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FOREWORD

The dynamic contemporary culture processes and their investigations reveal two significant tendencies. One of them is manifested as unification, overlapping, or globalization of culture rhythms. It may be accounted for by the 'openness' of the world, diversification and intensification of communication. Another is more coloured, detailed, and specific, as it is related to the investigation of national and regional cultures and their particularity. Comparative approach is one of the means of describing national culture phenomena that opens an opportunity of addressing the characteristics of a particular national culture in the context of the processes of other cultures. This kind of perspective provides for marking the regularities, similarities, influences, and borrowings of the compared cultures, their kinds or historical processes, as well as revealing in a more manifold way the specificity of 'one's own' culture among 'other' cultures.

In order to take up the studies of the specific character of culture regions in a comparative aspect, in 2005 Nordic – Baltic – Russian Network in Comparative Cultural Studies was formed in the framework of the programme *Nordplus Neighbour* founded by the Nordic Council of Ministers. Its activities are coordinated by the Institute of Comparative Studies of Daugavpils University Faculty of the Humanities. Up to now the network has united more than thirty researchers from Norway, Latvia, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, Sweden, and Russia who are engaged in Baltic and Nordic comparative culture studies.

The first research conference of the network participants *Communication as 'translatio': Nordic – Baltic – Russian Cultural Dialogues* took place in Daugavpils on 9 – 11 May 2006. Its work was organized in two thematic sections. One of them was dealing with Nordic, Baltic, and Russian culture contacts regarding the specific character of the cultural phenomena of these spaces in a synchronic or diachronic aspect. Another section was dedicated to the centenary of the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen's death.

The present collection entails research papers that were presented at the conference. It is the first issue in the research publication series *Comparative Studies*, one of the branches of which will be dedicated to publishing the materials of research conferences, seminars, discussions of the Nordic – Baltic Network in Comparative Cultural Studies. The publications of the present collection are structured in three chapters.

Chapter 1 *Comparative Research of Nordic – Baltic – Russian Cultural Phenomena* includes articles on the historically and phenomenologically diverse modes of communication of Lithuanian – Danish, Norwegian – Lithuanian, Latvian – Estonian, Latvian – Swedish, Nordic – German and other culture spaces, e.g., the idea of Balto-Scandia, the image of Riga, masculinities, etc.

Chapter 2 *Linguistic Discourse of Comparative Cultural studies* entails articles referring to the linguistic discourse of comparative cultural studies that regard paremiography and compound formation as the way of indicating cultural differences and the significance of translation in the processes of culture communication.

Chapter 3 *Ibsen Studies in the Context of Comparative Cultural Processes* includes articles that in the context of cultural and literary processes regard the system of ideas of the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen's works, discuss the iconic aspect of his writing – its reception in diverse national cultures and individual writers' work.

On the whole, the authors of the articles of the present collection have created a poly-segmental, manifold, and rich notion of the specific character of the communication processes of Nordic, Baltic, and Russian culture spaces in different time periods that provides the basis for conclusions on general regularities of these processes and peculiarities of individual phenomena.

The editors of the present collection would like to express their gratitude for the financial support to Nordic Council of Ministers Nordplus Neighbour programme, The Republic of Latvia Ministry of Education and Science, and Daugavpils University. Our special gratitude is addressed to Daugavpils University Rector, professor Arvīds Barševskis and Vice Rector for research work, associate professor Elita Jermolajeva.

We express our appreciation for consultations provided during the creation of the collection to our language consultants Sandra Meškova and Aivars Dunskis. We are grateful to Aivars Dunskis for the translation of all the articles by the authors from Daugavpils University.

The editors of the collection hope that each reader will find some interesting articles, the author whose ideas will seem appealing, or inspiration for approaching the coordinators of Nordic – Baltic Network in Comparative Cultural Studies in order to get involved in the network activities and become co-authors of the following collections of research papers.

Maija Burima

COMPARATIVE RESEARCH OF NORDIC – BALTIC – RUSSIAN
CULTURAL PHENOMENA

Kirill Korkonosenko

A SOUTHERNER ABOUT THE NORTHERNERS: FINNS AND RUSSIANS IN ANGEL GANIVET'S WRITING

Summary

Paradoxically, the Spanish writer and thinker Angel Ganivet Garcia (1865 – 1898) became a national-famous figure while staying in Helsingfors and later in Riga in the capacity of Spanish Consul. It was in Helsingfors where he wrote his greatest works and in Riga he committed suicide. Apart from his novels and essays dedicated to images and problems of his motherland, Ganivet was the first Spaniard who created an artistic description of Finland ('Letters from Finland') and wrote a collection of essays dedicated to Scandinavian writers of the end of the 19th century: Henrik Ibsen, Knut Hamsun, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and others ('The Northerners').

Complex study of Ganivet's writing (including his letters and official papers) gives us the possibility to recreate not only his image of Finland (a remote and completely unknown Northern land) but also of Russia (a multinational and polymorphous, not yet well-known country) and to compare them.

Key-words: comparative literature, image of Finland, image of Russia

*

Angel Ganivet Garcia (1865 – 1898) became a national-famous Spanish writer and thinker while staying in Helsingfors (from February 1896, till August 1898) and in Riga (until November 1898) in the capacity of Spanish Consul in the Russian Empire. His compatriots considered the young diplomat a person able to introduce Spaniards to that mysterious and remote land, known to his contemporary intellectuals mostly through the novels by Lev Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev, and Fyodor Dostoevsky. For example, Miguel de Unamuno wrote to his friend at the beginning of 1898:

> *I am glad that you plunged into Russian. Spain is in need of a really intelligent man able to transmit his direct Russian impressions. So good luck, dear Ganivet, for you are not only a Consul of the Spanish State but also an agent of your mother culture. You can do much, very much to introduce us to the Russian soul.*[1]

Ganivet wrote his novels and essays for the Spaniards; most of his works were published in Granada, his native town. In Helsingfors, he became interested in the culture of Scandinavian peoples (including Finnish). He wrote two books on this subject: *Hombres del Norte* (The Northerners) – a gallery of portraits of his contemporary Nordic writers (Ibsen, Hamsun, Bjørnson and others), and *Cartas finlandesas* (Letters from Finland) – the first large-scale report of a Spaniard's acquaintance with the culture and life of this land. The purpose of the present article is to identify, collect, and examine various features of Ganivet's image of Finland and Russia in a comparative perspective.

Ganivet came to St. Petersburg in January 1896, and spent there one day. Bearing in mind his diplomatic status and the epoch, one could say that Ganivet came to the Russian capital as a tourist. He was met by the Spanish consul who became his guide for that day, visited the Hermitage, rode in a sledge along Nevsky prospect and bought an astrakhan hat. These are his first Russian impressions: the museum is really fascinating; against all expectations, it is not cold in the streets and inside the houses it feels even too hot because of the heated stoves; everything is very expensive, especially for foreigners. On the evening of the same day, the Spanish diplomat left by train to Helsingfors and on February 1 he took over his post.

Ganivet soon grew fond of Finland and Helsingfors revealing this in one of his letters where he wrote:

> *Finland and Lapland form a Grand Duchy that earlier belonged to Sweden and now belongs to Russia, but Finland is better than Russia*[2].

The writer gives a detailed analysis of the political and ethnic situation of this land in his *Letters from Finland*. Examining the problem he resorts to his favourite method of resolving political and philosophical questions by means of a metaphor; his political conceptions are a way more poetical than practical and – maybe for that reason – not always adequate.

That is how Ganivet reflects on the correlation of Russian, Swedish, and Finnish elements in Finland:

> *Finland does not look like a house where one person lives; this is a house with several floors where many people reside. The ground floor is inhabited by the Russians – though they are quite few, they are masters here; the first and the second floors are given to Swedes or Finns who fell under the Swedish influence and abandoned their native language and traditions; in the lofts and cellars – I mean the inner part of the country – that is where authentic Finns, rightful owners, dwell.*[3]

One of the *Letters from Finland* is specially dedicated to *Kalevala*, Finnish epic that was written down by Elias Lönnrot (1702 – 1884), the founder of the first Finnish magazine. It is no wonder that the Andalusian Ganivet, admirer of the gipsy folklore, who always felt himself a provincial in Madrid, strived for the culture of his *Granada the Beautiful*[4], who founded the first Granadian literary magazine – was really interested in Finnish culture and traditions and noticed a number of analogies between an intermediate and dependant position of Finland and the destiny of Andalusia with its old Hispano-Arabic culture and deep provincialism at the end of the 19th century.

In one of his *Letters*, Ganivet joins his voice with Finns, asking: what should we be – Swedes or Russians? The very form of this question – addressed in the first person – shows that the writer is eager to reckon himself among the Finnish people; further he confesses that he is ready to support the decision whatever it may be. Ganivet believes that the problem of self-determination may be resolved by means of a national referendum. Paradoxically, the Spanish Consul completely rejects the idea of the independent Finnish State: this nation is easy to rule, but Finns cannot live separately, because, among other things, they would not be able to protect their territory, which is really enormous in proportion to its population.

> *The life of an independent Finland could never be as well-managed and prosperous as it is now, when Finland enjoys its autonomy but is subordinated to Russia in all that concerns its foreign policy. Nowadays this problem has received its most logical solution that was obtained by means of war and it cannot be made better by any theories.*[5]

Ganivet resorts to a poetical simile in order to formulate his conception, *This tendency toward protection might be as natural as the love of man to woman*[6]. It is quite remarkable that in order to support his idea Ganivet turns to such examples of national coexistence as English and Irish, Russians and Poles, Russians and Finns, Austrians and Hungarians, Hungarians and Romanians, enumerating exactly those nations that gained independence in the 20th century.

In his *Letters from Finland*, Ganivet tried to undermine one of the Spanish myths of Russia as a state where all social strata *groan under the yoke of autocracy*. From his point of view, Russia is a colossus consisting of a great number of provinces and tributary states:

> *[..] and in Finland, no matter how hard I tried, I did not hear a single groan; on the contrary, it seems to me that in spite of the pitiless climate everyone here is happy with his life*[7].

Ganivet also believed that the rule of the Russians, who could not expect a forthcoming assimilation of two peoples, was useful for the self-consciousness of the Finns – in contrast to pro-Swedish tendencies.

In Helsingfors, Ganivet led a secluded life; it happened so that his closest friends were mostly women: house owners, servants, and language teachers. Maybe that is the reason why a number of *Letters from Finland* are specially dedicated to Finnish women in comparison to Spanish and Russian. Ganivet formed his opinion rather soon: women here are independent, educated, and very sensible – that often deprives them of female attractiveness.

> *A Finnish woman does not enjoy as much freedom as a Russian (in that aspect she envies Russians and Americans) but still, everything she does is very rational. Her mind is always clear, her heart works as a chronometer. In this land Don Juan should become a school teacher because Dona Ines prides herself upon her degrees; instead of conquering her heart with passionate poems Don Juan must become a skillful debater.*[8]

As concerns the image of Finnish woman, Ganivet made another remark relevant to the present discussion:

> *Usually they do not smoke. If a Finnish girl or a married lady offers me a cigarette and smokes in my presence I always suppose a Russian trace and I am right: it always proves to be that the lady-smoker is a bride or a relative of some Russian, or spent a long time in Russia, or something of that kind.*[9]

It seems that the most 'Russian' episode in the life of the Spanish writer and, at the same time, his most lively 'Nordic' experience was his romance with Masha Bergman. Maria Bergman, *née* Diakovskaya, a twenty-five years old widow of a Russian naval officer was his teacher of Swedish and Russian. It should be mentioned that Ganivet, who was always keen on studying foreign languages, never managed to learn either

Russian or Finnish well. In one of his letters, he wrote that in Riga people speak their own dialect, very similar to Russian and Finnish.[10] That proves that Ganivet could not distinguish between these two languages, in fact very different. First Angel and Maria became close friends; Ganivet interpreted their relations as an intellectual friendship between two sexes, but soon the Spaniard fell in love with the young Russian lady. Maria did not reciprocate his feelings and soon left Finland. This short episode deeply influenced the creative activity of the Spanish writer. He began writing poetry in French so that Masha could understand it.[11] Maria became a prototype of one of the main female characters of his novel *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid* (Deeds of the Indefatigable Creator Pio Cid) – the duchess Soledad de Almadura.

In August 1898, Ganivet received a new assignment – he became the Spanish Consul in Riga (also within the borders of Russian Empire). There is not much evidence about his stay there. There is only one letter left from that period, in which Ganivet confesses that he lives as a recluse, mostly staying at home:

> *I don't have any acquaintances in this city of three thousand souls, I mean – bodies, because it is rather difficult to meet a soul anywhere*[12].

The nerves of the writer were shattered. The Spanish Vice-consul in Helsingfors who visited Ganivet on 28 November 1898, recalled that he acted as a mentally deranged person; Ganivet felt that someone was pursuing him.

The next day Ganivet committed suicide, jumping into water from the ferry crossing the Daugava River. When Maria Bergman learnt about Ganivet's death she said, *I think he did it because of me*[13]. On the other hand, his Helsingfors house-keeper had recorded his own words, *My father committed suicide, and my brother, too. As to me, I don't want to live more than forty years.*[14] Ganivet was only thirty-three when he died.

Ganivet spent in the Russian Empire only three years; during this period he wrote all his major works and became famous in Spain as an original writer and an outstanding thinker. His descriptions of the Northern lands exotic for Spaniards are probably unsurpassed even nowadays. The study of various texts written by Ganivet in 1896 – 1898 reveals that Russia was not his special object of interest; however, proceeding from separate mentions and comparisons one can recreate not only Ganivet's image of Finland but also of Russia – as a multinational, multilingual, polymorphous state – this image differed considerably from the notion of Russia current in Spain at the end of the 19th century.

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1 Gallego Morell A. *Estudios y textos ganivetianos*. Madrid, 1971. – p. 100.
2 Gallego Morell A. *Ángel Ganivet, excéntrico del 98*. Madrid, 1974. – p. 117.
3 Ganivet A. *Cartas finlandesas. Hombres del Norte*. Madrid, 1971. – p. 12.
4 That is the title of one of his books (*Granada la Bella*).
5 Ganivet A. *Cartas finlandesas. Hombres del Norte*. Madrid, 1971. – p. 18.
6 Ibid. – p. 19.
7 Ibid. – p. 22.
8 Ibid. – p. 51.
9 Ibid. – p. 13.
10 Gallego Morell A. *Ángel Ganivet, excéntrico del 98*. Madrid, 1974. – p. 165.

[11] See the collection of these poems in: Wis R., M. Wis *Angel Ganivet in Finlandia. Studio biografico e testi*. Helsinki, 1988.
[12] Ibid. – p. 9.
[13] Wis R., M. Wis *Angel Ganivet in Finlandia. Studio biografico e testi*. Helsinki, 1988. – p. 45.
[14] Ibid.

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Susanne V. Knudsen

MALES MEETING DURING THE 'MODERN BREAKTHROUGH': KIELLAND AND JACOBSEN

Summary

In the 1880s, the Norwegian author Alexander Kielland met the Danish author Jens Peter Jacobsen in Copenhagen. In their letters to each other, we can notice a development from mere acquaintance to close friendship between the two males. Through letters and literature, they showed that friendship is inspiring for their professional life as authors under the 'Modern Breakthrough'. In the novels 'Niels Lyhne' (1880) by Jacobsen and 'Skipper Worse' (Captain Worse) (1882) by Kielland, heterosexuality is deconstructed, and by doing so the authors introduce the motif of homosocial desire between boys and men. The ballad around heterosexuality implies changes in the ways of comprehending masculinity. Males are in physical pain, they live with polarities and doubts, and die un-masculine and anti-heroic.

Key-words: heterosexuality, homosocial desire, homosocial unison, masculinities, "modern breakthrough"

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In 1881, the Norwegian author Alexander Kielland (1849 – 1906) and the Danish author Jens Peter Jacobsen (1847 – 1885) met in Copenhagen. Letters between Kielland and Jacobsen bear witness about an intellectual relation with a common interest in literature, and some of the letters show a turn towards a sensitive and sensual friendship. They read each other's novels and short stories, met privately and spent a holiday together.

Kielland and Jacobsen became part of the Scandinavian 'Modern Breakthrough' in the 1870 – 1880s, conducted by Georg Brandes who became its ideological leader. However, Edvard Brandes became a close friend of Jacobsen as well as a good acquaintance of Kielland. Brandes became a mediator for the authors to meet each other through letters to Kielland about Jacobsen and to Jacobsen about Kielland. From 1878 to 1883, Kielland lived for a long period of time in Copenhagen with his wife and children. In the winter of 1881 – 1882, Jacobsen stayed with Kielland and his family in Kiellands' apartment in Copenhagen for a couple of months. A photo of Kielland and Jacobsen in a small two-seater sofa may be dated from the winter in Kiellands' apartment.

The photo on page 19 shows Kielland and Jacobsen in 1881.[1] They seem to have made a pause in their conversation. Kielland is looking at Jacobsen, while Jacobsen has fallen into thoughts. Jacobsen has crossed his long legs so that they are pointing towards Kielland's left leg. However, their legs do not touch. Neither do other parts of their bodies, although they are sitting close together in the small two-seater sofa. The photo may indicate a male friendship that is at the same time both intimate and distanced. The friendship seems more intellectual than physical, but it may be interpreted with a touch of sensuality and sensitivity.

In the present article, I will introduce the concept of homosocial desire to encircle male relations and bonds between Kielland and Jacobsen, expressed through letters and literature. Gender aware interpretation of male literature in Scandinavian 'Modern Breakthrough' has mainly focused on the description of women.[2] However, some of the masculinities and queer research from the 1990s is concerned with the descriptions of males and masculinities in literature.[3] This article will give some references to interpretations of masculinities in Scandinavian literature at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Letters and literature belong to different genres. The first may be more fact oriented than literary fiction. However, in this article both letters and literature are treated as texts; and texts do not necessarily document reality. However, texts may present constructions and interpretations of reality by using different genres. The letters between Kielland and Jacobsen are tied up to reality in their descriptions of situations, and their connections to time and place. The selected novels *Captain Worse* and *Niels Lyhne* are characterized by the use of literary motifs and symbols, while time and place are fictitious.

The concept of homosocial desire

The American literature researcher Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has constructed the concept of homosocial desire in her books *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985) and *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990). The combination of the concepts 'homosocial' and 'desire' may be treated as a paradox, i.e. stylistic conjoining of contradictory terms. According to Sedgwick, the concept of homosocial is used in historical studies and social sciences to describe social bonds between persons of the same gender. She broadens and extrapolates 'homosocial' to homosocial desire in order to signal that it is a case of examining the direction of the desire as an erotic urge towards the same gender.

The concept of homosocial desire incorporates a variety of desire relations. It occurs in gay men relations and lesbian relations as well as between daughters and mothers, sons and fathers, between sisters, brothers, male and female friends. She establishes the concept as an analogy to homosexuality while simultaneously upholding a separation between the two.

The concept of homosocial unison is my linguistic construction inspired by Sedgwick, which I use to describe an orientation towards the same gender in acquaintances. The unison can be read in Kielland and Jacobsen's letters and literature as a description of intellectual acquaintance. The homosocial unison consists of social bonds and networks between males. The bonds and networks promote the literary career of Kielland and Jacobsen. It is about a unison with distance, while descriptions of friendship in letters and literature by Kielland and Jacobsen also can be interpreted as having come into existence from a homosocial desire. In the novels *Captain Worse* by Kielland and *Niels Lyhne* by Jacobsen, homosocial desire may be read as an analogy to homosexuality while at the same time being separated from it.

The 'Modern Breakthrough' in the Scandinavian countries

The 1870 – 1880s were the years when the cultural exchange across the borders was of a great importance in the Scandinavian countries. Authors of the 'Modern Breakthrough' met in Kristiania (Oslo) and Copenhagen and joined each other's company abroad in Berlin, Paris, and Rome. They discussed new tendencies in literature and encouraged each other to read their short stories and poetry. Kielland was invited to Copenhagen to read short stories from his *Novelletter* (1879). His novel *Garman & Worse* (1880) was 'translated' into a drama by Edvard Brandes and was performed at the Royal Danish Theatre in Copenhagen. Brandes introduced Kielland to his brother Georg Brandes, and for some years Kielland was promoted as one of the authors in the 'Modern Breakthrough'. Besides, Kielland was pushed forward by the older and more famous Norwegian author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Jacobsen was promoted as one of the most prominent authors in the 'Modern Breakthrough' by Georg and Edvard Brandes. Living in Berlin, Georg Brandes presented Jacobsen's literary works in Germany.

The influence of the Brandes' brothers may not be underestimated. Georg Brandes introduced the French concept of the 'Modern Breakthrough' to the Scandinavians and established a Scandinavian circle of authors. He formulated several criteria of modern literature, like 'the endless Small in the endless Great in Poetry' (det uendeligt Smaa i det uendeligt Store i Poesien) and the concept 'problems under debate' (At sætte Problemer under Debat). He encouraged the authors to write about atheism, women's emancipation, political and sexual oppression, freedom of thought, and liberation of humanity. Georg Brandes was the person whom the young authors approached, seeking his advice and a possible introduction to Gyldendal publishing house in Copenhagen.

The Danish researcher Pil Dahlerup in her dissertation *Det moderne gennembruds kvinder* (The Women of the Modern Breakthrough, 1983) shows that Georg Brandes in his research writes about new male sensitivity. In his articles and essays, she finds a transition from patriarchate with the authority of the father to a male society. However, she also concludes that his arguments for women's emancipation are made for men's own sake. The history of the modern males in the late 1800s may be increased in fiction by authors of the 'Modern Breakthrough'. The fictions reveal radical changes, disintegration and deconstructions of masculinity and patriarchate.

In his book *Mannlighetens muligheter* (The Possibilities of Masculinity, 1998), the Norwegian literature researcher Jørgen Lorentzen analyses the ways masculinity are dealt with in literature by the Norwegian authors Knut Hamsun and Arne Garborg, the Swedish author August Strindberg, etc. In Hamsun's novel *Mysterier* (Mysteries, 1891), he examines gender confusion and describes the main male character as hysterical. In Garborg's novel *Trætte mænd* (Tired Males, 1891), he analyses melancholy in the light of male (hetero)sexuality. Strindberg's drama *Fadren* (The Father, 1887) is in Lorenzen's interpretation connected to the crisis of the patriarchate and is viewed as a drama that gives an insight in demasculinisation of the nervous male that suffers from paranoia in his relations with women. According to Lorentzen, Strindberg's drama also shows how the male shuttles to and from delusions of grandeur and humiliation.

In *Krystallisationer. J. P. Jacobsen, en moderne mandsforfatter* (Chrystallizations. J. P. Jacobsen, a Modern Male Author, 2005), I have analysed the constructions of masculinities in polarities and shuttles, and referred to males as doubters and 'tristians' (cf. Tristan and Isolde). I have emphasized Jacobsen's descriptions of acquaintances and friendships between males in letters and literature. As I see the male history in literature in the late 1800s, the sexualities: homo-, hetero- and the bachelor's unisexuality are connected to gender. To paraphrase the American theorist Judith Butler very roughly, when the issue of gender is raised, it makes trouble for sexuality, and when the issue of sexuality is raised, it makes trouble for gender.

An introduction to Kielland and Jacobsen

Kielland was from the very beginning seen as an Aladdin coming out of the Norwegian nature with a natural born talent for writing. According to the Norwegian researcher Tore Rem, this image of Kielland was created by himself and quoted from Georg Brandes. Kielland seems to have been admired in the group of authors surrounding the Brandes' brothers for his small short stories *Novelletterne*. The brothers helped Kielland with his debut in Gyldendal publishing house in Copenhagen. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson praised Kielland extravagantly as a genious. Bjørnson also helped Kielland with his debut at Gyldendal. After a few years, the atmosphere between Georg Brandes and Kielland cooled down. Georg Brandes was reserved about the novel *Garman & Worse* and commented that Kielland with this novel was at the outset of what might become good literature:

> *Until now he has only shown that he is an artist. [..] he has to shake the child and the dandy out of his sleeves.*[4]

The sympathy for the Norwegian religious movement 'haugianere' in Kielland's novel *Captain Worse* was perceived by Georg Brandes as a break from the 'Modern Breakthrough'. In his review, Brandes labels *Captain Worse* as a novel of entertainment with an allusion to *English Ladies Novels*, and warns him against becoming oblivious to difference *between a Poet and a Writer of Entertainment*[5]. To conclude very briefly, Kielland's writing has been valued as good literature as a representation of 'realism', and he has a rather canonized status in the Norwegian literary history. However, his authorship is not known worldwide.

Jacobsen appeared in his age and in the posterity as one of – if not the leading Danish and Scandinavian male author in the 'Modern Breakthrough'. In the circle of modern male authors, he is highlighted for his experiments of form and for his own ways of using the concept 'problems under debate' to discuss nature, sexual liberation, women's emancipation, and religion. In his book *Det moderne Gjennembruds Mænd* (The Men of the Modern Breakthrough, 1883), Georg Brandes calls Jacobsen *our great colourist of present prose*[6]. In the course of time Brandes became critical of Jacobsen's romanticism, but Jacobsen was never excluded from the Brandes' circle as Kielland was, unless he excluded himself from it. At the 19th century *fin de siècle*, Jacobsen became famous in the rise of 'modernism'[7].

Jacobsen has inspired many authors: Rainer Maria Rilke in *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge* (1910), Thomas Mann, Stefan George, Herman Hesse in his *Herman Lauscher* (1901), and Juan Rolfo. Arnold Schönberg has composed music to some of Jacobsen's poems, and Frederick Delius has composed the opera *Fennimore and Gerda* after the novel *Niels Lyhne*. The few works written by Jacobsen have been published in many languages, and the research on his writing is enormous. Jacobsen is the fourth most famous Danish author abroad, after Hans Christian Andersen, Søren Kierkegaard, and Karen Blixen. The male friendship between the Brandes brothers and Jacobsen obviously helped spreading the reputation of Jacobsen's authorship.

Letters between Kielland and Jacobsen

The first contacts between Kielland and Jacobsen are referred to in letters to Edvard Brandes. He became the middleman for the homosocial unison between the three of them. In a letter from Jacobsen to Edvard Brandes, Jacobsen wrote that Brandes had promised him to ask Kielland to send him his book[8]. In another letter to Brandes, Kielland wrote that he wanted to meet Jacobsen and praised Jacobsen's works.[9] The mediator's role may be interpreted as a way of creating male bonds in a hierarchy. Brandes was the man who from the very beginning could open or close the forthcoming acquaintance between Kielland and Jacobsen.

Several letters reveal Edvard Brandes' authoritarian position in the triangle of the men. Jacobsen outlines his critical views upon Kielland's short stories *Novelletter* and the novel *Garman & Worse* to Brandes:

> *For me, the 'Novellettes' occur in both an outer and inner respect to appear similar to calendar-style [..] That these people can not hear the false sound [..] how false it is you can tell best by turning the pages of Garman & Worse.*[10]

From the very beginning, Kielland seemed more positive to Jacobsen's writing that may be explained by his wish to meet the famous Danish author:

> *I kneel very deeply; – he is – strictly – between us – the only prose narrator nowadays in our language, for whom I will kneel very deeply [..] can do everything what I can do and twenty other things, that I do not have the ability to*[11].

Kielland also criticised Jacobsen's tendency to *fantasize* and use too many words. However, the critical words from both Jacobsen and Kielland were written to Brandes and were to be kept as words 'between us'.

Gradually, Brandes was skipped as the middleman and 'third person' in the triangle, and (the few) letters exchanged between Kielland and Jacobsen point towards a male relation of acquaintance in the homosocial unison. Jacobsen wrote, e.g., about what it is like to live with his tuberculosis in wintertime, *[..] outside my windows lies the snow over the road and the garden [..] now and then I do not have newspapers [..].*[12] However, in the same letters there seems to appear a friendship with homosocial desire. Through letters Jacobsen and Kielland agreed on meeting alone without Kielland's wife and children. Up to this agreement and after the arrangement, Jacobsen and Kielland loosened up their use of last names and now and then dropped the plural form of You. *Dear Alexander* or *Dear friend ... yours J. P. Jacobsen*, Jacobsen wrote in his letters from 1885[13]. The most intimate letter was written by Kielland to Jacobsen in late July 1884:

> *So many things have been between our eyes, which never came to words; so often we have understood each other and have given in; but You know about me, and I know about You (lacuna) and the pain in our friendship [..] and if I will never see you anymore, You will be alive and close as long as I live, as the man I have loved the most.*[14]

The painful friendship may be related to a love between the two males which was not fulfilled because of Kielland's marriage. Such sensuality between the 'Modern Breakthrough' males is revealed in other letters, and may be viewed as literary males' spiritual bonds[15]. However, Kielland's loving tone is more intimate than Jacobsen seems to tolerate from other friends. Notably there is a lacuna in the letter, which in the original letter is an erased spot. Maybe the words written by Kielland in the letter were too dangerous for the bachelor? Jacobsen may have been afraid of an accusation of homosexuality that was forbidden and had already made the Danish author Herman Bang a fugitive.

Not only in letters, but also in literature I find a 'dialogue' between Kielland and Jacobsen about males meeting in homosocial unison and homosocial desire. This dialogue could be perceived in terms of the contemporary intertextuality occurring in their descriptions of males and masculinities in *Captain Worse* and *Niels Lyhne*.

Males and masculinities in *Captain Worse*

Captain Worse (1882) starts in *medias res* with the main character, captain Worse giving an order to a deck-boy, while the ship enters its home harbour after a long journey. Captain Worse is introduced as a strong leader and as an independent male with a rather plain masculinity. He loves his life on the sea and runs a business in his home town. Besides, he is a wealthy man. Back home he discovers that consul Garman, the owner of the ship, has economic problems. Worse invests his money in the company of Garman, and the partnership 'Garman & Worse' is (re)established[16]. Their partnership is mainly described as an acquaintance in homosocial unison, linguistically pointed out with the use of '*You*' and '*Yours*' in the plural form (De, Dem, Deres). Only in the scene where both men are making the agreement of their partnership, they are switching between you in singular (du) and in plural (De). The use of singular signals a relationship that goes all the way back to their childhood. As boys Jacob (Worse) and Morten (Garman) were friends, but as grown-ups they are not on very friendly terms; that is signalled by the use of plural You, titles (captain, consul), and last names. In the newly created partnership they assist each other to build up a business.

Both men are widowers. Garman has lived in a marriage with a lot of parties, young people, and ladies who make *his heart beat*[17]. After his wife's death, he lives *empty and resigned* with *two old virgins – sisters of his wife*[18]. Worse had an unhappy marriage with *a twisted, sentimental lady, full of romantic fad, who thought only of knights and castles, young ladies and esquires and moonshine and trap doors and long locks and spiral staircases*[19]. In the context of the 'Modern Breakthrough', such women and dreams were connected to romanticism, and thus given a very negative connotation in Kielland's narrative. But the text indicates that Worse has his adventures in foreign harbours, and thereby underscores his life as an independent sailor with a masculine, sexual appetite.

Back in his hometown when his long journey has come to an end, Worse falls in love with a woman who is young enough to have been his daughter, belonging to the religious movement of 'haugianere'. Garman tries to prevent Worse from marrying her, but with no success. Garman gets married to Sara and slowly converts into her religion and turns ill. His physical pain is made explicit but even more is his mental decay highlighted in scenes where he is plagued by his sins and the devils in his mind. As a consequence, Worse dies at the end of the novel.

There is nothing positive to say about the marriages in the novel. The life in heterosexuality is deconstructed throughout it. The unhappy heterosexuality is underscored by Sara who loves a Haugian missionary and by her sister Henriette who commits suicide when her mother tries to force her into a marriage. The deconstruction of Worse's heterosexuality is weaved and intertwined with the story of his relation to skipper Randulf. When Worse at the beginning of the novel returns to his hometown from a long journey, he longs to meet Randulf, but to his great disappointment, finds out that Randulf is not there. Few sentences scattered here and there through the first hundred pages of the novel give evidence of their friendship and Worse's homosocial desire towards Randulf:

> *[..] of all things, he rejoiced in thinking of the stories he was to tell captain Randulf.*[20]
>
> *However, nothing interested him to such an extent as to meet captain Randulf, and every time he thought about that, he hammered his kneecaps and laughed loudly.*[21]
>
> *Through the summer Worse's longing for Randulf disappeared.*[22]
>
> *[..] he sat and mumbled: Garman & Worse and thought of what kind of impression that would make on Randulf.*[23]

When Randulf comes into the novel, it relates:

> *Finally, captain Randulf came home. Worse was in a hurry to meet him, and immediately they began to rumble and speak all at once. Even so, it was not as fun as it could have been.*[24]

Both males use the singular 'you', and thus confirm their friendship. The text tells that they were close as boys, and were known as *the bravest when fires broke out. Constantly, they were the first on the spot; carrying out the old and the sick*[25]. With Jacob Worse and Thomas Randulf, the masculinity is presented as strength and courage, combined with a yearning for adventure. As grown-ups they meet in a men's club to drink and tell jokes. Worse and Randulf confirm each other's masculinity as independent and fun-making. They desire each other's company without females. The reason why the meeting *was not as fun as it could have been* is their awareness of Worse's new marriage.

Randulf disagrees with Worse's marriage. He teases Worse for being dependent of his wife and tries to cheer him up with drinks and his company. Randulf worries about Worse's health and realizes that Worse is about to die. At Randulf's birthday party, which is announced as a party, Worse and Randulf are the only persons present. The party revels in eating and drinking. Thus the masculinity is at its highest and they can even take a nap together, not in bed but in the same room, with Randulf on the sofa and Worse in a chair.

At the birthday party both friends are tied together in a homosocial desire. They are not only of the same gender, their gender also confirms them in being like each other as captains with longing for travelling. They desire sameness, and by this confirm each other's friendship. The sameness strengthens their friendship. However, Worse's heterosexual marriage debases the friendship as well as the possibility of sailing, having parties and fun together. In the breakdown of their homosocial desire, Randulf keeps his independent masculinity, while Worse is made un-masculine, dependent on his wife and her religion. *Now you already get stuck and dangle in your wife's bell rope*[26], Randulf says to Worse.

In *Captain Worse*, the masculinity associated with independence, strength, and joy persists. But a new kind of masculinity – or rather male un-masculinity – is introduced. The un-masculinity entails dependence, teetotaller living and prayers, and is not considered positive in any sense. Furthermore, un-masculinity leads to death.

Males and masculinities in *Niels Lyhne*

Niels Lyhne (1880) introduces the main character Niels while being a young boy in a family with a dreamy mother and a down-to-earth father. Then his cousin Erik moves into his home. In their youth they fall in love with the same woman, Fennimore. Erik and Fennimore get married, but their marriage turns out to be very unhappy. Niels, in his turn, travels, has an affair with an older woman, and finally marries a much younger woman. After a few years, Niels' wife dies and Niels joins the army, is wounded in a battle, and finally dies.

Like in *Captain Worse*, the heterosexual conditions are not at their best in *Niels Lyhne*. Niels' parents are not very happy together, being as different as Jacob Worse and his first wife are said to be in *Captain Worse*. Erik and Fennimore's marriage in *Niels Lyhne* is an unhappy one. Gradually, their marriage falls apart and Erik dies in a self-destructive accident.

Niels in his childhood is introduced as a boy who loves romantic games together with his friend Frithiof. When Erik moves into Niels' family, the romantic games are undermined. In the transition from childhood to youth, a competition between the three boys is described bringing in a literary triangle motif where traditionally a woman stands in between two men. This heterosexual triangle in Jacobsen's novel is turned into a triangle of the boys Niels, Erik and Frithiof. The triangle motif in the novel points towards a homosocial desire. Erik is placed in the middle of the triangle as the authority in a hierarchy. He decides what the boys have to do in order to be freed from *dreaming or exaltation or fantasizing*[27]. Niels competes with Frithiof to gain Erik's recognition in friendship, and Niels *had fallen in love with Erik, who, shy and reserved, only reluctantly and somewhat contemptuously tolerated allowing himself to be loved*[28].

Niels falls in love with Erik but he also keeps a distance from his beloved. The homosocial desire is without words and body. The narrator reflects Niels' distance from Erik:

> *Of all the emotional relationships in life, is there any more delicate, more noble, and more intense than a boy's deep and yet so totally bashful love for another boy? The kind of love that never speaks, never dares give way to a caress, a glance, or a word, the kind of vigilant love, that bitterly grieves over every shortcoming or imperfection in the one who is loved, a love which is longing and admiration and negation of self, and which is pride and humility and calmly breathing happiness.*[29]

When the narrator places Niels' desire for Erik in childhood, the desire can be played down. However, the subtle mentioning of the desire is notable in the context, because it suggests homosexuality. It is most remarkable that a young boy's desire is characterized with words that belong to adult heterosexuality. When Niels and Erik meet each other as grown-ups, the narrator continues to reflect about their desires and what might have happened if their desires had been lived out, *[..] they had not gone in and out of each others' bedrooms, bathrooms, and other obscure rooms like these in the apartment of their souls*[30]. The narrator tells us that intimate contacts in bedrooms and bathrooms have occurred, yet he denies the possibility of conceiving this as homosexuality by using a metaphor that transforms the physical expression of desire to a matter of spiritual intimacy. Niels and Erik can meet as adults because they have avoided stepping into *the apartment of their souls*[31].

In a critical stage of Erik's marriage, Niels receives a letter from Erik where he asks Niels to visit him. The letter fills Niels with *a fantastic feeling of friendship* with *Everything for Erik*[32]. Niels has lived a life that wavered to and from traditional masculine independence and traditional female helplessness. He has never completed any kind of education or a job, just travelled restlessly around. He may be characterized as a man who has doubts about his heterosexual relations to women and who has doubts whether to be an author, a farmer, or a warrior. When he comes to Erik, he finds him and his marriage in a state of disintegration. Erik drinks too much, plays cards and is too often partying with other men. Niels figures out that he cannot solve Erik's marital problems. Neither can he help Erik with his doubts about his life as an artist. Instead Niels turns towards Fennimore and they have an affair. Similar to other affairs where Niels gains self-confidence, he feels a masculine kind of power. However, when Erik dies in an accident, Niels loses his strength as well as his self-confidence. He flees from Fennimore and the deceased Erik and after a while marries a much younger woman.

In *Niels Lyhne*, the males and masculinities are under pressure. The traditional masculinity with down-to-earth males like Kielland's Thomas Randulf or Jacobsen's image of Niels' father is not conceivable in Jacobsen's universe of sons. The traditional masculinity with independence, strength, and power is turned into a problem for the sons. A modern, sensible male with polarities and doubts comes into the foreground. The masculinity is disturbed and may be seen as un-heroic, which is accomplished by questioning heterosexuality as well as homosocial desire.

Conclusions

In the letters between Kielland and Jacobsen, it is possible to sense an opening towards homosocial desire. Kielland writes with a greater sensibility and sensuality about *the pain in our friendship* than Jacobsen does. However, Jacobsen opens up for a friendship with Kielland, which he very rarely expresses in letters to other males. The letters they exchanged may have inspired them in their literary career.

Kielland's *Captain Worse* may be read as a dialogue with Jacobsen's *Niels Lyhne*. Both novels are about the heterosexual break-down, and they both show a homosocial desire between males. Where heterosexuality is disturbed, the possibility of homosocial desire enters leading to re- and deconstruction of masculinity.

In *Captain Worse*, the deconstruction of masculinity ends with un-masculinity that is negatively described, leading to death. However, the un-masculinity indicates that an independent and strong masculinity is an utopia. In *Niels Lyhne*, the modern masculinity is presented as anti-heroic, with polarities and doubts. When Niels sets out to be a hero in the war, he is wounded and dies. It seems to be impossible to avoid and determine modern males with transformed masculinities in Jacobsen's interpretation of the 'Modern Breakthrough', as it is in Kielland's words about the pain in male friendship.

APPENDIX

Aleksander Kielland

1849	Born in Stavanger, Norway
1867 – 1871	Studied to cand. jur. (graduated in law) in Kristiania (Oslo)
1878	Travelled to Paris to write
1878	Introduced his small short stories in Copenhagen
1879	*Novelletter* (Small Short Stories)
1880	*Garman* & *Worse* (novel)
	Nye Novelletter (New Small Short Stories)
1881	*Arbeidsfolk* (Working People) (novel)
1882	***Captain Worse***
1883	*Gift* (novel)
	Garman & *Worse: Skuespil i Fire Akter* (Garman & Worse: Play in Four Acts) – together with Edvard Brandes
1881 – 1883	In Copenhagen
1884	*Fortuna* (novel)
1886 – 1891	Plays and novels, editor of *Stavanger Avis* (Stavanger Newspaper) and Hans Arentz's Journal
1891	City mayor in Stavanger, Norway
	Jacob (novel)
1903	County authority in Romsdal, Norway
1906	Dies in Norway

Jens Peter Jakobsen

1847	Born in Thisted, Denmark
1863 – 1866	Student in upper secondary school in Copenhagen
1867 – 1873	Studied chemistry and zoology at the University of Copenhagen
1873	Gold medal for his dissertation about desmidiacéer, freshwater algae
1871 – 1873	Introduced Darwin's evolutionary theory in *Nyt dansk Maanedsskrift* (New Danish Month Journal)
1871	Published the translation of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859)
	Mogens (short story)
1873	In Germany and Italy
1876	*Fru Marie Grubbe* (Mrs. Marie Grubbe) (novel)
1877 – 1878	In France
1878 – 1879	In Italy
1880	***Niels Lyhne*** (novel)
1882	*Mogens og andre noveller* (Mogens and other short stories)
1885	Dies in Denmark
1886	*Digte og Udkast* (Poems and Drafts)
1899	*Breve fra J. P. Jacobsen* (Letters from J. P. Jacobsen), ed. Edvard Brandes

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[1] See in: Sørensen S., N. Nielsen *At bære livet som det er*. Sparekassen Thy's Forlag, Thisted, 1997.

[2] E.g., Georg Brandes in his portrait of Jacobsen's authorship in: *Det moderne Gjennembruds Mænd*. Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1883; Sørensen S. J. P. Jacobsen og kvinderne. / *Spring* No. 13, 1998.

[3] E.g., Lorentzen J. in: *Mannlighetens muligheter*. Aschehoug, Oslo, 1998; Heede D. in: *Herman Bang: Mærkværdige læsninger*. Syddansk Universitetsforlag, Odense, 2003.

[4] Rem T. *Forfatterens strategier. Alexander Kielland og hans krets*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 2002. – p. 78. Translation mine here and henceforth. Rem quotes from a letter written by Georg Brandes to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson on 10 June 1880, that is copied in *Georg and Edv. Brandes. Brevveksling IV*, in: Borup M. (ed.). Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1939. – p. 125.

[5] Quoted from T. Rem (op. cit.). – p. 93.

[6] Brandes G. *Det moderne Gjennombruds Mænd* (op. cit.), second version. Gyldendal, Copenhagen 1891. – p. 144.

[7] See: *J. P. Jacobsens Spor*, in: Billeskov Jansen F. J. (ed.). C. A. Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1985.

[8] The letter is dated 1879, in: Nielsen F. (ed.). *Samlede Værker Bind 6*. Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen, 1974. – p. 80.

[9] The letter is dated 1881, in: Barfoed N. (ed.) *Omkring Niels Lyhne*. Hans Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1970. – pp. 65–66.

[10] Letter from 1879, in: Nielsen F., op. cit. – p. 91, and letter from 1880, in: Brandes E. (ed.) *Breve fra J. P. Jacobsen*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen 1968 – p. 137.

[11] See note 9.

[12] In: Nielsen F., op. cit. – p. 204.

[13] In: Nielsen F., op. cit. – p. 204, pp. 207–208.

[14] Letter 258 at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Håndskriftssamlingen, 3769.

[15] J. O. Gatland writes about a close friendship between Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and the Danish literary critic Clemens Petersen in the book *Mit halve liv*. Kolofon forlag, Oslo, 2002.

[16] In the novel *Garman & Worse* partnerships between the two families are mentioned.

[17] Kielland A. *Skipper Worse*. Den norske Bokklubben, Stavanger, 1973. – p. 8.

[18] Ibid. – pp. 8–9.

[19] Ibid. – p. 50.

[20] Ibid. – p. 9.

[21] Ibid. – p. 19.
[22] Ibid. – p. 50.
[23] Ibid. – p. 62.
[24] Ibid. – p. 108.
[25] Ibid. – p. 68.
[26] Ibid. – p. 109.
[27] Jacobsen J. P. *Niels Lyhne*. Translated from Danish by T. Nunnally. Fjord Press, Seattle, 1990. – p. 50.
[28] Ibid. – p. 51.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid. – p. 84.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Jacobsen J. P. *Niels Lyhne*. Gyldendals Bibliotek, Copenhagen, 1970. – p. 147. In the English translation by T. Nunnally the sentences are left out.

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Asta Gustaitienė

LITHUANIAN LITERARY TALE: ANDERSEN'S LESSONS (THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY)

Summary

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Lithuanian writers were intensively learning from the European authors, being also interested in Scandinavian literature. Hans Christian Andersen was the first of all Scandinavian writers whose works were published in Lithuanian (1884). Because of the simplicity of form, ethic and aesthetic harmony, Andersen's minor prose genres were very close to Lithuanian authors; hence, reflections of his works, plot parallels, scene structuring, peculiarities of stylistics and poetics entered Lithuanian prose and poetry of the first half of the 20th century. It is obvious that Andersen's works first of all influenced the formation of the Lithuanian literary tale, e.g., its founder Antanas Giedrius directly and conscientiously oriented himself towards the model of Andersen's tale. Beside the analysis of typological affinities, the comparative study of Andersen's literary tales and those by Lithuanian authors is based on two representative aesthetic models of the early period of Andersen's writing, reflected in his works 'Boghveden' (The Buckwheat, 1841) and 'Hørren' (The Flax, 1849). Andersen's literary tales are compared to Konstantinas Bejerčius' 'Bread', Juozas Mackevičius-Nord's 'Letter', Aldona Kazanavičienė's 'The Little Piece of Amber', as well as the works by Julius Kaupas, Stepas Zobarskas and other Lithuanian writers.

Key-words: aesthetic model, influx, general parallels, transformation

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At the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, Lithuanian writers, stimulated by the press of those days, felt a growing need to learn from the West European authors: they were willing to advance literature to a higher level, thus being in a hurry to take from Europe as much as possible.[1] Lithuanians *followed the example of famous Scandinavian writers*, the attitude towards whom in Lithuania was in general extremely positive *reading their books in Russian, Polish, and German*.[2] Andersen was the first Scandinavian author whose works were translated into Lithuanian in 1885. However, more influence was exerted by the translations of Petras Vileišis.[3] According to the professor Vytautas Merkys, the book of Andersen's fairy-tales was so popular that Lithuanian book dealers not once smuggled it across the border risking their lives.[4] In the press published translations of the 20th century, sometimes really curious inaccuracies of translation occurred when, e.g., Andersen's mermaid or the sea princess, *Den lille Havfrue,* became a male character *Mermed*[5]. Andersen was treated as the author of children's books who also used to write for adults. Vaclovas Raginis (Vaclovas Biržiška) assumes that Andersen's fairy-tales are meant for children under ten[6]; Jonas Norkus in another article maintains that the fantasy of Andersen's works is harmless to children because it does not exceed the bounds of reality and also satisfies children's fantasy.[7] In the first half of the 20th century, literary scientists did not produce either analysis or assessment of Andersen's creative work, although Jurgis Savickis intended to do so – in a letter to the editor of *Kultūra*, Feliksas Bugailiškis, in 1925, he disclosed one of his many desires – *to translate the works of a few Scandinavian authors into Lithuanian. [..] the most distinct Andersen's fairy-tales presenting them to the society as a certain monograph*[8]. However, there is no evidence that Savickis had carried out his intentions.

Obviously, the specific features of Andersen's works – the harmony and affinity of ethics and aesthetics (whatever is beautiful, is good) as well as the outward simplicity of the narrative of his texts – have influenced the creative thinking of the Lithuanian writers, especially those who took up the development of Lithuanian literary fairy-tale; its pioneer Antanas Giedrius directly oriented himself towards Andersen.[9]

The aim of this article is to disclose how Andersen's creative work influenced the developing Lithuanian literary fairy-tale of the first half of the 20th century, with a special attention towards his two early works, *The Buckwheat* (1841) and *The Flax* (1849), that left the greatest impact on the Lithuanian authors. As lots of the authors of Lithuanian literary fairy-tales have received similar criticism as Antanas Giedrius did by doubting the literary qualities of their work[10], in the present analysis, we will look for the examples of true literary art. During the period discussed, the following authors were concerned with the genre of literary fairy-tale: Juozas Mackevičius-Nord, Petras Babickas, Vytautas Tamulaitis, Liudas Dovydėnas, Petras Cvirka-Gerutis, Stepas Zobarskas, Antanas Vaičiulaitis, Jurgis Jankus, Konstantinas Bajerčius, Aldona Didžiulytė-Kazanavičienė, Bronė Buivydaitė, Sofija Čiurlionienė, Vytė Nemunėlis, Pranas Mašiotas, etc. However, we will consider as sources exclusively the fairy-tales by those authors of the beginning of the 20th century, in which one can feel Andersen's influence.

General parallels concerning the plot and aesthetics of the stories

The plot and the integument of Giedrius' ideas in a number of his works are obviously borrowed from Andersen: e.g., the idea of introduction in *Fairy-tale* from Giedrius' book *National Fairy-tales* is taken over from *Will-o'-the-wisps in Town*. Giedrius' Little flower from the fairy-tale *Two Little Flowers*[11] is dissatisfied with its present state, it is constantly lamenting being paid too little attention, envying the other flower, growing closer to the path, and does not enjoy what is close and could cheer it up. The flower in this fairy-tale thinks in the same way as Andersen's *Christmas Tree* (1844). Andersen's philosophy is reflected in Giedrius' *The Butterfly*[12], constructed in the form of a dialogue: a butterfly, symbolizing flight, creativity, spiritual wings, talks to a mouse, its antagonist, symbolizing conformity and narrow-mindedness – the traits, which in Andersen's works are conveyed by the image of the mole, different fowls – individuals that *are not able to fly* and *have no wings*[13]. As concerns the plot, both *The Butterfly* and another Giedrius' fairy-tale *The Old Age* are closest to Andersen's story *The Last Dream of the Old Oak*. As the construction of *The Apple-tree and the Oak*[14] is concerned, it is close to *The Snail and the Rosebush*. Frogs, mice and other characters, living in a restricted space that preconditions their narrow-mindedness and primitive thinking, have also been suggested by Andersen's fairy-tales. However, considering the whole of Giedrius' works, one can feel the tearful tone of his fairy-tales, and the outer similarity to a fairy-tale is achieved by transferring everyday human situations onto the level of animal and plant life. The situations are primitive, quite often the ideas are difficult to perceive (e.g., in *The Fir-grove*) or, on the contrary, they are conveyed too openly (*The Little Sun*). However, the way Giedrius views a person, especially a child, is very different from Andersen's, as he places child in opposition to adult: child is not a real human being, his truth is not complete. Such an attitude is obvious in Giedrius' fairy-tale *The Apple-tree and the Oak,* at the end of which the raven maintains, *Have you heard what the human said? It was said by a real human, not a child. His word is right*[15]. Quite often one can feel the lack of imagination and talent that, according to the philosopher Gintautas Mažeikis, is particularly important when imitating the work by another author:

> *The quicker and more emotionally a person identifies himself with an alien culture, the easier he will return to his own, which is the basis of his own essence. And on the contrary, such imitation is hindered by poor fantasy, also, the absence of will when choosing and the inability to make decisions*.[16]

The fairy-tales by Konstantinas Bajerčius (*From the Land of Fairy-tales*[17]) that enriched the developing Lithuanian literary fairy-tale with their intellectual capacity were also often oriented towards the aesthetic model of Andersen's fairy-tale, and in the fairy-tale *The Swan's Song*, the proud swan, whose incapacity to create in captivity makes it akin to Anderson's *Nightingale*, chooses death in freedom. The work by Stepas Zobarskas *Crossroad*[18], balancing on the boundary between short story and literary fairy-tale, should also be taken into consideration. In this short story, the main character is a sow-thistle, speaking in human voice, other characters being God's little tear, marsh trefoil, a white cross, and a birch. The narrator characterizes the sow-thistle as being arrogant; God's little tear regards it as conceited and overconfident. The sow-thistle's[19] self-importance is revealed even in its speech, *You, marsh trefoil, don't lean against me – you'll damage my downs;* and in the discussion[20], *'Just quiver and start weeping,' the sow- thistle laughed and raised its head even higher*[21]. Thus, the beginning of the story suggests that most attention will be paid to the sow-thistle, the main allegoric character. As concerns the development of the plot, the story somewhat reminds of Andersen's *The Snail and Rosebush*. Also in his story *The Camomile*, Andersen similarly characterizes different plants introducing them as arrogant and conceited: peonies were disdainful because they wanted to look bigger than roses, tulips, painted in most beautiful colours, raised their heads in order to be seen by everyone.[22]

Further in the text, the narrator of Zobarskas' short story discloses the fragility of beauty and the senselessness of any kind of arrogance – it is enough for the wind to blow and the sow-thistle is gone. After coming to life in spring again, the sow-thistle has gained some clearly anthropomorphic features – emotions and feelings – *it did not look very happy, it was sad*[23]. Later the relativism of any kind of evaluation is disclosed – the sow-thistle is compared to a birch that, *seeing the little plant, always prides itself of its knowledge and height*[24]. However, neither his knowledge nor height is enough when facing an even greater majesty – that of the cross, *whose grandeur is based on its old age and respect*[25]. The subsequent text shows that whatever the characteristics of the plants and the cross are, they are not at all important by themselves. They are necessary only to achieve the main goal of the story: to study children's behavior, judge it, and draw the moral. The narrator of Andersen's short stories treats the representatives of the living nature acting as main characters – flowers, birds, beasts, etc. – ambiguously. In the later period of his creative work, the ideas became more important – they are quite often conveyed by the narrators in an allegorical manner referring to things, animals, or plants and their specific traits. According to Bo Grønbech, the fairy-tales *Real Truth*, *The Snail and the Rosebush* may be attributed to the group of such works, where the characters act as masks of human imperfections. The allegorical structure of the scene, most characteristic of Andersen's early works, exposes itself even more clearly when comparing, e.g., such fairy-tales as *A Happy Family* and *The Snail and the Rosebush*. The first one discloses the nature of the snail, its life specifics and philosophy, as well as the behavior and ways of acting; the writer tries to see the world through the snail's eyes, i.e., to show what it means to be a snail. In the story *The Snail and the Rosebush*, the snail is just an allegory of human haughtiness, and in this particular case, as Bo Grønbech maintains, *an allegory of critic's creative helplessness*[26].

Thus the previously mentioned *Crossroad* by Zobarskas reminds of Andersen's works of the first kind, in which the world is viewed through the eyes of things, animals, or plants. Nevertheless, his somewhat more interesting form of the fairy-tale is not able to maintain balance because of the plot that lacks certain artistic qualities.

The model of the transformation of a thing and Andersen's *Hørren* (The Flax, 1894)

Although at the discussed period of time Lithuanian literary fairy-tale was about to get rid of didactics, nevertheless, the didactic and cognitive functions retain certain significance beside the aesthetic one. The writers considered it important to familiarize the child with the existing things and phenomena of reality. There were two ways of reaching this goal. The easier one was to include realistic stories into fairy-tales. Thus in the fairy-tale *The Little Amber*[27] by Aldona Kazanavičienė, a long story of the origin of amber is inserted, though it is discordant with the general artistic conception of the work of literature. The fairy-tale *The Summer by the Seaside*[28] presents a story about the Earth going round the Sun; in the work *The Song of the Saw*[29] by Juozas Mickevičius-Nord, the reader learns about ironstone and is told about its origin; *The Azure and the little Grace*[30] by the same author includes a story about metro. The aesthetic and cognitive functions are constant rivals in Konstantinas Bajerčius' works. For instance, in his fairy-tale or long short story *The Land of Hares* he enumerates in detail everything that is related to hares (why they are cowardly, why their lips are cleft, the ears straight, etc.).[31] This kind of artificial weaving of realistic stories into the artistically constructed plots of fairy-tales splits the text impairing its integral structure and depriving it of liveliness. They are surely not adorned by small and obviously cognitive details, as in *The Miraculous Song*[32] by Juozas Mackevičius-Nord.

The authors of the Lithuanian literary fairy-tale had a need to look for other means of explaining reality, i.e., to render the form of the fairy-tale to the very process of transformation of the material or thing. The artistic findings of Andersen's fairy-tale *The Flax* turned out helpful for solving this problem. This fairy-tale, according to Johan de Mylius, is similar in its structure to *The Grantœet* (Fir Tree, 1844); however, it has a different semantics.[33] It is important that in Lithuanian fairy-tales that have obviously been structured according to the model of *The Flax*, not only the external features are imitated, but also the essential aesthetic attitudes, imparted to flax and characteristic of Andersen's writing in general. These principles are most obvious in the works written in the 1930s: *Bread* (1931) by Konstantinas Bajerčius[34], *The Little Amber* (1937) by Aldona Kazanavičienė, *The Letter* and *The Pencils* (1938) by Juozas Mackevičius-Nord.

The greatest desire of things, also animals and plants depicted by Andersen is to step beyond their limits, change their lives constructed in accordance with ready-made schemes, and to become useful to something: Portuguese ducks wish to be embalmed with apples and plums, snails are willing to be roasted and served on silver plates, and fir-trees wish to become Christmas-trees.[35] The awareness that one may find one's own place brings happiness, *We are so happy! We are well now, and later we will still be made into some good thing!*[36] Serving people is the peak of happiness for the flax, *Could I ever imagine of being able to bring joy and light to people!*[37]

A similar wish of fitting somewhere, being useful and used by people is also characteristic of the things presented in the works by Lithuanian authors. Mackevičius-Nord's dress (*The Letter*) wishes to be useful to her owner, crayons (*The Pencils*) compete among themselves, which one is most necessary, Bajerčius' rye grains know the purpose they serve – to be ground or sown – from the very beginning and acknowledge that *it is good to be sown and the one sown has to be happy*[38]; Kazanavičienė's little amber dreams of being strung on a silk thread and worn on someone's neck. Nevertheless, when comparing the fairy-tales by Lithuanian authors to Andersen's *The Flax*, one can obviously notice how different the conveyed emotions are in these texts. All the investigated works by Lithuanian authors, similarly to Andersen's *The Flax*, show the difficulties experienced by the things in the process of transformation. The little amber *lost consciousness* when *they started smoothing, shaping, drilling and polishing it*.[39] The description of the transformation of the red rag, the former dress (*The Letter*), is less developed, *Oh! was all that the reddish rag could cry out and choked on the vapor*.[40]

The flax have an aim and joyfully strive for it, they are even ready to suffer pain (*they were thrown into the water as if to drown, after that they had to pass through fire as if they were to be roasted*[41]) and they treat the difficulties of transformation as necessary for gaining and expanding experience, *'It's impossible to always feel well,' the flax said, 'when you live something through, then you learn.'*[42] Difficulties that the rye grains undergo provoke in them completely different emotions and attitudes (*Bread* by Bajerčius). One can feel the never-ending hatred of rye towards 'the human', 'the scoundrel', 'hard-hearted', 'not to be thought of kindly', 'that shameless despicable human'. As concerns the rye, one can clearly see their inability to accept any of the states they get into that they express in their repeated lamentations:

> *We'll be buried alive, alive [..], We'll be buried in the ground as dogs [..] We won't see the sun anymore, we won't see the light [..] We have perished, perished forever.*[43]

A whole arsenal of verbs related to lamentations characterizes the speech of rye: 'moaned', 'complained', 'groaned'. Andersen never uses the word 'death' in his text. Flax undergo all the transformations of state with joy. In *Bread*, the concept of death is used even nine times in different situations. Death accompanies every stage in the transformation of the grain; it is also often mentioned in its lamentations, *I might be dying*[44]. The little amber in Kazanavičienė's *The Little Amber* also dies before undergoing transformation. Mackevičius-Nord's dress utters, *Continue living happily, friends, I am going to die already!*[45] These fairy-tales also disclose cultural differences: pessimism, characteristic of Lithuanians, not expecting anything positive from life or from the future, distrust in anything new, in contrast to Danish optimism, typical of Andersen: whatever happens, everything will turn out well (this moral is particularly evident in Andersen's fairy-tale *Whatever the Old Man Does, Everything Will Be all Right*).

From all the Lithuanian works discussed, the fairy-tale *Bread* by Bajerčius is closest to *Flax* by Andersen – it is one of the nicest Lithuanian stories of the period under consideration about bread in general, meant for children. At the time of its writing, the topic of bread was cultivated in children's journals and other press. Its lively and pictorial style, expressive language, the world outlook considering the different transformational phases of the original grain were essentially new if considering quite uniform works of this kind as, e.g., *Bread* by Tomkytė[46].

As concerns its philosophical content, Andersen's story is fairly more universal. It is essentially different from the approach to sowing and cultivating formed by the Bible, where they are regarded as hard work, the only joyous thing about which is harvesting fruit. The ideological basis of *The Flax*, however, is different. Flax undergoes all the transformations after it is reaped. In *Bread*, the action also takes place before bread is baked. Nevertheless, at a closer look, one can discern manifestations of philosophical ideas in Bajerčius' work as well. *'There's nothing one can do about death – life is impossible without it*[47], says the narrator. The complexity of the community life, misunderstandings among its members are also reflected in an interesting way:

> *'Oh! How much freedom and how much light here! How many friends [..] Hello, bright sun. Hello, brothers rye,' cried loudly the stem of rye having looked around. But no one answered. So, it got very angry. It thought to itself: I'll live all alone and will not speak to anyone. And it did so. For two days it did not speak to anyone. But then forgot its promise again.*[48]

Bajerčius' work is distinguished by a well-considered circular composition, particular figurativeness of speech and expression, the ability to render human emotions (anger, joy, longing, anxiety) and feelings (*eruptions of love* in the scene of pollination), *We love each other so much, so much that we would do not a bit of evil to each other, all we wish each other is as much happiness as possible*[49]. Nevertheless, *hatred to a person* is also quite prominent in the story.

The qualities of subtle humor and self-irony that are seldom displayed by Lithuanian authors of the discussed period, are remarkable in *Bread*:

> *[..] a big rye, which was lying very close to the bed, felt that its whole body softened, as if got swollen and it became even bigger. 'Hey! I must have drunk too much water, that's why I got swollen. I am even ashamed to show in public,' it said to itself. 'I've got grown fat enough,' the other one lying beside the first one thought. However, neither of them said that to the other.*[50]

Some passages in the text make one marvel at the author's fantasy, *the rye felt growing small lumps, which got painful. All the rye got ill with fever and did not expect to recover*[51].

To draw a general conclusion concerning the works by Lithuanian authors oriented towards the model of *The Flax*, it is possible to argue that in spite of many deficiencies of style, plot, etc., Andersen's *The Flax* helped some authors to reveal the process of transformation of a thing in their literary fairy-tales in a more interesting and creative way.

The etymology of things in fairy-tales: Andersen's model of *Boghveden* (The Buckwheat, 1841)

Some Lithuanian authors in their fairy-tales aimed at disclosing the etymology of a thing or phenomenon. They followed the familiar paths of Lithuanian folk tale and legend; however, they also tried to look for new more original ways of explaining different phenomena. These works are typologically close to Andersen's fairy-tale *The Buckwheat*, in which the author provides an explanation why buckwheat is of black color.

There are two ways of writing etymological stories: relying solely on one's fantasy or applying literary form to people's beliefs and superstitions. Andersen chose the first way when creating the story of buckwheat, in which he explains its specifically dark color by the story of buckwheat being punished by the lightning for not being submissive, for its senseless, unjustifiable haughtiness. Similarly to Andersen, who thus explained the black color of buckwheat, Giedrius in his fairy-tale *The Flowers of Sow-thistles*[52] tries to explain why the flowers of sow-thistles close up after the sun turns away from the south. In *The Flowers of Sow-thistles*, a princess loves, grows, and takes care of sow-thistles. The author portrays the harmony of nature – suddenly darkness sets in and the sun disappears – it becomes frightful on the earth. The author describes how women and children cry seized by fear, birds stop singing and hide themselves, animals and wild beasts, terror-struck, start running wild. Further Giedrius writes, *The princess did not get frightened at such an abrupt change, but continued admiring even more the never seen play of colors*[53]. The flowers of sow-thistles were trampled down by beasts, running in the dark. Nevertheless, the princess's father, the wise king, *having gained his knowledge from many wise men*[54], foresaw that the sow-thistles will return to life, yet they will not forget the hour of sadness. That is the reason *why the flowers of sow-thistles close up after the sun turns away from the south*[55]. There are three unjustifiable mistakes of logic in this short tale: why one should grow and look after something that grows on its own; why the princess who should embody fragility and femininity does not get frightened at the sight of the universal panic and horror; finally, why the king needs special wisdom to explain the most elementary laws of nature. There are also cases of tautology in the tale, e.g., in the following two sentences, *The princess came back home down-hearted and sad, and told everything to the king and the queen. The king was very wise, having gained his knowledge from many wise men, and he told the princess.*[56] *Down-hearted and sad* is an obvious tautology; also the root 'karal-' is repeated five times, while 'išmint-' is repeated twice making the language lifeless and static.

Jonas Mackevičius-Nord did not succeed in creating an etymological tale either – in his fairy-tale *Lilies of the Valley*[57] he tried to explain their distinctiveness. A rich, lively, and quite picturesque description of the flower-garden, the mutual relations of flowers, the way they grow and try to guarantee themselves a place under the sun, takes more than two thirds of the story. The problems arise when it comes to fulfilling the main goal of the story – to explain why lilies of the valley are distinct among other flowers. Even angels from the heaven are involved – lilies of the valley speak to them in an unnatural way:

> *Take us away from here, we don't want to stay here with other flowers, we don't want them to feel cramped up [..]They are so beautiful, so magnificent, and we don't even know how to blossom!*[58]

Inferiority and peculiar submissiveness of lilies of the valley are not in fact grounded on any situation, hence, artificial. Neither can one be persuaded by the good God's reward prompted by the principles of didactic prose, *From now on you'll be most modest and most beautiful flowers on earth*[59]. The small pine-tree found a somewhat more interesting way out in the story *Bird-cherries are in Flower*[60].

On the whole, the reality of fairy-tales can never be stupid, it must always have a clearly defined logic, fitting into the frame of a tale; and even the tales oriented towards children that are purposively simplified cannot exceed the boundaries of logic. Child is most offended by adults speaking the way children do and their deliberate trial to place themselves in children's shoes. That is why, e.g., the writer Julius Kaupas, when speaking about Grincevičius' fiction, maintains:

> *Grincevičius is unable to convince us that his fantastic adventure is real. Therefore, the stories remain incredible not only concerning the aspect of reality, but also that of literature.*[61]

Almost the same can be said about some stories by Giedrius and Mackevičius-Nord. The etymological tale *The Flowers of Sow-thistles* does not meet even the requirements of a fairy-tale logic.

Evidently, in the first half of the 20th century, Lithuanian authors were quite intensively looking for new ways of expressing themselves, new plots and principles of creating stories. Many of them looked up at Andersen's plots and forms of portrayal. However, most of the authors discussed above wrote because of external reasons, not stimulated by their inner need; this accounts for the fact that they did not succeed in applying the elements borrowed from Andersen's fairy-tales properly, suggestively, and creatively enough. In general, one has to agree with Kaupas, according to whom *what makes a creative work valuable is not the plot but the writer's creative power and his ability to experience life around him in a special way.*[62] The problem of a talented author is the most important one concerning the authors of Lithuanian literary tale of the discussed period. Besides, more gifted authors of Lithuanian literary tale of the period, e.g., Kaupas, were interested not so much in Andersen's model of a literary tale, but in that of E. T. A. Hoffmann.

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Silvestras Gaižiūnas

KNUT HAMSUN AND THE LITHUANIAN LITERATURE

Summary

The creation of Knut Hamsun first appeared in Lithuanian in the first decade of the 20th century. The first translation from the original – 'On Overgrown Paths' – was published in Lithuanian only in 2001. The famous Lithuanian writer Jurgis Baltrušaitis (1873 – 1944) translated Hamsun to Russian. Typologically 'Drops' by Baltrušaitis and 'Hunger' by Hamsun are very close. Lithuanian critics firstly underlined Hamsun's relation with aesthetics of impressionism. The most famous follower in Lithuanian prose was Ignas Šeinius (1889 – 1959), whose novel 'The Small Crookback' we may compare with Hamsun's novel 'Pan'.

Key-words: borderline situation, Impressionism, Neoromantism, Hamsun epoch in the Lithuanian literature

*

The Lithuanian writer Jurgis Savickis who began writing in Copenhagen has admitted:

> *Who of us, the young, being sometimes in Russia, did not admire Hamsun's characters? And how close was his world for us, Lithuanians. And picturesque. We did not know another. And if anybody, at that time, published two better more warm-hearted poems in 'Aušrine', especially lines about nature, he already was Hamsun.*[1]

This sketch by the Lithuanian writer is typical: at the beginning of the 20th century, Lithuanian writers often got acquainted with the works by Norwegian writers, also with Hamsun's creative work in Russia. It is an interesting fact that it was the Lithuanian author who acquainted the Russian readers with Hamsun's works by translating them into the Russian language. It was Jurgis Baltrušaitis. His role as a mediator of literatures is unique: being a Lithuanian he never translated into Lithuanian, but he translated from foreign languages into Russian that for him was a foreign language. Baltrušaitis was one of the first who acquainted the Russian readers with August Strindberg, Søren Kierkegaard, Henrik Ibsen, Knut Hamsun's works and he became one of the first initiators of the Scandinavian, Baltic, and Russian culture dialogue.

Norway is Baltrušaitis' great love and the source of his inspiration. This northern land inspired him as a translator, poet, and prose writer. Baltrušaitis translated *Hunger*, *Victoria*, *In Wonderland* and trilogy of Hamsun's plays into Russian. In 1901 Baltrušaitis visited Holmestrand and wrote wonderful letters from there.

As a representative of Russian writers' brotherhood, Baltrušaitis was present at Ibsen's funeral. After that he wrote a wonderful essay *At Ibsen's Coffin* that was not only an obituary. Parting with the giant of the Norwegian spirit helped Baltrušaitis to manifest spiritual kinship, inspired him for a higher role of *translatio*.

In the almanac *Северные сборники* (Northern Collections) his novelette *Капли* (Drops) was published. *Drops* is a painful monologue of the imprisoned. The protagonist of the novelette has got into a borderline situation, which he calls the sphere of longings before death. He has lost belief after having heard monotonously falling raindrops. The sounds of bells include the sounds of raindrops. Baltrušaitis' hero feels as if in double imprisonment – he is in a real prison and in the prison of existence and remains alone with the last moments of existence, which are symbolized by raindrops and bells.

Baltrušaitis became familiar with such a borderline situation when translating *Hunger*. Hamsun's hero also experiences moments of melancholy and absurdity when he approaches nothingness and feels the emptiness of existence.

The Lithuanian critics (and as in the case of Latvia, they were mainly writers) emphasized belonging of Hamsun to impressionism (Jonas Šimkus, Eugenijus Matuzevičius, later Janina Žėkaitė), although they also clearly noticed his turn in the direction of realism. It is connected with the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century in Lithuanian literature impressionism became a rather pronounced trend with its own magazine *Vaivorykštė* where the greatest Hamsun's pupil in Lithuanian prose Ignas Šeinius began to publish his writings. As concerns critical articles, one should also remember the Baltic essay writing which introduced not only Hamsun's creative work, but also his mysterious world, the labyrinths of his political views.

In this respect, the already mentioned Jurgis Savickis' essay *Norwegian Impressions* is the object of special interest. In the 1930s, Savickis, the Lithuanian writer and diplomat having arrived to Christiania, looked for Johaness and Victoria among the passers-by. But – what an irony: he, the naïve romantic, instead of Victoria saw ladies wearing green sweaters in the streets. And it is not only an everyday scene, but also a metaphor of compatriots' alienation from the writer. The Lithuanian writer soon finds out that here, in Norway, nobody reads Hamsun, and the old Ibsen is laughed at.

It is interesting that Hamsun's figure appears in Savickis's writing also in quite another context. Hamsun is close to Savickis as a peasant. In the essay *Scandinavia* he, speaking about the greatest Norwegian wish to buy a plot of land, says that the best example in this respect is Hamsun himself who has traveled around the world, fought with snakes in American prairies, having become richer bought a plot of land for himself and purchased cattle for the money of the hotel price. So what parallel may be drawn here? During the war, Savickis became a peasant in Southern France (this is related in the diary *Žemė dega* (The Land is Burning)).

Savickis was not indifferent towards the evolution of Hamsun's political views. In the 1930s, he published an article *K. Hamsun and Politics*. Here he draws the attention of the Lithuanian public to the scandal caused by Hamsun's announcement directed against German pacifist writer Osecki. Savickis quoted Hamsun's words that Osecki himself had chosen the way of a martyr, in a way he joins the Norwegian writer by saying that the German pacifist had thoroughly calculated everything, he calls Osecki *a strange supporter of peace*[2]. The conclusion is clear: it is bad when poets undertake the role of a politician. In 1952, in the Lithuanian magazine in exile *Aidai* the Lithuanian Jozas Lingis remembered Hamsun's political tragedy in connection with his death. For Lingis as well as for Savickis, it is important to understand the writer's political crisis. He does not condemn Hamsun, he only says that *Literary genius got stuck in political dirt about which he did not understand anything*[3].

In connection with Hamsun's death, the great Lithuanian poet in exile Henrikas Nagys writes – *The Great Pan is dead*[4]. The article with this title was published in America in the magazine *Literatūros lankai* in 1952. The Lithuanian poet admires Hamsun's and his characters' spirit, the author's and his character's hatred of the official morals. Nagys sees two men in the Norwegian writer's person – the traitor of the nation Pedersen and the writer Hamsun. Pedersen has just been buried, but Hamsun? Hamsun is still alive. Nagys writes:

> *Many centuries will pass, and if only one man of the Western culture will still be living in this world Knut Hamsun will also live*[5].

We can speak about a whole Hamsun epoch in the Lithuanian literature; this epoch began at the beginning of the 20th century and finished in the second half of the 1930s.

In the first half of the epoch, Šeinius was most of all connected with Hamsun's tradition, he is also the first to use the expression of impressionism in the Lithuanian literature. In the second half of the epoch, the so-called Neo-romantics returned to Hamsun.

Šeinius is the Lithuanian writer who was most of all associated with Scandinavia both in his creative work and his biography. Since 1915 he lived in Sweden where he founded the Lithuanian Independence Committee that cooperated with the Stockholm mayor Carl Lindhagen and journalist Verner Söderberg. In 1917 his booklet *Litauisk kultur* (The Lithuanian Culture) came out in Swedish, but in 1918 – *Natt och sol* (The Night and Sun). He wrote several books in Swedish: trilogy about the Soviet occupation (*The Red Flood*, *The Red Travel* and *The Red Flood Continues*) and the novel *I väntan på undret* (Waiting for a Miracle). His books were well-known also in Denmark and Finland. But what about Norway?

The Norwegian phenomenon played a great role when Šeinius searched for his own way to literature, for his place in the muddle of trends and manifestations.

The Lithuanian literary critic Kostas Korsakas has called Šeinius' creative writing transposition of hamsunism into the Lithuanian literature. Transposition in this case also means spiritual affinity, meeting of two relatives in spirit faithful to the same aesthetics of impressionism. Šeinius was delighted by impressionist art which, as he told, *taught the man to notice blue and violet shades in nature*. According to him, art is the expression of the individual soul that rises above time and space. Being anti-rationalist and anti-positivist, Šeinius considered intuition and experience as the only constant values and revealed a wide panorama of human feelings including both the rhythms of nature and also the cosmos in a wider sense.

In 1912 in Brooklyn, the first Šeinius novel *Kuprelis* (The Hunchback) came out, he returned to it later on, rewrote and offered to the reader the second edition of the novel in the 1930s. This work is considered the brightest example of Lithuanian impressionism.

The hero of the novel Olesis lives like a hermit at the mill. The mill becomes not only his home, but also the accompaniment of his soul, the symbol of changeability of man's existence, feelings, and moods. Here Olesis at the end of his life tells to a young listener his sad story of unhappy love. But is it the main thing?

The famous Lithuanian playwright and critic Balys Sruoga, speaking about Šeinius' short story *Mėnesiena* (The Moonlight, 1915), emphasized that in this work the central focus is not on men or the world of things, but the thing that is floating above them, that is hiding beyond the world. And really Šeinius is interested first of all in what is hiding behind the empirical world, what cannot be seen with eyes, what does not follow any regularities. Exactly such is Olesis' love in *The Hunchback* or in the novella *Vasaros vaišės* (Summer Treat).

Šeinius' heroes – the same way as Hamsun's characters – live in the world ruled by incidents. Every man who appears in front of Olesis or other characters embodies a secret and uncertainty. *And thus I met him today*, the protagonist of the novella *Summer Treat* Karolis says about the young cabman.

> *I crossed his way. And this way will go far into the future, it will be unknown to me. Only a small corner was opened. It flashed a little.*[6]

In Šeinius creative writing the loving man is unpredictable, therefore it is impossible to foresee his action. Feelings do not know any logic and, at any moment, a man may change into *another man*. That is why it is natural that his beloved Gunde suddenly leaves the hunchbacked Olesis. Here we should remember Šeinius' well-known expression that in spiritual life two and two is not always four. This formula may be attributed also to the relations of Hamsun's heroes. An incident brought together Hamsun's heroes Edvard and Glan, an incident separates them.

In the Lithuanian prose, Šeinius freed the narrative from the realist routine, from the canons of characters and plot. Hence, the narrative like in Hausman's works turns into a succession of impressions, fixing of moments. No doubt, musical perception of the world entails very important nuances of this style. Šeinius' heroes are really musical: they listen in to every sound of nature or compose these sounds themselves. Here is an example of the importance of sounds from *The Hunchback:* Olesis meets Gunde in his room and begins to play Beethoven's *Ninth Sonata*:

> *Sounds lived in me and together raised me to the infinite space where there is no difference between the day and the night, where she and I – one wonderful phenomenon. All around red, blue, green words not noticed by us wandered about.*[7]

Here we see that a row of musical impressions is complemented by colour impressions – it is very characteristic of Šeinius.

Although Karolis or Olesis are considered as typical images in the Lithuanian literature, although Šeinius subjectivizes the narrative, he is still deeply rooted in the 20th century Lithuanian prose traditions; this not only separates him from Hamsun, but also from the Latvian prose. Olesis is a searcher for the sense of life, consequently he is not completely the man of passion and he looks for salvation in the rational world, philosophy (at the mill there are Immanuel Kant's books). He looks for the sense of life also in public life; the ideals of the national awakening are not alien to him. And contrary to the Latvian writers Jānis Akuraters or Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš, it would be difficult to call Šeinius' characters the children of nature – in their life nature has only the role of the accompaniment.

Šeinius' heroes long for close contacts not only with other human, with the world, but also with the cosmos, with the God. The Hunchback declares a very individual, impressive connection with the God. The God enters through the soul; that is why it is not necessary to go to church or to visit Jerusalem or Rome. *He is also in this mill. And he is felt more in open nature, in front of the Sun or the stars.*[8] And here is a parallel from Hamsun's *Pan* from the famous chapter twenty-six relating of three ice-cold nights:

> *Listen to the east and listen to the west, just listen! It's God eternal! The stillness murmuring in my ear is Nature's seething blood, God transfusing me and the world.*[9]

In the 1930s, the Lithuanian literature returned to Hamsun again – that was the time of a new wave of impressionism and neoromanticism. This period is characterized by the still popular type of Hamsunian hero – the man who rejects civilization and sees the sense of life in the world of nature, the hero – vagabond or traveler, but the narrative technique, the style had changed; the subjective, the intimate often are substituted by the premeditated, rational approach of Hamsun's writing. Some writers, consciously choosing the principles of portrayal close to those by Hamsun, also demonstrate their direct attitude to his creative work. For example, Nelė Mazalaitė or Kazys Jankauskas' heroes speak about Hamsun, quote his works, compare themselves to the heroes of the Norwegian writer. Mazalaitė's hero, admiring nature, says, Glan could live here; or suggests to her friend to open Hamsun's book and read the episode about 3 ice-cold nights. But Jankauskas' hero says that the time has gone when Hamsun was delighted. Their contemporaries, the literary criticism of the 1930s could not leave unnoticed this kind of 'open hamsunism'. Consequently, this farewell voice as if pronounces that Hamsun's epoch in Lithuanian (and Baltic) literature was coming to an end.

In spite of the farewell intonations, Hamsun was still mentioned both in the circles of the writers and the literary critics. In the literary criticism of the 1930s it was still an important point of reference evaluating this or that work. So in 1939, writing about the Lithuanian prose writer Jankauskas, the poet Eugenijus Matuzevičius emphasizes the impressionistic tone of his prose *that reminds the great impressionist – Hamsun*[10]. Other poet Bernardas Brazaitis (Brazdžionis) asserts:

> *Jankauskas' characters, and also heroes of impressionists' works in general live more the life of the heat, feelings, moods. In their actions we will not find the causality substantiated by reason, they themselves do not substantiate their endeavours, do not try to reach the highest ideals, but also do not rare for tomorrow, they live spontaneously.*[11]

But a well-known researcher of Lithuanian modernism Janina Žėkaitė says that *only a very great wish to speak intimately, simply and sincerely makes K. Jankauskas impressionist*[12]. The hero of Jankauskas's novel Jonas has left the city and lives in the forest, working on the railway. His hero, his way of life remind of Glan's life: if Glan has Aesop, there is a tit singing in Jonas' cage, the hut burns down, the main characters drink wine (it is interesting that at that time in Lithuania and in the country-side Lithuanians almost did not know such a drink as wine). Jonas is the one who does not try to reach for the lofty ideals, however he becomes *spiritus movens* for the others.

In the 1930s, Hamsunist Lithuanian prose again and again returned to Rousseau's question of how art and science have changed the man. This question is topical also for the continuator of Hamsun's tradition Jurgis Jankus. The main character of Jankus' dilogy *Egzaminai* (Trials, 1938) and *Be krantų* (Without Shores, 1938), a young teacher

Jeronims admits that nothing changed either his science or books. And after such conclusion one can just state – perhaps I am only a dreamer. To be a dreamer for Šeinius and Jankauskas' hero was a privilege. To be a dreamer for Jankus' hero means irony of fate.

As we can see, Hamsun's school has formed in the Lithuanian literature, its representatives were not epigones, but helped modernize their literature, looking for new ways of expression.

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[1] Savickis J. Norvegiškos nuotaikos, in: *Raštai*, III t., 1995. – p. 174.
[2] Savickis J. *Raštai*, 6 t. Vilnius, 1999.
[3] Lingis J. Knut Hamsuno mirties proga. / *Aidai* No. 4, 1952. – p. 183.
[4] Nagys H. Didysis panas mirė. / *Literatūros lankai* No. 1, 1952. – p. 24.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Šeinius I. *Rinktiniai raštai*, 2 t. Vilnius, 1989. – p. 393.
[7] Ibid. – p. 84.
[8] Ibid. – p. 100.
[9] Hamsun K. *Pan. From the Papers of Lieutenant Thomas Glahn.* Translated with an introduction and explanatory and textual notes by Sverre Lyngstad. Penguin Books, 1998.
[10] Matuzevičius E. Dulkini batai. / *Studentų dienos* 31.01.1939.
[11] Brazaitis J. [B. Brazdžionis]. K. Jankauskas. Jaunystė prie traukinio. / *Židinys* No. 7, 1936. – p. 95.
[12] Žėkaitė J. Impresionizmas ir ekspresionizmas lietuvių prozoje, in: *Literatūra ir kalba*. Vilnius, 1977. – p. 158.

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Anneli Mihkelev

TRANSLATION AS RECEPTION: THE CASE OF LATVIAN AND ESTONIAN LITERATURE

Summary

The translated text has a specific value in the new culture: it can be the translation of the literary text and it can be the translation of culture. Reception begins with the selection of the author: it may be the reception of a literary or historical epoch or literary style as well as the reception of different ideologies. At the same time reception is also translation: it is the moment when two strange cultures mix, and that situation needs understanding of the other.

Latvian and Estonian cultures are not completely strange: although the languages are different, the historical background connects the cultures of both countries. But on the other hand, that connection is not absolute because the translation of culture is needed beside the translation of the literary text.

The article examines different texts from Latvian literature which are translated into Estonian: what kind of texts are translated in different periods (the selection of the authors and the texts), what the purpose of the translation (aesthetic or ideological) is, and how these translations translate Latvian culture into Estonian or how Estonians understand and accept these translated texts.

Key-words: Estonian and Latvian literatures, translation, reception

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There are two principal concepts, which are used in the present article: 'translation' and 'reception'. It is possible to discern two kinds of relationships between translation and reception: according to the Estonian researcher Peeter Torop (a specialist on the theory of translation), the first is translation as reception and the second is translation and reception[1]. However, both relationships are not totally divergent, as will also become obvious in the present article. The first step in their analysis is when a translated text emerges in a new context, and culture starts from the point where we see translation as reception.

There are several interpretations of the term 'reception'; one of them has been suggested by Erkki Vainikkala, *the term 'reception' refers to the juncture where text and reading meet and meaning is produced [..]*[2]. This formulation includes both aspects of the relationship between translation and reception, as every translation derives from reading, and every reading creates meanings. At the same time, the distinguishing component in the translation process is reader: to regard translator as reader is to regard translation as reception, and speaking of readers who read the translation is speaking of the reception of the translation or, in other words, translation and reception.

Reception begins at the moment of selecting the author: it may be the reception of a literary or historical epoch or literary style, or the reception of different ideologies. At the same time, reception is also translation: it is the moment when two distant cultures mix, and that situation requires mutual understanding. So, both kinds of relationships between translation and reception depend on each other, and the translated text has a specific value in the new culture: it can be a translation of a literary text and it can also be a translation of culture.

All these above-mentioned processes and relationships have also taken place in the interactions between the Estonian and Latvian literature. I would like to illustrate these theoretical instances by means of the analysis of the translation into Estonian of the works by Rūdolfs Blaumanis and Rainis (Jānis Pliekšāns), two great Latvian writers of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, both of whom are well-known in Estonia through translations.

Rūdolfs Blaumanis (1863 – 1908) in Estonia

According to Ieva Kalniņa, *Blaumanis established the genre of the short story in Latvian literature*[3] and he was in contact with the Estonian writer Eduard Vilde, the initiator of the Estonian realist novel, when (from 1889 till 1890) they both worked for the German newspaper *Zeitung für Stadt und Land*. Blaumanis and Vilde were colleagues who were interested in each other's work. Vilde wrote that Blaumanis had an intention to translate Vilde's short story *Punane mulk* (The Red Mulk) into Latvian, but that idea was never realised[4]. At the same time, Vilde translated Blaumanis' three short stories into Estonian, although he did it through German translations, which had been made by Blaumanis himself, and in 1892 Blaumanis' first collection of prose *Õlest katuse all* (Under a Thatched Roof) was published in Estonian in Tallinn. It seems that Vilde was the first serious translator to introduce Latvian literature to Estonian readers. A little later, he also translated some fragments from Blaumanis' satirical short story *Jutt seast, kes rääkis* (A Story about the Pig Who Talked; Stāsts par cūku, kas runājuse), published in 1891 in the collection *Naer on terviseks* (Laugh is for Health). Speaking of translation as reception, one must ask how Vilde perceived Blaumanis' works, why these works were interesting to Vilde, and how he as a translator represented Blaumanis' works to Estonian readers.

The three stories published in Blaumanis' first collection in Estonian were *Raudupi perenaine* (The Mistress of Raudupi; Raudupiete), *Raha sukkades* (Money in the Stocking; Nauda zeķēs), and *Pikne* (Thunder; Pērkoņa negaiss). All of them are realistic and important works, and were reprinted in 1960. It is important that in that first collection there is also a preface by Vilde, in which he notes that it is a pity that two neighbours, Estonians and Latvians, do not co-operate in cultural or literary societies and organizations, and he hopes that Estonians will become more acquainted with the famous writer from our neighbouring nation through these three stories. He states that young Blaumanis is the most famous and the best Latvian storyteller[5].

Considering that Vilde used a German translation and judging by his preface, we can understand that Vilde's primary purpose was translating culture, not the particular text. He believed that through these three texts Estonians would get to know something new and interesting about their neighbours.

Another very important aspect that Vilde emphasises in his preface is Blaumanis' realism. Adherence to it made both writers so close. Though Vilde noticed that Blaumanis represented nature very poetically in his stories, it was still important that his representation of life seemed natural, making it possible to learn from his writing how Latvians actually lived. Blaumanis' realism was very important for Vilde when he decided to translate Blaumanis' stories.

The next translator of Blaumanis' texts, Aleksis Rebane, knew Latvian very well and translated directly from the Latvian language. He continued Vilde's tradition of stressing realism through his selected short stories: *Puhas hing* (Clean Soul; Baltais), *Tants kolmekesi* (Dance of the Three; Dancis pa trim), *Soosse vajuja* (Subsidence to Mire; Purva bridējs), etc., and Blaumanis' first translated play into Estonian *Ärakadunud poeg* (The Prodigal Son; Pazudušais dēls, 1902), which was staged by Karl Menning at Tartu Vanemuine Theatre in 1907[6].

These translations by Vilde and Rebane were also translations of literary style. A more complex question is whether both men also translated ideologies. It seems that it was not very important to Vilde because he himself wrote quite revolutionary stories at the time he made the translation. Blaumanis was his soul mate and, when translating his short stories, the main thing was to introduce Latvian literature and culture to Estonians. But at the same time, ideology emerges through the realist text: through the translator's selection and through the representations of Latvian villages and peasants. The opposition between the rich and the poor, the life of poor peasants, the power of money – all these topics also carry ideological meanings, mainly leftist ideology, which was prevalent in Europe at that time and which interested and shaped young Vilde when he was in Berlin during 1890 – 1892. In those years, Vilde's ideological worldview was solidified after making his translations of Blaumanis.

Generally, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, ideologies were transmitted mainly through literary texts, including translations. And that reception depended directly on the translator's worldview and selection. The relationship between translation and reception, or translation and the reader was not represented in the official criticism or the secondary literature as scientifically as it was in the 1920 – 1930s, although the polemic on realism existed at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries as well. Vilde was one of the innovators in the Estonian literary criticism at that time: so, we can see how a translator influenced readers through his translated texts, literary criticism, and secondary literature (his preface for Blaumanis' first collection also indicates this). Consequently, we may say that Vilde had two roles in the literary process: he represented translation as reception, and he also represented the relationship between translation and reception.

The third important translator of Blaumanis' texts was Mart Pukits and his preferences were quite different from those of Vilde and Rebane. He translated directly from the Latvian language in a very refined style. This also marked a change in the translation of Blaumanis' texts: Pukits preferred Blaumanis' comedies. He translated the plays *Vargad* (The Thieves; Zagļi), *Magusast pudelist* (From the Sweetish Bottle; No saldenās pudeles), the drama *Paha vaim* (The Evil Spirit; Ļaunais gars), Blaumanis' most popular play *Rätsepad Sillamatsil* (Tailor-Days in Silmači; Skroderdienas Silmačos), etc. The last one was produced at the Vanemuine Theatre in 1912 and was very popular in Estonia along with *The Thieves,* which has been performed in the countryside about five hundred times. It seems that Pukits translated mainly the texts, not the culture. According to Ieva Kalniņa:

> *In the comedy genre Blaumanis established traditions of folk plays characterized by alternating serious and comic scenes, extensive scenes of everyday life, and galleries of interesting characters*[7].

The situations in Blaumanis' comedies were not totally strange to Estonian readers; these cultural situations did not need translation, but the text needed a good translation because of the verbal humour intrinsic to the genre of comedy. At the same time, the translation of comedies creates the feeling that two different nations, cultures and languages are not alien, and this is the mystery of comedy: it connects different nations through laughter. The translator's duty is retrieving laughter from the original text and translating that laughter into his own language or culture.

In the 1920 – 1930s, the translation of Blaumanis' texts came to a standstill. The comedies were still popular but in adaptations rather than translations, where Blaumanis' texts were simplified and changed. Some short stories were also published at that time.

The next and most recently translated collection of short stories *Kevadised hallad* (The Spring Frosts; Salna pavasarī), was published in 1960 and translated by Oskar Kuningas. The collection includes seventeen stories (some of these stories are reprints) and an afterword by the translator. The afterword is not very long, only three pages, but it is a rather good overview of Blaumanis' life and works, and it is important that Oskar Kuningas avoided the ideological extremes of the 1960s. This book presents the best selection of Blaumanis' works and some remarks on their context, but it does not teach or dictate directly how to read these stories. Thus, the translator and his preferences were transmitted into the texts, his reception being expressed in the selection of the texts and in the style of the translation. It is important that Blaumanis' texts were published in a new context in 1960. That demonstrates the timeless value of his works and Blaumanis was received as a Latvian classic by Estonian culture. The last Estonian translation of Blaumanis' works is the play *Tules* (In the Fire; Ugunī), published in 1986 and translated by Kuningas.

Rainis (1865 – 1929) in Estonia

Rainis is another very famous Latvian writer from the same period as Blaumanis, whose works are connected with Estonian culture through different motifs. Rainis' texts, translated into Estonian, contain indications of double cultural translation, thus it is a very interesting case not only for Latvian but also for the Estonian literature.

Rainis' contacts with Estonia began in his childhood; his teacher Bernhard Mora was born in the Estonian village of Palamuse. Mora was not only a teacher, but also wrote poems. When Rainis studied in the Riga Gymnasium, he studied Estonian folk songs through Herder's works and read about Estonian history in Balthasar Russow's *Chronicle of Livonia*.

The next highly impressive contacts were in 1887, when the Estonian sculptor August Weizenberg's exhibition was opened in Riga and Rainis saw Weizenberg's sculptures *Koit* (Dawn) and *Hämarik* (Dusk). In the 1890s, he was in contact with the politically radical Latvian students at Tartu University as well as with Vilde[8]. All these motifs and influences are reproduced in different works by Rainis. His works contain motifs, which are translated from other cultures, including Estonian culture, and Rainis adapted them into his own culture in his works. His writing also contains the reception of other texts and cultures. Cultural translation transforms different motifs from one culture to another, and, in terms of Estonian motifs, that situation became exciting when translators began to translate Rainis' texts, in which Estonian motifs had been translated into Latvian culture, usually represented in the Latvian folk song form *dainas*. Translations of Rainis' texts into Estonian were successful, and their reception in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s was also very positive, especially the play *Blow, Wind!* (Pūt, vējiņi!), which was staged in 1952 at the Vanemuine Theatre by Ants Lauter, in 1966 at Viljandi's Ugala Theatre by A. Sats, and in 1972 at Pärnu Theatre by Karin Raid. In 1966, Rainis' play *Joosep ja tema vennad* (Joseph and His Sons; Jāzeps un viņa brāļi) was staged at the Vanemuine Theatre by E. Koidu, and in 1967 *Tuli ja öö* (Fire and Night; Uguns un nakts) was produced on Estonian Television. Unfortunately the interest in Rainis' works is not very strong at present, and there are no new translations.

Estonian translators began to translate Rainis' works quite late – in the 1920s when the author was already about 60 years old. The 1930s were quiet years as were the years after the 1970s. When Pukits began his translation work, he stressed Rainis' Marxist worldview[9], and the connection with leftist ideology determined Rainis' reception by official critics to a great extent in the Soviet times. Two volumes of Rainis' selected works were published in 1965 including his poems and plays. The afterword written by the talented translator Karl Aben was still too influenced by ideology, but this was typical of that time.

Rainis' texts need re-reading in the context of contemporary times, because the old motifs from folklore and culture of other nations make his works timeless and it seems that they do not depend so much on constantly changing ideologies. However, Rainis' texts provide a good material for different ideologies, and sometimes it is possible to make his texts serve an ideology. We must agree with the Latvian researcher A. Šedriks, who has written:

> *Whatever ideological interpretation one wants to give Rainis' work, his life was totally committed to the emancipation of his people*[10].

It must be added that this applies not only to Latvian people but also to other nations, because Rainis' texts are a common legacy of all humanity, and the key to his humanity lies in the specific mythical and folklore motifs that make his texts esoteric and, at the same time, interesting and exciting.

In terms of Estonian influences on Rainis' works, Šedriks maintains concerning Rainis play *The Golden Steed* (Zelta zirgs):

> *Although Latvians appear to have a definite claim on this tale by virtue of numerous variants, Rainis used an Estonian folk tale on the same theme as a source of raw material for his play 'The Golden Steed'. Rainis, of course was acquainted with the Latvian tale, but the Estonian version which he had on his shelf in a German translation may have struck him as perhaps more dramatic and easier to adapt. [..] In the construction of 'The Golden Steed', Rainis utilised some*

of the motifs of the Estonian folk tale but also invented his own to suit his personal vision.[11]

V. Kalpiņš has written that the ideas of Rainis' play *Kuldratsu* (The Golden Steed, 1909) were drawn from Kreutzwald's fairy tale *Kuidas üks kuningatütar seitse aastat oli maganud* (How the Princess Had Slept Seven Years). At the same time, a story about a princess who slept on a glass mountain is well known in northern Europe.[12] That fact not only connects Estonian and Latvian folklore, but also places them in a wider European context and indicates the relationships between European nations.

At the same time, we can find other motifs from Estonian folklore in Rainis' works. It is an important fact that all these motifs are quite tragic or dramatic. Kalpiņš and Kuningas have observed and described the motifs originating in the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* and the mythological story *Koit ja Hämarik*. It is known that Rainis had read *Kalevipoeg* in German, and he also translated some songs from the German language. The motifs, which he used in his works, are the slave girl from *Kalevipoeg* and Baiba from Rainis' *Blow, Wind!*, both of whom were orphans and had to work hard for a strange family. The orphan motif certainly points to several variants of the Cinderella story that have been transmitted all over the world. But it is interesting that Rainis also uses another motif from *Kalevipoeg*: the motif of Saarepiiga, the maiden who lived on an island and after she had met Kalevipoeg a tragic love story ensued, and Saarepiiga jumped into the sea and got drowned.

Johannes Semper has analysed the folk motifs in *Kalevipoeg* and he sees the parallel between *Kalevipoeg* and the Finnish epic *Kalevala* in this regard: the motif of the maiden who commits suicide by drowning is repeated several times in *Kalevala*. This recalls the story of Kullervo who met a nice maiden in his travels and raped her. Next day it turned out that the girl was Kullervo's sister, and then the maiden drowned herself. According to Semper, there was also incest between Kalevipoeg and Saarepiiga. And the second tragic story from *Kalevala* that influenced Kreutzwald is the story of Väinamöinen and Aino. The sad love story ended with Aino getting drowned in the sea. The fact that *Kalevala* influenced Kreutzwald has been mentioned in his letters to a friend[13]. At the same time, all these motifs are well-known in Europe and have existed in national literatures for a very long time (e.g., Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*).

Rainis interwove the motif of Cinderella with that of the drowned maiden. The Cinderella fairytale traditionally has a happy ending but it is interesting that this does not always occur in Estonian folklore (e.g., the Estonian Tiina in Kitzberg's *The Werewolf*).

Another tragic, and at the same time exalted, motif whose traces we can find in Rainis' works is the myth of *Koit ja Hämarik* (Dawn and Dusk). It is a legend about sunrise and sunset in the summer solstice when day and night touch each other and fuse together in their kisses. This is Faehlmann's story that inspired Weizenberg when he created his sculptures and also Rainis. According to Kuningas, the personification of the motifs of sunrise and sunset are repeated several times in Rainis' play *Blow, Wind!* Although the motif of sunrise has been well known since the antiquity (these are female deities Eos and Selene in Greek and Aurora in Roman mythology), the love stories differ from the legend written by Faehlmann. According to the legend, when Koit and Hämarik met each other once a year, they were very happy and all nature rejoiced with them. Their deep love was observed by the Estonian deity Vanaisa, which can be translated as Eternity. Eternity asked Koit and Hämarik if perhaps they wanted to marry and remain together for ever, but Koit and Hämarik answered that they wanted to always remain bride and groom, and they asked Eternity not to spoil their happiness. It is a platonic love story where Koit and Hämarik exchange only kisses. But at the same time it is a very passionate story where the passion never cools and the entire situation repeats every year.

In Rainis' play *Blow, Wind!* There is a similar situation between Baiba and Uldis: their passion becomes stronger and stronger and all ends with the farewell kiss from Baiba and her jumping into the water.

Rainis used these tragic motifs to create tension in his texts: the tragic is exalted and through tragedy spiritual cleansing takes place. At the same time, Rainis connects different motifs from different cultures, and he uses cultural translations to create the great texts of his own.

Conclusion

The analysis of two Latvian writers, Blaumanis and Rainis, demonstrates different ways the translation process takes place in literary texts, as well as in culture as a whole. Translation is also connected with interpretation; perhaps these concepts may be treated as synonyms if we focus on cultural translation. At the same time, translation and reception are mixed, although it seems that reception is closer to interpretation. The analysis of how the text is created, both original texts and translations, helps understand the texts better, going to the deep structure of the text and, most importantly, understanding the other cultures.[14]

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Arūnas Bliūdžius

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF KAZYS PAKŠTAS' BALTOSCANDIAN IDEA

Summary

Lithuanian geographer professor Kazys Pakštas (1893) is notable for his titanic work in different fields of Lithuanian geography. Pakštas has built several visions of the future of Lithuanian nation and its survival in the changing 20th century.

All projects of Pakštas were unreal not only in the 1930 – 1940s but also nowadays, except for one, which had a real geopolitical base – the idea of Baltoscandia. The term 'Baltoscandia' was first used as a geographical term by the Swedish geographer, professor Sten de Geer in the 1920s. After establishing the Geographical Society in Lithuania in 1933, Pakštas delivered many lectures on the Baltoscandian issue in geographical societies and universities in Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Tallinn, and Riga in 1933 – 1934. In his views, Pakštas turns to the idea of Baltoscandia as a cultural-geographical, economic, and political-military union. In the article, the most significant characteristics presented by Pakštas that marked the borders of the modern Baltoscandia as a geographical and cultural region will be analyzed.

Key-words: Baltoscandian idea, Baltoscandian identity, Kazys Pakštas, region, zone

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Lithuanian geographer professor Kazys Pakštas was born on 29 June 1893, in the eastern part of Lithuania, and he became notable for his titanic work in different fields of Lithuanian geography:

- he laid the foundation of geographical science in Lithuania;
- he founded the first geographical scientific institution with a library and museum in Lithuania;
- he organized the Department of Geography at Kaunas University and formed the professional education and training system in the field of geography;
- he began to explore Lithuanian landscape and its structural parts;
- he founded Lithuanian Geographical Society and propagated the first achievements of the young Lithuanian geographical science in international congresses, conferences, and meetings;
- he went on many research expeditions to various places of the world and described them in his books;
- he wrote the first scientific geographical works in Lithuania;
- he initiated contacts with colleagues from the Baltic and Scandinavian countries.

Pakštas built several visions of the future of Lithuanian nation and its survival in the changing 20th century. He wanted to find more places of inhabitation for Lithuanians that would be convenient by many criteria (e.g., Beliz or British Honduras in Central

America seemed to him to be one of the best places). All projects of Pakštas were unreal not only in the 1930 – 1940s but also nowadays, except for one project, which had a real geopolitical base – the idea of Baltoscandia. After establishing the Geographical Society in Lithuania in 1933, Pakštas delivered many lectures on the Baltoscandian issue in geographical societies and universities in Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Tallinn, and Riga in 1933 – 1934. For his efforts Pakštas was awarded Andree Medal by the Swedish Geographical and Anthropogeographical Society in 1934 and given the name of Knight of the Order of Vasa by the King of Sweden in 1939.

The greatest part of his lecture material was collected in his book *The Baltoscandian Confederation,* originally published by Chicago Lithuanian Cultural Institute in 1942 and republished by Academia Baltoscandia in 1994. In this book, Pakštas described Baltoscandia as a cultural-geographical, economic, and political-military union. He was like Lithuanian Nostradamus of the 20th century, foreseeing the structure of the Nordic Council and Baltic Assembly in many aspects.

The term 'Baltoscandia' was first used as a geographical term by the Swedish geographer, professor Sten de Geer in the 1920s. Its geopolitical meaning came forth only in the 1930s, when the famous Swedish politicians, Karl Lindhagen and Jarl Brandting, began to use it. The meaning of 'Baltoscandia' as we understand it now, was produced by Pakštas; he developed it in discussion with the Estonian geographer, professor Edgar Kant, who published the article concerning his point of view of Baltoscandia in Tartu University research magazine *Looming* in 1934.

Professor Edgar Kant described Baltoscandia as a common historical region from the British Isles to the Finno-Ugrian area, excluding from it Latvia and Lithuania, relating it more to the Slavonic nations. Professor Sten de Geer also underlined nine geographical characteristics associated with Baltoscandia, but they are suitable only for Fennoscandia, which includes Norway, Sweden, and Finland. In the case of Denmark and Estonia, we find seven factors from nine, in Latvia – six, and in Lithuania – only two. Thus, both scientists excluded Lithuania from Baltoscandia, but Pakštas presented six characteristics that marked the borders of the modern Baltoscandian geographical and cultural region:

1) a region of characteristic moraines, comprising a homogeneous natural environment for farming and cattle-breeding;
2) a zone populating nations of predominantly northern character;
3) a region of seven smaller languages (at that time Iceland belonged to Denmark);
4) a zone of Western Christianity;
5) a complete unit of Northern states, harmoniously surrounding the Baltic Sea and giving it a real Mediterranean character;
6) a zone of smaller nations of common cultural interests and mutual affinities, where the variety of languages and cultures does not prevent mutual respect, collaboration, and peace; from this particular point of view, it is a very rare and most original zone on our planet.

Comparing the characteristics given by Pakštas to the present day situation in the Baltoscandian region, four cultural factors may be singled out that separate and at the same time unite Lithuania and Baltoscandia:

1) **the religious factor**, which deals very closely with the views concerning the relation between the individual and collective; the protestant Baltoscandian nations foreground the individuality of a person that is the base of freedom in all of its meanings; the catholic Lithuania specially emphasizes the collective opinion of the nation, which is the basis of national identity; on the one hand, individuality is not suitable for the process of national rebirth, but it is very important for solving problems of national self-awareness; on the other hand, collective opinion is a very great priority for the national movement, but it may acquire negative features in a real democratic state; hence, the problems of differentiating between the individual and the national is now the major obstacle for Lithuania on the way to becoming a modern Baltoscandian nation;

2) **the linguistic factor** is the most direct link between Lithuania and Baltoscandia, because all three linguistic groups in this region are related by deep historical roots – two Baltic (Latvian and Lithuanian), three Finno-Ugrian (Estonian, Finnish, and Saami), and five Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Faroese, and Icelandic) nations living in this region for thousands of years;

3) **the national factor** in many respects is closely related to the historical circumstances; Lithuanians perceive themselves as a big nation or, at least, nation with an honourable past; such tendencies are often observed in the history of great nations, but the tragical moment in the Lithuanian history is that, for many Lithuanians, the development of the national state in Lithuania proceeded along with the processes of assimilation in the past; other Baltoscandian nations (with the exception of Denmark and partly Sweden), created modern states in the 20th century without a strong sense of their heroic past, perceiving themselves like new emerging countries, which may collaborate in order to sustain their national identity among other European nations; sustaining traditions in Lithuania is very closely related to the common, everyday-life thinking of the people, whereas in modern nations it is basically associated with the spiritual aspects of national self-consciousness and self-imagination;

4) **the geopolitical factor** is the most problematic one for Lithuania: our nation as a previously powerful state since the middle ages has been oriented to the Central, South, or East Europe, but not to the West or even to the North Europe (there were some exceptions in the 17th century after signing the treaty with Sweden); this contributed to the situation of Lithuania remaining the only nation in the Baltoscandian region, for which the Baltic Sea area does not seem to be the main reason for consolidation in various fields and activities with other Baltoscandian nations (Lithuania has only one harbour, which is even not the capital city of the country).

How do we imagine Lithuania in such a unique regional space? What are the main obstacles for the vision of Baltoscandia to become real? All of these questions may be answered by transforming the negative sides of those factors to positive ones.

Transforming the differences within the Baltoscandia region to similarities, we can see that Baltoscandia is:

1) the area of eight independent medium large states (by the number of population), in which a few new independent countries may appear, as the Faroes Islands, Saami Confederation, and various separate autonomies;
2) the area of three local ethnic groups – Scandinavians, Finno-Ugrians, and Balts having close relations since the ancient times;

3) the area of a very similar regional character with differences only in some particularly national aspects;
4) the area of a naturally symmetric geographical position, which seems as a complete inter-area between East and West with strictly set borders.

What about Baltoscandian identity? Has it faced the actual changes throughout the 20th century or is it just a fiction produced by some idealist politicians? Answer to this question is to be found in the common history of the Baltoscandian states of the 20th century. Only in the 1940s, it became clear that the Baltoscandian region must include only small and medium large nations situated around the Baltic Sea, without the domination of the big ones, as it may be an obstacle for the formation of a peaceful region of Baltoscandia. It was not widely discussed until the 1990s, when the Baltic States declared their independence and gained the possibility of joining their Nordic neighbours.

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Silje Solheim Karlsen

MYTH AND MASCULINITY IN ARCTIC LITERATURE

Summary

The Norwegian Fram Expedition to the North Pole resulted in several books; among them the best known are Fridtjof Nansen's 'Farthest North: the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship 'Fram', 1893 – 96, and of a Fifteen Months' Sleigh Journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen' (1897) and Hjalmar Johansen's 'With Nansen in the North: a Record of the 'Fram' Expedition in 1893 – 96' (1898). This literature about arctic exploration constitutes a literary masculine discourse, creating and maintaining a masculine myth connected to both the explorers and the Arctic region itself. The Fram Expedition is also the motif used in the Danish author Klaus Rifbjerg's novel 'Nansen og Johansen. Et vintereventyr' (2002). In this article, the attention is focused on the literary means the narrators use to present Arctic and its explorer in the expedition literature. In comparison, the representation of Arctic and its explorer in Rifbjerg's modern novel will be regarded, in order to clarify whether this novel presents a different and modern view on polar literature, the explorer and arctic discoveries – and how it challenges the traditional masculine myths.

Key-words: literary representations of Norwegian polar exploration

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The Norwegian *Fram* Expedition towards the North Pole from 1893 – 1896 resulted in several expedition records; the best known among them are Fridtjof Nansen's *Fram over Polhavet. Den norske polarfærd 1893 – 96* (1897)[1] and Hjalmar Johansen's *Selv-anden på 86° 14´. Optegnelser fra den norske polarferd 1893 – 96* (1898)[2]. The *Fram* Expedition is also a motif of a significant modern literary work, the Danish author Klaus Rifbjerg's novel *Nansen og Johansen. Et vintereventyr* (2002).[3]

At the end of the 19th century, most of the arctic regions were still relatively or completely unknown. The motivation of several expeditions was therefore often basically scientific, expressing a desire to create or improve the mapping of the area. The public interest in the polar regions were, at the same time, related to culture, since the Nordic countries tried to create images of themselves as the cold, white, virgin landscapes of the north; the home of the polar heroes. The masculine character of science related to the polar research at the end of the 19th century is obvious: an explorer made his way into the wilderness, produced scientific results, and conquered new lands.[4] This formed, for instance, some of the basis of Norway's foundation of the nation state.[5] Arctic exploration was, in Norway, part of the national mythogenesis, a national formation of myth.

Expedition literature: a masculine discourse

Expedition literature, or polar literature, constitutes a literary masculine discourse, creating and maintaining a masculine myth related to both the explorers and the arctic region. The classical polar hero is an established myth in this kind of literature: to travel in the polar area, in the polar night, has for a long time been synonymous with manliness and heroic deeds. Few, if any, literary works deviate from this: the man is an explorer and a conqueror. Even unrealistic arctic literature has not changed this perception that over the years has been additionally confirmed, and has gained hegemony.

Very little arctic expedition literature has been the subject of literary reflections concerning, e.g., with what literary means the Arctic region and its explorer are presented. The way the narrators in this literature use literary instruments in their storytelling is remarkable; how they, for instance, present themselves as the heroic protagonists. We will regard here how the Arctic and the masculine explorer are represented in the expedition literature of Nansen and Johansen, and how Rifbjerg's modern novel relates to the traditional polar literature. Rifbjerg's novel presents a different and modern view on polar literature, the explorer, and arctic discoveries. Does it therefore challenge the traditional myths?

The expedition literature by Nansen and Johansen

Narrative in these works varies by alternating the past tense with the present, introducing diary-notes, reports, quotations of comments, thoughts, philosophy and poetry. It is also obvious that the narrators use literary means, e.g., the dramatic use of the present tense, metaphors, personification, and symbolism to create a closer and more lively picture of the expeditions.

Both records describe the voyage with the ship *Fram*: from Norway they headed northeast where they let the ship freeze in. She was intended to drift with the sea streams across the North Pole and out of the ice northwest. This did not go as planned and Nansen realized it would take years to come close to the North Pole like this. Nansen and Johansen then started out towards the North Pole with skis, three sleighs, and twenty-eight dogs. They reached 86° 14´ north before they were forced to turn back. On their way back, they had to spend one winter on Franz Joseph Land, and altogether this two-men expedition lasted for fifteen months.

The records maintain the traditional view on the explorer as masculine. Primarily, the descriptions of the two-men expedition produce an impression that their ambitions were a combination of exploring new land and making a great national effort of masculine and heroic value. The descriptions are, to a great extent, concentrated on the two men's fight against the Arctic area: ice, cold, darkness, polar bears, rough weather, and hunger. Especially the recurrent incidents of being confronted by more or less personified polar bears help maintaining the perception of the real masculine polar heroes. One illustrating example is the episode when Johansen being attacked by a polar bear and lying under it thinks Nansen is too slow with the rifle. He nevertheless uses the correct non-intimate form when he says, *Sir, could you please lend me a hand, before it is too late*. [Ja, nu må De skynde Dem, ellers blir det for sent.][6]

As mentioned before, the conquerors also have a national duty to serve, as we can see in this statement, which expresses disappointment on behalf both of themselves and the nation:

> *It was our hearts desire to go as far as we could. But it gave us some solace to know that we had unveiled some of the darkness that surrounds this part of the world. [..] Monday, April 8 we turned and headed towards Franz Joseph Land, leaving behind on the world's most northernmost camp site, two little flags, one symbolising the union, the other a pure one.*
>
> [Gjerne ville vi være kommet lengre. Det var vår trøst at vi hadde gjort hva vi kunne, og at vi dog hadde fjernet litt mere av det slør der innhyller denne del av vår klode [..] Mandag den 8. april vendte vi og satte kursen mot Franz Josefs Land efter at først denne verdens nordligeste teltplass var smykket med to små-flagg, et unionsmerket og et rent.][7]

The arctic landscape: masculine or feminine?

Nature, or different landscapes, is traditionally perceived as feminine, secondary to civilization. Heidi Hansson emphasizes in the article *Bayard Taylor's Northern Travel and the Genders of the North* that the nineteenth-century model of representing the traveller concentrates on the traveller dominating the landscape; a model that genders the land as feminine and the traveller as masculine. But when it comes to the North, the landscape is sometimes feminine and sometimes masculine, and Hansson therefore considers that the gendered position of the traveller fluctuates.[8]

The gendering of the land in the expedition literature of Nansen and Johansen is in accordance with Hansson's observations. The North is, on the one hand, associated with virginity, as something untouched; on the other hand, it is also considered dangerous. The **ice** is often described as aggressive, furious – as masculine, *The ice bellowed and turned like a furious man that cannot hold his temper* [Det var isen, der var i opprør akkurat som en sint mann, der ikke kan styre seg][9]; *The ice screamed and creaked in a fit of rage* [Isen våndet seg i raseri][10]; and also as superior to man, *the ice towered over us and howled in fury over seeing two small men like ourselves, freeing us from his cold embrace* [vi hørte skrugarden bære seg i raseri fordi slike mygg, som vi var, hadde klart seg ut av dens favntak][11].

However, describing the ice as masculine does not influence the gendering of the explorer to a high degree. He is, after all, mastering it, which makes him even more masculine. This can therefore emphasize the common idea that the Arctic functions as an exclusively masculine space where boys become men, and where men can experience the feeling of freedom.

On the other hand, the polar night is relatively often described as feminine. This is found both in the very local paper *Framsjaa*, which the expedition members produced on the ship *Fram,* and in Nansen's descriptions. In *Framsjaa*, the night is symbolized by a woman, *The silhouette of a woman rests gently on the cusp of the moon, while the northern light twists in its dance, her eyes are curiously fixed on Fram, lying still in the ice*. [Det er en kvinneskikkelse, der sitter på månens horn; mens nordlyset flammer i bånd og spiraler, ser hun forundret på Fram, der ligger nede i isen.][12]

Nansen also addresses the polar night as a woman in his diary (25.12. 1893):

> *But, O Arctic night, thou art like a marvellously lovely woman. Thine are the noble, pure outlines of antique beauty, with its marble coldness. On thy high, smooth brow, clear with the clearness of ether, is no trace of compassion for the little sufferings of despised humanity, on thy pale, beautiful cheek no blush of feeling. Among thy raven locks, waving out into space, the hoar-frost has sprinkled its glittering crystals. The proud lines of thy throat, thy shoulders, curves are so noble, but, oh! unbendingly cold; thy bosom's white chastity is feelingles as the snowy ice. Chaste, beautiful, and proud, thou floatest through ether over the frozen sea, thy glittering garment, woven of aurora beams, covering the vault of heaven.*
>
> [Men polarnat, du er som en kvinde, en vidunderlig skjøn kvinde – antikens ædle træk, men også dens marmorkoldhed. På din høje pande, klar som æterens renhed, ingen medynk med et menneskekrybs små lidelser; ingen følelses rødme over din blege deilige kind. I dit ravnsorte hår, bølgende ud i rummet, har rimfrosten sprængt sine blinkende krystaller. Din hals's stolte reisning, rundingen av din aksel – så ædel, men så ubøilig kold. Din barms hvide kyskhed er ufølsom som isens sne. Kysk, marmorskjøn, og stolt svæver du over det stivnede hav, det sølvglitrende slør om din skulder, vævet af nordlysets stråler.][13]

Describing the polar night as a woman can be interpreted as typical for the concept of mapping, as we find it in travel literature: the discoverer makes a well-prepared expedition to an unknown part of the world to conquer and gain control of new areas. He is strong and ready to penetrate and fertilize the virgin land. But when we take a closer look at Nansen's use of metaphors, we find that this is not a description of a traditional feminine, warm, and living woman. This is more the dark, dangerous, relentless *femme fatale*. Her colours are white as ice and snow, and black as the night. She is virtuous, marble-like, cold, and proud, and she has no pity or emotions. She lacks the traditional female values. Her neck is even described with a word that is undoubtedly associated with manliness, in Norwegian, translated in English to *the proud erectness of your neck* [din hals's stolte reisning]. To interfere with this woman is dangerous, it takes a man to do it.

What then becomes clear, is that the description of this land as sometimes feminine, sometimes masculine, may, actually and paradoxically, reinforce the idea of masculinity connected to the Arctic and emphasize this area as a masculine sphere.

Nansen and Johansen. A Winter's Tale: continuing the masculine discourse?

This expedition as a particular historical event is also described in Rifbjerg's novel *Nansen and Johansen. A Winter's Tale*. As the title indicates, the book particularly focuses on Nansen and Johansen. Rifbjerg is not especially interested in the travel to the North Pole in itself, or the extreme conditions these two men had to conquer. Rifbjerg's concern is how the relationship between both men evolved during this travel in the polar areas. Rifbjerg sees an erotic potential in such a companionship of males.

In Norway, both critics and readers were shocked by the way a national hero like Nansen was described, and it seems that the fact that this is a novel, fiction, was forgotten. In the passage where the erotic relationship between Nansen and Johansen begins, and by describing this relationship further, Rifbjerg clearly challenges the Norwegian conception of a national polar hero and also the generations of dreams and ideas of manliness and heroic deeds:

The grease from the bear, the big man whispered from behind, reach out for the grease. I don't want to hurt you, Johansen, that is the last thing I want to do, I don't want to hurt you in any way [..].

[Bjørnefedtet, hviskede den store man bag ham, ræk armen ud efter bjørnefedtet. Jeg vil jo ikke gøre Dem ondt, Johansen, det er det sidste jeg vil, det eneste jeg ikke vil, er at gøre Dem ondt [..].][14]

In this novel, the narrator provokingly connects two men, even more so – two polar heroes erotically. On the other hand, the author provokingly blends the truth and lie in a genre we can call a documentary novel or a fictitious biography. He uses the biographical as an artistic strategy: the main characters bear the historical persons' names, the historical event is real, and therefore the fiction will always be coloured by the empirical and the private. And for those who have read this novel, the facts are perhaps now coloured by the fiction?

Does this novel deconstruct the ideals of manliness constituting the basis of exploring and colonizing – and also constituting the foundation of the modern nation state? Does the encounter with the arctic sphere feminize the characters in this novel?

Rifbjerg has not chosen as his main character the actual and obvious Nansen, but instead Johansen, whom we follow in the novel from his childhood's first skis, via the army, the polar expedition, until his suicide. It is the main idea of the novel that Johansen feels he is meant for something great in life; but at the same time he is aware that he is not the one who could make it happen. He has to find someone else and be at someone else's disposal. This someone else is Nansen. At this point, when it comes to Johansen, maybe there is a break from the idea of the independent, strong polar hero.

At the beginning of the novel, it seems that Nansen is associated with masculinity and manliness, whereas Johansen does not have confidence in his own masculinity – or identity. When first hearing about Nansen, Johansen is clearly feminized, *He read about Nansen [..] while he caressed a lock of his blond hair*. [Han bøjede hovedet over de blade [..] mens han mellem tommel- og pekfinger drejede og drejede en lok af sit lyse hår.][15] At the same time, Nansen is closely connected to masculinity:

He was a big man [..] with strong and unwavering eyes [..] looking over a full beard [..] on Greenland no man had set forth before these men, and this man.

[Det var en kraftig mand [..] med et par sterke, dybe øjne [..] over det buskede skjæg [..] på Grønland havde ingen været før disse mænd og denne mand.][16]

However, Johansen is mastering the activity of skiing; skiing is for Johansen connected to his masculinity, and on this expedition he is to become a man, together with Nansen. Together they are going to conquer and explore the new land. And in this novel, the Arctic and the ice are described as feminine, this virgin snow, which is to be conquered:

First and foremost this was terra incognita, to be revealed and conquered. And the conquerors were grown, experienced, rational white men. Led by no less than a genius.

[Her var først og fremmest et terra incognita, som skulle afdækkes og tages i besiddelse, og de der kom for at erobre, var [..] voksne, erfarne, rationelle hvide mænd. Anført af et geni.][17]

It is clear, as the erotic relationship sets in, that Nansen is the seducer, the conqueror. And it is not only the virgin polar areas he tries to conquer; he also conquers Johansen. As the leader of the expedition, Nansen keeps the initiative and resoluteness, and he begins the intimate relationship with the sentence, *I think you may call me by my first name now, Johansen. After all, it is only natural.* [Nu tror jeg De kan sige du til mig, Johansen, nu synes jeg, vi skal være dus.][18]

It is interesting that Johansen changes during the expedition: from being the weaker one, he is more and more aroused by his own heroic deeds confronting many dangers of the polar areas, and the sexual relationship between both men becomes more intense and equal. Rifbjerg even makes a rather sensational and thematically important substitution of roles, when he makes Nansen being attacked by a polar bear and given up to the mercy of Johansen. For one moment here, Nansen is the weaker of both men.

After Johansen has managed to shoot and kill the bear, they make love to each other on the ice. Rifbjerg lets this adventure take place outdoors, in the extreme contrast between the ice and night's biting cold and the passionate eroticism. It is difficult to identify any feminization of the characters in this specific erotic scene – likewise it is hard to define one as the masculine and the other as feminine. But there is no doubt that this scene challenges the common idea of a polar hero.

Nevertheless, the equality between the men does not last long, Nansen is again given the role of the traditional hero when they return to the civilization. In the end, Nansen is still the strongest and he finishes this relationship as he started it: with one sentence: *I believe we ought to address each other formally again, Johansen, for the sake of everyone.* [Vi må nok hellere sige De til hinanden fra nu… Det er vist bedre, vi bliver De's igen, Johansen, for alles skyld.][19]

To briefly conclude, Rifbjerg's novel both supports and challenges the traditional masculine view on the Arctic and its explorers. The subject and the language usage imitate the traditional expedition literature, and the writer supports the idea of the masculine polar hero and the virgin land. The Arctic areas are described as virgin land to be conquered and mastered by men, the explorers. Both at the beginning and the end, Nansen represents manliness and masculinity. To a certain degree, meeting the cold and ice also enhances Johansen's masculinity.

In this novel, Rifbjerg challenges the accepted views by associating homosexuality with the idea of the masculine polar hero, which altogether, in Nansen's case, is still mostly masculine. He also challenges the reception of the polar hero, the conception of sex between men, and also, from a Norwegian perspective, the idea that Nansen managed to conquer Johansen, but not the North Pole.

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[1] Translation to English*: Farthest North: the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship 'Fram' 1893 – 96 and of a fifteen months' sleigh journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen* (1897).

[2] Translation to English: *With Nansen in the North: a Record of the 'Fram' Expedition in 1893 – 96* (1898).

[3] Translation to English: *Nansen and Johansen. A Winter's Tale.*

[4] Ikonen P. Explorers in the Arctic: Doing Feminine Nature in a Masculine Way, in: Möller / Pehkonen *Encountering the North. Cultural Geography, International Relations and Northern Landscapes*. Cornwall, Ashgate, 2003. – pp. 127–153.

[5] Drivenes J. (ed.) *Norsk polarhistorie I. Ekspedisjonene*. Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS, 2004. – pp. 32–33.
[6] Johansen H. *Med Nansen mot Nordpolen. Selv-anden på 86°14´. Optegnelser fra den norske polarferd 1893 – 96*. Kagge Forlag AS, 2003. – p. 184. Here and henceforth the citation in the original follows the translation. All quotations translated by Hege Wanner and Silje Solheim Karlsen.
[7] Ibid. – pp. 144–145.
[8] Hansson H. Bayard Taylor's *Northern Travel* and the Genders of the North. / *Edda* No. 1, 2006.
[9] Johansen, op. cit. – p. 63.
[10] Ibid. – p. 64.
[11] Ibid. – p. 152.
[12] Ibid. – p. 70.
[13] Nansen F. *Fram over Polhavet I*. Aschehoug & CO.s Forlag, 1897. – p. 278.
[14] Rifbjerg K. *Nansen og Johansen. Et vintereventyr*. Gyldendal, 2002. – p. 116.
[15] Ibid. – p. 34.
[16] Ibid. – p. 35.
[17] Ibid. – p. 96.
[18] Ibid. – p. 117.
[19] Ibid. – p. 131.

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Bente Aamotsbakken

THE MOTIF OF BORDER CROSSING IN DAG SOLSTAD'S NOVELS

Summary

The article deals with two of the author's novels, 'Eleventh Novel, Book Eighteen' and '16.07.41'. His authorship on the whole concentrates on breaking the borders of genres and conventions, but these two novels show that this is done in different ways. The first novel discusses the possibility of living a meaningful life, and on the meta-level the text is deconstructing the possibilities of writing. The other novel demonstrates a play with genres and with the reader's expectations of autobiographical and fictional writing.

Key-words: genre experiments, intertextuality, deconstructions of genres, significance of archetexts

*

Dag Solstad is known in Norway for his interest in political and ideological motifs, and first and foremost he is now being discussed due to the screening of one of his novels. The novel *Gymnaslærer Pedersens beretning om den store politiske vekkelsen som har hjemsøkt vårt land* (Lecturer Pedersen's report on the great political awakening that has afflicted this country, 1982) deals with a radical political movement in the 1970s, a movement long outdated and today mostly regarded with indifference. Solstad has written a number of novels and essays with a less direct political message. His authorship started with an edition of short stories in 1965, and he has been awarded the Nordic Prize for literature by the Nordic Council. It may be postulated that all of Solstad's texts have radical political, psychological, and ideological agendas, but more recent texts convey this more implicitly than the previous novels. From the 1980s until today, Solstad has been engaged in what one could call social criticism, but his criticism is a hidden message behind the textual surface in many of his novels. The present article approaches the motif of border crossing through what has been referred to as concealed agendas or messages.

Two significant novels emphasizing the motif

Solstad's latest novels from the 1990s till the 21st century show a willingness to experiment with genres and ways of writing. The motif of border crossing is related in his works to the so-called established genre conventions. It is common knowledge that conventions related to genres are in constant change. In *16.07.41* (2002), Solstad plays with the conventions of novel, autobiography, lecture, and the concept of science fiction[1]. This article addresses the ludic attitude with regard to genres.

In *Eleventh Novel, Book Eighteen* (1992), conventions belonging to many fields are questioned, deconstructed, and put at stake. This novel constitutes the 'point zero' in Solstad's total production. Here human existence or the individual possibilities of a meaningful life are seen as impossible, unrealistic, and even absurd. The novel demonstrates how an individual is slowly destructing his own identity, deconstructing every possibility of personal commitment, and finally choosing to show the total hopelessness through a faked physical paralysis. Suicide would have been the 'normal novelistic' solution of the problem, but it would not have been strong enough as a token of the complete emptiness mentally characterizing the protagonist. By choosing paralysis, the protagonist is visualizing daily the total meaninglessness of life.

This article focuses on the last novel mentioned above, but the playful deconstructive text named after Solstad's year and date of birth serves as the background for reflection.

Reaching 'point zero'

The protagonist of *Eleventh Novel, Book Eighteen* has a quite anonymous name – Bjørn Hansen. This points to the title of the novel, which may be postulated to express the highest possible degree of neutrality and anonymity. However, the numbers indicated in the title verify that this novel places itself as number eleven among the eighteen books produced by the author so far. However, the choice of the title has further implications both on the archetextual and the semantic levels[2]. Archetextual implications are rooted in the deep structure of the text and have an impact on genre conventions. By choosing numbers instead of linguistic expressions as a title, Solstad indicates that the novelistic text concerns its own rejection or negation. Why is this so? Besides, the author's name is placed within brackets to visualize another mechanism of invisibility.

Bjørn Hansen is a protagonist who actively and consciously breaks with the norms related to ethics and morality. He leaves his wife and two-year-old child for the fascination of a mistress, not for love. He constantly reflects on this act by undermining and questioning his own motives:

> *He had no illusions about her bringing him luck and happiness. But as he realized that she had left, he missed her so much that the moral need of being together with her conquered him. He needed to be close to this woman who constantly gave nervous signals to the surroundings, always appearing restless, always being full of unexpected moves, all through the day.*[3]

On other occasions, he reflects upon their previous relationship as follows, *It was a nuisance to him that he was unable to revive his passion for Turid Lammers, at the time he met her*[4]. His coincidental passion keeps him tied to her for fourteen years, makes him apply for the position as a public accountant and he is becoming an active member of the local drama group. After the relationship has come to a decisive end, he establishes himself in a flat, apparently confident and happy, cultivating his literary interests and discussing books and social problems with his friend, a local dentist. The passion for books belonging to the world literary canon underlines the novel's intertextual level. As in many novels written by Solstad, Ibsen plays an important intertextual and dialogic role. The drama group decides to play *The Wild Duck,* a project initiated by Bjørn Hansen and supported by his cohabitant and mistress. The project ends in a total disaster with almost no audience.

Though on the surface life may seem well functioning and satisfactory, yet some minor signs of bodily discomfort start to appear. His teeth and stomach start aching. Instead of consulting his close friend, the dentist, he turns to a former member of the drama group, the distant and modest doctor Schiøtz at the local hospital. During several consultations with no positive results, he gets closer to the doctor who one day reveals the dark side of his personality. The doctor is obviously a drug addict, a condition referred to as his 'fate'. This discovery brings Bjørn Hansen to thematize his inner thoughts, doubts, and frustrations:

> *Suddenly he could hear himself saying: – What bothers me is that my life is so insignificant. This he had never expressed to anyone before, not even to himself, even though he had been close to this for years, evidently all of the time. Then he suddenly expressed it openly.*[5]

The relation with the medical doctor grows deeper, and slowly a plan of solving his problems develops in Bjørn Hansen's mind. This plan is extreme and marks an absolute change of life conditions. He consequently appears hesitant to reveal it to his friend. After a while, he confides in the doctor, but is turned down at first. His arguments for undertaking a dramatic change run as follows:

> *Thinking about me living a whole life, and that this is even my life, without ever being close to the path where my deepest needs can be seen and heard. I am going to die in silence, and it scares me, without a word on my lips because there is nothing to be said. [..] It was something that he could not accept, and that was that this was it. He was troubled. He would not put up with it. He had to find a way to show it, show that he did not accept. That was the reason for launching a plan, a crazy project [..] It was a plan in which he could realize his No or his great Not, which he referred to, through an act that was irrevocable.*[6]

In these lines, the reader of Solstad's text can sense a point of no return, but also a deconstructive practice related to the novelistic project. By this turn, the novel speaks against its own concept. The protagonist, who lives his life through famous novels surrounded by books from the canonized literature, has reached the point of non-existence. This indicates a kind of 'bovarism'. It is a question of living inauthentically and slowly losing the grip.

'Point zero' and negligence

Bjørn Hansen's plan is accepted and agreed to by his friend, the doctor, but the arrival of his son seems to alter the schedule. The abandoned son (cf. the Biblical myth) turns up on his father's doorstep and wants to stay there while studying optometric at the local college. For Bjørn Hansen this appears as a rescue, '*At last something to look forward to', he proclaimed*[7]. The appearance of the prodigal son means just a temporal stop towards the completion of the plan. The problem is that Bjørn Hansen is unable to love his son. He could not love his mistress or wife either; just feel fascination. As soon as beauty fades, he turns against his cohabitant. As he experiences that his son Peter is lonely and unable to make closer friends, this fact causes irritation and worry, not deeper concern. In other words, there is no room in the hostel with his father. All rooms are closed and locked, and the way towards destruction continues.

Indifference towards his wife, child, and later on to his girl friend is characteristic of Bjørn Hansen. He responds to other people's problems with reserve and indifference. Instead of caring for his son, he considers him a nuisance and restricts himself to sharing his food and flat with him. He deliberately plans his son's departure by putting the plan into action.

Crossing cultural and geographical borders

The plan is concretized and put into operation due to his planned participation in the delegation from the local community visiting a similar community in Vilnius, Lithuania. By choosing a former communist country under Russian dominance, the scene for the realization gets a touch of the unrealistic and exotic. In the novel, Lithuania represents a place of cultural difference and a society in search of a new identity. This is the direct reason for inviting the Norwegian delegation to visit Vilnius. Lithuanians want to learn from the Scandinavian system.

In Vilnius, Bjørn Hansen gets away from his colleagues, fakes a traffic accident and ends up in the care of a Lithuanian doctor, who is willing to perform the so-called operation. The agreement worth 10,000 U.S. dollars reveals several dubious aspects. On the one hand, the willingness to act contrary to ethical standards and accept illegal payment illustrates the social situation in the former Soviet republic. The greed and the need for Western goods govern the individual to the degree that the chance of losing one's job and position in society are at stake. On the other hand, the agreement shows an exploiting attitude by a person from a Western country visiting a former Soviet republic by crossing cultural and also moral borders. In fact, the morality is more dubious for Bjørn Hansen than it is for Dr. Lustinvas. The Lithuanian doctor sees an unexpected opportunity to get hold of the desired currency that opens a variety of possibilities for him and his family.

Why Lithuania?

As mentioned above, Vilnius represents an exotic place in Solstad's novel, a point of no return. In addition, the city represents something anonymous and distant. It points to a place with a vague outline, which is only made visible by its surrounding cities:

> *Where is Vilnius located? Vilnius is located some place or other in Europe, it is impossible to state it more exactly. One goes by train from Kongsberg to Oslo, flies from Fornebu to Kastrup in Copenhagen, and after waiting one hour in the transit hall one enters the plane with the destination of Vilnius. After one hour and twenty minutes one arrives at the airport in the capital of Lithuania. Then one is 200 km from Minsk, if one goes east. It is 300 km to Riga in the north-west. Warsaw is 400 km to the south. To St. Petersburg it is 650 km, to Moscow 900 km, and to Berlin 850 km. In the midst of Berlin and Moscow, some place within Europe. To the Baltic coast, to Klaipeda, Lithuania's most important harbour, and to the beaches, it is 250 km.*[8]

As we can see, Vilnius is disappearing in this description. The attention is drawn to other cities and areas. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, we may postulate that Vilnius is victimized by centripetal forces. It consequently appears as a capital with no characteristics worth mentioning. Moreover, it is presented as hard to find because of its invisibility.

On his arrival to Vilnius, the protagonist enters into a role of play and performance. He participates as a member of the Norwegian delegation coming to the rescue of the Lithuanian officials. He enjoys the position of representing a Western foreigner benefiting from undeserved admiration and worshipping. Artefacts like shoes, clothes, and watches are seen as the symbols of Western capital and wealth. This attitude reveals an ethic conflict: the commodities are rather common and nothing out of the ordinary, but for the Lithuanians they represent the difference, the freedom of choice, and Western currency. The conflict or paradox is also shown in the description of the city centre as purely antique and old-fashioned. It must be added that the novel was published in 1992, a few years after the liberation of the Baltic countries. The society and the urban surroundings therefore correspond to the state and conditions in Lithuania at the beginning of the 1990s.

In Vilnius, impossible projects seem to meet no resistance. It is only a matter of money. By choosing Vilnius as a fictional place for a destructive, irrevocable act, Solstad established an axis in the novel, balancing the grey social-democratic, law-abiding Scandinavia against an immature democracy striving to get on its feet. In the early 1990s, Lithuania suffered from a lack of Western currency and a shortage of models for building democratic institutions. The temptation of receiving 10,000 U.S. dollars for almost no service at all is irresistible for the Lithuanian physician. A sum that is easy to earn in Norway has the proportions of a true fortune in the Baltic at that time. Vilnius forms a background of adventure, unreality, and utopia for the incredible operation performed at a local hospital.

The city centre and the surroundings of Vilnius are described in a way that is underscoring the destructive act. The town resembles a medieval town with baroque buildings, narrow paved streets, and the smell of coal in the air. The inhabitants are wearing worn-out, old fashioned clothes, carrying bundles under their arms. Bjørn Hansen is regarded as *a delegate from America*[9]. These surroundings strengthen the credibility of the incredible act that is about to be carried out. On the other hand, the description of Vilnius may be associated with a painting of the Renaissance style characterized by dark colours and hopelessness, thus adding a touch of surrealism to the novel.

Destruction of the body – demolition of the soul

By his faked paralysis, Bjørn Hansen is simply confirming the meaninglessness of his life and total existence. He has proved himself incapable of sharing love both through his broken marriage, the abandoned son, and the cohabitation with his girlfriend. Professionally he finds no stimulation among his colleagues, and even the conversations about literature with his closest friend, the local dentist, reveal his distant and arrogant attitude. Bjørn Hansen regards his friend's preferences for easy readers as not comparable with his own literary taste. Bjørn Hansen prefers literary texts written by rewarded and intellectual authors, and he listens to his friend's excitement about the books, not to what he says and means. Bjørn Hansen confides in his friend telling him that *he now* *wanted to read a novel that showed that life was impossible, but without a touch of humour, be it black or of another sort*[10].

The wish to find a novel confirming his own thoughts about the meaninglessness of life in general is expressed when meeting doctor Schiøtz at the hospital. The reflections are slowly turned into the plan that has fatal consequences for the rest of Bjørn Hansen's life. The consequences are however deliberate and wanted. Bjørn Hansen returns from Lithuania linked to a wheelchair. He appears in the street of the small town of Kongsberg as a token of a destroyed life. He looses his job and must receive social aid, which he had not taken into account. He benefits from the health services of the community, but after a while the need to take up usual social relations brings him in an awkward situation. The novel ends with Bjørn Hansen standing on his feet to pee at his friend's house with the hope that the faked paralysis should be discovered. The novel gives the reader no lead to the further development, and by this turn the text deconstructs itself ending in nothing.

By his novel with no identifiable title and with a protagonist that is engaged in deconstructing the conditions for life, meaning, and content, Solstad has created a text constructing the meaningless and the absurd in a deconstructive manner. The novel simultaneously shows two contradictory movements. The text creates a fictional universe, in which an existence with normal opportunities for success and wellbeing is possible. This existence proves itself to be the opposite of the expected; it is the opposite existence that is revealed to the reader. The soul or the spiritual life of the protagonist rejects every step towards a normal coexistence with others. Instead, heavy categories like emptiness, death, meaninglessness are highlighted. Even a further stage in the process towards negation is reached as Bjørn Hansen starts to consider himself as doctor Schiøtz's creation. He no longer recognizes his own initiative and eagerness to launch the plan. He rejects the responsibility by projecting it on to the doctor. The emptiness and total meaninglessness conquer him as he sits abandoned in his flat tied to the wheelchair. By this turn, the novel deconstructs the very idea behind the plan; i.e., the great Not or No is undermined in two ways. Normal existence is deconstructed and made visual by placing the protagonist in a wheelchair. In addition, the project as such is turned down by the protagonist's rejection of his own idea.

Breaking the borders of genres – Solstad's novel *16.07.41*

The subtitle of *16.07.41* is 'novel', and this archetextual categorization cannot be ignored[11]. The 'novel' as a genre has a lot of advantages as it is rather new and in a continuous development. In other words, it is not fixed or permanently established. The genre is therefore open and inclusive; a category that is flexible and transformable. Bakhtin has referred to novel as a 'hybrid' in order to characterize the numerous possibilities related to the genre.[12] *16.07.41* is a very good example of a hybrid when it comes to genre conventions.

The reading of *16.07.41* brings about reflections on its connection with novelistic subgenres like traveller's novel or wanderer's novel. In Solstad's novel, the reader is getting acquainted with the narrator led by the need to convey, and for him the travel is important, no matter if it is a walk alongside the canals in Berlin or a flight above the clouds over the Baltic Sea. In Solstad's novel, the protagonist chooses an exile far away from Norway and moves to his 'cabin' in Berlin, which turns out to be *[a] two-room flat with a small balcony*[13]. From his flat in Berlin, the protagonist starts a number of long walks through the streets of the city. The walks in *16.07.41* have thematical ties with the reflection as a phenomenon. The novelistic text may be regarded as an interior monologue, a long chain of thoughts with ruptures and breaks, distractions and detours. The subjects of reflections are obviously the previous life and experiences of the protagonist, his excitements and spontaneous acts. However, his thoughts are constantly undermined by repetitive comments on the insufficiency and the insignificance of his own existence compared to fictional life. The staging of a life in the shape of scripture within the novelistic frame therefore constitutes a double illusion in Solstad's text. The numerous signals pointing to autobiography as the genre and way of writing are constantly countered by opposite signals. Throughout the whole text, there is a discussion about fictionalizing, about one's own experience and its relation to literature, about the novel's options as a text, and about what supplies ideas for the production of fiction. This meta-textual level is the superior level of the text.

The main title is of a vital importance for a text, regardless of genre categorization. The title is the first attempt at obtaining contact with the presumptive reader or viewer. In this way, a connection is created between the main text and the title that in turn includes the reader[14]. Various model-readers are also easy to discern in Solstad's text[15]. One model-reader is inscribed on the autobiographical level of the text, another – on the meta-textual level, and still another – on the multiple narrative levels of the novel.

The fact that the main title of the novel is identical with the author's date of birth date has various implications. To state that the novel is an autobiography is insufficient. Finn Tveito has proposed to use the French concept of 'auto-fiction' in this context, which implies that the author stages himself in a way that his text claims to be read and interpreted as fiction and not as autobiography[16]. In Solstad's case, we may add that autobiography as a genre is used and abused in many ways. The author seems to use the genre as a cornucopia, picking up various elements from the genre, playing with his discoveries, rejecting, using, enlarging, and reducing – all dependent of the options offered by the genre.

An alternative view of the novel, which is close to the autobiographical practice, is the possibility of regarding the author as a medium of reflection for the creation of the text. Solstad's experience, thoughts, and devices in this case supply the basis for the writing of almost any text, also a novel. This is, however, the ordinary practice in fictional writing as it is impossible to neglect one's own experience when writing. This is thematized on the meta-level of the novel as a lecture, given at a literature seminar in Lillehammer, Norway. By this trick, the reader is confronted with a double illusion. In fact, Solstad has given a similar lecture during the so-called Sigrid Undset-festival in Lillehammer. Since this lecture has been written into the frames of Solstad's novel, the lecture now has to be regarded as fiction. It is no longer equivalent with the lecture delivered at the festival, which was supposed to mirror Solstad's preferences for fictional writing. Instead it now constitutes a fiction within a fictional frame. Thus appears a sophisticated Chinese box-system.

The subtitle 'novel' is undoubtedly an element that arouses the reader's curiosity and challenges him / her to categorize and evaluate the text. Of course, the novel pretends to be fictional, but simultaneously there exist a number of subcategories that always make the categorization seem preliminary. As already mentioned, the traveller's novel seems to be a relevant category for the discussion of Solstad's novel. On the surface, the protagonist wanders about in Berlin carefree and rather indifferent. However, this is a false impression. The wandering Solstad, the fictionalized authorial figure, reflects on his lack of knowledge of the German language and the insufficiency connected to the ability to speak and write only in his mother-tongue. Being a frequent guest in pubs and restaurants, he feels this lack very strongly as *I visit pubs in Berlin, sit and listen. Without understanding anything*[17]. Situations like this contribute to the protagonist's depression and sadness:

> *I think it is odd that I am considered to be such a successful author; I who know only my mother tongue. It strikes me when I am sitting here that this cannot be true. A Norwegian who has knowledge of foreign languages is far more capable of writing in a rich Norwegian language than a person knowing only his mother tongue. A Norwegian with the knowledge of German must for instance reflect and wonder about the Norwegian way of expressing the same. The ability to discover differences must enrich one's own language considerably. I cannot see that it can be otherwise. But I am excluded from this enrichment because I have nothing to compare with. I am consequently one-sided in my use of the language.*[18]

The greater part of the novel contains repeated reflections on the writing of fiction. Simultaneously the ironical voice in the text constitutes a typical feature found in most novels and short stories by Solstad. This novel not only constitutes a parody of the autobiographical novel or the modernist novel of alienation, but it borrows from these novelistic genres and creates a dialogue with non-fictional texts like advertisements, guide-books, and travellers' stories. The text is deconstructing these genres by making a countergenre.

16.07.41 has a circular composition despite its interrupted narration, a feature, which is often found in novels. The novel starts with a reflection upon memories about the father and ends with other memories, but of a similar kind. The memories of the father are incorporated in a vision with elements from children's glossy pictures as well as science fiction impressions. The composition in the mid sequences is shaped like a ruptured city walk and a travel back home to Norway. In Norway, the small cities of Lillehammer and Sandefjord are visited. The above-mentioned lecture in Lillehammer is fitted into the text as a 'mis-en-abyme'. In this way, the meta-text places itself as a core for the other textual levels of the novel. Besides, we may postulate that this level constitutes a meta-meta-level or an extra meta-level in the text.

Since the whole novelistic text is concentrated on writing, scripture, language and text, the Lillehammer lecture places itself as an illuminator of the main theme of the text. The essential question raised in the lecture deals with the conditions for writing a novel. *16.07.41* becomes a possible answer to this question. The closing of the text is formed like a sober ascertainment, in which it is stated that the protagonist returns to Berlin, *where I since then have been writing this*[19]. Solstad's novel mirrors a genre-related authorial dilemma because it seems that the novel in all its variations is incapable of offering sufficient space for fictional writing. The autobiography or other biographical genres constitute options, but they do not seem satisfactory. Instead, the solution seems to be found in the deconstruction of conventional genres and a mixture and play with the well-known. Mixing, advertising, and parody are attractive options for realisation, and *16.07.41* is presenting some of these options to the reader.

While *16.07.41* marks a highlight in Solstad's work, with its play with genres, by blending and mixing, *Eleventh Novel, Book Eighteen* marks another peek in his production by deconstructing the possibility of writing about human existence in general. The novel turns down the project of writing totally by ignoring everything conventional about the novel.[20] In *Eleventh Novel, Book Eighteen*, there are no chapters, no subtitles, and the stream of reflections moves towards a total silence at the end of the novel. In this way, the novel itself gives the answer to Bjørn Hansen's request to read a novel illustrating the total meaninglessness of life and simultaneously the meaninglessness and absurdity of writing. Therefore, in different manners, both novels show the impossibility of a conventional novel in our times.

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[1] Lukács G. *Die Theorie des Romans*. Luchterhand, Neuwied, 1963 [1920]; Bakhtin M. M. Epos og roman, in: Kittang A. et al. (eds.) *Moderne litteraturteori. En antologi*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1991 [1941]; de Man P. Autobiography as De-Facement, in: Man P. de. *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1984.
[2] Genette G. *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degree*. Seuil, Paris, 1982.
[3] Solstad D. *Ellevte roman, bok atten*. Forlaget Oktober, Oslo, 1992. – p. 7. Here and henceforth translation mine – B. A.
[4] Ibid. – p. 6.
[5] Ibid. – p. 55.
[6] Solstad D. *16.07.41*. Roman. Forlaget Oktober, Oslo, 2002. – p. 56 ff.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Solstad D. *Ellevte roman, bok atten*. Forlaget Oktober, Oslo, 1992. – pp. 110–111.
[9] Ibid. – p. 111.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Genette G. *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degree*. Seuil, Paris, 1982.
[12] Mikhail M. Bakthin points out that the novel has an advantage due to its being a young genre capable of both parody and influence. Thus the novel gains a doble status; on the one hand, it can 'write across' the previous genres (cf. what is implied in the title of Gérard Genette's dissertation, *Palimpsestes*), and on the other hand, the novel has the potential of altering old genres and create new ones. Bakhtin states that the novel, *[W]hen it enters a leading position contributes to the renewal of other genres, inflicts them with its creation and unfinishness. It forces them into its circulation because this circulation coincides with the basic tendency in the development of literature as a whole.* (In: Kittang A. et al. (eds.) *Moderne litteraturteori. En antologi*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1991. – p. 129).
[13] Solstad D. *16.07.41*. Roman. Forlaget Oktober, Oslo, 2002. – p. 58.
[14] Olsson A. & M. Vincent 1983. Intertextualitet – möten mellan texter. / *BLM* No. 3, 1983.
[15] Eco U. *The Role of the Reader. Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*. Hutchinson, London / Melbourne / Sydney / Auckland / Johannesburg, 1981 [1979].
[16] Tveito F. Avla av skrift. Om 16.07.41 av Dag Solstad, in: Sejersted J. M. & E. Vassenden *Norsk Litterær Årbok*. Oslo, 2003. – p. 141.
[17] Solstad D. *16.07.41*. Roman. Forlaget Oktober, Oslo, 2002. – p. 66.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid. – p. 212.
[20] Culler J. Poetics of the Novel, in: Culler J. *Structuralist Poetics. Structuralism in Linguistics and the Study of Literature*. Routledge, London, 1975; Benjamin W. Fortelleren, in: Karlsten T. (ed.) *Kunstverket i reproduksjonsalderen*. Gyldendal, Oslo, 1975 [1936].

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Pekka Kujamäki

EXCITING READINGS FOR THE GERMAN *VOLK* – ON FUNCTIONS OF NORDIC LITERATURE IN GERMANY IN THE 1930s[1]

Summary

Johannes and Rita Öhquist were among the most important mediators between Finland and Germany in the first half of the 20th century. Johannes Öhquist's unpublished writing, particularly his correspondence with German publishing houses, is especially indicative of the ideological, aesthetic, and economic criteria informing literary exchange between the two countries. This exchange can be analyzed in terms of the concepts of openness and closure. The fact that Öhquist was frequently asked for advice on works to be translated would suggest that Germany was open to the Finnish literature, especially in view of the ideological turning toward Nordic cultures. However, that same ideological context involved marked closure with respect to certain themes and details that either appeared to threaten the 'good image of the Nordic' or were already present to the point of saturation within German literature. Passages from the correspondence help sketch out the norms by which publishers' readers and other gatekeepers defined the German readership's interest in the Finnish literature, and how those norms in turn affected the way some works were translated by the Öhquists.

Key-words: Finnish literature, Third Reich, norms, translation

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Introduction

The literatures of young smaller cultures, like that of Finland, do not always find it easy to enter the literary markets of older larger literatures like that in the German language. The larger culture may be so productive and rich in literary tradition that it can meet all of its demands internally; it thus has no need to open itself to other literatures. And the smaller literature is often too young and too unknown to make a name for itself in the target culture and thus carve out a niche in that market. On the other hand, there would seem to be relatively few problems for literary movements in the other direction, given that literatures that are young and small thrive on the stimuli they gain from works from larger cultures, either in translation or in the original.

One good example of a so called 'small culture' and its 'small literature' is that of Finnish culture, which – in the raise of its national identity – was very strongly developed through and with translations. To begin with, almost up to the 20th century, Finnish language was the common people's language, while the ruling educated classes spoke Swedish. A remarkable feature in the history of the Finnish language is, however, the fact that some members of the Swedish-speaking ruling class actively participated in the creation of Finnish as a national language. After the annexation of Finland to

Russia (in 1809) the role of the Finnish language became increasingly important. As Outi Paloposki writes:

> *The Finnish language was now hailed as means of – and a basis for – developing the nation's identity. Translation into Finnish first served the aim of producing useful and educational literature for the masses, but also aimed at founding a national identity, polishing the Finnish language for literary use, and finally making Finnish the language of the educated elite. It was ultimately seen as a means of elevating the Finnish language to the ranks of 'civilized languages'.*[2]

As a consequence, the functions of translations into Finnish were to refine the Finnish language for future purposes, to create the foundation as well as models for a future Finnish literature, and – last but not least – to educate and instruct the people. These general cultural aims determined openness to foreign literary products, the choice of texts for translation, as well as the way they were translated, or the general translation strategy.[3]

The history of literature and translation nevertheless shows that even large closed literary systems occasionally sense the need for new stimuli or new literary options. The motivation for this need often comes from extra-literary factors, particularly the political or historical events that influence a country's culture and cultural policy. When in such cases the target culture opens itself to the literature of a certain nation but is quite unfamiliar with that literature, it requires mediators, gatekeepers, able to introduce it to the source culture and vice versa.

An example of this can be found in the way Johannes und Rita Öhquist mediated between Germany and Finland. Here we shall focus on the 1920s and 1930s when German publishers showed at least a moderate interest in Finnish literature. Those publishers were clearly dependent on literary mediators, given that the Finnish literature was relatively unknown at that time. Indeed, the first German-language literary history of Finland by Hans Grellmann was not published until 1932. However, the Öhquists acted into both directions: at the same time Finnish publishers in Finland, such as Otava and Werner Söderström Publishing Company (WSOY), were making connections to German publishing houses with the help of Rita and Johannes Öhquist. This kind of mediation between several literary markets, as in this case between Finland, other Scandinavian countries, Russia, and Germany, became even more important after 1928, as Finland finally joined the international Bern Convention (officially *International Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*), which grants the foreign author the same copyright in Finland that the Finnish regulations grant for its own authors covering translations as well.

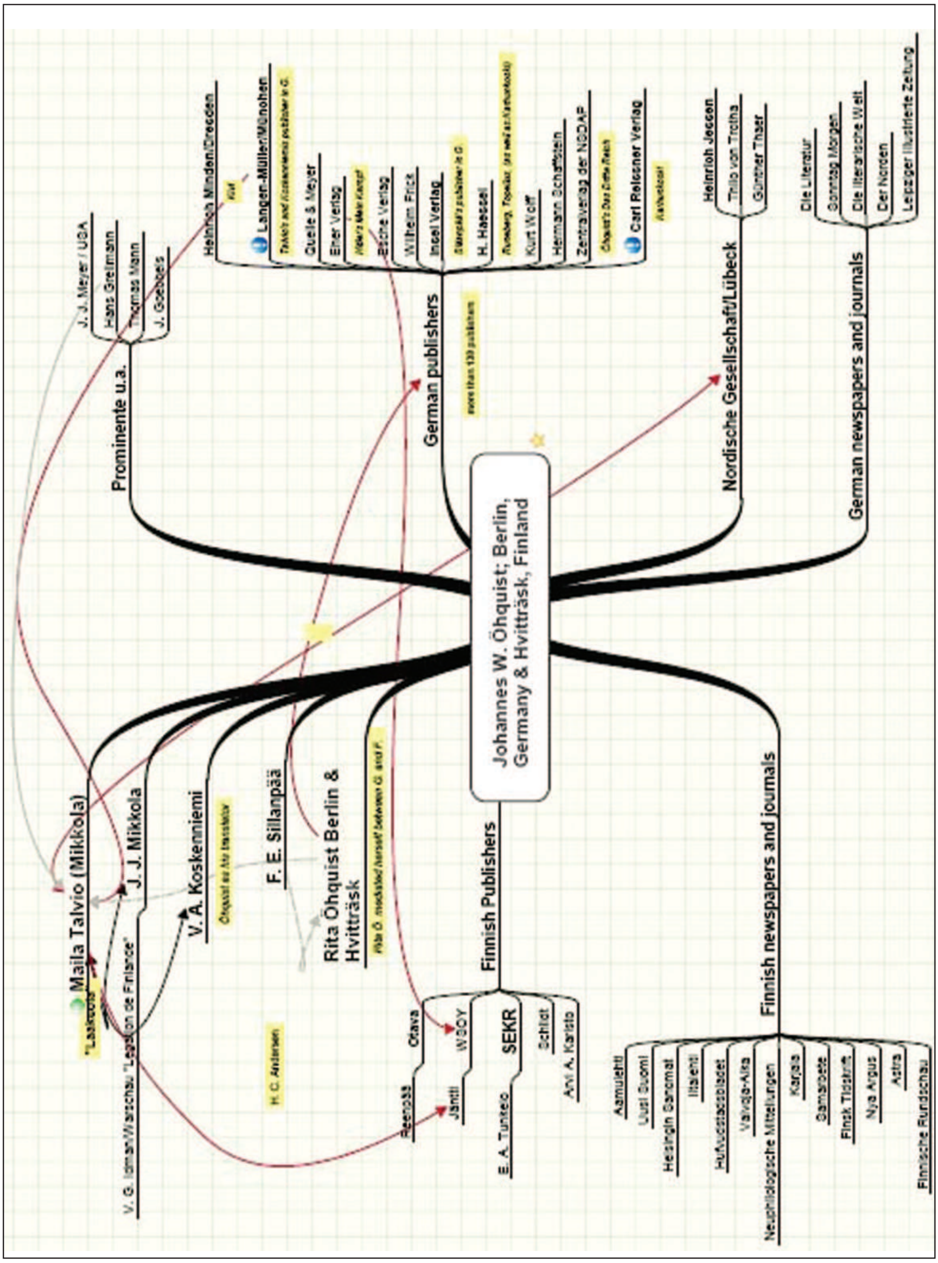
The correspondence of Johannes and Rita Öhquist

The present research has used the unpublished archives of Johannes Wilhelm Öhquist (1861 – 1949), held in the library of the University of Helsinki. Of a particular interest is the correspondence that he maintained with German publishers from the 1920s to the 1940s in his diverse capacities as press attaché of the Finnish legation in Berlin (1918 – 1927), German teacher at the University of Helsinki (1895 – 1919), poet, and translator. Öhquist worked multilaterally, not only informing his German and Finnish partners about the Scandinavian literature in general, but also giving Swedish-language publishers tips about German works. Our focus here will nevertheless be on his mediation between Finland and Germany. The Öhquist papers also include many letters to and from Öhquist's wife Rita (*née* Winter, 1884 – 1968), who was herself one of the most productive translators of the Finnish literature into German.

The archive is voluminous, entailing seventy-nine tightly packed files. The documents include handwritten and typed manuscripts of Öhquist's literary works, projects for books on politics, geography, history, and culture; manuscripts of his reviews and studies on literature, (world) politics and culture; press clippings; lectures on politics in Finland; translations of Finnish poems, novels, and scientific texts; biographical notes; diaries; and several thousand letters from the correspondence of the couple with more than one hundred thirty German publishers (see Picture 1). This gives an idea of the Öhquists' substantial cultural and political engagement.[4] At the same time, the breadth and depth of the material also explains why the full extent of their work as intermediaries has not yet been brought to light. This means that we are still unable to reckon how representative might be the examples we will be drawing on below. Nevertheless, a fleeting overview of the letters affirms that in the 1920s and 1930s the Öhquists formed an important relay point for literary exchanges between Finland and Germany. With Johannes Öhquist's help, German publishing houses sought not only ways, in which German literature could enter Finland, but also Finnish and Scandinavian authors that might be of interest for the German market. This can be seen, for example, in letters from the Munich publishing house Langen & Müller:

> *To my great pleasure I see from your letter that you are thinking of introducing Emil Strauss to the Finnish reading public. Perhaps when you are here we can discuss ways and means of presenting more good German books to Finland, either in German or in translation.*[5]
>
> *Many thanks for your news of Denmark. Unfortunately Johannes V. Jensen's novel is out of the question for us, since as far as we know he is under firm contract to Fischer Verlag in Berlin. On the other hand, I would be very grateful if you could read something by the young Dane Aage Dons, or at least the new novel 'Soldaterbrönden', and tell us what you think. We would certainly be interested in this novel if it is exceptionally good. Otherwise, we are handsomely stocked up on books from Nordic languages for the next two years.*[6]

As these letters show, a good part of Johannes Öhquist's mediation consisted in giving expert opinions on recent or contemporary works, either at the request of publishers' readers or on his own initiative. Often his comments appeared later as reviews in the German or Finnish newspapers or journals, for which Öhquist wrote reports on the European, Russian, and American literature as well as on the political and economic issues in Finland and Russia. Öhquist also introduced, as the first citation indicates, original German-language books to Finland. Between the World Wars, German was still widely studied and read among the educated part of the Finnish people, and in the first half of the 20th century, as the Finnish literary market was still in the process of development, German originals as well as German or Swedish translations of the world literature works provided a valuable connection to the literatures of other countries.[7] Through German or Swedish translations, Finnish readers became acquainted with a number of modern European and American authors (e.g., André Gide, Aldous Huxley,



Picture 1. Mind map of Johannes W. Öhquist's correspondence

James Joyce, and Virginia Woolf) long before they got translated into Finnish after World War II. In many cases these artists were first introduced by Johannes Öhquist in the Finnish newspapers.[8]

The correspondence between the Öhquists and German publishers can thus be seen as a discourse on cultural exchange between Finland and Germany. The letters offer indications of the prevailing ideological, aesthetic, and economic conditions of the exchange (the 'norms', as it were). In our analysis, the concepts of 'openness' and 'closure' represent the extremes of a continuum, which marks the functions of the Finnish or – looking from a broader perspective – Nordic literature in general. On the one hand, we can see the target culture's openness toward the Finnish literature in the manner, in which Öhquist was asked about contemporary Finnish works that could be translated. However, this openness was accompanied by a distinct closure with respect to themes that did not correspond to German ideological and aesthetic expectations.

The door is open

In 1917 – 1918 the door was certainly open. This cultural openness was the result of the political events in Finland, notably Finland's declaration of independence and the Finnish Civil war, in which German soldiers were involved. This marked the beginning of a period, in which German publishers and readers became increasingly interested in the Finnish literature. Discourse of 'Finnish-German affinity' and the 'Finnish friendship for Germany' would last into the 1920s.[9] In the early 1920s, this special relationship was mainly promoted by Finns themselves, by writing books on Finnish geography and culture and financing translations of Finnish novels into foreign languages.[10] German publishers were, in contrast, prudent and careful, and their openness was constrained by economic conditions. Finally, Finnish literary works were probably printed in Germany more than they were read there, and this was ultimately to be accounted for by the fact that the Finnish literature was relatively unknown outside Finland.

An example of this can be found in the Dresden publisher Heinrich Minden Verlag, whose experience with Aleksis Kivi's Finnish classics *Seitsemän veljestä* (The Seven Brothers, Die sieben Brüder, 1870) and *Nummisuutarit* (Heath Cobblers, Die Heideschuster, 1864) is well documented in the Öhquist letters. From the beginning of the 1920s, Heinrich Minden's personal mission was to promote Finnish literature, and in a short time he published several significant works. Financial success was most expected from the works by Aleksis Kivi. However, using only his own resources, without assistance from Finland, Minden was unable to generate enough publicity. He found it 'hellishly hard' to open up a place on the market.[11] In a letter to Öhquist dated February 11 1927, he expressed his disillusionment as follows:

> *There is no question that 'The Seven Brothers' towers above the rest. This might, however, be seen as a special case. The initial print run (I do not have the exact numbers with me at the moment) was about 3,000 copies, perhaps a little less than more. From that we have to subtract countless free copies for reviews and publicity. For later printings, divided into three runs of 1,000 copies each, there are similar publicity expenses, high production costs and royalties. You can just imagine all the advertisements I had to place in newspapers and journals, the countless flyers I had to send out so that booksellers and the public would know or at least*

> *hear about who Aleksis Kivi was. Years of professional experience told me that all my money, time and trouble would not really be worth the effort in the end. But I told myself that this preliminary edition would soon be sold out. Then I would print a huge edition, and a slow, modest but constant harvest would begin. Now, in two months' time, it will be six years since that first edition. I have still not covered my costs. And as you have perspicaciously discovered, I have simply not been able to put out any further expensive publicity.*[12]

This example shows that publishing and reception processes in the target culture, despite all the good intentions and preparation, need not correspond to the classical status attributed to a work in its source culture. And this can happen even when the target culture is at least seemingly open to ideas and works from the source culture.

Novels of excitement for the German *Volk*

Further analysis of the correspondence gives an impression that German publishers thought the Finnish literature was marked by verbose prose, unperturbed attention to painterly detail, and rather antiquated poetic ideas. For German publishers those failings were quite obvious and in many cases they were also the main obstacle to the publication of a literary work. Equally obvious, however, was the target side's appeal for action and excitement. Many German publishers sought Finnish texts that, in contradistinction to the current German literature, would be *read with pleasure by common readers*, and in which *human-to-human language* would not constantly be *drowned out by intellect.*[13] Publishers gave priority to novels *that have exceptional action and excitement*[14] or were looking for novels that can *be read with pleasure not just by those with literary training but also by common readers* [einfachere Leser][15].

The function of the Finnish literature would thus be to provide the German market with works that could be bought and read by the common reader. Specifically Finnish texts were sought out, although it is almost impossible to say what exact degree of 'Finnishness' the publishers believed the German readership could ultimately take. Here, for instance, is a comment on the possible success of Kalle Karhunkoski's novel *Kristallitorni* (Tower of Crystal, Der kristallene Turm):

> *It will be difficult for German readers (even if we admit a cultivated reading public) to get through this extraordinarily rich book, which must appear in two volumes. Of course Germans have a certain interest in Finland and Finnish history, but I am afraid the very detailed descriptions of the Finnish national movement and the Socialist currents of some 20 years ago will on the whole not sufficiently interest the German reading public.*[16]

Johannes Öhquist nevertheless put considerable effort into promoting *Kristallitorni*. In 1926 and 1927, he proposed the novel to at least twenty German publishers, often in the following terms:

> *In a separate package I am sending you the manuscript of a novel on which a Finnish poet is currently working: 'Der kristallene Turm' by Kalle Karhunkoski. The poet is presently in the North, but the German text will be made available to you as the original advances. I am sending you what has been done so far, so that you can decide on the project. To help you with the decision I also enclose a sketch of the novel's development and conclusion, based on the poet's indications.*[17]

These words would suggest that Öhquist was particularly close to the Finnish poet, since he was obviously able to send incomplete work for assessment. In reality, 'the poet' was a pseudonym that Öhquist used in order to introduce his own work to German readers. This is thus a case of pseudo-translation, an original text that is made to look like a translation. Methodologically, pseudo-translations can be analyzed in order to reconstruct and present the cultural functions considered typical of actual translations.[18] True, Öhquist confessed often enough (albeit not in the same letter) that the novel *is not a translation but was written in German, since the author masters German as a mother tongue*. It is nevertheless not by pure coincidence that he tried to have his novel accepted under a Finnish pseudonym. After all, Germany had a certain interest in specifically Finnish literature.

The publisher Carl Reissner Verlag, which finally brought the novel out, probably counted on this interest. Although the title page only indicates that it is *a novel from Finland* (*ein Roman aus Finnland*), as Öhquist had requested, the publisher indicated in the publicity (see Picture 2) that this was *the first great novel about Finland* (*Der erste große Finnland-Roman*).

Picture 2. Advertisement of *Der kristallene Turm* by Johannes Öhquist

Literature for the 'new Germany'

In the 1930s, the 'Finnish-German affinity' took on a strongly racial political tone, giving new motivation to German openness to the Finnish literature. The catchwords were the ideological *turning to the North*, to *Nordic thought* (*Nordischer Gedanke*)[19] and cultural (including literary) exchange.[20] This became all the stronger after 1933, when the 'Nordische Gesellschaft' (Nordic Society) in Lübeck was incorporated into the National Socialist German Workers Party, otherwise known as the Nazi Party. The previously neutral organization now took on the task of, as formulated by its head Ernst Timm, *improving the conditions for an objective understanding of the new Germany in the North*[21]. The 'Nordische Gesellschaft' became an important meeting place where German publishers could make contacts, and the Öhquists were drawn into it as informants. The society had very clear ideas about what was acceptable for the German market. Heinrich Jessen, the head of its culture section, wrote to Rita Öhquist asking for information about Finnish books:

> *We are frequently asked if we could actually publish such works. For this reason, it would of course be propitious if we could always be informed about details that, from our perspective, are difficult to overlook. Since I assume that this is also in your interest and that you too are following the development of Finnish literature, you should already be familiar with the task. I hope you will be able to agree to my request and have such information reach us. We would essentially like to promote only works that are truly in line with our view of the world, works that give a good image of the Nordic character, states and peoples.*[22]

The 'Nordische Gesellschaft' was particularly looking for 'race-specific' works by Nordic or Scandinavian artists, as well as works that foregrounded the authentic, predefined character of the Nordic peoples. As Kate Sturge observes from German reviews on Scandinavian literature of that time, those translations were considered good that gave the German people insights conforming what they already knew to be true about the Nordic character and would *call forth an echo in the minds of the German readers, an echo on kinship (Verwandschaft) which will awaken in them a true sense of their own Nordicity*[23]. An additional goal was to press the unnatural and *degenerate* works of German Modernism out of the market and to coax young German authors toward a new artistic model.[24] Translation thus became a clear function in the *nation-building agenda* of the Nazi Germany: to *further the constitution of a new German nation, or Volk, by providing it with an ancient pedigree and enlightenment on the shared soul of the Nordic peoples*[25].

Johannes and Rita Öhquist also worked directly for publishers. Rita Öhquist corresponded with several German publishers at the same time, giving reports and assessments of individual works, as well as suggestions about what should be translated from Finnish. This can be gathered from her lines written to Heinrich Jessen:

> *I have also been in correspondence with Langen & Müller in Munich in recent weeks and I have sought to keep them fully informed about other works by Maila Talvio that I deem suitable. (The extent of the interest in Finnish literature can be seen from the number of large German companies that have asked me for suggestions about what to translate.) [..] If the Nordische Gesellschaft intends to introduce Koskenniemi's lyrical creativity to Germany, my husband would be pleased to oblige, if and when his participation should be sought.*[26]

With respect to what the publishers actually expected, we find the correspondence generally adopting the norms propagated by the representatives of the 'Nordische Gesellschaft'. That is, the ideological context implied a marked closure with respect to themes and details that endangered the *good image of the Nordic character* or that were otherwise already in oversupply within German literature itself. These positions complicated the possible publication of a work like Frans Emil Sillanpää's *Miehen tie* (The Way of a Man, Eines Mannes Weg, 1932). In July, 1933, Anton Kippenberg of Insel Verlag in Leipzig expressed his doubts to Rita Öhquist in the following lines:

> *On the other hand I must tell you openly that I have the greatest doubts about the third chapter. Considering its present form in German I predict not only the book's failure in Germany but also severe repercussions on further sales of 'Silja'*

> [Sillanpää's 1931 novel *Nuorena nukkunut* (The Maid Silja / Fallen Asleep While Young) – P. K.] *Granted, the chapter with the hero Paavo's dissolute experiences in the city is indispensable for the composition of the work and the development of the relationship between Alma and Paavo. However, not only does it protrude from the framework of the whole, but it contains large segments that are intolerable, at least for the German reader. I do not know to what extent Finland might find something new in such descriptions of certain sides of city life. Within German literature, we already have more than enough of them.*[27]

The supposed shortcomings of Finnish literature are mentioned more or less explicitly in the letters of the 1930s. The strongest criticism was aimed at scenes depicting drunkenness or sexual promiscuity, indeed any image that challenged the notions of good Nordic virtues and the special relation that Nordic people are supposed to have with nature. It is interesting that as a translator Rita Öhquist was willing to comply with her publishers' wishes in order not to jeopardize the chances of her translation coming out: *I must confess I felt somewhat relieved when you too objected to the third chapter. I was only able to translate that chapter at the cost of great inner effort and by toning down much of the vulgar language.*[28]

In response to Kippenberg's complaints, the translator herself suggests some deletions and modifications, and then she gives him a free hand:

> *I have made small changes and have indicated with square parentheses in red ink all the passages that I think can be deleted. The passages you have marked in green are I believe entirely dispensable. Only in a few of them have I underlined something that perhaps should stay. You would no doubt like further changes and deletions. Hopefully the text can then be printed in the final form that you will have defined.*[29]

The results of this arrangement can be seen in the published translation, which appeared in 1933. Pekka Tarkka comments:

> *The translation has quite a few deletions in the chapter where the hero visits the city. This indicates the translator's tendency to eliminate the blunt Naturalistic explicitness. The reader no longer encounters Sillanpääs's unbridled farmer Paavo, but something like Jeremias Gotthelf's brave lad Uli.*[30]

As Rita Öhquist's letter indicates, the deletions were in all probability not the initiative of the translator alone. Whatever the case, the aesthetics of the original counted for almost nothing in the ultimate approach to translation. It even did not matter that the author happened to be the future Nobel Prize winner Frans Emil Sillanpää.

The correspondence thus indicates not only why this happened, but also how Rita Öhquist came to know and deal with the ideologically shaped expectations of the German target culture. She was able to warn publisher's readers in advance about the apparent shortcomings of her Finnish texts, and she was quite prepared to propose some ostensible improvements.

By way of conclusion

Further analysis would have to particularize the ideological and aesthetic norms at stake. One should also address their relative strength and effects on the literary transfer process. It is nevertheless clear that, at least in the 1930s, the Öhquists had attained a position, from which they could to some extent control the translation flow, for example, by seeking further translators for work they were unable to take on. The fact that they kept most of the translating for themselves is made clear in the following remarks made by Rita Öhquist to the Finnish writer Maila Talvio:

> *Westermann has taken on 'Kihlasormus'. I am so happy about it! 'Yölintu' will soon be published, under the same conditions as 'Die Glocke', as soon as the paper is approved.*
>
> *My husband's book 'Kolmas valtakunta' (The Führer's Reich) will soon also be out in a new edition. The same for his 'Löwenbanner'. I am translating 'Tunturi uhkaa' by E. N. Manninen. Then I have to start a new translation of 'Seitsemän veljestä', which is a major artistic challenge and gives me much pleasure. And then the third volume of Haarla's 'Kurki Saga' is waiting to be translated, not to mention the many smaller literary tasks to be done for Finland. I only wish I were able to work for 20 hours a day.*[31]

Johannes Öhquist's book on the Führer's Reich, mentioned in the above list, was an enthusiastic description of the new Germany. The book reveals Öhquist's personal commitment to Finland's political and cultural integration into Germany as well as political and cultural disintegration from the 'bolshevist' Soviet Union. The German version of the book came out a few years later – and was hailed, as the mind map in the appendix shows, by no one less than Joseph Goebbels.

Our citations from the correspondence of Johannes and Rita Öhquist indicate the interest of German publishers in the Finnish literature. It was basically motivated by the political and increasingly racial turning towards the North. The initial openness to the Finnish literature gave way to premeditated closure with respect to texts, themes, and details that did not suit the norms of the target-culture ideological context. In short, there was a certain interest in the Finnish literature, but what the Finnish authors were finally allowed to say was in the last analysis determined by the German side.

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[1] This is a slightly modified version of an earlier article *'Of course Germans have a certain in interest in Finland, but…' Openness to Finnish Literature in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s* translated from German into English by Anthony Pym for the conference volume *Sociocultural Aspects of Translation and Interpreting*, edited by Z. Jettmarova, A. Pym, & M. Shlesinger and published by John Benjamins, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2006.

[2] Paloposki O. *Variation in Translation. Literary Translation into Finnish 1809 – 1850*. Diss. University of Helsinki, 2002. – p. 87.

[3] Paloposki O. *Variation in Translation. Literary Translation into Finnish 1809 – 1850*. Diss. University of Helsinki, 2002; Paloposki O. & R. Oittinen. The Domesticated Foreign, in: Chesterman A., N. Gallardo San Salvador & Y. Gambier (eds.) *Translation in Context*. Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 2000. – pp. 373–390.

[4] On Öhquists' political engagement see Menger M. Johannes Öhquist und Deutschland, in: Zobel H.-J. (Hrsg.) *Literarische Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Finnland und Deutschland*. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, 1994. – pp. 84–92.

[5] Gustav Pezold, of Langen & Müller of Munich, to Johannes Öhquist, 10 October 1934.

[6] Holm, of Langen & Müller of Munich, to Johannes Öhquist, 18 January 1937.

[7] Kovala U. Käännöskirjallisuuden vanhat ja uudet tehtävät, in: Rojola L. (toim.) *Suomen kirjallisuushistoria, 2. Järkiuskosta vaistojen kapinaan*. Otava, Helsinki. – pp. 299–309.

[8] On Öhquists' engagement with Finnish publishers see: Kujamäki P. Johannes W. Öhquist kulttuuripoliittisten verkostojen kutojana, in: Riikonen H. K., O. Paloposki, U. Kovala &

P. Kujamäki (toim.) *Suomennoskirjallisuuden historia*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki. Forthcoming.

[9] Kujamäki P. *Deutsche Stimmen der 'Sieben Brüder'. Ideologie, Poetik und Funktionen literarischer Übersetzung*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt, etc., 1998. – pp. 109, 134 and 153; Kujamäki P. Finnish Comet in German Skies. Translation, Retranslation and Norms. / *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*. 13:1, 2001. – pp. 45–70.

[10] Kunze E. *Übersetzungen finnischer Schönliteratur. Bibliographie mit einer Einführung*. Helsinki: Finnische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Helsinki, 1950. – p. 33; Hein M. P. *Die Kanonisierung eines Romans. Alexis Kivis 'Sieben Brüder' 1870 – 1980*. Otava, Helsinki & Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1984. – pp. 69–73.

[11] Heinrich Minden, of Dresden, to Johannes Öhquist, 15 June 1927.

[12] Heinrich Minden, of Dresden, to Johannes Öhquist, 11 February 1927.

[13] Eisenreich, of the publishers Herrmann Schaffstein to Rita Öhquist, 29 October 1930.

[14] Alfred Bechthold to Rita Öhquist, 16 February 1928; available in the Maila Mikkola [Talvio] archive, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki, folder 42.

[15] Dr. Langfelder, of the publishers Herrmann Schaffstein, to Rita Öhquist, 14 January 1929.

[16] Publishers Kurt Wolff Verlag, Munich, to Johannes Öhquist, 19 July 1927.

[17] Johannes Öhquist to the agency H. Haessel of Leipzig, 6 July 1926.

[18] Toury G. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 1995. – p. 45.

[19] Lutzhöft H.-J. *Der Nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920 – 1940*. Ernst Klett, Stuttgart, 1971.

[20] For case studies of the relation between the ideological and historical context and literary exchange between Finland and Germany, see: Hein M. P. *Die Kanonisierung eines Romans. Alexis Kivis 'Sieben Brüder' 1870 – 1980*. Otava, Helsinki & Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1984; Hiedanniemi B. *Kulttuuriin verhottua politiikkaa. Kansallissosialistisen Saksan kulttuuripropaganda Suomessa 1933 – 1940*. Otava, Helsinki, 1980; Kelletat A. F. Die Heideschuster. Alexis Kivis Volksstück auf deutschen Bühnen. / *Trajekt. Beiträge zur finnischen, lappischen und estnischen Literatur*, No. 1. Otava, Helsinki & Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1981; and Kujamäki P. *Deutsche Stimmen der 'Sieben Brüder'. Ideologie, Poetik und Funktionen literarischer Übersetzung*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt, etc., 1998.

[21] Timm E. Der Norden. / *Der Norden* 12:1, 1935. – p. 3.

[22] Heinrich Jessen of the Nordische Gesellschaft, to Rita Öhquist, 6 April 1936.

[23] Sturge K. The *Nordic* in Nazi Germany: Translated Fiction and the Nation-Building Agenda. Paper read at the IATIS Conference *Translation and the (De)Construction of National / Cultural Identities*. Seoul, 2004. – p. 4.

[24] Lutzhöft H.-J. *Der Nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920 – 1940*. Ernst Klett, Stuttgart, 1971. – p. 221.

[25] Sturge K. The *Nordic* in Nazi Germany: Translated Fiction and the Nation-Building Agenda. Paper read at the IATIS Conference *Translation and the (De)Construction of National / Cultural Identities*. Seoul, 2004. – p. 7.

[26] Rita Öhquist to Heinrich Jessen of the Nordische Gesellschaft, 21 January 1936.

[27] Anton Kippenberg of Insel Verlag, to Rita Öhquist, 21 July 1933.

[28] Rita Öhquist to Anton Kippenberg of Insel Verlag, 30 July 1933.

[29] Rita Öhquist to Anton Kippenberg of Insel Verlag, 2 August 1933.

[30] Tarkka P. Sillanpää und das Dritte Reich. (Aus dem Finnischen von Reinhard Bauer.) / *Trajekt. Beiträge zur finnischen, lappischen und estnischen Literatur*, No. 1. Otava, Helsinki & Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981. – pp. 99–106.

[31] Rita Öhquist to Maila Talvio, 24 July 1941; in the Maila Mikkola [Talvio] archive, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki, folder 42.

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Sandra Grigaravičiūtė

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN LITHUANIA AND NORWAY, 1919 – 1940

Summary

Research on cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway from 1919 to 1940 is based on archival sources of Lithuania (the Central State Archives of Lithuania: the fund of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, the fund of the Legation of Lithuania in Washington) and sparse information from the Lithuanian press in 1919 – 1940. The first part of the article deals with the problems related to distinguishing periods of the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway. The second part of the research shows the contribution of the honor consuls of Lithuania to broadening bilateral and multilateral exchange. The third part reveals the role of the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm in building the cultural bridge between Lithuania and Norway. The fourth part reflects the support of the staffs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania for Norwegian journalists in Lithuania.

Key-words: Norway, Lithuania, consulate, cultural relations, Gustav Adolf Ring

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Introduction

From 1919 to 1940, it was not easy to build a cultural bridge between Lithuania and Norway. At the beginning of 1919, Antanas Smetona during his visit to Norway, expressed the will of Lithuanians to follow the Norwegian example in the cultural field. In Oslo, 1931, at the opening of the exhibition of the Lithuanian folk art, Jurgis Savickis – the representative of Lithuania in the Scandinavian countries – said:

> *Literature, music and pictorial art of Norway as art of the neighboring state made a great influence on Lithuania. We can state that the old generation grew into one with the art of Norway.*[1]

In 1931 – 1940, Lithuania followed the example of Norway in the fields of science, education, and art. Lithuania at the same time presented its cultural heritage in Norway.

Researchers of bilateral relations between Lithuania and Norway have not paid much attention to the cultural exchange. Hence, the present article is based on the archival sources of Lithuania (the Central State Archives of Lithuania: the fund of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, the fund of the Legation of Lithuania in Washington) and the sparse information from the Lithuanian press of 1919 – 1940.

The aims of the article are as follows: 1) to discuss the problems related to distinguishing periods of the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway; 2) to show the contribution of the honor consuls of Lithuania to broadening the bilateral and multilateral exchange; 3) to ascertain the role of the Legation of Lithuania in

Stockholm in building the cultural bridge between Lithuania and Norway; 4) to reflect the support of the staffs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania for Norwegian journalists in Lithuania.

1. Problems related to distinguishing periods of the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway

Distinguishing periods of the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway in 1919 – 1940 is problematic for two reasons. The first one – periods of cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway and Lithuania and the Scandinavian countries differ from one another. This means that we have to find new criteria for distinguishing periods of bilateral cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway. Another reason is that historical research on the relations between Lithuania and Norway is very modest. Therefore the author of this article will analyze archival sources, articles in the periodical press, and research done between 2003 and 2005.

After reviewing sixty journals edited in Lithuania in 1918 – 1940, one can notice a lack of articles related to Norway from 1918 to 1924.[2] From 1918 to 1927, in the newsletters *Lietuvos aidas*, *Lietuva*, we found no articles about relations between Lithuania and Norway and only one article in 1928.[3] The analysis of the archival sources of Lithuania shows that we can talk only of few cultural initiatives of Lithuanians or Norwegians in the period of 1919 – 1926.[4]

Cultural contacts between Lithuania and Norway began with the appointment of Gustav Adolf Ring – the honorary consul general of Lithuania in Oslo – at the end of 1926.[5] The honorary consul of Lithuania initiated a tour of Norwegian businessmen and journalists to Lithuania, especially to Kaunas and Klaipėda, and invited Lithuanians to the presentations in Norway.[6] Ring issued passports and visas for one hundred thirty-four persons in 1927 – 1931.[7] However, proper cultural exchange between Lithuania and Norway started only in 1931. Since 1931, Lithuanians have initiated active presentation of Lithuanian culture in Norway and popularized Norwegian science, art, and literature in the Lithuanian press.[8] It must be noted that the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway were asymmetrical: exchange of the cultural heritage in Norway was more intensive.

The analysis of primary and secondary sources makes it possible to distinguish three periods of the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway from 1919 to 1940. They are as follows: the first one – from 1919 to 1926 (from entering into relations with Norway to establishing the first honorary consulate of Lithuania in Oslo); the second – from 1927 to 1930 (from closing the Lithuanian Legation in Stockholm to its third opening); the third one – from 1931 to 1940 (from broadening the consular net in Norway to the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union).

2. Broadening the bilateral and multilateral exchange: contribution of the honorary consuls of Lithuania

Honorary consuls of Lithuania in Norway were involved in cultural propaganda in the Scandinavian countries, started by Savickis in 1931. In 1931 – 1935, Ring with V. Ebbesen – honorary consul of Lithuania in Oslo – actively participated in it by organizing an exhibition of Lithuanian folk art, coordinating performances of Lithuanian artists, informing the Norwegian press on cultural events, and promoting tourism.[9] In 1932 – 1936, honorary consuls of Lithuania in Norway took part in the following activities: 1) they informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania about the curriculum of various vocational schools; 2) sent literature on the museum of the *Norsk Folkemuseum Bygdöy* (activity plans, preservation of exhibits); 3) advertized resorts of Lithuania and distributed traveling plans made by the Lithuanian railway for travel services; 4) sent statistics about tourists traveling from Norway to Lithuania.[10] Ring took care of Lithuanians in Norway in the following ways: he guided Magdalena Avietenaitė during her participation at the international press conference in Oslo andassisted a Lithuanian agriculturalist from the cooperative of the Lithuanian agriculture.[11] In 1932 – 1933, the Lithuanian honorary consul general helped locate a summer practice for Lithuanian navigation students with Norwegian traders.[12]

Gustav Adolf Ring, Hilmar Marinius Hansen (in Oslo), and Halfdan Pedersen (in Bergen) tried to broaden the cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway in 1937 – 1940. Ring participated in the meetings of *Norsk Baltisk Forening*, by discussing and planning events and celebrations, and invited representatives as well as scientists and artists from Lithuania.[13] All the information about celebrations, lectures, performances, and other events from the Norwegian press was collected by consuls and sent to the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm.[14] Celebrations organized by *Norsk Baltisk Forening* gave an opportunity to Lithuanian artists to appear on the scene abroad and promote tourism as well. In 1937, the members of the *Norsk Baltisk Forening* decided to visit the Baltic states in 1938 during the celebration of the 20th independence anniversary.[15] Ring informed the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm of the establishment of the new travel service *Winge & Co's Reisebureu*, which proposed to organize the previously mentioned visit to the Baltic States.[16] The honorary consul general of Lithuania sent all the circulars received from the Lithuanian railway and asked to send more circulars and posters in German and English.[17] Representatives of the *Norsk Baltisk Forening* promoted the cooperation between Lithuanian and Norwegian museums. Some members of the mentioned association were museum workers, for example, the chair of the *Norsk Baltisk Forening* in 1939 was the director of the *Artillerimuseet*. In 1936, the representatives of the *Det Norske Krigsmuseum* sent exhibits to the museum in Kaunas.[18] Professor Tadas Ivanauskas and the director of the *Universitets Zoologiske Museum* in 1939 were in communication. Ivanauskas was interested in the opportunities of buying wild animals in Norway, especially beavers.[19]

Between 1937 and 1940, Ring together with Hansen at the request of the Association of Artists of Lithuania were looking for opportunities of organizing the exhibition of Lithuanian modern art in Oslo.[20] They organized Lithuanian-Norwegian football matches in Norway.[21] In 1937, Ring informed the House of Agriculture of Lithuania on opportunities for Lithuanian builders to work and study in the countryside of

Norway.[22] In 1938, some Norwegians – S. Larsen and Dr. E. Korsmo – looked for jobs in Lithuania.[23] The honorary consul general of Lithuania in Oslo notified the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm about meetings of Latvian and Norwegian diplomats and politicians and conferred Norwegians various awards.[24]

On 12 February, 1937, Ring proposed that the government of Lithuania give award to Överland – the editor of the *Aftenposten*. Överland disposed of this proposal.[25]

3. Building cultural bridges between Lithuania and Norway: the role of the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm

After the review of activities of the Lithuanian honorary consuls in Norway between 1931 and 1940, a question arises about the role of the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm.

The analysis of primary and secondary sources and the review of the latest research made on consular relations between Lithuania and Norway show that the Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm played a central role: it controlled consuls (in Norway) and coordinated their work especially by providing propaganda concerning the Lithuanian culture. The Lithuanian representatives in Stockholm remitted various literature and photos for exhibitions, lectures, and celebrations; they also transmitted proposals and initiatives of artists and scientists from Lithuania.[26] Finally, they asked for articles on different cultural events from the Norwegian press and information from the institutions of education and science.[27]

Savickis took care of Norwegian journalists and scientists who traveled to Lithuania. He asked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania to give them concessions for railway tickets. Until 1931, there were only 25% concessions for the second class railway tickets in Lithuania. In other countries in 1931, journalists could get a 50% concession for railway tickets or receive them free.[28] The Lithuanian diplomat explained to the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania that Scandinavian journalists did not want to be third class travelers and asked for free tickets for them.[29] On 28 March 1931, the Ministry of Communication informed Savickis on the new policy for railway ticket rates. The first and second class railway tickets were available to journalists from foreign countries at a 50% concession rate.[30] There are many letters written by Savickis asking for *gratis* tickets for Norwegian journalists in the funds of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania.[31] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania sent *gratis* tickets to the Lithuanian consulates in Norway by mail.

4. Norwegian journalists in Lithuania: support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania

Norwegian journalists who visited Lithuania could be categorized into three groups, as concerns the goals of their journey: those who came to Lithuania to participate in the events related to Klaipėda or Vilnius district, those who wanted to relax and look around, and those who came at the request of the *Norsk Baltisk Forening* or newspapers offices.[32] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania assigned scientific workers, scientists (philologists, engineers), and similar visitors the status designated to journalists. Honorary consuls of Lithuania in Norway also had journalist status.[33]

Magdalena Avietėnaitė, Ona Kairiūkštienė, Klara Engbergaitė – the officials of the Press-office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania hosted the Norwegian journalists.[34] These officials provided journalists with varied literature about Lithuania in the English, French, or German languages as well as photos.[35] For some Norwegian journalists, Lithuanian officials organized meetings with the representatives of the Association of Journalists of Lithuania and planned a special travel programme. For instance, on 17 September 1937, Jonas Jablonskis informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the visit of Hansen – the new Lithuanian honorary consul – to Lithuania.[36] Hansen planned to visit Kaunas and make a tour of Lithuania. The Legation of Lithuania in Stockholm asked the press office a special travel program for the Lithuanian honorary consul and requested information from the *Association of Tourism of Lithuania*.[37] Hansen received special attention in Lithuania because he *acted honestly for the good of Lithuanian business in Norway*[38]. Hansen wrote to Avietenaite on October 5 1937, and heartily thanked her for the wonderful welcome in Lithuania and sent her a book on Norway as a present.[39]

The following Norwegians visited Lithuania: Tjöl Offendahl – the editor of the newspaper *1-ste Mai* (Stavangere), Oddvar Röst – journalist of the *Hamar Arbeiderblad* (Hamar), Sigurd Evensmo – journalist of the *Arbeidernes Presskontor* (Oslo); in 1936, Øyvin Lange – member of the *Association of Engineers of Norway* and editor of the journal *Teknisk Ukeblad*.[40] Lange delivered a lecture in Kaunas on the highlights of Norwegian engineers and visited the building sites of Žemaičių road and Raudondvario and Babtų bridges.[41]

Conclusion

1. The analysis of primary and secondary sources makes it possible to distinguish three periods of cultural relations between Lithuania and Norway in 1919 – 1940. They are as follows: the first one – from 1919 to 1926; the second one – from 1927 to 1930; the third one – from 1931 to 1940.

2. Between 1931 and 1940, the honorary consuls of Lithuania in Norway took part in the following cultural activities: organizing an exhibition of the Lithuanian folk art, coordinating performances of Lithuanian artists and visits of sportsmen, informing the Lithuanian Legation in Stockholm of cultural presentations, promoting tourism, and guiding Lithuanian students and visitors in Norway.

3. The Lithuanian Legation in Stockholm played a special role in building of a cultural bridge between Lithuania and Norway. It controlled and coordinated the cultural activities of the honorary consuls of Lithuania and took care of Norwegian journalists by providing them with concessions for train tickets.

4. The staffs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania took care of Norwegian journalists. They presented them with literature on Lithuania written in the German, English, and French languages, organized meetings with colleagues in Lithuania, and planned special travel programmes.

[1] Norvegų spauda apie lietuvių liaudies parodą. / *Lietuvos aidas* No. 60, 1931. – p. 3.

[2] Grigaravičiūtė S. Skandinavijos istorija lietuvių periodikoje 1918 – 1940 metais, in: Juzefovičius R. and Ž. Mačiukas (eds.) *Visuotinė istorija Lietuvos kultūroje: tyrimai ir problemos*. Vilnius, Versus Aureus, 2004. – pp. 109–121.

[3] Grigaravičiūtė S. *Skandinavija Lietuvos diplomatijoje 1918 – 1940 metais*. Vilnius, Saulabrolis, 2002. – p. 246.

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Vassili Bouilov

SEMIOTICS AND LANGUAGE OF THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM IN THE CONTEXT OF ANDREI PLATONOV'S PROSE

Summary

Andrei Platonov created a world, in which his semiotically coded language of anti-utopia served as the means of expression for a complicated semiotic and philosophical system. This inter-world acquires its own spatial and temporal dynamics and relies on a system of symbols, on the semiotic system of interdependent and interrelated iconic 'image-notions'.

One of the main features of Platonov's language is concerned with the reflection of all the typical elements of the language of the Soviet epoch. This quasi-language of utopia can be relatively distinguished as one of two basic components of the Russian national linguistic diaglossia, as a secondary semiotic system – 'an annex' to the Russian literary language created for an exceptional purpose in a certain political and ideological socium. This is a language of declarations and prescriptions, slogans and propaganda posters – a convenient language for the proclamation of a new 'ideal society' and for the formation of a 'normalized' (the expression of Platonov) human mass that is vulnerable to any kind of manipulation and directed programming. The natural cognitive process of creating thoughts turns into a mechanical substitution of limited ideological, communicative, and behaviorist clichés. Platonov's talent reflects this 'zombie effect' in one of the most representative examples of his mature style – the short novel entitled 'The Foundation Pit' (1929 – 1930).

Key-words: Andrei Platonov's semiotic system, intertextuality, coded language of anti-utopia, radical semantic and syntactic deformations as a method

*

Andrei Platonov is a writer of a major importance – an acknowledged phenomenon and one of the most prominent writers in the Russian and Soviet literature of the 20th century. In contrast to Orwell or Zamyatin, Platonov lived and wrote inside the existing utopian and totalitarian system that he allegorically or openly criticized in his literary works.

Platonov's short novel entitled *Котлован* (The Foundation Pit) – a ledger work of Platonov's ontology and one of the most representative examples of his mature style – was written in the late 1920s – early 1930s. In this short novel, Platonov created a world, in which his semiotically coded language of anti-utopia serves as the means of expression for a complicated semiotic and philosophical system. This inter-world acquires its own spatial and temporal dynamics and relies on a system of symbols, on the semiotic system of interdependent and interrelated iconic 'image-notions'. Many of Platonov's principal works were banned in the Soviet Union, and the short novel was published in his own country for the first time only in the late 1980s. In spite of this fact, the English translation of the short novel *The Foundation Pit* was made by Thomas P. Whitney in 1973 and was published in the USA, in a bi-lingual edition together with the original text.[1] In the present article, the extracts from aforementioned Whitney's translation will be taken for quoting.

The Foundation Pit was written in December 1929 – April 1930, approximately ten years after the appearance of Platonov's early poems. He published his first poetic collection *Голубая глубина* (The Blue Deep)[2] in 1922. Since that time, a lot had changed in Platonov's life and in the life of the actual prototypes of his characters. The romanticism of the first revolutionary years had boiled down to a harsh daily existence. Labour had become the main and the only component of the dull human existence, reinforced time and again by ideological, destructive, apocalyptic economic campaigns organized by the Center. For the characters of the short novel, collectivization was such 'an apocalypse'.

The Foundation Pit semiotically interacts with other texts, including Platonov's other poetic and prose texts. This process can be defined by the term 'intertextuality' that designates inclusion of one text in another and, as a result, the establishment of the relation 'text in text'. Such insertion can associate or 'tie together' texts of different epochs, various languages, and diverse genres. Dominant texts 'attract' previous texts and affect subsequent texts not only at the time of literary creation but also in the process of the reader's interpretation. The associative combinations of cooperating texts and their interacting semiotic symbols lead to the creation of an additional, generalized sense and new connotations. In the dominant text of *The Foundation Pit,* the symbolism of Platonov's early works and other literary sources are converted into a conceptually new, full-scale semiotic system with the author's critical attitude towards its key image-notions. His characters can be considered as 'guinea pigs', by means of which he introduced ideas in order to test them in the symbolic space of a fictional text. He uses the semiotics and the quasi-language of the totalitarian system as the key elements of his anti-utopia to expose and fight the existing totalitarian system.

For instance, in his first published poetry collection *The Blue Deep,* Platonov as a young proletarian poet and communist believer symbolically reflects the ideas of revolution and collectivism. It was the last year of the protracted Civil War, and the revolution still continued its bloody 'harvest' on a large scale. At the same time, the Soviet system persistently and successfully created its own semiotic 'Olympus' by trying to replace the idea of God with its own communist 'religion'. Not only did the names of communist leaders gain sacred significance but even the main revolutionary word-symbols and word-slogans became holy: words such as 'Party', 'Revolution', 'Socialism', 'Communism', etc. Generally known words and philosophical categories were used here in new ideological word combinations: 'class consciousness', 'class solidarity', 'socialist motherland', 'Soviet people', 'socialist art', 'socialist realism'.

To present in English the examples of Platonov's early revolutionary symbolism, I have selected and translated some principal fragments from Platonov's early poems:

*The **crowds** are moving in my soul...*	*В душе моей движутся **толпы**...*
Their tramping, their joyful tramping is	*Их топот, их радостный топот,*
As the rumble of slipping stones.	*Как камней сползающих грохот.*
Without limits, without border, without counting	*Без меры, без края, без счета*
*They build **a mysterious city** –*	*Строят **неведомый город**, –*

Higher – where it is more terrifying, where there is mystery and coldness –
*Stone upon stone, **city upon city**...*

*Go marching, **crowd after crowd***
Across your burning soul.
History will not fall out of step anymore,
The world of mysteries and matter is burning in an engine.

Love is a virgin, a whisper,
But the sound of tramping is heard at night,
*The **crowds** are trampling on my soul.*

A. Platonov. An extract from *Tramping* (1922). Translated by V. Bouilov.

Выше, страшнее, где тайна и холод –
*Камень на камень, **город на город...***

*Ступайте **толпа за толпою***
По жаркой, по вашей душе,
История больше не даст перебоя,
В машине сгорает мир тайн и вещей.

Любовь – это девушка, шепот,
Но ночью там движется топот,
*Идут по душе моей **толпы**.*

*****

А. Платонов. *Топот* (1922), отрывок.[4]

The image-notion 'human mass', 'crowd' dominates in the analyzed Platonov's extract: *The **crowds** are moving in my soul* / *Go marching, **crowd after crowd*** / *The **crowds** are trampling on my soul.* This image-notion symbolizes a class idea of collectivism. Here 'We' consists not of a separate individual 'I' but of a great number of 'particles', 'screws' of a huge human 'monolith'. Although Platonov praises the 'crowd', the last poetic line – *The **crowds** are trampling on my soul* – could mean the reflection of his doubts, which in future will bring him from utopia to anti-utopia. But it will happen later, in his prose of the late 1920s – early 1930s.

Certain semiotic links exist between Platonov's early poetry and external literary sources. For instance, as a result of Platonov's serious infatuation with 'Proletcult', the ideas and the images of the 'Proletarian Culture' movement (*Proletcult*) and 'Proletcult poetry' evidently became a constituent part of his semiotic system.

To present in English examples of external literary sources, I have translated some principle fragments from the verses, which represent the association of proletarian poets *Кузница* (Smithy). The poets of *Smithy* also praise a human mass, a collective, the We-like psychology. The image-notion of 'human mass' / 'crowd' dominates in their poetry[5]:

***The mass** is – hearths,*
***The mass** is – blast-furnaces,*
It is creating convulsively, persistently,
It is creating a paradise tirelessly.

I. Filipchenko. An extract from *Masses* (1914). Translated by V. Bouilov.

Масса – это горны,
Масса – это домны,
Творящая судорожно, упорно
Творящая рай неуемно.

И. Филипченко. *Массы* (1914), отрывок.

We** are **countless, menacing legions of Labour
***We** have conquered the spaces of seas, oceans and mainlands,*
***We** lighted cities by means of artificial suns,*
Our proud souls are burning with the conflagration of revolts.

***We** are in the power of rebellious, impassioned drunkenness;*

Мы несметные, грозные легионы Труда
***Мы** победили пространства морей, океанов и суши,*
*Светом искусственных солнц **мы** зажгли города,*
Пожаром восстаний горят наши гордые души.

***Мы** во власти мятежного, страстного хмеля;*

Let them scream to us: "You are the executioners of beauty",
*In the name of our Tomorrow – **we shall incinerate** the canvases of Raphael,*
***We shall destroy** museums, **we shall crush** the flowers of art.*

Пусть кричат нам: "вы палачи красоты",
*Во имя нашего Завтра – **сожжем** Рафаэля,*
***Разрушим** музеи, **растопчем** искусства цветы.*

V. Kirillov. An extract from *We* (1917). Translated by V. Bouilov.

В. Кириллов. *Мы* (1917), отрывок.

In comparison to the symbolism of Platonov's early poetry, the image-notion of 'human mass' / 'crowd' in *The Foundation Pit* is transformed into the image-notion of 'the normalized mass'. The term 'normalized' was sarcastically introduced by Platonov.

Ten years of the Soviet history were enough to 'normalize' the people, to drive their romantic enthusiasm into abnormal totalitarian frames of wage-leveling and repression. Conditionally all the characters in *The Foundation Pit* can be divided into three main social categories:

I. The human mass, crowd or 'the normalized mass'. All they are ordinary people – Soviet workers, collective farmers, miners, etc.

II. The representatives of the Communist Party and the administrative *elite*, as well as the political activists – the so-called 'deputy proletarians' (the expression of Platonov), who imposed on the people the present political regime and successfully accommodated themselves to these conditions.

III. The representatives of *intelligentsia*, the so-called 'old regime specialists', as well as Platonov's romantic human characters and children as the symbols of the Future (for instance, the girl Nastya with her mother, the engineer Prushevski). Their language and style are highly cultivated and corresponds to the norms of the literary Russian language.

Thus, in the short novel the representatives of the human 'normalized mass' have no right to express their opinions or even to think (!). The appearance and behavior of the 'normalized mass' are totally standardized:

*[..] **their faces** were **indifferent and bored**, and **a sparse thought exhausted ahead of time** illuminated their longsuffering eyes.*[6]

*[..] **их лица** были **равнодушны и скучны**, редкая, **заранее утомленная мысль** освещала их терпеливые глаза.*[7]

*Although they possessed the meaning of life, which is the equivalent of eternal happiness, nonetheless **their faces were gloomy and thin; and instead of the peace of life they had exhaustion.***[8]

*Хотя они и владели смыслом жизни, что равносильно вечному счастью, однако **их лица были угрюмы и худы, а вместо покоя жизни они имели изможение**.*[9]

People live under the conditions of totalitarian wage-leveling. Natural human feelings are violently restricted. They are defenseless before the authorities and ideological precepts. The following phrases expressively indicate the level of their self-consciousness:

*– That's something I don't know, little one; **I am nothing** – said Chiklin.*[10]

*– Я этого, маленькая, не знаю: **я же – ничто!** – сказал Чиклин.*[11]

– You have become like me now – ***I too am nothing.***[12]
[..] you see how ***everything has now become nothing…***[14]

— Вы стали теперь, как я, ***я тоже ничто****.*[13]
[..] видишь, ***нам все теперь стало ничто****…*[15]

The people have no right to act independently. Moreover, they are afraid to act independently. To reflect this degree of humiliation in *The Foundation Pit,* Platonov actively and deliberately introduces into the text such elements as scathing irony and sarcasm, as well as the elements of grotesque, allegory, Menippean satire, carnivalization, and even surrealism:

But the people themselves ***could not stop until the activist said:*** *Stand still until the next sound!*[16]

Народ же ***остановиться не мог, пока активист не сказал****: Стой до очередного звука!*[17]

The people have completely lost their dignity. Humiliation is the usual state of these 'disheveled' human beings:

The people standing there did not let the activist out of their sight for a moment, and those nearer to the porch ***stared at the leader with full desire in their unblinking eyes so that he should see their ready mood.***[18]

Стоявшие люди ни на мгновенье не упускали из вида активиста, ближние же ко крыльцу ***глядели на руководящего человека со всем желаньем в неморгающих глазах, чтобы он видел их готовое настроение****.*[19]

Natural human feelings are strictly regulated:

Safronov was afraid of forgetting ***the obligation of gladness …***[20]

Сафронов боялся забыть про ***обязанность радости*** *…*[21]

[..] ***grief is supposed to have been annulled in our country!***[22]

[..] ***скорбь*** *у нас* ***должна быть аннулирована!***[23]

The collective consciousness is the only ideologically accepted form of the intellectual activity:

[..] nothing violated the collectivized property and ***the quiet of the collective consciousness.***[24]

[..] ничто не нарушало ***обобществленного*** *имущества и тишины* ***коллективного сознания****.*[25]

– Comrades! – Safronov began to define ***the general feeling.***[26]

— Товарищи! — начал определять Сафронов ***всеобщее чувство****.*[27]

The people are defenseless before the Soviet authorities and their ideological precepts. They live in conditions of totalitarian wage-leveling:

He lived *and he gazed with his eyes* ***only because he had the documents of a middle peasant,*** *and* ***his heart was permitted by the law to beat.***[28]

Он жил *и глядел глазами* ***лишь оттого, что имел документы середняка****, и* ***его сердце билось по закону****.*[29]

Platonov's human is totally mechanized. He is treated as just another perfect machine in an endless line of matching 'normalized' automatic devices stuffed with 'normalized' thoughts. Platonov wrote about that in 1920 in his early publicistic article *Нормализованный работник* (Normalized worker):

> ***The purpose*** *[..]* ***of Revolution*** *is* ***to destroy individualities*** *and* ***to give birth through their deaths to a new living creature – to the Society, to the Collective – a unified organism*** *of the living surface.*
>
> A. Platonov (1920). Translated by V. Bouilov.
>
> [... Дело... революции – **уничтожить личности** и родить их смертью **новое живое существо – общество, коллектив, единый организм живой поверхности**.] [30]

In the next example, Platonov shows, by use of a synecdoche, the atmosphere of fear and the zombie-type depersonalization, in which the 'normalized *kolkhozniks*' lived in the Soviet countryside:

[..] ***someone knocked*** *at the door* ***softly*** *and in the sounds of* ***that hand*** *could be heard fear as a vestige of the former order.*[31]

[..] в дверь ***постучала*** *чья-то* ***негромкая рука****, и в звуках той* ***руки*** *был еще слышен страх-пережиток.*[32]

In the translation of this fragment, Thomas Whitney has partly preserved the metonymical character of the source text: the Russian metonymical construction is translated literally by use of an equivalent English metonymical construction *in the sounds of that hand*.

In *The Foundation Pit,* Platonov's special inter-world operates on two levels: the macro-level of his text in its semiotic functioning, and the micro-level of the linguistic elements of his text. One of the main features of Platonov's language is concerned with the reflection of all the typical elements of the language of the Soviet epoch. This quasi-language of utopia can be relatively distinguished as one of two basic components of the Russian national linguistic diaglossia, as a secondary semiotic system – 'an annex' to the Russian literary language created for an exceptional purpose in a certain political and ideological socium. This is a language of declarations and prescriptions, slogans and propaganda posters – a convenient language for the proclamation of a 'new ideal society' and for the formation of a human 'normalized mass' that is vulnerable to any kind of manipulation and directed programming. The natural cognitive process of creating thoughts turns into a mechanical substitution of limited ideological, communicative and behaviorist *clichés*. In *The Foundation Pit,* Platonov's talent reflects this 'zombie effect' on a large scale.

Platonov's characters are incapable of expressing themselves and usually they cannot even speak plausibly. They can pronounce only separate phrases, but they cannot assemble them into a comprehensive speech. They think very seldom, if they can think at all. Platonov determined the physical and intellectual condition of this poor, exhausted 'normalized' people as follows:

He could think only with difficulty*, and he was greatly grieved about that fact – willy-nilly it was his lot* ***only to feel*** *and silently to be troubled.*[33]

Думать он мог с трудом *и сильно тужил об этом – поневоле ему приходилось* ***лишь чувствовать*** *и безмолвно волноваться.*[34]

Chiklin had a small stony head, thickly grown over with hair, and therefore all his life he had been either a blockhead or else dug with his spade, and ***he never ever managed to think*** *and did not elucidate to Safronov his doubts.*[35]

Чиклин имел маленькую каменистую голову, густо обросшую волосами, потому что всю жизнь либо бил балдой, либо рыл лопатой, а ***думать не успевал*** *и не объяснил Сафронову его сомнения.*[36]

*[..] tired, **unthinking** people*[37].

*[..] усталых, **недумающих людей*** [38].

*[..] Yelisei [..] **because of the absence of his mind** he was unable to say even one word.*[39]

*[..] Елисей [..] **от отсутствия своего ума** не мог сказать ни одного слова.*[40]

Their mental state can be considered as a sort of a communicative 'aphasia': Platonov's characters are disabled, incapable of thinking, literally – *unthinking people*. And, as a result, in the absence of thoughts and intentions they have nothing to express in their speech. The situation simulated by Platonov in his text could be understood in two different ways:

I. *They cannot think at all* – they are trained by the political system and accustomed not to think. And what is more, they prefer and, perhaps, even enjoy not to think themselves at all.

II. *They cannot think* in the required ideological way. And since they are not allowed to think in a different way – they have nothing to do but 'only to feel' (the expression of Platonov).

In their turn, 'the representatives of the Party and administrative elite', 'the deputy proletarians' (the expression of Platonov), who imposed on the people such a communicative and mental regime, successfully accommodate themselves to these conditions:

*[..] **having memorized the formulations, slogans, verses, precepts**, all kind of words of wisdom, **the theses of various formal statements, resolutions, verses of songs et cetera** he then made his rounds of **organs and organizations** where **he was known and respected as a politically active social force** – and there Kozlov **used to frighten the already frightened employees** with his scientificality, his breadth of outlook, and his well groundedness in politics.*[41]

*[..] **запомнив формулировки, лозунги, стихи, заветы, всякие слова мудрости, тезисы различных актов, резолюций, строфы песен и прочее**, он шел в обход органов и организаций, где его знали и уважали как активную общественную силу, – и **там Козлов пугал и так уже напуганных служащих своей научностью, кругозором и подкованностью**.*[42]

Platonov defines the basic reason of such mass mental and language deformations as lying in the nature of the Soviet utopia. The people are needed to work but are not required to think and express their opinions orally. This is the main precondition for the secure existence and safety of any totalitarian society, the purpose of which is to destroy individualities:

*– To you, Voshchev, **the state has given an extra hour for your pensiveness**. You used to work eight and now you work seven. You would have done better to go on living and keep your mouth shut! **If all of us all at once were to start to ponder, who would act?***[43]

*– Тебе, Вощев, **государство дало лишний час на твою задумчивость** – работал восемь, теперь семь, **ты бы и жил –молчал! Если все мы сразу задумаемся, то кто же действовать будет?***[44]

Only select people are permitted to think, but all others must work. Only certain people can contrive ideas and thoughts; others must learn and use them mechanically. In a totalitarian society, people are forced to use ready-made phrases stored up by their political leaders. This language acts as a lexically and stylistically marked signal, which helps to select the ideologically loyal people from the political aliens. It functions as a blotting, a pass to the determined, isolated zone of class and ideological communication.

By creating the language of utopia, they indirectly, or more often purposively, frustrate the national literary language. The new Soviet language of ideology was generated by the use of a limited set of communicative and ideological *clichés*. The complex process of the production of speech as a process of gradual realization of the semantic, grammatical, and pragmatic rules, which are formed on the basis of natural cognitive structures, presupposes orientation, planning, and final realization of any oral or written expression. In the language of utopia, this process is replaced by a mechanically organized substitution of ready-made semanticized images.

The language of utopia in Platonov's prose encompasses the rhetoric of Marxist-Leninist political dogma, the language of political propaganda and Soviet bureaucrasy. Platonov uses this language in its iconic, semiotic function. He uses the language and semiotics of the totalitarian system to fight the system. For example, Platonov's stylistic use of ideological *clichés* gives rise to a considerable satirical effect. In using them, Platonov severely criticizes the primitiveness of the propaganda, the mythologization of ideology, the collectivist, stereotyped, *clichéd* way of speaking and thinking. For example:

Safronov, observing ***the passive silence****, began* ***to act in place of the radio****:*
– Let us put the question: where did the Russian people originate from? And let us reply: from out of ***bourgeois smallfry!*** *The Russian people might have been born from somewhere else, but there was no other place. And therefore* ***we must hurl everyone into the brine of socialism so that the hide of capitalism will come off them easily and so their hearts will pay attention to the heat of life around the bonfire of class struggle, and so enthusiasm should take place!***[45]

Сафронов, ***заметив пассивное молчание****, стал* ***действовать вместо радио****:*
— Поставим вопрос: откуда взялся русский народ? И ответим: из ***буржуазной мелочи****! Он бы и еще откуда-нибудь родился, да больше места не было. А потому* ***мы должны бросить каждого в рассол социализма, чтоб с него слезла шкура капитализма и сердце обратило внимание на жар жизни вокруг костра классовой борьбы и произошел бы энтузиазм!***[46]

The translated fragment is saturated with the same ideological, absurd falsity as the fragment of the source text. When transferred from the original into translation, the irrelevant and redundant confusion of words in different styles produces a sharp satirical effect.

Thus, the principal peculiarity of the 'ideologized' speech used in Platonov's text lies in its oral, public character. The communication between the producers of ideological speech and the collective, mass addressees consists of the unilateral predominance of the former over the latter. Although this speech is spontaneous, it is formed by using limited communicative and ideological *clichés*. Their use allows the speakers to exclude the creation of abstract thoughts. The function of this unilateral predominance makes its actual character monological, despite the external visible dialogical character of communicative situations.

Platonov, with the purpose of producing such a satirical effect, also uses different word-formative elements in Russian. The words with derivational suffixes *-ец*, *-щик-*

in the new Soviet language express a negative attitude to objects, and persons that are nominated by these words.[47] Thomas Whitney, the English translator of the *Foundation Pit*, also tries to derive new occasional words in English by violating the norms of this language by analogy with the source text. He effectively uses the rich opportunities provided by the absence of normative frames in the language of Platonov:

*– Does that mean that I am **an overdoer**? – the trade union representative was frightened, ever more clearly divining the situation.* *– We have in our trade union bureau a certain **overpraiser** and so I, it seems, am **an overdoer**, am I?*[48]	*— Значит, я **переугожденец**? — все более догадываясь, пугался профуполномоченный.* *— У нас есть в профбюро один какой-то **аллилуйщик**, а я, значит, **переугожденец**?*[49]

The new translator's occasionalisms 'overdoer' (instead of 'переугожденец') and 'overpraiser' (instead of 'аллилуйщик') sound very unusual. One can also feel their negative and ironic semantic inflection.

The varieties of radical semantic and syntactic deformations introduced by Platonov into the text should also be included in the complex cooperation between extra-linguistic and linguistic components of Platonov's idiostyle. They include the expansion of valence, contamination, paronomasia, rough truncation of expressions, tautology, metonymy, illogical transposition of elements within expressions, etc. There exists an effective mechanism for furthering the cooperation of the elements of the text on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels as well as their cooperation with the semiotic macro-level of the text.

In the next example, Whitney employs the very same grammatical model used by Platonov in his text for the grammatical realization of his pragmatic intentions, based on the activization of the constructions 'shock labor' – 'to break open':

*Next to the smithy hung a slogan on a banner: 'For the Party, for loyalty to it, for **shock labor** which is **breaking open** the door into the future for the proletariat'.*[50]	*Около кузни висел на плетне возглас, нарисованный по флагу: "За партию, за верность ей, за **ударный труд**, **пробивающий** пролетариату двери в будущее... "*[51]

Platonov's attributive construction 'shock labor' revives the internal form of the attribute 'shock' – 'striking'. The actualization of the latent predicativity of the adjective 'shock', made by Platonov, results in a radical semantic expansion of the expression. Thus, here is the 'shock labor', which is literally striking and 'breaking open the door into the future for the proletariat'. Thus, the use of the literal translation by Whitney leads to a complete reconstruction of the peculiarities of the poetics of utopia in the target text. The poetics of utopia is characterized by an artificial and stylistically incorrect confusion of *clichés* ('shock labor') and words of high style (the metaphorical expression 'the door into the future'). The translation successfully expresses the connotations of the original text and the emotional and logical substance of Soviet propaganda slogans. It also helps to recreate the distinctive features of Platonov's idiomatic style as well as to demonstrate the author's critical and ironic interpretation of the quasi-language of utopia.

In Platonov's occasional analytical constructions, the author's non-normative individual expression of lexical and grammatical meanings produce the connotation of unnatural, strained, stilted, puppet-like behavior of 'the representatives of the Party and administrative elite', 'the deputy proletarians':

*[..] Chiklin [..] **struck** the yellow-eyed peasant **a blow** in the face to make him begin to live politically aware.*[52]	*— Нечаянно! — произнес Чиклин и **сделал** мужику **удар в** лицо, чтобы он стал жить сознательно.*[53]
*Chiklin, without a quaver of his torso, **gave** the priest a conscientious **blow** on his cheek bone.*[54]	*Чиклин, не колебнувшись корпусом, **сделал** попу сознательный **удар в** скуло.*[55]
*Thereupon Chiklin calmly **gave** the activist **a blow with his fist** in the chest...*[56]	*Далее Чиклин покойно **дал** активисту ручной **удар в** грудь...*[57]

In the context of the ideological struggle, the use of the occasional analytical constructions helps Platonov expose in a very expressive and grotesque way the impulsive and mechanical, unconscious and instinctive, as well as extremely aggressive nature of their behavior and the repressive, totalitarian nature of the Stalinist normalized life as a whole. In this case, the English word for word translation of Platonov's analytical constructions does not lead to the connotation of the source text. The problem can be explained by the fact that in English the use of analytical constructions in the same context is in line with syntactical norms.

Platonov's language provides a fascinating puzzle in that it is a semiotically coded language of anti-utopia. He uses this language in its iconic, semiotic function. He uses the semiotics and the quasi-language of the totalitarian system to expose and fight the system. In his writing, Platonov is interested not in the external and formal, 'visible' functioning of the plot, but in its internal philosophical and moral nature. Creation of certain human types is not the main purpose of Platonov as a writer. On the contrary, and as it was accentuated before, Platonov's characters can be considered as 'guinea pigs', by means of which he introduced ideas in order to test them in the symbolic space of the fictional text. This fact explains the peculiarities of the compositional structure in *The Foundation Pit*. This is not a narration of action, but a narration of the author's doubts and desires materialized in the dialogic-monologue space of the verbal intercourse of his characters. In *The Foundation Pit* Platonov turns the plot into a myth.

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Anna Stankeviča

CULTURAL SPACE OF RIGA IN THE 1920 – 1930s IN THE NOVEL *THE SHIPS OF THE OLD CITY* BY IRINA SABUROVA

Summary

Irina Saburova (Kutitonskaya) (1907 – 1979) based her novel 'The Ships of the Old City' on her personal experience. In her childhood, having lost her parents after the October coup d'etat in Russia, the future writer was brought to Riga by her relatives. The Riga period (from the beginning of the 1920s to 1944), according to Saburova, was the best time of her life. The pre-war Riga was a unique cultural phenomenon. On the one hand, there was an active development of national state and Latvian culture. On the other hand, for many centuries Riga had been a city open to many national cultures: German, Jewish, Polish, and Scandinavian. The Russian culture had a special status among others. Russians who had stayed there after the collapse of the Russian Empire or emigrated from Russia did not feel as if they were living in a foreign land.

Through the life-story of the protagonist Nadezhda von Grot, Saburova reveals the complex historico-cultural processes in Riga of the 1920 – 1940s from the point of view of the chamber man, the bearer of Russian culture. According to the writer, intercultural and national relations were based on a deep sense of respect both to one's own culture and to the culture of one's neighbours, each of cultural sub-worlds was autonomous and self-sufficient, they harmoniously coexisted, diverging and meeting in certain harmonious rhythms. In the construction of her conception of history, Saburova outlines the pre-war life in Riga as a peculiar Golden Age. Two equally catastrophic events become the Iron Age for Riga, marking the collapse of the cultural universe: the arrival of the bolsheviks to Latvia and Nazi occupation.

Key-words: inter-cultural relations, conception of history, Riga, Irina Saburova

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Irina Saburova's novel *The Ships of the Old City* was written in 1947 – 1949, published in the German translation from the manuscript in 1950, but in 1972 it was published in Russia. Irina Jevgenyevna Kutitonskaya (Saburova is her literary pseudonym) was born in Russia in 1907. During the tragic events of the Civil war she lost her parents and her relatives brought her to Riga, which she and many Russians of that time perceived as a part of the old world that had been irretrievably lost in Russia. Saburova lived in Latvia from the 1920s till 1944, followed by the years of wandering in the Western Europe; the writer spent the last decades of her life in Germany where she died in 1979.

While living in Riga, Saburova contributed to several Russian newspapers making her name as a talented journalist, poet, and fairy-tale writer. The novel *The Ships of the Old City* is autobiographical; the fate of the main character Nadezhda von Grot (Jan, as called by her friends and relatives) has a lot in common with the life-story of the writer herself. The main feeling constantly present in the soul of the main character is love towards Riga, the city that became so close to her, and love in a wider sense towards the Baltic.

> *The sea and the towers. The wind and the flowers. This is Riga.*[1]
>
> *Wonderful, singing, ringing by its sea and pines, the beautiful Baltic.*[2]

The novel *The Ships of the Old City* is one of the few texts where the pre-war history of the first Republic of Latvia, the spiritual atmosphere and the cultural aura of the *interbellum* Riga is related from the point-of-view of a Russian. Of course, the Russian cultural segment in the world picture of the novel dominates and is presented from different angles, beginning with the description of Moscow Vorstadt, *[..] more than half of the Russian Riga is rooted here, in the dirty, but lovely old province, although it is referred to with a scornful grin*[3]. Saburova speaks about Russian business, *Brothers Popov trade iron goods for two hundred years*[4], about Russian newspapers, theatres, schools, etc. To preserve their national identity, the Russians of Riga carefully cultivate Russian folklore and religious traditions. The wedding ceremony, by all means, takes place in the Red Hill; Palm Sunday and the Easter are celebrated according to the Russian Orthodox canons:

> *A wonderful picture, when from the high church-porch into the blue gloom of the street chains of blinking lanterns and candles scatter, and the wind sways them slightly like pendants of a necklace. At home filled up icon lamps are lit, and the Bright holiday stands at the threshold. Towards the evening the table is covered with eggs and everybody paints the eggs.*[5]

The writer pays special attention to the Orthodox faith in the Russian Riga with the church as the centre of faith, morals, and beauty:

> *The Byzantine copper of the cathedral in Esplanade rings. The greenish Empire style of Alexander Nevsky cathedral echoes in a higher tone. From faraway echo the bluish cupolas of Nikolsky cathedral muffled by the station.*[6]

Russians in Riga have their own specific problems, but nevertheless the writer treats this life as a Golden Age. Turning to the archetypal image of the Golden Age is not accidental. The peculiar structural basis of the novel, its semantic and compositional centre is the fairy-tale play about the Ships of the Old City, created by Jan, the main character of the novel, who, like Saburova herself, considers writer's job to be her main calling. The Old City is the world of absolutely happy spiritual people, a certain model of the Golden Age space. Its inhabitants are industrious and friendly. Some time ago they sent ships to bring happiness. The city is strong in the belief that the ships will surely return.

The symbolic fairy-tale may be interpreted in many ways; one of the variants is the reflection of life in the pre-war Riga, the cultural world of which was remarkably multi-polar, as Riga was built by *the Order, bishops, merchant guilds, Swedish kings, Russian tsars, Livs, Germans, Swedes, Russians, and Latvians. Riga is the symbol of the Baltic*[7].

Saburova speaks not only about the Russian Riga, but also about the Latvian, German, Polish, Scandinavian, and Jewish Riga. Each of these sub-worlds is autonomous, yet they coexist harmoniously, meeting and parting in certain organic rhythms. Coexistence of various cultural segments in the Baltic and particularly in Riga is completely natural, because it is sanctified by the tradition of several centuries. There was time when *Riga was part of then the biggest Hanseatic League, it became the bridge between Asia and Europe*[8].

> *Grand grandfathers and grandfathers bought books from Kümmel, but coffee from Mentzendorf, grandchildren will grope their way.*[9]

From here comes the economic stability and reliability of Riga and the Baltic world.

> *Richness was not demonstrated, it is only felt in the shops full of goods [..], the keys of which were looked for in the time when Riga had been a famous Hanseatic city, the crossroads of the East and the West.*[10]

Openness and dialogue among cultures exists as something self-evident, substantiated by the fact that the majority of the heroes of the novel combine several cultural traditions by birth. So, the main character of the novel has *eyes and surname* [von Grot – A. S.] *from grandfather who was a Swede, from grandmother – Tartar princess – she has name of affection, lullaby melody, 'Jan, Janum'*[11].

Prince Nagaev's mother is a German, *baroness whose maiden name was Goldinger*,[12] but father comes from Eastern princes. Aunt Elizabeta Mikhailovna Grushevskaya who gave shelter to Jan *is from a Polish-Ukrainian family from Volyn*[13], Varvara Veresova's father is a Russian, but mother – a Latvian. The Deviers of Riga have their pedigree from the French knight De Viera, etc.

Life in the Old Riga is regular and conservative; workdays are followed by holidays. Saburova describes in detail not only the working Riga that builds a strong economy, but also the festive Riga celebrating the festivals of its diverse cultures. Exactly during these celebrations, the acquisition of culture and traditions of the people living nearby takes place. Hence, for the Orthodox Jan, the Orthodox Easter, the Latvian solstice celebration of the Jāņi night, and western Christmas are almost equally precious. Russians living in Latvia celebrate the Latvian solstice holiday as their own:

> *Jāņi day at the seaside near blazing pine resin barrel.*[14]

> *With evening of herbs, burning barrels, fire-wheels, fire-works, beer, flowers, going out in a boat or yacht and songs sung for three days running.*[15]

From western Christians, the honouring of the day of all saints is taken over, '*All souls' when in Riga cemeteries candles are lit on graves in front of flowers and wreaths and mists rustle fallen leaves*[16]. Christmas is the beloved holiday of all Riga inhabitants; the preparation for it begins with the Advent, scrupulously observing the tradition of decorating home with wreaths and candles.

> *It is worth seeing Christmas in the Old Riga!*[17]

> *Solid firms organize special shop-windows, show off their inventiveness. [..] At Fireke' and Leidke's – old toy shop – huge shop-window of railway. At Gerke's – which dressmaker does not know Gerke? – stylish Empire style dolls in crinoline and buckles, mincingly drink coffee at a gaily decorated table.*[18]

> *Riga on these merry festive days is a picture from magnificently published fairy-tale [..] Towers, heavy arches of the gates [..], and lights, everywhere lights.*[19]

In Jan's home, the celebration of Christmas becomes a peculiar apotheosis of combining different cultural traditions, when the house is decorated not only with the traditional fir-tree, but also with figures of gnomes, *in the honoured place there is a scarlet booklet of Dickens's 'Christmas Carol'*[20]; the Scandinavian Jul is honoured:

> *Yes, Scandinavian Jul! As always we do not have a sheaf, we will simply thrust a branch into the roof or it may be also on the balcony and we will pour cereals.*[21]

After the sermon in an Orthodox cathedral, the guests sit around the table decorated with candles for those family members who will not join the celebration. The main treat of the feast is Christmas pie with a coin baked inside. The one who gets it will be the happiest man next year. Of course, the festive world of the pre-war Riga is idealized by Saburova, and it is understandable, because of the following future catastrophe.

It is worth remembering the traditional mythological model: The Golden Age, as a rule, is not absolute; it is followed by the Iron Age, which is often interpreted by the European culture as the time of awakening, history that has begun its course. This mythological model lies at the basis of Jan's fairy-tale about the Ships of the Old City. The girl named Toska (Nostalgia) was the soul of the City. But neither she nor her friends Golden Dauphin, the wise Jester Curved Spindle can withstand the force of cynicism and disbelief, violence embodied by two mysterious newcomers, the destroyers with the names of the Black and the Red. The history of the Old City is tragic, because the Black and the Red either kill or corrupt its citizens, break their 'crystal souls', destroy the most valuable possession of the inhabitants – beauty. The fairy-tale about the ships becomes a peculiar archetype repeated in many variants, one of which is the interpretation of Riga or – even wider – all humanistic culture of the 19th and early 20th centuries that like the Old City is ruined by barbarism and violence.

> *[..] the city runs after, into the mirror*
> *emptiness of the bright eyes.*
> *Good-bye Jan, we perish.*
> *Good-bye, Riga, I – also*
> *We… yes, we, the Old City!*[22]

The epoch of the destroyers of the Old City: the Black and the Red (if we follow the fairy-tale archetype) – in the concrete historical plane is embodied in two terrible stages: arrival of *Bolsheviks* to Latvia and fascist occupation.

> *The Baltic is the buffer between the West and the East; it is more European than Russia, and more Russian than Europe… All invaded it: Swedes, Russians, Latvians, Germans, and Poles. Wonderful singing, ringing with wind, sea and pines, the beautiful Baltic, the poor Baltic that is always taken by somebody.*[23]

The beginning of destruction of the unique cultural space of Riga is the departure of 'Ostsee' Germans who since the times of the Order and the Hansa League perceived Riga as their native land. Saburova bitterly speaks about the fact that with their departure the Baltic lost thousands of honest, respectable, devoted citizens:

> *The steamship went into the cold mist. Yes, the last tears together [..] How many people, and all cry, kiss one another, look back at the city. Good-bye the Old City. Good-bye!*[24]

The next stage is the division of Poland and the destruction of the Polish army that the Baltic perceives as the beginning of its own death – *Life has ended.* ***History*** *began. Happy peoples do not have it. Happy people also*[25]. (Italics mine – A. S.)

What happens in Riga since 1940 is described by Saburova as something unnatural for human mind and heart. Here are some fragments presenting the essence of the tragic events. First, the pictures of the crimes by the Soviet invaders:

> *The Soviet hammer hit the pearl of the Baltic.*[26]
>
> *It is horrible. Groans are heard [..] My God, how many people have been arrested! [..] It is impossible to take so many to the prisons. The prisons are over-crowded. In Torenberg, at Marshalling yard, on reserve railway there are huge trains, freight cars without windows, the doors firmly closed, and the cars are packed with people like herring [..] They die of thirst [..] Cheka works to the utmost. In Jugla volleys and volleys every day, write people off as a loss.*[27]
>
> *In Jugla, at a summer cottage where there was the department of Cheka, and in the neighboring Biķernieki forest there were more dead people than trees. Crippled, with torn off skin, pulled out nails.*[28]

The fascist regime brings the same suffering and death, and the hardest fate awaits the Jews. Before the war, the Jewish Riga was an important constituent part of the cultural space. Saburova describes the pre-war Jewish Riga world in detail and with love:

> *Here the tailors sit on the tables, biting the thread with their teeth, and heat up heavy irons on primus-stoves and stoves [..] Here there are many staid people with fair, red, grey beards [..] cabmen and masters, Jewish rabbis, tradesmen and crafts-men. Here you can hear many jargon words, people's speech [..], hoarse, with winks, with biblical gesticulation of Yiddish. Here, there is a big synagogue where dressed up rich Jews come in cars on Saturdays, but the poor do not wear curled hair, but on Sabbath light thin candles in their windows.*[29]

The death of the Old City is demonstrated through the death of the Jewish world. Saburova shows in detail all the stages of humiliation, through which the fascists took the unhappy nation.

> *Women with children are driven out of their houses. [..] The cripples are shot on the spot, things fly from the windows, rings, earrings are torn off, robbery in full swing, women are violated on the way [..]. A long column of swaying crazed women driven from the sides, from behind [..]. The street keeps silence, and only unintelligible screams of some woman who has utterly lost her wits reverberates in the ears like prickly splinters.*
>
> *Do you hear, the Old City?*
>
> *[..] Volleys, clothes are taken off from still warm bodies, then from those who are alive […], children are killed by bayonets, bayonets are in great demand. For-ward, forward into the pit. Heads are thrown back, breasts are torn up, hoarse, moaning mess of people is pelted from above by dark yellow sand, the pit still is moving, blood leaks out in stains on the road. [..] The work is finished. Being unaccustomed they took trouble to do the job, then they will get used to it, then everything will go faster. The Old City, did you see?*[30]

In the consciousness of the Old City, anti-Semitism, bolshevism, and fascism merge into one tragic chain.

The fairy-tale about the Ships builds almost eschatological in its essence, historical conception. The Old City dies; Saburova does not see the historical perspectives of those forms of society developed in the 20th century. *The one who has power is right*[31]. This is the way a young German soldier formulates his right to humiliate and to kill. Saburova perceives the theme of mass killings of the Jews very painfully. It is not accidental that the words of grief for the victims of Holocaust sound already in the prologue, and one of the four parts of the novel, *David's Star,* is directly devoted to this problem. Evidently, Holocaust has to be viewed as the most horrible, in its essence, manifestation of the historical process of the 20th century, equal to the mythological Iron Age.

The historical conception of Saburova's novel *The Ships of the Old City* as a thesis actually appears in the prologue. There was the Golden Age, then *the last ships left* and small grey people nailed ***red five angle stars*** *to the towers, giving the right to people to kill all those who did not wear them.* Then *the highest bell tower was ruined* and *another people came, and in the basements* ***six angle yellow stars*** *appeared, and everybody had the right to kill those who wore them.*[32] *I don't know how many angles* ***God's stars*** *have in the sky. But I know that* ***the stars should be in the sky****, but not on the earth. When people drag them on the stones, it is madness and blood.*[33] (Italics mine – A. S.)

Getting over the depicted end of the world relates to the sphere of belief and hope of the small man, because the power of the Old City is in the fact that hope cannot be eliminated. Like a sacred formula, the words are repeated:

> *We die, without giving up – we, the Old City! Some time it will be! [..] And tender hazy sky will lie on the spires of the high bell towers. And from them low resounding copper of Christmas bells will waver and float above all streets, people and the river.*[34]

But this means that stars will regain their sacred meaning, and the return to the Golden Age is possible. Consequently, the renewal of the unique cultural space of the Swedish – German – Russian – Latvian Riga will be possible.

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[1] Сабурова И. *Корабли Старого Города.* Рига, Даугава, 2005. – с. 17
[2] Ibid. – c. 259.
[3] Ibid. – c. 25
[4] Ibid. – c. 62.
[5] Ibid. – c. 244.
[6] Ibid. – c. 242.
[7] Ibid. – c. 17.
[8] Ibid. – c. 263.
[9] Ibid. – c. 16.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid. – c. 12.
[12] Ibid. – c. 89.
[13] Ibid. – c. 19.
[14] Ibid. – c. 253.
[15] Ibid. – c. 254.
[16] Ibid. – c. 326.
[17] Ibid. – c. 223.
[18] Ibid. – c. 225.

[19] Ibid. – c. 225.
[20] Ibid. – c. 231.
[21] Ibid. – c. 230.
[22] Ibid. – c. 536.
[23] Ibid. – c. 259.
[24] Ibid. – c. 280.
[25] Ibid. – c. 259.
[26] Ibid. – c. 267.
[27] Ibid. – c. 369.
[28] Ibid. – c. 394.
[29] Ibid. – c. 24.
[30] Ibid. – c. 433.
[31] Ibid. – c. 398.
[32] Ibid. – c. 7.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

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Ilona Ļaha

LATVIAN LITERATURE IN SWEDEN

Summary

The present article regards the translations of Latvian fiction into Swedish from 1983 to 2003. Latvian fiction was almost unknown in Sweden till the beginning of the 1980s. Even at the beginning of the 1990s, Latvian writers were not mentioned in readers on literature.

Juris Kronbergs has done a great work in popularizing the Latvian literature in Sweden and in promoting the Swedish literature in Latvia. He is the mediator between the Swedish and Latvian cultures who translates national and historical codes, hence being a veritable ambassador of culture by vocation.

Kronbergs calls the year 1978 as the beginning of the popularization of the Latvian literature in Sweden. The collection of epiphanies 'Andra sidor' (The Other Sides) by Imants Ziedonis was published that year. The poetry magazine 'Lyrikvännen' including twenty works by Latvian poets and articles about Latvian poetry appeared in the same year.

From 1983 to 2003, works and fiction by Vizma Belševica, Knuts Skujenieks, Imants Ziedonis, Amanda Aizpuriete, Edvīns Raups, Inguna Jansone, Jānis Elsbergs and other writers were published in Sweden. The reviews about the works of Latvian writers published in Sweden newspapers testify to a great interest about the Latvian literature. The Swedish press highly evaluated the creative writing of our poets and writers. The year 2003 was the turning point when the rate of the translated fiction grew to five books a year. Also in the following years of 2004 – 2005, the number of the translated works did not diminish: books of poetry by Aleksandrs Čaks, Uldis Bērziņš, Inga Gaile, Kārlis Vērdiņš, and Valts Ernštreits came out. The number of translations increases every year. It gives the Swedish reader a possibility to get better acquainted with Latvian literature, Latvian nation and its culture.

Key-words: Latvian culture, translations, Latvian literature in Sweden, national and historical codes

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At the end of World War II, when it became clear that the Soviet Union would win and continue the occupation of the Baltic countries, many thousands of Latvians decided to leave their motherland, being afraid of repressions.

A great part of intellectuals came to Sweden where a literary centre of Latvian emigrants was founded. Sweden offered favorable conditions for creative work and Latvian writing could develop freely. At that time, there were several Latvian newspapers, two magazines, and seven publishing houses in Sweden. The publishers reprinted literary works and made translations from different languages. These conditions created good grounds for introducing the Latvian literature into the Swedish culture. Latvia that, at first, had been an alien and suspicious land with its Soviet past and without democratic culture became more well-known and interesting.

The first translation of the Latvian literature into Swedish – Rūdolfs Blaumanis' *I dödens skugga* (In the Shadow of Death; Nāves ēnā) – was published in Latvia in 1925 attracting the attention of Swedes with the help of German as a mediating language. Of course, the Latvian literature did not enter the Swedish culture fast; nevertheless, the number of translations of the Latvian fiction increased year by year.

Up to the beginning of the 1980s, the Latvian literature was almost unknown in Sweden with the exception of Zenta Mauriņa. In the 1950 – 1960s, seven books by Mauriņa were published in Sweden. In anthologies, even in those that were printed at the beginning of the 1990s, Latvian writers are not indicated.

The poet Ojārs Vācietis has characterized entering of the Latvian literature in the world in an exact way:

> *Our fiction enters the world in a rather slow way and its name is not so loud and proud as it should be. Because we are a very small nation. Besides we belong to the language group from the tree of which only two small leaves have been preserved: we and the Lithuanians. It is otherwise for a nation representing the world scale language.*[1]

The article examines the translations of fiction by Latvian writers and poets living in Latvia during the time period from 1980 till 2003. It does not deal with literary works by Latvian writers living in Sweden. The mentioned period of time has been chosen because since 1980 there have been substantial studies of Swedish and Latvian literary contacts. In the monograph *Latvian and Swedish literary contacts*[2], Laimonis Stepiņš has analyzed the development of the Swedish and Latvian contacts from olden times (2nd – 4th century) till 1980. The book presents an overview and interpretation of the Swedish literature, the critique, reviews, public attitude and evaluation at various periods of time and historical conditions, as well as the editions of the Latvian writers in Swedish. The time period from 1980 till 2003 shows how drastically the number of translations of the Latvian fiction has changed and how important this period of time is in popularizing the Latvian literature in Sweden.

Juris Kronbergs has done a great work in popularizing the Latvian literature in Sweden and promoting the Swedish literature in Latvia. He is the mediator between the Swedish and Latvian cultures who translates national and historical codes, hence being a veritable ambassador of culture by vocation. *Due to him the modern Latvian literature is not completely unknown in Sweden and other Nordic countries*[3]. It is noted that *at present J. Kronbergs, perhaps, is the most characteristic writer on the border of two cultures*[4]. One should remark that at present Kronbergs is the only translator who has translated almost all works of the mentioned period of time.

Kronbergs calls the year 1978, when Imants Ziedonis' selection of epiphanies *Andra sidor* (The Other Sides) was published, the starting point in popularizing the Latvian literature in Sweden. These epiphanies were the first translated selection of the writer and poet into Swedish. The poetry magazine *Lyrikvännen* also appeared that year. It included works by Latvian poets written in the 1920s and articles about Latvian poetry. *Andra sidor* is the first book translated by Kronbergs and the first book among the Baltic writers printed by the publishing house *Fripress* headed by Lennart Frick. In the press, the publishing house *Fripress* was more and more often called the most important guide of the Swedish reader to the Baltic literature. In its turn, the way to Denmark and

Norway went through Sweden. Frick's publishing house mainly specializes in the literature of small nations. With the help of these publishers, the Swedish reader got acquainted with a number of Latvian poets – Vizma Belševica, Imants Ziedonis, Knuts Skujenieks. Assessing Ziedonis' epiphanies, Frick admits that *Andra sidor*:

> *which includes complicated events in dense poetic images gave me not only strong and significant experience, but also called forth a serious wish to get acquainted with the situation in the Baltic republics – the territory which before I naively considered as the constituent part of the great Soviet empire*[5].

In the time period from 1980 till 2003 seventeen books by Latvian writers and poets were translated into the Swedish language and in 1981 and 1999 the Baltic issue of the Swedish literature and art magazine *Artes* containing Latvian poetry came out. In 1997, the anthology of Latvian literature *Nära röster over vatten* (Near Voices Over the Water) was published. It gives an insight into the modern and recent Latvian literature. These poetry and prose works give an idea about the Latvian state and the people. This is the basis for the Swedish reader to form the notion about the image of Latvia and the Latvian. The very titles of the works suggest the Latvian vision of life, their wishes and moods. Every Latvian writer may be perceived as a fragment of the Latvian culture text, because *the language of the people used by the writer is not only the life story of some writer and teaching of environs, but the testimony of the nation's culture*[6].

The Swedish text also appears in some translated works of fiction, e.g., in Latvian folk-songs depicting stealing of a wife, also in Pēteris Brūveris' poem *Sverige – den 16. Sovjetrepubliken* (Sweden, the 16th Republic of the Soviet Union; Zviedrija – 16. Padomju Republika). It seems that Kronbergs has consciously chosen the works where the Latvian writers depict Sweden, its people and express their attitude to and views about Sweden and Swedes.

When paying attention to the translations of Latvian fiction into Swedish, it is essential to learn how the Swedish reader assesses the Latvian men-of-letters and what is the response on the whole.

The selection of Ziedonis' epiphanies *Andra sidor* (The Other Sides) was very positively evaluated by the Swedish press. One of the most popular Swedish newspapers *Svenska Dagbladet* called the publication of Ziedonis' book in Swedish as a commendable enterprise, therefore it was not a surprise when in 1981 selected poems by Ziedonis *Utan svanar, utan snö* (Without Swans, Without Snow) came out.

The Swedes acknowledge that folklore has been the central element in the Latvian and Lithuanian literature already since the end of the 16th century, therefore the Swedish press emphasizes that in Ziedonis' writing there *are many folklore elements, in it we can follow the net of modern poetry associations and the way they are linked to the common culture of the nation [..]. In his poetry I. Ziedonis, through central lyrics, has moved from the language criticism to intimate unity with the folk-song.*[7]

In 1986, Ziedonis' *Gränslinjer* (Borderlines; Robežlīnijas) was published. The Swedish reader had a better possibility to get acquainted with Ziedonis than with other European authors because it was already the third book of the poet published in Sweden. Perhaps exactly for this reason different opinions about the Latvian poet's writing appear – from completely positive to rather negative. *Dagens Nyheter* writes about the writer's epiphanies, *this prose poetry makes I. Ziedonis a significant and important poet also in the Swedish language*[8].

In his article *Peasant's Poetry and Modernism*, Björn Gunnarson points out, *I. Ziedonis has a wonderful ability to show magically beautiful places*[9]. Yet other views are expressed about the collection *Gränslinjer* as well:

> *It is difficult for me to see a great or truly influential poet in I. Ziedonis. We see from the translation that he is likeable and full of humour, but we don't know the nuances of Latvian folksongs which seem to be so important in order to understand the great significance of the poems. Poems stand out with their folklore and charming exotic character, but it is nothing more than the worship of his town Latvian peasant culture.*[10]

The author of this review recognizes that Ziedonis' lyric, saturated with the Latvian folklore, needs additional commentaries to be understood by the Swedish reader.

The name of Vizma Belševica is well-known to the Swedish reader. Her works have been translated into Swedish more than those of other Latvian writers. From 1980 till 2003, eight works by Belševica were published in Sweden, including five collections of poems and three novels. In her motherland Latvia, Belševica is loved and respected. Anda Kubuliņa in her monograph *Vizma Belševica* acknowledges that the writer *has the fame not of the author who writes a lot, but of the author who writes profoundly [..]. Among modern Latvian poets she seems to be the most prominent.*[11]

Evaluating Kubuliņa's monograph *Vizma Belševica* the scholar Viesturs Vecgrāvis calls the writer and poet *one of the most talented and colourful creators of our literature not only after the war, but in the short period of the development of our literature in general*[12]. Quite often it is noted that the writer has excellent knowledge of the Latvian language and the world literature:

> *Vizma Belševica has an absolute feeling of the language, and we learn to speak from her books [..]. Undoubtedly knowledge of good literature is one of the determining factors of the special impact of Belševica's works.*[13]

Also in Sweden Belševica is considered to be one of the most significant modern poets. In 1980, her selected poems *Näktergalars infarkt* (Nightingale's Heart Attack; Lakstīgalu infarkts) came out. A number of newspapers published positive reviews about this collection of poems pointing out also the high quality translation, which was done by the poet and translator Kronbergs.

Östersunds Posten wrote, *Her poetry is saturated with mystery and vitality in a very captivating way*[14]. In his turn, Roy Isaksson in his article *The Voice of Conscience* remarks:

> *I read 'Näktergalars infarkt' elated and moved [..]. Being a writer you feel humble in front of your colleague who is a master of her expressive means and who has live traditions of creating.*[15]

In 1991, the selection of Belševica's poems *Tidens öga* (Eye of Time; Laika acs) came out, but next year the third collection of selected poems *Kärlek, helt enkelt* (Simply Love) was published in Swedish. The Swedish writer and scholar Tommy Olofsson recognizes that Belševica is *a high level poet of love, and love depicted by her is rarely or never full of joy*[16]. Per Wästberg, who delivered a speech during the award ceremony of Tomas Tranströmer's prize, emphasized:

> *Her love poetry is the best that I have ever read. The range is wide: from passion to satire, from public statements to inner whisper*[17].

In 1995, Belševica's selected poems *Havet brinner* (The Sea is Ablaze; Jūra deg) were printed. Wästberg notes the wide range of the motives of this selection of poems, *from Hiroshima to sufferings of a young woman. There are moving moments of black humour, there we feel the lost shore, passion without purpose [..]*[18].

The fifth book by Belševica – selected poems *Jordens värme* (The Warmth of the Earth; Zemes siltums) was published in Sweden in 2003. For the first time it included several poems, which could not be published before due to political or other reasons. The Swedish press wrote about the poet's language responsibility emphasizing that she writes in the language that had been in the role of an orphan for fifty years[19]. In one interview, evaluating the situation of the Latvian language, the author herself noted:

> *The Latvian language, weakened, violated, is at its last breath. The reanimation is in the hands of writers and translators.*[20]

Belševica is perceived as a rural poet like Harry Martinsson (the Swedish writer and poet, 1904 – 1978) whom she sometimes reminds by her deep elated feelings about the smallest wonders of nature[21]. The Latvian poet Knuts Skujenieks described Belševica's poetry very precisely, *Vizma's poetry is her fate*[22]. It determines the essence of her poetry.

Three prose works by Belševica were published in the Swedish language: *Bille* (Bille) in 1997, *Bille och kriget* (Bille and the War; Bille dzīvo tālāk) in 1999 and *Billes sköna ungdom* (The Wonderful Youth of Bille; Billes skaistā jaunība) in 2001.

These autobiographical novels are the only prose works apart from the texts published in the anthology of Latvian literature that came out in the time period under discussion (1980 – 2003).

The Swedish as well as the Latvian reader has highly evaluated the writer's trilogy, it aroused a wide and deep response. It should be remarked that in 2005 *Bille och kriget* was broadcast on the radio and was considered the best book in Swedish in 1999. The Swedish press points out that Belševica began to write her autobiographical prose after Latvia had regained its independence. For many years under the Soviet regime, she had been writing poetry with a deeply hidden meaning, but with the official freedom in writing she lost motivation because there was no necessity to continue by telling the essential through the implied or the symbolical, as the tradition to express oneself in the Aesopian language founded during the Soviet period was not suited to the present situation of the *free word*.

V. Belševica is the witness of her time and the spokesperson of the truth but, first of all, she is an artist [23], K. O. Werkelid underlines.

Silvija Radzobe writes that *Bille's main criterion is the truth. The truth as the style. The truth not far from the absolute.*[24] She considers that *Bille* is a political book that is *clairvoyant, clever, written with love*[25].

The Swedish literary criticism also accentuates the writer's non-compromising truth, drastic and sharp humour, child's model of perception prevailing in her novels where, in turn, the vision of an adult is hidden in the deeper layers of text.

Studying Belševica's poetry and prose translated into Swedish, one should remark that the Swedish audience had a good possibility to get acquainted with the author both as a writer and as a poet. Tommy Olofsson considers that Belševica's poetry has a lasting value, for her poetry she was nominated for the Nobel Prize.[26]

Irrespective, whether it is poetry or prose, Belševica's voice is sharp, direct, and true, her motives are precise, her words carry either light gratification or suppressed pain, but always conviction and verity.

In 1991, Skujenieks' selection of poems *Ett frö i snön* (Grain in the Snow; Sēkla sniegā) came out in Swedish. Life between the past and the future, between memories and hope is an essential moment in this author's poetry. He widens the borders of his poetry, interweaving fragments of personal life and evidence in it, highlighting the development of society, culture, and history. Per Wästberg writes about Skujenieks:

> *Reading his poetry I can feel the sadness and magnanimity of the Eastern state and its enormous and, at the same time, scattered stores of energy. For him Latvia is a special category – 'a dark, undiscovered tapestry' where the wind walks on the reeds in blue shoes, but for Europe Latvia is only a remote province, and its history was always decided somewhere else at other government control panels, but not in Riga.*[27]

The literary critic also recognizes that Karl Michael Bellman (the Swedish poet, 1740 – 1795) whose poetry Skujenieks translated, *is his brother with his agile verbs of motion and poetic images grasped with difficulty*[28]. Skujenieks' poetry is considered complicated for translation *from the language, the windy and the still side of which is different from Sweden*[29]. In another publication in Gothenburg newspaper, Skujenieks is called *an untiring and infectious filer of Latvian experience*[30]. Skujenieks is *the highest rank poet whose wisdom makes poetry lighter, more understandable and agile*[31].

Skujenieks' second selection of poems *Bitter hand, bitter mun* (Bitter Hand, Bitter Mouth; Rūgta roka, rūgta mute) came out in 2003. The critics underlined Kronberg's high-quality translation that is congenial to the Swedish poetry, and they noted the poet's creative world structured with rich musicality. It reminds the Swedish reader of the voice of Gustav Fröding's (the Swedish poet, 1860 – 1911) poetry that Skujenieks had translated into Latvian.[32]

In the Latvian literature, there are many works that are worth being translated into other languages, including Swedish, due to their artistic quality, vitality, universal values, and their unique and peculiar Latvian world outlook.

The basis of our culture is our folk-songs that are the most characteristic manifestation of the richness of human spirit. Folk-songs are still considered as untranslatable because there is no formula, which could help translate folk-songs into another language. The simplicity of folk-songs, that at the same time is the peak of poetry, demands the translator's experience more than any other texts of fiction do. Kronbergs has translated folk-songs preserving their polysemy, the ancient tradition, abundance of customs and life situations. In selecting poems, the translator preserved Krišjānis Barons' principles of arrangement by choosing the folk-songs or *dainas* from all chapters of *Latvju Dainas* (Latvian Folk-songs) including also the naughty folk-songs. Kronbergs maintains that, when translating folk-songs, he took into consideration two criteria, *to preserve the rhythm characteristic of the folk songs, as well as to reflect Baron's principles of arrangement when choosing the folksongs*[33]. The collection of *Latvju Dainas* (Latvian Folk-Songs) came out in 1994 under the title *Blåa blommor, gyllne dagg* (Blue Flowers, Golden Dew).

In his foreword, the translator emphasizes that Swedes and Latvians have had neighbour relationships for a long time:

> *During the Viking times we fought and traded with you – and stole women from one another. These very early cultural contacts (stealing of brides) are reflected in Latvian folk-songs.*[34]

Balta, balta gaigaliņa	*Vit, sä vit är denna fågel*
Zem tiltiņa mazgājās;	*Som vid bryggan tvagar sig;*
Atskrien zviedru vanadziņš,	*Kommer så den svenska höken,*
Spalvas vien noputēja.[35] LD 13337	*Fjädrarna i luften far.*[36]

The Swedish folklorist and writer Bengt av Klintberg wrote a foreword to the mentioned book *Baron's Book-case of Dainas, Latvian Soul* where the Swedish reader is acquainted with Baron's biography and his creative work, the book-case of *dainas*, and general characteristics of *dainas*. In turn, Skujenieks provided short commentaries in the afterword. The selected Latvian *dainas* in Swedish got a wide response in Sweden. The book was presented during the Gothenburg Book Fair, which is a very important event of popularizing literature in Sweden. The reviews devoted positive and praising words to the folk-songs. Most often Latvian folk-songs are compared to the Finnish *Kalevala* as to their rhythm.[37] In literary criticism the Latvian folk-songs are recognized as valuable and modern that are true in their essence even today; folk-songs are called the gold-mines of poetry and culture, its great wealth. Selected Latvian folk-songs in Swedish make an important contribution to the Latvian works of fiction translated into the Swedish language. The translator of the Swedish literature Mudīte Treimane proudly admits that *we have not entered Europe with Krišjānis Baron's Latvju dainas (Latvian folk-songs) yet, but we have already entered Sweden*[38]. The choice of Latvian fiction translated into Swedish is not so wide, nevertheless we can speak not so much about numbers, but mainly about editions which really have become significant events in literary life.

The year of 1997 is significant because the anthology of Latvian literature *Nära röster över vatten* (Near Voices Over the Water) came out in the Swedish language. It was translated and prepared by Kronbergs. The translator admits that it is not a book on the history of literature, but that he wanted *first of all to give an insight into modern Latvian literature and Latvian literature of the recent past*[39].

In the foreword to the anthology, the author gives an insight into the history of the Latvian literature beginning with folk-songs and ending with the writers of the contemporary generation. Selected works represent the work by forty Latvian poets and writers: Kārlis Skalbe, Rainis, Fricis Bārda, Aleksandrs Čaks, Jānis Ezeriņš, Ojārs Vācietis, Gundega Repše and many others. The anthology includes also poetry by Vizma Belševica, Imants Ziedonis, Knuts Skujenieks, the poets whose writing the Swedish audience had become familiar with before. Kronbergs especially notes the great significance of poetry and marks *especially strong trio in Latvia: Vācietis, Ziedonis, and Belševica.*

> *But they are quite different. With the help of three personalities from the history of music we can characterize them the following way: Vācietis – Paganini, Belševica – Beethoven, but Ziedonis – Mozart!*[40]

One should note that the translator has included in the anthology some representatives of the Latvian literature in emigration – the works by Dzintars Sodums, Gunars Saliņš, etc.

The anthology compiled by Kronbergs is the widest, most comprehensive presentation of Latvian literature in the Swedish language – the texts by forty Latvian writers and poets beginning with the 19th century up to the modern literature.

Selected poetry by Amanda Aizpuriete *Så som skymningen älskar dig* (I Love You Like a Shadow) came out in the translation of Håkan Sandell into the Swedish language in 2002. Sandell translated poems communicating with the author in the English language. In the foreword to the book, he acknowledges that Aizpuriete is a significant woman writer who is not sufficiently recognized in Latvia, and whom he compares with Elena Schwarz in St. Petersburg, Piu Tafdrup in Copenhagen, Nualu Ni Dhomnailla in Dublin[41]. The Swedish press underlines that, in spite of the fact that the translator does not know the Latvian language, the translation is a success, besides Sandell has preserved a certain exotic nature and link with the old Latvian folklore[42]. The literary scholar Olofsson emphasizes that *the poet is worth attention and has become 'haute couture' in some Scandinavian circles*[43].

Jānis Elsbergs, Inguna Jansone, and Edvīns Raups are modern Latvian poets whose works were translated in the Swedish language in 2003. The publishing house *Ariel* has begun to acquaint the Swedish reader with the writers and poets of the Baltic countries. In 2002, three collections of Lithuanian poetry came out. The Lithuanian poets themselves analyzed and evaluated their poetry and, continuing the tradition, Latvian poets review the works of their colleagues.

After examining the translations of Latvian fiction into Swedish in the time period from 1980 till 2003, we can conclude that Latvian literature is gradually entering the context of the Swedish culture. In 1994, the media specialist and journalist in Sweden, the author of a number of studies Sandra Veinberga wrote about Latvian literature in Sweden:

> *Swedes do not understand hints and indirect messages. They don't know anything about Latvian prose after the war and therefore they do not know anything about Latvian culture and people [..]. While Latvia will be represented only by irritating P. U. Enkvist's 'Legionnaires' and translations of some collections of Latvian poetry in Swedish bookshops the close neighbouring country Latvia will be the same province of Russia for the Swedes – without name, culture and self-confidence, unknown, gray and uninteresting unlike Russian culture and literature that has been well-known since long ago as well as Estonian and Lithuanian culture and literature discovered relatively not so long ago.*[44]

One could partly agree to this harsh statement. Till 1994, only some collections of poems by Ziedonis, Belševica, and Skujenieks had come out in the Swedish language. Moreover, prose had not been translated at all. The situation drastically changed with the publication of *Latvju dainas* and the anthology of the Latvian literature. The year 2003 was the turning point when the rate of the translated fiction grew to five books a year. Also in the following years of 2004 – 2005 the number of the translated works did not diminish: books of poetry by Aleksandrs Čaks, Uldis Bērziņš, Inga Gaile, Kārlis Vērdiņš, and Valts Ernštreits, as well as Sandra Kalniete's novel *Med höglackade skor I Sibiriens snö* (With Patent-leather Shoes in Siberia; Ar balles kurpēm Sibīrijas sniegos) came out. Today Swedes look at Latvia and its culture with interest. Kronbergs who is called *the untiring introducer of Latvian literature*[45] states:

In my experience it has always been so that people come to me and want to know something about Latvian literature and Latvia in general[46].

Having analyzed reviews about the works by Latvian poets and writers published in Swedish newspapers, we can say that the Latvian literature calls forth a great interest in Sweden. The Swedish press has highly evaluated the contribution of our poets. It is very important taking into consideration the fact that Sweden is one of the countries where newspapers are being read most of all.

The Swedish reader considers that it is almost impossible to read the poetry by Latvian authors without thinking about the invaders – Germans and Russians, deportations, betrayals, about the struggle for sustaining the language and culture that continued in emigration – Sweden, Germany, Canada, the U.S.A.

In the end, let us state the main reasons why the Latvian literature does not enter Sweden so fast and why the Swedish literature was not widely translated and published in Latvia in the 1980s, but at the beginning of the 1990s the situation drastically changed. One of the main reasons why the Latvian literature has been relatively little translated into Swedish is the lack of translators. The reading traditions of the Swedish audience also have their role. The Swedish reader is more oriented to the English and American literature, also to the German, French, Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish literature, and it is rather difficult to enter the space of the Swedish literature – also in the case when the work of fiction has received wide response in its own national literature. The third reason is the knowledge of Latvia, its culture and literature. Latvia, that in the discussed period of time was violently incorporated in the Soviet Union, was an unknown land, its literature and culture was practically unknown to the Swedish reader. After Latvia had regained its independence, Swedes became interested in the country and its literature. That is why we observe a tendency of a gradual and stable increase of the translations of Latvian literature in Sweden.

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LINGUISTIC DISCOURSE OF COMPARATIVE CULTURAL STUDIES

Luise Liefländer-Leskinen

WORLD KNOWLEDGE IN LITERARY TRANSLATION

Summary

World knowledge is important in understanding and translating texts and especially in dealing with literary texts, because literary texts might be very culture specific.

Dealing with literary texts, translators have to know the cultural background, the 'world' of the text very well. The computer and the internet can provide some help. The present article will first provide a definition of 'world knowledge' as it is understood here. Information and assistance provided by the internet will then be shown with an example of German text translated into English and Finnish. Finally some results of the analysis will be suggested. The material of this article entails the original and two translations of Günter Grass' novel 'Ein weites Feld', 'Too Far Afield' by Krishna Winston and 'Avarammille aloille' by Oili Suominen. Special interest is paid to the culture specific word 'Mauerspechte' ('wallpeckers') in connection to the Berlin Wall – found on the internet and its translations into English and Finnish.

Key-words: world knowledge, translation, literature, internet, culture specific words

*

1. What is 'World Knowledge'?

When understanding and producing a text we need not only linguistic knowledge (e.g., knowledge of grammar, lexicon and textual coherence), but also knowledge of every-day-procedures or the so-called *encyclopaedic knowledge*[1], which is combined with autobiographical knowledge – depending on our personal experiences and memories. According to Charles Fillmore, when understanding a text we combine certain 'frames' (systems of linguistic choices) with 'scenes' (familiar kinds of interpersonal transactions, standard scenarios, familiar layouts, inactive experiences, body language, etc.).

> *Scenes and frames, in the minds of people who have learned the associations between them, activate each other; and that furthermore, frames are associated in memory with other frames by virtue of shared linguistic material, and that scenes are associated with other scenes by virtue of sameness or similarity of the entities or relations or substances in them or their contexts of occurrence.*[2]

To summarize, world knowledge includes common sense reasoning, as well as general knowledge, and facts about certain more specialized domains; it is the knowledge we have of everyday life as participants and members of cultures and societies on the basis of our own personal experiences, education, social intercourse, etc. World knowledge is stored in our long term memory and parts of it can be activated and processed in text understanding and text production. World knowledge is also very important for translators of literary texts.[3]

2. The material and text example

The material for this article entails the original and two translations of Günter Grass' novel *Ein weites Feld*. The translation into English *Too Far Afield* was done by Krishna Winston in 2001 and the translation into Finnish *Avarammille aloille* – by Oili Suominen in 1996. Grass' novel tells partly about the situation in Berlin after the wall had fallen in November 1989; it includes a lot of intertextuality, allusions, play on names and figures, etc.

What follows are examples from: Günter Grass *Ein weites Feld*, *Too Far Afield*, *Avarammille aloille*.

> *In ihrem kaum mehr bewachten Zustand machte die Mauer beiderseits des Durchlasses Angebote. Nach kurzem Zögern entschieden sie sich nach rechts hin in Richtung Brandenburger Tor. Metall auf Stein: von fern schon hatten sie das helle Picken gehört. Bei Temperaturen unter Null trägt solch ein Geräusch besonders weit.*
>
> *Dicht bei dicht standen oder knieten Mauerspechte. Die im Team arbeiteten, lösten einander ab. Einige trugen Handschuhe gegen die Kälte. Mit Hammer und Meissel, oft nur mit Pflasterstein und Schraubenzieher zermürbten sie den Schutzwall, dessen Westseite während der letzten Jahre seines Bestehens von anonym gebliebenen Künstlern mit lauten Farben und hart konturierendem Strich zum Kunstwerk veredelt worden war: Das geizte nicht mit Symbolen, spuckte Zitate, schrie, klagte an und war gestern noch aktuell gewesen.*
>
> *Hier und dort sah die Mauer schon löchrig aus und zeigte ihr Inneres vor: Moniereisen, die schon bald Rost ansetzen würden. Und über weite Flächen gab das kilometerlange, bis kurz vor Schluss verlängerte Wandbild in museumsreifen Fragmenten handtellergrosse Placken und in winzigen Bruchstücken wilde Malerei preis: freigesetzte Phantasie und erstarrte Protestchiffren.*[4]

> *In its perfunctorily guarded condition, the Wall offered good buys on both sides of the opening. After a moment's hesitation they decided to strike out to the right, toward the Brandenburg Gate. Metal on stone: from far off they had already heard the peck-peck-peck. A sound like that carries especially far in the cold.*
>
> *The wallpeckers were standing or kneeling cheek by jowl. Those working as teams took turns. Some wore gloves against the cold. With hammer and chisel, or in many cases only a cobblestone or screwdriver, they were chipping away at this bulwark, whose western side, during the final years of its existence, had been upgraded by anonymous artists to an artwork, with loud colors and hard-edged contours. It did not stint with symbols; it spat out quotations, shouted, accused, and as recently as yesterday had still seemed relevant.*
>
> *Here and there the Wall already looked porous, exposing its innards: reinforcing rods that would soon begin to rust. And the vast expanse of the mural, stretching for many kilometers and still being extended until just before the end, was now yielding museum-ready swatches no bigger than the palm of a hand, wild daubs in tiny fragments: imagination set free, protest set in stone.*[5]

> *Lähes vartioimattomassa tilassaan muuri tarjosi mahdollisuuksia kummallakin puolen läpikulkupaikka. Hetken epäröityään he kääntyivät oikealle, Brandenburgin porttia kohti. Metallia kiveen: jo kaukaa oli kuulunut kirkas naputus. Pakkassäällä sellaiset äänet kantavat hyvinkin kauas.*

> *Kylki kyljessä, seisaallaan tai polvillaan, ahersivat muuritikat. Ryhmätyötä harrastavat vuorottelivat. Joillakuilla oli kylmän varalta käsineet kädessä. Vasaroin ja taltoin, joskus vain katukivi tai ruuvitaltta aseenaan he murensivat suojavallia, jonka länsipuolen olivat tuntemattomiksi jääneet taiteilijat jalostaneet sen viimeisinä vuosina taideteokseksi kirkuvin värein ja selkein rajauksin. Symboleja riitti, muuri sylki sitaatteja, huusi, syytti ja oli vielä eilen ollut ajankohtainen.*
>
> *Siellä täällä muuri oli jo reikäinen ja paljasti sisuksensa: raudoitukset jotka piankin ruostuisivat. Ja kilometrien mittaisesta, vielä vähän ennen loppua pidennetystä seinäkuvasta irtoisi pitkin matkaa museokelpoisina fragmentteina kämmenenkokoisia väriläiskiä ja pikkulohkareina hurjaa maalausta: vapaata mielikuvituksen lentoa ja jähmettyneitä protestimerkkejä.*[6]

3. Translation and the internet

One of the key words in the text example is 'Mauerspechte'. It was first looked up on the search engines *Google*, *Yahoo*, and *Altavista* and in 2004 there were: 583 results with *Google*, 327 results with *Yahoo*, 151 results with *Altavista*.

Elimination of false results had to be done, e.g., *Yahoo* offered thirteen results related to *Pink Floyd* and only result fourteen was relevant in connection with my own world knowledge and the text.[7] *Altavista* offered the same result as the fifth, and in *Google* already the second result – *Die DDR im www*[8] was successful. *Yahoo*, *Altavista*, and *Google* also offered pictures, in which the 'Mauerspechte' ('wallpeckers') were to be seen at work.[9] There was also an explanation about the word 'Mauerspechte' to be found on the internet:

> *Die Berliner sind bekannt für ihre Fähigkeit, bezeichnende und dennoch oft drollige Worte für neue Erscheinungen zu prägen, daher bildete sich der Begriff 'Mauerspechte' sehr schnell nach den ersten Versuchen, die verhasste Mauer im 'do-it-yourself'-Verfahren zu beseitigen oder sich an deren Beseitigung zumindest tatkräftig zu beteiligen [..].*[10]
>
> [The people from Berlin are well known for their ability to find the right alternative names – and often funny ones – for new things. That is why the name 'Mauerspechte' very soon appeared after the first attempts to get rid of the hated wall in a 'do-it-yourself' act, or at least to take part actively in its destruction [..].[11]]

The article also remarks that very soon it became good business to rent out hammers and chisels to tourists or even to sell pieces of the wall. In 2006 there were: 918 results with *Google*, 2150 results with *Yahoo*, 71 results with *Altavista*.

We can see a clear increase in the number of the results with *Google* and *Yahoo*; only *Altavista* shows fewer results. The first result with *Google* was *Mauerspecht – Wikipedia*, the first results with *Yahoo* and *Altavista* were *Pink Floyd CD Mauerspechte*, the second – *Die Mauerspechte an der Mauer und am Checkpoint Charlie.*[12] There was also a company founded for cleaning the stone walls in 1996 and it took the name 'Mauerspecht'[13], which demonstrates how the term has spread into a wider usage.

After having stored as much world knowledge as possible with the help of the internet, we can now study the text example and its translations:

1. *In ihrem kaum mehr bewachten Zustand machte die Mauer beiderseits des Durchlasses Angebote.* [good buys / mahdollisuuksia]. The reader is introduced to the scene of the wall and the 'wallpeckers'.

2. *Metall auf Stein: schon von fern hatten sie das helle Picken gehört*. [[..] from far off they had already heard the peck-peck-peck / jo kaukaa oli kuulunut kirkas naputus]. The sound of the 'wallpeckers' can be heard, thus the reader gets a clearer association in his / her mind.

3. *Dicht bei dicht standen oder knieten Mauerspechte.* [The wallpeckers were standing or kneeling cheek by jowl. / Kylki kyljessä, seisaallaan tai polvillaan, ahersivat tikat.] The keyword 'Mauerspechte' [wallpeckers, muuritikat] is introduced and the question is settled: people are called 'wallpeckers'.

4. *Mit Hammer und Meissel, oft nur mit Pflasterstein und Schraubenzieher [..] Das geizte nicht mit Symbolen [..]* [It did not stint [..] Symboleja riitti, muuri sylkii [..]]. The actions of these 'wallpeckers' are described in a wider sense.

5. *Hier und dort sah die Mauer schon löchrig aus und zeigte ihr Inneres vor [..] freigesetzte Phantasie und erstarrte Protestchiffren.* [Here and there the Wall already looked porous, exposing its innards [..] imagination set free, protest set in stone.] The results of these actions – also their symbolic meanings – are shown and the scene ends.

4. Results

The final passage of the text example shows the kind of results the 'wallpeckers' reached: by destroying the Wall, they not only helped to set free imagination, but also people, who had set their protest in stone. The text analysis shows the importance of cultural specific knowledge and world knowledge for translators. In this case, both translators not only had understood the scene of the 'Wall' and the 'wallpeckers', but also had put it in an appropriate linguistic frame.

In literary texts, there might be even more names, allusions, hints, etc. than in other kinds of texts, and translators can benefit greatly from the internet while using the target text and their own world knowledge for searching on the net.

'Mauerspechte' or 'wallpeckers' proves to be a good example of the literary background of the whole world: 'Berlin 1989', 'DDR', 'Wall', meaning the protest and freedom of the people.

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[1] Heinemann / Viehweger. *Textlinguistik. Eine Einführung*. Niemeyer, Tübingen, 1991.
[2] Fillmore C. Scenes-and-frames semantics, in: Zampoli A. (ed.) *Linguistic Structures Processing*. Amsterdam / New York / Oxford, North Holland, 1977. – pp. 55–81.
[3] Liefländer-Koistinen L. Die Rolle von Weltwissen beim Textverstehen und Übersetzen, in: Jäntti A., J. Nurminen (eds.) *Thema mit Variationen*. Frankfurt a. M., etc., Peter Lang, 2004. – S. 373–382.
[4] Grass G. *Ein weites Feld*. München, 3. Aufl. 1999. – S. 13–14.
[5] Grass G. *Too Far Afield*. Translated by Krishna Winston. London, 2001. – S. 7.
[6] Grass G. *Avarammille aloille*. Translated by Oili Suominen. Helsinki, 1996. – S. 12–13.
[7] www.november1989.de (accessed 2006)
[8] www.ddr-im-www.de/ Themen/ Mauerspechte.htm (accessed 2006).
[9] www.medienarchiv.com/Berlin; www.jueptner.de (accessed 2006).
[10] www.ddr-im-www.de (accessed 2006).
[11] Translation mine – L. L-L.
[12] Google 12000, Yahoo 29600, Altavista 104 (accessed on 10 October 2007)
[13] www.mauerspecht.de (accessed 2006).

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Anne Männikkö[1]

AIMS AND METHODS IN GERMAN AND FINNISH PAREMIOGRAPHY – CULTURAL DIFFERENCES?[2]

Summary

Scanning through German and Finnish proverb dictionaries – not to mention making systematic and comparative study – it is easy to notice some striking differences both in the themes and styles of the proverbs listed in these books. Such observations naturally raise the question, what are the reasons and backgrounds of such differences. Do they indicate real cultural differences in the proverb traditions of these cultures? Or can they be explained by differences in the aims and methods used in these books? Are there cultural differences already in the paremiographic backgrounds and basis of these countries? The purpose of the present article is to discuss the aims and methods in paremiography by studying and comparing two well-known voluminous German and Finnish proverb dictionaries. I will also discuss the influence these aims and methods have on the content of these books and on the picture of the proverb tradition they convey in these particular cultures.

Key-words: proverbs, paremiography, dictionaries, German, Finnish

*

1. Introduction

The present article is based on the licenciate thesis[3] completed in 1999 and some previous research comparing Finnish and German proverbs[4]. It is focused on Finnish and German proverbs but the views and questions presented here are also relevant to the comparative study of proverbs in other languages and cultures. As proverbs are closely associated with the cultural and social environment[5], it may be assumed that the observations and questions arising from a comparative study of proverbs and proverb collections might be interesting for everybody working with foreign languages and cultures, not only for the researchers particularly interested in proverbs.

Talking about research concerning proverbs and proverb collections, we use such terms as paremiology[6] / paremiological and paremiography[7] / paremiographic. These terms, which have their origin in ancient Greek[8], are widely in use in the international scientific literature concerning proverbs, often in parallel with phraseology[9].

The purpose of the article is to compare two well-known proverb collections, representing the German and Finnish culture traditions, and then discuss the possible cultural differences behind the methodological solutions used in each collection.

2. Observations, experiences

2.1. Sources of observations (primary literature)

Distinct differences between German and Finnish proverb dictionaries can be easily seen even in scanning through them, not to mention a thorough and systematic comparison. This concerns both the variety of the language, style, and the content of the proverbs listed in these collections. This is obvious in the books by Laukkanen / Hakamies[10] and Beyer / Beyer[11] exemplifying rather new versions of German and Finnish proverb dictionaries.

These works were published almost simultaneously: the Finnish collection (*Sananlaskut*) – by the Finnish Literature Society in 1978, the German collection (*Sprichwörterlexikon. Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Ausdrücke aus deutschen Sammlungen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*) – originally in Leipzig, East Germany, 1984, and already in 1985, in Munich, West Germany.

They are also quite similar regarding the number of proverbs listed in them. L/H contains about 16,000 proverbs, B/B – about 15,000 *proverbs and proverbial expressions*[12].

Both of these works have also been (traditionally) used in several research projects concerning Finnish and German proverbs, including research by Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra[13]. These collections were also the prime sources for the licenciate thesis mentioned above, concerning the representation of woman in Finnish and German proverb collections.

2.2. Some examples of observations

We will now consider some general examples of the differences in the materials presented in these dictionaries. Later on, in section 4.1.4., we will take a look at the forewords and introductions of these books in order to see if they give any direct or indirect explanations for these observations.

2.2.1. Dialect or standard language

First of all, a very common and distinct difference can be found in the variety of the language of both collections. In L/H, the proverbs are often presented in some dialect, whereas in B/B – in standard language. This aspect has been explicitly mentioned by editors: cf. 4.1.2.2.

2.2.2. Style and themes: references to sexuality

Another distinct difference is the style used in the proverbs. Whereas the Finnish collection is full of rude and indecent words and metaphors, the German version uses a more matter-of-fact and neutral language.

In proverbs about women, this difference can be seen very clearly. In L/H, they show a kind of vulgarity in many terms applied in relation to woman and in expressions dealing with woman, her sexuality, and the parts of her body related to it. This difference in style is also noticeable in proverbs about men.

Such differences in style are closely connected with differences in themes. Sexuality is a theme, on which these books differ systematically. In proverbs about woman, sexuality is a much more common and explicit theme in Finnish proverbs than in German ones.

Finnish proverbs deal with sexuality in concrete and at times very vulgar language, whereas the German ones use expressions, which are rather indirect or implicit: (Ger.) *Wer auf Schönheit freit, hat gute Nächte aber böse Tage.* (One who proposes because of beauty, will have good nights and bad days.[14])

In B/B, among the approximately three hundred proverbs about women[15] no straightforward themes of sexuality could be found. The most explicit samples are the following:

(Ger.) *Jungfernfleisch ist kein Lagerobst.* (Virgin flesh is not to be stored.)

(Ger.) *Alte Haut, kalte Braut.* (Old skin, cold bride.)

2.2.3. Frequency of 'woman' as a theme and as a voice

There are also very general differences concerning the appearance of women in these collections.

First of all, the frequency of 'woman' as a theme shows a clear distinction: this theme could be found in 11% of the proverbs in L/H but only in 2% in B/B[16]. This may suggest that Finnish speakers talk about women in their proverbs more often than German speakers do.

The narrative voice in proverbs also shows a slight difference. In Finnish proverbs, one can find expressions with the so-called 'female voice' more often than in the German ones[17], although the perspective of Finnish traditional proverbs is also mostly masculine[18]. Concerning this aspect in German, Karl-Heinz Daniels has mentioned that proverbs seldom evaluate men from the point of view of woman.[19] However, we found an example common for both languages with nearly the same metaphors:

(Ger.) *Ein Kuss ohne Bart ist eine Suppe ohne Salz.* (A kiss with no beard is like a soup with no salt.)

(Fin.) *Parrattoman pusu on kuin muna iliman suoloo.* (A kiss from someone with no beard is like an egg with no salt.)

On the basis of these observations, it seems that Germans are much more discreet and their language is much purer. As far as women are concerned, Finnish people talk more about them and in a more vulgar way than in Germany, although the references to women are mainly negative there as well.[20] On the other hand, women seem to get more space for their voice in Finnish proverbs.

3. Questions

These observations raise several questions:

Is the picture provided by the collections really true? Are there really such general differences between the proverbs and their use in these cultures?

How much can be explained on the basis of the collections themselves, their aims, functions and target groups, and by their methods, that is, their sources and the criteria for the selection of proverbs?

Do the aims and methods of the collections reflect cultural differences as well?

Are there cultural differences in paremiological and paremiographic traditions (i.e., how proverbs are studied, collected, and documented)?

4. Explanations of observations

As concerns the variety of the language, style, topics, and perspective of proverbs, it may be assumed that there is a connection between the aims and choices of the editors and the general paremiological and paremiographic traditions.

4.1. Proverb collections

One can expect to find the information concerning the aims and methods of these particular books in their introductions. In any case, materials cannot be compared without taking into consideration their backgrounds.

The forewords and introductions of these books, six pages in L/H, sixteen pages in B/B, do give at least partial accounts for the observations mentioned in section 3.

4.1.1. Aims and functions of the collections

In the preface of the Finnish edition, the late well-known Finnish paremiologist Matti Kuusi explains the aims as follows:

> *This work hopes to be a kind of proverbial archive for every home. The book is like a mirror of the wisdom of the Finnish people. Like the Finnish Literature Society, it is trustworthy and impartial and does not, unlike many earlier proverb collections, try to convey the editors' ideas of what is essential in Finnish proverbs. Every reader has the right to pick from the giant stock of the reflections of the people those views and emphasis that seem to him or her to hit the point best.*[21]
>
> [[..] teos pyrkii olemaan eräänlainen joka kodin sananlaskuarkisto, koko Suomen kansan elämänviisauden peili, luotettava ja puolueeton kuin Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Se ei, kuten moni aikaisempi sananlaskukirja, yritä välittää toimittajien näkemyksiä siitä, mikä suomalaisissa sananlaskuissa on olennaisinta. Itsekunkin lukijan oikeudeksi jää onkia kansanmietelmien jättiläisvarastosta ne kannanotot ja korostukset, jotka tuntuvat osuvan asiain ytimeen.[22]]

In the German dictionary, Horst and Annelies Beyer state their goal was a proper reference book, which shows the centuries long proverb tradition in all its diversity and with all its variants. They consider the interest in cultural history and the need to enrich linguistic means of expression as justification for a book, which mentions also other material beside those expressions that are very popular and well-known for everybody. They write:

> *[..] Versuch, [..] ein wirkliches Nachschlagewerk vorzulegen, das unseren durch die Jahrhunderte gewachsenen Sprichwörterschatz nicht in relativ karger Beschränkung, sondern in seiner Vielfalt und auch im Reichtum der Varianten vorstellt und erschließt. Kulturgeschichtliches Interesse und das Bedürfnis nach Bereicherung sprachlichen Ausdrucks lassen ein Werk geraten erscheinen, das sich nicht nur an das allzu Bekannte und jedem Geläufige hält [..]*[23]

Horst and Annelies Beyer want to fill the absence of a wide collection of proverbs since the work of Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander was published in the late 19th century[24]. Their aim was to create a book for many purposes that could be used for looking for a certain expression to be used in a special context or for finding out the exact formulation of a certain proverb. Such book should also be suitable for scanning because of interest in cultural history or only for the joy the proverbs produce. The Beyers write:

> *Das ermöglicht den raschen Zugriff zum passenden Sprichwort, ebenfalls das Aufsuchen unvollständig bekannter Ausdrücke [..] und das Blättern aus kulturgeschichtlichem Interesse oder einfach aus Freude am Sprichwort. So mag dieses Lexikon manchem Anliegen dienen [..]*[25]

Especially interesting are the references of the authors to one possible function of the book: the authors hope the book can function as a guide that will help the language user to stylistically formulate and enrich his/her expressions. This purpose is mentioned several times in the introduction of the book: in both quotations mentioned above (*das Bedürfnis nach Bereicherung sprachlichen Ausdrucks*[26]; *ermöglicht den raschen Zugriff zum passenden Sprichwort*[27]), but the authors express their hope very clearly also in the following quotations:

> *[..] wie wir hoffen, [..] kann es als Ratgeber bei sprachlich-stilistischer Gestaltung helfen [..]*[28]

and:

> *[..] da gibt es vielleicht sogar einiges neu zu entdecken zur Bereicherung sprachlich-stilistischen Ausdrucks [..]*[29].

So the editors hope to give both advice on and new material for language-stylistic formulation.

Is this purpose typical of German proverb dictionaries[30], unlike Finnish compendia? At least in those four collections that were checked for this article[31], there is no mention of that kind of purpose. If this difference (which ought to be studied more profoundly) really exists, it could be explained by a longer literary tradition in Germany compared to Finland and, as a consequence, by the more important role of proverbs transmitted by literature. In German culture, for example in speeches and writings, they are traditionally considered as badges of education and scholarship.

4.1.2. Methods of collecting and selecting the material

4.1.2.1. The sources

As far as the sources are concerned, L/H is based on the proverb card index in the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society, which contains about 300 000 items. This material is based on hand-written notes and has its origin between 1836 –1959.[32]

Kari Laukkanen states in the introduction of the book that the notes (on which the compendium is based) have often been made by common people[33]. Matti Kuusi also mentions in the preface of the book the origin of the material used for this collection and describes *the background army of the Archives of Folklore* by telling that the material used is mostly based on the many years' work of ordinary men and women with very retentive memories and on the work of academic persons interested (in proverbs). He writes:

> *[On kohtuullista nimetä] ne kansanihmiset ja akateemiset asianharrastajat, joiden monivuotiseen vaivannäköön suurin osa tässä teoksessa julkaistavista sananlaskuista perustuu*[34].

> *[..] sananlaskuteoksen ensisijaisena tekijänä voisi pitää tätä Kansanrunousarkiston tausta-armeijaa ja tuhatlukuisia muistivoimaisia kansanmiehiä ja -naisia*[35].

B/B, on the other hand, is based on previous literary sources, on *collections edited between the 16th century up to the present time*, as is already shown by the title of the book[36].

In the introduction, the editors state that all proverbs included in the book have been mentioned in some of the sources. *Alle verzeichneten Sprichwörter sind belegt, und zwar in deutschsprachigen Sammlungen seit dem 16. Jh., die unserer Ausgabe zugrunde liegen*[37]. These sources, sixty-seven collections from 1513 to 1982, are listed in a separate appendix at the end of the book.[38] However, Wolfgang Mieder[39] argues in his review of the history of proverb dictionaries that the book is mainly based on Wander's earlier mentioned work.

4.1.2.2. Criteria for selecting the material

What do the editors of both collections say about the criteria they have used for selecting proverbs from the previously mentioned sources?

L/H write that all proverbs have been chosen from the card index, which can be found there at least ten times (in various forms). In addition they include other proverbs mentioned several times. Also proverbs showing original dialects or other interesting features have taken precedence over others.

> *[..] kortistosta on mukaan otettu kaikki sananlaskut, joista on kortiston samassa kahdella hakusanalla määritellyssä kohdassa vähintään 10 toisintoa. [..] Lisäksi on poimittu muita, [..] pyritty ottamaan mukaan sellaisia sananparsia, joista on useita toisintoja, sekä asettamaan murreasultaan aidot ja muuten mielenkiintoiset etusijalle.*[40]

The frequency of the proverb as a criterion for selection is also referred to by B/B in their collection, although their idea of frequency must have been based more on their own intuition than on concrete empirical findings as compared to L/H. B/B state that they have included proverbs, which they (themselves! – although indirectly expressed) consider examples of living German proverb material.[41] In addition, they have included proverbs, which they consider important from the historico-cultural point of view or as revealing the popular wisdom.

> *Aufgenommen wurde [..], was an deutschem Sprichwortgut als lebendig gelten kann oder kulturgeschichtlich und als Zeugnis des Volkswitzes heute noch beachtenswert ist.*[42]

As far as the spelling of the proverbs is concerned, B/B write that it has been modernized in most cases. In addition, dialect forms have mostly been changed into the standard language.[43]

In their introduction, B/B also present some explicit criteria for the contents of the proverbs that were included or intentionally left out. They say that they had to set limits. They ignored old proverbs, e.g., those referring to the medieval system of power and jurisdiction, which would have needed a thorough explanation in order to be understood. They also wanted to leave out proverbs, which express the superstitions of earlier times or confessional disputes.[44] In addition, they say:

> *Such proverbs that contain some anti-Semitic, nationally or otherwise inappropriate material, rude, contemptuous or insulting expressions – mainly expressions devaluing the working man and expressing lower status for women are rightfully forgotten, at least they should not be conserved here. This is also the case in the out-of-date pedagogical principles [..], earlier prohibitions concerning the celebrations of Sundays [..] and things like that.*[45]
>
> [[..] es waren Grenzen zu ziehen: [..] inhaltlich dort, wo historische Gebundenheit, besonders an mittelalterliche Herrschafts- und Rechtsverhältnisse, ausführliche Kommentare erfordern würde [..] oder wo sich früherer Aberglaube [..], konfessionelle Fehden u. dgl. kundtun. Zu Recht vergessen, auf jeden Fall hier nicht zu konservieren sind Sprichwörter von antisemitischer, nationalistischer u.ä. Färbung, überhaupt beleidigende und grob herabsetzende Ausdrücke – in der Regel Belege früherer Geringschätzung des arbeitenden Menschen und einer niederen Stellung der Frau. Dasselbe betrifft überholte Erziehungsgrundsätze [..], einstige Feiertagsgebote [..] und ähnliches mehr.[46]]

This quotation clearly exemplifies the difference in the criteria for selecting the material and it also indirectly reflects the differences of the editors about the functions of the collections.[47]

As far as the vulgarity and unconventionality of the language is concerned, B/B write that such proverbs have often been discarded (or indecent words have been replaced by three dots) and state that Wander, however, makes a refreshing exception (*eine erfrischende Ausnahme*) in this respect.[48] But as we have seen, B/B have also themselves discarded a lot of such material and they even state it explicitly.[49]

Although B/B also give many examples of negative descriptions of woman in proverbs, in their themes and style they are much milder than proverbs listed in Finnish collections and do not have the straightforwardness of the Finnish proverbs.[50] B/B give an interesting, ‘natural’ justification for the consideration of these deliciously rude expressions (*herzhaft Derbes*) or teasings (*Frozzeleien*). They say these should not be considered as a degradation of genders (read: women), *Was sich liebt, neckt sich schließlich noch heute*[51] (Those in love still do tease each other even today).

One explanation for the lower frequency of ‘woman’ as a theme in German proverbs that was earlier mentioned as one of the general differences between German and Finnish collections studied here[52] can be found in the explicit intention of B/B to exclude expressions degrading woman. Another reason could be found in the function of the book, which raises the question: would the descriptions of woman, which so often seem to refer to her sexuality and which in the mouth of the people seem so often to be rude and indecent or at least very direct in their expression, fit the aim of the editors to enrich the language of the readers? Those descriptions are probably not the expressions that are supposed to help in formulating a speech, for example.

4.2. Secondary sources

Having regarded the explanations in the forewords and introductions of the dictionaries for their general differences, it would now be interesting and necessary to look at the secondary scientific literature in this field concerning the methods and their connections to culture both in general and in particular to the Finnish and German cultures and to see how often these questions are generally referred to. The present article focuses on the discussion concerning Finnish and German, which can be found in the studies of Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra that were already mentioned in section 2.1.

Schellbach-Kopra has argued that *German proverbs – at least those in current use – show to a larger extent book learning, ethics and moralistic guidelines, whereas Finnish proverbs represent practical and sound common sense [..]*[53]. In addition, she argues that nature is more strongly present in Finnish proverbs than in the German ones.[54]

As far as methods are concerned, Schellbach-Kopra argues that Finnish folklorists use documentations of the spoken tradition and make a clear distinction between the written and the spoken tradition and do not combine them.[55] She mentions also that in Finland *the informants [come] – unlike in many countries – from very different social classes and do not represent only the oldest generation*[56].

According to these arguments, there really are differences in the traditions of the study and collection of proverbs in Finland and Germany, which surely have to do with different roles of proverbs in these cultures and perhaps also with the different roles of the written and spoken language.

On the basis of the differences concerning the typical themes of Finnish and German proverbs, one is bound to ask whether anything general about the differences in the proverb traditions between these two cultures can be claimed, since they are based on such different sources and methods. When the differences in the proverb heritages of different cultures are mentioned, it is important to emphasize that the methods in collecting and listing of proverbs can be different.

5. Conclusion

Before one can generalize to what extent the differences in methods and aims in these two collections represent differences between individual collections (i.e., differences within one culture) and how much they reflect cultural differences, one should study a much wider material of collections and investigate more closely the history of paremiology and paremiography in these countries.

Nevertheless, the comparison of these two collections reveals how proverb collections can differ in their methodological starting points and how these backgrounds influence the picture of proverbs provided by these books. It has also been shown that proverb collections are products of their time and culture, which has to be kept in mind while studying them. As one type of dictionary, these collections are always the result of certain choices made among different sources. These choices have in turn been influenced not only by the paremiological and paremiographic traditions of each country but also by general social, ideological, and socio-cultural factors.

The comparison of these collections raises numerous questions concerning the role of proverbs and proverb collections in various cultures:

– What is the function of proverb collections? What should it be? Are they to serve as a document of language use or to set norms for language use? Can proverb collections direct language use? Are there cultural differences in the way the function of proverb collections is perceived?

– Do differences in both collections reflect the differences in how proverbs are seen in these two cultures and the role of proverbs in these cultures? Does a proverb mean something different to a German as compared to a Finn?

– Do the differences in the collections reflect differences in attitudes towards language and the spoken language in particular?

– The literary tradition in Germany is older than that in Finland. Does this result in a different attitude towards the spoken tradition, which in turn is shown in how and for what purpose proverb collections are made?

– How is translating affected by the fact that the collections are based on such different (methodological) traditions?

Finnish and German proverbs may seem very different in the light of the proverb dictionaries, and so they surely are. Geographical differences alone lead to different metaphors.[57]

However, the differences are more strongly based on the ways materials have been collected and presented than one would expect. These ways have in turn been influenced by cultural and social factors, conscious or unconscious. Proverb collections do not emerge without the surrounding context and traditions. They reflect the views on the role of proverbs in each culture, how their function is seen, also perhaps how the spoken tradition is viewed in the first place and what roles spoken and written traditions have in these cultures.

There is a lot of research and comparisons between Finnish and German proverb traditions but more attention could be paid to the role of proverbs and also proverb collections in each culture.

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[1] Formerly Anne Majapuro.

[2] I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Condit for reviewing the language of this article and Arto Majapuro, M. A., for helping me to express my ideas in English.

[3] Majapuro A. *'Vom Plaudern kocht keine Suppe'. Zur proverbialen Darstellung der Frau im Spiegel deutscher und finnischer Sprichwörtersammlungen.* Lisensiaatintutkielma. Saksan kieli ja kulttuuri. Turku, Turun yliopisto, 1999.

[4] Majapuro A. Zum Frauenbild in deutschen und finnischen Sprichwörtern. (Darstellung eines Forschungsvorhabens), in: *Erikoiskielet ja käännösteoria. VAKKI-symposiumi XVI. Vöyri 10.–11.12.1996.* Vaasa, Vaasan yliopisto, 1996. – pp. 147–159.

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[5] The fact that proverbs are situated between language and culture makes them not only an object of language studies but also of folklore studies, as a part of the so called 'small folklore' (see, e.g., Kuusi M. 1989. – p. 215).

[6] The study of proverbs (e.g., Mieder W. 1996); also: *paroemiology,* etc. (e.g., in: Hartmann R. R. K., G. James 1998; Klein E. 1967).

[7] The collection of proverbs (e.g., Mieder W. 1996).

[8] Gk. 'paroimia' ('proverb'; 'der Spruch, das Gleichnis') (Klein E. 1967; Grzybek P. 1992. – p. 195) Aristotle already used the term 'Paroimiai' (Röhrich L., W. Mieder 1977. – p. 28)

[9] Cf. the series: Eismann W., P. Grzybek, W. Mieder (Hgg.) *Studien zur Phraseologie und Parömiologie* (Studies of Phraseology and Paremiology). Bochum, Brockmeyer, 1994.

[10] Laukkanen K., P. Hakamies *Sananlaskut.* (Proverbs). Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia, 346. 2. p. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1984. (1. p. 1978.) – Later in this text abbreviated as L/H.

[11] Beyer H., A. Beyer *Sprichwörterlexikon. Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Ausdrücke aus deutschen Sammlungen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* Leipzig, VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1984 / München, Beck, 1985. – Later in this text abbreviated as B/B.

[12] See the previous note with the title of the work: *[..] Sprichwörter und sprichwortähnliche Ausdrücke [..].*

[13] Schellbach-Kopra I. *Finnisch-Deutsches Sprichwörterbuch. Suomalais-saksalainen sananlaskukirja.* Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura / Bonn, Habelt, 1980.

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[14] Here and henceforth translations of proverbs to English mine: A. M. The aim was a literal translation, not the proverbial style. Neither was my purpose here to search for equivalent proverbs that perhaps exist in the English language.

[15] Majapuro A. 1999. – p. 16.

[16] Ibid.

[17] As far as I know, there are no wide systematic studies dealing with this aspect yet.

[18] See, e.g., Kuusi M. 1954. – p. 91 and Majapuro A. 1999. – pp. 83, 132.

[19] Daniels K.-H. 1985. – p. 18.

[20] See, e.g., Daniels K.-H. 1985. – p. 18.

[21] The following quotation translated here by A. M.

[22] Kuusi M. 1984. – p. XI.

[23] B/B 1984 /1985. – p. 6.

[24] Ibid. – pp. 5–6.

[25] Ibid. – p. 6.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] B/B 1984 / 1985. – p. 15.

[30] Cf. Mackensen L. 1984.

[31] In addition to L/H 1984: Vuorela T. 1979, Kuusi M. 1988 (cf. Schellbach-Kopra 1989b) and Kuusi M. 1990.

[32] L/H 1984. – pp. XII–XIII.

[33] L/H 1984. – p. XIII.

[34] Kuusi 1984. – p. IX.

[35] Ibid. – p. X.

[36] See above the title of the book: *[..] aus deutschen Sammlungen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.*
[37] B/B 1984 / 1985. – p. 15
[38] Ibid. – pp. 708–710.
[39] Mieder W. 1992. – p. 42. For the use of earlier collections as the source of proverbs see ibid., p. 13.
[40] L/H 1984. – p. XII; compare in 4.1.1. the quotation of Kuusi M. 1984. – p. XII.
[41] An example similar to this method of B/B in its arbitrariness or subjectivity in selecting proverbs for the publication is given by P. Grzybek (1992, 213) referring to the book *Parömiologische* [sic!] *Minimum der deutschen Sprache für die Mittelschule.*
[42] B/B 1984 / 1985. – p. 15.
[43] Ibid. – pp. 15–16.
[44] Ibid. – pp. 18–19.
[45] The end of the following quotation translated here by A. M.
[46] B/B 1984 / 1985. – pp. 18–19.
[47] Cf. section 4.1.1. / Kuusi 1984. – p. XI.
[48] B/B 1984 / 1985. – p. 19.
[49] Cf. the previous citation (B/B 1984 / 1985. pp. 18–19). For the selection of proverbs see, e.g., P. Grzybek (1992) who discusses it as one of the central questions of the paremiography, especially from the point of view of the so-called *paremiological minimum* (see, e.g., ibid., pp. 195, 210–219).
[50] Cf. section 2.2.3.
[51] B/B 1984 / 1985. – p. 20.
[52] See section 2.2.3. above.
[53] Schellbach-Kopra 1980. – p. 31. Translation mine: A. M.
[54] Schellbach-Kopra 1980. – p. 30; Schellbach-Kopra 1988. – p. 98.
[55] Schellbach-Kopra 1987. – p. 245.
[56] Schellbach-Kopra 1987. – p. 247. Translation mine: A. M.
[57] For such differences and examples for them see, e.g., Schellbach-Kopra 1980. – pp. 11, 30.

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Eva Maagerø

COMPOUNDS IN NORWEGIAN: MEANING-MAKING POTENTIAL AND CHALLENGE IN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Summary

The present article discusses compounds as a meaning-making resource in Norwegian. It shows that there are many ways of construing compounds and that they can be nouns, verbs, adjectives and other categories, and also that the two or more elements comprising a compound can come from a wide range of grammatical categories. This richness in the construction of compounds makes them both an important resource for construing new lexical items and a challenge for language learners as well as intercultural communication. The possibilities of construing compounds are many, but not unlimited. We will see that compounds are used in all kind of discourses, and in this connection, especially, children and young people's discourses are mentioned, as are the specialized discourses of science, the humanities, business, and administration. Furthermore, compounds in more aesthetic discourses are briefly discussed as a resource of creativity and surprise. It is argued that cultural competence in addition to linguistic competence is of great importance in order to be able to understand compounds and develop them in one's own language. This makes compounds a feature to be aware of when Norwegian is to be learned as either a second or foreign language. Attention should also be paid when translating from Norwegian to other languages and from other languages into Norwegian. This awareness is therefore important from both a receptive and a productive perspective.

Key-words: compound, intercultural communication, language creativity, register, translation

*

Introduction

When my son Lars Harald was about eight years old, one day he went to school with his friend Bendik. It was a pretty long way to walk, and to make the way shorter they started playing with language, as children often do. They tried to construe a lot of new words by using the sources of compounds, which means putting together already existing words in order to create new combinations of meaning. That particular day they made up the word GÅSELEVERPOSTEIFABRIKASJONSOMKOSTNINGSASSISTENTENE, which might be translated into English as 'the goose liver paté fabrication cost assistants or the assistants calculating the costs in the fabrication of goose liver paté'. My son found this word extremely interesting and wrote it down when he came home from school, and he said it again and again and laughed a lot. Such an amazing word! And it meant something, too! The word has followed him ever since.

Now a 17-year-old, he can suddenly say, *Do you remember GÅSELEVERPOSTEIFABRIKASJONSOMKOSTNINGSASSISTENTENE, Mum?*

On that day, he and Bendik probably discovered consciously or unconsciously the potential of compounds for lexical meaning-making in Norwegian. The word had not existed before the day they construed it, but it is a perfect word – a little long perhaps, but we can all understand what it is about and see for ourselves how the assistants, perhaps in white coats, since they work in the production of goose liver paté, are efficiently assisting in the calculation of the costs connected to the production of the paté. Through language creativity typical to all children, and by means of the available linguistic source of compounds, a new construction had been developed. The word consists of the following elements:

- GÅS ('goose' – noun)
- -e- (binding element)
- LEVER ('liver' – noun)
- POSTEI ('paté' – noun)
- FABRIKASJON ('fabrication' – nominalization – noun)
- -s- (binding element)
- ASSISTENTENE ('the assistants' – noun – in definite plural probably to make the word even longer).

As we see, nouns have been an important source for the construction of this word.

In this article, compounds are regarded as a creative force in lexical meaning-making in Norwegian. Through the creation of compounds, meaning is both varied and solidified in many ways. Compounds created from nouns, as in the example above, are the most frequent structures, but compounds consisting of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions will also be briefly presented. When language learners explore Norwegian, compounds are one of their greatest challenges, as they are both related to the creating of compounds (what can be done linguistically and culturally?) and to the reading and understanding of already existing compounds (what do they mean?). Cultural competence is of great importance in the exploration of this linguistic resource.[1] Compounds are therefore also interesting in the framework of intercultural communication. The cultural dimension of compounds in Norwegian will therefore be briefly discussed in this article as well.

How to make compounds?

First of all it may be stated that compounds are a flexible, rich and creative resource in lexical meaning-making in Norwegian and also in the other Nordic languages as well as in German. When two or more words are put together in a compound, they represent one notion or one idea of something.[2] That means that several linguistic elements together create a unity of meaning. GÅSELEVER ('goose liver') consists of three elements, the lexical item GÅS ('goose'), the binding -e- and the lexical item LEVER ('liver'). It represents, however, only one notion of GÅSELEVER. Normally, the first element in the compound makes the last one more precise or concrete; it narrows the meaning of the more general notion represented by the last element. LEVER ('liver') is a general notion; GÅSE ('goose' + binding -e-), however, narrows the meaning; it is not any liver, but goose's liver. This may also be seen in the following examples:

SOVEROM ('bedroom') – consists of SOVE (the verb 'sleep') and ROM (the noun 'room'). ROM is a wide and general notion. Placed together with SOVE, the meaning has become narrowed and more precise: it is not any room, but a room which is used for sleeping.

SKOLEVEI ('school way') – consists of SKOLE (noun) and VEI (noun). Again, the first element narrows the meaning. It is not any way, but it is a 'school way'.

In the examples above the compounds consist of two elements, but both elements can become elements in new compounds. Compounds consisting of more than two lexical items are quite usual.

SOVEROMSDØR ('bedroom door') – consists of SOVEROM, an -s- binding the elements together, and DØR (noun), or

SKOLEVEIPROBLEMER ('school way problems') – consists of SKOLEVEI and PROBLEMER (noun).

In these examples, the first elements are SOVEROM and SKOLEVEI, both of which consist of two elements already. The two elements make the meaning of the general notion DØR ('door') and PROBLEMER ('problems') more precise and limited. It is not any DØR, but the door leading into the bedroom, and we are not talking about any problems but the problems occurring among children on the way to school, or the problems, which children may have with the school way itself, for example, too much traffic or bad quality for riding bicycles, etc. The last example shows that compounds as nouns can have different interpretations, and the context of the situation where the compound is used is significant for making a relevant interpretation.

Both elements of a compound can consist of different grammatical categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, or numerals). The last element always determines, which word class the compounds belong to, and which functions they may have in the clause. In all the examples mentioned above, the last element has, however, been a noun.

Compounds as nouns

Nouns have a strong representative force, and we need them when talking about persons, things, ideas, phenomena, etc. Compounds are a resource for both realising this kind of meaning and representing the world both around and in us in a precise way. The largest group of compounds has nouns as their last element, and new words are continually being created from them. In Norwegian, we have three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter), and the last element in the compound determines the gender of the word, and also its plural endings. The following three examples show the three genders, and also singular and plural in indefinite and definite forms, the last category being a significant feature in the Western European languages:

Masculine:

EN SKOLEVEI – SKOLEVEIEN – SKOLEVEIER – SKOLEVEIENE

Feminine:

EI ENGELSKBOK – ENGELSKBOKA – ENGELSKBØKER – ENGELSKBØKENE

Neuter:

ET SOVEROM – SOVEROMMET – SOVEROM – SOVEROMMA or SOVEROMMENE.

We have already seen that a noun and a verb can be the first element in this kind of compounds (SKOLEVEI – 'skole' – 'school', noun; SOVEROM – 'sove' – 'sleep', verb). In the third example listed above, we also see that an adjective can have this function (ENGELSKBOK – 'engelsk' – 'English' – adjective). In addition to this, we can have the following first elements:

- Adverb: NEDSTIGNING ('descent'), consisting of NED ('down') – adverb, STIGNING ('ascent') – noun
- Preposition: UNDERDIREKTØR ('assistant director'), consisting of UNDER ('under') – preposition, DIREKTØR ('director') – noun
- Pronoun: SELVMORD ('suicide'), consisting of SELV ('self') – pronoun, MORD ('murder') – noun
- Numeral: TIÅR ('decade'), consisting of TI ('ten') – numeral, ÅR ('year') – noun.

Compounds as verbs

Compounds as verbs consist of two elements where the last one is a verb, which means that the compound is also a verb, it is conjugated as a verb and functions as a verb in the clause. Likewise, the first element here narrows the meaning of the verb, which alone has a more general meaning. The most frequent verb compounds have a noun as their first element, for example STØVSUGE ('hoover'), consisting of STØV ('dust' – noun) and SUGE ('suck, soak' – verb). Moreover, the following categories can function as the first element when placed with a verb as the second element:

- adjective: SMÅSPISE ('eat a little'), consisting of SMÅ ('little') – adjective, SPISE ('eat') – verb
- numeral: TREDOBLE ('double three times'), consisting of TRE ('three') – numeral, doble ('double') – verb
- pronoun: MANGEDOBLE ('double many times'), consisting of MANGE ('many') – pronoun, doble ('double') – verb
- verb: KJENNETEGNE ('characterize'), consisting of KJENNE ('know, feel') – verb, TEGNE ('draw') – verb.

Compounds as adjectives

Adjectives can, along with nouns and verbs, be realized in compounds, and these kinds of compounds function as adjectives in the clause. The compound also in this case, as in the two categories mentioned above, is more precise, compared to the adjective realising the last element. Many different categories can realize the first element in the compound:

- noun: SKYGGEFULL ('shady'), consisting of SKYGGE ('shadow') – noun, full ('full') – adjective
- verb: ERTELYSTEN ('teasing'), consisting of ERTE ('tease') – verb, LYSTEN ('desirous') – adjective

- adjective: HELSLANK ('very slim, slim all over'), consisting of HEL ('whole') – adjective, SLANK ('slim') – adjective
- adverb: VELVOKSEN ('sturdy'), consisting of VEL ('well') – adverb, VOKSEN ('adult') – adjective
- preposition: GJENNOMVÅT ('soaked'), consisting of GJENNOM ('through') – preposition, VÅT ('wet') – adjective
- pronoun: SELVGOD ('self-righteous'), consisting of SELV ('self') – pronoun, GOD ('good') – adjective
- numeral: FEMÅRIG ('five-years-old'), consisting of FEM ('five') – numeral, ÅRIG ('of age') – adjective.

Implicit meaning and compounds

These examples show the many possibilities compounds offer in lexical meaning-making in Norwegian. If we examine the different examples more closely, we will also see that a lot of syntactic meaning is built into the compound. If we try to unpack them, this may be easily noticed. A SOVEROM is 'a room for sleeping', GJENNOMVÅT is 'wetness through all clothes', SMÅSPISE is 'to eat a little all the time', etc. This implicit syntactic meaning differs from compound to compound, and has to be interpreted in the context of the situation where the compound is used. For example, we used above the compound SKOLEVEIPROBLEMER, and we saw that this compound may be unpacked in at least two ways: 'the problems occurring on the way to school', or 'the problems the children may have with the standard of the road'. The context will help us in interpreting the compound in the most relevant way, as the context does in the understanding of all linguistic elements. A well-known example, used by many teachers in the subject of Norwegian as a second or foreign language, shows us clearly the implicit meaning packed into the compound. The example has a noun as the second element, and this noun is PØLSE, which means 'sausage', and is a feminine word in Norwegian. All the first elements in the compound narrow the meaning of PØLSE.

- FÅREEPØLSE ('sausage *made from* sheep') – (FÅR – 'mutton')
- HUNDEPØLSE ('sausage *made for* dogs') – (HUND – 'dog')
- DANSKEPØLSE ('sausage *bought in* Denmark') – (DANSKE – 'Dane', DANSK – 'Danish')
- GRILLPØLSE ('sausage *produced for* grilling') – (GRILL – 'grilling')
- JULEPØLSE ('sausage *to eat* at Christmas time') – (JUL – 'Christmas')
- WIENERPØLSE ('sausage *inspired by* the sausages in Vienna')

By unpacking these examples, it may be noticed that the implicit syntactical meaning differs a lot from example to example. There is no one stable way, which may be used every time we unpack a compound. This shows us the cultural competence, which is necessary in order to interpret and understand the meaning of compounds in Norwegian. Sometimes the unpacking is rather obvious. For example, we do not eat dogs in Norway. This means that HUNDEPØLSE cannot be a parallel to FÅREPØLSE. It is even more obvious that we do not eat Danes. However, DANSKEPØLSE could have been produced for Danes like HUNDEPØLSE, which is produced for dogs. It is not! DANSKEPØLSE is 'sausage bought in Denmark'. As a language user you have to know that meat is much cheaper in Denmark than in Norway, and therefore many Norwegians go by ferry to Hirtshals or Fredrikshavn in Denmark in order to buy sausages and other meat products. The Danish sausage also has an intensive red colour compared to the Norwegian one, which is rather grey. This is due to the different regulations of food colouring in the two countries. Norwegian children love these colourful sausages, and therefore this kind of sausage might be connected with a lot of positive associations. This gives the notion DANSKEPØLSE a very special and culturally complex meaning, which demands a lot of knowledge on the part of the language user. The example above also clearly shows the potential of compounds in meaning-making.

Compounds as a meaning-making potential

As we have seen, compounds are an efficient source of meaning-making. Compounds always represent another notion than does the last element in the compound, and we have also seen how the first element narrows the meaning of the last element making it more concrete and precise, and how the meaning may be packed into the compound in different ways. We have noticed that many categories may be involved when compounds are construed, and there are many ways of constructing them. All of these factors make this linguistic resource extremely rich and varied. The next questions are: When do we construe them? When do we need them? These are difficult questions to answer, because compounds may be found in all sorts of discourses, in young children's way of using language and in specialized discourses among persons sharing the same field of knowledge. There are probably no discourses without them. Compounds may, however, have different functions in different discourses, but we find them as a creative force everywhere.

Young children, for example, talk about DEN KJEMPESNILLE MAMMAEN SIN ('their very kind mother') and use a compound KJEMPESNILL consisting of KJEMPE ('giant' – noun) and SNILL ('kind' – adjective), or DET ISKALDE VANNET when they go swimming ('the ice cold water'), where the compound ISKALD consists of the noun IS ('ice') and the adjective KALD ('cold'). Teenagers talk about DEN RÅKULE BUKSA ('the very cool jeans') they wish to buy, where the compound consists of two adjectives, RÅ ('raw') and KUL ('cool' – borrowed from English), and DEN MEGASTILIGE TYPEN the super smart guy in the school yard, where the compound MEGASTILIG ('super smart') has a first element MEGA (noun meaning 'a million', which in this case is an expression for a high degree of something) and an adjective as the second element, STILIG ('smart'). In the discourse of young people, many of the compounds are adjectives, and their function is to make the language more expressive. Sometimes young people construe their special compounds as a part of their slang, and these expressions are, together with other linguistic choices, important as a group language, and therefore also a part of their identity as adolescents.

In more specialized discourses, compounds have another function. They are, as we have seen above, easy to construe from lexical items already existing in the language, and they are extremely functional in order to create more specific meaning. In the field of linguistics we find notions as SOSIALSEMIOTIKK ('social semiotics'), not just semiotics, but SOSIALSEMIOTIKK, in order to emphasize that meaning-making systems are developed in a social context. The element SOSIAL makes the meaning of SEMIOTIKK more precise. Doctors work with HJERTEMEDISIN ('heart medicine'), which is more specialized than just medicine, teachers work with EVALUERINGSMETODER, which are 'methods for evaluating children in school', not any methods; and some painters paint LANDSKAPSMALERIER ('landscape paintings'), which make them different from other painters. By analyzing any specialized discourse, it may be found that compounds are an important resource in the construction of terminology, and therefore significant for the development of a precise discourse in science, the humanities, and in the field of aesthetics.

When presenting the plans for a new building to be built on the campus, a colleague used extremely many compounds. Some of them were: DYBDEFORSTÅELSE ('deep understanding', consisting of two nouns: DYBDE – 'depth', FORSTÅELSE – 'understanding' – nominalization), DETALJERINGSFASE ('detailed phase', also consisting of two nouns: DETALJERING – 'detailing' – nominalization, binding -s- and FASE – 'phase'), MOMENTLISTE ('list of moments', also consisting of two nouns: MOMENT – 'moment', LISTE – 'list'), GROVSTRUKTUR ('rough structure', consisting of an adjective GROV – 'rough' and a noun STRUKTUR – 'structure'), ORGANISASJONSADMINISTRASJON ('administration of organization', consisting of two nouns: ORGANISASJON – 'organization' – nominalization, binding -s-, and ADMINISTRASJON – 'administration' – nominalization), BRUKERFASE ('user phase', consisting of two nouns: BRUKER – 'user' and FASE – 'phase'), etc. These expressions are compounds, which we often find in the specialized language of economics and administration. They are a part of what Halliday calls register[3], which is a semantic notion. Halliday defines register as a complex of meanings that are normally associated with a certain kind of situational context. Since it is a complex of meanings, register also has to consist of expressions, lexico-grammatical, and, in oral speech, phonological features, which usually realise these meanings. Halliday also emphasizes that a register can have indexical features. Special words can, for example, be indexes in certain registers, as contained in the compound ORGANISASJONSADMINISTRASJON above. A word like this indicates to the participants of communication that they are now part of an administrative discourse. Along with other lexical items and certain grammatical and phonological choices, compounds like the ones mentioned above are a part of the register used in the different specialized discourses.

Sometimes the compounds are, as we have noticed above, made of nominalizations, which are construed when a verb (denoting a process) or an adjective is turned into a noun by adding a suffix. The verb 'explain' may be turned into the noun 'explanation' by the suffix -tion, or the adjective 'certain' is changed to a noun by the suffix -ty: 'certainty'. Nominalizations make it possible for us to talk about not only persons and things, but also phenomena, that is especially necessary in written and more specialized discourses. According to Martin, they are also an important way of realising technical terms in science, the humanities, and social science[4]. Halliday and Matthiessen[5], however, emphasize that there are no discourses entirely without nominalizations. Nominalizations make language more abstract. A part of the information is backgrounded, and readers or listeners who are not inside the discourse, might sometimes find it hard to understand a discourse with many nominalizations. A compound where one or perhaps both elements are nominalizations realises a high degree of abstraction. One of the compounds the colleague used in his presentation, ORGANISASJONSADMINISTRASJON, is a good example. It consists of two nominalizations:

- ORGANISASJON ('organisation') – created from the verb ORGANISERE ('organize') by the suffix -sjon
- -s- binding the two elements together
- ADMINISTRASJON ('administration') – created from the verb ADMINISTRERE ('administrate') by the suffix -sjon.

It is clear that if a discourse has many compounds like this, it will be abstract and vague and difficult to grasp. A compound consisting of two (or perhaps even more) nominalizations offers a rather dense abstraction, which may mean a challenge or even a barrier for the reader or listener to unpack. In such cases compounds may turn from offering positive, creative possibilities to feature-concealing meanings.

In aesthetic writing, compounds are an important resource, though this, of course, applies to writers individually. Compounds offer a possibility for originality in expression, and many authors have created new and surprising compounds in their writing. Henrik Ibsen has created compounds, e.g., SOMMERNATTSSKUMRING ('summer night twilight') and JEVNDØGNSS TORMENE ('equinox storms') in *The Lady From the Sea*[6] and TOSSEDUMT ('idiot stupid') and EN NATURNØDVENDIG VEI ('a nature necessary way') in *Rosmersholm*[7]. The contemporary writer Ingvar Ambjørnsen has compounds like DONGERIBEN ('jeans legs'), DEN BUTTNESEDE SPISSNESEN ('the blunt nosed sharpnose', where 'sharpnose' realises the meaning of a curious person poking his or her nose into all kinds of matters) and LAKEIKAMERATENE ('the lackey comrades' – about administrators in the former Eastern Germany) in his novel *Innocentia Park* (2004)[8]. When once made aware of this phenomenon, it is easy for readers to discover that compounds are an intensive creative force in fiction. The young Afro-Norwegian writer, Bertram Besigye, born in Uganda in 1972, writes poems and lyrical prose, and Norwegian is the language he uses for his publications. His lyric has been well received, and his expression has been compared with the language fantasy and originality of Walt Whitman. Original compounds have become a sort of trademark in his poems[9]. Some examples are: SEXNEONSENTRUM ('sex neon centre'), EN GUTTEFLOKKFLEIPETE FYR ('a gang of boys joking guy', meaning a guy joking and making fun as young boys do when they are together), HUDKONTAKTHUNGER ('skin contact hunger'), ENNATTSDAME ('one night's stand'), HAKESLEPPHYPNOTISERT ('dropping the jaw of surprise hypnotized', meaning that somebody is so surprised that he drops his jaw), STJERNESVIDD NATT ('a star-burned night'), STJERNEPERLER ('star pearls'), LOLITABLONDINE ('Lolita blonde'), FULLMÅNEMAKTEN ('full moon power'), SUGEMERKERØDT ('love-bite red'), GRINEBITERGRETNE HUSFASADER ('grumpy, bad-tempered house fronts', meaning so horrible house fronts that they give the impression of being grumpy and bad-tempered), etc. These are invented compounds, similar to the one invented by my son and Bendik – GÅSELEVERPOSTEIFABRIKASJONSOMKOSTNINGSASSISTENTENE. However, like their word, Besigye's words are transparent and fully understandable in addition to being surprising and unexpected. The compounds also make it possible to be extremely precise in the realisation of meaning. When Besigye says that something is SUGEMERKERØDT ('love-bite red'), we know exactly what sort of red colour he is talking about, and when a guy we meet is GUTTEFLOKKFLEIPETE ('a gang of boys joking guy'), we also know what sort of a guy this is. In literary texts compounds are a resource for playing with language, like it is for children, and therefore a strong potential for creativity in the meaning-making process.

Compounds as a challenge in intercultural communication

From what has been stated above, it is also clear that compounds in a language like Norwegian represent a challenge both for language learners and in intercultural communication. The flexibility and richness both in the grammar for construing compounds and in the meaning-making possibilities of compounds, place them into a special area for all language learners. Many compounds are learned like the lexical items consisting of one element, and they occur many times every day in daily life discourse. We do not even register that they are compounds. Others, however, belong, as we have seen, to more specialised discourses. Some of these realisations may be transparent and easy to understand and use. Others are a challenge because they are less transparent and rather abstract. They consist, for example, of two or more nominalizations, and in addition have much implicit meaning that has to be unpacked. Sometimes a certain cultural knowledge is, as already mentioned, necessary to be able to understand a compound. When Ibsen writes about SOMMERNATTSSKUMRING in *The Lady from the Sea,* the compound is transparent and easy to understand on one level, but the cultural knowledge of the special atmosphere in the bright (or 'blond') Nordic summer nights when anything can happen, expands the meaning of the compound and produces its loaded meaning.

It is also difficult for a language learner to produce compounds. Because of the flexibility of this linguistic resource, it seems that nearly everything goes. This is, however, not the fact. In specialised adult discourse, for instance, excessively creative compounds will destroy the seriousness of the discourse. The actual discourse under consideration will therefore limit the creativity in the development of new compounds.

In translation, compounds are often a challenge. In some languages, compounds are a frequently occurring linguistic feature. However, only occasionally may a compound be directly transferred from one language to another. Moreover, in many languages compounds do not exist at all, or exist to a much smaller degree than in a language like Norwegian. In these cases the compound has to be unpacked linguistically, and when unpacked less meaning is backgrounded, or implicit. On the contrary, meaning is concretized in one way or another. This means that you will have to decide upon one interpretation in your text. This feature (naturally along with many other features) makes translation such an interesting occupation, where cultural knowledge is of great importance.

Summing up

It follows that compounds are a rich meaning-making resource in Norwegian. They may be construed in many ways by using several grammatical categories in an extremely flexible manner, and therefore they may include many grammatical positions inside the clause. They occur in all kinds of discourses but have, as we have seen above, different functions in different kinds of discourses. The many possibilities in the construction of compounds make them, on the one hand, an important potential for construing new lexical items. On the other hand, they are for this same reason a challenge for both language learners and in intercultural communication. Even if the grammatical categories are clear, they realise both the implicit and the explicit meaning so that a strong cultural competence is in many cases necessary in order to understand the compounds, be able to use them in a creative way, and even construe new ones. Compounds are therefore an exciting linguistic feature because of their complexity and potential for realising meaning, but also a feature to be aware of in all kinds of communication.

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IBSEN STUDIES IN THE CONTEXT OF COMPARATIVE CULTURAL PROCESSES

Lisbeth Pettersen Wærp

CULTURAL CHANGE AND HYBRIDIZATION IN IBSEN'S ŒUVRE

Summary

Henrik Ibsen's focus on the contemporary makes him a pre-eminently modern dramatist. But how relevant is the subject matter of his dramas to our time? In this paper I will suggest that one of the things that makes Ibsen's dramas relevant to us is his dramatic thematization of cultural change and cultural hybridization. Closely related to this thematics is his dealing in several dramas with freedom, truth and morality. Within this perspective there are striking similarities between works that otherwise differ much from each other thematically and drama aesthetically, such as, e.g., 'Brand' (1866), 'Emperor and Galilean' (1873), 'A Doll's House' (1879), 'Ghosts' (1881), 'An Enemy of the People' (1882), 'When We Dead Awaken' (1899).

Key-words: Ibsen's dramas, thematization of cultural change, cultural hybridization, hybrid identity, metatextual reflection

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I

I would like to start with the close reading of a passage from Ibsen's last play, *When We Dead Awaken* (1899).[1]

The main character of the play, Arnold Rubek, is a world famous sculptor. As the play opens he is frustrated and creates only portrait busts. This is an activity that his wife Maja considers not worthy of him. Rubek himself, however, objects that the busts he makes are not *really portrait busts* or *straight portraits* – they conceal something *equivocal and hidden*[2]:

> *RUBEK* [firmly]. *I alone can see it. And it amuses me intensely. Outwardly there's this 'striking likeness', as it's called [..] this thing that people all gape at in astonishment [..]* [Lowers his voice.] *[..] But really, at the deepest level, they are just a lot of decent honest carthorses, of simple-minded donkeys, of lop-eared low-browed dogs, of overfed heavy-jowled pigs [..] plus a few dull-eyed thick-skulled bullnecks thrown in [..]*[3]

What does Rubek imply by saying this? Does he think that the portrait busts should be seen as caricatures of the men and women that have ordered them? Or does he think that they are art rather than simply representations?

In a way so subtle that no one except himself can see it, he has let hidden animal faces add to the 'striking' likeness. He has revealed the face as being a mask, an effort tending toward a willed and / or flattering identity, and the mask as an inseparable part of what it hides, which is less flattering and therefore subdued or denied: *I alone can see it*, he says, but of course he cannot see something that is invisible. The point is that the animal face is a part of the surface image or the mask. The human face – or more appropriately – mask – thus appears inextricably bound to the animal face. The person portrayed is not one thing on the surface and another authentic thing underneath. There is no pure animal or human, inner or outer, surface or depth: the former is imperceptibly seen through the latter, each one exists in the image of the other, and both are characteristic, contributing to the 'striking likeness'. This is – in my opinion – both how and what the busts signify.

Why is Rubek so amused by this? Since Rubek says it amuses him that he is the only one to understand the busts, one gets the impression that he views them as profoundly secret caricatures, born out of contempt. This is also the way the busts usually are interpreted by Ibsen critics. But even if there is some truth to this interpretation, it misses something important, namely the fact that Rubek has created exactly the same figures in the work that he has become world famous for, the group of statues called *The Day of Resurrection*. This means that this is a topic he is concerned about as an artist. Rather than in the caricature, the humor lies in the fact that the audience sees something in the busts that they are not at all aware of seeing. What they see is unflattering, but because they are not aware of seeing it, they in fact exalt it – together with what they do recognize – to the level of the characteristic, the 'striking likeness'.

When Rubek says the busts are not really portrait busts or straight portraits, his point is thus that they are not just representations, but art. And in the specific aesthetic technique and motif, Rubek's art in fact strongly resembles Ibsen's aesthetic technique. The famous Norwegian painter Edvard Munch once claimed to recognize his own portrait technique in this aesthetics of double exposure. But Ibsen did not take this technique from Edvard Munch. Both Ibsen's biographers and Otto Lous Mohr who has written a book about Ibsen as a painter[4] give accounts of how Ibsen even as a small boy made animal caricatures of people he knew.[5]

What Rubek thematizes by the means of this aesthetic technique is mixed identity or hybrid identity, hybridity. This is also, in my view, a crucial subject in Ibsen's works. In what follows we shall take a look at how the subject of hybrid identity is elaborated in Ibsen's dramas in the context of a much broader subject, namely cultural change.

II

The drama in which Ibsen most obviously thematizes cultural change is *Emperor and Galilean* (1873). This is also the play that Ibsen himself has awarded a special status among his works: he often refers to it as his opus major and claims that it contains his positive world-view.[6] The background of the last statement is that critics had accused Ibsen of merely exposing the negative in his writing, rather than providing a positive alternative. From 1873 to the present, however, many critics have found it exceedingly difficult to see any positive world view in this play. The problem is that the presentation of the main character, Emperor Julian, and his dream of a third empire or a new and better world, is fundamentally ambiguous and ironic. It is positive and negative, idealistic and skeptical. Accordingly, the critical reception is generally characterized by confusion and ambivalence. Some critics accuse Ibsen of not being very successful as an author when he first idealizes Julian and his vision of a better world, then degrades him and his dream, making both the portrait of Julian and the drama as a whole fall apart. In the first, but highly significant study of the drama, the

Norwegian author Arne Garborg claims that the fundamental oppositions of the conflict are never reconciled and that the play, in spite of the dream of a third empire, is characterized by a fundamental doubt.[7] In spite of this, *Emperor and Galilean* is regarded an important play, first and foremost because of its philosophy of historical change and shifts in mentality.

Emperor and Galilean is a two-part, ten-act historical drama set in the fourth century. The main character is Ibsen's version of the historical Emperor Julian the Apostate, well known for his rather absurd attempts to return to pagan worship. The plot of the play is based upon the cultural conflict of the pagan and Christian world views. As the play opens, Julian is nineteen years old and a prince under his uncle, the Christian Emperor Konstanzios. Emperor Konstanzios has killed almost all of Julian's family to secure his own position. Everyone, including the emperor, believes Julian to be a good and pious Christian and he pretends to be one, but even in the first act he reveals his doubt. To him Christianity represents nothing but constraints and denials. Jesus from Nazareth has, he claims, made everything human illegal. Julian lives in constant fear not only of the paranoid emperor but also of the church, the priests, and God. He clings to his hope of a new, freer, and more authentic life. Together with Maximos the Mystic, he arranges a symposium with the spirits, where a spirit announces that there will be a new empire. Maximos the Mystic interprets the new empire as the third empire; *that empire which shall be established on the trees of knowledge and the cross together*[8]. He claims that Julian is chosen to establish it. At the end of part one, Julian declares himself an apostate. At the beginning of part two, he has publicly abandoned his Christian faith, and has even opposed the emperor by installing himself as emperor before the death of the real emperor. From an inferior position under both the emperor and God, he has risen to the position of apostate and emperor. In the beginning he proclaims full religious freedom and claims that he wants a court free of hypocrisy. But soon he is struck by the same vanity, lust for power, and paranoia as his predecessor, and accordingly the attempt to create a new and better empire is perverted. Julian wants total power over the whole world and opens a war against the Persians not only in order to win more land for the Roman Empire but also to eliminate his own Christian soldiers because they see God as more important than the emperor. In the last act, Julian is killed in the war, stabbed by one of his Christian soldiers.

The great irony of the play is that Julian is an apostate who never succeeds in becoming such. He has no more faith, he is not a Christian any longer, but he is still affected by Christian thought and ideals, by the Christian culture. His problem is, in his own words, that the old beauty (i.e., the pagan Greek art and lifestyle) is no longer beautiful and the new truth (i.e., Christianity) is no longer true. The great irony of history – as well as of Ibsen's drama – is that Emperor Julian, in fighting Christianity, only makes the Christians and Christianity stronger.

Ibsen's main interests with the drama were not historical but contemporary. He saw a parallel between Julian's time and his own, between Julian and modern man, between Julian's paganism and the secularization of modernity. He thus makes Julian's apostasy a symbol of the secularization of his own time, that is the 19th century.

In *Emperor and Galilean,* cultural change is thus characterized by a collision of two forces: (1) a secular force and (2) a religious force or Christianity. The protagonist of the play, Julian, is characterized by the very same collision. He is an apostate that never succeeds in emancipating himself from Christian thoughts, values, and ideals. In this way, he is split between two cultural identities: he is both secularized and Christian. He is unable of emancipating himself from his old belief, and he is painfully aware of that:

> *It is more than a dogma He has spread across the world. It's a witchcraft that takes the senses prisoner. I don't think that anyone who has once been under Him can ever quite break free of Him.*[9]

III

Ghosts (1881) is a dramatic story of a woman, Mrs. Alving who – just like Nora in *A Doll's House* (1879) – leaves her husband. Unlike Nora she is, however, persuaded to return to her husband. They get a son, Oswald, who seems to have inherited his father's syphilis. Not only the attack on marriage as an institution, like in *A Doll's House*, but also the immorality of the play provoked readers and critics: Ibsen's introduction of themes like free love, venereal disease and incest, even allowing Mrs. Alving to accept certain incestuous relations, made one commentator call it a sewer stuffed with revolting modern things. The disappointing reaction of the Norwegian author Arne Garborg, who had recently written a book called *Ein fritenkjar* (A Free Thinker, 1881)[10], may be said to be symptomatic for the – even to Ibsen – unexpected reactions from the liberals. Even they could not see anything but immorality in the play:

> *It is as though Ibsen had taken enjoyment in saying all the worst things he knew, and in saying them in the most outrageous way he could conceive*[11].

But what provoked and still provokes the readers is not really what the play is about.

What is it about then?

Essentially it is about what I have chosen to call cultural hybridization and hybrid identity.

In a dialogue with pastor Manders, Mrs. Alving claims that she is a coward, not daring to permit a sexual – and probably incestuous – relationship between Oswald and Regine. This is of course shocking for Manders, who is a priest. But still more important is the fact that he does not understand what Mrs. Alving means by saying that she is a coward not daring to permit such a scandalous relationship. Mrs. Alving explains:

> *MRS. ALVING. I'll tell you what I mean. The reason I'm so timid and afraid is that I can never get properly rid of the ghosts that haunt me.*
> *MANDERS. What did you call them?*
> *MRS. ALVING. Ghosts. When I heard Regine and Oswald in there, it was just like seeing ghosts. But then I'm inclined to think that we are all ghosts, Pastor Manders, every one of us. It's not just what we inherit from our mothers and fathers that haunt us. It's all kinds of old defunct theories, all sorts of old defunct beliefs, and things like that. It's not that they actually live on in us; they are simply lodged there, and we cannot get rid of them. I've only to pick up a newspaper and I seem to see ghosts gliding between the lines. Over the whole country there must be ghosts, as numerous as the sands of the sea. And here we are, all of us, abysmally afraid of the light.*[12]

This is a well-known, crucial point concerning the title metaphor of the play, the metaphor of *ghosts*, indicating that it is rather complex. The metaphor of ghosts has a double meaning according to Mrs. Alving, namely: (1) *what we inherit from our mothers and fathers* and (2) *all kinds of old defunct theories, all sorts of old defunct beliefs, and things like that*. One of the things that the first reception of *Ghosts* tells us, is that the critics were, to Ibsen's great disappointment, far more preoccupied with the first type of ghosts, more precisely with Regine and Oswald as a scandalously immoral couple, repeating their parents' mistakes and inheriting their venereal diseases, than with the second type of ghosts.

My point is, however, that Mrs. Alving's problem is the problem of cultural hybridity. In the quoted passage, Ibsen makes Mrs. Alving change the topic and talk about the other ghosts, not Regine and Oswald repeating their parents' sins, but the old and outdated truths and beliefs that in her eyes are haunting us. These ghosts thus represent powerful limits not only to free thinking but also to free will or / and free action. Actually Mrs. Alving might be said to be able to think pretty radically or freely when she says that she, if she were not such a coward, would have made Oswald and Regine, who have the same father, relate sexually and / or marry. But her point is that she does not dare to do this. Morally she is obviously not as emancipated as she is intellectually. There is a conflict between thought and morality here that resembles Emperor Julian's conflict, since he declares himself to be an apostate, but never really becomes one, never acts like one. The relationship between insight and action is fundamentally disharmonious, and indicates a self that is fundamentally split, a hybrid identity. What Mrs. Alving experiences is thus the limits of free action, limits represented by what we might call cultural inheritance. And just like Emperor Julian she painfully experiences these cultural ghosts as something that we cannot get rid of.

IV

Let us return to the play that we started with, *When We Dead Awaken*. This is the most personal play written by Ibsen. Ibsen had in fact planned to write an autobiography and *When We dead Awaken* can be – and often is – regarded as an autobiographical play about the relationship between art and life. The main character of the play, the sculptor Arnold Rubek, is – as was Ibsen himself – a famous artist just recently returned to his native country after a long time abroad. The middle-aged Rubek and his younger wife Maja are staying at a health resort near the sea. Their marriage is not happy; Maja accuses Rubek for idle promises of a happy life together with him, and Rubek complains that he is bored with her and unable to create art. During the play they both find themselves a new partner and a new life: Rubek reunites with Irene, a strangely stiff and 'dead' woman that he has known earlier in his life, when she sat for him while he was working with his master-piece *The Day of Resurrection*. Maja joins Ulfhejm, a lively and cynical bear hunter. In the final scenes, however, Rubek and Irene are killed in an avalanche.

When We Dead Awaken is a highly symbolic drama. A crucial point is that Rubek has created a sculpture – *The Day of Resurrection* – which has almost the same title as the drama he himself is part of. In the draft both titles are identical: *The Day of*

Resurrection. What complicates this picture of similarity is that the sculpture, which is in fact a group of statues, contains a former version of itself, a single statue which is, confusingly, also referred to as *The Day of Resurrection*, and the fact that the boundaries between the various images of resurrection are transgressed in the play: the characters resemble the statues of the sculpture and take up positions on stage resembling the positions of the statues of the sculpture. In this way, the sculpture is brought to life by the drama it is itself a part of, even as the drama is frozen in the sculpture it thematizes. When the main characters are seen to move physically upward into the mountain landscape, this both symbolizes resurrection and reflects the resurrection of the figures in the sculpture. *When We Dead Awaken* is not a religious drama, and the action shows that resurrection rather functions as a metaphor for the change of values, identity, and life.

I will conclude by returning to my starting point – the portrait busts. The passage on the portrait busts can be read as a metatextual reflection on Ibsen's dramatic portraits, as a hint that Ibsen's characters are portrayed with a duality of mask and face paradoxically and inextricably bound to one another. The essence of the portrait busts is that human identity is split in a paradoxical way, and the subject is destabilized, floating between two mixed and overlapping but also opposed identities. In this sense, identity is always already complex and impure. This is, in my opinion, where we find the basic conflict not only of *When We Dead Awaken*, but of several other Ibsen's dramas, for instance *Emperor and Galilean* and *Ghosts* where, as we have seen, cultural change represents cultural hybridization.

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[1] Some of the points in what follows, concerning the interpretation of the plays *Emperor and Galilean* and *When We Dead Awaken*, are taken from my book *Overgangens figurasjoner. En studie i Henrik Ibsens 'Kejser og Galilæer' og 'Når vi døde vågner'*. Oslo 2002.
[2] Ibsen H. *When We Dead Awaken*. Transl. by J. McFarlane, in: *The Oxford Ibsen*, 1960 – 1977, vol. 8. London, 1977. – p. 243.
[3] Ibid. – p. 244.
[4] Mohr O. L. *Henrik Ibsen som maler*. Oslo, 1953.
[5] Munch in fact thought that Ibsen, who at an exhibition at Blomquist's in 1895 had been amused by Munch's revelatory, almost caricatured portraits, had written Munch and his art into *When We Dead Awaken*; and not just Munch's art of the portrait in general, but also one specific painting, *The Woman in Three Stages,* or *Sphinx*, as the painting was originally called (1894). Cf. Langslet L. R. *Henrik Ibsen – Edvard Munch*. Oslo 1994.
[6] Quotations from letter to Ibsen's publisher Fr. Hegel, dated 12 July 1871; reprinted in: Bull Fr., H. Koht, D. A. Seip (eds.) *Henrik Ibsen. Samlede verker. Hundreårsutgave*. Oslo, 1928 – 1957, vol. XVI. – p. 371.
[7] Garborg A. *Henrik Ibsen's Kejser og Galilæer. En kritisk studie.* Christiania, 1873.
[8] Ibsen H. *Emperor and Galilean*. Transl. by James McFarlane, in: *The Oxford Ibsen*, 1960 – 1977, vol. 4. London, 1963. – p. 259.
[9] Ibid. – p. 310.
[10] Garborg A. *Ein fritenkjar*. Oslo, 1881.
[12] Garborg A. Review of *Ghosts. / Dagbladet* 14 December 1881.
[13] Ibsen H. *Ghosts*. Transl. by J. McFarlane, in: *The Oxford Ibsen*, 1960 – 1977, vol. 5. London, 1961. – p. 126.

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Fjodors Fjodorovs

IBSEN AND NATIONAL ROMANTICISM

Summary

National Romanticism as one of the most powerful cultural and ideological movements of the 19th century was founded in Germany in the space of the so-called Heidelberg circle. The idea of the 'God-like human' proposed by the early Romanticists was supplanted by the idea of the 'God-like nation'. 'National spirit' is a key notion of Heidelberg school; it is a system of spiritual values formed during the epoch of the rise of the nation and determining its spiritual unity. The historical process differentiated the national spirit and national life that placed nation at the beginning of the 19th century on the verge of extinction. Salvation was possible through its new consolidation. The most important structures, 'languages' embodying national spirit are the following: 1) mythology; 2) folklore; 3) rights; 4) natural language. Another important factor is studying of national history.

National Romanticism arose in those countries and regions where the problem of state and national formation was especially significant, which had experienced the rise of national self-awareness in a situation when national statehood was lacking or endangered. There is another cause, i.e., the national being in conflict with what is beyond the national.

Heidelberg ideology first became an object of acute debate in Denmark, in Adam Oehlenschlager's writing in particular, and through Danish mediation – in Norway and Sweden. In the 1830 – 1840s, the national-Romantic movement spread to Russia and other Slavic regions, whereas in the second half of the century – in the Baltic region. At the end of the 19th century it was crowned by Zionism.

The early writing of Henrik Ibsen, from 'The Mound of Heroes' (1850) to 'Peer Gynt' (1866) is interesting in the system of the European national Romanticism by both diverse modifying impulses and especially by the form of overcoming this system.

Key-words: national spirit, God-like man, family, home, rural world, state, religion

*

National Romanticism as a cultural paradigm was formed both in its theoretical and 'practical' variant in Germany at the very beginning of the 19th century. Usually German national Romanticism is called Heidelberg Romanticism, as it announced itself in the space of the so-called Heidelberg circle that functioned in 1805 – 1808. Its central personalities were Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano. However, Heidelberg ideology appeared before 1805 and did not end after 1808. Strictly speaking it was prepared by pre-romanticism, which put forward 'national' precedents counterpoising cultures that were oriented towards 'cosmopolitan' precedents, be it classicism, baroque, or rococo. Pre-romanticism discovered national history, national folklore, and national culture. In fact, Heidelberg continued the course initiated by pre-romanticism. Yet there is one important difference of principle. Heidelberg was destined to create a complete, highly consequential cultural ideology, to assert the world picture that in various modifications and metamorphoses has been preserved for two centuries and not only in the European space. The foundation of 'national-romantic' ideology was laid neither by philologist or historian, but by a lawyer. The first word in building national Romanticism was said by the twenty-four years old lawyer Karl Friedrich von Savigny who in 1803 published his first book *Das Recht des Besitzes* (The Right of Ownership), which became the event not only in law (as it founded the historical school of law), but also in the spiritual life of Germany at that time. One of the contemporaries called Savigny the giant among dwarfs.[1] Naturally it is an exaggeration, because Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Friedrich Schelling were still alive, Johann Gottfried Herder had recently died, but these words testified to the great impression this book by Savigny produced on German minds.

Savigny based law on the category of 'national spirit', stating that law is the product of the 'national spirit', its word, its embodiment. 'The national spirit' is the system of the unwritten laws that regulated the life of these or those national formations which had emerged in the Middle Ages. The unwritten laws regulating the life of the collective demonstrated the level of its consciousness, its world outlook, self-identification, or speaking in modern terms – its mentality. 'The national spirit' determined and continues to determine the integrity of the people, the nation. In this sense the category of 'the national spirit' becomes the basis not only of law, but also of national culture. As it is known, neither a single idea, nor a theory produces scientific or general national response if it does not agree with 'the spirit of time'. Savigny's theory appeared in a proper place and at the right time – in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. The first decades of the 19th century were a catastrophic time for Germany, and, first of all, because as a result of Napoleon's aggression numerous German states lost their independence and became the satellites of the French Empire. According to Heidelbergians, the reason for the German catastrophe lay in the fact that the German nation had lost the national spirit in the process of historical life; the national history proceeded along the destructive denational way. The German catastrophe put to test the early Jena Romanticism with its mythology of God-like man (or using Nietzsche's term 'manlike God'), Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen; the early romantic man like God, demiurge turned out to be helpless, unable to prevent the catastrophe and to regain independence. The national Romanticism obtained a special meaning and a special status in the context of early romantic God-like humankind. To counterpoise the idea of God-like man, which was asserted by early Romanticists, Heidelberg circle put forward the idea of God-like nation. At the beginning of the 19th century, two ideologies were formed as a system, as wholeness. One of them had the idea of human in the centre, the idea initiated by Christianity and supported by Humanism; the other was centered on the idea of the nation. Human is of primary importance for the first *[..] and in that image there is no room for distinction between Greek and Jew, between the circumcised and uncircumcised, or between barbarian and Scythian, slave and free. There is only Christ: he is everything and he is in everything*[2]; the nation is of primary importance for the second one (the man is a segment of the nation, 'the wheel and the small screw'). Such is the alternative.

The second significant book for building 'national-romantic' ideology was Adam Miller's 3-volume book *Elemente der Staatskunst* (The Fundamentals of the State Art, 1809). *The state is the totality of all man's affairs, their joining into one living whole, close alliance of all physical and spiritual needs, all outer and inner life, uniting into one great, active, infinitely mobile and living whole,* the state is like human body, that is *the closest and most wonderful sample of all alliances and brotherhoods.*[3] The state is not a crowd, chaos of individuals, independent of one another and denying one another (in this sense the state cannot be formed by 'God-like men'), but it is a system in which every individual has a strictly determined function, freedom is not individual's absolute will, but rather conscious realized necessity, an action within the framework of the function determined by the system. According to Miller, life is impossible without the state because man as the absolute is incapable of creation; on the other hand, mankind made up of men-absolutes is chaos, but not a harmoniously built whole, not a cathedral. The state is the way of existence, the way of the nation's historical life, because mankind is not something outside nation; mankind is the system made up not by individuals, but by nations.

This is the origin of the normative structure of the world asserted by the Heidelberg circle: not individual – but the family; not pilgrimage, wandering – but home; not the city – but rural world; nation as family; state as the home of the nation; religion as the basis of the national and state integrity.

In order to save Germany and the German nation, it was necessary to renew the unity of 'the national spirit' and nation's life. The most important task was the determination of the contents of 'the national spirit', its borders. The most important structures, 'languages' embodying 'the national spirit' were: 1) law, 2) mythology, 3) folklore, 4) natural language. Taking all this into account, Heidelbergians and scholars close to them initiated mass movement with the aim of collecting, study and publication of all materials containing these 'languages'. The classical embodiment of missionary scientific cultural self-sacrifice was brothers Grimm, the great folklorists, great linguists, the elder brother Jacob also being a collector, researcher, and publisher of old German court acts.

All German reception of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (The Youth's Magic Horn), the famous collection of German folksongs, collected and published by Arnim and Brentano (1805 – 1808) is very significant. In *Afterword* to the first volume, Arnim defined the publication of the book as a civil action, the aim of which was the awakening of the national self-consciousness, restoring the spiritual unity of Germans in the name of common national 'activity', i.e., liberation of Germany from the foreign power. Joseph Goerres, the most authoritative representative of Heidelberg circle, in his review of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* affirmed:

> *The very people opened their depths in these songs, all that in history is fettered together by arguments, discord, war, because exactly in history this process of dividing of the vain and alien from the healthy mass of the whole takes place, – all this is enlightened in poetry, and all this, as soon as the sinful matter is erupted, becomes clear and reasonable for oneself on the whole.*[4]

And this key thesis got its detailed substantiation:

> *Only good poetry does not deceive, but habitual course of events is the abode of lies and deception. [..] That is why one should presume that any nation is not*

> *worse than its poetry, it would be sad for the Germans if they were not better than their history [..] if the nation has preserved such resounding, sonorous and saturated inner energy and poetry; it is consoling; the inner quality of such poetry testifies to its truthfulness, and the fact that it became folk poetry proves that its truth preserves not only individual significance for the poet, but that in the whole mass of the people there is a common feature to be found which merges inseparably together the poet and the people.*[5]

A quarter of a century later, the sarcastic German poet Heinrich Heine rejecting all dogmas pronounced an inspired hymn to Arnim and Brentano's book:

> *It contains the most charming flowers of the German spirit [..] In these songs one can hear the beat of the heart of the German nation. Here all its gloomy cheerfulness, all its silly mind is revealed. Here the German wrath thunders. Here the German sneer is whistled. Here the German love presents its kisses. Here the genuine German wine and the sincere German tear sparkle like pearls. The latter sometimes even better than the first, it contains much iron and much salt.*[6]

It is quite easy to see that in the material of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* Heine announces the main features of the German nation.

The most significant act of national Romanticism is the study of the national history, its scientific and artistic description, from universal 'national-romantic' positions: stratification of 'the national spirit' and the people's life – in the name of overcoming this tragic stratification.

The national Romanticism acquired a very great scale in those regions where the problem of the state and national construction was primarily significant, where national self-consciousness had emerged (or was emerging), but there was no national state (or it was under threat); there is one more reason for the appearance of national self-consciousness: the national was in a sharp conflict with the non-national. Practically, the national Romanticism did not announce itself in England and France, but it was the most important cultural phenomenon in Scandinavian countries, Finland, Russia, in all the Slavonic world, and also in the Baltic region. Zionism that appeared at the end of the 19th century was based on the postulates put forward by Heidelberg circle, but two more problems were important for it – the problem of the language and the territory. Earliest of all the Heidelberg ideology became the subject of acute debate in Denmark, the country that was not only closely connected with Germany, but was also undergoing a tragedy similar to that of the German. At that time Denmark was impudent by taking Napoleon's side in European wars and it was bitterly punished for that: firstly by the destruction of its fleet, and later by the economic disaster. But there cannot be only bad things: like in Germany, the catastrophe awakened national self-consciousness, and the national consciousness promoted the ideology of national Romanticism. Adam Oehlenschlager (1779 – 1850), who had a great influence on the Swedish and the Norwegian literature, played a great role in the creation of 'national-romantic' culture in Denmark. Esaias Tegner (1782 – 1846), the main figure of the Swedish romanticism, called Oehlenschlager 'the king of the Nordic bards'. A great part of Oehlenschlager's poetry, drama, and prose is the reconstruction of Scandinavian mythology, the restoration of the Danish historical world, in particular, of Knud the Great who created a mighty state uniting Denmark, England and Norway.

Through Danish mediation, Heidelberg Romanticism in a serious way influenced the Swedish national romanticism, the Gothic alliance that appeared in 1811, and later it made an impact on the Norwegian national romanticism. The Gothic alliance put forward the greatest Swedish poet, already mentioned Tegner, with his great poem *The Saga about Fritiof* (1825), with *poetic picture of the heroic life of Ancient Scandinavian North*[7].

The 1830 – 1850s is the epoch of the Norwegian national Romanticism.

All things considered, Ibsen's attitude towards national Romanticism was rather complicated in the early period of his writing. His first drama *Katilina* drawn from the Roman history, written in 1848 – 1849, had a classicist basis; on the conceptual level it went back to the Enlightenment Classicism of the 18th century. And all this was against the background of almost twenty years dominance of 'national-romantic' art in Norway.

His second drama *Kjæmpehøien* (The Mound of Heroes, 1850), strictly speaking, is not a drama, but a one act 'dramatic poem', as stated by the author himself; and it is essential as it alludes to the model – Oehlenschlager, in particular, his dramatic dilogy *Baldur the Good* (1806), and also his dramas *Axel and Valborg* (1810), *Hagbart and Signe* (1815), etc. The action of *Kjæmpehøien* takes place on the island near Sicily at the beginning of the 11th century (shortly before Christianity was introduced to Norway). The main and in fact the only opposition is the spatial opposition 'the North – the South'. The North is the severe, gloomy world of Vikings; their life is the life of wandering and plundering, more precisely, wandering in the name of plundering; their ethics is the ethics of revenge. The South is the world of light, an idyllic topos against the background *of the ruins of an ancient temple;* it is the world of *silence,* where *tired land / closes sleepy days*[8]; one of the Vikings speaks about *baleful air of the South,* but also here the young scald Hemming remembers *Wonderful stories about White Christ*[9], and Vikings reject these stories as *the faith of cowards*. The world of Vikings is presented by severe, non-compromising defender of *the old faith*[10] Asgaut; he is supported by numerous Vikings who have come to the island. The alternative of Asgaut is many-faced and authoritative. First of all it is Rodrik who lives on the island, the former konung Rerek who ten years before destroyed all living on the island, heavily wounded and saved by the only survivor southerner Blanca.

Ja, som en venlig Alf
Hun heled' mine Saar og sysled' om mig;
Og alt imens fortalte hun saa smukt
Om Troen hos de stille Folk i Syden,
At selv mit haarde Bryst blev blødt derved.[11]

Kjæmpehøien is the main symbol of the drama, it is the burial mound on which konung Rerek, who became Rodrik, buried *his sword and shield*; he is the last Viking, who has already given up the ideology of Vikings, but not yet ready for the new life. *The Burial Mound* is made by him for himself, *For the last Viking of the Goths / the Burial mound*[12]. Scald Hemming stays with Rodrik to close his eyes and sing *drapa* that will also be his own *swan song*[13].

All that happens on the island has a symbolic meaning told about in the finale, *and the North will soon become the mound itself*[14].

In the system of characters, Blanca and Rodrik's son, the new konung Handalf represent the future of the North. Blanca, the child of the South and Rodrik's foster-daughter, aspires to the North.

Her er Guddomslivet veget,
Spores kun i Stenens Træk, –
Der det aander, kraftigt præget,
Som en Kjæmper stærk og kjæk!

Og naar Aftnens lumre Stilhed
Tynger knugende mit Bryst,
See, da stiger Nordens Billed
For mit Øie sneebelyst.
Her er smuldrende Ruiner,
Døsig Dvale, tung og blød, –
Der er styrtende Laviner,
Foraarsliv og Vinterdød!

Hvis jeg havde Svanehammen.[15]

Handalf, the man of the North, on the contrary, is 'eroded' by the South, *And I / am undermined in the root by the poison of the South long ago*[16]. Blanca and Handalf are united not only by the ideology of the 'New' North, but also by love. Rodrik calls them *children of the new morning dawn*[17], where they have to fulfill their 'duty'. Blanca pronounces the final monologue.

Men glem ei Løftet som Alfader gav:
Naar Mos og Blommer dække Høiens Side,
Skal Heltens Aand paa Idavold jo stride! –
Saa stiger ogsaa Norden fra sin Grav
Til luttret Aandsbedrift paa Tankens Hav![18]

The end is completely determined and polemic in relation to Oehlenschlager, the teacher. Oehlenschlager saw 'the national spirit' of the Scandinavian peoples in the pre-Christian, pagan Middle Ages. The hero of the drama – Handalf – denies severe Thor in the name of the light and peaceful Baldur, also praised by Oehlenschlager. Addressing Blanca Handalf says, *In your person, Blanca, let Baldur reign*[19]. But the motif of the White Christ seemingly disappearing in the end does not disappear. The end is placed under the sign of the initial stage-direction, *The action takes place [..] not long before the introduction of Christianity in Norway*[20]. Resurrected North presupposes some kind of symbiosis of the bright Baldur (i.e., the North harmonized by the South) and Christianity.

A year later, in 1851, Ibsen wrote a play *Norma en eller Politikers Kærlighed* (Nor-ma or Politician's Love), which he calls *Musical tragedy in three acts.* The title is the travesty of the famous Bellini's opera *Norma* (1831) where the struggle of the Galls and Romans was the declaration of the liberation struggle of Italians against Austrians. Oehlenschlager translated it into Danish, thus introducing it into the context of Northern, Scandinavian problems. Ibsen's play is a political pamphlet, the subject of which is Norwegian political life, Storting declared as its relative space. The main characters: Norma – 'her role is taken by opposition', Adalzhiza, the closest friend of Norma, is 'the ruling party'; Severus, lover of both ladies – in his role some 'liberal' appears (or due to the absence of such Mr. Stabble).[21]

Ibsen's *Norma* would have remained an elementary fact of political struggle but for the 'national-romantic' attributes of his drama. The first act opens with an extensive stage direction:

> *En tyk Skov med tilbørligt Halvmørke, i Baggrunden norske Klipper; Blaaveis og Frihedskokarder blomstre I Granernes Ly. Midt paa Scenen en hellig Afgudssteen, hvori "Frihedsværket" er indfattet i Glas og Ramme.*

In the middle of the stage there is the sacred sacrificial stone, in which behind the glass the enframed 'Cause of Freedom' is enclosed. Among the characters are Ariovist, *Norma's father, the old Druid*[22], also the choir of Druids and the choir of Druidesses. Ariovist addresses the Druids with a programmatic speech:

> *Her staae vi paa Frihedens frieste Jord,*
> *I det gamle, ja, i det ældgamle Nord!*[23]

And further:

> *Ja, seer I, Børn! her just det gjælder,*
> *At handle ret efter Alles Sind!*
> *Jeg lagde den helst i et dirkfrit Skrin*
> *Under Laas og Slaa i en sikker Kjælder*
> *Saa kan man den finde, naar Verden forgaar,*
> *Saa fersk og som den var igaar,*
> *Thi Norges Fjelde, (den veed I alle),*
> *Vil staae, naar hele Verden mon falde,*
> *Men kom, lad os gaae en Smule til Siden,*
> *At hvile os ud, samle Kræfter til Striden [..]*[24]

The point of the matter lies in the fact that entourage of the play introduces the 'national-romantic' ideology into the context of modern politicians. In this sense Ibsen's play is a significant reevaluation of *Kjæmpehøien*.

Structural-ideological multi-vectors of the early Ibsen ended with a decade of 'national-romantic' stability. Its early landmark is *Fru Inger til Østråt* (Lady Inger of Oestraat, 1854); its final landmark – *Kongsemnerne* (The Pretenders, 1863). These are dramas from different times: their action takes place from the 10th till the 16th century. These dramas are of different value. In our opinion, the best one is the drama in four acts *Hærmændene på Helgeland* (The Vikings at Helgeland, 1857). But all these plays are the pictures of Norwegian Middle Ages, the Norwegian 'people's life' through the prism of its correspondence to Ibsen's ideological norm that is adequate to the Norwegian 'natural spirit'; the Norwegian national norm is derived from manifold material, in many ways it was irreproachably demonstrated already in *Kjæmpehøien*.

We will omit the discussion about these dramas that deserve serious attention in the process of studying the destinies of European national Romanticism and turn our attention to *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, the most famous of Ibsen's works that complete the first period of his creative writing.

Brand (1865) was unexpected in many ways. Ibsen's main problem in the 1850s was the problem of the people, the people as national totality, or, in Ibsen's own words, the people as the state, i.e., God-like nation. *Brand* ascertains the lack of national unity, fundamental stratification of the nation, one part of which is 'a crowd', puts 'bread' ('cod') as the basis of life (as soon as Vogt said that in fiord waters 'shoal of cod' appeared, 'million of millions', the crowd renounces Brand), the other part – 'the leaders', i.e., those who have power and money and strive for more power and for more money. Metaphorically speaking, the stratified nation is united only by the cult of 'the cod', naturally 'the cod' of a different scale. On this plane, the romantic category of 'the national spirit' acquires a profane meaning as do the people and nation. In *Brand* Ibsen rejects the idea of God-like nation and puts forward the personality as a counterpoise. *Brand* is the return to the idea rejected by Romanticist culture, – to the idea of God-like man, man-demiurge. But in the course of sixty years of the 19th century, the idea of God-like man had essentially changed. God-like man of Novalis, Heinrich von Ofterdingen is a universal personality, or, better to say, personality-universe, the organic synthesis of being, all. Naturally, in this quality it is inwardly non-conflicting. Brand who affirms his status as a God-like man, demiurge, in fact is not a God-like man, he is a superhuman ('Übermensch'); superhuman essentially differs from the God-like man, the way God of the Old Testament is different from Christ. Brand is the forerunner of Nietzsche's superhuman. For Brand, likewise as for Nietzsche's hero, there is a human scoundrel and a strong personality having the right and putting the principle 'all – or nothing' in the centre of being. Heinrich von Kleist has a great drama, which due to a number of reasons was glossed over – *Die Hermannschlacht* (Hermann's Battle). Kleist's drama and Ibsen's *Brand* are absolutely different. Kleist's drama is devoted to the battle in Teutobourg forest when German tribes headed by Hermann won victory over the Romans, stopping their movement into Germany. The victorious battle in the 9th century A. D. is the beginning of the German history; according to Kleist, it is the precedent for the modern Germany conquered by Napoleon. And in this sense the drama is organically related to the ideology of national Romanticism. Hermann is a titan, superhuman, who due to his superhumanliness subdued isolated tribes, united them by hatred against the enemy and reached the aim: this battle gave rise to Germany. Kleist's superhuman accomplished what Novalis' God-like man could not accomplish. Similarly to Brand, Hermann is an indestructible will; the only alternative for Hermann, as also for Brand, is 'all – or nothing'. For Kleist, Hermann is an indisputable norm. Ibsen is sure of the necessity of radical changes in the Norwegian world; the Norwegians have lost the spiritual core, which determines their national status. The way of the historical development of the nation did not end in success. The nation needs Brand, a superhuman similar to Hermann. But the modern Hermann suffers a defeat because he lacks mercy; the last words of the drama are *Deus caritatis*. Ibsen stopped in front of the unsolvable problem: Brand has an uncompromising will, but his will is too weak to unite the people because it is not united with mercy. But mercy means compromise, giving up superhuman's 'all', Brand does not do that and he dies. And all this means historico-ontological deadlock.

Yet the last word does not belong to *Brand*. The last word of early Ibsen is *Peer Gynt* (1866). *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* represent a structural and semantic unity. First of all, after *Kongsemuerne* (1863) and other prose dramas drawn from the national history Ibsen returns to drama in verse. The genre structure of both plays is identical: 'dramatic poem in five acts'; and this is nothing more than return to the structures and meanings of Oehlenschlager, although the amount of 'poems' and the character of the narrative structure related to it 'erodes' Oehlenschlager's base. But it seems that Ibsen had to allude to him, the more so because in *Peer Gynt* the folklore element is essential; in particular, the protagonist of the play is originally a folklore image. Yet alluding to that 'national-romantic' tradition, which was presented to Ibsen by Oehlenschlager, was necessary as a farewell sign. However, it must be noted from the start that the focus of *Peer Gynt* is not the image of Peer but that of Solveig, although Peer Gynt is present in the drama from the beginning till the end, but Solveig appears only in certain episodes. The story depicted in *Peer Gynt*, as well as Ibsen's historiosophic search end with Solveig. Second, both *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* are plays with many characters, but if *Brand* depicts the Norwegian society, then *Peer Gynt* stretches its scope to the world socium. However, as compared to *Brand, Peer Gynt's* socium is organically connected with folklore, with the local demonology represented by trolls. Peer Gynt is introduced into the space of humans – trolls as its organic segment. This space is condemned by Ibsen. Peer Gynt is antithesis to Brand; Brand is an absolute lack of compromise, whereas Peer Gynt – an absolute compromise and the mythological image of the Great Curve is an epigraphic image. Yet Peer Gynt's eternal compromising wandering paradoxically reveals Brand in him, i.e., superhuman. Peer Gynt is not a small man, chased by the trolls of circumstances; he, like Brand, has placed his own 'I' higher than the 'I' of others. Brand confirms the rights of superhuman. Peer Gynt profanes human's rights. The first poem ends with the defeat of the superhuman and his death. The second poem ends with the defeat of the superhuman and his triumph. In a sense this is a reward for the profane role played by Peer Gynt, a reward for the travesty of a superhuman. Yet Peer Gynt's triumph is determined not by him, but by Solveig.

Third, in the enormous space of the drama Solveig takes up a very modest position; although she is present all through the drama, she comes to the proscenium on the last three pages; the play ends with her and so does the first period of Ibsen's creative writing. Solveig saves Peer Gynt from destruction, like Oedipus, by solving his riddle:

Saa sig, hvad du ved!
Hvor var jeg, som mig selv, som den hele, den sande?
Hvor var jeg, med Guds Stempel paa min Pande?[25]

Solveig's answer is, *I min Tro, I mit Haab og min Kjærlighed*[26]. In fact, the drama might have ended in this affirmation of love as absolute truth. But the drama ends in cosmic-symbolic actions, the main of which is – *The Sun rises*. This action is connected to two stage directions. The first one concerns Peer Gynt's response to Solveig's answer: he is *as if illuminated by the beam of light*; the second one concerns Solveig who is *illuminated by the radiance of the Sun*. Unlike Bulgakov, Ibsen rewards by light both Peer Gynt who awakened Solveig's love and Solveig – the giver of love. The drama ends in Solveig's lullaby song:

Jeg skal vugge dig, jeg skal vaage; –
sov og drøm du, Gutten min![27]

The essence of Solveig is the greatness of love as submissiveness, love as resignation; the essence of Solveig is in giving up any kind of will creation. If we can speak about demiurge creation of Solveig, then it is that of mercy. Hence, *Deus Caritatis* at the end of *Brand* and the lullaby song in the finale of *Peer Gynt* are linked together. This is the origin of the mythology of Solveig.

Creating the mythology of Solveig, once again Ibsen turns to Kleist, this time to his drama *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* (1808). Käthchen, the same way as Solveig, is suddenly struck by love. Both of them are rejected by men whom they love. The reciprocity is not important for Käthchen, neither is it for Solveig; what matters is love, experienced by them. Käthchen, like Solveig, possesses the greatness of unselfish love. Käthchen saves her beloved from death. Solveig saves Peer Gynt from destruction. In *Käthchen von Heilbronn* Kleist proclaims the romantic mythology of love as renunciation. Ibsen affirms the mythology of renunciation on the world scale, if we take into consideration the enormous popularity of *Peer Gynt* magnified by Edward Grieg.

The main point is that *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* are dramas producing 'national-romantic' constants (the people, folklore), but they are built in order to be dismounted. In Ibsen's consciousness, national Romanticism has ceased to function as a viable ideology and culture. The time for modern critical plays had come, yet *Samfundets Støtter* (The Pillars of Society) will be published and staged only in 1877, but *Et Dukkehjem* (A Doll's House) that asserted Ibsen's world fame as almost the major playwright of the new type – in 1879.

In conclusion, two examples of post-Ibsenian mythology of Solveig.

The first example is Latvian playwright Rainis' drama *Uguns un nakts* (Fire and Night, 1903 – 1904). This play represents a symbiosis of the national folklore–epic tradition and the European literary experience.

The space of the drama is the space of Latvian national Romanticism which, like in other European countries, was fostered by the movement of national self-awareness and rebirth (the 1850s – 1880s). Latvian folk-songs (dainas) collected by Krišjānis Barons and the national epic *Lāčplēsis* (Bearslayer, 1888) by Andrejs Pumpurs constitute the basis of the drama indicated by an important imperative fragment in it:

Akmens, šķelies,
Celies, mana apburtā tauta, celies!
Pēc simtsgadu miega uz jaunu dzīvi,
Pēc vergu sloga uz gaismas brīvi!
Akmens, šķelies,
Tautas dziesminieks Pumpurs, celies!
Dzied', latvju varoni Lāčplēsi,
Teic pagātni, cel uz nākotni![28]

'Speak of the past, raise to the future!' – this is the formula of 'national-romantic' creative writing. It gives rise to the genre structure of the play defined in the subtitle – *Old Song in New Sounds.*

The European literary experience is represented by Goethe's *Faust*, early plays by Ibsen (first of all by *Peer Gynt*), and Richard Wagner.

Rainis's drama is the work with a complex structure; in the system of binary oppositions of diverse level and scope, the oppositions Lāčplēsis – Laimdota and Lāčplēsis – Spīdola are very significant; they in turn envisage the opposition Solveig – Anitra. But Spīdola is essentially different from both Kunigund and Anitra who embody evil, counterpoising the goodness of Käthchen and Solveig. Firstly, Spīdola is very manifold that is manifested already at the beginning of the drama; secondly, Spīdola is placed under the sign of evolution, metamorphosis; Spīdola in Act V is essentially different from Spīdola in Act I. In a sense Spīdola is the arena of the dialectal process. The space of the drama in the beginning is the space of the lower-devilry; the key action – dance of witches with devils; Spīdola is a witch, but of an exclusive status, *nobody controls her*, *she is the task for herself*[29]. The night devilry in Aizkrauklis' castle is a distant analogue of the Valpurgian night in *Faust*. Besides, Spīdola has the same function that Mephistopheles has in *Faust*. Like Mephistopheles, Spīdola embodies energy, action, strength, power. The point is that Mephistopheles is 'the other' of God, he is an instrument of creating the world and creating man; representing the eternal negation, he also determines the eternal creation. God says in *The Prologue in Heaven*:

Von allen Geistern, die verneinen,
Ist mir der Schalk am wenigsten zur Last.
Des Menschen Tätigkeit kann allzuleicht erschlaffen,
Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
Drum geb ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
Der reizt und wirkt und muß als Teufel schaffen.[30]

When addressing Lāčplēsis, Spīdola uses the arguments of Goethe's God. And using this argumentation Spīdola identifies herself with Mephistopheles:

Ak, Lāčplēsi,
Bez manis tu zemē izsīksi,
Tu aprimsi savā pilnībā,
Tev beigsies gaita bezgalīgā!
Tu tiksi veikts, un tev būs grimt,
Tev līdzi visai dzīvei rimt![31]

Nevertheless Spīdola is different from Mephistopheles, and not only by different vectors of impulses and actions that are impossible for Mephistopheles; it is very significant that she differs in her outer appearance. Mephistopheles is positive only in relation to God, he acts positive as God's function, but as a real being, as 'a persona' he has all the features of the devil; his portrait represents his essence: he is the evil, he is the devil. Spīdola not only has a positive, world-constructing, human-building function, but also her outer appearance matches this function – she is beauty, radiance that does not originally correspond to her wicked, Mephistophelian actions. However, in Act V her deeds are in adequacy with her beauty; her deeds have become to manifest beauty.

Unlike Spīdola as contradiction, as movement, as evolution, Laimdota is peace, serenity, more precisely – happiness of peace and serenity. Spīdola is the correction of Laimdota, as Laimdota is the correction of Spīdola. Laimdota means 'gift of Laima', the goddess of the happy fortune, 'predetermining', 'writing' human's life. Laimdota is presented to Lāčplēsis by Laima (*You, Laimdota, given to me by Laima!*[32]). The essential constants of Laimdota are scattered throughout the whole space of the drama:

Miers, miers – kā kustošā vēsma –
Salda laime [..]
[..] laimības zieds?
Tu, miļotā, sen ilgotā, neredzētā!
Tu, zilā debess, tu, dvēseles prieks! –
Mana baltā diena!
Laimesmāte, no tevis tā dota, –
Es steidzos tev pakaļ, ved mani, zvaigzne![33]

The reiteration of the constants, their synonyms and their metaphorical variations create not only the folklore-poetic halo of Laimdota, but also her mythological status. The mythology of Laimdota is the mythology of peace and serenity. Another moment is essential here. The heroic mission of Lāčplēsis is also dictated by Laima:

Es esmu sūtīts karotājs pret elli;
Tas man no Laimes lemts.[34]

In the space of the struggle led by Lāčplēsis, Laimdota is the visible target, the guiding star. Laima presents Laimdota to Lāčplēsis exactly as a target. And this function of Laimdota is also that of Solveig (meaning 'the Sun's way'). Similarly, like Solveig leads Peer Gynt home through all his life cataclysms and downfalls, so Laimdota leads Lāčplēsis to the triumph in Act V, to the world of the achieved aim, the world of the solved problems, conflicts, where *the battle has ended*. (*I have exterminated evil spirits in Latvia [..]*) Laimdota says to Lāčplēsis, *My dear, [..] now mine, now you belong only to me! / I will not give you into the power of danger [..]* and Lāčplēsis replies, *Don't be afraid my dove, / I want to rest at your place*.[35] And this is almost a situational quotation of the finale of the drama *Peer Gynt*.

But this is only the beginning of Act V. And it is only the beginning of the struggle, the first victory. *The struggle has not finished and will not finish [..]*[36]. The struggle will finish only when the enemies will be driven out from the native land. Laimdota affirms peace, serenity, rest and urges Lāčplēsis to peace, serenity, and rest. Here Spīdola comes forward into the focus of action overshadowing and even pushing away Laimdota. Remaining faithful to herself, Spīdola similarly to Faust asserts: in tranquility and rest there is death.

Tik viņš viens pats spēj sevi veikt,
Kad gribēs savu gaitu beigt,
Kad nemeklēs darba, bet atdusas [..]

Ā, ai! Kā nāvi tev dusu būs bēgt!
Ne dusēt tev nebūs, ne mieru slēgt!
Vēl esmu es, Spīdola, Lāčplēsi,
Kas novērst spēj tavu likteni![37]

If Laimdota is the target, Spīdola is the instrument of achieving it. The ending of *Peer Gynt* is the end of the way, it is completion. From the point of view of Rainis' drama, Laimdota with her idea of peace and happiness, with her longing for completion, comprises a complex of conservatism; being the way, being Solveig, she strives towards completion, towards a stop, she is like Faust who says, *Moment, linger on!* But for Lāčplēsis, the national hero whose function is the 'fate' of the nation lingering on means the oblivion of the nation and its interests, loss of the status of the national hero; it is death. For science, as for human, Laimdota is important as the myth of the Golden Age, but Spīdola with her Mephistophelian essence, her negation of the negation, her struggle with conservatism, with the idea of completion is even more important.

Laimdota is the Latvian Solveig placed in the heroic space of national self-assertion and limited by this space as a value. Rainis' drama reveals the greatness of Solveig, the beauty of Solveig, the justification of Solveig, but to no lesser extent it also presents doubt about Solveig as the final truth. That is why the drama opens with the words, *Go, Lāčplēsis, go again into battle! You won too little, the winner!*[38]

Alexander Blok turned to Ibsen's creative writing several times.

> *Ibsen's works for us are not a book, or if it is a book, then it is the great book of life. And if we are with Ibsen – then we are together with all modern mankind.*[39]

The poem *Solveig* has an epigraph from *Peer Gynt: Solveig comes on skis* (in Ibsen's *Peer Gynt,* it is a stage direction). The first stanza is the citational reproduction of the stage direction with the only difference that it begins with addressing Solveig, *Solveig! You have run on skis to me.* The opposition of the poem is the standard lyrical opposition 'I – you'. However, 'you' is identified as Solveig; the lyrical subject has no name, but Ibsen's context presupposes Peer Gynt; nevertheless 'I' is not exactly Peer Gynt or, more precisely, not only Peer Gynt but also the poetic subject of Blok's second collection of poems *Unexpected Joy* (1907). It is worth mentioning that in the first and the second editions, this poem was the first in the collection and thus acquired a programmatic character from the perspective of both semantics and structure; the collection was placed under the sign of Ibsen and *Peer Gynt*, more precisely, one of its fragments which acquired a completed symbolic-mythological status. In this connection it is essential that lyrical text, constructed as an unusually expressive monologue of the poetic 'I', due to the title and frequent addresses to Solveig, acquires epic features, an epic halo. And finally, concerning structural features. In the collection of poems that seems to grow out of the poem *Solveig*, the opposition I – you to a greater or lesser degree acquires *ibsenian* features; in any case, *Peer Gynt's* recurring connotation becomes unavoidable in the process of the development of the text.

The space of the lyrical subject of the poem is marked by winter, forest, *poor and dark hat*, *the fire-place*, darkness (*without fire*), sleep (*winter sleep*), whereas the space of Solveig – by spring, the sky, light, joy (*joyful* eye), life.

Ты пришла — и светло,
Зимний сон разнесло,
И весна загудела в лесу![40]

Solveig's coming is awakening from the sleep, building *a new hut*, *crash* of *the old pine-tree* (representative of the forest) in the name of the sky, in the name of finding it, *This sky is yours! / This sky is mine!* And the whole range of other signs: 1) joyfulness / gladness (*your joyous green eye*); *You see a glad look [..]* that is directly connected with the title of the collection of poems *Unexpected Joy*; 2) song: the final line, *Solveig! The song of the green spring!* The song of the lyrical subject merges with Solveig's song, *Do you hear my song I wander around sing / About my spring Solveig!* 3) *the green eye* – the green spring of Solveig. As it was frequently noted, the green colour for Blok is the colour sign of Scandinavia[41].

Solveig is the mythology of world creation, creation of life.

The second poem that was written almost a year later is essentially different, although it begins with incantation addressing Solveig, *Solveig! Oh, Solveig! Oh, Sun's Way!* Although *The Sun's Way* is in fact tautological to *Solveig*, in the poem it bears meaning being the characteristics of Solveig; and she is organically associated with the poem of the early 1906. Later Solveig is twice alluded to as a height. However, the second stanza introduces a sharp dissonance:

В темных провалах, где дышит гроза,
Вижу зеленые злые глаза.

Almost every word here represents a negative, disharmonious range: 1) dark; 2) depressions; 3) thunderstorm; 4) cruel eyes. *The green eyes* connect both poems, but the green Scandinavian eyes become *cruel.* And although in the third stanza *the green cruel eyes* relate either to Solveig or to the old woman – owl, this alternative is illusory, it is not the alternative, but the variation that equalizes Solveig and *the old woman – owl.*

In the fourth stanza Solveig is separated from the *lower* row, but is not taken out of the contact zone with it:

Чей ослепительный плащ на лету
Путь открывает в твою высоту?

The cloak as it is known is a characteristic sign of 'demonic' hero of Blok's lyrics[42]. The demonic cloak is the beginning of the way to Solveig, to her 'height'.

The paradox of the inner world of the poem lies in the fact that the initial turning to Solveig as the Sun's Way has a concrete task, *Allow me to breathe, to freshen my chest!* In the context of this request, the lyrical subject becomes identical with the lyrical subject of the first poem before Solveig's appearance. But distich stanzas 2-3-4 make this request conditional because Solveig is conditional. Yet in the fifth distich the request is renewed, but it is important that it is addressed to an ambiguous being. The request has particular aims: rest and the destruction of the demonic mirror (*Let me break this mirror of mist!*) Yet both of them have another aim, a greater task:

Чтобы лохматые тролли, визжа,
Вниз сорвались, как потоки дождя,

Чтоб над омытой душой в вышине
День золотой был всерадостен мне![43]

In 1911 – 1912, Blok transformed the lyrical frame into integral text, lyrical unity, into trilogy. The poems about Solveig were included in the 2nd volume, the cycle *Various poems* constructed as a system of Blok's symbols, starting from *The Poems about the Beautiful Lady*, but corrected by the lower demonology, 'bubbles of the earth'. The major opposition of the cycle is the opposition of darkness and light, death and life; Solveig is the variant of the Beautiful Lady, 'arriving' (arrival in the sense it has in the poem *Her arrival)* in the name of asserting light and life, but unlike Beautiful Lady having a figurative-mythological certainty. Blok wrote, *I wait for the world of Light!* Solveig is one of the embodiments of *the world of light.* It is obvious that Ibsen's Solveig goes out of folklore-romantic zone in Blok's poems and represents the symbolic mythology of light.

And here it is necessary to point out the unexpected affinity of Rainis and Blok – Blok's mythology of Light and Rainis' symbolic image of the Castle of Light.

This was the beginning of the immortality of Ibsen's heroine as a cultural symbol.

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[13] Ibid. – c. 216.
[14] Ibid. – c. 217.
[15] Ibsen H. *Samlede Verker*. B. 1. Oslo, Gyldendal norsk Forlag, 1978. – S. 284.
[16] Ибсен Г. *Собрание сочинений в 4 т.*, т. 1. Москва, Искусство, 1956. – с. 210.
[17] Ibid. – c. 217.
[18] Ibsen H. *Samlede Verker*. B. 1. Oslo, Gyldendal norsk Forlag, 1978. – S. 309.
[19] Ibid. – c. 215.
[20] Ibid. – c. 177.
[21] Mr. Stabble – the editor of the oppositional newspaper *Morgenbladet*, who passed over to the conservatives.
[22] Ибсен Г. *Собрание сочинений в 4 т.*, т. 1. Москва, Искусство, 1956. – с. 225.
[23] Ibsen H. *Samlede Verker*. B. 1. Oslo, Gyldendal norsk Forlag, 1978. – S. 333.
[24] Ibid. – S. 334.
[25] Ibsen H. *Samlede Verker*. B. 2, 1. Halvbind. Oslo, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1981. – S. 240.
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IBSEN – WILDE – AKURATERS: MODELLING OF LITERARY 'ICONS'

Summary

During the last decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, the development of culture was related to the processes of changing the cultural paradigm. A number of literary and cultural trends appeared, each of them having a certain ideological centre. The works by definite artists became the signs of particular ideas and obtained over-national character, for instance, Henrik Ibsen's searchings in the field of individual psychological processes (the problems of compromise, the conflict between the individual and public norms), Oscar Wilde's declared aestheticism programme, etc.

The present article focuses on Ibsen's reception in British literature at the end of the 19th century, the relationship between Ibsen and Wilde's artistic conceptions, and the perception of both writers in Latvia by the Latvian writer Jānis Akuraters (1876 – 1937) who was one of the translators of Ibsen and Wilde's literary works. The article analyzes the influence of the crucial writers of the epoch on a comparatively new national literature (as the Latvian literature was at that moment). In order to single out concrete borrowings and newly created structures in Akuraters' creative work, the notion of literary 'icon' is put forward and the levels of its possible influence are described. The article characterizes Ibsen and Wilde's level of influence on Akuraters' works as the literary 'icon'.

Key-words: literary iconography, literary 'icon', reception, artistic world, poetic transformations

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The second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in the development of culture in the Baltic region is the time of a fast change of cultural paradigms when, under the influence of West and North European literary examples, several new literary and cultural trends appear. Each of them has its own representative who is well-known and worthy of imitation. This representative may be called an 'icon'[1]. Most often, the central ideological position of the adapted trend is attributed to personality. The works of art created by this personality (paintings, novels, poems, musical compositions, etc.) become the identification signs of certain ideas and acquire over-national character. The 'iconic' personalities in culture do not develop in isolation. Many of them become over-national. Therefore, universal, approbated values offered by them enter other national cultures. In the beginning, they acquire the status of a literary 'icon', then get synthesized and, finally, naturally merge with the way of expression of the writer who borrows them. Fruitful 'debate' takes place between literary 'icons', their works and artistic conceptions exactly on the over-national level. Due to the 'icons', other writers derive new artistic conceptions. These literary 'icons' have a decisive role in the dynamics of cultural processes.

In order to project the mechanisms of activity of a literary 'icon' to particular literary texts, the relationships of artistic conceptions of two quite opposite writers approximately of the same epoch and focus on their perception and reproduction in the texts of their Latvian recipient will be examined.

The tasks of our research are as follows:

- to address and examine some features of Henrik Ibsen and Oscar Wilde's relationship and their reception in Latvia;
- to reflect their perception and reproduction in the creative writing of the Latvian writer Jānis Akuraters (1876 – 1937) who was also the translator of Ibsen and Wilde's works;
- to characterize the most important features of their 'iconic' status.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Latvian culture on the whole, including also Latvian literature, was in a specific border-line situation because it met many manifestations of the West and North European culture in a concentrated form and in a very short period of time. In other parts of Europe, various cultural phenomena had formed gradually in the second half of the 19th century. Besides, at the beginning of the 20th century, intensive political processes took place in Latvia, their highest peak being the folk revolution in 1905. Its main demands were connected with social democratic ideas. After the defeat of the revolution, many active young writers faced repressions, that is why they took refuge in different North European countries and Russia. Those who remained in Latvia formed a number of literary magazines: *Pret Sauli* (Towards the Sun), *Ziemas Naktis* (Winter Nights), *Kāvi* (Artic Lights), *Zalktis* (Grass-snake), *Dzelme* (The Deep), *Stari* (The Rays) where the works by *émigré* writers were published. *Dzelme* was one of the most significant editions, that is why the group of young writers oriented towards Europe that formed around this magazine was called *Dzelme Group* or the *Latvian decadents*. Akuraters who wrote the group manifesto *Mūsu mākslas motīvi* (The Motives of our Art, 1906) was one of its members. The manifesto proclaimed the demand for the freedom of art. One of the tasks of *Dzelme Group* was to popularize high quality literary works of other nations in Latvia. Translations of many modernist foreign writers were published in the editions of decadents.

The intense resonance of the translated foreign literature in Latvia at the beginning of the 20th century sets the question why it was so important for Latvian literature to accumulate so wide an experience of foreign literature in such a short period (*Dzelme Group* was active from 1904 till 1910).

Evidently, not only to testify that the Latvian language is rich enough to express the values of European culture (it was already done by the Latvian poet Rainis who translated Goethe's *Faustus* in 1898). More likely, it was a wish to learn from other already accepted models, from 'icons' in order to develop individual ways of expression and style. Future Latvian modernists read and translated Friedrich Nietzsche, Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Maurice Maeterlink, they got acquainted with the works of foreign playwrights staged at Latvian theatres. Ibsen and Wilde, the two quite opposite writers, simultaneously become Latvian cultural 'icons'. They are among those authors in Latvia who are topical in the context of Latvian early Modernism.

The notion that Ibsen and Wilde are two incompatible literary figures is partly mythologized. It refers more to their various expression, artistic world. At the same time, we can observe the parallels of ideas between these two authors.

A new Nordic precedent – such an evaluation quite often characterizes Ibsen's entrance into the English literary space of the second half of the 19th century. Ibsen was nowhere so controversial as in England. In his lecture entitled *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1891), George Bernard Shaw called him the greatest living dramatist, whereas Beerbohm Tree declared that *that gloomy writer could not survive in English soil*[2]. William Archer, one of the major advocates of Ibsen in the early British reception, in his article *The Mausoleum of Ibsen* (1893)[3] proves that the Norwegian writer was an object of hatred for the press, but much loved and admired by simple readers and theatre goers. The so-called Ibsen battles between the anti-Ibsenites (Clement Scott, Henry Irving, Ellen Terry) and the Ibsenites (Bernard Shaw, William Archer) showed that by the 1890s Ibsen had managed to become a kind of 'a commercial proposition'.

The first plays by Ibsen that appeared on the stage of the English theatre were *The Pillars of Society* (1889, in 1880 performed under the title *Quicksands*) and *A Doll's House* (1889, in 1884 performed under the title *Breaking a Butterfly*). The next significant wave of Ibsen's popularity with staging of four plays (*Ghosts, Rosemersholm, Hedda Gabler, The Lady from the Sea*) was in 1981. In 1893 three more plays of Ibsen were staged (*The Master Builder, Brand* (only Act IV), *The Enemy of the People*). Till the end of the 19th century, almost every second year one play by Ibsen had been staged: *The Wilde Duck* (May 1894), *Little Eyolf* (November 1896), *John Gabriel Borkman* (May 1897), *The League of Youth* (February 1900). In spite of various translations of Ibsen's works into English in the 1880s and 1890s, learning Norwegian became popular in order to be able to read his plays in the original.

The première of Ibsen's play *The Doll's House* in Great Britain was considered as *the most important dramatic event of the decade*[4]. Assessing the number of commentaries and reviews in newspapers, Archer emphasized that *Henrik Ibsen has for the past month been the most famous man in the English literary world*[5].

Although many literary critics wrote that there is *not the slightest sign*[6] of Ibsen's influence on Wilde's creative writing and his interest in foreign literature was practically confined to France, the sphere of literary influences on the English writer and his borrowings is much wider. Wilde did not underrate his Norwegian rival. Yet he did not try to imitate Ibsen's method of writing in spite of the fact that it had been thoroughly analyzed in Shaw's essay. On 23 February 1893, in a letter to Shaw, Wilde refers positively to the author of the book *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*. The essay is evaluated as the one clearing the *intellectual fogs*[7] in British literature.

Wilde himself did not belong to either the Ibsenites or anti-Ibsenites. His contemporaries conferred a special status to the writer's poetic world – it *stands alone [..] on the highest plane of modern English drama*[8]. It allowed him not to be connected with other influential literary 'icons' of that time. Nevertheless, Wilde brought himself near to the Norwegian writer, trying to reach the same huge halo of fame. The founder of the Independent Theatre J. T. Grein wrote shortly after Wilde's death in 1900:

> *It flattered him that Archer placed him on a different plane from all other English dramatic authors [..] but even that could not satisfy him. He made it clear to me one day that he considered himself the peer of Ibsen [..].*[9]

Notwithstanding Wilde's hint, his critics never flattered him with the epithet 'the English Ibsen'. Quite contrary, in the evaluation of Wilde's plays Ibsen's name is used as a complete contrast to Wilde's literary manner of writing. The differences between both playwrights are really fundamental: Ibsen wrote mainly tragedies whereas Wilde – comedies. According to Wilde, Ibsen was analytical, but Wilde considered his own style as dramatic. Wilde's goal was to make dialogue as brilliant as possible, while Ibsen confined his characters to ordinary words in everyday life. Ibsen developed a situation to reveal the circumstances of a crisis, Wilde, in his turn, proceeded from verbal ricochet.[10]

Wilde saw Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* in 1891 with his friend, the actress Elizabeth Robins starring. Robin played Hedda at about the time he set out to write *Salomé*. For this reason and taking into consideration the similarities between both works, *Salomé* was regarded as the *Oriental Hedda Gabler*[11]. Both female images, Hedda and Salomè, were shocking to the London scene of that time.

In spite of the growth of Ibsen's popularity during the last years of the 19th century, reviewers were still unsparing. It drew also Wilde's attention who after two years in prison, while staying in France, stills followed the events taking place on the English literary scene:

> *Considering the growing appreciation of Ibsen I must say that I am surprised the notices were not better, but nowadays everybody is jealous of everyone else [..]*[12].

Ibsen and Wilde's literary fates in Latvia were different at the initial period of their reception. Nevertheless, both authors were perceived not as oppositions, but as significant impulses for Latvian literature. What the aristocratic Western culture could not imagine as being of equal value, could be naturally dissociated in the consciousness of the young Latvian culture of that time. Ibsen came to Latvia similarly as to Great Britain. The first play by Ibsen staged at Latvian theatre was *The Pillars of Society* that was produced at Riga Latvian Theatre in 1889. The first Ibsen's published book in Latvian *Nora* appeared in 1900. Wilde's reception began a little later.

In the beginning, Ibsen's plays with the social dominant appeared in Latvian theatres and publications; but already in the first decade of the 20th century, they were supplemented by dramas with the symbolist dominant. It may be explained by the demand for symbolic expression conditioned by the repressions following the revolution of 1905. Ibsen's plays reached the highest point in their reception in Latvian theatre and literary criticism during the first and the second decades of the 20th century. Hence, there were two productions of Ibsen's dramas in 1905, followed by seven productions in 1908, eight in 1909, seven in 1910. Afterwards the number of productions decreased, and in the 1920s and 1930s, when Latvian culture policy was ruled by the ideas of national positivism, the number of stagings of Ibsen's plays completely diminished and only some significant productions appeared in several years time. It should be noted that the symbolist works by Ibsen *Peer Gynt* and *Brand* were published and staged later than others. *Brand* was published for the first time in 1912, staged in 1914; *Peer Gynt* was published in 1914, produced in 1921. It may be explained by the following considerations:

1) before that Latvian theatres and readers were not ready to understand the symbolism of these dramas as there was no experience in reading and interpreting this kind of texts;
2) the gap in cultural processes created by the World War I.

Wilde's literary heritage became known in Latvia at the beginning of the 20th century. Up to 1905, unlike the wide discussions of Ibsen's dramas, there was no thorough review of Wilde's creative work and personality. The perception of Latvian readers, although open to innovations much more than at the end of the 19th century, was rather reserved and in a sense confused in the rapid incoming flow of the European philosophic thought.

On the whole, Wilde's works in Latvia did not spread so fast as in other parts of Europe. This was determined by several factors, e.g., cautious attitude towards the scandalous name of the author, ambiguous assessment of Wilde in Great Britain and other parts of Europe, as well as the fact that the writer passed away on 30 November 1900. At least the first five years after his death can be characterized as the time of denial, prohibition, even refusal, similar to the 'taboo' period, which followed his imprisonment in 1895. Quite contrary was the wide scale remembrance of Ibsen in Europe and Latvia after his death in 1906.

Before Wilde's translations appeared in some Latvian editions and his images and symbols entered the literary works of Latvian writers, they had episodically appeared in newspapers and magazines at the beginning of the 20th century. It is significant that Wilde's most important works were not among the first translations. Most of all his short poems in prose and fairy-tales were translated. The first acquaintance with the writer's creative work dates back to 1902 when Wilde's poem in prose *Salīdzinātājs* (The Doer of Good) was published in *Rīgas Avīze* supplement.[13] The years 1903 and 1904 were significant with the translations of fairy-tales from the collection *The Happy Prince*.[14] In 1906, Latvian readers got acquainted with the collection of fairy-tales *A House of Pomegranates*.[15] A wider interest about the famous writer and deeper analysis of his works in Latvia coincide with his rehabilitation in Great Britain, i.e., with the year 1905. Quite often in the consciousness of Latvian reader, Wilde is associated with the writer-fighter who died as a martyr achieving clearly visible iconographic contours. The year 1907 outlines a new stage in the Latvian portrayal of the English writer. This period of time coincides with the activities of early modernism, which may be considered as a decisive step on the way towards 'great' art and artistic freedom. At this time, the Latvian version of 'art for art's sake' ('māksla mākslai') was formulated and consolidated. Wilde's *A Florentine Tragedy* was published in the magazine *Stari* in 1907[16] and staged in 1908[17]. Along with regular translations of fairy-tales and poems in prose, Latvian translations of the writer's philosophical essays appeared. In 1907, the magazine *Stari* (The Rays) published the essay *Individualism in Art and Public*[18], in 1908 – *The Soul of Man under Socialism*[19], but in 1909, Pāvils Rozītis added Wilde's *L'Envoi* to the translation of his fairy-tale *The Fisherman and His Soul*.[20] Thus, 1906 – 1910 was an intensive perception period of both Ibsen and Wilde's traditions.

The Latvian writer Akuraters appeared on the Latvian literary stage in 1895, yet his serious literary works appeared only around 1905, that coincides with the highest peak of Ibsen and Wilde's popularity in Latvia. At that time, Akuraters went through a certain stage of search and a turning point in his writing. After returning to Latvia from his 1906 – 1908 emigration to Helsinki, Stockholm, Christiania, he felt a certain alienation from the processes of culture and public life. He shared with Latvian readers his impressions including his pilgrimage-like visit to Ibsen's grave, reflecting on different experiences. In his texts, he created several modernist characters embodying his thoughts on his own inner searchings. In Akurater's poetic world, Ibsen and Wilde became significant in 1903, after the writer's visit to Russia where a big part of the most important works by Ibsen and Wilde had been translated into Russian at that time. 1906 is the peak year in the course of Ibsen and Wilde's adaptation. In Ibsen's case, it is due to his recent death, and in the case of the reception of both writers, this was conditioned by the specific situation in Latvia when, because of the political repressions following the revolution of 1905, translating foreign writers became the means of expressing the things the authors could not be open about because of the censorship.

In 1913, Akuraters spent some months in France to get acquainted with the great European culture, and the same way as for Wilde, and, perhaps, for Ibsen (as we may judge from Osvald's yearning for the far-away, unattainable Paris described in the play *The Ghosts*), this city for him was the epitome of real cultural values, thus uniting all the three writers.

In 1914, Akuraters as a Latvian rifle-man participated in the events of World War I. In 1918, when Latvia gained independence, Akuraters published his first novel in the independent Latvia *Pēteris Danga*. Many things in Akuraters' texts had changed at that time. He had become more realistic, national. Modernist search was abandoned. And still, one meets in his texts the former impetuous, spurring devotee of aestheticism and individualism. The poetic transformations in Akuraters' works during the time period from 1910 till 1918 were determined also by the events of World War I.

Akuraters' refined understanding of foreign cultural processes and the wide outlook allowed him to realize the significance of Ibsen and Wilde's texts in the further development of Latvian cultural processes. Acquaintance with both authors' writing on the whole, and especially translating their works, enhanced the 'iconic' significance of both writers in the development of Akuraters' artistic world picture.

Akuraters' literary legacy is diverse both concerning the genres and the content of his works. He wrote eight collections of poems, six collections of short stories, the dilogy of novels *Pēteris Danga* and *Ugunīgi ziedi* (Fiery Flowers), book of memories *Dienu atspīdumi* (Reflections of the Days), and six dramas. His short stories and poetry are most significant. He also translated Ibsen and Wilde[21].

To consider and evaluate the borrowings by Akuraters and, against them, to emphasize his original, new created structures, the notion of a literary 'icon' is put forward and the possible levels of its influence are described:

1) a literary 'icon' as a stimulus for direct borrowings in the formation of similar images, motives, plots;
2) 'icon' as an impulse for the search of new self-expression, when speaking of its indirect influence, its presence only felt from separate structures or common expressions in the texts;
3) 'icon' as an impulse for creating an opposite expression or poetic world.

The presence of Ibsen and Wilde in Akuraters' texts can be observed on different levels. One should remark that the years of publishing translations of Ibsen and Wilde's works do not indicate the exact time of acquiring impulses from both writers by Akuraters. Already in his second collection of poems *Ziemeļos* (In the North, 1906) he reveals the invariant of a superhuman characteristic of the early Latvian modernism, including Brand's maximalist position. In 1906, Wilde and Akuraters' textual dialogue is demonstrated in the first issue of the literary magazine *Pret Sauli* edited by Akuraters. This magazine published works by modern poets of that time, including Akuraters' poems. The translation of Wilde's poem in prose with Latvian title *Vidutājs* (The Doer of Good) was also published in this issue.[22] It conveys the idea of the beautiful in the simple. The polilogue of Wilde, Ibsen, and Akurater's ideas is revealed by the pages of these issues also in the section *The Survey of literature* where Akuraters' article *About Art and Critique* is published. It shows many features characteristic of Wilde's perception of the function of art. According to Akuraters, only in art and literature it is possible to look deep into the human soul and perceive the human longings for life and beauty.

Inspirations by Ibsen and Wilde are exquisitely processed in Akuraters' short prose, especially in works created simultaneously with his translations or after that, e.g., *Puķes Ziemeļos* (Flowers in the North) in the collection of poems *Dienu prieks* (The Joy of Days, 1921), collections of short stories *Klusums un gaisma* (Silence and Light, 1921) and *Erosa cilts* (Eros' Tribe), the collection of poems *Elēģiski momenti* (Elegiac moments, 1925) where Akuraters' poem *Solveigai* (To Solveig) is published.

Of course, these inspirations are present in Akuraters' dramas as well, but in that case, semantic impulses have to be analyzed in the context of the specific character of drama genre. The comparison of texts by these authors in such a cross-section is an idea for future research.

One should state at once that Akuraters is one of the most brilliant interpreters of the poetics in Latvian lyric poetry, hence it would be practically useless to look for direct, non-adapted borrowings in his texts. However, examining deeper Akuraters' literary structures, one cannot miss the influence by Ibsen and Wilde. The present article focuses on Akuraters' collection of short stories *Klusums un gaisma*.

Akuraters' collection of short stories *Klusums un gaisma* was published in 1921. The short stories are very diverse according to their historical background and setting. Here the events of recent Latvian history, of the 1905 revolution, World War I and the riflemen themes are present, referring to the period of Antiquity and the Italian Renaissance in the plots. By that time, Akuraters had translated dramas by Ibsen and Wilde thus getting acquainted with their texts in the subtlest detail. Ibsen and Wilde's images and their worlds of ideas had become a part of Akuraters' artistic consciousness. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Ibsen and Wilde's artistic tools appear in Akuraters' works mainly as unconscious, adapted, or individualized structures in comparison with the early modernist period discussed above. In the collection of short stories *Klusums un gaisma*, Wilde and Ibsen's inspirations can be found in similar amounts. The difference lies in the fact that Wilde's influence can be more easily recognized as it appears in the form of parallels of direct poetic details. Ibsen's motifs are more fragile, they interweave the whole collection. Decoding Ibsen's text, in fact, forms an alternative model of the collection structure.

Most often, we meet the motifs of *Peer Gynt* and *Brand* in Akuraters' works. Concerning the premiere of *Peer Gynt* in 1921, he wrote that he sees the depth of this play in the character of Peer.

Akuraters universalizes Peer Gynt and shows his generally humane character. He emphasizes that Peer Gynt may be treated not only as a particular individual, but as the symbol of every nation and the whole of humankind with aspiration for dreams, pleasures, material gains. According to Akuraters, if some nation or humankind on the whole has not got to know itself and has not been self-sufficient, without getting inner fulfillment, it has to disappear without memory and traces – its life has been empty and unnecessary. In Akuraters' statements of 1921, the play is consequently connected with the formation processes of the Latvian national consciousness, and this emphasis has to be viewed in the context of the gained sovereignty of Latvia. In connection with *Peer Gynt*, Akuraters unites the search for the meaning of the existence of each particular individual with the development of the whole society.

In the title story of the collection *Klusums un gaisma*, the main character Kalnietis (Mountain-man; it is significant that even his name emphasizes Ibsen's motif of mountains) gets involved into riflemen battles, but in the situation of death and chaos he loses landmarks of values, ties with home, losing the centre of his inner world.

Adventures substitute ideas and Kalnietis experiences Peer Gynt's way of the search. He drifts in the stream of time and events, losing the sense of responsibility, forgetting morals. Kalnietis leads a mechanical life, having no freedom of choice. He also slights the cultural values. The only thing that allows him to get away from the reality are dreams and opium. And as Akuraters writes:

> *[..] dreams take out our spirit from our body, and for that time we are gods, because we gain capabilities of being beyond space and time*[23].

In this case, the world of dreams and opium is the structure initiated by Wilde's poetic world. In the course of narration, Peer Gynt's motifs in the portrayal of Kalnietis are changed by Brand's motifs. Kalnietis considers himself and those like him higher above the crowd. His only possibility to come to his senses and get rid of the destructive rhythm of life is acquaintance with the princess Zinaīda who after the October *coup-d'état* has become a nun and lives in a monastery. She has the features of Ibsen's Agnes: naturalness in morals, actions, and feelings. Kalnietis lets down Zinaīda's faithfulness. Because of Kalnietis, she loses her child, it is still-born. Unlike Ibsen's Agnes, Akuraters gives the princess Zinaīda a possibility to be saved from extinction, staying together with Kalnietis. She finds escape from destruction by return to nature. At the end of the story, Kalnietis has come to the conclusion that is associated with *Brand's* ideas, *[..] the biggest crime [..] is to judge others for their actions, to impose on others our will*[24]. He understands that the real life is existence, without imposing oneself on others. Only that can give absolute peace and light.

In the short story *Medība* (Hunting), the category of a mystery is emphasized that is very significant in Akuraters' writing. It appears as the mythologization of the everyday life space. For Ibsen it is the attic in *The Wild Duck*, for Wilde it is the attic in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, for Akuraters it is baron Maks' notoriously well-known antechamber. The mystery is also used to define metaphysical puzzles. For example, valet Leo's dirty secrets, Laimdota's death because of baron's harassment, Regīna's death secret and count's own death being unable to guess the puzzle of Regīna and Andrejs' relationship. This story emphasizes the link of the mystery with Ibsen's *Ghosts* by the use of the proper name Regīna (cf. Ibsen's Regina Engstran), although its semantics is different.

In the short story *Medība*, Regīna is an Italian woman who is married to the baron Makss. Akuraters outlines the 'south – north' opposition in the character of Regīna. It is very typical of Ibsen's dramas and poetry. The loneliness of the southerner Regīna is strengthened not only by her husband's indifference towards her and inability to find mutual understanding, but also by longing for the south and the sun.

The tragic deaths of Regīna and the baron are the testimony of Agnes and Brand's situation: the inability to unite light and darkness, power and love, and the violently imposed opinion.

Depicting Regīna's character, Akuraters has used Ibsen's themes, whereas her appearance characteristics both in the manner of description and conceptually are close to Wilde's aestheticism:

> *Regīna was like Raphael's painting from the Renaissance period. She was beautiful, slim and supple, with black silky fine hair, eye-brows like arches drawn by the hand of an artist, with eyes like Madonna's and crystal-fragile white marble hands; she was like a piece of art from a far-away, sunny country, like a flower that never stops blooming*[25].
>
> *She was the combination of two forces, [..] she hid in herself two souls.*[26]

In Akuraters' short story *Dievi ir labvēlīgi* (The Gods are Benevolent) Salome's motif of a woman who cannot constrain her passions is used, emphasizing the destructive power of passion.

In the final story of the collection *Grāfa Todes nāve* (Count Todes's Death), Akuraters' hero brings together the features of several characters by Ibsen and Wilde. The story ends by the statement, which relates to both Ibsen and Wilde's ideas:

> *If we have to live on this planet and we are called men, then we must respect man and be reasonable*[27].

We may conclude that Akuraters strikes a dialogue with Ibsen and Wilde, producing certain structures and solving conceptual ideas. The category of mystery structures formed by Akuraters, his use of the semantics of French culture space along with other features are related to both Western writers. Ibsen's ideas appear in the structures of many Akuraters' heroes – the Brand-like hero, Peer Gynt type, invariants of Agnes and Solveig characters, as well as the semantics of the north and the south, light and darkness oppositions. Akuraters got impulses from Wilde in the portrayal of his original images: a portrait, a mirror, a character of an artist, the motif of Salome, or the allusions to the idea of 'art for art's sake'.

Both Ibsen and Wilde's artistic worlds have made a deep and lasting impact on Akuraters' writing. It was confirmed by the translation process of both writers' works, after which the usage of borrowed motifs became denser and more diverse. Ibsen and Wilde as literary 'icons' in Akuraters' works were first rather directly quoted, but gradually they fit more organically in the writer's own expression. Ibsen and Wilde's influence is observed in Akuraters's writing also in the 1930s, but to a smaller degree.

[1] See more about the concept of literary 'icon' in: Burima M. *Ibsens Latvijā*. Rīga, Norden AB, 2007. – 24.–25. lpp.
[2] Tree H. B. *Some Interesting Fallacies of the Modern Stage: An Address Delivered to the Playgoers' Club on Sunday, 6th December 1891*. London, Heinemann, 1892. – p. 22.
[3] The article *The Mausoleum of Ibsen* was published in the *Fortnightly Review* in London, July 1893 (Vol. 60, pp. 77–91). The text of the article can be found on the web page: www.ibsen.net.
[4] Quoted from: Powel K. Wilde and Ibsen, in: *Oscar Wilde and the Theatre of the 1890s*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990. – p. 74. The original source: Granville-Barker H. The Coming of Ibsen, in: Mare W. de la (ed.) *The Eighteen-Eighties*. Cambridge University Press, 1930. – pp. 59–96.
[5] Archer W. Ibsen and English Criticism. / *Fortnightly Review*. 1 July 1889. – p. 30.
[6] Quoted from: Powel K. Wilde and Ibsen, in: *Oscar Wilde and the Theatre of the 1890s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. – p. 73.
[7] Holland M. (ed.) *Oscar Wilde: A Life in Letters*. London, New York, Fourth Estate, 2003. – p. 162. In the letter from Babbacombe Cliff Wilde wrote, *My dear Shaw, You have written well and wisely and with the sound wit on the ridiculous institution of a stage-censorship: your little book on Ibsenism and Ibsen is such a delight to me that I constantly take it up, and always find it stimulating and refreshing: England is the land of intellectual fogs but you have done much to clear the air: we are both Celtic, and I like to think that we are friends: for these and many other reasons Salomé presents herself to you in purple raiment. Pray accept her with my best wishes, and believe me, very truly yours, Oscar Wilde.*
[8] The quotation comes from W. Archer's review of *A Woman of No Importance* printed in the *World* of 26 April 1893, later reprinted in: *Theatrical 'World' for 1893*. London, W. Scott, 1894. – pp. 105–113.
[9] Quoted from: J. T. Grein on Wilde as a Dramatist, in: Beckson K. (ed.) *Oscar Wilde: The Critical Heritage*. London, Routledge, 1997. – p. 234. J. T. Grein's article appeared in the *Sunday Special* on 9 and 16 December 1900.
[10] Ellmann R. *Oscar Wilde*. London, Penguin Books, 1988. – p. 315.
[11] Образцова А. Г. *Волшебник или шут: театр Оскара Уайльда*. С.-Петербург, 2001. – с. 190.
[12] Holland M. (ed.) *Oscar Wilde: A Life in Letters*. London, New York, Fourth Estate, 2003. – p. 249.
[13] Vailds O. Salīdzinātājs. Tulk. T. Lejas-Krūmiņš. / *Rīgas Avīzes* pielikums Nr. 114, 1902.
[14] Vailds O. Laimīgais princis. Pasaciņa no Oskara Vailda. / *Dienas Lapas* pielikums Nr. 248, 1903.
Uzticamais draugs. Tulk. Cemeru Zande. (Z. Brūniņš). / *Apskats* Nr. 22, 1904. – 337.–344. lpp.; Nr. 23. – 359.–361. lpp.
Vailds O. Patmīlīgais milzis. Tulk. Cemeru Zande. (Z. Brūniņš). / *Apskats* Nr. 38, 1904. – 600.–601. lpp.
Vailds O. Lakstīgala un roze. Tulk. Cemeru Zande. (Z. Brūniņš). / *Apskats* Nr. 45, 1904. – 711.–713. lpp.
[15] Vailds O. *Zem granātu kokiem. Oskara Vailda pasakas*. Tulk. A. Upīts. Rīga, RLB Derīgu grāmatu nodaļas izdevums, 1906. The following fairy-tales were included in the book: *The Star Child, The Birthday of the Infanta, The Young King*.
[16] Vailds O. Florentiskā traģēdija. Tulk. F. Bārda. / *Stari* Nr. 11, 1907. – 825.–836. lpp.; Nr. 12. – 908.–924. lpp.
[17] The play *A Florentine Tragedy* was first staged in Russian Theatre of Riga on 28 November 1908.
[18] Individuālisms mākslā un publikā. / *Stari* Nr. 5, 1907. – 372.–376. lpp.
[19] Vailds O. *Cilvēka dvēsele un sociālisms*. Tulk. H. Eldgasts. Rīga, E. Ēķis, 1908.
[20] Vailds O. *Estētiskais manifests. Zvejnieks un viņa dvēsele*. Tulk. P. Ilgvars (P. Rozītis). Valka, J. Rauska apgāds, 1909.
[21] Akuraters has translated the following Ibsen's works: *Brand* (published in 1912), *Wilde Duck* (1913), *Peer Gynt* (1914), *The Pretenders* (1924), as well as Wilde's tragedy *Salomé* (1912).
[22] Vailds O. Vidutājs. / *Pret Sauli* Nr. 1, 1906. – 22. lpp.

[23] Akuraters J. Klusums un gaisma, in: *Klusums un gaisma*. Rīga, Valters un Rapa, 1921. – 35. lpp.
[24] Akuraters J. Medība, in: *Klusums un gaisma*. Rīga, Valters un Rapa, 1921. – 48. lpp.
[25] Ibid. – 84. lpp.
[26] Ibid. – 85. lpp.
[27] Akuraters J. Grāfa Todes nāve, in: *Klusums un gaisma*. Rīga, Valters un Rapa, 1921. – 130. lpp.

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Marja Jänis

FINNISH THEATRE AND ITS BALTIC, RUSSIAN, AND SCANDINAVIAN CONTACTS IN THE 1920s AND 1930s

Summary

The background for the article comes from the present-day Finnish theatre. In the mid-1990s, a special form of Baltic-Scandinavian-Russian contacts in theatre life appeared – the Baltic Circle Theatre Festival. The festival takes place in a situation where the Baltic countries have acquired political independence and there are intensive cultural contacts between the countries of the Baltic Sea region. Between World Wars I and II, the small countries of the region were also independent, and in that respect the situation can be considered politically similar to that of nowadays. This similarity leads to a question, to what extent the present and the past can be compared. The analysis is mainly based on studies of Finnish translations of plays from the Baltic and Scandinavian languages as well as Russian in the inter-war period. Nordic dramas were widely presented in Finnish translations on the Finnish stage during that period, as they were at the beginning of professional theatre in Finland that started in the 1870s. In the 1920s and 1930s, after Finland had gained independence from the Russian Empire, classical Russian plays were still performed but the contemporary Soviet Russian drama was almost totally unknown in Finland. Among the newly independent Baltic countries, at that time only Estonian plays were performed in Finnish theatres. Latvia was present only in the popular musical play 'The Jäger's Bride', where the action takes place in Liepāja. Political reasons, as well as a lack of mediators with knowledge of Baltic languages, obviously hindered the establishment of cultural contacts despite the geographical proximity.

Key-words: translations of plays, interwar period, cultural contacts, mediators

*

Background

The background of the article is related to the present-day Finnish theatre. In the mid-1990s, a special form of Baltic-Scandinavian-Russian contacts in theatre life was developed. The Baltic Circle Theatre Festival has been organized in Finland since the year 2000. The festival website provides the following description:

> *Since 1996 the Baltic Circle project has promoted intercultural exchange primarily in the Baltic Sea region. It showcases the newest trends in contemporary theatre and brings theatre people of different countries together. Artist exchange, international co-productions and Finnish theatre export are an important part of the general plan. The Baltic Circle project has resulted in three international theatre festivals in Helsinki (2000, 2003, 2005). The ideal plan is to organize the festival biannually, every second year.*[1]

The festival takes place in a situation where the Baltic countries have acquired political independence and there are intensive cultural contacts between the countries of the Baltic Sea region. Between World War I and II, the small countries of the region were also independent, and in that respect the situation can be considered politically similar to that of nowadays. This similarity leads to a question about the extent, to which the present and the past can be compared.

Another motif is my interest in studying translations of plays. In Finland, scholars of literature, translation, and linguistics have worked on a common project aimed at publishing a two-volume history of translation. The author of the article has been engaged in studying Finnish translations of foreign plays for this project. However, theatre contacts within the Baltic Sea region and Russia were not studied in any detail for this history of translation.

Theatre in Finland

Finland is a large country with an area of more than 338 000 square km, relatively small population (five million) and a great number of theatres. The birth of the Finnish professional theatre performing in the Finnish language dates back to the 1870s. The Swedish-language professional theatre is older. The second half of the 19th century, when Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, was the time when firm roots for Finnish literature, music, performing, and fine arts were established. The stimuli for creating Finnish theatre came from theatre companies visiting and performing in Swedish, German, and Russian. In 1879, a special theatre building was erected for Russian theatre companies upon the initiative of Nikolai Adlerberg, the Russian Governor-General in Finland. Pentti Paavolainen, the historian of the Finnish theatre, states that this was the place where Helsinki theatre-goers probably saw the best contemporary actors, since famous Russian actors commonly organized visits to Helsinki (or 'Gelsingfors' as it was called in Russian at that time), the capital of the western province of the Russian Empire.[2]

From the very beginning, translations of classical drama and contemporary foreign plays were widely represented in the repertoire of Finnish theatres. Kaarlo Bergbom, director of the first professional company performing in Finnish, traveled to many countries, including France, Germany, Norway, and Hungary. He suggested that Finnish theatre be inspired by the following foreign models:

> *French melodramas, German plays about peasant life, and Hungarian patriotic folk plays with songs, dances, and ethnographic colour*[3].

Within its first thirty years, 1872 – 1905, Bergbom's theatre performed 462 plays, including twenty-seven operas, and more than a half – about three hundred of them, were translations. The main source languages were German (eighty plays), French (eighty-three), Swedish (forty-one), Norwegian (twenty-seven), and English (twenty-two).[4]

Many translated plays lived a short and intensive life: once a play had been translated, it was performed at several theatres around Finland. The end of the 19th and the early 20th century was the time of urbanization, industrialization, population growth, and increased wealth in Finland, and during that period professional theatres were established in all bigger towns, mostly financed by the local businessmen. At the same time, theatre was very popular among the workers' movement and trade unions. Many of the workers' theatres started paying salaries to the actors and became professional companies. These two origins of the Finnish theatre existed side by side even in the next decades. Finnish society was politically divided by the civil war in 1918. In theatre life, this resulted having two professional companies in many towns: the bourgeois or municipal theatre, and the workers' theatre. Their repertoire was not significantly different, but the audience was, since working-class residents went to workers' theatre and the middle class – to the municipal theatre. Many of the theatres were, however, united in the 1930s.[5]

Finnish theatre contacts in the 1920 – 1930s

When writing national theatre history, the analysis of foreign drama, 'imported' from other cultures (translations, adaptations, or versions in other than the main language), is often omitted from the range of the theatre historian.[6] Translations often outnumber plays written in national language(s) in the theatre repertoire, yet only performances of translated distinguished classics are usually mentioned in the national theatre history. Theatre contacts can be studied using various sources of information. Foreign theatre contacts can be studied through information about visits of theatre people and / or theatres and in reviews and descriptions of the visits, but also through translations of plays. We will focus on translations, proceeding from the statistic data of the Finnish Theatre Information Centre (www.teatteri.org/ILONA), where performances of translated plays have been classified according to their source language with an indication of the number of theatres the translated plays were performed in. Our interest lies in the period of 1920 – 1940. We will first briefly point out the cultural and political contacts of Finland during that period and then regard the culture contacts from the theatre perspective.

Germany

Germany was the main political and cultural ally of Finland in its fight for liberation from the Tsarist Russia and after regaining independence. In late 19th century, Finland attracted German merchants, entrepreneurs, and cultural people because of its geographical location near St. Petersburg. Finnish artists and scientists traveled to Germany to study, and especially Finnish university people were oriented towards that nation.[7] The close links between both countries can be considered as an obstacle to intensifying contacts with the Baltic countries. The treaty of the political cooperation within the Baltic Sea region between Estonia, Latvia, and Poland planned in the early 1920s was not signed by Finland despite its original plans of doing so. Finnish left and centrist political forces did not approve of the cooperation openly directed against the Soviet Russia, and the right-wing political forces did not like the hostile attitude towards Germany expressed in the treaty.[8]

The interdependence of the political and cultural contacts is reflected in the popularity of plays translated from foreign languages. Translations of German and French plays were popular during the first decades of the existence of Finnish professional theatre.

Interest in French plays decreased in the 1920 – 1930s, while German plays grew in popularity. More than five hundred plays of German or Austrian origin, translated from German, were performed at Finnish theatres in 1920 – 1940. Their number in the 1920s reached more than 350 plays, but in the 1930s it dropped to about 150.

The interest of Finnish theatre people in German drama is not incidental in the cultural context of the 1920s. Berlin was the theatre capital of Europe: German theatre was innovative and had an air of the avant-garde. Along with the traditional contacts between Finnish cultural circles and Germany, the new expressionist theatre attracted young and radical theatre people. In the early 1920s, Kosti Elo, the director of the Tampere Workers' Theatre, traveled to Berlin and his visits resulted in translations of expressionist plays by Georg Kaiser and Ernst Toller. They were first staged by the Tampere Workers' Theatre, but soon after that in many other, smaller theatre houses in Finland. The popularity of German expressionism in Finland is explained by the emotional counterattack to the inhuman features of the contemporary life by the critical and internationally oriented young generation.[9] In the 1920s, translations of plays by expressionists like Wilhelm Hasenclever, Georg Kaiser, and Ernst Toller were widely presented both at large and small theatres. A certain political bias can be seen in the fact that these experimental German plays were in particular performed by workers' theatres that were more inclined to social criticism than their bourgeoise counterparts. Bertolt Brecht's *Dreigroschenopern* (The Threepenny Opera) was performed with a great success at the Swedish theatres of Helsinki and Turku (Svenska Teatern, Åbo Svenska Teater) in 1929.[10] It was also performed at the Finnish National Theatre in 1930, but with less success.

In the 1930s, conventional genres of German drama, such as family comedies, operettas and musical plays replaced the experimental drama. German plays, however, were outweighed by the English and American ones: 233 plays translated from English were performed at Finnish theatres during the period of 1930 – 1940 as compared to 150 plays translated from German.

Nordic contacts

Nordic contacts were essential for the development of the Finnish theatre from the very beginning, and they continued to flourish in the 1920 – 1930s. There were many personal contacts and visits, but we will focus on translations of plays as a manifestation of theatre contacts.

Norway

During the period of 1920 – 1940, slightly more than 100 plays translated from Norwegian were performed at Finnish theatres. Among the authors, Björnsterne Björnson and Henrik Ibsen were most prominent, and all Ibsen's major plays were translated and performed widely. It is worth mentioning that Ibsen had already been very popular in Finland during his lifetime. Ida Aalberg, the first internationally famous Finnish actress, enjoyed great success in Finland and abroad, for instance in St. Petersburg, playing Nora in Ibsen's *Dukkehjem* (A Doll's House) in 1894, which is considered a splendid early example of Scandinavian, Russian, and Finnish theatre contacts.

Ibsen's plays can be studied in the light of the history of translating drama into Finnish: the oldest translations from the 1880s were already considered outdated in the 1920s, since literary Finnish had not been well established at the time the first translations were made. Ibsen's plays have since then been retranslated several times, and many have remained in the repertoire of Finnish theatres.

Among Björnson's plays, the comedy *Geografi och kaerlighet* (Geography and Love) was very popular and staged at fourteen different theatres throughout the country in the 1920s. Its success can only be compared to the family comedy *Vi som går kjøkkenveien* (We who enter through the kitchen) by Sigrid Boo, which was performed at thirteen theatres in the 1930s.

Denmark

The most popular Danish author on the Finnish stage was Ludvig Holberg, whose *Jeppe paa berget* (Jeppe of the Hill) was performed more than fifty times at the Finnish National Theatre in Helsinki already in 1872 – 1905. In the period from 1920 to 1940, it was performed by seventeen Finnish companies all over the country. No other Danish play can be compared to it in popularity. *Jeppe paa berget* is still performed rather frequently, perhaps because its theme – alcoholism – has not ceased to concern the Finnish audience. In the late 1930s, a new generation of Nordic playwrights emerged, among them the Danes Kaj Munk and Kjeld Abell.[11] Their plays were also translated. Kaj Munk's *Ordet* (The Word) is mentioned as a significant production of the Finnish National Theatre in 1933. Kjeld Abell's *Melodin der blev vaek* (The Melody that Got Lost) was performed at five theatres in 1936 – 1938.

Sweden

Swedish plays have been translated and performed at Finnish theatres throughout the years. In 1920 – 1940, more than 150 Swedish plays were staged by Finnish theatre companies. Some of them were not translated but performed in Swedish at Swedish theatres in Finland, which were (and still are) functioning in Helsinki and Turku (Åbo), as well as in smaller towns along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia.

The largest number of different plays performed (thirteen) were by August Strindberg, and in particular those concerning the history of Swedish kings: *Erik XIV*, *Gustav Wasa*, *Kristina*, and *Carl XII* were especially popular. *Fadren* (The Father) and *Fröken Julie* (Miss Julie) were also performed by several theatres. Another genre that enjoyed popularity was the Swedish family chronicles such as Hjalmar Bergman's *Swedenhjelms* (The Swedenhjelm Family), titled *Nobelpalkinto* (Nobel Prize) in Finnish and *Markurells i Wadköping* (God's Orchid). The old folk drama *Värmlanningarna* (The Värmland People) by F. A. Dahlgren remained in the repertoire of Finnish companies from the early 1900s up to the 1930s; it was staged at eigteen Finnish theatres. A musical play by the Swedish actor and theatre designer Henning Ohlsson, *Hälsingarna* (Greetings), was shown under the title *Unelma Karjamajalla* (Dream in a Chalet) by seventeen companies in the 1930s. This play can also be regarded as a token of contacts in the performing arts between Sweden, Finland, and Latvia. In 1940, the film director and actor Teuvo Tulio made a Finnish film based on Ohlsson's play and its Swedish cinema version. Tulio was actually Theodor Tugai, born and raised in Latvia. He moved to Finland as a school boy when his Latvian mother got married to a Finn. Tulio had a short and splendid career in Finnish cinema, first as an exotic-looking actor playing gypsy roles in the 1920s, and later in the 1930s and 1940s as a director of melodramas set in the Finnish countryside. His career, personality, and films have recently been re-evaluated and widely studied by Finnish and foreign film scholars.[12]

Scandinavian contacts also led to some significant incidents manifesting the political pressures in theatre life in Finland in the 1930s. Pär Lagerkvist's *Bödeln* (The Hangman) was dropped from the repertoire of Kansanteatteri (People's Theatre) in Helsinki in 1935. Although it is a historical play, its content was directed towards Nazi Germany. The publication and performance of Lagerkvist's works were banned by the Nazis. Eino Salmelainen, the director of Kansanteatteri, tried to defend the choice of Lagerkvist's play by noting its success in Norway, where it was performed in Bergen in 1934, but the theatre board banned it. The German authorities were probably behind this decision.[13] *Bödeln* was, however, staged by Turun Työväen Teatteri (Turku Workers' Theatre) in 1936: it probably attracted less attention outside the capital.

Soviet Russia

Russian theatre had been familiar to Finns from its very beginnings since many theatre people visited Russian theatres and some had been trained there.[14] After the socialist revolution in Russia and Finnish independence establishment, the general attitude towards the contemporary Soviet Russia turned negative. According to Leinonen and Baschmakoff[15], who have studied the Russian émigré community in Finland, if there was anything good to be said about Russia, it was called 'Slavonic'. However, the Russian literature was still published in Finland in the 1920s and pre-revolutionary or émigré Russian plays were performed rather widely on the Finnish stage at that time.

In Finland, very little of the experimental Soviet theatre of the 1920s was known. Some information was provided by reviews on what Finnish theatre people saw when Soviet theatre companies visited the Central Europe. Arvi Kivimaa, a spokesman for establishing foreign theatre contacts and later the director of the National Theatre, in 1929 published a book called *Helsinki, Parisi, Moskova*.[16] By associating Moscow with Helsinki and Paris in the title of his book, he underlined the European traditions of the Russian theatre. Kivimaa also visited the Soviet Union after his journey to Paris and described his impressions. While critical of the Soviet system, he admired the Russian theatre. His book has an enthusiastic article on the visit of Jevgeny Vakhtangov's company to Paris and their *Princessa Turandot*. Vakhtangov's theatre also visited Stockholm in 1923.

After 1933, the Soviet theatre authorities started organizing international theatre festivals. The programme of the festival as well as the information materials about it were designed to show the mixing of traditions and experimentation in the Soviet theatre. The festival attracted theatre people from all over the world, including the Nordic countries. The actress and director Elli Tompuri was a Finnish visitor to the festival. She remembers how the directors and actors of the Helsinki Swedish Theatre came to the Helsinki railway station to greet their colleagues from all the Nordic countries traveling by train to the Moscow Theatre Festival. Only five people from Finland participated in the trip[17], and Tompuri was even interviewed by the Soviet press about the festival.[18]

Very few Soviet plays were performed at Finnish theatres, only a few farces and comedies by Valentin Katayev. Vassili Shkvarkin's comedy *Chuzhoj rebjonok* (The Strange Child) was introduced by some Finns who had attended the Moscow Theatre Festival and made success with the Finnish theatre audience in the late 1930s.

Russian émigré artists had a significant influence on Finnish drama: many musicians, dancers, and film directors attained prominent positions in the Finnish cultural life, but often avoided expounding their Russian origin.

Finno-Ugric contacts

In the period between World War I and II, it was common in Finland to underline the importance of intensifying contacts with the so-called 'tribal brothers', i.e., those European peoples whose language belongs to the Finno-Ugric group: Estonian and Hungarian. This was even manifested in theatre contacts. Hungarian and Estonian plays were widely translated and performed. Hungarian plays were popular not only because they represented the life of Finno-Ugric people, but because they were recognized in German-speaking cultures. One Finnish theatre historian offers the following reasons for the popularity of the Hungarian musical comedies:

> *[..] for Germans and Austrians being Hungarian meant being rural, energetic, rhythmical and hot in matters of love, very exotic but somehow familiar. These kinds of plays were good entertainment in Finland during the long winter evenings.*[19]

The first play translated from Estonian was *Pisuhänd* (The Devil) by Edvard Vilde. It had been widely performed at Finnish theatres since 1915, and remained in the repertoire of nine theatres in the 1920 – 1930s. It has occasionally been performed in Finland in later years. August Kitzberg's *Tuulte pöörises* (Whirly Winds) was the next Estonian play performed on the Finnish stage, and with great success in 1920 – 1940; in total it was staged at eleven theatres. In 1930, Hugo Raudsepp's comedy *Mikumärdi* (Mikumärdi Summer) was very popular in Finland. The translator Kaisu-Mirjam Rydberg was afraid that the language she used was too rude for the public ear, but the public loved the play.[20] It was performed at ten Finnish theatres during the season of 1930 – 1931. Raudsepp's *Põrunud aru õnnistus* (The Success of the Disturbed) and *Roosad prillit* (Pink Glasses) were also staged by some Finnish companies. In general, not many Estonian playwrights have been mentioned in the Finnish theatre history, but those few – Vilde, Raudsepp, and Kitzberg – were widely performed at numerous Finnish theatres, large and small. The Estonian theatre historian Jaak Rähesoo states that in the 1930s Estonian theatre was self-centred and provincial, with realistic plays and local subjects.[21] Such plays obviously interested the Finnish audience as well.

The vitality of the theatre contacts between Finland and Estonia are manifested in the contents of the book *Teatteri ja näyttelijä* (Actor and Theatre) published in 1937. There is an article about the Estonian actress Liina Reiman, who was very popular in Finland and was a guest star on the Finnish stage. Along with articles about Finnish actors and actresses, there are short articles in the book about such Estonian artists as Paul Pinna, Ants Lauter, Erna Willmen and Milvi Laid, and Harald Paukson wrote a special article about recent trends in the Estonian theatre life.[22]

It is worth mentioning but impossible to discuss here the fact that two Estonian female writers, Aino Kallas and Hella Wuolijoki, lived and worked in Finland. Kallas is a prominent figure in both Estonian and Finnish literature, whereas Hella Wuolijoki is related mainly to the Finnish literature, especially to the history of Finnish drama; her plays set on the *Niskavuori* farm in the region of southern Häme are considered the classics of Finnish drama.

Latvian and Lithuanian theatre – any contacts?

The Finnish register of plays performed at Finnish theatres mentions no plays translated from Latvian or Lithuanian before the new millennium, when the Baltic Circle Festival introduced Baltic plays. A Latvian play by Rūdolfs Blaumanis *Indranin perhe* (The Indrans Family) was translated from Estonian into Finnish in 1984, yet it had not been performed. In the late 1970s, a play by Samuliavicius, translated from Russian into Finnish and called *Silta kaukaiseen yöhön* (Bridge into a Distant Night), was performed as a radio-play by YLE, Finnish Broadcasting Company. However, these signs of cooperation did not lead to establishing lasting contacts. Only at the beginning of the 1990s, Latvian and Lithuanian culture started to be widely and actively promoted by two Finnish organizations: Donelaitis Society for the Lithuanian culture and Rozentals Society for contacts with Latvia.

Lithuania

The Professor of Slavonic Philology of the University of Helsinki, J. J. Mikkola, and his wife Maila Talvio were friends of Lithuania and visited Ploščiai in 1894. Talvio, a prominent person in Finnish cultural circles in the *inter-bellum* period, later wrote articles about Lithuania in the Finnish press.[23] Professor A. R. Niemi studied the Latvian and Lithuanian folklore. He also published an enthusiastic account of the history of the Lithuanian literature, *Liettualainen kirjallisuus*[24], which was published by Otava in 1925. In his book, Niemi mentions some Lithuanian playwrights, such as Keturakis and Vidunas. Unfortunately Niemi died shortly after publishing this book. If he had lived longer, he might have succeeded in arousing the interest of Finnish theatre people in the Lithuanian culture. Another friend of Lithuania and its Honorary Consul in Finland was Ragnar Öller, but his interest in cultural contacts did not lie in theatre. Hence there are no traces of contacts between Finnish theatre people and Lithuanians in the 1920 – 1930s.

Latvia

Latvian fine arts were presented at Helsinki Taidehalli in an exhibition in 1936 and a Latvian student choir gave a concert at the University of Helsinki in 1938. The lyrics of the songs performed by the choir had been translated into Finnish; however, the translator is not known. Latvia was presented on the Finnish stage in a quite extraordinary way. One of the most popular works in the 'inter-bellum' period was Sam Sihvo's play with music and dances entitled *Jääkärin morsian* (The Jäger's Bride). Its action takes place in Libau (Liepāja) in 1917. It is a melodrama about the 'jägers', young Finnish military volunteers, who secretly left for military training in Germany in order to fight for the Finnish independence. In the play, they are dislocated in the town of Libau. There is a simple ideological antagonism: the protagonists are Finnish and German officers, whereas the antagonists are the Baltic Baron von Liechtenstein and the Jewish trader Isaak, who are actually Russian spies. There are two couples in love: the young Finnish 'jäger' Martti falls in love with Sabina, whom Baron von Liechtenstein has rescued from a monastery after her parents disappeared in the war. Sabina dances and sings for clients at Madame Sonja's restaurant The Golden Anchor in Libau. The second, soubrette couple, are Mikko, a Finnish horseman and a heavy drinker speaking the funny Savo dialect, and Marusja, a Russian waitress at the restaurant, a talkative plump lady.

The political disagreement about the side Finland should take, that of Russia or Germany, is reflected in the discussion between the Finnish 'jäger' officer Kalpa and Madame Sonja, the owner of the restaurant. Madame Sonja asks if the Finns should serve in the Russian army, since Finland is part of Russia and the Russians would better provide for them than Germans. Kalpa explains that Finns are tired of sharing their bread with Russian 'zhandarms' and 'chinovniks'. According to Madame Sonja, Latvians hate Germans more than Russians because of the centuries-long oppression of Courland. This discussion is not taken any further, and it is difficult to assess whether the Finnish audience was interested and could understand the argument.

The significance of the tribal ties is demonstrated in the scene where the young Sabina tells her lover about her family. She reveals that her talent for dancing comes from her mother, a Georgian from the Caucasus, *where everybody knows how to dance*[25]. Her father is neither Latvian nor Russian, but Livonian. Being of Livonian origin means that Sabina's father is Finno-Ugric. Martti says, *The fate of the Livonians is terrible, but it also demonstrates how devoted we Finno-Ugric people are to the ideas of freedom*[26]. Sabina did not know that Livonians are Finno-Ugric, and now she and Martti are free to love each other, because they are members of the same tribe! The Finnish 'jägers' congratulate the young couple when they find out that Sabina is neither Latvian nor Russian but Finno-Ugric, a real 'jäger's' bride; this accounts for the title of the play.

It is difficult to say to what extent this naïve patriotism and tribalism was really adopted by the audience of that time. Latvia is mentioned several times in the play. *Jääkärin morsian* was enormously popular in the *inter-bellum* period, but the fact that it was not performed at the workers' theatres might be the result of its right-wing and pro-German attitudes.[27]

Although Anna Žīgure, the first Latvian Ambassador to Finland in the 1990s, notes in her book about Latvia that Liepāja is familiar to at least the older generation of Finns, she does not comment on the content of the play.[28]

Conclusion

The Baltic Sea region did not represent a common cultural area between the two world wars. Ideas about cooperation in the art of theatre were put forth, for instance, by the Russian theatre director Mikhail Chekhov, who lived and worked in Latvia and Lithuania in the early 1930s. He believed in the rebirth of theatre art in small countries, since he was disappointed with what he had seen in Germany and France after leaving the Soviet Russia. His dreams did not come true and he himself had to end his work in Latvia and Lithuania by the mid-1930s due to political reasons.[29] Political factors seemed to hinder the establishment of cooperation among theatre people in general.

Another important factor in promoting or hindering cultural contacts appears in the way information about potentially interesting contacts was provided. Foreign cultural contacts needed personal efforts by those who believed in their fruitfulness to the target culture, in this case the Finnish theatre. This is even stated as one of the important factors behind the success of the Baltic Circle Festival at the beginning of the 2000s.

In the 1920s and 1930s, fewer theatre people spoke more than one language and had fewer chances to go abroad as compared to the present. Consequently, people who were well acquainted with certain cultures and languages and functioned as personal trustees for theatre directors played a significant role in introducing plays for translation. There were probably no effective mediators for Latvian and Lithuanian theatre in Finland at that time. It would be interesting to study theatre contacts between the Scandinavian and Baltic countries during the same period, regarding the role of politics, mediators, and the geographical proximity.

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Benedikts Kalnačs

TRANSLATING IBSEN'S IMAGES: MĀRTIŅŠ ZĪVERTS' *MÜNCHHAUSEN'S WEDDING* AND *MIGHT*

Summary

The article focuses upon a comparative analysis of the creative output of two outstanding playwrights, Henrik Ibsen and Mārtiņš Zīverts. The close affinity between Ibsen's plays 'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt', and Zīverts' plays, 'Might' and 'Münchhausen's Wedding', is examined in greater detail. Notwithstanding the considerable time distance, these plays are similar in that they show the response of the playwrights to both a critical turning point in their own lives and the turmoil of war and exile within their respective societies. A dialogue between the texts is established, and similarities in the ethical position of the two authors are discussed.

Key-words: comparative literature, Norwegian drama, Latvian drama, Ibsen, Mārtiņš Zīverts

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The Latvian playwright Mārtiņš Zīverts (1903 – 1990) repeatedly stressed in articles and interviews his consistent interest in the works of the Norwegian author Henrik Ibsen (1828 – 1906). From among the writers of other nations, Zīverts considered Ibsen to be the one with whom he felt the greatest affinity.

The impact of Ibsen's writing upon Zīverts' plays can be seen on several different levels. Like Ibsen, Zīverts used plots borrowed from national history at the beginning of his career, as well as elements traditionally associated with minor forms of literature, for instance the so-called folk plays. The turning point in the creative development of both the authors was marked by their intentionally large-scale literary texts. This article will take a closer look at these texts: Ibsen's *Brand* (1866) and *Peer Gynt* (1867), as well as Zīverts' tragedy *Vara* (Might, 1944), written according to the classical canons and his comedy *Minhauzena precības* (Münchhausen's Wedding, 1941).

In his later period of creativity, Zīverts mainly wrote the so-called chamber plays, concentrating the action to only a few characters. These works are comparable to Ibsen's later prose dramas. In Zīverts' case, the change in scale can partly be explained by the modest possibilities of the exile theatre. Zīverts lived in Sweden from 1944 until the end of his life. Yet it is clear that both authors consciously turned to prose language in the latter part of their careers.

It is possible to identify the structural patterns of Ibsen's plays in some of Zīverts' early work. These are mostly minor works and are of no great interest. Much more significant is the similarity between the two authors in the choice of ethical problems their characters grapple with. Ibsen and Zīverts seem to share a deep affinity of spirit, which is difficult to formulate.

The plays examined in this article were written within the first two decades of the creative activity of both authors. At the time of the publication of *Brand* and *Münchhausen's Wedding* respectively, both authors were thirty-eight years of age. Along with the desire to assert their creative potential, the form and content of both plays were significantly influenced, not only by subjective perceptions, but by external conditions as well.

The external catalyst for *Brand* was the Danish-Prussian war that broke out in 1864. This war resulted in the defeat of the Danish and the loss of the Schleswig and Holstein provinces. Quite a few people, including Ibsen, were more concerned with the lack of support from the other Scandinavian countries, which was seen as cowardice, than by the loss of the territories. Ibsen witnessed triumph of the winners in Berlin. This experience gave him an insight into what it might feel like to participate in the feast of the barbarians. The writer's indignation over the war was compounded by negative events in his personal life. While under Ibsen's management, the Norwegian Christiania Theatre went bankrupt. This event resulted in a personal financial crisis for Ibsen as well. Now the success of *Brand* was crucial for Ibsen's creative destiny. This tense and complex situation gave the impetus for the forceful dramatic lines of the poem. After its success, Ibsen's frame of mind changed. The fascinatingly unrestrained, frenzied intonations of *Peer Gynt* seem almost like inadvertent whims of the writer's now playful imagination.

Zīverts had gained recognition among the Latvian audience a few years before he wrote the two plays analysed in this article. His heroic drama *Tīreļpurvs* (Marshlands, 1936), as well as the play *Āksts* (The Jester, 1937), inspired by William Shakespeare's writing and the atmosphere of Renaissance, were proof of his artistic skill. At the time when Zīverts wrote *Münchhausen's Wedding* and *Might*, he had reached maturity in his creative powers. It was also the first time ever Zīverts had come into a close contact with theatre processes – he worked as dramatist at the Latvian National Theatre from 1938 – 1940, and at the Daile Theatre in Riga from 1940 – 1944.

Both *Münchhausen's Wedding* and *Might* were written during World War II. The events of the war left a deep impact upon the Latvian nation, as well as on Zīverts' own destiny. Zīverts' comedy precedes the tragedy, revealing that the happy days inevitably end. Prior awareness of the creative and human potential that would not develop as a result of these historical crossroads imparts a particular quality of severity to the loss of hope. It is exactly this feeling that poignantly characterises the psychological situation experienced by the 13th century Lithuanian king Mindaugs shortly before the collapse of his kingdom in the tragedy *Might*.

In *Münchhausen's Wedding,* written three years earlier, the actions of the dreamer and liar Münchhausen leave the audience with a feeling of rough sadness that is not dispelled by the seemingly happy end of the comedy. This play reflects several typical features of Latvian literature from the World War II period. First, it is distant in time and space: the comedy is set in the mid-18th century, on the Dunte estate. Due to a snowstorm, the entourage accompanying the crown prince's bride, 14-year-old Fīke, from Anhalt-Zerbst to St. Petersburg, has been stranded. Second, lies become a significant theme in the portrayal of relationships. Ieva Kalniņa writes:

> *It seems that in no other stage production of Latvian drama so much has been said about lies. They have never been justified to such an extent.*[1]

Unlike the dramatic poem *Peer Gynt,* in which the theme of lies and fantasy is mainly connected with the central character of the poem, in *Münchhausen's Wedding* we see a society whose very foundations are built upon plotting and lies. These tendencies directly influence also the attitude of the suitors of Jakobīne, the young Dunte estate baroness and widow. The pawn-broker Uksens hopes to gain the favour of the baroness by using promissory notes of her estate that have come into his possession. Count Narishkin, the lover of the Russian empress, hopes to seduce the baroness by offering her a position as a lady-in-waiting and one of his Petersburg palaces.

The third admirer, Münchhausen, whose fantasy stories are widely renowned and well liked, is in fact merely an innocent dreamer. By adapting the principles of those in his circle, Münchhausen hides from poverty and loneliness in his fabricated world of imaginary journeys. His statement that there are no lies only liars, that is, people who consciously twist the truth to gain personal benefits, is of a great significance. Münchhausen himself certainly does not fit into this category. For this reason, he is able to win Jakobīne's love, despite the fact that the courtiers possessing higher rank woo her. Their attentions are a cynical farce where Münchhausen's are in shy earnest.

Münchhausen's Wedding takes place during two days; the setting is a remote estate. This seemingly has nothing in common with Peer Gynt's reckless journeys into time and space, which embrace the life of the protagonist from the age of 20 till the end of his life. In this sense *Münchhausen's Wedding* seems to be a low comedy that undermines the high values signified by the 19th century play. Münchhausen, having come into the world of lies and untruths, can implement his fantasies only in imaginary tales. He takes refuge in paintings of the imagination that reflect scenes from Turkey – the wonderful Ulubele island that may have been inspired by Peer Gynt's story about the wonderful Zoria-Moria palace. Yet Münchhausen, the hero of a mid-20th century play, strives for the truth above all while fearing it at the same time.

In the last act, during the masked ball, he reveals to Jakobīne's nurse Irme his true identity as a supposedly unsuccessful lover concealed behind a mask of bravado-filled lies. His loneliness forces his confession; the actions are dictated by his relationship with Irme that is full of trust. This creates a certain parallel with the relationship between Peer Gynt and Ose. While the identity theme of Ose / Solweig is revealed in the stage interpretations of Ibsen's play, in Zīverts' comedy it turns out that the woman to whom Münchhausen has confessed is, in fact, his betrothed Jakobīne.

The hero has been heard, the road to reconciliation paved; yet sadness does not disappear from Münchhausen's voice when he confesses to his betrothed:

> *I have buried many other things tonight as well, Jakobīne. All my glory is gone. I have become so poor that I haven't even got my Ulubele. [..] In front of you I have been, so to speak, stripped to my skin.*[2]

The 20th century man is most vulnerable when the truth replaces lies.

The feelings of the protagonist, his wish to understand his own personality, become the dominant theme in Zīverts' comedy. There was a similar trend in Latvian poetry of the 1930s to use the image of Peer Gynt to depict introvert lyrical moods. Compared to the polyphony of *Peer Gynt*, Zīverts' comedy mainly echoes Peer's reflections, which dominate in the last act of the play. In that act, the author's analytical interpretation of present-day events become an epilogue to the past. The same device can been seen in other plays by Ibsen, starting at the end of the 1870s all the way through to his last play, *When We Dead Awaken*, which also becomes a dramatic epilogue.

Similar parallels emerge between Ibsen's dramatic poem *Brand* and Zīverts' tragedy *Might*. The Norwegian author distinctly outlines a set of actions for the protagonist determined by his maximalist views – from powerful conviction to doubts; from overcoming obstacles and nearly achieving his ideals to the complete collapse of hope, resulting in loneliness and death in mountain glaciers. In Zīverts' tragedy, due to the same relentless logic resulting from past events, we again are shown only the final stage of the situation, an epilogue to the previous experience. The protagonist is overtaken by deep-seated doubts of whether or not he is able to fulfil his destiny and perishes without receiving the support he expected.

The tragedy *Might* was written at the end of World War II and depicts the last night in the life of the Lithuanian king, Mindaugs. The play is set in the autumn of 1263. The public space is broadly defined: landlords subordinated to the king arrive from all parts of the country in order to negotiate a strategy to resist the threat of attack by Tartar troops. Meanwhile, the Tartar khan has ordered his ambassador to go to Mindaugs with gifts and an offer to unite forces with him against other territories. In terms of external events, the Lithuanian king is still in control, skilfully unmasking his enemies and the false moves of his allies.

Zīverts deliberately chose a concentrated one-act format because the central object of his analysis is Mindaugs' internal experience. A critical point has been reached and the king is aware that it is no longer possible to rule without trusting others. So Mindaugs decides upon a daring move – only a few days after the death of his wife he announces to the gathered lords that he will re-marry, and that the new queen is to be Marte, the wife of lord Daumants, one of Mindaugs' subjects.

Upon hearing her name spoken in front of the people, Marte is harshly negative. We can see here a parallel with Jakobīne's initial reaction to Münchhausen. The most significant scene in the play is the personal dialogue between the two protagonists, which is introduced by Mindaugs' long soliloquy about the motivation for his previous actions.

The need for self-revelation is defined both psychologically and spatially. Mindaugs does not trust any of his subordinates. His fear has reached its peak and we see that all events have been converged into the courtyard of Mindaugs' castle. After having left the castle for a short while to attend an important meeting, the king abandons his initial plan and returns. Although Mindaugs still retains the external power he commands at the beginning of the play, his internal state of mind is similar to that of Ibsen's character, John Gabriel Borkman, whose helpless anger confines him to only traversing the space of his closed room.

Mindaugs' subordinates all see him as a heartless despot, yet in talking to Marte, Mindaugs wishes to convince her that all his cruel deeds have been done for one reason only – his conviction that hard-line policy was the only chance to preserve a strong and united Lithuanian state. At the same time his revelation is a desperate appeal for understanding and support. The king is very much alone. Mindaugs' eldest son has turned away from his father in disgust. Marte, who is the sister of Mindaugs' dead queen, is the only person left who is close to the king and, as it turns out, is also his spiritual equal.

Twenty years ago, when looking for a bride, Mindaugs was about to marry Marte. However, because of political motivations, he gave up this intention and married her elder sister. Marte was unable to forget her resentment. But, after hearing what Mindaugs has to say, for the first time in her life she is able to see the amplitude of his personality. It seems that at the very last possible moment their union will be established. But when Mindaugs embraces Marte, he feels the knife hidden on her body, evidence of her former conviction that Mindaugs must be killed because he has no ethical values.

Thus the story about Mindaugs epitomizes the tragic belief that all human aspirations have no value without mercy; the identity of the king was shaped by his deeds, not by a hidden agenda, and his attempts to change the image of himself that he has created turn out to be belated. Mindaugs is killed by conspirators – his former allies. In the final scene of the play, when the Tartar troops attack, the state of Lithuania, which was so much cherished by Mindaugs, metaphorically burns on the pyre together with him. The king's political project has become a fiasco.

The only positive consequence of the king's inability to believe in himself is the regained trust of Marte who, in turn, enables his deeply hidden love break out. After Mindaugs' death, she symbolically unites their destinies by stepping into the same pyre where Mindaugs' body is being burned. As Gunārs Bībers states, at the end of the play *the omnipotence of love is confirmed by the mythical flames of fire. Life sacrifices itself to testify to the highest thing it aspires for – love.*[3]

This theme of Zīverts' tragedy *Might* is close in sensibility to the final implications of many of Ibsen's plays, e.g., *Rosmersholm, When We Dead Awaken*. The theme of a person who from the very start conceals in him or herself another, more truthful and rawer identity, can be seen in such characters by Ibsen as Nora, Rebecca, Solness, Rubek. This theme is re-echoed in Zīverts' mid-20th century compact plays.

The character of Mindaugs reiterates the theme of lies and truth. Lies, deceit, and the concealment of his true aims enable the king to force others to submit to his power and to carry out his goals for almost the whole duration of his reign. When he falls short of this cruelty and relentlessness in carrying out his plans, his attempt to gain true friends in return for the truth turns out not only belated and impossible, but indirectly facilitates his own death. Even so, while his life ends in tragedy, this need to return to the truth and self-analysis is an inevitable consequence of the character's quest, which gives evidence to the stability of his ethical values on a deeper level.

The plays by Zīverts written during World War II, the comedy *Münchhausen's Wedding* and the tragedy *Might*, are essentially rooted in the conflicts and existential issues found in Ibsen's plays. This gives substance to the thesis that the impulses given by Ibsen's plays become more relevant at critical turning points for Latvian society. At the beginning of the 20th century, the diversity of interpretation of Ibsen's plays reflected the tense, explosive situation. Society was engaged in an active struggle for the free expression of personality, and for the strengthening of the nation. Latvian society experienced similar radical changes in the 1990s after regaining independence from the Soviet Union.

Like at all similar turning points, apart from optimism and excitement about new prospects, the range of experiences also included insecurity, lack of belief in the future, as well as psychological and existential doubts. All this can also be seen in the interpretations of Ibsen's texts in Latvia.

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Elīna Vasiļjeva

IBSEN – JEWISH THEATRE – ZHABOTINSKY

Summary

The present article deals with the peculiarities of the perception of Henrik Ibsen in the Jewish cultural tradition. In spite of the fact that the stages of the development of the Norwegian and Jewish literature coincide in many ways, the issue of the dialogue between these two cultures is rather debatable. The Jewish theatre that underwent a complicated period of development at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, in fact, did not strike a direct contact with Ibsen's drama. Although there are exceptions (Ester Kaminskaya at Odessa Theatre; Alexey Granovsky's experience at his Studio), the Jewish playwrights rarely address Ibsen. The exception is the famous politician, advocate of Zionism, and remarkable writer Vladimir (Zeev) Zhabotinsky. His cultural heritage is connected with Ibsen due to two aspects: 1) the reviews of the Odessa Drama theatre performances and theatre performances in St. Petersburg; 2) the conception of the woman in culture, the integral part of which becomes the image of Solveig. A separate chapter on Solveig appears in the book of articles 'The Truth about the Island Tristan da Rouniar'. Ibsen's protagonist is analyzed as a cultural archetype symbol in it.

Key-words: Jewish theatre, Zhabotinsky, Ibsen, Solveig

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At the first sight, the suggested topic of the article may seem quite unusual: Ibsen's drama and the Jewish theatre are phenomena having hardly any common features. Quite the contrary, there are recurring statements that determine Ibsen's views as anti-Semitic (that is actually not true). Such statements were greatly promoted by Otto Weininger's assumptions in his famous book *Sex and Character* drawn from examples of Ibsen's plays *Pretenders for the Crown* and *People's Enemy*, referring to the supposed femininity of the Jews that makes them *foster children of the God*[1], people who cannot respect themselves.

The major concern of the article is, first, with cultural contacts of two national models and, second, with the common character of Ibsen's literary images, their function as a model that is examined in the works of the great Zionist and bright representative of Russian – Jewish literature Vladimir (Zeev) Zhabotinsky.

The intercultural contacts of Ibsen and the Jewish culture are manifested by the unique history of the Jewish theatre. Judaism as the basis of the specifically Jewish world outlook estimates theatrical art rather negatively. The first Jewish theatres appeared as single non-professional companies late in the 19th century. From the very beginning, there was an argument about the essence of the national, firstly, connected with the problem of the choice of repertoire, secondly – with the choice of the language –

Yiddish or Hebrew. In fact all theatre companies of the late 19^{th} and the early 20^{th} century, irrespective of the language, leant on the Jewish drama. A general set of most often staged plays was established entailing plays by Karl Gutskov, Perec Hirshbein, Dmitriy Pinskiy, Jakov Sapir, Sholom Ash, Sholom-Alechem). The repertoire of the majority of companies included at least one play by Ibsen. Some examples: a part of the repertoire of the theatre company *Lovers of the stage* headed by Haim Harari and Menahem Gnesin (1909 – 1914, Yaffo): *Uriel Akosta* by Gutskov, *The Jews* by A. Chirikover, *Clearing the Way* by P. Hirshbein, *Gone and Lost* by Ash, *Shma Israel* by Osip Dimov, *Abraham – the Shoemaker* by Sapir, *The Eternal Jew* by Pinskiy, *Don Itzhak* by Solomon Simo, *Doctor Stockman* by Ibsen. The first professional theatre of Israel *Ha Teatron ha-Hevri* headed by D. Davidov (in the 1920s) had in its repertoire *The Banners of Victory* by Pinskiy, *The Empty Tavern* by Hirshbein, *The Orphan Hasya* and *Mirele Efros* by Yakov Gordin, *Nora* by Ibsen. The repertoire of *Teatron Dramati* in 1922 included *Ha Dibuk* by Semen Ansky, *The God of Revenge* by Ash, *The Angel* by Semen Yushkevitch, *It is difficult to be a Jew* by Sholom-Alechem, *The Importance of Being Ernest* by Oscar Wilde, *The Ghosts* by Ibsen. The appearance of Ibsen's plays, as of any other European dramatic material, at the Jewish theatre always became a reason for the argument about the nature of the national. The majority of the theatre artists considered that the Jewish theatre should restrict itself only to the national repertoire preserving its originality. Ibsen's drama was perceived as a difficult material for actors and incomprehensible for spectators despite the fact that he had been translated both into Yiddish and Hebrew. A similar situation was in Russia (including the Soviet period). At the time of the appearance of the Jewish chamber theatre conducted by Alexey Granovsky, who made Solomon Mikhoels' name famous, Ibsen was also included in the theatre repertoire. On 29 January 1919, theatre studio actors directed by Rudolf Ungern rehearsed *Nora*; the play turned out for them too difficult and was not performed. It happened in spite of the fact that Ibsen's name was frequently met on the playbills of Russian theatres at the beginning of the 20^{th} century. In the context of the Jewish theme, we can mention a new anti-naturalistic interpretation of Ibsen's drama *The Builder Solness* by Akim Volinsky (Haim Flekser) staged at Vera Komisarzhevskaya Theatre in 1905. Already in the 1920s, Volinsky wrote a number of articles about the Jewish theatre.

Zhabotinsky who was a well-known man-of-letters and politician of his time also got involved into the debate on the perspectives of the Jewish theatre:

> *Our theatre should be humane; it has a great humane task; addressing European theatre will ensure its long existence, as because our spectator needs not only national education, but also common human culture. The Israeli (son of Israel) should be not only the Jew, but the man who is at the level of the citizen of the enlightened world. Although we should certainly appear in our own original style.*[2]

Zhabotinsky's (1880 – 1940) personality is more familiar in relation to his political activities – he was the leader of the so-called left wing Zionism. Only during the last five years, Zhabotinsky returned to literature as the author of several dramas and unique novels *Samson Nazorey* and *The Five* written in Russian. Due to this reason, these works have become the fact not only of Jewish, but also of Russian literature. The 'Jewish' Zhabotinsky was born in 1903, when after a wave of Jewish 'pogroms', Zhabotinsky, who earlier had been oriented towards the Russian culture, dramatically changed his views and chose to serve his (Jewish) nation by devoting himself to the Jewish state in Palestine as his program. Zhabotinsky is a contradictory personality, and one of the contradictions is paradoxically related to the topic of this article. Many contemporaries and opponents of Zhabotinsky treat him as a military as one of his ideas is the creation of military formations, the Jewish legion. In contrast to the words of the Bible (*Not by Might, nor by Power, but by my Spirit*[3]) Zhabotinsky insists that the Jews should defend their rights and independence with arms in their hands. His book *About the Regiment* is devoted to the theme of the legion. Much of the research is dedicated to this fact of Zhabotinsky's biography. Articles devoted to this creative writing are quite rare and among them we could single out the collection of articles *Silk and Steel. The Theme of a Woman in Zeev Zhabotinsky's Life and Creative Work* edited by Yosef Nevada, published in 1993. This theme is very important in Zhabotinsky's creative work and his journalism. According to Miriam Cohen's definition, Zhabotinsky is *the last among the knights*[4]. The cult of a woman is a logical constituent part of his world outlook. The role of a woman is central in all the spheres of the human existence and everyday life. Literature becomes a litmus paper in this sense. In 1931, Zhabotinsky published the article *Feminine Literature* devoted to women writers. Scandinavian, in particular the Norwegian, literature becomes an example for him. It refers to the Nobel Prize winner of 1928 – the Norwegian writer Sigrid Undset whose trilogy *Cristine, Lavrans' Daughter* is announced as an equal to Walter Scott's historical novels:

> *The trilogy is written in a lucid, calm manner devoid of sentimentality and has all the merits of a genuinely classical work of fiction. Another well-known name in the world is another woman's name who also comes from Scandinavia. After the death of Ibsen and Bjernson, after Knut Hamsun passed away, the brightest writer in Scandinavian literature is Selma Lagerlöf.*[5]

The primary field of interest for Zhabotinsky is the Jewish culture. Still being a journalist in Odessa, he paid great attention to theatre art (his dramas were staged at Odessa Theatre) and to the Jewish theatre in particular. It should be underlined that in spite of the national character of his themes, Zhabotinsky was an experienced journalist and the topics of his materials for the newspaper *Одесский листок* (Odessa Leaflet) from Rome were rather diverse: operetta, Pietro Mascani's new opera, Sarah Bernhard's guest performances. Having returned to Odessa, Zhabotinsky turned to the analysis of dialect theatre – theatre in Yiddish. The problem was very topical, as already at the beginning of the century the dilemma of the development of the Jewish theatre (the theatre performing in Yiddish and Hebrew) had been outlined. In this respect, Zhabotinsky's article *E. R. Kaminska's Tour* is very interesting. It appeared in the newspaper *Одесские новости* (Odessa News) on 19 October 1910. From the point of view of Zhabotinsky, Kaminska's manner of performing combines the national and the humane in an ideal way, making her a professional actress, not simply an emotional type of the dialect theatre. Kaminska's performance is understandable to many people irrespective of their nationality:

> *All people experience the same emotions, but each person perceives and expresses them in his own way depending both on the tribal and on the personal temperament. The actor must show it, simultaneously he has to give the spectators two feelings: that in front of him there is a man close and understandable to every*

inhabitant of our world from the North to the South pole, responding to the whole range of human experiences from a Bushman to Nietzsche, and at the same time he is the child of a certain spiritual wholeness, the product of a certain complex of racial, historical, and everyday life conditions.[6]

The literary adherence of Zhabotinsky also finds reflection in his articles on theatre, especially in respect to the material selected for staging. Zhabotinsky excels Shakespeare as most winning in combining the national and the universally human, considering Ibsen as less successful in this respect:

In relation to Ibsen, if it is true that many of his characters are non-national, it is also true that spectators' impression of his dramas lacks genuineness (ingenuousness), that they give intellectual pleasure, but not the warmth of real life[7].

Nevertheless, the repertoire of D. Sabsay's theatre company, with which Kaminskaya came to Odessa, beside national drama (Ash, Shalom-Alechem, M. Arnstein), included also Ibsen's *Nora*. In his review, Zhabotinsky omits the analysis of Kaminskaya's acting as Nora. For many theatre critics who followed the development of Jewish theatres, the choice of Ibsen's play meant a certain risk. For the majority of them, the European repertoire was initially unacceptable for the Jewish theatre; that is why the reviews about this performance were rather reserved. However, there were also opposite opinions:

From 'Shhite' and 'Mirele Efros' to 'Nora' the leap is too big not to turn out to be fatal even for such talent as Kaminskaya's. However 'Nora's' staging was a real triumph for Kaminskaya's theatre company. Everybody, the intellectuals and the masses, were united in common ovation to the artists.[8]

Zhabotinsky avoided this role of Kaminskaya, but the general conception of the article demonstrates the ideal variant of the European-level professional actress without any exceptions. Besides, the literary criteria of Ibsen's drama are indisputable for Zhabotinsky. In other Zhabotinsky's articles about theatre, Ibsen becomes a kind of a test of the intellect level of the theatre audience. Hence, theatrical St. Petersburg gets rather low characteristics by Zhabotinsky, *this city, of course, is rather clever, but in understanding drama it will remain a remote provincial town for a long time*[9]. The reason for this statement lies in the fact that in Nemetti Theatre Ibsen's *Ghosts* was a flop, yet the audience applauded to *The Dance of Life* by Baryatinskiy in the New Theatre that for the author of the article was the evidence of bad taste.

According to Zhabotinsky, Ibsen comes up to the criterion of the generally human, breaking away from the narrowly national, but this human turns out to be elitist, it is an intellectual play for the select. Paradoxically, Zhabotinsky is ready to recognize a totally different impact of Ibsen's drama on mass consciousness: Ibsen's heroes become a part of behavioural stereotypes. Zhabotinsky finds an example for this in Ibsen's drama *Peer Gynt* where the dialogue of the national and the generally human is not unequivocal. In Paris, 1930, Zhabotinsky's book *Causeries. The Truth about the Island Tristan da Rouniar* was published, which he began to write in the first decade of the 20th century. The book is a collection of essays, although the French part of the title meaning 'informal talks' is important for the author; 'talks' coming from Sainte-Beuve's series of essays *Conversations on Mondays*[10]. The book is another hymn to the author's native city – Odessa and at the same time it entails his reflections on the role of culture in history.

Let us turn to one essay in the book that was written in 1915 (the time of World War I and the struggle for the creation of the Jewish legion within the British army), under the title *Solveig*. An everyday life situation becomes the basic one of this 'conversation': the author hears how the hostess' niece tries to play Solveig's song that was rather popular (*It seems, in Europe there is not a single unturned piano left, from which the song of Solveig pours out at least once a week*[11]) and that the niece plays so badly that the author bangs the massive door and nevertheless begins to ponder about the essence of the Solveig's character in the modern world. First of all, a strict delimitation (demarcation) by Ibsen's text and Grieg's musical composition takes place. Grieg's music that served the popularization of the intellectual text transfers Ibsen's images into the space of the everyday life. Popularization, 'thing for all', degrades the value of the phenomenon; it turns out that elitism conatins cultural memory:

> *Good words, real words. Novalis spoke about Goethe's style: einfach, liett und dauerhalf. It is interesting that exactly the same praise we meet in Tolstoy, but on another occasion: all Nehlyudov's things on lies dressing-table have the features of expensive things, – they are 'elegant, solid and invariable (firm)'. Perhaps this is the highest praise in the world. Ibsen honestly deserves it in these eight lines without extent (size, measure). If Grieg's music is good I cannot really judge. At one time it was very touching, but now it reminds every man all his cousins at once. Thanks to God that almost nobody remembers Ibsen's words, otherwise we would already be bored of them.*[12]

Music is separated from words: if music belongs to the space of the everyday life, then the world has preserved all of its value. In a paradoxical way, the absence of memory (few remember Ibsen's words) becomes the salvation of a cultural text. A real work of art should be exclusive, it coincides with Ibsen's characterization in the Odessa review with the only difference that in the essay it is perceived as a praise, and in no way as a critical remark. Nevertheless, the image of Solveig from the deepest beginning turns out to be close to real human existence and at the same time it rises above the everyday life; Zhabotinsky undertakes an attempt to prove the archetypal character of Solveig's image. Only one Solveig exists as created by Ibsen's genius, but she recurs many times in real women, in whom, at first sight, we cannot distinguish the parent image:

> *You go on the upper deck of an omnibus. The conductor crawls after you; she wears a silly men's cap and she has shining buttons; the omnibus is swaging and she awkwardly brushes against the backs of the seats; you are due for a great change, and she, setting apart her feet in top-boots, puts her hand in some tenths pocket where she has banknotes. Try to guess her parent image in this appearance. Faraway in the North there is a mountain, on the mountain there is a forest, in the forest there is a hut, a woman sits in the hut spinning yarn, she thinks about somebody who is faraway, perhaps in the waves of a storm, perhaps in the battle under fire – and she sings, 'Let the God save you wherever you might be' [..] It is easy to recognize Solveig's low voice in this vigorous cry of a manly conductor: Who needs a ticket? But this is her.*[13]

Parent image of Solveig is deeply hidden, and the author faces a very important dilemma: whether this parent image has been preserved in every woman or history has completely changed woman's essence:

> *I, so to say, have not solved this problem for myself yet: whether Solveig exists in nature nowadays, though new in outer appearance, but the same in her soul, or whether this type has died out, and our light-minded epoch has created a wife from another rib? Sometimes it seems to me that Solveig has only changed her attire, but she is alive: only her legs, out of necessity, stamp our pavements among the crowds of people, but her soul is far away, in the hut on the mountain, and she still hears his last word: vente – wait; she hands out tickets, works on a lift, delivers letters, types, or packs shells, – but in the essence it is the same as thread and a spindle; and in her heart, if you are able to hear, you will hear the song and the same words – 'eternal, beautiful, and firm.' Sometimes it seems to me like this. But sometimes it seems to me differently: it seems to be that in front of us is quite another woman who does not have a parent image in literature at all. As a matter of fact, Solveig recurs in literature many times; sometimes she is a peasant, sometimes a princess; sometimes she is spinning yarn, sometimes she does not do anything; some of them sing, others keep silent, but they have one common thing, – they 'are looking on the road.' They are sad and they are waiting; all their soul is in it; one can feel their sadness, sometimes hidden, sometimes evident. Can we feel the sorrow of Solveig nowadays? Does she look on the road? Does she do it often? It is not clear [..].*[14]

Waiting and anguish become the dominant feature of Solveig, and the situation of the new times (the world war) makes this condition only sharper: she (more exactly – they) has somebody to wait for, and not always waiting ends in meeting. The situation of the war reveals also other things – the collapse of the principles and the traditions. When the world is ruined, a logical question arises: whether the laws of morals are valid in the given situation or they may be discarded. Similar problems appear also in Zhabotinsky's creative writing. In the novel *Samson Nazorey*, a very significant image of Karni appears; she is in love with Samson, but she does not want to restrict his freedom by her love. Karni will try to return to Samson when she is already blind, but then Samson is not ready to accept Karmi's sacrifice: he sacrifices himself for a great idea. In the novel *The Five*, another image of a self-sacrificial woman appears – Marusya. Marusya might seem to be distant from Solveig according to her character, but she manifests the qualities, which Zhabotinsky determines as the combination of generally human, national, and personal. Ibsen's Solveig becomes the generalizing cultural variant, the example of eternal feminine, which preserves tradition and generally human values.

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