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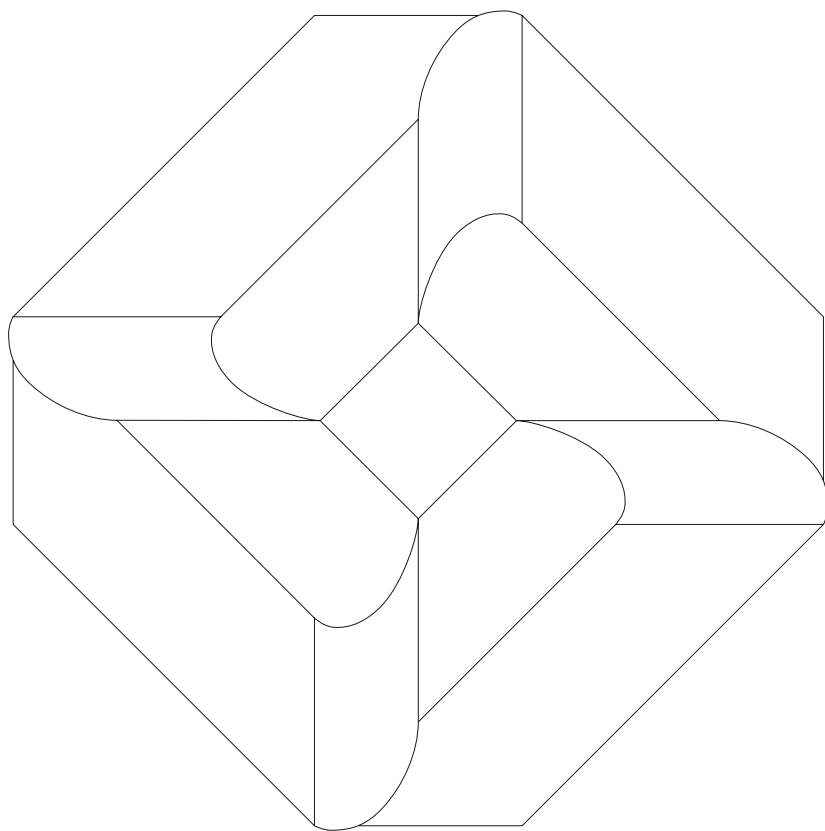
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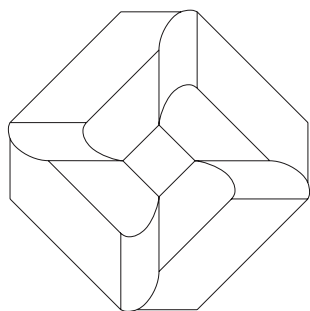
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Pindarjevo življenje v *vitah* in v sholijah k njegovemu pesništvu

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Pindarja so na prvo mesto v kanonu grških lirskih pesnikov postavili aleksandrijski knjižničarji. Postal je prvak med liriki, čeprav se v spevih v čast zmagovalcem na športnih igrah, tistem delu svojega pesništva, ki se je edini ohranil skoraj v celoti, ne kaže kot zgled metrične regularnosti. Poleg tega je Pindarjeva pesniška govorica že njegovim rojakom kljub njihovi ljubezni do mere, umerjenosti in jasnosti veljala za temno. O tem, da je Pindarjevo pesništvo oziroma tisto, na kar se nanaša, potrebno razlage, je govoril tudi sam. Po drugi strani se je že pri Grkih pojavila razlaga pesnikovega dela z njegovim življenjem. Povezovanje dela z življenjem se je začelo v vitah, ki so bile, kar zadeva pesnike iz arhajskega obdobja, zapisane šele več stoletij po njihovi smrti in so postale svojevrstna literarna zvrst. Ob pičlosti kakršnegakoli drugega gradiva se pri lirskih pesnikih opirajo zlasti na njihove prvoosebne izjave. Poglavitna poteza vit je zato izvleka življenja iz dela, portret človeka, na katerega daje sklepati njegovo delo samo. V Pindarjevih vitah tako izstopa njegova pobožnost. Na biografiziranje z neizogibnimi fikcijskimi potezami pa naletimo tudi v sholiastičnem pisanju o Pindarjevem pesništvu, ki prav tako izhaja iz Aleksandrije. Vendar se (iz) najdeni življenjepisni podatki, ki v vitah učinkovito pomagata graditi anekdotično-legendne zgodbe, v sholijah obrne in postane ključ za odklepanje teksta.

Ključne besede: starogrško pesništvo / Pindar / razumevanje pesništva / pesniške vite / sholije

Pindarja so na prvo mesto med svojimi lirskimi pesniki postavili Grki sami.¹ Tako kot druge kanone so tudi kanon lirikov verjetno v 3. stoletju pr. Kr. izoblikovali aleksandrijski učenjaki, ki so Pindarja dali na čelo deveterice izbranih, pred Alkmana, Sapfo, Alkaja, Anakreonta, Stezihorja, Ibika, Simonida in Bakhilida. Na aleksandrijskem popisu se je znašlo sedemnajst Pindarjevih knjig, ki so zajemale hvalnice, pajane,

¹ Razprava je nastala v okviru raziskovalnega programa P6-0239, ki ga je iz državnega proračuna sofinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

ditirambe in druge njegove pesniške zvrsti. Od njih so do nas prišle le štiri knjige epinikijev. Te obsegajo speve v čast zmagovalcem na olimpijskih, pitijskih, nemejskih in istmijskih igrah, čeprav je zadnja izmed njih očitno nekoliko okrnjena; z neokrnjenimi istmijskimi slavošpevi je še imel opravka bizantinski učenjak Evstatij v 12. stoletju (prim. Currie in Rutherford 31). Za drugimi kanoničnimi liriki ni, nasprotno, ostala niti ena sama knjiga v celoti.

Pindar je postal prvak med grškimi liriki kljub kričeče očitni iregularnosti. Poznejšo pesniško in preučevalsko recepcijo Pindarja na Zahodu je močno zaznamoval véliki rimski pesnik Horacij, ki v odi, posvečeni Pindarju, pravi:

monte decurrens velut amnis,
imbresquem super notas aluere ripas,
fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore,
laurea donandus Apollinari,
seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
verba devolvit numerisque fertur
lege solutis
seu deos regesque canit ...²

Kot reka, ki z gore dol teče,
od déžja narasla čez znane bregove,
Pindar besni in iz globokih ust strmoglavlja
neizmeren,
venec Apolonov si zasluži,
naj v drznih ditirambih nove
besede vali in je od mer nošen,
osvobojenih zakona,
naj bogove in kralje opeva ...

(Od. 4,2,5–13)

Pindarjevi epinikiji imajo značilen triadni kitični ustroj, strofe in anti-strofe, ki jih sklepajo epode, vendar nimajo stalnih stopic. Vsaka strofa pozna svoje stopične kombinacije, ki jim simetrično ustrezajo tiste v parni antistrofi, in vsaka epoda spet svoje, s katerimi respondirajo stopične kombinacije v drugih epodah istega slavošpeva. Te kombinacije niso ustaljene oziroma »zakonite«, ampak se menjavajo iz slavošpeva v slavošpev. Poleg tega je neenakomeren, iregularen tudi Pindarjev pesniški stavek. Dolgi, iz več povedi zloženi stavki se izmenjavajo s čisto

² Horace 220–222. Moj prevod.

kratkimi in pri tem prestopajo ne samo vrstice, ampak tudi kitice. Na podlagi opažanj, ki jih je o *austeré harmonía*, »rezkem skladanju«, že v antiki zapisal Dionizij iz Halikarnasa, je Franz Dornseiff Pindarjevo skladnjo posrečeno opisal kot *harte Fügung*, »trdo skladje«, v katerem besede pogosto stojijo brez veznikov in členkov kakor stebri (prim. Dornseiff 85–96). Navsezadnje pa je Pindarjeva pesniška govorica, v kateri vrh tega mrgoli sestavljenk in novotvorb, kljub siceršnji grški ljubezni do mere, umerjenosti in jasnosti že njegovim rojakom v antiki veljala za temno. Pindar sam pravi:

πολλά μοι ὑπ'
ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας
φῶνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐρμανέων
χατίζει.³

Mnogo pod
roko v tulcu
imam urnih puščic,
ki govorijo razumnim; a za celoto je razlagalcev
treba.

(Ol. 2,83–86)

Pindar je dobro vedel, da njegove besedne puščice, izstreljene proti tistemu, o čemer se navadno, ker se ne da, tudi ne govori, ne govorijo vsem, ampak samo tistim, ki so razumni, se pravi zmožni razumevanja (*synetoî*), a da je za vse, za celoto (*es tò pàn*) tega, na kar meri,⁴ ali njegovega pesniškega rekanja sploh, hkrati potrebna razlaga. Ali pa razlago terja, kot tu prav tako lahko razumemo *tò pàn*, celota tega, kar je (čemur

³ Snell–Maehler 11–12, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 31. Pindarjeve verze po Snellovi in Maehlerjevi izdaji prevajam sam, v opombah pa napotujem tudi na slovenski prevod, delo Braneta Senegačnika. Senegačnikov prevod Pindarjevih epinikijev in izbranih fragmentov, opremljen z uvodi v epinikije, opombami in obširno študijo, je za Slovence referenčno delo, kar zadeva Pindarja.

⁴ Na to, da *tò pàn* v »Drugem olimpijskem slavonspevu« nikakor ni *hoî polloi*, »večina ljudi«, »množica«, »ljudstvo« ali kaj podobnega, kot prevaja kopica prevajalcev Pindarja v angleščino, ampak je kvečjemu lahko celota njegovega pesniškega »predmeta«, prepričljivo opozarja William H. Race (prim. Race 252 isl.). Takšno prevajanje se opira na izdajo Pindarjevega pesništva iz leta 1599, ki jo je pripravil Paulus Stephanus (ali Paul Estienne) in grški izvirnik opremil z latinskimi prevodom v prozi. V njem za *es tò pàn* stoji *apud vulgus*, namreč da so razlagalci potrebni »pri ljudstvu« oziroma zanj. Ta prevajalska odločitev je imela »velikanske posledice za recepcijo Pindarja na Zahodu« (Hamilton 229).

je zavezano pesništvo). Kakorkoli že, naj ta beseda meri na prvo, drugo ali tretje: razlaga je *za celoto* potrebna večini, in kar zadeva Pindarjevo pesništvo, so Grki sami, njegovi sodobniki in poznejši rodovi, zvečine vsekakor potrebovali razlago, da bi razumeli. Pindarjevo pesniško rekanje je že med Grki terjalo hermenejo, prevod znotraj jezika, iz grščine v grščino. In že pri Grkih se je pojavila razlaga pesnikovega dela z njegovim življenjem, tudi in seveda še zlasti Pindarjevega.

Vite

Pindarjev *aión*, »življenjski vek«, je kakor zvezda v morju zvezd na nočnem nebu, ki so ugasnile, a k nam še zmeraj mečejo svojo svetlobo.

O Pindarjevem življenju vemo zelo malo. Niti letnica njegovega rojstva ni zanesljivo izpričana. Kot pravi izročilo, se je rodil leta 518 ali že 522 pr. Kr. v Kinoskefalah pri Tebah, največjem mestu celinskogrške dežele Bojotije. Morda je bil plemiškega rodu. Vendar edina priča za to ni nihče drug kot on sam. V »Petem pitijskem slavospevu« namreč Ajgide, sloviti rod iz Špate in Teb, imenuje »moji očetje« (75),⁵ čeprav ni jasno, ali je govorec, ki to izreka v prvi osebi, on ali zbor, saj je prvoosebna izjava v grški zborni liriki, ki ji pripada epinikij, včasih lahko izjava zbora. A tudi če je govorec Pindar sam, ni nujno, da z »mojimi očeti« meri na očete po krvi, ampak lahko da po »izbirni sorodnosti«.

Vsekakor je že tu očitno, da o Pindarjevem življenju govori predvsem njegovo pesništvo. Na njegovo življenje je nastalo več *vit*, več *življenj*.

Zelo verjetno je, da so življenja pesnikov v antiki začela nastajati kmalu po njihovi smrti ali pa, če so zgodaj zasloveli, že v času njihovega življenja. Iz časov od Homerja do klasičnega obdobja grštva v 5. stoletju pr. Kr. je malo zapisanega. Pesmi se tedaj (in še dolgo potem) zvečine niso brale, ampak poslušale, kdaj in kje so bile zapisane, je do vzpostavitve tekstne kritike v helenistični Aleksandriji le redko ugotovljivo, in prav pičlost kakršnegakoli pisnega gradiva iz arhajskih časov je verjetni razlog za zgodnji nastanek ustnih izročil o življenjih pesnikov, kot so Homer in Heziod, Sapfo in Stezihor, Simonid in Pindar: vez med njimi in njihovimi pesmimi bi se sicer pretrgala in pesmi bi postale anonimno blago (prim. Kivilo 207).

Življenjepiscem, ki so o arhajskih pesnikih začeli pisati stoletja pozneje, je bilo torej na razpolago malo pisnih virov. Pri roki niso imeli nobenih zapisov sodobnikov o življenjih teh pesnikov, nobenih podatkov

⁵ Snell–Maehler 95, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 170.

iz prve roke, drugače kot moderni biografi, ki lahko prebirajo dnevnik in pisma avtorjev, o katerih pišejo, pričevanja drugih o njih, časopise iz časa, v katerem so živeli, in zgodovinopisna dela o njem, skratka, razpolagajo z obilico rokopisnih in natisnjenih dokumentov, ki izvirajo od avtorjev samih ali pa iz drugih virov govorijo o njih in njihovem času. Ob raznih ustnih izročilih, tistem *hearsay*, ki gre zmeraj iz ušes v usta in med katerim to in ono dodaja mnogotero razumevanje, ter ob skromnih pisnih virih, kot so krajevne kronike ali, kar je pomembno v Pindarjevem primeru, sezname zmagovalcev na športnih igrah, katerim so se sčasoma začele pridruževati zapisane *vite*, je bilo za antične življenjepisce pesnikov daleč najpomembnejši vir pesništvo samo. V lirskem pesništvu, kakršno je Pindarjevo, so bile zanje še zlasti vabljive izjave v prvi osebi. Življenja pesnikov so »najzgodnejši primerki težnje, ki se je obdržala v zahodni misli« (Lefkowitz, *The Lives* 2), namreč *povezovanja pesnikovega dela z njegovim življenjem*.

Povrhu je pesniška *vita* postala literarna zvrst. V njej se pojavljajo bolj ali manj stalne prvine: pesnikov izvor, se pravi starši, člani družine in dežela ali ožja domovina, v kateri se je rodil, pesniško poklicanje kot opredeljujoči dogodek v njegovem življenju, njegovi učitelji, pesniška tekmovanja in iznajdbe, vezi z drugimi pesniki in sploh slavnimi ljudmi, razmerja do bogov in do mogočnejšev, potovanja ter kraj in narava smrti, posmrtna slava in včasih kult. Med pesniškimi *vitami* je mogoče prepoznati številne vzporednice, v katerih se izpolnjujejo zakonitosti literarne zvrsti. Lahko pa je v njih pri delu tudi mitski vzorec. Pesnika, recimo, lahko spor z oblastnikom požene v izgnanstvo, da do smrti potuje naokrog kot izgnanec, in kadar potem kakor mitski heroj, ki ga je smrt zaradi spora s kraljem kljub velikim delom, katera je opravil, pogosto doletela v izgnanstvu, doseže posmrtno slavo in morda celo čaščenje, navsezadnje sam postane novi heroj (prim. npr. Lefkowitz, »The Poet« 459–469; Currie 129–130).

Najstarejša pesniška *vita*, ki jo je o Homerjevem življenju ob koncu 6. stoletja pr. Kr. spisal Teagen iz Regija, je izgubljena; najzgodnejša ohranjena življenja pesnikov so šele iz helenističnega obdobja. O Pindarjevem življenju je sicer pisal že Hamaeleon v 4. ali 3. stoletju pr. Kr., vendar so iz antike prišle do nas tri poznejša Pindarjeva življenja, tako imenovane »Vita Vaticana«, »Vita Ambrosiana« in »Vita metrica«. ⁶ »Vita Vaticana« se je ob štirih knjigah Pindarjevih epinikijev, ki v isti

⁶ Za grški izvirnik vseh treh *vit* glej prvi zvezek Drachmannove izdaje antičnih sholij k Pindarjevemu pesništvu, str. 1–3 (»Vita Ambrosiana«), 4–8 (»Vita Vaticana«) in 8–10 (»Vita metrica«). Nekaj drobcov o Pindarjevem življenju je preživelo tudi na papirusu iz Oksirinha, datiranem okrog leta 200; izdal jih je Italo Gallo leta 1968.

ureditvi obstajajo v več rokopisih, ohranila v Vatikanski knjižnici in se po zadnjem uredilcu, bizantinskem učenjaku Teodulu Menihu iz 13. oziroma 14. stoletja, na Zahodu imenovanem Thomas Magister, imenuje tudi »Vita Thomana«. Nasprotno se je »Vita Ambrosiana« ohranila v rokopisu iz milanske Ambrozijeve knjižnice skupaj s prvimi dvanajstimi olimpijskimi slavonspevi v ureditvi, ki je drugačna od vati-kanske in jo pozna samo ta rokopis. Od nekod je bila prepisana in postavljena pred besedilo slavonspevov, glede na rabo uncialne verjetno zapisano v 4. ali 5. stoletju (prim. Irigoien 246), a so se za njo izgubile vse zgodnejše besedilne sledi. »Vita metrica«, ki jo v *Uvodu* v svoj zdaj izgubljeni komentar k Pindarju navaja Evstatij, pa je sestavljena iz enaintridesetih heksametrov. Nekoč je veljalo, da izhaja iz helenistične Aleksandrije, vendar po sodobnih domnevah ni mogla nastati prej kot šele v 3. stoletju (prim. Negri 217).

Med Pindarjevimi življenji, ki so torej po nastanku vsa močno oddaljena od časa njegovega življenja, se moderno pindaroslovje največkrat sklicuje na »Vito Ambrosiano«.

Na začetku »Vite Ambrosiane« piše, da se je Pindar rodil v vasi Kinoskefale (Pasje glave) na tebanskem ozemlju. Pindarjev oče se je imenoval Daifant ali Pagondas ali Skopelin in mati Kleodike ali Kledike, čeprav je bil Skopelin – kot izrecno poroča ta *vita*, da pravijo nekateri – morda njegov stric, ki ga je naučil igrati na piščal. Malo naprej *vita* dodaja, da je Pindar imel sina Daifanta ter hčeri Protomaho in Evmetido.

Imena staršev, razen imena Daifant, bi bila lahko povzeta iz neznanih Pindarjevih pesmi, lahko pa tudi iz pesmi njegovih manj slavnih bojnijskih rojakinj Mirte in Korine, ki so prav tako izgubljene. Poleg tega se je Pindarjeva žena po »Viti Ambrosiani« imenovala Megakleja, podobno kakor mati. Ime Megakleja pomeni nekaj takega kot »na veliko sloveča« in ime Kleodike ali Kledike toliko kot »upravičeno slavna«; obe, mati in žena, bi imeni lahko dobili po njem, slavnem pesniku, pesniku slavonspevov, ki je na Homerjevi sledi opeval *kléa andrôn*, »slavo mož«. Ker so bili sinovi pri Grkih pogosto imenovani po starih očetih, je po drugi strani mogoče, da so jezična usta izročila poimenovala vnuka po starem očetu ali, narobe, starega očeta po vnuku. Sapfo v eni izmed svojih pesmi na primer označuje Kleido za *páís*, »sužnjo« ali »otroka«,⁷ in Kleida je v Saffina življenja stopila kot njena hči. V *Sudi*, bizantinski enciklopediji iz 10. stoletja, lahko preberemo, da je bilo tako ime

⁷ Fr. 133; za slovenski prevod primerjaj Sapfo 160.

tudi Sapphini materi (prim. Lefkowitz, *The Lives* 65).⁸ Da je Pindar imel hčeri, pa je morda izpeljano iz »Tretjega pitijskega slavospeva«, v katerem govori o *koûrai*, »dekletih« ali »hčerah«, ki vzvišeni boginji Materi »skupaj s Panom pogosto pojejo pri mojih vratih« (78).⁹ In da jima je bilo ime Protomaha in Evmetida, bržkone prihaja od tod, da se ti imeni pojavita v Pindarjevi pesmi, od katere je ostal samo drobec, ob imenu njegovega očeta ali sina ali obeh – Daifant.¹⁰

Glede pesniškega poklicanja se »Vita Ambrosiana« sklicuje na Hamaeleona, po katerem je to Pindarja doletelo blizu Helikona. Podobno poklicanje, sploh prvo, za katero vemo, se je zgodilo že Heziodu. Kot sam pravi v proemiju *Teogonije*, so ga ob vznožju te bojoitijske gore, ko je pasel ovce, nagovorile Muze in mu vdahnile »glas, da bi pel o prihodnjih in pel o preteklih dogodkih« (32; Heziod 8). Nasprotno se Pindar ob svojem poklicanju za pesnika ni srečal z Muzami. »Vita Ambrosiana« pripoveduje, da je nekje pri Helikonu šel na lov, in ko je utrujen zaspal, so mu med spanjem čebele v ustih zgradile satje. V Heziodovi *viti*, ki jo je ob koncu antike napisal novoplatonski filozof Proklos in potem, v 12. stoletju, v daljši različici povzel najplodovitejši bizantinski učenjak Janez Tzetzes, je rečeno, da je Heziod svoje srečanje z Muzami upesnil alegorično ali pa se mu ni zgodilo v budnosti, ampak v sanjah (prim. Lefkowitz, *The Lives* 62). Enako so ravnali poznejši pisci o Pindarjevem življenju: o čebeljem satju v ustih, ki se je kmalu znašlo tudi v življenjih drugih antičnih pesnikov, Menandrovem, Vergilijevem in Lukanovem, se je Pindarju samo sanjalo. Toda namig, ki ga v zgodbo razvije pripoved »Vite Ambrosiane«, izhaja iz Pindarjevega pesništva. Pindar sam pravi, da »cvet slavilnih hvalnic / od besede k besedi kot čebela pohiteva« (Pit. 10,53–54).¹¹ Pindarjev spev (*mélos*) je kakor čebela (*mélissa*), ki iz besed nabira med (*méli*) – med besed je tisto najizbornejše, cvet speva –, in njegovo petje se razcveta v »medenoglasnih spevih« (Nem. 11,18).¹² V Pindarjevi *viti* je zgraditev satja v ustih kot dogodek vpeljave v pesništvo napesnjena na čebelji spev iz njegovega pesništva.

S pripovedjo o Pindarjevem pesniškem daru »Vita Ambrosiana« zavije v Atene. Tu spet najprej pusti različno govoriti svojim virom, češ, Pindarjev učitelj v Atenah se je, kot pravijo nekateri, imenoval

⁸ Po komentarju k »Viti Ambrosiani« iz knjige Mary R. Lefkowitz *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (61–69) povzemam večino kritičnih pripomb o njenih virih in vzporednicah z življenji drugih pesnikov.

⁹ Snell–Maehler 74, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 137.

¹⁰ Prim. fr. 94c, v Snell–Maehler 92, zv. 2.

¹¹ Snell–Maehler 114, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 202.

¹² Snell–Maehler 161, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 280.

Agatokles ali, kot trdijo drugi, Apolodor, nadaljuje pa s poročilom, da je Pindarju za čas svoje odsotnosti zaupal urjenje ditiramskih zborov in da je ta, čeprav še deček, nalogo izpolnil tako uspešno, da je zaslovel. Ta anekdotična zgodba je podobna zgodbi v enem od Homerjevih življenj; po njej je dar dečka, ki se takrat še ni imenoval Homer, ampak Melezigen, prepoznal njegov učitelj Femij in mu pred smrtjo zaupal vodenje svoje šole (prim. Lefkowitz, *First-Person* 91).

Na to se navezuje spet druga zgodba v »Viti Ambrosiani«, ki prav tako govori o priznanju oziroma potrditvi Pindarjevega daru: ko je Pindar napisal ditiramb, v katerem je Atene slavilno označil za »oporo Grčije«,¹³ so ga njegovi rojaki Tebanci oglobili, vendar so globo zanj plačali Atenci. Vsekakor drži, da se je rivalstvo med aristokratskimi Tebami in demokratizirajočimi se Atenami zaostriilo na začetku 5. stoletja pr. Kr., v času grško-perzijskih vojn, ko so Atene stopile na čelo koalicije grških mestnih držav in Tebe, nasprotno, na drugo stran v zavezništvo s Perzijo. Anekdota pa nakazuje, da je bil Pindar v političnem boju med velikima mestnima državama v precepu, a tudi da je bilo njegovo pesništvo zgodaj cenjeno med Grki ali da je morda celo že imelo panhelenski pomen.

Še več, Pindar je prav tako dosegel božje priznanje. To je prišlo od Pana, boga divjine, pastirjev in čred, ki je bil sicer zavetnik Arkadije, vendar so ga množično častili tudi v Bojotiji, Pindarjevi rodni deželi, kjer je njegov kult prevladoval na podeželju. »Vita Ambrosiana« pripoveduje, da so Pana nekoč nekje med Helikonom in Kitajronom slišali peti Pindarjev pajan, hvalnico v čast Apolonu. Pindar je potem v zahvalo napisal hvalnico v Panovo čast, ki se, kot navaja *vita*, začne z besedami: »O Pan, varuh Arkadije in častljivih svetih krajev čuvar.«¹⁴

Legendni zgodbi o Pindarju in Panu neposredno sledi še druga, zgodba o Pindarju in Demetri. Kot je rečeno v tej drugi zgodbi, se je Demetra Pindarju prikazala v sanjah in mu poočitala, da edino njej izmed bogov ni posvetil nobene hvalnice. Zato je napisal hvalnico, v kateri se je nanjo obrnil z »Gospa, ki prinašaš pravico«,¹⁵ ter za nameček njej in Panu postavil oltar »nasproti lastne hiše« (Drachmann 2, zv. 1). Pri tem je očitno, da je pisec »Vite Ambrosiane« (ali njegov vir) v boginji Materi iz »Tretjega pitijskega slavospeva«, o kateri Pindar pravi, da ji dekleta (ali hčere) »skupaj s Panom pogosto pojejo pri mojih vratih«, a je posebej ne imenuje, prepoznal Demetro. *Thesmophóre*, »ta,

¹³ Fr. 76, Snell–Maehler 83, zv. 2.

¹⁴ Fr. 95, Snell–Maehler 93, zv. 2.

¹⁵ Fr. 37, Snell–Maehler 11, zv. 2.

ki prinaša pravico«, je bil namreč eden od Demetrinih častilskih nazivov, čeprav ne samo njenih, ampak tudi eden takšnih nazivov Matere bogov ali Velike Matere, boginje Kibebe, ter prav tako boginj Perzefone in Dindimene. Boginja, ta ali ona, katerakoli že, ki jo je Pindar slavil v svojem pesništvu, je torej v njegovi *viti* dobila ime in, skupaj s Panom, oltar. Ta oltar je, tako *vita*, postavil on sam – in »pri mojih vratih« je postal krajevno določnejši nasproti, namreč »nasproti lastne hiše«.

»Vita Ambrosiana« sicer sinhronizira Pindarjevo življenje z življenji drugih slavnih mož. Pindar, trdi, je bil mlajši sodobnik Simonida in oba sta obiskala dvor tirana Hierona v Sirakuzah. O Pindarjevi smrti pa spet pove zgodbo, namreč kako so se v Amonovo svetišče napotili romarji, da bi v Pindarjevem imenu vprašali, kaj je najboljše za ljudi, in Pindar je še tisto leto umrl. *Suda* ima različico, po kateri je to vprašal pesnik sam in potem nenadoma umrl. Toda obe sta različici Herodotove zgodbe o mladih Argejcih Kleobisu in Bitonu, ki jima je bog naklonil najboljše, namreč da sta umrla takoj potem, ko sta opravila junaško dejanje (prim. Herodotus 60–61).

O Pindarjevi posmrtni slavi »Vita Ambrosiana« dodaja, da je špartanski kralj Pavzanija nekoč po pesnikovi smrti opustošil Tebe, a je prizanesel njegovi hiši, na katero je nekdo napisal: »Ne zažgite hiše pesnika Pindarja.« Veliko pozneje, v 2. stoletju, je po Bojotiji potoval kraljev soimenjak, sloviti antični geograf Pavzanija, ki poroča, da so mu pokazali Pindarjev grob, ruševine njegove hiše in svetišče matere Dindimene (9,25,3) (Demetro, ki ji Pindar v »Viti Ambrosiani« postavi oltar, pri tem zamenja z Dindimeno in oltar s svetiščem ter Demetro iz sanj, ki Pindarju v tej *viti* oponese, da ji ni namenil hvalnice, za nameček z njeno hčerjo Perzefono); v Amonovem svetišču pravi, da je videl kip, ki ga je poklonil Pindar, in ploščo z besedilom njegove hvalnice v čast temu bogu (9,16,1); in v Delfih železni stol, na katerem je Pindar, kadar je prišel tja, pesnil hvalnice Apolonu (10,24,5) (prim. Pausanias 1413, 1400 in 1494). Kljub temu pa slavni pesnik po smrti ni bil deležen božanskega čaščenja kakor, recimo, Arhiloh na rodnem Parosu.

»Vita Ambrosiana« se konča z epigramom, ki govori, da sta Pindarjev pepel, zbran s tuje grmade, iz Argosa v predirnem joku prinesli domov njegovi hčeri. Življenjepisec ne pojasni, čemu se je Pindar mudil v mestu na Peloponezu, niti tega ne poveže z zgodbo o njegovi smrti, ki jo je maloprej na kratko povedal sam. Za leto Pindarjeve smrti, ki ga ne navede, sicer velja 438 pr. Kr., seveda z vprašanjem.

Kot lepo prihaja na spregled ob »Viti Ambrosiani«, so Pindarjeva življenja zbir različnih virov, od najzgodnejših ustnih do pestrih pisnih,

med katerimi prevladujejo življenja drugih pesnikov. Toda Pindarjevo življenje je v temelju potegneno iz njegovega dela. Tako kot druge pesniške *vite* so tudi Pindarjeve izvleček avtorja iz dela, portret človeka, na katerega daje sklepati njegovo delo samo. Pripoved, ki se pogosto opre na prvoosebno izjavo iz Pindarjevega pesništva, dobi anekdotično-legendno zgodbeno razvitje, zgodbe pa se potem bogatijo z zmeraj novimi nadrobnostmi. To in ono, kar je v Pindarjevih verzih nedoločno, ima nenadoma ime in kraj. Včasih sicer naletimo na racionalizacijo neverjetnega ali overjetenje čudežnega, na primer v Proklovi razlagi, da se je satje v ustih Pindarju zgodilo v sanjah. Vendar je Pindarjeva osrednja poteza, ki se izrisuje v njegovih življenjih, še zlasti v »Viti Ambrosiani«, pobožnost. V tem Pindarjeva *vita* ne greši; natančnejša je in zadeva bolj od marsikatere moderne biografije, ki se razsipa v iluziji, da lahko iz obilice dostopnih podatkov izkoplje in v njih zgrabi življenje samo.

Sholije

Na biografiziranje naletimo tudi v sholijah. To so na splošno najrazličnejše pojasnjevalne opombe, ki so se med preučevanjem pesništva nabrale v antiki in se na grško govorečem vzhodu Evrope, v bizantinskem cesarstvu, kopičile še visoko v srednji vek.

Njihovi viri se zvečinoma stekajo v aleksandrijsko knjižnico. V njej so od 3. stoletja pr. Kr. delovali rodovi učenjakov, katerih *hypomnēmata*, samostojni tekoči komentarji k Pindarju in drugim pesnikom, so se izgubili. Iz dveh najbolj znanih takšnih komentarjev, Aristarhovega in Didimovega, je delala izvlečke in hkrati svoje kamenčke v mozaik aleksandrijskega pindaroslovja iz roda v rod dodajala množica brezimnih sholiasov (prim. npr. Dickey 504–505). O koristnosti sholij, ki so se, nasprotno, ohranile v rokopisih ob straneh pesniških besedil in bile včasih, v Pindarjevem primeru recimo v pozni antiki, združene v zbirko, sicer ni dvoma. Pogosto lahko odpogonejemo kontekst mita, ki ga Pindar v poglavitnih potezah samo nakaže, razprostrejo zgodovinsko ozadje oziroma prostor kakega dogodka ali kraja, razgrnejo krajevni verski običaj, napotijo na podobno pesniško rabo in še marsikaj. Vendar v njih ni pri delu samo izvleka življenja iz dela kakor v *vitah*, ampak tudi *razlaga dela z življenjem*.

V sholijah se pojavlja ista Pindarjeva poteza kakor v njegovih življenjih: pobožnost. Pindar v »Tretjem pitijskem slavospevu«, tik preden spregovori o petju deklet v čast Materi in Panu »pri mojih vratih«, pravi:

»A jaz k Materi hočem moliti.« (77)¹⁶ Sholija k temu verzu je ohranila zgodbo, ki izhaja od Aristarhovega učenca Aristodema. Sholiast po njem povzema, da je Pindar učil Olimpiha igrati na piščal, ko sta na gori, kjer sta vadila, nenadoma planila hrup in plamen. Tedaj je Pindar »pomislil, da vidi, kako hodeč prihaja kamnit kip Matere bogov, zato je zraven hiše postavil kip Matere bogov in Pana«. ¹⁷ O tem, kaj se je zgodilo, so potem Tebanci dali povprašati delfsko preročišče, ki je odgovorilo, da je Materi bogov treba postaviti oltar. Osupli so menili, da je Pindar predvidel orakelj, in med obredi v čast boginji poslej izkazovali čast tudi njemu. Orakelj je torej potrdil, da se je zgodil čudež, ki ga je v svoji pobožni jasnovidnosti uzrl Pindar.

Toda ob pobožnosti se v sholijah izobličujeta tudi Pindarjeva tekmovalnost in pohlep. Tekmovalnost se lušči iz njegovega primerjanja sebe z drugimi pesniki. V »Drugem olimpijskem slavospjevu« Pindar pravi, da kdor je moder, »mnogo ve po naravi, naučeni pohlepneži pa / proti božanski Zevsovi ptici / z mnogo jeziki kakor krokarji krakajo praznosti« (86–88).¹⁸ Ti pohlepneži glede na to, da je glagol *garjein*, »krakati«, v nekaterih rokopisih v dvojini in da krokarji navadno lovijo v parih, ne samo da postanejo *krokarja*, ampak sholiast v krokarskem paru tudi prepozna Pindarjeva sodobnika, Bakhilida in Simonida.¹⁹ In v kavkah, ki se medtem, ko se orel z višine bliskovito spusti in zgrabi plen, »pasejo po nižavah« (Nem. 3,83),²⁰ bodisi ta bodisi kateri drug sholiast spet prepozna Bakhilida: »Zdi se, da se to nanaša na Bakhilida.«²¹

Tekmovalnost med krokarji in kavkami na eni strani ter Zevsovo ptico, orlom Pindarjem, na drugi se v sholijah stopnjuje v osebno sovražnost. V »Četrtem nemejskem slavospjevu« Pindar imenuje *epibouliai*, »spletke«: »A čeprav pas ti globoka slanica / objema, se zoper spletke napni.« (36–37)²² Očitno je, da govori v prispodobi. S prispodobo morske vode, segajoče do pasu, bržkone meri na pesniško snov in z morjem snovi, ki se ponuja v upesnitev, na nevarnosti, v katere bi se pri pesnjenju zapletel, če bi se pregloboko pogreznil v snov, šel preveč v širino in predaleč v zastranitve ter se razveznil. V sholiji pa spletke, ki jih snuje morje snovi, postanejo naklepi »spletkarjev«.

¹⁶ Snell–Maehler 74, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 136.

¹⁷ Shol. Pit. 3,137b, Drachmann 80–81, zv. 2.

¹⁸ Snell–Maehler 12, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 31–32.

¹⁹ Prim. shol. Ol. 2,157a, Drachmann 99, zv. 1.

²⁰ Snell–Maehler 131, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 233.

²¹ Shol. Nem. 3,143, Drachmann 62, zv. 3.

²² Snell–Maehler 133, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 236.

Pindar, trdi sholiast, to govori o sebi, in sicer tako, da samega sebe bodri proti njim: »Upri se njihovi spletki.«²³ A še več od tega: spletkarji niso samo »sovražniki«, za katere se bo pokazalo, da jih »daleč prekašamo, ko v luči krenemo v boj« (38). So namreč en sam sovražnik, saj sholiast tokrat med sovražniki pokaže na Simonida. Čeprav Pindar ne imenuje nikogar, spletke sholiast posebi v spletkarje in sovražnike v Simonida: »Zdi se, da se to nanaša na Simonida, saj je on imel navado rabiti zastranitve.«²⁴

Zastranitve v sholiastovi razlagi niso posledica spletk, se pravi pasti, ki jih pesnjenju nastavlja njegova lastna snov. »Spletke« in »sovražniki« so navsezadnje *allegoroumenon*, »drugorečenica« za Simonida. Nevarnosti pri pesnjenju se na koncu hipostazirajo v sovražno razmerje med pesnikoma. Tako kot krokarji v »Drugem olimpijskem slavospevu« zdaj tudi spletkarji oziroma sovražniki postanejo v pesnikovi osebni zgodovini hipostazirano razlagalo.

Po drugi strani v sholijah izstopa pohlep. To je najprej pohlep drugih. V pritožbi zaradi želje pesnikov po dobičku, kot jo Pindar izreka v »Drugem istmijskem slavospevu«, sholiast razbere namig na Simonidov pohlep: Muza, ki nekoč ni bila dobičkaželjna, a zdaj dela za denar, je Simonid.²⁵ Čeprav Pindar spet ne imenuje nikogar, naj bi to, da si Muza za svoje delo daje plačevati, tudi Kalimah, eden izmed načelnikov aleksandrijske knjižnice in sam pesnik, razumel tako, kot da zadeva Simonida.²⁶

Med Grki se je razširila domneva, da je ta Pindarjev starejši sodobnik prvi pesnil po naročilu oziroma za denar. To, da je bil pohlepen, se ga je morda prijelo že v času njegovega življenja; že tedaj naj bi ga pred-sokratski mislec Ksenofan imenoval »stiskač«.²⁷ Vendar v fragmentih Simonidovega pesništva, ki so prišli do nas, o denarju ni ničesar. Lahko da se je zgodba o njegovem pohlepu spletla na podlagi visokoletečih besed, s katerimi je slavil zmago vprege z mulami, ki jih je hiperbolično imenoval »hčere viharnonogih konj«.²⁸ Aristotel v *Retoriki* pripoveduje, da sprva ni hotel spesniti slavospeva, ker mu je zmagovalec ponudil preskromno plačilo, ko pa mu je zanj dal spodoben znesek, je s hvalo pretiral. Kajti mule, pripominja Aristotel, so »tudi hčere oslov« (1405b; Aristotel 380).

²³ Shol. Nem. 4,60b, Drachmann 74, zv. 3.

²⁴ Shol. Nem. 4,60b, Drachmann 75, zv. 3.

²⁵ Prim. shol. Ist. 2,9a, 2,9b in 2,15a, Drachmann 214, 215, zv. 3.

²⁶ Prim. shol. Ist 2,9b, Drachmann 214, zv. 3.

²⁷ Fr. 21 B 21, Diels–Kranz 332, zv. 1.

²⁸ Fr. 515, *Greek Lyric* 382.

Pri pesniškem pohlepu imamo v sholijah spet opravka s stopnjevanjem. Kljub Pindarjevemu pritoževanju zoper pohlep drugih tega namreč sholiasti kot izstopajočo značajsko potezo najdevajo tudi pri njem samem. V »Petem nemejskem slavospevu« Pindar ob kip, ki se ne more premakniti z mesta, postavi svojo pesem, krilato besedo, ki ne samo da poleti, ampak lahko tudi potujoč doseže razne kraje. Sholiast ve povedati, da je za ta slavospev zahteval tri tisoč drahem. Odgovor zmagovalčeve družine, ki ga je naročila, se je glasil, da bi za ta denar lahko dobili kip. Nazadnje je Pindar zahtevani znesek vendarle iztržil in napisal slavospev, a se je za premajhno spoštovanje svojega pesništva oddolžil tako, da je slavospev naročnikom v očitek začel s kipom,²⁹ ki ne vzdrži primerjave s pesmijo.

Drugje, recimo, Pindar pravi, da modrim, se pravi pesnikom, »ne škodi dobiček« (Nem. 7,18),³⁰ in v ozadju teh besed sholiast najde in izreče neizgovorjeno pesnikovo prepričanje, češ, zmagovalci morajo plačati, da bi v slavospevu dosegli nesmrtno slavo.³¹ Še določnejši in ostrejši pa je komentar k verzu o človeškem cenjenju zlata z začetka »Petega istmijskega speva«: »Vemo, da je bil Pindar scela ljubitelj zlata.«³² V sholiastov množinski »vemo« se je očitno odtisnila domneva, ki je dobila mlade. Preja domnev se je skeptila v skupinsko vednost: popolnoma jasno je, kaj je za Pindarja zlato. Od tod se jasni težki začetek speva. In jasni se iz pesnikove značajske poteze: Pindar je bil »ljubitelj zlata«.

Zlato torej v sholiastični hermenevtiki kaže na Pindarjev pohlep, in da to vemo, je navsezadnje dovolj, da razumemo vse, kar Pindar izreka o zlato. Vendar zlato pri Pindarju stoji za najvišje. To obširno razlaga Martin Heidegger v predavanjih, ki jih je sicer v poglavitnem namenil najstarejšemu ohranjenemu fragmentu zahodne misli, izreku predsokratika Anaksimandra.³³ Pindar, pravi Heidegger, sicer dobro ve, kaj pri ljudeh zmore denar: naredi človeka. Tako na primer trdi oziroma s poudarkom zatrjuje: »Denar, denar je človek.« (Ist. 2,11)³⁴ A o zlato pesni drugače. Prvi trije verzi »Petega istmijskega speva« se glasijo:

²⁹ Prim. shol. Nem. 5,1a, Drachmann 89, zv. 3.

³⁰ Snell–Maehler 145, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 252.

³¹ Prim. shol. Nem. 7,25a, Drachmann 120, zv. 3.

³² Shol. Ist. 5,2a, Drachmann 242, zv. 3.

³³ Ta predavanja je Heidegger verjetno napisal poleti ali jeseni leta 1942, a jih ni nikdar odpredaval. Pindarjevo pesnjenje zlata obravnava tudi v različici teh predavanj, ki jo je opustil, še preden je prišel do Anaksimandrovega izreka. Ob izpisanih predavanjih je objavljena v dodatku istega, osemindesetega zvezka Heideggerjevih zbranih del.

³⁴ Snell–Maehler 145, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 292.

Μᾶτερ Ἀελίου πολυώνυμε Θεία,
σέο ἕκατι καὶ μεγασθενῆ νόμισαν
χρυσὸν ἄνθρωποι περιώσιον ἄλλων.³⁵

Mati Sonca, Teja mnogoimena,
zaradi tebe tudi ljudje štejejo za silno močno
zlato, od drugega bolj pričujoče vsenaokrog.

Te verze je skladno s sholiastično hermenevtiko treba razumeti izhajajoč iz Pindarjevega pohlepa v povezavi z njegovo pobožnostjo: cenjenje zlata ljudem narekuje božanstvo. Toda kaj tu govori Pindar?

O zlatu pravi, da je za ljudi *periósios*, »bolj pričujoče« od vsega drugega. Heidegger opozarja, da to besedo v njeni jonski obliki, *periousios*, pozna že Homer in da spada v isto pomensko polje kot *parousía* in *ousía*, ki je, preden je v govorici filozofov postala izraz za bitnost, pomenila »premoženje« ali »imetje«. To, kar je *periósios*, pa ni nekaj vsenaokrog pričujočega, kar se ponuja v imetje človeku. Je več od česarkoli pričujočega – pri Pindarju je to torej zlato –, in prav razgrnitve tega, kar v besedi *periósios*, ne da bi bilo izrečeno, sogovori o zlatu, se loti Heidegger.

Zlato, kot ga pesni Pindar, sije oziroma sveti tako, da osvetljuje vse okrog sebe. Osvetljujoč vse drugo, ostaja *perí*, »okrog« njega, ne da bi se kdaj odmaknilo in ga zapustilo. Vse je obsijano in hkrati nadsijano od zlata, vse se kaže v njegovem soju, zunaj katerega se nič ne bi moglo prikazati. Zato je zlato prav v svojem sijanju ali svetenju, s katerim je presežno sopričujoče pri pričujočem in mu daje kazati se, bolj pričujoče oziroma bolj bivajoče od vsega bivajočega. Pindarjevo zlato ni kovina. To zlato je, s Heideggerjevo, ne s Pindarjevo besedo, »bit« – »na neki način bit bivajočega« (Heidegger 74). »'Bit'«, ugotavlja Heidegger, »je grško mišljeno vzsvetlevajoče sijanje [*das erglänzende Scheinen*] ...« (96)

Kaj pa ima z zlatom opraviti boginja? Pindar v priklicevanju boginje na začetku speva pravi, češ, »zaradi tebe« imajo ljudje zlato za nekaj silno močnega. Vendar to ne pomeni, razlaga Heidegger, da je boginja vzrok človeškega mnenja o zlatu. Ne zapeljuje boginja ljudi k mnenju, da ima zlato silno moč in da je zato, ker tistemu, ki ga ima v posesti, prinaša cenjenje drugih, tudi bolj bivajoče od vsega drugega. Nasprotno: ljudi prek *theásthai*, božjega sebedajanja v gledanje, vodi h gledanju tega, kar je in kakor je. O tem govori ime, ki ji ga da Pindar, čeprav jo v isti sapi s pridevkom dodatno poimenuje za »mногоimeno«: *Theía*, »tista, ki gleda«. V tej boginji, ki jo Pindar priklicujoč imenuje

³⁵ Snell–Maehler 175, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 306.

dvakrat – najprej mati svetečega in svetlečega boga Sonca in nato nad vsemi *theoi*, »bogovi«, presežno Boginja –, Heidegger vidi celo boštvo, po katerem bogovi so, kar so: *Gottheit der Götter*, »boštvo bogov«, ki je njihovo bistvo. To pa je v gledanju oziroma pogledovanju. Božje gledanje, ki samo stoji v izvornem sijanju ali svetenju, pogleduje k človeku. Boginja z mnogimi imeni ali pač ta ali oni bog je, kar se daje človeškemu pogledu oziroma kar ta pogled ujame. V božjem pogledovanju se ponuja ugledanje.

Zato prvotno ne gleda človek. Pobuda pri gledanju ni na njegovi strani in gledanje ni dejavnost »subjekta«, naravnana na predmet. Gledanje ne izhaja od človeka, ampak od tistega, kar mu prihaja naproti. Bogovi pogledujejo v bivajoče, v stvari, ki nimajo pogleda, in iz njih gledajo človeka. Ko človek gleda, je že vzgledan, in ko ugleda, je ves oko. In zato to, da ima zlato silno moč, tudi ni človeško mnenje, noben proizvod predstavljanja.

Nomízein pri ljudeh ni »imeti«, ni »šteti za« v pomenu golega menjenja. »Šteti za« je tu treba razumeti iz *nómosa*, »zakona«, ki izhaja od biti bivajočega, in sicer kot spoštovanje tega zakona, kot *erachten*: pozorno gledati in pri ugledanem, bodisi pri bogu ali pri bivajočem, iz katerega bog pogleduje k človeku, upoštevati, kar je njegovega, vsakemu »pustiti, da mu pripade, kar mu pripada [*ihm sein Gehöriges gehören lassen*]« (Heidegger 75). V ta »šteti za« se v temelju prišteva spoštljivo upoštevanje vsega tistega, kar je in kakor je dano z zakonom biti, ter navsezadnje spoštovanje Boginje same, Teje, ki jo Pindar v Heideggerjevih očeh pesni v najtesnejši zvezi z zlatom in zlato samo *kakor* bit. Ni zlato bolj bivajoče od bivajočega, ker ima silno moč za ljudi, ampak se zato, ker je bolj bivajoče, šteje, da ima takšno moč. Zato je »Peti istmijski slavospev« »najbližji 'biti' in hkrati najsorodnejši pesnjenju mišljenja« (64) ter »najveličastnejši izmed Pindarjevih spevov« (76), prvi trije verzi tega speva pa »presijavajo ves uvod v spev, presijavajo ves spev, presijavajo vse Pindarjevo pesništvo« (97).

Heideggerjevo razumevanje Pindarjevega pesništva je vsekakor značilno uravnano glede na temeljni *fascinosum* in vodilo njegovega lastnega mišljenja: božje gledanje je kot pogledovanje k ljudem samo mogoče samo v sijanju zlata, se pravi biti, bogovi so po svojem bistvu posredniki in ljudje prejemniki biti itn. Vendar to razumevanje daje neizmerno globlji uvid v Pindarjevo pesnjenje zlata kakor sholije, ki ga pojasnjujejo iz Pindarjeve značajske poteze.

Sholiastično pojasnjevanje dela iz življenja pa se ni ustavilo pri takšnem karakteriziranju, ki vzvratno meče luč zlasti na temna mesta v Pindarjevem pesništvu, ampak je šlo še naprej. Sholiasti so povode

za Pindarjevo pesniško rekanje iskali v okoliščinah, v katerih je pesnil, oziroma v aktualijah iz njegovega življenja. V njem so (iz)najdevali konkretne detajle z jasnino močjo, ne da bi zarisali pot, po kateri so skozi odmikajoča se stoletja prihajali do njih. Takšne detajle je Hermann Fränkel, eden najprodornejših pindaroslovcev sploh, imenoval »marnje« (Fränkel 391).

Sholiastična *inventio* se je razpasla v 19. stoletju, ko je bil na pohodu historicizem. Pindarjevo pesništvo je pod egido Augusta Boeckha, izdajatelja in vplivnega komentatorja njegovih epinikijev, postalo »historična alegorija« (Young 584). Historicisti so ga v celoti razumeli kot retorično bogato obložen drugorek za to in ono iz Pindarjevega življenja, v čemer se osebna zgodovina križa s skupno politično zgodovino. Historicizem se ni ustavljal pred temnostjo Pindarjevega pesništva in je, »kadar zgodovina ni bila znana, opogumljal preučevalce, da so jo iznašli« (Lloyd-Jones 127). Tako so bile v poglavitni interpretamen tega pesništva povzdignjene marnje sholiastičnega porekla.

Od Pindarjevega življenja ostaja sledljiv njegov epinikijski itinerarij. V Grčiji so speve v čast zmagovalcem na športnih igrah navadno izvajali v mestih, kjer so se ti rodili ali prebivali, ali včasih tudi na kraju samem, kjer so dosegli zmago. V Pindarjevih obračanjih na zmagovalce in mesta, iz katerih so ti prihajali, se vsekakor riše sled njegovih epinikijskih potovanj po grškem svetu. Tako se Pindar na primer obrača na Sirakuze, mesto na Siciliji, češ, »k vam iz sijajnih Teb prihajam in prinašam / ta spev« (Pit. 2,3–4).³⁶ Lahko da je svoje epinikije na slavjih kdaj izvajal sam in kdaj morda kot voditelj zbora, ki ga je izuril za uprizoritev pesmi s plesom. Vendar ne vemo, kdaj je potoval skupaj s svojimi spevi, kdaj pa so potovali le spevi.

Kronologija Pindarjevih slavošpevov je po naročilih, ki jih je dobival, vsaj delno znana. Pindarjev prvi po času nastanka določljivi epinikij je »Deseti pitijski slavošpev« iz leta 498 pr. Kr. Poleg tega vemo, da je potem dobil naročili dveh pitijskih zmagovalcev iz Akraganta na Siciliji in da je v osemdesetih letih spesnil več slavošpevov za olimpijske in pitijske zmagovalce iz osrednjegrških mest, iz Orhomena, Aten in Teb, da je, nadalje, v tem desetletju vzpostavil stik z zmagovalci z Ajgine, za katere je v teku svoje dolge pesniške poti spesnil sploh največ, nato da je leta 476 prišlo prvo naročilo od Hierona, tirana iz Sirakuz, in da je ta »sicilska zveza« (Stoneman 23) trajala več let ter da je bilo leto 474 zanj *annus mirabilis*, saj je tedaj napisal kar šest slavošpevov, med njimi prvič tudi spev v čast zmagovalca iz Kirene v dandanašnji Libiji, in

³⁶ Snell–Maehler 66, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 123.

sicer »Devetega pitijjskega«, čez leta pa še četrtega in petega. Naročila so prihajala iz osrednje Grčije in iz zahodnega grškega sveta, s Sicilije in iz Afrike, vendar ne tudi iz grške dežele na vzhodu, iz Homerjeve Jonije. Njegov zadnji časovni določljivi epinikij je »Osmi pitijjski slavospev« iz leta 446, ki proti koncu kot labodji spev prinaša temni izrek: »Sence sen / je človek.« (95–96)³⁷

Sklep

Skratka, če se čisto na kratko vrnem k Pindarjevi *viti*: ta za razlago njegovega pesništva ni uporabna, ker niti ni namenjena takšni razlagi. Kot rečeno, so poglavitni vir za življenja pesnikov, tudi za Pindarjeva življenja, predvsem prvoosebne izjave iz njihovega pesništva, dojete kot namigi, ki so potem razviti v zgodbe. Toda te izjave (in karkoli povezljivega v pesnikovem delu z njegovim življenjem) v biografizirajoči sholiji postanejo razlagalski ključ. Ta je skovan zunaj – se pravi: *iz* pesništva *zunaj* njega samega. V tej obliki se vse, kar je iz dela mogoče »spraviti v življenje«, vrača v delo. Življenjepisni podatek, ki v *viti* pomaga graditi učinkovitost zgodbe, se obrne in postane ključ za odklepanje teksta.

V epinikijih Pindar o sebi govori tedaj, ko govori o svojem pesnjenju. Prvoosebne izjave, ki jih izreka v svojem imenu, zadevajo predvsem njegovo pesništvo. V vseh drugih prvoosebnih izjavah lahko prihaja do besede ta ali oni *tis*, ta ali oni »kdo«, Pindar sam, zbor, oba skupaj ali povsem nedoločni nekdo. Pindarjevo lastno življenje se nam v nadržanosti nepovrnljivo skriva za njegovim pesnjenjem.

V sholijah pa je pogosto pri delu *plássein*, »zgnetenje« pesnikovega značaja, ki potem deluje kot interpretamen za njegovo pesništvo. Pridelek tega zgnetenja je plazma, ki na svoji protoplazmi, pesniški besedi, opravlja plastične operacije. Na to, da je mimo neznanega izvirnika zgneteni lik pesnika v resnici malik, zgovorno kaže fikcija o pohlepu, ki je postala razlagalo, ključ, ki izključuje globokomiselnost Pindarjevega pesnjenja in ga motivira z nizko strastjo. Še več: razlagalska fikcija, ki v sholijah narašča, Pindarjevo pesnjenje pojasnjuje glede na situacije ali konstelacije v njegovem življenju. Vendar je vsako odkritje, ki je *hkrati izobličeno* takšne konstelacije, fiktivna tvorba, zvarina, zgnetenina. Z razlagalsko plastiko lahko nastane le malik, neresnična podoba, ki ji k resničnosti ne more pomagati niti to, da ne stoji sama zase kakor kip, ampak je postavljena v naokrog doslikano krajino življenja.

³⁷ Snell–Maehler 105, zv. 1; prim. Senegačnik 187.

Temnost Pindarjeve pesniške besede se ne jasni z več podatki. Razumni, ki jim govorijo Pindarjeve puščice, so tisti, ki razumejo, da to, v kar te puščice merijo, ni jasno samo po sebi. To v Pindarjevi besedi ni le zašifrirano, tako da bi bilo lahko potem dekodirano v razlagi, spuščeno skoz filter, ki bi odsnel temnost in jo odstranil. Tisto, na kar meri Pindar, je samo temno in po tem se temni tudi Pindarjeva beseda.

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Pindar's Life in *vitae* and in Scholia to His Poetry

Keywords: ancient Greek poetry / Pindar / understanding of poetry / *vitae* of the poets / scholia

In the canon of Greek lyric poets, Pindar was placed first by the librarians of Alexandria. He became the master lyricist, although he does not seem to be a model of metrical regularity in his songs in honor of the victors of the athletic games, the only part of his poetry that has survived almost intact. Moreover, even Pindar's compatriots, despite their love of measure, calibration, and clarity, considered his poetic language obscure. He himself spoke of the need to interpret his poetry, or what it referred to. The interpretation of a poet's work through his life, on the other hand, had already appeared among the Greeks. The linking of work and life began in the *vitae*, which, as far as the poets of the archaic period were concerned, were not written down until several centuries after their deaths and developed into a literary genre of their own. Given the scarcity of other material, the *vitae* in the case of the lyric poets rely mainly on their first-person statements. Their main feature, therefore, is the extraction of the life from the work, the portrait of the man suggested by the work itself. Pindar's *vitae* thus foreground his piety. Biographisation, however, with its inevitable fictional gesture, is also found in scholiastic writing on

Pindar's poetry, which likewise originated in Alexandria. But the (in)found biographical information that effectively contributes to the construction of the anecdotal-legendary stories in the *vitae* is reversed in the scholia and becomes the key to unlocking the text.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek / Original scientific article

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Spreminjanje imaginarija napredka in rasti v avantgardnih in intermedijskih umetniških praksah

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Članek povezuje umetnostno avantgardo z začetka dvajsetega stoletja ter današnjo intermedijsko in družbeno angažirano umetniško prakso. Osrednja teza je, da lahko v predstavljenih primerih umetniških del najdemo koncepte ter modele za razmišljanje in življenje onkraj imperativa rasti in nenehnega napredka. Tovrstne umetniške strategije so predstavljene v petih sklopih, ki obravnavajo teme, kot so lenoba in izginotje, kozmopolitizem in univerzalni jezik, alternativne predstave prostora/časa, transhumanizem, posthumanizem in sistemski pogled na svet. Tako kot so nekoč avantgarde opravljale kritiko industrijske oz. moderne družbe, tako danes intermedijska umetnost prispeva k prestrukturiranju imaginarija rasti ter kapitalistične proizvodnje in potrošnje. Članek doprinese k premišljevanju konceptov poarasti in odrasti na področju umetnosti in humanistike ter prikaže, kako je prav umetnost tista, preko katere je možno pozitivno razumevanje nemoči in opuščanja oz. nasprotja rasti, kar navadno razumemo kot izključno negativno – kot pomanjkanje in izgubo.

Ključne besede: umetnost in družba / avantgarda / intermedijska umetnost / ekokritika / ideologija rasti / postkapitalizem

Uvod

Po prvi svetovni vojni je nemška avantgardna šola za oblikovanje, arhitekturo in uporabno umetnost Bauhaus v Weimarju v središče svoje vizije postavila *Gesamtkunstwerk* – mitsko katedralo prihodnosti.¹ Ta naj bi poudarjala pomen konstrukcije in gradbene prakse (nem. *bauen*) kot takrat sodobna arhitekturna umetnost, ki naj bi bila, tako kot človeška narava, vseobsegajoča. Bauhaus je zastavil ambiciozno družbeno

¹ Članek je rezultat dela na raziskovalnem programu »Historične interpretacije 20. stoletja« (P6-0347), ki ga financira Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovačijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

in umetniško agendo, tesno povezano z zamislijo o izgradnji nove industrijske družbe in nove kulture, ki naj bi nastala po vojni. Današnja realnost, sicer znova zaznamovana z vojnami, pa prinaša nove izzive za sodobnega človeka. Najbolj pereče dolgoročne težave našega časa so zagotovo podnebne spremembe in zmanjševanje biotske raznovrstnosti. Z vidika omenjenih kriz bi bila naloga sodobne avantgardne umetniške šole in z njo povezanega gibanja v umetnosti popolnoma drugačna, kot je bila Bauhausova. Lahko predpostavimo, da bi namesto konstruktivistične izgradnje v središče postavili ravno nasprotno – mejo oz. zamejitev izkoriščanja naravnih in človeških resursov.

Zahteva po nenehni rasti in izpopolnjevanju je človeka privedla do neetičnih ravnanj, za katera smo spoznali, da so popolnoma nevdružna. Živimo v svetu, v katerem je človeku in nečloveškemu drugemu odvzeta prihodnost (Fry). Zato se v različnih sferah človekovega delovanja kot vse bolj pomembna kaže zamisel omejevanja oziroma limite in drugačne logike življenja ter inoviranja (Heikkurinen, »Degrowth: A Metamorphosis in Being«; »Degrowth by Means of Technology?«; Vinsel in Russell). Na področju politike in gospodarstva se vse bolj uveljavljajo raziskovalni projekti in aktivistične mreže pod novimi postkapitalističnimi načeli, ki nasprotujejo akumulaciji in premočrtnemu napredku, kot sta postrast in odrast (fr. *décroissance*), usmerjeni v krčenje proizvodnje in potrošnje ter popolno preureditev pojmovanja ekonomije (Schmelzer, Vetter in Vansintjan; D'Alisa, Demaria in Kallis; Latouch). Tudi na področju literarnih ved in umetnostne zgodovine se vse bolj izpostavlja ekološki vidik umetniških del, ki se jih preučuje z ekokritičnimi pristopi (Steger; Patrizio; Dragona). V ekokritični humanistiki gre predvsem za različne oblike kritike antropocentrizma, kapitalistične modernosti in napredka razvitega dela sveta ter kazanje na medsebojno prepletenost človeka in nečloveškega. Literarna in umetnostna zgodovina prevzemata nalogo, da ponovno premislita delo tako zgodovinskih kot današnjih avtoric in avtorjev v luči sodobne teorije in hkrati raziščeta, kakšen vpliv ima umetnost na našo percepcijo in formiranje ekološke epistemologije.

Ker je logika protinapredka praviloma spoznana kot *a priori* slaba, je pomembno raziskovati in opisovati drugačne imaginarije,² ki bi lahko

² Pri razumevanju koncepta imaginarija izhajamo iz dela Corneliusa Castoriadis, ki je ločil družbeni (kolektivni, anonimni) in radikalni imaginarij ter pokazal, da ravno zaradi slednjega – radikalne imaginacije singularne človeške psihe, ki je predmet nenehnih premen reprezentacij, afekta in namena – svet ni determinističen. Po Castoriadis naša imaginacija namreč ni podoba ali kopija nečesa, ampak kreacija, kar pomeni, da svet ni določen enkrat za vselej, ampak se nenehno na novo artikulira. O

razširili možnosti našega izkustvenega polja za tovrstne alternative. Umetnost je namreč skupaj s humanistiko pomembno področje ne samo za reflektiranje družbe, ampak tudi za ideološko neobremenjeno izumljanje novih resničnosti in potencialnih družbenih usmeritev. Podobno kot je bila avantgardna umetnost ukoreninjena v takratno sodobnost in je iz te napovedovala ter izumljala boljše verzijo prihodnosti (t. i. »optimalna projekcija« Aleksandra Flakerja; glej Flaker 71–78), tako tudi današnje intermedijske umetniške prakse, ki uporabljajo naj sodobnejše tehnološke dosežke na presečišču znanosti in umetnosti ter se s svojimi nehomogenimi praksami in procesualnostjo izmikajo umetniškemu trgu in *mainstreamu* sodobne umetnosti (Quaranta 77–111),³ praviloma prevprašujejo usmeritve razvoja, redkeje pa tudi predstavljajo boljše alternative.

V nadaljevanju bomo analizo primerov zgodovinske avantgarde 20. stoletja in sodobne intermedijske umetnosti 21. stoletja predstavili v petih sklopih oz. temah, ki neposredno odgovarjajo na kritiko rasti ali pa izzivajo hierarhične strukture, ki služijo kot opora logiki rasti: 1. lenoba, izginotje, neprisotnost; 2. kozmopolitizem, univerzalni jezik; 3. drugačne predstave o prostoru/času; 4. razširitev čutov, transhumanizem; 5. sistemski pogled na svet, posthumanizem. V zaključku je članek teoretsko nadgrajen z nekaterimi argumentacijami sodobnih teoretikov, ki z avantgardnimi in intermedijskimi umetniškimi praksami prikazujejo pozitiven vidik navadno negativno razumljenih konceptov, kot so omejitve, zaustavitve in nemoč oz. sprostitve moči ali nadzora. S tem dodatno podkrepimo pomembnost avantgarde in intermedijske umetnosti za raziskovanje težnj k demokratizaciji, avtonomiji, solidarnosti in okoljsko vzdržnemu načinu življenja v skladu z načeli posthumanistične etike (Braidotti; Tsing).

Lenoba, izginotje, neprisotnost

Čeprav bi lahko tako avantgardo kot novomedijsko umetnost hitro enoznačno povezali z estetiko slavljenja stroja in tehnološkega napredka, je treba omeniti, da je uporaba tehnologije pri obeh izrazito kritična.

imaginariju ter zmožnosti ustvarjanja in preoblikovanja sveta (*world-making in world-remaking*) v kontekstu »planetarne teorije« glej Moraru 67–76.

³ Avantgardo in intermedijsko umetnost so nekateri vidnejši teoretiki neposredno povezali prek njihovih vizualnih in besedilnih eksperimentiranj ter formalnih postopkov (Manovich), pa tudi prek uresničevanja avantgardnih ciljev s pomočjo inovativne rabe tehnologij (Benjamin 38) ali retroavantgardnega in postutopičnega principa (Arns).

Fascinacija nad estetiko stroja v avantgardi je pomenila predvsem način prekinitev s psihologizacijo in simboliko dotedanje umetnosti. Poveličevanje stroja in mesta, ki sta utelešala modernost, je sicer najbolj vidno v italijanskem futurizmu F. T. Marinettija, a tudi pri njem je odnos do stroja izredno kompleksen, futuristična tehnološka domišljija pa pogosto skriva tudi protislovne značilnosti (Berghaus), vidne na primer pri t. i. nekoristnih strojih Bruna Munarija. Pri drugih avantgardnih gibanjih je kritika industrializacije prek uporabe stroja bolj izrazita – npr. »umetniški stroj« dadaistov pomeni intervencijo v determinizem stroja; Tatlin pri konstruiranju novega stroja sledi principom narave; nadrealistične tehnološke »proteze« in podobe kiborgov prevprašujejo avtomatizem človeka; ruski futuristi (t. i. bodočniki) vzpostavitev nove kulture ne vidijo v napredku in mehanizaciji, ampak v pacifistični in kozmistični miselnosti, ki jo določajo elementi primitivizma, arhaike in anarhizma (Gurianova). Podobno je bila tudi vizija prihodnosti v jugoslovanski avantgardi in zenitizmu Ljubomirja Micića osnovana na značilnostih mitskega in arhetipskega.

Še več, za enega najbolj vidnih avantgardistov Kazimirja Maleviča lahko »avtentično« oziroma »realno« nastane le, če izkoreninimo težnjo po popolnosti in napredku (Pranjić, »Bespredmetnost' Maleviča«). Za Maleviča je ravno ukinitvev prihodnosti nekaj, kar lahko odpre možnost za umetniško ustvarjalnost (avtonomno delovanje). Biti brez projekta za Maleviča pomeni biti brez pritiska zunanjih struktur, pomeni, da se lahko zgodi skoraj vse – mogoče in tudi nemogoče. Zgovorno je dejstvo, da je februarja 1927 v svojo knjigo *Bog ni zvržen: umetnost, cerkev, tovarna*, ki jo je podaril absurdistu Daniilu Harmsu, zapisal posvetilo »Pojdite in ustavite napredek«. S svojim teoretskim in vizualnim delom je Malevič raziskoval brezpredmetni svet; ta svet z drugo logiko bo poganjalo nekaj drugega kot prihodnost in razsvetljenska racionalnost (»Suprematizem«). V eseju *Lenoba – prava resnica človeštva* iz leta 1922 je predlagal estetiko nedela ali lenobe. Lenobo razumemo kot ključno za vsako umetniško in ustvarjalno delo, poleg tega pa gre za taktiko izogibanja nesmiselnemu, kapitalističnemu in odtujenemu delu.⁴ V svojem slikarskem in kiparskem delu, t. i. suprematizmu, je eksperimentiral z gibanjem in mirovanjem slikarskih in materialnih mas, da bi postopoma prišel do zatemnitve vizualnih objektov in njihovega izginjanja v belino – od alogičnih, dadaističnih slik, na katerih najdemo

⁴ Malevičevo delo je prevzel umetnik Mladen Stilinović v svojem besedilu *Hvalnica lenobi* leta 1992. Z lenobo kot protikapitalistično taktiko v umetnosti in ustvarjalnosti se je ukvarjal tudi v svojem umetniškem projektu *Umetnik na delu*.

zgolj besedo »zatemnitev« oz. »delna zatemnitev« (*Kompozicija z Mona Lizo*, 1914), do popolne zatemnitve na sliki *Črni kvadrat* (1915) in izginotja v belini na sliki *Belo na belem* (1918).

Ideje o zaviranju aktivnosti, izginotju in neprisotnosti v vsakdanjem življenju so prisotne tudi v delu nadrealistov in dadaistov, kot so Walter Serner, Dragan Aleksić, Marcel Duchamp in Arhur Cravan. Izredno zanimiv je Sernerjev dadaistični »manifest« v aforizmih *Letzte Lockerung* (1920) o dadaistični filozofiji življenja, ki predvideva »razrahljan« odnos do sveta, nomadstvo in nenehno metamorfozo, ki sledi le volji umetnika, ter popolno zavračanje idealizma in lastne identitete kot nečesa statičnega in opredeljenega. Med manj znanimi besedili je treba omeniti tudi Aleksićev dadaistični manifest iz leta 1921, v katerem uvaja »kakortedragost«, ki jo je mogoče razumeti kot dadaistični »nič« in »vseenost«, ter pomembnost naključja pri Tristanu Tzari (Pranjic, »Change Must Come« 302, 307). Tako dadaistično kot suprematistično delo nista podrejena določeni vsebini ali cilju, ravno nasprotno – odpravljata horizont, kar v obeh primerih omogoči, da postavita pod vprašaj celotno resničnost ter pokazeta nedoslednost metodologij in vladajočih ideologij (300). Na ta način izpostavita skrite norme družbe, ki se posledično odpravijo ali predrugačijo.

Na področju intermedijske umetnosti lahko podobna izhodišča najdemo v delu profesorja in intermedijskega umetnika Saša Sedlačka, ki se v projektu *Oblomo* (2019–2021) konceptualno močno približa Malevičevemu premišljevanju o estetiki lenobe oz. nedela kot do skrajnosti priganem pojmu dela v dobi avtomatizacije. Triletni projekt, ki preči formate interaktivne instalacije, spletne oziroma mobilne aplikacije in celo tržne storitve, kritično obravnava sodobne biometrične tehnologije in kriptotehnologije. Te nas, še posebej ko so povezane z družbenimi omrežji in trgovinskimi storitvami na spletu, v nasprotju z njihovimi površinskimi obljubami v resnici napeljujejo na neprestano delo ali vsaj nezavedno predajanje zasebnih podatkov. S tem dodajamo vrednost platformam in pogosto nehote sodelujemo v novi paradigmi izkoriščevalskega kapitalizma, ki izčrpava naravne in človeške (v tem primeru podatkovne) vire. V različnih galerijskih postavitvah in tudi v spletni različici projekta *Oblomo* Sedlaček skuša prikazati izmenljivost med delom in nedelom, pri čemer slednjega postavi v luč kot-da pozitivne konotacije pridobivanja ekonomske vrednosti v obliki dejanske kupne moči. To predstavlja kriptokovanec Oblomo, ki mu avtor doda tudi posebno ironično etično konotacijo: kovance je mogoče pridobivati oziroma kriptorudariti z lastnim (uporabnikovim) nedelom – tako v galerijskem (javnem) kot tudi (zasebnem) kiberprostoru.

V kontekstu tehnik upora proti platformnemu kapitalizmu, ki promovirajo lenobo in naključne procese, je treba omeniti tudi aktualno delo Bena Grosserja *Minus* (2021). To predstavlja tehnično preprost, a za pričujoči kontekst kritike sodobnega izkoriščevalskega kapitalizma zelo pomemben obrat, saj poskuša spletno kolektivno komunikacijo utemeljiti na predpostavki, da svoj čas in pozornost obravnavamo kot omejena in dragocena vira. Ob vstopu v spletišče *Minus* uporabnik kmalu ugotovi, da gre za nenavadno omejeno družbeno omrežje, kjer ima vsak »do konca življenja« na razpolago natanko sto objav. Namesto algoritemsko generiranih objav, vidnega števila všečkov, vsiljivih obvestil in napeljevanja k neskončnemu zaslonskemu drsanju delo *Minus* razkriva, kako so tovrstni »kapitalistični programski stroji« zasnovani na način, da spodbujajo globalno porazdeljen in rastoč cikel proizvodnje in potrošnje za namene rasti in dobička (Grosser, »Minus«). Te programsko napredne platforme nam po avtorjevih besedah vsiljujejo misel, da naj lastno družabnost najboljše ocenimo in razumemo skozi kvantiteto. Tovrstna kakovostna umetniška dela kritično ali vsaj ironično izpostavljajo paradokse ter manipulativne in ekstrakcijske mehanizme platformnega kapitalizma, občasno pa pokažejo tudi na njihove rešitve oziroma preseganja.

Kozmopolitizem, univerzalni jezik

Naslednja značilnost avantgarde je kozmopolitizem, ki označuje preseganje meja obstoječih normativov skozi povezovanje umetnikov v čezmejna sodelovanja, navadno pri skupnih manifestacijah in periodiki. Hkrati pa je težnja k internacionalizaciji prisotna kot strategija za transgresijo identitet in pluralnost v avantgardističnih manifestih in deklaracijah. To je vidno tako pri avantgardistih v kulturnih središčih Evrope kot tudi v neurbanih krajih, na primer v jugoslovanski avantgardi, ki nasprotuje zahodnoevropski politični in kulturni nadvladi ter izpostavlja nacionalne karakteristike (Pranjić, »Zenitistični koncept«). Pri sovjetskih avantgardistih lahko govorimo o preseganju nacionalnega in planetarnega z vseobsegajočim kozmičnim: primere najdemo tako pri futuristih Velimirju Hlebnikovu kot pri Alekseju Kručonihi in v že omenjenem Malevičevem suprematizmu ter tudi v delu Ela Lisickega. Poetizacijo dvigovanja nad lokalnim toposom in povezovanja mikro- in makrosveta lahko spremljamo tudi pri zenitistih, na primer v delu Ljubomirja Micića, pa tudi v poeziji Srečka Kosovela. Avantgardisti so svoje umetniško delo videli kot dejanje ljudi prihodnosti, ki bodo preseгли nacionalno in postali

državljeni sveta. Dadaizem je tudi sicer v svojem bistvu nasproten kakršnemukoli nacionalizmu in patriotizmu; njegov nastanek je vezan na multikulturno okolje nevtralnega Züricha, kamor so se med vojno zatekli migranti (Tzara, Serner, Arp, Hugo Ball, Christian Schad, Marcel in Jules Janco).

Avantgardističnemu programu preseganja mej med posamezniki lahko sledimo tudi pri ideji univerzalnega jezika, ki bo nov, svoboden jezik pesniškega ustvarjanja: leta 1912 se pojavi v teoriji in poeziji futuristov, kot sta Hlebnikov in Kručonih, najprej z alogično poezijo, nato pa kot »zvezdni jezik« (Hlebnikov) in »transracionalni« oz. »zaumni jezik« (Kručonih) (Pranjić, »The Logic of Zaum«). Italijanski futurist Filippo T. Marinetti je leta 1912 po postulatih svojega futurističnega manifesta razvil koncept *parole in libertà* oz. »osvojenih besede«. To je bila radikalna oblika pisanja s kolažiranjem in destabilizacijo jezika na način poudarjanja materialne plati jezika – zvoka in narisane črke, s katerima so futuristi ustvarjali dela, ki jih je bilo mogoče interpretirati tako vizualno kot verbalno. Tovrstni pesniški poskusi delujejo proti razsvetljenskemu racionalizmu in semantiki. Treba je poudariti, da pri teh idejah ne gre za enovit, totalitaren jezik, ampak ravno nasprotno – za pesniške eksperimente s tehnologijo in medijem, ki bi privedli do novega načina komunikacije in odnosov, kar ponovno priča o tem, da je avantgardne tehnike moč razumeti kot strategije za izumljanje alternativnih izkušenj resničnosti.

Podobno kot njihovi predniki v zgodovinskih avantgardah se tudi informacijsko-tehnološki strokovnjaki in medijski umetniki vedejo kot kozmopoliti – tako v življenjskem slogu kot tudi v prečnju oziroma hkratnem obvladovanju komunikacijskih in estetskih kodov. Prve tehnološko-umetniške analogije z univerzalnim človeškim jezikom najdemo v eksperimentih z računalniško kodo ASCII, ki predstavlja standardni nabor 95 znakov za medračunalniško izmenjavo informacij. Tovrstne slike na meji med naravnim (slikovnim) in formalnim (strojnim) jezikom so vzniknile že kmalu po pojavu sodobnih računalnikov v šestdesetih letih. V delu *DEEP ASCII* (1998) eden od pionirjev spletne umetnosti Vuk Ćosić s posebno tehniko animirane slike ASCII na vizualno močno reduciran način ponudi enega od prizorov v kulturnem filmu *Deep Throat*. Gre nemara za najslovitejše od sedmih del v zbirki *ASCII History of Moving Images*, pri čemer vsako obeležuje določen filmski mejnik razvoja (avdio-)vizualnega jezika v medijski kulturi (spektakla) 20. stoletja. V zbirki Ćosić izvede eno od prvih radikalnih apropiacij vizualnega (filmskega) jezika s strani računalniškega koda, ki ga uporabi kot univerzalnega, in prikaže njegov

potencial zaobjeti in prisvojiti si karkoli, celo (analogno) sliko filmskih klasikov.

Leta 1993 je avstralska umetnica in pesnica Mez Breeze začela razvijati poseben spletni jezik *mezangelle*, namenjen delu na presečišču računalniške kode in poezije. Njena literarna dela so se od takrat pod to oznako na internetu pojavljala pod različnimi imeni. Avtorico povezujejo z več avatarji kot alternativnimi avtorskimi osebnostmi, pri tem pa so bolj ali manj sledljivo sodelovali tudi druge avtorice in avtorji, kar nakazuje na fluidno ali pluralno, globalno razpršeno koncepcijo avtorstva, značilno tudi za sodobna omrežna okolja. *Mezangelle* uporablja kombinacijo programskega jezika in neformalnega naravnega govora, pa tudi zaznamovanega poetičnega jezika za analizo in hkrati razvoj predlogov sprememb v razvoju standardne angleščine. Pri tem prihaja do ustvarjanja novih in nepričakovanih pomenov ter izzivanja estetskih (pa tudi pravopisnih) jezikovnih konvencij, kar lahko vodi v bolj ali manj posrečene jezikovne, pa tudi programerske inovacije. Strojni in človeški jeziki se vse tesneje medsebojno prepletajo v tako (pol)javnih kot tudi v zasebnih spletnih klepetih (že nekaj časa tudi z nečloveškimi agenti, t. i. klepetalnimi roboti, v zadnjem času nadgrajenimi z umetno inteligenco oziroma velikimi jezikovnimi modeli), v sodobnem družbenokritičnem bloganju ipd.

Drugačne predstave o prostoru/času

Avantgardisti so skozi svoje umetniške eksperimente, pesniška in vizualna dela ter diskurzivno refleksijo raziskovali tudi drugačne, alternativne predstave prostora in časa. Interesi te vrste so bili na začetku 20. stoletja izredno popularni tudi v širši družbi; gre namreč za obdobje velikih odkritij v znanosti, predvsem v fiziki, ki so pretresla do tedaj uveljavljene poglede na prostor in čas. Dela konstruktivista Nauma Gaba na primer kažejo na njegovo zanimanje za sodobno fiziko. Pri njem lahko zasledimo vpliv neevklidske geometrije in Einsteinove teorije relativnosti. Podobno je tudi suprematistična umetnost Maleviča in Lisickega razumljena kot umetniško raziskovanje neevklidskega prostora. Lisicki se je na primer skliceval na Hermanna Minkowskega in Einsteinovo relativnostno teorijo: v svojem delu *K. und Pangeometrie* je raziskoval štiri dimenzije prostora. Svoje znamenite projekcije – *PROUN-e* – je tako umestil v t. i. iracionalni prostor, povezan s konceptom četrte dimenzije.

Prek raziskovanja novih dimenzij prostora in časa so avantgardisti prišli tudi do novih načinov dožemanja napredka, ki ni razumljen zgolj

kot neskončna linearna progresivnost v času in prostoru. Uveljavljeno premočrtno logiko nadomestijo z novo dinamiko: namesto dualizma najdemo primere polifonije (ki na eni strani lahko vodi v absurd in nesmisel, na drugi pa v vseobsegajočo praznino in belino), srečamo se z abstrakcijo in nemimetično umetnostjo (novo matrico vizualnega), predmeti se dematerializirajo, sploščijo ali razpršijo, celo razletijo v fragmente. Čas zaznamuje Nietzschejevo večno vračanje, spiralno gibanje oz. izmenjavanje mirovanja in gibanja (dinamizem Malevičevega brezpredmetnega sveta, ki na svojih platnih odpravi celo zakon gravitacije). Vse to nas sili v razmišljanje in urjenje pogleda za nove pogoje, v katerem se lahko razvijajo novi gibi in rutine, osnovane na principih odrasti, nedelovanja in antihorizonta, ne da bi to nujno videli kot nazadovanje ali uničenje.

Kot enega od pomembnih elementov zgodovinskih avantgard, ki doprinašajo k preizpraševanju vrednosti virov in osnovnih dimenzij bivanja, lahko opredelimo tudi spremenjeno percepcijo ter relativizacijo časa in prostora. Nove tehnologije že vse od Wagnerjevega koncepta *Gesamtkunstwerk* in njegovih operno-produkcijskih praks ponujajo objektivno, tehnizirano reprezentacijo alternativnih (audio) vizualnih oziroma večzaznavnih resničnosti, ki so lahko tudi sočasne. Videti oziroma izkusiti nekaj, kar ni del naše vsakodnevne izkušnje, je sicer v zgodovini že pri šamanih ali pri srednjeveških mistikih predstavljalo osrednje orodje dostopa do alternativnih resničnosti (Packer). V eni od izjemno priljubljenih tretjeosebniških akcijskih avantur znotraj naglo rastoče industrije računalniških igraric *Control* (2019) podjetja 505 Games je prav odprta zasnova prostora dogajanja tista, na kateri igra gradi napetost in pričakovanje pri uporabniku. Prostori, v katerih se odvija razmeroma nepremočrtna pripoved, se generirajo sproti glede na poprejšnje odločitve igralca, pa tudi povsem naključno, kar je oprto na kompleksne algoritme in deloma tudi na strojno učenje. Ob igranju igre izkusimo nekakšno relativizacijo časa, ki (vsaj navidezno) izpodbija smiselnost oziroma sosledje dogajanja ter fizikalnih pravil in logičnih zakonitosti, ki ga usmerjajo. Ta pravila in zakonitosti se lahko sredi igričarske izkušnje tudi močno sprevržejo ali postanejo povsem neuporabna. Objekti in bitja se gibljejo skozi čas in prostor na načine, ki bi jih človek v svoji siceršnji izkušnji okolja in sebe samega težka prepoznal za mogoče, kaj šele verjetne.

Mirror-Space (2005) Brigitte Zics predstavlja interaktivno in internetno povezano umetniško instalacijo, ki uporabniku predoči lastno zrcalno podobo, obogateno z mnogimi internetnimi podatki, pridobljenimi v realnem času obiska instalacije. Ti podatki v odvisnosti od

gibanja obiskovalca krmilijo velikost, položaj in izgled zrcalne podobe, ki se po zapustitvi instalacije preseli v navidezni prostor, kjer zaživi nekakšno avtonomno življenje skupaj z drugimi reprezentacijami poprejšnjih obiskovalcev. A tudi te modificirane zrcalne slike nimajo neomejenega roka trajanja, postopoma jih namreč izpodrivajo nove podobe naslednjih obiskovalcev. Vse to privede do stapljanja (sledi) različnih porekel medijskih oblik in s tem do izkušnje neskončnega toka medosebnih vtisov, generiranih v realnem, a kibernetško modificiranem prostoru in času.

Razširjeni čuti, transhumanizem

»Novi človek«, človek prihodnosti je predstavljal eno od glavnih tem avantgarde. Navdih za nove sposobnosti človeka so avantgardisti črpali tako iz novih tehnoloških zmožnosti in estetike stroja kot tudi iz že omenjenih novih odkritij v naravoslovju. Velja omeniti tudi velik vpliv, ki so ga na avantgardistične ideje o transformaciji človeka in družbe imeli filozofsko-mistični nauki ezoteričnih učiteljev, kot so P. D. Uspenski, Georgij Gurdžijev in začetnik kozmistične miselnosti Nikolaj F. Fedorov (Rosenthal). Podobno kot je bil jezik za futuriste »okamenel«, so bili tudi človeški čuti in telo zastareli; nekaj, kar je bilo treba preseči. Večdimenzionalnost in koncept četrte dimenzije sta avantgardistom ponudila priložnost, da o človeku razmišljajo na nov način tudi skozi možnost oživitve percepcije. Poleg kubističnih in futurističnih del, ki kažejo novo vizualno perspektivo, je v tem kontekstu zanimiv umetniški projekt slikarja in skladatelja Mihaila Matjušina, ki se je ukvarjal s človeškim gledanjem in percepcijo. Matjušin je v dvajsetih letih 20. stoletja razvil obsežno teorijo, imenovano *Zorved* (»zrenje« in »védenje«), ki združuje čut za vid z védenjem oz. znanjem. Svoje ideje je raziskoval v znanstvenih in umetniških eksperimentih razširjenega gledanja. Matjušin je verjel v možnost videnja drugih dimenzij, zato je bila četrta dimenzija zanj izjemno pomemben teoretski koncept. Novi človek v avantgardi je nadgrajen z novo tehnologijo, hkrati pa je za novo videnje mikro- in makrosveta predvsem zaslužna nova epistemologija, ki vodi v novo (kozmistično) ontologijo človeka. Ta postaja eno z vsem, kar obstaja. S tem se ponovno vrši kritika logike pozitivizma in realizma, saj namesto racionalnega in vzročno-posledičnega postane pomemben vidik človekova intuicija in že omenjeni princip naključja, kar je posebej prisotno v dadaizmu in nadrealizmu.

Celih osem let pred že omenjenim delom *Mirror Space* je leta 1997 umetniški svet pretresla tehnološko kompleksna in izjemno napredna potopitvena instalacija *Osmose* Char Davies. V njej uporabnik na podlagi zajema dihanja (skozi senzorje, nameščene na telesu) navigira skozi navidezen prostor slike in zvoka ter se ob meditativni pripovedi poveže s (takrat še nizkoločljivostnimi) virtualnimi objekti in bitji. V veliko višji ločljivosti in neposredni odzivnosti je leta 2018 hkratno dihanje več različnih uporabnikov algoritemsko usklajevalo in vizualno reprezentiralo delo *We Live in an Ocean of Air* kolektiva Marshmallow Laser Feast, ki je ob možnosti hkratne izkušnje za več obiskovalcev ponudilo tudi bolj jasne tematske reference na okoljsko krizo ter možnosti njene refleksije na presečišču znanosti in umetnosti.

Delo Stahla Stenslieja, enega od pionirskih raziskovalcev in avtorjev kibernetike umetnosti *cyberSM*, iz leta 1993 predstavlja deloma spekulativno, deloma pa povsem funkcionalno napravo za telematičen spolni stik s prostorsko oddaljenim telesom partnerja, ki je posebej prirejeno za sadomazohistične spolne prakse. Omogočalo naj bi vizualno, zvočno in taktilno povezovanje z oddaljenim drugim v realnem času, pri čemer je takratna tehnologija (v prvem letu javne dostopnosti svetovnega spleta) dovoljevala zgolj vnose na ravni besedila. Ob inovativnih s(t)imulacijskih podatkovnih oblekah je projekt omogočal tudi anonimnost na podlagi uporabnikovega izbora avatarskih transspolnih identitet, entitet in podob iz ponujene podatkovne zbirke. V kontekstu umetnosti in transhumanizma ne moremo mimo legendarnega performerja in medijskega umetnika Stelarca, ki umetniško raziskuje telo in njegove čute onkraj biološko-fizičnih omejitev. Njegovo delo *Ear on Arm* je le eno od znamenitejših iz bogatega opusa štirih desetletij eksperimentov s področja robotike, internetne umetnosti, biotehnologije, kirurškega spreminjanja telesa ipd. Po Stelarcovih performansih in telesnih razširitvah *Third Arm* (dodatna roka, ki so jo krmilili elektromagnetni signali) ter *Virtual Arm* (ki so jo krmilili senzorji v podatkovni rokavici) si je avtor zamislil še dodatno uho kot nov, zmogljivejši vmesnik za komuniciranje z (oddaljenim) okoljem po spletu.

Sistemiški pogled na svet, posthumanizem

Nov pogled na človeka in njegove zmožnosti je hkrati porajal nove smeri razmišljanja o svetu in njegovi ureditvi. V zgodnjih avantgardnih praksah je tak pogled največkrat povezan s principi že omenjenega kozmizma in organicizma, ki govorita o medsebojni povezanosti, odprtosti

in dialogu med živim in neživim. Tovrstna naravnost je tudi izhodišče dela avantgardnega umetnika in arhitekta Vladimirja Tatlina, ki je eksperimentiral z novimi materiali in poskušal preoblikovati vsakdanje predmete tako, da bi vplivali na celotno družbo. Znan je predvsem po svojih nefunkcionalnih oblikovalskih zasnovah letala *Letatlin* in po *Spomeniku tretji internacionali* ter po preoblikovanju vsakdanjih predmetov, kot so čajniki, delovna oblačila in drugi objekti, ki nikoli niso prišli v množično proizvodnjo. Za njegovo delo so značilni koncepti »organskega konstruktivizma« (Srebnik 484–489), obrtniškega dela in »humanizirane tehnologije« (Zhadova). Tatlin je uporabljal novo tehnologijo in se osredotočal na novo družbo, ki bo šele nastala, hkrati pa je ostal vedno povezan z naravo in preteklostjo. Predmete je skušal postaviti v dialog z okolico, želel jih je vključiti v živ in povezan sistem ter jim dati dialoški značaj v živem ekosistemu, ki se izmika atomizaciji in optimizaciji.

Podobno motiviran je bil *Delovni krog* (madž. *Munka-kör*) madžarske avantgardne skupine, ki se je zbirala okrog Lajosa Kassáka. Sestavljali so jo umetniki, študenti in mladi delavci in je imela pomemben vpliv na delavsko gibanje poznih 20. in 30. let. Še danes je takšna formacija posameznikov ključna pri opredeljevanju vzdržnega delovanja ali odrasti, solidarnosti in medsebojne podpore ob problematiziranju konceptov koristnosti in neuporabnosti ter nadalje pri problematiziranju izkoriščanja in prekarnega dela. Še več, avantgardni *Delovni krogi* kažejo, kako pomembne so prakse kartiranja in mreženja virov, orodij in materialov, ki so lahko uporabni v času ekoloških kriz, vendar so praviloma razumljeni kot neuporabni v današnji informacijski družbi.

Hibridno animirano infografično delo Vladana Jolerja z naslovom *New Extractivism* (2022) prikaže položaj posameznika kot uporabnika sodobnih informacijskih tehnologij, ki je podvržen sistematični korporativni ekstrakciji. Prikazuje in kritično razpravlja o nekaterih najbolj perečih vprašanih sodobnega platformnega kapitalizma. Skozi vizualizacije in tiskovine, ki jih avtor razume kot znanstveno-umetniški asembláž, spremlja pa jih spletno razširjana animacija, nadgrajena z avtorjevo lastno pripovedjo, naj bi se občinstvo opolnomočilo na podlagi zamenjave zornega kota. Z združevanjem elementov zemljevida (kot avtorjev »poskus predstavitve nadgradnje ali celotnega pogleda«) in vodnika (ki »se ukvarja s posameznimi koncepti in alegorijami«) delo bogatijo še izdatne opombe, s čimer avtor skuša ponuditi holističen »načrt nadgradnje, podobne stroju ali super alegoriji [...] skoraj fraktalno alegorično strukturo« (Joler). Podobno je delo interdisciplinarne skupine Disnovation.org, ki ne le da nazorno prikazuje paradokse

sodobne potrošniške in hiperinformatizirane družbe, temveč poskuša tudi prispevati predloge in orodja za njihovo razreševanje. V kompletu tako imenovanih kritičnih iger *Post-Growth Toolkit* (2020) ponudijo preplet znanstvenih in spekulativnih literarno-pripovednih orodij, ki igralcem (oz. uporabnikom orodjarne) ponudijo nabor bolj trajnostnih rešitev za vsakdanje življenje. Delo *Post-Growth Prototypes* (2021) dopolni omenjeno orodjarno s kritičnimi (animiranimi in video) eseji, ki vsebujejo kritične študije primerov naprednih konceptov, kot so solarni dohodek, radikalni energetski prehod oziroma odrastniški izhod iz antropocena z novo odgovornostjo človeka do biosfere.

Kot zadnji zares vseobsegajoč primer intermedijske umetniške prakse, ki spekulativno posega na mnoga področja človeškega bivanja znotraj različnih ekosistemov, velja izpostaviti sklop projektov *Terra 0*, katerega avtorji od leta 2018 razvijajo prototipna okolja, zgrajena na omrežju Ethereum, da bi zagotovili avtomatizirane okvire odpornosti določenega ekosistema. Z vzpostavitvijo t. i. »decentralizirane avtonomne organizacije« na vrhnjih plasteh zemlje želijo ustvariti tehnološko razširjene ekosisteme, ki bi bili odpornejši in bolj sposobni delovati znotraj vnaprej določenega niza pravil v ekonomski sferi, in sicer kot samostojni agenti: gozd tako samostojno rudari kriptovaluto in odloča o tem, kako bo spreminjal svojo materialno podstat. Skupina avtorjev verjame, da nam sodobne tehnologije, kot sta npr. daljinsko zaznavanje in strojno učenje, dajejo priložnost ali celo obvezo, da ponovno razmislimo o obstoječih, pogosto neučinkovitih strukturah za upravljanje in regulacijo, ter o tem, kako bi te ob odgovornih izboljšavah lahko odigrale ključno vlogo pri ustvarjanju trajnostne, odporne in biotsko raznolike prihodnosti (Seidler, Hampshire in Kolling).

Sklep

Analiza primerov avantgardne in intermedijske umetnosti v predhodno izpostavljenih tematskih sklopih, ki spodkopavajo dualistično mišljenje in vnašajo nove perspektive v obstoječ vrednostni sistem, je pokazala raznolikost in relevantnost strategij ter umetniških postopkov za vplivanje na človeško percepcijo in razumevanje človeka, pa tudi resničnosti. Moč nove in stare avantgarde za namen opisovanja in ustvarjanja boljše prihodnosti je treba iskati v njuni zmožnosti prestrukturiranja imaginarija in s tem vsakdanjih odnosov ter vzpostavljanja »revolucionarne rutine« (Pedwell). Podobne teze lahko zasledimo tudi v delih teoretikov avantgarde in novih medijev, ki obe umetniški praksi povežejo z

razmišljanjem o transformativnem značaju umetnosti in njenem odnosu do moči, kar bomo predstavili v sklepnem delu članka.⁵

Literarni komparativist Krzysztof Ziarek v knjigi *The Force of Art* predstavi temo transformacije in moči v umetnosti prav z umetniškimi tokovi 20. in 21. stoletja: v zgodnjih avantgardnih gibanjih – futurizmu, kubofuturizmu in dadaizmu, ter pri sodobnih intermedijskih umetnikih, ki delujejo na presečišču znanosti in umetnosti, kot sta Bill Viola in Eduardo Kac. Ziarek vidi moč tovrstnih umetniških del v »sproščujočih silah«, ki so odprte za oblikovanje in postajanje (9). Umetniško silo (*forcework*) razume kot »okrepitev« (*enhancement*), da bi jo ločil od tehniškega načina proizvodnje razmerja sil, katerega cilj je povečanje ali rast (»maksimizacija«) sile, »ki jo lahko izmerimo in objektivno dojamemo kot obliko znanja« (45). Umetniške prakse ne potrjujejo ali reproducirajo tega, kar je (normativno), ampak »okrepijo«, kar je »singularno drugo«: »Medtem ko okrepitev proizvaja drugačen način odnosnosti, ki drugemu (sili) omogoča, da je bolj v biti, to je, da je bolj 'drug', tehniški način postavlja sile v vzorce odnosov, ki silijo v prilaganje normam in strukturam moči, v na učinkovitost vezano odnosnost tehnomoči.« (45) Kot omenjeno, gre v primeru umetniške sile po Ziareku za sproščanje, svobodno prepuščanje, kar v Heideggerjevi terminologiji označi kot *aphesis*, ki zaznamuje izginotje ali izgubo (49). Umetnost nam tako kaže pozitivno razumevanje nemoči in opuščanja oz. nasprotja rasti, povezane s kapitalistično akumulacijo in potrošnjo, ki jo navadno vidimo kot izključno negativno – kot pomanjkanje in izgubo –, na kar nas po Adornu opozarja tudi Ziarek:

Če umetnost razkriva alternativo paradigmam produkcije, mobilizacije in tehnične manipulacije v jedru sodobnih operacij moči, umetniško delo ni nikoli izključno negativno, ampak konstituira tudi »pozitivno«, čeprav paradoksalno, artikulacijo možnosti svobode. »Ne-« v pridevniku »nemočen«, ko je pripisan umetnosti, ne pomeni nujno pomanjkanja moči, temveč kaže na alternativno ekonomijo sil, ki spremeni sestavo moči. V tem smislu nemoč umetnosti ni negativna sodba o umetniških delih, temveč provokativen pokazatelj, da umetnost deluje drugače kot prek dominantnih artikulacij moči. Čeprav je umetnost, tako kot vse ostalo, proizvedena in regulirana v ekonomiji sodobne biti, ki jo poganja moč, se umetnost lahko razbremeni vladajoče konfiguracije moči in odpre alternativno modalnost odnosov. Ta zmožnost opuščanja moči, preoblikovanja odnosa in omogočanja njihovih alternativnih konfiguracij tvori paradoksalno silo sodobne umetnosti. (3–4)

⁵ O razmerju estetike avantgardnih gibanj in revolucionarnih politik glej Erjavec.

Podobno transformativno nalogo nove in stare avantgarde, katerih bistvo ne zajame zgolj kazanje vizije boljše prihodnosti in gradnja utopije, vidi tudi kuratorica in teoretičarka medijske umetnosti in kulture Olga Goriunova, ki zapiše:

Avantgarda zagriže v jedro razpoložljivih sredstev, skozi katera stvari postanejo, da ustvari načine, na katere lahko takšni procesi konstitucije postanejo novi. [...] Avantgarda se vključi v postajanje, preden se razsloji, in poskuša doseči ne le drugačno aktualizacijo, ampak drugačen način postajanja. Ne ukvarja se le s končnim izdelkom, raztrga proces njegove izdelave, da bi pomnožila, spremenila ali vplivala na proces in proizvedla materialistično ontološko revolucijo. Tu je estetika avantgarde neposredno udeležena v življenju. (262–263)

Nove načine za aktualizacijo avantgarde v sodobnem času išče tudi profesor in teoretik umetnosti in estetike John Roberts, ki meni, da avantgarda ni historična kategorija (čeprav poudari, da ne gre zanemariti zgodovinskih okoliščin in pomembnosti revolucije za nastanek avantgarde) in da je pravzaprav »nedokončan projekt« (Roberts, »Revolutionary« 138) oz. »odprt raziskovalni program« (141). Poseben intelektualni in kulturni doprinos avantgarde se kaže v tem, da je »postavila parametre za številne raziskovalne prakse in vprašanja o umetnosti, delu, vrednosti in javni sferi, ki so preživeli kontrarevolucijo« (138, 139). Njena vrednost v umetnosti in družbenopolitični realnosti pa presega posplošeno trditev, da gre za »nadomestni znak za revolucionarni ali postkapitalistični kulturni program« (138). V knjigi *Revolutionary Time and the Avant-Garde* Roberts piše o pomenu t. i. »avantgardne hipoteze« ter relevantnosti participativnih, angažiranih in relacijskih umetniških praks sodobne avantgarde enaindvajsetega stoletja. Avantgarda se za Roberta nadaljuje kot »sodobna neoavantgarda« tudi v digitalni umetnosti, ki jo zaznamujejo »družbene intervencije, eksperimentalne forme in transformativne akcije ter dogodki s participativnostjo, interdisciplinarnostjo in neumetniškimi kolaboracijami«, pa tudi »nedoločenost, nomadstvo in medsebojna povezanost« ter novi »aktivistični modusi umetnosti in oblike komunalne interakcije« na multiplih družbenih in kulturnih krajih, ki obstajajo zaradi novomedijskih tehnologij (Roberts, »Revolutionary« 139).

Za razliko od aktivista ali tehnika so za Roberta delovni procesi umetnika vedno kritični in neutilitarni; ključna je torej umetnikova »sposobnost proizvajanja neinstrumentalnih 'miselnih eksperimentov' brez neposredne uporabne vrednosti, ki kot taki vračajo estetski razum v univerzalno emancipatorno vsebino: svobodno, neodtujeno delo« (Roberts, »Revolutionary« 140). Kot osrednji kategoriji avantgardne

umetnosti se izpostavljata distanca in negacija (140, 141). To je tudi razlog, da je avantgardna umetnost še danes razumljena kot sestavni del emancipatornih politik znotraj neoliberalne kapitalistične hegemonije, kar je izrazil kritični teoretik Marc James Léger: »Za razliko od takšne metafizike predstavlja avantgarda negativno silo proti organski enotnosti in skupnosti in je na ta način praksiološko dopolnilo emancipatornim politikam.« (Léger, »The Idea« 9) Pri avantgardi torej ne gre za gradnjo vizije enotnosti; pot, ki jo opravi avantgarda, gre vedno v smeri razveljavitve, izničenja, pa tudi odnehanja in prekinitve.

V svoji zadnji monografiji *3E. Estetika, epistemologija, etika špekulativnih i de re medija* umetnostni teoretik Miško Šuvaković poveže zgodovinsko avantgardo s sodobno medijsko umetnostjo ter opozarja na pomembnost razumevanja kreativne prakse tudi na način umika oz. opuščanja in ne zgolj na običajen način uresničevanja potenciala. Pri tem se sklicuje na Agambenovo delo *Creation and Anarchy: The Work of Art and the Religion of Capitalism*, ki razvije Deleuzovo zamisel o ustvarjalnem oz. poetičnem aktu kot aktu upora (»poetika nedelovanja«), kjer pa ne gre preprosto za upor neki zunanji sili, ampak za osvoboditev potenciala, ki je razumljen kot zmožnost zaustavitve ali odložitve dejanja oz. kot privacija. Uveljavljeno gibanje od potencialnosti k njeni realizaciji Agamben obrne v potencialnost nebity in nedelovanja oz. »potencialnosti za temò« (»On potentiality«). Upočasnjevanje in umik iz prevladujočega toka nam po Šuvakoviću nudita možnost videti načine nasprotovanja kapitalistični agendi, ki spreminja vsakršno ustvarjalnost v dobiček in način pospeševanja rasti:

H kreativnosti se moramo vrniti, natančneje, zgraditi jo moramo na nov način in jo izvesti kot osvoboditev potencialnosti – kot brutalno odpiranje potencialnosti, ki omogoča sprožitev akcije in, zame najpomembnejše, njegove/njene refleksije. Ustvarjalnost ni neusahljiv vir energije za zagon novih ciklov kapitalizma, tako kot ni neusahljiv vir energije za izvajanje in vzdrževanje permanentne revolucije v ideologijah realnega socializma. [...] Ustvarjalnost je lahko tudi odnehanje! (Šuvaković 60)

Šuvaković pri tem aludira na še eno pomembno avantgardno strategijo situacionistov – *dérive* Guya Deborda, ki gre proti pasivizaciji in monotonosti družbe spektakla; *dérive* pomeni prepuščanje nadzora in upočasnjevanje gibanja, ki privede do povečanja pozornosti, naključja, tudi dezorientiranosti. Prav tako gre za afirmacijo negacije, za način potrjevanja razlike in uveljavljanja prakse kot alternative prekomerni produkciji in akumulaciji; uperjena je proti dominantnim tokovom, ki pripenjajo človeško pozornost in urejajo telesa v »arhitekturi družbene

kontrole« (Léger, »Psychogeography« 121). Subverzija avtoritete in dominantnega pozitivističnega konstrukta ter spodkopavanje hegemon-
skih vrednot v tovrstnih umetniških praksah prestrukturirata imagina-
rij. Odpirata nas za spremembe osnovnih matric delovanja in mišlje-
nja, kar omogoči modeliranje novih družbeno-kulturnih odnosov in
formacij. To pa je tudi glavna naloga današnje avantgarde, za katero je
(podobno kot pri »stari« avantgardi) osrednjega pomena kritična vklju-
čenost v sedanjo družbeno resničnost, na drugi strani pa deklarativno
in izkušnjsko ustvarjanje novih pogojev za revolucionarne imaginarije.

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Changing Imaginaries of Progress and Growth in Avant-Garde and Intermedia Art Practices

Keywords: art and society / avant-garde / intermedia art / ecocriticism / ideology of growth / post-capitalism

This article connects the artistic avant-garde from the beginning of the twentieth century on the one hand and today's intermedia and socially engaged artistic practice on the other. The central thesis is that the presented examples of works of art manifest concepts and models for thinking and living beyond the imperative of growth and continuous progress. Such artistic strategies are presented through five topical sets including laziness and disappearance, cosmopolitanism and universal language, alternative representations of space/time, transhumanism, posthumanism, and systemic worldview. Just as avant-gardes used to criticize industrial or modern society, so today intermedia art contributes to the restructuring of the imaginary of growth, capitalist production and consumption. The article thus advances the conceptual understanding of post-growth and degrowth in the field of art and humanities, showing how precisely art may enable a positive understanding of powerlessness and release or the opposite of growth which is usually understood as exclusively negative—as lack and loss.

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“Between the East and the West”: Vladimir Bartol’s Self-Identification between Central European Ljubljana and Mediterranean Trieste (1946–1956)

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The article addresses Vladimir Bartol’s fluid self-identification in relation to changeable places of his stay in the first decade after the Second World War. The writer’s constant oscillation between Trieste and Ljubljana was accompanied by the shift in perspectives (minority/majority) and cultural/linguistic dualities which render the Slovenian literature in Italy with existentialist overtone. Bartol’s return to Trieste problematized his self-understanding not only in spatial terms but also with respect to overlapping temporalities (Habsburg multicultural free port of the past versus the present Cold-War image of the city). Consequently, his stay in Trieste gave way to the extensive personal writing which is also the paper’s main source (autobiography and unpublished fragments of diary). Drawing inspiration from the spatial turn and applying the phenomenological prism of experience of certain places, the author attempts to present Bartol’s self-identification reconfigured in alignment with his post-war existential topography stretched between Central European Ljubljana and Mediterranean Trieste.

Keywords: Slovenian literature in Italy / Bartol, Vladimir / cultural identity / Trieste / Mediterraneanness / Central Europe

Introduction: Triestine dualities

Where is Trieste? Where does it belong to? To the East, to the West or to a “a no-man's land”? (Campanile 147).¹ Geographical frontiers in this intermediate area between eastern and western Europe as well as metaphorical boundaries between reality and imagination have proved to be debatable and porous throughout history. In “that most slippery of spaces [...] caught on the edge of three worlds” (Waley 245), the Romance, Slavic and German heritages coexist in a Central European spiritual triad. This multiculturalism was embodied in the fate of Triestine writer Scipio Slataper, who described himself as “Slavic-German-Italian” (Biagio 59) and defined Trieste as “a place of transition” where everything “[...] is double and triple, beginning with its flora and ending with its ethnicity” (Slataper qtd. in Cary 46). This multiplicity leaves the imprint on personality as well. Dragan Velikić characterized the Triestine *milieu* as a source of dualities with a direct impact on self-identification. “Trieste has been from time immemorial radiating duality and this also marked its writers” (Velikić 70), for instance Italo Svevo. The commercialist Ettore Schmitz chose the pseudonym Svevo “to stress his double sense of belonging” (Campanile 150) or even triple considering besides German and Italian components of his identity also the Jewish one. This simultaneous presence of many personalities made Schmitz/Svevo write his life-story in the first person plural instead of singular.

Triestine dualities in form of double perspective (ethnic minority/majority) and the oscillation between cosmopolitan openness and centripetal nationalism also marked one of the representatives of Slovenian literature in Italy, Vladimir Bartol, born in 1903 in the village close to Trieste, Saint Ivan (now the city's quarter). In the aftermath of the Great War and the demise of the Habsburg Empire, when Italy annexed the Julian March (former Austrian Littoral), he left his homeland together with his family. In 1919 they moved to Ljubljana. Aware of embodying the dual perspective himself, Bartol, at some point explicitly expressed his kinship with Svevo. Both writers had much in common: inspiration with psychoanalysis, cultural and linguistic duality underpinned by isolation, and consequently late recognition of their works (Bartol, “Demonija”).² Bartol was schizophrenically viewing himself as

¹ Campanile defined Trieste in reference to Hermann Bahr's definition of this city in terms of “a no-man's land” and “a border between states” equivalent to a sense of not-belonging.

² Manuscript Collection of Vladimir Bartol, Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts

oscillating between Trieste and Ljubljana, the perspective of minority and majority. Even after his return to the homeland, he felt a stranger (Bartol, *Mladost* 175). Bartol as a "Triestine apparition" (Poljaz 1–2; Košuta, *Scrittura* 105)³ Remaining beyond national literary canons and established national formulas of identity, for a long time he was overlooked on both sides of the border.

Convinced about a strong influence of space on his literary work, Bartol noticed that this relationship could once in future become of great interest as an "instructive problem" to some psychologist or a literary historian (Bartol, "Balkanijada IX"). Following this intuition, the article addresses the impact of place on Bartol's self-identification in the first, post-war decade when his existential topography was delineated by the two cities: Ljubljana and Trieste. I will focus on his movement between them in the period from 1946, when he came back to Trieste to reconstruct and supervise the cultural life of Slovenians and Croats, until 1956 when due to the lack of Italian consent to prolong his sojourn, he had to return to Yugoslavia (Virk, "Vladimir" 140; Jevnikar 356).

How did Bartol define his self between the East and the West, between Ljubljana and Trieste? This general question will guide further interpretations of his autobiographical writing and fragments of diary (among others, a part titled "Between the East and the West" written just after the war). While his autobiography is published in three volumes, the diaristic notes still await further studies.⁴ As Tomo Virk noted, "due

(hereafter MC, ZRC SAZU). Bartol's awareness of "some strange affinity" to Svevo became especially strong when he realized that the writer's wife was living in the flat once inhabited by his family, just before their translocation to Ljubljana. Bartol was asking himself: "How is it possible that among so many houses the lady lives right here, or better expressed, how could it happen that 40 years ago we received the flat right here?" As he noticed: "Similarly to I. Svevo the same was happening also to me. His first novel was published in 1892 and passed unnoticed. Newspapers did not mention him at all, they pounced on Svevo's poor language and poor command of Italian."

³ Vlasta Polojaz gives an affirmative answer to this question in her essay on Bartol's psychoanalysis and the influence of his experiences of childhood spent in Trieste on his literature. She referred here to Miran Košuta's designation of Slovenian literature in Trieste in terms of "apparition." According to Košuta, the Italian literary history has not recognized the role of Slovenian writers born, living and writing in Trieste in their contribution to the multicultural image of the city. Overlooked they became invisible and ephemeral specters (see Polojaz).

⁴ Only a small part of them was published in fragments in the literary journal *Dialogi* in the 1980s. Some excerpts from 1930–1933 were published in 1982 (no. 4, 5, 6–7, 8–9, 10) and some other notes from 1958–1961 appeared in the same journal in 1983 (no. 1).

to this extensiveness, which is not possible to control totally—for the detailed examination of the entire legacy decades would be needed, it is always possible to expect, that potential future discoveries will complement current findings” (Virk, “Netipični” 78). Considering Bartol’s immense diaristic legacy, the article’s main aim is to suggest one of the possible interpretative paths which, if continued, would require more research and close reading of the author’s manuscripts.

Bartol in Triestine Mediterranean in-betweenness

According to Paul Waley, Trieste is “a powerful vehicle for geographical reflection. It forces us to think geographically, to think about the meanings of place and of affection for place and the expression of this affection in poetry and prose, as in the works of writers such as Italo Svevo and Umberto Saba,” (Waley 246) or Vladimir Bartol and other Slovenian writers. Following Michael Biggins’s remark on the predominant one-dimensional, solely Italian image of Trieste in the western languages, this study will try “to right that imbalance” by putting an emphasis on the Slovenian contribution to the multicultural city (Biggins 100–101). Concerning the methodological framework, the following interpretations revolve around the category of experience, recently widely explored in social sciences and humanities (Wolska 6–9). The article draws on the phenomenological approach applied both to history (David Carr, Frank Ankersmit) and space (Tim Ingold) which allows to conceptualize history in terms of individual experience and view space as a place of dwelling. The paper also refers to the spatial turn which, offering a particular terminology and understanding of place, helps to reconstruct self-identifications shaped in relation to space.

When life ceases to be an evident, given phenomenon but always questioned in an encounter with cultural otherness, as it happens in the borderland areas such as Trieste, it becomes “grounded in idea and literature.” In this “paper city,” where life is lived “under protection of literature,” it is the latter that allows to “convert uncertainty of one’s identity into a travel in search for it, that means a more authentic identity” (Magris 308–309). This existential understanding of writing marked the Slovenian literature in Italy and thus also Bartol’s *oeuvre*. As Marija Pirjevec and Miran Košuta claim, the particular historical and cultural experiences of Slovenians in Italy gave way to a certain typology of Slovenian borderland literature, distinguishing it from both the Italian literature and the one of the Slovenian hinterland

(M. Pirjevec, *Tržaški* 13, 24; *Na pretoku* 10, 14; "Zgodovinski oris" 19; Košuta, *E-mejli* 28).

Trieste's cultural status of a mediator between Italy and *Mittleuropa* entailed a search for identity within local literature (Pizzi, *A City* 38–43). Moreover, the Triestine intersection of changeable and complex identities nurtured the existentialist understanding of literature which manifests in "a robust autobiographism," (Pizzi, "Triestine" 147) "an inclination towards exaggerated introspection, hostility towards rhetoric, and a moral impulse" (Campanile 152). This dominant existentialist tone gave way to Bartol's extensive autobiography written in the 1950s during his stay in Trieste. It was published in fragments in the local Slovenian journal *Primorski Dnevnik* (Virk, "Vladimir" 141, 144).

In the autobiography there is an image of a young boy following his father's indications on a big map presenting changeable battlefronts during the Great War. This image served Bartol as an exemplary manifestation of his two instincts in relation to time ("historical sense") and space ("geographical instinct") (Bartol, *Romantika* 155–158). The writer viewed space as an important factor having an impact on one's perception and literary production. Given that he spent more than one-third of his life in Trieste (26 years), it goes without saying that the city's *milieu* essentially influenced his literature and self-understanding. As Košuta argues, Bartol's strong bond with Trieste manifested in more or less explicit "geospiritual influence" on his writing ("palimpsest multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and borderland character of the birthplace"). Košuta discerns in the writer's *oeuvre* a strong influence of *tržaškost* (multicultural identity of Trieste) (Toroš 19–30) expressed in "topos, themes, motives, ambiances, feelings, problems and even linguistic peculiarities of 'the city in the bay'" (Košuta, "Tržaški" 73–87).

Bartol's literary articulation of Trieste was nourished by "imaginary-historical space" marked with "at least two, unknown to central Slovenia typological peculiarities: *Mediterraneaness* and *multiculturalism*" (Košuta, *E-mejli* 40–43; Košuta, *Scrittura* 137). In the diaristic notes taken after the Second World War when the political status of Trieste was still uncertain, Bartol argued that due to the city's mediatory character as a sphere between the East and the West, it could become a center of a new, Mediterranean, cultural entity. He expressed his wish to convert Trieste into a place where diverse elements would intermingle and create a new cultural world. Already before his sojourn in the city by the hill of Saint Just in the aftermath of the war, Bartol was reflecting on "how to activate a symbiosis of the eastern and western cultures, Slavic and Romance elements, a new, specific culture upwards

of this place. Out of this symbiosis, some new, fresh Mediterranean culture would emerge which would absorb dynamics and storminess of the East and Apollinianness and sense for measurement of the West” (Bartol, “Balkanijada X Trst, 20.III. [47]”). The two elements in a complementary and reciprocal combination could coexist and contribute to some new cultural universe. One of its important features would be “a ‘Mediterranean clarity’: perhaps just in Trieste it will be possible to formulate definite problems of the ‘East’ much more clearly and easily” (Bartol, “Balkanijada IX Trst. Trst, VI. zvezek, Dvoživkarstvo, [13. II.47]”). According to Bartol, the Mediterranean character of Trieste could enable to look at the challenges (social, political?) posed by the East in another light depriving them of their burdensome complexities which in the end would strip the eastern communism of dogmatism with the help of realism.⁵

When historically contextualized, Bartol’s vision of Mediterranean Trieste becomes a response to the post-war more and more polarized political situation in Europe. In the city where the Iron Curtain (no matter how porous) would soon descend, the writer perceived himself as placed by fate on “Al Araf,” the line which in “Koran” divides heaven from hell and thus the two worlds of redemption and damnation. Trieste and its Mediterranean character could present to Bartol a certain remedy to this widening Cold War rift. The decade-long oscillation between the two different worlds enabled him to broaden the perspective by the possibility of a simultaneous look at the two opposite directions (Bartol, “Med Vzhodom in Zapadom”). Additionally, his image of the Triestine Mediterranean culture seems to be a project not devoid of political overtone. Bartol viewed his official position in Trieste as the one forming part of “‘the first line,’ head of the spear directed against the West so that it tears the old, falling world” (Bartol, “Balkanijada X Trst”).

Bartol’s references to Trieste as a place of the necessary eastern ideological infiltration of the West should be placed in a broader, historical context of Slovenian political endeavors since 1848, namely Slovenian

⁵ Bartol was against the dogmatic identification with the official aesthetic doctrine of Socialist realism. As he remarked: “In opposition to social realism I put: universal realism. Realism in everything; in all phenomena: in psychological, sociological, material, moral. In observation, in ideology, in dialectics.” Consequently, instead of an outright identification with a specific political or artistic doctrine, Bartol was only approaching it in some aspects. As he underlined in one of the diaristic notes from 1945: “I need for myself to be always a bit ‘below,’ ‘in the background,’ that I have always still a top in front of me. Full recognition, I am afraid, could mean my standstill, standstill of my creative force.” (Bartol, “Vzhod in Zapad IV”)

fight for access to the Adriatic Sea (J. Pirjevec, *Trst* 11–13). The writer shared the view already established in the Slovenian scholarship which claims that city belongs to the hinterland. Following this logic, Trieste, regarded as the Italian island surrounded by the Slovenian countryside, also naturally pertains to the Karstic hinterland and politically, economically to Yugoslavia. Considering that at the beginning of the twentieth century Trieste was the biggest Slovenian city surpassing Ljubljana, it acquired an important role during the Slovenian struggle for national recognition. With the access to the sea, the city promised to Slovenians the end of isolation (Ara and Magris 66–67, 144). Trieste was thus of vital importance and the Adriatic question, resurfacing more vividly in the moments of territorial rearrangements, remained open till its official solution in the 1950s and also engaged Bartol.

After the Second World War, there were three possible solutions to the "Trieste question" envisaged during the Paris Peace Conference: the city's return to Italy, its annexation to Yugoslavia or a buffer state of Free Territory of Trieste. The latter option prevailed although in fact remaining unrealized (Sluga, "Trieste" 295–296). Slovenians were divided in their perceptions of the city's desirable fate. Besides supporters of Josip Broz Tito who fostered the idea of Trieste as a basis for the eastern ideological infiltration of the West, there were right-oriented Slovenians (Christian-liberal) who fought for the Free Territory of Trieste having in mind the western infiltration of the East. Furthermore, there were also Slovenians who after Tito's withdrawal from the Cominform in 1948 were closer to the Stalinist political line and Vittorio Vidali. The final demarcation of the western border in 1954 only entrenched the divisions between Slovenians in Trieste (J. Pirjevec, *Trst* 419, 483). Shortly after his return to the city by the hill of Saint Just, Bartol became a member of the Slovenian-Italian antifascist union for the Free Territory of Trieste, the movement supporting Tito's Yugoslavia. Additionally, he tried to become a member of the communist party (Košuta, "Komentar" 326).⁶

Until 1954 Trieste continued to be an international issue provoking many tensions. The ideologically and nationally polarized inner situation was marked with manifestations organized either in sup-

⁶ Even though the communist party was doubtful regarding his application, the writer declared that while waiting for the decision he would behave "as if he were accepted." For more information concerning Bartol's opinion about the situation in Slovenia during the Second World War and attitude towards communist ideology which in the end also resulted in his unsuccessful attempts to become a member of the party see the writer's interview with Ljenko Urbančič as well as Virk, "Komentar."

port of Yugoslavia or Italy (Košuta, “Komentar” 323). The city’s fate was dependent on the relations between the great political powers. Suspended between the West and the East, the inhabitants breathed the air imbued with feelings of loss and disorientation. In fact, stateless, “with no control over their destiny, at the mercy of the vagaries of international geopolitics,” they found themselves in a specific “political and cultural limbo” (Bialasiewicz and Minca 1097; Minca 268). The post-war indeterminate international status of Trieste had to be experienced by its inhabitants as extremely peculiar if Bartol chose this place as the setting of one of his short stories in which the main hero, a noble Englishman, sir Oliver Burke suffering from a strange indisposition of “*nihil admirari*” desperately searches for a source of astonishment. Having visited almost all the most distant corners of the world and experienced the most exotic phenomena, which, however, did not surprise him, the main protagonist finally succeeded in finding the desired sense of bewilderment in post-war Trieste (Bartol, “Zgodba” 40–74).

Trieste as a microcosm of European modernity and phenomena which shaped the twentieth century (psychoanalysis, fascism, antisemitism), was certainly a place that easily provided many different sources of bemusement. Bartol, upon his return in 1946 and having in mind Trieste in which he had come of age, namely the city under the Austro-Hungarian rule, was assuredly also bewildered by many contradictory aspects of new, post-war Trieste under Anglo-American administration. Referring to the image of the city delineated in one of his novellas, Bartol could find himself in an uneasy situation of in-betweenness

between black marketeers and allies, between fascists and communists, between black people, Italians, and Slovenians, between refugees of all shades, between Ustashas and chetniks, between experienced Anglo-American colonizers, between partisans and war orphans, between Jews, exiles and Annamites, between prostitutes and long-skirt Christian democrats, between an armada of unemployed;— in short in our old magnificent Trieste by the Adriatic, [...] between the West and the East. (Bartol, “Tržaška” 17)

Bartol’s amphibiousness and “wayfaring” between Trieste and Ljubljana

Spatial frames of self-identification become especially susceptible to problematization while travelling and if cultural contexts are often changed. After the Second World War, the main reference points on Bartol’s existential topography were the two cities: Trieste and

Ljubljana. While he was fulfilling his professional duties in Trieste, in Ljubljana he had his family and acquaintances from literary circles who made him revisit this city frequently, sometimes almost every week for a couple of days (Bartol, "Balkanijada X. Trst. Vrhovni princip"). The city attracted Bartol not only because of the present familial ties but also due to the past experiences. In Ljubljana he was studying, made first attempts in a literary world and experienced many youthful adventures, love (Bartol, "Balkanijada IX"). His often travels from one city to another made him compare himself to a creature that needs simultaneously two environments to survive. He perceived this amphibiousness as "a very well-chosen combination" necessary for his literary creation and ascent as a writer.⁷

Change of place shapes the way of writing. In one of his diaristic notes Bartol remarked: "Besides, it is interesting to observe, how strongly a *milieu* also influences the psychological constitution itself, thoughts, triggering of ideas." Consequently, a context where a story is written inevitably leaves its imprint which does not necessarily accord with the story's imagined background. As Bartol recalled his work in Ljubljana, even though he aimed to overcome the city's general atmosphere of provinciality by placing his literary imagined universe within a "great world" of western metropolis, the outcome was "the Parisian stories" with an Alpine spirit of mountain pastures reminding more of Slovenia than of the western world (Bartol, "Balkanijada IX").

Interestingly, a particular remedy for this Slovenian provincialism emerged with a more open, vigorous Serbian context and Belgrade which in the interwar period with tripled number of population "was on a steady, though not necessarily linear, trajectory of modernization, urbanization, and Europeanization" and outpaced in its growth other Yugoslav cities such as Zagreb, Sarajevo and Ljubljana (Babović 5–6). In Belgrade in 1933 Bartol experienced "a dynamic pace of society developing into capitalism" which made on him "the mighty although not entirely delightful impression" and also influenced his writings (Bartol, "H kritikam" 212). The atmosphere of the Yugoslav capital enabled the writer to gain and then also apply in his literary work a wider perspective. Furthermore, the social structure in both cities, Ljubljana and Belgrade, was different as "the Yugoslav capital did

⁷ For Bartol's attitude to Ljubljana see Dolgan who emphasizes that for Bartol it was more convenient to live in Trieste than in Ljubljana just after the war. "Trieste due to the Allied 'capitalist' orientation soon in terms of living standards, cultural pulse and openness surpassed Ljubljana which was engulfed by collectivism, nationalization, staged trials, socialist realism and restrictions on creative freedom." (Dolgan 345)

not have a historic aristocracy or an established bourgeoisie before the Great War” (Babović 6). Therefore, less conservative Belgrade aspiring to become a modern European metropolis was more receptive to the present challenges such as for instance artistic inspirations coming from abroad. The Yugoslav main city diffused a spirit which to Bartol seemed more realistic. Even in Ljubljana, he tried to project some of this realism on his artistic production (Bartol, “Balkanijada IX”).

Bartol’s belief in the decisive role of spatial frames in shaping his literary work also reveals in his hypothetical considerations about a form which his most internationally famous novel “Alamut” would have taken if he had written it not in Slovenia but Serbia, Belgrade. In the same vein, the writer noticed an interesting divergence between the notes taken in Trieste and before his arrival there, as well as the difference between plans for writing and the outcome which emerged due to the change of place. What Bartol intended to write, when already written in a different spatial context, would very often assume another shape from the one planned: “It seems to me, that what differs (at least a bit) is also writing, which I brought in head from Ljubljana and here I put on paper and *vice versa*.” (Bartol, “Balkanijada IX”) The outcome did not meet expectations, and it was a change of place which introduced this discrepancy.

Each city possesses a unique *genius loci* made of different geographical locations, histories and cultural heritages. For Bartol, “an amphibious,” Ljubljana and Trieste represented divergent environments and thus every revisit had to entail a certain emotional response to a new context. Diverse ways of framing thoughts incited by the two cities were underlain with different moods and feelings. As the writer emphasized, “intellectual amphibiousness also corresponds to emotional amphibiousness” (Bartol, “Balkanijada IX”). Therefore, the emotional layer also underwent important changes following the switchable urban references of self-identification. While oscillating between the two cities, the writer experienced a specific change of “rhythm of organism, rhythm of thinking and feeling.” After each arrival in Trieste from Ljubljana he needed some days for his organism to calm down (Bartol, “Balkanijada VI”). While every visit to Ljubljana for Bartol was accompanied by “a stage fright,” in familiar Trieste, all anxiety and uneasiness dispersed (Bartol, *Mladost* 11). As if a human organism were a sensitive instrument which, in order to be harmonious, requires some special tuning in alignment with a particular melody of a place. Bartol’s description of his experience of arrivals and departures with regard to the two cities is worth quoting, (notwithstanding the length of citation), as it reflects

well the writer's sensitivity to change of places and his resultant dual self-identification in relation to space.

Coming from Trieste to Ljubljana I often feel somehow cramped, I feel as if there appeared some ring around my brain. [...] And when I arrive from Ljubljana to Trieste, just at the first sight of the sea from Opčine or Nabrežina the horizon somehow widens, I take a wider breath, anxious bonds go off from me. Also before the war I felt a similar confinement in Ljubljana coming from Paris or Belgrade, my passion was not in vain, every so often to look at the world and widen one's horizons. Ljubljana is strong, root-like, profound—and also narrow, narrow-minded, it cannot be hidden. Ljubljana is an outstandingly cultural city, while Trieste and also Belgrade are not, at least not in the same degree. Strange, in this view Ljubljana is rather similar to Paris. [...] Ljubljana forces a man to contemplation, to determined dealing with some (narrow) problem, to depth, to intensive, deep experience, to thoroughness. Whereas Trieste in opposition to this, widens horizons, forces to big perspectives, goes "widely and highly." In Trieste you are more a realist than in Ljubljana. You think more clearly, you feel more clearly. You are open. Ljubljana forces a great man to "greatness in depth," Trieste to "greatness in width and height."

Trieste as a city under the sign of Mercury, because having at its origins trade and economy, could resemble a place where life is strongly marked with realism and pragmatism. In this regard, the former commercial harbor of the Habsburg Monarchy was opposed by Bartol with more metaphysical Ljubljana, which as a city dominated by cultural life seemed to him closer to Paris and western Europe in general. While Ljubljana privileged a contemplative look into depths of oneself or a scrutinizing search for roots of some problem, Trieste blurred this focalized and narrow perspective by opening a view at the seemingly endless sea widening the horizon and making a person more open. Suddenly the burden of intricate perception searching for rootedness in the Alpine hinterland could be shed or dissolved by the sea. Moreover, the atmosphere of realism encountered in the Triestine emporium would clarify self-perception, liberating it from a threat of restraining essentialism.

The seaside city relieved Bartol of the confinement he could feel in the Slovenian hinterland surrounded by the Alps where the cultural circles seemed to him devoid of a necessary "valve" (possibly present in Trieste because of the sea?). In Ljubljana, as the writer remarked, "all are somehow irritated, hysterical as if they cannot or must not out of themselves" (Bartol, "Vzhod in Zpad"). Trieste, in this context, presents a relieving counterweight because one glance at the sea may provide with some distance towards oneself opening a valve of escape from one's

confinement within a monad of the inner world (one dominant ideology or identity imposed by the majority). As if the constantly changing surface of the sea reminded its observer of the inevitable passage of time, fluidity and a fleeting nature of all historical phenomena, perceptions, identities. Therefore, the roots taken in “profound” Ljubljana could be undermined with a look at the sea and the metaphysical justification of bonds established between the Alps would evaporate in a more realistic atmosphere of the seaside city. “Anxious bonds go off” together with any seemingly fixed identity—in the Slovenian interior still taken for granted but in Trieste, when faced with different manifestations of otherness, it becomes relative and indeterminate.

Certain spaces, identified with specific “orders of time,” are experienced differently also in terms of perception of time. In this regard, in contrast to the hectic spirit of the port city of Trieste, Ljubljana could make an impression of a place defined by a considerably slower pace of life. In 1947 while roaming along the streets of Slovenian capital, Bartol immersed himself in a sullen mood provoked by an atmosphere of the city similar to the one he had encountered there ten years before as if time were brought to a halt. Was the rhythm of changes in Ljubljana so slow that the only images which could come to mind of its frequent visitor were those from the past? In opposition to Trieste which, as an urban experiment, a fruit of a future-oriented vision of Habsburgs, privileged a continuous focus on the present moment, Ljubljana would acquire a more traditional, conservative character rooted in the past. Furthermore, Bartol defined the temporal orientation of both cities also in ideological terms. While in the Slovenian Littoral he could experience the forward-looking partisan spirit more directly, Ljubljana with its rather conservative trait seemed only reluctantly subjugating itself to the subversive, partisan ideas. Bartol formulated his impressions from one of his stays in the Slovenian main city as follows: “So slow, calm, philister, bureaucratic it seemed to me. Is it because the wide, joyful partisan spirit vanished? Yes, Ljubljana is a heavy, strong city. Heavy is its ambient and it slowly absorbed the entire partisan spirit.” (Bartol, “V. i Z.”)

The decade-long oscillation between Central European Ljubljana and Mediterranean Trieste enabled Bartol on the one hand to assume a privileged position due to a wider and more complete perspective. On the other hand, his amphibiousness implied a certain schizophrenia provoking problematic identity dilemmas. The mediating position between the East and the West makes possible reciprocal enrichments but also poses a threat of double isolation as a result of marginalization

from two sides of the border and from two societies distortedly represented by national identities as homogenous. Bartol experienced both positive and negative aspects of his existential situation marked with in-betweenness.

As "the Littoral Slovenian among continental Slovenians, a fish on dry land" (Košuta, "Tržaški" 86), the writer viewed himself as more open and liberal than his compatriots living in other parts of the country. Bartol explained this clash of worldviews and experiences, referring to his particular origins immersed in the open and multicultural atmosphere of Trieste, foreign to other Slovenians:

A man, who as a child could each day watch ships coming from all the continents of the world and who saw in his birthplace day by day representatives of the most divergent nations, people and races walking along his streets, listened to unknown languages and unknown melodies, necessarily accumulated in his memory different impressions, as a child necessarily indulged in different wishes and fantasies than someone who was born and grew up in the midst of patriarchal peace [...] in a separated from the world Slovenian village and its more or less poetic idyll. (Bartol, *Pot* 293–294)

Bartol found himself in an uneasy situation of double alienation which he described as follows: "In Ljubljana I was a foreigner, they thought it because I am Triestine [...]. Here I was a foreigner for them because they thought that I am from Ljubljana. [...] I am a guest among Slovenians, they accepted me as an annoying intruder." (Bartol, "Zapiski")

In Ljubljana, Bartol experienced isolation predominantly on the artistic plane. As Taja Kramberger noted, the writer's provenience and thus different "social habitus," "*topoi*" and "places of collective memory" (sea, *urbs*, intellectuality, humour) which compose his "literary topography" made him foreign and unaccepted within the "Slovenian literary field" characterised by provincialism, sentimental rusticism and "scholastic antiintellectuality" (Kramberger 889–892). Bartol was a nonconformist escaping the predominant in Slovenia aesthetic classifications. Distant from abiding any clearly defined genre, he wished to elaborate his own formal way of expression. This "multi-genre author" transcended the commonly adopted and expected artistic, mental patterns with his particular attitude to art and approach to the world which combined irony, cynicism, nihilism and Machiavellianism (Belšak 124–135). As an outsider, referencing the dominant aesthetic currents, the writer remarked: "In my notes on numerous places I complain about my loneliness and misunderstanding ..." (Bartol, *Romantika* 269, 275)

Reflecting on his own fate and alternative, untaken paths of life, Bartol concluded that if he had remained in Trieste, he would have become an entirely different person. While in the seaside city he could sense a certain unity with its inhabitants and life in general (“here I am with people and life one”), in Ljubljana he felt more foreign. Many years spent in the Slovenian capital could not mitigate his experience of alienation. Bartol compared himself to a “foreign bird” which as a victim of the locals’ hostility was lost and unaccepted on the Slovenian territory. “The native birds pecked and banished the foreign bird seeking shelter. And where shall it fly away if it cannot go home? In the heights?” He could not go home because with the passage of time it became recognizable only in memory (Bartol, “Balkanijada VI. Trst, 2. VII. 46”). Bartol managed to go beyond this double estrangement founded on excluding national identities and the binary perspective of majority-minority by placing himself within some wider frames of a universal spirit. As he noted: “In reality I was only the messenger of the universal spirit, *der Herold des Weltgeistes*. Erratic bloc, meteor which fell on the earth and by accident on the Slovenian ground.” (Bartol, “Zapiski”) Convinced that life itself forced him to follow the “steep way up,” Bartol perceived his fate as similar to France Prešeren, whose literary work was recognized only posthumously. Misunderstood by his contemporaries, Bartol believed that his original contribution to the Slovenian and world literature would receive a proper recognition in future (Bartol, “Balkanijada VI. Trst, 2. VII. 46”).

Conclusion

Trieste with its flourishing harbor, for centuries attracting a flux of newcomers, became the city of immigrants (Cattaruzza 193)⁸ where arrivals and departures made up discontinuous life-stories tinged by on the one hand uprootedness and on the other hand a search for some bonds. Intermingled nationalism and cosmopolitanism informed inhabitants’ positions depending on their social background, economic and political interests as well as historical circumstances. Given that both cosmopolitanism and irredentism in Trieste were, in Pamela Ballinger’s words, “interrelated ideologies upon which individuals may

⁸ For the study of the role of immigration (“driving factor”) and demographic development in the transformation of the city’s social structure and its fast economic growth see Kalc 12.

draw in different realms or moments," Triestines' self-identifications acquired a changeable character. This coexistence of only seemingly contradictory ideologies was embodied by many Triestine writers who "simultaneously embraced 'nationalist' and 'cosmopolitan' positions in different aspects of their life" (Ballinger 92–93). This duality was also mirrored in Bartol's *oeuvre* which thus could be characterized as both supranational and local, Slovenian. Following this line of interpretation, the writer was described by Košuta as "glocal," on the crossroads of globality and locality (Košuta, "Tržaški" 73–88). Bartol's global openness, trespassing national boundaries, radiates from his past experience of cosmopolitan and to great extent mythologized Habsburg Trieste. Later in the Cold War period the city marked with a tense atmosphere of increasing national divisions shaped the writer's locality.

Multicultural Trieste, where omnipresent otherness led to contingent self-delineations *per negationem* (Ara and Magris 13–16), is also a place reverberating with absence, not only of the past, origins but also of unfulfilled (geopolitical) visions of future. Claudio Minca, who presents Trieste's history through the prism of "ideal geographies of absence" which in 1848 shifted from "cosmopolitan/Mediterranean" to "'national'/territorial," underlines that "dominant imaginations of the city have always been (and continue to be) structured around such 'geographies of absence'—both in ideal terms (absence as a value in itself), as well as in clear opposition to the 'geographies of essence' that sustained the other grand project of European bourgeois modernity: the territorial nation-state." These manifold instances of absence refer to the absence of Italy (Trieste as an orphan), Vienna (Trieste as "Austria's widow"), Istrian Peninsula, Slavic nation-state with Trieste as capital (advocated among Slovenians) as well as a new future-oriented cultural horizon and a political project which could restore to post-war Trieste its bygone cosmopolitan spirit (Minca 269–272). Bartol's experiences of the Triestine reality after the Second World War combined both cosmopolitan (nostalgic) and territorial (future-oriented) "geographies of absence." At one end, faced with the renewed Italian-Slovenian confrontation, the writer sensed a certain absence of the multicultural, cosmopolitan city of his youth. At the other, convinced about Trieste's adherence to the Slovenian hinterland, his experience of absence also related to the unfulfilled but desirable annexation of Trieste to Yugoslavia.

Bartol's self-identification in relation to space in terms of amphibian reveals his topographical imagination and indicates his sensitivity to changeability of places. The writer's amphibiousness shaped by his

decade-long oscillation between Mediterranean Trieste and Central European Ljubljana enriched his self and his literary work but also provoked double isolation. He managed to transcend the sense of alienation by identifying himself with a world spirit (*Weltgeist*) and by the intensified work of memory which could to a certain extent mitigate the temporal discordance between bygone Habsburg Trieste and Free Territory of Trieste, between a mythicized cosmopolitan openness and the Cold War confinement.

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»Med Vzhodom in Zahodom«: Samorazumevanje Vladimirja Bartola med srednjeevropsko Ljubljano in sredozemskim Trstom (1946–1956)

Ključne besede: slovenska književnost v Italiji / Bartol, Vladimir / kulturna identiteta / Trst / mediteranskost / Srednja Evropa

Članek obravnava fluidno samorazumevanje Vladimirja Bartola v povezavi s spremenljivimi kraji njegovega bivanja v prvem desetletju po drugi svetovni vojni. Stalno nihanje pisatelja med Trstom in Ljubljano so spremljale spremembe perspektiv (manjšina/večina) in kulturno-jezikovne dvojnosti, ki so slovensko književnost v Italiji zaznamovale z eksistencialističnim predznakom. Bartolova vrnitev v Trst je postavila pod vprašaj tako njegov odnos do prostora

kot do časa oz. sobivanja preteklega habsburškega multikulturalnega pristanišča v spominu z doživeto hladnovojno podobo mesta. Bivanje v Trstu je tako botrovalo obsežnim zapisom, ki predstavljajo glavni vir članka (gre za avtobiografijo in neobjavljene fragmente dnevnika). Pri predstavitvi Bartolove samoidentifikacije se avtorica navdihuje pri prostorskem obratu ter fenomenologiji. Na ta način skuša prikazati pisateljevo samorazumevanje, rekonfigurirano v skladu z njegovo povojno eksistencialno topografijo, razpeto med srednjeevropsko Ljubljano in sredozemskim Trstom.

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The Paraleptic Effect

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This article examines the alleged narratological paradox of paralepsis. It is argued that the first-person narrators of Moby-Dick, À la recherche du temps perdu and The Great Gatsby (to name but three prominent examples) occasionally display an inexplicable awareness of facts that would be naturally inaccessible to them (knowledge of other people's thoughts, minute familiarity with unwitnessed events, etc.). Paralepsis, as Genette calls it, can be defined as the class of situations in which a first-person narrator seems to exercise the impossible epistemic privilege. This paper argues against the existence of genuine paraleptic events on two levels. First, it is argued that this kind of narration is rarely epistemically paradoxical. Even some of the strongest candidates for paralepsis could be naturalized (the reader can detect possible natural ways in which the narrator might have obtained the seemingly impossible information). Second, even in cases where they cannot be convincingly naturalized, 'paralepses' need not be mysterious. It is often possible to read them (as P. Dawson has done) as "authorial performances." They can be explained as instances of a specific rhetorical procedure that we have termed raconteural narration: a mode of narration in which, for the sake of more convincing exposition, mere conjectures are offered without the usual modal phrases that indicate the speculative quality of such assertions and thus create the erroneous impression of uncanny narrative knowledge.

Keywords: narratology / paralepsis / narrative epistemology / *Moby-Dick* / *À la recherche du temps perdu* / *The Great Gatsby*

"Inexplicable" narratorial knowledge

Chapter 37 of Melville's *Moby-Dick* contains Ahab's famous *madness maddened* soliloquy. Alone in his chamber, restlessly pacing to and fro, the captain of the Pequod is given to the charged rhetorical ostentations and theatrical hand gestures, affronting his own "grim, phantom futures" (Melville 164), solemnly vowing to take revenge on the white whale that bit off his leg: "I now prophesy that I will dismember my dismemberer. Now, then, be the prophet and the fulfiller one. That's more than ye, ye great gods, ever were." (161–162) The vitriolic

soliloquy goes on through much of the chapter. However, we get the impression that something is substantially wrong with the scene the moment we are reminded that the novel itself and, consequently, this episode portraying Ahab's unattended gestures and musings uttered in the private "sacred retreat of his cabin" (118), are narrated in the first-person, by "one Ishmael" (5). Ishmael, "a simple sailor" (3) devoid of "preternatural power[s]" (119), is somehow made privy to "all the subtle demonisms of [Ahab's] life and thought" (177). Vividly and in much detail, he describes the behavior he apparently couldn't have witnessed. Here and in a few other places in the novel, Ishmael seems to authoritatively offer information he "could not [...] possess if [he] functioned exactly like [an ordinary] human being" (Alber, Skov Nielsen and Richardson 363).

Moby-Dick is far from being an isolated example of this "impossible kind of telling" (Pettersen 76). For instance, the crucial scene in the eight chapter of *The Great Gatsby*, the private late-night conversation between Michaelis and Wilson, is narrated by Nick Carraway. Without witnessing the actual event, Nick, as James Phelan has noted, conveys not just the general outline of this private conversation he could have been easily familiarized with (by hearing of it directly from Michaelis) but describes various details that are far too nuanced to be part of any subsequently obtained summary of the event.¹ It appears that Nick, a first-person witness narrator, has somehow usurped the unattainable epistemic privilege of the ubiquitous third-person surveyor. Such a procedure is bound to strike us as an "outrageous 'transgression' of the norms of realistic storytelling" (Pennacchio 24).

However, what is perhaps the most radical example of a narrator exhibiting the unaccountable "excess of knowledge" (Dawson 196) can be traced back to the famous scene of Bergotte's death in Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*. It was Gérard Genette who drew the general attention to what he saw as the straightforward impossibility of the episode. Marcel, the narrator of the novel, while describing the death

¹ Nick's description of the scene contains the "verbatim reports" (Phelan 107) of various unsubstantial conversational turns: "How long have you been married, George? Come on there, try and sit still a minute, and answer my question. [...] Come on, George, sit still—I asked you a question." (Fitzgerald 100) Nick's acute awareness of the surroundings is strangely evocative, not of a person reporting subsequently obtained pieces of information, but of the third-person narrator attentively surveying the scene: "The hard brown beetles kept thudding against the dull light, and whenever Michaelis heard a car [...] it sounded to him like the car that hadn't stopped a few hours before." (100)

of a writer he admires, suddenly offers a strange record of his final thoughts. The narrator appears to demonstrate the impossible “psychological penetration” (Edmiston 729) as he recovers in a puzzling protocol the unrecoverable content of a dying man’s mind, thus exercising the knowledge that remains “irreducible by any hypothesis to the narrator’s information, one we must indeed attribute to the ‘omniscient’ novelist” (Genette 208). Genette uses the term *paralepsis*² to describe this class of narratorial situations in which information provided by the first-person narrator “exceeds his [cognitive] capacities” (Genette 205). These “paraleptic infractions” (Dawson 201) are troubling since they seem to point out the fact that some of the most influential novels (like *Moby-Dick*, *The Great Gatsby*, or *À la recherche du temps perdu*) are built upon paradoxical narratorial inconsistencies.

Nonetheless, someone could reasonably argue that there is no need to overelaborate these fictional occurrences. The most suitable reaction to a first-person narrator conveying pieces of information he cannot possess would be to assume that he is simply lying. The fact that people (be they real or fictional) are capable of asserting outrageous claims hardly seems to constitute a riveting theoretical enigma. To describe such instances as epistemically puzzling appears to be unnecessarily extravagant. However, one could answer to this commonsensical objection that even a lie has to have some epistemic foundation. For example, when a witness commits perjury by claiming that the accused didn’t pull the trigger, such an assertion (though untruthful) is still based on some epistemic foundation (e.g., the assumption that the person testifying was a witness or is somehow familiar with the crime). But what happens when someone authoritatively describes the minutiae of a crime without providing any basis for his claims? Paralepses are troubling because they do not quite follow the *logic* of lying. We would be bewildered by someone “authoritatively” and “sincerely” claiming something that is neither epistemically justified nor styled as a mere conjecture. What does such a person want to achieve with such strange assertions? Something more than the supposition of narratorial dishonesty is needed to explain the paraleptic breach.

It seems that three necessary conditions must be met for any narratorial information to be deemed truly *paraleptic*. Paralepses are the class of narrative situations in which (1) a *first-person* narrator

² “[W]e will christen [this type of alteration] *paralepsis*, since here we are [...] dealing [...] with taking up (-lepsis, from *lambano*) and giving information that should be left aside.” (Genette 195)

exercises (2) *impossible* (3) *epistemic* privilege. When confronted with a paradoxical situation, the reader will usually try to neutralize it. As Dawson puts it, “the theory of paralepsis functions as an interpretive vacuum, in which critics feel compelled to furnish an explanation for a character narrator’s impossible [...] knowledge” (Dawson 199). Thus, when faced with narratorial information that seems paraleptic, we can attempt to dissolve the paraleptic effect (the sense of the straightforward impossibility of the narrator’s knowledge of the event) by arguing that one of the conditions from the abovementioned definition is not actually satisfied. In other words, one could try to claim that (1) a conveyer of “paraleptic” information is not, in fact, a first-person narrator, or that (2) the narrator’s possession of seemingly paraleptic information is possible under some previously unconsidered scenarios that an honest reading of the text allows for, or that (3) the narrator’s “paraleptic” renditions are not genuine pieces of information (i.e., they are devoid of epistemic ambition and value), but merely represent (for example) rhetorical exercises. In the following, we’ll try to evaluate how each of these strategies works in the cases of the three canonical instances of paralepsis (from *Moby-Dick*, *The Great Gatsby*, and *À la recherche du temps perdu*).

The “another voice” hypothesis

It is possible to speak of paralepsis only “if we still think of the first person as a narrator responsible for all words in the narrative” (Alber, Skov Nielsen and Richardson 363). We are generally untroubled by the extent of knowledge of third-person narrators since we assume that epistemic justification (“How do they know the information they convey?”) is already “inscribed” in the act of such narration. Third-person narrators seem to know things by the very convention of storytelling. The paraleptic effect would dissipate, the argument goes, if “we [...] posit a [third-person] voice of the narrative” (Skov Nielsen 132) whenever “substantial and extensive information is relayed which the I-narrator cannot possibly know” (Heinze 288). In such a scenario, the first-person narrators would occasionally share the narratorial authority with some covert third-person presence. For example, there is no reason to insist that Ishmael is the one describing Ahab’s private behavior in chapter 37 of *Moby-Dick* if we can attribute this rendition to some clandestine third-person narrator that occasionally intrudes on Ishmael’s witness accounts and seizes control over the

narrative. Pennacchio has argued that such unannounced shifts to the third-person narratorial perspective are not uncommon in various cinematic narratives. There is a plethora of examples of the character's narration existing simultaneously with segments that are "inconsistent with [the I-narrator's] knowledge" (Pennacchio 35). For instance, in Sam Esmail's *Mr. Robot*, the protagonist is also the witness-narrator, leading us through his experiences (he begins his account by addressing an imaginary, ideal listener with "Hello friend"). However, there are still numerous scenes in the series that can hardly be part of the main character's witness narration since he could not have the direct experience of these events (for example, the murder of his childhood friend, Angela, is minutely portrayed although he was not at the scene). Pennacchio offers a similar example from Nic Pizzolatto's *True Detective* (35). We are generally untroubled by the presence of this additional narratorial perspective. It seems that one could easily argue that "for narratives like *Moby Dick* and *The Great Gatsby*, this [explanation] works beautifully" (Heinze 288).

However, it is necessary to point out one specific problem: the "another voice" hypothesis works much more beautifully in (what can be termed) the *mediated* first-person narratives than in the *non-mediated* ones. For example, Benjy's chapter in *The Sound and the Fury* is obviously mediated. He is the narrator, but he is not the one recording the narration. Benjy's thoughts and words seem to be "mysteriously caught and transcribed" (Genette 230) by some "spirit of storytelling" (Skov Nielsen 138). Since the narrators like Benjy (or Quentin and Jason Compson) are not writers, the possibility of their narration depends on the existence of another "semi-omniscient," third-person agency that is covertly present in such narratives. Since the mediated renditions are not characterized by the strict unity of narration, the potential intrusion of "another voice" would not be particularly troubling.³

Unlike Benjy, the narrators of *Moby-Dick*, *The Great Gatsby*, and *À la recherche du temps perdu* are *authorial*, writerly personae aiming at total control over their stories. Ishamel explicitly refers to himself as "the writer hereof" (Melville 200) and describes his narration as "an ever gathering volume" (173). Nick Carraway self-identifies as the writer of "this book" (Fitzgerald 3), continuously rereading "over what [he has] written so far" (37). Similarly, Proust's Marcel refers to

³ This seems to be the case in the fourth chapter of *The Sound and the Fury*, where the hitherto latent semi-omniscient teller completely takes hold of the narration.

himself on numerous occasions as the author of “this book” (Proust 1878, 2132, 2408, 2661). They are not merely minds conveying thoughts, voices among other voices, but writers producing and organizing authorial texts.⁴

There is explicit self-centredness to such written, controlled autobiographical narratives that would make a potential interference of another disembodied narratorial voice in such texts a striking incongruity. To postulate, nevertheless, some such phantom agency that occasionally wrestles authority away from these writer-narrators would strike us as a suspiciously *ad hoc* procedure of unwarrantedly “multiply[ing] possible agents” (Dawson 196) and thus violating the principle of parsimony. Two solutions still remain: either there is some implicit explanation in the texts for the “overreaching” claims of these narrators, or they are, for some reason, merely acting out the third-person (semi-omniscient) perspective.

“(Un)natural” explanations of uncanny narratorial knowledge

One way to subdue the paralectic effect would be to argue that although the first-person narrator’s seemingly impossible “range of insight” (Skov Nielsen 139) is left unjustified, it could nevertheless be implicitly “justifiable” (Edmiston 740). That is, there may still be some unstated but possible scenario that would explain the narrator’s “inexplicable” knowledge. These implicit explanations of the seemingly paralectic narratorial information could be divided into two main types: they can be either (a) “unnatural”⁵ or (b) “natural.”

⁴ Reflecting on Proust’s Marcel (and the same holds for Ishmael and Nick Carraway), Genette observes that he functions “as source, guarantor, and organizer of the narrative, as analyst and commentator, as stylist (as ‘writer’)” (167).

⁵ This term has recently gained new currency due to the emergence of the so-called “unnatural narratology,” a relatively new field exclusively dealing with non-realistic/anti-mimetic fiction. “Unnatural” (a somewhat controversial term with a moralistic cadence) is now broadly used to describe any storyworld whose “laws and encyclopedias [...] differ significantly from those operating in the real world” (Von Contzen 14). In this respect, narrators who are non-human or have non-human faculties (such as cognitive or sensory superpowers) are described (for better or worse) as “unnatural.” We will use the term in this general sense.

(A) “Unnatural” Scenarios

One way to avoid the paradox would be to argue that paraleptic claims are the products of some “unnatural mind” (Dawson 200). If the narrator is a ghost or a deity, the paraleptic effect will not occur since it seems that the knowledge of such narrators is already justified by their “unnaturally” privileged position. If we assume, the argument runs, that Ishmael or Marcel are unnaturally gifted (for example) with telepathy (that is, that they are not ordinary human narrators), the paraleptic effect will disappear. “The more the narrator appears non-human, the fewer the logical inconsistencies in combining paralepsis and experientiality.” (Heinze 283)

However, to brush aside the paraleptic effect by attributing “unnatural” qualities to the narrator’s mind seems to be unsatisfying since, as Heinze notes, “nothing suggests” (281) that narrators like Ishmael (or Nick and Marcel, for that matter) have extraordinary, super-human abilities. On the contrary, there are various textual clues suggesting the opposite. For example, Ishmael often exhibits natural human doubts and uncertainties “touching Ahab’s deeper parts” (Melville 453). He regularly engages in speculation: “It were perhaps vain to surmise exactly why it was that [...] Ahab thus acted. It may have been [this] or [that].” (464) Regarding other people’s actions, he frequently “opine[s]” and “surmise[s]” (399). He’s fully aware of his natural cognitive restrictions: “[A]ll this to explain, would be to dive deeper than Ishmael can go.” (180) This also seems to be the case with Marcel and Nick.⁶

The main problem with this strategy is that the sense of inconsistency cannot be eliminated by any general supposition about the *unnaturalness* of the storyworld or the narrator’s mind. Even if we were to suppose that Ishmael has the gift of clairvoyance or something of the sort, the inconsistency would still remain. In that case, Ishmael’s natural human limitations and uncertainties concerning other people’s minds would suddenly become inexplicable. We would be merely shifting focus. Paralepsis seems to be an essentially insular phenomenon.

⁶ For example, Marcel seems unaware of various realities a mind-reading narrator would be conscious of. Thus, he is initially uncertain whether Albertine knew Léa (see Proust 1944). Also, he cannot easily read the enigmatic “gaze” (Proust 684) of Baron de Charlus as denoting his homosexuality. He eventually becomes aware of these facts, but only through the natural process of behavioristic inferences, gossip, etc. Nick Carraway also displays natural cognitive limitations: the precise way some events have happened “eludes [him]” (Fitzgerald 80), his understanding of other people’s intentions is gradual, etc.

It is always “local.” Heinze’s distinction between *global* and *local* paralepses⁷ thus appears unnecessary. For instance, the narrator of Sebold’s *Lovely Bones*, to offer Heinze’s example for “global” paralepsis, is a dead girl who knows more than an ordinary human being can. But this would not be an example of paralepsis since there is a manifest “unnatural” explanation for the narrator’s extensive knowledge. She is speaking from a vantage point of heaven where she is provided with special insights (her very narratorial position is “supernatural”). Paralepses are not simply phenomena that are inconsistent with the way things are in the actual world. It is not merely an “unnatural” way of telling but the seemingly inexplicable way of knowing that generates the paraleptic effect.

(B) “Natural” Scenarios

Another way to deal with the paraleptic effect would be to argue that, on closer inspection, the text allows for “natural, realistic sources of the character narrator’s unusual knowledge” (Heinze 285). Though unstated, there still may be some “natural” explanation for extraordinary narratorial information. This strategy seems promising in substantially dissipating the paraleptic effect in the cases of the three notable examples from *Moby-Dick*, *The Great Gatsby*, and *À la recherche du temps perdu*.

Let us start with *Moby-Dick*. The most puzzling, paraleptic feature of Ishmael’s narration, Alber et al. claim, is that his narrative occasionally “provides extended access to the thoughts of other characters” (Melville 361). However, this is *sensu stricto* inaccurate. Nowhere in the novel does Ishmael report the un verbalized, intrinsically private mental states of others. There are some cases where Ishmael *seems* to penetrate the “impenetrable Japan” (471) of other minds. For instance, in chapter 41, Ishmael observes that “in his heart, Ahab had some glimpse of this, namely: all my means are sane, my motive and my object mad” (179). But this is far from being an example of some mystifying paraleptic knowledge. He is merely reconstructing Ahab’s inner life from various behavioral hints: from his “glaring eyes” (194) and from the general familiarity with his goals and obsessions. Ishmael here acts as a “Champollion [deciphering] the Egypt of [Ahab’s] face” (339). If

⁷ Heinze uses the phrase “global paralepsis” for the situations in which “the entire narration is non-natural” (e.g., the narrator himself is a non-human entity), while “local paralepsis” refers to cases where an ordinary human narrator within a “natural” storyworld offers information he cannot naturally possess (Heinze 286).

someone were to say to us, “I know that he secretly loves her, even though he doesn’t show it,” we wouldn’t normally suppose that such a person is thereby declaring some inexplicable familiarity with exclusively private thoughts of an unapproachable Cartesian mind hidden behind the poker face façade. Various subtle behavioral indiscretions can betray us to a perceptive observer. We make behavioristic inferences and more or less grounded guesses about the minds of others all the time.⁸

Furthermore, the striking feature of *Moby-Dick* seems to be the unusual cognitive extroversion of the characters. The novel is almost suspiciously scarce in entirely private events. Like actors soliloquizing on stage, the characters almost always verbalize their thoughts, feelings, and even streams of consciousness in audible utterances.⁹ This is also the case with Ahab’s soliloquy in chapter 37. When something is spoken and not merely thought about in the solitude of one’s room, we cannot speak of absolute, “bulletproof” privacy. Everything uttered on a ship full of people can be known by others, in one way or another: “In thy most solitary hours, then, dost thou not fear eavesdroppers?” (Melville 460)

So, how could Ishmael be aware of Ahab’s private soliloquy (and even his accompanying hand gestures) in chapter 37? We know that the door of Ahab’s cabin is “a thin one” (Melville 503); so thin in fact that, on one occasion, Starbucks could hear him from the outside “muttering

⁸ Heinze seems to regard the narration in Madox Ford’s *The Good Soldier* as yet another example of the paraleptic telling, for the narrator “claims to ‘suddenly . . . know’ what he has no access to” (Heinze 280). But on closer inspection, it seems that nothing uncanny is taking place in the passage Heinze is referring to. The seemingly paraleptic scene could be easily “naturalized” as an inference from the knowledge of one’s routine and behavior. Here is the “controversial” excerpt: “What did he even talk to them about—when they were under four eyes?—Ah, well, suddenly, as if by a flash of inspiration, I know. For all good soldiers are sentimentalists—all good soldiers of that type.” (Ford 54) The narrator does not actually claim the possession of some inexplicable insight about the contents of private conversations between Captain Edward Ashburnham and his wife but merely offers an inferential reconstruction based on two “natural” sources: his intimate familiarity with Ashburnhams over many years and his general knowledge about the people of Ashburnham’s type.

⁹ In chapter 29, to offer just one example, after the late-night confrontation with Ahab, Stubb is heading back to his room engaged with the following thoughts: “I was never served so before without giving a hard blow for it, muttered Stubb. [...] I don’t well know whether to go back and strike him, or [...] down here on my knees and pray for him?” (Melville 123) His thoughts are not invested with absolute mental privacy since he is “muttering” them, and thus they can be overheard. This propensity to speak one’s stream of consciousness seems to be a common occurrence in the novel.

in his sleep” (503). Furthermore, his door had “blinds inserted, in place of upper panels” (503), enabling thus some indelicate observer to peek inside. And Ishmael himself seems to be inclined toward voyeuristic behavior. In chapter 34, he observes Ahab presiding “over his own private dinner table” (144) by peeping “through the cabin sky-light” (145). For every seemingly paraleptic information offered by Ishmael, we can uncover a “natural” explanation rendering it possible. There seem to be no real paralepses in *Moby-Dick* (if they are the cases of fully inexplicable narratorial knowledge). The possibility of some “natural” explanation of the narratorial information (however far-fetched) is always left open in Ishmael’s narration.

The same seems to be true in the case of *The Great Gatsby*. Not a single piece of information Nick Carraway reports is *sensu stricto* unavailable to him. When he describes the unwitnessed dialogue between Michaelis and Wilson in a strangely intricate manner, he could be merely reproducing Michaelis’ over-elaborated testimony after Gatsby’s murder and Wilson’s suicide. Anything witnessed by someone, no matter how insignificant or trivial, could circulate as information. Phelan is right when he suggests that, in the case of *The Great Gatsby*, there is no violation of “the conventions of mimesis” (Phelan 110). There is a “natural” explanation for Nick’s narratorial information. Thus, it is not, properly speaking, paraleptic.

But how to account for what is perhaps the strongest exemplar of paraleptic narration: namely, Marcel’s report of Bergotte’s final thoughts in *À la recherche du temps perdu*? Genette argues that the scene “present[s] a physical impossibility,” the narratorial information that (unlike Carraway’s rendition of the Wilson-Michaelis exchange) could not “in point of fact have been reported to Marcel since no one—for a very good reason—could have knowledge of [it]” (Genette 208). Marcel’s familiarity with Bergotte’s “deathbed” thoughts seems utterly inexplicable. To use Genette’s phrasing, this is “one paralepsis to end all paralepses” (208).

But even here, in this “impossible” rendition, there seems to be some mimetic, “natural” way out, however narrow it may appear. Bergotte dies not in the private enclosure of his chamber but in a public venue, surrounded by people, while attending an exhibition of Dutch painting. Before being struck with apoplexy, he attentively observes Vermeer’s *View of Delft*. “‘That is how I ought to have written,’ he said [disait-il]” (Proust 1974). A verb denoting utterance, not merely inner thoughts (*dire*; to say, to tell), is employed here to describe Bergotte’s final cognitive engagement. “‘All the same,’ he said to himself [se disait-

il). [...] While doing so, he sank down upon a circular divan [...] and [...] told himself [se dit]: ‘It is just an ordinary indigestion.’ [...] Visitors and attendants came hurrying to his assistance. He was dead.” (Proust 1975) Thus, the sense of utter privacy is dissolved. Whatever is whispered, grimaced, murmured, said (as to oneself) in a room full of “visitors and attendants” can become an object of gossipy disseminations, of “so many indiscretions” that are typical for “Proustian universe” (Genette 207).

Almost any seemingly paraleptic occurrence can be “naturalized” in one way or another. To conceive an utterly private event that cannot be possibly known to others seems harder than one would initially suppose since “the boundary between perceptual possibility and impossibility is often nebulous” (Edmiston 740). If we describe paralepsis in strong terms of epistemic impossibility and inexplicability (and this was the common way to define it¹⁰), then all these well-known examples of paralepsis would not be, strictly speaking, *paraleptic*. If there is (even a weak) explanation or justification for the narrator’s puzzling knowledge, there is no reason to speak of epistemic paradox. The weak justification would only constitute a case for narratorial unreliability (which is not paradoxical).¹¹

Raconteurial narration

Even when paralepsis (as the epistemic paradox) is dissolved, its effect may still linger. These narratorial situations seem (still) to be somewhat troubling, not so much for *epistemic* reasons (“How could these narrators possibly know the *impossible* information they convey?”) but primarily for *rhetorical* ones (“Why do they convey the information in such a strange manner?”). It was never an exclusively epistemic issue

¹⁰ Edmiston, for example, describes paralepsis as the “type of infraction in which the narrating self says more than he could possibly know” (Edmiston 741). Similarly, Nünlist and de Jong define it in terms of epistemic impossibility, as the situation in which the narrator “know[s] more than he properly can” (Nünlist and de Jong 170). Caroline Rody characterizes paralepsis as “impossible” and “logically infeasible” information (qtd. in Dawson 215).

¹¹ Some narrative situations could be described as *ersatz* paralepses. Such seemingly overreaching claims are not really paraleptic (although they appear to be) because they are explicitly devoid of epistemic value. They are not information but imagination. For example, the narrator of Moody’s *The Ice Storm* seems to be familiar with other people’s thoughts, only to admit later on, as Dawson notes, that he’s only “the imaginer of all these consciousnesses” (Dawson 206).

to begin with. We are not perplexed so much by the possibility of, e.g., Nick Carraway's indirect knowledge of various subtle (even minuscule) details of the conversation between Wilson and Michaelis (for there are conceivable "natural" ways for Nick to know them). What troubles us in his narration is the surprising "reduction of speech to event" (Genette 170). Namely, the sense of anomaly is raised not by information *per se*, but by its strange rendition that suggests direct, "point-blank" observation (when the possibility of such observation is often explicitly excluded). The problem is that "paraleptic" narrators offer descriptions that are frequently styled neither as mere speculations nor as accounts based on the (elaborated) testimonies of others but function as direct, confident, momentary eye-witness experiences. Paul Dawson has offered an influential explanation for this procedure: what was termed *paralepsis* is "best understood not as a quality of [...] narratorial knowledge, but as a specific rhetorical performance of narrative authority" (Dawson 212).

What does this mean? Narrators such as Ishmael, Nick, or Marcel are not "fictional autobiographers" (Pennacchio 24): they are, as Pennacchio observes drawing upon Dawson, "authors" using "the novel [not the autobiography] as the model genre for the act of telling" (32). Simply put, they are not so much reporting events as "creating a story" (32).¹² So, the question of knowledge is otiose here. Ultimately, *paralepsis* is "the artifice of fiction" (Dawson 210), the name for the class of situations in which the narrator, caught up in the act of telling, assumes a certain novelistic persona that allows him to *move beyond* his actual experiences. The narrator's conjectures, dim guesses, and vague hints of events are designed as direct, confident telling for the sake of narrative dynamics, vividness, and persuasiveness.

It seems that this "novelistic" perspective enables the narrator to offer stability to his often-fragmented experiences, to endow them with a stable "genre identity." To make a coherent (auto)biography (in which events are interconnected) often means to produce a story about oneself, to fictionalize one's experiences to some degree in order

¹² This explanation works especially well in the cases of *Moby-Dick* and *À la recherche du temps perdu*. In Proust's novel, as Morton P. Levitt notes, "Marcel's presumed autobiography turns inevitably—for Marcel is above all an artist—into a fiction" (qtd. in Dawson 197). Similarly in *Moby-Dick*, Ishmael compares himself to Cervantes and his narratorial technique to that of a novelist: "If, then, to meanest mariners, and renegades and castaways, I shall hereafter ascribe high qualities, though dark; weave round them tragic graces; [...] bear me out in it, thou great democratic God! [...] Thou who didst clothe with doubly hammered leaves of finest gold, the stumped and paupered arm of old Cervantes." (Melville 113)

to make human life “more readable (*lisible*)” (Ricoeur 73). This is the point famously made by Ricoeur: to present one’s life as a tight-knit sequence of events (as a meaningful narrative) is to construct “the sort of dynamic identity proper to the plot” (77). The events of “my life” thus become the story I tell to myself or others, a story that borrows from the stable genre of the classic novel in which every event contributes to some final denouement. This “interconnectedness of life” (77) is rarely the case outside the fiction for, as Käte Hamburger notes, “[r]eality itself merely is. It does not mean. Only the non-real has the power to convert the real into sense, into meaning” (Hamburger 231). Thus, in the case of *Moby-Dick*, it comes as no surprise that Ishmael, the narrator, borrows from various genres of fiction in order to create “the durable character of an individual” (Ricoeur 77), particularly of Ahab. What is, for example, Ahab’s melancholic address to the decapitated head of a whale in chapter 70 but an evocation of Hamlet’s “Alas, poor Yorick” speech, a peculiar Shakespearian pastiche, a narratorial strategy of endowing Ahab’s actions with the identity of revenge tragedy? To ask whether this address is an authentic, mimetic report of an actual event witnessed by Ishmael thus seems to be meritless.

Furthermore, what is termed “paralepsis” is nothing but a rhetorical procedure often employed not only in novelistic storytelling but also in various conversational situations. While retelling an event, a particularly dynamic and charged interlocutor (a speaker usually described as *a raconteur*) will sometimes add various details to the story for the narrative effect. For example, he will render non-dialogic bits of information in the form of imagined, artificial dialogue (this often happens when one is recounting events in an *anecdotal* manner) in order to achieve dramatic or comic impact or even suspense.¹³ This procedure, which we can (for the present purposes) term *raconteurial narration*,

¹³ This is something that Ishmael does, e.g., in chapter 90, when he recounts an incident, presumably known to him from the newspapers or some such instance, of some mariners of Dover who, having caught a whale, were forced to surrender it to the Lord Warden. Ishmael anecdotally renders the episode through imaginary, made-up dialogue between the sailors and the Lord Warden’s representative: “Hands off! This fish, my masters, is a Fast-Fish. I seize it as the Lord Warden’s.’ Upon this the poor mariners [...] knowing not what to say, fall to vigorously scratching their heads all round. [...] At length one of them [...] made bold to speak, ‘Please, sir, who is the Lord Warden?’ ‘The Duke.’ ‘But the duke had nothing to do with taking this fish?’ ‘It is his.’” (Melville 389) This is merely a specimen of Ishmael’s *raconteurship* that no reader or listener is troubled with. Nothing is puzzling here. He is simply translating general information into the dynamic form of imaginary dialogue in order to achieve a more captivating effect on his listeners.

is often used, as a rhetorical strategy, in vivid and engaging forms of telling, not only in novels but also in sermons,¹⁴ historiographical renditions, comedies, etc. Such a procedure (of enhancing the rendition of events with imagined dialogues and soliloquies) is never, in the strict sense, troubling to the readers. We recognize it for what it is.¹⁵ Engaging and compelling storytellers (and such are Ishmael, Marcel, and Nick) will often resort to this rhetorical strategy. In such cases, we usually accept the focal part of the narration as authentic, without subscribing to the literal veracity of all the dialogic details. We usually read Ahab's soliloquies in *Moby-Dick* as conveying something true about his "monomaniacal" personality without simultaneously assuming that they are perplexing *verbatim* renditions of Ahab's utterances preserved in Ishmael's hyperthymestic memory. That is, these are raconteurial reconstructions roughly based on the data Ishmael could have gathered in some "natural" way. To treat them as literal reports that are to be taken at face value would amount to misunderstanding an easily identifiable rhetorical procedure that is an integral part of almost all captivating narrations (in fiction or otherwise).¹⁶

¹⁴ In *Moby-Dick*, Fr. Mapple retells the biblical story of Jonah by "inventing dialogue" in which, "in anachronistically everyday terms" (Gallagher 14), mariners from ancient Joppa whisper to one another: "Jack, he's robbed a widow;" or 'Joe, do you mark him; he's a bigamist;' or, 'Harry lad, I guess he's the adulterer that broke jail in old Gomorrah, or belike, one of the missing murderers from Sodom.'" (Melville 42) We are not troubled by the extent of Fr. Mapple's rendition of an unwitnessed event, for we are aware that his sermon offers just a rhetorical simulation of dialogue for the sake of more engaging storytelling.

¹⁵ Phelan is right when he claims that "most readers do not even register" parables as "anomalous" (Phelan 109). We almost intuitively identify it as the rhetorical exercise of raconteurial narration. Nick, e.g., is offering the information (he could easily possess) cloaked in the form of artificial dialogue and presumed ambiance for the sake of narrative effect.

¹⁶ Ishmael occasionally asserts that some of his accounts are to be taken as literally true. However, there is often a certain ludicrous quality to such claims. In chapter 54, to offer just one example, while telling the Town-Ho story to his comrades in Lima, Ishmael melodramatically asks for the "largest sized" Gospel to be procured with a "venerable priest" (Melville 252) so that he can solemnly make a sworn oath. The reader can easily recognize fictional devices Ishmael employs in constructing his renditions of events (like the Shakespearian pastiche, dramatic dialogic exchanges, revenge tragedy *topoi*, etc.), but at the same time, Ishmael resorts to the affirmations of literal, "documentary" truth in his narration. However, this procedure is not genuinely puzzling since it could be claimed that, in fictional discourse, such affirmations of the story's veracity are frequently just another "signpost" of fictionalization, "that is, the narrative device that [ironically] suggests the fictionality of the text" (Bell and Ryan 16). One can recall (for example) Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*, in which the fictional

Conclusion

What Genette termed “paralepsis” was usually defined as the narratological paradox of the first person narrator “disclosing knowledge [he] could not possess” (Alber, Skov Nielsen and Richardson 363). If we take “N” to denote the “narrator” and “C” any “character” of the novel,¹⁷ the paradox can be expressed in the following form:

$$(N>C) \wedge (N=C).$$

The conjunctive proposition asserts something contradictory: the narrator (N) knows more than any character of the novel (C) could know¹⁸ and, simultaneously, the narrator is one of the characters. The narrator of *Moby-Dick* (and this is, *mutatis mutandis*, also true of *The Great Gatsby*, and *À la recherche du temps perdu*) occasionally seems to know more than is strictly possible for any of the characters to know (e.g., various unwitnessed private events, thoughts of others, discreet soliloquies, etc.) and, at the same time, we know that the narrator is Ishmael, “one of the crew” (Melville, 172). The problem is that if the propositions “N>C” and “N=C” are both true, the contradictory conclusion will necessarily ensue: “N>N.” The standard way of dismantling this contradiction would be to argue that, in the case of any particular “paraleptic” situation, either “N>C” or “N=C” is not actually realized.

(1) What we have termed *another voice hypothesis* is a strategy of attacking “N=C.” If we somehow assume that “N≠C” is true, the paradox will evaporate. Perhaps, Ishmael is not the sole narrator, and there could very well be another (semi)omniscient third-person narratorial presence (which cannot be identified with any of the characters) narrating some sections of the novel. However, this is, as we have argued, a weak solution to the paradox in the cases of the three novels we are dealing with, since the narrators like Ishmael, Marcel, and Nick Carraway are not merely conveyors of events, but authors exercising writerly authority. To suppose that there is some clandestine narratorial voice intruding on these controlled, authorial written testimonies would strike us as a clear-cut narrative incongruity and unwarranted multiplication of narratorial agents.

(2) On the other hand, there seem to be two ways of arguing against the proposition “N>C” in these three particular “paraleptic” scenarios.

author-historian Diedrich Knickerbocker, while presenting the readers with an incredible story about supernatural events, provides the alleged sworn court testimonies and pledges of authenticity.

¹⁷ A somewhat similar notation was employed in Edmiston 741.

¹⁸ This is usually the case with the third-person narrators.

(2.1) One would be to claim that “N>C” does not stand if the character-narrator is somehow “unnaturally” gifted. For example, if we assume that Marcel is clairvoyant, his knowledge of Bergotte’s final thoughts would not be epistemically paradoxical. This strategy could be termed *the “unnatural” explanation*. However, the text itself does not provide sufficient grounds for such an extravagant supposition, and this kind of explanation would merely be the evasion of the problem. If Marcel is a telepathic narrator, then his “natural” human doubts regarding other people’s intentions would suddenly become puzzling and in need of explanation.

(2.2) A more promising way of refuting the clause “N>C” would be to argue that, on closer inspection, N claims nothing that C cannot “naturally” know. That is, there is a possible *implicit “natural” explanation* for any “paraleptic” piece of information the narrator offers. If there is some (however unlikely, but still possible) way for C to know something, we can no longer speak of epistemic *impossibility*. We have argued that the line dividing private mental contents and observable behavior is not as clear and well-charted as it may initially appear. Even without telepathic abilities, what is *possible* to know about others (through eavesdropping, unintentional behavioral disclosures, through other people’s elaborated witness accounts, etc.) is highly “elastic” (Phelan 110). This strategy seems to work in the cases of the three paraleptic examples that we have reviewed.

(3) There is also a third way of dismantling the paradox. Following Dawson, this procedure can be described as *a rhetorical explanation*. One could simply argue that the operator “>” in “N>C” does not designate epistemic inequality (“N *knows more* than C”) but merely a locutory fact (“N *says more* than C could know”). In such a case, both propositions (“N>C” and “N=C”) could be simultaneously true. To say more than one could know is hardly troubling *per se* since it constitutes an ordinary feature of human behavior (for example, when we say to someone who is in distress: “Everything is going to be all right”). There are numerous rhetorical circumstances in which even the proposition “N>N” (if “>” is understood as a rhetorical operator) does not raise the sense of paradox. For instance, when recounting an episode in the raconteur mode, some particularly engaged narrators tend to “translate” an indirectly obtained information into a more engaging form of dialogue, or to simply “imaginatively reconstruct”¹⁹ someone’s unwitnessed behavior. Strictly speaking, they are saying more than they

¹⁹ Cf. Dawson 209.

know, but we understand that they are not offering literal, mimetic reports. This seems to be the case, e.g., in Plato's *Symposium*,²⁰ a text in which speeches and dialogic exchanges between the participants of the banquet are reported by Apollodorus, a man who was absent from the event. We are not troubled by Apollodorus' rendition of various minute details (just as we are not troubled by Nick's report in the eight chapter of *The Great Gatsby*), for we understand that such a delivery is merely a rhetorical enhancement of some secondhand information. There's no need to understand Nick's (or Ishmael's or Marcel's) elaborated renditions as expressions of their direct knowledge of events. In some cases, we tend to offer our conjectures as descriptions for the sake of rhetorical persuasiveness or effect. The modal expressions pointing out the speculative quality of such renditions (like "perhaps," "it could/may be," "possibly," etc.) are not explicitly stated but are, nevertheless, latent. What is omitted but could be implicitly read in, e.g., Nick's rendition of the conversation between Michaelis and Wilson is: "It probably went something like this..." There's nothing particularly paradoxical here, for the very art of storytelling seems to be generally related to this rhetorical strategy.

There seems to be no conceivable "paraleptic" situation that cannot be "naturalized" in one of these three ways. For any specific case of the first-person narrator's "impossible" knowledge, either there are valid reasons (1) to presume an additional narratorial presence or (2) to claim the existence of some implicit epistemic justification for the narrator's seemingly "impossible" cognizance or (3) to read the narrator's account not as literal, mimetic report of actual events, but as some type of covert fictionalization. The paradox of paraleptic narration seems to be a pseudo-problem, both epistemically and narratologically.

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²⁰ The same is true for *Theaetetus*. See Genette 236.

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Učinek paralepse

Ključne besede: naratologija / paralepsa / pripovedna epistemologija / *Moby-Dick* / *À la recherche du temps perdu* / *The Great Gatsby*

V članku preučujeva domnevni naratološki paradoks paralepse. Mogoče je trditi, da (prvoosebni) pripovedovalci *Moby-Dicka*, *À la recherche du temps perdu* in *Velikega Gatsbyja* (če navedemo zgolj tri vidne primere) občasno izkažejo nepojasnjeno zavedanje dejstev, ki bi morala biti po naravni poti nedostopna (prepoznavanje misli drugih ljudi, podrobna seznanjenost z dogodki, ki jim niso bili priča itd.). Paralepso, kot jo je poimenoval Genette, lahko opredelimo kot situacijo, v kateri se zdi, da ima prvoosebni pripovedovalec poseben epistemski privilegij. Članek argumentira stališče proti obstoju paraleptičnih dogodkov na dveh ravneh. Prvič, trdi, da je tovrstna naracija le redko epistemsko paradoksalna, saj bi bilo mogoče naturalizirati celo nekatere najbolj izrazite kandidate za paralepso (bralec ali bralka lahko zaznata možne naravne načine, po katerih bi pripovedovalec ali pripovedovalka utegnili pridobiti na videz nemogoče informacije). Drugič, tudi ko paraleptičnih primerov ni mogoče prepričljivo naturalizirati, ti niso nujno begajoči. Pogosto jih lahko beremo kot avtorske »uprizoritve« (po vzoru P. Dawsona) in pojasnimo kot primere posebnega retoričnega postopka, ki smo ga poimenovali »raconteurska« pripoved: pripovedovanje s podajanjem domnev, zaradi večje prepričljivosti brez običajnih modalnih besednih zvez, ki bi opozarjale na spekulativnost takšnih trditev – s čimer nastaja napačen vtis o nenavadnem pripovedovalskem znanju.

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The Liminal Space of Métis Poetry: Between Centre and Periphery

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This article explores the literary space of Canadian literature in world literature and the liminal space of Métis poetry, which is distinctive in being situated between the European and Indigenous aspects of Canadian literature. The paradox is that Métis poetry and literature in Canada, long marginalized, can now create another space for Canadian literature, or for poets born or living in Canada, in world literature and comparative literature, a small literature among large literatures. By examining Métis poetry in Canada and analyzing the poems by Louis Riel (1844–1885), Pauline Johnson (also known as Tekahionwake or Double Wampum, 1861–1913) and Naomi McIllwraith (contemporary), the article can provide a sense of distinctiveness and uniqueness, even if some of these qualities are also present in “Métis” poetry outside Canada. Riel and McIllwraith occupy a literary and cultural in-between space—Riel writing in French and McIllwraith in English and Cree—mixing major and minor centers and part of this “nation within a nation” this threshold space where self, identity and other are all called into question.

Keywords: Canadian literature / literary space / liminality / cultural identity / Métis poetry / Riel, Louis / Johnson, Pauline / McIllwraith, Naomi

The literary space of Canadian literature in world literature

Goethe was important in framing *Weltliteratur* or world literature, for example, what he told Eckermann in 1827: “National literature is now rather an unmeaning term; the epoch of World literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach.” (351) This interest in world literature, which continues to this day, begins in Europe even if Goethe also refers to other literatures: “It is pleasant to see that intercourse is now so close between the French, English, and Germans, that we shall be able to correct one another. This is the greatest use of a world-literature, which will show itself more and more.” (432) The

space of world literature will unfold and Goethe emphasizes beauty in literature, which he sees among the ancient Greeks, and is not interested in the production and reception of literature in a space based on nationalism and patriotism. Canadian literature and small literatures did not and do not find a significant place in world literature and comparative literature. One aspect of Canadian culture and the study of literature I tried to raise in a volume edited by Eugene Eoyang, Gang Zhou and Jonathan Hart was the state of comparative literature in Canada, and in this article I am trying to show that there is another way to make space for Canada in world and comparative literatures, using the particular case of Métis poetry, which occupies a liminal or threshold space between the European and Indigenous aspects of Canadian literature and does so in French and English in a distinctive way (Eoyang, Zhou and Hart). Here, I explore the context and space of Canadian literature and culture before discussing Métis poetry. Canada shares English and French with other countries like Britain, the United States and France so is part of anglophone and francophone literatures and its indigenous languages are shared with the United States, except in instances I examine here. Thus, Canadian literature blends English, French and Indigenous languages in a distinctive way and that is the literary space I am analyzing after exploring the persistent debate over Canadian identity and space in its literature and culture. Given this context, the poetry I discuss here is from small and not small, minor and not minor literatures. The literary crosses borders, having connections within and beyond the nation. Marshall McLuhan, who coined among many phrases, the global village, saw Canada as a borderline case (McLuhan 226).

The article moves from the general debate over Canadian culture, literature and poetry and places that within the context of theories of literary space before examining the three poets of mixed Indigenous and European backgrounds (now most often referred to as Métis). Early in this debate, there is little or no mention of Indigenous or Métis contributions. My article tries to help explore that space within Canadian poetry and literature as a contribution to comparative literature and world literature.

In *On Canadian Poetry* (1943), E. K. Brown, trained at Toronto and at the Sorbonne, who would teach at Toronto, Manitoba, Cornell and Chicago, writes: “There is a Canadian literature, often rising to effects of great beauty, but it has stirred little interest outside Canada.” (Brown 3) Brown explores that space, noting changes in literary taste and literary geography: “*Saul*, a huge poetic drama by a Montreal poet,

Charles Heavysege, had a passing vogue in Britain and in the United States, impressing Emerson and Hawthorne and inducing Coventry Patmore to describe it as ‘indubitably one of the most remarkable English poems ever written out of Great Britain.’ [...] Today, along with Heavysege’s other works, his *Count Filippo* and his *Jephthah’s Daughter*, it is unknown within Canada and without.” (Brown 3–4)

There was still little space in the world for Canadian literature when Brown was writing, almost six decades after Riel was hanged in 1885 after his part in the Northwest Rebellion that he had led (he was also a leader of the Red River Rebellion, the first being in 1869) even if literary tastes changed within Canada and without. In the 1940s, Brown says: “Every Canadian reviewer devotes a large part of his sadly limited space to comment on British or American books. Every Canadian reader devotes a large part of the time and money that he can allow for books to those which come from Britain and the United States.” (8) There is little room for any Canadian literature let alone Canadian poetry. Brown does not mince words in describing the struggle for making a literary space in Canada: “What I have been attempting to suggest with as little heat or bitterness as possible is that in this country the plight of literature is a painful one.” (24) This is one reason perhaps that cultures without literary space suffer a kind of suffocation or seek literature or poetry from other cultures. Brown sees one important aspect of late-nineteenth century and early twentieth-century English-Canadian poetry: “One of the chief powers in the poetry of Lampman and his associates is their power in the handling of nature.” (39) There is, according to Brown, a national and international space for the best-known Canadian poets: “In the United States and in England the most widely known and admired of our poets has been Bliss Carman. In Canada Lampman is the nearest approach to a national classic in verse, and the passing of decades has confirmed his status if it has not very much widened the circle of his readers.” (80) Carman and Lampman, both strong poets, are not much known in world literature today. Brown also discusses at length two other accomplished poets—Duncan Campbell Scott and E. J. Pratt—so that while Brown is trying to make space for Canadian poetry, he also shows how hard it is for Canadian poets to find space in Canada let alone internationally (108–152). If this lack of space was true for Anglo-Canadian poetry of poets of British descent, it was more so for those of Indigenous and Métis backgrounds to have a space for others to hear their voices over time.

Given globalization and shifting interests that include a relatively recent awareness of Indigenous cultures and literatures in Canada and

elsewhere (for instance, the United States, Australia and New Zealand), it may be that the literature of the mixed, Métis, mestizo in the New World (and worldwide) from those of mixed Native (Indigenous) and European (English, Spanish, French and the like) backgrounds can cross national boundaries and take up a prominent role not simply in the space of national literatures, like Canadian literature, but in Comparative and World literatures. Paradoxically, Métis poetry and literature in Canada, long marginalized, may now create another space for Canadian literature or poets born in or living in Canada in world and comparative literature, a small literature among large literatures. This liminal or threshold space between the European/settler and the Indigenous, the local and the global, bypasses what Goethe hoped for, the national in terms of literature.

The local, regional, national and global all interact in the debates about the center and periphery, major and minor (small) literatures. Here, I attempt to open a space for Métis poetry within Canadian literature in the framework of the internationalism, globalization of world literature, and Comparative literature studies (on *métissage*, see Glissant, “Métissage”; Benoist; Bonniol and Benoist). Native or Indigenous cultures and settler cultures, often of European origin, meant that, in the New World or Americas, from the earliest times, go-betweens, mediators, interpreters and translators could be caught between both sides (see Hart, “Images”; “Mediation”).

Here, I find a space for poetry and for Métis poetry in the space of Canadian literature and culture, between Native and European Canadian poetry. This is related to, but distinct from, Franco Moretti’s focus on an atlas of nineteenth-century European novels and mapping European literary history, Pascale Casanova’s examination of the literary space of world literature and national literature and Rob Shields’ concentration on North and South and on spatial and literary history perspectives work in terms of Wallerstein’s theory differentiating between center and periphery and also his discussions of center and margin and the “geography of difference” (Moretti 54; Casanova; Shields, *Places* 3–11; Shields, “Spatialisations” 15–40). My space is more the space for writing and reading poetry that is between cultures within Canadian culture, a hybrid culture as part of New World literature or the literatures of the Americas. In other words, my article is about space for Canadian poets and writers and especially Métis poets being afforded space to write and to be read within Canada and abroad, being given some notice, their words being read, written about in practical criticism and literary theory. I am grounding this sense of Canadian and Métis

poetry in close reading of their work to make way for their words in Canadian poetry with the hope that such work will find an increasing place or space in Canadian, comparative and world literatures as well as literatures in English and French. These are sometimes distinctive spaces and sometimes overlapping spaces. These authors are also related to Indigenous literatures in Canadian, United States and worldwide in European and Indigenous languages. Other bigger literatures receive more attention than Canadian, Métis and Indigenous poetry or literatures. For instance, Valdés and Kadir map Latin American literature and Robert Tally explores the spaces of American literature in his geocriticism and, in his most recent work, makes further distinctions between spatial literary studies and literary geography (see Valdés and Kadir; Tally, *Spatiality* ch.3; Tally, “Spatial Literary” 317–331). Canadian literature, which is much smaller or apparently more marginal than the literature of the United States, Spanish America and Brazil, finds a space, as Caribbean literature does, as a small literature amongst the large literatures in the United States, Brazil and Spanish America as well as in the Atlantic world, Pacific rim and the North or Arctic (circumpolar). But Canadian literature, including Canadian poetry and Métis poetry, is more than small or minor. This poetry crosses boundaries and definitions in a geography of otherness, a literary space that moves inward within Canada and outward beyond its boundaries, partly owing to the use of English and French.

The Métis and Indigenous find a space in Canadian literature beyond Northrop Frye’s view of it as a bush garden with its garrison mentality, Margaret Atwood’s idea that survival is the central theme or a more multicultural or postmodern view of Canadian literature—as discussed by Hutcheon and Hart—and straddles English, French, immigrant languages from Europe, China, India and elsewhere and Indigenous languages such as Cree (see Frye; Atwood; Hart “Canadian Literature”; Hutcheon). Otherness and the in-between, for me, means that the literary or poetic expands for settler and Native not simply in terms of alterity but through the liminal or threshold space between, that is the space of the Métis. The literary or poetic space of Canada expands its scope through these relations of settler, Native and Métis through centripetal and centrifugal fields in which they engage. Moreover, there are porous borders between Canada with United States in mixed, Indigenous cultures. The use of Indigenous languages that are from the same languages and language families in North America as well as the shared languages of English and French with Britain, France and other countries worldwide means that to make Canadian poetry

or Métis poetry Deleuze's and Guattari's minor literature, Casanova's small literature or Ragon's secondary zone literature is not to tell the whole story and take into account their intricacies (see Deleuze and Guattari; Casanova; Ragon). Otherness and in-betweenness, as I argue here, allow for other aspects and contours of the topic I am discussing. Reading the poetry closely shows that the texture and individuality of these poets and the poems are other to the generalities and find themselves as being between theories and testing abstraction with the specificity of the concrete nature of a poem. This is a key point to my argument. Close reading is a literary space that tests, qualifies, resists and grounds abstract theories.

My own emphasis is on the between space of Métis poetry that reaches promising spaces within Canadian literature but also beyond and internationally. The poems have their own texture and the text opens up to readers beyond the Métis communities and Canada itself. The text is a map or space with a unique texture and so its particularity makes creative trouble for theory itself. The space between writer and reader, here the poet making and the reader reading, is a space where the poem is performed and where it means. Those are the contours and relief of poetry and literature, what I might call the geography of the text. Sheila Hones explores literary geography, including a reader and writer sharing a moment of a "text-based spatial interaction, a geographical event" (Hones, "Text" 1302), and discusses the ways in which literary spaces are real spaces, being both actual and fictional. Here, I argue that poetic spaces are as actual as they are fictional and that Canadian poetry and, more particularly, Métis poetry in Canada, are real spaces (Hones, *Literary Geographies* ch.3; cf. Hones, "Literary"; "Spatial"). They are a poetics of otherness (Hart, *The Poetics*). Like Yanli He, I see limitations of the minor literature of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari and the small literature of Pascale Casanova and the secondary zone literature of Michael Ragon despite their important contributions (He; Deleuze and Guattari; Ragon; Conley). Like He, as well as David Damrosch, Marko Juvan, and Theo D'haen, I see globalization and world literature as something that complicates and leads away from minor or small literatures (small being closer to Kafka's German, *klein*, than *mineur* or minor are) (He; Damrosch, *What is*; Damrosch "Major"; Juvan "Peripherocentrism"; "World"; D'haen, *Routledge*; "Major"; "Worlding"). Minor is more of a value judgement than is small literature, which is why I prefer the term "small" even if that term is not adequate. Métis poetry may have an even smaller space or audience than Canadian poetry, but it has potential, partly in its otherness,

in-betweenness and concrete particularity, for us to explore possibilities in what Leibniz called possible worlds and Thomas Pavel deemed fictional worlds (see Hart, “A Comparative”; *Fictional*). Each poem is a world that opens up to the world, to world literature. The poems I shall read of the three poets give a slice of that world, a small but individual texture of the poet’s interpretation and the reader interpreting it.

Until recent decades, the literary space of Métis and First Nations’ poetry in Canadian literature had not received the attention it deserved. The poetry of Canadian poets, particularly Métis poets (of mixed European and Indigenous or First Nations background) from the Prairies, that of Louis Riel, who writes in French and English, and of Naomi McIlwraith, who is bilingual and writes in English and Cree, contributes to the mapping of Canada as a literary region. These are layers of literary space within the Canadian cultural space. Métis poetry challenges the binary opposition between European/settler literature in English and French and Native Canadian literature or poetry.

The liminal space of Métis poetry: Riel and McIlwraith between center and periphery

The Métis, who have lived between European and Canadian First Nations culture and literature, help to map what I call “a literature between” in Canada—Canadian literature is its own space and not simply a small literature in the Americas and in the world. These poets map Canada (various Canadas) and beyond through their poetry. The context for this space within a space is part of the multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-spatial and multicultural nature of North America in general, and Canada in particular.

Métissage is a longstanding debate in the French-speaking world. More specifically, in France during the 1930s, this term was explored in anthropology (Neuville; Gossard). There was a debate on this in French Canada and then in English Canada and there is an ongoing discussion (see Crépeau; Karahasan; Beaulieu and Chaffray; Ens and Sawchuk; Morris; Bouchard). Indigenous writers and scholars also explore this world of the in-between (Gunn; LaRocque, “The Metis”; “Native”; King, “Godzilla”; *A Coyote*; *The Truth*; Armstrong; Owens; Lukens; Scheick; Silko; Vizenor). In the past half century, writers and theorists have come to use *métissage* as a term for the recovery of occluded spaces, stories, histories cultures and regions, especially owing to colonialism, sometimes, as in the work of Edouard Glissant, recovering

oral traditions and questioning Western concepts, something that has led to the recuperation of occulted histories (see Glissant, *Le Discours* 462–463; Lionnet). By examining Métis poetry in Canada and analyzing poetry by Riel and McIlwraith as well that by Johnson, I can give a sense of distinctiveness and singularity even as some of those qualities might occur in “Métis” poetry outside Canada.

Métis and First Nations poetry are part of a multicultural and multi-ethnic mosaic. As we saw and as Hones and Anderson also observe, territories are actual and metaphorical (see Hones, *Literary Geographies*; Anderson). The idea of otherness in a Canadian context includes native-born, bilingual and bi-cultural, Métis, First Nations authors from Canada, and the idea of people coming from other shores to settle in North America, whether by choice or by force. The otherness stressed here is in the liminal or threshold space between Indigenous and settler cultures in a Métis or hybrid space that overlaps with but also challenges any notion of purity. This liminal or threshold space of Métis poetry in Canada is a representation of reality as part of Canadian poetry and poetry in the literature of the Americas and world literature.

Poetry matters just as McIlwraith’s use of Cree matters in her poetry. In a mass and commercial society, we tend to measure matters by market size and sometimes by profit, which would mean that poets are from the small genre of poetry and do not matter. I am looking at the space between, a threshold space, for those who were sometimes crushed between cultures or literatures, who sought to find space to express themselves. Riel was both Native and French and McIlwraith is Cree and Scottish. Riel and McIlwraith are poets and may also be writing to express themselves, irrespective of their place in literature in Canada or the world. Reception and categorization are more a matter for scholars than for writers and even for readers. Indigenous literatures and hybrid literatures, written in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese or Indigenous languages such as Cree and Maori deserve more attention, and that is even truer for poetry, which apparently has little use in a utilitarian society or profit in cultures given to money.

I introduce Riel and McIlwraith with another poet, of mixed background who identified herself with the Indigenous peoples and who wrote between the time of these two poets. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake) explains the title of her collected poems: “so both flint and feather bear the hall-mark of my Mohawk blood” (Johnson xvii) and the biography in the collection describes her: “E. Pauline Johnson (TEKAHIONWAKE) is the youngest child of a family of four born to the late G. H. M. Johnson (Onwanonsyshon), Head Chief of the

Six Nations Indians, and his wife, Emily S. Howells,” born in Bristol, England, who emigrated to Canada (xiii). Pauline Johnson is proud of her Native family as well as someone who performed her poetry in England as well as in Canada and the United States.

Johnson also writes about history in her poetry, including the Northwest Rebellion of which Riel was a leader and for which he was hanged, facing some of the Protestant-Catholic politics that Thomas D’Arcy McGee had faced. Johnson ends her poem, “A Cry from an Indian Wife,” which alludes to rebellion in the Northwest, thus:

Go forth, nor bend to greed of white man’s hands,
My right, by birth we Indians own these lands,
Though starved, crushed, plundered, lies our nation
low ...
Perhaps the white man’s God has willed it so. (Johnson 19)

There seems to be a call to arms against white greed and, through rhyme, the implied image that white hands have taken “Indian” lands. Moreover, Johnson uses verbs to express this unfair situation—“starved, crushed, plundered” (Johnson 319). The last line appears to be ironic as if this situation resulted from the will of the God of the white man. Johnson, part Mohawk and part English, born in Canada, is someone who might now identify as Native or as Métis (an intricate matter in terms of official and personal identity) (see Lawrence). This space between European/settler and Native culture is fluid and has changed over time. Johnson’s poetry is often concerned with representing Natives, their lands and their points of view.

Louis Riel, a Métis leader and poet and perhaps the best-known Métis in Canadian history, spent time in Montreal 1858–1866, the Red River 1868–1873, Quebec and New England 1874–1878, Minnesota and Dakota 1878–1879, Montana 1879–1884, Saskatchewan 1884–1885 (see Campbell), the movement of a life on both sides of the border (see Durnin). Although Riel did not always date his poems, which he wrote in French and English and in these various places, I am following the numbers, dates and places that Glen Campbell, the editor, assigns to the poems without certainty and I maintain the spelling and grammar of the original. It seems that in the Red River (Rivière Rouge) (70/05-08), Riel wrote a lyric poem/song “La Métisse,” which begins: “Je suis métisse et je suis orgueilleuse / D’appartenir à cette nation (I am Métisse and I am proud / To belong to this nation)” then continues: “Je sais que Dieu de sa main généreuse / Fait chaque peuple avec attention (I know that God with his generous hand / Treats each

people with care),” proceeds to “*Les métis sont un petit peuple encore / Mais vous pouvez voir déjà leurs destins / Etre haïs comme ils sont les honore* (The Métis are still a small people / But you can already see their destinies / To be hated as they are honour them)” and ends with “*Ils ont déjà rempli de grands desseins* (They have already fulfilled great designs)” (Riel 88, lines 1–8). Although the syntax is a little thorny, even as the destinies of the Métis are to be hated, they should be honored (expressed in an imperative). In a time of racial theories and racism not friendly to the Métis, Riel represents the situation, the lack of space with the expansion of the settlers, and attempts to seek to create a larger space in poetry and discourse—an imaginative space—for this small people or nation under threat, to give this Métis woman pride in her nation whom God has made with care as he has with each people or nation. The stanza has the rhyme scheme ababcdcd and the rhyme emphasizes, in this poem in the first person, the speaker’s self-representation of herself as proud to belong to this nation and her voice representing God’s generous hand, making with care or attention each people and the “petit peuple” (small people) of the Métis full of grand or large designs. The smallness of the Métis can be enlarged through design and, by implication, by Riel’s poem and song.

Probably writing from Beauport or New England between 1874 and 1878, Riel begins one of the poems (4-074): “*Le Sang Sauvage en moy rayonne: / Et je louange mes aïeux* (The Wild Blood shines in me: / And I praise my ancestors)” (my translations here, above and below, Riel 178, lines 1–2). “*Sauvage*” in French, as it does in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English (“salvage”), means wild, and “*savage*” in English came to be pejorative, so I prefer the “*Wild*” here. Campbell says that Riel was one eighth Native from his paternal grandmother (“*bisaïeule paternelle*”), a “*Montagnaise-Chippewan*” (Campbell 180, note 2). Riel is proud of this Indigenous ancestry. In the same poem, he raises the issue of cruelty: “*Les espagnols ont du courage. / Mais leurs exploits sont effrayants. / Tant d’autres sont durs au sauvage, / Tout en paraissant vrais croyants* (The Spaniards have courage. / But their exploits are frightening. / So many others are tough on the wild, / While appearing to be true believers).” (Riel 179, lines 29–32). Riel begins with representing the Spanish as having courage, but then says that their exploits cause fear and many are hard on the Indigenous peoples while also representing the Spaniards as people who seem to be believers or Christians. For Riel, the Natives have harsh Spaniards in their space. In another poem (4-106), Riel writes in English in Helena, Montana (82/06-09), and opens thus: “I

can sing in my poetry / Right and wealth.” (Riel 279, lines 1–2) In another language, Riel is creating another space. The power of poetry is different here: “My poems can show the big trains / Run by the Northern Pacific / Over Hills and through rowling plains: / I can celebrate their traffic.” (Riel 279, lines 5–8) Like Whitman, Riel can sing a song of America and its changes, here the railroad across the plains in which the bison roamed. At St. Peter’s Mission (83/08), Riel writes an ode, “Le peuple Métis-Canadien-français (The Metis-Canadian-French People),” a poem that represents Métis, Natives Canadians, French, Canada and the United States (4–114; Riel 319). The opening of the poem gives a sense of Riel’s hope: “J’aime sans mesure et j’admire / Les Métis-canadiens- français: / Ce people nouveau qui se mire / Déjà dans se brilliants succès (I love without measure and I admire / The Metis-Canadians-French: / This new people who is reflected / Already in brilliant successes).” (Riel 319, lines 3–6) The first-person speaker cannot measure the love and admiration he expresses for this new people—Native and French, French-speaking—in what is now Canada and the United States. Riel’s celebratory poetry pays homage to the Métis and the new culture and space they have forged and his poetry continues to forge for them, a space that is part of Native, settler and mixed or hybrid poetry in Canada and the United States. Riel creates new spaces within Canadian and world poetry and literature.

The Canadian prairies can provide a good example of the bilingual and how that affects geography, otherness, mapping, center and periphery in terms of language, poetry, culture, the personal and the public. Cree, English, French and other languages co-existed on the Canadian prairies, which came to have an artificial border between the United States and Canada in a region (the Great Plains), which had no natural boundary and certainly not in terms of these two polities. Naomi McIlwraith is writing in Edmonton on land under Treaty 6, between the Crown and Cree, Assiniboine and Ojibwa on 23 August 1876 and on 9 September 1876, its boundaries extending to what now constitutes parts of central Alberta and Saskatchewan. McIlwraith has a mixed background of Cree and Scottish—what is now often called Métis culture to include people who are partly British as well as the original meaning of those who are partly French as “half-breed” has come to be much less used. She explores, in *kiyâm*, boundaries and spaces, personal, familial, social, historical, cultural and political, between cultures. This is a hybrid and contested space in language, memory, identity, representation and much else. This is a territory about lost territory, the lands of the Cree being wrenched from them,

their language lost and reclaimed slowly by the speaker and the author. Their own center has become their periphery, and the periphery of Europe has come and claimed as the Europeans' own the very center of the Cree lands. The British authorities and then the Canadian governments after independence have made the Cree other to themselves; the Cree have had their language taken away. McIlwraith finds herself on both sides of this divide, trying to understand her family, cultures and herself, reclaiming Cree culture, language, remembrance. She is trying to undo misrepresentation, to remap center and periphery, to offer a new geography of otherness.

The reader follows McIlwraith's journey. Her book begins with the section, "Family Poems," with the poem, "The Road to Writer's Block (A Poem to Myself)," which opens as follows:

Turn left at desire. Take this burden
and never let go. Cling
as a burr latches onto fleece.
Be sure that your load includes
the self-imposed responsibility to learn
a threatened language: namely *nêhiyawêwin*.
Go home: *kiwê*.
Head north: *kiwêtinohk itohhtë*.
Take a route unknown to you.
Do not plan too far
into the future. Do step forth with mute
naïveté. Invent a folktale so fantastic it can't
be disbelieved. Do this in the same way
you would mould green truth from fact, tender
as the first prairie crocus—*wâpikwanis*. (McIlwraith 5)

The striking half-line is the opening of a set of directions the poet writes to herself. Why she should turn left and not right, she does not say, but it arrests the reader and the poet mid-line. The alliteration of "Turn" and "Take" are part of the order of direction, an imperative to the self overheard by the listener or looked on by the reader. Ear and eye absorb this imperative of directions or directives to self and other. "Take this burden / and never let go" involves enjambment so it takes a turn to the other line to discover the second imperative, a surprising exhortation as well as an order "never" to "let go." Here is an imperative of determination and tenacity. The next word "Cling" also awaits, through enjambment, completion, "as a burr latches onto fleece," this simile showing how the "Cling" is like "a burr," nature's inspiration for velcro, latching to this "fleece." These imperatives "Turn" and "Take" and "never let go," combine with the

imagery to show that the burden is taken on with a stubborn defiance and not as a weight leading to defeat. McIlwraith turns to more imperatives of solidity and steadfastness: “Be sure” and “Go home.” She speaks to herself as other by referring to herself in terms of “your” and “you.” The speaker insists that “your load” also comprises of “the self-imposed responsibility” that McIlwraith defines as learning “a threatened language,” which the poem and her glossary define for the unilingual reader. As a supplement to the poem, McIlwraith explains as she translates and the reader learns from “Cree-English Correspondences”:

<i>nèhiyawêwin</i>	the Cree language, speaking Cree
<i>kîwê</i>	go home
<i>kîwêtinohk itohtê</i>	go north, northwards (towards the north wind)
<i>wâpikwanis</i>	flower (McIlwraith 125)

Her translations are sometimes a little different here or a little more expansive than what she provides in the poem. The commands in this poem are a mixture of positives and negatives. For instance, she says: “Do not,” “Do” and “Do.” She commands herself not to plan too distant in the future, to step forward mute and naïve, to invent such a fantastic folktale it cannot be disbelieved, as if to “mould green truth from fact,” which McIlwraith elaborates on with a striking image, “tender / as the first prairie crocus,” much more specific and memorable than the “flower” in the translation from the Cree in “Correspondences.” These self-imperatives define the speaker in language and culture.

In “Reclamation Poems” McIlwraith begins with “Cree Lessons,” a poem that explores linguistic boundaries in English and Cree about other differences and opens thus:

We are keen, though some of us have better ears than others.
The teacher’s voice inflects the pulse of *nèhiyawêwin* as he teaches us.
He says a prayer in the first class.

Nouns, we learn, have a gender.
In French, nouns are male or female,
but in Cree, nouns are living or non-living, animate or inanimate.
A chair, *têhtapiwin*, is inanimate. *tohtôsâpoy*, or milk, is also inanimate.
But the breast it comes from is animate. (McIlwraith 43)

The speaker once more represents how keen she is (and the group is too here) to learn Cree. She makes a voice the teacher has to inflect the pulse of the language and distinguishes French from Cree in the context of

an English-Cree poem. French is given to gender, Cree to living or not. The speaker finds part of herself in language, in a lesson her ancestors knew and she thinks she must learn. For her and in her ears and on her tongue, *nêhiyawêwin* is gaining a place and its cadence and rhythm and sounds are becoming part of McIlwraith's poetry. This is the space of her music, the heuristics of her linguistic geography.

McIlwraith begins the section, "A FEW IDEAS FROM *amiskwacî-wâskahikanihk*," with "The Young Linguist," a poem that begins as follows:

A girl, perhaps five,
whose father will later tell me she speaks
English, French, and Armenian,
approaches me at Fort Edmonton Park.
"How do you say 'Hi' in the teepee way?"
she asks. (McIlwraith 73)

Language is part of the encounter at work, or the space between people and cultures. Armenian now comes into the conversation along with English, French and Cree. The young and not so young exchange through linguistics. The poem ends with a bilingual explanation:

"Around here," I reply, "the Cree say,
'*tânisi*,' or if you want to say,
'Hello, how are you?'
we say, '*tânisi kiya*.'" (McIlwraith 73)

Often the speaker is the student, but here she is the teacher. The poem also represents the eagerness of the child to learn language, which implicitly is the opposite of the impulse that repressed Indigenous languages such as Cree. There is space for Cree and Armenian in this geography of otherness, in a map without center and periphery.

The final grouping of the poetry is "History Poems." The last in this section is the title poem, "*kiyâm*—Let It Be." McIlwraith begins the poem thus:

The dictionary tells me
it means "think nothing of it," and
"let's go then,"
"so much for this,"
"let there be no further delay,"
and a few other things like that. (McIlwraith 119)

Here is another language lesson. The speaker learns about the Cree of some of her ancestors, and shows in this opening but throughout the poem, the richness and multiplicity of the word, *kiyâm*, which begins as “let it be” but resonates in so many ways. This one word, which is also the title of the collection, shows, as in a grain of sand, the extent of the multiple meanings and nuances of Cree. McIlwraith, in ending this section and her book of poetry, makes space for Cree in English, in her bilingual and multi-polar, multivalent geography of otherness. McIlwraith has helped to open up the mapping in Canada in relation to itself and to other spaces and cultures.

Conclusion

The poetry of Native and Métis poets has mapped the region of the prairies, and a wider Canada, in ways that differ from “traditional” Western, perhaps English, French and European notions of Canada and North America—the New World. This essay contributes to studies of center and periphery in geography, history, and culture, including literature while discussing European settler, Métis and Native poetry to map and remap this multicultural Canada, North America and the Americas. This discussion has explored the ways in which the poetry of Canadian authors, particularly Métis, who identify as of mixed Native and European backgrounds who are acutely aware of language or are bilingual or multilingual, have contributed to the mapping of Canada as a literary space. I have discussed theory, criticism, fiction and especially poetry to show that poetry and other literary forms play a role in mapping regions and that, having provided a context, Métis and First Nations poems, not to mention their theoretical, critical and fictional writing, are a good vehicle for exploring this practice. The focus on Métis and Native poetry, in the contexts of European poetry in Germany, Canada and the United States, is an original route to explore the idea of literary mapping of territory. The individual poems I have read closely qualify, through their very particularity, the tendency of many theories, including those of space and its geometry of center and periphery, to abstraction. Theories are ways in, hypotheses, but the poems themselves explore similar matters in distinctive and concrete ways. The making of the poet and the reading of the reader are where the meaning ultimately lies and this very specificity relates to and qualifies, with poems, the generalizations and abstractions of theory. In the poems, between the poet and reader, a distinct texture occurs and bears a relation to theories that try to define that space and its connection with context.

The Métis poets, such as Riel and McIlwraith, forge a private and public space for themselves that allows space for this hybrid or mixed group. In fact, other poets, such as Pauline Johnson, might well be considered a Métis poet, now that we often use the term to include British-Native poets, once called half-breeds. Mourning Dove or Christine Quintasket is sometimes said to be a Native writer and sometimes Métis, so that European, Metis and Native poetry crosses borders and overlaps and creates its own poetics of space (Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest; Srivastava; Lukens). Although McIlwraith includes Cree with her English and Riel writes French and English poems, much of the Métis and Native poetry is in English or French in Canada. A “small” literature like Canadian literature had and has a hard time getting space in Canada and elsewhere in the world, a place in world literature. Moreover, poetry gets even less space, so that Métis and Native poetry in Canada, even while crossing borders, has an even harder task getting notice over time and finding space in Canadian and world literature. Métis poetry is a liminal space between center and periphery and has implications for hybrid and mixed as well as Indigenous poetry, literature and culture worldwide. These mixed and hybrid aspects of local, regional and national literatures have implications for world literature, the poetics of space and the poetics of otherness.

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Liminalni prostor poezije Métis: med središčem in obrobjem

Ključne besede: kanadska književnost / literarni prostor / liminalnost / kulturna identiteta / poezija Métis / Riel, Louis / Johnson, Pauline / McIlwraith, Naomi

Članek preučuje literarni prostor kanadske književnosti v svetovni književnosti in mejni prostor poezije Métis, ki se na prav poseben način umešča med evropski in avtohtoni vidik kanadske književnosti. Paradoks je ta, da lahko poezija in literatura Métis v Kanadi, ki sta bili dolgo marginalizirani, zdaj v svetovni in primerjalni književnosti ustvarita nov prostor za kanadsko literaturo, za to majhno med velikimi literaturami, in pesnike, rojene ali živeče v Kanadi. S tem ko preučujemo poezijo Métis v Kanadi ter analiziramo pesništvo Louisa Riela (1844–1885), Pauline Johnson (znane tudi kot Tekahionwake ali Dvojni Wampum, 1861–1913) in Naomi McIlwraith (sodobnica),

kreiramo občutek posebnosti in enkratnosti, čeprav se nekatere od teh lastnosti lahko pojavijo tudi v poeziji »Métis« zunaj Kanade. Riel in McIlwraith zasedata literarni in kulturni vmesni prostor – Riel piše v francoščini, McIlwraith pa v angleščini in algonkinskem *creeju* – ter prepletata malo in veliko središče, kot del tega pa tudi »narod v narodu«, ta mejni prostor, kjer se prevprašujejo sebstvo, identiteta in drugi.

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Cities, Networks, and Hierarchies: A Systematic Model of Romanian Novel

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This article sets out to observe the manner in which using the city as a narrative scenario can determine the creation of a systemic model of knowledge. Based on Morillo's theory that urban spaces can be analyzed by observing the interaction between the networks they belong to and the hierarchies they form, eventually becoming "hubs of knowledge," we try to prove that the Romanian novels of the late nineteenth century and the interwar period are valuable points of reference for sketching a systemic model of the South-East European space. The specificity of Romanian literature, reflecting historical conditions and relations with empires such as the Austro-Hungarian or Ottoman empires, as well as the constitution of labor relations through the transition from rural to accelerated urbanization produces a viable matrix. These aspects can be encountered in the novels of Romanian writers such as Ioan Slavici and Liviu Rebreanu, who reflect the reality of the Transylvanian space and the relations between the communities of Romanians, Germans, Saxons or Swabians, Hungarians and Jews, to Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, the writer who creates the image of Bucharest as part of the European urban network, even if it is hierarchically subordinate to Paris.

Keywords: Romanian literature / Romanian novel / imagology / city / networks / hierarchies / systemic model

The present study sets out from the observation that the manner in which cities are reflected in literature may determine the construction of a model of knowledge made up of networks and hierarchies. Starting out from this observation, we shall discuss the networks made up of interconnected urban nodes, by way of the literary texts advanced belonging to Romanian literature. We shall then analyze social and political hierarchies, as they appear in the same reflections of the urban

space, and in the last part we shall analyze the manner in which the two have interacted forming a systemic model. What is paramount for our discussion is Morillo's statement according to which "the cities were the hubs of knowledge formation and exchange because of the location of both markets and political centers in urban areas" (Morillo 15), a thing that implicitly generates the recognition of the importance of studying the city as a defining element for the sketching of social networks and hierarchies. The argument resorted to by Quayson "that the city tends to be the favored scalar unit for multiple world-making projects both below and above the nation-state scale. Cities are thus simultaneously sites where 'global designs' touch down, and matrices of possibility, where connectivity, reinvention, and self-translation also occur" (Quayson and Watson 7) leads us to the idea that the analysis of urban space generates an alternative model of knowledge. Applying this literature deconstructs a static landscape, determining the inclusion of literary works in a corpus essential for global knowledge.

The hypostases of cities presented as narrative frameworks, studied in the Romanian literature of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century are reflections of urban networks created in Europe, as we shall see from the analysis of the travels undertaken by the characters and from the exchange of political, economic, social and cultural ideas between the nodes of this network, but also of the hierarchies created vertically, from urban centers such as Paris or Vienna, towards secondary cities, belonging, to use the term employed by World Literature, to the peripheries, such as is the case for the Romanian space. The city as a prop for the narrative scenario played a crucial role in the construction of fiction, advancing various visions characterizing the multitude of cultural landmarks in central and South-East Europe and the relations with cultural urban spaces. The core thesis we wish to start out from in the construction of the present paper's endeavor thus advances the creation of a model by which to prove that the evolution of knowledge took place in direct relation with the development of urbanism, aspects which are reflected in literature. Central and South-East Europe developed an entire network of communication through the nodes of which an accelerated growth took place in various domains of activity. In such a model, applied to Medieval Asia, Stephen Murillo showed that cities are placed at the intersection of two grand structures: networks and hierarchies, and the position they are in is a result of belonging to one of the two. Thus, networks can be defined as "the horizontal, extensive, cooperative, and economical-cultural links between cities large and small (and through those cities to

their economic hinterlands) [...] network flows also inevitably included people, ideas, and thus culture generally” and hierarchies as “vertical, coercitive and political structures, encompassing what are commonly called states, chiefdoms, and other sorts of polities into which specific societies tended to be organized. Complex, state-level hierarchies were almost always built on a base of rural agricultural production” (Morillo 2). These networks and hierarchies imply alpha type cities and secondary cities, which have developed around such large urban structures. One of the questions the present study attempts to answer is how is the connection between the urban space in East European literatures and lighthouse cities, which swallow them up, constructed? Are we dealing with peripheral or secondary urban spaces here?

Secondary literature has discussed peripheral and central cities, principal and secondary ones, which have changed their status according to industrial and technological development, as well as the relationship between the city and world literature (Quayson and Watson; Agathocleous; Eade; Lehan; McNamara; Soja). The criteria employed to categorize urban settlements are quite diverse, however, we hold that the central and East-European space brings up important arguments as part of this new classification, also in what the functions these spaces fulfil as part of this global urban network are concerned. An ample discussion was devoted to so-called alpha cities, which have shaped knowledge. Thus, Jason Finch, Lieven Ameel and Markku Salmela observed: “On a global scale, one can find a distinctive group of cities that could be called ‘alpha’ world cities: New York, London, Paris and Tokyo in economic terms.” (Finch, Ameel and Salmela 12) Such a relationship can be envisaged between Paris and the Romanian space, to be more precise the capital Bucharest, but also between the Transylvanian space of the twentieth century and the imperial capitals Budapest and Vienna. Pascale Casanova considered Paris a center of “world literary space,” a Greenwich meridian (Casanova 34) for World Literature, alongside London and New York. The question thus arises whether the literary reflection of cities belonging to semi-peripheral or peripheral geographic spaces can bring elements of novelty to global knowledge: “Compared to peripherality, secondariness is perhaps at once more ordinary and more visible, a condition that is hidden in the open. Most urban dwellers experience their cities as somehow secondary to other, bigger, or more famous, cities.” (Finch, Ameel and Salmela 96) We can thus observe that “secondary cities” fulfil certain functions, whether we refer to being political, cultural, or economic centers or important nodes of a network. Jacques Derrida in his essay “Plato’s Pharmacy,” discussed

as early as 1972 the oppressive component implied by a relationship between a dominant and a dominated. Cities can be subordinate to such centers, while simultaneously being part of a hierarchical pyramid, but also nodes of a cultural, economic, political or religious network.

The case studies we employed as part of the present discussion focus on three authors who are representative for the chosen time frame and for Romanian literature. Their selection was also determined by the accessibility of prose and translations. The first of these authors, chronologically speaking, Ioan Slavici, is the one who contextualized the discussion regarding the power relations between Transylvania and the capital of the Austro-Hungarian empire, identifying both networks and hierarchies existing at the level of urban spaces. Another Romanian writer, Liviu Rebreanu, brought up the multicultural component of Transylvania, but, at the same time, advanced images of the secondary city, as perceived through the lens of the multiethnic. The third example is Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, an author who focused on the description of the capital city, Bucharest, analyzing French influences, but also aspects connected to the construction of a network by means of the characters' travels, as well as the establishment of hierarchies between Paris and Bucharest, aspects which define Romanian culture integrated into the European space. We can thus notice a break with traditional spatial patterns, an aspect which will be noticeable in the differences between the urban representations of Slavici, a writer rather connected to the nineteenth century and Rebreanu and Papadat-Bengescu, modern writers, with whom space fulfils different functions. As noted by Eric Bulson, part of what made realist novels so powerful was their capacity to make readers believe that fictional cities had "a counterpart in the cities of the earth" (Bulson 34). This is precisely what happens also in Slavici's writings, whose texts belong to nineteenth century realism.

Networks featuring urban nodal points

The construction of a network of urban nodal points is obvious in Slavici's prose (1848–1925), as the cities he mentions in Transylvania are secondary type ones such as Arad, Radna and Lipova, narrative stages for the characters, but at the same time starting points for the construction of a commercial, economic, political and religious network. Slavici's novel *Mara* (published in a magazine in 1894, and as a volume in 1906) contains references to the construction of such

relationships. Beyond the story of the main female protagonist, Mara, additional details surface regarding wealthy families, localized action, based on historical information offered, between the years 1850–1860 (Slavici 844). Thus, when the circumstances are revealed that led to their reaching the provincial town, Slavici resorts to the identification of geographical landmarks. The multi-ethnic component shapes the narrative discourse, the novel being characterized by the permanent tension between the German, Hungarian and Romanian communities. Thus, the family of Națl Hubăr, who becomes the husband of Persida, Mara's daughter, belongs to the Swabian community of Banat and, implicitly, to a different social class, due to Hubăr's job as a butcher. The origins of Hubăroaie, Natl's mother, are localized in the Austrian Empire, in Buda, while Hubăr, the father, comes from Vienna, the capital. We can thus notice that the urban networks become forms of analysis of social relations, status and the roles played by the characters:

A Swabian from Buda, she had married Hubăr while still very young, an industrious and merry Viennese, but with a short temper, and they had come here not so long ago, where they did not know anyone. With the help of her dowry, Hubăr had managed to gather within a few years, especially during the 1848 revolution, quite a fortune. They were even luckier after the revolution, when Hubăr became, due to his being a German from Vienna, very respected, and their household became one of the most prominent ones. (43)

Special emphasis is placed on the presentation of ethnic origins, because not only did Hubăr hail from Vienna, but he was also German, being thus a double exile. Characters are thus moving between Arad and Vienna, with the latter being perceived as a space where they can sometimes seek refuge and find a solution to their personal or economic problems. The network created also advances a transfer of knowledge, as the characters bring with them to the region they settle in new mentalities, customs and cultural constructs.

Slavici imagines the character of the Jewish merchant Griner who gives them a loan, playing the role of a creditor,¹ an ever-present personage in any era. The leather merchant lends him three hundred florins, in order to be able to leave in the aftermath of the conflict with his father, at other times it is mentioned that he wants to borrow a couple of hundred florins in order to leave "far away from this world," and during another episode of emotional turmoil he acts repetitively:

¹ Interest for economic elements in Slavici's novels appears as early as 1943, e.g. Iorgulescu.

“Tuesday evening, when Persida was with Bandi on the bridge, Națl was sitting with his face in his hands, tormented by intense emotions before Oancea. He had taken five hundred florins from Griner and he had decided that he would depart for Arad and then for Vienna as soon as the sun would set.” (103) The florin was the currency the protagonists used in order to travel to imperial territories. Thus, for Persida, Vienna is simultaneously a point of attraction but also of repulsion, being seen as “the big noisy city,” and socializing as well as adapting to its rhythm changes Persida’s perception of it: “They spent the evening with Burdea, and around ten, when they returned home, Persida no longer felt that life in Vienna was insufferable. Time had passed without her noticing it; she had never spent more agreeable hours than those.” (178) The places of origin of the two characters are brought up, whether under the form of references to Națl’s visit to Buda, to see Hansler, his mother’s cousin, whether it is the discussion of cities where he had relatives: “Especially Hubăroaie was happy. They had friends in Arad, Timișoara and Lugoj; they had relatives—she in Buda and Pojon, and her husband in Vienna: wherever he would have gone, her son would have been well received, he would have even found a bride fit for his social status.” (43) The power centers brought up are Buda, Bratislava (Pojon) and Vienna, perceived as friendly cities for the inhabitants of Transylvania, which was part of the Empire.

What is also interesting is the characters’ relation to linguistic aspects, that creates a network generated by the urban spaces they hail from. Thus, the narrator points to the extent of the linguistic contamination process and to the imposition of a dominant of power which constructs a hierarchy: “Persida and Națl always spoke German. [...] You will hate me terribly one day, he told her in Romanian.” (156) We can thus observe that during the moments of crisis, the couple renounces the official language, in order to use the language closer to their hearts as a linguistic vehicle, considering that Persida was the daughter of the Romanian Mara. About Națl we get to know that having been “raised among Romanians, he spoke Romanian just as well as German” (37). Similarly, changing discourse according to the situation is done in order to highlight the manner in which the two communities relate to one another. During an argument with his father, the character tells him: “The drunkard Germans, he said in Romanian, are fighting like animals. Yes! He continued in German, they are right to mock us!” (143) We encounter here a reference to the prejudices surrounding ethnic Germans, but also to the objective of appealing to the consciousness of the merciless father. Mara’s observations regarding the

community churches brings up the topic of “colonizing,” as well as of the construction of a network made up of the clash between civilizations: “if one crosses the Murăș one gets to Lipova with its sparkly and ornate tower of the Romanian church, and downstream there is the endless plain of Hungary” (33; see also Bako). The tensions between communities are also fed by the fact that the times were ripe with ideas of independence, and the dissolution of the empire was at hand. Slavici introduces also a short analysis of foreign politics: “The young men enrolled in Mantua, Verona and Venice were writing that a certain Garibaldi had appeared, a great general, who seeks to unite Italians and raise them above the emperor; while Hungarians were whispering and bragging that their Kossuth had connections to Garibaldi and that he would return in spring in order to drive away the emperor’s guards.” (236) Indeed, the year 1859 is representative for the fundamental changes of political regimes, Garibaldi, who starting with the year 1860 coagulates a revolutionary movement in Italy, and the relationships between various conservative and liberal groups with immigrants gathering around Kossuth being destabilizing elements of the Austrian Empire. Important power centers now shift towards Italy and the Hungarian resistance, both becoming models for the fight for independence. The example suggested by Slavici is presented with honesty, with the reader finding out that the Italians are fighting the foreign administration, throwing them into the sea, into the Garda Lake, into the Adige River and suggesting that Hungarians might do the same in order to gain independence. We are thus dealing with a European contextualization of Transylvania’s situation, where the administration was the body representing Austrian power. Not accidentally, I. Negoïtescu notices the fact that on the one hand “cosmopolitanism brings the author of *Mara* closer to the values of the old continent [...] a typical representative of the spirit of Central Europe,” and on the other hand we notice that “provincialism” one can find also in “the Italian novels of the second half of the 19th century” (Negoïtescu 116). The idea of an obvious belonging to European literature is expressed, but which is nonetheless original by bringing to the forefront the particular situation of the Romanian space.

On the other hand, in the novel *Cel din urmă armaș / The Last Governor* (published in 1923 and apparently written in the Văcărești prison), the characters travel one step further from a geographical point of view. The time span of events is 1875–1880. In this time frame, the protagonist Iorgu and his wife go beyond alpha cities, those power centers, and reach the west, equating the journey to a process of

refining and climbing the social ladder and constructing a network. They use Vienna only as a stop on their way to Paris or as a medical center. Slavici associates Vienna with a space where characters can heal: “[W]e decided to stop in Vienna. There is a Romanian doctor there, Sterie Ciurcu, who opened a sanatorium and has connections to all medical celebrities. We will stay with him for a while and we will see what the Viennese celebrities will tell us.” (Slavici 269)

We find the same association also with Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, Vienna becoming an alpha city in this network, a space of healing by offering solutions to bodily problems. The nineteenth century writer however observes that the best manner to have access to Viennese medical services is by means of acquaintances, in this case the character of Stere Ciurcu. We can sense a certain degree of insecurity in handling the problem here, with the supporting character being characterized as a “Romanian doctor.” *Dishvelled Maidens* presents the protagonists on their journey to Vienna, the alpha city is analyzed also in her other novels, seen from a double vantage point: a place of education, but also perceived from the perspective of medical institutions, meant to bring about healing: “Lenora had gone to Vienna lately, where Coca-Aimee was studying and for a medical check-up. A hypochondria typical of spoiled women [...]! It was caprice that had brought her to Vienna instead of Bucharest.” (Papadat-Bengescu 40) The urban space of Warsaw is associated with “a big export business” run by Drăgănescu. The journey then proceeds “with a stop in Vienna, in order to provide the doctors taking care of Lenora the latest medical letter” (53). What is also brought to the forefront are protagonists’ visits to Vienna, such as the one where in the course of ten days “Lenora walked around with Coca-Aimee, bargained, and made graceful conversation with the doctors” (54). However, the small landowner Drăgănescu becomes impoverished, the reason being “the trips to Vienna, the exaggerated unforeseeable spending, brought about by Lenora’s disease, his being kept from keeping an eye on the estate, that he had previously never abandoned.” (57)

The travels feature Vienna as a mandatory stop, seen as a city that simultaneously attracts and repels. If in the novel *Mara*, previously discussed, the protagonists had relatives in the Austrian Empire, and could thus identify with the space granting them power, even from a distance, in *The Last Governor*, alpha European cities are perceived by the protagonist as a power that attracts and fascinates, while at the same time remaining foreign. Whether they spend their honeymoon in “Vienna, where the newlyweds planned to stop for a few days and ended up staying

for a few weeks” (Slavici 441) or make a short stop before heading further to Paris: “They were after all not the only Romanians who stopped in Vienna on their way to Paris” (442). We can notice the construction of a network corresponding to tourist destinations. From euro-peripheral spaces such as Bucharest or from rural spaces characters travel to European capitals, either in order to be fashionable, or out of snobbery, or because large urban settlements mean a loss of identity and an intense experience of life, involving gambling, parties, psychedelics or Bacchic orgies. For example, Mrs. Margot confesses to Iorgu her affairs with Zonas and the African Ali Buduc and the hallucinatory hashish experiences: “We were both taking hashish in our coffee.” (445) Thus, the characters advance practices typical for urban spaces. The urban network transfigures the characters who moving from one city to another come to experience new things. The characters’ journeys establish a true European itinerary, leading through Zurich, Geneva where Zonas buys pearls, through Nice and up to Paris where Iorgu becomes a cultural attaché. Travels are recorded with stops of several hundred kilometers, such as the following: “It seems like I caught a cold on the way, so I was very worried and had to stop in Vienna and then in Munich. I did not find Zoe in Zurich, but I was told she had departed to Geneva—and not alone, but accompanied by a rich Brazilian.” (447) Cities sometimes become a place of refuge, at other times the protagonist perceives the distance to his home country as an obligation, a duty by means of which he gained access to the new social class he was part of: “So, they all went to Paris, where it was even better and more beautiful than in Zurich. Iorgu felt like a stuffed doll being dragged around, that a madman had scornfully tied to the tail of a horse that had been whipped.” (470) Simultaneously, another hypostasis is the one of escaping personal issues by entering “the midst of people who are unaware of them, whether in Paris, in Switzerland, or in Munich” (474). Slavici’s characters are small landowners who have to constantly choose between taking care of their estate, or selling it and moving to the Capital, in order to experience the ongoing process of urbanization. Iorgu, torn between the two different attitudes understands “what the landowner loses if he gives up his estate,” an opportunity for the writer pleading for human rights to bring up the issue of property. If landowners had “been allowed to create the necessary agricultural installations” (478), then, the character notes, the country would have also profited from it. The small Romanian landowner is attracted to foreign cities, traveling to such alpha cities becoming an obligation in order to maintain social status: “Most of them take loans in order to be able to spend the winter in Paris, Nizza or even Monaco” (478) says Talpă, one of the

novel's characters. The influence of the cultural spaces visited is obvious, even in the interior design of homes: "The room was ready: ceiling and walls painted in the same color, the color of oily milk. The others, Pompeii style. The nobleman, a stylish man returning from Paris, had chosen everything to be simple but very beautiful, especially the ceiling, and the plasterer was working alongside two journeymen on the decorations on the edges." (478) The association with central spaces such as Paris becomes a form by means of which everything becomes contaminated with its image. Whether they are going to Nice or stop in Zurich to find "letters from home" (453), the characters travel through Europe sometimes out of sheer snobbery, at other times in order to maintain their status, but at all times relating to their acquaintances back home, in the Romanian space, whom they never break with. It is a journey that always bears a double sense: attraction towards the alpha city, contamination with its force, transformation and the return to one's own country, where social status is being reinforced. In fact, this is the role of the alpha city in the novels discussed: to offer the protagonist reaching them some of its attributes of force, to use them in the subordinate space. The global cultural network is described, based on the circulation of goods. Social status is measured by the desire to accumulate goods from far-away places. The centers of wealth, seen as the only instrument for social climbers, are the European cultural spaces, to which objects from farther and farther places are added, like in an interconnected network: "Today furniture from Paris or at least Vienna, tomorrow Russian horses and expensive carriages, the day after that Persian rugs, gobelins, paintings, vases and various frills, and on top of that servants and more servants dressed like in Paris and offered a good life." (287)

For the modernist novelist, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, giving up the estate and along with it life in the countryside brings about an emotional metamorphosis detailed by the narrator by means of allusive observations: "Mrs. Eliza whispered something in approximate French," "for the first time in city attire," "an overcoat that seemed to hinder him" (Papadat-Bengescu 128). The description of another one of the characters, Mika-Le, is done by means of mentioning brands that marked the evolution of fashion in the beginning of the century, such as, precum Maison Lys or Couturier Premet: "[A] mannequin from Maison Lys, with very narrow hips, without life-giving thighs, created not for bearing children, but for wearing the latest creations of Premet, some silk scarf covering a non-existing body." (128) At other times, reflector characters such as Mini and Nory bring up gossip topics, for example the remark concerning doctor Rim:

You, a feminist, the adept of great mentalities, harbor this sarcastic and vulgar tone! Still, she too said to herself inside her head, even if not out loud: “That ugly German!” It seemed like there was some method in the Romanian’s bad habit: elegance and cordiality towards strangers are always dependent on the latter’s attitude. Today, it was all Rim’s fault. He acted too aggressively and too much like a foreigner. (44)

In other novels such as *Drumul ascuns / The Hidden Road*, references to such spaces as Mont-Cenis appear, “where the guide teaches you to lean over and gaze into the abyss ...” (Papadat-Bengescu 1087), or Geneva and Zurich: “Elena had been startled to find out that he had sold his apartment in Geneva, when he had departed for Zurich” (1087), centers of power especially from the perspective of Marcian’s profession of a musician. What seems interesting to us is the tableau-like insert that brings up Darwinism, by means of a portrait hanging in doctor Walter’s salon: “The en pied portrait of Darwin was surveying them.” (1103) Papadat-Bengescu multiplies perspectives out of a desire not to contour a dominant idea of the text, “the ancestral grimace” being useful for the human being in order to justify any action from a Nietzschean perspective. Corporeality is an animalic element, by means of everything that prompts us to identify humans as “beasts,” as bereft of any moral principle. It is a remark reminiscent of Dostoevsky that the narrator makes here, because bringing up bestiality, lack of self-control, representing a hypostasis of the “body” associated with a diseased consciousness. The constructed network becomes an evolutionary chain where the travelling characters exchange ideas, adopt attitudes or take over clothing preferences, all contributing to an interconnectedness of the Romanian and the European space.

Hierarchies: The city between subnational and supranational

Beyond the shadow of a doubt the history of literature is traced by means of the history of cities and the relationships existing between them, relationships that have shaped society since the earliest times. Whether we are speaking about antique spaces where manuscripts have encountered a space to expand, or whether we move closer to more recent times, the urban spaces have always shaped the itinerary of cultural ideas. The second idea supporting the model we initially advanced is the one of hierarchies. Thus, we can notice between the cities depicted in the novels analyzed not only a horizontal relationship which constructed the networks, but also a vertical one, which

determined hierarchies: “Cities are simultaneously subnational, operating below nation at regional level, and supranational, transcending nation via city-to-city global circuits.” (Rooney 280) We notice that such a statement is applicable also to the cities depicted in Romanian novels. The Romanian space has a special status, because in its case we are dealing with a double hypostasis: firstly, the territorial fragmentation before the unification of 1918 and the different cultural adherences which have shaped the Romanian provinces in radically different ways. While Transylvania established hierarchical relations with the Austrian, and then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which it was a part for a period of time, the Romanian Principalities maintained a constant relationship with the Ottoman Empire and Oriental culture (even after the War for Independence in 1877). Some writers, among them also Slavici, whom we have mentioned above, insert ideas related to foreign politics into their novels, containing this above-mentioned hierarchy.

If war were to break out between the Turks and the Russians, the battles could only have taken place at Romania’s borders with Russia, Romania being a vassal country of the Ottoman empire. [...] Others thought that it would be best for the country to declare its independence, to cut ties with the Ottoman kingdom, which would have stopped the Russians from claiming right to cross the Prut River. (Slavici 235)

This is a sort of negotiation of power relations between global spaces, a realignment of hierarchies by means of force. Studying the manner in which hierarchical relations with “global” cities are reflected in literature proves a transnational interaction with other cultural spaces. This hierarchical pyramid generated by the relations between cities and implicitly between countries/empires can be traced also from the perspective of the peculiar situation of the Romanian spaces. Thus, in the case of Rebreanu’s prose hierarchies are established at a primary level by means of a certain “colonization” that is brought up by means of the linguistic criterion. In the novel *Ion* (1920), the Transylvanian writer, even though he brings to the narrative foreground an individuality, by means of the portrait of the Romanian peasant from Transylvania, creates a backdrop against which social, economic, political and cultural realities of the region are painted. Close to the moment of disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Rebreanu’s characters experience intense personal and national tragedies. These are introduced into the narration in order to prove the existence of a latent state of tension. Thus, the deputy of the “constituency” in Armadia, Ion Ciocan,

even though he was the principal of the Romanian school, “had flirted with the Hungarians, making compromises for their sake, introducing, mainly through the back door, the Hungarian language into the study programs” (Rebreanu, *Opere* 148, vol. 4) and being consequently rewarded with the position of a deputy. The same attitude of compromise can be observed in the following fragment, “independence then gained him the professorship of Romanian literature at the University of Budapest and maintained the representation of Armadia in parliament until his death” (149). The lingering conflict between communities is captured by presenting the two candidates for the available position of deputy, after Ciocan’s demise. The two candidates represent two communities: “Victor Grofșoru, a prominent lawyer from Armadia, supported by the entire Romanian community, and the banker Bela Beck, a Hungarian Swab from Budapest, who it was rumored was willing to spend even a hundred thousand crowns and being a member of the government had at his disposal, with a most efficient discreetness, the support of bigger and smaller authorities” (149), two hypostases corresponding to two attitudes regarding the role of the Romanian community in the Budapest Parliament. Secondly, the hierarchy is established by means of belonging to a social or professional category, as exemplified by Morillo’s pyramid, who placed local elites on the bottom, followed by elites and on top a “unitary political leader.” A character from Rebreanu’s prose, Ion Pinteș, from Cernăuți, caught up in a debate with Titu, explains the role of politics and hierarchies, as experienced by a middle-class governmental clerk, by resorting to words such as “political turmoil,” “fights, harassment, scandal, filth,” “their small ambitions,” “disgust.” The conclusion that astonishes Titu and grants a new meaning to the ideas he had previously stood for is a sort of demolition of patriotic discourse:

I believe freedom is the greatest misfortune for the nation not prepared for it. This is why you people here are happier, in spite of all your whining and revolt ... This is the truth, my dear Sir! Here the Hungarians, foolishly, harass you, persecute you, subdue you—that is all true. This is your only luck, because this is what makes you strong, united and determined. The moment you would be granted liberty, you would do the same as us ... The Hungarians are dumb and make you stronger instead of weakening you. They would however destroy you the moment they would unchain you! (181)

The bitter conclusion reached by the character who had experienced such liberty in Cernăuți is internalized by Titu, a defender of Romanianism in all its forms. The discussion thus advances a hypostasis by means of

which solidarity is generated by a common enemy, a goal for which members of the community come together, a principle according to which even social movements function. Power, represented here by the dominating empire, plays the role of a “necessary evil,” which the others, the weaker ones, gather to fight.

Another hypostasis of the hierarchies represented by the creation of an elite shaped in imperial cities such as Budapest, due to the characters’ studies at Hungarian universities. In *Forest of the Hanged*, Apostol Bologna receives a scholarship in order to study there: “The answer arrived three weeks later: he was granted a place in a ‘student college’ in Budapest, full board and even with a few crowns monthly as pocket money.” During the two years he spends studying in the capital-city he grows as an individual, however Rebreanu attributes a hypostasis to him by means of which the nostalgia for his native Parva and the nature which granted him freedom are seen in opposition to “life in the capital” which “he found insufferable. The noisy streets, people’s egoism, the mechanization of life bothered him” and “in nature he felt free and closer to the world’s heartbeat. Any time he could, he escaped the city. He knew the hills around Buda as well as the surroundings of Parva ...” (Rebreanu, *Opere* 88, vol. 3). Thus, a hierarchy of cities is produced, according to the manner in which Apostol Bologna relates to these spaces: the urban development of Budapest and to what this power-space could offer him, he realizes that his manner of feeling is different, unable of granting him the individual protection he is craving. We can observe that certain tension between modernity, meaning evolution, including by bringing up university education, a source of changing mentalities, and the traditional represented by the attachment to his native, rural space. The incapacity to adapt is justified by his emotional makeup insufficiently adaptable to urbanization. In the novel other characters with different journeys appear, which are briefly described, in the manner of a biographical note: “He told him that he was a Saxon, the son of a peasant, from a village next to Braşov, half of which were Romanians and the other half Saxons. [...] He liked the book and he graduated from the Commercial Academy in Vienna. He had secured a position as accountant in a bank in Sibiu ...” (88) In another one of Rebreanu’s novels, *Răscoală / The Uprise* (1932) Grigore Iuga studies abroad, but only in order to return to his country and “import” the knowledge he gathered there. The hierarchy is quite clear, advancing the solution of learning the “know-how”:

He had gone to Germany to specialize in agronomy, after he had received his BA in Law in Bucharest, not in order to practice, but merely to have a title. He left for three years, his mother died during the first year and the old man asked him to stay home, to abandon all this useless science. He barely agreed to allow him to continue studying for one more year. He returned from abroad with a head full of grand plans and with certain solutions for all hardships. (Rebreanu, *Opere* 88, vol. 8)

The 24-year-old young men had left to Germany to specialize in agronomy, an idea concordant with his country's obvious ruralism, during those times. The influence of the German culture and education is obvious, as the character's studies were meant to modernize the traditional system. The father, "the old man" as he calls him in the novel, is the one who does not trust science, taking up a retrograde attitude, not at all open to novelty, and the son who could have changed something falls prey to the Nadina's allure and renounces the power conferred to him by his studies abroad. In *The Uprise* comparisons to other alpha cities appear: the two capitals, Bucharest and Budapest. In a comment referring to the state of Father Belciug, a character in the novel *Ion*, it is noted that "Belciug should return to the country, as he had promised when the new church in Pripas was built; being a rich widower, he can easily come here and he won't regret the money spent, because Bucharest is a more likeable city than Budapest, apart from being the heart of Romanians" (229). Paris, the French capital, is mentioned in connection with shopping for clothes, necessary for taking part in events such as the ones mentioned by Nadina:

There was, only in November, the opening of the Parliamentary Session, the Eleonora Duse and Feraudy performances, apart from the Paderewski concert. She had brought some things with her from Paris, when she returned home, but she soon realized with dread that with the multitude of events which claimed her presence, she could just well have been naked. (325)

As part of the same discussion, the relationship with the power center is analyzed by reminiscing about lost fortunes or big sums of money squandered, the city being seen as "a place of doom." Reminiscent of "creolization" a space is thus described, keeping important elements imported from the hierarchic pyramid:

A small night-time restaurant, in a back street. A modest exterior. Inside blinding lights, sought-after luxury, warm atmosphere, real French waiters and some sensational attractions. The owner, from a noble family, with a distinguished name, who spent a huge fortune in Paris and build the restaurant

from whatever money he had left, in order to have an occupation, receives his customers personally and ceremoniously like a senior would receive his guests to a stylish reception. Raul Brumaru, of course, a friend of the owner's, makes the introductions skilfully. And Nadina smiles delightedly and repeats over and over again: — Ah, oui, c'est vraiment très chic, très parisien! (323).

This mixture is created by bringing French elements to a Parisian location, as part of an overtly expressed influence. Such references appear even during moments of happiness as “Raul Brumaru, more of an early bird than all of us, came down fully groomed, happy, joyfully humming a new tune that was incredibly popular in Paris” (467). Nadina's husband, Grigore Iuga, realizes that his wife's life abroad implied “spending enormous amounts of money,” and what Platamonu had sent him, representing “his fall earnings paid out a few months in advance, even though only he knew how he had actually been able to conjure up such a huge sum” (479) had been squandered. The narrator's attitude evinces his sympathy towards the downtrodden, and condemns the attitude of estate owners and landholders.

A systemic model: The Romanian novel

If in *Ion*, Rebreanu's novel, the discussion gravitated primarily around the Hungarian language, in *The Uprise* we realize that the hypostases of language are different, as “Nobody on the editorial board spoke any other foreign language except French, so that nobody could read to them,” and because Titu Herdelea was “from abroad,” the secretary asked him to select from the German and Hungarian press the news about Romania and enslaved Romanians. He immediately offered him an impressive pile of virgin newspapers” (136). If in the novel published in 1920, the world described had relationships above all with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in *The Uprise* the vision is transformed, evincing a world “speckled like an oriental mixture” where we simultaneously see:

[W]orkers and clerks, then peasants walking in groups like scared sheep, servants in Hungarian peasant clothes, tiny soldiers, young ladies wearing excessive makeup, eyeing all men, apprentices and high school students teasing each other and bumping into people and walls, juice sellers, Bulgarians wearing brass bells, Turks carrying candy ... (23)

The mixture noticed also by Rebreanu proves the existence of a new systemic model, where networks, by means of horizontally shaped

relations between Romanian urban centers and foreign ones overlap with hierarchies, constructed vertically, as the oriental hypostasis evinces a taking over which brings chaos, as opposed to order. Nadina notices the “lack of civilization” that she attributes to the Orient, while Bucharest’s road to becoming a “civilized” city is attributed to the French influence. “Inside the carriage, wrapped in furs, Nadina said joyfully:—How good that Bucharest started to be more civilized, not only a place for grilled meat, loud music and bad behavior! ... Don’t you agree, Grig?—Yes, of course!—And the musician was quite interesting! She added after a pause. Did you notice that he only sang for me?” (153).

As Morillo pointed, “the general cultural difference between the two types of structures, and indeed the different purposes for which each type of structure existed, made the intersection of networks and hierarchies potentially tense and conflicted, requiring a variety of cultural and administrative mechanisms to mediate and regulate the tension” (Morillo 5). We can thus conclude that there exists, as part of the process of transferring knowledge, two essential phases that construct a viable literary model generated by the Romanian space: the first is the one by means of which urban spaces become nodal points for the characters’ travels, whether we are referring to journeys through Transylvania towards Vienna or Budapest, or from Bucharest to Paris or other alpha cities. In the prose texts of the three writers who have served as case studies one can notice this openness towards the integration of Romanian cities, by means of the characters, into a European network. The second phase is the one where hierarchies are established, as the urban node network also means a hierarchization of city spaces. Starting out from the linguistic vehicle used by the characters and the power relations we can encounter in this context, until the analysis of foreign policies and the manner of election of political leaders, according to the relation with a certain alpha city, a political center. The clash between cultural spaces is obvious in the texts analyzed, as inevitably between dominant and dominated an oppressive relationship is established, which also constructs the pyramid of power relations. The urban center becomes the reflection of this systemic model, produced by the intersection of knowledge acquired in central and western Europe and the Oriental heritage.

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Mesta, omrežja in hierarhije: sistematični model romunskega romana

Ključne besede: romunska književnost / romunski roman / imagologija / mesto / omrežja / hierarhije / sistemski model

V članku opazujemo, kako je mogoče uporabiti mesto kot narativni scenarij in s tem vplivati na ustvarjanje sistema modela znanja. Izhajajoč iz Morillove teorije, ki urbane prostore analizira z opazovanjem interakcije med omrežji, ki jim pripadajo, in hierarhijami, ki jih vzpostavljajo, ter nazadnje postanejo »vozlišča znanja«, bomo skušali dokazati, da predstavljajo romunski romani s konca 19. stoletja in iz obdobja med vojnama dragocene mejnike za zarisovanje sistema modela Jugovzhodne Evrope. Specifičnost romunske književnosti, ki odraža zgodovinske razmere in odnose z imperiji, kot sta avstro-ogrski ali otomanski, ter vzpostavitev delovnih razmerij ob prehodu s podeželske na pospešeno urbanizacijo ustvarja ustrezno matrico. Te vidike lahko srečamo v romanih pisateljic in pisateljev romunske književnosti, kot sta Ioan Slavici in Liviu Rebreanu, ki odsevajo realnost transilvanskega prostora ter odnosov med skupnostmi Romunov, Nemcev, Sasov in Švabov, Madžarov, Judov, vse do Hortensie Papadat-Bengescu, pisateljice, ki je orisala podobo Bukarešte kot dela evropske urbane mreže, četudi hierarhično podrejene Parizu.

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The Particular as a Locus of Critique in Ernst Jünger's Micrology

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*In this article I examine the micrological method developed by Ernst Jünger in *The Adventurous Heart* and later writings. I understand micrology as a philosophical-literary approach to describing individual objects that shed light on the broader context in which they are situated, especially insofar as this context resists conventional discursive practices. First, I argue that, contrary to popular belief, Jünger's metaphysical presuppositions are not at odds with the social insights he arrives at in his micrological works. In doing so, I will show that some of Jünger's illustrations have considerable socio-historical significance. I then propose that there is substantial correspondence between Jünger's entomological and micrological perspectives, in part because they both rely on locating unlikely traces of difference in a seemingly ordinary or uniform setting. Given the relative lack of scholarship on the structure of micrological enquiry, particularly in relation to Jünger's fragments, addressing these problems requires a more detailed account of the formal qualities of a micrological model.*

Keywords: philosophy / Jünger, Ernst / social critique / Platonism / insect / micrology

Despite his prolific work on cultural history, epistemology, ecology, psychedelics, and an array of refreshingly idiosyncratic subjects such as the imaginary geographies of a post-apocalyptic future, Ernst Jünger has an uneasy place in the Western literary and philosophical canon. This is in no small part due to his nationalist leanings and controversial political commitments after the First World War. While the tide seems to be slowly turning with the recent publication of Jünger's writings on altered states (Jünger, *Approaches*), Peter Hohendahl's contention that Jünger's achievements are overshadowed by his ambiguous relation to authoritarianism remains pertinent even today, particularly in Anglo-American academia (Hohendahl 248–249). It should be possible to discuss Jünger's theory beyond an interpretive framework centered entirely on his reactionary sentiments without denying these intellectual influences.

My article explores Jünger's philosophical rhetoric, specifically the way in which he reconstructs a situation by reflecting on individual objects usually ignored in systematic inquiry. On this conception, the thinker selects a seemingly inconsequential event or entity which serves as a master key to understanding the state-of-affairs at large. It is hoped that a non-linear account of an oft-overlooked detail, presented in an experimental context, helps us apprehend some substantial fact about the world we navigate in our daily experience. Following Davide Giuriato, I call this method micrology (Giuriato 102).

My use of the term micrology therefore differs from its application in the physical sciences, where it refers to the microscopic examination of particles imperceptible to the naked eye (Guyer). What is at stake here, instead, is a philosophico-literary approach to describing small, commonplace objects so that they reveal multi-stranded layers of meaning. Indeed, the underlying assumption of micrology is that trivial matters like a clast of rock or a broken ornament, captured in a vivid, gradually expanding and unfamiliar textual setting, can be traced to hidden complexities relevant to our being human. To borrow Jünger's metaphor from a diary entry on poetic recognition, micrology in this sense is akin to "gathering a bundle of seaweed from the ocean" which, "when dragged up into the light, reveals an extensive system of filaments" (Neaman ix). Rather than discarding these "weeds" as contingent and, by implication, unimportant, the micrologist pursues them to a network of interrelated ideas and processes concealed beneath the surface. This is achieved through the close scrutiny of the marks and blemishes unique to a given thing, which are then read as a script to a set of culturally significant circumstances the object, or our perception of the object, has been informed by. The study of micrology thus conceived could contribute to hermeneutics, and improve our understanding of how a text facilitates intellectual discovery through an interplay of factual content and nonpropositional means.

After a cursory review of secondary sources, I elaborate on the characteristic features of micrology by looking into Jünger's book *The Adventurous Heart*, as well as critical theories with a shared focus on minutiae, most notably that of Walter Benjamin.¹ Though certain parallels between Jünger's micrological strategies and those of the Frankfurt School have already been observed, this comparison is contested on the grounds that Jünger's philosophical assumptions, unlike

¹ Besides Benjamin's *One-Way Street* and *Arcades Project*, other philosophical works with a decidedly micrological perspective include Bloch's *Traces* and Adorno's *Minima Moralia*.

those of Critical Theory, supposedly hinder social analysis (Bullock, "Walter"). I show that this objection is mistaken by probing into Jünger's metaphysics. I continue by interrogating Jünger's literary snapshots against the backdrop of his philosophically informed study of insects in *Subtile Jagden*, an untranslated notebook from the late 1960s. In this connection, I argue that the realm of insects serves as a particularly compelling entry point to the kind of insight the micrological thinker seeks to attain.

Before I begin, a number of qualifications seem to be in order. What is the connection between micrology and the thought-image (*Denkbild*), which is a certain mode of expression with its beginnings in early twentieth century continental philosophy? Based on Gerhard Richter, I interpret thought-images as an aesthetic engagement with ideas, attempts at a "condensed, epigrammatic writing in textual snapshots" (Richter 2). As Richter explains, thought-images are self-contained, theoretically charged pieces of prose with no narrative bias. Indeed, he suggests that any visually striking textual description of a particular thing can be considered a thought-image, especially insofar as it is meant to destabilize the conventional boundaries between philosophy, literature, journalistic vignettes, and cultural critique (Richter 7). A thought-image may or may not be deployed with the intention of highlighting an intractable quality or relation in our broader social environment. As such, it is not, strictly speaking, necessary for a *Denkbild* to be embedded in a micrological framework. At the same time, micrological writing relies heavily on thought-images to illustrate the distinctive aspects of an entity; in fact, thought-images are central to micrological portraits. With this in mind, I may use the two terms interchangeably when, and insofar as, a thought-image provides insight into important contextual clues by zeroing in on an object.

Furthermore, philosophical micrologies draw extensively on the modernist poetic experiments of Louis Aragon, Gottfried Benn, and Carl Einstein, among others (Bures and Neaman 11; Marcus xiv). As Michael Jennings notes, they are also comparable to the surrealist gloss and the Dadaist photomontage (Jennings 2–3). While these affinities bear further examination, I have to restrict the inquiry to thought-images with a clear theoretical import, ignoring artistic efforts focused on representation alone.

Critical views on Jünger's works

Though Jünger's textual snapshots have not received a great deal of attention outside Germany, some studies do touch on his rhetoric (Bullock, *Violent Eye*; Strathausen; Ohana; Huyssen; Peters). These commentaries have two shared features. First, they parse Jünger's micrology through his early writings on war. Strathausen opines that Jünger's fragments are fundamentally informed by the way physical battle contorts the human body and warps perception (Strathausen 141), as Jünger describes it in his wartime memoir *Storms of Steel*. This tracks with Bullock's observation that the miniatures "extol the virtues of heroic conflict," which Bullock traces to Jünger's memories of combat (Bullock, "Walter" 563).

Second, they suggest that Jünger's philosophical project, his micrology included, conceals social contradictions with a metaphysical veneer. Strathausen takes Jünger to task for his "radical superimposition of metaphysical concepts over material reality," which is ostensibly meant to obscure "rather than investigate the traumatic fragmentation of modern life" (Strathausen 126, 128). He further contends that Jünger "reduce[s] history to the metaphysical realm of eternal being" (Strathausen 143). Bullock concurs, and remarks that Jünger explains away societal conflicts as a matter of "cosmic necessity"; Ohana adds that such a standpoint makes Jünger oblivious to human suffering at large (Bullock, "Walter" 573; Ohana 754). Huyssen goes so far as to claim that Jünger's "metaphysical mush" serves as a "distraction" from real social problems (Huyssen 4).

Entering Jünger's thought-images through his phenomenology of war is reasonable enough. After all, Jünger's micrological works make frequent reference to the experience of war and warfare in general (Peters 146). Taking two of many possible examples, *The Adventurous Heart* compares microscopes and telescopes to cannons to the extent that they are all "weapons used by life." Likewise, "the silent gnawing of caterpillars" in the forest reminds Jünger of the Battle of Freiburg, specifically the commander's quip on how much destruction daily life involves (Jünger, *Abenteuerliche Herz* 184; Jünger, *Adventurous* 30).² Indeed, there does appear to be a substantial connection between Jünger's idea of combat and the everydayness of ephemeral objects

² The first quotation is found in the original edition of *The Adventurous Heart* and was left out of the English translation. The text is translated and quoted in Strathausen (133).

he contemplates in his miniatures. With that said, the critic would be hard-pressed to capture the philosophical purchase of a Jüngerian thought-image through this lens alone.

The second assertion, however, strikes me as tenuous. I will attempt to show that Jünger's metaphysics is not at odds with an accurate portrayal of sociohistorical processes; that a number of his miniatures demonstrate an acute awareness of the anguish caused by the instrumentalization of modern life; and that his approach can be pressed into service for critical social inquiry.

The structure of a micrological model

Since micrological descriptions are rich in imagery, it is best to start with an illustration before I move on to a more detailed account of their constitutive features. What follows is a rough sketch of the sixty-eighth fragment in Jünger's *The Adventurous Heart*.

The scene opens in Torvet, a small Norwegian harbor. A familiar sight: the shipping vessels have returned from the sea and are anchored at the docks. The stands are brimming with fresh fish while merchants and customers haggle over the price. The observer notices a pollock, "a slick, glossy cod sometimes caught in huge numbers and also called coalfish for its black skin" (Jünger, *Adventurous* 161). The pollock, a black mark on the canvas of Torvet, struggles for its life as it is grabbed by a market boy. Without looking at the prey, the boy slits its throat while flirting with a servant girl.

The scene is suddenly suspended. The market is revealed to be full of black dots, with thousands of cod spread over as if on a tapestry, quivering as they are dispatched. The image is framed by the colorful kiosks of florists providing entertainment to tourists and visitors, as if to conceal the encounter inside. The gruesomeness of the operation is accentuated by, and inextricable from, the lively spectacle of the market. Indeed, there is a "distressing contrast" between the mechanical inattentiveness with which the fish are processed and the pain this causes, the withering of life and the casual romantic advances of the young merchant. Like the pollock, the merchant is consumed by his immediate surroundings, and like the pollock, he is unaware of the complex web of relations he is caught up in. The perpetrator is shown to be the casualty of the same ruthlessness he unknowingly exhibits.

It may be hoped that history books in two-hundred years will help us understand this system with all its tensions and entanglements.

However, this is unlikely. Concerned with world-historical events and taxonomies, historiography tends to dismiss such vital details as contingent. The “dot on the I,” the pain in the victim’s eyes, will be forgotten (Jünger, *Adventurous* 161).

This portrait is indicative of how thought-images in general are structured. Instead of describing a problem or situation in a linear-expository fashion, the micrological thinker presents an image as the starting point for further analysis (Benjamin, *Arcades* 460; Kirst 515). The idea is to frustrate the reader’s expectations by denying immediate explanation or a set of clearly defined premises. It is hoped that lingering on a scene, letting it speak for itself, as it were, may prompt an interpretive attitude less constrained by the traditional modalities of philosophical reasoning (Benjamin, *Arcades* 857). In addition to establishing a tone, the opening provides a visual component to the written material, a panoramic setting the reader is immersed in. The central object is situated against this backdrop, like a cast iron figure amid the hustle and bustle of a busy street in nineteenth century Paris, as portrayed in Benjamin’s *Arcades Project* (151). The same scene can serve as a background for different objects throughout a series of literary miniatures.

At first blush, the object of the micrologist’s interest appears uncomplicated. It may be something innocuous like an advertisement for salt, a rock crystal at the Mineralogical Institute, or an unopened letter (Benjamin, *Arcades* 173–174; Jünger, *Adventurous* 53–54; Benjamin, *One-Way Street* 80). It could also be something curious or mildly unsettling, though not obviously out of the ordinary, such as an automated doll or an indecipherable note (Benjamin, *Arcades* 693; Bloch 84–87).

The micrological writer begins to investigate the thing in question, exploring it for any signs or blemishes suggestive of its history. He lists a number of seemingly arbitrary details which he elaborates in light of the object as a totality, moving back and forth between these individual characteristics and the whole picture. For instance, the signboard advertising salt is shown to contain a desert landscape and a horse-drawn wagon loaded with sacks. The letters of the promotional text, the most conspicuous element of the poster, are formed from the salt trickling out of a sack on the carriage. The trail of salt leads into the unknown distance, disappearing from view at the edge of the frame (Benjamin, *Arcades* 173–174). Through careful scrutiny, the object is revealed to be more perplexing and unusual, more complex or problematic than expected. In addition to the content of a thought-image or any loosely defined narrative elements, much depends on the writer’s language in

effectively conveying the object's unfamiliarity. Indeed, such a shift in perspective trades on unconventional turns of phrase, strategically placed punctuation marks, omissions, and interjections typical of a literary riddle (Kirst 516). Following Adorno, the micrological philosopher inspects a thing under the "Gorgon glance of strangeness," and attempts to elicit a similar cognitive response through his prose (Adorno, *Prisms* 224).

The estranged object is then brought to the fore. The dynamic processes an entity is affected by are frozen in time, providing a snapshot of certain conflicts or conundrums which might otherwise be glossed over as transient. By suspending the image in a "standstill" (Helmling 5), the object is presented as a repository of previously unrecognized tensions that point beyond it. Simply put, the micrologist contends that a number of theoretically relevant situations have left their mark on the object, and that the thing at hand serves as a clue to retracing and better understanding them.³ On the micrologist's view, the object attests to tensions such as differences in interest, conflicts in ownership, historical contingencies, or clashes between natural and social forces, among others.

In order to highlight these tensions, the micrologist tends to distinguish between a thing as a member of a species or an element in a given category, and a thing as irreproducible. It is owing to this contrast that a particular is taken to be indicative of a more comprehensive problem or situation (Weissberg, 28). In other words, an object helps us obtain important insights about the state-of-affairs insofar as it is not only a type, but also its own thing, a *sui generis* entity different from others of its kind. What is usually at focus is a crack on a wooden toy, a discolored flower petal, a dent on a cushion, or "the ruffle on a dress" (Benjamin, *Arcades* 69). How, under what conditions, has this object come to be what it is? How are the processes which determine its specific qualities reproduced in the world? That is to say, in what other circumstances do these processes appear? Are there any necessary connections between the manifold contexts a thing or entity is ensconced in, and if so, what new ideas can we discover from them? These are some of the questions a philosophical miniature deals with.

Having examined the object, the micrological gaze gradually expands the view, moving to broader layers of context. In *Strahlungen*, Jünger

³ These marks are not necessarily physical. Napoleon's pocket watch could well be like any other in appearance, but we may still recognize it as distinctive, as having been marked by its unique historical situation, from contextual clues.

depicts a recreational park, where he observes a Sumatra chicken. He describes its tail feathers, and then compares the bird to the other animals on display. He goes on to discuss how small differences in the animal kingdom help us distinguish between similar breeds, before turning his attention to a nearby pond. A falling chestnut creates undulations on the water's surface, revealing a delicate tapestry of aquatic life. Jünger contemplates how this minor incident exemplifies the emergence of novelty, the way a newly introduced element transforms closed systems. He notes how the rippling waves change one's impression of the shoreline and the surrounding trees, as well as occupied Paris where the scene takes place. The world outside encroaches on the opening image and lends it a more ominous expression (Jünger, *Strahlungen* 144–146; Gorenstein 204–207).

Through these expanding layers, the writer assembles a horizontal network of things and ideas from the bottom up, as it were. Each object is a tile on the map of an era, a puzzle piece to apprehending the state-of-affairs. The resulting constellation discloses a range of meanings not usually accessible via a broad-brush reconstruction of events. As a case in point, the Passage Véro-Dodat from Benjamin's *Arcades Project* is typically described as an ornate Parisian thoroughfare built in 1826, connecting the Rue de Bouloy and the Rue Grenelle-Saint-Honoré. It is widely recognized as part of an architectural project to shelter pedestrians and incentivize the growing French middle class to purchase luxury goods. Benjamin, however, is more interested in the visual effect of the gaslight globes scattered throughout the passage, a shop inscription formed from characters resembling spines, pheasants and hares, or the fact that “the actress Rachel lived [t]here for a while” (Benjamin, *Arcades* 33); he weaves these elements together to present an intimate, high-resolution portrait of Véro-Dodat. Using Jünger's expression, he probes into the “shadow[s] of contingency” that haunt the places we inhabit (Jünger, *Strahlungen* 165–166; Gorenstein 206).⁴ Indeed, the persistent thrust of the micrologist's effort is to offer multiple perspectives on the same phenomenon, to show it as richly textured and inexhaustible by bringing these shadows into light.

Finally, the micrological model generates new concepts and associations. Locating apparently unrelated minutiae and establishing intellectually convincing connections or contrasts between them is akin to

⁴ “A soft dissent, a shadow of contingency” is Gorenstein's translation of a passage in Jünger, which describes how novelty emerges in the world: “das Neue wirkt immer so, daß es zunächst ans Gültige sich anfügt, als zarter Widerspruch, als Schatten der Möglichkeit.”

a game of incomplete information, where the previously unexplored linkages provoke further reflection and lead to more intricate philosophical terms (Jünger, *Adventurous* 95). As an example, Bloch arrives at the idea of a “trace,” defined as an entity’s utopian potential, through his inquiry into particulars such as a straw hat at a protest or a kitten who leaps at a guard dog (Bloch 11–12, 30–31). Likewise, Jünger elaborates the notion of “désinvolture,” which he understands as the nonchalance of a grand gesture, through the image of a child grabbing a golden apple from a banquet table (Jünger, *Adventurous* 114).

Jünger’s metaphysics and micrology

With this framework in place, I can return to the critics’ objections to Jünger. As a reminder, Jünger is charged with superimposing “metaphysical concepts over material reality,” which supposedly obfuscates social problems and the “fragmentation of modern life.”

There are two possible ways of interpreting this remark in the context of my study. First, the critic could mean that the ideas Jünger expounds in his aphorisms, though sometimes superficially related to sociohistorical processes, are unconvincing or unsound because Jünger explains social phenomena by recourse to a simplistic metaphysical model.

This suggestion does not stand up to scrutiny. Take the twentieth miniature from *The Adventurous Heart*, where Jünger explores the cultural significance of gift-wrapping. Jünger notes how gift-wrapping as performed by individual vendors is an act of ceremonial affirmation which was once crucial to all acts of exchange but has largely been abandoned due to the proliferation of self-service shops. He traces the practice to the merchant’s intention of giving a conclusive touch to the finished work in celebration of his craft. He further depicts the wrapped gift as a shared secret, a sort of pact between buyer and seller against an industry “which seeks to demote [the shopkeeper] to the level of a mere distributor” (Jünger, *Adventurous* 65). He then contrasts this with the kiosk, where the merchant has already adopted the standards of the industry, and the goods are encased in “always-identical, weighed, measured and taxed little packet[s]” (66). For Jünger, these mass-produced items have something substantial in common with the customers of a large retail store, waiting to be serviced in the same uniform, indifferent, and excruciatingly mundane manner.

While such illustrations certainly reference characterology and myth, Jünger does not attempt to account for his observations on

society through this framework. His investigation of social issues is grounded in a sustained reflection on particular objects and material conditions. Its cogency or lack thereof does not depend on Jünger's beliefs about the cosmos or man's nature, whatever they might be. More precisely put, even when a miniature brings together metaphysical and sociohistorical claims, it is exceedingly rare for the former to serve as the primary scaffolding of the latter. No "superimposition" takes place, and the fragmentation of modern life is, *pace* Strathausen, clearly articulated.

Perhaps a more charitable reading of the critics' objection could lead us further. Maybe the critics are implying that Jünger's metaphysical assumptions are in tension with the insights he derives from his micrological snapshots, especially when they concern sociohistorical matters. In order to determine whether this contention is justified, I will briefly look at Jünger's metaphysics.

As Blok notes, Heidegger argues that Jünger's metaphysical theory is Platonic (Blok 59–60).⁵ On this reading, Jünger postulates a transcendental realm of Beings which prevails over the phenomenal world. Otherwise put, he asserts that particular objects acquire their distinctive features by virtue of their correspondence to simple and incomposite Forms. This would mean that Jünger accords ontological primacy to an ideal domain of things removed from everyday experience, and considers individual differences derivative of these universals. The objects we generally encounter would be deemed more or less imperfect depending on their resemblance to a Platonic Idea, meaning that the latter would carry out a regulatory function. Accordingly, superior forms of knowledge would be obtained by speculation about, or an intuitive access to, Ideas.

It is easy to find passages in Jünger which seem to corroborate this interpretation. For example, he regularly alludes to primal images or archetypes appearing and reappearing in diverse historical configurations (Strathausen 127). He compares these to flowers and fruits that emerge with dissimilar characteristics in varying climates, but nevertheless belong to the same taxon (Jünger, *Adventurous* 167). Likewise, he contends that certain values as well as patterns of experience reoccur consistently and independently in different individuals living under very different conditions (Jünger, "Sizilischer" 174), and that these similitudes cannot be justified on biological grounds alone. Finally,

⁵ As Blok warns, Heidegger is aware of Jünger's attempt to transcend Platonism by introducing the notion of a vital force, but argues that Jünger's attempt fails. In Heidegger's view, Jünger ultimately reverts to a Platonic perspective.

Jünger's travelogues often gesture towards a unity discernible in natural phenomena which nevertheless exceeds the objects themselves (Jünger, *Subtile* 101). For Jünger, this indicates a "total design" in the world (Steiner 72–73).

If this reconstruction of Jünger is correct, it may indeed be a tall order to square his metaphysics with the micrologist's enthusiasm for the irreproducible. Assuming this is all there is to the issue, we may be led to believe that Jünger's metaphysics compels him to treat the idiosyncrasies central to a philosophical thought-image as secondary or inessential compared to the Form they supervene on. As such, whatever conclusions we were to draw from closely observing the particular, we would be better off contemplating the realm of Ideas instead.

Furthermore, the notion that Jünger's transcendental realm consists entirely of universal types implies, at least on the face of it, a kind of stasis or permanence. If all objects at all times participate in the singular Idea of the perfect object, and these Ideas constitute the "real" nature of things, we have good reason to presume that the "real" is immutable. On this view, whatever transformations we experience in the world "below," we would be consoled by the certainty that, on the deepest ontological level, nothing really ever changes, that there is ultimately nothing new under the Sun. While it may not be impossible to reconcile this framework with Jünger's study of contingent social processes, the critic could arguably insist that, at the very least, these two aspects of Jünger's thought do not sit well together.

With that said, Jünger is not a Platonist in any conventional sense. On the one hand, his metaphysics certainly has Platonic elements, including his commitment to a unity or totality behind the material world, as well as the existence of a priori types or Ideas manifested in recurring patterns. On the other hand, however, his metaphysical system heavily relies on Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. Accordingly, Jünger depicts the totality he refers to as a dynamic force, a constant becoming, a vital energy which inhabits the object-world and generates change (Bures and Neaman 39; Jünger, "Siebzig" 209). Like Schopenhauer, he posits that this primal flux is responsible for the principle of individuation in the phenomenal realm, without itself being subject to the same principle. In addition, and following Nietzsche, he portrays it as a self-determining impulse towards creation and destruction, a cacophony of drives and desires (Bures and Neaman 30). He asserts that there are "powerful, immediate reserves" of this force in particular things and gestures which cannot easily be located in any universal symbol (Jünger, *Subtile* 252–253; *Adventurous* 112). Recurring patterns

notwithstanding, this allays our concerns about the immutability of the metaphysical substrate Jünger conjectures.

Regarding the types or Ideas which Jünger nevertheless commits to, their status as transcendental entities does not accord them epistemic primacy in any obvious manner. Since Jünger complicates the relation between essence and appearance (Jünger, *Adventurous* 47–48), and does not accept the Platonic notion that things which are more permanent are at the same time necessarily more “real,” even their ontological preponderance requires further qualification. Simply stated, these Ideas have ontological priority only to the extent that the essential characteristics of certain entities are predicated on their existence, not in the sense that they encompass what one might call “the true nature of reality” (Jünger, *Worker* 19).⁶ In Jünger’s perspective, fleeting phenomena are not any less real, or any more lacking in substance, than an ideal type. While he admits that it is possible to gain intuitive access to the transcendental domain he postulates in exceptional spiritual encounters (Jünger, “Sizilischer” 170), he deems it impossible to fully account for the diversity of the phenomenal world through such moments of insight (Jünger, *Subtle* 27).⁷ Since Jünger’s totality is dynamic, it cannot be apprehended in a way that would lay bare all the contingencies of the physical realm at any particular instance. Even epiphanies of a metaphysical kind grant no shortcut to discovering life in its richness.

Admittedly, this leaves us with a number of questions. How can Jünger justify the existence of fixed archetypes if he professes that the object-world rests on a constant becoming? How could these types possibly emerge? How does Jünger situate the realm of Ideas within his Schopenhauerian-Nietzschean model? Does he conceive of these as separate metaphysical strata, or does he follow Schopenhauer in considering Ideas different “grades of objectification” of the creative-destructive force (Schopenhauer 155)?

Jünger offers no readily apparent answer to these questions. Indeed, he may well be charged with failing to explain how the Platonic and

⁶ Even in his more detailed discussion of “forms” in *The Worker*, Jünger maintains that the “singular” (*das Einzelne*) is as integral to the structure of reality as the “type” or the “Gestalt,” and that the former cannot necessarily be derived from the latter. “No dividing up of the form leads back to the individual.”

⁷ This is made particularly clear in Jünger’s philosophical entomology. To take one example, Jünger contends that we could not exhaust substantial differences between the individuals of a species even if we “lived to be a hundred years old (Selbst zu seiner Erfassung würde unser Leben, auch wenn wir hundert Jahr alt würden, nicht ausreichen).”

Schopenhauerian-Nietzschean aspects of his theory map onto each other. Had this been the critic's complaint, he would stand validated. The argument, however, that Jünger's metaphysical project undercuts the idea that heterogeneous or idiosyncratic phenomena can arise, be discerned, and have considerable epistemic significance in our making judgements about the social environment, is misplaced.

The insect as the locus of a thought-image

This concludes my response to Jünger's critics. There is, however, another promising angle to exploring Jünger's micrological framework. I am referring to his philosophically inspired study of insects in *Subtile Jagden* which, albeit largely ignored in scholarship, shows strong affinity with his snapshots in *The Adventurous Heart*.⁸ To be specific, I believe that probing into Jünger's entomology brings us closer to understanding the micrological perspective, in part because the world of insects offers a particularly rewarding, if underappreciated, basis for micrological inquiry (Jünger, *Subtile* 24).⁹ Though I cannot provide a comprehensive analysis of Jünger's dealings with insects at this point, it is possible to draw up some preliminary ideas on how one would go about justifying these claims.

Even on a cursory reading, it is clear that Jünger's forays into natural history are interspersed with illustrations resembling a thought-image. Indeed, *Subtile Jagden* combines the scientific recording of facts with the author's attempt to observe a specimen and formulate relevant conclusions about a more comprehensive set of circumstances based on its behavior or physical features. In certain cases, Jünger's account of an insect is practically indistinguishable from the miniatures discussed earlier. Describing an encounter with *Meloe proscarabeus*, Jünger meditates on the discrepancy between the beetle's bulky exoskeleton and melodic name (Jünger, *Subtile* 57–58). He remarks that the reference to “mel,” meaning “honey,” likely comes from the larvae's habit of climbing into a flower and riding a bee back to the hive, where they feed on nectar. This leads Jünger to contemplate the arduous journey the members of the species undertake to reach the nest. Thousands make the climb, while only a select few manage to

⁸ Gorenstein's study is a notable exception in that it addresses Jünger's entomology in some detail.

⁹ In fact, Jünger quips that the entomologist “takes a tiny piece from the philosopher's stone (nimmt eine winzige Facette am Stein der Weisen wahr).”

latch onto a solitary bee. Is it possible to determine the value of a single organism by these sobering statistics? Can this fact of nature be reconciled with our anthropocentric notion of individual happiness? “Where is fate [*Schicksal*] when five thousand individuals are born and hatch at the same time in the same place?,” asks Jünger (58).¹⁰ Perhaps, so he ponders, there are moments in history when the happiness of a collective rests on the luck of a solitary specimen.

Next, he recounts the example of a minotaur beetle which, at first blush, seems to be armed with weapons such as a protruding spear (Jünger, *Subtile* 62–65). This impression turns out to be wrong, since the minotaur uses its appendages to clear away manure and purify the soil. What looks like a means of aggression serves, as Jünger contends, to protect and provide for the insect’s offsprings. Do moral judgements apply to the animal kingdom, is it reasonable to attribute positive value to an insect taking care of its brood, or negative value to it “waging war”? At any rate, so Jünger, the observer is naturally inclined to antropomorphize in this way, and tends to be favorably disposed towards companionable animals. For instance, bystanders witnessing a pair of dung beetles working in unison are invariably touched by “something familiar, something of their own,” which is to say something human (65).¹¹

Jünger then goes on to explain the changing significance of mythological allusions in scientific taxonomy by reference to the minotaur.¹² In a manner reminiscent of Goethe and Humboldt, his study of natural phenomena incorporates digressions to classical literature, anecdotes, comments on the history of ideas, and homages to the great entomologists of the past.

Besides these particular examples, what sort of insights can selecting an insect as the nucleus of a thought-image help us obtain? To mention only a few, the instinctual responses of an insect may highlight certain aspects of our animal constitution. A fragment may prompt us to consider potential analogies between these reactions and our own conduct, and reveal something about the kind of circumstances in which self-preservation overrides learned behavior. Capturing how a mantis decapitates its mate invites us to deliberate on limit-situations where

¹⁰ “Wo bleibt das Schicksal, wenn fünftausend Individuen zu gleicher Zeit am gleichen Ort geboren werden und ausschlüpfen?”

¹¹ “Etwas Bekanntes, Eigenes rührte sie dabei an.”

¹² In the German text, Jünger explores the mythological origins of the minotaur beetle’s Latin name, *Typhaeus typhoeus*. Typhoeus or Typhon was, according to Hesiod, the son of Gaia and Tartarus.

survival is at stake, when the primal impulses we share with less complex organisms come into the foreground.

Similarly, a miniature may frame an insect as a cultural symbol, like the scarab revered in ancient Egypt. It could interrogate the sociohistorical context in which these representations arose, as well as the traces in which they survive. In a series of snapshots, the micrologist might address how the symbols in question change, how our attitude towards insects has shifted from worship to measured contemplation, and how this reflects on the perceiving subject. The insect, then, could be positioned at the intersection of nature and civilization. For instance, a thought-image could home in on the pitch-black wings of a pepper moth, which is forced to adopt a melanic hue in order to camouflage itself on the soot-stained trees of industrial England (see Cook and Saccheri). That is to say, the evolutionary adaptations of an insect could shed new light on the transformations of the historical landscape.

Nevertheless, this account alone does not yet justify my initial claims. While it shows how the micrological thinker is able to draw relevant inferences from a snapshot centering on an insect, it falls short of explaining what makes an insect an especially compelling focus point. In what sense can such a miniature be more interesting or revealing than the portrait of some other animal, the pistil of a rare flower or, say, a Parisian street lamp?

Surprisingly, the answer lies in the fact that locating individual differences in the realm of insects is unusually challenging. For the untrained eye, the members of a species are, for all intents and purposes, interchangeable. This is not simply because ants or beetles are small in scale and therefore look alike from a distance. Rather, the creatures often strike us as mechanical, as if they were tiny automatons or identical copies executing the same program. A casual onlooker would be hard-pressed to distinguish between two ants marching towards the colony or two honeybees circling their hive.

The differences, however, are there, waiting to be extricated. Indeed, the difficulty in discerning unique variations in insects arguably provokes a more attentive gaze from an observer focused on the particular instead of the taxon. To grasp what makes a single specimen stand out, the naturalist dispenses with the modern scientist's detached analysis of empirical data in favor of what Goethe calls "exact" sensory perception, an attempt at immersion in the patterns and relationships responsible for the irreducible determinations of the object (Goethe 73). As Jünger puts it, no two insects are actually the same, but the entomologist can only "fully appreciate

[their] diversity” if he is “attuned to” the microcosm they exist in through close scrutiny (Jünger, *Subtile* 71).¹³

This brings me back to the micrological writer describing an insect. Not only can his portrayal of some idiosyncratic feature produce an affect or facilitate reasoning as with thought-images in general, he is also able to make a crucial point on identity and difference specifically.

Picking out an individual insect in a machine-like collective, setting it apart as exceptional in some respect, can gesture towards how identity conceals difference and, conversely, on how the unique takes refuge in repetition. Adequately framed, such a miniature is particularly well-suited to expressing that heterogeneity emerges in the unlikeliest of places, including apparently uniform environments. Following Jünger, there is a difference even in the way the tubular muscles of two weevils contract, or in the footsteps of a foraging ant securing new grounds for the queen. The micrologist can draw on this to enter a closed system through its interstices, to interpret a standardized process with an emphasis on its inherent irregularities rather than the general pattern. These examples are effective in highlighting the inexhaustibility of difference exactly because the order of the hive seems impenetrable; any trace of otherness or, to borrow a term from Adorno, any sign of non-identity catches us off guard. Since, as I noted earlier, a thought-image always embarks from irreproducible qualities, zeroing in on an insect to problematize the relation between sameness and alterity could improve our conceptual tools for micrological inquiry as such.

Beyond the fact that the lover of insects deals with objects remarkably fitting for a philosophical approach centered on minutiae, a future work can leverage a further affinity in elaborating why Jünger’s entomology is useful in making sense of thought-images. The insectologist and the micrological philosopher are both driven by a preoccupation with collecting, or more emphatically, they both think and act like a collector in some substantial manner.

Since there is no clear consensus on the sociocultural function of the collector, this demands a brief explanation. As Jünger asserts, the insectologist as collector is inspired less by possession than by preservation, a desire to protect a specimen from the destruction of time, especially if the species is endangered or extinct. That is to say, his preference for acquiring an expensive sample tends to come second to keeping prized insects from decay. While this, along with his searching for and cataloguing animals, seems like a solitary occupation, the insectologist is

¹³ “Eine Voraussetzung zum Genuß der Mannigfaltigkeit liegt darin, daß man sich auf die Dimension einspielt.”

also passionate about the social aspects of collecting, eager to compare and discuss his findings with other specialists (Jünger, *Subtile* 9–23). He regards this as a continuous process, an end in itself rather than a means to obtain a comprehensive selection of known types. Indeed, a central motif in *Subtile Jagden* is the entomologist's recognition that his collection can never be completed (27). At the same time, he intuitively understands that, in a very classical sense, surrounding himself with beautiful, sublime or terrifying creatures, a majestic "Euphoria sepulcralis" or a "Tenebrio molitor," makes his life richer and more well-rounded.

Much the same can be said about the micrological writer. A collector of secrets, the micrologist pursues unusual signs and traces which would otherwise fade into obscurity. He then shares these secrets by telling stories, the most ancient form of philosophy, to his peers or students; and, as is the case with collectors in general, he often does so with the *enthousiasmós* or divine madness Plato believes to be the source of higher insight. Like the hobbyist, he delights in creating novel configurations from the objects he has amassed, without expecting his models to ever take final shape. In fact, he prefers the ongoing quest for curiosities, being on the move from one wonder to another, over committing to a supposedly finished, self-contained framework. In contrast with Novalis's claim that an insatiable "homesickness" is the implicit foundation for all philosophy (Novalis 155), the micrologist as collector relishes being a vagabond, finding a new abode in each additional fact or detail he discovers. The lost or ignored items he thereby commits to memory serve as reminders that things have been, and still could be, entirely different.

Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to establish that Jünger's metaphysical assumptions are not inconsistent with his observations of social phenomena in *The Adventurous Heart*. I have also argued that the study of insects as Jünger conceives it problematizes the relation between identity and difference in a way that is conducive to a micrological perspective on everyday objects.

Early exponents of Critical Theory relied heavily on exploring the idiosyncrasies particular to a given entity or practice. Indeed, Adorno's notes on cars and refrigerators in *Minima Moralia* (40), Benjamin's reflections on railroads or fashion accessories in *The Arcades Project*

(62–81), Bloch's snippets on olives and fairgrounds in *Traces* (132–133, 48–50), or Kracauer's musings on hotel lobbies and newspaper stands in *The Mass Ornament* (173–185) indicate a sustained interest in the sociohistorical significance of small things.

This emphasis on the seemingly mundane has again gained traction in contemporary scholarship. Among others, recent efforts aim to formulate a politics of common materials (Bennett), reconsider the ontological import of ordinary objects (Harman 774), as well as return cultural analysis to reconstructing concrete, if inconspicuous, historical gestures (Freyenhagen 4). Literary theory, in turn, has been increasingly preoccupied with the semantic reducibility, or irreducibility, of commonsensical things (Brown 3). Under this framework, the description of a doorknob or a simple twig serves as an occasion to pose complex questions about language and representation. Opening a discussion on Jünger's micrological method by challenging the received view about his philosophy serves to contribute to these endeavors.

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Partikularno kot mesto kritike v mikrologiji Ernsta Jüngerja

Ključne besede: filozofija / Jünger, Ernst / družbena kritika / platonizem / insekt / mikrologija

V članku preučujemo mikrološko metodo, ki jo je razvil Ernst Jünger v *The Adventurous Heart* in kasnejših spisih. Mikrologijo razumem kot filozofsko-literarni pristop k opisovanju posameznih objektov, ki osvetlujejo širši kontekst, v katerega so umeščeni, še posebej, kolikor se ta upira konvencionalnim diskurzivnim praksam. Najprej trdim, da v nasprotju s splošnim prepričanjem Jüngerjeve metafizične predpostavke niso v nasprotju z družbenimi vpogledi, do katerih prihaja v svojih mikroloških delih. Pri tem bom pokazal, da imajo nekateri Jüngerjevi prikazi precejšen družbenozgodovinski pomen. Pokažem tudi, da obstaja pomembno ujemanje med Jüngerjevo entomološko in mikrološko perspektivo, delno zato, ker obe temeljita na iskanju malo verjetnih sledi razlik v navidezno običajnem ali enotnem prostoru. Glede na relativno pomanjkanje védenja o strukturi mikrološkega raziskovanja, zlasti v zvezi z Jüngerjevimi fragmenti, zahteva obravnavanje teh problemov podrobnejši prikaz formalnih lastnosti mikrološkega modela.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek / Original scientific article

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Ontology of the Art Phenomenon in Iris Murdoch's Fiction

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This article explores the intermedial dialogue of the arts in the oeuvre of British writer and philosopher Iris Murdoch. The ontology of the phenomenon of art and its functional meaning in Murdoch's fiction, the specifics of the relationship between the arts in her philosophical essays and dialogues are considered from the perspective of intermediality. Based on the intermedial study methodology, Murdoch's theoretical and philosophical views on the multifunctional nature of art, the interaction of the artist and the artwork are revealed. Key techniques of interartistic discourse, including anthroponymic allusions, are considered as intermedial markers of Murdoch's texts, identified and explored at the level of imagological transformations. People of art: artists, artistic discourse partakers, as well as recipients of art constitute a particular kind of characters in Murdoch's novels. Accordingly, the importance of the recipient, who acts as an essential link in the receptive matrix of "author-text-recipient-artwork," is emphasized in the ontology of an artwork. The particular meeting point of Murdoch's characters is the artistic topos: a museum, an exhibition, an art gallery or an artist's house. In addition, the reader of her fiction repeatedly encounters various ekphrastic codes: the ekphrases of paintings are not only present in Murdoch's texts, but function as anthropomorphised characters, dramatis personae, have their own space (physical and mental places) and play a crucial role in the protagonists' lives. Consequently, we find that the use of intermedial components is one of the markers of Iris Murdoch's idiosyncrasy, which topicalizes important aspects of the philosophy of art and brings it into the realm of ontological questions.

Keywords: English literature / Murdoch, Iris / philosophy of art / ontology / intermediality / narrative technique / ekphrasis

Introduction: Art as a syncretic phenomenon

Throughout its development, literature has been characterized by productive contacts with other arts. These relationships showed up as bilateral or reversible. Not only painters, sculptors, musicians, and, ultimately, filmmakers drew plots for their masterpieces from literature, but literature also created artworks in the process of reception, reinterpretation, experience of what was heard (music) or seen (painting, sculpture, architecture). In particular, the natural attraction to visualization brought literature into close contact first with painting and music, and furthermore in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with new types of arts: photography, cinema, digital art. In this way, literature detached from the original syncretic synthesis of arts gradually acquires new syncretic parameters within the limits of post-, meta-modernist aesthetics.

Since ancient times prominent philosophers, artists and scientists tried to reveal the mystery of fine art objects (Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, John Damascene, Augustine the Blessed, Pico della Mirandola, Botticelli, Shakespeare, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux). The well-known texts *Controversy of the Painter with the Poet, Musician and Sculptor* by Leonardo da Vinci and *The Laocoon* by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing present the idea of the synthesis of arts, which has become productive for modern intermedia studies. Speaking about the rapport between literature and painting, in agreement with European thinkers, Ivan Franko noted the “immovable nature” of painting (Franko 102). In his fair opinion, the common feature of these arts is their aesthetic goal to “reproduce in the soul of the reader or listener” individual moments of life in various ways (103). As a poet and a literary theorist, Franko emphasized the superiority of poetry in terms of time and space (104), and emphasized that “the poet depicts dead nature—enlivening it, draws lines with the help of moving images” (109).

Studying the canvases of Rubens, Rembrandt, Titian or Caravaggio, researchers always at least briefly mention the literary basis of the plot in their works, while comparing one or another of their artistic images with its prototype. In addition to ancient plots, paintings could also be based on contemporary dramatic stories: Hogarth’s canvas “A Scene from Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*” or the “scene” based on the plot of John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera*. Consequently, Kira Shakhova emphasizes the importance of the narrative moment, which is not typical for painting: “[T]he content of the scene can be read by the movements of the figures, the expression of the faces.” (Shakhova 99) In this case,

the artist Hogarth acts as a storyteller, a genre painter who not only mastered the brush brilliantly and masterfully, creating compositionally and colorfully wonderful paintings, but also wanted the viewer to read each of them like an exciting book. He invented “large-scale visual plots,” which gave rise to a series of paintings, the so-called pictorial “novels” (100). Actually, the tradition of graphic images with short explanatory texts, peculiar to so called *comics* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, quite popular in England, originates from him (101). In this case, in terms of its narrative essence, the pictorial was almost adequate to the verbal. The picture-illustration became a visual representation of the plot, encouraged the viewer’s imagination, turning him into the reader.

Since then, researchers have repeatedly emphasized the relationship between the word and fine arts, performing arts, photography and cinema. It is especially interesting to trace such interaction on the example of multi-artists’ oeuvres, those who equally worked in their time or are nowadays working in the plane of several arts (Leonardo da Vinci, Taras Shevchenko, Bruno Schultz, Mykhailo Zhuk, Sviatoslav Gordynsky, Marcel Duchamp, Emma Andijewska).

The conversion of arts in the aspect of intermediality

In the literary discourse the issue of interaction between literature and arts has occupied one of the key niches. Thus, the formalists, whose works became a thorough basis for such methodological studies as intertextuality and intermediality, recorded a fruitful inter-art dialogue, which was expressed in the interpenetration of various imagological narratives. In particular, Eikhenbaum noted that “the evolution of art, taken as a single thing, is expressed in constant fluctuations between personification (differentiation) and fusion” (Eikhenbaum 16). The indicated phenomenon is primarily explained by the syncretic genetic instruction of the arts in general: “In different epochs, this or that art seeks to become mass and is inspired by the pathos of syncretism, trying to absorb elements of other arts.” (16) Today, this is an axiomatic position in the theory, arising from the basic nature of arts.

Such a tendency towards multimedia conversion of arts is explained by the fact that “literary formulas of human behavior and passions expressed over the ages” (Shakhova 11) constantly aroused the interest of artists in various spheres. The organic nature of this multimedia through the prism of symbolism is explained by Lotman: “Verbal arts,

poetry, and later artistic prose seek to build a verbal image from the material of conventional signs,” at the same time, the opposite process occurs: “a picture, which by its symbolic nature is not created in order to serve as a means of narration, but a person constantly tries to tell.” (Lotman 15)

Regarding the reception of artistic syncretism by modern researchers, we should remember the words by Shakhova, who claimed that “the unity of the arts was not interrupted, although they separated from the syncretism of the consciousness of the cave age, they developed generic signs, their own specific language” (Shakhova 5). In his turn, Nalyvayko assured that literature stands out among all types of art precisely because it “combines the entire complex of its functions in a potentially complete expression” (Nalyvayko 8).

By analogy with intertextuality, intermedia allusion, ekphrasis, hypotyposis and literary phonography are distinguished in the system of modern inter-artistic relationships. In this way, the literary original source can be reproduced by means of painting with a great degree of approximation to the content and details of a verbal work of art or, on the contrary, radically reinterpreted. The poetics of ekphrasis deserves special mention as “any reproduction of one art by means of another” (Geller 8), which, according to Freidenberg, was “reproduction of a reproduction,” namely, “imaging of an image” (Freidenberg 320). Calling ekphrastic inclusions as the so-called “phantoms of the text,” Chervinska speaks of specific “codes of meaning and their systematic receptive recoding in the system of the whole” (Chervinska 149), which appears to be a rather productive cognitive and receptive phenomenon, since finding of an “ekphrastic key” appears as an original “way to visualize events at the expense of other specifics of the narrative” (161).

Accordingly, modern literary theory actively appeals to the practice of text research in the aspect of intermedia studies. As Clüver states: “Once ‘medium’ instead of ‘art’ has become accepted as the basic category for the interdisciplinary discourse, the interrelationship of the various media is conceived of as ‘intermediality’.” (Clüver 30) In this aspect, from the point of receptive poetics, a number of interesting connotations arise related to the specificity of decoding intermedia inclusions and the dependence of this process on reading competence. The concept of intermediality, accompanied by the hybridization of media, gives rise to new specific forms in all arts.

The intermedia dialogue of arts in Iris Murdoch's fiction

The subject of arts has always appealed to the British moral philosopher and distinguished novelist, renowned author of essays, reviews and papers in ethics, aesthetics and history of thought Iris Murdoch (1919–1999); it appears throughout her oeuvre. Each of the arts, and literature in particular, she considered as a “moral medium”: “The highest pleasures of literature, and one might say, of art generally, are in this sense moral pleasures.” (Murdoch, *Existentialists* 257) Her theory that art and morals are connected with sense and form she applied to “all the arts not just the literary arts.” (218) She tried to find answers to the questions of the relationship and interaction of various art forms, reflecting on them in her essays: “Conceptions of Unity. Art,” “Literature and Philosophy,” “The Sublime and the Good,” “Art is the Imitation of Nature” (Murdoch, *Existentialists*); and in her philosophical dialogues: “The Fire and the Sun: Why Plato Banished the Artists,” “Art and Eros: A Dialogue about Art” (Murdoch, *Metaphysics*). In addition, she actively raised the issue of the artist and art in her novels. The writer proves that a work of art opens a space for reflection, it also allows viewers to be artists thanks to their reception as a form of “experienced mental synthesis” (Murdoch, *Metaphysics* 3).

Hence, the aim of the study is to analyze the works by Iris Murdoch in terms of intermediality and art reception. Respectively, not only the artistic reception of fine arts in the writer's novels is taken into consideration, but also the author's theoretical and philosophical views on the problem of true art are surveyed.

Murdoch's reflections on arts are indicative from the standpoint of receptive aesthetics and her philosophical approach to the problem is also clearly uttered:

A work of art is of course not a material object, though some works of art are bodied forth by material objects. In the case of a statue the relation between the material object and the art object seems close, in the case of a picture less so. Poems and symphonies are clearly not material objects [...]. All art objects are ‘performed’ or imagined first by the artist and then by his clients, and these imaginative and intellectual activities or experiences may be said to be the point or essence of art [...]. Art, however, essentially (traditionally) involves the idea of a sustained *experienced* mental synthesis. (Murdoch, *Metaphysics* 2–3)

The writer carries on the idea of the communicative function of art: “Art makes places and opens spaces for reflection, it is a defense against materialism and against pseudo-scientific attitudes to life. It calms and

invigorates, it gives us energy by unifying, possibly by purifying, our feelings.” (8) Emphasizing the multi-functionality of art, the author focuses on the importance of catharsis, thanks to which art succeeds in realizing its key goal, emotional impact on the recipient.

The increased interest in the interaction of arts is due primarily to the wide manifestation of intermedia markers at the level of imagological transformations. Murdoch often expresses the reception of the work of outstanding artists with the “voices” of her characters. Many of Murdoch’s protagonists belong to or are competent in the field of art—they are actually artists, also those who study art, or simply are adept admirers of it. In particular, in her final novel *Jackson’s Dilemma* (1995), the attention of readers is drawn to an eccentric character—the painter Owen Silbery. The image of the artist is described in detail in the text:

Owen was a painter, in fact a distinguished and well-known painter. He announced himself sometimes as ‘in the style of Goya’, and moreover, it was said, painted horrific pornographic pictures which he sold secretly. He was in fact well known as a portrait painter, and one who could satisfy his clients. (18)

In this way, the writer tries to intrigue her reader, while at the same time shaping the horizons of his expectations. After all, later the recipient really learns that in these rumors, although they are far from the true things, there is a grain of the truth.

In this Murdoch’s novel, the reader’s consciousness repeatedly encounters various ekphrastic codes. Thus, Owen classifies his canvases into three groups: “ordinary” paintings, paintings of “Frightfulnessism” and so-called “special” paintings. Each group of paintings is anthropomorphized—“lives its own life” in a separate room and even on another floor of the eccentric Owen’s house-studio. In the former bedroom on the third floor, “showing only their colourless sides, were other innumerable undisposed of ordinary pictures” (Murdoch, *Jackson’s Dilemma* 50). On the fourth floor was Owen’s favorite “dark room,” or “chamber of horrors,” as Mildred called it. In addition to paintings, on the walls of this room there were “mild” scary photographs. Owen, who sometimes thought about suicide, was attracted by these “distorted creatures,” according to his words, he “lived by their dark passions” (176). As for the special paintings, they were located on the basement floor of the house, which “now contained correctly slotted special pictures” (50). Most of them were portraits of old friends. The artist considered them to be “real.”

The clear demarcation between the artist's works is, at first glance, quite transparent to the recipient. At the same time, the reader observes that the boundary between these artistic fictional worlds is often blurred and obscure. Especially when Owen reflects on art:

Owen himself had often contemplated suicide and possessed the requirements thereof. And did he not, he reflected, as a painter, imagine, create, and gaze upon what was degraded and vile? Of course, such things too became his art and thereby transformed, ha ha! He must remember to drink a toast to Otto Dix. He was real. Owen was sitting in his quiet studio looking at a half-painted abstract. He hated the picture. (Murdoch, *Jackson's Dilemma* 49–50)

The internal monologue of the character, his “stream of consciousness,” testifies to the blurring of the line between reality and the world of art in the narrative. The novel *Jackson's Dilemma* is full of anthroponymic intermedia allusions. In particular, the mention of Otto Dix, a German painter, graphic artist and the author of paintings on military themes, even more blurs the line between the frightening and the real, the real and the ordinary.

The contradictory nature of the painter's understanding of art in the novel is indicated by certain oneiric moments emphasized by Owen's phantasmagoric dreams. Thus, before going to sleep Owen reflects on his craft admitting that he must invent, create, “must try to be worthy of being a painter”:

He dreamt that he was a slug crawling slowly along the ground, and Piero and Titian and Velazquez and Carpaccio and Turner were standing round him and looking down at him with faintly puzzled frowns, and he was shouting up at them, but his voice was so miserably tiny, he was sure they could not hear him, and when he tried to wave his horns at them, he suddenly realized that slugs do not have horns. Not even that, he thought in his dream. (Murdoch, *Jackson's Dilemma* 241)

Consciously and subconsciously comparing his paintings with the works of outstanding artists Owen thereby admits that his paintings are still far from great art whatever he calls them. At the same time, he appears to be a good portraitist, understands art well, but how a picture becomes great art remains a mystery to him.

Owen tries to find the answer to this difficult dilemma in the plots of his dreams. So, for instance, he dreams that he is sitting at a table in a room lit by candles. Opposite him is Caravaggio. There are only two of them. It is not by chance that Murdoch introduces the character

of such famous artists as Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573–1610) into his dreams. This choice of the author allows perceptive readers to understand the image of her character much better. Let's recall that Caravaggio's painting style consisted in creating emotional tension, acute affectation of feelings. The best works of the Italian painter are based on contrasts: realistic details are combined with the theatrical pose; homoerotic image is combined with an intimate and psychological improvisation of a mythological theme as in his picture "Bacchus" (Cumming 38–39). These details, as well as Caravaggio's character traits (impulsive, unbalanced), make it possible to draw a parallel with the painter Owen Silbery, whose homosexuality and drunkenness only increase the outrageousness of the image created by Murdoch.

Owen, as a creative person, believes that artists are characterized by similar feelings: pain, dissatisfaction, remorse: "How Titian must have felt it, when he was very old, 'The Flaying of Marsyas'—the pain, the pain, the old man must have felt it deeply at the end" (Murdoch, *Jackson's Dilemma* 64). It should be noted that "Apollo and Marsyas" is a fairly popular leitmotif in European art. The initial stage of the struggle between the antagonistic deities Apollo and Dionysus was marked in the myth of the contest between Apollo and Marsyas. According to the myth, the Phrygian satyr Marsyas picked up the flute (aulos) left by Athena. In playing the flute he acquired extraordinary skill and, proud of himself, challenged Apollo on the terms that the winner could treat the defeated party any way he wanted. The audacity of the satyr led to the effect that Apollo playing the lyre not only defeated Marsyas but also flayed him (Kun 29–31).

Perhaps the writer was struck so much not by the mythologem which terrifies with its cruelty, but by the spiritual meaning put into his canvas by the painter of the late Italian Renaissance Titian Vecellio da Cadore (1489–1576). Titian depicted Marsyas hanging upside down from a tree as Apollo cuts the skin on his chest. Marsyas is barely alive from pain, but his blissful smile indicates that he sacrificed his life for the sake of art.

Furthermore, this painting by Titian is mentioned by Murdoch in her other novels as well. However, the writer deliberately avoids its unambiguous interpretation, as if inviting the reader to join the discussion, as a kind of artistic game. Thus, in the novel *A Fairly Honorable Defeat* (1970), the theme of this painting discussed by a homosexual couple is interpreted from a different perspective. Axel and Simon are people of different backgrounds: in terms of age, character, habits and type of activity. However, there is something that unites them; love, so

ruthless and incomprehensible to people around them, and so vulnerable at the same time:

“You’re Apollo and I’m Marsyas. You’ll end by flaying me.” “That’s an image of love, actually, Apollo and Marsyas.” “How do you mean?” “The agony of Marsyas is the inevitable agony of human soul in its desire to achieve God.” “The things you know.” “The things you failed to learn at the Courtauld.” “I don’t believe it though. Someone is flayed really.” (Murdoch, *Fairly Honorable Defeat* 33)

Although Simon had read history of art at the Courtauld Institute of Art (London’s Courtauld Gallery is famous for works by French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, as well as having a school of painting at the Gallery), when it came to art, Axel, who had studied philosophy at Oxford, often aptly contradicted Simon and was often right (27). Like the time when in the Accademia he let Simon hold forth for some time about Titian’s “Pietà” (Mary Magdalene’s Lamentation on Christ) and then “pointed out that it had been finished by Palma Giovane, a fact which Simon ought to have known” (68). Thus, Murdoch seems to declare that it is not necessary to be a professional art critic in order to know and feel real art, to be able to read and perceive it. As she writes in her philosophical essay:

In enjoying great art, we experience a clarification and concentration and perfection of our own consciousness. Emotion and intellect are unified into a limited whole. In this sense art also *creates* its client; it inspires intuition of ideal formal and symbolic unity which enable us to co-operate with the artist and to be, as we enjoy the work, artists ourselves. (Murdoch, *Metaphysics* 8)

The writer’s emphasis on the importance of the client’s figure as the “consumer of art” in the essence of an artwork looks extremely symptomatic. Paradoxically, art was not only a topic that caused disputes between Axel and Simon, it really became a connecting link for them in the form of Greek *kouros*. It is about the statue of Apollo of the fifth century B.C. from the National Museum in Athens, “the tutelary deity of their love” (Murdoch, *Fairly Honorable Defeat* 78). They had known each other for a long time, but only there, in Greece, next to a “sacred kouros,” they suddenly realized that they were destined to be together. Their love passed some ordeals and, despite the intrigues of Julius King (the personification of evil in its sophisticated form), it turned out to be much more reliable than the marital relationship of Hilda and Rupert, the scrappy love of Morgan to Julius, the innocent love of Morgan and Peter.

However, Axel and Simon are not the only art connoisseurs in the novel. Murdoch's characters usually choose an artistic *topos* for their rendezvous, appointing them to museums, exhibitions, art and sculpture galleries. In particular, Julius and Morgan meet in the Tate Gallery at an exhibition of modern sculpture, but the crowd of visitors interferes with the conversation and they move to the next hall with great art, which, surprisingly, is almost completely unpeopled.

In an exchange of impressions about Turner's canvases, the writer juxtaposes the classical understanding of the paintings of this master of marines and landscapes bold in their color effects (Morgan's perception) with deliberately provocative, daring statements (Julius):

"How calm great pictures make one feel", said Morgan. "I love these late Turners. Passionate turmoil held in perfect immobility. Elemental energy mysteriously constructed into space and light ... Um." "Don't you care for Turner?" "Not much. A hopelessly derivative painter. Always copycatting somebody: Poussin, Rembrandt, Claude. Never finished a picture without ruining it. And he had far too high opinion of himself. He should have remained a minor genre painter, that's about his level. I'm afraid his painting resembles his poetry" (Murdoch, *Fairly Honorable Defeat* 220).

Such a critical opinion by Julius certainly cannot go unnoticed, it can even cause the indignation of "knowledgeable readers." Especially it concerns Julius King's criticism about Turner's "derivativeness" that is very subjective and unfair. Having passed the school of French and Dutch masters, in his mature years Turner acquires his own, uniquely original wet-on-wet Turnerian technique. It is well-known that such French artists as Claude Monet and Henri Matisse in their youth studied Turner's unusual technique of light and colors (Cumming 66). We are once again convinced that in relation to individual painters the words of Julius King (who, with an ingenuity worthy of Machiavelli, mercilessly experiments on his friends, playing with their destinies) help to reveal his own human nature.

Moreover, in her fiction Murdoch quite often reproduces the effect of suggestion on the consciousness of her characters at the moment of the reception act. Thus, the theater playwright and director Charles Arrowby from the novel *The Sea, the Sea* (1978) in his conversation with a hypothetical reader admits that he is "not very much knowledgeable about pictures," but they give him a certain "calm pleasure," he likes the atmosphere of galleries; Arrowby even confesses that he derives "a lot of sheer erotic satisfaction from pictures of women" (Murdoch, *Sea* 169).

Looking at the pictures in the Wallace Collection, Arrowby associates the women depicted there with the women having left a trace in his life:

Then it began to seem that so many of my women were there; only not Hartley ... Lizzie by Terborch, Jeanne by Nicolaes Maes, Rita by Domenichino, Rosina by Rubens, a perfectly delightful study by Greuze of Clement as she was when I first met her ... There was even a picture of my mother by Reynolds, a bit flattering but a likeness. Yes, I looked for Hartley. Some could have rendered her, Campin perhaps, Memling or Van Eyck. But she was not there. (Murdoch, *Sea* 170).

Only knowing the artistic manner of these painters, the reader can imagine what each of the women was like according to the author's idea. However, the protagonist does not find exactly the one who captured his thoughts, his first love, the beloved of his adolescence, Hartley.

The desire to get his love back turns into an obsessive idea. Many years have passed and now Hartley is an elderly married woman, Mary Hartley Fitch. Nevertheless, Charles Arrowby wants to turn back his lost love; he does not realize that he loves only a fictional image inspired by the pictures and his reminiscence of events forty years ago. To enhance the created effect, the writer brings her protagonist to the gallery, where his father had taken him once as a boy. Arrowby finds himself facing Titian's picture "Perseus and Andromeda" and, "admiring the graceful naked figure of the girl," suddenly, although he has seen this picture many times, he notices "the terrible fanged open mouth of the sea dragon" (Murdoch, *Sea* 171). Charles is terrified; he realizes the similarity of the sea dragon seen in the picture with the sea monster from his hallucination. Just as in the Titian's picture sensual passion acquires an almost pantheistic character, merging with the elemental forces of nature, so the element of Charles's passion evokes "terrible demons" capable of destroying reality and inspiring love for his adolescence. Only the loss of the dearest people (the tragic deaths of cousin James and young Titus) and related events will help Charles Arrowby look at his life differently and finally understand that his love for Hartley was not a part of the real life, it belongs to the world of artistic reflection.

It is obvious that according to the author's idea, works of art play a decisive role in the life of her characters. Mainly they are the paintings by well-known Italian artists, like the picture by Titian's apprentice Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, 1518–1594) in the novel

An Unofficial Rose (1962). For Hugh Peronette, as the owner of the picture, it was just a “golden dream” of different life, but for his son Randle, it became a means to get his dream come true.

Most of all the Tintoretto glowed upon her with a jeweled beneficence. It lighted the room now, like a small sun. It was not a very large picture: it represented a naked woman and was almost certainly an earlier version of the figure of Susannah in the great Susannah Bathing in Vienna. Only it was no sketch, but a great picture in its own right and justly of some fame: a notable segment in the vast seemingly endless honeycomb of the master’s genius. (82)

Hugh Peronette, who never dared to break up his marriage and join his life with the woman of his dreams, Emma Sands, only after the death of his wife Fanny, decides to sell his most valuable thing, his treasure and consolation, a “priceless picture” to help his son start a new life. Hugh does not want a repetition of his own life and love story. Randle and his wife Ann are unhappy in marriage, and as the father he couldn’t but support his son’s love for the woman Randle loved with all his heart. He realized that “Randall’s thing is very serious. He’s really in love, the way it only happens once or twice in a lifetime. And with someone like him the mature love is the one to trust” (157). Hugh auctioned his favorite picture. It was sent promptly to Sotheby’s, and was purchased by the National Gallery. When Randle received a check from his father for a hefty sum, he was filled with confused feelings, among which the feeling of liberation prevailed.

In the novel *An Unofficial Rose*, the writer embodied the theory of two forms of beauty: physical and spiritual, which are usually manifested through the double essence of love (Platonic *eros*). According to Murdoch, love in its physical manifestation testifies to the lack of freedom associated with the destructive feature of human personality. And, on the contrary, the higher power of love is capable of awakening the best feelings in people, revealing high moral traits and qualities. Consequently, love is both physical and spiritual mystery that cannot be separated, so Murdoch sympathizes and understands the attempts of her characters to find out what ordinary love and sacred love mean not only in *An Unofficial Rose*, but in her other novels (*Under the Net*, *The Sea, the Sea*, *The Black Prince*, etc.). Moreover, in the novel *The Sacred and Profane Love Machine* (1974) this theme appears in the title, which echoes the title of Titian’s painting “The Sacred and Profane Love” (1514). Regarding the plot of this picture, as well as Murdoch’s novels, some attempts were made to interpret it in terms of the Plato’s idea of love (Byatt; Conradi; Dipple; Islamova; Mizinina; Tracy), but, without

a doubt, both the novel and the picture are imbued with hedonism, the authoritative assertion of beauty and harmony in search of the truth.

According to Murdoch, the human soul seeks to know the truth, but only love and art can help in it. The writer deploys this thesis in her novel *The Black Prince* (1973): “Art tells the only truth that ultimately matters. It is the light by which human things can be mended. And after art there is, let me assure you all, nothing.” (416) Reflecting on the outlined issue, in the best traditions of Plato’s Socratic dialogues, Murdoch even dramatizes the idea in her own dialogue about art, in which Socrates, Plato and his disciples act as protagonists. By the mouth of Socrates, she assures that “good art tells us more truth about our lives and our world than any other kind of thinking or speculation—it certainly speaks to more people. And perhaps the language of art is the most universal and enduring kind of human thought” (Murdoch, *Existentialists* 493). Art, according to Murdoch, brings the recipients closer to knowing the truth. The Good appears as the highest meaning of art for her, because art is a powerful influence on a person, which helps to discover the true human nature. In this way, Iris Murdoch actualizes important aspects of the philosophy of art and brings them into the realm of ontology.

Conclusion

The issue of intermedia dialogue of arts, actualized by modern literary studies, was one of the key problems in Iris Murdoch’s oeuvre. The British writer tried to find out the ontology of the art phenomenon, its multifunctional sense in the life of a person alongside with the specifics of the relationships between arts. Reflecting on art in her own philosophical essays and dialogues (“Conceptions of Unity. Art”; “Art and Eros: A Dialogue about Art”), Murdoch argued that a work of art opens up a space for reflection, it enables the recipients to be co-creators while experiencing art in its cognitive and aesthetic aspects.

The theoretical and philosophical views of the author on the problem of polyfunctionality of art, its communicative role, the problem of the artist and his work of art are also actively articulated by Murdoch in her novels. In the texts of her fiction, the writer accumulates the experience of various arts, which she implements through a number of literary techniques. In particular, in *Jackson’s Dilemma*, *The Black Prince*, *The Sea, the Sea* and some others we identified and explored the intermedia markers at the level of imagological transformations (by means

of anthroponymic and anthropomorphic allusions). The protagonists of her novels are painters, novelists, theater directors, art connoisseurs or in vast majority people somehow related to arts. Thus, the author emphasizes that it is not necessary to be a professional artist or an art critic in order to read and experience “true art.”

Another intermedia code of Murdoch’s novels is the perception of artworks created by great artists. In her literary texts such receptive versions are often uttered by the “voices” of her characters, both professionals and amateurs. Hence, the writer’s emphasis on the importance of the recipient (“client,” “consumer” of the art), who acts as an essential link of the receptive matrix “author-text-recipient-artwork.” In addition, quite often Murdoch reproduces the effect of suggestion on the consciousness of her characters at the moment of the reception act (*The Sea, the Sea*). The internal narratives of her characters, their “stream of consciousness,” at the same time testify to the blurring of the boundaries between the reality and the world of art.

The usual meeting place of Murdoch’s characters is an artistic *topos*, which appears as another intermedia marker. Museums, theaters, exhibitions, galleries of paintings and sculptures (*A Fairly Honorable Defeat*) appear as such demonstrative *topos*. Sometimes a function of the artistic *topos* is performed by a painter’s house, certain rooms of which appear in the reader’s reception as thematic collections in his private gallery (*Jackson’s Dilemma*).

Consequently, the reader’s consciousness repeatedly encounters various ekphrastic codes (the ekphrasis of paintings). In particular, the great paintings are not only described and discussed in Murdoch’s texts (ekphrastic writing), but function as separate characters—they anthropomorphize, “live their own life,” have their own space (*Jackson’s Dilemma*, *A Fairly Honorable Defeat*). In addition, according to the writer’s idea, works of art sometimes play a decisive role in the lives of her characters (*An Unofficial Rose*, *Under the Net*, *The Sea, the Sea*, *The Black Prince*). So, we can state that the use of intermedia components is one of the markers of Iris Murdoch’s idiostyle, which actualizes important aspects of the philosophy of art and brings them into the realm of ontological issues.

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Ontologija umetniškega fenomena v delih Iris Murdoch

Ključne besede: angleška književnost / Murdoch, Iris / filozofija umetnosti / ontologija / intermedialnost / pripovedna tehnika / ekfraz

Članek obravnava intermedialni umetniški dialog v opusu britanske pisateljice in filozofinje Iris Murdoch. Ontologija umetniškega fenomena in njegov funkcionalni pomen v avtoričinih proznih besedilih, specifične medumetnostnega razmerja v njenih filozofskih esejih in dialogih so obravnavani z vidika intermedialnosti. Prispevek na osnovi intermedialne raziskovalne metodologije razkriva avtoričine teoretske in filozofske poglede na multifunkcionalnost umetnosti, interakcijo umetnika in umetniškega dela. Ključne tehnike medumetnostnega diskurza, skupaj z antroponimičnimi aluzijami, so obravnavane kot intermedialni označevalci besedil, identificirani in raziskani na ravni imagoških transformacij. Ljudje umetnosti: umetniki, udeleženci umetniškega diskurza, pa tudi prejemniki umetnosti predstavljajo poseben tip likov v romanih Iris Murdoch. Skladno s tem je v ontologiji umetniškega dela poudarjen pomen prejemnika, ki deluje kot bistveni člen receptivne matrice »avtor-besedilo-prejemnik-umetniško delo«. Posebno stičišče likov v avtoričinih delih so umetniški toposi: muzej, razstava, umetniška galerija ali umetnikova hiša. Poleg tega se bralec ali bralka njene proze vedno znova srečuje z različnimi ekfrastičnimi kodi: ekfrazne slike niso le prisotne v avtoričinih besedilih, ampak delujejo kot atropomorfizirani liki, *dramatis personae*, imajo svoj prostor (fizična in mentalna mesta) in igrajo odločilno vlogo v življenju protagonistov in protagonistk. Posledično ugotavljamo, da je uporaba intermedialnih komponent eden od označevalcev idiosvila Iris Murdoch, ki aktualizira pomembne vidike filozofije umetnosti in jih postavlja v sfero ontološke problematike.

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Postwar Intellectuals and the Concept of European Literature: Exile, Memory, Reparation

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This article focuses on the concept of European literature—its invention in Western cultural history and Magdi story, as well as the meaning and value attributed to it as a form of a warring Europe. It addresses the contributions of key European intellectuals of the interwar period and the postwar years, such as Victor Klemperer, Paul Valéry, Thomas Mann, Edmund Husserl, Ernst Robert Curtius, Jean Guéhenno, Karl Jaspers, and Erich Auerbach. The article discusses the important and often obscured similarities between the two periods and holds up the cultural assumptions and representations of these intellectuals' collective discourse alongside their later critical reception by scholars like Edward Said, Armando Gnisci, Franca Sinopoli, and Magdi Yousef. Through this critical review of postwar intellectual thought, the article analyzes the ideological and affective charge of the idea of European literature as it is perpetuated through schooling and the paradigm of literary history. It demonstrates how, even though it was used as a defense against barbarism after the two world wars, the notion of "European literature," like that of "tradition," became a highly vulnerable construct after the advent of post-structuralism.

Keywords: European literature / comparative literature / literary history / supranational identity / exile philology

In August 1935, the Romance-language philologist of Jewish origin Victor Klemperer received two letters whose different ways of invoking the word "Europe" gave rise to an intriguing but painful reflection.¹ The first letter, sent from the other side of the Atlantic, carried tidings

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from his friend, the physicist Harry Dember, and the joy with which he told him the news of his appointment as a professor at the University of Istanbul: “I can still see his contented smile, the first after weeks of bitterness following his dismissal, or rather, to be more precise, his being hounded out. Today I can still remember how this smile and the happy ring to his voice highlighted the word ‘Europe’” (Klemperer, *Language* 148). The second letter came from Klemperer’s nephew Walter, and it described the atmosphere of the Café Europa in Jerusalem, where, compared to the Jewish community in Tel Aviv, things felt “altogether more European” (149). In Klemperer’s view, the two letters contained two opposite conceptions of the idea of Europe. The first letter, which bore good news but was nevertheless pregnant with nostalgia for the continent that Dember had been forced to leave behind, reduced Europe to a geographical space, while the second, which Klemperer saw as more important and accurate, came closer to grasping Europe’s meaning in the open and cosmopolitan air of the Palestinian café.²

It may seem paradoxical that Klemperer locates the meaning of Europe in Jerusalem, but his gesture is imbued with intention. The Europe that the philologist observes and laments from his home city of Dresden is a continent threatened by Nazism, whose meaning had been simplified to the extreme in the language of the Third Reich. For the purposes of Party propaganda, Europe was conceived in a purely spatial and material sense, and in press articles and official speeches it was invoked as a land mass, therefore susceptible to greed, annexation, and conquest. Emptied of its cultural content and detached from all ethical and moral responsibility, Europe became a meaningless space, and its dominance could therefore be solely a matter of brute force. This discovery—which is just one example among the many that Klemperer presents in *The Language of the Third Reich*—precludes the possibility of longing for the space of Europe, because it has become unlivable. How to be nostalgic for a Europe that has ceased to exist, seems to be asking the philologist, bristling at the useless nostalgia of Dember’s letter sent from exile. In his view, the best place to imagine Europe is now far from the continent (and far, therefore, from the threat and horror of Nazism). It is not by chance, then, that some of the most fruitful

² See “Café Europa” (Klemperer, *Language* 148–154), one of the short essays collected in the form of a chapter in *The Language of the Third Reich: LTI–Lingua Tertiæ Imperii: Notes of a Philologist*. Published in 1947, this book offers a meticulous chronicle of the perversions of totalitarian language based on the diary Klemperer started writing after Hitler’s ascent to power. On Klemperer’s conception of European literature and its relation to *Weltliteratur*, see D’haen.

studies of European tradition and literature have been produced by exiled philologists.³

The safeguarding of an idea of Europe that has been restored to its full meaning against the abuses of totalitarianism is a task that Klemperer assumes as a moral imperative during these crucial years. Europe is the focus of his concerns, and the silent possibility of its regeneration lies in denouncing the violence exerted against language, and, above all, in understanding European literature as a unit and as an identity-building project. In the following pages, Klemperer's example enables us to examine the position of the humanities in the face of the wounds of history during the first and second European post-war periods, and to consider the extent to which their response to disaster points toward a certain idea of literature: a literature conceived as a solution to the problems of the present, but not exempt from responsibilities or guilt.

The Europe of letters

When Klemperer imagines the possibility of a free and deterritorialized Europe, he is thinking of the old French idea of a spiritual community of letters. The chapter on "Europe" in his book *Modern French Prose* (*Die modern französische Prosa*, 1923) was devoted entirely to this possibility, and six years later he returned to this idea in a short essay written to commemorate the centenary of the Goethian concept of *Weltliteratur*. As a onetime professor of French literature at the University of Dresden—a post from which he was removed at the

³ Consider, for instance, George Steiner's 2005 lecture at the Nexus Institute, which is connected to Klemperer's nephew's idea of Europe's meaning as being disclosed in a café full of people and words, and with Zygmund Bauman's poetic excursus about a Europe that is the scene of great adventures and travel. It is also worth highlighting other less essayistic works within the field of philosophy, such as the lessons by Hans-Georg Gadamer (see Misgeld and Nicholson) and Antoine Compagnon (see Compagnon et al.) and the writings of Edgar Morin (*Penser, Culture, Notre Europe*), which provided a starting point for the astute pages that Claudio Guillén wrote about the topic. Equally essential are the long-term historical analyses put forward by Federico Chabod, Rémi Brague, Lucien Febvre, and Josep Fontana, as well as Eric Hobsbawm's essay on "The Curious History of Europe." From a sociological perspective, we must consider Jorge Semprún's writings about Europe, together with the works of Gerard Delanty (*Inventing Europe, Rethinking Europe, Formations*). For a contested, transnational perspective on the idea of Europe, see Balibar; Domínguez; Domínguez and D'haen; Foley and Korkut; Weller.

beginning of 1935 due to his Jewish background—Klemperer approaches the study of the early modern Republic of Letters as a form of recovering a certain meaning of the idea of Europe.⁴

In Enlightenment France, the cultural ideal of the *Res Publica Litterarum* reflected the secular and civilized Europa that authors such as Voltaire were actively helping to define (especially in *The Age of Louis XIV*). Inspired by free and equal dialogue, Voltaire imagined the utopian possibility of an independent and peaceful “grand société des esprits,” but the real referent of this ideal was none other than contemporary Europe, a continent devastated by ignorance and superstition and divided by war and religious differences. Supported by a firm conviction in the perfectibility of knowledge, the project of creating an open and cosmopolitan community of scholars and literary figures that stretched across national boundaries attributed a power far superior to the limited scope of politics to these extensive long-distance networks of correspondence and travel: “This correspondence still continues,” Voltaire writes in 1751, “it is one of the consolations for the ills that ambition and politics have spread in the world (Cette correspondance dure encore, elle est une des consolations des maux que l’ambition et la politique répandent sur la terre).” (Voltaire 1027)

The same confidence in the soothing power of European letters can be found, just a few decades later, in the cosmopolitanism of Madame de Staël, whose *De l’Allemagne* imagines the literary Europe as the product of cultural exchange amongst intellectuals across the continent. It can also be traced in the Christianizing sentiments of Chateaubriand’s *The Genius of Christianity* (*Le génie du christianisme*, 1802) and Novalis’s essay “Christendom or Europe” (“Die Christenheit oder Europa,” 1799), which are both heartfelt lamentations for a Europe orphaned by God and divided by the Napoleonic wars. This faith in the unlimited and salvific power of European culture refers, it is worth saying, only to the classics that traveled well beyond national borders. Famous in this regard are the words that Voltaire dedicates to Shakespeare and Lope de Vega in his *Appeal to All the Nations of Europe* (*Appel à toutes les nations de l’Europe*, 1761), reprimanding the national poets for their

⁴ A disciple of Karl Vossler, Klemperer devoted most of his publications to the study of eighteenth-century French literature. In 1914, he finished a thesis on Montesquieu’s poetic thought, and later he published the aforementioned *Modern French Prose: French Literature from Napoleon to the Present* (1925, 4 vols.), *Modern French Lyrics* (1929), and *Pierre Corneille* (1933). During the worst years of Nazism, Klemperer worked clandestinely on an ambitious project on eighteenth-century French literature, the full result of which came to light after his death in 1960.

willingness to satisfy the tastes of their own countries rather than the demand for a unitary European taste. Even though this unitary taste would prove to be essentially French in the end, it is nevertheless clear to Klemperer that the only possible thing to yearn for now is that idea of a cultured Europe with a transnational vocation based on a sense of shared knowledge, rather than on its fragile and disputed political borders.⁵

From this retrospective viewpoint, the oscillation between a material Europe defeated by the course of history and the Janus-like dream of its regeneration in the realm of letters accompanies the very idea of European literature from its first conceptualizations. Klemperer observes this kind of agonizing movement in the “naive happiness” of the eighteenth century, in the cosmopolitan exaltation of Madame de Staël, and even in Goethe’s complacent Europeanism. The perspectives and desires of the authors who interest him are very different: the universalist vocation of Voltaire’s literary Europe, for example, is far from the Christian Europe of Novalis and the Franco-German centrality of the *Weltliteratur* (which Klemperer endorses to some extent). And yet, if there is anything that makes it possible to think of these works as part of a single series, it is a kind of shared exhaustion with history, followed by a common call for literature to start speaking for history and, to a certain degree, against it. Conceived as a response and alternative to a present in crisis, or as a form of resistance against fanaticism and barbarism, European literature begins to present itself as the blissful inverse of the political Europe against which it defines itself: “The singular nature of European literature,” writes Marc Fumaroli, “is proportional to the paradoxical singularity of European history: the former is a reflection and reparation of what the latter strives to undo (La singularité de la littérature européenne est à la mesure de la singularité paradoxale de l’histoire européenne: l’une est méditation et réparation de ce que l’autre s’acharne à défaire).” (Fumaroli et al., *Identité* 15)

The crisis of the European spirit

The drive that seeks in literature a way to repair history beats with special urgency in the dramatic conditions that besiege Klemperer’s writing. His European notes, conceived and written clandestinely during

⁵ For an approach to the Enlightenment idea of the Republic of Letters, see Goodman.

his confinement in a “Jewish house,” updates the old tragic tone that he perceives as background music in his works on the idea of European literature. During the interwar period, it is the very idea of Europe as a literary and cultural project that needs to be rescued, both from the abuses of totalitarian language and from an older and even more painful legacy. After all, one of the lessons of the fallout from the Great War had been that even the highest and most beautiful ideas were destructible, but that, at the same time, such horror would not have been possible without them. As Paul Valéry writes in 1919:

So many horrors could not have been possible without so many virtues. Doubtless much science was needed to kill so many, to waste so much property, annihilate so many cities in so short a time; but *moral qualities* in like number were also needed. Are Knowledge and Duty then suspect? (Valéry 24; italics in the original)

In the immediate *aftermath* of the *war*, when not only scientific and technical progress but also humanistic and moral knowledge felt under suspicion, Valéry imagines in “La crise de l’esprit” (“The Crisis of the Mind,” 1919) the incarnation of the European spirit as a new Hamlet, immersed in the contemplation of millions of specters. From an immense terrace in Elsinore overlooking a ghostly Europe, this Hamlet wavers before the dilemma of choosing between truth’s life or death, and the world’s order or disorder. In Valéry’s telling, the ghosts haunting Hamlet are the objects of Europe’s past achievements, and he is sick with remorse for the barbarism of recent history in part due to them. While he hesitates, the skulls of Leonardo, Leibniz, Kant, Hegel, and Marx pass through his hands, and he wonders what to do with their illustrious legacy. The burden is heavy, but if he leaves them behind, what will become of him? Let’s listen for a moment to his despairing soliloquy:

“What about Me,” he says, “what is to become of Me, the European intellect? ... And what is peace? *Peace is perhaps that state of things in which the natural hostility between men is manifested in creation, rather than destruction as in war.* Peace is a time of creative rivalry and the battle of production; but am I not tired of producing?” [...] “Farewell, ghosts! The world no longer needs you—or me. By giving the name of progress to its own tendency to a fatal precision, the world is seeking to add to the benefits of life the advantages of death. A certain confusion still reigns; but in a little while all will be made clear, and we shall witness at last the miracle of an animal society, the perfect and ultimate anthill.” (Valéry 29–30)

The response of this weary and faltering Hamlet, overcome by discouragement, reflects, among other things, the hopelessness of European intellectuals during the interwar period. The same fatalistic tone and sense of an ending arguably dominates the vast body of literature on Europe written during the decades following the end of the First World War, which is full of dire forecasts about the decline, failure, and crisis of the European spirit. In this regard, Thomas Mann's lecture "Achtung, Europa!" ("Europe Beware") is especially relevant.⁶ This talk, given in Nice in April of 1935, more than fifteen years after the disaster of the war, sounded the alarm once more about the dramatic erosion of the values of European culture and the rise of irrationalism and anti-intellectualism. According to the German novelist, this process of degradation made itself evident among younger generations, and its powerful advance threatened a return to barbarism. For the future author of *Doctor Faustus*, who was sixty at the time, the Great War and the world that came after it were to blame for the emergence of a Europe that had renounced culture and promoted moral laziness and intellectual exhaustion instead. Like the late Goethe when he himself was past sixty, Mann complains about the ease with which young people allowed themselves to be pressured by external circumstances and emphasizes the danger of diluting individual responsibility into the passivity of the collective subject. Taking refuge in the comfort of the masses, Europe had opted for liberation from the subject and its burden; that is, liberation from thought, ethics, and reason.

Towards a new humanism

A month later, in May 1935, Edmund Husserl expressed a similar concern in a lecture in Vienna. On this occasion the philosopher was also, on balance, pessimistic. His disappointment was not only with the disastrous state of contemporary Europe, but also with the demonstrated incapacity of the so-called "spiritual" sciences to shed light on a possible way out. In his lecture, Husserl laments the overabundance of naive reform proposals from the humanities that fail in their well-intentioned efforts to repair a sick Europe and end up voicing a melancholic complaint about its death. Rather than this fatalism—which Husserl sees

⁶ Mann's lecture makes no reference to Hitler or German National Socialism, and yet it was received as a critique of Nazi Germany, the first that Mann made in public after a long and uncomfortable silence.

as typical of the literary world—he proposes a positive solution to the dilemma of Valéry's European Hamlet:

The crisis of European existence can end in only one of two ways: in the ruin of a Europe alienated from its rational sense of life, fallen into a barbarian hatred of spirit; or in the rebirth of Europe from the spirit of philosophy, through a heroism of reason that will definitely overcome naturalism. Europe's greatest danger is weariness. (Husserl 192)

Instead of giving in to or lamenting the irrevocable destiny of a continent in crisis, Husserl defends the idea that the degraded state in which Europe finds itself can be reversed. To achieve this, the father of transcendental phenomenology points to a necessary reworking of the very concept of Europe, inspired by philosophy and the critical spirit. Like his contemporary Klemperer, Husserl finds hope for Europe in modern reason. In his view, however, it is not a matter of rehabilitating the Enlightenment project, whose great error had been to lock itself into guilty complacency, but rather of conceiving of the world around us—or “world of life” (*Lebenswelt*)—as something that has validity exclusively in the realm of the spirit. Starting from this new theoretical intuition, which is purely phenomenological in its roots, Husserl aspires to subsume the differences between nations into the unity of a single “spiritual figure.”

Grounded in critical reason and sustained by an intimate spiritual kinship among peoples, the results of this supranational Europe that Husserl projects into the future are undoubtedly controversial. For some, such as the British critic Terry Eagleton, the European unity evoked by Husserl ends up being an abstract utopia, almost purely rhetorical and difficult to apply in reality: “Phenomenology sought to solve the nightmare of modern history by withdrawing into a speculative sphere where eternal certainty lay in wait; as such, it became a symptom, in its solitary, alienated brooding, of the very crisis it offered to overcome.” (Eagleton 53) On the other hand, for convinced Europeanists like Jorge Semprún, the future into which the Husserlian spiritual figure was projected is the real present of today's democratic Europe.

During the same interwar period, Ernst Robert Curtius published a series of polemical articles under the title *The German Spirit in Danger* (*Deutscher Geist in Gefahr*, 1932). In tune with the tone of other essays written between the wars, Curtius warns of the “spiritual chaos” that dominates Germany, denouncing the capitulation of the German intelligentsia and its abandonment of a certain sense of culture. Faced with that situation, Curtius finds in the Husserlian theses an open way

to overcome the dangerous separation between academic knowledge, which is increasingly closed in on itself, and what Husserl defined with his aforementioned term *Lebenswelt*. For Curtius, it is possible to conceive of a rational idea of culture that would integrate the subject into the forms of tradition and be capable of projecting itself through unity rather than through the affirmation of national identities. Such is the conviction from which Curtius begins his most important book, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, a project that he finished in 1947 and which in its second edition is presented as a “phenomenology of literature” rather than as a work on literary history, comparative literature, or literary science.

Through a meticulous study of the recurring or constant phenomena of the rhetorical tradition in schools, Curtius aims to demonstrate the common Latin-medieval background that sustains the unity of European culture. Emphasizing the role of the Latin Middle Ages as a transmitter of the classics through teaching, Curtius traces powerful lines of continuity through more than 2,700 years of history that allow us to think about European literature as a “timeless present” with a Latin axis, from Homer to Goethe. Rather than being an isolated autonomous entity, Curtius asserts that this united Europe with cultural roots in Latinity must participate in a real way in the world of life. Curtius points, thus, to the reconstruction of the very spirit of the European tradition, and to the renewal of the *studia humanitatis* as an indispensable means of understanding that tradition. In the prologue to the first version of *European Literature*, published in 1945 in the Heidelberg-based magazine *Die Wandlung*, Curtius explains the personal reasons that guide his research, from his first visit to Rome and his fascination with the Palatine, which made him abandon his interest in French literature to seek “the road to Rome” (Curtius, *Essays* 498), to the feared and foreseen advent of the world war. These motivations also justify his monumental monograph as a response from the integrity of culture to a dismembered and ruined Europe: “The remedy which, in 1932, I believed I could prescribe was a new Humanism, albeit one which should have little in common with that of the nineteenth century.” (500) In the same text, he explains that back then he proclaimed an attitude of restoration—a new humanism founded in the Latin Middle Ages.

The problem of guilt

If Curtius's tone in 1945 was melancholy, it was because confidence in a reparation of Europe through letters had obviously been diminished by the impact of the Second World War. At that time, Europe was, in Edgar Morin's phrase, "a word that lied" (Morin, *Penser* 11). That same year, André Malraux would say that he had never believed in the existence of a European culture, and that Europe itself could only be defined by negation as "that which isn't Asia" ("ce qui n'est pas l'Asie," qtd. in Sinopoli 9). In this context, the 1946 *Rencontres Internationales de Genève* began with an extensive series of conferences and discussions on a topic that had once again become urgent: "the European spirit." In the introduction to the Spanish edition of the conferences, which appeared ten years later, the Spanish philosopher and essayist Julián Marías noted that the underlying issue highlighted in Geneva was the dissociation between European history, which had lost its meaning and direction, and European thought, which operated in a vacuum, and whose most serious problem was—and continued to be a decade later—the integration of the historical world. The difficulty, then, lay in how to forge, from assumptions that could no longer be considered innocent, "[a] Europe in action and not a Europe in representation," in a phrase of Merleau-Ponty's that Marías makes his own.

For those attending the *Rencontre*, including intellectuals such as Jean Guéhenno, Denis de Rougemont, Georg Lukács, Georges Bernanos, and Karl Jaspers, the disaster of the war had put an end to any possibility of thinking about Europe using the conceptual tools of the past. Europe was responsible for—and even guilty of causing—the world's catastrophe, and any attempt to build a European identity had to start from a way of thinking that would allow it to take charge of so much suffering. In the opinion of Jean Guéhenno, who was the director of the magazine *Europe* during the years before the outbreak of the war, the European spirit had been seriously wounded by history and now had to bear the shame of what he called "l'esprit concentrationnaire" (Guéhenno in Benda et al. 132). Nevertheless, the challenge posed by reconstruction did not produce a paralyzing guilt, but rather a productive one that promoted a militant humanism: "The salvation of the European spirit? It can only lie in a militant humanism (Le salut de l'esprit européen? Il ne peut être que dans un humanisme militant)." (140) There was no longer room for a solipsistic intelligentsia that lamented its incapacity for action, and Guéhenno did not hesitate to evoke Valéry's essay as an example of what Europe could no longer afford: "Europe

does not need to be Hamlet, but Prometheus (Ce n'est pas un Hamlet qu'il convient à l'Européen d'être, c'est un Prométhée)." (140)

For Jaspers, who had taught a course that year on Germany's responsibility in the war, the problem of guilt was also inescapable: "We must consider all pain," he asserted in his lecture, "even that which has not reached us, as something that should have reached us and from which we have been saved without deserving it (Nous devons considérer toute douleur, même celle qui ne nous a pas atteints nous-mêmes, comme quelque chose qui devait nous atteindre et dont nous avons été seulement sauvés sans l'avoir mérité)." (Jaspers in Benda et al. 401) In the Europe of the immediate postwar period, which Bernanos described as a spectral Europe haunted by images of death and afraid of itself, everything had been destroyed. That also included European humanism, old and new, which even Jasper viewed as on the way to becoming a humanism with reactionary overtones whose effectiveness was directed only towards the past.

The common origin of European letters

From the *Rencontres Internationales* in Geneva it emerged an awareness of the reactionary character that dominates most of the works on European literature published during the postwar period. Tellingly, many monographs of this period propose a kind of trip backwards through European letters with the purpose of founding, in the past, a sense of Europe as a unit and as a project. Curtius's *European Literature* outlines a long journey that ends with Goethe but refers constantly to ancient Romania, while Nicolas Ségur's *History of European Literature (Histoire de la littérature européenne, 1948)* locates the unity of European cultural heritage in Greece; a year later, in *The Classical Tradition*, Gilbert Highet concerns himself with demonstrating contemporary Western literature's debt to the classical tradition. A similar approach can also be recognized in the pages of *Mimesis* (1946), the comprehensive study that Erich Auerbach produced during his years in exile in Istanbul, which covered the history of realism in the Western tradition.⁷ Drawing on numerous relevant historical cases that go up

⁷ It is worth mentioning that the chair that Auerbach occupied in Istanbul was the same one that Leo Spitzer had left vacant when he left to the United States, and the one that Victor Klemperer had desperately requested, without success, in 1935. After the publication of *Mimesis*, Klemperer wrote a glowing review of Auerbach's book in which he highlighted the value of philology in exile (Klemperer, "Philologie").

to Virginia Woolf and Marcel Proust, Auerbach evokes, in an openly nostalgic tone, a characteristically European way of representing reality, whose origin can be found in the contrasting models of the Old Testament and the *Odyssey*, and whose turning point is Dante's *Comedy*.

The idea of a single original source or a common remote kinship for the different national literatures of Europe also resonates in those years in the writings and lectures of T. S. Eliot. In his October 1944 investiture speech as president of the Society of Virgilian Studies in London, Eliot affirmed the unity and organicity of the European cultural tradition, and went on to draw before the English academy a line of continuity that ran through all European literature from the present day to Virgil, that symbol of Rome and, consequently, of Europe:

We need to remind ourselves that, as Europe is a whole (and still, in its progressive mutilation and disfigurement, the organism out of which any greater world harmony must develop), so European literature is a whole, the several members of which cannot flourish, if the same blood-stream does not circulate throughout the whole body. The blood-stream of European literature is Latin and Greek—not as two systems of circulation, but one, for it is through Rome that our parentage in Greece must be traced. What common measure of excellence have we in literature, among our several languages, which is not the classical measure? (Eliot 72)

The biological metaphor Eliot uses, which was also very much to Curtius's taste, could not be more explicit regarding the unitary (and abstract) sense that he gives to the European literary tradition. According to Eliot, the great poets of all ages, connected by an inalienable origin and related to one another through a complex network of borrowings and influences, form a "simultaneous order" outside of historical time that successive generations of poets will also join. From a contemporary perspective, this idealistic and supposedly depoliticized conception of European culture, which appears to interpret the common Greco-Latin origin as a means of alleviating the wear and tear of history, becomes a highly problematic abstraction. Almost half a century after Eliot gave his lecture, J. M. Coetzee responded in an essay with the same title ("What is a Classic?") to each of the contradictions and traps in Eliot's theses. Coetzee notes the almost complete absence of references to war in Eliot's speech, given while Allied forces were fighting in Europe and German shells were still raining down on London. More interesting for our purposes, however, is his meticulous unmasking of the interests that lead Eliot to disconnect the question of the classics from material history, and which according to Coetzee flowed from a radically

conservative political program for Europe based on the Catholic Church as the main supranational body.

European literature as myth

Even apart from Coetzee's critique, it seems clear that the idea of a European literary identity based on a common origin is difficult to sustain within the new framework of post-World War II literary relations. One well-known resistance against this idea was the critique on the centrality and unity of Europe that led to the 1978 publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Seen through a decentralized, "out of place" perspective, Said's Europe called out the near-total absence of Islam in existing studies about the European tradition, revealing the mechanisms by which European intellectuals had constructed a cultural identity whose superiority was based on an exaggerated and distorted opposition between Europe and the rest of the world.⁸ Equally controversial at the time was Martin Bernal's book *Black Athena* (1987), a detailed study that undermined positive belief in Greco-Roman culture as the common source of the European tradition, bringing elements from the oldest Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations into the light. These studies and others like them tried to demonstrate that European literary identity, far from being natural and stable, was a construction, and in fact an *invention*, in the sense of the felicitous expression coined during those same years by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Rangers in *The Invention of Tradition* (1983). In any of these cases, it is worth recognizing and studying the strong ideological and affective charge of the idea of European literature as it is perpetuated through schooling and the paradigm of literary history, as well as the European critical-literary

⁸ A turning point in Said's criticism is his commentary on *Mimesis*, one of the clearest examples of how European culture defines itself with its back to the Orient and Islam: "[T]he book owed its existence to the very fact of Oriental, non-Occidental exile and homelessness. And if this is so, then *Mimesis* itself is not, as it has so frequently been taken to be, only a massive reaffirmation of the Western cultural tradition, but also a work built upon a critically important alienation from it, a work whose conditions and circumstances of existence are not immediately derived from the culture it describes with such extraordinary insight and brilliance but built rather on an agonizing distance from it." (Said 8) Despite these observations, there also some limitations to Said's criticism of a philological tradition he himself was a part of, and to which he was linked from the beginning of his career by his translation (with Maire Said) of Auerbach's essay "Philology of the *Weltliteratur*" (1952). For a critique of Said's philological approach, see Youssef 30–32.

discourse grounded in what Armando Gnisci proposed to call a poetics of European decolonization.⁹

The mythical idea of European literary identity is not unrelated to the conviction that sustains the argument about literature as a superior *raison d'être*. We must not lose sight of the fact that suspicion of history—or “flight from history,” in Eagleton’s expression—is a dominant tendency in modern literary theory, that is, in the theory that was born in the context of the First World War and precedes the advent of postisms. From the first formalisms to neorhetoric, as well as in Czech and French structuralism, stylistics, new criticism, and phenomenology, we can observe a tendency to define the nature and value of literary works based on the features that pit them against history. This tendency insists upon literature’s universality, originality, and exemplary nature in the face of particularism and attachment to the realities of history; places the monumental character of the former above the documentary value attributed to the other; and appeals to the organic and timeless universe of every literary work as proof and refutation of the contingency of history. According to this schema, literary classics are understood as the victorious heroes or survivors of the historical moment they arise from. What, then, can be learned from this suspicion of history? What meaning and what function do these postulates demand from literature? It is true that, built outside of history, or *against* it, literature can be called upon to repair, redeem and even heal the wounds of barbarism. Nevertheless, it is also important to be aware of the dangers that this conception of literature entails, and of the damage it has produced.

European literatures in history

Once the myth of European literature has been superseded, the idea of a unified and stable identity and project that was once presented as necessary soon becomes untenable: literary Europe abandons its ideal, abstract, immaterial nature and superimposes itself onto a historical space that is also in the process of being defined. This open process makes it possible to think of European literature in its pluralism

⁹ See Gnisci, *We, The Europeans; Creolizzare*. The works of Franca Sinopoli (*Il mito, La letteratura*), in which the author reconstructs the history of the gestation and subsequent degradation of the “myth” of European literature, are also fundamental in this effort. See also Marino; Moretti, “Modern”; Youssef, as well as the recently published *Palgrave Handbook of European Migration in Literature and Culture*, edited by Stan and Sussman.

and complementarity, and to fully integrate it into material history. Literary Europe becomes polycentric and polygenetic, and in the new paradigms of literary historiography we can begin to trace a movement that replaces the old parameters of organicity, continuity, and analogy with those of diversity, discontinuity, and difference.¹⁰ Broadly speaking, this transformation in the ways we historicize European literature can be described as a change that is substantiated above all in the type of metaphors used to express the development of European literature in its historical context. Metaphors that reinforce the temporal criterion, which belong above all from the semantic field of biology and the natural sciences, are being replaced by metaphors that propose a spatialization of European literature and are based on geographical images such as the field, the atlas, or the map.¹¹

The *Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages* (CHLEL) series, launched by the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA), is a clear example of this orientation towards a plural idea of European literature. The various volumes of the series aim to convey the problems of writing literary history through Itamar Even-Zohar's notion of the polysystem, making it possible to attend not only to the study of European literature as a unit, but to all European literatures and the relationships and tensions within the larger literary system. It follows that the connections between European and extra-European literary processes must be taken into account by this approach, as well as the presence of Arabic and Jewish literatures in European letters.¹² In the field of Italian historiography, some proposals have also led to a necessary integration of European literature with history and geographical space, such as Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel (Atlante del romanzo europeo, 1800–1900, 1997)*, in

¹⁰ See Chevrel on the problems inherent to writing European literary history.

¹¹ I do not agree with Murcia Conesa's assertion that Curtius's monograph can be considered an example of the spatialization of historical time. Although it is true that Curtius uses the image of aerial photography and the military map to describe a historiographical approach that aspires to offer a vision that rises above the reduced perspective posed by the national literary histories of the early twentieth century, it seems clear that his greatest endeavor is to examine the constants of a "literary biology" that enables us to think of Europe "not in a spatial sense, but in a historical one" (Curtius, *European* 26).

¹² For a discussion of the methodological problems with the project, see Weisgerber, the acting president of the "Coordination Committee," as well as the various monographs dedicated to this issue in *Neohelicon*. Launched in 1973—the year of the publication of the project's first volume—this magazine was created with the explicit intention of covering it from a theoretical perspective.

which literary Europe is defined as a complex ecosystem. Composed of different and diverse national and regional entities, this *Atlas* proposes to make “the connection between geography and literature explicit” (3) by mapping the history of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century European novel. (Moretti proposes to do the same, although with different purposes, in his 2005 book *Graphs, Maps, Trees*.) Another noteworthy example can be found in the three volumes of Gian Mario Anselmi’s *Mappe della letteratura europea e mediterranea* (2000–2001), where, in light of Massimo Cacciari’s metaphor of the “archipelago,” he designs a map of European and Mediterranean literature until the end of the twentieth century.

This methodological openness should also have consequences for education.¹³ We must not forget that schools have been, as Curtius emphasized so well, the guarantor of European literature’s unity by perpetuating the study of the continuity between texts, nor that the pedagogical uses of the concept of European literature have tended to reinforce the idea of its organicity rather than plurality and difference. The perspective of European literary studies has been no stranger to the romantic (or mythical) vision detailed above, from the European literature courses that Vladimir Nabokov taught at Cornell and Harvard in the early 1950s to Claudio Guillén’s lectures at the Fundación Juan March in Madrid in 2002. Any European literature course that wants to articulate itself today must take into account this history that belongs to it—as a legacy, but also as a conflict. The interpretation and preservation of tradition and European literature continue to be among education’s central tasks, but it is difficult to sustain a discourse that preserves literature in the illusion of its autonomy, without considering and teaching texts in the context of their true complex, diverse, and ever-changing integration in history.

¹³ On the prospect of a critical pedagogy of European literature, see the contributions of Franca Sinopoli; Marcel Cornis-Pope; Lieven D’hulst; and Yasemin Soysal in Domínguez.

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Povojni intelektualci in koncept evropske književnosti: izgnanstvo, spomin, odškodnina

Ključne besede: evropska književnost / primerjalna književnost / literarna zgodovina / nadnacionalna identiteta / filologija izgnanstva

Razprava se osredotoča na koncept evropske literature, njegovo iznajdbo v zahodni kulturni zgodovini ter pomen in vrednost, ki sta mu bila v vojskujoči se Evropi pripisana kot obliki nadnacionalne identitete. Obravnava prispevke ključnih evropskih intelektualcev medvojnega in povojnega obdobja, kot so Victor Klemperer, Paul Valéry, Thomas Mann, Edmund Husserl, Ernst Robert Curtius, Jean Guéhenno, Karl Jaspers in Erich Auerbach. Opozarja na pomembne in pogosto zamolčane podobnosti med obema obdobjema ter obravnava kulturne predpostavke in predstave kolektivnega diskurza teh intelektualcev ob njihovi poznejši kritični recepciji s strani znanstvenikov, kot so Edward Said, Armando Gnisci, Franca Sinopoli in Magdi Yousef. S tem kritičnim pregledom povojne intelektualne misli članek analizira ideološki in afektivni naboj ideje o evropski književnosti, kot se ohranja skozi šolstvo in paradigmo literarne zgodovine. Pokaže, kako je pojem »evropske literature«, čeprav je bil po obeh svetovnih vojnah uporabljen kot obramba pred barbarstvom, tako kot pojem »tradicije« po nastopu poststrukturalizma postal zelo ranljiv konstrukt.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek / Original scientific article

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Andrejs Dripe's Journalism about the Federal Republic of Germany and Its Impact on Societal Change in the 1980s

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This article examines travels outside the Soviet Union by Latvian writers who were recognized by the occupation regime and acclaimed by the public during the Brezhnev Era, as one of the privileges enjoyed by the so-called creative intelligentsia, and how those travels were reflected in their literary and journalistic writings. Journeys abroad elicited conflicting emotions, and writers had to be relatively affluent to travel. Still, they often experienced humiliation when confronted with the reality of their meager financial means outside the U.S.S.R. and the fact that they remained in imprisonment even in the free West. The surge in popularity of literary periodicals in the 1980s played a crucial role in shaping a new culture of the press and journalism, as they provided large masses of readers with essential information about living abroad. Notes on the travels include observations on the socio-economic situation, environment, and political events and documents that have facilitated trips to the West. The case study explores the travelogue by Andrejs Dripe from the 1980s. Dripe's journalism records the rapid transition from the Brezhnev Era to Gorbachev's perestroika. It becomes the first official source of information about the West only a few people among his readers have visited.

Keywords: Latvian literature / journalism / travel writing / Soviet tourism / image of the West / the Brezhnev Era / perestroika

Kathleen Parthé suggests that a thorough examination of the literary process in post-Stalinist Russia, and potentially throughout the entire Soviet era, reveals that, in numerous aspects, the significance of the

text surpasses that of the individual writer (Parthé 295).¹ However, during the period of Stagnation, also called the Breznev Era, the role and choices of a singular writer became more visible and identifiable. A viewpoint regarding the contribution of an individual in the events of a particular era can be corroborated by research done by Dina Fainberg and Artemy M. Kalinovsky, who have stated that “the political, public, and scholarly debate throughout Stagnation in Soviet history is often wedged over the lines of ‘pre-crisis’ or ‘pre-renewal’.” It also has been emphasized that “when the Soviet Union collapsed despite Gorbachev’s reform and attempts to modernize the country, ‘stagnation’ became the primary explanation of the failure of the Soviet socialist project” (Fainberg and Kalinovsky xiv). It is essential to shift the usual, more comfortable research focus from dissidents to writers recognized by official critics and readers. Latvian historian Daina Bleiere has written that historians and other researchers should continue to uncover “uncomfortable topics, such as changes in the value system of society under the influence of the Soviet regime, the relationship of certain groups with the Soviet government, how and whether society was able to influence the Soviet regime” (Bleiere 33).² Bleiere admits that reducing the question to collaboration “moves the problem to a simplified level (co-operation with the occupation regime is by definition evil), and this approach ignores the fact that the Soviet regime also had a certain ideological appeal, at least in its early days” (33).

The methodological basis for this paper is threefold: it derives from the work of Alexei Yurchak, who provides a unique understanding of the concept of “the abroad” in the Soviet Union as demarcating not actual borders or territory but an imagined space; the insights of the Canadian historian Anne E. Gorsuch about Soviet tourism abroad; and the Epp Annus’s concept of the Baltic States as the Western borderlands within postcolonial studies.

The theoretical and historical framework

Latvian writer Zigmunds Skujiņš, after being denied permission for his and his daughter’s trip to Great Britain to visit Latvian exile writer Gunars Janovskis in 1976, writes in a letter to Janovskis on

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² All quotations from the Latvian are translated by the author of the article.

29 September: “Let me tell you a joke. Jānis says: I want to go to England again. Peter: Have you been to England before? Jānis: No, but once I already wanted to go... [...] We have unpacked the suitcases.” (Skujiņš, *Letter 1*)

In this letter, Skujiņš retells a popular anecdote of the Soviet era, the core version of which includes Paris instead of England. Alexei Yurchak discusses this joke as a staple of the era, linking it to another Soviet commonplace, namely, *to see Paris and die*, the author of which is Russian writer Ilya Erenburg. Incidentally, the Khrushchev era got its popular name from the title of one of Erenburg's novels as well, namely *The Thaw* (ОТТЕПЕЛ). The title “To See Paris and Die” is given to the extensive studies by Eleonory Gilburd about the Soviet and Western cultural communication in the Khrushchev's era, when peaceful coexistence with the West became the new faith, along with the idea of the universality of human culture and the shared value of world civilization.

With the example of the mentioned anecdote, Yurchak describes the paradox that is included in the unique understanding of the concept of “the abroad” (*заграница*) in the territory of Soviet Union:

Zagranitsa lay at the intersection of these two attitudes toward the wider world, signifying an imaginary place that was simultaneously knowable and unattainable, tangible and abstract, mundane and exotic. This concept was disconnected from any “real” abroad and located in some unspecified place-over there (*tam*), with them (*u nikh*), as opposed to with us (*u nas*)—and although references to it were ubiquitous, its real existence became dubious. [...] These narratives and jokes, of which there were many in late Soviet times, depict *zagranitsa* as a Soviet imaginary “elsewhere” that was not necessarily about any real place. The “West” (*zapad*) was its archetypal manifestation. It was produced locally and existed only at the time when the real West could not be encountered. (Yurchak 159)

Yurchak calls this version of the abroad “the Imaginary West” (159). This concept reflects the paradoxical combination of internationality and isolation regarding Soviet culture's relation to the rest of the world. On the one hand, the Soviet people realized that the communist idea they had represented to the world was based on an internationalist idea that implied belonging to all humankind. On the other hand, the Soviet people were also aware that they had virtually no opportunity to come into direct contact with people beyond Soviet borders or at least beyond Eastern European socialist countries.

Anne E. Gorsuch stresses that Soviet tourism was political, but politics were not its only manifestation. Soviet tourism shows not only

how Soviet citizens internalized Soviet norms and supported Soviet goals but also how Soviet tourists avoided official efforts to regulate their experience and implemented individual travel agendas. Namely, many tourists accepted and even actively promoted the narratives of the superiority of the Soviet state and citizens. Thus, crossing the border, whether the Soviet internal border or the Iron Curtain, challenged the traveler's understanding of things outside the Soviet Union and formed and transformed political and personal identities. "If tourism was olive branch and propaganda tool, it was also an opportunity for personal encounter, private life, and pleasure," Gorsuch writes (Gorsuch 190). The scholar argues that "the tourist experience, no matter how carefully supervised, was unpredictable, however" (190) but this knowledge enables us to look at the writers' touring experience and how it reflects in their work. Latvian scholars Eva Eglāja-Kristšone and Zita Kārkla have studied the travel notes of Latvian writers, the symbolization of the border revealed in them (Eglāja-Kristšone) and analyzing autobiographical and literary works as a case study of the practice of integrating biographical cartography into fiction (see Kārkla and Eglāja-Kristšone, "Liriskās"; Kārkla and Eglāja-Kristšone, "Her Story") while the aspects of orientalism and otherness have been examined by Maija Burima, who emphasizes the close connection of travel notes with the paradigm of colonialism, stating that writing travel notes was an essential part of the construction of the identity narrative in the colonial empires (see Burima).

Estonian and Latvian scholars have also explored travelogues produced in the Soviet and post-Soviet period and covering travels during the occupation time, stating that "biographical narratives reveal a multi-layered criticism of the Soviet system and society, yet generally, travels were recalled in a positive way" (Rattus and Järs 964), or, "versions of [...] writings published in the post-Soviet period and later commentaries bear witness to episodes that could not be described in the Brezhnev Era as well as self-censorship" (Oga 120).

What does it mean for a writer (and, more broadly, a Soviet citizen) to travel abroad (namely, outside the territory of the USSR) in the 1970s and 1980s? Opportunities to leave behind the Iron Curtain arose after the death of Joseph Stalin, during the rule of Khrushchev—first to the nearby socialist countries at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s—and also to the so-called capitalist countries. As Bleiere admits, during Khrushchev's time, the regime's policies were contradictory, and the control over the citizens also included limiting contact with the outside world as much as possible:

Like many other things in the Soviet Union, information about the outside world was in short supply. Access to it was a privilege and a highly valued one at that. A certain number of scientists, intellectuals, and artists could visit foreign countries relatively often. Such an opportunity was given to those who had climbed high enough on the career ladder and whose culture of behavior and communication skills made it possible to think that they would not bring dishonor to the USSR. On the other hand, regular visits abroad helped them maintain their status and gain knowledge that others did not have. (Bleiere 144)

Eleonor Gilburd claims in an interview: “These are artists and writers who traveled abroad and then depicted foreign places in writing, pencil or watercolors. Cultural mediators held positions of eminence that gave them access to mass media. And it was the state’s monopoly on radio, print, and cinema that assured them a country-wide audience. The general Soviet condition of restricted information and closed borders created opportunities for a few commanding voices to have a profound impact. They pursued a self-delegated mission and cared deeply about the reception of their efforts.” (Chernyakhovskaya) This is confirmed by the notes written by Latvian poet Imants Ziedonis to the Soviet literary magazine *Druzhba narodov* in 1972:

But definitely there is one task—whether on a walk or at work—to record our environment truly, to be true for the sake of future generations, because they will no longer have these opportunities—to live in this time that we live in. (qtd. in Rožkalne 456)

The year 1964 marks the end of Khrushchev’s thaw. The Brezhnev Era began with *Détente* of the Cold War and stagnation (1968–1979) and with the so-called second Cold War (1979–1985), when “the space for personal freedom expanded more and more. Especially since the end of the 1960s, the efforts to get into the head of every citizen, to ‘zombify’ have greatly decreased. External behavior was more important—don’t jump out, do not say anything you should not, at least outwardly be a normal Soviet person.” (Bleiere 153; see also Noack)

Tourism outside the USSR required not only status but also financial means. Although wages for a Soviet citizen rose in the 1960s, with daily costs remaining the same, ordinary workers still did not have enough money to travel. For instance, farmers in the 1950s and the 1960s faced this problem. In the 1970s–1980s, as collective farms became richer, the situation changed. The intelligentsia, on the other hand, although not paid more than industrial workers, had opportunities to earn more,

for example, by giving private lessons or renting out additional living space available only to the creative intelligentsia (Gorsuch 84).

Latvian writers' opportunities to travel were provided by various organizations, such as the Union of Latvian Soviet Writers, the Latvian Committee for Cultural Relations with Compatriots Abroad, the Soviet Committee for the Defence of Peace, the Latvian SSR of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences, on behalf of various transnational friendship organizations, in cultural delegations, such as choirs and dance groups, as well as tourists, using the routes offered by the official company "*Inturist*" (Eversone and Oga). In exceptional cases, it was also possible to visit foreign countries by personal invitation. However, with the preconditions for the trip to occur, there was still a high probability that it could be canceled at the last minute. Extensive questionnaires, unpleasant questions, especially when traveling to the West, suspicion, and insecurity; the whole process became very stressful for tourist candidates, and often the travel intentions were not revealed to even the closest people until the day of departure (Gorsuch 111).

In the period of the *Détente* of the Cold War, tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States eased, which had a positive effect on tourism and cultural exchanges. Scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between West Germany and the Soviet Union started in the late 1950s. It flourished in the Brezhnev's Era when the Treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union, was signed in Moscow in August 1970. It launched German policy *vis-à-vis* Eastern Europe (*Ostpolitik*), paving the way for the normalization of diplomatic relations and confirming the peaceful territorial *status quo* between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. The development of Soviet tourism with the West was facilitated by the Helsinki Final Act in 1975.

Researcher Madara Eversone has counted, in the documents at the archives of the Latvian Soviet Writers' Union, that in the 1970s, a total of 606 trips were made abroad, including within the USSR, while in the 1980s, 575. These documents do not contain information on all trips abroad during the period, as writers also traveled within other institutions. In the archive documents, information on trips abroad is relatively systematic until 1985. In later documents, the information is incomplete due to the political and economic changes in the country when opportunities to travel outside the Soviet Union gradually became more available. There are fewer tourist trips to the West among the members of the Latvian Writers' Union, in comparison with trips to the Socialist Bloc countries. The analysis of the documents shows

that trips to the West took place within delegations of various organizations, to Sweden (at least 31 trips), the Federal Republic of Germany (28), Finland (22), Canada (14), Great Britain (12), USA (11), Italy (10), Greece (10), France (10), Denmark (7), and other countries (see Eversone and Oga).

In his memoirs, Andrejs Dripe, writing about traveling as one of his hobbies, similarly compared it to a special kind of *disease*, addiction:

The dullness of writing helped my dullness of travel a lot. And not just in the form of author's fees. Members of the Writers' Union, however, had advantages and greater choices. [...] I didn't travel like an ordinary tourist, but I was assigned, I was part of a small special group. These privileges were given by the status of a member of the Writers' Union [...]. It cannot be denied that we had our advantages. (Dripe, *Bez* 248, 241)

However, writers also had to show their initiative, especially in the competition between the Soviet republics: "A lot came from Central Asia, but very few came from the Baltic republics. If you didn't ask for it yourself, then you were rarely sent anywhere." (Ziedonis 83) Scholar Madara Eversone rightly links the privileges enjoyed by members of the intelligentsia and creative unions to the political goals of the Soviet government:

It was in the interests of the Communist Party to ensure the loyalty of the creative intelligentsia, so the status of a member of the Writers' Union granted several household and material privileges. The material benefit from the Literary Fund gave the members of the Writers' Union the opportunity to go on creative business trips, including to foreign countries, to receive travel tickets to sanatoriums, resorts, etc. (Eversone 19)

Writers' travels abroad, on the one hand, can be seen as a different, unique manifestation, because writers enjoyed a special status as representatives of the intelligentsia. On the other hand, as Mārtiņš Kaprāns admits, "trips to capitalist countries also serve as a context for normalization, as they shed light on the positive experience of the Soviet era and quite often show that despite the limitations and difficulties, people had opportunities to see the world" (Kaprāns 178–179).

In Latvian literature, this period is particularly notable for writers' attempts to talk about nationally important, even decisive, topics in journalism (more directly) and fiction (in figurative language). In journalism, including travel notes, it is increasingly possible to tell, both by directly criticizing (Burima 73) and by comparing—one kolkhoz or Soviet farm with another, aesthetic phenomena or cultural develop-

ments in other republics of the USSR, socialist or capitalist countries with what is happening in the Latvian SSR.

In some cases, the information provided in travelogues created the effect directly or indirectly intended by their authors—to encourage a closer look at what is happening in the country itself, to highlight, continue and nurture national values, traditions, and identity. Analyzing the Tajikistan travelogue *Perpendikulārā karote* (*Perpendicular Spoon*, 1972), the acclaimed collaborative work of Latvian poet Imants Ziedonis, Ukrainian writer Vitalij Korotič and Latvian photographer Gunārs Janaitis, Burima has admitted that “against the Soviet ideal of forming a sense of togetherness, Latvian travelogues strengthened Latvian identity in relation to exotic cultures at the other side of the Soviet empire [...]; the travelogues fostered Latvian national identification as opposed to its exotic others” (Burima 71, 73).

Writers of the Stagnation period valued travel notes and journalism in general, its main task when viewing it alongside fiction. In 1972, Ziedonis wrote that “documentary genres are equal, organically co-growing with other prose genres” (qtd. in Rožkalne 456), while Miervaldis Birze stated: “I also consider pure journalism to be seriously evaluated [along with prose].” (Birze 5)

To a large extent, this is related to the rapid rise in popularity of literary periodicals, which reached its apogee during the National Revival (*Atmoda* in Latvian, *Atgimimo* in Lithuanian), when, as the Lithuanian literary scholar Viktorija Jonkutė wrote, “a new culture of the press and publicistic writing was forming. The literary press and the overall public communication sphere of the time also included manifestations of the changes in historical discourse, sociodynamics, and a new wave of intense (self-)expression. The cultural press was a particularly lively, dynamic sociocultural phenomenon. Literary and cultural periodical publications in Lithuania and Latvia had undoubtedly become an intense, influential and unifying cultural, social and political force [...].” (Jonkutė 9).

Trips can be divided into two main groups: professional (experience exchange) and tourist (leisure) trips. However, travel notes also provide evidence of certain goals. For example, for both Zenta Ērgle and Zigmunds Skujiņš, trips to Africa are closely related to childhood memories, that is, realities or what they read, and the fulfillment of childhood dreams. Skujiņš’s writing about Africa in 1966 is like proof of Yurchak’s thesis about foreign countries as an imaginary space:

As a child, I lived mainly in Africa. [...]. This spring I went to Africa again. Years go by. Not only hair turns gray, but so do dreams. I will not say that

everything remained completely intact in my memory, and yet—I did not come to Africa but returned as if to a childhood yard that I had long known and walked many times. With a trembling heart and curious eyes. What are you really like, Africa? [...] Interesting and a little scary. You want to believe, but doubts also torment you. As if I were not just a tourist, but an auditor. (Skujiņš, *Jūtu* 16)

Zenta Ērgle defined the purpose of the trip similarly:

“In my childhood, a quilt hung next to my bed. It featured a jungle. [...] Falling asleep in the evenings, I wondered: when I grow up, I will go to Africa and walk through a real jungle. [...] Children’s adventure literature was replaced by serious books—stories about Africa by Grzymek, Hunter, and other authors. Longing for southern exoticism could not be quenched even by a double workload and family cares.” (Ērgle 6–7)

The list of goals for foreign trips should also include a specific creative intention—to write notes of a smaller or larger volume, a book, such as Andrejs Dripe, Zenta Ērgle, Miervaldis Birze, or a broader plan, using the foreign trip in a sense only as a background—like Ziedonis’s trip to Japan and the Philippines together with the choir *Ave sol* in 1978 and 1979 to write a book about the choir and its conductor Imants Kokars. Memoirs of Andrejs Dripe testify another purpose of the trip:

In the spring of 1989, Ziga [writer’s wife] and I were both in Finland. I wanted to see this clean, harsh land and its high level of culture (Finnish libraries are unique), so that I could roughly imagine what Latvia would be like if the occupation of 1940 did not take place. (Dripe, *Bez* 248)

This is in line with the opinion of the Estonian scientist Epp Annus about the Baltic States as the Western borderlands and the close connection of the Baltic States with neighboring countries:

Here, the Western borderlands enjoyed the advantage of a still-active pre-Soviet cultural memory, in comparison with those lands where Sovietization processes started immediately in the post-revolutionary years: in the Western borderlands, a living memory kept alive continuities with pre-Soviet times. (Annus 240)

Visits to the neighboring Western countries in a sense, helped to give colors to this continuity, which through the works published in the 1980s, promoted non-violent resistance and a return to the value system of pre-war Latvia, namely, “though cultural events and artefacts such as national festivals, films, songs, and novels did not in themselves

lead to massive resistance against Soviet rule, these, too, together with oral memory, sustained a national layer in cultural imaginaries and preserved the potential for a future decolonial politics” (240–241).

A condition or emotion that seems to be experienced by all travelers, regardless of status or hand, is the lack of money due to the Soviet Union’s restrictions on currency exchange (see Oga). Many authors also testify to this in their notes, speaking as if it were a matter of course, thus identifying with those staying at home. These feelings are often accompanied by shame and even humiliation. Zenta Ērgle does not avoid mentioning the limited funds in the notes as a phenomenon related to travel: “Gorgeous silver products in the showcases—trays, cups, medallions, bracelets. No matter how great our bargaining skills are, they will not be bought for us. But you can have fun, it doesn’t cost anything.” (Ērgle 39) Imants Ziedonis shares his feelings of shame only in his notes about his trip to India, published in the post-Soviet period: “We didn’t have any money, and we were already told in Moscow that our money means nothing to them in India and the currency exchange is so small that we won’t be able to do anything, that there will be many poor people and we can settle with pencils [...]. But I was ashamed to give him pencils for that shell.” (Ziedonis 106)

When traveling abroad, the free time that travelers manage to spend outside the official excursion program and when they can get away from the ever-present “supervisors” is critical—both by walking alone or in small groups and by meeting Latvians in exile in private parties, gaining the above-mentioned unpredictable experience. Testimonies about time outside the official travel program as extraordinary unauthorized activities are recorded (with infrequent exceptions) only in notes published in the post-Soviet period. Usually, it is related to a private experience, breaking out of limitations.

Unauthorized adventures are often also related to intimate life, which was still taboo in the USSR in the 1980s. Dripe recalled in 1994: “I got to know the famous pleasure and entertainment districts, I usually walked alone in Soho in London, Clichy Boulevard, and Pigalle Square in Paris. [...] I was neither condemned nor excited, I just had to see it and realize that this is how life is.” (Dripe, *Bez* 244)

Writers also tried to get acquainted with the limited sex experience in the Soviet Union, and tried to buy and bring home, for example, porn magazines. In the letters and diaries of other prose writers and poets, not considered this time, there is evidence of visits to video salons, and temporary intimate relationships, for example, a Latvian poet with a lady from among the exiled Latvians.

Case study: Andrejs Dripe and his travelogue

The rapid transition from the Brezhnev Era to Gorbachev's perestroika has been recorded in Andrejs Dripe's 1986 book *Līdzatvestais: Pasauli neapsturēt* (*What I Have Brought Along: Not to Stop the World*), which contains travelogues and notes from his visits to the Federal Republic of Germany as well as a chapter on his travel to Syria, Yemen, and Morocco.

Andrejs Dripe (1929–2013), Latvian writer, publicist, and pedagogue, gained wide attention with his novel *Pēdējā barjera* (*The Last Barrier*, 1971) and a book of non-fiction *Kolonijas audzinātāja piezīmes* (*Notes of a Colony Educator*, 1975) in which he used his experience as a teacher in a juvenile offender colony. Dripe was one of the first in Latvian Soviet literature to address issues related to re-education, the effectiveness of punishment, and the conditions of imprisonment. In the 1980s, Dripe's popularity was strengthened by other non-fiction books and *Līdzatvestais*. The writer, journalist, and editor Aivars Kļavis has admitted, in 2021, that “thanks to such peaks of this genre as Ziedonis's *Courland* [*Kurzemīte*] or Dripe's *Notes of a Colony Educator*, at that time [in the 1980s in Latvia] [literary] journalism was extremely in demand and popular” (Kļavis 37).

The success of a famous and regime-friendly professional writer allowed Dripe to travel privileges. Dripe also held both paid and public office in the Writers' Union and its primary organization of the Communist Party (a member since 1975) where he was elected, in 1981 and 1983, as the Deputy Secretary and responsible for organizational work (LNA1 99; LNA2 96). In his memoirs, Dripe has repeatedly mentioned the “dullness of travel” and his interest in youth, which made him go on regular trips to the Soviet Union, socialist countries, and the West. It must be admitted that Dripe's travels and travelogues became more intense in the mid-1980s after, in March 1982, he joined the KGB's agents, as shown by his card in the LSSR KGB's document archive (KGBAC).

In his memoirs, in 1994, Dripe remembers that “many people, suffering from the madness of travel like me, have never been to the borders. Either the pedigrees were wrong, or they had ‘sinned’ against the government of the ‘beloved’ workers themselves, but they were consistently denied foreign passports” (Dripe, *Bez* 248). Dripe claims that he has not received permission on several occasions and that his trip to Cuba in the late 1960s may not have taken place because his children built a bunker while playing in the forest in the summer, which

has aroused the interest of the authorities (239). Dripe's trips include both business and leisure trips to socialist satellite countries, Western countries, and the so-called exotic countries, both as part of delegations of organizations and by private invitation. Until the mid-1980s, Dripe had traveled a lot: to the German Democratic Republic and Poland in 1972, Somalia and Yemen in 1975, the United Kingdom (London) in 1975, Morocco and Spain in 1978, France in 1979, East Germany, again, in 1979, Hungary in 1981, Near East in 1982, Romania in 1982, Syria in 1982, West Germany in 1984, Sweden in 1984.

Dripe's memories mention his trips abroad in the 1970s and 1980s: Poland and the GDR (1972, coincides with what is mentioned in the archive documents); Yemeni TDR, Kuwait (1975, on file: Somalia, Yemen); "after some time" Morocco (in archive documents 1978); Syria (in archive documents September 1982); Algeria (not mentioned in documents); England, Spain, FRG, Sweden, France (all mentioned in documents); together with his wife: GDR, Hungary, Romania (all mentioned in the documents; the wife is mentioned only in the records of the Hungarian trip). Dripe writes that the trips to Syria and Algeria were "organized by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Union of Writers of the USSR" (Dripe, *Bez* 244) (this is also mentioned in the Writers' Union's documents on Syria) and that there were only two or three people in these groups (244).

Summarizing and comparing the Writers' Union's documents and Dripe's journalisms, it can be concluded that there is no evidence of the following Dripe's trips in the archive documents: (1) Algeria (a trip organized by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Writers' Union of the USSR for a group of three people together with translator Olga Vlasova and Kazakh writer Anuar Alimzhanov; no date clarified); (2) a ship cruise along the Mediterranean Sea (Malta, Tunisia, Spain, France, Italy, date unknown), together with his wife; (3) VFR (1981, together with Latvian actress Dina Kuple, a trip organized by the Cultural Relations Committee); (4) Yugoslavia (date not established); (5) VFR (1984, individual trip "at the invitation of Dzidra Vilka to get to know the life of the local youth"; Dripe, *Bez* 247); (6) Canada (1988); (7) Finland (1989, together with his wife).

Dripe's trip to West Germany took place in the spring of 1984 and lasted about two months. The route of the journey, according to the travel notes, was the following: Rīga–Moscow–Hamburg–Essen–[mainly staying in Hamburg and Essen, Dortmund, Münster, Freiburg were also visited]–Hamburg–Moscow–Rīga. During the trip, Dripe intended to get acquainted with the youth and the life of young people

in West Germany. He visited schools, talked with students and teachers, and followed young people in their work and free time and their life in farming communities. Dripe's travelogues are complemented by photographs taken by himself, which have been published both in periodicals and in books.

The manuscript of the book was completed and submitted to the publishing house at the end of 1984. It was first published as an article *Pasauli neapturēt (You Can't Stop the World)* with the subtitle *Visit to the youth of VFR* in the magazine *Liesma (Flame)* (run of 174,000 copies) in 1984 (No. 8–11); separate section *Ārākāpēji (Those Who are Stepping Out)* was published in the daily newspaper *Padomju Jaunatne (Soviet Youth)* (circulation 216,000 copies) in February 1985.

An expanded version of the article is included as a separate chapter in *Līdzatvestais*, the manuscript of which was completed and handed over to the publishing house at the end of 1984. Two official reviewers of the publishing house were appointed for the manuscript: former Soviet diplomat in Sweden Ivars Ķezbers and former instructor of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Latvia, and head of the press sector, and Ēvalds Strods, the organizational secretary of the Writers' Union. In an internal review of the book, Strods wrote: "Dripe's 'bags' contain things that the Latvian reader has seen little by little because until now there are no large-scale works on the life of young people abroad." The Writers' Union's archive documents show that despite the backlash of the reviewers, on September 23, 1987, at the closed meeting of the first organization of the Communist Party of the Writers' Union about Dripe's "personal contribution to the processes of social renewal," he reported on the "problems" of the book, as he had compared the West German youth in Germany with the youth in Soviet Latvia (LNA4 78).

Līdzatvestais was published in the summer of 1986, with a circulation of 40,000 copies. It was recognized as the most popular journalistic book of 1986; this fact was also emphasized by the writer and publicist Māra Svīre in the above-mentioned closed meeting of the communists of the Writers' Union in 1987 (LNA4 78). By the time the first reviews were published in the periodicals in February 1987, and in exile Latvian media abroad even at the end of 1988, the book was already outdated but still relevant. It is confirmed by the publication of the translation of the chapter *You Can't Stop the World* in the very first issues of the monthly *Rodnik*, the Russian version of the popular magazine *Avots (A Spring)*. The editor of *Rodnik* Oleg Mihalevich wrote: "I had already received Andrejs Dripe's voluminous article *Stop this World—I Want*

to *Get Out* about the youth of the West, and everyone was undeniably interested in how they live there.” (qtd. in Kļavis 221)

The book starts with short impressions from various Western European cities (London, Paris, Marseille, Rome, Madrid, Stockholm, Hamburg), where the author has observed unusual behavior of young people since the 1970s, such as sleeping in parks, playing music in the tunnel, prostitution, etc., with such an account of travels and their routes, causing readers' trust or, on the contrary, suspicions about Dripe's special status compared to other writers and the author's contemporaries. This section is followed by the paragraph that apparently proves the changes of the Soviet colonial traveler's in the last period of the Stagnation:

One fine spring day, the wheels of TU-154 hit the concrete of the runway at Hamburg Airport. A very short moment in the air, and I'm already there—in a completely different world. It should be emphasized right away—it really is a different world. We often forget it, measure and compare it with our yardstick, with what fits here, at our home. (Dripe, *Lidzatvestais* 13)

As it is stated by Eglāja-Kristsonsone, “the Soviet tourist was like a camera pointing outwards to get pictures to show to armchair tourists and authorities, but the descriptions (publications in the press, books) lacked an ‘inward’ look, a personal encounter with the other, so research. Of course, there is no reason to claim that the tourists did not do it, in the same way, not only the tourists themselves change over time but also the descriptions.” (Eglāja-Kristsonsone 12)

Dripe represents those travelers who have changed and, besides their notes to “armchair tourists”, provides his own research. He has used a wide range of literature, though his interests were not West German geography but statistical data and the latest periodicals. With quotations from VFR newspaper and magazine publications, the author raised questions already at the beginning of the chapter, to which he seeks answers in the following subsections: how young people imagine the future, what their goals are, why young people are so pessimistic. Most of the answers point to fear of unemployment, war, lack of motivation, and feeling alienated from adult society.

During his trip, Dripe was trying to get acquainted with the youth and life of young people in West Germany from different angles. He talked to students and his contemporaries. Although the author moralizes on the “shadow sides of capitalism” and the “slavery for money,” the well thought advice and undertone of the book are clear: you must work hard and learn hard to succeed. Describing his communication difficulties with locals, Dripe gives good advice to young people in

Latvia—to learn foreign languages: English, French, and German. It is not said, but is clear that people abroad, especially in the West, do not speak and do not understand Russian.

Of course, the lack of language skills also hindered me tremendously, and I always blamed myself for not having learned the same English that the majority of people in the West are familiar with. (Dripe, *Līdzatvestais* 10)

Though it is mentioned directly only in a couple of places, it is also understandable that the author tries to compare the youth of West Germany and their prospects with the youth of Soviet Latvia. Friendly, though often exaggerated, intonation made the book easy to read and allowed it to become extremely popular:

When it comes to guys, the most eye-catching trend is hair toning, coloring, blow-drying and perming. So, strongly feminine orientations. Rarely, each other already paints their lips and wears earrings. If earlier it was only men for sale and homosexuals, now you are no longer sure who is standing in front of you—a person with pathological tendencies or simply a fashionable young man. A girl becomes more masculine in her appearance, a boy becomes more feminine. How long will it be? Come on, guess! [...]

Many of the above have already been taken over by our boys and girls. It shows attentiveness and interest. I wish this attentiveness was just as vividly expressed in other, more serious areas of life! (Dripe, *Līdzatvestais* 189)

Most likely, this was the first book in Soviet Latvia in which it was possible to find out more about the realities of *zagrānīta* or “Imaginary West,” such as unemployment, drug addiction, strikes, TV series, horoscopes, publications on sex in youth magazines, high fuel prices, discrimination from an official source, etc.:

Living in a vain month after month, realizing that time is passing, but you are nothing there, others are working, but you are living at the expense of what they have earned, doesn't that seem terrible to you? (Dripe, *Līdzatvestais* 59); *McDonald*—cheap canteens that young people like to visit” (159); TV is showing the 129th (!!!) episode of the American series *Dallas*. Fashionably dressed millionaires and their offspring roam there, mirrors of villa swimming pools shining, super expensive sports cars gliding by. Even millionaires have their heartaches, love dramas, and family disagreements. (66)

As mentioned, one of the most unpleasant conditions that all travelers, regardless of status and convenience, seem to experience is the lack of money. Dripe claims that he was received by exiled Latvians during his VFR trip, and this also made it possible to compensate for the lack of

financial resources. Dripe formulated it as a peculiar exchange of services, although in his notes, he did not mention by name either Dzidra Vilks, who privately officially invited the writer to the VFR or other West German Latvians:

Furthermore, and this is very important, my friends could help me there. Several of them have also visited us in Latvia. Their hospitality meant a lot because I couldn't afford to pay the fabulous sums for hotel rooms. (Dripe, *Lidzatzestais* 12)

It is possible to define three conditional circles of topics that Andrejs Dripe is interested in: (1) Young people, continuing what was started in previous books. In a letter to a poet Velta Toma, living in Canada, in 1987, Dripe wrote: "I'm writing this and that, but nothing sane is coming. [...] As usual, young people and their pain are interesting to me. I intend to have a non-fiction book ready, consisting mainly of young people's letters. Many of them are writing to me, the letters are piling up. Don't get me wrong, but young people with all their maximalism and stupidity seem much closer to me than their old and promising contemporaries." (Dripe, *Letter*)

2) A man, a contemporary, or a friend of thoughts and arguments, in the free world. In the book, Dripe has various interlocutors from local Latvian and German circles: Mr. Mauer, Mr. Sauer, and Fritz from Hamburg. Admittedly, Dripe has few associates, but perhaps this is a false maneuver.

3) The common and the differences between the Federal Republic of Germany and Soviet Latvia.

Directly from Dripe's book, most readers first learned about several of the phenomena mentioned above, which already entered the Latvian post-communist space in the early 1990s. This was later, in 1994, acknowledged by the author: "From today's [the early 1990s] point of view, of course, this book has its shortcomings and due to the fees required by the regime (otherwise the work would not have been published at all), but this happened minimally, and in general I am not ashamed of my work. It was the first semi-open book that introduced Latvian youth to the world of their Western peers." (Dripe, *Bez* 247)

Also, in his travel notes, Dripe has repeatedly emphasized that the knowledge of the inhabitants of the VFR about the Soviet Union is little, superficial, and negative. Like in other authors' travelogues, like Ērgle's notes on Africa, Papua New Guinea, and Australia, Dripe

repeatedly mentioned that the people he met in West Germany, likewise people from other continents, had never seen a single tourist from the Soviet Union before.

Conclusion

In the so-called Brezhnev Era, the writers were materially provided and took advantage of the system's advantages and privileges, which, although associated with inconvenience and insecurity, allowed them to go on exchange and tourism trips outside the USSR to the so-called "capitalist countries." Traveling to the West allowed the writers to compare conditions inside and outside the Soviet Union and to draw conclusions about the possibilities of "free Soviet citizens" as tourists entering the free world. The different understanding of it, according to Alexey Yurchak, lay beneath the term *zaganitsa* or "Imaginary West."

Notes on the travels include observations on the socio-economic situation, and environment and reports on the political events and documents that have facilitated trips to the West. Often experience comes as a surprise to the travelers themselves: for example, people of other nationalities, language barrier, the lack of money.

The travelogue by Andrejs Dripe records the rapid transition from Brezhnev's Era to Gorbachev's perestroika and becomes the first official source that informs about the realities of the real West only a few people among readers have visited. Travel notes on a trip to the Federal Republic of Germany, which belongs to the end of the stagnation period, the period of "perestroika" and the National Revival, is one of the texts that characterize these changes, when exactly this look "inward" comes to the fore and personal impressions outside the tourist group routes. It was a private experience that sometimes led to anti-Soviet views or actions—thanks to trips abroad, travelers could return home apparently unchanged on the outside, but having experienced internal changes, both personal and political. Through Dripe's travelogues, a wide audience of Latvian and Russian readers, both in Latvia and in the territory of the former USSR, was informed about the life and views of Western youth in the mid-1980s. Though considering the still slow flow of information at the end of the stagnation period and the beginning of "perestroika," Dripe's writing was relevant and to some extent prepared the readers for upcoming changes in society.

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Novinarstvo Andrejsa Dripeja o Zvezni republikli Nemčiji in njegov vpliv na družbene spremembe v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja

Ključne besede: latvijska književnost / novinarstvo / potopisi / sovjetski turizem / podoba Zahoda / doba Brežņeva / perestrojka

Članek obravnava potovanja latvijskih pisateljev zunaj Sovjetske zveze, ki jih je v dobi Brežņeva dovoljeval okupacijski režim in jih je odobraval javnost, kot enega od privilegijev, ki jih je uživala t. i. kreativna inteligenca, ter pokaže, kako so se ta potovanja odražala v njihovih literarnih in publicističnih delih. Potovanja v tujino so vzbujala nasprotujoča si čustva, pisatelji pa so morali biti za potovanja razmeroma premožni. Kljub temu so pogosto doživljali ponižanje, ko so se soočali z realnostjo svojih skromnih finančnih sredstev zunaj ZSSR in dejstvom, da so tudi na svobodnem Zahodu dejansko ostajali v zaporu. Porast priljubljenosti literarnih revij v osemdesetih letih je imel ključno vlogo pri oblikovanju nove kulture tiska in novinarstva, saj so velikim množicam bralcev zagotavljale pomembne informacije o življenju v tujini. Zapiski o potovanjih vključujejo opažanja o družbenoekonomskih

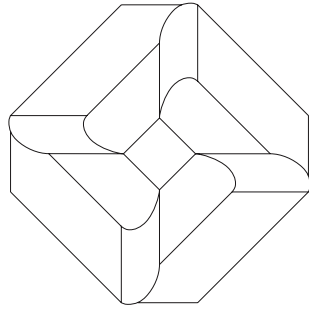
razmerah, okolju in političnih dogodkih ter dokumente, ki so olajšali potovanja na Zahod. Študija primera obravnava potopisni dnevnik Andrejsa Dripeja iz osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Dripejeva publicistika beleži hiter prehod iz dobe Brežnjeva v čas Gorbačovove perestrojke. Tako Dripe postane prvi uradni vir informacij o Zahodu, ki so ga sicer obiskali le redki izmed njegovih bralcev.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek / Original scientific article

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Recenziji / *Reviews*



Stereotipi in miti srednje Evrope skozi intertekstualnost in imagološko refleksijo

Tibor Žilka, Anna Zelenková in Krisztián Benyovszky: *Stereotypes and Myths. Intertextuality in Central European Imagological Reflections*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022. 166 str.

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Tibor Žilka in njegova študenta, Anna Zelenková in Krisztián Benyovszky, s katerima je v soavtorstvu napisal pričujočo monografijo, veljajo za dediče teorije o metatekstu, kasneje preimenovane v mednarodni izraz intertekstualnost, ki jo je do svoje smrti leta 1984 na Slovaškem razvijal Anton Popovič, najbolj znan po svojih zaslugah v prevodoslovju. Žilka je soustanovitelj literarnovednega oddelka na Univerzi Konstantina Filozofa v Nitri, napisal je veliko o postmodernizmu (*Od moderny k postmoderne*, 1997), semiotiki (*Postmoderná semiotika textu*, 2000) ter intertekstualnosti in intermedialnosti (*Od intertextuality k intermedialite*, 2015), medtem ko sta se Zelenková (Slovanski inštitut Akademije znanosti Češke republike, Praga) in Benyovszky (Inštitut za madžarski jezik in literarne vede, Nitra) uveljavila na področju komparativistike, natančneje preko imagološkega raziskovanja.¹ *Stereotypes and Myths. Intertextuality in Central European Imagological Reflections* je produkt njihovega raziskovanja, ki pokriva področji intertekstualnosti in imagologije, pri analizi umetniških del pa se ne omejuje npr. samo na literarno analizo, ampak je intermedialen. Preko vrednotenja stereotipov in mitov – v literaturi, filmu, gledališču itd. – ki so nastali predvsem v času vzpenjajočega se nacionalizma v 19. stoletju, monografija opazuje nastalo identiteto srednjeevropskih narodov (predvsem Slovakov, a tudi Čehov in Madžarov), ki so jo sooblikovala tuja ljudstva.

Uvod je namenjen seznanitvi stroke z zgodovino raziskovanja omenjenih področij na Slovaškem, povezanih predvsem z delovanjem

¹ Anna Zelenková je objavljala tudi v slovenskih znanstvenih revijah, npr. v *Primerjalni književnosti* (»Češko-slovaški literarni odnosi v 30. in 40. letih 19. stoletja: Tyl in češko-slovaška vzajemnost«), *Slavia Centralis* (»Slovanska filologija v dialogu med Matijem Murkom in Jiříjem Polívko«) in *Ars & humanitas* (»Slovanski miti o Evropi kot oblika dialoga z Zahodom«).

šole v Nitri. Ta je imela tesne stike z moskovsko-tartujsko semiotsko šolo, ki jo je vodil Jurij Lotman, k nadaljnjemu razvoju sta prispevala František Miko in Anton Popovič, mentoriranec Franka Wollmana iz Praškega lingvističnega krožka. Povzetek zgodovine slovaškega raziskovanja semiotike, kasneje intertekstualnosti, intermedialnosti in imagologije se zaključí z idejno zasnovo monografije – skozi stereotipe in mite, te predstave drugosti, ne izluščiti lastno identiteto (identiteto naroda), a pridobiti orodje za boljše razumevanje le-te, vzpostaviti dialog med »mano« in »drugim« preko analize, ki sega čez več kulturnih sistemov. Monografija se nato razdeli na sedem poglavij, posvečenih različnim intertekstualnim raziskavam – filmski adaptaciji literarnega dela, odnosu do drugega na primeru Slovakov in Madžarov ter Slovakov in Čehov preko toposa »drotarja«, slovanskim mitom v kontekstu vzhodno-zahodnih študij, Faustovemu mitu ter njegovi intertekstualnosti v 19. stoletju slovaške in češke literature ter etničnim stereotipom srednje Evrope v popularni kulturi.

Prvo poglavje se ukvarja z intermedialnostjo, in sicer na primeru filmske adaptacije literarnega dela. V grobem nastanek novega dela delijo po principu produkcije in reprodukcije; je izdelek izviren, ima s tem večjo umetniško moč ali gre za estetsko manjvredno reprodukcijo? V odnosu do izvirnika oz. t. i. predteksta nato prepoznavajo v filmskih adaptacijah naslednje oblike produkcije: eliminacijo (npr. odstranitev določenih likov, ki nastopajo v predtekstu, a se režiser odloči, da niso potrebni), adicijo (dodatni dogodki, elementi, ki jih v predlogi ni), kontaminacijo (nov tekst je narejen iz več tekstov; npr. spojitev več likov v en lik) in substitucijo (spremenjena imena, lokacije itd.).

Imagološka analiza se prične z opazovanjem odnosa med našim in tujim na primeru Slovakov in Madžarov. Zaradi madžarskega zavajevanja imajo Slovaki in Madžari veliko skupnega, celo avtorje, ki jih oboji smatrajo kot pomembne za svoj narod (npr. Matej Bel, Ján Sambucus). Diferenciacija se začne v 19. stoletju, ključen moment je kodifikacija slovaškega jezika, zasluga jezikoslovca in nacionalista Ľudovíta Štúra; predvsem percepcija madžarskega v slovaški literaturi postane negativna in ostane takšna vse do 2. svetovne vojne. Madžari so navadno satirični liki, okrašeni z brki (simbol divjosti in krutosti), ki s svojo aristokratsko držo predstavljajo protipol poštenemu slovaškemu kmetu, pozitivnosti se lahko približajo z ženskimi liki. Zanimiv je tudi topografski moment – gore predstavljajo neokrnjeno slovaško naravo, nižine pa so označevalec za Madžare, pri čemer so gore izrazito pozitivne, nižine pa povezane z umazanim mestom in pokvarjeno civilizacijo. Madžari so v slovaški literaturi tuj element, obratno pa ni

vedno tako – Madžari Slovake včasih jemljejo kot prebivalce svojega ozemlja. Slovaški liki v madžarski literaturi so lahko komični (a ne satirični), nepokvarjeni, tragični pripadniki nesrečne rase; percepcija je včasih pokroviteljska, a ne negativna.

Sledi poglavje o odnosu do drugega med Slovaki in Čehi oz. predvsem odnos do slovaškega drotarja. Topos drotarja prevladuje v čeških literarnih delih kot predstavnik slovaškega ljudstva z romantičnimi prvimi – krošnjar nizko na socialni lestvici, obubožan in navadno odvisen od alkohola, ki kljub vsemu še vedno ohranja narodno zavednost in s tem moralno zmago. Populariziran je bil s pomočjo prve češke ljudske opere *Dráteník* skladatelja Františka Škroupa, zaradi katere se je zasidral v češko zavest kot predstavnik zatiranega mlajšega brata, pomemben motiv za kasnejše napore, da bi sestavili skupno državo. Veliko vlogo je imel tudi Josef K. Tyl, urednik revije *Květy*, v kateri je pogosto objavljaval slovaške avtorje in s tem večal njihovo prisotnost v čeških krogih. Lik drotarja je kljub nekaterim negativnim lastnostim vedno pozitiven predstavnik plebejske nacije. Njegovo eksotično drugost so nato izkoristila tudi druga ljudstva, npr. Rilke s pesmijo *Der kleine »Dráteník«*.

Sledi pregled slovanskih mitov skozi perspektivno vzhodno-zahodnih študij – pred 18. stoletjem se zahod ni preveč zanimal za vzhod, z evropeizacijo Rusije pa se prebudi novo razumevanje Evrope kot jezikovno in etnično raznolike; to pomeni tudi začetek nacionalnih mitov. Karel Krejčí je nastale mite razdelil na tri vrste percepcije slovanskih vrednot na zahodu: 1) občudovanje francoskih enciklopedistov, Voltaira in Katarine Velike ter ruskega demokratičnega ideala; 2) diametralno nasproten mit anti-monarhistov, ki občudujejo poljsko plemstvo zaradi zavračanja ruskega ideala; 3) najbolj razširjen mit je populariziral J. G. Herder, ki je izpostavil, da so Slovani kot golobice in imajo kot taki dobre preddispozicije za vodilni položaj. Omenjeno je tudi rojstvo političnega mita, ki ga je začel že omenjeni Štúr; postavljal je ostro zarezo med Vzhodom in Zahodom. Medtem ko je prvi poduhovljen, naklonjen krščanstvu, je drugi materialističen, ponudil je celo vrsto podobnih binarizmov, s katerimi je ustvarjal nenaklonjenost zahodu.

Naslednji dve poglavji sta namenjeni mitu Fausta – medtem ko je prvo namenjeno teoretičnemu uvodu in pregledu faustovskih tem v različnih tekstih, se drugo osredotoča na teksta, ki ju interpretira. Avtorji ugotavljajo, kateri so osrednji motivi in teme iz mita o Faustu, ki jih je mogoče najti v slovaški literaturi; vedno znova se pojavlja motiv dogovora s hudičem, medtem ko so vsi drugi motivi (smrt Fausta ali Margarete, večna mladost, želja po znanju) arbitrarni. Sledi analiza dveh del, ki sta zaradi svoje intertekstualnosti posebej zanimivi za

analizo: *Faustiáda* (1864) Slovaka Jonáša Záborskýja, in *Doktor Faust* (1844) Čeha Šebestiána Hněvkovskýja. Obe pesnitvi sta ironični in izpostavljata socialne in politične probleme, ki jih vpenjata v mrežo intertekstualnih referenc domače in svetovne literature.

V zadnjem delu monografije so raziskani etnični stereotipi osrednje Evrope v popularni literaturi – gre za predstave, ki jih ima tuja nacija o drugi naciji, ki jo malo ali sploh ne pozna. Analizirani so češki liki iz romana Arthurja Conana Doylea *Škandal na Češkem* (1891), Slovaki v *Drakuli* (1897) Brama Stokerja in Madžari v *Umoru na Orient Expressu* (1934) Agathe Christie. Doyle naslika Čeha kot protipol uglajenemu in pozitivnemu liku Britanca; barvitost njegove obleke je povezana z eksotičnim, barve kot nekaj nerafiniranega in neokusnega, ki podarjajo divjost in neciviliziranost. V *Drakuli* so Slovaki sluge zlobnega grofa Drakule. Opisani so kot barbarski pastirji – stereotip o Slovakah kot o ljudstvu pastirjev je bil samopromoviran v 19. stoletju kot narodnograditeljski simbol in je ostal znan po tem po svetu. Čeprav Transilvanija ni povezana s Slovaško, so Slovaki močno povezani z gorami; ker so gore povezane tudi z vampiriji, je Stoker to nacijo povezal z vampiriji. Slovake tudi obleče v napačne obleke, ironično – madžarske. *Umor na Orient Expressu* se dogaja v Jugoslaviji med Brodom in Vinkovci, na lokaciji, o kateri ima Christie stereotipne predstave o divjosti, barbarskosti in nevarnosti, lik Madžara pa je tipiziran aristokrat z brki in divjim temperamentom.

Stereotypes and Myths. Intertextuality in Central European Imagological Reflections predstavlja zanimivo branje raziskovanja predstav o nekem narodu, ki so nastale v specifičnem času in pomembno vplivale na percepcijo nacije – in ki vztrajajo še danes. Izvirna je v svojem povezovanju intertekstualnosti, intermedialnosti in imagologije, s katerimi uspe vzpostaviti oddaljeno opazovanje stoletja starih stereotipov in mitov ter s temi orodji z njimi vzpostavi sodoben dialog.

1.19 Recenzija / Review

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Pristopiti tako, kot je treba

Pavel Nikolajevič Medvedev: *Formalna metoda v literarni vedi: kritični uvod v sociološko poetiko*. Prev. Marko Kržan. Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 2022. 297 str.

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Verjetno je težko preceniti vpliv, ki so ga skupaj s Saussurjevim jezikoslovjem na razvoj literarne teorije v 20. stoletju imeli ruski formalisti. Pripadnike smeri, ki se je nekako med letoma 1910 in 1930 vzporedno razvijala v Petrogradu oziroma Leningradu (OPOJAZ) in v Moskvi (Moskovski jezikoslovni krožek), lahko razumemo kot začetnike ali vsaj predhodnike metodološke usmeritve, ki je nekako v sedemdesetih letih kulminirala v dekonstrukciji in je kmalu zatem za nekaj desetletij postala prevladujoči pristop k raziskovanju književnosti. Ta čas je sicer minil: danes so pristopi, ki zgodovinski in družbeni kontekst nastanka literarnega teksta podrejajo njegovim besedilnim potezam, na slabem glasu. A t. i. formalna metoda niti ob svoji pojavitvi v dvajsetih letih prejšnjega stoletja ni žela vsesplošnega navdušenja. To je sicer razumljivo, kolikor idejni spopadi med nastajajočimi teorijami spremljajo razvoj vsake znanosti, še posebej v humanistiki. Študija Pavla Nikolajeviča Medvedeva *Formalna metoda v literarni vedi: kritični uvod v sociološko poetiko*, ki je izšla leta 1928 in je v slovenščini odslej na voljo v prevodu Marka Kržana, pa ponuja tudi konkretnjšo predstavo o tem, kako je debata med formalisti in njihovimi nasprotniki dejansko potekala. *Formalna metoda* namreč predstavlja poglobljeno kritiko ruskega formalizma, artikulirano s stališča t. i. Bahtinovskega kroga, skupine teoretikov, ki ji je pripadal tudi Medvedev in je pod idejnim vodstvom Mihaila Bahtiva delovala med letoma 1919 in 1929, najprej v Nevelju in Vitebsku, nato pa v Leningradu.

Vpliv ruskega formalizma je v nekem smislu razumljiv. Kot v svojem *Kritičnem uvodu* ugotavlja tudi Medvedev, je njihova »formalna metoda« predstavljala »logičen in dosleden sistem razumevanja [književnosti] in metod njenega preučevanja« (Medvedev 109). Ta sistem je v veliki meri izhajal iz enega samega načela, namreč da je bistvo literature v njeni specifični rabi jezika. Medtem ko je vsakdanja govorica v določenem smislu samoumevna in transparentna, saj nas brez posebnih težav vodi

neposredno k t. i. stvari sami, je literarnost literarne govornice ravno v tem, da ta avtomatizem prenašanja smisla oteži in s tem opozori na svojo vlogo v njegovi produkciji. Viktor Šklovski, eden osrednjih predstavnikov ruskega formalizma, literarno govornico posrečeno primerja s plesom: »Ples je hoja, ki jo občutimo; še bolje: je hoja, ki je narejena tako, da bi jo občutili.« (Šklovski 32) Podobno lahko literarno govornico obravnavamo kot govornico, ki je narejena tako, da jo opazimo. Ta učinek literarne govornice, da predstavljeno stvar iztakne iz avtomatizma dojetanja, so formalisti od Šklovskega naprej imenovali potujitev.

Pomembna posledica takšnega razumevanja literature je, da v ospredje namesto vprašanja o vsebini literarnega dela postavi vprašanje o načinu prikaza, s katerim je učinek potujitve dosežen. Kot pravi Šklovski: »Vsebina ali duša literarnega dela je enaka vsoti njegovih slogovnih postopkov.« (Šklovski 302) Ta premik poudarka – dobro je videti že v naslovih formalističnih študij, kakršni sta na primer razprava Šklovskega »Kako je narejen *Don Kihot*« in razprava Borisa Ejhenbauma »Kako je narejen Gogoljev *Plašč*« – je na področju teorije pripovedništva svojo teoretsko artikulacijo dobil v razlikovanju med fabulo in sižejem. Fabulo so formalisti obravnavali kot gradivo literarnega teksta, sestavljeno iz likov, pripetljajev ter dogajalnega časa in prostora, v sižejju pa so videli način, na katerega je to gradivo razporejeno v celoti literarnega teksta. Kot ugotavlja Šklovski, to razporejanje oziroma razsipanje in zlaganje gradiva v tekstu sledi določenim vzorcem oziroma zakonom gradnje sižejja. Prav ti vzorci sižejjske gradnje v pripovedih ustvarjajo občutek potujitve. Tako na primer stopnjevita zgradba pravljic, kjer se junakova domnevno enostavna naloga razplasti v zaporedje opravil brez konca in kraja, omogoča upočasnitev dogajanja, prekine njegov naravni tok in ga na ta način potuji.

Odkrivanje teh vzorcev sižejjske gradnje je tako za ruske formaliste osrednja naloga v okviru raziskovanja pripovedništva. Fabula, če se vrnemo k primeru iz teorije pripovedništva, je zgolj motivacija za uporabo določenega pripovednega postopka: »Katastrofa ladje ali piratska ugrabitev itd. za siže romana nista bila izbrana zaradi stvarnih okoliščin, temveč zaradi umetniško-tehničnih.« (Šklovski 75) Z drugimi besedami, v romanu se nista znašla zato, ker bi bila vsebinsko zanimiva, temveč ker sta predstavljala nekakšen izgovor za dodatno strukturno platenje pustolovskega romana. S tega stališča – torej zgolj z ozirom na formalne lastnosti literarnih tekstov, ne pa na zunanje okoliščine – pa so formalisti razlagali tudi literarno zgodovino, zlasti nastanek in evolucijo literarnih žanrov. Trdili so, da nove literarne forme nastajajo zato, ker stare sčasoma izgubijo svojo moč potujevanja. Literarna forma, ki

v nekem obdobju velja za dominantno, se iztroši in zamenja jo druga, ki se je dotlej razvijala na obrobju. Nove literarne forme nastajajo zato, »da bi zamenjale stare, ki so že izgubile umetniškost« (Šklovski 40).

To so osnovne poteze formalne metode, ki jo Medvedev podvrže kritiki. Dejansko lahko kljub njeni doslednosti in presenetljivim rezultatom že v kratki predstavitvi, kakršno smo orisali zgoraj, zaslutimo določene šibke točke. Lahko fabulo dejansko zvedemo na popolnoma zamenljivo motivacijo pripovednih postopkov? Mar potujevanje res zajame literarnost kot takšno? Lahko pri raziskovanju evolucije umetniških form res zanemarimo zunanje, neliterarne dejavnike? Tovrstna vprašanja se pod drobnogledom Medvedeva izkažejo za usodna.

Čeprav Medvedev v svoji knjigi analizira in kritično ovrednoti številne razsežnosti sistema formalistov, se lahko osredotočimo na tri argumente, ki zadevajo različne vidike teorije potujevanja. Medvedev najprej izpostavi, da je formalistična opredelitev literarnosti zgolj negativna; formalisti po njegovem mnenju literarni govorici ne zmorejo pripisati nobene pozitivne vloge: »če se poetski jezik od življenjsko-praktičnega razlikuje le po tem, da je njegova konstrukcija zaznavna [...], potem je to absolutno neproduktiven jezik« (Medvedev 130). Drugače rečeno, formalisti v literarni govorici vidijo zgolj odziv na vsakdanjo govorico, ki kot takšen ne more porajati novih pomenov. Po Medvedevu je »teorija formalistov poetski jezik obsodila na [...] parazitski obstoj« (130).

Medvedev nadaljuje, da se, četudi sprejmemo tezo, da je potujevanje osnovna poteza literarnega teksta, postavlja vprašanje, kaj s potujevanjem sploh postane zaznavno. Na podlagi dikcije Šklovskega, ki pravi, da umetnost poskuša »rešiti stvari iz avtomata dojetanja« (Šklovski 9), bi lahko sklepali, da književnost z najrazličnejšimi postopki sižejske zgradbe potujeje gradivo samo, se pravi, t. i. stvari, ki jih prikazuje. A to je, kot pravilno opozori Medvedev, v protislovju s teorijo motivacije. Gradivo naj bi imelo v tekstu zgolj funkcijo motiviranja pripovednih postopkov in naj bi bilo potemtakem popolnoma zamenljivo oziroma celo pogrešljivo: Šklovski dejansko *Tristrama Shandyja* Laurencea Sterna interpretira kot roman, v katerem je »umetniška oblika podana brez vsakršne motivacije, preprosto kot taka« (253). A to pomeni, da tisto, kar postane zaznavno po zaslugi potujevanja, ne more biti gradivo. Hkrati pa se zdi, da predmet potujevanja ne more biti niti siže oziroma zgradba literarnega dela, saj je vsebina tega ravno učinek potujitve. »Konec koncev je pred nami paradoksen sklep: zaznaven je postopek, katerega edina vsebina je – ustvariti zaznavnost!« (Medvedev 162)

Kot tretje pa Medvedev formalistom oporeka uporabo teorije potujevanja v literarni zgodovini. Opozori namreč, da formalisti »iz

procesa, ki lahko poteka v okvirih življenja individualnega organizma, naredijo shemo za razumevanje procesa, ki zajema vrsto individuov in generacij, ki si sledijo« (Medvedev 217). Potujitev je namreč moment recepcije posameznega bralca oziroma bralke. Če se želimo pri razlagi evolucije umetniških form sklicevati na njihovo izgubo umetniškosti, tj. zmožnosti potujevanja, moramo predpostaviti, da bo večina bralstva določen tekst v določenem obdobju brala na zelo podoben način. To pa se zdi malo verjetno: čeprav šolski sistem v precejšnji meri ustvarja dominantno bralno kulturo, je težko verjeti, da bo imelo določeno literarno besedilo na tako rekoč vse bralstvo isti učinek.

Medvedev na podoben način pretrese tudi druge elemente formalne metode. Rezultat, do katerega pride, je razmeroma poguben: formalizem označi za mrtev raziskovalni program, ki ni več zmožen produktivno rešiti problemov in protislovji, s katerimi se spoprijema. Kljub temu pa se Medvedevu zdi splošna vloga formalizma v literarni vedi pozitivna: izpostavil naj bi »najbolj bistvene probleme literarne znanosti, in to s tako ostrino, da se jim zdaj ni več mogoče izogniti in jih prezreti« (Medvedev 251). Od tod druga razsežnost knjige Medveda, namreč poskus drugačnega odgovora na te »bistvene probleme literarne znanosti«, poskus, ki predstavlja sociološko poetiko Medvedeva.

Kot smo videli, je za formalistično metodo morda bolj kot karkoli drugega značilno, da je literaturo poskušala raziskovati neodvisno od družbenega in ideološkega konteksta njenega nastanka in recepcije. Ta težnja je na neki način razumljiva: z osredotočanjem na strukturne, inherentne značilnosti literarnega teksta naj bi dobili predmet, ki ga je mogoče raziskovati neodvisno od njegove umeščenosti v družbeni kontekst, vključno s kontekstom, v katerem ta predmet raziskujemo. A je takšen pristop za Medvedeva tudi radikalno zgrešen.

Bistvena metodološka ugotovitev Medvedeva in celotnega Bahtinovnega kroga je namreč, da je tudi forma literarnega teksta, ki je formalistom služila kot pribežališče pred družbenostjo, družbeno določena. Pri tem Medvedev na eni strani izhaja iz koncepcije jezika, razvite v Bahtinovem krogu, na drugi strani pa iz marksistične teorije ideološke nadzidave. Prvo v spremni besedi natančno predstavi prevajalec Marko Kržan, zato naj na tem mestu zadošča opozorilo, da je za Medvedeva in druge bahtinovce ideologija – se pravi, vsa t. i. idejna dejavnost, vključno z uporabo jezika – materialna in družbena: »Tudi svetovni nazori, verovanja, celo negotova ideološka razpoloženja niso dani znotraj, ne v glavah ne v 'dušah' ljudi. Ideološka dejanskost postanejo le, koliko se realizirajo v besedah, v dejanjih, v obleki, v obnašanju, v organizaciji ljudi in stvari, z eno besedo, v nekem določenem znakovnem

gradivu.« (Medvedev 13) Zato ideološko gradivo svoj pomen dobi šele potem, ko se na ta način materializira in vstopi v občevanje med ljudmi. Kar pa zadeva teorijo ideološke nadzidave, Medvedev literaturo razume kot dvojno določeno dejavnost: po eni strani gre za specifično ideološko dejavnost z lastnimi zakonitostmi, ki jo razlikujemo od znanosti, filozofije, etike in podobnega, po drugi strani pa je literatura del enotne ideološke nadzidave, ki jo v končni instanci določajo ekonomska razmerja. A Medvedev tu opozarja pred poenostavljanjem. Literarno delo je po njegovem mnenju umeščeno v več kontekstov oziroma ideoloških okolij, ki ga obdajajo kot nekakšni koncentrični krogi: najprej v literarno okolje kot »celovitost vseh v dani dobi in v dani družbeni skupini družbeno učinkujočih literarnih del« (40); to literarno okolje je nato umeščeno v splošno ideološko okolje dane dobe in dane družbene skupine; nazadnje pa vse skupaj zajema družbenoekonomsko okolje produkcijskih razmerij.

Sociološka poetika Medvedeva tako ni nekakšen preprost protipol formalistom, ki bi impliciral, da družba oblikuje literaturo. Med družbo in literaturo si Medvedev namreč predstavlja dialektično razmerje: »Postajanje občevanja pogojuje postajanje vseh plati literature in vsakega posameznega literarnega dela v procesu njegovega ustvarjanja in recepcije. Po drugi strani je tudi postajanje občevanja dialektično pogojeno s postajanjem literature kot enega od njegovih dejavnikov.« (Medvedev 221) Takšno stališče nam ponuja produktivno izhodišče za analizo literature, in sicer zlasti v času, ko smo izjemno občutljivi na njeno družbeno vlogo. A *Formalni metodi* Medvedeva morda umanjka konkreten primer analize, ki bi ilustriral to dinamiko. Avtor sicer vztraja, da ta »dialektika sploh ni tako zapletena« (44), a je bralstvu svoje *Formalne metode* z ničimer zares ne pomaga bolje razumeti. To zatekanje v abstrakcijo je opazno na več mestih v knjigi. Kot eno ključnih nalog sociološke poetike si Medvedev na primer zada opredelitev specifične literature v primerjavi z drugimi ideološkimi formami, a njegov odgovor na to vprašanje je vse prej kot konkreten; pravi, da je za umetnost značilno, da je »pomen docela nerazločljiv od vseh podrobnosti materialnega telesa, v katerem je utelešen«, medtem ko je pri drugih ideoloških formacijah samo znakovno gradivo »načeloma konvencionalnega in nadomestljivega značaja« (20).

Kljub temu se zdi, da prevod *Formalne metode v literarni vedi* Pavla Medvedeva prinaša koristen prispevek k slovenski prevodni humanistiki. Kot v predgovoru izpostavi tudi prevajalec, imamo zdaj v slovenskem prevodu na voljo vse pomembnejše razprave Bahtinovega kroga, z izjemo *Freudizma* (1927) Valentina Vološinova. Čeprav so bile te

študije, predvsem spisi samega Bahtina, v zadnjih desetletjih najpogosteje obravnavane v kontekstu teorije romana, bržkone še vedno lahko predstavljajo živ vir za razvoj tudi drugih področij literarne teorije. To še posebej velja v času, ko v ospredje ponovno stopajo literarnovedni pristopi, ki se zanimajo za kontekst geneze in recepcije literature, in ko smo kot družba morda bolj kot kadarkoli prej dovzetni za družbene razsežnosti literature in njene recepcije. Pri teh razmislekih se lahko marsičesa naučimo od teoretikov, ki so na pomanjkljivosti formalizmov opozarjali tako rekoč pred stotimi leti.

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