HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES LATVIA

Volume 19, Issue 1
(Summer–Autumn 2011)

University of Latvia

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FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Reader,

The Journal „Humanities and Social Sciences Latvia" is under new management with a new General Editor and Editorial Board.

I would like to thank the previous General Editor, Prof. Raita Karnīte, for all her work over the last few years in keeping this Journal up and running.

This will be the only issue for 2011, but we hope that beginning from next year we will be able to publish two issues per year – spring and autumn.

In this issue we have articles covering the fields of economic history, language, politics and sociology. Most of the authors are PhD students and we encourage articles both from established academics, as well as prospective academics.

We are looking forward to an exciting 2012 and hope for your support in making this Journal a leader in its field.

Best wishes

Viesturs Pauls Karnups
General Editor

LATVIAN ECONOMIC LINKS TO GREAT BRITAIN VIA SCANDINAVIA 1939/40

Viesturs Pauls Karnups
Dr. oec.

Abstract

The current view of British-Latvian trade relations following the beginning of the Second World War is that the leaders of the Baltic States were the prime movers regarding the maintenance of trade links with Great Britain, with Britain playing a relatively passive role and reacting to the pleas of the Baltic States. From the Latvian archival evidence and a re-examination of the British archival evidence it becomes clear that it was the British who were insistent upon maintaining trade links with the Baltic States essentially acquiescing to make an effort to do so.

The beginning of the Second World War in September 1939, made it difficult for the Baltic States to continue their export trade with Great Britain despite declarations of absolute neutrality. The issue of course was further complicated by the presence of Soviet bases and troops after October 1939. Latvian exports to Britain in 1938 made up 42% of all Latvian exports, while imports from Britain made up some 19% of all Latvian imports. The general trend both in exports and imports after 1933 was increasing in contrast to a generally decreasing trend for the period 1920 to 1933. Latvian exports to Britain were dominated by agricultural products such as butter, bacon, eggs, flax, timber and wood products. Imports from Britain were mainly coal, coke, herrings, and raw materials for the textile industry, various metal products, and wool and cotton goods.

In the absence of British naval protection in the Baltic Sea, alternative routes for Latvian exports to Great Britain were suggested by British authorities. Two alternatives were contemplated. One was the shipment of exports to Sweden via Finnish or Swedish territorial waters and further through Swedish/Danish/Norwegian territorial waters to Britain. This was extremely difficult due to the increased German naval activity in the region. The alternative route was to ship exports to a Swedish port, transit Sweden by rail to a Norwegian port, and reship to Britain. This proved to be the only viable way.

However, both routes were finally closed by the German invasion and occupation of Denmark and Norway in April 1940. The whole issue became academic with the invasion and occupation of Latvia by the Soviet Union on 17 June 1940.

Keywords: Latvia, Great Britain, trade relations, WWII, alternative routes.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: firstly to provide a Latvian view of British-Latvian trade relations following the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 and secondly to provide details as to how the trade relations were ultimately carried out in practice during 1939–1940.

This present paper could be subtitled "The View from Rīga" as it relies mainly on Latvian archival material, which has not been available to Western scholars previously.[1] The current view of British-Latvian trade relations following the beginning of the Second World War as elaborated by Thomas Lane in his seminal article[2] is that the leaders of the Baltic States were the prime movers regarding the maintenance of trade links with Great Britain, with Britain playing a relatively passive role and reacting to the pleas of the Baltic States. From the Latvian archival evidence and a re-examination of the British archival evidence it becomes clear that it was the British who were insistent upon maintaining trade links with the Baltic States essentially acquiescing to make an effort to do so.

In the period between World War One and World War Two, of all the nations of the world, Latvia and the Latvians held in the highest esteem Great Britain and its empire.[3]

The economic relations between Great Britain and Latvia are very old. They date from the time when the present territory of Latvia was part of the Tsarist Russian Empire. In earlier times, large British commercial houses established branches in Latvian seaport towns, and were soon followed by many firms which settled in Rīga and prospered there for centuries. The first industrial undertakings in the present territory of Latvia were based on British initiative and capital such as the first large spinning and weaving mills, the Rīga Gas Works, the Rīga-Dvinsk railway etc. In 1913, Britain took 37% of the exports which came through the ports of Rīga and Ventspils and some 40% of imports which flowed through these ports came from Great Britain.[4]

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[1]　In 1992, Thomas Lane, at a symposium in Stockholm, presented a paper, "The Winding Down of British Trade with the Baltic States, 1939–1940: The View from Whitehall", in Loit A. (ed.) *Emancipation and Interdependence. / The Baltic States as new Entities in the International Economy, 1918–1940.* – Stockholm: Centre for Baltic Studies, 1994.

[2]　Lane (1994), op. cit., especially p. 295.

[3]　Andersons E. *Latvijas vēsture 1920–1940. Ārpolitika I* [History of Latvia 1920–1940. Foreign Affairs Vol. 1] – Stockholm: Daugava, 1982. – p. 309.

[4]　Kirby, D. Aspects of British Commercial Policy towards the Baltic States 1920–1924, in *The Second Conference on Baltic Studies in Scandinavia, Vol. 3. Social Science Section*, Stockholm: Baltiska Institutet, 1973. – p. 146.

Following the gaining of independence, Latvian trade with Britain became an important factor in the economic life of Latvia and remained so for the whole period between the wars. Britain had considerable trade interests in the Scandinavian and Baltic countries and after the failure of the dream of restoring a tsarist Russia, Britain was initially interested in maintaining a strong influence in the Baltic Sea area, mainly to deter its rivals Germany and France, and to contain bolshevism.[5] During the years immediately after World War One Britain virtually ran the Baltic area with the help of her navy, although after 1921 Britain's interest in the Baltic States waned.[6] Nevertheless, British imports of Latvian agricultural products helped Latvia to avoid a collapse in her economy in these early post-war years. For example, the pounds sterling paid for Latvian flax laid the foundation for Latvia's stable and sound financial system.[7]

On 23 June 1923, Britain and Latvia signed a Commercial and Navigation Treaty, which came into force on 5 November 1923. This was one of the first of such treaties entered into by the newly established Latvian State and was based on the most favoured nation principle and contained the Baltic and Soviet Union clauses. The treaty was one of the outcomes of the emerging triangular trading pattern between the Baltic States, Germany and Britain (Latvia signed a treaty with Germany in 1920 regarding the resumption of trade relations, followed by a formal commercial treaty in 1926).

The course of British trade with Latvia in the period from 1920 to 1933 when the treaty was re-negotiated is shown in Table 1.

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[5] Hiden, J. On the Edge of Diplomacy? Britain, the Baltic and East-West Relations between the Wars, in Hiden, J. & Loit, A. (eds) *Contact or isolation?: Soviet-Western relations in the interwar period* – Stockholm: Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia 8, 1991. – p. 315.

[6] Hinkkanen, M. Bridges and Barriers, Pawns and Actors. The Baltic States in East-West Relations in the 1920s, in Hiden, J. & Loit, A. (eds) *Contact or isolation?: Soviet-Western relations in the interwar period* – Stockholm: Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia 8, 1991. – p. 438. Hinkkanen describes it as a "British non-commitment in the Baltic States".

[7] Ēķis, L. *Latvia: Economic Resources and Capacities*. – Washington: Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation, 1943. – p. 95.

Table 1 **Latvian-British Trade 1920–1933**

Year	Imports		Exports		Balance of trade
	Million Ls	% of total imports	Million Ls	% of total exports	
1920[8]	19.89	20.7	42.06	67.5	22.17
1921[9]	10.11	14.3	10.43	35.6	0.32
1922[10]	19.92	18.6	40.75	40.0	20.83
1923	36.08	17.0	74.97	46.3	38.89
1924	41.48	16.2	70.35	41.5	28.87
1925	38.69	13.8	62.15	34.6	23.46
1926	25.75	9.9	64.17	34.0	38.42
1927	26.49	10.6	75.31	34.0	48.82
1928	29.18	9.5	70.56	27.0	41.38
1929	30.36	8.4	75.00	27.4	44.64
1930	25.14	8.5	70.36	28.8	45.22
1931	15.14	8.5	41.60	25.4	26.46
1932	11.72	13.9	29.72	30.8	18.00
1933	19.97	21.9	34.65	42.5	14.68

Source: Compiled from *The Latvian Economist*, Rīga: Ministry of Finance, 1930. – p. 32; *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1920* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1920]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1921. – p. 119; *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1921* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1921]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1922. – p. 124; *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1922* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1922]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1923. – pp. 90–91; *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1932* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1932]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1933. – p. 163 and *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1935* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1935]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1936. – p. 177

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[8] 1920 Latvian roubles are converted at the rate re-calculated by the Director of the Credit Department of the Ministry of Finance Al. Kārkliņš: 21,41 Latvian roubles = 1 lats (imports) and 17,26 Latvian roubles = 1 lats (exports) (see *The Latvian Economist*, Rīga: Ministry of Finance, 1925. – p. 125).

[9] 1921 Latvian roubles are converted at the rate re-calculated by the Director of the Credit Department of the Ministry of Finance Al. Kārkliņš: 66,267 Latvian roubles = 1 lats (imports) and 66,914 Latvian roubles = 1 lats (exports) (see *The Latvian Economist*, Rīga: Ministry of Finance, 1925. – p. 125).

[10] 1922 Latvian roubles are converted at the rate set by the State Statistics Administration: 50 Latvian roubles = 1 lats (imports and exports) (see *The Latvian Economist*, Rīga: Ministry of Finance, 1925. – p. 125).

As can be clearly seen in Table 1, Latvia's trade balance with Britain was always in Latvia's favour and there was a general trend of rising exports and decreasing imports. The absolute value of British imports showed an upward trend until 1924, declined perceptibly in 1925 and 1926, but increased thereafter to 1929. Imports fell drastically during the Great Depression period of 1930–32, but started to increase again in 1933. In 1930, imports had declined by 17% compared to 1929, by 50 % in 1931 and by 63% of the 1929 level in 1932. A major factor in this decline was the attempts by the governments of the day at import-substitution and general increases in import duties.[11]

Exports, on the other hand show a different pattern. After a considerable downturn in 1921, which is ascribed to the fact that Latvia's output in that year was not large enough to produce a surplus for export,[12] exports to Britain rose steadily to peak in 1923, decline slightly while maintaining a high level in 1924–26 to peak again in 1927, decline slightly in 1928 and to peak again in 1929. The onset of the Great Depression had a powerful impact on exports to Britain. Britain's abandonment of the gold standard in 1931 made British exports cheaper, but Latvian exports became dearer as Latvia clung to the gold standard. In 1932, Britain introduced a 10% general import levy, which had the direct effect of making Latvian exports dearer still. If exports to Britain in 1930 had declined by only 6% compared with 1929, in 1931 they had declined by 44% and in 1932 – by 60% of the 1929 level.

The balance of trade almost parallels the same pattern as exports to Britain, which suggests that Britain's importance to Latvia in this period was less as a supplier of goods than a consumer of Latvia's exports. In fact, this pattern holds for the whole of the interwar period.

Latvia's main exports to Britain during this period were timber, flax, plywood, bacon and butter. Timber and timber products made up more than half the value of Latvia's exports to Britain. Latvian imports from Britain, however, were rarely more than half the amount of exports to Britain. Latvia imported from Britain in this period mainly coal, petroleum and petroleum products, textile raw materials and semi-finished products, as well as herrings.

At virtually the end of the Great Depression, the 1923 treaty was supplemented by a commercial agreement concluded on 6 July 1933,

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[11] Latvian customs duties tariffs were amended and added to 6 times in 1931, 6 times in 1932 and 10 times in 1933 (see Aizsilnieks A. *Latvijas saimniecības vēsture 1914–1945* [Economic History of Latvia 1914–1945]. – Stockholm: Daugava, 1968. – p. 548).

[12] *The Latvian Economist*, Rīga: Ministry of Finance, 1930. – p. 36. Probably, the 1920–21 post war depression also had some effect.

which was in turn was superseded by a Commercial Agreement between the Government of Latvia and the Government of Great Britain concluded on 17 July 1934, which came into force on 12 October 1934. As regards the goods to be imported into Latvia from Britain, the agreement fixed quotas for herrings, and contained stipulations relating to the import of iron, steel, coal, coke, agricultural machinery, salt, creosote, textiles etc. Britain on her part undertook not to restrict the import of the staple Latvian products – butter, bacon and eggs. In the event of the introduction of a system of quotas for the import of butter, bacon, cheese, eggs and poultry, a fair proportion of the quotas would be assigned to Latvia. The course of British trade in the period 1934 to 1938 is shown in Table 2.

Table 2   **Latvian-British Trade 1934–1938**

Year	Imports		Exports		Balance of trade
	Million Ls	% of total imports	Million Ls	% of total exports	
1934	21.41	22.6	30.53	35.8	9.12
1935	20.58	20.4	29.79	30.2	9.21
1936	26.14	21.5	48.31	34.9	22.17
1937	47.80	20.7	100.08	38.4	52.28
1938	43.90	19.3	95.10	41.9	51.20

Source: Compiled from *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1939* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1939]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1939. – p. 174.

In Table 2, we can see that despite the protectionist measures implemented by the British government, as well as Empire preference, Latvia's exports increased throughout the period reaching almost 42% of all Latvian exports in 1938. On the other hand, government regulation of the economy (and especially foreign trade) after the Ulmanis coup d'etat in 1934 and the drive towards self-sufficiency (autarky), imports from Britain during the period decreased as a percentage of total imports, although they increased in money terms. The dramatic increase in money terms for both imports and exports in 1937 and 1938 is due to the devaluation of the lat on 28 September 1936. The lat went off the gold standard and was fixed to the British pound. The pound sterling increased in value in terms of lats by 62%.[13] Imports thus became dearer (hence little overall increase in percentage share of imports), but exports became cheaper (hence a dramatic increase in both monetary and percentage terms). The devaluation

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[13] Aizsilnieks (1968) – p. 619.

in fact signalled the end of the autarky policies of the Latvian government and imports as whole increased by 53% in value in 1937 over 1936 and by 54% in 1938, most of which was taken up by Germany.[14] The structure of foreign trade between Latvia and Britain remained essentially the same as in the previous period, with the addition of bacon as a major export product to Britain. Britain took nearly 100% of all the bacon exported by Latvia in the period (see Table 4).[15]

Latvian-British Trade in 1939

Foreign trade with Britain at the beginning of 1939 was expected to more or less follow the same course as at least the two previous years. Although Britain's share of total imports had decreased as a result of bilateral agreements or clearing arrangements with some states, particularly with Germany, the share of total exports had increased and could be expected to further increase. Trade with Britain was particularly important to Latvia because unlike Germany Britain was a source of convertible currency earnings.[16]

Table 3 shows the actual course of Latvian-British trade from 1 January 1939 to 31 August 1939.[17]

Table 3   **Latvian-British Trade 01/01/1939–31/08/1939 compared with the same period in 1937 and 1938**

Year	Imports		Exports		Balance of trade
	Million Ls	% of total imports	Million Ls	% of total exports	
01/01/1937–31/08/1937	28.66	19.2	61.14	39.5	32.48
01/01/1938–31/08/1938	26.23	17.4	59.07	42.9	32.84
01/01/1939–31/08/1939	34.08	20.9	69.14	42.0	35.06

Source: *Mēneša Biļetens Nr. 10* [Monthly Bulletin No. 10]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, October 1939. – p. 1084, 1058–59.

[14] *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1939* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1939]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1939. – p. 174.

[15] *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1939* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1939]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1939. – p. 182.

[16] Lane (1994), op. cit. – p. 293.

[17] Latvia, following the practice of other nations, stopped publishing data regarding foreign trade after the commencement of the war. See *Economists* [The Economist] No. 4 – 1940. – p. 231.

Table 3 indicates that for the first eight months of 1939 both imports and exports were rising in comparison with the same period in the previous two record-breaking years and Britain's share of Latvian imports and exports was in fact increasing in 1939 both in money terms and as percentage of total trade as was the balance of trade. In fact despite a dramatic fall in exports in the last four months of 1939, exports in the period 1934–1939 show an upward rising trend. This is illustrated by the following two tables, which show the value and quantity of bacon and butter exports to Britain for the period 1934–1939.

Table 4   **Latvian exports of bacon to Britain 1934–1939 (tons and million lats)**

Year	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939 (8 mths)
Tons	2240	1735	1910	1930	1921	2285
Million lats	2.35	1.84	2.67	3.68	3.91	4.26
% of total bacon exports (tons)	99.3	98.9	100	100	100	100

Source: Compiled from *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1939* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1939]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1939. – p. 182 and *Mēneša Biļetens Nr. 10* [Monthly Bulletin No. 10]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, October 1939. – p. 1060.

Table 5   **Latvian exports of butter to Britain 1934–1939 (tons and million lats)**

Year	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939 (8 mths)
Tons	8517	9909	10 098	10 814	17 137	11 464
Million lats	6.16	10.1	14.8	24.44	28.22	25.18
% of total butter exports (tons)	54.2	58.9	58.4	56.3	73.1	70.9

Source: Compiled from *Latvijas Statistikas Gada grāmata 1939* [Latvian Statistical Year Book 1939]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, 1939. – p. 182 and *Mēneša Biļetens Nr. 10* [Monthly Bulletin No. 10]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, October 1939. – p. 1060.

Maintaining Trade Links Despite War – First Phase: September–December 1939

After September 1939, foreign trade became Latvia's weakest point. A great deal of what happened in foreign trade was beyond the control of

Latvia and was a consequence of the war.[18] Nevertheless, Latvia could have been better prepared in the case of the collapse of foreign trade.

In this, the government of Latvia's attitude differed fundamentally from that of the Scandinavian countries. At the Nordic countries (Oslo Group) conference in Copenhagen on 5–6 April 1936 the issue of mutual economic assistance in the event of a possible international crisis or war blockade was discussed. The Latvian Foreign Minister Munters was informed of national committees established in the Nordic countries to co-ordinate issues of mutual supply at a time of crisis during his visits to Finland and Sweden in 1938. Latvia wanted very much to join the Oslo Group and on 30 August 1938, the Cabinet took a decision to begin negotiations with the Group. However, nothing came of it and the one thing that Latvia could have adopted from the Scandinavian experience – timely economic preparations for war, was not heeded.[19]

During the last months of peace Britain was still very interested in maintaining trade with Latvia and the other Baltic Sea countries albeit mainly to deny this trade to Germany. In a secret document by the Industrial Intelligence Centre (Department of Overseas Trade) dated 08.06.1939[20] it was noted that there existed some possibility of maintaining economic exchange with Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic States by means of Swedish and Norwegian railways, but this depended upon the agreement of these countries to co-operate.[21]

The commencement of the war effectively closed the Baltic Sea region to British and allied shipping as it was clear that the Royal Navy would not enter the Baltic Sea to offer protection against German warships. In September 1939, the Admiralty closed both the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas to the British merchant marine.[22] In the early stages of the war however, Churchill, then at the Admiralty, did direct the Naval Staff to "prepare an appreciation of forcing a passage of the Baltic with naval

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[18] For a comprehensive overview of Latvian foreign trade as a whole for 1939/1940, see Stranga A. "Latvijas ārējā tirdzniecība 30. gadu nogale" [Latvian Foreign Trade of the End of the 1930s] / *Latvijas Vēsture* Nos. 1993/4, 1994/1, 1994/3, 1995/1, 1995/2 and 1995/3.

[19] Latvian State Historical Archive (LVVA), 2575.f., 8.apr., 79.l., p. 164.

[20] PRO, BT11/1243/1048.

[21] An alternative route by rail to northern Soviet ports was dismissed as lacking the "available capacity for the carriage of exports from the Baltic States by rail to the ports of Murmansk and Archangel".

[22] *Latvijas Valsts vēstures archivs* [Latvian State Historical Archives] – LVVA, 2574.f., 4.apr., 7499.l., p. 141. Reported by the Latvian envoy to Great Britain (29.08.1939).

forces."[23] The project was named "Operation Catherine" (after Catherine the Great) and the fleet was to consist of two or three battleships, an aircraft carrier, five cruisers, two destroyer flotillas, a detachment of submarines and auxiliary vessels. Churchill described this hazardous venture as "the supreme naval offensive open to the Royal Navy."[24] Its aim would be to cut off Germany from iron ore and all other trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic States, force the German navy to remain in the Baltic and Germany's northern coasts would be exposed to bombardment. Little progress was made however for adapting and re-fitting warships and auxiliaries for "Catherine", mainly because of the refusal of the First Sea Lord to release ships from active duty. The target date for the assembly of the "Catherine" force was set for 31 March 1940. The outbreak of the Russo-Finnish War on 30 November 1939 greatly complicated strategy in the Baltic and internal opposition to the plan was growing. On 10 January 1940, the First Sea Lord sent Churchill a paper graphically describing the hazards the force would face in forcing an entry into the Baltic, including severe air attacks, minefields, U-boats and the fire of shore batteries. The fleet would have to face continual air and submarine attacks without a secure base. This paper in fact killed off "Catherine" and persuaded Churchill that "Catherine" could not be attempted in 1940.[25]

The President of the British Board of Trade, Oliver Stanley, in answer to a question in Parliament in September 1939, stated the government was "anxious that trade between this country and the Baltic States and Finland should continue as far as the circumstances of war permit, and arrangements to this end are being made."[26] Of course, no arrangements, at least on the government level, were being made except for Churchill's Operation "Catherine". In fact, the official British pricing policy of Baltic imports, particularly butter, was a disincentive to Baltic traders to run the risks of German patrols.[27] During the first weeks of war the German navy stopped and forced to north German ports, the Latvian ships *Auseklis* (1309 BRT)[28] and *Iris Faulbaums* (1675 BRT).[29]

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[23] Bond, B. "British War Planning for Operations in the Baltic before the First and Second World Wars", in Rystad G. et al. (eds) *In Quest of Trade and Security: The Baltic in Power Politics, 1500–1990. II: 1890–1990.* – Stockholm: Lund University Press,1995. – p. 129. What follows is based on Bond's account: p. 129–135.

[24] Ibid., p. 129.

[25] Ibid., p. 132.

[26] LVVA, 2574.f., 4.apr., 7499.l., p. 86; PR0, FO 371/23665/N4783/67.

[27] Lane (1994), op. cit. – p. 299.

[28] *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950.* – Rīga: Rīgas vēstures un kuģniecības muzejs, 1998. – p. 156.

[29] Ibid., – p. 175.

It was clear to the Latvian government that with the commencement of the war that trade outside of the Baltic Sea was practically impossible.[30] Nevertheless, Kārlis Zariņš, the Latvian envoy to Great Britain and his staff continually sent reports to the Latvian Foreign Ministry in Rīga both about trading possibilities and possible trade routes, which were suggested or reported to them by business and government representatives. Given the fact that most of these discussions of alternative ways of keeping trade flowing between Britain and Latvia came from British sources, it is not surprising that "officials in all three Baltic countries spoke confidently about the prospects of opening alternative trade routes to Britain to keep Anglo-Baltic trade alive."[31] As early as 9 September 1939 Charles Orde, the British envoy in Rīga, proposed, at the instigation of the British Foreign Ministry, that the Baltic States organise their foreign trade in their own ships to Sweden via the territorial waters of the Baltic States, Finland and Sweden. Swedish and Norwegian railways could then take them to Norwegian ports on the Atlantic coast for transhipment to Britain.[32]

On 21 September 1939,[33] Zariņš in a confidential report to the Latvian Foreign Ministry stated that British firm "Th. Bolton" would have difficulties in delivering the contracted 100 tons of copper wire for the Ķegums hydroelectric power station, and "Vickers" would not be able to deliver ordered war supplies. He noted that the Swedish shipping companies would begin regular operations on 22 September from Sweden to Britain with two ships – one passenger and one cargo. The Danes on the other hand were hoping to put three ships per week into service between Denmark and Britain. Zariņš suggested that perhaps it would be possible to utilise Swedish railways for transit to Norwegian ports. In a report also dated 21 September 1939, the German envoy in Rīga wrote that Latvia will not establish a merchant shipping line for trade with Britain via the coast of Sweden.[34]

On 27 September 1939, E. Zolmanis, the Latvian Agricultural attaché sent a preliminary report to the Latvian Foreign Ministry,[35] in which he stated that the fact that Germany is not respecting neutral ships had made British government institutions very cautious regarding the insuring of the ships of neutral states. They suggested that Latvian goods be concentrated

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[30] Berziņš, A. *1939*. USA: Grāmatu Draugs, 1976. – p. 179.

[31] Lane (1994), op. cit. – p. 295.

[32] Andersons E. *Latvijas vēsture 1920–1940. Ārpolitika II* [History of Latvia 1920–1940. Foreign Affairs Vol. I1] – Stockholm: Daugava, 1984. – p. 295.

[33] LVVA, 2574.f., 4. apr., 7452.l., p. 188–190.

[34] Cited in Andersons (1984), op. cit. – p. 195.

[35] LVVA, 2574.f., 4. apr., 7352.l., p. 62.

in Bergen in Norway where they would be taken by British ships. Zolmanis noted that according to information received the transit from Stockholm to Bergen took 3–4 days and cost 60–70 kroner per cwt weight.

In a follow-up letter dated 30 September 1939,[36] Zolmanis again repeated that Latvian exports to Britain should be concentrated in Bergen where they would be loaded on British ships and protected in a convoy delivered to Britain.

He also outlined the gist of a special memorandum sent to the British government authorities, which contained a calculation of the minimum price Latvia should receive for butter so that production could be held at normal levels.[37] A minimum price of 120 shillings per cwt of butter would be sufficient to manufacture butter in Latvia without subsidies. This would normally mean a FOB price of 102 shillings, but including losses on currency exchange and a price increase of animal feed etc., the FOB Rīga price would be 140/3 per cwt.

Transport costs from Rīga to Bergen were:

Freight	Rīga to Stockholm	5/6 per cwt
	Stocholm to Bergen (70 kroner)	4/3 per cwt
Insurance Baltic Sea – 5½%		7/8 per cwt
	Across Scandinavia	1/6 per cwt
Reloading Stockholm and Bergen		3/- per cwt

Adding the above to the FOB Rīga price, FOB Bergen worked out to 163/2 per cwt. If one added import customs duties and cost of transport to Britain then the cost of a cwt of Latvian butter would grow to over 180 shillings per cwt. Thus, the Sweden-Norway transhipment route to Britain added some 22% costs to the FOB Rīga price. Zolmanis concluded on the pessimistic note that government authorities had indicated that to receive such a price for Latvian butter was totally unrealistic. Especially as on 14 September 1939, in fixing the price of imported butter, the British had reduced Latvian butter to the second price category, but the same quality Swedish and Finnish butter remained in the first category.[38]

On 5 October 1939,[39] Zariņš submitted to the Latvian Foreign Ministry a comprehensive overview of trade possibilities, gained as a result of

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[36] LVVA, 2574.f., 4.apr., 7352.l., p. 64–65.

[37] A copy of the aide-memoire is at PRO, FO371/23603/N4504/418–420.

[38] Stranga (1993/4), op. cit. – p. 21. The Ministry of Food's circular of 23 October 1939 fixed the price of Latvian butter at 107/6 per cwt, CIF, while the price for Swedish and Finnish butter was fixed at 117/6 per cwt CIF (PRO, FO371/23603/N5623/425).

[39] LVVA, 1314.f., 4.apr., 729.l., p. 294–299.

discussions with the directors of the firm "Becos Associated Works Ltd". Briefly, it noted that due the cessation of regular services to the Baltic, the activities of German commerce raiders and the danger from floating mines etc., one of the main difficulties in carrying on trade with the Baltic was the cargo question. It outlined a "summary of possibilities:[40]

- Latvia steamers – no definite news
- Via Finland
  - Finnish Steamship Co. Ltd. are continuing irregular sailings from London to Helsinki and are prepared to issue a bill of lading to Tallinn, transhipping at Helsinki.
  - At present quoting a rate of 400% increase over the basic rate (which is 25/- per ton weight).
  - Basic rate　　　　　　　25/-
  400% increase　　　　　　100/-
  On-carrying to Tallinn　　20/-
  　　　　　　　　　145/-
- Via Copenhagen
  - If it is possible for Latvian steamers to pick up cargo at Copenhagen then this is a practical route.
  - The basic rate to Copenhagen is 45/- per ton weight plus 100% = 90/- to Copenhagen.
- Via Sweden
  - There is also an expensive overland route via Sweden, the cost of which is in the neighbourhood of 1/- per kilogramme to Rīga.
  - At approx. £50 per ton, it is of utility only in exceptional cases.
- Via Murmansk
  - A practicable route if there are successful discussions between Latvia and the USSR.
- Insurance
  - Discussions are proceeding with H.M. government for the inclusion of shipments to Latvia in the government War risks insurance scheme under which had the following rates (private insurance was prohibitive):
  Norway –　　　not north of Tromso and
  　　not south of Bergen　　　　　40/-
  Norway – south of Bergen　　　　50/-
  Sweden – not east of Malmo　　　50/-
  Denmark　　　　　　　　　　　60/-

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[40] Ibid., p. 296–297.

The directors of the firm "Becos Associated Works Ltd" also suggested that perhaps Latvia could send smaller ships via neutral waters and then into the North Sea eventually join up with a convoy to Britain.

In the same letter, Zariņš suggested that a small delegation from Latvia should visit London to discuss exports, transport, payments and other issues. He noted that at the present a Swedish trade delegation had arrived in London. Zariņš also reported that several British firms wished to change their contracts from CIF Rīga to FOB London.

On 6 October 1939,[41] Zariņš reported a discussion with the director of the United Baltic Corporation, Larsen, who stated that the company had two steamers, which worked to the Norwegian ports of Bergen and Trondheim. They left England with ballast, but returned mainly with food products from Scandinavia and the Baltic States – butter, bacon, eggs, etc. Larsen noted that of the Baltic States Lithuania was the most active in sending butter and bacon. They delivered their goods with their own ships to Karlskrona in Sweden and thence by railway to Bergen. In the future, Lithuania expected to send their goods to Sundsvall in Sweden and thence by railway to Trondheim. Larsen stated that he could not understand why Sweden and Norway were so happy about British escorted convoys, as the Germans invariably attacked them and thus, it could prove dangerous for ships of neutral countries. Zariņš noted that the Swedish and Norwegian envoys in London thought that the convoy system provided security for the North Sea crossing. There was a possibility being discussed in London that the Baltic States could eventually send their goods by Swedish and Norwegian territorial waters. However, on 9 October 1939, the German navy stopped and seized the Latvian ship *Velta* (2347 BRT) en route from Rīga to Rotterdam with a cargo of timber.

On 19 October 1939,[42] Zariņš forwarded a letter received by the Latvian Embassy from "Pharaoh's Plywood Company" regarding an interview in which they had discussed the problem of how to make the production of the plywood mills in Latvia available to supply the requirements of Britain. The main problem "first and foremost" was seen to be shipping. The company noted that the Timber control department of the Ministry of Supply was prepared to purchase plywood FOB Norwegian ports. To do this the goods had to be transported from Latvia by one of two routes, that is, either by sea through the Baltic and Swedish and /or Danish waters to Norway, or by sea to Swedish ports such as Stockholm, Gävle or Sundsvall. The first was seen as unlikely and therefore the second alternative should be considered. The company offered the services of its representative in

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[41] LVVA, 2574.f., 3.apr., 3245.l., p. 6–7.
[42] LVVA, 1314.f., 5.apr., 138.l., p. 168.

Sweden for getting the goods railed through Sweden to Norway. At the same time, on 26 October 1939, the German navy seized and forced to Hamburg the Latvian ship *Everoja* (4530 BRT) with a cargo of cellulose enroute from Finland to the USA on the excuse that the ship did not have purchase documents on board, which the Germans demanded for all ships purchased less than 60 days prior to the commencement of the war.[43] The same day the *Konsuls P. Dannebergs* (2747 BRT) enroute to Rotterdam with a cargo of timber was seized.[44] In November 1939, the *Latvis* (1318 BRT) was seized in Kiel Canal with a cargo of sawn timber enroute to Rotterdam.[45]

At the same time Orde in Rīga sent a telegram to the Foreign Office where he advocated that "Exports from United Kingdom to Latvia should be allowed as freely as possible as there is no danger of re-export owing to strict control."[46] He pointed out that the main factors against UK trade were firstly, difficulties with transport and high freight charges, and secondly, the requirement that goods should be paid for before shipment. Coincidently, the latter issue had been taken up by the Exports Credits Guarantee Department some days earlier.[47] The Department was in general in favour of relaxing the "cash pre-payment" stipulation if "H. M. Government desires to retain our export trade with these countries". By 20 November 1939, Laurence Collier, Head of the FO Northern Department could inform Orde that "the stipulation for "cash before payment" imposed in relation to Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania will no longer be imposed, and that normal credit terms will be permitted in such cases."[48] Nevertheless, the FO could only report that since 1 September 1939, only a "few consignments via Scandinavian countries, of coal and piece goods for Latvia and of bacon and plywood for the United Kingdom" had been traded.[49] In a confidential memo from Zariņš to the Latvian Foreign Minister he reported a discussion based upon British ministry officials who had opined that Latvia had bought little from Britain while at the same time continuing to export its agricultural products. His conclusion was that there was veiled threat that if Latvia did not increase its imports of British products post-war quotas for agricultural products would be based upon Latvian imports from Britain during the war.[50]

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[43] *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*. – p. 168.

[44] Ibid., – p. 182.

[45] Ibid., – p. 185.

[46] PRO, FO371/23665/N5672/156–157, 26 October 1939.

[47] PRO, FO371/23665/N5628/147–149, 23 October 1939.

[48] PRO, FO 371/23665/N6222/279, 20 November 1939.

[49] PRO, FO 371/23602/N4870/187–188.

[50] LVVA, 1314.f., 5.apr., 100.l., p. 194–195.

A number of parallel events however, complicated the picture still further in 1939. One of these was the forced signing by Latvia of a mutual assistance pact with the USSR on 5 October, which allowed the USSR to maintain bases and station troops in Latvia. This was followed by an advantageous trade treaty with the USSR on 12 October, although its effects were not to be felt until the beginning of 1940. Another was the outbreak of the Russo-Finnish War in November 1939. This effectively closed any possibility of utilising Finnish ships and/or waters to maintain trade with Britain. At the Baltic Foreign Ministers Conference in Tallinn on 7 December 1939, Munters the Latvian Foreign Minister emphasised the interest of the Baltic States in maintaining exports with Britain.[51] In his speech, Munters expressed the hope that trade relations, however limited, would still continue to exist. Finally, on 15 December 1939, Latvia signed a wartime trade agreement with Germany. Although the Germans demanded that Latvia officially stop trading with Britain, the Latvian government managed to reject this demand.[52] On 21 December, the Germans seized the Latvian ship *Atis Kronvalds* (1423 BRT), which was taking 870 tons of Latvian and Lithuanian bacon and butter, as well as 202 tons of plywood to Sweden for further shipment to Britain.[53] The Ministry of Economic Warfare Weekly Report to the War Cabinet for the period 17/12 – 31/12/1939 (p. 3) noted somewhat resignedly, "It is feared that in view of this seizure no further attempts will be made to export produce from the Baltic States to the United Kingdom."[54] In the same month, the Germans also seized the *Aija* (575 BRT) enroute from Rīga to Stockholm;[55] the *Ausma* (1905 BRT)[56] enroute from Rīga to Ghent with a cargo of pit-prop timber;[57] the *Evertons* (4101 BRT) in Kiel with a cargo of pit-prop timber;[58] the *Skrunda* (2414 BRT) in the Kiel Canal with a cargo of pit-prop timber for Ghent,[59] and the *Spīdola* (2833 BRT) in the Kiel Canal enroute to Antwerp with a cargo of pit-prop timber.[60] The Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry reported that:,

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[51] Stranga (1994/1), op. cit. – p. 22.

[52] Zunda (1998), op. cit. – p. 212.

[53] LVVA, 2574.f., 4.apr., 3281.l., p. 46.

[54] PRO, FO 837/37, War Cabinet, Economic Warfare, 15th Weekly Report 17–30 December 1939.

[55] *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*. op. cit. – p. 152.

[56] Ibid., – p. 156.

[57] The 15 December 1939 agreement between Latvia and Germany prohibited the transport of pit-prop timber to Belgium and Holland.

[58] *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*, op. cit. – p. 169.

[59] Ibid., – p. 201.

[60] Ibid., – p. 202.

"The number of Latvian vessels detained in Germany has grown from 8 ships on November 18, 1939, to 24 in the middle of December, which represented nearly one-third of the Latvian merchant fleet."[61]

By the end of 1939, Latvian trade with Britain had been reduced to a bare minimum. A. Aizsilnieks cites final year figures for Latvian-British trade in 1939 of exports of 71.3 million lats, imports of 39.8 million lats and a balance of trade of + 31.5 million lats.[62] This would mean that in last four months of 1939 (and the first four months of the war) Latvia managed to export to Britain only 2.16 million lats worth of goods or 3.4% of the goods exported in the period (Table 6). However, Latvia imported from Britain in the last four months of 1939 goods worth 5.72 million lats or 9.3% of the goods imported in the period. Imports from and exports to Germany during this period were 32.2 million lats and 52.5% of total imports in the period and 35.2 million lats and 56.5% of total exports.

Table 6   **Comparison of Latvian-British trade for the period 01/09/1939–31/12/1939 with other trading partners in the same period**

Trading partner	Imports		Exports		Balance of trade
	Million Ls	**% of total imports in the period**	**Million Ls**	**% of total exports in the period**	
Britain	5.72	9.3	2.16	3.4	–3.56
Germany	32.23	52.5	35.19	56.5	2.96
USSR	6.17	10.0	6.87	11.0	0.70
Denmark	0.65	1.1	1.14	1.8	0.49
Sweden	1.84	3.0	3.37	5.4	1.53
Estonia	0.54	0.1	0.38	0.1	–0.16
Lithuania	0.68	1.1	0.38	0.1	–0.30

Source: Calculated with figures are taken from *Strukturbericht über das Ostland. Teil I: Ostland in Zahlen*. – Rīga: Reichskommissar für das Ostland, 1942. – p. 57–58, and *Mēneša Biļetens Nr. 10* [Monthly Bulletin No. 10]. – Rīga: Valsts Statistiskā pārvalde, October 1939. – p. 1058–59, 1083–87.

Table 6 shows that not only did imports and exports fall dramatically in real terms compared to the previous eight months, but also as a percentage of total trade in the period. Interestingly, for the first time in many years, according to the Latvian figures imports exceeded exports with imports

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[61] *Latvian Economic Review*. – No. 1(17), January 1940. – p. 28.

[62] Aizsilnieks (1968), op. cit. – p. 797 – these figures are taken from Strukturbericht *über das Ostland. Teil I: Ostland in Zahlen*. – Rīga: Reichskommissar für das Ostland, 1942. – p. 57–58.

being nearly 2½ greater in money terms than exports.[63] Moreover, despite the difficulties imports from Britain were nearly the same as imports from USSR in the period.

Details of the structure of the imports and exports to and from Britain can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7   **Main UK Imports from and Exports to Latvia by month**
        (September 1939 – December 1939)

Month	Imports			Exports		
	Name of goods	Quantity	Value (£)	Name of goods	Quantity	Value (£)
September	Bacon	2520 cwt	10787	Coal	19 815 t	17896
	Other meat	n/a	2062			
	Butter	8484 cwt	37614	Herrings	4613 cwt	4736
	Other dairy produce	n/a	113			
	Wood & timber	n/a	60895			
	Flax etc.	61 t	3713			
	Plywood	54 817 t	18279			
	Other manufact. wood	n/a	1640			
October	Bacon	573 cwt	3240	Coal	39 971 t	39396
	Wood & timber	n/a	279			
	Plywood	261 t	72			
	Other manufact. wood	n/a	1937			
November	Bacon	3060 cwt	17136	Coal	16 628 t	17764
	Butter	5109 cwt	37043			
	Plywood	15,366 t	9821			
	Other manufact. wood	n/a	2020			
December	Bacon	4801 cwt	26014	Coal	23 124 t	25374
	Butter	7835 cwt	49206			
	Plywood	1040 t	443			
	Other manufact. wood	n/a	473			

Source: Complied from Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation in the United Kingdom, September, October, November, December 1939, HMSO, Board of Trade.

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[63] As this is a difference in prices, this suggests that the cost of imports rather than the quantity of imports rose 2½ times.

Swedish archival data also sheds some light the types of goods exported and imported through the Scandinavian countries to and from Britain.

An analysis of Swedish transit trade data[64] (Table 8) gained from the archives of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs[65] show that on the basis of Swedish export transit licences issued, Latvia mainly exported bacon and butter through Sweden to Norway and on to Britain.

Table 8   **Swedish Export Transit Licences Issued for Latvian Export Trade to Britain 09/1939 to 01/1940**
(Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Mth/Year	Swedish Port of Entry	Ship	Transit to	Goods	Quantity
09/1939	Kalmar	Ūtēna	Gothenburg and thence to UK	Bacon Ham	47.7 t 194 kg
09/1939	Kalmar	Sialliai	Gothenburg and thence to UK	Butter	114 t
10/1939	Sundsvall	Kretinga	Trondheim and thence to UK	Butter	32 t
10/1939	Sundsvall	Paņevezys	Norway	Butter	400 t
10/1939	Sundsvall	Kretinga	Norway	Butter Bacon	126 t 89 t
11/1939	Sundsvall	Ūtēna	Norway	Bacon	40 t
11/1939	Sundsvall	Ūtēna	Norway	Bacon	90 t
11/1939	Sundsvall	Marijampole	Norway	Butter	60 t
12/1939	Stockholm	Ogre	Stockholm and thence to London	Fruit Conserves	60 t
12/1939	Sundsvall	Atis Kronvalds	Norway	Bacon Butter	270 t 145 t
01/1940	Stockholm	Konung Oscar	Norway	Ham	63.3 t

Source: Compiled from National Archive in Stockholm, Utrikesdepartementet, 1920 års dossier – system, H 2606.

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[64] It is interesting that Sweden has not published any official statistics on transit trade for 1939 and 1940, then or now. The existing data would indicate an intensive cross-Baltic trade. For example, the date of arrival of the *Atis Kronvalds* in Sundsvall according to the export transit licence is 18.12.1939, yet we know that she was seized by the Germans on 24.12.1939. She was also carrying according to a licence issued to Lithuania 465 tons of Lithuanian bacon to Sundsvall. Thus, it seems that the *Atis Kronvalds* was seized on a second voyage closely on the heels of a successful first voyage.

[65] National Archives in Stockholm, Utrikesdepartementet, 1920 års dossier – system, H, vol. 2606.

From Table 8 we can see that in the period between September 1939 and January 1940, Latvia exported to Britain 536.7 tons of bacon, 63.5 tons of ham and 877 tons of butter, as well as 60 tons of fruit conserves through Scandinavia. Clearly all of the transit cargoes were ultimately destined for Britain, although not all issued licences showed this.

Latvia of course not only exported, but also imported from Britain during this period. Another Swedish source, the *Statens Handelskommission* [State Trade Commission], kept more detailed statistics regarding transit licences for goods transiting Sweden to Latvia.[66] These statistics reveal that for the period from 1 September 1939 to 17 June 1940 the main imports from Britain to Latvia were for the textile industry (33.7% of all goods transiting Sweden to Latvia) – wool and cotton (raw, yarns and threads, clothes, goods and waste), jute (sacks, cloth, packing) and accessories (zippers, buttons, needles). Other imports included food products (salted herring, oranges, coffee, tea, cocoa beans, pepper) – 46.5% of all goods transiting Sweden to Latvia[67], rubber and rubber products – 3%, iron and steel plate – 8.7%, metals and metal products (brass, tin plate, ball bearings, lead alloy, antifriction metal, transmission chains and parts) – 4.9%, manufactured and machine goods – 2.4%, electrical materials (cable, wire) – 0.2%, photographic film and paper – 0.3%, and personal effects – 0.3%. The *Statens Handelskommission* data (Table 9) also provides some additional figures for Latvian exports to Britain.

Table 9   **Swedish Export Transit Licences Issued for Latvian Export Trade to Britain 09/1939 to 04/1940** *(Statens Handelskommission)*

Mth/Year	Goods	Quantity
09/1939	Flax and flax waste	170 t
10/1939	Flax and flax waste	300 t
11/1939	Flax and flax waste	1323 t
12/1939	Sweetened berries Pig bristles Linseed	90 t 1.1 t 41 t
01/1949	Conserved ham Flax and flax waste	20.8 t 57.2 t
04/1940	Flax and flax waste	116 t

Source: Compiled from National Archives in Arninge, Sweden, Statens handelskommission, 1939 års, statistiska avdelningen, vol. 25.

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[66] National Archives in Arninge, Statens handelskommission, 1939 års, statistiska avdelningen, vol. 25.

[67] One large shipment of salted herrings in December 1939 made up the bulk of food imports (93%).

From Table 9 we can see that in addition to butter and bacon exports, 1966.2 tons of flax and flax waste, as well as 41 tons of linseed and other goods were exported to Britain via Sweden in the period between September 1939 and April 1940.

Maintaining Trade Links Despite War – Second Phase: January–April 1940

Clearly, the commencement of the Second World War was a disaster for Latvian-British trade or as Lane put it, "British trade with the Baltic States was decimated by the onset of war in 1939 … The collapse was all the more striking in view of the prosperous trade relations which had developed … after 1933."[68]

However, trade there was. Despite many official announcements that trade with Britain had ceased (mainly to placate the Germans) some minor trade continued.[69] The Consul General of Latvia in Norway, A. Wannag, in reply to a letter from the Latvia Foreign Ministry on 2 January 1940[70] noted that if the bill of lading was made out for goods as transit goods through Norway then the Norwegians would not detain them. Similarly, Sweden had a transit clause that was based upon Anglo-Swedish agreements.

A "Pro-memoria" dated 24 January 1940[71] indicated that the British had requested that the Baltic States send a combined delegation to London for economic talks. However, for various reasons including prolonged trade talks with Germany, the other Baltic States could not send anyone and Latvia sent a delegation led by the director of the Latvian Mortgage bank, G. Bisenieks.[72] The talks commenced on 26 February, but came to nothing as the Latvian side could not agree to reduce trade with Germany, and Britain could not guarantee the safety of Latvian cargoes and ships to and from Britain.[73] A successful outcome of the talks could not have been expected given by the negative attitude of the Ministry of Food which at an interdepartmental meeting to consider policy to be adopted in the forthcoming trade negotiations with Latvia held on 21.02.1940

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[68] Lane (1994), op. cit. – p. 291.

[69] Stranga (1994/1), op. cit. – p. 22.

[70] LVVA, 2575.f., 13.apr., 2.l., p. 48.

[71] LVVA, 2574.f., 4.apr., 3281.l., p. 31.

[72] Zunda (1998), op. cit. – p. 213. Bisenieks was a former Latvian envoy to Great Britain.

[73] A memorandum submitted by the British Ministry of Economic Warfare in anticipation of the talks noted that "the route via Sweden is unlikely to be safe any longer. The alternative route via Costantza in Rumania, for produce, and via Odessa [in the Soviet Union] for flax is being investigated". (PRO, T160/1079/F. 13456/016)

categorically stated that the Ministry did not wish to purchase butter and bacon from the Baltic States (sic!).[74]

On 25 January 1940, the German submarine *U-19* torpedoed the Latvian ship *Everene* (4434 BRT) near the British east coast loaded with coal, linoleum and tar enroute from Blight to Rīga.[75] The crew were rescued by the Latvian ship *Dole* (3811 BRT) (also loaded with coal for Latvia), which also picked up four seamen from the torpedoed Norwegian ship *Gudveig*.[76] On 29 January 1940, a German bomber attacked and damaged the Latvian ship *Tautmīla* (3724 BRT), which was on its way to Britain. It was towed for repairs to Rotterdam.[77] The Latvian ship *Valdona* ran onto a mine on 7 March 1940 and had to be towed for repairs to Rotterdam.[78] On 19 April 1940, the Latvian ship *Jaunjelgava* (1290 BRT) was sunk off the north coast of Germany.[79] In February and March 1940,[80] the Germans commenced arresting Latvian ships with goods addressed to Sweden on the pretext that they had on board peas and vetch, which were not mentioned in the 15 December 1939 agreement regarding the so-called "Nordseeroute". The Germans had a categorical demand that nothing be exported to Britain.[81]

The extent of trade in the first three months of 1940 is shown in Table 10, which is based upon a secret document prepared for the Latvian government by the Latvian State Statistics administration.

Table 10 shows the inconsequential amount trade that got through the German blockade, especially in terms of exports, and again, as in the last four months of 1939, imports from Great Britain were substantially higher than exports.[82] A more detailed picture of the size and structure of this trade can be seen in Table 11.

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[74] PRO, BT 11/1260.

[75] Bersone I. et. al. *Latvijas Republikas tirdzniecības flote un tās traģiskais liktenis 1940–1945* [The Republic of Latvia Merchant Fleet and its Tragic Fate 1940–1945]. – Rīga: Zinātne, 1994. – p. 12; and *Latvijas Jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*, op. cit. – p. 166.

[76] *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*, op. cit. – p. 162.

[77] LVVA, 2575.f., 13.apr., 6.l., p. 2; Andersons (1984), op. cit. – p. 303–304; and *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*, op. cit. – p. 203.

[78] *Latvijas jūrniecības vēsture 1850–1950*, op. cit. – p. 205.

[79] Bersone I. et. al. (1994), op. cit. – p. 12.

[80] LVVA, 2574.f., 4.apr., 3281.l., p. 5.

[81] LVVA, 2574.f., 3.apr. 3279.l., p. 46–47.

[82] See footnote No. 62.

Table 10 **Comparison of Latvian-British trade for the period**
          01/01/1940–31/03/1940 with other trading partners in the same period

Trading partner	Imports		Exports		Balance of trade
	Million Ls	% of total imports in the period	Million Ls	% of total exports in the period	
Britain	0.88	2.6	0.04	0.1	−0.84
Germany	14.65	42.6	13.2	38.4	−1.45
USSR	9,80	28.5	12.9	37.5	3.1
Denmark	0.22	1.4	0.02	0.1	−0.20
Sweden	0.56	1.6	1.1	3.2	0.54
Norway	0.29	0.8	0.001	0.0	−0.29
Estonia	0.98	2.9	0.34	1.0	−0.64
Lithuania	0.90	2.6	0.26	0.8	−0.64

Source: LVVA, 1314.f., 5.apr., 100.l., p. 39–40.

Table 11 **Main UK Imports from and Exports to Latvia by month**
          (January 1940 – April 1940)

Month	Imports			Exports		
	Name of goods	Quantity	Value (£)	Name of goods	Quantity	Value (£)
1940						
January	Plywood	14 782 t	8915	–	–	–
	Other manufact. wood	n/a	6787			
February	–	–	–	Coal	16 486 t	18659
March	Plywood	1927 t	2334	–	–	–
April	Plywood	238 t	1838	–	–	–

Source: Complied from Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation in the United Kingdom, January, February, March, April 1940, HMSO, Board of Trade.

Germany continued to dominate Latvian foreign trade in this period with the USSR (as a result of the trade treaty) being the other dominant partner. The main exports as a whole during this period were live pigs, bacon, butter, timber and timber products (including plywood), flax and linseed. The main imports were coal, coke, metals, petroleum products, raw cotton and wool, and mineral oils.

Maintaining Trade Links Despite War – Third and last Phase: April–June 1940

With the commencement of the German offensive in the West, all vestiges of trade with Britain disappeared. The rapid occupation of Denmark and Norway in April 1940 put paid to any thoughts of further utilising the Sweden-Norway transhipping route or even the often discussed, but seldom used route via the coastal waters of Sweden, Denmark and Norway. By early June 1940, the Germans were suffering an acute shortage of shipping in the Baltic Sea and as Lulea port in Sweden was open for iron ore shipments they started to put pressure on Latvia and the other neutral states around the Baltic Sea (Sweden, Finland etc.) to mobilise all free tonnage in the Baltic for the carrying of iron ore.[83] This issue was to be resolved by 17 June 1940.

On 17 June 1940, Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union.

Conclusions

This paper has briefly analysed the course of trade between Latvia and Great Britain during the interwar period. Trade with Britain always had a high profile in Latvia, and by 1938 made up some 42% of all Latvian foreign trade. Latvian exports to Britain were dominated by agricultural products such as butter, bacon, eggs, flax, timber and wood products. Imports from Britain were mainly coal, coke, herrings, and raw materials for the textile industry, various metal products, and wool and cotton goods.

The beginning of the Second World War in September 1939, made it difficult for the Baltic States to continue their export trade with Great Britain despite declarations of absolute neutrality. The Germans had effectively blocked Baltic Sea outlets to the North Sea and thence to Britain. It is clear that from the commencement of the war, the Latvian government was under no illusions as to the viability of maintaining trade links outside of the Baltic Sea area. Under the urging of the British government Latvia examined various alternatives to maintaining some sort of trade links with Great Britain, mainly so as not to become too dependent upon trade with the USSR and Germany and also to ensure favourable treatment from Great Britain after the war.

In the absence of British naval protection in the Baltic Sea, alternative routes for Latvian exports to Great Britain were suggested by British authorities to maintain trade with the Baltic States. Two alternatives were

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[83] Confidential memo from A. Kampe (Director of the Legal Dept. in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to the Foreign Minister. – LVVA, 1314.f., 5.apr., 100.l., p. 8–13.

suggested. One was the shipment of exports to Sweden via Finnish or Swedish territorial waters and further through Swedish/Danish/Norwegian territorial waters to Britain. This was extremely difficult due to the increased German naval activity in the region. The alternative route was to ship exports to a Swedish port, transit Sweden by rail to a Norwegian port, and reship to Britain. This proved to be the only viable way despite the fact that it was the most expensive adding some 22% to overall costs in 1939.

The Swedish transit data confirms that the preferred route for Latvian agricultural exports in the period between September 1939 and April 1940 was to Swedish ports, by rail to Norwegian ports and thence to Britain. Imports came by the same or directly to Swedish ports (especially Gothenburg) in neutral ships.

By 1940, even this trickle of trade had almost stopped and both routes were finally closed by the German invasion and occupation of Denmark and Norway in April 1940. The whole issue became academic with the invasion and occupation of Latvia by the Soviet Union on 17 June 1940.

WHAT IS A LATVIAN? IMAGE OF A LATVIAN PEASANT OUT-MIGRANT IN RUSSIA IN THE EYES OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES (1860S TO 1914)

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Abstract

The article is an examination of the way in which the image of Latvian out-migrants in Russia was established and developed during the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century.

The article in a context of a particular example actualises several problems: the role of human capital in chain migrations, factors and obstacles which shaped the image of the newcomers within the Russia's peasantry, link between the image of out-migrants and aspects of their identity.

The specific characteristics of the Latvian peasant out-migration within the Russian Empire were: involvement of comparatively big part of the ethnos (to 8–10% to 1914) in the out-migration; Latvian out-migrants as better educated and skilled than local inhabitants in the territories they arrived; shaping the identity of migrants and image of migration developed simultaneously with the national movement.

In the viewpoint of local peasants and local governmental authorities in Russia the image of the new Latvian colonists mostly was positive because of the skills and knowledge. The image of new colonists in the eyes local peasants mostly was shaped locally and it was rarely influenced by the political actualities as the Revolution of 1905 which changed the image of Latvians in the eyes of the reading public or governmental authorities.

The skills, knowledge and achievements (human capital) of the Latvian colonists furthered chain migration of the Latvian peasants to Russian provinces and special interest from the side of landowners. The interest about the way of life of the out-migrants grew also during the modernisation of the Empire's agriculture in the beginning of the 20th century. This was determined by the single-family farm system of Latvian (as well as Estonian or Polish) peasantry instead of the village system as in the central regions of the Russian Empire. Thus because of the human capital of the out-migrants and influence of the shift of the governmental policies, the social capital (besides the individual, family or local community contacts) of the Latvian out-migrants grew.

Keywords: Migration history, peasantry, colonisation, out-migration, image, identity.

Introduction

This article is an examination of the way in which the image of Latvian peasants who moved from the Kurzeme (Courland) and Vidzeme (Livland) provinces to other Russian provinces was established and the main characteristics of this process during the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

The article is based on a study of historical sources, although the author has also used issues of the anthropological approaches toward migration analysis. The community of migrants is analysed on the basis of the idea that the skills and knowledge of migrants (i.e., human capital) shapes the image of the travellers in the context of the experience of local residents. A positive image for immigrants can ensure ongoing (chain) migration, thus influencing the "social capital" of individual migrants or groups of migrants.

The author has made use of Latvian periodicals, materials from Russian newspapers, as well as documents from various state archives. The amount of data about the image of Latvian colonists in terms of issues related to their new places of residence is fairly scant, given that the environment of Russian famers usually involved the circulation of spoken, as opposed to written information. The situation with sources complicates the study of other micro-level (anthropological) issues in the history of migration among Russian peasants. We must also take into account the secondary nature of some sources, as well as the fact that the Latvian press involved a certain ideological context, which makes it more difficult to identify different aspects of how images were created.

Theoretical and Historical Context of the Issue

Theoretical Context

As a result of the specifics of sources and various aspects of research development, micro-level research of the history of migration in Latvia and the entire former Russian Empire is comparatively weakly developed than elsewhere in Europe. Also theoretical research has mostly been based on empirical materials from Western Europe. Today, however, the development of how the history of migration is studied is governed specifically by the level of detail right down to micro-level decisions. Also of significance are various aspects of integration and identity, and these are substantially influenced by the scope of research and the ability to engage in comparative research. It is specifically the examination of the situation in concrete communities that can encourage a debate about, for instance, the human and social capital which relates to migration (Kok: 2010; Foner: 2005).

Students of the history of migration have, to a comparative degree, engaged in greater debates about the identity of migrants, and yet the image of such people has had a direct and substantial influence on the establishment of their identity in their new places of residence. Moreover, the image of colonists is not just an issue of ethnicity or other belonging. In Russia's political context, for instance, the emergence of the image of ethnic minorities such as Latvians, Estonians and Poles reflected efforts at Russification and the effects thereof. Differences in images in different social environments pointed to the ineffective nature of the ideological aspects of the policy of Russification, as well as the importance of regional (national) differences in the Empire.

Studies of the interaction between migration and culture are nothing new, but it is still essential to avoid tendencies of simplification in this area. It has been stated with good reason that there are still clichés in relation to emigrants "whose roots have been torn from their motherland," as well as to the way in which relationships in new living environments developed (Harzig, 2009: 64–66). These ideas are linked to the simplified self-image of many groups of colonists (not least in the Baltic region), and they have been reproduced in historiography ("People oppressed in their motherland who courageously begin life in an alien environment"). Criticism is also based on the very complicated experience with migration that has been developed in the United States and Western Europe. Colonies of immigrants to Russia's rural areas in the 19th century were often limited in terms of interrelationships. They were self-sufficient enclaves of culture and lifestyles, and "external" things such as political influence and mutual influences were of lesser importance under such circumstances. This is clear. And yet the cultural "exchange of experience" (acculturation) which occurred as a result of migration was not based exclusively on the surrounding circumstances or the conditional integration or even assimilation policies of the state over the course of one or two generations. On the contrary, when it came to Latvians in Russia, it was characteristic for local residents to absorb the experience of the incoming ethno-cultural group to a comparatively intensive degree.

Historical Context

Latvian peasants who travelled to other Russian provinces from their ethnic territory were a part of the mix in migration in Russia during the latter half of the 19th century, but there were certain specifics to them in terms of the Russian context. Baltic agriculture was more intensively developed than was the case in other parts of the Russian Empire, the farming system was organised differently. Latvians intensively moved to economically deteriorated private estates and forested areas, as well as to

properties owned by the state. They set up single family farms, as opposed to living in farming villages. Latvians also maintained contacts with their motherland (at least via the press), and they made use of their experience with education and public life in the Baltic provinces.

The 1897 census showed that approximately 112 000 Latvians were living in parts of the Russian Empire other than what is the territory of Latvia at this time, which largely coincided with basic ethnic territories (Pervaja: 1905, 7). Before World War I, at least 150 000 Latvians lived outside of Latvia in the Russian Empire. They were not a marginal group; indeed, they represented 8–10% of the total population of Latvians. Approximately 70% of these out-migrants lived in rural areas, mostly in territories populated by Russians, Belarusians and Lithuanians – in areas which were proximate to the Baltic provinces. Some moved to other provinces, including ones populated by Tatars, Bashkirs and others.

The desire of the colonists to live in the same place and to receive individual governance rights was understandable for reasons of language and other elements of belonging. Another important factor in this was the Latvian national movement which had developed rapidly ever since the 1860s. It related to a sense of belonging and led to demands among farmers for further emancipation.

Farmers who moved to the Minsk province were allowed to set up a separate administrative unit in 1870, and they were very thankful for this: "We fully appreciate the extensive right to self-governance which the Emperor has granted to rural residents in Russia – rights which are still alien in Kurzeme. We dare say that all of our efforts will be justified in the things that we do," they wrote (NIAB, 242-1-1391-8). This indicated that people were offended about the socioeconomic situation in the Baltic provinces, that they had an understanding of the inequality of rights, and that they believed in their own ability to ensure administrative and economic independence. In the Latvian press, at least, the achievement and image of Latvian colonists and encouragement for people to improve their lives were closely linked to the manifestation of national belonging. This is difficult to prove via other sources, but it is presumable that the national movement of Latvians or, for that matter, Estonians played an important role in shaping the identity and image of colonists.

Latvians did not want to live in Russian villages because of differences in lifestyles, but particularly because of the system of villages. Only in some cases did Estonians and, presumably, also Latvians make payments to Russian farmers in the Pskov province so that they would accept new residents in their village and provide them with land. This happened seldom, however, and the same can be said about individual rental or purchase of land. Groups of individual farms were established in most

cases. The colonists did not cause any direct economic harm in the places to which they moved, because they did not necessarily have to receive the land property in villages (*nadel)*. They also increased the tax revenues. There were, however, instances in which locals had an unfavourable attitude toward colonists, believing that they would endanger their ability to expand their farms in future (Nekatoryha dannyja, 1883: 66–72). The fact is, however, that this had more to do with the idea that farmers would be competitors than with the issue of whether it was Latvians or Russians who became colonists.

Contacts between Latvians and Russians developed in a fragmentary way during the early 20th century via economic associations, lectures, courses and personal contacts. At the same time, however, most Latvians were loath to marry local residents, even though local men were happy to marry Latvian women because of their household skills (Latvieši Baltkrievijā, 1913).

Specifics in the Shaping of Images

The literature usually identifies several aspects which influence image – the strategy of migration, the role of colonists in the socioeconomic structure, cultural experiences (skills, views about the local situation, coincidence of norms of behaviour), cultural markers (appearance, language, food, homes); contacts – the links of the colonist with the new place of residence (the first colonists or "chain migrants"); ethnic stereotypes and national ideology (groups in specific boundaries, both in terms of traditional experience and national policy, particularly under conditions of international migration) (Leonardo, 1994: 108–112).

There were at least three levels at which the image of Latvian farmers (and/or Latvian colonists) in the Russian Empire were established – the basic mass of residents, the reading public (i.e., not just literate people, but also those who consumed the print media), and the elite level (official policies and the economically and politically influential stratum in society with its own interests). In the second two groups, the mechanism for establishing the image, of course, was more "construed," based on political/strategic interests, with supporters and opponents of political viewpoints, and the relevant biases (language, religious denominations, single-family farms or systems of villages, etc.).

In the context of 19th century colonisation rural-rural migration in Russia, the social conditions which related to the emergence of people's images in the agricultural environment were comparatively simple. The labour market was not complicated and mostly semi-subsistence farms were established. The image of colonists was based primarily on personal

experiences and exchanges of spoken information. Migration also had much to do with the emergence of the image of the entire ethnic group, because the colonists largely served as "representatives" for their ethnos.

When it comes to the image of Latvian colonists in the new environment, it can be said that they were peasants, different in terms of language and tradition, who lived in fairly harsh circumstances. Initially they lived in primitive buildings, but managed to improve their economic situation. A lack of understanding related to the different nature of the colonists eventually turned into an acceptance or even adaptation of specific experiences (No Volhovas, 1908). Still, the different nature of the colonists was judged with a certain amount of caution about that which was different. An unusual, but not unique example of this was recorded in the Kostroma province, where local Russians told Latvians that potatoes could only grow in gardens, not in fields. After the first successful harvest, the Russians guessed that "Latvians were working with the help of evil spirits" (Ports, 1883). There were also considerations apart from "rational" experience when it came to influences on images. And yet without many economic complaints, the Russian farm environment was not one in which poor relations between locals and colonists could be developed. True, evaluations were negative in those cases in which colonists acted opposite to the hopes of civil servants or legal norms (NIAB, 2254-2-174).

Because of the circulation of information and the closed lifestyle of Latvian colonists, traditional cultural specifics remained durable. The characterisation of the image of colonists, in turn, was based on concrete considerations – external appearance, job skills and lifestyles. From today's perspective, it is possible to judge the objective prerequisites for the emergence of this image, at least in part. The different experience of the Baltic provinces in this regard have to be reflected not just as a fragmentary phenomenon or an incident that differed from the specifics of the governing system, but instead as a different example in nearly all areas in terms of experience with lifestyles.

Government policies did not have much of an impact on the farming community. Official views about the future of the Baltic provinces, the policy of Russification, and attitudes toward Latvians after the Revolution of 1905 had little effect on the views of those in the lower layers of society. This had more to do with the issue of overall policies in the Baltic region which, after the revolution, was also linked to the image of Latvians, and the sources of establishing or changing the image can be found in the political line of the empire's overall policy of Russification.

During the last decade of the 19th century and the early 20th century, Latvians had sufficient resources and motivation to reflect more actively in relation to aspects of their image. The need for a more objective reflection

of the situation of Latvians among literate Russians was particularly important after the 1905 Revolution so as to change or influence the dominant Russian and Baltic German informational space (Kāda balss, 1911). And yet these events did not have any effect on the peasantry of Russia.

The image of Latvians as revolutionaries mostly affected the attitude of government institutions and literate members of society. Russian educational institutions, which Latvians were attending, made statements about Latvians as revolutionaries who were trying to get other students to read illegal literature (No Vjazjes, 1908). An article from southern Russia in 1909 stated that "via the movement of unrest, the good reputation of Latvians has suffered a great deal of damage. Everyone in inner Russia knows this. Each educated Russian is familiar with the names of Tukums and Aizpute from newspaper reports in 1905" (Vēstules, 1909). At the same time, however, the revolution and the emigration or deportation of revolutionaries had only a fragmentary and regionally very diverse role in the colonies of Latvian farmers. The average Russian farmer probably did not think much about the proportion of Latvians in the world of maintaining a shoreline of Russian lighthouses, though there were several articles in the Russian press which considered that to be dangerous (Novoe Vremya, 1912). There is, however, knowledge about illegal revolutionary activities among the colonists in the Ufa province, which really did lead to a negative reaction from the local and provincial regime (Spricenieks, 1912; CGIA RB, I-187-1-354-1). There has also been documentation of several negative attitudes in the Pskov province (Pleskavas asinsplūdi, 1908).

A more specific image of Latvians was established in those regions to which Latvian colonists moved. At the same time, however, further migration in the late 19th and early 20th century led to a more widespread image of "Western colonists." During the early 20th century, there was a documented event in a colony in Siberia during which Belarusian farmers judged Latvian colonists on the basis of previous contacts in colonies such as those at Vitebsk or Mogilev. "Aha! You're Latvians? That means that you must be wise, because your nation turned useless land into fruitful land as if they were magicians. We couldn't live there, but they are living there now" (Lācis, 1909). The main factor in disseminating the experience of Latvians in the early 20th century was the facilitation of a system of single family farms. This trend did not mean, however, that Russian peasants who had no contacts with Latvians shaped a concrete image of Latvians in the early 20th century.

Elements in the Image of Latvian Farmers-colonists

Language

Language was very important in setting the "external boundaries" the communities of colonists. Religious, regional and other differences were an "internal affair" for the colonists, particularly up until the end of the 19th century. Unification of the education system led to an increase in the proportion of colonists who spoke Russian. When the policies of Russification were intensified in the 1880s, the Department of Religious Affairs of the Interior Ministry was worried about the fact that institutional documents did not show that some colonists from the Baltic provinces belonged to the Orthodox Church, and so because these colonists did not speak Russian, "they ended up in the hands of Lutheran clergy and often became Lutherans themselves" (NIAB, 1416-2-16532-1). It is clear that under such circumstances, language and traditions were far more important than the Orthodox faith which Latvian farmers had adopted. Although this satisfied the interests of Russification policies, it could not immediately affect language, for instance.

During the early 20th century, the small and peripheral colonies experienced the opposite process – the importance of language gradually declined because of economic and other contacts. Until the beginning of World War I, however, this did not have too broad an effect on colonists.

Religion

Belonging to the Lutheran church in Russia seemed to be a clear identifier in the faith-based environment of 19th century farmers. As noted, however, there were concerns about the conversion of Orthodox people. A characteristic example occurred in the colony of Vidrey in the Mogilev province. In 1872, Orthodox colonists asked that the local Catholic chapel be turned into an Orthodox one. The former owner of the local estate was a Catholic, and he opposed this idea, saying that the Latvians should first draw close to the local (Belarusian) Orthodox priest and his congregation, adding that perhaps the colonists were not familiar with the system even though they had converted to Orthodoxy while still in the Baltic provinces. "I was witness to a case in which they refused to bury a woman who died in their environment in the local Orthodox cemetery. They forced the Orthodox priest to consecrate a separate cemetery which was distant from the Orthodox one. They buried their [Orthodox] compatriot there, but then other people in the colony died, and they were buried in their cemetery without the involvement of a priest at all" (NIAB, 2001-1-1083: 9). This clearly was an issue of many different aspects of identity, and presumably this had a role in the emergence of the image.

The state's denominational and linguistic policies are a different matter, but they had little influence on the everyday lives of Lutheran colonists. The issue related to formalities in some of the imperial institutions, the emergence of the image of other nationalities among the elite, and the literate segment of society. Governing policies led to conflicts, for instance, with Latvian students at the Teachers Seminary in Pskov who protested against being forced to attend Orthodox worship services. In 1897, they argued that non-Russians were being forced to do things on the basis of an unequal attitude vis-à-vis entrance exams and the like (GAPO, 67-1-120: 12). The director of the seminar suggested that the number of scholarships issued to Lutheran Latvians and Estonians be reduced because "peasants in the Baltic provinces are better supplied than our own Russian," adding that "it would only be fair" to limit or reject royal stipends for non-Russians, i.e., people who were not Orthodox in faith (GAPO, 67-1-120: 23). These statements represent a fairy unique characterisation of the way in which identities and images were established, keeping in mind the fact that the issue related to the residents of different regions in a single country.

System of Single Family Farms

Under the dominating system of villages, which existed in the Russian Empire during the latter half of the 19th century, individual farmsteads of the Latvian colonists was quite an unusual phenomenon. Single family farms were one of the most important factors which marked out the image of Latvian colonists.

The system of single family farms was not just as ethnographic issue. In the early 20th century, it also became an instrument for the modernisation of Russia's countryside. Ever since the late 19th century, this system gained praise among civil servants at different levels, and Latvians, Estonians and others who lived on single family farms set an example for others. This factor remained important in the early 20th century, when the number of Russians, Belarusians and others who lived on single family farms increased.

Farming Skills

Language, denominational belonging and the system of land use represented a fairly clear combination of markers related to ethnic belonging, but judgments about the skills, characteristics and appearances of Latvians were far more subjective. This showed the ambivalent nature of the mechanisms whereby images were established, and elements therein differed in each specific case.

The agricultural and technical experience of colonists was important in the agricultural environment. In Krapovitshi in the Vitebsk Province

and in other colonies, it was declared that Latvian farmers were seen as being "very highly developed and certainly people who set an example for others" (No Krapovičiem, 1907). An article from southern Russia in 1909 stated that "Latvians learned good characteristics at school, via newspapers, and through the battles of life in their fatherland, where land requires good processing and much effort. Latvians have also always lived under strict rulers who made them stronger" (Vēstules, 1909). The experience of the Baltic people was much appreciated, because their work yielded good results in the places to which they moved. Locals adapted very common things from the immigrants – planting potatoes in rows, not beds, intensive use of fertilisers, planting of grains, and sowing in some locations with scythes, as opposed to sickles (No Volhovas, 1908). Reports from Latvian colonies more often mentioned differences, which shaped the image of Latvians – hard work, durability, experience in animal farming (use of separators, planting of grasses, tending of livestock, skilful feeding of beef cattle), ancillary areas (growing vegetables and fruit, beekeeping), the system of sowing (multiple fields), the rational nature of farms, and the cleanliness of the farmsteads. The largest and most successful colonies of farmers were ones in which local farmers asked colonists for advice on various economic issues (Latvie u kolonija, 1908). In the early 20th century, indeed, local farmers sometimes joined farm associations or co-operatives, which were established by the Latvians.

This situation did create exaggerations about the Latvian situation in terms of the environment of farmers, in the local Russian press, and particularly among those who supported the single family farm system, because this created a fairly shallow understanding of the living conditions of the colonists. The newspaper *Smolyenskiy Vestnyik* wrote about a nearby colony in Latvians, arguing that "Latvians live with no concerns at all, and they say that they have no barren years at all. Grain, they say, grows and grows, and there are so many potatoes that they don't know what to do with them. … The potatoes from Latvians, it is said, cannot even be compared to those of our farmers" (Par Roslavļas, 1897). These publications had a didactic aspect – criticism of local farmers and calls or them to learn new experiences. The image of Latvians in such cases became more and more positive.

It is also true, however, that initially colonies of farmers involved heavy work, harsh everyday conditions and, initially, fairly primitive resources. The situation was dictated more by the fact that local residents in the Ufa province in 1877 were very much interested, for instance, in the import of a steel plough for a new Latvian farm. A study conducted in the late 19th century spoke particularly to the experience of Latvian farmers in the use of more modern agricultural tools (Veljecki, 1898: 350).

There were few purely interethnic conflicts that were registered during the era that is discussed here, but different conditions of competitiveness did emerge, and Latvian colonists themselves believed that Russian farmers "are fairly strong defenders of their ethnos against other nationalities, and they are quite friendly in terms of living together" (Smoļenska, 1886). In 1890, the Russian newspaper *Novoe Vremya* wrote about colonies in the Novgorod province, indicating that "even though Russian farmers respect Latvians and their personal characteristics, they believe that the Latvian colonies harmed their own welfare" (Par latvie u kolonistiem, 1890). In the Latvian press, in turn, there were statements of concern about the idea that the image might change if the economic demands of Russians increased in densely populated areas, with Latvians being seen through "completely unfavourable and unkind eyes," taking their good economic condition into account (No Inflantes, 1908).

There were some cases in which the establishment of a new Latvian colony led to dissatisfaction among locals in terms of competition over land (Par latviešiem Smoļenskas, 1900). When Latvians bought the Vatslavov estate in the Vitebsk province, for instance, the local residents who already had land began to demand additional land – not forestland, but cleared land prepared for sale when the estate was split up (NIAB 2510-1-295: 40). Similar competitive battles were also waged in other places.

Lifestyles, Traditions, Characteristics

The evaluation of colonists on semi-subsistence farms was also based in part on the skills which they had. For instance, civil servants at the Agricultural Land Bank prepared a report on people living in the Latvian colony of Adamovo-Niva in the Velyizh district, writing that the women were hard-working and skilled: "They do not lag behind the men, and they help to clear the forest, sow grain, and do similar work. They also produce various textiles which, in terms of their quality, are incomparably better than ordinary textiles produced by farmers." The report (1890) also says that the colonists may have been comparatively poorer, but they are "efficient, diligent and hard-working, and only one [of them] is lazy" (NIAB 2510-1-295: 51).

Smolyenskiy Vestnyik, for its part, wrote that "Latvians are strong and lank people. All of them read and write Latvian, and some read and write Russian, too. In addition to agriculture, they do good work as builders, carpenters, cobblers and tailors. They are particularly good at creating woven chairs, tables, etc., from hazelnut and oak branches. ... The hands of Latvian women can easily be called golden hands. They can weave fine textiles, scarves and cloth that is no worse than factory output in terms of prettiness, and is more durable, to boot. On holidays, all Latvians

wear nice clothing which they produce themselves. Their homes are very different from those of local farmers in terms of cleanliness, and they are reminiscent of wealthy citizens" (Par latviešiem Smoļenskas, 1900). The quality of homemade apparel and the care with which it was produced were also discussed in other articles (No Arhangeļskas, 1901). These everyday details were of importance to farmers, and in visible terms, this confirmed the economic superiority of the colonists.

Educational traditions were also of key importance in the establishment of image, and the Latvian traditions in this regard were quite different than those held by farmers in Russia, particularly up until the early 20th century. Latvian colonists established their own organisations. In the Ufa province, one author wrote with a certain amount of surprise that the local Latvian colonies were ones in which "all adults are literate, many subscribe to newspapers, and Austrumciems in the Arhangelsk volost has gone so far as to (!) request permission to open a library" (Perselency, 1898: 24).

The most subjective area of evaluation related to the characteristics of the people. Judging from reports in the Latvian press, ideas about the characteristics of Latvians were mostly positive in terms of the quality of their work and the ability to do that work. Latvians, one report said, work at a level of "admirable effort and incomparable durability" (No Krapovičiem, 1907). In southern Russia, Baltic colonists in Latvian colonies were described as hard-working, trustworthy, moral, and able to produce high-quality products (Latviešu dzīve, 1883).

The fact that Latvians tended to live on single family farms also created a specific concept about their characteristics. In 1890, for instance, *Novoe Vremya* wrote about Latvian colonists in the Novgorod province and described them as "serious and quiet people" (Par latvie u kolonistiem, 1890). A rather more vivid evaluation was published in a newspaper called *Zemkopis* in 1913 – "Russians are very egotistical in economic life, but on the other hand, they are also communalists. Latvians, by contrast, are typical individualists. … If Russian livestock or children trample their pastures or harm their orchards, this petty violation of the law will drive a Latvian individualist quite crazy" (Zelta zemes, 1913). The point here is that the system of single family farms and villages was not just an issue of organising local economies. Instead, it represented a whole set of ideas and relationships which separated "Western colonists" and local village residents, thus inevitably having an effect on their identity and image.

Latvians in the Eyes of Local Government Institutions and Landowners in Russia

One of the most important impacts of the positive image of immigrating Latvian peasants was that there were parts of the Russian Empire in which Latvian farmers were seen as positive examples. This led to the desire to invite Latvians to come to a concrete territory and colonise it.

Initially a great role in this was performed by the fact that members of the nobility had personal contacts in the Baltic provinces. They were familiar with the situation of Baltic farmers, including their work skills and their way of life. Some of the noblemen in what is now Belarus who invited Latvians to settle on their land were of German origin (NIAB, 242-1-1299: 4), or they had close contacts in the Baltic provinces (NIAB, 2001-1-1083: 9).

Latvians were seen as people who could fix up estates that had fallen into disrepair (NIAB 2510-1-134: 36). Some sources cite the reputation of Latvians as good workers at various estates in the Pskov province, where major landowners specifically looked for farm workers from the Vidzeme province (Nekatoryja dannyja, 1883: 69). People from Kurzeme, too, were invited to "colonise" several of the estates in the Novgorod province (No Novgorodas, 1889).

Once the process began, there was a "chain effect" in it. Invitations for Baltic farmers to rent or buy land increasingly related to the positive example set by earlier colonists. This was particularly typical in the early 20th century. The newspaper *Zemkopis* wrote in 1913 that parish boards "are full of half-ruined Russian noblemen who are offering their land to Latvian farmers" (Zelta zemes, 1913).

It goes without saying that the role of Latvians, Estonians and Germans in developing local economies attracted the attention not just of individuals, but also of various provincial and national institutions which were interested in making use of the colonists' experience.

The positive influence of Latvians and Estonians was particularly appreciated in the Pskov province, as seen in reports filed by governors and civil servants on the subject of agricultural development. Early in the 20th century, these reports said that the colonists had substantially improved the culture of agriculture and developed entirely new sectors such as gardening (Baltijas guberņu, 1902). The Statistics committee of the Pskov province conducted a special study of the Latvian and Estonian colonists to learn about their situation, work abilities and economic achievements. The study was released in 1883 and said that Latvian colonists were setting good examples for local farmers, because "the local estate farms are all on the path of liquidation, as opposed to the introduction of rational forms of management" (Nekatoryja Dannyja, 1883: 71).

When the skills of colonists were discussed, the emphasis was usually on the importance of their previous experience. In the Ufa province, for instance, a description of one colony said that "it is evident that the colonists brought along knowledge about how to improve farms" (Pereselency, 1898: 94).

Of particular importance in the attitude of government institutions toward Latvians and their image was propaganda about the system of single family farms and attitudes toward that system in various circles. Lower-level institutions in particular could influence the views of local residents more effectively in the early 20th century, not least in terms of the image of Latvian farmers and colonists. Even during the late 19th century, the successful image of Latvian (as well as Estonian and other) single family farm owners was influenced in part by decisions taken on the rental of land. Agronomist Jānis Bergs argued that when Latvians were invited to colonise the Ufa province, the Department of Appanage laid hope on the "good reputation of Latvian farmers" in terms of their ability to do their work and to set an example for local residents (Bergs, 1894). The invitation was largely based on the fact that the director of the process, Prince Vyazemsky, defended the advantages of a system of single family farms in the late 19th century, and so advantage was given to those colonists who had been part of that system in the past (Par latviešu un igauņu, 1894). When the estate which was to be colonised was broken up, it was clearly stated that part of the land would be reserved specifically for Latvian colonists, while the rest would be given to Russian farmers under a different system of rights (CGIA RB, I-132-1-717: 4). In 1911, the newspaper *Latvija* wrote about the special role of individual officials in this process, writing that the governor of the Pskov province, Duke Adlerberg, was a fan of Latvians and that this was seen in the hiring of Latvians as district chefs and bureaucrats in the interior affairs system, as well as in the fact that Latvian farmers were seen as people who set a good example in terms of how farms should be run (No Pleskavas, 1911).

Also of importance in the process of inviting single family farm owners to colonise territories were bank activities. In or around 1909, the Kaluga branch of the Farmers' Land Bank asked the Rīga branch of the State Bank to help in facilitating the establishment of colonies of Latvian farmers in the Kaluga province, specifically because of the agricultural and technical experience of Latvians and the need to establish exemplary farms in the province (Latviešu aizkolonizēšana, 1909). Similarly, representatives of an agrarian bank in Smolensk visited the Kurzeme province in 1910 to seek colonists (Latvie us aicina, 1910). Banks, of course, wanted to earn a profit when Latvian farmers bought land, and they also hoped that local residents would follow the example that was set. And yet these examples also show

that the 1905 Revolution and the Latvians (including farmers) who took part in it did not have too deep an influence on the image of Latvians apart from the fairly non-specific category of "the nature of the nation" or the impressions of some civil servants.

The economic achievements of Latvians in the system of single family farms also ascertained belief in its advantages in the Pskov province and elsewhere. Note was taken of the great role which "Western colonists" played in the implementation of the system of single family farms throughout the western reaches of the Russian Empire (Šķilters, 1935: 43). Early in the 20th century, a group of farmers from the Chernyigov province visited the Orsh district of the Mogilev province at the suggestion of local officials to look at the single family farm system, which had been established there by Latvian colonists and to learn about the advantages and shortcomings of the system (Opisanie, 1908). This, of course, was very important in shaping the image of Latvian farmers. What's more, that image was established more broadly than was the case with local contacts between two different communities of farmers.

To be sure, government institutions also had negative attitudes about this. In the 1890s, a large number of Latvians moved to the Sterlitamak district of the Ufa province without the necessary contracts, and this created a series of problems for those who were renting out land. The situation was exacerbated by failed harvests and difficult living conditions. In this case, Latvians were seen as pushy, shameless and demanding people who made life difficult for various institutions with their endless petitions (Pereselency, 1895: 204).

Image of Latvians in Russia and Aspects of their Identity

The image of Latvians in Russia and the popularisation of their positive achievements in the Latvian press encouraged greater self-confidence, particularly among the colonists themselves. The community of farmers outside of their motherland very much needed a positive evaluation of their nation's experience and capabilities in order to preserve national identity. In the context of the Latvian national movement and the policy of Russification alike, it was important to make sure that it was prestigious to be a Latvian, at least in terms of the quality of the work that was done. This positive image was one of the specific aspects which helped to overcome the ambivalence of the mid-19th century, when people thought about whether it was disadvantageous to be a Latvian of peasant origin, particularly in terms of the "disadvantageous image" which prevailed on some occasions, especially in the Baltic provinces.

Latvian authors never failed to emphasise the positive characteristics of Latvians in the press. One of the most unashamed self-description of Latvians came in 1880 in relation to a colony in the Minsk province. One newspaper wrote that "people there are quite dumb (apart from the Latvians), but they are also very friendly" (Rudobelka, 1880). A more objective evaluation of the economic situation was based on a comparison of the situation of Latvians to that of farmers in Western Europe and Scandinavia. It was also true that the situation with the colonisation was critiqued in the Latvian press.

Baltic German newspapers also wrote about the positive evaluation of Latvians in Russia, and this was even true among the official publications of the Baltic provinces (Baltijas guberņu, 1902). To a certain extent this was meant to oppose the policy of Russification, albeit only at the level of ethnic stereotypes and emotions and without any concrete results. The Baltic German elite was somewhat interested in this, because the positive example set by the development of the Baltic province was highly evident, and that meant that the Baltic Germans, too, had engaged in positive work aimed at modernising the economic situation.

The ethnographer Matīss Siliņš wrote strictly in the early 20th century that Latvians "are not entrepreneurs, craftsmen or seafarers, and they do not seek the fame of a soldier. The Latvian is born a farmer" (Kāda balss, 1911). And yet the positive image of Latvian colonists in Russia poses the question of whether a critical self-image and the traditional evaluation of the "nature of a farmer" was really in line with the situation at the turn of the century. In contrast to what Siliņš wrote, this was a period when the work of Latvians, including Latvian colonists, was much more diverse, and farmers in many successful Latvian colonies learned various new jobs or otherwise demonstrated their ability to adapt to new circumstances so as to work successfully. The issue of the relationship between identity and image, of course, is multi-layered and complex, but the image of Latvians in Russia does show that many evaluations in the press which had an effect on aspects of identity were not really in line with the true achievements of Latvians.

Assimilation is another key issue on the context of image. The contacts of the first generation of colonists were limited by the fact that people did not speak much Russian and that they retained memories about the Baltic region. It was often written in the press that Latvians were mobilised to a certain extent by their isolation, with very proud statements about their difference from local residents (Ozols: 1903). The positive image, in turn, enhanced a sense of national belonging and the value thereof, not least in terms of the idea that it was a matter of honour to be a Latvian.

An unusual example of this was a discussion among Latvian colonists in 1910 – approximately 50 years after their colony had been established in the steppes of southern Russia. There was a meeting to discuss whether Latvians in the colony really needed to be Latvians, and at the end of the day it was concluded that "with very few exceptions, these Latvians are still very much nationalists, particularly in terms of older people." Of importance in this regard was a conclusion that was stated in the 1910 report: "If we take into account that they are fairly wealthy farmers who stand above local Russians in terms of wealth, education, and other factors, then 'nationalism' of this type is by no means so difficult to explain" (No dienvidus, 1910). This was an unambiguous link between aspects of Latvian identity on the one hand and the achievements of Latvians and the resultant image of Latvians on the other.

A different matter relates to those colonists who purposefully and largely because of the Baltic experience in the 19th century, presented themselves (in most cases) as Germans, not Latvians. This has little to do with the basic community of Latvian farmer-colonists, but it was quite common in cities (Smoļenska, 1886). Those Latvians who did not pretend to be Germans sometimes accepted the designation "Balt," particularly among estate governors and various civil servants, as well as in provinces where Latvians were few in number. By the early 20th century, however, Latvians were no longer pretending to be Germans, as many had done in the mid-19th century. Instead, they kept quiet about their nationality. This was not because of a negative image, but instead it had to do with self-confidence and a passive attitude toward the overall denial of ethnicity which supporters of the policy of Russification wished to see. Still, a letter sent from one of the provinces in central Russia in 1910 states that "the younger generation [of Latvians] bears with it a healthy love of nation" (Par latviešiem Krievijā, 1910).

Conclusions and Discussion

The establishment of the image of colonists is an issue which has not been addressed very much from the historical perspective, but it has an important role in the adaptation of colonists and the shift in their identity. If the emergence of an image is explained on the basis of concepts such as human capital and social capital, then the example of Latvian colonists shows that the qualities of human capital created a positive social image and this, in turn, facilitated further development of migration. Sadly, there is a lack of information about the use or rejection by Latvian farmers of opportunities created by the social capital that was improved by the positive image, but it is clear that various institutions hoped to make use of the experience of Latvian colonists. This positive image also had

a potential for facilitating self-image, but it is likely that the broad use or disuse of this in the shaping of national identity was influenced by public views of colonisation and the relevant colonists. Future research into the mechanisms of shaping image should be comparative (particularly in terms of the inter-ethnic context under the framework of a single final goal). The problem is that a shortage of studies and sources of information make it far more complicated to engage in sufficiently thorough anthropological research.

The image of Latvian colonists was mostly positive, and was influenced by the advantages of single family farms, as well as by the economic skills of the colonists. Local farmers adapted these skills, and it is understandable that language, denominational belonging and experiences in spiritual life were preserved as a gap between colonists and local residents even in those cases when one of the factors coincided (e.g., Orthodoxy as the denominational belonging). The experience of Latvians and other "Western colonists" in terms of single family farms was used as an example to facilitate the emergence of single family farms as an instrument for modernising Russian agriculture. Other factors related to national policies (Russification) or to major public processes and events (e.g., the 1905 Revolution) did not have a fundamental influence on the image of Latvians among Russian farmers. At the centre of attention, at the end of the day, were economic achievements, educational and public life experience, and other factors inherited from Baltic experience.

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ILZE ŠĶIPSNA'S PROSE AND WOMEN'S WRITING: WOMAN AND DOUBLE EXILE

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Abstract

The article analyses and interprets prose of Latvian exile woman writer Ilze Šķipsna (1928–1981) in the aspect of feminist literary theory. Feminist literary theory that concentrates on works written by women writers defines difference as seeking to subvert fixed, unitary meanings in favour of plurality and diversity. This kind of difference is also found in Šķipsna's prose where the idea about woman and double exile is closely connected to a woman's search for identity. One of the problems that Šķipsna explores in her prose is the question about a person's identity, especially, loss of identity that is closely tied to the exile problematic. Šķipsna uncovers a person's internal conflict and contrasting nature caring not so much about reasons for self – division as for the process itself. In search for one's identity the ambivalent mother – daughter relations, the notions of woman's language, woman and silence and woman's space are important as they talk about balancing ones past and present in order to reach continuity, and to be able to live a full life in present.

Keywords: Split identity, woman's language, mother-daughter relations, female space, home.

Introduction

In the situation of postmodernity there are no literary theories that can claim to absolute objectivity or fully distance from the research subject, therefore the aim of a literary theory is not to reach one truth, but rather to widen understanding about literature in general. Feminist literary theory has established gender as a fundamental category of literary analysis. It has deliberately transgressed traditional boundaries between literature, philosophy, and the social sciences in order to understand how gender has been constructed and represented through language.

During 1970–1980, feminist literary theory and criticism started to concentrate on woman's experience, woman's language and woman's text. Virginia Woolf, the English – speaking woman writer who is most frequently discussed with reference to sexual difference in writing, thinking about woman's writing has said: "A woman's writing is always feminine; it cannot help being feminine; at its best it is most feminine; the only difficulty lies in defining what we mean by feminine" (Showalter, 1985: 247). Anyone

looking to Woolf' s own work for some decisive answer about what is woman's writing, will be disappointed because at one moment she tells us that "it is fatal for anyone who writes to think of their sex", claiming that good literature is androgynous. At the same time Woolf makes reference to "a woman's sentence" and "the psychological sentence of the feminine gender", asserting that the sex of the author is transparent in "the first words in which either a man or a woman is described" (Eagleton, 1986: 203).

French feminist theory, on the other hand, offers an approach where the emphasis is laid on the difference and specificity of women outside the pattern of binary thought. Difference in this sense is not restricted to the opposition of male and female, it is an authentic difference set outside of the established system. Therefore, difference is redefined as seeking to subvert fixed, unitary meanings in favour of plurality and diversity; difference is redefined as a multiplicity, joyousness and heterogeneity which are that of textuality itself. This kind of difference can also be found in the prose of Latvian exile woman writer Ilze Šķipsna. Double exile in Šķipsna's prose is not only physical exile living outside one's homeland, but also the marginalised situation in which a woman is found when living and writing in a patriarchal society. The idea about woman and double exile is closely connected to a woman's search for identity, woman's language and space where women in Šķipsna's prose reside.

Šķipsna was born in 1928 in Riga. She left Latvia preceding the second Soviet occupation toward the end of 1944. After spending her "displaced person" years in the refugee camp in Fischback, Germany, she left for the United States where most of her life was spent in Texas. Šķipsna died in January 1981. Her major prose texts include two volumes of short stories: "Vēja stabules" (Wind Flutes) of 1961 and "Vidējā īstenība" (The Middle Reality) of 1974 and two novels: "Aiz septītā tilta" (Beyond the Seventh Bridge) of 1965 and "Neapsolītās zemes" (Unpromissed Lands) of 1970.

Being at the periphery, women might have an experience of exile that differs from that of men. Inta Ezergaile, the author of the volume "Nostalgia and Beyond: Eleven Latvian Women Writers" (1998) looks at the women writers' experience of exile and asking questions about those differences. Because most of the commentary on exile has been written by males predominantly about males, Ezergaile thinks that it is important to look at the exile from a woman's perspective: "In the differences imposed by gender, be they small or large, conscious or unconscious, there may be potential for dislodging the set ways of thinking about exile itself." (Ezergailis, 1998: 6) Ezergaile cites Jane Marcus who calls women's writing in exile "trilogic", as compared with Bakhtin's "double – voiced" discourse:

„She is already in exile by speaking his tongue, so further conditions of exile simply multiply the number of 'veils' and complicate the problem of exegesis" (Ezergailis, 1998: 270).

When women writers write about women, inscribing women's experience in culture by focusing on authentic women characters and the difference, they are putting woman into discourse. Alice Gardine in her work "Gynesis: Configurations of Woman and Modernity"(1989) talks about such process as "intrinsic to the condition of modernity; indeed, the valorisation of the feminine, woman, and her obligatory, that is historical connotations, as somehow intrinsic to new and necessary modes of thinking, writing, speaking." (Me kova, 2009: 26) Inscribing woman in text can mean new possibilities for stabilising the existing, masculine discourse through incorporation of difference. Used to marginality, women writers may be better able to find new ways of writing in which they can question and modify the traditional discourse.

Exile and the Split Identity

One of the problems that Šķipsna explores in her prose is the question about a person's identity, especially, loss of identity that is closely tied to the exile problematic. Often in the foreground of plot she puts self – division in contrasting poles and attempts to find one's true identity. Šķipsna uncovers a person's internal conflict and contrasting nature caring not so much about reasons for self – division as for the process itself.

The loss of identity is a natural reflection of the state of exile; however, the main themes in Šķipsna's prose go further than national identity or human existence in the 20th century. Šķipsna in her works also speaks of a woman's situation in the patriarchal society. Separation from one's native country can sharpen the sense of self and accentuate the self – division, leading to insight and a more complex understanding of one's true identity. Šķipsna's prose in a way is an attempt to deal with these divisions.

In the short story "The Strange Mournful History of an Orphan, or the Crossing" Šķipsna writes about young girl's split personality and her attempt to look for wholeness. Orphanhood in the story serves as a metaphor for exile, but the young girl's self – division mirrors the split between the adopted country and birthplace. It is possible to see Šķipsna's own experience as an exile reflected in the story – the main character is displaced from the world she knows to a strange environment, where she tries to find a balance between her past and present. Connection and continuity are important in this context. It is important for the orphan to straighten out the ties between the past and her life in the present in order to uncover her true identity.

The orphan is a young girl who is adopted after the tragic death of the adoptive family's real daughter Florensa. For Florensa's parents, especially her mother Mrs. Fellow, the orphan is a replacement for Florensa – she has to wear Florensa's clothes, live in Florensa's room, sit at Florensa's desk at school, and read Florensa's diary. Mrs. Fellow even expects Florensa's gestures and words to come from the orphan and gives silent approval when the orphan is able to produce them. During the four years that the orphan spends with the Fellows, she feels that Florensa's soul has started to form and grow inside of her own soul. The orphan also feels Florensa's tragic destiny approaching and fearing it she tries to look for her true identity.

On the outside shaped in Florensa's likeness, the orphan starts to lose her inner self as she is losing memories of her past. Those memories are deliberately erased by Mrs. Fellow knowing that a person without an identity can be easily shaped according to her rules:

> A girl of 14, without parents or home, going from one charitable hands to another, I was an empty vessel that was asking for fulfilment; while touching the world I was listening to my own strange sounds – clearly audible and feeble that echoed my emptiness; I was a being without my own place in the world, a person that I could hardly remember now because Mrs. Fellow had carefully guarded me from my own memories. … Sometimes I think that my life before arriving here would have been an existence in another world which gradually fades and disappears from my memory like a poem that you start reading and never finish. That poem can not be found in any book and it is impossible to recite it to anyone because it has a language of its own that no one understands. (Rabācs, 1984: 25)

Fading memories have a language of their own – it could be a national language that people around in exile don't understand, or it could be a woman's language, a language that is also related to silence. According to French feminist theory, women have to speak from and about the silence they know in order to obtain a voice of their own, the search for a woman's true identity has to start from the silence that resides inside of her.

The patriarchal society, the dominant order in the story is represented by Mrs. Fellow. Her gaze never softens; her eyes always follow everyone and she governs over her household and friends even if she is not present; her speech is always definite and purposeful, her laugh – controlled. The characterisation of Mrs. Fellow corresponds to that of a patriarchal order that marginalises and oppresses a woman's true identity in order to shape her into somebody else. The ending of the story is tragic – the orphan is struck by Florensa's destiny. It signals that the identity of Florensa that had

been forced on the orphan, could not be abandoned. Maybe she started to look for herself too late or maybe finding one's true identity in a given situation is even impossible.

The orphan has been subjected to the absolute destruction of her past through oppression of her memories. Her past, and with that the connection to and continuity in present, has stayed incomprehensible and that's why she has become a victim of the dominant order:

> Suddenly I could feel a strange joy and fear simultaneously that I will not be able to embody us both – Florensa and myself – for any longer … I don't know where I will go, but it will be far away where I will have a chance to look for myself. Do I still remember the sounds of my soul and silence, I am not certain; I only remember that they existed; so long I have avoided thinking about them, fearing that Mrs. Fellow's gaze will pierce and crush them. (Rabācs, 1984: 29)

The orphan has to create herself from her silence. Living under the gaze of Mrs. Fellow and obeying her rules (those rules are not always outspoken, but most times felt as omnipresent in every situation that the orphan finds herself in), the orphan had buried the thoughts about her deepest essence, her true self; she has forgotten her silence and all that is left is a faded memory about the existence of such a silence. Listening to the sounds of her soul and silence is the only way for the orphan to find the whole personality and escape from the embodying personality that has been forced on her because living in a forced identity leads to death.

However, sometimes a search for identity can be an attempt to unite two contrasting parts of one's personality. Šķipsna has written:

> I am certain that I am a "receiver" and not a "transmitter" person, although sometimes may seem the other way around. According to my not very scientific "research", people could be divided in two categories – in those who, to say the utmost, feel like the world is falling on them, and in those who feel themselves radiating and expanding in every direction around them. For me the dominant feeling is the first one… (Rabācs, 1984: 153)

In a way Šķipsna has separated those warring elements in her and put them each in its different place so that they could not come into collision.

The self – division is the main theme in Šķipsna's novel "Beyond the Seventh Bridge" (1965). The main characters of the novel are two women, two childhood friends Edīte and Solvīta. The novel has been written in first person and the perspective of narrator shifts between the main characters, allowing the reader to enter the mind of the narrator and to perceive the world from the narrator's subjective consciousness.

The life styles of Edīte and Solvīta are in contrast, at the same time they mutually complement each other. The view point of Edīte dominates in the novel. She is the one who has shut herself up in her own world, choosing to cultivate inner and outer exile in her life; locked up in her own reality, she doesn't care much about the outside world that in her perception is illogical and absurd. Solvīta, in contrast, confirms to life, looking for new adventures and accepts new challenges. She in a way symbolises Edīte's potential identity, all the opportunities that life offers and that Edīte chooses not to utilise.

Depression, suffering and exile furnish the aetiology for the doubling of characters. Julia Kristeva writes:

> Suffering unfurls its microcosm through the reverberation of char- acters. They are articulated as doubles, as in mirrors that magnify their melancholia … A double may hold, for a while, the instability of the same, giving it a temporary identity, but it mainly explores the same in depth, opening up an unsuspected, unfathomable sub- stance. The double is the unconscious substance of the same, that which threatens it and could engulf it. (Ezergailis, 1998: 65–66)

The important thing here is to find a whole personality in the contrasting selves.

Edīte admits that sometimes it is hard to separate her own thoughts from those of Solvīta. When somebody, seeing Edīte from the back, confuses her with Solvīta, Edīte thinks: „Do I have to be Solvīta or nobody?" (Šķipsna, 1965: 96) For Edīte it is a choice between being somebody else, the contrasting part of her split personality, or not to exist at all if she can't find her true identity by uniting those two parts of her personality.

When Šķipsna talks about split personality she also uses the image of mirror. Edīte thinks: "To tell the truth, I did not even want to look Solvīta into face and see myself as in a mirror of contrasts." (Šķipsna, 1965: 11) Later in the novel, when looking at her reflection in a mirror, Edīte is able to see only half of her face reflected that also symbolises her divided personality. Ezergaile writes: "When women see themselves reflected, there is often a shock of strangeness, along with some inkling of a more positive insight – an attempt to recapture some lost early promise or an unexpected potential …" (Ezergalis, 1989: 189). If Solvīta is Edīte's potential "I", the part of her personality that is capable of adjusting to the reality of exile, then Edīte can clearly identify this part of her split personality by looking into the mirror. The woman that she sees in the mirror at the same time is and is not herself, because there is also the presence of the part of her personality that she wants to hide, to bury.

Not wanting to recognise this part of her personality, has something in common with her desire to live in the "capsule", cultivating the sense of exile in herself and around her. For Edīte exile with its loneliness and non-participation becomes something of a privileged condition that should be guarded against common everyday life. In this context, exile in Šķipsna's interpretation becomes a state that is given to the chosen ones; the strong ones that are capable of refusing the miserable everyday existence which others call life.

Before leaving the house for the last time, Edīte looks into mirror: „The hallway mirror showed a shady image and I stopped for a moment, trying to recognise myself, to draw a line between the world and myself. That was not so easy."(Šķipsna, 1965: 216) In order to find herself she has to draw this line as a way to separate her true identity from the one that the world enforces on her.

Every chapter of the novel starts either with the capital letter "E" (for Edīte) or "S" (for Solvīta), indicating the view point of the chapter. Taken together, these letters in Latvian form the person pronoun "I" ("ES"). However, at the end of the novel Šķipsna chooses to send each of the main characters in opposite directions which also indicate their destruction. The only sign of the unity of both contrasting parts of the personality is the gravestone where both names – Edīte and Solvīta are engraved as one person's name – saying that only in death the split parts of the personality can be united. One of the problems recognised by exiles is a choice between continuing to live like an exile, like Edīte does, or becoming a person of full value in the new surroundings like Solvīta. For Šķipsna, the unity of both is hard to achieve, more likely – it becomes possible only in death.

Mother, Daughter, Home and Exile

When Edīte's mother calls to say that she is moving in, Edīte knows that her chosen condition of loneliness, will be threatened, and she agrees to accompany Solvīta to visit Solvīta's ex-husband's parents. Edīte's mother in the novel is characterised from Edīte's view – point as "a monument for the happy times before the war and a reproof for everything that came after" (Šķipsna, 1965: 31). Edīte's mother first appearance in the novel is seen as a hindrance in Edīte's life. Being the closest person that Edīte has, her mother sees Edīte's lifestyle and doesn't hesitate to interfere. Edīte tries to run away from her mother's presence, to hide from her, at the same time recognising that in her mother's eyes "there was always a well – wishing seeing – off" (Šķipsna, 1965: 99). Eventually Edīte will look for her mother in order to find her own true identity.

Her mother is Edīte's connection to her past, the connection that is needed for Edīte to live in present. „For Šķipsna the equation of mother and homeland, though compelling in its emotional power, is highly and intentionally ambivalent," writes Ezergaile (Ezergailis, 1998: 10). Edīte's home in the homeland and her childhood are connected to her mother.

When during her trip Edīte receives a letter from her mother that starts with the address "Dear Child", the address that hasn't been used between them since Edīte's childhood, she is surprised by the fact that mother has written her a letter, but at the same time she is not curious about the content of the letter. However, later in the novel, when Edīte is asking, who will save her, protect her, who will help to find her true identity; the first person that comes to her mind is her mother. Edīte recognises that ties with her past could be tied only through her mother:

> I could call mother and say: your all-wise daughter is in danger … what would mother respond to me? I could not imagine. … I knew so little about my mother that I could not guess, what would she say to me. Regret my misery, comfort me, teach me, and would be just surprised? Still. She would call me back, call me back home – mothers always call back home; even unworthy children, even to an unworthy home. (Šķipsna, 1965: 143)

Running away from her mother becomes a metaphor for running away from the past, which makes it impossible for Edīte to live a full life in the present. When her mother approaches Edīte "from the back" surprising her, "with ties of the past in her hands", Edīte, "running away and following at the same time" is able to choose the world – which for Edīte means to choose to live in present (Šķipsna, 1965: 146).

It is important that Edīte admits that she knows so little about her mother. Mother in feminist theory is defined as a daughter's first identity, pointing out that the connection between mother and daughter never ceases to exist, but continues because of their shared gender identity. That is also the reason why relationships between mother and daughter are very intense and often ambivalent. What is important – in order for the daughter to feel secure and stable in the world – she has to know her mother and her mother's world; she has to take over her mother's experience and knowledge. (Jones, 1985: 89)

The connection between a mother and daughter is important as a foundation for feminine genealogy that is a basis for a woman's identity. Without feminine genealogy – her beginnings and her own prehistory, a woman is automised in the masculine society. Luce Irigaray, French feminist theorist, in order to give a new notional content to the mother – daughter relationship in her theoretical work and literary texts puts an

emphasis on defining mother as a mother and as a woman at the same time. Dramatising the conflict between mother and daughter, including the search for the mother in literary texts written by women writers, woman's troubled search for herself is revealed. (Gardiner, 1985: 139)

Remembering not just the mother – child dyad, but the mother by herself, for herself can be found in Šķipsna's short story "Conception" which takes place in the morning of the mother's funeral. There are two perceptions of the mother from the narrator's point-of-view: mother in the past, in the homeland, a beautiful, mysterious woman that the daughter longs for, and mother, a tired and lonely woman in exile. The mother here is described not only as a mother but also as a woman.

Through the mother – daughter communion in the story, the daughter's identity is found and a connection with previous generations is strengthened as well. By inheriting the mother's knowledge that one needs to laugh while kneading bread dough so that dough joyfully rises, the daughter finds a channel to "the generations of bread laughs where mothers and daughters could meet anew"(Šķipsna, 2003: 5).

The connection between mother and home in the story is also expressed through the connection between the baking of the bread and the making of one's home. Ezergaile writing about exile women writers compares their literary work with homemaking. She cites Marcus: „Making something out of nothing makes a somewhere out of nowhere, a mimetic rebirth, childbirth, or self – making for the exiled artist, a process politically and intimately bound up with domestic labour." (Ezergailis, 1998: 14) Šķipsna's narrator remembers something important about her mother: "There, where you baked bread, was home" (Šķipsna, 2003: 8). The daughter is searching for her identity through her mother, through taking over her mother's knowledge – in the story, the ritual making of bread also becomes the narrator's way of making a home in exile. By carrying on the traditions from the homeland that are passed down by women from generation to generation and by letting her mother's experience and knowledge become alive in herself, the daughter finds a tie between past and present.

Woman's language

Thinking about woman's subjectivity in connection with woman's language, French feminist thought argues for modernism's radical feminist potential by suggesting that women writers use avant-garde linguistic forms to escape the confines of patriarchal language. French feminist thinking about women, their bodies, and their desires puts emphasis on language as both the ultimate tool of women's oppression and potential means for subverting that oppression. They look at the ways that "the feminine"

has been defined, represented, or repressed in the symbolic systems of language, metaphysics, psychoanalysis, and art. According to French feminist thought women's writing can be characterised by repetition, exaggeration and multiple viewpoint, as well as fluidity coming from "the blood, milk and joyful flow of women's bodies" (Gardiner, 1985: 137).

In Šķipsna's short story "Conception" the rhythm of the narrative is achieved through repetition of words and phrases, constructions of short sentences and syntactical inversions, for example, "Your guests will come. There is nobody here yet. The morning is ours." The same characteristics can be found in the short story "Ex feminae tempore" – the rhythm of the story is achieved through the dynamics of repetition – through repetition of phrases and the syntactical variations of one phrase. For example, "Thought it was not, only a wave (..) Thought it was not, only a movement (..) It was not a thought, it was escaping from great danger." (Šķipsna, 2003: 74)

Fluidity, another characteristic of woman's language, in Šķipsna's prose is expressed through metaphors that are connected with flowing and water. For example, the narrator in the story "Ex feminae tempore" is watching how the sun "emerges to the surface" and "washes into the room" (Šķipsna, 2003: 75). The sun is able to "flood" the narrator. Helene Cixous celebrating women's sexual capacities calls for an '*ecriture feminine*' through which women will bring their bodily energies and previously unimagined unconscious into view (Jones, 1985: 80). Cixous thinks that "writing is of body" and "a woman does not write like a man, because she speaks with the body"(Ruthven,1984: 99). The point of persuading a woman to write with her body is to help her articulate her psychological femininity, so that "the immense resources of [her] unconscious will spring forth" and "the inexhaustible feminine imaginary will unfold". (Ruthven, 1984: 100)

The novel „Beyond the Seventh Bridge" is filled with metaphors that are connected with water and flowing. For example, such metaphors are used to characterise the two main women characters of the novel, giving them the characteristics of water. Edīte thinks that Solvīta "will flow into street, will disappear into the night, will not stop until she has flowed out through the city like a wave," while Edīte herself in order to reach Solvīta, runs "meandering like a river through people and around them as the fastest current". (Šķipsna, 1965: 8)

Woolf argues that a woman writer must alter the sentence "until it takes the natural shape of her thought without crushing or distorting it." Writing about her fellow modernist Dorothy Richardson, Woolf says:

> She has invented, or if she has not invented, developed and applied to her own use, a sentence which we might call the psychological

sentence of the feminine gender. It is of a more elastic fibre than the old, capable of stretching to the extreme, of suspending the frailest particles, of enveloping the vaguest shapes. (Mullin, 2006: 143)

Released from an enforced silence, the feminine voice is recognisable immediately by its fluency. (Ruthven, 1984: 107) Exile critic Juris Silenieks about Šķipsna's writing has said that Šķipsna is obsessed with words and sometimes it seems that her female protagonists try to hide their ontological emptiness with a diffusion of words. He compares synthetically entangled Šķipsna's sentences with labyrinths where a reader gets lost, getting a feeling that the world has lost its semantic security. Semantic security of a masculine order.

Women's language is conceived of sometimes as a non-verbal communication system in which intimacies of touch replace the duplicity of words, where tactile exchanges, that bring those who engage in them closer together than words can, are important (Ruthven, 1984: 96). Irigaray argues that Western culture has privileged sight and because of that woman is reduced to an object of the male gaze. Instead, Irigaray proposes that feminine sexuality escapes scopophilic logic, as woman takes pleasure more from touching than from looking.

In the short story "Conception" an authentic communication between mother and daughter is achieved not through language, but by touch. The narrator mentions her mothers beautiful hands with slender fingers cherishing the memories of her mother braiding her hair back home. When the narrator is on her way to school, the memory of her mother's touch, mother's hands that were "flying like many light birds", are following her "through the snowy darkness all the way till the door of the school" (Šķipsna, 2003: 7) symbolising the warmth and security of home.

In exile the situation is reversed. It is the daughter who touches her mother's hair offering true communication and expressing her feelings through touch:

And when the day ended, when all the duties were accomplished and you were sleeping in the bed in a clean shirt as a Saturday night being, when I had brushed your gray, shiny hair with gentle hands … and when we stayed together like this, without a direct necessity and following obligations, that was a moment when we were the closest to each other and we didn't know, whether your hand rests in mine or mine in yours. (Šķipsna, 2003: 8)

Holding each other's hand the two women feel a strong, wordless bond that can't be communicated through words.

Women and silence

Cixous encourages women to speak and to write from their place of difference. Women should not remain silent, but they must speak and write from and about the silent place they know:

> It is by writing, from and toward women, and by taking up the challenge of speech which has been governed by the phallus, that women will confirm women in a place other than that which is reserved in and by the symbolic, that is, in a place other than silence. (Benstock, 2002: 166)

In the short story "Song Festival" Šķipsna presents a woman writer who reads her short story "The Mute Daughter", a construction of a female national myth about the founding ancestor who "is mute, but speaks". Ezergaile about this story writes: "At the very least a certain subjectivity is being identified as repressed. … To find this founding entity that "is mute, but speaks" Šķipsna goes to the female" (Ezergailis, 1998: 19). The female ancestor in the story is able to speak from her place of silence, from the place of feminine difference:

> Mute herself, the mute daughter doesn't have a name and although no one ever was able to repeat what the mute daughter says and what we all understand, the ancestors listening to her, winded beautiful language for us. (Rabācs, 1984: 18)

In this context from the silence that a woman speaks a new and beautiful language can be formed.

Silence as a mysterious substance inside of a woman, something that has to be felt with her body appears in the novel "Beyond the Seventh Bridge" when Edīte asks Solvīta:

> Don't you ever think that the core of everything could be hidden in silence in some deep well in which you have to submerge yourself with closed eyes holding your breath as if waiting for the moving of the waters, until it touches you with the most mysterious wave? (Šķipsna, 1965: 18)

This kind of silence can be associated with woman's body and its fluidity – water is mentioned three times in this sentence: a well, moving waters and a wave.

However, if a woman doesn't speak and write from and about the silence she knows, there is a danger of losing herself. Silence, a potential for woman's language, in such situation can become a dangerous state. According to French feminist thought, silence can also be associated with emptiness and absence. Edīte chooses to isolate herself from society and

her silence becomes a synonymous for emptiness: "The more one stays in a place where there is nothing and where nothing happens, only light and silence, the less remains of such person; such person disappears as a sound that doesn't find a place where to resound (..)" (Šķipsna, 1965: 134). Her silence is empty and she herself is absent.

However, silence as emptiness can be perceived both positively and negatively. Opposite of emptiness there is a realm of possibility in silence. When silence circles around an ineffable centre, it can transform the value and meaning of emptiness. In one of her letters to a man she loves, Persijs, Edīte writes:

> Tonight I don't want and I can't hide in silence and numbness, but none of my different voices has the power of all truth. That's why I have to throw them off as shells, I have to shake off the multitude of colours, variegation of all moods … so that I could put in your palm all of myself even if only for a moment. (Šķipsna, 1965: 211)

Edīte is ready to come out from her hiding place – numb silence, when she finds strength in a relationship, however, she also recognises that none of her different voices has a real, true power. Thinking about silence and women, Kristeva writes:

> Physical or mental, man's space is a space of domination, hierarchy and conquest, a sprawling, showy space, a full space. … Woman on the other hand, has long since learned to respect not only the physical and mental space of others, but space for its own sake, empty space...The void is for her, then, a respectable value. (Benstock, 172)

Edīte has to turn to her silence in order to find herself.

Female space

What is a female space? The notion "female space" starts to figurate in modernism and is attributed to private space in opposition to masculine public space. Feminine space is considered a private and closed space as a subjective space where one can stand apart from the world. Inta Ezergailis writes:

> … the intimate association with space can mean a freeing, a privilege, a claiming of space for themselves; it can be space as envisioned by some of the French feminists who have managed to assert difference and to dwell on notions of woman as silence, absence, and negativity not to chain her, but to make visible logocentric structures and offer possible alternative ways of thinking. (Ezergailis, 1998: 17)

In the novel "Beyond the Seventh Bridge" Edīte's room is a closed, subjective space. It is a space where Edīte shuts herself off from the outside world. Edīte's room is situated in the middle of city of millions and is characterised as an "isolated capsule in space" (Šķipsna, 1965: 26). When Edīte reaches her room after a long day she, "closes the door between herself and the world outside with closing the door of her apartment" (Šķipsna, 1965: 26). Her room is a space where she can take off her high – heeled shoes that chafe. Edīte says: "to tell the truth I could manage without them only here, in my own room – here I liked to walk in socks or even better – with bare feet" (Šķipsna, 1965: 31). Only in her room she can be what she likes – to walk in bare feet.

Things in Edīte's room are few and simple – a bed, low table, sturdy bookcases and deep drawers. The colour of the walls is "calm green" and the only luxury in the room is "dark green curtains that didn't let the sun shine through" when Edīte didn't want to see it and "muffled city noises" when she desired silence (Šķipsna, 1965: 26).

The narrator's room in the short story „Ex feminae tempore" is very much like Edīte's room, a closed, subjective space. Outside of the room, somewhere down bubbles the city "with its colourful, misty lights of many forms like changing edges, never-ending and elusive". While the outside world is associated with the anxiety of the city, in a female space inside, "tender things are dozing – polished, fragile bended tree, a mirror, sinking in dusk, violet blanket and closed flowers in light vase" (Šķipsna, 2003: 74). The city is a public space that is being opposed to the private space, the narrator's room is where she can think her own thoughts and be herself amidst the things that characterise her. Space in this context also becomes a continuation of a woman's body, it is a space that is held together and embraced.

In the short story "Conception" two different rooms are described, both belonging to the narrator's mother. Mother's room in exile and mother's room back home. Both spaces are opposed against the outside world and shown as completed feminine spaces. Mother's room in the homeland, before the wars, as remembered by the narrator: "During winter when it was still dark outside, mother's bedroom was shining in warm lights, and silver and crystal, and containers of perfume sparkled in the distance of mirrors where her arms were flying like many light birds" (Šķipsna, 2003: 4). The darkness, snow and cold of the outside world are contrasted with warm, shiny and luxurious interior of the space belonging to mother.

Mother's room in exile where narrator wakes up on the morning of her mother's funeral is characterised by such elements as green blanket, white sheets; green like water and pure white curtains: "In one place the green and the white was fastened with a pearly hat pin", the hat pin has a white

head and hats, wrapped in tissue – paper, are sleeping in white boxes" (Šķipsna, 2003: 4). This is a space where the narrator, coming to visit, feels home.

By doing her mother's duties, cleaning her mother's apartment and making bread, the narrator is looking for her own identity. Through doubt and uncertainty that she will not be able to take the place of her mother and through her decision to "conceive" part of her mother in herself, the narrator fulfils the act of inheriting the spiritual values of her mother – mother's experience and knowledge. The narrator is able to identify with her mother through their now shared experience of making home. In this context it is also possible to talk about female space as a "holding space", a space that is shared by mother and daughter. Doing her mother's work, the daughter is able to make home in a space that is filled with "silent, calm and numb things", in "rooms that are hollow" (Šķipsna, 2003: 7).

Conclusion

Šķipsna, inscribing in culture a woman's experience in exile, subverts fixed meanings in favour of plurality and diversity. Women in Šķipsna's prose are living in double exile, both outside their homeland and in patriarchal society. In this situation, Šķipsna looks at the process of searching for one's true identity where the ambivalent mother – daughter relations, the notions of woman's language, woman and silence and woman's space are important as they talk about balancing one's past and present in order to reach continuity, and to be able to live a full life in present.

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THE LAST FIVE YEARS OF CENSORSHIP IN THE LATVIAN SSR

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Abstract

The focus of this article is on processes of censorship in the USSR and the Latvian SSR during the final years of the collapse of the Soviet Empire (1985–1990). The author has reviewed the main aspects of Soviet censorship, including the fundamental principles of the process ever since 1940 and the factors which led the way to freedom of speech (*glasnost*), a change in the system of state (*perestroika*), and the recovery of Latvia's independent statehood (the national awakening). The author has collected the views of important public opinion leaders, asking them to recall processes which occurred during the latter half of the 1980s and about which extensive information has never been available.

Keywords: KGB, Soviet Union, censorship, Latvia.

Overall Geopolitical Situation

When one of the "evil empires" of the 20th century, the USSR, collapsed, concepts such as "the KGB," "one party" and "censorship" disappeared from the everyday lives of people in the former Socialist bloc. Instead, everyday concepts which did not exist in the USSR, but were unambiguous in the West came into being – "freedom of speech" and "democracy," for instance. The whole world knew about Soviet dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, but the investment made in the restoration of democracy by Latvian dissidents such as Gunārs Astra and Lidija Doroņina-Lasmane remains unknown, and that is an undeserved fact.

One must clearly understand that a country like the USSR would never have existed without the pillar that was made up of total limitations on the freedom of speech and the destruction of any manifestation of democracy. The rest of the world defined this as censorship. One of the systemic transformations in the wake of the Soviet collapse was undeniably the elimination of censorship as an institution. Censorship in the Soviet Union was implemented by institutions such as the Soviet Central Literature Board (with branches in the Soviet republics), the KGB and other Soviet institutions. This had a key effect on cultural processes, and it deformed

the informational space of the media, making it more difficult for people to access objective and true information.

This basically means that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the censors who worked in the country were not a creative intellectual centre. Instead, they handled unchanging jobs as "spiritual prison guards".[1] Under such circumstances it could be noted that total Communist censorship mostly affected the public expression of spiritual activities.[2]

Censorship is one of the signs of totalitarianism in that it limits the free and objective exchange of information in the relevant society. Every single person in Latvia experienced censorship as a factor in nearly all processes of the circulation of information during the 50 years of the Soviet occupation – both consumers of information (the public) and the creators of information (the intelligentsia). The Soviet Union wanted to destroy the Latvian state and nation, as well as its traditional culture. There were three institutions which were assigned this task – the Central Committee of the Soviet Latvian Communist Party, the KGB of the Latvian SSR, and the Latvian Central Literature Board, all of them directly subordinated to Moscow.[3]

From a scholarly perspective, it has to be said that the fact that these processes have disappeared from the public agenda must be seen as the global, fundamental and systemic transformation which occurred in the USSR and Eastern Europe. System transformation refers not just to a transfer from a command economy to a market economy along with participation in the economy of the capitalist world, but also and simultaneously, such processes as the restoration and strengthening of nation states, a shift from Communist authoritarianism to parliamentary democracy, and the creation of an "elite democracy."

System transformation as such is not of specific theoretical meaning; it fulfils a formally logical, constructive and hierarchic function and covers key concepts such as regime replacement, regime change, system replacement and system change. It is only possible to talk about system change if there are fundamental changes in the way in which people access power, in the structure of the regime, in the pretensions of the regime, and the type of rule or mastery.[4] This means that of key importance in the analysis of

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[1] Strods, H. PSRS politiskā cenzūra Latvijā 1940–1990 (Soviet Political Censorship in Latvia, 1940–1990). Rīga (2010), p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[4] Merkel, W. System transformation. Eine Einführung in die Theorie und Empirie der Transformationsforschung (System Transformation: An Introduction to the Theory and

system change processes is the concept of the political system, which covers the government, the regime and the country.

System transformation in Latvia has covered Latvia's elite, mostly in terms of its economic and political interests groups, as well as managed political, economic, social and cultural processes. The result has been a replacement of the local authoritarian and socialist regime with an "exclusive" parliamentary democracy. Latvia has been re-established as an independent nation state, and its economy, which has emerged as a functioning market economy, has become part of the capitalist global economy in accordance with the ability to split up international work.[5]

The last period of censorship as an institution in the Latvian SSR can be applied to three sub-phases of the first phase of system transformation processes between 1958 and 1991, when Latvia was still part of the Soviet Union. It was concluded with the political and economic collapse of a socialist and autocratic country, with the Republic of Latvia restoring its internationally recognised independent statehood. Dr Ojārs Skudra, a historian, believes that this was the most important period in system transformation, and it is not just possible, but also necessary to split it up into several sub-phases.

The first sub-phase lasted from 1985 until October 1988, when the political leaders of the Latvian SSR were replaced and the Latvian People's Front (LTF) was established. In its programme, it supported "diverse forms of ownership (state, public, co-operative, personal and private property), the free development of these forms, and the assurance of this via constitutional guarantees".[6] Mikhail Gorbachev has claimed that it was exactly in 1988 that he and his supporters clearly understood that there must be changes in the country's political and economic system.[7] There were also new phenomena in the Soviet Union – "a shift in the balance of social forces and a rejection by most of the elite from the values of democratic socialism in favour of the market".[8]

Practice of Transformation Research). Opladen: Leske & Budrich (1999), p. 69–76. ISBN-13 978-3-8252-2076-1.

[5] Skudra, O. Sistēmtransformācija Latvijā un tās periodizācija (System Transformation in Latvia and Periods Therein). Rīga (2002).

[6] "Latvijas Tautas frontes programma" (Programme of the Latvian People's Front). In: Latvijas Tautas Fronte. Gads Pirmais (The Latvian People's Front: Year One). Rīga (1989), p. 220.

[7] Starodubrovskaya, I.V. and B.A. May. Великие революции. От Кромвеля до Путина (Great Revolutions: From Cromwell to Putin). Vagrius (2004), p. 206. ISBN 5-475-00007-7.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

The second sub-phase lasted from November 1988 to 4 May 1990, when the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR approved a declaration on the restoration of the Republic of Latvia's independent statehood. This was the period of the so-called Singing Revolution, which was led by a coalition made up of the nationally liberal and nationalist groups of the LTF and the "soft-liners" ("national Communists") of the autocratic regime. In practical political terms this represented the legitimised beginning of system change related to the Supreme Council election of 18 March 1990. Of advantage in this process in international terms was the collapse of Communist regimes in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania and, with the elimination of the Berlin Wall, and East Germany in 1989.

The third sub-phase lasted from June 1990 until August 1991, when the institutionalised battle of supporters of Latvian independence ended with the restoration of an internationally recognised, independent and democratically parliamentary Latvian state. The most radical or revolutionary period of system change, accordingly, ended in Latvia at this time. This is also seen in the fact that this period was the last one of mass political activity (an all-Latvian protest on 13 January 1991, the barricades). At the same time, however, this represented the beginning of a long period of economic decline, which became known as the "transformation ditch." As privatisation of properties began, there was social stratification in society, and the size of the population systematically declined.[9]

Censorship in the USSR

Censorship in the Latvian SSR cannot be analysed separately from censorship in the USSR, which means that a contextual view must be taken of the origins, structure and operations of censors in the Soviet Union. Censorship in the USSR was nothing new. The new country established this institution to control and limit public opinion as a "clone" of sorts from the Russian Empire, modifying it for its own needs and the demands of the era. Numerous researchers have pointed to this fact.

Thus, for instance, historian Arlen Blum has argued that there was much in common between the censorship institutions of tsarist Russia and those of the USSR.[10] Professor Pavel Reifman, for his part, has noted that censorship in pre-revolutionary Russia was harsh, but "it took on a new

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[9] Skudra, O. Sistēmtransformācija… *op. cit*.

[10] Blum, A.V. "Система тотального контроля" (System of Total Control). In Советская цензура в эпоху тотального террора. 1929–1953 (Soviet Censorship During the Age of Total Terror: 1929–1953). St Petersburg: Academic Project (2000), p. 283. ISBN 5-7331-0190-3.

level of quality in the Soviet Union, becoming both omnipresent and all-powerful".[11]

The Bolsheviks introduced censorship immediately after taking power, but initially it was fragmentary, not systematic. That is because the Central Literature Board was only established on 6 June 1922. Prior to that, censorship involved both administrative and physical methods.

The new government violently nationalised printing plants and shut down all of the "bourgeois" publications in the country (i.e., those which were in opposition to the Communists). Lenin himself said that "we declared in the past that we would close down all of the bourgeois newspapers upon taking power. The existence of such newspapers would mean a rejection of socialism".[12] On 27 October (9 November) 1917, the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) released a decree on the press.[13] On the basis of this decree, more than 450 opposition newspapers were shut down (or halted operations on their own).[14]

The historian Aleksandr Nekrich, for his part, has argued that the duty for Soviet censors was "to establish new collective memories for society, erasing memories about true facts and excluding everything from history which was not in line with or directly overturned the historical pretensions of the CPSU".[15]

As noted, the Central Literature and Publishing Board was established on 6 June 1922 by the CPC of the Russian SSR. It was put under the oversight of the People's Commissar for Education, and its goal was to "centralise the censorship of all print materials".[16] The board was under the oversight of the CPC only in formal terms, but from the very start, it was the party organs which controlled its work (in 1946 the board was

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[11] Reifman, P.S. "Из истории русской, советской и постсоветской цензуры" (A Course of Lectures on the History of Literature). Library of Gumer (2003), last viewed 19 May 2009.

[12] Lenin, V.I. "Сочинения" (Collected Works), 4th ed. (1960), Volume 26, p. 253.

[13] "Декрет о печати" (Decree on the Press). In Декреты Советской власти (Decrees of the Soviet Regime). Moscow: Politizdat (1957).

[14] Zhirkov, G.V. "Советская цензура периода комиссародержавия 1917–1919 гг." (Soviet Censorship During the Period of Commissars, 1917–1919). In История цензуры в России XIX–XX вв (The History of Censorship in Russia During the 18th to the 20th Century). Moscow: Aspect of Presses (2001), p. 358.

[15] Nekrich, A.M. "Отрешись от страха" (Renouncing Fear), *Neva*, Moscow, No. 6, 1995.

[16] Zhirkov, G.V. "Система ограничительных мер и надзора за печатью и Главлит" (System of Limitations and Supervision Over the Press (Central Literature Board). Moscow: Aspect of Presses (2001), p. 240.

put under the direct oversight of the Council of Ministers of the USSR).[17] The directors of the board were nominated by the head of the Press and Publishing Division of the Central Committee of the CPSU and approved by the Central Committee.[18] After the USSR was established, the Central Literature Board opened branches in each Soviet republic apart from Russia itself. There were also board structures in cities and districts.

It is of importance that almost everyone was aware of the existence of censorship in the USSR and talked about it, but there was never any official admission of censorship. Thus, for instance, the second edition of the "Great Soviet Encyclopaedia," which was published in 1957, had this to say about "Censorship": "Censorship in the USSR has a very different role to play than is the case in bourgeois countries. It is an organ of the socialist state which is focused on protecting state and military secrets in the press, as well as on preventing materials that could harm the interests of working people. The Soviet Constitution (p. 125) guarantees freedom of the press for all working people, and this is ensured by the provision of printing presses, paper and other resources to working people and their representatives".[19]

The description of censorship was different in the third edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, which was issued between 1969 and 1978: "The Soviet Constitution guarantees the freedom of the press for citizens in accordance with public interests and with the goal of strengthening and developing the socialist system. Government control has been established with the goal of preventing the dissemination of information in the press and the mass media which contains state secrets or other information that might harm the interests of working people".[20]

It does have to be said, however, that the role of censorship in the USSR was to support the totalitarian system. The process included full

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[17] Zhirkov, G.V. "Партийный контроль над цензурой и её аппаратом" (Party Control Over Censorship and its Apparatus). Moscow: Aspect of Presses (2001), p. 358. ISBN 5-7567-0145.

[18] Surov, A. "обзор цензурной политики советского государства" (A Survey of the Censorial Policies of the Soviet State", 1999. Last viewed 30 March 2009. See also Nevezhin, V.A. "Глава вторая. Общая характеристика пропаганды второй половины 1930-х гг" (General Characteristics of Propaganda During the Latter Half of the 1930s." In: "Если завтра в поход…": Подготовка к войне и идеологическая пропаганда в 30-х – 40-х годах. ("If the March Begins Tomorrow": Preparation for the War and Ideological Propaganda in the 1930s and 1940s". Moscow: Yauza (2007), p. 320.

[19] Большая Советская Энциклопедия (Great Soviet Encyclopaedia), 2nd ed., Vol. 46, p. 519 (1957).

[20] Большая Советская Энциклопедия (Great Soviet Encyclopaedia), 3rd ed., Vol. 46 (1972).

control by the state and the Communist Party over all aspects of the circulation and dissemination of information – print publications, music, theatrical performances, the applied arts, cinema, photography, and radio and television broadcasts. The goal of censorship was to limit or ban the distribution of news and ideas which, according to the regime's views, were harmful.

The functions of censorship in the USSR were delegated to various specialised institutions of state.[21] Censorship controlled internal channels for the distribution of information – books, periodicals, radio, television, cinema, theatre, etc.[22] It also monitored information coming from abroad, blocking radio broadcasts, conducting scrupulous examinations of foreign press publications, and always looking for "anti-Soviet" content. There was also extensive self-censorship in the USSR. Censorship first and foremost was of ideological importance. Researchers have argued that Soviet censorship did not object to reflections of violence if there was an ideological reason for this. There were, for instance, depictions of the killing of opponents to the Soviet regime.[23]

The primary focus of censorship was on so-called "anti-Soviet propaganda." This included everything that was not in line with the ideological positions of the relevant period of time. Also banned was negative information about situations such as catastrophes, economic problems, inter-ethnic conflicts, anti-social processes, etc. Censors also frowned on any other information that could create a negative public reaction. Information security expert Nikolai Stolyarov has argued that the Soviet Union had a "presumption of state secrets" and "a separation between the institutions of secrecy and the public at large." Because of this, the functions of the institutions "were never subject to serious critical analysis".[24]

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[21] Blum, A.V. "Рукописи не горят?.. К 80-летию основания Главлита СССР и 10-летию его кончины" (Manuscripts Do Not Burn? On the 80th Anniversary of the General Literature Board and the 10th Anniversary of Its Demise", *Звезда* (Star), Moscow, Vol. 6, 2002, p. 201–211.

[22] Goryaeva, M. "История советской политической цензуры. Документы и коммен-тарии" (The History of Soviet Political Censorship: Documents and Commentary). In Goryaeva, M. (ed.). Российская политическая энциклопедия (Russian Political Encyclopaedia) (1997), p. 672. ISBN 5-86004-121-7.

[23] See Fyodorov, A.V. Права ребёнка и проблема насилия на российском экране (Children and the Problem of Violence on the Russian Screen). Taganrog: Kuchma Publishing House (2004), p. 6–418. ISBN 5-98517-003-9. See also Lapyn, O. В "погоне за рейтингами" (In Pursuit of Ratings), *Television Station*, Moscow, No. 4 (29), 2008.

[24] Stolyarov, N. "Организация защиты государственной тайны в России" (Organising the Protection of State Secrets in Russia), 2002, see http://sec4all.net/gostaina-russ.html.

Most students of censorship emphasise the totality of Soviet censorship, also pointing out that censorship was directly dependent upon the Central Committee of the CPSU.[25] Human rights defenders have argued that Soviet censorship violated the Soviet Union's international obligations in this regard.[26]

The censorship model of the USSR was also implemented in all of the Soviet Union's satellite countries, thus becoming one of the most important instruments of spiritual terror aimed at controlling public opinion.

During the period of *Perestroika* (1986–1991), the role of censorship gradually diminished and then disappeared altogether. The starting point for this was the announcement of the policy of *Glasnost* by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th congress of the CPSU: "A fundamentally important issue for us is an expansion in the freedom of expression. This is a political issue. Without freedom of expression, there can be no democracy, mass political innovations, or participation in national governance.[27]

This made it possible for people to discuss subjects that were once taboo, as well as to criticise the regime's various institutions. The media began to publish articles about party officials who violated the law, about economic problems and deficits of goods, about negative social phenomena such as drugs addiction and prostitution, and about the subculture of young people ("informals" posited in contrast to formal or official youth organisations).

The fact of censorship as such was admitted by Gorbachev in an interview in the French newspaper *L'Humanite*. The interview was published in the Soviet press on 8 February 1986. Of importance were Gorbachev's statements about the aims of censorship – protecting state and military secrets, banning any propaganda of war, violence or mercilessness, and protection of the inviolability of the individual. Ideological motivations such as "anti-Soviet propaganda" were not mentioned.[28]

On 9 July 1990, the Central Literature Board issued instructions to say that all books previously kept under lock and key must be made

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[25] Blum, A.V. "Система…", *op. cit*., p. 283.

[26] International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, United Nations, 16 December 1966, last viewed 16 January 2010. See also "Chronicle of Current Events," Vol. 45 (1977), last viewed 16 January 2010.

[27] Gorbachev, M.S. "Политический доклад центрального комитета КПСС XXVII съезду коммунистической партии Советского Союза" (Political Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). In: Избранные речи и статьи (Selected Speeches and Articles), Vol. 3. Moscow: Politizdat (1987).

[28] Štrāle, A. Закат цензуры в Советской Латвии 1985–1990 гг. (Censorship in Soviet Latvia, 1985–1990). Rīga: Latvian National Library (2006). ISSN 0204-2061.

publicly available. The most comic element in all of this was the board's main fee-based service was prior restraint in relation to a new law on the press.[29] Malygin has written that the first newspapers and magazines to be published without prior restraint or censorship appeared on 1 August 1990.[30]

The Soviet Union as a geopolitical formation disappeared on 25 December 1991. The heir to its obligations, the Russian Federation, approved a new law on the mass media on 27 December 1991. Censorship was banned outright.[31]

Censorship in the Latvian SSR, 1940–1985

One of the biggest problems for people who study censorship in Latvia and in other formerly socialist countries and republics has been access to documents. The journalist Egīls Zirnis has written that censorship was one of the most damaging instruments of Soviet power. With the aim of keeping the intelligentsia on a short leash, the regime offered it certain privileges while, at the same time, crippling its work. Authors felt discomfort in two senses – self-censorship, as well as a lack of knowledge as to where the permitted boundaries really lay. What if the author engaged in too much self-censorship? Because KGB archives remain unavailable to researchers, it is difficult to find answers to such questions.[32]

Along with the problem of information availability, however, there is a second and no less important problem which the public has faced in the context of the mathematic progression of how historical events become more distant. Eyewitness accounts can be manipulated, twisted or interpreted, and here we encounter a syndrome which was known in the old USSR as "the syndrome of those who carried Lenin's log." The point is that the longer the time since an event, the greater is the number of people who claim to have participated in it even though they had nothing at all to do with it. This author has studied various collections of documents, media articles, archived materials, monographs and books which speak to memories about censorship, finding that some sources have applied corporative subjectivism in interpreting various events and facts. Thus, for

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[29] Malygin, A.V. Послесловие редактора (Epilogue of an Editor), 3 June 2008. See http://www.rulife.ru/mode/article/788.

[30] Malygin, A.V. "Без цензуры" (Without Censorship), 20 July 2009. See http://www.avmalgin.livejournal.com/1733904.html?thread=37602832-537602832.

[31] Laws of the Russian Federation, 27 December 1991, No. 212–41, "On the Media", *Российская газета* (*Russian Newspaper*), No. 32, 8 February 1992.

[32] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra" (Censorship), *Diena*, 30 July 2005.

instance, a memoir published by Edmunds Johansons, "Notes from a KGB General," may be a unique bit of evidence from a primary source, but it also involves mistaken interpretations of several universally known facts and events – something which has meant that the book must be approached with a highly critical eye.[33]

Another major problem is that many of those who worked for censorship institutions are no longer alive. Some do not wish to speak about the past, and only a few employees of the Soviet Latvian Central Literature Board are prepared to talk about their experience there. Such memories are invaluable for scholarly research and analysis.

That said there have been some studies of this issue in the past. A major investment in researching the history of censorship in Latvia has been made by Dr Raimonds Briedis, who is the author of a study titled "A Short Course on Text Censorship: Prose and Censorship during the Soviet Years in Latvia." Briedis argues that in the hierarchy of the Soviet regime, "the Central Literature Board was not the only institution of censorship. Instead, it was just one component in a broad and branched control mechanism." He goes on: "If we only think about this single institution, then we are ignoring the information control system that was implemented by the whole hierarchy of censorship – the Central Committee and Press Committee of the Communist Party, organisations of writers, editorial offices, as well as self-censorship at the personal level or in terms of individual people and relationships among them. Some or all of these levels determined the fate of each text".[34]

The extensive and institutionally branched system of censorship in the Soviet Union was managed by the Agitation and Propaganda Board of the Central Committee of the CPSU. In Latvia, this was in the hands of the third secretary of the Central Committee of the party, also known as the ideological secretary. One of the party's functionaries, Kārlis Freibergs, used to refer to censors as the younger brothers of the Agitation and Propaganda Board.[35]

There are people who believe falsely that there was no censorship in pre-war Latvia, but the truth is that censorship was one of the pillars of the

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[33] See Johansons, E. "Čekas ģenerāļa piezīmes" (Notes from a KGB General). Rīga (2006), p. 131–140. The author has described the putsch of 1991 very systematically, but he has presented the dates of the event erroneously in several places in the book.

[34] Briedis, R. "Teksta cenzūras īsais kurss: prozas teksts un cenzūra padomju gados Latvijā" (A Short Course on Text Censorship: Prose and Censorship During Soviet Years in Latvia). Rīga: University of Latvia (2010), p. 10.

[35] Daukšts, B. "Cenzūra: tumsas sulaiņi mita slēpnī un vajāja latviešu prozu" (Censorship: Butlers of the Dark Hid in a Blind and Persecuted Latvian Prose", ¼ *Sartori*, 9 July 2010. See http://www.satori.lv/raksts/3481.

authoritarian government of Kārlis Ulmanis just as soon as he implemented his coup on 15 May 1934. "The Press and Association Department handled censorship in independent Latvia. Immediately after the Red Army invasion of Latvia, Jānis Niedre was appointed director of the department, and censorship was in his hands, as well. The department was shut down on 9 August 1940".[36]

The People's Commissariat of the Latvian SSR approved a law on the local Central Literature Board immediately after Latvia "joined" the Soviet Union – on 9 August 1940. All periodicals were shut down, lists of banned books were assembled, and many books were destroyed[37]. Historian Rihards Treijs has written that his colleagues have been mistaken about this issue. He argues that censorship was established unofficially during the early days of the "liberation," but by the official Cabinet of Ministers, not the People's Commissariat or the Council of People's Commissars, as stated by Štāle and Upmanis.[38]

The basic principles of the Central Literature Board in Latvia were the same as those implemented in 1922 in the Soviet Union. There was a ban on publications which contained agitation against the Soviet regime, disclosed the republic's military secrets, had a negative effect on public opinion, encouraged nationalist or religious fanaticism, or were pornographic.[39]

One of the first big jobs for the board was "ideological purification" of literature – something which Soviet libraries had been experiencing for years. Librarians and bookstore employees had lists of "harmful" literature which had to be removed. There are three known lists of banned literature that were prepared during the first year of the Soviet occupation.[40]

Researchers believe that the first order containing banned literature was issued on 26 August 1940, and signed by the Soviet Latvian interior minister, Vilis Lācis, and Niedre as head of the Central Literature Board. All militia commanders, local party committees and Red Army units were ordered to get rid of all books, magazines, brochures, postcards, songs, images and other print publications in 10 days' time which had content in opposition to the Soviet regime or the Marxist world view, were aimed at praising the "plutocratic" regime, were pornographic or were trash literature.[41]

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[36] Štrāle, A. "Sešstūru zīmogs" (Hexagonal Seal), *Diena*, 6 August 2005.

[37] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit.*

[38] Treijs, R. "Cenzūra – padomijas dzelzs slota" (Censorship: The Iron Broom of the Soviet Union), *NRA*, 21 November 2008.

[39] Štrāle, A. "Sešstūru...", *op. cit.*

[40] *Ibid*.

[41] *Ibid*.

When the Soviet occupation was reinstated after World War II, the ideological battle against "undesirable literature" in Latvia was part of the mix. The scope of the Bolshevik approach to truth can be seen in a report which the new director of the board, V. Jaunzems, in 1948. It spoke to "purification of the books of the republic to get rid of politically harmful literature." More than 12 million "politically harmful" books had been removed during the previous years, but the authorities still found books at libraries which required consideration. This was daily work for libraries. Books were confiscated in accordance with lists from the Soviet and the Latvian Central Literature Board, as well as lists from the relevant boards in Soviet Estonia and Lithuania. Because the censors of the board could not cover all libraries themselves, brigades of library workers, Communist teachers and others were set up to ensure "an absolute examination of books on the shelves".[42]

During the 1960s and 1970s, the central focus of attention for the Central Literature Board was on the reflection in literature of cults of personality that did not fit in with official Soviet ideology. Party functionaries felt that literature reflected the truth about Soviet life in a way that was "harmful" to the position of the regime. There were reminders of the culture of emigration and of cultural workers. There were also pessimistic tones in lyrics, etc. Of key importance is the finding by Briedis that during the 1960s, the board gradually moved from a national censorship institution (which included party censorship) toward a party-based censorship institution. By the late 1950s, Briedis argues, the board and the Central Committee were at the same level in hierarchical terms.[43]

Censors not only monitored the work of authors, but also their activities in other regards. An eyewitness statement about censorship against verbal free thought in 1980 has survived: "In this context, I would like to mention an important literary event for young people in Jaunpils sometime around 1980. Among those who were there was Andris Puriņš, who was a young author, as well as Viktors Līvzemnieks, who was a poet and a student of the work of Andrejs Upītis. In discussing Latvian prose, Puriņš openly and clearly insisted that Vilis Lācis was a 'literary prostitute.' This was a scandalous event, and asked what he thought about Anna Sakse in that context, Andris said that he also saw her as a prostitute although it was undeniable that her 'Fairy Tales About Flowers' were beautiful. The consequences of this were very severe for all of us, although I personally

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[42] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit.*
[43] Briedis, R. "Teksta cenzūras...", *op. cit.*, p. 10.

found it to be an opportunity to meet the infected fans of Lācis among the ideological leaders of the Writers Union".[44]

The overall conclusion here is that the institutions of censorship developed simultaneously with the development of the Central Literature Board in the USSR. The peak of the process was reached during the era of total terror (1940–1953), after which there was a short-lived ideological thaw (1954–1966). Then came the years of stagnation during the Brezhnev regime and the high point in ideological censorship during that period related to Soviet military activities in Afghanistan in the first half of the 1980s.

Censorship in the Latvian SSR, 1985–1990

Despite the fairly monolithic nature of censorship in the USSR, there were certain regional specifics in terms of themes and demands in the Baltic republics. People from the regional literature boards met to engage in consultations, exchange experiences and co-ordinate unquestionably wicked activities. As noted before, books which were "politically harmful" were confiscated on the basis of central Soviet lists, but also the individual lists of the Central Literature Board in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.[45]

The last deputy director of the Soviet Latvian Central Literature Board, Rūdolfs Dundurs, was interviewed by the newspaper *Atmoda* in 1990, and made this confession: "When I joined the censorship institution in 1985, I believed with all of my heart that I was truly protecting state secrets. Now I am increasingly sure that the work was done in the interests of the regime. Thus, for instance, we are not allowed to disclose the results of work done by various ministries. We are not allowed to state where army units are posted. In the civilised world, the location of army units is not a secret. (..) Censorship today is basically a remnant from the Middle Ages. The principles must be changed thoroughly. (..) We are in a period of transition at this time. The Central Committee no longer intervenes in the work of the Central Literature Board, does not issue commands to it, and does not want to issue the types of commands which it used to issue. The old party system has been destroyed, but a new one has not been established. There is no doubt, however, that in future, Latvia will have security and economic interests about which there should be no shouting on street corners. That is what I think, but the republic's Supreme Council will decide on what will happen".[46] This statement clearly speaks to the

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[44] Daukšts, B. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit*.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Hānbergs, E. "Preses Nams" (Press Building). Rīga (2008), p. 65.

ambiguous situation for the Soviet Latvian Central Literature Board during its last five years of existence.

In general terms, the period between 1986 and 1990 was one during which the influence, role and importance of censorship diminished gradually, but inevitably. Indeed, the process was much quicker in the Baltic republics than in other parts of the USSR. Ģirts Kondrāts, a former employee of the Literature Board in Latvia, recalls that "the emotions were not Orwellian, they were more boring. Censors sat at their desks for the required number of hours, they did their work, and some were so bored that they started to write essays. At the first opportunity, they moved over to work for the press".[47]

In an interview with this author, Kondrāts said that there were financial reasons for this: "Editors at the Literature Board earned 110 roubles per month, but a good full-page article for the newspaper *Literature and Art* earned you an honorarium of 100 roubles. Of course, other newspapers paid less, but this was not an unimportant aspect at all".[48] Kondrāts also said that in the 1980s, the board was run by Ernests Upmalis, the son of the poet Kārlis Pelēkais. All agency operations were conducted in Russian for the sake of convenience, and reports from it were delivered directly to Moscow. The 18th floor of the Press Building had room for approximately 20 censors,[49] although the former head of publishing for the Latvian Communist Party's Central Committee, Kazimirs Dundurs, denies that this was so: "You are the first one ever to tell me that the censors had offices on the 18th floor of the Press Building. As far as I know, their office was on the first floor, and there were only two or three people there".[50]

As was the case throughout the Soviet Union, this was a period during which formerly secret library collections were brought back to light. The new process of openness in the USSR meant that banned books were once again on the public agenda, and a commission was set up on 10 September 1987, to review the "special" collections. The working group got to work, but it was tedious work. The Fundamental Library of the Soviet Latvian Academy of Sciences (now the Latvian Academic Library), for instance, had no fewer than 203 000 units under lock and key. The V. Lācis Soviet Latvian State Library (now the Latvian National Library) had 88 684. The director of the State Library, Andris Vilks, organised the drafting of instructions from the Soviet Latvian State Culture Committee on granting authority to each library director to identify ways of preserving and using Latvian

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[47] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit.*
[48] Interview by the author, 2011.
[49] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit.*
[50] Interview by the author, 2011.

publications, as well as to deal with the "special" collections that were still in place. The instruction was issued, and the once-banned publications were available to all who were interested in them.[51]

There were serious ideological battles during the last period of the Central Literature Board's existence. It was not the only agency which organised censorship. The author Alberts Bels, for instance, whose novel "Insomnia" was banned, has said that the Culture Division and Propaganda and Ideology Division of the party's Central Committee were to blame for most of the foolishness: "They intervened everywhere. They were hired because of their stupidity and their enormous energy".[52]

By 1987, the Literature Board saw the writing on the wall. In its annual report to Moscow, it reported that under conditions of openness, responsibility for the ideological nature of publications was in the hands of editors, adding that not all editors were sufficiently strict and clear in their political convictions. The board complained that some editors were even permitting publications which the Central Committee considered to be harmful. For instance, nationalist and anti-Soviet elements had received publicity on 14 June August 23, and 18 November, as well as due to their discussions about ecological problems in the republic.

Ēlerte has also pointed to 1987 as a turning point, arguing that that was the year when the media established and crystallised their position in the new discourse of political processes: "I remember how many denunciating articles were published in *Cīņa* [*Battle*, the official newspaper of the Soviet Latvian Communist Party]. People did not believe them, but obviously it was no longer possible to keep quiet about everything. Perhaps Latvia in 1987 was similar to Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1987, as in 1968, a group of courageous people checked to see how strong the regime was. In 1968, the regime proved that it was strong, and everything stopped. The same could have happened in 1987, too, because very few people were prepared to test the regime's strength. And yet the way in which the regime reacted showed that it could no longer handle the situation".[53]

"People at the Literature Board always claimed to be protecting state secrets, but the truth is that they paid most of their attention to ideological departures. As soon as they spotted something that could be seen as ambiguous, they brought out the red pencil. Bureaucrats counted up the number of sins committed by each media outlets. If the censors

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[51] Štrāle, A. "Sešstūru...", *op. cit.*

[52] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit.*

[53] "Jaunas avīzes nepieciešamība. Cenzūra un šķēres" (Need for a New Newspaper: Censorship and Scissors). In: Latvijas Tautas fronte 1988–1991 (Latvian People's Front, 1988–1991). Rīga (1998), p. 351–352.

were in a good mood, they rang up editors or met with them personally for a friendly dialogue. Sometimes, however, that was not possible. Editors tried to defend their authors, visiting the party's ideological structures for passionate debates. Sometimes they were successful. When the writer Jānis Mauliņš fell into official disfavour, and media outlets were told to stay away from his work, the editor of the official party newspaper *Cīņa*, Jānis Britāns, who was a true friend of literature, got the ban lifted".[54]

It is interesting that during the period of the Latvian National Awakening, people organised picket lines and public meetings in support of the freedom of the press. This represents one element of how people in democratic societies can express their views. During the Awakening, there were at least two picket lines dedicated to this subject. One was organised by librarians on 28 October 1988, who gathered at the Press Building to demand the shutting down of the Central Literature Board.

The second protest in support of press freedom was held at the building of the Communist Party's Central Committee on 6 March 1989. It was organised by actors from the Latvian National Theatre. It is significant that on the same day, Latvian People's Front representatives Sandra Kalniete and Jānis Škapars met with the first secretary of the Central Committee, Jānis Vagris. "Our meeting and the picket line of the actors were not linked. As far as I can remember, Škapars rang Vagris when the actors were being arrested, but he claimed that he knew nothing of the event, because his windows opened up in a different direction".[55]

One of the actors who took part in the protest, Jānis Skanis, had this to say about the events: "The protest lasted for about an hour. Participants included Uldis Dumpis, Rolands Zagorskis, Juris Lisners, Dzintars Belogrudovs, Ivars Sietiņš and other actors, myself included. The militiamen who arrested us pushed us around and were very vulgar, though I don't remember anyone being beaten up, as some of the 'log carriers' claimed later. True, all of the participants were arrested and taken to militia headquarters in the neighbourhood of Sarkandaugava. Those who met us there were far more favourable about us, and they even laughed with us about what happened. A complicated situation was faced by colleague Rolands Zagorskis, who was the secretary of the party's section at the National Theatre and also a KGB agent".[56]

Edmunds Johansons has also written about the role of the creative intelligentsia in the process of democratisation: "Contacts with the intelligentsia became a tradition and a matter of fashion during the era

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[54] Hānbergs, E. "Preses...", *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[55] Interview with Sandra Kalniete by the author, 2011.
[56] Interview with Jānis Skanis by the author, 2011.

of [LCP ideological secretary Anatolijs] Gorbunovs. There were regular meetings with representatives of the intelligentsia to discuss national subjects and creative issues. Of importance in this was the newspaper *Literature and Art*. It was a driving force behind public opinion, and it became ever more popular. During the period of *Perestroika*, the newspaper substantially increased the authority of the intelligentsia, as well as its public activities in relation to all political issues. There was even a time when it was put on the list of products that were in short supply".[57]

And yet the creative intelligentsia did not try to become lickspittles and "traitors" during the era of change. Instead, it wanted to shape the public agenda. "The most scandalous conflict between censors and editors occurred in 1988. Here is what happened: On 21 June, the Latvian People's Front announced its establishment. Viktors Avotiņš attended a meeting of journalists at the Press Building and read out the announcement. The passionate appeal was submitted to the newspapers *Soviet Youth* and *Teachers' Newspaper*. The youth newspaper rejected it, while the *Teachers' Newspaper* planned to set aside a page for the document. Censors, however, confiscated the materials. Then something unprecedented happened. The editor of the newspaper, Felikss Zvaigznons, did not publish the document, but he left the page blank. The document which was not published was put up on an information board by *Teachers' Newspaper* journalists in the entrance hall of the Press Building, calling on colleagues to gather together for a protest. The fuss was indescribable. I was in Moscow at that time, sharing a hotel room with Dainis Īvāns. When the party's 19th conference began, we received the unique issue of the teachers' newspaper as delegates. We passed it from hand to hand in the hall of the Building of Congresses. That was unprecedented in the history of the Soviet press. What a coincidence! The conference approved resolutions on political reforms and openness. Censorship was liquidated!"[58] And yet it was premature to pop open the Champagne: "The party conference did decided that censorship was no longer needed, but it remained in place in practical everyday terms. The only thing is that censorship became far looser".[59]

Of great importance in shaping public opinion and opposing censorship was the People's Front newsletter *Awakening*. Associate Professor Inta Brike, who is a media expert, has written that the newsletter of the Front created ideas about a free market for the press and helped to promote the development of Latvian media as such. This was an expansive system that was shaped by two national publications – *Awakening* in Latvian and

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[57] Johansons, E. "Čekas...", *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[58] Hānbergs, E. "Preses...", *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Baltic Times in Russian. There were also 19 local publications in Rīga and elsewhere in Latvia, and they were supplemented by other publications. In 1989, the Popular Front published 24 issues of its newsletter. In 1990 and 1991, it released 20 and 9 issues respectively, and they represented 8.5%, 4.2% and 2.3% respectively of the total number of newspapers, magazines and bulletins that were being published in Latvia.[60]

In discussing journalistic trends during the Soviet era and the age of the Awakening, Sarmīte Ēlerte has spoken of courage. During Soviet times, the main job for journalists was to find clever and approximate words to describe their thinking so that the thinking could be published after several elements of control in which editors were just the first layer. This was a complicated game for journalists, and self-censorship was certainly a part of the mix. It was not possible to learn about the world on the basis of facts, and journalists could describe it only in approximate terms. During the age of the Awakening, in turn, the best journalists in the press and on TV and radio were courageous. The level of freedom offered by *Awakening* cannot be compared to the content of other newspapers, because in terms of structure and governing mechanisms, they still belonged to the older generation.[61]

In analysing the media world during this period in time, Brik e has pointed out a series of paradoxes. First of all, these were the first opposition publications that were legal – ones which the political regime in the country permitted to exist. Their publication demonstrated a major paradox. The Communist Party pretended to be a helpful older brother which kindly took over responsibility for the publications of popular movements. The party permitted publications which it no longer controlled fully. *Awakening* was published at the printing facilities of the Communist Party's Central Committee at the Press Building, while local publications were published at regional printing facilities which, of course, were still controlled by the Communist Party to a greater or lesser degree. Despite the principle of *Glasnost*, *Awakening* and the other permitted publications were still submitted to prior restraint via the Central Literature Board. In 1989, the newsletter occasionally published empty pages with images of "scissors." It is thought that other newspapers and magazines during this period also experienced censorship and cutting of materials, but they did not demonstrate this publicly.[62]

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[60] "Tautas Frontes prese: spožums vai posts?" (The People's Front Press: Brilliance or Destruction?". In: Latvijas Tautas Fronte..., *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[61] "Jaunas avīzes...", *op. cit.*, p. 351.–352.

[62] "Tautas Frontes prese...", *op. cit.*, p. 346.

Evidence has survived not only about the work of the Soviet Latvian Central Literature Board, but also about the interference of the Central Committee in media operations, the aim being to hinder the distribution of opposition newspapers. Hānbergs has written that "according to his work notebook, (CP CC publishing house) director Kazimirs Dundurs received a call from CP CC first secretary Alfrēds Rubiks on 9 April 1989, and was instructed to prohibit the distribution of *Awakening*. Dundurs disobeyed and rang Comrade Galaktinov at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. Galaktinov was the curator of the publishing house of the Latvian CC. Comrade Galaktinov had this to say about Alfrēds Rubiks' orders: 'I do not care if you print sex, just don't destroy the printing house!'"[63]

It was only in the late 1980s, when the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union began to fall apart, that censorship gradually came to an end. Censors were forced to submit reports which said that there were publications which were being disseminated without the accustomed "JT000" censorship stamp in their accompanying documents. Treijs has argued that during its last years of existence, the Central Literature Board rather surprisingly raised hardly any objections against free speech in literary works.[64]

The Latvian Central Literature Board was officially shut down on 10 August 1990, by the Latvia Council of Ministers. Zirnis has argued that this was a symbolically important decision: "After 50 years of existence, which began with the destruction of books, this organisation in Latvia ended its operations just as it had begun them. The only difference was that in August 1990, the basement of the Press Building was used not to destroy ideologically harmful literature, but instead to get rid of the documents of the Literature Board itself".[65]

Conclusions

- Censorship was an ideological instrument which the USSR used to control public opinion.
- Censorship was an omnipresent phenomenon, and it was closely linked to other branches of power in the Soviet Union (the KGB, the Council of Ministers and the Communist Party).

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[63] Hānbergs, E. "Preses nams...", *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[64] Treijs, R. "Cenzūra zinību vīra redzējumā" (Censorship in the Eyes of a Wise Man). See *http://la.lv/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=295346:cenzra-zinbu-vra-redzjum&catid=92&Itemid=207*.

[65] Zirnis, E. "Cenzūra...", *op. cit.*

- Censors destroyed a great deal of Latvia's cultural and historical heritage – books, manuscripts, etc.
- The decline in the influence of censorship occurred more rapidly in the Baltic Republics and Latvia than in other Soviet republics.
- The end of censorship was largely due not to administrative instructions "from the top," but instead to the active anti-censorship position taken by the creative intelligentsia.
- Censorship led to the strengthening and development of "Aesop's language" in literature, art and journalism – a means for allowing viewers, readers and listeners to recognise the true thoughts of the authors.
- The elimination of the institution of censorship did not lead to a complete disappearance of censorship. The ideological censorship of the Communist and Soviet era has been replaced by economic censorship and, in some cases, indirect political censorship that is possible due to Latvia's specific structure of media ownership.

LIFE STORY AS AN AUTHENTIC THEATRICAL ROLE

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Abstract

In the last decade, theatre has taken a notable turn to "real" life stories on stages in Latvia and Europe alike. However different their aesthetic and ideological aspect, one artistic tendency shared by these productions is the search for theatrical material free from "fictitiousness". Life-story telling on stage engages ranges of questions at stake in the analysis of the phenomenological nature of the theatre of life narration. These questions are: whether the narrator is natural or theatrical; whether the narration is a role; what is the relationship between the role and naturalness; whether the act of self-presentation can be authentic and how are authenticity, naturalness and theatricality to be perceived?

Focusing the historic context and regarding the theatre as a reflection of the philosophical thought of its time, this article aims at drawing a concerted outline of naturalness, theatricality and authenticity as they have been conceptualized and expressed in various stage praxes, to conclude this examination with a view of the scenic practice of actor and director Spalding Gray's (1941–2004) as development of a form of life-story theatre resulting from combination and interchange of these practices. His example, like the other examples, attests that the theatre of minimalistic individual storytelling comes to the fore after the heyday decades of experimental art and locates itself in the experiment and innovation oriented artistic environment. Their spirit is one of a return to the beginnings of theatre or one of search for the roots of the theatre. A similar attitude comes to be expressed: the process of telling about oneself manifests simultaneous presence and representation; role is inevitable in the act of presenting of the self, it is always present, while not necessarily untrue; the life-story is construed by memory, experience and – in language, but, nevertheless, is a constituting part of the "I"; certain theatricality is inextricable part of communicative processes; the original experience and narration of experience are equally truthful and authentic.

Keywords: Storytelling, theatricality, authenticity, naturalness, autobiographical storytelling.

Introduction

In the last decade, theatre has taken a notable turn to "real" life stories on stages in Latvia and Europe alike. Generally, however, the minimalistic relation of human life-narrative is a relatively new feature of Western

theatre. On the one hand, it traces itself back to American performance art of the second half of the 20th century, and, on the other hand, takes its root in the development of documental art in Europe, at large, and in Germany, in particular. However different their aesthetic and ideological aspect, one artistic tendency shared by both these directions is the search for theatrical material free from "fictitiousness". Such artistic exploration logically takes the artist outside the confines of the theatre and is frequently characterised as "reality returning to the stage" (Theatertreffen, 2006; Biet, Frantz, 2005). Consequentially, perception of life-story on theatrical stage is impossible in isolation from the life-story as an everyday phenomenon, as well as from studies of the life-story and from the conception of its function in other spheres of the sciences and arts. On the contrary, the occasions of life-story telling outside theatre can be of help in understanding of the matters concerning its presentation, since life-story telling on stage engages ranges of questions at stake in the analysis of the phenomenological nature of the theatre of life narration. These questions are: whether the narrator is natural or theatrical; whether the narration is a role; what is the relationship between the role and naturalness; whether the act of self-presentation can be authentic and how are authenticity, naturalness and theatricality to be perceived? Is authenticity and naturalness one and the same or the authentic is to be seen as real, while natural – as closely replicating the real? Whether the theatrical is to be viewed as counterposed to authenticity and naturalness? Whether theatricality can be authentic?

As examples of cultural instances where these questions present themselves outside theatre, but, at the same time, in a situation of presentation not far removed from a theatrical one, three personal experience stories will be offered for consideration, which came to be told to the participants of the university research expedition to Dagda and Krāslava regions in Latvia, carried out on July 11–17 2011[1].

Story I

Several of researchers characterised the expressive manner of storytelling of the narrators as "theatrical" and, thus, identified them as instances of life-narration, which could be of particular interest to performance scholars. The concept of theatrical, in this case, was used in its general meaning as the opposite of 'natural', that is, expressive, flamboyant and also – exaggerated.

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[1] The expedition was organized by LU Faculty of Humanities and The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of LU.

Story II

One day of the research expedition was particular for the fact that an approximately 80 year old woman talked to its participants about her life particularly openly and extensively. In terms of 'theatrical' every-day behaviour indicated here, her manner of conversation was not theatrical; in categories of the behavioural spectrum-scale ranging "from theatrical to natural", she could be characterised as 'natural', calm, while also open in expression and manner. But the next day our group was addressed by a neighbour of this woman, telling us that, after this encounter, her neighbour had run in haste to the neighbour's house to tell her that her house had been invaded by "some mob" asking her an enormous amount of questions, to which she had struggled to answer quite casually and not to reveal her fear of the strangers. The impression of the previous day, suddenly, was reconstructed in a completely different light with the naturalness and openness of the conversation acquiring the meaning of an intentionally created effect.

Story III

Returning from a distant country cottage, on an obscure village road, we, three participants of the expedition, noticed an empty packet of noodles flapping in the breeze, attached to electrical fence at the end of a road leading to an apparently abandoned house. Precisely at this moment, we crossed our ways with a man in sweatpants, with gold-rimmed sunglasses on, with a string-bag full of clinking empty bottles. He turned into the road leading to the house nearby. Approximately half and hour later, he crossed our way again heading in the opposite direction at the moment when we had our lunch of sandwiches on the porch of the abandoned house. This wordless encounter on an empty country road where the destination of the walker was marked by an empty packet of noodles and where we were aware of the intention of his immediate action, while he, in turn, was conscious of our being outsiders to that country landscape and all of us observing each other in silence represented a "theatrical" situation although none of the figures involved behaved expressively or exaggeratedly.

Theatrical, natural, authentic – these three key words mentioned above and indirectly disclosed in examples, or – understanding of them and the stances taken with regard to them, if we want to be more precise, have determined theatrical praxis and theory, both, in its historic aspect and as on-going theatrical process. Theatre constantly swings on the weighing scales of naturalness-authenticity-theatricality swaying the balance in favour of one or the other of these qualities, depending on historic or cultural

context. This characteristic of theatre manifests itself in varying forms and techniques of acting and every changing one of them, necessarily, being in opposition to the predecessor. Focusing the historic context and regarding the theatre as a reflection of the philosophical thought of its time, this article aims at drawing a concerted outline of (1) naturalness, (2) theatricality and (3) authenticity as they have been conceptualized and expressed in various stage praxes, to (4) conclude this examination with a view of the scenic practice of actor and director Spalding Gray's as development of a form of life-story theatre resulting from combination and interchange of these practices.

Natural realisation of role

In theatre the question of naturalness is, first of all, a matter of relationship between the performer and the performed, while it exists and can be understood only as impression or effect on the viewer produced in dependence on the first aspect. Who is the performer ("me") and the performed ("other") and what relationship between the two can be qualified as "natural"?

Throughout Baroque, Enlightenment and naturalist theatre, as well as through forms of traditional theatre until now, for the actor perceived professionally, the "other" is his "role". The word "role" in German and French (German *die Rolle*; French – *le rôle*) has been symbolised by signifiers with no other meanings apart from "scroll" or "list". The adoption of the term into the realm of an actor's craft – i.e. to signify role as the part of dramatic text performed by actor – had taken root in France, in the 16th century, and, respectively, in Germany – in the 17th century, when the plays were written by hand on paper scrolls, and these texts were used in rehearsals: the text was seen only partly, namely – its part that was rehearsed at a given moment, while the rest of the text was scrolled. (Duden, 2001: 679) The English word "role" used as a signifier of part in performance (in English, the word "roll" conveys an meaning similar to the indicated French and German analogues, but it has not been used and is not used in theatrical context) has been adopted into this language from French and is used in theatre approximately since 1790. (Robert, 2000: 935)

The "role" therefore initially and, for a long period, predominantly remains a produce of dramatic theatre resulting from the process of the literarisation and institutionalisation of theatre in the 18th century, the time preceding decisive and all encompassing social – political, cultural, economic – change in Europe. Not only the theatre, in this period, has come to be the foremost medium to reflect the most pressing matters

of social and cultural life, as well as the philosophical visions of its time. Also, the social status and prestige of acting profession is rising, and the actor is gaining increasing acknowledgment culturally. In the process of the literarisation of theatre, theatrical art grows to be subordinated to drama; the author-dramatist is the central figure of dramatic staging, and the task of the actor is to serve the play. This order prompts a range of changes in theatrical practice, which, in Western culture, have governed the development of theatre to the present day and are preserved in a number of its forms. First of these changes is introduction of the period of theatrical troupe's working with the text and – reading rehearsals as a new part of theatrical practice. Second, actors are required to learn the text by heart and, apart from that, to have a general knowledge of entire text of the play, as well as the knowledge of its stage action. Third, the theatre no longer accepts improvisation and variations of text. These acting practices are banned, and theatres introduce sanctions for breaches of these conditions. A prominent example of such is the removal from the stage of so called Hans Wurst symbolically performed live in 1737, in Hamburg, as part of the event of Friederike Caroline Neuber's troupe presenting a Johann Christoph Gottshed play.

The hierarchically highest position of drama in the theatrical order and, accordingly, the function of actor as performer of dramatic text in the 18th century grounded the beginnings of theoretical discussion on the art of acting: the cultural environments of England, Germany and France are the first to produce the earliest Western European theories of actor's craft. In 1750, Paris sees Francesco Riccoboni's treatise *Theatre Art* published, which includes a chapter on the art of acting titled *Expression*; in Germany, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in the years 1767 to 1769 completes and publishes the work fundamental for the modern day dramatic theatre in Western Europe "Hamburg Dramaturgy" and Denis Diderot's *Paradox of the Actor* (1770) came to dominate further European debates on theatrical acting. One of the central aspects of these publications is the actor's striving for naturalness – the equivalent of "factuality" in the dramatic theatre of the 18th and 19th centuries. Discussions of the relationship 'the actor – his role', in this writing, feature different propositions of the strategies aimed at the achievement of a possibly higher credibility, more natural impression and, therefore, more powerful effect of the role on the viewer to enhance his or her emotional involvement with the play on stage. This projected force of acting is perceived as the super-objective of theatre as the former of moral society, since "the human who feels with you is the best human being". (Lessing, 1972: 55)

It is precisely in the 18th century, along with civic society gaining dominance over the preceding aristocratic social construction, when

naturalness is turned into a positive value. It is counter-posed to artificiality and artified manner of behaviour characteristic of and, as the mode of social inter-action, approved by and self-evident and desirable to the circles of court and to the Baroque theatre, especially – to the theatre in France, as well as to the current of the German theatre based on the French tradition, cultivated and attempted to give momentum to by Gottsched. The second part of the 18th century is governed by Rousseau's sign of calling "back to nature"[2]: on the eve of the Revolution and of the first attempts at democracy, the philosophical, intellectual and, increasingly, also social thought is dominated by such categories as nature, natural expression, natural form of inter-action, the man of nature. This tendency is directly reflected in the development of European theatres. Already in the first half of the 18th century, the theatricality of the French classical style dominant at that period is succeeded by the concern to create a possibly "realistic" theatre, reality-imitating "theatre of illusion" (German *Illusionstheater*), by another word. The theoretical writing on theatre, in this period, contains general requirements to be fulfilled to create theatrical productions (namely, what the appropriate dramaturgy should be), as well as delineation of the actor's profession. Lessing formulates a range of guiding principles of this craft in *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, completing Diderot's grounding lines: with the focus of the theatre changing from the court environment to the civic setting, theatre becomes less distant and so – more recognisable to the theatre-goer; its conflicts have to be restricted to private matters, its characters have to be everyday ones as opposed to supra-human to induce the viewer's empathic identification with them instead of inspiring quasi-religious awe; the scenic figures have to be created as balanced or "mixed" types with positive, as well as negative character traits (as opposed to the French tragedies and comedies where only one character trait is stressed); the requisite verse language of the plays has to give way to everyday one. The propositions concerning the craft of acting, in turn, concern the creation of the effect of naturalness. Diderot introduces the concept of 'the fourth wall': his proposal to the actor is to work on stage as if this wall was placed on the apron of the stage. Equally, the matter of naturalness in the art of acting is the focal point of the dialogically written *Paradox of the Actor*. In this treatise, Diderot counter-poses a rational or 'cold' actor and a sensitive or 'hot' actor to each other, that is, creates the opposition between mind and emotions. Diderot represents the view that only the actor of the first type, who maintains the distance between the 'presenter' and the 'presented', is capable of optimally natural recreation of feelings

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2   Rousseau's novel „Emile or On Education" suggests the natural environment for child rearing as essential in building of a moral society.

of a given character, whereas the quality of acting of the emotional actor, while able to command the viewer's attention sporadically, is unbalanced, not replicable with precision and un-artistic. Lessing, on the other hand, in his writing, dedicated to the art of acting produces a theory of psychologically construed theatrical acting, different, in its principles, from Diderot's vision of the 'rational actor'. Lessing accentuates the necessity of inner modification or modification of the soul, as it alone can bring about the natural stage gesture. The natural gesture, in its turn, reciprocally affects the soul, which results in actor achieving the concordance of feeling and expression and the desirable naturalness on stage. All in all, these perceptions exemplify the notion of difference between the signified and the signifier as formulated in modern times. The substance of the subject, the 'I', cannot be represented, but it can be pointed towards or it can be signified by means of gesture and expression as consistent signs. In terms of acting, it means that a sovereign theatrical character, detached from actor's own personality, is created through the use of natural gesture. In practice, this is achieved by way of overcoming the baroque-like declamatory style and by concealment of the 'seems' (Richard Schechner) between actor's personality and the persona he plays:

> "According to univocal resolution of the theatre board, 'the nature' on stage signifies: craft of representing human beings, an art, which actor masters well enough to be able to deceive the viewer so finely that he thinks himself seeing the person performed being in front of him and forgets about existence of the actor." (Martersteig, 1980: 85)

In the 19th century, the demand for naturalness is held in a transformed and a more nuanced context of realism. It reaches its pinnacle in the theatrical practice of Konstantin Stanislavski. He adds the psychological dimension to the 'art of deception'; the actor performs in a natural and believable way not because he is technically capable of misleading the viewer, but because he converges emotionally with the character performed. As opposed to the conception of acting held in Enlightenment, an actor's "I" is not submerged by the role, but – reflects in the role; the character on stage is created in the synthesis of actor's personality and dramatic text.

Notwithstanding the transformations throughout the 18th and till the end of the 19th century and the emergence of diverging methods of creation of scenic character (the suppression of actor's personality or expression of actor's personality in the stage character), the "other" of theatrical performance still is the "role" – a fictional "other", who exists alongside performing actor's personality. From the middle of the 20th century onwards, in the lexicon of the theory and praxis of the Western

theatre with regard to traditional, especially, pre-Modern theatre, this phenomenon is understood and discussed in terms of "representation" already mentioned here, which, in line with the over-all perception of role and dramatic presentation of character, largely, belongs to the world view of modern times. Representation as a whole is understood as depiction of something by means of something else (so called "function of replacement"); in theatrical context, representation is seen as "the act" of turning "something" to be palpably felt within a performance" (Fischer-Lichte, 2005: 268). The theatrical act is a mirror-image or metaphor; the stage action functions as a pointing towards an other, which is, factually, absent, but is reproduced as fiction in the process of performance. The dramatic theatre of the period spanning from the New era to Modernism, particularly, is to be understood as representational, since it is primarily metaphoric, fictional depiction/imitation of the world. It is significantly influenced by the modern-day conception of divergence between the sign and the signified,[3] which, as opposed to respective concepts in the Middle Ages, no longer sees the force of the signified in the sign, but perceives only pointing towards it (as in – the lightning is not the manifestation of divine power, but only points towards it). Analogically, the theatre, thus, acquires the function of pointing towards something, i.e., the function of representation, in the process of actor striving to project a natural gesture or – create a believable character, wherein his "self" and the "picture" remain discrete.

Theatricality as the domain of truthfulness

The history of European theatre in the light of the demand for naturalness is a telling example of enduring and, time and time again, dominating quest for "anti-theatricality" in the society and – parallel to that – in theatre. Theatricality as a positive value in theatre reaches its heights in Modernism, among other cultural turning points, introduced by Nietzsche's proclamation of the death of God signalling, that the traditional points of reference and established systems of value no longer could be upheld: it is an interesting and critical aspect, since all imitation or rejection closely pertains to the world view established by the dominant religions.

In every-day use and, as it was noted by Erika Fischer-Lichte, also, as used by scholars representing social sciences, theatricality, predominantly, bears the meaning of the elevated gesture of Baroque and the meaning

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[3] Semiotics is the discipline engaging with it more thoroughly. Compare Fischer-Lichte, E. (2007) *Semiotik des Theaters: eine Einführung.* Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.

of "exaggeration" pertinent to theatre. (Fischer-Lichte, 2005: 360) The explanatory dictionary of Latvian language terms the "theatrical" to be "artificial, unnatural; of the kind expressing false pathos." (Ailab, 2011) In this semantic use, the word "theatrical", therefore, frequently is negatively tainted or – tending to be negatively tainted. This negative perception of theatricality has enduring roots in Christian culture, in which theatricality is traditionally perceived as imitation, also, exemplarily engages theatre as consciously created and perfected form of imitation and to its professionals as figures embodying theatricality. Both, Thomas Postlewait and Tracy C. Davis indicate, in their study *Theatricality: an introduction*: the negative perception of theatricality, determined by Christian world-view, reflects, for example, in the centuries-long relegation of the actor to the periphery of society, as well as in the elimination of the mystery-drama within the Reformation and in over-all radical transformation of the secular theatre.

The practice of vanguard theatre, as well as performance art are the fields, in perspective of which theatricality, in turn, is perceived, mainly, as essence of theatre. Semiotics of theatre is the particular discipline to engage with the analysis of totality of theatrical signs or signs contained by theatrical performance. The aim of theatre semiotitians is detailed description of the signs and codes as wholes amounting to the meaning of theatrical production, since every theatrical sign participates in construction of its meaning: alongside the codes of dramatic text, those are the codes of performance text, such as gestures, expression, mimics, costumes, stage setting and bodies of the actors. In terms of theatricality, the semiotics is to be viewed in the context of the dominance of such theatre as a form-related signs of theatrical text over the codes of dramatic text; it is concisely expressed in Roland Barthes' formula: "Theatricality is theatre minus text." (Barthes, 1972: 26) It is on these grounds, and in this sense, that the forms of performing arts, which are termed to be "theatrical," turn out to be those, which have distanced themselves from the imitation-oriented dramatic theatre and which foreground the signs of performance text, as it is exemplified vanguard theatre and performance art practices.

In the European context, the theatricality of Modernism is, mainly, viewed in terms of the Russian Silver Age: *teatralnost* elevates, at once, to the style of life and the dominant characteristic of arts in general, and, particularly, of theatre. Theatricality as technique, as form, as the achievement of imagination in its highest force, as the manifestation of sovereignty of art over life and as the truth of art embodied is the central characteristic of this era, most forcefully expressed in theatrical work of director Nikolai Evreinov and, especially, in the body of work of the prominent reformer or modern theatre Vsevolod Meyerhold. To reform

means to review and to transform the established forms of art. As it is with other examples of "reformation" of theatrical art in the centuries before Meyerhold, his stylised theatre develops from questioning the way his immediate predecessors and stage mentors envisioned and practiced theatre. In the case in view, in the early 20th century, this archetype, which culminated in the Stanislavsky's system, manifested itself in striving for naturalness or, in other words, for a possibly nuanced scenic imitation of reality to be perfected to stage impressionism in general terms of performance, to prepare for which the actor was systematically trained to forget that he is empirical actor and to exist on stage singularly in the character, while the viewer was expected to forget that he is in the theatre and to become an observer of particular realistic and, therefore, believable and true environment.

In line with a number of other theatrical artists, writers and painters of Modernist era, Meyerhold's vision of art is not founded only on rejection of realistic and naturalistic theatrical forms. The Modernist interest in heightened theatricality in art and in life alike was a product of its historic context, in its widest understanding, just as dynamic forms of social behaviour had, previously, reflected the demand for naturalness in the post-Baroque era of the 18th and 19th centuries, which also had consequences for theatre: in the turn of the 19th to 20th century Europe, the heralds of the spirit of modern era came to be the ground-breaking discoveries in a number of sciences, on one hand, and the anti-materialist philosophy, esoteric teachings and quasi-religious movements, on the other hand, which aimed at restoration of the world outlook and of the earlier perception of human essence, shattered and disproved by science.

The range of the scientific discoveries, brought about one after another towards the end of the 19th century, affirm Arthur Schopenhauer's position (already 80 years before Sigmund Freud) that "the consciousness is our spirit only on the surface. Like it is with the Earth itself, we have no knowledge of its interior, but only its envelope." (Schopenhauer, 1818: 168) They lead to assert that what was previously perceived as being within human grasp and being explicable is, on the contrary, opaque and beyond the reach of the cognising human. The foundations of Newton's mechanics, on which, for two centuries, the conceptions of laws governing the natural world had been based, came to be shattered by the discovery and examination of electro-magnetic phenomena. Darwin's theory of evolution erases the man's idealised image of himself as reflection of divine creation. Quite like Darwin shattering the illusion of the divine emergence of human species, Marx in "Capital" destructs the vision of the spiritually and morally self-determining "naturally good" (Rousseau) *Homo sapiens*, since, rather than by morals, man's actions are primarily determined by existing economic

conditions. Freud's psychoanalysis, in turn, adds the explanation of the functioning of deeper human subconscious to this picture: as in the previous aspects, in this realm, human self-determination finds its limits and his own human essence reveals itself as inaccessible to him. Thus, the sum total of political, economic and scientific findings of the late 19th century, divested humans of reliable world-coordinates.

At the time, discoveries concerning nature, energy, the matter, human psychology et cetera found themselves stored in the collective consciousness as a general notion that everything existent is opaque. It led to emergence, formation and extraordinary popularity of various pseudo-religious and esoteric movements (such as theosophy of Rudolf Steiner and anthroposophy). One trait common to them all is concept of unity of spirit and matter or belief in fulfilment of human existence in spiritual evolvement alone. Here, celebration of spirit comes to replace the idea of transparency postulated by science, which is not an idea far removed from the modernist motto 'art for art's sake' (while modernists are also directly involved with number of these peripheral currents of thought). Spirit is matter and spiritual life – a reality: in a related line of thought, Meyerhold has underlined that "it is to the truth of my artistic caprice and not the reality of life, not the verity that everything I take as material for my art conforms to." (Grēviņš, 1956: 116)

Theatralisation and playing with its social roles is a reaction of Modernism to the dissipation of homogeneity of perceivable reality, reaction to its elusiveness and, thus, to the impossibility to depict it. *Apriori* existing reality is either not perceivable or – inexistent. It is replaced by one consisting of fiction, playing and fantasy: "Dreams, longings, illusions and mesmerized" lightness is "the only possible substance binding "I" to "Reality" … in the disjointed consciousness of the confused human being of that time." (Naumanis, 2002: 396) The spirit as the substance of theatre turns into a value in itself. In theatrical art this manifests as bringing the state of playing to the fore or as self-reflexivity, in another word. Instead of making the viewer to forget that he is in theatre, he is constantly reminded of this fact. This approach also involves reference to stage art forms of times passed, often – expressed as quoting and ridicule or parody of those forms. This theatre is marked by playful treatment of theatrical form, or – forms, to be more precise, in a process, which can also be termed as ascription of primary status to the form or characterised as content expressed by form itself. Theatre of style is self-reflexive, one to play with and comment on its own formal possibilities, and its grounded in conviction that natural imitation of the substance of life or outer reality is impossible, since such substance, probably, does not exist. From the point of view of the theatre of style, that is, from the modernists' point of view,

pretension to imitate reality naturally is theatrical, since it is untruthful, false. Theatricality, in its turn, is truthful precisely due to its refusal to pretend to be true, while acknowledging its own nature as playing and disclosing the rules of the play.

Authentic performance of self

In views of the avant-garde artists in the beginning of the 20th century, naturalness as believable metaphoric depiction or as objective to be reached or positive achievement of representational theatre is rejected. Modernism counter-poses its flaunted theatricality to the former guiding idea of "believable imitation," while, at the same time, there are stage practices in the early 20th century, which, instead of theatricality, aim at authentic self-disclosure. It was already Modernism, in which the demand for authenticity had risen, but it reached its heights within the context of performance art of the 1960s. It was not the representation on stage, i.e., the symbolic or fictional depiction of character, time and place, but presence alone, which came to be viewed as authentic, understanding presence as the very opposite of representation, that is, as the possibility of self-expression, of realisation of actor's authentic "I" on stage.

For the artists of 1950s and 1960s, the most prominent figure of inspiration was Antonin Artaud who a propos observed, in his time, that "actors have forgotten that they are endowed with a body, and French actors have learned only how to talk." (Artaud, 2010: 99). Influenced by Eastern cultures and drawing on ritual practices witnessed in Mexico, as well as on findings in Modernism; making use of his own experience (mental illness, use of narcotic substances) of states other than everyday experience, Artaud developed the idea of the Theatre of Cruelty and wrote its Manifesto in 1930s, as well as several essays. In one of these sources, titled *Athleticism of feelings*, Artaud expresses his views concerning the art of acting. For Artaud, this art, primarily, evolves around the matter of consciousness of actor's body and its sensual centre, the matter of discovering "the magical connection path" from the body to the soul in a process where actor finds the way into his own soul and to his emotional centre and becomes his own emotional double. One of his practical proposals for finding this "magical connection" or, in other words, for release of his double are exercises in rhythmic breathing and shouting: "Using breathing's hieroglyphics, I can rediscover a concept of divine theatre". (Artaud, 2010: 99)

Polish avant-garde director Jerzy Grotowski who turns to Artaud's ideas in the middle of 1960s, when his Laboratory theatre has reached the zenith of recognition, is seen as the most prominent heir to Artaud's ideas, which haven't existed otherwise than theoretically. Since the late 1950s, the

theatrical practice of Grotowski is increasingly more consistently driven towards realisation of the concept of Poor Theatre. It centres the self-revealing, unmasked and sensitive actor and palpable relationship with the audience – through the medium of this actor. While, in terms of guiding ideas, Grotowski refused to see the Poor Theatre as the artistic heir of the Theatre of Cruelty, from the point of view of the "truth" of actor's scenic existence – the actors work aimed not at the illustration of the role, but at the disclosure of actor's own essential core, which this article focuses on, proximity to Artaud's ideas is undeniable.[4] Grotowski's work in theatre and after leaving the "visible" side of theatre – the straightforward production of performances, was focused on the training of the actor. It consisted of a complex of physical exercises, which, instead of teaching performer any skills, were aimed at "freeing him from psychological and physical barriers, which stand on his way to being able to open himself and give into spontaneous creative expression." (Čakare, 2009: 367) Not unlike to Artaud in theory, to Grotowski, the sets of physical exercises and striving for the actor's awareness of his body and for its complete liberation is striving for the transparency of the so called "sacred actor" achieved through accession of the actor's core essence, which results in his complete truthfulness on stage. The lexicon of Grotowski consists of such terms as self-disclosure, truth, disarming, not-hiding; authenticity understood as revealing the actor's unmasked core for observation stands out as one of the targets of his artistic activity.

Artaud's ideas and the theatre of Grotowski greatly influences the work of American theoretic and performing artist, the founder of The Performance Group (TPG) Richard Schechner whose wide ranging practical and research activities resulted in the theoretic legitimisation of the theatrical art in its energetically transformative stage in 1960s. For Schechner, both, Artaud and Grotowski stand for the "theatrical" theatre, which means that he sees "theatricality" not as performance of role, but as disclosure of actor's self. In theatrical practices, Schechner himself uses a related method of work involving modelled to progress towards maximal "spiritual nakedness". The aim of productions staged by TPG he founded in 1960s is to offer the possibility to shed all the social masks to each of its members and thus approach true expression of his or her inner self. With this target in view, Schechner develops a four level training system, built on physical exercises as its basic element in order to develop performer's trust in himself, trust he affords to his partners and, eventually, trust in the viewer. Compared to Grotowski, Schechner accentuates enclosure of the viewer in theatrical process. His concept of Environmental Theatre

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[4] Compare Čakare, V. (2009). Ježijs Grotovskis. // *Teātra režija pasaulē*. Rīga: Jumava.

is founded on the idea of elimination of boundaries dividing the playing space from that of the viewer. Thus, not only actors, but the audience as well is made part of the performance, and, ideally, a sense of communal feeling characteristic of ritual can be achieved: not only each of the of the performing collective individually arrives at a fuller realisation of his or her essence, freed from everyday social masks, but the viewer also can make a step into this direction, experiencing a sense of energetically intensive communal feeling in the process. Schechner's line of work is close to that of Grotowski also in that he approaches role as an inspiration for the actor's individual self-revelation: "A role is a theatrical entity, not a psychological being. (…) To think of a role as a person is like picnicking on a landscape painting." (Schechner, 1994: 165) Principally, Schechner does not refute the concept of the role; the theatrical part as a form continues to exist, and, in performance, the viewer can observe the relation between the role and actor's personality. On stage, the actor always acts as himself, only adopting the role, putting it on as a mask. In productions, the character performed and the empirical actor most often exist parallel to each other, while the latter of the two predominates and is, unquestionably, the more significant one in this "pair". No strategies aimed at the strengthening of character's psychological credibility are used in performance of this kind; to actor, the stage persona serves singularly as a material and matrix of his self-realisation: "Whatever psychology there is in a role is the psychology of the performer, his own personal being."(Schechner, 1994: 165) Thus, in his work with actor, Schechner was less interested in creation of stage figures or characters and more – in collaboration with the actor as personality supposed to have courage enough "to lay his mask aside and show himself as he is in the extreme situation of the acting he is playing. This is not Stanislavsky's famous "as if". This is the actual situation of the action, not its imaginary projection." (Schechner, 1994: 126)

Therefore, in its initial stages, in the decades from 1950s to 1970s – the phase of the refusal of Modernism, performance art emerged and evolved around the assumption of possibility of the actor's authentic existence on stage, around the general idea of viability of expression of the actor's "real" essence in theatrical performance. The actor, therefore, became performer, subsuming, in this concept, simultaneity of his functions as author and performer, as, on stage, he was not a figure representing another fictional entity, but strove for self-disclosure, while sharing the time and space continuum with the viewer, that is, strove to be present and immediate. Meanwhile, the development of performing practices of a number of artists and entire next period of performance art at large proved that the range of actual realisation of these notions to be limited. Such oppositions as representation and presence and the notions of authenticity and artifici-

ality in theatre, are tested against the limits set by the art form itself and, consequentially, can take artists in their search for "genuineness" outside the confines of theatrical practice. This is how it happened with Schechner who made ritual elements integral part of his performance practice and, especially, with Grotowski who discontinued stage directing within a decade of active directorial work to turn to experimentation in actor training.

It may have happened for the simple reason that theatricality is inevitable in theatre. If it is conceived not as the end result, but – examined historically down to the conditions of its emergence, it becomes obvious that it is the effect of theatre, and not its *apriori* existing property. The effect of theatrical naturalness lies in successful "hiding of the seams" between "I" and "the character", which comes to be achieved through technical prowess or psychological preparation, but, most frequently, in combination of both. Theatricality proves to be quite the opposite – a visibility of such "seams" observed by the viewer placed outside the situation of theatrical performance.

Recourse to the examples of theatrical situations prompted by the research expedition, which focused on the spoken history, will help to clarify this further. The first of the examples concerned a case of perception of human behaviour in front of one or several people as theatrical. This behaviour involved gesture, mimics, particular intonation of the person's narrative, environment the person created around, which signalled to the listener or in the situation of listening that the listener was the intended audience of this event or that the situation was created for his sake, while this behaviour of the narrator is not his organic manner when he is alone or in environments where the narrator does not perceive the other persons present as listeners or viewers. In the second case offered for consideration, the gestures, mimics, mode of self-expression, the wardrobe of the speaker and the environment of the event of dialogue did not testify to their conscious organisation on the part of the participant of this dialogue in focus. The situation acquired a theatrical dimension in retrospect, that is, once the previously unknown information regarding the real, concealed attitude of the talker to the persons interviewing her came to be revealed. After this disclosure, the listeners reconstructed the dialogue they had experienced in a different light and ascribed different meanings to the elements of the episode of this exchange stored by their memory. The third example, in its turn, instead of a narration, reflected a situation, in which three interviewers passed a sudden thunderstorm by taking their lunch on the porch of an abandoned country cottage and met a man going to a local spot illegally trading in alcohol twice – on his way to this place and back: on the dirt road, his desired destination was marked by an empty packet of pasta fluttering in the wind.

The traits in common for these three situations, characterised as theatrical, are participating humans, state of object or several elements or objects in the same time-space continuum being out of order of their environment, as well as presence of a distanced and self-aware observer. Awareness of existing incongruity and emergence of a theatrical effect, in their turn, depend on signals, reception of which is predicated on collective and individual experience of the recipient. Thus, the first situation displayed could be described as theatrical by almost every listener. The signals of theatricality, in this case, are behavioural: they indicate that gestures, heightened mimic and verbal expression of the talking figure are purposely made for the sake of the effect on listeners present. As regards the last one, the third, of these examples, theatrical perception of the indicated situation is quite individual. Of these three, it is the second example, which demonstrates the mode of the functioning of theatre the most explicitly: the signal of incongruence is part of the texture of the event (the neighbour) and, for the viewer, points toward the dimension of staging. Once the signal is perceived as theatrical, the entire episode turns out to be perceived as theatrical, including moments, which had not been ascribed any meaning previously.

The function of such signals is unavoidable in theatre, and, therefore, theatricality is also inevitable (while its degrees will vary depending on the objective and aesthetics of staging). From acquisition of a theatre ticket to the presence or absence of stage curtain, every element of the theatrical situation functions to signal theatricality. Even if the viewer forgets the "rules of the game" in moments of performance and is not consciously distanced, these signals function, nevertheless, if not before, then, at least at the end of the performance when the lights come up and it is time to leave the venue.

Interest to achieve an authentic experience, for the performer in his act and for the viewer alike, interest to shed the theatricality, which is part of every staged act and which elicits the distancing of the viewer, means a counter-position of such theatrical practices against both previously described phenomena – the natural theatre, as well as the theatrical or highly stylized one. In one of these theatrical forms, the seams between the object and its surrounding reality are concealed, while, in the other, they are emphatically fore-grounded, but they exist in both of these approaches. To be authentic on stage means to free the process from the seams entirely. However, theatre as an art form presupposes the presence of the viewer and – therefore – complex modes of communication, in which performing cannot be completely eliminated even in the cases of happening, that is, a singular, authentic, unrepeatable event. When, in events of this kind, artist's own blood is used (as is the case with Belgian

artist Jan Fabre) or artist shreds his own flesh with a needle (as artist of physical theatre Ivo Dimchev is observed to act), the event is authentic and, indeed, no longer theatrical. The observer's self-distancing and awareness of distance is destroyed in such acts (in practices of this kind, it is almost always achieved by radical means of expression) and a prominent characteristic of such acts is their irreversibility. Therefore, authenticity in terms of theatrical event is possible, but the range of its expression is quite limited: authentic experience of the performer and viewer alike is, mainly, relegated to the realm of physical expression. It is for this reason that the body has turned into main expressive instrument of the new theatrical forms. However, beyond the body, the authenticity or verity of the subject's "I" still remains concealed and inaccessible for depiction.

Spalding Gray's theatrically authentic life-stories

Homogeneous identity and its conceivable expression on stage in an authentic manner has been scrutinised and questioned already in the subsequent phase of development in stage arts, in the late 1970s and in the 1980s. It is precisely in the light of examining the viability of authenticity that the turn to personal biography narrative on stage occurred at this time. In the 1960s, the governing traits in the development of performance art had been a) disclosure of actor's authentic "I" through physical expression; b) scepticism regarding narrative and general perception of the "role" as a negative term and negative principle; and c) collectivity of creation and experience – both, in terms of the group work of performers and in terms of what regarded the viewer. Another trait characterising stage arts was also the striving for qualitative changes in society, which led to the political discourse of art, manifested in forms and themes of performance alike. The second part of the 1970s gradually sees a distancing of performance artists from these coordinates. In this period, especially, in the 1980s, the form of theatrical art gaining the precedence turned out to be an application of the artist's own autobiography. This trait testifies to the fact that theatrical forms, rooted in the radical experimental performance art, gradually gave the rise to and fed the subsequent coming to prominence of such theatrical tendencies as a) a critical view of the accessibility of authentic "I" or disclosure of performer's identity and questioning instead of affirmative propositions of identity as a theme in stage arts; b) the admission of the co-existence of theatrical text and perception of "role" as one of the aspects of actor's or performer's identity; and c) the dominance of the individual creative process on stage and ascription of the status of theme to an individual's own, subjective experience. These tendencies have been explained by some in terms of the political context of art at that

time (the 1960s – the Vietnam War, the Peace Movement), and, therefore, in terms of the loss of vector (Schechner), while others saw it as a logical phase in development of the solipsistic avant-garde art, which, according to Herbert Blau, for example, most vividly pointed to the fundamental flaws of art's ideology in the previous decades.

Initially, the accentuated autobiographical motives emerge in the stage work of feminist artists. Drawing on Moira Roth's study *The Amazing Decade*, Marvin Carlson has identified three general tendencies in the earliest projects of female performance artists. The first is presentation of personal experience in terms of performance; the second is thematisation of the woman's role in society in the historic perspective; and the third trend is one of combining the first two in the acts of performative projection of perspectives for future, as well as in drawing of the possible lines of feminist activity. Carlson concludes that it has been, mainly, in political terms that this development of performance and this ascension of the autobiography related the feminist movement to the stage and, later, the adoption of these forms of theatrical expression by other minorities have taken place: it is the period of the strengthening of the feminist movement and of overcoming of the taboo of homosexuality as a theme, a time when autobiography presents itself as individual narrative, which is able to represent particular groups.

Meanwhile, Spalding Gray is frequently identified as one of the first artists to bring the theme of the individual identity to the stage and to pioneer the genre of autobiographical mono-performance. Gray's indelible mark on stage was addressing his personal identity, constituting this identity – the WASP identity – in the story, thus, foregrounding the formerly predominantly evaded fact that this identity is socially privileged, and disclosing its aspects in performance of his own self.

To a certain degree, the evolvement of the artistic career of an artist, author and story-teller Gray (1941–2004) to the level of autobiographic monologues can be said to reflect the development of experimental theatre in America in 1960s to 1980s. Gray had received a classical training in acting in college in Boston where the profession of drama, dramatic acting and the perfection of scenic speech was stressed. After graduation as a trained actor, Grey worked in a number of regional theatres and was accepted as a constant member of a theatre ensemble in 1967, in Huston, Texas, where, after a short period of time, he did not experience fulfilment because of the conservative nature of professional theatre and resigned from the troupe. After a string of engagements in various off-Broadway theatres, he was convinced that, instead of artistic interest in psychological rehearsal of roles he was interested in experimental art. Guided by this interest, Gray becomes an avid viewer of TPG performances and, as a result

of attending *Dionysus in 69*', which particularly impressed him, turns to Schechner, asking him to be accepted into the group. Gray's collaboration with Schechner extends for ten years. As most fulfilling experiences of this working period, later, Gray identified the development of performer's personality practiced by Schechner: work on their first collaborative work *The Commune* had begun with the phrase: "I'm not really interested in your ability to take on a character yet, but let's explore who you are."(Schechner, 2002: 159) Gray indicated the freedom to be himself and the liberty to be a creator of performance as another aspect of this work most valuable to him, where important conditions are performance, text being second in importance – only the skeletal structure allowing for the actor's self-expression in the stage event.

With Schechner's distancing from his troupe in 1975 when he spends a year in India, a period of relative TPG recession began, and several artists took to creating their performance work independently. Collaborating with Elizabeth LeCompte, Gray develops a performance trilogy titled *Three Places in Rhode Island*. This collection of work contains elements characteristic of his later findings and "concentrates on a single subject: development of character named Spalding Gray." (Bierman, 1979: 13) This three-part performance is marked not only by return to text ad narrative on stage as the basis of performance action, in which Grey is interested more than in previous mode of performance work guided by principles of collective inter-action. It is also the beginning of self-staging of Grey's personality in his performance. In 1978, Spalding Grey leaves The Wooster Group and TPG, which existed alongside one another up to 1980, in order to turn to the creation of autobiographic solo performance. He creates altogether 14 stage monologues in the period till 2004, the year of his suicide, which was a result of Gray suffering grave physical and psychic trauma in a damaging traffic accident. These monologues were performed simple and unchanging in form for 20 years. When the audience was seated, Gray entered the room (the playing space of Performance Garage had the entrance from behind the viewers' space, prompting the performer to emerge on stage from behind the seats) uniformly wearing his everyday pieces of clothing – jeans and a chequered shirt – with a note-book in his hand. There was a table the centre stage, a glass of water not far away from the note-book, and a microphone on the table in the middle. Gray delivered his monologues, always sitting at the table; the microphone was not constantly used, but, predominantly, for accentuation purposes. As a rule, no other props, demonstration or decoration elements featured. One of the rare events when a prop got to be used was the monologue *Swimming to Cambodia* where the maps of Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam were made use of to allow identification of the places the stage narrative referred to. In a number monologues of subsequent years, audio tunes

were employed to underline certain passages or for the purposes of creating a particular atmosphere. In terms of duration, the monologues usually ranged from 60 to 90 minutes, and Gray closed his performances leaving the room by the same door he had entered it never returning to receive the applause.

Gray rarely used the note-book, which was kept on table during the performance. Instead of ready-made, stabilised performance material, the note-book contained enumeration of the 'focal points' of performance, which had to be followed through in the process of narrating and performing. The first of the preparation stages, which preceded performance, was working with one's memory – the choice of the event to be narrated: "What I start with is memory. All memory is a creative act. If you have a memory, you're creating the original event."(Schechner, 2002: 165) The next step was generation of notes, while the material itself was allowed to evolve while being performed; in this process, the memory is still the source of narrative, as the governing 'principle', which affords sequence and structure to actual material presented, connecting events between themselves not in terms of linear chronology, but rather – by associative logic. Gray has not been intent on memorising the monologues either, thus, by a consciously retained free textual form, aiming at to create and preserve impression of spontaneity and uniqueness of the event even when it was re-told a number of times. Gray's monologues, later published in written form, were the result of live performance and acquired the finalised form of a text only at the end of one or two hundred performances. In the introduction to the performance text *Swimming to Cambodia*, Gray wrote that its published version was distilled in about two hundred performances.

Swimming to Cambodia is the most known and the most successful of Gray's monologues. It is founded on this author and performer's experience filming Roalnd Joffe's feature film *The Killing Fields* in 1983. The film was shot in Thailand and reflected the historic events of mid 1970s, during the genocide suffered by people of Cambodia. In the text *Swimming to Cambodia*, Grey treats, both the story of the film and related historic facts: the journalist Sydney Schanberg arrives in Cambodia from New York, in order to report on the USA army's advances in fighting the communist movement of the Khmer Rouge, which are beginning to control increasingly large Cambodian territories under the command of the Cambodian dictator in making Pol Pot to conquer the capital of the state Phnom Penh 1975 and to begin a campaign of ruthless home-genocide. Pot requires deportation of 3 million Cambodians from the capital within 48 hours, which ends in systematic mass murder. Every person with any level of education at all is eliminated, and spectacles alone can serve as indicator of education in this rampage of state ordered murder. In the three years leading to the

occupation of the territory of Cambodia by Vietnam army, approximately one third of entire population of Cambodia or one and a half to two million of people lose their lives. In the process of reporting Schanberg forms a close collaborative relationship with a local photographer Dith Pran who is also eventually sent to internment camp. Schanberg leaves Cambodia along with a number of other American and European journalists, to return to it later in order to locate Pran. After three years, he finds the photographer in one of the death camps and helps him to flee the country and move to New York.

Gray's performance title *Swimming to Cambodia* is metaphoric: swimming from New York to Cambodia is as humanly impossible as is it is, for the human imagination, to conceive what is actually happening in this state. Five diverse and contrasting environments are juxtaposed in the narrative of this performance. The first of them is the film-set Cambodia and its historic events in 1975. The second environment is the situation of filming and its realities: Gray in performance, for example, comments on the film as "the therapy of war" and as "acquisition of role" as self-evident because of the realistically created film environment. Thirdly, featuring in performance narrative, there is Thailand of 1983 with its social and natural landscape, which radically differs from Cambodian episodes filmed at that moment on Thailand soil. Gray touches on the fascinating nature of the country, but relates also its exotic 'goods' offered to visitors, that is, prostitution, erotic shows and massage parlours, which almost unavoidably await Westerners almost on every corner with Western men finding it hard not to fall into this Lust Ring. They are seen to forsake their former lives and remain in Thailand to work by day as teachers in order to never leave the heights of pleasures found in this country. The fourth environment is New York repeatedly referred to a memory landscape setting off the immediate Thailand experience reproduce in performance with seemingly unrelated features such as Auschwitz survivor-shrink of Jewish origin, the noisy So-Ho neighbours or the narrator's girlfriend awaiting him at home. The fifth environment, in its turn, is Gray's personal, inner space. Its centre is the Faustian Perfect Moment: indefinable and impossible to capture verbally, it is mainly conceivable as instant of absolute fulfilment, when the phobias, which incessantly torment the artist, are shed and he is submerged by the moment like his body is submerged by warm waters of the coast of Thailand. This is where he experiences the Perfect Moment and, according to the self-imposed conditions, can return to New York.

The search for the Perfect Moment, a sort of imaginative thread connecting not only separate of Grey's works, but entire body of monologues, have for key words such concepts as time and longing. To live the Perfect Moment means to stop time and be in the Here and Now.

To strive to experience this Moment means to long for the experience of extremity in the Here and Now, when all the simultaneously existing spectrums of consciousness, all the 'environments' and co-existent roles become one; this is supposed to counter-balance the sadness about places, people and the times gone by, which, felt with heightened intensity, turns him into a story-teller in Walter Benjamin's sense of "resisting the river of the By-gone."

In his narrative, Gray treats each of the indicated simultaneous spectrums of consciousness from the stand-point of equal distance, which involves irony, as well as self-irony, which creates the impression that he is an alienated viewer of the events and a sharp, spot-on commentator, and that the private Spalding Gray is almost nowhere revealed although many facts, events and even sensations are narrated, from a fight with a girl friend to his private frustration on film set. In the interview mentioned before, Gray admits of perceiving himself as a "poetic reporter." In it is also in this role of the poetic reporter that his monologue *Swimming to Cambodia* is delivered. In this case, its poetic aspect is to be found in the markedly subjective or personal stance regarding himself and the world around, which characterises the monologue. The monologue's nature of reportage, in its turn, is due to the many-fold and diverse historic, political and social information, which forms the narrative. Thus, as it is observed to be the case with Gray's monologues in general, the personal and the collective stories or the personal and the collective auto-biography are inter-woven to form its text, and the collective is, at once, understood as experience shared by a group or community and as mode of viewing certain subjects or events whose emergence has been determined by particular sets of historic, cultural and socio-political conditions. In a performance of this kind, rather than excluding each other, presence and representation are its simultaneous characteristics: in his self-presentation, Gray represents also a form of the WASP experience in Western culture, and the standing point with respect to Cambodia, Thailand or New York pertaining to this identity. Gray underlines that, in this respect, the process of monologue building is also a collective one or – informed by collective experience conceived in the mode, which is alike to that of working in TPG and The Wooster Group.

Part of Schechner's critique of autobiographic narrators in theatre, among other moments, was addressed to the restored division of the participants of theatrical event into audience and those who perform, as that had been the division line fought to be destroyed by performance artists for two decades. Reflection of the collective experience and social discourse in Spalding Gray's monologues, the general resonance of his personal story and identifying with the story told resulted in 'inclusion' of

the viewer: by comparison to the line of evolvement of the civic theatre indicated before, a nearly evident conclusion can be made that both have been similarly predicated; both have aimed at addressing matters known and understood by the viewer, thus, striving for empathy and catharsis (the 18th century) or associative and mental involvement of the viewer (Gray). Gray compares the associative realm opened by his stories the theatres of Robert Wilson and Meredith Monk, with the difference that physical involvement is replaced by mental, emotional and associative involvement or – by seeing as an understanding of an active process. Thus, Grey practically widens the semantic limits of the term 'inter-activity', an active critically theoretic discussion of which is a recent occurrence and particularly has to be related to Jacques Ranciere's work *The Emancipated Spectator* (2009) in which he underlines that the effect of art derives precisely from a possible distance, which does not signify passivity, since viewing is an active process in the same line as watching is an action.

The assumption that it is possible to access one's core essence, as well as to be authentic on stage and free from social masks, as it was held by Artaud, Grotowski, Schechner and other artists of previous decades, came to be inversed in Gray's autobiographic monologues now suggesting that the social mask or the way human being presents himself, both, to himself and to the world around, is an inextricable and legitimate part of the authentic "I". Therefore, playing with the self and non-homogeneity of the identity is authentic in the same way as the actor in performance is authentic. Mask, in Grey's case, is, both, the narrative of event and the act of speech, through which it is delivered and not – experienced: the action of transforming the direct experience into words, accentuation, pauses, intonations and the attitude towards the event itself, which thus comes to be expressed. The mode of telling, in Grey's monologues, is not monotonous, not-commenting. On the contrary, Gray – the performer constantly comments on Gray – the protagonist of the story by the dint of storytelling technique (use of intonation, modulation of voice etc.) thus, frequently achieving the comic effect, characteristic of monologues, which sets off the main motive of the act of telling, which is the consciousness of the time passing and awareness of the presence of death, as a contrast. Narrative relation of one's experience – of Spalding Gray's experience – as mode of presentation of living being becomes element of the theatre he creates much like it is an inextricable element of performance in everyday life. Thus, the concept of the role is restored; the role of Spalding Gray is the role, played in Spalding Gray's auto-performances:

> "It became not the art of pretending I was someone else but an art that began to approach the idea that I was someone else. I wanted to give up the names, to close the gaps. It was no longer to be the

"Stanley Kowalski self" or the "Hamlet self", but now it was a play of moods, energies, aspects of self. It became the many-in-the-one that had its source in the archetype of the performer, not in the text." (Gray, 1979: 35)

In opposition to the mode aiming at a purer than life's truth in theatre (Schechner), Gray, therefore, appears to present both of these worlds as equal: what is lived as original or life's experience and what comes to be presented as the story of original or life's experience within a theatrical act. However, there are no fictional elements consciously woven into the stories, but, nevertheless, they are not posited to be authentic or true allowing for the creative aspect of memory apt to mix real events and "dreams, reflections and memories themselves."(Gray, 1985: xiv) The domain of truth, for Gray, is not the factual event in its completeness or precision, but in its relation to a listener, which reflects what has been essential enough in this event for memory to store it.

Gray himself insists on the creativity of memory, on inevitably fictional nature of every narration and on impossibility of authenticity as such in every interview and almost in every one of his works. At the same time, Gray's performance much like the reception and the public image of his persona have been built on the tight relationship or on the elusive and shifting demarcation line between empirical Spalding Gray and the role of Spalding Gray. The analysis of the essence of empiric persona is beyond the limits of this or any other research of this kind. The compilation of both, which came to be expressed in Gray's work, in its turn, testifies to diversity of identity, as well as its changeability in the aspect of its constituting; it also actualises the exigency of the act of telling, as treated by Odo Marquard: "Telling it gives me so much more control and also heightens it."(Schechner, 2002: 165) The myth of the humorous storyteller Gray, who watched Tim Burton's *Big Fish* with his son on the eve of his suicide, is (possibly) one of the most long-lasting stories. The phrase the film concludes with is: "A man tells a story over and over so many times he becomes the story. In that way, he is immortal."

Conclusion

The example of S. Gray like the other examples of the theatrical practice of this kind – such as the signature theatre of storytelling created by Latvian stage director Alvis Hermanis – which have been left outside the scope of this article attest that the theatre of minimalistic individual storytelling comes to the fore after the heyday decades of experimental art and locates itself in the experiment and innovation oriented artistic environment. Their spirit is one of a return to the beginnings of theatre or

one of search for the roots of the theatre. The questions concerning human existence (time, past, memory, constitution of the identity in a story) and the most fundamental matters of theatre are actualised in the act of story telling by a seated narrator. The matters that this process posits to be sought answers to are the theatrical dilemmas such as relationship between life and art, the matter of authorship and the matter of the performer's persona – if those two are identical – along with question concerning the mode of the actor's communication with the audience – for example, whether it is direct or associative involvement and what are the elements of presentation and representation in each act of the presenting of self. In the example offered here, not unlike it is to be observed in Hermanis' stories and Joachim Meyerhoff's epic autobiographic narratives staged in the Vienna Burgtheater, or as one also sees it presented by the musical life-story telling mode practiced by the off-Broadway troupe Nature Theatre of Oklahoma, a similar attitude comes to be expressed: since every life-story represents a wider social and cultural context, the process of telling about oneself manifests simultaneous presence and representation; role is inevitable in the act of presenting of the self, it is always present, while not necessarily untrue; the life-story is construed by memory, experience and – in language, but, nevertheless, is a constituting part of the "I" on a par with body or human psyche; certain theatricality is inextricable part of communicative processes; the original experience and narration of experience are equally truthful and authentic.

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"THE REASON FOR LACK OF CULTURE IS NOT YET THE LACK OF MENTAL ABILITIES": PHILANTHROPIST PEDAGOGY AND LATVIAN LITERATURE AT THE TURN OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

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Abstract

The article describes the pedagogical idea of the philanthropist impact on Latvian secular literature at the end of 18th century and at the beginning of 19th century in the context of three German philanthropist pedagogues – Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, Joahim Heinrich Campe and Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow – fiction translations into Latvian, that have been done by Baltic German Lutheran pastors Christoph Julius Hartmann, Friedrich Gustav Matzewski, Karl Watson and Alexander Johann Stender. Philanthropist pedagogical ideas incorporate into the network of German popular enlightenment ideas and are associated with the attempt to put Jean-Jacque Rousseau's educational ideas into action. In philanthropist pedagogy, an important emphasis is put on the social mission of education and on formulating the ideal of new enlightened society. The so called youth literature, developed by philanthropist educators, intertwines with popular enlightenment writings, as it is very often addressed to common people, and this fact explains the popularity of philanthropist educators' translations in Latvian literature. The article describes a link between literature of Latvian enlightenment period and innovative pedagogical ideas during the 18th century, commenting on Latvian texts in context with the messages expressed in John Lock's and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings and their reception in German speaking cultural space. At the same time the article pays attention to cultural transfer, when German pedagogical texts change their meaning nuances in Latvian translations and localisations.

Keywords: popular enlightenment, Latvian literature, philanthropist pedagogy, educational ideas, Latvian-German literary contacts.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to give an insight into relationship between philanthropist pedagogy and Latvian literature in the late 18th and early 19th century. That relationship could be described in several levels, translations of pedagogical treatises from German into Latvian being only one of them.

This article tries to explore whole framework of the historical situation within which pedagogical ideas begin to impact Latvian literature; more detailed and comparative analysis of particular texts is still the task for future and lies beyond the scope of the article.

Writing versus Teaching

During the popular enlightenment (*Volksaufklärung*) period in Latvian literature (i.e., second half of 18th century – the beginning of 19th century) one perhaps cannot look at author-reader relationship beyond such concepts as dominance and control: inequality is what defines the literature itself because as soon as both sides would be equal, such literature would stop its existence. A comparison between Christian missionaries and heathens would be suitable here: during the Enlightenment period the author and reader of Latvian secular literature become pedagogue and pupil, and education is needed only as long as the pupil becomes a grown-up; while he is treated as pupil, he is not yet one. If one considers literature to be a popular enlightenment ideas' transportation vehicle (see further: Grudule 2005; Daija 2009), a pedagogue (author) logically cannot switch places with a pupil (reader). It is characterised by a tendency to develop a wholesome personality creating model and to "create" a reading public, thus creating a patriarchal relationship model between author and readers; a question remains, does the public consider *itself* this way and is it ready to join this communication model. The author has a sense of mission towards the audience, which he approaches; in this case the author is not guided by public demand, he realises that he is writing for those who are not enlightened. Thus a situation where educated Baltic writers are writing not in their native language for peasants (respectively, ethnic Germans are writing in Latvian for ethnic Latvians) is developed, being based not upon request or feedback, but upon relatively abstract ideals that have not arisen in Courland or Livland, but in German-speaking countries – thus duplicating a literary communication model inspired by the Reformation. A communication system, which is created by a popular enlightenment program with the help of printed word, should be more exactly defined as asymmetrical communication system that only imitates mutual communication. It is a characteristic of the popular enlightenment literature program in general: it cannot exist without patronage, if there is no seclusion of enlighteners and those who should be enlightened.

Where does the situation base? It must be stressed that popular enlightenment literature establishes from the notion of need for school and education. From the Enlightenment period Latvian writing point of view the school cannot be separated from the book. The activities of the

founder of Latvian secular literature, Gotthard Friedrich Stender, after returning from Germany to Kurland, start with the development of schools for Latvian peasants in Warenbrock. "But books alone will not enlighten [*neizskaidros*] your nation," Stender writes later, "therefore schools are very much needed." (Stender 1776: 5) Because of historical conditions, the *book* becomes a kind of substitute for the *school*, and the secular printed word gains those functions that in social reform debates have been related to education, i.e., peasant preparation for freedom, after the abolishment of serfdom. (Stepermanis 1935: 76–78)

    Pedagogical vocabulary is often used in commenting on popular enlightenment, i.e., Gotthard Friedrich Stender is characterised as a "people's educator in the direct sense of the word". (Rosenberg 1977: 240) It seems that during this period not everybody actually believes in the absolute omnipotence of a printed word. The printed word is, of course, very important, because it can address a wider audience and reach further into different Latvian regions than, for example, a conversation with a parish priest or a church sermon. However, only book reading will not enlighten the Latvian peasants; alongside books, school is also of greater importance. Literary practice, to which enlighteners devote their energy, is only a derivative from an educational program that focuses on the school problem. This problem has not been solved during the whole century, therefore home teaching remains as a dominant model, providing regular reading skills, but not being able, of course, to replace the school. Thus, the printed word and peasant books become a more active movement of popular enlightenment's educational program than establishing schools: unlike schools, books need less resources and allow individual initiative. But this does not give one reason to believe that authors would privilege books in an educational program, and it is important in understanding 18th century Latvian secular writings.

Upbringing of Country Children

    The schooling situation in present day territory of Latvia was still extremely poor during the second half of 18th century and at the beginning of 19th century, and most children acquired knowledge in home teaching. The Baltic German pastor Karl Watson comments this situation in 1819 saying that Latvian educational problems are "quite unique". "In particular, in some churches only a half of peasants are reading, but generally we can assume that more than two-thirds of local inhabitants cannot read … The reason for lack of culture [*unkultur*] is not yet the lack of mental abilities – because Latvians are mentally rich and able to be educated, but it is an absolute lack of elementary schools whose establishment beyond other

obstacles is disturbed also by the Latvian singularity to live sporadically and not in villages." (Watson 1819: 46–47) After evaluating statistical data, the Latvian historian Andrejs Vičs draws a conclusion: "When talking about the establishment of schools and their operation, numbers speak a clear language – the main source for Latvian education of that period should not be looked up in schools, – it should be looked up in peasant houses, near a darkened window, at splinter light … Approximately 80 % of Latvian book readers grew up being educated by their parents and close relatives." (Vičs 1923: 227) As the era sources testify, Latvian peasants are too poor and not enough interested in educating their children, and thus supporting schools. (Neander 1956: 137) Thus, according to the previously cited Gotthard Friedrich Stender's premise, it is possible to assume that during the popular enlightenment period only half of the program was realised.

An important aspect is the pedagogical approach of popular enlightenment itself. "In contrast to the modern understanding of upbringing, the pedagogical ambitions of Enlightenment were by no means reduced to a limited, single influence from the time point of view in the early phase of life," the German literary historian Annegret Wölpel writes, commenting on the situation in German speaking countries. (Wölpel 1996: 22) Upbringing, on the contrary, is understood as a process that covers an individual's development throughout life and in several generations from the social aspect; the aim of upbringing is "a person of age", a mature (*mündig*) person, whereof it is possible to link pedagogical ideas with "raising the maturity". (Wölpel 1996: 22) In other words: "The ordinary man and the new generation were fully discovered as readers and objects of literary upbringing." (Wölpel 1996: 25) Peasants' comparison with children from the "mental infancy" point of view is a frequent maxim not only in German popular enlightenment texts, but also in Latvian writings. It is possible that pedagogy later never would have had such a dominating place in Latvian literature as it was during the Enlightenment era, and one can agree that Gotthard Friedrich Stender's and his followers' work is inspired by "his time modern pedagogy, and basis … of the propensity towards demonstrative moral and joyful learning should be searched here" (Kārkliņa 1939: 113). Thus, it is possible to say that alongside philanthropy the especially secular pedagogical direction characterises popular enlightenment. (Wehrmann 1981: 143)

At the same time, "the upbringing of country children" is considered as "the starting point of the whole country education and early reform". (Wölpel 1996: 24) Schools become one of the most important enlightenment promotional places, (Wölpel 1996: 25) but in the Baltic the school situation, as mentioned earlier, is unsatisfactory. In addition, isolation from the older generation is quite typical for the popular enlightenment,

as the older generation often embodies superstition, heathen customs and uncivilisation. It turns out to be that only the younger public is worth addressing. "It is not a shame for our fathers that children are smarter than they have ever been," reminds the Baltic-German pastor Alexander Johann Stender, (Grudule 2001: 191) emphasising that it is not difficult to reach the ideals of Enlightenment, if one is not clinging to old habits – therefore the authors give hope to young people, as well as to the fact that the force of the habits of the old generation will not be that strong. (LGG 1797, 23) "To talk with them [people who do not want to learn], to educate them is as meaningless, as to wash a golliwog (a negro) or a gipsy white," says a Baltic German author about Latvian peasants that are not willing to be educated, "But with you, right-minded Latvians and young book-readers, that have not yet been corrupted [i.e., mentally corrupted] and stocked with drinking, I shall have a good word." (Stender 1798: 147)

Peasants and Children

To learn to communicate with the common people is as easy or as difficult as to learn to communicate with a child. Many unifying things from the aesthetic and narrative point of view can be found among the popular enlightenment texts and 18th century children literature (enlightenment books are often addressed to "common people and youth" without differentiation, as it sometimes happens also in Latvian writings).

It also corresponds with the reforms by the philanthropic pedagogues in Germany, where they in their educational institutions (*Philanthropinen*) turn to children from lower social classes, thus becoming directly and indirectly linked to popular enlightenment. (Ruppert 1980: 343) Many reform pedagogues are interested in the popular enlightenment during this period, one of the most popular examples being a Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who published a study "Abhandlung über den Bauern" (1782). "Common people are like a child with limited perception," writes Pestalozzi (Boening 1983, 48), and it is continued by the Baltic German pastor Gustav Bergmann: "The peasant is like an ill-bred, spoiled child". (Bergmann 1792) However, it is important to point out that – as the German literary historian Reinhart Siegert has shown – parallels between children and peasants often used in the 18th century should be treated carefully, as they are not always meant in a direct sense. (Siegert 2001: 162–163)

Youth education, giving up at least partly a hope about changing the older generation, becomes the third central point of the popular enlightenment program alongside improvement of economics and moral religious upbringing, respectively, the creation of a "new man". (Jarchow

1989: 33) The emphasis on "young" people that are "still" not corrupted, is symptomatic in a time when the "era of Reason should have become an educational era" and "enlightenment pedagogic optimism … should have oriented not towards the traditional, but towards the future". (Maurer 2005: 57) Already Gotthard Friedrich Stender draws special attention to children and youth as potential readers, but he eludes to differentiate his public. He "still considers the whole Latvian nation – grownups and children – ... to be teachable and fostered." (Ancītis 1970: 13)

Typically to the era, when educational theories and experiments with them become one of the main impulses in prose narrative transformations (Barney 1999: 2), pedagogical knowledge appears on the horizon of popular enlightenment writings quite early: during the 18th century eighties, when the Baltic German pastor Gotthard Christoph Brandt, who has studied at Königsberg, publishes a series of articles dedicated to pedagogical matters in the Courland Latvian calendar. The series of these articles is noteworthy because it promotes the innovative ideas of its time, namely, it actualises the necessity of secular knowledge alongside spiritual ones, and body care alongside soul care for children: "But for children, as for all people, there is not only soul, not only spirit. They also have flesh and bones. Therefore for those who want to correctly educate children, have to do it so that they know and feel not only their souls, but also bodily goods; not only their mental and eternal, but also secular wellbeing." (Brandt 1784: 33)

Rousseau in Practice

The most important pedagogical works in Latvian literature are translations and localised adaptations of various texts by the philanthropist pedagogues. Essential is the philanthropist pedagogues' interest in peasants, in common people. This interest is partly inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's popularity in the German-speaking cultural world. At the end of 18th century one of the brightest intellectuals of Rīga, Johann Christoph Berens, when contemplating on peasant enlightenment, not accidentally refers to Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow's school in Reckahn: "Who wants to know what can be done through morals and education, he shall go to Reckahn and see, how peasants [*Landvolk*] have become rich, joyful and prosperous." (Behrens 1792: 30) As we will see further in the article, Latvian literature is indeed "going" to Reckahn: both literarily and figuratively.

During the 18th century Reckahn is one of the philanthropist pedagogical centres, a reformative and experimental educational institution. The philanthropist pedagogy itself develops during the second half of the 18th century in Germany and, implementing in practice series of John Lock's

and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's conceptions – in experimental educational institutions, in pedagogical studies, becomes one of the most influential pedagogical reform movements in Europe at the time. The philanthropist pedagogy (i.e., "people's friend") or philanthropism (from there the school designation "philanthrophene" is derived meaning educational institutions for school-age youth) covers the time period from approximately 1770 until 1830. Its most remarkable representatives are Johann Bernhard Basedov, Joachim Heinrich Kampe, Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, and Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow. During this period the main philanthropist pedagogical centres in German-speaking countries are Dessau, Thuringia, Hamburg and Braunschweig. (Ahrbeck-Wothge 1970: 55–59)

They follow a simply formulated aim, respectively, "to bring up [children] as happy people that fit in the real world as it is". (Lachmann 2009: 44) An individual who is at the same time free not only from superstition, prejudice and all "irrational" worldview aspects, that can be found in a peasants' popular culture, but also has been able to overcome a "non authentic" relationship with oneself and others, created by civilization, is the concept, that could be formulated as the above mentioned aim of individual utopia. To achieve this, one must start with a child, because a child is closest to the condition of "noble savage" that is not corrupted by a civilization (Thiem 1906: 13), and it leads to the interest in pedagogy, making upbringing instead of teaching its main function, bringing personality instead of knowledge in the centre. These ideas are not created by philanthropist pedagogues themselves, of course: they grow from empirism and John Lock's "tabula rasa" theory, but the most encouraging inspirational source philanthropist pedagogues find in more or less controversially, but undeniably convincingly and brightly formulated in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's works.

His books that have been forbidden in France because of their scandalous, often anti-religious and anti-conservative orientation become unexpectedly successful in German-speaking countries. Ernst Schreck stresses: "While the latter [Rousseau] has been persecuted in France and his works burned, in Germany his pedagogical ideas were welcomed with joy." (Schreck 1887, 4) Rousseau's often vague, inconsistent and contradictory concepts, their enigmatic style does not become an obstacle; it is circumvented by selectively reading his works (e.g., ignoring the passages against the church), but making the borrowed ideas clearer. This leads to loss of the depth of Rousseau's works and to simplifying many of his worldview nuances (Burggraf 1966: 111–113), (Blankertz 1982: 80); but in such a way something that is just Rousseau's utopist reflection, becomes a practice in German-speaking countries. It would be difficult to find a brighter example as the Dessau philanthrophene created by Johann Bernhard Basedov, which

is the implementation in practice of the most censored and forbidden book's of the century (Bowen 1981: 183) – Rousseau's novel "Émile, ou De l'éducation" [Emile or On education] (1762) – or at least a try to implement it, and becomes in Immanuel Kant's words, a "revolution in education". (Blankertz 1982: 79) The Dessau philanthrophene is sometimes even named as "Emile in practice" (Bowen 1981: 198)

Courland and Philanthrophenes

It should be noted that Courland's aristocracy is closely linked with the philanthrophenes in Germany, and many of Courland's German families' offspring are being educated in the famous Dessau philanthrophene. Johann Bernhard Basedov's avant-garde philanthropist school or philanthrophene in Dessau, that had existed from 1774 until 1793 and had inspired the establishment of similar schools in German-speaking countries, is very popular among the Baltic Germans – many Baltic Germans, as Otto Franke points out, support the establishment with the help of donations (Franke 1896: 114–116). Among the drawings by 18th century Baltic German ethnographer Johann Christoph Brotze, a Rīga citizen's – Dessau philanthropist's – image has survived, where he is seen dressed in the school uniform (Zeids 1992: 143).

These links encourage trying to establish a similar philanthrophene in Mitau, but fails. As shown by materials discovered by author of the article (Daija 2006, 6–7) that can be found in Academic Library of the University of Latvia in the Rare books and Manuscripts department section, in 1795 the German-Baltic pedagogue and editor of first Latvian magazine "Latwiska Gadda-Grahmata" [Latvian Yearbook] (1797–1798), Matthias Stobbe publishes a project for establishing a modern German educational institution in Mitau to educate pupils from German speaking middle class. In the notifications mentioned, Stobbe offers a critical review of the Baltic German educational system. Stobbe highly values private education because it combines learning with education; however, Stobbe thinks that a tutor's work is not ideal because the parent's and tutor's point of view about education often does not match. When commenting Latin schools, Stobbe recognises that their level is unsatisfactory, as shown by his practice by participating in the exams of these schools. "Educational institutions" (*Erziehungsanstalten*), similar to those abroad, would most effectively prevent school failure – these boarding type schools provide care not only for a students' learning, but also their moral education, by continuously supervising and employing them.

Stobbe points out, that many Baltic Germans from Courland are already sending their children to above mentioned schools abroad, though it

would be much cheaper, if such schools would be in the Baltics. Because of this Stobbe, emphasising, that in his "long years diligence, that I have gained from pedagogy, and participation that I have taken with upbringing and educating, has given me a sincere trust in my dearest motherland", utters a determination to establish such an institution, about which he has thought about for many years, in Courland. (Stobbe 1795) In his plan, Stobbe explains in detail the concept and program of the educational institution. However, he does not mention Reckahn or Dessau; there are striking parallels between his visionary institution and ones mentioned. Stobbe disputes the prejudice that it is not possible to implement this project in Courland, because "only foreigners have the adroitness and good will for such projects". (Stobbe 1795) The project is never realised, it is partly interrupted because of some legal action against M. Stobbe about which no detailed information has been found up to this day. (Daija 2007)

Philanthropist Pedagogy in Latvian: an Insight

However, it seems to be that Matthias Stobbe himself in his Latvian magazine "Latwiska Gadda-Grahmata" inspires his colleagues – almost exclusively Baltic German pastors – to translate texts published in Germany and written by philanthropist pedagogues. It is possible to comment the link between Stobbes' plans for educational institutions and the Latvian translations of pedagogical texts only hypothetically as no written proofs of such links have been found.

This is the segment of Latvian popular enlightenment that reveals a unique and paradoxical cultural transfer situation – current pedagogical ideas that are debated about in Baltic countries in the context of educating German-Baltic youth, reach Latvian peasants thanks to popular enlightenment and the printed word. This is just one side of the coin in this process. At the same time, there is an even more striking paradox that is linked with the fact that innovative philanthropist pedagogical work translations are addressed to the audience, in whose life practice learning at school, as previously mentioned, is still in the relatively far future, not to talk about philanthropenes for Latvian peasant children.

Three central philanthropist pedagogues' translations are essential in Latvian writing. First, excerpts from Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow's (who is the head of Reckahn philanthrophene) "Kinderfreund" [Children friend] (1776) are translated by Johann Georg Hartmann in the "Latwiska Gadda-Grahmata" (1798) and afterwards in a different version in Karl Watson's "Lasahma Grahmata" [Reading Book] (1816). Translations of Rochow are in a literal sense children's literature: they are short stories, reduced to simple moral instructions that include different episodes in children's lives at an

early age; moreover, the stories told are about country children and this is the main reason why the texts have been translated into Latvian. They have not been differentiated from adult literature yet in the "Latwiska Gadda-Grahmata", but in Karl Watson's book they are presented as children's literature. In the preface Watson stresses that his aim is to replace the gap between an ABC and religious song book – a gap that makes the transition from former to latter almost impossible in a young reader's reading experience. He also adds that he has adapted and edited many of Rochow writings and even written his own stories based on true events. (Watson 1816, vi) These morally-didactic works of short prose fiction that are easy to read and portray episodes from peasant children lives start the tradition of Latvian children's literature alongside with "Jauna skohlas-grahmata" [New School Book] (1803) by the Baltic German pastor Gottfried Georg Mylich, which is a translation of his own German book "Versuch eines Elementarbuchs zum Gebrauch fuer die niedern deutschen Schulen" [Attempt of Elementary Book for lower German Schools] (1792). Here a new reading public is created – a children reading public – which was not differentiated from adults before, as already mentioned.

Second, the translations of two works by the pastor of Thuringia, pedagogue of Dessau philanthrophene and later the head of Schnepfenthal educational institution (Seidelmann 1995: 64–72) Christian Gotthilf Salzmann are of greater importance. The work "Konrad Kiefer oder Anweisung zu einer vernünftigen Erziehung der Kinder" [Konrad Kiefer or Guide in reasonable upbringing of children] (1794) is translated into Latvian in 1798 by the Baltic German pastor Friedrich Gustav Maczewski and published in several sequels in "Latwiska Gadda-Grahmata", but the work "Ausführliche Erzählung wie Ernst Haberfeld aus einem Bauer ein Freiherr geworden ist" [A Detailed Story of How Peasant Ernst Haberfeld Became a Free Lord] (1805), is translated in 1806 by Alexander Johann Stender and published as a book.

"Konrad Kiefer" (his name is Latvianised as "Kristaps Prahtneeks", as well as other details are adapted in the translation making it easier for Latvian readers to understand) is based on the idea of personality formation; as the Latvian literary historian Oto Čakars has pointedly perceived one of the central thesis, is "a man is his own worth and has to become a personality". (Čakars 1987: 97) Therefore, following the concept that a child's mind is as "an empty page or wax that can be formed after one's wish," (John Locke) the content of the story is exclusively limited to education, wherewith the text reveals how pedagogical ideas are fictionalised. The aim of the text is not as in many other works by Salzmann's colleagues, children's education, but the education of the educators. This work is a variation on Rousseau's "Emile"; the closeness (not similarity) between both texts

is so demonstrative, that the story "Konrad Kiefer" is often called the "German Emile". (Albrich 1918: 6), (Dietrich 1961: 124). The difference between both works is in many ways the same as mentioned before, when adumbrating Rousseau's German reception particularities: in the German literary historian Karl Richter's words, what Rousseau "preaches in his "Emile" in a philosophical sense, Salzmann translates in the language of common people in his "Konrad Kiefer"." (Richter 1880, xii)

The story about Ernst Haberfeld, who in the Latvian translation has got a new name, "Ausahn Ehrnests", corresponds with the structure of an educational novel and demonstrates self-discipline as one of the main civic virtues (*bürgerliche Tugenden*): the ability to control one's affects helps to keep one's temper, but only the ability to keep one's temper makes oneself free. Freedom lets him become a lord, figuratively of course. Only that who is free in a moral level can become a "free lord". In the structure of the work one can find the influence of edification literature (*Erbauungsliteratur*) and the concept of secular initiation, that creates new relationship models for the Latvian reader with himself and his personality creation (Briežkalne 2010: 48–56). The translation period coincides with the reflux of the French revolution, when questions on the rights of society's lower levels become actual in public debates. The perspective offered by Alexander Johann Stender where a real freedom is substituted with an abstract one, earns a negative resonance. Significant is also the reminder by the Latvian literary historian Pavasaru Jānis that according to Alexander Johann Stender's point of view that who creates his life according to reason's rules (suppressing passions, emotions etc.), "even if being just a peasant, is a free lord in spirit". Pavasaru Jānis simply, but precisely adds: "Such mental freedom is commented also in the book preface – but can actually a common reader understand it?" (Pavasaru 1893: 71) Alexander Johann Stender is criticised in Baltic German periodicals for the same reason. (Elverfeld 1808)

Third, the novel "Robinson der Jüngere" [Robinson Junior] (1780) by Dessau philanthrophene's pedagogue and later head (Hermann 1991: 146–147) Joachim Heinrich Campe is translated by the Baltic German pastor Christoph Reinhold Girgenshon at the beginning of the 19th century. As publishers fear that such book would not meet the readers' interest, the publication of the translation is endlessly postponed and it is published only after the death of the translator in 1824. The hero of the book acquires a new name derived from Robinson Crusoe: he becomes "Robinsohns Kruhsinsch", to make him sound as an ethnic Latvian. Similarly to other translations discussed earlier, the translators are however quite faithful to the original text, and the adaptation level is mostly connected with attempts to localise toponyms and person's names. Even more, the work by Girgensohn is connected with his attempts to develop and

modernise the Latvian language through translation of Campe's novel and in contemporary reviews the translation by Girgensohn has been compared – not without exaggeration, of course – even with the Latvian Bible. (Jansons 1944: 43) The Latvian literary historian Zigrīda Frīde has pointed out several analogies between Campe's Robinson and Salzmann's Haberfeld/Ausahn (e.g., control of affects or the notion of inner freedom) thus offering a new insight how early 19th century Latvian readers could have perceived the text. (Frīde 1998: 28–29)

Pedagogy's Answer to Social-political Problems

It is easy to see that children literature easily leads to the literature for adults, and both translations of Salzmann's works that are addressed to the common people, prove it. In his theoretical essays Salzmann expresses the "neological worldview on "religion" as a "people's thing", that can release one from evil and under-age situation, in which a man is because of his own fault, and would better and more effectively be suggested for children and their educators" (Lachmann 2009: 43). Having a good knowledge about the direct contact with peasants, due to pastor-parish relationships, Salzmann addresses the "common people" by using printed word in his works. By recognising that the pedagogical essays of his era are "too abstract, philosophical and general" for the "common" reader (Breddin 1937: 75), Salzmann tries to "learn a language, readable and understandable for all Germans, from noble to peasant, from old man to child". (Salzmann 1787: 105) Consequently, works by Salzmann in the same way as the work "Lienhard und Gertrud" [Lienhard and Gertrud] (1781) by his inspirer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi belongs to the canon of peasant literature of that era. In the German literary historian Ilse Breddin's words, the principles, "developed and implemented by Salzmann for children's literature, are now suitable also in his people's stories" (Breddin 1937: 78) – in a series of criteria, expounded for children's upbringing, we find literary popular enlightenment criteria as a whole.

Philanthropist pedagogues' educational optimism are based on the enlightenment century or, in Johann Gottfried Herder's words, on the "education era" (Hermann 1991: 135) ideological contexts that lead to one resume: pedagogical ideas do not begin or end with a child's upbringing, they have a deeper meaning. (See further: Schmitt 2003, 119–121) Namely, we are talking about "education's social mission" (Porter 2000: 345) – a reflection on education is at the same time a reflection on "new man's" creation in an era, when "Erziehung der Jugend ('education of youth') had been the catchphrase of each new intellectual movement," (Ward 1974: 148), but literature generates new motives of individual utopia.

Pedagogical ideas in Latvian literature become one of the means that could help reduce – as quoted from the Baltic German pastor Friedrich Gustav Maczewski – "the great ignorance among the Latvian people". (Maczewski 1798: 121)

In this aspect the works by philanthropist pedagogues should be read as guide into right-minded, rational life, giving an example of how to use one's reason "in a right way"; in such concept along with actualisation of the secular world model the influence of theological rationalism is clearly seen. Secular upbringing is not an anti-religious upbringing, and it is revealed through the system of characters. It widens reading opportunities, by crossing the border of a relatively limited interpretation field of education: it is clear, that the problems solved in stories are answers to concealed, but remaining questions – how to become successful in life, how to become a wholesome and harmonious person? What to do for "people to become more wiser, cheerful and happy"? (Maczewski 1798: 101) Or – more openly – how to "transform the world into Paradise"? (Karl Friedrich Bahrdt) (Hermann 1991: 140)

Typical questions of the didactic "folk literature" of enlightenment era, and not only of this, can seem as trivial, as answers to them that are limited with correct, right-minded education. But it is just seemingly a triviality. While being at the crossroads between a pedagogical tractate and literary work, texts by Salzmann and others at the same time become a vision of a future society – read as a variation of the reflections later formulated by Salzmann himself in his theoretical essays (mainly in the essay with the conceptual title "Der Himmel auf Erden" [Heaven on Earth] (1797)): the world is not "the valley of sorrow and tears", people are born to be happy, and Paradise is found right here on Earth, and not only after death. This Paradise can be found nowhere but in oneself, and to find it just one component is necessary – every person, no matter, aristocrat or peasant, has a mind, and if he or she knows how to "use it properly", then this is all what is needed. The path to "Paradise in self" is defined in the process of initiation, but the path itself becomes a stumble through a labyrinth, whose zigzags are created by the seemingly compelling opposites of flesh and spirit, good and evil, true and false.

There is one more aspect that becomes especially important if the texts are read as localised adaptations: alongside pedagogical individualism as an important point in personality concepts, the texts materialise the philanthropy concept of an individual's "social usefulness", (Schrader 1928: 46–50) and it leads to the next level, in which the works can be read, respectively, as pedagogy's answer to social-political problems. By the way, the philanthropy's "social intention of pedagogy" (Ahrbeck-Wothge 1970: 58) is noticed already by the later re-publisher of "Konrad

Kiefer" translation, a Latvian autodidact writer Ernests Dinsbergis, who in the preface substantiates the actuality of this text in a social dimension: "Because children grow up as adults, and from a crowd of people arises a nation; and nations inhabit the whole world." (Dinsbergs 1874, iii)

Conclusion

The philanthropic texts that are translated into Latvian are a testimony of transportation and multilevel modification of enlightenment ideas in Latvian culture that is realised by primarily adapting Rousseau's ideas in German-speaking countries, then in such transformation including them into the peasant literature canon, and finally reaching Latvian readers in the Baltics. Texts at the same time reveal a pedagogical dimension of author-reader relationship in popular enlightenment literature: in this case the translations of philanthropist pedagogues' works, attest on the one hand, to the national consistencies of popular enlightenment concept, that become visible and negotiable just in retrospective, but not during the publishing of the work; on the other hand, texts, not genetically, but typologically, incorporate into the tradition of Latvian children literature, arousing interest not with few common features, but with differences.

Questions regarding future studies on this topic could be focused on changes in meaning acquired in the process of translation, and here close reading of the texts, as well as theoretical approaches connected with cultural transfer studies would be of great significance; an attempt to trace the place of the texts in the history of Latvian children literature and their impact to further Latvian prose fiction and pedagogical thinking would be not less important. Another challenging task for future studies would be to search for personal connections between the philanthropists in Germany and Baltic German intellectuals. For instance, studies in the archive of Reckahn philanthrophene (Grudule 2011: 153; Webermann 1978: 64) have shown that among others, several teachers and aristocrats from the Baltics has visited the institution (including, for instance, poet Elisa fon der Recke, who was in Reckahn twice), and these personal contacts should be worthwhile to investigate in the future in greater detail.

Pedagogical literature being just a single page in the history of Latvian literature uncovers however, not only the European roots of early Latvian secular writings, but also the complexity of cultural transfer. What is more, as a case study it demonstrates the close parallels between the popular enlightenment in German-speaking countries and the Baltics and it proves that it is hardly possible to read, analyse and evaluate early Latvian secular literature without the context of the German Enlightenment.

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GENESIS OF ROMANTICISM AND REALISM IN WOMEN'S PROSE AND DRAMA NARRATIVES: INTERCULTURAL ASPECTS

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Abstract

The central aim of this article is to show how and why the level of micro-narrative influenced thematic issues and constructed woman's identity in the frames of XIX century. The space of Latvia at the end of XIX and beginning of the XX century has been selected as the geographical border. The object of narrative analysis is a play by Aspazija "The Lost Rights" ("Zaudētas tiesības"). The selected and analysed material's thematic and social background, and the important changes in it, influenced social and political life in Latvia after the play was shown on the stage.

Keywords: Narrative perspective, angle of focalization, omniscient narrator, external and internal focalization, women's literature.

Introduction

Theoretical concepts of Romanticism and Realism are widely distributed in today's literature and critical studies. Both concepts are compared with the historical paradigm and its development, and, within the concepts, are acknowledged the role of the author's gender and its influence and coexistence with the features of the mentioned literature's directions. In addition, concepts from the perspective of today's society and science are viewed as a true and "natural" prolongation of the canon. The central aim of current article is to describe the features of the theoretical concepts of Romanticism and Realism and its development tendencies in the European artistic heritage of XIX century. A close look will be taken in the article to the investigation of women's artistic expression or in other words – women's literary experience. The historical frames of the investigated period (the XIX century) created an alternative artistic canon in viewing and perception of the literature's "product" and, most important, it created a new perspective in the perception the role (or artistic position) of the author, allowed to transformation of gender, and made the canon almost genderless.

Art tendencies and it actualisation (or artistic necessity) during the concrete period of time (in our case – historical borders of the XIX century) were placed in close coexistence relationships with the features of national

history and the variations of individual existence. Consequently were produced (or circumstantially specified) a certain attitude and interpretation of opportunities towards the artistic characters and the central artistic agenda (or main topics of the literary work). In addition, the attention of the potential reader (or potential receiver of the text) was directed (or, in some cases, redirected) to the contemporary questions of the historical and social position of individual, and there appeared as well a necessity of explaining the reasons for the changes in the private or even intimate side of the individual psyche. The XIX century in today's research is often being characterised as a period of an "ideological [or idealistic] battle" or as a time of "individual democratisation". The dominating power (or "driving mechanism") of such a development was based on the reinterpretation of the cultural heritage in the light (or influence) of the historical paradigm. Thus, for example, the concept of Romanticism represented the artistic expression of the beginning of XIX century as a true prolongation of the "rethinking of the highest Idea" (Honour, 1979, 21) and the "transpeciating power and honour of the art". In the European artistic experience, Romanticism was mostly understood as a non-flexible (or static) expression, topics used in the frames of literary work. A good example of the beginning of the romantic genesis is aestheticisation of any element used in the text, as well as of the "two dimensional" existence of the main (or in some cases secondary) hero. The dominating statement of the concept was the "democratization of the romantic hero, paying attention to [mostly his] individual [and spiritual] agenda" (Daiches, 1977, 156); another important aspect in the frames of defined concept was the "firmness about the unchangeable and permanent interaction of the historical paradigms within the concept and idealisation of the patriarchal formation in any romantic creation" (Драч, 2004, 369).

Genre preferences within the concept of Romanticism. The features of making a narrative in women's texts

The beginning of a women's literary tradition in the united European cultural space is temporally placed to the second half of the XIX century. In this period, the one and only possible genre in the frames of the women's artistic tradition as a whole was the epistolary genre (or letters tradition). Genre dominance coexisted with the central theoretical aspects of romanticism, as, for example, the restoration of the past dimension (or, in other words, on the narrative level, the dimension of the past was used more often than, for example, the future dimension or the dimension of the present). Through the past dimension, the theoretical concept of romanticism in the women's literary experience created some kind of artistic uto-

pia, that was supposed to construct (or to forecast) new dimensions of the women's everyday and even future existence.

Within the framework of the current article a question is proposed for discussion regarding how and why the women's literary tradition made a new perspective of viewing literature as a society's developing process. For that reason a detailed analysis of Aspazija's play "The Lost Rights" (1894) ("Zaudētas tiesības") from the narrative construction perspective will now be undertaken. Using today's methods of explaining how a text is "built" from within, the author will try to explain on which levels between romanticism and realism appears the interaction of the plot and a central problem, proposed by the text, as well as will try to explain how and why both concepts may differ within the frames of one play.

The main aim of this article is to explain the terms, used in narrative theory, as the process and levels of focalization and their meaning in the structure of the central conflict in the play "The Lost Rights" ("Zaudētas tiesības") by Aspazija. A secondary aim is to show how the focalization works in the text. **Focalization** (here and subsequently in the text the bold emphasis is by the author) is a term coined by the French narrative theorist Gerard Genette. One of the main theoretical questions, proposed by the process of focalization, is "**from which point of view characters, created by the author, are represented in the frames of literary work?**" Another question is "**who makes that** perspective", (that is, who is the central narrator, or "**who sees all lines of the narration and levels of the conflict**"). The object of narration could be explained from the different angles of its meaning: for example, by including a large number (and often psychologically polyvalent) of characters, different elements of the time and space dimensions or by characterising one (central) hero from external points of view (it happens, if the central character (and his or her moral, intellectual and spiritual opportunities) are valued by the heroes outside, in other words, by his/her surrounding society. The process of focalization should be understood as an attempt to make the product of writing (or text) meaningful by its hidden codes, actualising different features of each character and paying attention to the structure of relationships inside the text from different sides or narrative situations. In the theory of narrative there are three defined types of narration, they differ by roles, author and character reserved:

- **Omniscient narrator**. Type of narration, in which author (or text creator) is the main voice of the narration. Characters are included into narration; their voices are syncretical with the author's point of view (or point of viewing things and incidents in the fabula).
- **Narrator** – or character. Narration is built by one of the text's characters. Imaginary author of the text (or narrator) is syncretical/ or non-syncretical with the real author (typically represented by

   narration from the first person). In this type of narration the meaning
   of the "viewer" is lower than in the first one.
- **Narration** – or "telling". Narration from the third person. Typical-
   ly the second plot characters are viewed and valued by the main
   hero.

However, the above mentioned terminology is only a first step to
understanding the process of focalization, the role of focalizer and the
practical appealing of them to the concrete parts of the text. These three
types of narration are placed in the basis of different levels of focalization.
They refer to a perspective through which a narrative is presented. Today's
narratologists distinguish three levels of focalization:

1. **Unfocalized narration** (or also omniscient narrator).This level acts
   (or is actual) in the text, if any element of narration is seen by the
   author's eyes (or is supervised by him/her). Also is connected with the
   differences in relationships between the author and the characters.
   On that level, the position of the author is dominant compared to the
   character. Unfocalized narration is present in a novel where transitions
   between different focalizations are not restricted. Theoretically these
   relationships could be graphically showed by the formula, as it is seen
   on the screen **(narrator (author)>focalization)**. This level of focalization
   in the texts is represented by large interpositions (especially in classical
   novels, such as Dostoevsky or Blaumanis works, often these parts of
   the text include detailed depiction of nature or character's features).
   It is important to mention here, that this level of focalization does not
   contribute monologues in the construction of the character at all.

2. **Internal focalization**. It "*occurs inside the setting of the events, and always
   involves a character-focalizer*" (Toolan, 2005, 61). In other words, this
   level offers syncretical relationships between focalizor (and not author)
   and focalization. World, things, thoughts and other expressions, used
   in text, are focalized (or "viewed") by one of the characters. It is not
   obligatory, that focalizor and the main (central, active) character is the
   same person: roles between focalization and focalizor ("viewer") are
   flexible. In the text it is often represented by the detailisation of one's
   reality (such works are, for example, the realistic novels of the XIX
   century). Graphically, relationships between focalization and focalizor
   (and not author) are represented as a balance between two mentioned
   parts **(Focalization=focalizor)**. Also internal focalization describes the
   sort of focalization which emphasizes the description of the thoughts
   and feelings of character and analysis and interpretation of their actions.
   These aspects are conveyed from the point of view of the character who
   interprets all events through his or her *perspective*. Internal focalization
   differs by it affection level in the text. There are three types:

1) Fixed – narration is made by one unchangeable person through all narration (such works are, for example, "Hunter's notes" (by Ivan Turgenev), where all the events are viewed and valued by the landowner's eyes.
2) Variable – internal narration is made by several characters. Examples of this kind of narration are modernist plays by Maurice Maeterlink – narration in his famous play "Blinds" is made by different focalizors (there are seven blinds, and each of them represents his/her own angle of the world around them).
3) Multiple – if one and the same incident is viewed by the different focalizors (especially in the epistolary genre).An example of this kind of internal focalization is present in the novel by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe "Sufferings of the Young Werter" – where through the epistolary intercourse between two characters is shown life in a German province in the second half of the 18th century.
3. **External focalization** has the narrator focus on the visible, external aspects of events and characters in the narrative. The narrator does not offer any information about the character's thoughts and feelings, but merely relates the physically ascertainable facts to the reader. The focalizer on that level has access to the character's utterances, but adds no interpretation or analysis. Relationships between the character and narrator (or author, also any other participant in the narration or focalizor) graphically are shown by the third formula, presented on the screen: **focalization> focalizor.**

All the mentioned types constitute the so called *focus of narration.*

Passing to the second previously defined question – the ***practical analysis of the play*** – it is important to pay attention to the features of its literary form. As is well known, the dimensions of the conflict in the play are built by the character's dialogues (and not, for example, by external elements – such as long and detailed descriptions of the space, where the heroes are placed in), and on the one hand that means, that, according to above mentioned theory of the focalization concepts, the unfocalized level is prohibited by the structure of the play. In other words, the omniscient narrator is totally replaced by the characters, which are the central "focalizing" force in the play: they constitute all the possible focalization angles and are imaginary, totally free from the affection of the omniscient narrator. In addition, their feelings, emotions and thoughts are encoded into their dialogues (therefore even the possible "background" of the omniscient narrator presence is replaced by the internal characters and their actions). As it will be shown later, the omniscient narrator's role in the play is taken by short references about the elements of the space (for example, at the beginning of the play's acts).

In analysing any kind of text, it is always important to understand the political, social and historical frame, that was actual for the author and this is important for the characters inside the text. The gender of the author must also be understood as another angle of focalization. The works created by women or by men differ by their "focalization preferences", in other words, things, to which is paid attention (or which construct a concrete angle of focalization) are not similar in the different literary traditions (not according to geographical or ethnical differences, but on the base of gender differences). As is known, the women's literary tradition was developed from the epistolary genre (represented by personal epistolary intercourse). Letters (especially in the XIX century context) were understood as a true prolongation of one's personality (or viewed as a true proof of individuality). Also the women's plays could be characterised as a unity of emotions, individual features and a polyvalent internal world. Uniting narrative theory with this historical factor, it is possible to argue, that internal focalization is one of the most important and meaningful level of focalization also in the frames of the analysed play. Further, the author will try to explain and show how all the levels of focalization act in the selected text. One more important aspect here is that the offered analysis is applicable to any other text as well (but of course we should not forget about different connotations of meaning, as well as about the cultural background and flexibility of historical frames).

Before we pass to concrete examples of internal/external focalization, it is important to remember, that all the levels of focalization are not strictly limited and could be united with both levels at the same time. The play offers two types of focalizors (or "viewers"): from outside (narration is external and literally visible, and from within (feelings, reactions of the character).

The first level of narration (or unfocalized narration) in the play is represented by the author's short side notes (remarks). The third act of the play begins with the following description of the space that the characters are placed in:

„*Viesīgs vakars pie Sturmaņiem. Kāda blakus istaba, no kuras divas flīģeļa durvis ved uz zāli. Visas istabas veids cenšas izrādīt pārspīlētu greznumu. Labajā pusē klavieres, kreisajā – kafijas galds ar traukiem*" (Aspazija, 1910, 45)

Why we can argue, that this fragment of the play is unfocalized (or is "focalized by omniscient narrator"?) There are at least three aspects. Firstly characters are totally excluded from this part of the play and the narration is built by somebody, who knows more than heroes and sees all incidents from the outside. Secondly the features of the space are "forecasted" by somebody, who is placed out of the main narration. In addition, he is present through a choice of different elements, used in the structure of the space. Thirdly, the elements of the space, selected and narrated

(or supervised) by the omniscient narrator make a symbolic (or hidden, secret) space of the play. They do not make a true internal focalization of any character (that is, do not pay an attention to a world inside), but only construct a "background" for it. Symbolic and "forecasted" background is represented by such elements as ***doors***, ***piano*** and a ***coffee table***. By choosing these elements of space in the play, indirectly are actualized preferences of the characters, living in that space. The words "***fabulous luxury***" continues to mention the symbolic background, and also define the frames of the reality of Johanna and Eberhardine, without an open insertion. Unfocalized narration (or omniscient narrator), thus, creates strict narration frames, forecasts relationship features between the characters and draw a symbolic perspective of the play. "Fabulous luxury" is understood (or viewed) by the omniscient narrator as a negative expression of the higher social class and their everyday life. Further in the play (by another level of focalization – both the internal and external) meaning of "fabulous" living is extended by new connotations of meaning:

Eberhardīne: "Bet, māmiņ, ***uz tām klavierēm nevar nekā*** uzspēlēt!

Johanna: Vai re! Nu katrs vainu meklē pie klavierēm. Lai saka kaut viens cilvēks, ka tas klavieres ir sliktas: ***tik skaisti nopulieretas***, ka tur var vai ***spoguļoties*** un klāt vēl divi ***zeltīti lukturi***" (Aspazija, 1910, 45)

As it is easy to define, the piano in the fragment is not shown as an instrument for playing music, but has a whole chain of perverse meanings: such as "***mirror***" (where each woman can "spoguļoties", or find a proof of her beauty), and "fabulous" ***golden candlesticks*** (that proves the above mentioned "fabulous luxury" that the heroines live in). As I have mentioned above, the omniscient narrator "created a frame for the play action", he (or in our context – she) selected and united different elements in one space (and here is actual the so called ***non-interference perspective***). The different connotations of meaning that have been portrayed later, are a representation of the "forecasting" force of the omniscient narrator (or unfocalized focalization): readers are contributed into symbolical meaning of the elements, mentioned in the first lines of the third act, only by further following the text. Thus, we can conclude, that the focalizer's meaning in the fragment is dominant compared to the reader (viewer), or the offered scheme (the first one) is present and true. (focalizor>focalization).

Internal focalization in the play has a difficult structure of focalizers: it is made through the one main character (Laima) and is **multiple** at the same time (that is, made by several characters, who view and value the same incident (precisely – Laima's sins) – Laima, Strautiņš and Langarts (also second plot characters are included into the internal focalization process). The character, placed in a centre of internal focalization (or the character, who builds her own internal point of view (through emotions

and feelings) is Laima. As a proof to the above mentioned argument I will use a quotation from the play:

"*Elpu! Elpu! Man šinī purvā **jānosmok!** Ak, kaut es spētu **nokratīt** šo dzīvi – tad es šinī pašā acumirklī steigtos prom – viena, naktī un miglā, tikai projām, projām. Bet vai es **spētu** izbēgt? Šis **kauns**, kas uz mani guļ – es to nespētu izbēgt – tad mani piederīgie, vai es viņus grūstu postā atpakaļ? Nē, nē, man jāpaliek, **nesarau-jamas važas** mani še saista, man jāpaliek…"* (Aspazija, 1910, 86)

All the marked words make an "emotional frame" of the character or, in other words, offer a view point from the character's inside. Laima is the main valuating force in the fragment; she views the perspective of her future from within. The fragment used unites at least two different angles of internal focalization: the emotional circumstances of the character and her relation to the reality (or viewing the real world through a personal perspective or prism). The third possible angle of internal focalization is placed on the symbolical level and is connected with the character's gender. In the last two sentences is encoded the social position of women at the end of XIX century, when such categories as unofficial marriage were seen as a deadly sin or in our context "nesaraujamas važas" ("indestructible bonds"). The process of focalization is theoretically "founded" on one person and her interpretation of all incidents and sides of reality. If we will pay attention only to the marked words, it is possible to define the angle of focalization of Laima's emotions and the relation to the central conflict of the play – finding a new world, free from any prejudice. Below one can see a chain of the above mentioned words, the author will try to give an interpretation of the possible angle of meaning.

Jānosmok – nokratīt – spētu – kauns – nesaraujamas važas.

The focalization of the heroine's internal world is based only on one determination – "*kauns*" (or "shame"). There are at least two reasons: 1) it has the strongest semantic meaning, and 2) all other words (or, more precisely, their "focalization value") are in the dependent position compared to the main word or the "provocative force of focalization". Laima's internal focalization is constructed through the prism of "the whole life shame". Shame becomes a powerful mechanism for building her own opinion or to "focalize the world". In the above mentioned chain there are ambivalent relationships between the connotative meanings of the words. If verbs "jānosmok", "nokratīt", "spētu" are related to the character itself (and thus is expressed the internal focalization of Laima's feelings and emotions), then the phrase "nesaraujamas važas" is related to the situation, in which character is placed. This situation is seen by a concrete heroine – Laima – from her internal perspective and therefore we can speak here about internal focalization of *time* and *space.* The substantive "shame" is presented as a uniting line between two different focalizations: emotional and time-space. Thus, one can argue, that the main angle of internal fo-

calization in this fragment is presented through the feeling of shame. The heroine looks (or views) to the world around her through a perspective of shame (or focalizes it). The relation to the central conflict of the play is also encoded in the focalization of the same emotion: only through the experience of shame the heroine decides to find new ways of existence that in the frames of the play, as it is well known, is similar with suicide.

However, not all the characters viewed the main reason of Laima's death from the same angle (or point of internal focalization). Such characters are, for example, Strautiņš, Langarts and Marta. If one tries to make an allusive parallel between them according to different expressions of internal focalization, then it is possible to argue, that Strautiņš is juxtaposed with justifying internal focalization (one should call him a *justifying focalizer*) of Laima's personality and actions.

Langarts is a destroying power (or a *destroying* internal *focalizer*) of Laima's existence and the main provocative cause of the girl's suicide.

Marta is like a balance element between two focalizers, mentioned above (or just a *passive* and *non-interfering focalizer*).

By declaring, that Laima is "*Tīra. Tīra kā sniegs uz **neaizsniedzamajiem** kalnu galiem, tīra kā **skaņa**, kura izplūdusi no mūžības un tāda atkal griežas viņā atpakaļ. Pāri par visiem cīniņiem viņa [Laima] stāv kā **uzvarētāja** mūžīgi*" (Aspazija, 1910, 42), Strautiņš focalizes new angles of the heroine's existence. The focalization here is based on the chain of words: *tīra – neaizsniedzamajiem – skaņa – uzvarētāja*. All the meanings characterise Laima's personality and her way of life. The pervasive angle of viewing one and the same person in this fragment is incontestable. In distinction from the first chain of words-focalizers, here all of them are united under the one focalization angle Strautiņš attempt do not see all the reality. Thus, the above mentioned role of the justifying focalizer here is true and applicable.

The second focalizer of Laima's internal world is Langarts. As we have defined his angle of focalization – he represents a point of view that destroys the internal world of Laima. (or *destroying focalizer*). In his perspective, Laima's sin must remain in secret (because of his own reputation, of course). By using only one of his replicas it is possible to prove the incontestability of the above mentioned angle of focalization.

"*Diezin kādas **pārspīlētas** romānu **situācijas** tu vēl neizdomāji! Vai es tev toreiz neteicu, lai tu **ciestu klusu**, tad šis **skandāls** nemaz **nebūtu iznācis** un viss **būtu** palicis **apslēpts**"* (Aspazija, 1910, 81)

The angle of focalization of Laima's internal world here is encoded into the words *pārspīlētas situācijas – ciestu klusu – skandāls nebūtu iznācis – būtu apslēpts*. As it is easy to notice, the above mentioned concept of the girl's shame (and corresponding to it a specific perspective of viewing the world) here is almost deconstructed through the meaning of the marked

words. If in Laima's point of view her shame was connected with such emotions as a will to stop living (or "nokratīt šo dzīvi"), then from Langart's angle of focalization, her emotions must be hidden. Even more: this angle actualises not Laima's emotions as such, but is focalized on the purpose of that sense. By characterising Laima's feeling of shame through such words as "ciestu klusu" and "būtu apslēpts", Langarts simultaneously creates a new – destroying – perspective (or focalization) of Laima's future or even forecasts her tragic death.

Marta is another focalizor of Laima's internal world: she sees all the incidents in the play from her own internal perspective. In distinction from the other focalizers she could be perceived as a neutral focalizer. There are at least two reasons, why we could call her "*a passive*" or "*non-interfering focalizer*"; 1) Because of her demotivation in focalizing any of Laima's actions, and 2) her gender might be a central and the main disjunctive power in making any angle of focalization (she, as well as Laima, is a true product of the patriarchal society of the XIX century). For example, by arguing, that:

"*Ka jums savus trūcīgus apstākļus ir paticis pārmainīt pret spožu dzīvi, tas ir ļoti saprotams, bet lai es jūs tādēļ cienu – to neviens no manis nevar prasīt. Bez tam **jums nav daļas ar maniem uzskatiem, ne man ar jūsējiem***" (Aspazija, 1910, 60)

Marta focalizes Laima's life (or even internal world) from a non-interfering perspective (and marked words are perceived as a proof). Her focalization angle is not dependent of somebody outside; she builds her own focalization angle (or point of view) according to her own emotions. In comparison with Langarts or Strautiņš, the internal focalization angle (where the main point of focalizing was Laima's sin and its different interpretations), Marta has concentrated her perspective on the *future relationships* with Laima (which, it's true are not optimistic or even seem impossible).

In trying to compare types of internal focalization in the play, undoubtedly, the central person, to who are directed all the valuations and perspectives is Laima. This aspect could be connected with the women's literary tradition and its artistic features. For example, one of the main differences from the masculine texts is the concentrating on somebody's (often and even almost forever – on the woman's) internal world and attempting to show all the expressions of women's every days life, thoughts and actions. The currently analysed play is a good example of a detailed and multiangular internal perspective.

External focalization in the play is not strictly shown or actualised. In the basis of this feature is the literary genre of the analysed work. As the author has mentioned before, the external focalization is represented by

visible and non-informative, facts that are given by one of the narrators (who sees all events of the work without any personal interpretation or valuation). However, it is possible to suppose, that the external focalization in the frames of the play is united (or is fused) with the first described level (omniscient narrator). Each description of the time space dimension in the play, as well as short remarks about looking outside of the characters or features of their actions (represented by meaning different physical actions or by directing the dialogues of the participants. For example: "*Laima sēž krēslā* **brūtes rotā***, bērni kar gar sienmalām vēl puķes, Grietai liela* **aube** *galvā"* or "*Marija (Laimai* **mirtu vainagu** *sprausdama*") (Aspazija, 1910, 63)). In such case, to the text reader is given small part of the whole information, also external focalization in the play gives only a frame, only a border, where the participants (or characters) act. On that basis, it is possible to unite the levels of omniscient narrator and external focalization. The interpretative space in both levels is truly wide and in this article it is just impossible to give all of them, so the author will pay attention only to several meanings. In the above mentioned fragment there appear to be at least three important symbols that make the external perspective of the play. They are: **brūtes rota, aube, mirtu vaiņags** (bride's finery, houve, myrtle wreath). The allusive basis is incontestable: the **bride's finery** is connected with such meanings as honour and purity; the houve (in the Latvian tradition): the sign of a married woman; the myrtle wreath (from Bible mythology): the sign of beauty, youth and fertility. The external focalization in the fragment allows one to get a multiple and common overview of the offered situation. The symbolic background extends a direct meaning of the space frames. At the same time by external focalization of the different elements of space an informative limitation is actualised, and only by reading a text (or viewing a play) it is possible to get some "extra" information about the characters and the conflict.

Short synopsis of the play "The Lost Rights" (1894) by Aspazija

I ACT

Involved characters: LAIMA – the main character, a seamstress from the lower social class; LANGARTS – a rich landowner; GRIETA – Laima's aunt (MARIJA'S sister); MARIJA and SNIEDZIŅŠ – Laima's parents; MAIJA and VALDIS (both – second plot characters) – Laima's brother and sister

Story line:
- Marija and Grieta are trying to take a decision about how to refund all of their accumulated debts. The sisters come to the conclusion, that the best way to get rid of that problem is to organise Laima's marriage with a rich landowner (Langarts).

- Forthright talk between Laima and Marija about the girl's future and Laima's decision to continue her previous way of life instead of a marriage without any feelings.
- The sudden appearance of Langarts and his indecent offer closes the story line of the first act. Laima remains faithful to her moral ideals.

Turning point of the conflict: Langart's appearance and his indecent offer.

II ACT

Involved characters: The same persons, VAKMEISTARS, MINISTERJALS (both -bailiffs), MARTA – Langart's daughter; STRAUTIŅŠ – local doctor; BORMANIS – Langarts familiar

Story line:
- Laima resigns from the **seamstress'** job. The main purpose for that decision is an unwillingness to accept Langart's suggestion to come into a forbidden bond with him. Laima's family debts are growing day-by-day and eventually the two bailiffs visit their house. This incident becomes fateful for Laima: she decides to accept the landowner's offer.
- Laima's new life with Langarts begins: the girl's existence now is evaluated not only by her relatives, but also by Langart's daughter – Marta, to whom Laima's action seems impossible because of its internal immorality.
- Laima's first thoughts about suicide that are based on her current unofficial position.
- Strautiņš arrives to the landowner's house. He is placed out of the main play's context and therefore his role is juxtaposed with the omniscient valuating force. He becomes the main defender of Laima because of his incipient non-acquaintance about girl's fate.
- Laima herself starts to believe in her moral purity.

Turning point of the conflict: Laima's thoughts about suicide that are parallel with her belief of the moral purity (in other words suicide becomes for her a way for reaching moral purity, for defecting from her fate).

III ACT

Involved characters: The same persons, JOHANNA and EBERHARDĪNE – both rich landowners' relatives (wife and daughter)

Story line:
- Laima and Langarts are invited to the ball, organised by Johanna and Eberhardine.
- Laima's sin is discussed by the wider circle of Langart's familiars. She is evaluated as a girl that takes a wrong social place. This argument

becomes the next step to Laima's fatal decision in the finale of the play.
- Strautiņš comes to the truth about Laima's past, but still doesn't want to believe because of his feelings.

Turning point of the conflict: Open social evaluating of Laima's action is a critical point in the play's conflict: the girl starts to make an ideal of her future suicide. Strautiņš decision to participate in a duel becomes a key point in his future life's incidents.

IV ACT

Involved characters: The same persons
Story line:
- Laima's and Strautiņš marriage.
- Laima understands that her fate must come into light without any external power: she must tell the truth by herself. Shortly before the wedding ceremony Langarts appears and Laima's firmness in the rightness of her decision only grows. During the short meeting between Langarts and Strautiņš there arises an emotionally bright conflict that causes a duel.
- Strautiņš finds out all the truth about Laima's past, but still decides to participate in a duel with Langarts.

Turning point of the conflict: Strautiņš' decision to participate in a duel becomes a key point in his future life's incidents. Laima's belief of liberation through the death.

V ACT

Involved characters: The same persons
Story line:
- Duel between Langarts and Strautiņš. Laima, as a main object of this incident, decides to resolve all questions by a courageous recognition of her sin.
- Laima's suicide becomes a final accord in a emotionally multiple story, that the play's author called an "autobiographic prolongation of her internal aspirations".

Turning point of the conflict: Laima's death as a representation of a true and only possible moral liberation for woman in the historical frames of the century.

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THEODORE CELMS' CRITIQUE OF EDMUND HUSSERL'S PHENOMENOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM OF SOLIPSISM

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Abstract

The Latvian philosopher Theodore Celms was one of Husserl's students in Freiburg, who gained his international recognition for his critical interpretation of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology. One of the most important objections in his critical interpretation that is presented in his book *phänomenologische Idealismus Husserls* (1928) is directed against ability of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology to overcome the threat of solipsism. Celms argues that Husserl's philosophy from the outset on is a solipsistic philosophy that, in spite of Husserl's endeavours to overcome solipsism by way of his phenomenological conception of intersubjectivity, cannot overcome solipsism. The only possible way out of solipsism is to assume a premise of pre-established harmony among absolute consciousnesses or monads, but, as it turns out, instead of leading from initial monistic pluralism to a genuine intersubjectivity, it leads just to pluralistic solipsism, by which in no way solipsism is overcome.

The aim of this paper is, firstly, to reconstruct Celms' argumentation that leads to the conclusion that Husserl's transcendental phenomenology is pluralistic solipsism, and, secondly, to critically assess it. It is showed that Celms' argumentation that makes transcendental phenomenology to accept the metaphysical premise of pre-established harmony and finally makes it pluralistic solipsism is based on contradictory premises and therefore is logically flawed. Nothing changes in respect of his conclusions, if one of the two premises is removed from his argumentation. The only way Celms can arrive at the conclusions he does is by assuming contradictory premises that cannot be ascribed to Husserl's own philosophy.

Keywords: Phenomenology; Intersubjectivity; Solipsism; Celms Theodore; Husserl, Edmund.

Introduction

The Latvian philosopher Theodore Celms (1893–1989), one of the most prominent philosophers in Latvia between World War I and II, is not only known as one of the students of the founder of the phenomenological movement, Edmund Husserl, but also as one of the severest critics of his philosophy. Celms' critical interpretation *Husserl's Phenomenological Idealism*

(*Der phänomenologische Idealismus Husserls*), first published in 1928, and was very well received in Europe at the time.[1] The central points of attack in his critique were Husserl's method of phenomenological reduction and his ability to account for intersubjectivity and avoid solipsism. In this article attention will be paid to the second point, although it must be stipulated that it would be impossible to deal with it, without touching upon the first point.[2]

The aim of this paper is to re-evaluate Celms' criticism of Husserl's phenomenology in connection with the problem of solipsism and intersubjectivity.[3] Is it really the case that Celms' argumentation about Husserl's phenomenology is so convincing as Alexander Pfänder in his review about Celms' book suggests (Pfänder, 1929: 2048–2050)? It will be argued that Celms' argumentation concerning the problem of intersubjectivity, which concludes that (1) Husserl's phenomenology is bound to accept a premise of pre-established harmony that cannot be phenomenologically justified and that (2) Husserl's phenomenology can be characterised as pluralistic solipsism, has an insurmountable flaw that makes one to conclude that his argumentation and conclusions are not so convincing as they might seem to be.

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[1] Among the most prominent figures in European philosophy, who are known to be considering Celms' critical assessment of Husserl's phenomenology as most convincing, one can mention Nicolai Hartmann, José Ortega y Gasset, Maximilian Beck, Alexander Pfänder and Moritz Geiger.

[2] The first point of attack that is mainly based on a distinction between phenomenological reduction and phenomenological reflection is considered in more detail in: Vegners, U. "Theodore Celms' critique of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology" (forthcoming in *Quaestiones disputatae*, 2012).

[3] It is worth mentioning that the same task has been previously undertaken by Maija Kūle, although her line of argumentation is different from what will be presented in this paper. She grounds her critical assessment of Celms' critique on two possible readings of Husserl's phenomenology. One reading is what she calls the "logical" reading; the other one is the "psychological" reading. As she suggests, only by overemphasizing the "psychological" reading or by neglecting the "logical" reading it is possible to come to conclusion that Husserl's phenomenology is solipsistic. See: Kūle, M. (1993) Huserla fenomenoloģijas izpratne Teodora Celma darbos. In: *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A*, Nr 9 (554), p. 31–38 (in Latvian); Kūle, M. (1996) The Understanding of Subject and Intersubjectivity in Theodors Celms' Philosophical Works. In: *Phenomenological Inquiry: A Review of Philosophical Ideas and Trends*, vol. 20, p. 16–39.

General Remarks and the Three Steps of Celms' Argumentation

Celms discusses the problem of intersubjectivity in Husserl's phenomenology in detail in Chapter IV of his *Husserl's Phenomenological Idealism*. It is worth noting that Celms is mainly directing his critique against Husserl's understanding of intersubjectivity on the basis of Husserl's work *Ideas I*,[4] although he makes also use of unpublished materials and conversations.[5] Celms admits that Husserl does not pay much attention to intersubjectivity in *Ideas I*, but he is confident that Husserl's understanding of intersubjectivity in its fundamental base lines is already present here, and what Husserl has said about intersubjectivity later just develops the already initiated direction of considering the problem of intersubjectivity. As Celms' intention is to criticize Husserl's conception of intersubjectivity in its fundamental base lines, he considers the materials accessible to him as being sufficient for the task (Celms, 1993: 152–153).

It is possible to discern three steps in Celms argumentation: (a) in the first, introductory step he shows that phenomenological method is principally solipsistic and poses a question, how it is possible for phenomenology to move beyond this methodological solipsism; (b) in the second step he offers an interpretation of Husserl's conception of a phenomenological intersubjectivity. Celms is not satisfied with Husserlian account of intersubjectivity, because it remains limited to the solipsistic method and does not say anything about what Celms calls a genuine intersubjectivity; and (c) as, according to Celms, Husserl rejects a solipsistic interpretation of his phenomenology Celms makes the third step, in order to see, whether and how Husserl's phenomenology can go beyond solipsism to the genuine intersubjectivity. In order to understand and critically assess Celms' argumentation, it is necessary to elaborate on each step separately.

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[4] *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie. Erstes Buch: Allgemeine Einführung in die reine Phänomenologie* (1913).

[5] In the introduction of the book Celms gives a list of sources, on which he grounds his critical interpretation. Besides *Ideas I*, he makes use of second editions of Husserl's *Logical Investigations* (*Logische Untersuchungen*, 1913 and 1921); his own lecture notes on lectures courses and seminars from summer semester 1922, winter semester 1922/23, summer semester 1923, summer semester 1925; Husserl's manuscripts from lectures held from October till November 1910, lectures of the second half of winter semester 1923/23 and lectures, held by Husserl in London in summer of 1922; private discussions with Husserl; Husserl's work *Philosophy as a Rigorous Science* (*Philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft*, 1910/11) (Celms, 1993: 34).

Solipsism inherent in phenomenology: is there a way out?

In one of the previous chapters of his book Celms introduces the reader to an important aspect of the phenomenological attitude (*Einstellung*), which is called the solipsistic method (*solipsistische Methode*) or the method of I-speech (*Methode der Ichrede*) (Celms, 1993: 61). Celms emphasises that this is only a methodological solipsism, not solipsism as a metaphysical position. This method expresses an idea that only one's own consciousness is given originally and, in order to arrive at findings of absolute certainty, it is necessary to limit oneself to one's own I (Celms, 1993: 61). To be more precise, only my experience is given originally and only from it I can derive knowledge of absolute certainty. Or in Husserl's own words: "No countersense is implicit in the possibility that every other consciousness, which I posit in empathic experience, is non-existent. But *my* empathizing, my consciousness of whatever sort, is originally and absolutely given not only with respect to its essence but also with respect to its existence. (Husserl, 1983: 101)"

The idea of the solipsistic method or approach is repeatedly, but more elaborately explained later in his book (Chapter IV), which is dedicated to the phenomenological intersubjectivity (Celms, 1993: 153–154). Here Celms explicitly connects the solipsistic approach with phenomenological reflection or εποχη as a method that establishes or opens up the phenomenological field of study. He writes: "To solus ipse we have arrived by phenomenological retrogression from objective moments to our own corresponding modes of consciousness. That is, the objective moments we have submitted to phenomenological εποχη, in order to (using it [phenomenological εποχη] as a phenomenological guideline) find the corresponding modes of consciousness that reveal them [objective moments] in solus ipse. (Celms, 1993: 154)"[6]

This is important, because the idea of the solipsistic approach inherent in phenomenology plays a crucial part in Celms' argumentation. At the beginning of the chapter dedicated to intersubjectivity Celms writes that, bearing in mind that phenomenology until now has taken the solipsistic approach, it is the time to see, whether it is possible for it to make a passage from the solipsistic approach to an intersubjective approach,

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[6] All citations of Celms' *Husserl's Phenomenological Idealism* are translated into English by the author of the paper. In original: "Zum solus ipse sind wir durch den phänomenologischen Rückgang von den objektiven Momenten aud unsere eigenen entsprechenden Bewußtseinsweisen gelangt. D.h. die objektiven Momente haben wir der phänomenologischen εποχη unterzogen, um, sie als phänomenologische Leitfäden benutzend, die entsprehenden sie ausweisenden Bewußtseinsweisen im solus opse aufzusuchen."

namely can phenomenology go beyond solipsism by which it is actually established. The solipsistic approach deals with what is one's own; the intersubjective approach, in contrast, should deal with what goes beyond what is one's own. It deals with everything pertaining to the other I's or egos. The leading question for the entire chapter is expressed as follows: "Is not there already a failure implied at the outset [of phenomenology] to make such a passage? (Celms, 1993: 152)"[7] Basically, the question is, whether Husserlian phenomenology is not doomed to remain solipsistic?

Phenomenological intersubjectivity

To answer the question Celms resorts to what Husserl himself has to say about the passage from the solipsistic approach to the intersubjective approach, and already at the outset of his analysis of Husserl's account of the phenomenological intersubjectivity Celms makes it clear that the phenomenological intersubjectivity is an intersubjectivity that remains limited to the sphere of solus ipse or one's own experience. Husserl's account of intersubjectivity, as Celms believes, does not deal with the genuine intersubjectivity, but merely with intersubjectivity as it is given or as it is constituted in one's own consciousness (Celms, 1993: 154–155).

As Celms' argumentation concerns just a base line of Husserl's account of intersubjectivity, it is not necessary to go into details in his interpretation of it. It will be sufficient here to give a basic idea. From a phenomenological perspective the other I's are given as meaningful correlates of one's own originally accessible consciousness. Every object towards which one is directed is intentionally constituted in its givenness in lived-experiences of consciousness, and the other I's are no exception in this respect. The intentional nexus, in which the other I's are constituted, is called empathic experience. Empathic experience, in which intersubjectivity is constituted, builds upon the layer of perceptual experience. In this layer of constitution things are constituted. Empathic experience is founded upon the perception of things and through it particular things are considered or interpreted as indications for the other I's. What is originally given to me is the lived body of the other I, but never it itself with its lived-experiences (Celms, 1993: 156–157). Celms summarises his findings as follows: "Just like the perception of things motivates to the necessary positing of things, also the empathic experience motivates us to the inevitable positing of the other I's. And, just like things that are posited perceptually always are present only with a presumptive certainty, also the other I's that are

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[7] In original: "Fehlt es nicht an Quellen, um einen soclhen Übergang zu vollziehen?"

posited empathically are present only with a presumptive certainty. (Celms, 1993: 160)"[8]

In his interpretation of Husserl's account of intersubjectivity there is just one point, in which Celms explicitly objects to it. In order to understand it, it is necessary to consider an ambiguity that Celms has permitted in terms 'solipsistic approach' and 'solus ipse'. Although the terms are introduced and explained already in previous chapters, it is only in the Chapter IV that Celms explicitly begins to distinguish between two meanings of 'solipsistic approach'. On the one hand, it means the same as an apodictic approach, which is a method of arriving at absolutely justified knowledge. To carry on the solipsistic approach means to limit oneself to what is originally and absolutely given, about which it is impossible to doubt. On the other hand, the solipsistic approach refers to the investigation of the constitution of a particular level of consciousness, namely constitution that precedes and founds the level of empathic, intersubjective experience. The level of solus ipse is reached by abstracting from the other I's and all the meanings that are necessarily connected with the other I's. What is left after this thematic abstraction is a mere world of things. While the solipsistic approach in the second sense is characterised by Celms as 'strictly solipsistic' (*streng solipsistisch*), the solipsistic approach in the first sense comprises both solus ipse in the second sense and intersubjectivity that constitutes upon it. It means that apodictically is given not only what pertains to my ownness, but also the other I's (Celms, 1993: 154).

In light of this distinction Celms maintains that Husserl's conception deals with intersubjectivity, but the intersubjectivity he is dealing with is solipstic, namely it is intersubjectivity as it is given through empathic living-experiences in one's own consciousness that is in the field of apodictic givenness. Celms writes: "Here it is a matter of a [special] kind of experiences encountered in solus ipse. … By analyzing them [those experiences of a special kind] I by no means leave the solipsistic attitude. I am just approaching (as was already mentioned (§ 67)) a till now deliberately ignored stratum of my own living-experiences. (Celms, 1993: 155)"[9]

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[8] In original: "So wie die Dingwahrnehmung uns zur notwendigen Setzung der Dinge motiviert, so motiviert uns auch die einfühlende Erfahrung zur unausweichlichen Setzung der fremden Iche; und so wie die wahrnehmungsmäßig gesetzten Dinge immer nur mit präsumptiver Gewißheit da sind, so sind auch die einfühlungsmäßig gesetzten fremden Iche immer nur mit präsumptiver Gewißheit da."

[9] In original: "Hier handelt es sich um eine Art der im solus ipse anzutreffenden Erlebnisse. … Indem ich sie analysiere, verlasse ich also die solipsistische Einstellung keinesfalls. Ich ziehe nur, wie schon erwähnt wurde (§ 67), eine bis jetzt absichtlich ignorierte Schicht meiner eigenen Erlebnisse heran."

According to Celms, sole ipse in the aforementioned strict sense has been overcome by Husserl's account of the phenomenological intersubjectivity. As far as the other egos are given in one's own experience, Husserl can carry out the intersubjective approach. However, his approach "concerns only intersubjectivity, how it is presented only in solus ipse" (compare with § 67) (Celms, 1993: 161).[10] "Intersubjectivity in the genuine sense as intersubjectivity of subjects that exist independently from each other 'in themselves' is with that [Husserl's given conception of intersubjectivity] not yet reached. The other I's acted until now merely as those about which one is conscious in one's own I. We dealt merely with the phenomenological analysis of the other I's of one's own consciousness. (Celms, 1993: 161)"[11] Husserl's account, Celms maintains, says nothing about the other I's that exist independently from one's own consciousness. Therefore, solus ipse in the second sense (as originally and absolutely given consciousness) has not yet been overcome with his analyses of the phenomenological intersubjectivity. Although I have the other I's in my experience, still they are the other I's as given in my experience and not independently from it. What Celms is concerned about is, whether it is possible for Husserlian phenomenology to overcome solus ipse in this second sense?

Genuine intersubjectivity and Husserl's pluralistic solipsism

After the consideration of Husserl's account of intersubjectivity Celms asks: "How it is possible on account of principal features of Husserlian philosophising already discussed till now to come to the intersubjectivity in the proper sense, that is to the intersubjectivity of subjects 'in themselves' not reducible to each other? (Celms, 1993: 161)"[12] And he answers: "Our deepest conviction is that the passage can be accomplished only with the help of a metaphysical premise that by no means can be viewed as a rigorously scientific proposition (Celms, 1993: 161)"[13] What

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[10] In original: "All das, was bisher über die Intersubjektivität gesagt worden ist, trifft also eigentlich nur die *Intersubjektivität, wie sie im solus ipse vorgestellt wird* (vgl. oben, § 67)"

[11] In original: "Die Intersubjektivität im echten Sinne aber, d.h. als Intersubjektivität der unabhängig voneinander 'an sich' bestehenden Subjekte, ist dadurch noch nicht einmal erreicht. Die fremden Iche fungiert bis jetzt nur als die im eigenen Ich bewußten Iche. Wir befaßten uns ja nur mit der phänomenologischen Analyse des *eigenen Bewußtseins con fremden Ichen*."

[12] In original: "Wie kann es auf Grund der bisher schon erörterten prinzipiellen Züge des Husserlschen Philosophierens zur Intersubjektivität im eigentlichen Sinne kommen, d.h. zur *Intersubjektivität von aufeinander nicht reduzierbaren Subjekten 'an sich'*?"

[13] In original: "Unserer tiefsten Überzeugung nach ist dieser Übergang *nur mit Hilfe einer metaphysischen Voraussetzung* zu vollziehen, die *auf keinen Fall als ein streng wissenschaftlicher Satz* angesehen werden darf."

Celms maintains here is that because of principal features of Husserl's phenomenology the genuine intersubjectivity can be reached only through a metaphysical premise. The premise, to which Celms is referring here, is the premise of pre-established harmony.

How does Celms come to this conclusion?[14] The premise, on which the whole Celms' argumentation is basically grounded upon, is what Celms himself calls intersubjectivity in the genuine sense (Celms, 1993: 161). Celms is sure that Husserl accepts this premise (Celms, 1993: 87, 140, 165). So, the first and most important premise is that there are the other I's 'in themselves' that exist independently of whether they are or are not given in experience of the other I's. That means that there is at least more than one I. The second important premise is that the consciousness (or I with its lived-experiences) arrived at by phenomenological method is absolute. Phenomenology posits consciousness as an absolute being, as a monad that can neither affect nor be affected by something outside it, may it be other things or the other I's (Celms, 1993: 163). Now, as what is directly accessible for each monad is what is experienced by it (including empathic experience of the other I's through their perceptually given bodies), and what is experienced by it is self-sufficient, namely it does not require something as a precondition or a cause for it, the question is how one comes to the genuine intersubjectivity? How a passage is possible from my own consciousness and the other I's self-sufficiently constituted in it to the other I's in themselves? Celms answer is that the gap can be bridged only with the idea of pre-established harmony, that is "with a harmony as *predetermined accordance of empathically shaped presentations of the other I's in one's own absolutely enclosed I with the I's themselves, how they exist 'in themselves'* (Celms, 1993: 163)".[15] That means that each I is given to itself originally, but at the same time it is accordingly given also as an intentional object to the other I's.

Husserl, as Celms believes, can avoid solipsism only by resorting to a metaphysical premise about pre-established harmony that cannot be scientifically justified.[16] Celms expresses the whole idea in an argument with a form of *modus ponens* (Celms, 1993: 164). The major premise is

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[14] Celms carries out his argumentation in several sections (§ 72–75), but in what follows I will give a summarized reconstruction of its main argument.

[15] In original: ".. mit einer Harmonie als einer *vorausbestimmten Übereinstimmung der im absolut geschlossenen eigenen Ich einfühlungsmäßig gebildeten Vorstellungen von fremden Ichen mit diesen Ichen selbst, wie sie 'an sich' bestehen*."

[16] It is worth mentioning that the statement about pre-established harmony Celms considers as a statement of 'philosophical belief' (*philosophischer Glaube*) degree of plausibility (Wahrscheinlickeitsgrad) of which is a very little. It is not a 'rigorously scientific' statement (Celms, 1993: 173).

the pre-established harmony that could be reformulated as 'if there are presentations of the other I's in one's own experience, there are the other I's that exist independently from, but accordingly to how they are presented in one's own consciousness.' The minor premise goes like 'there are presentations of the other I's in one's own experience.' Therefore, the conclusion is 'there are the other I's that exist independently from, but accordingly to how they are presented in one's own consciousness.'

It would seem that with the acceptance of the metaphysical premise of the pre-established harmony Husserl's phenomenology has gone beyond solipsism. However, Celms goes on and asks, whether this kind of intersubjectivity can be called a genuine intersubjectivity, is it enough for there to be more than one I, in order to speak of intersubjectivity? Celms answer is negative. That is connected with the fact that his understanding of intersubjectivity is more demanding; it not only implies that: (1) there are more than one I, (2) each from which is or principally can be aware of each other I, but also that (3) each of them do or principally can affect or act upon each other. Celms is speaking of community in the genuine sense here, which implies interdependence (Celms, 1993: 168).[17] For Celms, if one of these three conditions is not satisfied there is no intersubjectivity. As in Husserlian phenomenology one's own consciousness is absolute or, what is the same, self-sufficient that can neither affect nor be affected by anything else there is no actual interaction possible. Therefore, Husserl's phenomenology cannot account for genuine intersubjectivity. Celms writes: "The passage from individual solus ipse to plurality of solus ipse is not at all an overcoming of solipsism, it is, as already has been told, extension of monistic solipsism into pluralistic [solipsism] (Celms, 1993: 168)."[18] Celms' overall answer to the question, whether Husserl's phenomenology is capable of overcoming solipsism is negative. The premise of pre-established harmony as the only possible way of going beyond solipsism is not enough; it is just an extension of solipsism into pluralistic solipsism.

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[17] It is interesting that in this point of his argumentation Celms actually does not use the term 'intersubjectivity' but 'community'. It seems that in this context Celms uses the terms 'intersubjectivity' and 'community' interchangeably, because from the fact that there is no genuine community between monads, he deduces that there is no intersubjectivity.

[18] In original: "Der Übergang von einem einzelnen solus ipse zu einer Vielheit derselben ist also gar keine Überwindung des Solipsismus, sondern, wie schon gesagt worden ist, eine Erweiterung des monistischen Solipsismus zum pluralistischen."

Is pluralistic solipsism a consequence of phenomenology?

It is time to see, whether Celms' argumentation is sound or not? Does Husserl's phenomenology really have to resort to the metaphysical premise of pre-established harmony, and does it lead to pluralistic solipsism?

To critically assess Celms' argumentation it is necessary to introduce a distinction Celms considers in one of his previous chapters (Chapter III). There Celms tries to show that in Husserl's transcendental phenomenology it is possible to distinguish between two methods: phenomenological reflection or εποχη and phenomenological reduction, and that only phenomenological reflection or εποχη constitutes the method of phenomenology. Phenomenological reduction expresses the idea that the existence of the world can be reduced to its givenness in experience. There is no world that exists apart from how it is given in experience (Celms, 1993: 83–5). In order to prove the impossibility of phenomenological reduction, Celms uses the irreducibility of the existence of the other I's as one of the arguments (the other one is the irreducibility of God). That phenomenology is left with phenomenological reflection means, for Celms, that phenomenology can claim nothing more than to be a description of essential features of consciousness, which is reached in phenomenological reflection. In phenomenological reflection consciousness is considered as freed from all the connections that the consciousness has with other realities outside consciousness. Phenomenological reflection is a suspension of the belief that there is a world existing independently from consciousness, although it does not mean that the world beyond it is negated; it is just not taken into consideration, leaving the question about its status open. In phenomenological reflection "I am interested neither in reducibility nor in irreducibility of what is transcendent (Celms, 1993: 85)"[19] to experience. In phenomenological reflection everything that transcends experience is ignored, but it does not mean that with this the existence of it is denied, it is just ignored for the purpose of investigation.

To summarise what has been said in the previous paragraph, Celms thinks that there are actually two distinct phenomenological methods in Husserl's phenomenology that has been confusedly viewed as one, and that only one of them constitutes a valid phenomenological method, namely phenomenological reflection.[20] In the context of these methodological

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[19] In original: ".. ich habe [..] ein Interesse weder für die Reduzierbarkeit noch für Unreduzierbarkeit des Transzendenten."

[20] More about the distinction and its validity see: Vegners, U. "Theodore Celms' critique of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology" (forthcoming in *Quaestiones disputatae*, 2012).

considerations it is possible to maintain that Celms' argumentation is based on contradictory premises.

At first, when Celms considers Husserl's problem of intersubjectivity, he speaks of phenomenological residuum as what is reached by phenomenological reflection that does not deal with anything beyond consciousness and what is constituted in it. The fact that he has reduced phenomenological residuum to that which is reached by phenomenological reflection is explicitly stipulated in several occasions in his book where he considers intersubjectivity (Celms, 1993: 154, 157–158, 159, 161). Thus far there is nothing contradictory about his argumentation. The problem emerges in the point of his argumentation where he concludes that with the account of the phenomenological intersubjectivity nothing is said about the genuine intersubjectivity. From this point on he does not confine phenomenology to phenomenological reflection anymore, but admixes to it a characterisation that is compatible only with phenomenological reduction, the method Celms has already rejected. Only by changing the understanding of what phenomenological method is he can come to the conclusion that the only way how phenomenology can take into account the genuine intersubjectivity is by means of pre-established harmony that in turn can be pushed so far as to characterise Husserl's phenomenology as pluralistic solipsism.

To make it clearer, it is necessary to show that if one sticks to phenomenological reflection, it is impossible to arrive at the conclusions Celms has arrived at. In one of the previous chapters from the fact that only phenomenological reflection constitutes a valid phenomenological method (in contrast to phenomenological reduction) he concludes that "[t]he results of phenomenological method as such, because they refrain from every position-taking towards transcendence, can *in no way* constitute a philosophy, since it must by all means also adjudicate about transcendence (after all philosophy wants to be a science that is absolutely universal, that comprises anything and everything, what Husserl himself repeatedly emphasises, see also above, § 3) (Celms, 1993: 90–91)"[21]. If one sticks to the thesis that phenomenology cannot be a universal science, because its sphere of investigation is limited to consciousness considered apart from all the relations it has with what is beyond it (transcendence), one does not and cannot expect from phenomenology to deal with the genuine intersubjectivity, and, therefore, there is no need to force it to accept the

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[21] In original: "Die Resultate der phänomenologischen Methode als solcher können, weil sie sich aller Stellungnahme zur Transzendenz enthält, *unmöglich* eine Philosophie ausmachen, da diese unbedingt auch über die Transzendenz ihr Urteil fällen muß (will doch Philosophie eine absolut universelle, alles und jedes einbeziehende Wissenschaft sein, was Husserl selbst immer wieder betont, s. auch oben, § 3)."

premise of pre-established harmony that leads to pluralistic solipsism. Phenomenology if it is confined to the sphere of consciousness and how is given what is given in it, does not and cannot claim to deal with something outside of its scope of investigation. The genuine intersubjectivity is left out of its scope (as Celms himself repeatedly points it out (Celms, 1993: 153–154, 159, 161)), but it could be an object of investigation for other sciences. Phenomenological reflection implies that it is not the task of phenomenology to account for the genuine intersubjectivity, the latter is not in its competence; therefore, it is not fair to ascribe to it the task of accounting for the genuine intersubjectivity, at the same limiting it to the investigation of what is given in consciousness. Phenomenology confined to phenomenological reflection does not care for something that is outside its sphere of investigation as much as other sciences do not. Of course, it does not exclude the possibility of interdisciplinary work.

To sum up, if phenomenology, assuming that it is confined to phenomenological reflection, claims to say something about the genuine intersubjectivity, it already has gone beyond itself, namely it is not phenomenology anymore. Phenomenology is methodologically solipsistic, but it is not solipsistic *per se*, because it neither accepts nor denies the existence of the other I's. Phenomenological reflection does not in any way imply or prescribe only one possible account of the genuine intersubjectivity. As far it is concerned each of the possible accounts of the genuine intersubjectivity is as possible as others. There is no necessity for it to accept the premise of pre-established harmony.

Thus far it has been proven that if one sticks to phenomenological reflection as the method of phenomenology Celms' argumentation is not valid, because it ascribes to it something opposite to what phenomenological reflection implies, namely that phenomenology claims to be a universal science as science that claims to be able to account for everything. For Celms' argumentation to be valid he must choose, whether he holds to phenomenological reflection as the method of phenomenology or phenomenology's claims to be a universal science. As it has been already shown, by limiting phenomenology to phenomenological reflection there is no way that phenomenology can be a universal science. Phenomenological reflection and the claim to be able to account for anything and everything are incompatible, because the former implies limitation of the research into just one sphere of the whole world. As far as Celms sticks to both premises, his argument consists of self-contradictory premises that can be neither accepted by Husserl's phenomenology nor used to build a valid argument.

The only other option for Celms' argumentation is to revise his strict distinction between phenomenological reflection and phenomenological

reduction in Husserl's phenomenology. Celms' argumentation for the distinction between phenomenological reflection and phenomenological reduction was based both on textual evidence and extended argumentation that the results of phenomenological reflection and phenomenological reduction do not coincide, and phenomenological reduction cannot be fully carried out. However, firstly, there are textual evidences in Husserl's works that supports a necessary interconnection between them, not a principal distinction, as Celms suggests. Phenomenological reflection and phenomenological reduction may express different aspects of phenomenological method, but they are not separable – phenomenological reflection already implies phenomenological reduction; if it is not the case, it is just a reflection carried out in the natural attitude that Husserl juxtaposes to the phenomenological attitude (Husserl, 1983: 114–115).[22] Secondly, Celms' statement that the results of phenomenological reflection and phenomenological reduction do not coincide can be called into question. As was indicated Celms argues for that by appealing to irreducibility of the other I's and God. He does not elaborate on the irreducibility of God placing emphasis on irreducibility of the other I's. However, he actually does not give any other arguments for the existence of the other I's existing independently from one's own experience than threats of solipsism (what is nothing more than begging the question) and Husserl's own statements that his phenomenology is not solipsistic (Celms, 1993: 87, 165). Since Husserl's statements about his phenomenology not being solipsistic can be justifiably interpreted in light of the phenomenological and not the genuine intersubjectivity, as Celms assumes, then justification of discrepancy of the results from phenomenological reflection and phenomenological reduction is at best very weak. As the existence of God independently of its givenness in consciousness is even more problematic than that of the other I's, there is no good reason to think that results of phenomenological reflection and phenomenological reduction could not coincide. The statement that it is not possible to carry out phenomenological reduction (and with it the statement that only phenomenological reflection can serve as a valid phenomenological method) is unjustified. Is there something one can be absolutely sure about that cannot be reduced to its givenness in one's own experience? Besides, Celms is not entirely correct by interpreting phenomenological reduction as a negation of the world existing independently beyond what is given in consciousness. It is rather a suspension or bracketing of everything about which there can be no knowledge, it is a suspension of an interpretation

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[22] More on that in: Vegners, U. "Theodore Celms' critique of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology" (forthcoming in *Quaestiones disputatae*, 2012).

about what is experienced that cannot be principally justified (Husserl, 1983: 129). By taking away the interpretation, by bracketing it, experience itself and what is given through it do not disappear.

Now, can Celms' argumentation be justified if phenomenological reduction is taken into account? Is phenomenology committed to accept the metaphysical premise of pre-established harmony, is it a pluralistic solipsism? Again the answer must be negative, because, if phenomenological reduction is carried out the only pure consciousness is that of my own. As Husserl says: "The Ego is not one among other realities; one only marked by adequate evidence for me. It is the given of the phenomenological experience that gains its power by the suspension of all the natural experience and with it all the experience of reality. (Husserl, 2002: 76)"[23] There are no plurality of I's, of egos, there is just one ego and that is what is the given for phenomenology. If there are no other pure I's, then there is no need to get to them by means of the premise of pre-established harmony. Of course, in this case one might suggest that Husserl's phenomenology viewed from the perspective of the genuine intersubjectivity is solipsistic, although it must be stipulated that Husserl does not deny the existence of the genuine other I's in themselves, he just suspends the question of their existence, because it is principally unanswerable. All Husserl is left with is the phenomenological intersubjectivity, the other I's as they are meaningfully given in experience. For Husserl, intersubjectivity has its meaning only through experience. I know of the other I's, because they are given in my experience, not because they exist independently from my experience; it is sufficient that they have meaning of self-sufficient beings with whom I am interdependently connected. If I have a meaning of the other I's as independent and interdependent beings, nothing is changed, whether there are the 'genuine' other I's in themselves or not. It makes no difference for my relationship with the other I's I experience, because only my experience constitutes the meaning of the other I's.

Conclusion

In this paper it was argued that Celms' argumentation concerning the problem of intersubjectivity in Husserl's phenomenology is not justified. Husserl's phenomenology does not have to resort to the metaphysical premise of pre-established harmony among I's existing absolutely

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[23] Translated into English by the author of the paper. Original text: "Das Ego ist nicht eine der Realitäten, nur für mich durch adäquate Evidenz ausgezeichnet. Es ist das Gegebene der phänomenologischen Erfahrung, die ihre Kraft dadurch gewinnt, dass alle naturale Erfahrung und somit alle Realitätserfahrung außer Kraft gesetzt ist."

independently from each other and cannot be characterised as pluralistic solipsism, as Celms suggests. Celms' argumentation that attributes to phenomenology the metaphysical premise and finally makes it pluralistic solipsism is based on contradictory premises, namely that phenomenology simultaneously claims to be a universal science and science that is limited to just one aspect of the world. The situation with his argumentation does not improve, if one of the two premises is removed from his argumentation. Notwithstanding, which of the two contradictory premises are taken out Celms' argumentation does not work.[24]

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