the Ukrainian biographer Leonid Makhnovets (1972), the author of the book *Grigory Skovoroda*).

The other reason for the absence of some authentic materials in relation to the Hungarian period of Skovoroda's biography may be the fact that Empresses Elizabeth and Catherine the Great did not intend to make public anything concerning the mass resettlements of Maria Theresa's Slavonic subjects on the southern borders of Russia. Even today, most Ukrainian historians prefer to keep silence about this issue, and to some extent it continues to be a taboo in the ethnic annals of the eighteenth-century Ukraine.

In view of these facts, all the existing information on the life of Skovoroda abroad is extremely important, as the majority of his songs, poems, epigrams, fables, treatises, dialogues, parables and interpretations contain hidden biographical contexts, motivated by concrete geographical names and political processes. Neither can the key to Skvoroda's legendary secrecy be found in the documentary article by Rachinsky (1875), although it is full of all kinds of events and names of people directly connected to Skvoroda's Imperial Service in Hungary. Rather, the explanation is to

4 Smallest administrative division of tsarist Russia (in Russian).

5 Designation of administrative division of modern Russia and Ukraine (in Russian).

be sought in the psychological analysis of the character of Skovoroda, his excessive self-restraint and unconcealed inclination to mysticism which finally turned into his religious and idealistic philosophy.

A special role in the composition of Skovoroda's literary portrait is played by his personal correspondence with Kovalensky, Tamara, Pravitsky, Yakubovich, Teviashov, Soshalsky and Kanorovsky-Sokha—the people who were spiritually very close to him. It is also essential to mention that Skvoroda's exegetical treatises were strictly banned by the official Russian censorship and not published until 1912, a fact which certainly affected the research of his numerous biographers and critics. Kovalensky, Hess de Calve, Vernet, Snegiriov, Sreznevsky, Hizhdeu, Danilevsky, Yefimenko, Bagaley, Bonch-Bruyevich, Ern, Sumtsov, Tchizhevsky, Verhovets, Popov, Redko, Ivanyo, Makhnovets, Nezhenets, Verba, etc. are traditionally referred to as the researchers of Skovoroda's life. Whole generations of Russian poets and writers, including Karamzin, Snegiriov, Sreznevsky, Gogol, Tyutchev and Tolstoy, regularly visited Austria and Hungary to see the places from where the young Skovoroda had drawn his artistic inspiration. Even today, at the Great Library of Sarospatak Calvinist College, one can find works of Comenius, Hosius and Muretus once leafed through by the young Malorossian Cossack Skovoroda. Later on, the activities of the Imperial Commission of Hungarian Wines were tightly linked to his personality, as he continued to be interested in the fates of those with whom he had served, dedicating his poetry and prose to them; for example, *An Interpretation from Plutarch's About the Tranquillity of the Heart* is dedicated to Falkovsky. Out of respect, Skovoroda's friends, Kanorovsky-Sokha among them, began dignifying him with the nickname *Dunaievsky*, generously offering their financial help and influence in Russian society.

Dmitry Ivanovich Tchizhevsky (1934), an outstanding Russian and Ukrainian philosopher, a philologist and slavist, was the first to draw attention to a certain methodological connection between the Slobodian enlightener Skovoroda and the Moravian humanist Comenius, thus playing an important role in the comprehension and theoretical assessment of Skovoroda's literary and philosophical works. The materialistic sensualism of Comenius with its three sources of cognition corresponds to Skovoroda's popular "love of wisdom", that is his principle of universal agreement, the unity of the world and the correlation of opposites. According to Skovoroda, man is part of nature and ought to obey its laws, therefore, everything that is related to it has to be conformable. According to his definition, *srodnost*[6] is an

6 Relationship (in Russian).

absolute harmony of moral and aesthetic principles towards which one must constantly aspire.

Despite his great number of publications, Skovoroda had for many decades remained unstudied and practically forgotten as a poet, writer, and philosopher. It was hardly possible to define his literary style and the philosophical school to which he belonged. Tchizhevsky became the first to succeed at this, thanks to the scientific milieu in which he found himself during his political emigration abroad. Due to political circumstances, his book, *The Philosophy of G. S. Skovoroda* could not be published in the USSR in the 1930s. However, without looking back at Stalinist censors, Tchizhevsky boldly characterized Skovoroda as an extremely paradoxical representative of dialectical thinking in the sense of antiquity, which in turn determined the two basic elements of his philosophy: antithetics and the principle of circulation, directly derived from the teachings of Plato, Plotinus, Proclus and the Fathers of the Church.

In Tchizhevsky's opinion, the antithetics of Skovoroda is an entirely regular process, consisting of antique Platonism, the mysticism of the Middle Ages, and modern German mysticism. Skvoroda's antinomical style should not be disregarded, as it immediately attracts the attention of the reader of his dialogues and conversations. The same is true of his ethics, which is no less antithetical and often expressed in a humorous manner as, for example, in his Aesopian fables. Admitting the unsystematic character of the antithetics of Skovoroda, Tchizhevsky is confident that Skovoroda's thoughts are filled with the conviction of the antagonism of the world and real existence. In the first place, his antithetical formulae are contradictions between contiguous notions, which remain continually opposed. Apart from Skovoroda's dialectics, which is comprised of the antithetics and the teaching of circulation, there is also symbolism, marked by the constant addressing of a certain environment, nature, art, religion, etc. Naturally, Skovoroda's symbols do not always yield to monosemantic decoding, but they clearly have at their disposal possibilities for symbolic cognition and interpretation, directly compelling one to actually search for the truth. Skovoroda's philosophical style is a distinctive turn from the theoretical interpretation of habitual verbal notions to primary forms of thinking, presented emblematically. As was already characteristic of pre-Socratic thinkers, each of Skovoroda's symbols has not one but several meanings, often intercrossing with each other. Skovoroda interprets events of historical or biblical origin symbolically, expressing them in a simple but quite pronounced form with a hidden sense of existence. The visual method of Comenius is similarly imbued with the idea of symbolism, that is, the transfer of different kinds of information through a system of images and pictures, which was achieved in his pictorial dictionary, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.

Comenius' main difference from Skovoroda consists of a more exact formulation of thoughts that served the chief aim of his Latin teaching at the Sarospatak Calvinist College in Hungary.

Skovoroda's metaphysical thoughts are united by monodualism based upon antithetical thinking. Matter, in his understanding, is liable to decay; it is mortal, dependent, and passive, and therefore needs constant external support from God. Speaking of Skovoroda's dualism, Tchizhevsky justifiably thinks that it hardly differs from the German mystics, the Church Fathers and Philon, thus retaining a close connection with the whole of Christian philosophy. More generally, the duality of the world is one of the central elements of baroque poetry; Skvoroda's antithetical interpretation of two natures, one visible and the other invisible, is thus very important for the understanding of his philosophical views and ideas.

Skovoroda's literary legacy cannot be limited by conditionally accepted frameworks of ethnic character. The geography of his creations practically knows no borders, since he belongs to world culture, while rejecting any cosmopolitanism, to which his pre- and post-Soviet critics often refer. The secret of the phenomenon of Skovoroda should be sought in his complex biography, stretching from the Malorossian village of Chernukhy to Rome in Italy. His spiritual influence occupies an important place in the Slavonic literatures of the former Soviet republics. Taking into consideration Tchizevsky's political situation, it can be easily understood why he so militantly accentuates the priority of the Ukrainian element in Skovoroda's writings; although he asserts that the philosophy of Skovoroda is mystical, a system deriving rather from the symbolism, emblematism and interpretation of Holy Scripture, this is open to question. The traditional reference to Skovoroda's composition, *The Dream*, written in Kavray in November 1758 can hardly serve as evidence for such a categorical claim; rather, this text it is based upon some of the author's real experiences and is only partly mystified for the sake of a greater stylistic effect. All the events described in the work are concrete episodes in the writer's life over the course of several years, involving the Petersburgian and Tokayan periods of his biography. This points once again to the need for obtaining exact details of his service at the Imperial Court and the Imperial Commission of Hungarian Wines. Ignoring or sometimes deliberately neglecting some biographical facts may result in a misunderstanding and a subsequent distortion of Skovoroda's true thoughts and views. As a poet and writer, Skovoroda was by nature inclined to a partially mystical interpretation of events of personal character, and this was reflected afterwards in his poetic and prosaic translations.

As a logical result of the philosophical analysis of Skovoroda, Tchizhevsky (1934) proclaims him "the most interesting Slavonic pre-Romantic" and believes that the

tradition of the development of mysticism and Platonism undoubtedly leads to the philosophy of Romanticism. Underlining the strong and weak sides of his study, it should be mentioned that Tchizhevsky was the first to discover the relation of Skovoroda's works to the emblematic compilation of Wetstenium, *Symbola et Emblemata Selecta*. This became regarded as a universal key to the understanding of Skovoroda's symbols, whereby Tchizhevsky managed to explain every single drawing and engraving, making Skovoroda's thoughts more understandable for the modern reader. Today, *Symbola et Emblemata Selecta* is available for reseachers in a complete electronic volume. The chief analytical shortcomings of Tchizhevsky, Bagaley, Ern and others before them lie in the researchers' lack of the entire realia of Skovoroda's biography. For the same reasons, these scholars were unable to shed light on important primary sources, such as *Hymni Sacri* of Muretus. Thus Tchizhevsky underestimated the role of German, or rather, Hungarian philosophy when referring to the subjective comments of Vernet in the memoirs, "The Lopansky Bridge—an Except from the Reminiscences of Kharkov". While in the Imperial Service in the Tokayan Gardens, Skovoroda more than once accompanied Court Commissar Vishnevsky to Sarospatak where Mihaly Szatmary Paksi II, David Sarkany and Istvan F. Banya were teaching at that time. They were famous Calvinist professors, convinced supporters of positive rationalism and followers of the Sarospatakian pedagogue Janos Csecsi Jr., who had combined the basic principles of the philosophy of Descartes with the theology of Coccejus in his work *Theologica Prophetica et Symbolica*. The students of these professors read Grotius, Spinoza, Leibniz, Rousseau and Kant with great enthusiasm, and studied the multivolume edition of a new French encyclopedia. Following the example of Csecsi, and with the help of rich Zemplenian sponsors, the future teachers and Protestant ministers regularly attended the universities of Franeker, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Halle, Heidelberg, Bern, Zurich and Geneva. The exchange of views with the Calvinists radically changed Skovoroda's spiritual world view. Despite the ideological predisposition of the Soviet critics Shinkaruk and Ivanyo, and their prejudice regarding Tchizhevsky, whom they accused of bourgeois nationalism and distortion of Skovoroda's anticlerical views, we can say that Tchizhevsky's work, *The Philosophy of G. S. Skovoroda* (1934), remains an essential source for modern researchers of this great eighteenth-century philosopher. Like a symbolic bridge, Skovoroda had connected Hungarian positive rationalism to Russian and Ukrainian Christian thinking.

As a founder of Russian and Ukrainian Christian philosophy, Skovoroda's influence on subsequent literary and philosophical thought is so enormous that it would need a separate study; this remains a great challenge to anyone who wishes to

research this unique talent of eighteenth-century world culture. A large number of literary scholars and philosophers have addressed this topic, including Snegiriov, Sreznevsky, Soloviov, Tolstoy, Bagaley, Stellecky, Verkhovets, Ern and Tchizhevsky. In Ern's (1912) opinion, the principal feature that inseparably connects Skovoroda to his spiritual followers is the development of his teaching of *logos* into the concept of *strannichestvo*[7] which in its various artistic forms finds expression in the works of talented writers and poets, such as Pecherin, Dobrolyubov, Tolstoy, Gogol, Solovyov, Dostoyevsky, Tyutchev. Similarly to Skovoroda, Pecherin, a poet, religious thinker, professor at Moscow University, monk of the Catholic Redemptorist Order in Ireland and one of the first dissidents deprived of Russian citizenship, becomes the prototype of Pechorin, the protagonist of Lermontov's psychological novel, *The Hero of Our Times*. Dobrolyubov, a pedagogue, literary critic and publicist with extensive European knowledge, openly condemns the state educational system for servile submissiveness, absolute obedience, the suppression of personal freedom and blind subservience as killing "the internal man". At the age of 83, to the great astonishment of the whole cultural world, which was no longer accustomed to such phenomena, the great novelist Tolstoy, unexpectedly left home and went to live among common people. In an endless search of true inspiration and spiritual oblivion, the satirist and folklorist Gogol hurriedly abandoned snow-covered Petersburg and departed for sunlit Rome. The philosopher, theologist and poet Soloviov, a distant maternal relative of Skovoroda, presented the Christian idea of Sophia as a universal soul symbolizing the eternal femininity in God and his design of the world. Dostoyevsky, a realistic writer whose death sentence was commuted to long years of hard labour and military service, appears to be of the same mind as Kant in the interpretation of spiritual beauty; like Skovoroda, he discusses internal morality. Tyutchev, a singer of nature and the forerunner of Russian symbolists, organically unites nineteenth-century poetry with the late baroque style of Skovoroda, whom he regards "the most interesting Slavonic pre-Romantic", as was also concluded by Tchizhevsky (1934, 208). In contrast to Western philosophical thinking, which for centuries had foregrounded "the external", Skovoroda skilfully revived the priority of "the internal", building up "his teaching of heart" on the ancient symbols and emblems borrowed from *Symbola et Emblemata Selecta*. His original Slavonic interiorism wins over the exteriorism of the rationalistic West, paving the way to Russian symbolism, the main principle of a new Eastern philosophy. As Ern aptly remarked more than a hundred years ago,

7 Pilgrimage (in Russian).

> The comparisons could have been multiplied. But for any impartial reader, all the significance of the life work and thinking of Skovoroda should become already clear. Skovoroda stands at the very threshold of Russian thinking. He is the first to creatively begin what afterwards ingeniously grows, multiplies and blooms. The brightness and greatness of the subsequent should neither even slightly hide his humble but heroic figure nor deprive him of even a particle of the glory and recognition that befit him. Skovoroda has a specific delight in the primitive, the charms of connecting the ingenious to the naïve and chaste constraint of cultural forms, and this delight, as an inimitable one, will forever stay with him. (Ern 1912, 116–117)

Skovoroda's literary and philosophical works could be colourfully expressed by the following line of Ferenc Kölcsey, the author of the Hungarian national anthem: "You dripped the nectar from the vines of Tokay…" (Kölcsey 1975, 68). For Skovoroda, Hungary forever remained the "beloved Ungaria" (Skovoroda 1973, 1:279), and he confessed that he was "the son of that land" (125). Skovoroda's later creations play a fundamental role in the organic integrity of our approach, both on artistic and thematic levels, to the national literatures of Hungary, Russia and Ukraine.

Modern networks and means of communication provide easy access to the complete electronic editions of Skovoroda's literary and philosophical works. The two-volume collection (*Grigory Skovoroda, the Complete Collection of Works in Two Volumes. Kiev: The Scientific Thought, 1973*) is particularly recommended as containing archaic forms of the eighteenth-century Russian and Ukrainian languages, thus being an excellent basis for the linguistic analysis of the style of this unique poet, writer and philosopher. Skovoroda's original vocabulary abounds in lexical richness, using a great variety of words of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Polish, Hungarian, English, German, French, Italian and Turkish origin; his works offer practical material for the students of modern Russian and Ukrainian etymology at today`s European universities.

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Vadim Olegovich Vozdvizhensky—PhD, has been studying Grigory Skovoroda's life and literary works for years, starting as a university student in Kiev, Ukraine, and following up as a teacher of foreign languages in Sárospatak or Sátoraljaújhely, Hungary. He regularly gives lectures and publishes articles on Skovoroda both in Hungary and abroad. His other academic interest concerns the translation of old and modern Russian and Hungarian poetry in connection with his beloved Tokayan hills and wine, as for example, the works of Derzhavin, Zhukovsky, Petőfi, Tyutchev, Severyanin, etc.
e-mail: vadim.vozdvizhensky[at]gmail.com

Grigori Skovoroda motivatsiooni otsimas

Vadim Vozdvizhensky

Märksõnad: *srodnost*, antiteetika, sümboolne tunnetus ja interpretatsioon, maailma dualism, *strannichestvo*, slaavi interiorism

Artikli eesmärgiks on selgitada konkreetsete ungari motiivide esinemist esimese vene ja ukraina kristliku filosoofi Grigori Savvitš Skovoroda (1722–1794) kirjanduslikes ja filosoofilistes teostes. Tema elu Ungari-perioodi on kõige vähem uuritud, sellepärast vajab see erilist tähelepanu, et teha selle ajajärgu vene ja ukraina kirjanduse kujunemise taustal kindlaks tema kirjutiste teemade valiku objektiivsed põhjused. Selle teemaga on varemgi tegeldud, kuid tähelepanu pole pööratud kohtadele ja ajaloolistele tingimustele, mis olid otseselt seotud Skovoroda keisrikoja teenistuses veedetud ajaga Ungaris, Austrias, Itaalias ja Poolas aastatel 1745–1750. Küllatki pikast möödaläinud ajast ja arvukatest juba avaldatud teadusartiklitest hoolimata sunnib see andekas ja meisterlik kirjanik ikka ja jälle endast rääkima. Seda võib seletada nii ühendatud Euroopa sees kui ka mõlemal pool uusi poliitilisi piire toimuvate kultuuridevaheliste protsessidega, mis mõjutavad positiivselt Venemaa, Ukraina ja Ungari vaheliste suhete arengu dünaamikat.

Tõmmates temaatilisi paralleele Skvoroda kirjutistega, tuleb rõhutada, et tema loomingut inspireerisid Balassi vaimne aed, Comeniuse visuaalne maailm, Muretuse (Marc Antoine Muret') sakraalsed laulud ja Wetsteniumi esoteerilised sümbolid, kus igavene tõde on peidus kõige nähtavaloleva taga. Tema loominguline pärand haarab endasse vene, ukraina ja ungari rahvuskultuuride parimad jooned, osutudes nii suurepäraseks eeskujuks tuleviku Euroopa ja kogu maailma kirjameestele. Teenides kindralmajor Višnevski juhtimise all Tokajs asuvas keiserlikus Ungari veinide komisjonis õukondliku asjaajajana, kirjutas Skovoroda ohtralt värvikaid tekste, elavalt peegeldades lihtsate ungarlaste igapäevaelu, mis oli väga sarnane tema enda väikevene rahvuskaaslaste omaga. Vene keisrinnade Jelizaveta ja Katariina II valitsusajal sai temast 17. sajandi geniaalse Tšehhi haridustegelase Comeniuse pansoofilise õpetuse järgija. Võttes kokku Skovoroda viieaastase Ungaris viibimise tulemused, ei tohi jätta märkimata viljakat mõju, mida avaldas talle ungari kultuur ja vestlused paljude eri ühiskonnakihtide ja usulahkude esindajatega. Tänapäevast kõnepruuki kasutades võib öelda, et Skovoroda osutus esimeseks Vene Impeeriumi okkalisi radu tallavaks dissidendiks, kes ei soovinud sammu pidada sünge kirikliku diktatuuriga, vaid heitis oma sümboolse allegoorikaga kiriklikele tsensoritele avaliku väljakutse. Tema traktaadid, mis keelati kui poliitilise *samizdat*'i väljaanded, said ammendamatuks kristlike sümbolite ja ideede allikaks, inspireerides kümnete kunstnike ja kirjutajate entusiastlikku loomingut hoolimata nende rahvuslikust päritolust ja sotsiaalsest tagapõhjast.

Skovoroda kirjanduslikud ja filosoofilised teosed on traditsiooniliselt jagatud kolme suuremasse ossa: vaimne luuletsükkel „Jumalike laulude aed", Aisopose traditsioonis proosakogumik „Harkovi valmid" ja eksegeetilised traktaadid, dialoogid ning mõistujutud, kuhu kuuluvad ka Muretuse, Ovidiuse, Vergiliuse, Hosiuse, Cicero, Plutarchose, Terentiuse, Horatiuse ja Tertullianuse tõlgendused. Oluline on ära märkida ka tema erakirjavahetust, mis sisaldab 125 kirja. Tema pärandi käsitlemisel on olulisel kohal Kovalensky essee „Grigori Skovoroda elu", mis aitab meil mõista ajaloosündmusi ja isikuid, kellega ta pikka aega suhtles. Kovalensky kõrvale asetub Pest-Budast pärit Harkovi Ülikooli filosoofiapro-

fessor Hess de Calve, kes tänu oma artiklile „Skovoroda – tänapäeva küünik" on õigustatult väärt Skovoroda esimese Ungari biograafi tiitlit. Ajaloolaste Ratšinski ja Tardy uurimistöö arhiivides aitas täpsemalt mõista tegelikke põhjusi, miks kõrgekvaliteediline Tokaj Aszu oli sajandeid populaarne ja asendamatu vein vene aadlike peolaudadel. Sama tegi ka vene ajaloolase Ratšinski töö „Vene varustajad Tokajs 18. sajandil", mis ilmus väljaandes „Russkii Vestnik" 1875. a. Väikevenemaale tagasi pöördudes tõi Skovoroda kaasa väärtuslikku vaimutoitu, millest jätkus talle kuni elu lõpuni. Ta täiendas oma ladina, kreeka, saksa ja heebrea keele oskusi, mis tulid kasuks hilisemas õpetajatöös, ja õppis ära ka ungari keele. Lõpuks sai temast esimene vene dissident, kes oli vaimseks eeskujuks sellistele teisitimõtlevatele kirjameestele nagu Petšerin, Dostojevski, Tšernõševski, Dobroljubov, Solovjov, Balmont, Blok, Belõi, Gumiljov, Severjanin, Pasternak, Bulgakov, Tšizevski, Jessenin, Gorki, Solženitsõn ja teised. Tema eksegeetilised teosed „Loti naine", „Iisraeli madu" ja „Mao uputus" ringlesid poliitilise *samizdat'*i väljaannetena Vene Impeeriumi okkalistel radadel kuni 1912. aastani. Ungari rahvushümni autor Ferenc Kölcsey olevat Skovorodale austust avaldades hüüatanud: „Sinust tilkus Tokaj viinapuude nektarit!"

Vadim Olegovich Vozdvizhensky – filosoofiadoktor, kauaaegne Grigory Skovoroda elu ja loomingu uurija alates ülikooliõpingutest Kiievis, millele järgnes töö võõrkeelte õpetajana Ungaris Sárospatakis ja Sátoraljaújhelys. Käsitleb oma loengutes ja artiklites Skovorodat regulaarselt nii Ungaris kui mujal. Tema akadeemiliste huvide hulka kuulub ka varasemate ja uuemate vene ja ungari luuletajate, näiteks Deržavini, Žukovski, Petőfi, Tjutševi, Severjanini loomingu tõlkimine.
e-post: vadim.vozdvizhensky[at]gmail.com

METHIS

Reading Estonian Literature through a German Lens. How Ivar Ivask Became a World-Renowned Literary Scholar[1]

Aija Sakova

Abstract: Ivar Ivask (1927–1992) is a cosmopolitan man who edited a quarterly world literature magazine *Books Abroad / World Literature Today* for more than 20 years; initiated the Puterbaugh Conference series; created and curated the Neustadt or the so-called small Nobel Prize for Literature. His personal archive is since 2016 held at the Estonian Cultural History Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum. The current article explores the very first steps of Ivar Ivask toward becoming a literary scholar and critic.

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Keywords: literary criticism, Estonian literature, diaspora, poet-critic, European-ness

At the end of 2017 and the beginning of 2018, Estonia and Latvia celebrated the 90th anniversary of the birth of the Estonian-Latvian poet and literary scholar Ivar Ivask (1927–1992), a cosmopolitan who edited the quarterly world literature magazine *Books Abroad / World Literature Today* for more than 20 years; initiated the Puterbaugh Conference series dedicated to French and Spanish writers; created and curated the Neustadt Prize for Literature, also called the small Nobel Prize for Literature. His personal archive, held since 2016 at the Estonian Cultural History Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum contains more than 500 correspondences of Ivask in several languages with writers all over the world, many of whom are world-renowned authors, and some of whom have been awarded the Nobel Prize. Ivask, born in Riga of a Latvian mother and Estonian father, and raised with German as his home language, lived and worked for most of his life in the United States of America as editor of an English-language literature magazine and a professor of German and comparative literature. He chose Estonian as one of the languages of his own poetry and the main intimate language of his diaries.

The current article wishes to explore the very first steps of Ivar Ivask toward becoming a literary scholar and critic. It is also of interest how his engagement with Estonian literature was motivated and curated, and what were his principles and

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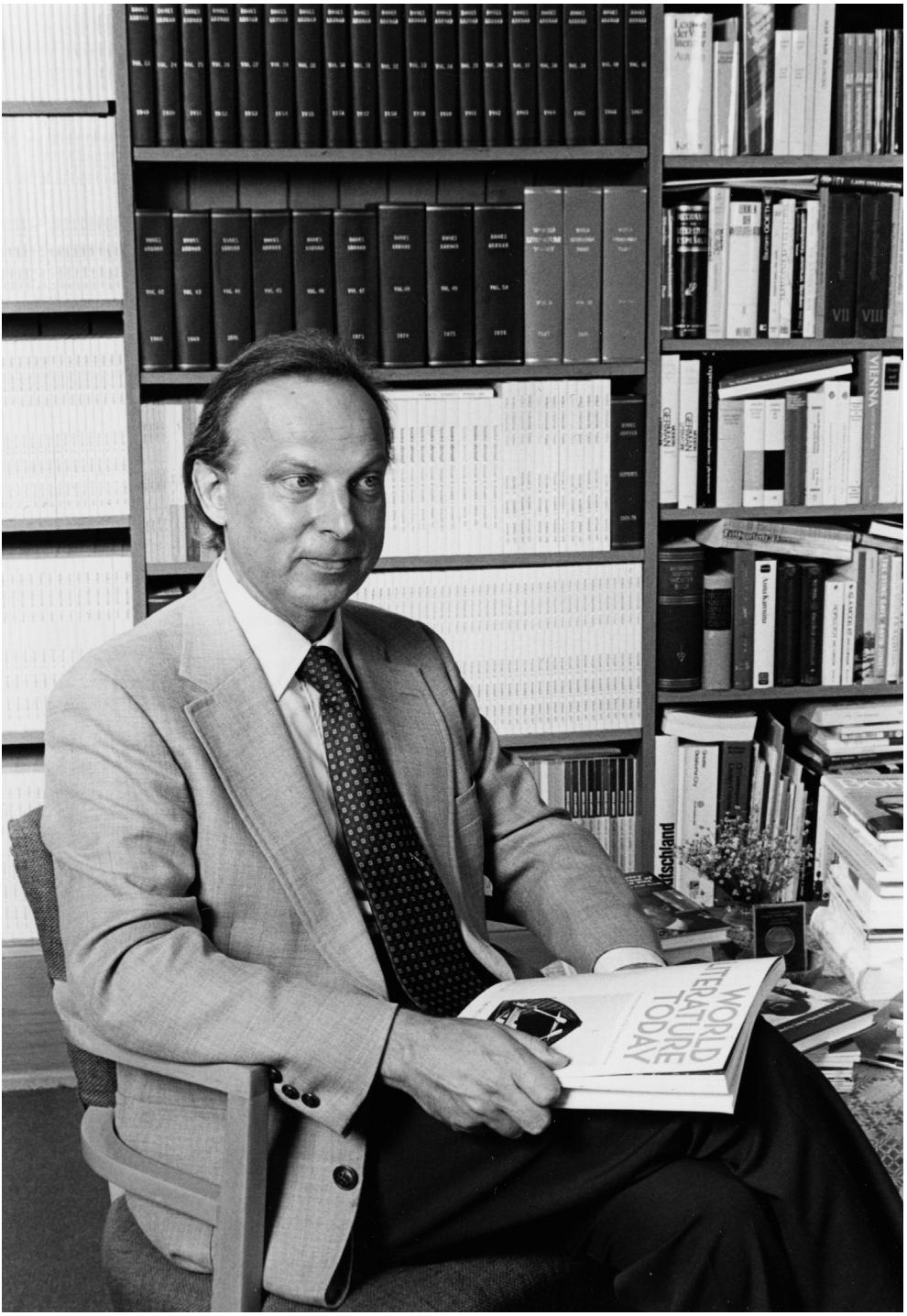

Ivar Ivask as the Editor-in-Chief of *World Literature Today.* Photo: Estonian Cultural History Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum: EKM EKLA B-211: 64.

grounds of understanding and reading Estonian literature as well as literature in general. Interestingly enough, having studied German literature and art history in Marburg in Germany (1946–1949), and defended his master's thesis on the poet Gottfried Benn in 1950, Ivask wrote and published his first scholarly review in 1951 in the Estonian diaspora literary magazine *Tulimuld*, not on German or Austrian literary criticism, but on the role of Estonian literary criticism.

The fact of becoming a public literary figure and starting to engage with Estonian and other contemporary literatures is also a question of chance and coincidence, as Ivask hints in his memoirs-within-diaries (Ivask 1956–1963). However, this is only partly true. I would like to argue that this is also due to Ivar Ivask's boldness in making contacts and starting dialogues with authors whose work he admired. Writing and thinking about poetry and literature was for him self-evidently bound to personal contacts, learning first-hand, and exposing his thoughts and critique to the authors whose work he discussed. Thus the aim of the present discussion is also to elaborate on the factors that helped Ivar Ivask become who he later was.

Guided by coincidence and role models

In 1960 Ivar Ivask recalls in his diaries how his path as a literary critic and especially as an Estonian literary critic began (Ivask 1956–1963, 125–126). After fleeing with his family to Germany in 1944, Ivask studied at the Estonian High School in Wiesbaden for about two years and graduated in 1946. In his diary excerpt Ivask recalls how a schoolmate, Eetla Ein, gave him the poetry collection *Sunday* (*Pühapäev*, 1946) by the Estonian author Bernard Kangro, published the same year in Swedish exile. The occasion for Ivask remembering this is the 50th birthday of Bernard Kangro (1910–1994), whose collected poems *Timeless Memory* (*Ajatu mälestus*, Kangro 1960) Ivar Ivask was publishing at the time. In a sense, Ivask hints that he is publishing Kangro's collected poems due to the coincidence that he had come across his poetry book during his school years.[2] It is also noteworthy that Ivask's education was primarily in German: in Riga he briefly attended an Estonian school in 1939 and later, in emigration, studied at an Estonian school in Wiesbaden in 1944–1946 (Olesk 2007, 6). Only due to Bernard Kangro's poetic influence and admiration of his poetry does Ivask turn to Estonian literature, and he asks at the beginning of 1951 whether Kangro could help him to acquire some Estonian books (Ivask 1956–1963, 125).

2 The notion of coincidence or chance (Germ. Zufall) seems to be relevant for Ivar Ivask. In his letter to Russian poet Boris Pasternak Ivask writes: "Wir sind beide darüber einverstanden, dass es keine Zufälle—oder nur Zufälle—im Leben gibt" (Ivask 1959, 2/1–2/2).

Bernard Kangro, who since 1950 had been editor-in-chief of the Estonian diaspora literary magazine *Tulimuld* (published in Sweden), had urged Ivar Ivask in 1951 to write about the situation of contemporary Estonian poetry, its translations and status within the larger European context after Ivask had critiqued the situation of Estonian literature in general. Ivask takes up Kangro's challenge, but he does not write about the role and situation of Estonian poetry as Kangro suggests (Ivask 1956–1963, 125). Instead, he elaborates on the role of Estonian literary criticism in the diaspora. In parallel to his doctoral studies in German literature at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis and his work on the literary criticism of the Austrian writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Ivask publishes an article titled "Thoughts on the tasks of Estonian literary criticism" ("Mõtteid eesti kirjanduskriitika ülesannetest") in *Tulimuld* 4/1951. The first article in *Tulimuld* is soon followed by several other articles on Estonian, Spanish, and German literatures.

Tulimuld 1/1952 publishes Ivask's second article "Critical thoughts" ("Kriitilisi mõtisklusi") on the Estonian novel and poetry. In *Tulimuld* 2/1952 Ivask discusses Spanish poetry, specifically, the poetry of Jorge Guillén, and publishes some examples of his own translations of Guillén's poetry into Estonian. A few months later, "Some proposals for introducing Estonia" ("Ettepanekuid Eesti tutvustamiseks") is published in *Tulimuld* 5/1952. In 1954, Ivask writes on the situation of German and European novel through three consecutive issues of *Tulimuld* (3–5) and publishes more translations of Jorge Guillén's poetry into Estonian.

In 1955, Ivask presents his translations of the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca in another Estonian diaspora journal, *Vaba Eesti* (2/1955) issued in Sweden. The following year, an article on the vitality of the European novel in Austria is published in *Tulimuld* 6/1956. While so far Ivask had written about Estonian, German, Austrian and Spanish literatures in Estonian, his first book reviews in English were published in 1956 in the quarterly literary magazine *Books Abroad,* the magazine of which he would become the editor-in-chief twelve years later. In *Books Abroad* 2/1956, Ivask publishes a review of Bernard Kangro's novel *Peipsi* and in *Books Abroad* 3/1956, a review of Osip Mandelshtam's collected poems *Собрание сочинении* (Tarvas 2006).

Based on Ivar Ivask's very first steps as a literary critic and scholar, one can clearly appreciate the wide scope of his knowledge about different European languages and literatures, since he writes on German (and Austrian), Spanish, Russian and Estonian literatures, while also acting as a mediator, a "translator" between languages and cultures. His interest is not so much derived from the field of study; rather, he follows his own passions, his love for poetry and for certain authors. Thus it is essential to understand that Ivar Ivask was first of all a poet before becoming a

literary critic and scholar. In his self-written short biography (Ivask, n.d.) as well as in his diary in 1967 (Ivask 2007, 31) and a later article, "Home within language and literature" (Ivask [1989] 2010) he describes how, similarly to Boris Pasternak he discovered Rilke's poetry books in his father's library at the age of 15 and how Rilke was a real discovery for him; how Rilke's poetry inspired him and changed his life. Ivask wrote his first poems in German and already in 1945 published his first poetry book, *Seelenwege. Aus ersten Gedichten*.

In 1967 Ivask retrospectively recalls that before his studies in Marburg from 1946 to 1949, and before he had met Professor Werner Milch, he had had only two real discoveries or poetic mentors: Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926) in Riga 1942/1943, and Paul Valéry (1871–1945) in Wetzler in the autumn of 1945 (Ivask 2007, 31). Ivask was an idealist and he aimed high; he wanted to learn from the best. One can also argue that his love towards (German-Austrian) poetry urged him to become a critic and a scholar. His love of poetry also spurred him to make contact with contemporary poets whom he admired. In a retrospective essay on Austrian writer Heimito von Doderer (1896–1966) with whom he corresponded for over 10 years, Ivask states that for him it is one and the same thing to write about and write to an author (Ivask 1972, 104). This means that if Ivask was fond of someone's oeuvre, he didn't hesitate to make direct contact with the author and express his admiration and respect. Sharing his reviews with reviewed authors also faciliated direct contacts and friendships with them. Besides his admiration of known talents, the Estonian literary scholar Jaan Undusk (2016, 545) has also underlined Ivask's affection and intuition towards rising literary stars: "He liked to be around those who were to be exploded into world literature."[3]

During his studies in Marburg, Ivask was strongly influenced by his professor of German literature, Werner Milch (1903–1950), who introduced Ivask to the principles of comparative literature studies and literary criticism. "The first real teacher for me was Werner Milch at Marburg University. Respect and love were balanced in this relationship" (Ivask 2007, 31). Werner Milch had a respectful but also to some extent skeptical view towards German literary thought and that felt fresh and inspiring to Ivask. "He was a masterful teacher, intense, personal in his talks and he always kept the interest of the listeners" (32).

Milch's attitude of personal engagement would be characteristic of Ivask's approach as well. It is noteworthy that Ivask contacts the Spanish poet Jorge Guillén (on whose poetry he had published an essay in Estonian in 1952) in the summer of

3 Quotes from Estonian and German are translated by the author of the article.

the same year (Ivask 1952c). Similarly, in 1957 when Ivask's article on Heimito von Doderer's novel *The Demons* (*Die Dämonen*) is published in *Books Abroad* (4/1957), he makes contact with the author and meets him personally in Munich on 20 August 1957 (Ivask 1972, Tarvas 1997). Personal correspondence is established with Boris Pasternak in 1959, shortly before Pasternak's death in 1960 (Sergeeva-Klyatis 2018, Ivask 1959).

Looking closely into Ivar Ivask's first steps as a literary critic, one can notice the importance of literary as well as scholarly role models. Ivar Ivask himself has also drawn attention to or retrospectively interpreted the importance of chance and coincidence in his life and life choices. In his diary he recalls how his later wife Astrid was the one who took him to Werner Milch's lectures, and Werner Milch was the one who inspired him to read Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Gottfried Benn, about whom Ivask later wrote his doctoral dissertation (Ivask 2007, 29). Thus it is also relevant to keep in mind that Ivask's career as a literary critic within Estonian literature and on international English-speaking platforms began parallel to his writing of his doctoral thesis on the Austrian *fin-de-siècle* author Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929). One could ask whether and to what extent Ivask's view of literature, especially Estonian literature was formed through his thorough academic work with literature in the German language.

Call for European-ness

It is noteworthy that Ivask writes his doctoral thesis (1950–1953) on Hugo von Hofmannsthal's literary criticism—"Hofmannsthal als Kritiker der deutschen Literatur" (Ivask 1953)—whereas today Hofmannsthal is not mainly regarded as a critic, but rather as a literary author. This choice of dissertation topic could already have been hinting at Ivask's special interest in the role of critics. Taking a closer look at the 462-page manuscript of Ivask's doctoral thesis, one could argue that Ivask was above all interested in Hofmannsthal's self-awareness as a writer and critic, but also in his methodology of writing literary criticism. Titles of the dissertation chapters such as "Methodological grounds of Hofmannsthal's literary criticism" ("Die methodischen Grundlagen von Hofmannsthals Literaturkritik") or "Critical achievement of Hofmannsthal" ("Die kritische Leistung Hofmannsthals") give an idea of Ivask's research interests.

Ivask underlines two major ideas within Hofmannsthal's literary criticism: 1) the importance of Europe and the idea of European literature and 2) the concept of a poet-critic. For Hofmannsthal, European literature is one organic sphere, and Ivask argues that his literary criticism could also described as European: "Hofmannsthals Kritik ist europäisch ausgerichtet" (170). Furthermore, Ivask

claims with Hofmannsthal that the idea of Europe can best be encountered within European literature: "Die geistige Idee Europa manifestiert sich am schönsten in den europäischen Literaturen. Hier wird wahrhaftig „Europa als einheitliches Civilisationsgebiet" sichtbar" (169).

Ivask concludes:

> One can say that Hofmannsthal's idea of Europe was not one of a closed cultural circle, but rather of a cultural circle opened to the rest of the world. [. . .] The role model for his aspiration in world literature was Goethe and the Great German Century with its interest in creative-cultural translations, adaptations and mimicking. (Ivask 1953, 171)

Similar ideas of the European-ness of literary critics that Ivask researches based on Hofmannsthal's work also acquire relevance for himself. His first published article in *Tulimuld,* "Thoughts on the tasks of Estonian literary criticism" (Ivask [1951] 2003) begins with a quote, a motto from René Wellek, which is in many ways a programmatic text:

> The study of comparative literature in this sense will make high demands on the linguistic proficiencies of our scholars. It asks for a widening of perspectives, a suppression of local and provincial sentiments, not easy to achieve. Yet literature is one, as art and humanity are one; and in this conception lies the future of historical literary studies (René Wellek). (Ivask [1951] 2003, 9)

Ivask argues with Wellek that small national literatures cannot be considered separately, but need to be seen in larger, European contexts. At the same time he also states that the first and most important role of the diaspora is to preserve the nation. According to Ivask, the Estonians should be proud of their talented and world-rank novelists and poets (of poets, Ivask names Juhan Liiv, Gustav Suits, Marie Under, Betti Alver, Uku Masing, Bernard Kangro and of novelists—Eduard Vilde, A. H. Tammsaare, Friedebert Tuglas, August Gailit, Karl Ristikivi), but at the same time there would be no point in analyzing and seeing them only within an Estonian literary context (Ivask [1951] 2003, 9). The role of a scholarly critic is to put such authors into a comparative perspective, in order to open up the full spectrum of their possibilities.

> We need more comprehensive critical essays on the best authors and main issues of our literature, we need biographies. Not only good translations, but also simultaneous critical articles that elaborate on our literature and compare it to other literatures can help to build a European name to our literature. (Ivask [1951] 2003, 16)

Ivask elaborates on the difference between literary criticism and studies of literary history. Whereas literary historical studies concentrate on the past, critics need to show the position and role of a text in the contemporary context. Scholarly critics need to widen their perspective and also take a comparative view, the position of an author or a text within a bigger framework. For Ivask the framework is first and foremost European; he clearly states that despite the fact that Estonian literature has a very short history of its own, we need to see it within a (Western) European cultural context which is more than 3000 years old (Ivask [1951] 2003, 10).

Such an approach and the understanding of European literature obviously demands very high and broad philological skills, as Ivask asserted in the above quotation from Wellek. One needs to know languages, and Ivask himself obviously knew several European languages. He was able to read and write about Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Finnish, German, Spanish, French, Italian, and Greek literatures.

In his second article "Critical thoughts" Ivask continues to elaborate on the need of being in contact with European contexts and developments (Ivask 1952a). This time Ivask talks specifically about the relationships of the Estonian and the European novel, and above all he addresses Estonian diaspora authors. Rhetorically he asks why there are no great narratives about the tragic fate of the Estonian nation that would lift it above the dimension of plain realistic and reportage style:

> The fate paths of our nation would give excellent subject for big novels, as well as for religious interpretations like the ones of Graham Greene or Georges Bernanos, as for existentialist expressions like by Franz Kafka or Albert Camus, and even for surrealistic-demonic writings like the ones of young German authors like Hans Erich Nossack and Jürgen Rausch. Do we really have only realistic pictures "like it used to be" to offer (as E. Howard Harris summarizes about our prose in diaspora in his Estonian literary history overview)? (Ivask 1952a, 35)

Already six years after the end of World War II, Ivask encourages Estonian writers to write different, in many senses European novels about the tragic fate of Estonians. With the help of Werner Milch, whose views and values Ivask admires and shares, he draws attention to the shift in the European novel that has taken place within the last 200 years, where the question of "what happens?" is slowly replaced by the question "how did the human react to what had happened?" (Ivask 1952a, 34). Thus Ivask urges Estonian writers to be more open and in contact with other European literatures, to read more in different languages, develop the philological skills in order to be able to feel the pulse of literature.

In "Critical thoughts" Ivask concludes: "[. . .] not only do the foreign readers respect vital Estonian writing that is in lively contact with contemporary European

literature and thought, but we must also do this for ourselves" (36). For Ivask this is one of the core preconditions for mental survival and development.

The European-ness that Ivask underlines and values is not only applicable to Estonian literature, but also in more general terms. While writing about the Spanish poet Jorge Guillén, Ivask also compares his poetry to other European authors:

> Guillén does not represent only one -ism, but the very best of European poetry. He uses the past and present lyric forms and techniques with the same sovereignty. Thus he belongs to the poetry classics of our century, next to names like Paul Valéry, Saint-John Perse, Boris Pasternak, T. S. Eliot, Rainer Maria Rilke, Eugenio Montale ja Konstantinos Kavafis. (Ivask 1952b, 98)

Once again, best poets need to be compared and set next to other best poets; national and language barriers should be crossed.

(Creative) tension between poetry and criticism

Being in dialogue with other European literatures is not the only precondition or standard Ivask sets for good literature and literary criticism. Derived from his analyses on Hofmannsthal, we can also see that Ivask valued his simultaneous combination of being a poet and a critic. "Hofmannsthal's work encounters us from the beginning in double roles—in his own poetic production and his literary criticism. In 1891, eight of his critical articles were published together with his first poetic drama "Gestern" and with some other known poems" (Ivask 1953, 442).

Retrospectively we can see that Ivask himself worked all his life in a fruitful but also exhausting tension of being a poet and a scholar-critic (as well as a mediator and curator). When he retired from his duties as the editor-in-chief of the magazine *World Literature Today* in 1991, he wrote in his diaries that he retired mainly so that he and his wife Astrid could be who they really are, namely: "Astrid Ivask, poet, Ivar Ivask, poet and painter." He elaborates:

> Many people, even friends have preferred to see us instead as Mr. and Mrs. World Literature Today, as the distributers of the Neustadt prize, and myself as a professor-literary scholar. Since we have fulfilled those roles quite convincingly, the opinion has spread that we would be poets *beside other things*, and not first and foremost. (Ivask 2007, 79)

Although at the end of his career as the editor-in-chief, Ivask experienced the tension of being a poet, scholar, and critic as exhausting, and he was quite happy to leave his position and be able to retire, he also highly valued the combination of being a poet and a scholar. In order to understand his credo of literary criticism, it

is highly important to acknowledge that Ivask was, if not by preference, then primarily a poet before becoming a critic. Thus he valued and understood criticism that was written by poets. Ivask claims that for him, writing about and to a poet is one and the same; writing poetry and writing criticism are similarly connected. The experience of writing poetry strengthens the understanding and touch of literature.

When writing about Hofmannsthal, Ivask defines him as a poet-critic (*Dichter-Kritiker*) and his criticism as a "poetic science" (*dichterische Wissenschaft*):

> Hofmannsthal is a turning point in the history of German criticism in general: while the great old traditions flow together in him and thus are united in a new way, his criticism can be characterized, as we have seen, as the beginning of a new literary-critical tradition in German literature. [. . .] Hofmannsthal is thus maybe the first "poet-critic" with rank in the modern European literature. A long time before T. S. Eliot, for example, could develop his critical essays, Hofmannsthal had already found his followers, the poet-critics Rudolf Alexander Schröder and Rudolf Borhardt. This was because his criticism was a "poetic science", an art in and of itself as any true literary criticism would be, that would not want to be deprived of the freedom of a higher synopsis of literary phenomena, while not wanting to sacrifice this freedom to a pedantic counting of syllables and adjectives. (Ivask 1953, 443)

Ivask elaborates further that Hofmannsthal's literary criticism never limited itself to an analysis of the concrete literary work, but always also provided new ways of understanding and regarding literary history or literary criticism. This means that taking a literary piece out of its historical and cultural context was never the only possible way for Hofmannsthal, as Ivask concludes. Similarly to Hofmannsthal, Ivask's own literary analyses reached out towards bigger frameworks and more universal conclusions. However, he also tried to reach from one national literature to another national literature. Jüri Talvet has described Ivar Ivask as a builder of bridges. Not all bridges that are built via writings will be taken into use immediately, but if they are already built, they can also be adapted later. "The awakening can happen suddenly" (Talvet 2010, 13).

Thus writing about literature is not something distant and impersonal for Ivask. Every engagement is a personal act, a dialogue with the author via his own writing.

Conclusion

Despite his Estonian-Latvian background, Ivar Ivask was educated mostly in the German language, and his university education was focused on literatures in the German language. Since he lived most of his life in exile, in Germany and in the

United States of America, it could have been more than possible for him not to engage himself with his heritage and Estonian (and Latvian) literatures. But to the contrary, due to his multi-cultural background, forced migration to Germany and his inspiring teacher(s) in Marburg and within poetry, Ivask became open-minded towards different cultures and languages. After and during his university studies he critically engaged himself with Estonian diaspora literature. Ivask explained that partly due to his admiration for Bernard Kangro's poetry, which he had come across by coincidence, he also engaged himself with the possibilities of Estonian literature and literary criticism in the diaspora. His knowledge of several languages, the "personal touch" that he learned from his professor Werner Milch, and the courage to make direct contact with authors whose work he admired, translated, or reviewed, made him a builder of bridges between different cultures.

Interestingly enough, although Ivask was educated in Germany and in German literature, his first published articles depicted Estonian literature and literary criticism. Thus his approach to Estonian literature and Estonian literary criticism was strongly influenced by the topics and ideas he studied for his doctoral thesis on the Austrian poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Similarly to Hofmannsthal, whose literary criticism was driven by a claim of European-ness, Ivask also strongly sympathized with this approach. In his words, Estonian literature and literary criticism would only have possibilities for survival if it engaged with other contemporary European literatures and looked away from national-centeredness.

Next to being influenced by his studies in German literature—by professor Werner Milch and by his work on Hofmannsthal—Ivask's understanding of literary criticism was also strongly formed by the fact that he was first of all a poet before becoming a scholar. Prior to his studies in German literature in Marburg he had already written and (self-)published his first German poetry book in 1945. Ivask was a poet and thus valued criticism with a poetic touch. He himself was, similarly to Hofmannsthal in his dissertation, a poet-critic with rank.

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Aija Sakova has studied German and Estonian literature at the University of Tartu in Estonia (PhD in 2014), at the University of Konstanz (2002–2003) and Berlin Humboldt University in Germany (2010–2011) and at the University of Vienna in Austria (2007–2008). Her research on the poetics of remembrance and on moral witnessing in the novels of German writer Christa Wolf and Estonian author Ene Mihkelson—*Ausgraben und Erinnern*—was published by V&R unipress Göttingen in 2016. In recent years Sakova has been working on Ivar Ivask, an Estonian-Latvian diaspora literary scholar and poet.
e-mail: aija.sakova[at]kirmus.ee

Lugedes eesti kirjandust läbi saksa kirjanduse prisma ehk kuidas Ivask Ivaskist sai tuntud kirjandusteadlane

Aija Sakova

Märksõnad: kirjanduskriitika, eesti kirjandus, diasporaa, poeet-kriitik, euroopalikkus

2017. aasta lõpus ja 2018. aasta alguses tähistati nii Eestis kui ka Lätis eesti-läti päritolu kirjandusteadlase ja luuletaja Ivar Ivaski (1927–1992) 90. sünniaastapäeva. Ivask oli kosmopoliitne mees, kes töötas üle kahekümne aasta oma elust maailmakirjandusalase ajakirja Books Abroad / World Literature Today peatoimetajana, mille juurde ta asutas Neustadti kirjandusauhinna, mida kutsuti hellitavalt ka väikseks Nobeliks.

Saanud hariduse Saksamaal Marburgi Ülikoolis saksa kirjanduse, võrdleva kirjandusteaduse ja kunstiajaloo alal, kujunes Ivaskist paradoksaalselt siiski ka eesti kirjanduse uurija ja mõtestaja. Ivaski magistritöö oli Saksa luuletajast Gottfried Bennist (1950) ja doktoritöö Austria kirjanikust ning kriitikust Hugo von Hofmannstahlist (1953). Kuna Ivaski esimesed kirjandusteaduslikud uurimused ilmusid 1951. aastal Bernard Kangro välja antud väliseesti ajakirjas Tulimuld, siis on loogiline järeldada, et Ivaski arusaam eesti kirjandusest ning kirjanduskriitika ülesannetest paguluses oli oluliselt mõjutatud saksa kirjanduse alastest õpingutest ja uurimistöödest.

Ivaski 1950. aastatel esimesel poolel ilmunud artiklid olid kuni 1954. aastani vaid eestikeelsed ja ilmusid väliseesti ajakirjades Tulimuld ning Vaba Eesti. Need käsitlesid võrdselt eesti kirjandust ja kirjanduskriitikat ning saksa, austria ja hispaania kirjandust. Ivaski eesti kirjandusele ning kirjanduskriitikale esitatud nõudmistes on näha paralleele tema uurimusega Hugo von Hofmannstahlist, milles Ivask rõhutab Hofmannsthali euroopalikku ehk mitte kitsalt ühele rahvuskirjandusele keskenduvat kirjanduskäsitlust. Ka eesti kirjanduskriitikalt ootab Ivask oma artiklites seda, et see vaatleks eesti autoreid maailmakirjanduse kontekstis, mitte ei jääks kinni kitsalt eesti kirjanduse sisestesse uurimustesse. Laiema, võrdleva kirjandusliku pildi vajalikkus on Ivaski hinnangul eesti kirjanduse ellujäämise eeltingimus.

Nii Ivaski kirjatöödes kui ka tema tegevuses kirjade kirjutaja ja kirjavahetuste algatajana on tunda tema ihalust eeskujude järele. Ivask ei karda võtta ühendust autoritega, kelle loomingut ta imetleb ja arvustab. Nii loob ta kirjanduslikke võrgustikke üle maailma. Kirjandusteadlane ja luuletaja Jüri Talvet on kirjeldanud Ivaskit kui sildade loojat. Kuid Ivask oli ka poeet-kriitik, nii nagu ta ise kirjeldab Hugo von Hofmannstahli.

Aija Sakova on õppinud saksa ja eesti kirjandust Tartu Ülikoolis (PhD 2014), Konstanzi, Berliini Humboldti ja Viini ülikoolides. Tema uurimistöö on keskendunud mäletamise poeetikale ja moraalsele tunnistamisele saksa autori Christa Wolfi ja eesti kirjaniku Ene Mihkelsoni romaanides. Tema raamat „Väljakaevamine ja mäletamine" („Ausgraben und Erinnern") ilmus V&R unipress kirjastuses Saksamaal, Göttingenis. Viimastel aastatel on Sakova tegelenud eesti-läti päritolu kirjandusteadlaste ja luuletaja Ivar Ivaski pärandi uurimisega.
e-post: aija.sakova[at]kirmus.ee

Postcolonialism and the Soviet Union. Epp Annus, *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018)

Kaarel Piirimäe

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Keywords: postcolonialism; Soviet Union; Baltic States

I have been asked to comment, as a sort of "ordinary historian", upon the research of Epp Annus, which has recently been published in her monograph *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A view from the Western Borderlands* (Annus 2018a). In actual fact her research has spanned the last couple of decades, of which the aforementioned book is an admirable culmination, a summation (see a selection of Annus' earlier works at the end of the article). Annus won recognition for her postcolonial perspective on Baltic history in 2016, when the special issue with the *Journal of Baltic Studies* she edited (Annus 2016) won the annual Vilis Vītols Prize. Recognizing the importance of that issue as a theoretically rich collection of articles exploring all three Baltic countries, it has now been published by Routledge as a book (Annus 2018b).

The reasons for asking an historian such as myself to write on Annus' research pursuits are probably disclosed, indirectly, by a few remarks by Annus herself about the reluctance of Estonian historians, sociologists and ethnologists to engage seriously with postcolonial critical theory, while scholars in literary analysis, visual arts, film and dance studies have readily acknowledged the usefulness of such perspectives (Annus 2018a, 64).

At this point I gladly take the liberty to describe my own scholarly background, an approach nowadays favoured in some research fields over pretences of strict objectivity. My more or less serious engagements with "Soviet studies" began as far back as in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. As far as I remember, and checking notes from those times, in those days, scholars still debated about the utility of the model of Totalitarianism, as the focus of research had been shifting from the ostensibly all-permeable state terror toward the everyday life of Soviet citizens—the approach suggested by the so-called revisionist school. Instead of the notions of control, brainwashing, and atomization of society (Arendt 1951), historians approached Soviet society not as a mass of people passively reacting to government pressure, but as a society that had retained some complexity, reconstituted social hierarchies, even undergone an "embourgeoisement" (Fitzpatrick 1999) under the Stalinist regime.

There was interest in social mobility and the uprootedness of Stalinist society, which some argued caused control problems for the state and brought with it coercion, labour discipline, passport laws and terror (Getty 1985). *Magnetic Mountain* by Stephen Kotkin was published in 1995, and its importance was great for its depiction of ordinary people not as passive captives of a counterrevolutionary and criminal Stalinist bureaucracy, but flesh-and-blood people who sensed that they were engaged in a great civilizational project. After this, I must admit, I have viewed the development of Soviet studies only from the margins, as my own interest shifted to international history, even though there was a short period when I did some research on Soviet foreign propaganda, and even more recently I have become interested in the "new political thinking" in the Gorbachev era. However, this is political and international, not social history.

As to postcolonial theory, I have approached this superficially from the point of view of a lecturer who has tried to introduce young students to the latest developments in the discipline of history. Like Terry Eagleton, who has complained about not having received a copy of the secret "samizdat handbook" of postcolonialism (Eagleton 1999), I have found the theories a little inaccessible or even obscure for someone who has not been part of the sect from the earliest days. Indeed, the style of many postcolonial thinkers (Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, but not Edward Said) seems to follow the rule: "Be as obscurantist as you can decently get away with" (Eagleton 1999), which is really surprising, considering the postcolonialists' ethos of speaking for the interests and feelings of the postcolonial world, which in their view is pretty much the entire planet.

My perplexity has not been much alleviated by reading about postcolonialism from secondary sources. For example, the mostly quite comprehensible chapter by Rochona Majumdar in the recent companion edited by Marek Tamm and Peter Burke, *Debating New Approaches to History* (Majumdar 2018), suffers from the mistake that seems to be chronic for postcolonialism—the overambition to explain virtually anything. For example, there is the idea that postcolonialism is about the criticism of the nation state on a global scale. Therefore, Majumdar places mass protests of the 1960s in South Africa, Palestine, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, Hungary, and Poland in the same category of the "disappointment of many colonized peoples at the failure of their respective nation states to deliver on the promises of modernization, alleviation of poverty, forms of inequality, and varieties of prejudice" (49). I very much doubt that protests in Poland and the 1956 uprising in Hungary expressed criticism of the nation state (a similar awkward reference to "several eastern European states" is on page 60).

Placing widely different phenomena in the same category is a mistake that children learn to avoid in kindergarten school, where they are asked to cross out objects that do not match with others (sorry for this analogy, I have a child of this age). I do not want to infer that this is a common problem in the work of Epp Annus, but it does raise eyebrows if the "construction of nations, railroads, factories" is mentioned in the same sentence (Annus 2018a, 112). But because this rests on the constructivist ontological premise that "reality is shaped into existence by ways of legitimizing certain modes of talking about it" (33), the thought that factories are built and nations formed in an essentially same way, namely by way of talking, should not surprise us.

I have found the constructivist analyses of Western orientalist thought and discursive practices by Edward Said, or Larry Wolff, highly valuable and though provoking, but I am not equally impressed by postcolonial "theories". I agree with Prasenjit Duara that postcolonialism is not a theory, which presupposes axioms of secular rationality, but a "perspective pointing to another cosmology" (Duara 2018, 65), which apparently has an anti- or post-Enlightenment ethos (or perhaps a claim to "emotional truth", see Annus 2018a, 125). It is a position of critique toward Western-centred modernity, but Duara is correct to point out that "critique is only a critique". It is not scholarship but an effort, a successful one, to bring the anti-colonial struggle into the heart of the former metropolises, and therefore primarily a political, not a scholarly, endeavour.

Having said this about postcolonialism, I must return to Soviet studies. Reading Epp Annus' book on Soviet colonialism in the Baltic states, I am impressed by the high level of research that has been conducted in this field over the recent years, upon which Annus can build her own original analysis and conceptualisations. Most of this research (on the Soviet period in Baltic history) has been conducted in social and cultural history, and literary studies, with studies on Baltic song festivals, folk dance, post-war gossip, architecture and design, postcolonialism in "Soviet travelogues" and the like standing out as particularly interesting and innovative research pursuits.

In contrast, research on political history seems to be lagging in terms of new conceptual horizons, which might explain some lapses in the otherwise admirable "philosophical rigour" of Annus' book. How else should one explain the emphasis on the "manufacturing of consent" by the regime on the one hand (Annus 2018a, 36) and the reference to "totalitarian control" (101) on the other. I had hoped that, as a result of new social history of the USSR, we were past the paradigm of Totalitarianism, but apparently not quite, and it still begs the question, how can one reconcile the two approaches, one speaking against the view that the Soviet Union

exerted nonconsensual control and the other arguing just the opposite? Perhaps this is just an author's oversight and not an inconsistency characterizing postcolonial perspectives.

Yet, let us pause for a moment on the idea of "manufacturing consent". For me, this seems one of the Foucauldian notions with a claim to universality, which is thought provoking and interesting, but somewhat out of place if applied to some real historical cases. Take for example the Soviet deportations in the Baltic states in 1949, which broke the resistance of the peasantry to collectivization. According to my own family's story, after the deportations, from which my grandparents were for unknown but certainly random reasons excluded, my grandfather along with other farmowners was summoned and told that there were two ways, one to Siberia and the other to Communism. There was no one who chose Siberia and so the kolkhoz was formed. Now, was this non-consensual control or manufacturing consent? Did my grandfather consent to rendering his property, his life's work, and his time to the kolkhoz, or did he do it because he essentially had no other option if he wanted his family to survive? In these perhaps extreme but still very real cases, poststructuralist theorizing and fancy language do not appear to bring a new epistemic quality.

In many other, or rather in most cases the postcolonial approach introduced by Annus produces excellent results, perhaps most convincingly in her discussion of whether the Soviet Union in general and Soviet occupation of the Baltic states in particular were exercises in colonialism. Many scholars have been reluctant to regard the Soviet Union as a colonial power, because in contrast to the European empires it had no overseas colonies, but was controlling a contiguous land mass; it was to some extent engaged in "nation-building"; and the Russians represented a majority, but Russian nationalism was not encouraged and even suppressed (Hosking 2001). I think Annus (2018a, 70) shows brilliantly that despite the rhetoric of national self-determination and the equality of all ethnic groups, Russians were always considered the big brother and, in actual fact, to cite George Grabowicz, "a Russian labourer could feel superior to a Ukrainian intellectual" for the Russian culture was deemed to be greater than all other cultures.

Besides, nation building has always been part of colonial practice, as the assumption that other ethnies need enlightenment and guidance towards Modernity is a typical colonial discourse placing people subjected to the nation-building effort in a position of dependency. Moreover, it did not follow from the teleological model of Modernization that the nations that could successfully progress on the ladder of civilization could become equal to the great Russian nation and perhaps acquire a more independent role, because, as Annus wittily puts it, "the Soviet family romance did not include space for adult peers, not even in imagined future" (117).

Annus is also brilliant in showing how in Russian colonialism feelings of superiority toward subject nations mixed with the sense of inferiority and subaltern impulses toward the West. The situation was particularly complex in the Baltic states, which as the Russians acknowledged was more Western than the rest of the USSR, but the dilemma could still be overcome by references to the supposedly far superior Russian culture (a common assumption among the Russian minorities in the Baltic countries even today). I agree that the idea of catching up with and surpassing the capitalist West was one of the goals of the Soviet Union throughout its history, but I am not sure whether feelings of inferiority manifested in all periods in the same degree. Stalin, for example, was not much guided by those inferiority complexes, especially when the defeat of Nazi Germany had plainly vindicated his industrialisation drive. Besides, in contrast to most other Bolsheviks he had little knowledge of the Capitalist world, having been abroad only once—in Vienna before the First World War (where he wrote his most important treatise on Marxism and the National Question) and that experience had not impressed him much (Montefiore 2008, 261–264). Feelings of inferiority would be much more important for later Soviet leaders (Khrushchev's tour of the United States in 1959 being an interesting, amusing and contradictory case).

Another interesting aspect that Annus points out is the mutually constitutive nature of the colonizer-colonized relationship, which she illustrates well with an example drawn from the memoirs of Andrei Hvostov: when a Russian immigrant-student asks her co-student to teach her the Estonian language, the latter refuses, thus knowingly or unknowingly contributing to the persistence of the cultural barrier supporting the colonizer-colonized divide (Annus 2018a, 186).

This is in many respects an admirable book and will be required reading for anyone interested in the Soviet legacy in the Baltic countries. It suffers only from the ambition of postcolonialism to offer a kind of total interpretive paradigm and the author's wish to engage with that cosmology at all costs, thus sometimes leading to sweeping generalisations, such as "To establish a colonial-type political, economic, and cultural order in a developed modern nation-state requires deportations and executions on a massive scale…", which ignores contemporary cases such as the US 2003 invasion of Iraq, or that massive resettlement operations need an "advanced phase of modernization", which disregards premodern examples of mass resettlements common already in the earliest polities in ancient Mesopotamia (101). There is also an awkward attempt to explain the famine of the 1930s, including the holodomor, by referring to an imbalance between ideas and material possibilities (111), whatever that means; examples of over-interpretation include the claim that upon becoming pioneers "girls and boys cease to exist" (124); also there are questionable

assertions like "cultural abundance was available only for manual workers" (121) or that the Soviet project entailed an "equal treatment of men and women" (112; it can be argued that women were not liberated from home but had a double burden of keeping a job and running an household). When Annus writes of the different "sensorium of the summer home" as a factor bringing down the Soviet Union (239), it seems that she speaks form her own experience and from the perspective of a Soviet intellectual, whereas it could be pointed out that a large part of the population lived in pre-war and pre-Soviet housing and thus in another "sensorium" anyway, and that tilling a garden had never been prohibited by the regime, not even under Stalin. One could also think of certain sports, which were either encouraged by the regime, accepted reluctantly or which were forced underground, such as mountaineering, orienteering or bodybuilding, as spaces of escape from the Soviet routine. Anyway, this is an interesting idea, which deserves a more thorough research.

To end with a personal note, it seems that I share with Annus quite a similar experience of the Soviet Union. Quite subjectively, for me it has not been a question that the Soviet Union was a colonial power, but I also understand the passion with which Annus explains this to foreign audiences, for whom the association of Colonialism and Communism has been difficult to fathom and cope with (with the Soviet Union and the Communist movement seemingly in the forefront of the anti-colonial struggle during the Cold War). However, I think this can be done without taking over all of the questionable "cosmology of Postcolonialism".

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Kaarel Piirimäe—associate professor at the Institute of History and Archaeology of the University of Tartu and senior research fellow at the Estonian War Museum-General Laidoner Museum.
e-mail: kaarel.piirimae[at]ut.ee

Postcolonial cosmology or postcolonial critique? A response to Kaarel Piirimäe

Epp Annus

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It was with considerable pleasure that I read Kaarel Piirimäe's words of praise for my *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands*. I know—as Piirimäe himself confesses in his review—that he is not a very sympathetic reader of this kind of work, generally speaking, so I was all the more gratified that he found himself broadly in sympathy with my reading of the Soviet Union as a colonial power and that, whatever his minor reservations, he found the generosity to call the book "required reading for anyone interested in the Soviet legacy in the Baltic countries."

I am convinced that most of Piirimäe's minor reservations are, in fact, minor misreadings of local points in my book. For present purposes, however, I think I will desist from explaining in detail how my point was not that the Soviet project entailed an "equal treatment of men and women", but rather that the Soviet state made "efforts to advance" such equal treatment; or how my point was not a general claim that "cultural abundance was available only for manual workers", but about a specific kind of cultural abundance typified by kolkhoz trips to theatres. I do indeed write that "girls and boys cease to exist, pioneers and students take their places"—but the context of its appearance belongs to a description of Madis Kõiv's childhood recollection, in which Kõiv describes the alienating effects produced by the new Soviet school books, translated from Russian and full of happy young pioneers (in lieu of the happy girls and boys of pre-Soviet school books). So I was describing not Soviet-era realities, but rather a child's feeling of alienation—filtered, of course, through specific practices of storytelling and remembering. I regret that I did not make this clear enough for readers like Piirimäe.

And yet there are several more substantive points we might profitably take up from Piirimäe's review and consider at greater length, in the spirit of scholarly dialogue. And, again, I am grateful to Kaarel Piirimäe for his review and to the editors at Methis for this opportunity.

1. Does post-colonial studies adhere to a cosmology?

The first of these more substantive points regards the general question of post-colonial approaches and their potential role within Soviet studies. In his review, Kaarel Piirimäe makes some very strong claims. For example, he offers the view of an "ordinary historian" that postcolonialism "is not scholarship but an effort, a successful one, to bring the anti-colonial struggle into the heart of the former metropolises, and therefore primarily a political, not a scholarly, endeavour". I think Piirimäe is too dismissive here of other scholarly modes.

To start with some basic points, it is useful to remind ourselves that whenever we talk about "postcolonial critical theory" or "postcolonial theory", we are dealing with a huge body of work which includes myriad different approaches—some of them indeed politically attuned, some others written for scholarly audiences, some of them based on archival research, some on oral histories, some on readings of literature, film or media texts. Very often readers might see an author focused upon presenting or explicating a specific phenomenon, but without striving for any broader generalization. And yet it must be said that narrow research without the generalizing impulse is less likely to reach general audiences. Thus those interested in postcolonial approaches are more likely to click on an article like "Of mi-

micry and man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse" (one of Homi Bhabha's most widely read texts), rather than on "From Cybermohalla to Trickster City: Writing from the margins of Delhi" (a recent article by Lipi Biswas Sen in *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*)—unless, that is, the reader is specifically interested in Delhi or in the Cybermohalla project (the abstract of this article, by the way, looks really interesting!). For these reasons, it is easy for casual observers, attracted to the most generalizing articles of the field, to get a misleading sense of the general tendencies of what is, after all, an enormous field of postcolonial inquiry.

For the reasons of the vastness of the field, I generally refer in my book to "postcolonial studies" (thus "Soviet postcolonial studies"), not to postcolonial "theory". I myself use the phrase "postcolonial theory" only a few times in the book and then referring specifically to certain attitudes that, as I argue, would profit from critical revision. For example, my book argues that "Postcolonial critique developed as a critique of domination that was specifically capitalist; one of its preconditions has been an understanding of imperialism as connected to the emergence of capitalism" (Annus 2018, 87). Following from this, I suggest that the link between imperialism and capitalism needs to be revisited, since imperial and colonial attitudes are not limited to capitalist economies alone, and I point out that such a theoretical correlation has hindered the development of postcolonial approaches in analyses of Soviet societies.

Piirimäe's dissatisfaction with certain aspects of my book is something that he attributes largely to postcolonial theory itself. For Piirimäe, "This is in many respects an admirable book [. . .] It suffers only from the ambition of postcolonialism to offer a kind of total interpretive paradigm and the author's wish to engage with that cosmology at all cost." I must confess that this is not how I understand my own relation to postcolonial paradigms and I would offer, as an example of my own critical relation to postcolonial studies, my revisionist attitude towards fundamental postcolonial categories—including, for example, an effort to completely rethink the use of concepts like the "colonizer" and the "colonized". Leaving aside my own relation to this field of thought, however, I argue in the book that postcolonial paradigms don't have the closure of dogma (or they shouldn't) and they require a responsible revision by each scholar according to the exigencies of the material at hand and the disposition of the scholar him- or herself:

> [. . .] a scholar sympathetic to postcolonial paradigms still has to formulate his or her own scholarly approach to fit a specific scholarly inquiry. This book, in the wake of recent developments in critical thought, suggests a critical model, under the umbrella of postcolonial studies that would combine a number of different philosophical approaches. (Annus 2018, 19)

So for me—and surely not only for me—postcolonial approaches do not prescribe a methodology and I am surprised to read of it described as a distinct cosmology. My book puts it this way: "Postcolonial studies, as it has developed through recent decades, has thought extensively about cultural ruptures and unhomely encounters, about the ensuing strategies of accommodation and hybridisation of identities, and about the ways colonial power-structures condition subject positions" (Annus 2018, 1–2). The framework of postcolonial studies provides a certain critical impulse, it orients scholars towards certain questions—such as ethnic tensions and cultural hybridisations, for example. Postcolonial studies also provides a basic, working vocabulary that can be extended or overwritten according to one's specific research aims. I call my own approach "an effort in multidimensional critical thinking" (36), one heavily indebted not only to postcolonial studies, but also to wider developments in cultural and political philosophy—and, in consequence, hopefully resisting reduction to one single "total interpretive paradigm".

2. Nonconsensual control or manufacture of consent?

Let us consider another important topic that Piirimäe introduces: the manufacture of consent for the Soviet regime. I write that the Soviet Union "did not necessarily govern its borderlands through non-consensual control, but it instead manufactured consent through complex strategies of rule, including various kinds of systemic violence" (47). Kaarel Piirimäe counters this argument with the story of his grandfather, who, like many others after the 1949 mass deportations, was given a choice between Siberia and the kolkhoz; his grandfather, together with others, chose the latter. It was not much of a choice, as I think we can all agree. Such blunt-force cases suggest to Piirimäe the unsuitability of "fancy language"—the unsuitability, that is, of concepts such as the manufacture of consent. I think Piirimäe is too hasty here in discarding a useful concept merely because it seems not to fit such instances as his grandfather's (forced) choice.

Let me briefly summarize my argument: I suggest that "the Soviet regime could not have survived through the decades by nonconsensual control alone" (36). The next question thus follows logically: how then was the consent produced? I see the manufacture of consent as a process which remained uncompleted in the Baltic corner of the USSR (150). According to the model proposed in the book, the initial consent in the Baltics was produced by coercive means; I claim that we should "understand consent not in opposition to violence, but rather within the framework of systemic violence" (39). I see manufactured consent as conditional, or as I put it, "'consent but not quite', consent with a difference—consent until dissent becomes a possibility" (39). Thus the important part here is the process: this process was

initiated in the formerly independent Baltic States through coercion. Acceptance of the kolkhoz system was indeed forcibly imposed upon people, including Piirimäe's grandfather, but it was also the first of many steps in a process that came to produce, to "manufacture", something like consent, as it was then followed by voting in meetings, then children joining Communist youth organizations, and parents sitting in school concerts where children sang odes to Stalin. This is "consent but not quite". People were subjected to an ongoing process of manufacturing consent, and many produced supportive noises to the regime when it was expected of them.

Piirimäe also points out—and quite correctly—that a certain variance emerges in my book on these matters. From one perspective, the book deploys notions like "manufacture of consent", while at the same time there are examples of nonconsensual control in great abundance—Soviet-era mass deportations are a common example of nonconsensual control appearing in the book. Yet the book is dealing with different political aims and impulses, different polices and different modes of implementation developing over the many years of Soviet rule.

Piirimäe refers to early developments in Soviet studies, in which the "totalitarian" research paradigm came to be heavily contested by revisionists. It is indeed useful to keep in mind that Soviet studies have evolved significantly past its earlier totalitarian model—in fact so significantly past it that some of the claims of the revisionists, who refuted the totalitarian model, have themselves also been refuted in turn (Hoffmann 2003, 2–6). Extreme coercion is still—or is once again—regarded as the major characteristic of Stalinist rule; David Hoffmann defines Stalinism through "policies characterized by extreme coercion employed for the purpose of economic and social transformation" (Hoffmann, forthcoming). Soviet rule included many controversies and internal inconsistencies; it evolved and changed substantially over its decades; it included a chronic mismatch between its policies and its shared practices. I do indeed make the strong claim in my book that Soviet rule had to manufacture consent and could have not survived its many decades on nonconsensual control alone. But this is far from contesting the sometimes systematic and sometimes random deployment of nonconsensual control and extreme state violence that characterised Stalinist rule.

It might also be useful to remind ourselves, as my book constantly tries to do, that Soviet rule in Russia and Soviet rule in the Baltics were distinct in many ways, and so likewise was the popular response to it. Thus scholarly claims about the regime based on Russian materials can be quite ill suited for describing the Baltic experience—and, correspondingly, work with Baltic materials does not necessarily suit Soviet studies interpretive paradigms that developed primarily from Russian material. To give one example from archival materials: a 1937 letter, addressed to

the Central Committee of the Communist Party, includes urgent complaints against the groundless arrests made by provincial bodies of the NKVD. Kh. Ivanova writes: "The women are writing to our dear Stalin, to Yezhov and Vyshinsky, but apparently none of these letters are getting there. They are obviously being destroyed in the localities" (Siegelbaum and Sokolov 2000, 233). While in Russia it was possible to imagine that "dear Stalin" knew nothing of the atrocities committed in the provincial towns, such position would have been quite unlikely in the Stalin-era ethnic Baltic communities in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Such discrepancies are among the main reasons why a postcolonial angle seemed especially well suited for the study of the Soviet-era Baltics: the specifics of the Soviet-era Baltic situation, with its ethnic and cultural differences, brought along its own sets of tensions.

3. Back to "sweeping generalizations"?

The third substantive point I would like to take up from Piirimäe's review regards the specific resistances to coloniality posed by modern nation states and the specific tactics therefore required by any would-be colonizer of a modern nation state. I argue:

> To establish a colonial-type political, economic, and cultural order in a developed modern nation-state requires deportations and executions on a massive scale, the devastation of existing social and political structures, and the eradication of the former governing classes, including a significant part of the cultural, military, and economic elite. (Annus 2018, 101)

My point here being that a colonial-type order cannot be imposed upon a modern nation-state without remarkable destruction and violence. Piirimäe calls this "a sweeping generalization" and a result of the "author's wish to engage with [postcolonial] cosmology at all cost". This is indeed a generalization, but one justified by the context of the massive violence that accompanied the establishment of Soviet rule—not only in the Baltics, but also elsewhere in the Soviet Union and all over the Eastern bloc, as my book laid out in its earlier pages. I continue with the claim that such a regime needs for its sustenance a huge control apparatus. This became possible in the advanced phase of modernization, where massive resettlement operations and the establishment of elaborate surveillance systems involved a complicated apparatus of bureaucracy and well-developed logistics of suppression (101).

Piirimäe extracts from this a claim that massive resettlement operations necessitated an advanced phase of modernization and he reminds his reader of premodern mass resettlements in ancient Mesopotamia. Yet my claim was not

about making an absolute connection between modernization and mass resettlements, but rather that the modern control apparatus, with its well-developed systems of bureaucracy, logistics, and surveillance, became an integral part of how Soviet-era resettlements were organized. It had, with modern technologies of rule, become possible to compose lists, collect and transport tens of thousands of people thousands of kilometres away—and to do so in quite speedy ways; this modern efficiency was a necessary part of the effort to establish a regime of coloniality in the Baltics.

In short, Piirimäe's review—and my book, as I would like to think—gives us an occasion to consider some important questions regarding the disciplinary inclinations of postcolonial studies, questions regarding the complex relation of manufacture of consent to systemic violence, and questions regarding the precise part played (or not played) by modernity, as such, in character of the mass resettlements of the Soviet era. Students and scholars of this material will, I hope, find the time to read my book and Piirimäe's gracious review and come to their own conclusions.

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Epp Annus—Ph.D in Estonian Literature (2002, University of Tartu), senior researcher at the Estonian Literary Museum.
e-mail: epp.annus[at]gmail.com