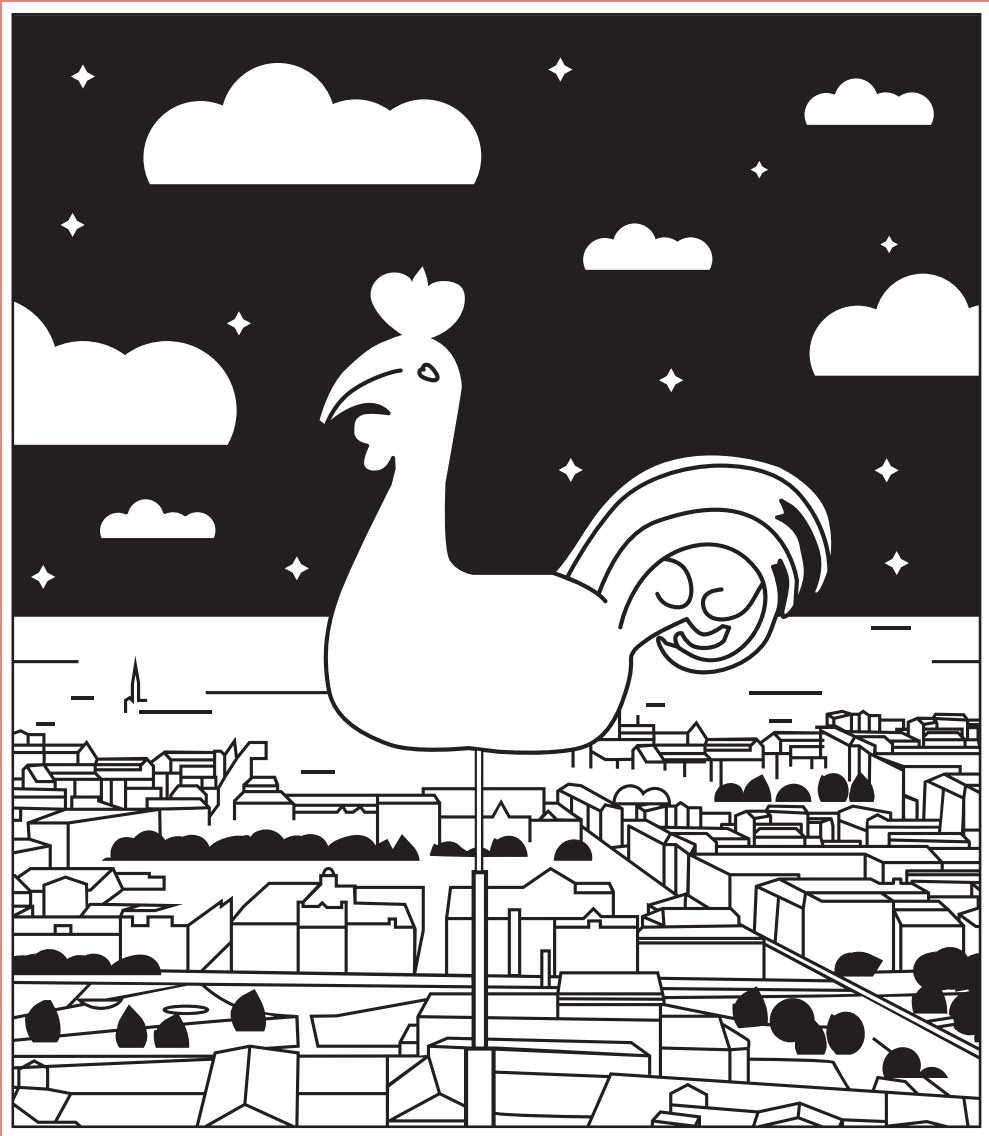






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**Pārskats par 20. gadsimta modernisma attīstību
Baltijas valstu mūzikā un tā lomu sovetiskās
normatīvās estētikas pārvarēšanā: 1940–1990**

**The Development of 20th Century Modernism
in the Music of the Baltic Countries During 1940–1990
and Its Role in Overcoming Sovietic Normative Aesthetics**

Atslēgvārdi:

jaunā mūzika,
modernisma virzieni,
īgauņu neoklasicisms,
latviešu postmodernisms,
lietuviešu simbolisms,
stilu plurālisms

Keywords:

new music,
modernist trends,
Estonian neoclassicism,
Latvian postmodernism,
Lithuanian symbolism,
stylistic pluralism

Kopsavilkums

Rakstā aplūkoti mūzikas novatorisma virzieni estētikas un stila aspektā, Rietumeiropas modernistiskā novatorisma ietekmes igauņu, latviešu un lietuviešu mūzikas jaunradē, šo ietekmju modifikācijas un to nozīme sociālistiskā reālisma dogmas izskaušanā. Lai arī t. s. sociālistiskais reālisms turēja skaņu mākslu savu mītu romantismā, dzelzs priekšgars nespēja aizkavēt novatoriskas mūzikas ietekmi sovietizētajās Austrumeiropas kultūrās. **Mūzikas ekspresionisms**, radies Rietumeiropā kā katastrofiskuma māksla, austrumos, kur tika vajāta subjektivitātes izpausme, pārtapa un kļuva par cilvēka individualitātes balsi. **Neoklasicisms** ar baroka intelektuāli vispārināto dzīves izjūtu un dinamisko mūzikas modeli palīdzēja Baltijas zemju jaunradē pārvarēt iesīkstējušo, stagnējošo romantiski kontemplatīvo muzikālo domāšanu, stiprināt dinamiski procesuālo mūzikas aspektu kā ekspresijas pamatu. 20. gs. 60.–70. gados Baltijā uzplauka arī otrs neoklasicisma virziens jeb neoromantisms – renesanses radošo principu retrospekcija un liriska interpretācija, centieni atdot tagadnei to, ko var fiksēt un pārradīt, pasargājot no iznīcības. Šī tendence saskārās ar laikmeta izplatītāko novatorisma parādību – **neofolklorismu**, kur, atšķirībā no romantiskā folklorisma kā folkloras materiāla pakļaušanas Eiropas profesionālās mūzikas principiem, no paša arhaiskā tautas materiāla tika atvasināti jauni mūzikas struktūru veidi. Minēto modernisma virzienu iespaids pakāpeniski izšķīdināja sociālistisko reālismu, ievadīja postmodernismu un vēlāk mūsdienu mūzikas stilistisko plurālismu.

Summary

This article discusses innovation in musical aesthetics and style, with a focus on how Western European modernist trends influenced the musical creativity in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and, after undergoing certain modifications, helped to get rid of the Socialist Realism dogma. Even though the latter was holding the art of music spellbound by its own romantic myths, the Iron Curtain was unable to prevent the impact of innovative music on the sovietized Eastern European cultures. **Musical expressionism**, which had arisen in Western Europe as an art of catastrophism, was transformed into a voice of human individuality after entering the Eastern bloc where manifestations of subjectivity were then persecuted. **Neoclassicism** with its intellectually generalized baroque feeling of life and dynamic musical pattern helped to overcome the stagnant romantically contemplative thought in the musical creativity of the Baltic countries, and to strengthen the dynamically procedural aspect as the basis of musical expression. The 1960–1970s in the Baltics saw the flourishing of another trend of Neoclassicism or rather Neoromanticism – a retrospection and lyrical interpretation of the creative principles of Renaissance, which meant an attempt to offer to the present day something that could be saved from destruction by recording and redoing. This tendency was close to the most widespread innovative phenomenon of that time – namely, **Neofolklorism** which, unlike the romantic folklorism that had subjugated folklore material to the principles of European professional music, derived new types of musical structures from the archaic folk material. The impact of the above-mentioned modernist trends gradually diluted Socialist Realism and introduced Postmodernism, and eventually the stylistic pluralism of the music of today.

Raksta mērķis – aplūkot Baltijas zemju 20. gadsimta komponistu jaunradi Eiropas mūzikas virzienu un stilu spoguļī. Tas izvirza uzdevumu vairāku desmitu komponistu daiļradē meklēt un skaidrot to, ar ko katrs no viņiem ir izmainījis vai papildinājis kāda laikposma vietējo mūzikas stilu, radošo metodi, estētiku. Izvēloties pētīt mūzikas norises galvenokārt no novatorisma viedokļa, autors nav pieminējis visus vietējos 20. gadsimta komponistus, bet aplūkojis tikai tos, kuri ir izcēlušies 20. gadsimta jauno mūzikas virzienu, metožu, stilu vai kompozīcijas tehniku daudzveidībā un ieviesuši būtiskus jauninājumus kaut vai nelielā savas zemes skaņu mākslas attīstības posmā.

Sākumi un premisas

Par Eiropas modernisma sākumu mēdz uzskatīt 1909. gada februāri, kad itāļu dzejnieks Filipo Tommazo Marineti (*Filippo Tommaso Marinetti*), ar futūrisma manifestu pārsteigdams Parīzi, kareivīgā antiromantismā aicināja likvidēt jebkādu pārdzīvojuma un ciešanu atspulgu mākslā. Nost Vāgneru! Nost skumjas un nelaimes! Nost pagātnei un tradīcijai! "(..) rēcošs automobilis, kurš šķiet skrienam pa priekšu ložmetēja kārtai, ir skaistāks par Samotrākes Nīki" (Marinetti 2021: 22). Viņu atbalsojot, Žans Kokto (*Jean Cocteau*) drīz deklarēja, ka turpmāk pilsēta, mašīnas, sports būs tas, kas iedvesmos mākslas radītājus (Faure 1997: 27, 28). Un tas nevarēja neietekmēt pazīstamo franču komponistu grupu "Seši" (*Les Six*), tās t. s. jauno dinamismu un neoklasicismu. Savukārt Vācijā un Austrijā, pārspīlējot romantismam piemītošo indivīda un vides pretstatu, padarot to katastrofisku, radās ekspresionisms. Mūzikā par tā instrumentu kļuva atonālisms, ko Arnolds Šēnbergs (*Arnold Schönberg*) un viņa līdzgaitnieki attīstīja līdz dodekafonijai un seriālismam.

Jau no gadsimta pirmajiem gadu desmitiem ar apkopojošo un vispārināto jēdzienu "modernisms" dažādos mākslas veidos tika apzīmēts mākslas virzienu kopums, nevis norobežojošs virziens, kā iepriekšējos gadsimtos bijis ar baroku, klasicismu vai romantismu. Pietiek minēt dadaismu, ekspresionismu, fovismu, sirreālismu, konstruktivismu, kubismu, urbānismu u. c., lai rastos priekšstats par strāvojumu daudzveidību.

Arī mūzikā modernismam nepiemīt vienots stils, metode vai virziens.¹ Un tomēr, par spīti izpaušmju daudzveidībai jau ar 20. gadsimta pirmajiem gadu desmitiem

1 **Stils, metode, virziens** – šīs svarīgās kategorijas autors lieto šādās nozīmēs: **stils** attiecas uz māksliniecisko formu kā izteiksmes līdzekļu organizētu kompleksu, kurā ievērotas noteiktas likumsakarības, kā arī nozīmju nosacītība; **metode** izsaka mākslinieciskā vēstījuma sakaru ar tajā tvertu pasaules izjūtu – pazīstamākās vēsturiskās metodes ir, piemēram, klasicisms, romantisms, impresionisms; nereti metodei izveidojas sava raksturīgs vadošais stils, šādos gadījumos termini "metode" un "stils" pārklājas un var būt uztverami pat kā sinonīmi; **virziens** ir metode konkrētā vēsturiskā izpaušmē, piemēram, 19. gadsimta pirmās puses vācu mūzikas romantisms, vai arī – latviešu nacionālās atmodas 19. gadsimta beigu tautiskais romantisms.

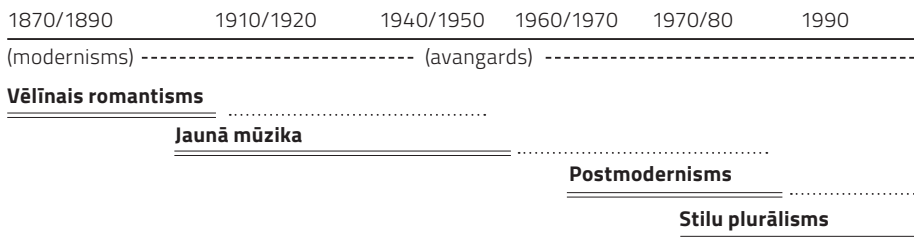
mūzikas modernismā iezīmējas tā strāvojumiem kopīgais. Mūzikas stilā tās ir tonalitātes principa beigas vai apšaubīšana, vēlīnā romantisma un impresionisma noliegums, tādas mūzikas valodas meklējumi, kas būtu brīva no 19. gadsimta harmonijas un orķestrācijas. Tonālie principi tiek ne vien paplašināti, kā darīja Rihards Vāgners (*Richard Wagner*) vai Klods Debišī (*Claude Debussy*) un citi, bet tie tiek principiāli noliegti.

Hronoloģija

Rakstā skarti dažādi modernistiskā novatorisma virzieni, stili, tehnikas – ekspresionisms, neoklasicisms, dodekafonija, seriālisms, puantilisms, postmodernisms, neoromantisms, neofolklorisms, sonoristika un citi. Taču Rietumu literatūrā mēdz visu šo 20. gadsimta modernistiskā novatorisma kopumu hronoloģiski iedalīt trīs posmos, tos apzīmējot ar nosaukumiem **modernā mūzika** (jeb modernisms hronoloģiskā nozīmē), **jaunā mūzika** un **avangardisms** jeb avangards. Par modernisma un avangarda laika robežām dažādos avotos un dažādās valodās mēdz būt tik lielas atšķirības, ka raksta autors ir izvēlēties šos divus lietot ārpus hronoloģiskā aspekta un tikai šo jēdzienu vispārīgajā nozīmē. Turpretī noteikti laika posmi rakstā tiek piešķirti Paula Bekera (*Paul Bekker*) 1919. gadā ieviestajam terminam “jaunā mūzika” (vāc. – *Neue Musik*; fr. – *nouvelle musique*; angl. – *new music* (Bekker 1923). Ar jaunās mūzikas laika robežām jāsaprot posms no apmēram 1910. gada līdz vismaz 60. gadu vidum, kad to pakāpeniski nomaina postmodernisms. Termins “jaunā mūzika”, kas plaši lietots vācu literatūrā, gan nav līdz šim Latvijas muzikoloģijā iegājis, tomēr raksta autors ir vēlēties to ieviest – tam ir ne tikai noteikta hronoloģija, bet Karls Dālhauss (*Carl Dahlhaus*) jaunajai mūzikai ir devis arī konkrētu mūzikas valodas pazīmju komplektu: disonanses emancipācija, asimetriska vai iracionāla ritmika, motorika, izteiksmes līdzekļu redukcija un blīvums, lineārisms, neoklasiskas struktūras, t. s. muzikālā sižeta izzušana, urbānisms (Dahlhaus 1981).

20. gadsimta gaitā gan Baltijas zemju mūzikā, gan Eiropā kopumā ir nomainījušies vairāki novatorisma virzieni. Noteikta novatoriskā stila iezīme, kas savā laikā bijusi vai arī šķitusi nepieciešama un novatoriskai mūzikai gandrīz obligāta, vēlāk parasti zaudē savu doktrināro raksturu. Piemēram, dodekafonijas un seriālisma loma Rietumeiropas komponistu jaunradē samazinājās jau 30. gados, pēc tam ieguva jaunu elpu pēc Otrā pasaules kara, bet 60. gadu otrajā pusē atkal kļuva marginālāka. Tas tomēr nemazina ikviena jauna stila nozīmi mūzikas attīstībā. Savu favorīta nozīmi zaudējis novatoriskais stils, kas ir pirms tam bijis nepieciešamā antitēze tradicionālismam. Tas gan zaudē polemisko asumu, taču atstāj savu nospiedumu un ietekmi arī mūzikas turpmākajā attīstības gaitā.

Rakstā ievēroto novatorisma attīstības iedalījumu posmos izsaka šāda shēma.



(Ar dubultlīnijas pasvītrojumu apzīmēti šajā rakstā lietotie novatorisma posmu nosaukumi. Punktotā līnija nozīmē posma turpinājumu līdztekus citiem posmiem. Iekavās liktie jēdzieni "modernisms" un "avangards" vienīgi rāda, kādos laikmetos tos mēdz biežāk lietot, taču raksta autors, kā minēts, tiem hronoloģisku nozīmi nepiešķir.)

Pirms 1940

Eiropas mūzikas novatorisma norises līdz Pirmajam pasaules karam Latvijā atspoguļojās maz. Sākot ar 20. gadiem, tās gan tiek apcerētas periodiskajā presē, bet jaunradē izpaužas vispirms to komponistu darbos, kuri izglītību baudījuši ārzemēs, un tie bija galvenokārt nacionālo minoritāšu pārstāvji. Cēsīs 1896. gadā dzimušais vācbaltietis Eduards Erdmanis (*Eduard Erdmann*) līdz 18 gadu vecumam mācījās mūziku un rakstīja pirmās kompozīcijas Rīgā, tad pārcēlās uz Berlīni, kur studijās iepazīna arī Jaunās Vīnes skolas darbus, un no četrām viņa simfonijām Pirmā (1919) veltīta Albanam Bergam (*Alban Berg*), Otrā (1923) Ernstam Kršenekam (*Ernst Kršenek*). Tajās un pārējās ir daudz jaunās mūzikas iezīmju.

Krievijā 1908. gadā dzimušais Latvijas Konservatorijas absolvents Viktors Babins (*Viktor Babin*) papildinājās kompozīcijā pie Franca Šrēkera (*Franz Schreker*) un komponēja Sergeja Prokofjeva ietekmētajā t. s. jaunajā lietišķības ievirzē (*Neue Sachlichkeit; New Objectivity*).

Pazīstamais latviešu komponists Jānis Kalniņš modernistiski radikālai stilistikai nodevās jaunības gados. 1924. gadā pametis Latvijas Konservatorijas kompozīcijas klasi, viņš komponēja demonstratīvi disonantus, atonālus, galēji avangardiskus dziesmu ciklus, kuru mūzikā grūti saskatīt noteiktu estētiku. Pats komponists par savu 20. gadu "modernismu" vēlāk ir izteicies, ka viņam "(..) jaunības gados radusies tieksme parādīt katrā saskaņā, katrā akordā kaut ko jaunu, nebijušu, modernu. Tā reizēm traucējusi sekot savam iekšējam radīšanas impulsam" (Lesiņš 1978: 918).

Taču kopumā, sākot ar 20. gadu vidu, latviešu mūzikā turpināja dominēt nacionālais romantisms un vēlīnais romantisms, tikai retumis impresionisma atsvaidzināts. Tiesa gan, bija sastopams arī simbolisms Jāņa Zālīša daiļradē un tā sauktais jūgendstils dažos Jāņa Mediņa skaņdarbos, taču šie virzieni nepiederēja pie jaunās mūzikas.

Lietuvas mūzikai, jau sākot ar Mikolaja Čurļoņa (*Mikolajus Konstantinas Ciurlionis*) studiju uzsākšanu Varšavā (1894), bija raksturīga mūziķu izglītošanās vai strādāšana Eiropas mūzikas centros. Šādu kontaktu dēļ Rietumeiropas jaunā mūzika, pēc igauņu muzikologa Marta Humala (*Mart Humal*) ieskata, jau savas rašanās brīdī ietekmēja Baltijas mūzikas jaunradi (Humal 1985: 22). Lietuviešu komponistu saskare ar ārējiem iespaidiem šajā ziņā bija nesalīdzināma ar Latvijas mūzikas samērā lielo noslēgtību un pavēra tiem daudz plašākas pieredzes iespējas, līdzsvaroja Pēterpils Konservatorijas iespaidus ar Rietumeiropas ietekmēm. 1922. gadā tikai Leipcigā vien mācījās pieci lietuviešu komponisti (Vītoliņš 1937: 487). Vairāki studēja mūziku Berlīnē, piemēram, Vlads Jakubēns (*Vladas Jakubėnas*) pie Franca Šrēkera, arī Parīzē. Tāpēc lietuviešu mūzika starpkaru periodā nepalika bez Rietumos gūtiem jaunās mūzikas iespaidiem. Par to nav klusējusi arī sovetiskā literatūra, piemēram, Stasim Šimkum (*Stasis Šimkus*) pārmetot Leipcigas Konservatorijā iegūto "reālistiskās sākotnes vājināšanos" un "idejiskus maldus" (Ginzburg 1963: 147, 148). Savas jaunrades attīstībā no vēlinās Aleksandra Skrjabina (*Alexander Scriabin*) mūzikas iespaidiem līdz atonālam ekspresionismam un pat elektroniskās mūzikas eksperimentiem nonāca Vītauts Bacēvičs (*Vytautas Bacevičius*) – Lodzā (Polijā) dzimis un turienes konservatoriju absolvējis komponists un pianists, ievērojamākais Lietuvas mūzikas avantgardists, 1936. gadā dibinātās ISCM (Starptautiskās jaunās mūzikas biedrības) Lietuvas sekcijas vadītājs. Viņa 30. gadu mūzikas stila un estētikas spilgts raksturotājs darbs ir simfoniskā "Elektriskā poēma" (*Elektrinė poema*, 1932), kas atspoguļo 20. gadu Francijas mūzikas t. s. jaunā dinamisma ietekmi. Komponists šī darba anotācijā rakstījis: "Es vēlējos tvert tās dzīves šķautnes, kas raksturo 20. gadsimta laikmeta garu. Tāpēc šī skaņdarba galvenās iezīmes ir neparasti aktīvs dzīves impulss un mehāniskums, kas tipisks mūsu elektrības gadsimtam. Mehāniskums šeit jāsaprot ne tikai kā virspusēja dzīves parādība, bet arī kā iekšējs dzinulis. Līdz ar to, protams, viss šis darbs ir tiešs tā sauktā sentimentālisma noliegums." (Žukiene 2009: 169)

Igaunijas komponistiem jau sākotnēji līdzās mācībām Pēterburgas Konservatorijā bija raksturīga ne tikai izglītošanās Rietumeiropā kā lietuviešiem, bet arī jaunrades sasaiste ar Rietumu literārās klasikas lieldarbiem.² Tas veicināja igauņu skaņu mākslas starptautisko skanējumu. Starpkaru perioda radošo ideju stiprākais katalizators Igaunijā bija Heino Ellers (*Heino Eller*), pie kura izglītojušies gandrīz visi 50. gadu radikālie igauņu mūzikas novatori. Viņa paša jaunrade 20. gados izauga no

2 Raksturīgie piemēri: Arturs Kaps (*Kapp*) oratorija "Ījabs" (*Hiib*) [*Job*], uvertūra "Dons Karloss" (*Don Carlos*); Rūdolfs Tobiass (*Tobias*) uvertūra "Jūlijs Cēzars" (*Julius Caesar*), kantāte "Damaskas Jānis" (*Johannes Damaskuset*) [*Johannes Damascenus*], oratorija "Jonas vēstījums" (*Joonase lähetamine*) [*Jonah's Mission*].

impresionisma iespaidiem, bet pārtapa, apgūstot arī lineāri polifonisku mūzikas valodu un progresējošu tonāli harmonisko brīvību. Simfoniskās poēmas "Rēgi" (*Viirastused*, 1924) tematika liecina par simbolisma, bet muzikālā izteiksme – par ekspresionisma klātbūtni. Jaunā mūzika vai pat avangardisms vēl skaidrāk izpaudās Ellera Pirmajā stīgu kvartetā (1925) – "tas izveidots lineāri un viscaur disonanti" (Leichter, Rääts 1956: 82).

Heino Ellera pievēršanās jaunās mūzikas stilistikai nebija noturīga, tā drīzāk bija epizodiska. Tāda Latvijā bija arī jau minētā Jāņa Kalniņa aizraušanās ar disonantu mūzikas valodu. Ja ievērojam, ka arī Lietuvā galvenais avangardisma uzturētājs bija viens pats Vītauts Bacēvičs, tad jāsecina, ka Baltijā avangards pirms Otrā pasaules kara bija samērā margināla parādība. Tiesa gan, nevar neievērot Eduarda Tubina (*Eduard Tubin*) mūzikas valodas attīstību Jaunās mūzikas virzienā, piemēram, ostinato tehniku viņa Otrajā simfonijā (1937).

Kara laiks

Vairākus gadus Baltijas komponisti bija sadalīti starp nacistisko vācu okupāciju viņu dzimtenē un Krieviju frontes austrumu pusē. Šajā laikposmā ieguvēja bija igauņu mūzika – ne tikai tāpēc, ka Krievijā vienkopus uzturējās liels radošo spēku skaits, bet arī tāpēc, ka viņiem bija labāka konsolidācija un kuplāks jaundarbu skaits. Latvijā par iezīmīgāko kompozīciju kļuva Jāņa Ivanova 1943. gada septembrī Rīgā pirmatskaņotā Ceturtā simfonija "Atlantīda". Tajā izpaudās pavērsiens šī komponista simfoniskās mūzikas stila un estētikas attīstībā – no romantisma un impresionisma uz jauno mūziku ekspresionisma formā. Visas trīs šīs stila paradigmas simfonijā pastāv līdzās un pat pārklājas. Par pirmajām divām liecina 2. un 3. daļas jutekliskais krāšņums ar daudztercu akordu paralēlismiem, kā arī romantismam piemītošā negatīvo priekšstatu demonizācija. Bet malējās daļās par ekspresionisma klātbūtni vēsta asimetriski un svaidīgi ritmi, ekspresijas kāpināšana vai aizvietošana ar ritma motoriku, liels neatrisinātu disonanšu blīvums.

Igauņu mūzikas laikmetīgumu veicināja kara laika komponistu organizatoriskā centra pārcelšanās uz Ļeņingradu 1944. gada sākumā un sakari ar turienes jaunradi – šajā relatīvi rietumnieciskajā pilsētā cenzūras slogs pār mūzikas novatorismu bija uz laiku atslābis, valsts apbalvojumus saņēma pat avangardiski krievu komponistu skaņdarbi. Ievērojamākā igauņu kara laika kompozīcija Krievijā bija Eugena Kapa (*Eugen Kapp*) vēsturiskā opera "Atriebības ugunis" (*Tasuleegid*). Tajā romantiska stila inerci mazina Modesta Musorgska opermūzikas ietekmes. No stagnējoša romantisma brīva ir klasicisma ietekmētā Eugena Kapa Otrā vijolsonāte (1943). Kara laika okupētās Igaunijas apstākļos dzimtās mūzikas laikmetīgumu uzturēja galvenokārt Eduarda Tubina skaņdarbi, visupirms Trešā (1942) un Ceturtā (1943) simfonija.

Par jaunrades sasniegumiem kara gadu Lietuvā nenākas runāt, jo tur nacistu iebrukums bija daudz postošāks nekā pārējās Baltijas valstīs – tika slēgtas augstākās un arī daudzas citas mācību iestādes, zinātnes un kultūras centri, vajāti kultūras darbinieki. “Tur mūzikas dzīve gruzdēja īpašos apstākļos,” raksta Vītauts Landsberģis. “Ņemot vērā šos apstākļus, vajātās nacionālās kultūras aizsardzība (muzikālos iestudējumus un cilvēkus ieskaitot) ir drīzāk pētāma kā daļa no plašas antifašistiskās Pretošanās kustības” (Landsberģis 1982: 45). Frontes otrajā pusē – Krievijā – lietuvišu Valsts mākslas ansambļos nonākušo skaits bija neliels. Šo ansambļu mūzikas daļu pārzināja Ābels Klepnickis, kurš karalaikā komponista darbību tikai sāka.

Staļinisma gadi

Pēckara gadi līdz Staļina nāvei (1953) bija jaunradei visnelabvēlīgākais laikposms. Relatīvi liberālāka attieksme pret jaunradi saglabājās tikai pašos pirmajos pēckara gados, jo režīms, bažīdamies, ka Rietumu sabiedrotie var vēlreiz izvirzīt Baltijas jautājumu, saimnieciskās un sabiedriskās dzīves sovietizāciju Baltijas zemēs savā ziņā it kā ievilcināja (Bleiere et al. 2005). Tāpēc koncertu programmās pavīdēja arī Latvijas neatkarības gadu nacionālais repertuārs, bet Jānis Ivanovs bez kavēšanās turpināja Ceturtajā simfonijā “Atlantīda” uzsāktu ceļu uz ekspresionismu.

Viņa Piektais simfonija (1945) jau ar pirmo takti atskanēja kā signāls, ka ekspresionisma posms latviešu mūzikā ir pieteikts. Proti, pirmās daļas ievada intonācija – spalgs dominora kvartas lēcieni sibemol–mibemol, asi disonējot ar domažora toniku fonā – skanēja kā ekspresionisma simbols *Ur-Schrei* (vāc. – ‘pirmatnējais kliedziens’). Šāds simbols raksturīgs ne vien glezniecībā, bet arī mūzikā, “tas ir kā emociju izvirzums, kurš nojauc pieņemtās kultūras normas un robežas” (Dambis 2003: 10). (Šis ekspresionisma simbols aizgūts no norvēģu gleznotāja Edvarda Munka (*Edvard Munch*) gleznu un grafiku sērijas “Kliedziens” (vāc. – *Der Schrei*).) Šajā kara iespaidu simfonijā dominējoša ir katastrofas izjūta, tragēdijas klātbūtne. Jaunās mūzikas iezīmju daudz vairāk nekā “Atlantīdā”, asa disonanse ir dominējošais saskaņas tips, balsvedībā daudz lineārisma.

Ar ekspresionisma pieteikumu Jānis Ivanovs sevi ierakstīja jaunajā mūzikā, taču tomēr nezaudēja vienu no raksturīgākajām savas skaņu valodas īpatnībām – ekspresijas un plastiska tēlojuma vienotību. Arī šajā simfonijā tās 3. un 4. daļā pavīd valšveidība, himniskums un citi žanriskā tēlojuma momenti. Tātad viena no jaunās mūzikas pazīmēm, proti, muzikālā sižeta izzušana, šeit vēl neizpaužas pilnā mērā. Līdzīgu situāciju ir pazinusi glezniecība: vai tas ir “tīrs” ekspresionisms – tā jautā latviešu vizuālās mākslas pētnieki par gleznotāja Voldemāra Zeltiņa (1879–1910) daiļrades attīstību no impresionisma līdz ekspresionismam. Viņu atbildēs ir gan laikabiedru

vērtējumi par Zeltiņu kā avangardistu (Ābele 2021: 305), gan par viņu kā nonākušu "uz ekspresionisma robežas" (Ābele 2021: 194). Pēc analogijas varam teikt arī par Jāņa Ivanova Piekto simfoniju – tās ekspresionisms nebija "tīrs", bet tomēr ekspresionisms.

Jāņa Ivanova Piektais simfonija, tāpat kā līdzīgas stilistikas Otrais stīgu kvartets, piederēja pie tiem staļinisma laika PSRS komponistu darbiem, kas, iepriekš saņēmuši ideoloģiskās varas akceptu un dažs pat Staļina prēmiju, pēkšņi ar šīs pašas varas gribu tika nosodīti kā sabiedrībai šķietami kaitīgi un tika aizliegti. Šī tā saucamā formālisma nosodīšanas kampaņa, kas sākās ar bēdīgi slaveno kompartijas centrālkomitejas 1948. gada 10. februāra lēmumu Par Vano Muradeli operu "Lielā draudzība", skāra komponistus visās PSRS republikās un tā dēvētajās sociālisma nometnes zemēs, tostarp arī Baltijā. Piemēram, Lietuvā tas bija mūzikas klasiķis Stasis Vaiņūns (*Stasys Vainiūnas*), jo savā Rapsodijā divām klavierēm (1947) bija iestrādājis lietuviešu tautas mūzikas formu *sutartines* ar tām raksturīgo disonanto vairākbalsību (Gaudrimas 1973: 531).

Taču relatīvā pēckara liberālisma beigas un režīma spaidi pret mūzikas novatorismu sākās jau pirms tam – 1946. gadā ar trim kompartijas lēmumiem – atbilstoši par literatūru, teātri un kino.³ Šie lēmumi kļuva par visu mākslas nozaru politiskas regulēšanas instrumentiem. Sociālistiskā reālisma jēdziens tika pielāgots jebkādi politiskās konjunktūras kaprīzei, lai kalpinātu mākslu tās vajadzībām.

Mūzikas attīstību sevišķi bremsēja ideoloģiskās varas vēršanās pret subjekta klātbūtni tajā, tātad pret liriku, indivīda psiholoģiju. Subjekta izpausme mākslā tika uzskatīta par sabiedriski nenožīmīgu – raksturīgi, ka staļinskajā literatūrā un teātrī kolektīvs vienmēr cīnās pret individualitāti (kulaku, revizionistu, spiegu) (Kalna-Puķīte 2008: 26). Līdz ar subjekta noliegumu un lirikas ignorēšanu panika solodziesma (pēckara pirmais mīlestības dzejoļu krājums okupētajā Latvijā iznāca tikai 1957. gadā – četrus gadus pēc Staļina kulta atmaskošanas). Šajā situācijā Rietumeiropā dzimušais ekspresionisms, kas tur nereti ticis uzskatīts par subjekta izpausmes pārspīlējumu, sovietiskajos indivīda skaušanas sociālajos apstākļos paradoksālā kārtā kļuva pirmais subjekta jūtu dzīves rehabilitējs virziens latviešu mūzikā.

Cits attīstības kavētājs faktors bija ideoloģiskās varas prasība pēc programmatiska un itin kā sižetiski stāstošas mūzikas dramaturģijas. Latviešu mūzikai un zināmā mērā Baltijas mūzikai kopumā, kurā jau tradicionāli bija dominējusi romantiski tēlojoša izteiksme, minētā kampaņa pret "formālismu" turpināja veicināt šo noslieci

3 Lēmums "Par žurnāliem "Zvezda" un "Leņingrad"" 1946. gada 14. augustā; lēmums "Par dramatisko teātru repertuāru un pasākumiem tā uzlabošanai" 1946. gada 26. augustā; lēmums "Par kinofilmu "Lielā dzīve"" 1946. gada 4. septembrī.

uz kontemplāciju par sliktu dinamiski procesuālām norisēm mūzikā. Tas latviešu mūzikā tradicionāli bija kavējis izteiksmības, ekspresijas aspektu, loģiski procesuālo attīstību un visu to, ko nosaka muzikālo priekšstatu tapšana laikā. Pirmais to radikāli bija pārvarējis Jānis Ivanovs ar "Atlantīdu" un sevišķi ar Piekto simfoniju, taču tagad, lai varētu turpināt komponista darbību, viņam bija jāatgriežas pie žanriski tēlojošas izteiksmes un individuāli psiholoģiskais elements jāpakļauj tautiski objektīvajam. Kampaņā pret "formālismu" PSRS centrālais mūzikas žurnāls publicēja rakstu, kurā programmatisma klātbūtne vai atbūtne jaunradē tika traktēta kā komponista politiskas nostājas jautājums (Apostolov 1950: 31). Šo toreizējo situāciju apzinoties, vieglāk saprast, kāpēc Jānis Ivanovs savā Sestajā simfonijā (1948–1949) un dažos citos skaņdarbos no mūzikas valodas novatorisma atkāpās. Deportācijas tajos gados bija skārušas arī viņa tuvinieku loku.

Tomēr Ivanovs savā simfoniskajā mūzikā neatlaidīgi tiecās atjaunot subjekta balsi. Vairīdamies komentēt paša skaņdarbus, viņš par Septītajā simfonijā (1953) izteikto vēstījumu tomēr piebilda: "(..) varbūt .. atradīsies vieta arī sirsnīgam stāstījumam par sevi." (Vītoliņš 1955: 7) Protams, mūzikā stāstot par sevi, komponists vēlējās izteikt subjekta izjūtas iepretī īstenībai. Šīs izjūtas viņam vienmēr bijušas svarīgas: "Jāņa Ivanova simfonijās jūtama kāda liriski psiholoģiskā varoņa klātbūtne, kāda vīrišķīga, bet ar dzīvi neapmierināta ideālā personība, kuras skatījumā tiek izvirzītas dzīves un cilvēka iekšējās pasaules problēmas." (Pelēcis 2005: 3) Minētā Septītā simfonija bija pabeigta Staļina nāves gadā, kad sākās "tautu tēva" kritika un ideoloģiskās regulēšanas formas kļuva mazāk tiešas.

Staļinisma pēclaiks

Muzikāli psiholoģiskā spriedze pieauga Jāņa Ivanova Astotajā simfonijā (1956). Kāpinot subjekta konfliktu ar apkārtni un sevi, komponists atjaunoja sava simfonisma ekspresionistisko izteiksmi Devītajā (1960) un vairākās turpmākajās simfonijās. Un tomēr arī tās ieēno Ivanovam raksturīgais it kā slēptais poētiskais tēlojums.

Tikmēr igauņu mūzika pārvarēja gleznaini aprakstošo romantisko jaunrades metodi pa atšķirīgu ceļu. Šo rindu autors atceras brīdi, kad arī Latvijas Valsts konservatorijas saimi kā atsvaidzinoša ūdens šalts sasniedza Eino Tambergu (*Eino Tamberg*) izaicinoši neobarokālais simfoniskais *Concerto grosso* op. 5 un ziņa, ka tas saņēmis Vispasaules jaunatnes un studentu festivāla zelta medaļu. Tiem laikiem neparasti pārgalvīga dinamika, solistu virtuozitātes pretstatījums orķestrim, sitaminstrumentu izaicinājums, tautiskie motīvi nebijušā traktējumā – tas viss šķita kā jaunas, citādas mūzikas apsoliņums. Jau ar iepriekšējo opusu – Piecām romancēm ar Šandora Petēfi (*Sándor Petöfi*) dzeju op. 4 (*Viis romanssi S. Petöfi luulele*) – Tambergs bija pieteicis

modālu harmonisko domāšanu un jaunu attieksmi pret disonansi. Nākamajā opusā "Simfoniskās dejas" (1957) viņš ievadīja neoklasicisma sintēzi ar dinamizētu igauņu tautasdeju materiāla simfonizāciju, ko pārtvēra arī daži citi jaunie igauņu komponisti. Tambergs to turpināja "Baletsimfonijā" op. 10 (*Balett-sümfoonია*, 1959).

Jāna Rētsa (*Jaan Rääts*) mūzikā – Pirmajā simfonijā (1957) un instrumentālajos koncertos – neobarokāla izteiksme ir it kā racionalizēta, kāpināta ar motoriskumu un aktīvu sitaminstrumentu lomu. Viņš jaunradē nevairījās arī no urbānisma un 1959. gadā izteicās: "Tikko pabeigtajā Trešajā simfonijā es centos atspoguļot dažas mūsu ikdienas dzīves puses [...]. Necentos imitēt motoru troksni, taču vēlējos ar muzikāliem līdzekļiem atveidot mūsu laikam raksturīgo "mašīnu garu", tehnisko varenību, kas neaizēno cilvēku, bet, gluži otrādi, rāda viņa radošā gara lielumu. Atbilstoši saturam es lietoju šajā darbā mūsdienu mūzikai raksturīgo aso valodu un motoriskos ritmus." (Normet 1974: 53) Rētsa vārdos un mūzikā viegli saklausāma līdzība ar 20. gadsimta sākumā franču mūzikas t. s. jauno dinamismu un grupu "Seši" (*Les Six*), taču igauņu neoklasicismā sastopama arī aleatorika (Jāna Rētsa Vijolkoncertā ar kamerorķestri, 1963), kā arī dodekafonija – Heino Jirisalu (*Jürisalu*) humoristiskajās Trīs serenādēs kamerorķestrim (*Kolm serenadi*, 1961). Visu minēto komponistu mūzikas valodā atbalsojušies arī radoši apgūti Dmitrija Šostakoviča un Sergeja Prokofjeva iespaidi. Līdz ar oriģinālo neoklasicisma iestrādi igauņu mūzikas attīstība jaunās mūzikas fāzī bija sasniegusi.

Lietuviešu mūzikā neoklasiska tipa dinamisms visskaidrāk izpaudās Alģimanta Bražinska (*Algimantas Bražinskas*) Kamersimfonijā (1967). Šis darbs it kā noslēdza neparasti intensīvo 60. gadu posmu Lietuvas mūzikā (pāri par desmit muzikālās skatuves darbu, trīspadsmit dažādas simfonijas, vairāki desmiti instrumentālu koncertu), kā arī savā ziņā stilistiski noskaidroja šo meklējumu un eksperimentu laiku, kurā bija izpaudies romantisms un ekspresionisms, tradicionāls un atjaunots programmatisms, politonāla un atonāla mūzikas valoda, lineāra balsvedība, pat centieni piesaistīt moderno sadzīves deju eksotiku. Taču Bražinska Kamersimfonijai raksturīgais žanriski objektīvais, klasicistiskais instrumentālisms 60. gadu beigās jau arvien vairāk tuvojās dramatiski konfliktējošai izteiksmei. Šāda pārtapšana toreiz vēl redzamāka bija igauņu mūzikā, visspilgtāk Jāna Rētsa jaunradē – Sestajā simfonijā (1967), Koncertā klavierēm un orķestrim (1968). Lietuviešu mūzikā ievērojamākais šādas ievirzes darbs bija Eduarda Balša (*Eduardas Balsys*) "Dramatiskās freskas" (*Dramatinės freskos*, 1965). Tajā konfliktējoši dramatisks koncertiskums brīvs no atklāta neoklasicisma, bet izceļas ar mērķtiecīgi izmantotu dodekafonijas tehniku un tomēr struktūras un dramaturģijas dēļ pieder pie klasicisma.

Latviešu mūzikā neoklasicisms izpaudās mazāk. Pirmais 18. gadsimta deju stilizācijas gadījums gan ir jau Ādolfa Skultes baletā "Brīvības sakta" (1950, otrā red.

1955), taču tur šīs neoklasiskās dejas parādījās tikai aristokrātiskās sadzīves raksturošanai barona pilī, bet ne komponista radošā vēstījuma nozīmē. Neoklasicisms kā antiromantisma izpausme raksturo Edmunda Goldšteina Čellkoncertu (1963), viņš nelieto romantisma stilistikas izteiksmes līdzekļus, bet gan klasicismam raksturīgos melodikas, ritmikas un faktūras elementus. Savukārt Ādolfu Skultes Klavieru sonatīnē (1956) un vēl dažos viņa darbos neoklasicisms drīzāk ir estētiski maz izteikts spēles elements, jo no klasicisma atbalsīm netiek veidoti jauni muzikāli priekšstati. Vispārināti skatot, jāatzīmē, ka Ādolfu Skulti, vienu no ievērojamākiem 20. gadsimta otrās puses latviešu komponistiem, jaunās mūzikas virzieni un avangardisms kopumā neskāra gandrīz nemaz. Viņš piederēja pie tā komponistu tipa, kuri – kā vēlīnais Moriss Ravēls (*Maurice Ravel*), itālis Otorīno Respīgi (*Ottorino Respighi*), rumānis Džordže Enesku (*George Enescu*) – pēc vēlīnā romantisma izskaņas palika it kā postimpresionisma un klasicisma mijiedarbes skartā stilistikā un estētikā.

Šāдай ievirzei pieskaitāmi arī vairāki nozīmīgi lietuvieša Juļus Juzeļūna (*Julius Juzeliūnas*) darbi, visupirms vokāli simfoniskā Trešā simfonija "Cilvēka lira" (*Žmogaus lyra*, 1965) ar Eduarda Mieželaiša (*Mieželaitis*) dzejas tekstu. Komponista oriģinālā tonāli harmoniskā sistēma, kas balstās lietuviešu folkloras senāko intonatīvi harmonisko īpatnību universalizācijā, piešķir simfonijas mūzikai senās konkrēti priekšmetiskās estētiskās uztveres īpatnības. Taču reizē tajā ir savā ziņā panteiska cilvēka un dabas nepieciešamās vienotības simbolika, personības un ārējās pasaules saskaņas patoss, ko izstaro arī Mieželaiša dzeja. Jaunās mūzikas novatorisms šeit izpaužas nevis tai tradicionālajos cilvēka iekšējās pasaules pretmetos un konfliktā ar ār pasauli, bet akcentēti tver dzīvi un dabu to viengabalainībā un cilvēku kā šīs viengabalainības sastāvdaļu, paužot postmodernisma ieskaņas.

Latviešu mūzikā Jānis Ivanovs nebija vienīgais ekspresionistiski orientētais komponists. 1955. gadā Latvijas Valsts konservatorijas kompozīcijas klasi absolvēja Romualds Grīnblats, kurš no 1946. gada bija mācījies Ļeņingradā pie Dmitrija Šostakoviča skolnieka Oresta Jevlahova (*Orest Jevlahov*) un iepazīstināts ar agrīnā Šostakoviča stilistiku un estētiku. Tai savukārt 30. gados, pēc Aleksa Rosa (*Alex Ross*) vārdiem, nebija sveša "Hindemita, Veila, Bartoka un Stravinska vidējā perioda "objektīvā", sentimentalitāti noliedzošā izteiksme" (Ross 2011: 206). Tāpēc Grīnblatam attieksme pret romantisma tradīcijām jau sākotnēji bija citāda nekā vairākumam Latvijas komponistu, kuri no šīm tradīcijām tikai pakāpeniski auga ārā. Viņš jau sākotnēji lietoja un radikalizēja Šostakoviča ietekmētu skaņkārtu sistēmu, drīz nonākdams pie dodekafonijas ("Klavierkoncerts", 1963). Taču jau 60. gadu sākumā viņš ar šo rindu autoru līdzdalīja savas simpātijas puantilisam, viņa Sonātē klavierēm puantilisms iet roku rokā ar aleatoriku (1969). Tādā kārtā Grīnblata jaunradē samērā īsā laikā attīstījās vairākas avangardisma tehnikas.

Atšķirībā no viņa, kurš jau debitējot bija pazīstams ar jaunās mūzikas tehnikām, Artūra Grīnupa divās pirmajās simfonijās (1958, 1959) dominēja Antona Bruknera (*Anton Bruckner*), Gustava Mālera (*Gustav Mahler*), Riharda Štrausa (*Richard Strauss*) ietekmēts konfliktu simfonisms. Pēc tam Grīnupa jaunradē līdz galējībām sakāpināts mūzikas romantiskais konflikts pārtapa ekspresionismā, resp., savā pretstatā. Pieauga ostinato principa lietojums, tonāla nenoteiktība, līdz kamēr dramatiski sabiezināta simfoniskā izteiksme, sākot ar Sesto simfoniju (1962), "visai uzkrītoši pārveidojas neoklasicistiski racionālās un emocionāli distancētās muzikālo domu struktūrās" (Kudiņš 2006: 18). Deviņu simfoniju un desmit citu simfonisku kompozīciju autora brieduma gadu dramatiski konfliktējošajos darbos iestrāvo neoklasicisms, tas tur izpaužas kā mākslinieciskas disciplīnas veicinātās klasicisms.

Stila normu dažādošanās laiks

Rietumeiropā dzimušā ekspresionisma ietekme bija atjaunojusi un kāpinājusi sociālistiskā reālisma apkaroto subjekta klātbūtni un izteiksmi skaņu mākslā. Savukārt pievēršanās neoklasicismam bieži novērsa normatīvās estētikas sašaurināto mūzikas tēlu diapazonu, palīdzēja pārvarēt programmatismu un stāstoši vērojošas statikas inerci Baltijas zemju mūzikā, veicināja dinamiski procesuālas izteiksmības līdzekļu izstrādāšanu. Līdz ar to intelektuāli vispārināta īstenības uztvere mūzikā guva pārsvaru pār sociālistiskā reālisma veicināto izteiksmes un tēlojuma empīrismu.

Lai arī 1962. gadā izstādē "Jaunā realitāte" Maskavas manēžas zālē notika vēlreizējs rupjš sovetiskās ideoloģijas uzbrukums mākslas novatorismam un tas atkārtojās 60. gadu vidū, kad kompartijas centrālkomitejā tika piesaukti "pagrīdes avangardisti" Baltijā (Dambis 2003: 43), tomēr atjaunotnes process visā kultūras telpā vairs nebija apturams. Sabiedrībā modušās ilgas pēc cilvēcīgākas, ideoloģiski nereglementētas mākslas izpauzās visās tās nozarēs.

60. gadi bija pavēruši plašāku informāciju par skaņu mākslas norisēm pasaulē, kurās turklāt notika svarīgas pārmaiņas. Šie gadi dažādu iemeslu dēļ izvērtās par "postseriālās avangarda mūzikas sākumu" (Danuser 1984: 284). Ieplešoties seriālisma un puantilisma saraibinātajam skaņu audumam, tas bija kļuvis tik amorfs, ka Ģerģs Ligeti (*György Ligeti*) 1960. gadā pilnīgi atteicās no fiksēta augstuma skaņām, to melodiskas un ritiskas organizācijas, bet tā vietā koncentrēja uzmanību uz pašiem skaņu fenomeniem, to brīviem un blīviem sakopojumiem jeb, pēc paša vārdiem, "uz skaņām pašām par sevi" (Lichtenfeld 1979: 47). Šajā t. s. sonoristikas tehnikā skaņa pati kļuva par jutekliskas iedarbības sīkāko daļiņu, kas iedarbojas ar pašas enerģētisko potenciālu. Baltijas mūziķu vidē šai sakarā pirmais gandrīz vai fiziski izjūtamais pārsteigums bija Kšištofa Penderecka (*Krzysztof Penderecki*) izcilais

sonoristiskais skaņdarbs 52 stīgu instrumentiem "Hirosimas upuru piemiņai" (1960) – seriālistmā ierastās skaņu abstrakcijas vietā tas nāca ar skaņu sensuālismu, veidojot izteiksmi plašos klastera veida dinamiskos skaņu blokos. Tā bija seriālistisma normatīvo funkciju atmešana un jutekliski tveramas tēlainības rehabilitācija.

Par citu postmodernisma zīmi kļuva Džona Keidža (*John Cage*) favorizētā kolāžas metode, tā labi kalpoja kā vērtību relativisma rādītājs. Savukārt daudzās no tām citu kontinentu tradicionālajām kultūrām, kuras plašāk atklājās, pasaules koloniālajai sistēmai brūkot, mūzika allaž izrādījās bijusi galvenokārt harmonizējošs spēks, un šis paraugs bija ierosinošs. Šīs "eksotiskās" kultūras kļuva par vienu no postmodernisma impulsiem. Stila ziņā postmodernisms atgriezās pie tādas harmonijas, kurā vairs nav konsonanšu "aizlieguma", un pie tonalitātes kā skaņu gravitācijas atskaites sistēmas. Atjaunotas vai jaunas ekspresivitātes meklējumos tika lietotas arī vēsturiski pastarpinātas mūzikas formas – caur agrīnā modernisma *alias* vēlīnā romantisma stilu. Tā radās vēl viens stils ar priedekli "neo-" – proti, neomodernisms. Lieki teikt, ka šeit ir runa nevis par balstīšanos klasicismā vai vēl senākā mūzikas laikmetā, bet gan samērā jaunā – vēlīnajā romantismā, ko pazīst arī kā modernismu.

Šāda neomodernisma spilgts gadījums, piemēram, bija Kšištofa Penderecka Čellkoncerts (1973) un Pirmā simfonija (1973).

Viegli saprast, ka plašās postmodernisma izpausmes mūzikā izraisīja arī jēdziena "neoromantisms" (angl. – *neo-romantic*) parādīšanos. Lai arī tas tika skaidrots kā termins "neokonservatīva postmodernisma izpausmju apzīmēšanai" (Pasler 2001: 757) un lai arī cik konservatīvs būtu, tajā romantisma īpašības nebūt neatgriezās pilnā apmērā. Turklāt romantisms atdzima nevis gatavu izteiksmes formulu veidā, bet ar jūtamu intelektuālu atšifrējumu un interpretāciju. Būtībā šis romantisko tēlu refleksīvais apjēgums bija īsti patiesais jaunums, ko sniedza neoromantisms.

Atgriežoties pie 60. gadu pārmaiņām Baltijas zemju mūzikā, jāatzīmē, ka minētā jaunrades stilu un virzienu dažādošanās un daudzveidība tai bija visai raksturīga. Agrāk latviešu un lietuviešu mūzikā daļa komponistu ekspresionisma iespaidā bija it kā izdarījusi pieņemumu, ka muzikālās izteiksmes un stila vispārējais attīstības ceļš ir arvien augošas psiholoģiskas un leksiskas sarežģītības ceļš. Diezgan bieži seriālists bija favorizēts bez īstas izpratnes un saturiskas nepieciešamības – savā ziņā kā rīkošanās ar "svešu erudīciju". Tagad mākslots intelektuālists strauji diskreditējās par labu asociatīvas, priekšmetiski plastiskas izteiksmes nozīmei mūzikā, stilistiska atjaunotne vairs nelikās ejam antiromantisma virzienā. Paplašinājās arī komponistu radošās ietekmēšanās sfēra. Ekspresionisma un dodekafonijas pamatlicējus pārspēja impulsi no Bēlas Bartoka (*Béla Bartók*), Karla Orfa (*Carl Orff*) un citiem agrāk mazāk ievērotiem autoriem.

Sociālistiskā reālisma dogma šajā tendenču daudzveidībā bija zaudējusi nozīmi. Franču revizionistiskā marksista Rožē Garodī (*Roger Garaudy*) grāmata "Par reālismu bez krastiem" (Garaudy 1964) tika pārtulkota un kļuva populāra, lai arī apstrīdēta, PSRS intelektuāļu vidū, arī Baltijā. Jēdzienu "sociālistiskais reālisms" arvien biežāk mēdza aizvietot ar neitrālāko "sociālistiskā māksla", kas varēja nozīmēt visu ko.

Tādā kārtā varam teikt, ka 20. gadsimta pirmās puses jaunās mūzikas posms arī Baltijā līdz 60. gadu vidum bija beidzies. Tas gan nenožīmēja visu šo modernisma veidu un tehniku – atonālisma, ekspresionisma, dodekafonijas, sonoristikas u. c. – izzušanu, taču tie vairs turpmāk nebija aktuāli kā doktrīnas, bet tikai kā komponenti plašākā, drīz vien pat plurālistiskā stilu ainavā. Komponisti, kuri debitēja 60. gadu vidū, vēlāk ar savu jaunradi piepildīja vairāk par pusgadsimta telpu, tai sniedzoties līdz pat 21. gadsimta 20. gadiem.

Kā spilgti atšķirīgs no visa latviešu mūzikā iepriekšējā debitēja Imants Kalniņš. Viņš bija 60. gadu pirmais latviešu komponists, kurš simfoniskajā mūzikā tik principiāli atteicās no nacionālā romantisma. Šī romantisma etniskais pamats, kas sakņojās zemnieku tautas mūzikas plūstošajā melodismā, vienkārša dalījuma ritmikā, trihordiskajās intonācijās, bija izzudis jau pirmajās Imanta Kalniņa kompozīcijās (Koncerts čellam ar orķestri, 1963; Pirmā simfonija, 1964). Nacionālajam romantismam raksturīgo gleznaini tēlojošo detaļu statiska apspēle atdeva vietu mūzikas procesuālajai pusei, tā sasniedzot lielāku emocionālo vispārinājumu un intelektuālāku īstenības skatījumu. Konflikts atrisinājās ne vairs skaistā pārdzīvojumā, bet skarbi patētiskās neoklasicisma formās, un tas liecināja par Imanta Kalniņa agrīnā simfonisma radniecību ar Artūra Onegēra (*Arthur Honegger*) un Dmitrija Šostakoviča dramatisko klasicismu.

Citādi laikmeta skarbos konfliktus risināja igauņu ievērojamā komponista Arvo Perta (*Arvo Pärt*) mūzika. Jaunrades pirmajā posmā viņš aktīvi un oriģināli pievērsās avangarda tehnikām. Seriālismu simfoniskajā "Nekrologā" (1960) papildināja un modificēja kompozīcijas *Perpetuum mobile* (1963) izaicinošais konstruktīvisms, kā arī klasteri un heterofoniska polifonija Pirmajā simfonijā (1963), galējie skaņu bloku pretstati čellkoncertā *Pro et contra* (1966).

Sākot ar 1964. gadu, lielu izteiksmību Perta mūzikā iegūst kolāžu tehnika – simfoniskajā *Collage per B-A-C-H* (1964), vokālsimfoniskajā *Credo* (1968). Otrās simfonijas (1966) orgāstiski disonanto mūziku pašā nobeigumā it kā "izslēdz" pēkšņs maigis sentimentāls citāts "Salds sapnis" no Pjotra Čaikovska "Bērnu albuma". Tas izskan kā postmodernisks apliecinājums mūzikas emocionālo vērtību relatīvismam un varbūt nojausta jauna mūzikas laikmeta sākumam. Sākot ar 70. gadiem, Arvo Perts izveido pats savu minimālisma tehniku *tintinabuli*, iedvesmojoties no senu baznīcas zvanu spēļu piemēriem. Vēlāk viņa bagātīgo un visā Eiropā novērtēto jaunradi ietekmē arī

seno sakrālo mūzikas kultūru paraugs. Tas bija savdabīgs neoromantisms, kas dažkārt ieguva pat sakrālā minimālisma nosaukumu.

Savukārt latviešu mūzikas 60. gadu jaunais debitants Pauls Dambis pēc īsas pievēršanās avangarda tehnikām pieteica jaunu, neoromantisku attieksmi pret pagātnes kultūras mantojumu un visupirms – renesansi. Vokālinstrumentālā poēma "Džordāno Bruno sārts" (P. E. Rummo, 1965), oratorija "Zilā planēta" (ar antīko un mūsdienu domātāju vārdiem, 1967), oratorija *Stanza di Michelangelo* (1971) liecina ne tikai par minēto tai laikā saplaukušo interesi par vēsturi. Šie darbi bija arī liecība par cilvēka personības problēmu renesansi 60. gados, kas ieguva savdabīga neohumānisma pieskaņu un raisīja pievēršanos šīs problēmas ģenēzei cauri vēstures laikmetiem. No tematikas viedokļa to varētu dēvēt par neoklasicisma atzaru. Taču tas bija tāds pagātnes skatījums, kas saistīts nevis ar intelektuāli racionālistisko baroka polifoniju, bet gan tiecās pēc renesanses radošo principu neoromantiskas interpretācijas.

Šī senatnes mākslas atjaunotā interpretācija saskārās gan latviešu, gan – lai arī citādā veidā – igauņu mūzikā ar principiāli jauniem folkloras pārtveres paņēmieniem. Pauls Dambis šai ziņā atļāvās visai radikālus soļus – lineāro polifoniju, kora deklamācijas un sonoristikas elementus, diatonisko pakāpju disonējošus sablīvējumus (vokāls cikls ar klavierēm "Kurzemes burtnīca" (1967); cikls sieviešu korim "Sērdieņu dziesmas" (1968) un citi). Īpaši jāuzsver, ka seno dziesmu melodiskais slānis vai tā imitācija nebūt netika traktēts romantiskas psiholoģizācijas ievirzē, kā tas agrāk bijis tradicionālo apdaru vairākumā, bet tajā tikai tika paspilgtinātas šim slānim piemītās folkloriskās īpašības – lietišķā funkcionalitāte un rituālisms.

Lai atklātu senās rituālistiskās mūzikas struktūras un to monotonijas suģestīvo iedarbības spēku, igauņu komponistam Veljo Tormisam (*Veljo Tormis*) radikāli kompozīcijas tehnikas paņēmieni pat nav nepieciešami – to paveic šo seno dziesmu pasniegums, kas tīrs no muzikāli psiholoģiskiem uzslāņojumiem, vai arī tāds, kas atjauno un turpina izzūdošās senās struktūras. "Ne es izmantoju tautasdziesmas, bet tās izmanto mani," vēlāk raksta komponists savā folkloristiskajā baletkantātes "Igauņu balādes" (*Eesti balladid*, 1980) komentārā un turpina: "Tad mans darbs ir kļūt, tā sakot, par galdū, uz kura tās var pasniegt un var izvērsties to iedarbība." (Tormis 1980: 4) Šī attieksme pret tautasdziesmām visraksturīgāk izpaužas to publikācijās korim, kur tās bieži iztieks bez īpašas radošas interpretācijas – piemēram, ciklos "Igauņu gadskārtu ieražu dziesmas" (*Eestikalendrilaulud*, 1967), "13 igauņu tautasdziesmas" (*13 eesti lüüriolist rahvalaulu*, 1972), "Senās jūras dziesmas" (*Muistse mere laulud*, 1979), "Latviešu burdondziesmas" (*Läti burdoonlaulud*, 1982), kā arī votu, ižoru, ingēriešu, vepsu, karēļu un citu tā saucamo aizmirsto tautu dziesmu ciklos. Taču Veljo Tormiss šo rituālistisma mūzikas izteiksmību pārnes arī citas tematikas vokālajā mūzikā, daudz

komponē kantātes un oratorijas žanrā, tostarp tematus no episkās poēmas "Kalevala", piemēram, vokālsimfoniskajā ainavā "Dzelzs apvārdošana" (*Raua needmine*, 1972).

Rituālista formām tuvas bija arī igauņa Anti Margustes (*Anti Marguste*) Trešā (1966) un Ceturtā (1967) simfonija. Savukārt lietuvieša Broņus Kutaviča (*Bronius Kutavičius*) skaņdarbos akcentētais seno folkloras slāņu rituālistsms sasniedz zināmu mūzikas valodas neoprimitivismu. Oratorijā "Pēdējie pagānu rituāli" (*Paskutinės pagonių apeigos*) un vairākās līdzīgās kompozīcijās viņš nonāk līdz lietuviešu arhaiskā politeisma tematikai.

Šim 60. gadu t. s. jaunajam folkloras vilnim dažādu komponistu jaunradē bija līdzīgas ne tikai stilistiskās, bet arī estētiskās iezīmes – centieni atklāt tautas mākslas materiāla sākotnējību, iezemētību, fundamentalitāti, nereti arī arhaiskumu un reizē ar to parādīt šajā materiālā ietverto pasauleskatījumu. Tas bija paņēmieni atdot savam laikmetam to, ko var fiksēt vai pārradīt, lai pasargātu no iznīcības, un, protams, šāda estētika bija dadzis acī ideoloģiskajiem uzraugiem. Metodes ziņā tā piederēja pie neofolklorisma.

Dažādu stilu apspēle 60. gados raksturīga brieduma paaudzes latviešu komponistam Mārgērim Zariņam, un viņa jaunradē skaidri izpaužas šo stilu neo-romantiska interpretācija vokālinstrumentālajos kamerciklos *Carmina antica*, *Partita in barocco* (abi 1963), oratorijā "Mahagoni" (1964), baletoperā "Sv. Maurīcija brīnumdarbi" (1964) u. c.

Mārgēra Zariņa rotaļas ar stiliem mūzikā un literārajos darbos pieder pie post-modernisma. Pie tā pieder arī iepriekš minētais neoromantisms, un tāds ir arī neofolklorisms. Abiem neizbēgami piemīt vēsturiski stilistisks un kulturoloģisks konteksts. Taču bez tā un tāpēc bez priedēkļa "neo-" kā seriālās un atonālās mūzikas alternatīvu šo postmodernismu ar manifesta cienīgu spilgtumu savā mūzikā 70. gadu sākumā pieteica Imants Zemzaris (1951). Jau konservatorijas studiju laikā tapušajā darbā "Antikvārs" divām klavierēm (1970/1973), lai arī tematiski saistītā ar senlietām, moderna un laikmetīga kļūst tā laika latviešu mūzikā sen nedzirdēta labskanība, plastiska faktūra, konsonances un skaņu pastelkrāsu izteiksmība. Tā turpinās klavieru kompozīcijās "Varšavas triptihs" (1973)⁴ un *Play Time* (1974). Ar darbiem "Faktūras" klavierēm (1975) un "Lauks" ērģelēm (1984) Imants Zemzaris kļūst arī par pirmo un ilgstoši vienīgo latviešu komponistu, kas pievērsies minimālismam – metodei, kura 70. gados bagātīgi saplauka lietuviešu mūzikā.

4 Varšavai un poļu avangardam 60. un 70. gadu Baltijas komponistu vidē bija pavisam īpaša nozīme, gandrīz vai simbolisks oreols. No gadskārtējā (kopš 1956) starptautiskā mūzikas festivāla "Varšavas rudens", kas vienīgais no t. s. sociālisma nometnes festivāliem nepakļāvās avangarda vajāšanām un turklāt bija atvērts Baltijas komponistu apmeklējumiem, allaž tika gaidīti jaunākie novatoriskie mūzikas notikumi un to ietekme.

Ar 20. gadsimta 70. un 80. gadiem igauņu, latviešu un lietuviešu mūzikā pamazām iezīmējās stilu un metožu daudzveidības jeb plurālisma laiks, kas ir vērsies plašumā un turpinās arī 21. gadsimtā – jebkura daiļrades metode un stils tiek uztverts kā leģitīms un laikmetīgs. Par pirmo tā pārstāvi latviešu mūzikā var uzskatīt Pēteri Plakidi. Viņa mūzikā saliedējas klasicistiska nosvērtība ar neoromantisku emocionālītāti, aizgājušu laikmetu iespaidi ar psiholoģisku konkrētību, epika ar grafisku domas izklāstu, folkloras iestrāvojumi ar abstraktu instrumentālismu. Lietuviešu mūzikā minētā laikmeta ievadītāju vidū minami Osvalds Balakausks (*Osvaldas Balakauskas*), Alģirds Martinaitis (*Algirdas Martinaitis*), Mindaugs Urbaitis (*Mindaugas Urbaitis*), Vidmants Bartulis (*Vidmantas Bartulis*), Onute Narbutaite (*Onutė Narbutaitė*). Igaunu komponistu paaudze, kas ievadīja plurālisma laikmetu, dzimusi mazliet vēlāk, taču ievērojama jaunrades spilgtuma ziņā – Mati Kūlbergs (*Mati Kuulberg*), Raimo Kangro (*Raimo Kangro*), Lepo Sumera (*Lepo Sumera*), Erki Svens Tīrs (*Erkki-Sven Tüür*), Urmass Sisasks (*Urmass Sisask*). Latviešu komponistu atbilstošo plejādi savā ziņā ievadīja jau Imants Kalniņš, pēc tam katrs ar savu stilu nāca Pēteris Vasks, Juris Karlsons, Georgs Pelēcis, Egils Straume un citi.

Īss kopskats

Lai arī mūzikas tapšanas vēsturiskie un sociālie apstākļi Igaunijā, Latvijā un Lietuvā bijuši gandrīz identiski, tomēr starp šo trīs Baltijas tautu komponistu jaunrades produkciju ir vērojamas atšķirības. Lietuvas mūzikai raksturīga liela jauno kompozīcijas tehniku un stilu dažādība un intensīva produktivitāte daudzos virzienos, kā arī izteikta nosliece uz mūzikas tēlu simbolismu.

Šo beidzamo īpašību nesastopam Igaunijas mūzikas jaunradē. Toties tai ir specifiska liela mērķtiecība un drosme jauno virzienu un stilu apguvē, to individuāls un spilgti radošs izmantojums, visai izteikts racionālisms.

Latviešu mūzikai, kam šai rakstā pievērsta galvenā uzmanība, kā redzējām, raksturīgs ir postmodernisma lielais īpatsvars. Taču šai ziņā vislabāk ir ļauties skatīties no malas. Un tad, vērtējot modernisma un postmodernisma attiecības latviešu mūzikā, ne bez pamata ir atziņa, ko pēc daudzu kompozīciju noklausīšanās šo rindu autoram izteica Parīzes starptautiskā mūzikas apgāda *Leduc* pārstāvis, kas 1970. gadā Francijas franču komponistu grupā uzturējās Rīgā: "Jums, latviešiem, ir labs postmodernisms, lai gan paša modernisma tikpat kā nav bijis." Šis skatīens no malas ir daļēji paties attiecībā uz sovetiskā režīma gadiem, taču, kā redzējām, atjaunotās valstiskās neatkarības laikā avangardisku centienu arī latviešu mūzikā netrūkst.

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Local Identity and Comparative Aspects in Nineteenth-Century Latvian Literature

Lokālā identitāte un salīdzināmie aspekti 19. gadsimta latviešu literatūrā

Keywords:

national literatures,
small literatures,
romantic nationalism,
nineteenth-century prose,
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literatures of rural areas

Atslēgvārdi:

nacionālās literatūras,
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Summary

In this article I trace various ways in which nineteenth-century Latvian literature had an impact on the formation of national identity and stimulated the rise of national consciousness of the Latvian population. Important in this process were comparative contexts, with a broadening of perspectives that significantly contributed to a more nuanced self-understanding of Latvians while also paying greater attention to local specifics. The main aspects discussed in this article refer to the historical conditions shaping the self-awareness of the Latvian population, including the generation of the New Latvians who promoted and implemented the ideas of romantic nationalism; the importance of literary tradition as an inspiration and source of late nineteenth-century Latvian literature; the ways local identity was established and defined in literary texts; and the search for aesthetic innovation in nineteenth-century prose.

Kopsavilkums

Rakstā pievērsta uzmanību tiem dažādajiem aspektiem, kas ir svarīgi, izvērtējot latviešu literatūras ietekmi nācijas identitātes veidošanās un nacionālās apziņas nostiprināšanās gaitā. Šajā procesā nozīmīga bija salīdzināmo kontekstu izpratne, līdz ar perspektīvas paplašināšanos iezīmējoties niansētākai latviešu sabiedrības pašizpratnei un lielāku uzmanību pievēršot lokālo apstākļu specifikai. Svarīgākie jautājumi, kādi aplūkoti rakstā, ir saistīti ar vēsturisko apstākļu lomu latviešu sabiedrības identitātes veidošanā, pievēršot īpašu uzmanību jaunlatviešu paaudzei, kas pauda romantiskā nacionālisma idejas un praktiskos centienus; literāro tradīciju nozīmei kā 19. gadsimta beigu latviešu literatūras ierosmes avotam; lokālās identitātes nostiprināšanās un atklāsmes procesam literārajos darbos; kā arī estētisko meklējumu savdabībai deviņpadsimtā gadsimta latviešu prozā.

Introduction

The nineteenth century was an important formative period of Latvian national identity marked by fundamental changes in political, economic, and cultural self-understanding. This process is dealt with by later literary histories that pay attention to literary developments following the emergence and further activities of the first ethnic Latvian authors who entered the literary field from the 1800s onward (Steinby et al. 2024: 139–212; Daija and Kalnačs 2022: 12–18). This early generation, and the subsequent ones, gradually challenged the politically and culturally dominating role of Baltic German intellectuals. Even if nineteenth-century developments have already been the focus of research, crucial questions in need of further discussion remain. What were the main goals set during this period, when romantic nationalism played the most significant role? How was the relationship with literary tradition perceived and defined? What were the main strategies relating to the experiences of the Latvian people? What kind of aesthetic innovations were especially important for writers and intellectuals of the time? These are the main points discussed in this article that sets out to explore nineteenth-century Latvian literature in the comparative contexts of its age.

The concept of Latvians as a ‘peasant nation’ and its historical and cultural background

The task of strengthening the identity of the Latvian community was undertaken by the generation of the so-called New Latvians in the 1850s (Mintauris 2022). In their understanding, the issues of mobility influenced all spheres of life (economic, cultural, and political), closely interlinked. The efforts of this generation culminated in the creation of the *Pēterburgas Avīzes* (St. Petersburg Newspaper, 1862–1865), the first Latvian periodical that promoted European ideas and tried to reach the core of the local population (Apals 2011). Facing the important issue of how to stimulate identity formation, the New Latvians gradually developed an understanding of the Latvians as a ‘peasant nation’. This requires a historical explanation.

The power balance in the eastern Baltic littoral was established toward the end of the twelfth century. The Northern Crusades brought Christian people of German origin into the area; during fierce battles they ended up subordinating the Proto-Latvians and the Estonians. The invaders not only converted the local people to Christianity, but successfully co-ordinated their efforts to become the largest landholders in the area, seizing the lands of the local population and establishing political and economic structures that put them in positions of authority. A strongly

segregated class society formed, although “the colonizers never embarked on a program of the settlement of German peasants and assimilation of the natives. The conquerors did not intend a class of free peasantry to be a major component of the social structure.” (Kasekamp 2018: 28–29) The history of resistance later became one of the founding identity myths created in the Baltic area during the period of romantic nationalism in the nineteenth century.

Baltic Germans, who were in the position of authority in economic and cultural terms, kept their dominating role despite later changes in political realities. The medieval state of Livonia disintegrated, and political power was taken first by the Swedish king in the seventeenth century, and subsequently by the Russian emperor in the eighteenth century. The Russian rulers employed the Baltic German upper class in high-ranking positions in the state administration. The Baltic Germans’ attitude to the local population was that of providing it with some level of education recognized as sufficient while applying it; in postcolonial terms, the locals were considered equal but not quite. After the Reformation, the Baltic Germans undertook the translation and publication of religious books (the first book in Latvian was printed in 1525) and later introduced the main genres of European literature into Latvian literature. Another manifestation of this patronizing approach was the so-called Popular Enlightenment of the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Grudule 2005; Daija 2013).

The social division in society was usually referred to as the relationship between the ‘Germans’ and the ‘non-Germans’ (*undeutsche*). This ethnic marker was also an economic one, with ‘non-Germans,’ predominantly Latvians, being relegated to the socially lower ‘peasant class’. The nineteenth-century generation of the New Latvians initiated a radical change in the perception of the existing relations. Criticising the situation where Latvians were mostly offered texts from popular culture, they emphasized the creation of a Latvian elite culture instead (Ijabs 2013). This was an important idea in the process of promoting cultural nationalism as a tool for social and economic mobility (Leerssen 2018).

Importantly, the path that the educated Latvians took, inspired to a considerable extent by the ideas of Johann Gottfried Herder (himself active in Riga between 1764 and 1769), was necessarily different from the development Herder envisaged for his own nation. David Damrosch emphasizes that Herder “began to seek the unity of German culture in its language and its literature, particularly literature of *das Volk* – the people as the whole, not simply the peasantry or commoners. What distinguished true *Volks poesie* for Herder was not a specific class origin, but rather its embodiment of a people’s aspirations, their culture, their landscape and environment.” (Damrosch 2020: 17–18) In German contexts, this meant expanding elite culture by incorporating

poetry of the common people into the story of a nation. The enrichment of culture was thus started from above. In the Latvian case, the situation was different, since in the 1850s an elite culture was still to be created. Thus, what mattered was the creation of national identity and culture through measures that would speak to broad segments of the population belonging to different social classes, but mostly representing the peasant community. As the New Latvians undertook their effort of promoting economic and cultural mobility it was clear that peasants provided the majority of those they intended to address. This particularity explains why for the New Latvians, who challenged the patronizing role of the Baltic Germans, the concept of an imagined 'peasant nation' became a crucial intellectual tool indicating the resistance from below and set to replace the diminishing attitude toward of the Latvians as belonging to a 'peasant class'. Interested in raising the quality of life in all its aspects, the movement of the New Latvians responded to the challenges of contemporary life including legal issues linked to the acquisition of farms as properties, when, after the abolishment of serfdom, it even became possible; this stimulated the necessity of dealing with certain social and economic questions and created attitudes that had remained underdeveloped (Veisbergs 2022: 49). The swiftly elaborated concept of the 'peasant nation' brought together tradition and change.

By focusing on one example of early twentieth-century literature we may notice that these issues were still highly relevant at that point. In his play *Ugunī* (In the Fire, 1904), Rūdolfs Blaumanis devoted considerable attention to the potential social mobility of his characters who represented both the peasant community and the servants of the landlord's manor. While those opposed to any significant changes still considered humility as an integral part of their peasant *class* identity, persons in favour of progress openly declared their belonging to a rising *nation* (Blaumanis 1958: 237; 247; my emphasis, BK). There were numerous such literary equivalents in the process of identity construction initiated by the generation of New Latvians who recognized the social basis for creating a new national consciousness in the local peasant community.

The role of literary tradition

The peasant community addressed by the New Latvians had to be gradually better educated and helped to overcome their relatively limited extent of knowledge. While recognizing the importance of broadening the informative basis as well as promoting the necessity of reading secular literature, even if this included stories that belonged to so-called popular culture, one of the main aims of Latvian intellectual circles was the promotion of elite literature. The way toward the creation of an elite Latvian culture proceeded along three

different yet mutually complementary paths. The first was linked to translations of major works of world literature into Latvian. As with virtually every cultural domain, this had previously been an exclusive area of Baltic German activities. Although Latvians were considered to be unable to deal with more complex issues, in the first half of the nineteenth century some Baltic Germans started to experiment with translations into Latvian of a handful of major authors such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, and Heinrich Heine. For them this was predominantly a leisure activity among the more practical tasks regarding peasant education.

In the 1850s, however, the situation changed radically when there appeared a volume called *Dziesmiņas, latviešu valodai pārtulkotas* (Little Songs Translated for the Latvian Language, 1856) by Juris Alunāns, one of the first representatives of the generation of New Latvians. The publication of this volume is traditionally considered the starting point of a “genuine” Latvian national literature (Mintaurs 2022: 110). This opinion underlines that the volume was not just another example of a literary text created by ethnic Latvians, but a radical challenge to Baltic German dominance. The primary aim of the volume was to stimulate intellectual activity. Even though the first edition contained only one original poem, Alunāns’s declared aim was to show that it was possible to express in Latvian the same thoughts that earlier were familiar only from foreign languages and literatures.

The moment of this publication coincided with the echo of the mid-century revolutions that rolled across Europe, even if there was not a direct political resonance of these events among broader circles of the Latvian community. Nevertheless, the European context is important for explaining the radicalism of Alunāns as well as that of the whole generation of the New Latvians, who fiercely opposed Baltic German dominance and revolutionized the Latvian elite. It also points to some particularities in the rise of Latvian culture.

It is interesting to compare the Latvian and Danish contexts at approximately the same time. Writing about the main currents in nineteenth-century European literatures in the early 1870s, Georg Brandes characterized the situation in Danish literature as inconsistent with the spirit of the age: “The problem with Danish literature of the period, according to Brandes, was that the wave of action from the French Revolution never quite made it to the European periphery of Denmark; instead the romantic reaction reached its shores, never left and wound up as a replica of itself. [...] Literatures of small nations such as the Danish are incomplete because some currents never reach them while others linger too long.” (Ringgaard and Rosendahl Tomsen 2018: 3). Employing the metaphor of the wave, and a related concept of the current that towered prominently in the title of his book, *Main Currents in Nineteenth-Century European Literatures*, Brandes spoke of the ebb and flow of

cultural development. We may notice that the rise of Latvian elite culture in its turn coincided with another ebb of social activism in mid-nineteenth century Europe that heightened its social engagement. One clear indication of this trend was the choice of the translated authors, as Alunāns included numerous contemporary German revolutionary poets alongside more moderate writers.

At the same time, it must also be said that social radicalism in Latvian intellectual circles often co-existed with rather modest literary aspirations. Among other examples this is proved by the activities of the important economist Krišjānis Valdemārs, who strongly encouraged Latvians to take more initiative in practical matters. The Latvian peasant community considered him as the main representative of their needs (Ķikuts 2016: 44). He was also one of the most vocal supporters of the rights of Latvian peasants, capable of promoting these rights among the upper strata of the imperial Russian government (Valdemārs 1936). When using literature as a tool to foster his aspirations, however, Valdemārs's approach was far less radical and less ambitious as documented by the publication of his volume *300 stāsti* (300 Stories, 1853), consisting of small, partly localized stories of anecdotal as well as practical content. Importantly, however, Valdemārs supplemented his volume with a bibliography of valuable publications that he felt should be read to broaden the scope of people's knowledge (Apīnis 1991: 156).

The second path in the ongoing process of the creation of a Latvian elite culture from rather humble origins was that of collecting and publishing folklore material, the idea being conceived along the lines proposed by Johann Gottfried Herder. Strongly advocated by the generation of the New Latvians and later institutionally supported by the Riga Latvian Society, this task was undertaken by enthusiasts who supervised the collection of folk poetry and fairy tales. This was accomplished in a most exemplary way by the mathematician and folklorist, Krišjānis Barons, who curated folksong collections and edited the material he had at his disposal in the six volumes of *Latvju Dainas* (Latvian Folksongs, 1894–1915). The process of song collecting, the elaboration of editorial principles as well as the role of folk poetry in national identity formation was widely debated in the Latvian language press (Bula 2000).

The event that represented the peak of activities aimed at highlighting the importance of the traditional way of life, and at the same time demonstrating how different sectors of the Latvian community could work together toward reaching common aims was the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition, held in Riga in 1896 as part of the All-Russian X Archaeological Congress. The exhibition was entirely an undertaking of the Latvian community, with leading intellectuals spending considerable time on collecting the material that represented different areas of activity of the Latvian community. This event to a certain extent provided a summary of the

economic and cultural developments carried out throughout the nineteenth century, with a special emphasis on the great achievements of the 'peasant nation': "The self-assured farmholders were an important addressee for the Latvian national movement and the nascent national culture. With the passage of time, they became a certain idealised image of 'the new age farmer', symbolising the achievements of Latvians in the latter half of the 19th century. [...] This agenda of the political demands of the national movement embedded the image of the 'Latvian-peasant'." (Kikuts 2016: 25; 75)

The third path of strengthening the cultural self-awareness of the Latvian nation was linked to the description of local surroundings and rural daily habits that was a characteristic feature of the early prose texts that were written by ethnic Latvian authors. Functioning alongside the translated popular fiction which from the 1840s onward flooded the literary scene with publications of adventure stories (Daija, Kalnačs 2018), these detailed observations of everyday life provided a sound basis for the growing evaluation of personal experience as an important source of knowledge. Texts of a shorter nature, such as the stories by pastor Juris Neikens in the 1860s, were in most cases printed in local newspapers, thus securing a direct link to the intended audiences. Similar closeness to the surrounding reality was also important for other authors such as Ansis Lerhis-Puškaitis and Krišjānis Barons, whose texts might be classified as examples of ethnographic realism based on the local vernacular tradition (Pērle-Sīle 2022: 135–141).

The three paths toward the creation of an elite Latvian culture to a considerable extent converged on the point of recognizing the importance of the representation of the daily habits of the local population. Even if the translation attempts of foreign literary texts were not necessarily linked to life in the countryside, the collected folksongs as well as the Latvian prose of the 1860s significantly strengthened the perception of Latvians as a 'peasant nation,' thus making their perception foundational for the identity formation of the Latvian community.

The search for difference and identity

The consolidation of Latvian self-awareness would not have become possible without the development of the public sphere. An important role in the formation of an imagined national community was played by the local press throughout the nineteenth century. The first long term periodical issued in the Latvian language, *Latviešu Avīzes* (Latvian Newspaper, 1822–1915), was printed in Jelgava (Mitau), and initially edited by Baltic German intellectuals (Zelče 2009). Only decades later did Ansis Leitāns, an ethnic Latvian and a translator of nineteenth-century popular fiction, become the editor of

the newly established newspaper *Mājas Viesis* (Home Guest, from 1856). Permission for its publication was granted by the tsarist authorities recognizing the importance of providing the local population with officially sanctioned news of the military conflict raging between the Russian and the Ottoman empires. This echoed the concept already established by *Latviešu Avīzes*, which combined global information with local news and curiosities. Despite occasional sensationalism, local news raised a better awareness of readers' own milieu, including their immediate surroundings. The generation of the New Latvians continued along the same road when starting up *Pēterburgas Avīzes*. Being more focused on social criticism, this newspaper at times provided an even closer link between international developments and daily issues, introducing contemporary European social and political ideas and discussing their relevance to the Latvian population.

In spite of being published in the imperial capital to avoid the harsh censorship in Riga, *Pēterburgas Avīzes* relied on the rural Latvian population as its primary readership. With the foundation of the Riga Latvian Society in the late 1860s, this organization carried the same idea further. The importance of the countryside was clearly evident in the newspaper established by the society, *Baltijas Vēstnesis* (The Baltic Herald), promoting the ideology of romantic nationalism and oriented toward the creation of a civic society (Hanovs 2003). Characteristically, members of the society's council throughout the nineteenth century consisted mainly of recent newcomers to the city who still had strong roots in rural areas (Volfarte 2009: 95–108). These young and middle-aged men promoted the social and economic aspects of Latvian mobility while also being interested in cultural nationalism, including celebration of various aspects of the traditional rural milieu.

This widespread interest in the countryside explains the great attention paid to it in Latvian literature. Understanding the importance of relying on their traditional readership, authors in search of appropriate topics were looking for the representation of local peasants. Importantly, this orientation toward the countryside served as a stabilizing factor in a quickly changing and developing world. It also served the purpose of slowing down the movement of time and providing a sense of stability to the Latvian community (Kalnačs 2023). Although the city of Riga, and to a lesser extent other towns, played a considerable role in the experience of the new generation of authors, the countryside remained their preferred object of representation.

Another important aspect of literary history in the making was that of the presence of specific genres. Most accounts of the development of eighteenth- and especially nineteenth-century European literature discuss the importance of the genre of the novel in shaping identity formation. The rise of the novel initiated by new economic trends and growing self-awareness of individuals living in Western

European societies (Watt 1985) became a crucial factor in showing how the life trajectories of the protagonists match the rising ideology of empires (Moretti 1998) as well as involve global dimensions. Even though the latter might largely remain in disguise, it provided foundations for conflicts evolving in specific locations. Edward Said states: "Without empire, I would go so far as saying, there is no European novel as we know it." (Said 1994: 69) In addition, imperial novels coming from different traditions preserved ideological particularities, as Said aptly notes regarding the differences between French and English novels: "[T]he nineteenth-century English novels stress the continuing existence (as opposed to revolutionary overturning) of England." (Said 1994: 74)

This description of the crucial role played by the genre of the novel in Western European cultures is important when discussing the relative absence of this genre in some cultures without an imperial background. On the one hand, it is obvious that throughout the nineteenth century the tradition of the novel was significant in shaping the ideology of many rising national communities leading to the subsequent formation of the nation states (Kaljundi, Laanes and Pikkanen 2015); on the other, the sentiment of otherness was often expressed by relying on local sources and storytelling traditions that were embodied in other genres. For example, this was the case in the wake of the Irish literary revival where "key phases in the development of the nation can be read off from the technical and stylistic progression of the short story, which maps on to the transition from colonialism to independence" (Head 2016: 8).

In the Latvian case, an important role in the last decades of the nineteenth century was played by literary magazines which turned out to be the most significant forum for the publication of literary texts. These magazines were primarily interested in shorter forms, especially poetry and the novella. The most important among late nineteenth and early twentieth-century magazines was *Mājas Viesa Mēnešraksts* (Home Guest's Monthly, 1895–1905), edited by an intellectual couple, Hermīne and Pēteris Zālīte (Ābele 2022: 192–196). Almost all the principal Latvian writers were among the contributors to this monthly, these including Rūdolfs Blaumanis, Aspazija, Rainis, and Jānis Poruks. None of them was the creator of large-scale prose texts, with Poruks coming closest to the form of the novel, even if his more prolific prose texts drew less attention than his poetry and short stories (Kalnačs et al 2017).

The biographies of these writers reveal that they had a wide range of experience of living in different cities. Poruks, for example, studied in Dresden in the early 1890s, and, while being there, wrote and published a German-language essay on the religious philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche and Leo Tolstoy (Poruck 1894). The range of travel and experience of Latvian intellectuals expanded considerably after the unsuccessful 1905 Revolution in the Russian Empire, when many of them became refugees

escaping from the dangers of political persecution to neighbouring Finland and moving further to other Scandinavian countries.

However, in every turn-of-the-century city they lived in, including Riga, the Latvians formed only a relatively small segment of the overall population. In rural areas, conversely, Latvians remained the majority, providing authors with rich opportunities to detail the conditions of daily life. The interest in rural conditions was preserved throughout the development of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Latvian public sphere. This sense of belonging to the 'peasant nation' that survived even under the growing impact of migration to the city is aptly demonstrated by the persisting orientation toward the country in Latvian literature. By adapting short narrative forms, such as story or novella, writers found an approach that best suited the description of the particularities of daily life in rural areas and matched readers' expectations.

Modern-day conflicts in traditional milieus

Significantly enough, the representation of country life could be complemented with topical issues of a gradually changing society that also attracted the interest of many Latvians already living in steadily expanding urban areas. Literary texts reveal that the attitude of authors toward city life remained rather cautious. This is arguably the case with both realist as well as early modernist writers. Even though the city experience to a considerable extent determined writers' worldview, they tended to transfer features characteristic of modern relationships to rural areas where a more traditional way of life remained present. This created a fascinating mixture of different viewpoints and complex stories, providing the narrative basis of *fin-de-siècle* fiction that reveals a tension between tradition and innovation, also mirrored by the choice and description of places, and the discussion of their role in the identity formation of local inhabitants.

In literary texts, Riga and other urban places are often characterized by chaotic displacements without the principal characters being able to get a sense of clearly identifiable locations, instead of the more familiar experience of the countryside. However, regardless of the chosen location, the intensity of temporal change is implicitly shown in the spatial perception of the surrounding world that reveals a gradual loss of the sense of place. Thus, the depiction of rural conditions becomes illuminated by the reflection of the complex experience the authors have gathered in the city. While social transformations steadily advanced during the second half of the nineteenth century, the literature of the period, as it tried to register the rapidity and inevitability of the respective changes by delving into the looming conflicts, consciously or unconsciously strived to slow down the pace of this development.

A literal manifestation of such an approach was the focus on minute details of the surrounding milieu which can be appreciated only up close. On the one hand, this demonstrated a heightened intensity in the reception of the local environment while, on the other, such an approach displayed the inevitable alienation becoming more and more obvious and painful. This aspect had a significant impact on narrative developments.

Fredric Jameson's discussion of the two driving forces of realist prose, the narrative impulse, on the one hand, and affect, or the body's presence, on the other, is helpful here. The principal difference between the two modes is marked as the antinomy between telling and showing. If compared to prose texts dominated by narrative, the interest in affect reveals, according to Jameson, a shift toward bodily experience; instead of naming and describing certain emotions, the reader becomes immersed in the direct reality experience of a literary character (Jameson 2013: 29–31). Historically, this largely coincides with the application of so-called 'free indirect discourse', for the first time given that name in an 1887 article but present in literary texts already earlier in the century. This stylistic device was well-suited to the representation of the tensions of modern socialization showing both emotions and distance "by leaving the individual voice a certain amount of freedom, while permeating it with the impersonal stance of the narrator" (Moretti 2004: 56).

We can also trace the transformation of the narrative impulse into the representation of bodily presence by briefly exploring three examples of Latvian prose from the 1870s to the 1890s. The social context remains intact in all chosen cases, but the position of the narrator changes, providing a more complex representation of the individual perception.

The authors of the first Latvian novel, *Mērnīeku laiki* (The Surveyors' Times, 1879), the brothers Reinis and Matīss Kaudzīte, who preferred calling their text 'a story', were able to provide a productive combination of various literary traditions. They made good use of the melodramatic imagination widespread in popular literature of the time (Čakare 2011; cf Brooks 1995) while mixing it with deep irony that included a parody of various aspects of elite literary traditions also observable in the text of the novel (Zariņš 2011). Their uncompromising attitude helped them to keep a clear sight of the surrounding realities and avoid the prevailing idealist expectations nurtured by popular literature (Kalnačs 2024). The principal value of the novel was its fascinating and strikingly in-depth analysis of the swiftly changing economic conditions of the 1860s and 1870s linked to the process of Latvian farmers buying out their houses from their landlords. The authors were critical of such traditional features of the peasant character as superstition, timidity, and trickery (Čakars 1980: 463), but they also dissected the rising impact of the struggle for

possessions and the growing predominance of material values as antithetic to the established life order. The authors, who came from the same milieu as their characters, remained omnipresent as narrators, thus also sharing their opinion of the moral value of the activities and choices of their protagonists. This form of presentation was then gradually challenged by the next generations of Latvian writers.

Apsīšu Jēkabs, the most popular storyteller of the 1880s, to a considerable extent continued writing along the lines established by the Brothers Kaudzītes, at times featuring ethnographic descriptions that are even reminiscent of the practices of the authors active in the 1860s. Apsīšu Jēkabs is also a strong religious believer, and the preservation of moral values is one of the important aspects of his literary texts that make his later work already appear old-fashioned. But during the most active phase of his writing in the mid-1880s, Apsīšu Jēkabs differed from earlier authors by explicitly pronouncing the problematic position of his narrator. While still looking for inspiration in the life of the peasant community, at the same time he was recognising his own growing alienation from the traditional milieu, quite exemplary in the introductory part of his story *Laimes spoks* (The Ghost of Happiness, 1885): "I compared myself with them and found a difference, a wide, unbridgeable gap. I felt like a bird dislodged from the nest of other brothers and wandering in a foreign land, like a stranger among my brothers... Wasn't I a stranger to these honest, calm, thoughtful faces, in which I could read faith, trust, peace like in open books?! Habit, virtue, judgement, yes, even thoughts, things inherited from paternal grandparents, how faithfully they were received, how faithfully kept, how faithfully they will also be handed down to their children." (Apsīšu 1958: 171–172) It is the distance of perception that also allows the narrator to observe the inevitable transformations of traditional morality, and to look for new ways to cope with changing realities.

A radical new step was taken in the novellas by Rūdolfs Blaumanis, written in the 1890s, where the reflection of the narrator was not only incorporated in the narrative, but became transparent through the bodily perception of characters as well as through the juxtaposition of their different experience, without the author's intention to offer an unequivocal solution. A characteristic example is Blaumanis's novella *Baltais* (The White One, 1896) published in the monthly *Mājas Viesa Mēnešraksts* in September, 1896, when it directly coincided with the Latvian Ethnographic exhibition still being held in Riga at that time. The two central characters of the novella are its narrator, the painter Jānis Kalnroze (whose prototype was the already well-known Latvian artist Janis Rozentāls), who visits his childhood home after completing his studies at the St. Petersburg Academy of Art and is already enjoying his first success, and the country lad he meets, whose name is also Jānis. Through the encounter and confrontation of the two characters, Blaumanis provides an

insight into their different world perception. Despite his artistic achievements, Blaumanis's narrator Kalnroze painfully reflects on the distance that already separates him from the rural community that provided the background for the formation of his personality. One of the most important scenes in the novella is that of Kalnroze painting a portrait of the country lad that brings on a physical awareness of the inequality of their encounter.

The growing predominance of bodily perception developed in late nineteenth-century Latvian prose, and especially in the novellas by Rūdolfs Blaumanis, corresponds to the ideas Erich Auerbach advanced in his investigations of different facets of realist representations. In *Mimesis*, this first comes to the fore regarding one of the specific features of Bible narrative (as opposed to the descriptive approach of the Homeric epics), an overwhelming suspense caused by the insecurity of the protagonists who experience painful and unpredictable happenings unfolding directly before their eyes. The contradictory multiplicity of events becomes part of their bodily experience, while at the same time representing universal human histories (Auerbach 2003: 7–23). Auerbach discovers and follows similar symptoms at later stages of literary history in a broad international perspective. The kind of existential experience to which he refers was also made use of by late nineteenth-century Latvian prose that, by locating events in a familiar peasant homestead, paid tribute to earlier narrative practices while also being able to benefit from the complexity of the representation of the everyday. Thus this prose still relied on storytelling traditions well-known to the Latvian readership, while simultaneously transforming the perception of the traditional milieu.

The above representation of microstructures characteristic of specific localities, with the descriptions becoming more detailed, reflecting changes in everyday habits and routines but also delving deeper into bodily layers of the character's perception and experience, was one of the most characteristic trends of late nineteenth-century Latvian fiction. Another approach was taken by those authors who opted for the representation of macrostructures, larger patterns of the rural world, with the peasant farmstead, school, rural public house, church, and landlord's manor providing characteristic points of reference with particular emphasis put on the border crossing among different localities and semantic fields, emphasizing the growing difficulties of adapting to the ongoing changes. The latter approach significantly connected Latvian literature to the discussion of problems relevant to the problematics of contemporary society. It was, however, through the detailed elaboration of significant details of the immediate daily experience marking Latvians as a 'peasant nation' in shorter prose genres that allowed late nineteenth-century Latvian prose to fully reveal its creative potential and artistic maturity.

Conclusion

From the 1850s onward, the swiftly developing Latvian society experienced significant political and economic changes that had a direct connection with transformations in the cultural milieu. Latvian intellectual circles saw the necessity of creating a Latvian elite culture as one of the most important tasks in mobilizing the Latvian community that would allow for the setting of common social and national goals. Recognizing the importance of the peasant class, one of the strategies of the movement of romantic nationalism was to define Latvians as a 'peasant nation'; thus at one and the same time recognizing the affiliation of a significant part of the Latvian population to rural areas, while also fostering their self-awareness toward the formation of a national identity and belonging. In this process, with regard to literary tradition it was important to raise awareness of folklore as well as the importance of early Latvian realist prose alongside the growing number of translations from world literature. This emphasis on rural areas was shared by other Eastern-Central and Northern European literatures as also indicated by the example of Danish literature. To catch up with Western European cultural patterns, one of the strategies in nineteenth-century Latvian literature was marked by the tendency not to make direct appropriation of certain well-known literary genres, such as the nineteenth-century novel, for the purposes of mobilizing national self-consciousness. In fact, as I demonstrated in this article, the choices of artistic expression were much more complex and defined by various factors such as historical particularities, literary tradition, the need to reflect on local specificity while proving one's own distinctiveness, as well as looking for artistic strategies relevant to fostering a dialogue with the intended readership. A characteristic parallel of the importance of the shorter literary genre is provided by the example of Irish literature. It was through recognizing its own particularities and potential strengths that Latvian literature of the second half of the nineteenth century was able to flourish in diverse forms, thus matching the complexity of European literary developments. One of the characteristic features of the period was a move away from the predominance of the narrative impulse of telling toward showing, thus focusing not only on minute observations of the surrounding reality, but also paying considerable attention to the bodily perception of the portrayed characters.

Nineteenth-century Latvian literature did not foster aesthetic interest only; cultural manifestations played a crucial role in constructing national identity. The importance of this self-positioning was due to historical heritage, with the rise of national consciousness taking place at a relatively late stage, and in ways characteristic of the development of rural areas. The Latvians shared the fate of other small nations in which identity was defined as mostly rural as late as the nineteenth

century; the peasant community becoming the forum where all the most important transformations of modernity could be observed in miniature.

In *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova argues that only well-developed societies can allow for and appreciate literature and art which has no clear-cut practical purpose (Casanova 2004). Late nineteenth-century Latvian culture found itself at a crossroads where it still anxiously participated in national and social debates, while at the same time swiftly recognizing the importance of aesthetic innovation. In Latvian contexts, the consolidation of imagined communities retained its relevance during this period even though the emerging trends of aesthetic self-sufficiency provided a new challenge to the authors, and a possibility to deal with poetic particularities of the representation of reality.

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**Politiskā teātra skatuve par sieviešu tiesībām:
Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējumi un diskusijas
par abortu paragrāfu izmaiņām
Sodu likumā Latvijā 1930.–1932. gadā**

**Political Theater Stage for Women's Rights:
Riga Workers' Theater Performances and Discussions
About the Amendments to Abortion Paragraphs
of Penal Code in Latvia, 1930–1932**

Atslēgvārdi:

modernisma teātris Latvijā,
sociāli aktīvais teātris,
reproduktīvās tiesības,
feminisms,
kreisā politika

Keywords:

modernist theater in Latvia,
socially engaged theater,
reproductive rights,
feminism,
leftist politics

Kopsavilkums

Rīgas Strādnieku teātrī iestudētās vācu dramaturgu Karla Krēdes un Frīdriha Volfa aģitdrāmas veicināja aktīvas diskusijas par abortu sodiem Latvijā Kriminālkodeksa grozījumu apspriešanas laikā. Rakstā aplūkota teātra sabiedriski aktīvā loma un argumentēts, ka iestudējumu mākslinieciskā ietekme bija viens no nosacījumiem, kas mainīja sabiedrības viedokli par labu abortu sodu mīkstināšanai. Iestudējumu stilistikas izvērtēšanai izmantota formālās analīzes metode un sociālās mākslas vēstures pieeja. Pētījums papildina Latvijas teātra vēstures ainu ar mākslas un politikas mijiedarbes starpdisciplināru skatījumu. Rakstā secināts, ka Rīgas strādnieku teātra iestudējumu tēmas aktualitāte veda pie jauninājumiem mākslinieciskajās formās. Demokrātisko procesu rezultātā panāktās likumdošanas izmaiņas bija būtisks solis sieviešu tiesību aizstāvībai Latvijā.

Summary

Riga Workers' Theatre productions of the agitdramas by German playwrights Carl Credé and Friedrich Wolf contributed significantly to the active discussions about the amendments to the abortion paragraphs of the Penal Code in Latvia. The paper discusses the socially active role of the theater and argues that the artistic impact of the productions was one of the conditions that changed public opinion in favor of softening the abortion penalties. The formal analysis method and the social art history approach are used to evaluate the stylistics of the productions. This research adds to the field of Latvian theater history an interdisciplinary perspective at the intersection of art and politics. The article concludes that in the case of the Riga Workers' Theatre, the topicality of the productions led to innovations in artistic forms. The Penal Code liberalized due to democratic processes was a significant step in advancing women's rights in Latvia.

Skatītāji teātra zālē sauca: "Nost ar šo netaisnīgo likumu!" Protests bija izprovocēts Rīgas Strādnieku teātra pirmizrādē pret tikko kā publiskoto Sodu likuma izmaiņu projektu. Kriminālkodeksa apspriešanā viskarstākās diskusijas daudzās Eiropas valstīs, arī Latvijā, raisīja panti, kas aborta izdarīšanu pielīdzināja slepkavībai un paredzēja cietumsodu gan sievietei, kas pārtraukusi grūtniecību, gan ārstam, kas to veicis. Pretestība manifestējās plašās demonstrācijās par sieviešu tiesībām, saskaņotai rīcībai konsolidējās sieviešu sabiedriskās organizācijas. Saeimas kreisā koalīcija dienaskārtībā virzīja jautājumu par sieviešu vienlīdzības principa nostiprināšanu Civillikumā un aģitēja par radikālu izmaiņu nepieciešamību Krimināllikumā abortu regulējumā, lai likuma burts atbilstu laika garam. Rīgas Strādnieku teātrī grozījumu apspriešanas laikā trīs secīgi iestudējumi atklāja postošās sekas Sodu likuma pantiem par abortu veikšanu. Teātris bija kā tribīne jaunu iniciatīvu apspriešanai un nepieciešamo izmaiņu skaidrošanai.

Rīgas Strādnieku teātris sava laikmeta ainā izcēlās ar repertuāra tēmu aktualitāti, konsekvēnti formulētu kreisi centrisku politisku nostāju un mākslinieciskām inovācijām. Repertuārā iekļaujot laikabiedru lugas, uz skatuves tika atainoti notikumi, kas tajā laikā bija sabiedrības diskusiju un preses uzmanības lokā. Sodu likuma izmaiņu publiskās apspriešanas laikā uzvestas tika vācu autoru trīs lugas, kas skaļu rezonansi bija ieguvušas, nonākot uz Vācijas skatuvēm. Drāmas atainoja pašu autoru kā praktizējošu ārstu pieredzi un viņu tiesu prāvas. Drīz vien tās redzēja arī Rīgas skatītāji: Karla Krēdes (*Carl Credé*, 1878–1952) lugas "Paragrāfs 218" (*Gequälte Menschen §218*, 1927) pirmizrāde uz Rīgas Strādnieku teātra skatuves notika 1930. gada 7. decembrī. Šīs izrādes sižeta turpinājums "Justīcijas krīze" (*Justizkrise*, 1930) ar iestudējuma nosaukumu "Vai tiesa taisna?" – 1931. gada 14. novembrī. Trešā izrāde – Frīdriha Volfa (*Friedrich Wolf*, 1888–1953) "Ciankālijs" (*Cyankali*, 1929) – 1932. gada 29. oktobrī. Rakstā, secīgi apskatot iestudējumu dramaturģisko materiālu, tēmas atklāšanas mākslinieciskos paņēmienus un preses publikācijas, tiek meklēta atbilde, kā Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējumi ietekmēja sabiedrisko noskaņojumu par labu sieviešu tiesībām reproduktīvajos jautājumos.

Raksta teorētisko pamatu veido pētījumi par teātri kā publisku un politisku telpu, kas izrādes mākslinieciskās norises un skatītāju mijiedarbībā reprezentē sabiedrību, pārstāvētās vērtības un utopiskās vīzijas, ko iekodē teātra sakrālā, rituālā un sociālā daba (Fischer-Lichte 2005; Fischer-Lichte, Wihstutz 2005). Strādnieku teātra mājvieta, Rīgas Tautas nams, bija kļuvis par kreiso intelektuāļu iecienītu pulcēšanās vietu. Izrādes notika vienstāva koka ēkā Tērbatas ielā 64, tai blakus tika celts jaunais Tautas

nams, kam projektā bija paredzēti trīs korpusi, no kuriem vienā – moderna teātra četrstāvu būve (Lejnieks 1995). Raksts papildina pētījumu lauku ar starpdisciplināru skatījumu mākslas un politikas zonu krustpunktā, izceļot sabiedriski aktuālas tēmas atklāšanai izmantoto māksliniecisko paņēmienu inovācijas.

Līdzšinējos latviešu teātra vēstures apskatos Rīgas Strādnieku teātrim veltītas atsevišķas nodaļas (Kundziņš 1953: 197–202; Kundziņš 1955: 201–206; Kundziņš 1972: 352–369; Sniedze 2006: 195–210; Zeltiņa 2010: 228–240). Padomju laikā konjunktūra pieprasīja noraidošu attieksmi pret teātra ieviestajiem stilistiskajiem jauninājumiem, kas tika apzīmēti kā formālistiski, izvēlētā repertuāra saturs izpelnījās kritiku kā meņševistiski orientēts (Hausmanis 1970: 429; Kundziņš 1953: 198). Pēdējās desmitgadēs iesākta teātra darbības nozīmes pārvērtēšana (Hausmanis 2002; Mamaja 2002; Vanaga 2016). Šajā rakstā iestudējumu stilistika analizēta, balstoties uz līdzšinējiem pētījumiem, vizuālo materiālu formālo analīzi un sociālās mākslas vēstures pieeju, kas dramatiskās mākslas izteiksmes skata nevis kā pašpietiekamas, bet kā rīku politisku un sociālu mērķu sasniegšanai. Iestudējumu politiskie mērķi kontekstualizēti ar sieviešu studijām Latvijā (Lipša 2013; Lipša 2022) un pētījumiem par abortu reformu Vācijā (Grossmann 1978; 1995; Usborne 2007), kā arī citās Eiropas valstīs (Brooke 2001; Franč 2012; Šefrņa 2023). Pierādot, ka Rīgas Strādnieku teātra stratēģiskais mērķis bija ietekmēt sabiedrisko domu un diskutēt par sieviešu reproduktīvajām tiesībām, rakstā analizēta demokrātisko procesu rezultātā panāktā likuma normu liberalizācija un tās nozīme sieviešu tiesību jomā Latvijā, kā arī starptautiskā kontekstā.

Demokrātiskais viedokļu šahs: diskusijas par sieviešu reproduktīvajām tiesībām

Tēmas aktualitāti apliecina plašais un sazarotais diskusiju turpinājums mūsdienās "pret" un "par" abortus regulējošajām likuma normām. Pirmajā tuvinājumā vispārinot diskusiju kopainu: labējie politiskie spēki savu nostāju pret abortiem pamato ar reliģiskiem un morāli ētiskiem motīviem, iestājoties "par dzīvību", bet kreisi liberālie aizstāv sievietes tiesības "par izvēli" nevēlamas grūtniecības pārtraukšanai. Divas galvenās pretējās pieejas – "par dzīvību" (*pro-life*) un "par izvēli" (*pro-choice*) ir morālā dilemma, kur jāizšķir prioritāte augļa tiesībām uz aizsardzību vai sievietes tiesībām. Cieņpilnas diskusijas izvērsuma piemēru dod Keitas Grīslijas (*Kate Greasley*) un Kristofera Keizora (*Christopher Kaczor*) viedokļu sadursme, kas izspēlēta publikācijā (Greasley, Kaczor 2018), kurā pirmajās divās nodaļās abi autori izklāsta savus argumentus, tad nākamajās iebilst viens otram un divās noslēguma nodaļās sniedz īsas atbildes uz iebildumiem. Abi autori

nozīmīgās akadēmiskās publikācijās pamatojuši savu nostāju un izskaidrojuši pretstāvošo pozīciju argumentus (Greasley 2017; Kaczor 2011). Grīslīja pārstāv "par izvēli" pozīciju un norāda, ka tā ietver iespēju "par dzīvību" izvēlei. Savukārt Keizors atklāj personīgo stāstu, ka ir dzimis kā neplānots bērns, un pateicas savai mātei par viņas izdarīto izvēli "par dzīvību". Akadēmiskā viedokļu pretstāvēšanā parādīta to savstarpējā saistība, kur viena pozīcija neizslēdz otru. Tomēr sabiedriskās diskusijas parasti izskan asi. Jautājums par aborta veikšanu ir personīgi sensitīvs un sociāli nozīmīgs. Pēc būtības tā ir morālā dilemma, kas nav viennozīmīgi atrisināma argumentācijas ceļā.

Latvijā būtiska diskusija notika 2012. gadā, kad bažas par slēptu aborta aizlieguma iestrādāšanu normatīvajos aktos parādījās, apspriežot formulējuma "katram bērnam" nomaiņu uz "katram bērnam no ieņemšanas brīža"¹. Saistībā ar aktīvo sabiedrības interesi Saeimas Demogrāfijas lietu apakškomisijas sēdi pārcēla uz publisku konferenci "Tiesību uz dzīvību tvērums mūsdienu sabiedrībā" (Saeima.lv 2012). Diskusiju rezultātā panāktā grozījuma neieviešana bija pagaidu kompromiss jeb juridiskajā terminoloģijā *modus vivendi*, kas pusēm dod iespēju uz laiku panākt izlīgumu. Jauns diskusiju vilnis radās saistībā ar 2022. gada aprīlī pieņemto regulējumu, kas atviegloja grūtniecības pārtraukšanu no kara bēgšajām Ukrainas sievietēm (LV portāls 2022). Saistībā ar to pretrunīgu rezonansi ieguva Katoļu baznīcas arhibīskapa Zbignevas Stankeviča sociālajos medijos publiski paustais viedoklis, ka abortu izraisītās psiholoģiskās traumas ir lielākas nekā izvarošanas rezultātā ieņemta bērna iznēsāšana. Stankeviča izteiktos apgalvojumus analizēja *Re:Baltica* faktu pārbaudes projekts *Re:Check*, secinot, ka izteiktais viedoklis nav pamatots pierādītos faktos (Siliņš, Puriņa 2022). Teoloģiski atspēkojošu rakstu tam veltīja Latvijas Universitātes Teoloģijas fakultātes izdevums "Ceļš / The Way" (Titāns, Jansone 2022). Neapsīkstoša diskusija ir būtiska līdzsvarota demokrātiska risinājuma panākšanai, pozicionējot savu viedokli un konfrontējot to ar pretējo, tiek dota iespēja izvērtēt labāko risinājumu. Tāpēc nozīmīgi ir apzināties vēsturiski veidojušās likumsakarības, kas nosaka pašreizējā brīdī pastāvošo *modus vivendi*. Rakstā ar teātra iestudējumu analīzi rekonstruētas starpkaru periodā notikušās diskusijas un viedokļu pretstāvēšana.

Politiskā skatuve sieviešu tiesību pārstāvībai

Diskusijas par abortu paragrāfiem visā

Eiropā notika saistībā ar politiskajām izmaiņām pēc Pirmā pasaules kara. Demogrāfija, reproduktīvās tiesības un abortu sodāmība ir savstarpēji saistīti jautājumi, kuru

1 Diskusiju raisīja Bērnu tiesību aizsardzības likuma 7. pants, kas paredz bērna tiesības uz dzīvības un attīstības aizsardzību, tā tika izvērstā žurnālā "Jurista Vārds" (2012, Nr. 729, 732, 733, 742).

normatīvā regulējuma veidošana ir dinamisks kompromisu process, kas specifiski risinās katrā valstī. Pašlaik spēkā esošajā LR Krimināllikumā sodu par neatļautu abortu paredz 135. pants un par piespiešanu izdarīt abortu 136. pants (Latvijas Vēstnesis 1998). Latvijas normatīvie akti vēsturiski bija balstīti Hanzas savienības tiesībās un Eiropas apgaismības idejās. Tiesību aktos, kas bija spēkā Latvijas teritorijā, sodi par grūtniecības pārtraukšanu parādījās 16. gadsimtā, un kopš tā laika līdz pat 20. gadsimtam mākslīgi veikts aborts tika pielīdzināts slepkavībai (Krauss, Pastile 2002: 20). Nodibinot Latvijas valsti, kriminālos sodus regulēja pārņemtais Krievijas 1903. gada Sodlu likums (Valdības Vēstnesis 1918). No 1925. gada tika uzsākta likumu reforma, 1930. gadā jauno Sodlu likuma projektu publicēja (Valdības Vēstnesis 1930), un sākās tā apspriešana. Trīs Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējumi komentēja Sodlu likuma abortu paragrāfus un deva ieguldījumu sabiedrības izpratnē par nepieciešamajām izmaiņām. Abortu panti citēti izrādes programmiņā un atklāta to bardzība:

Patlaban spēkā esošais sodu likumu § 434 skan: "Grūtniece, kas nomirdinājusi savu augli miesās vai nodzenot to, vai pielaidusi citu personu izdarīt augļa nomirdināšanu, sodāma ar cietumu." Saeimai gan iesniegts pārlabotais, it kā Latvijas apstākļiem piemērotais sodu likumu teksts, bet arī tas skan ne mazāk draudoši: "§ 465. Māte, kas nomirdinājusi savu augli, sodāma ar ieslodzīšanu pārmācības namā uz laiku, ne ilgāku par trim gadiem."² (Strādnieku teātris 1930)

Par pamatotu un pārdomātu izvēli repertuārā iekļaut lugas, kas izskaidro normatīvo aktu izmaiņas, liecina tas, ka Rīgas Strādnieku teātra valdes locekļi Kārlis Dziļleja (Kārlis Tifentāls, 1891–1963) un Nikolajs Valters (1900–1979) publicējuši juridiski publicistiskus rakstus par abortu tiesisko regulējumu. Dziļleja bija Strādnieku teātra direktors (1931–1934), literāts un sabiedrisks darbinieks, studējis Latvijas Universitātes Tautsaimniecības un tieslietu zinātņu fakultātes Tieslietu nodaļā. Savus sabiedriski juridiskos apcerējumus, kur skatītas tēmas par laulību uz vienlīdzīgas partnerības pamatiem, dzimstības regulēšanu un bērnu tiesībām, viņš publicēja atsevišķā izdevumā "Tiesa un taisnība" (Dziļleja 1927). Rakstā "Abortu sodāmība" (Dziļleja 1927: 33–53), kas publicēts kriminālkodeksa jaunās redakcijas izstrādes laikā, Dziļleja norādīja, ka Tieslietu ministrijas Likumu reformas komisija pagājusi garām abortu paragrāfiem, neatrazdama par vajadzīgu tur neko mainīt. Autors izvirzīja priekšlikumu, ka Sodlu likuma projektā vajag paredzēt izmaiņas, kas kalpotu sociālai un medicīniskai mātes un bērna aizsardzībai, kā arī uzsvēra nepieciešamību šo jautājumu risināt ne tikai juridiski un apkarot ar sodu bardzību, bet izvērst kā politisku jautājumu dzimstības regulēšanai, risinājumus rodot ar audzināšanu un izglītošanu, sociālā atbalsta un medicīnisko pakalpojumu pieejamību. Savukārt advokāts Nikolajs Valters publikācijā

2 Rakstā izmantotajos citātos saglabātas oriģinālās vārdiskās izteiksmes formas, labojot ortogrāfiju uz pašlaik pieņemto.

"Aborta sodāmība pēc Latvijas sodu likumiem" (Valters 1933) rezumēja Eiropas valstīs un Latvijā veiktās krimināllikumu izmaiņas. Valters secināja, ka kopējā tendence reformētajos likumos bija neatcelt kriminālatbildību par abortu kā dzīvības atņemšanas nodarījumu, bet samazināt soda mēru un ilgumu, kā arī ieviest negatīva formulējuma atrunas gadījumiem, kad sods nebūtu jāpiemēro. Pēc Valtera uzskata Latvijas jaunais likums pilnā mērā saskanēja ar Eiropas valstu praksi, vistuvāk līdzinājās Dānijas, Čehijas, Polijas kodeksam. Izņēmumi bija tikai dažas valstis, piemēram, Šveicē bija izskanējis ierosinājums dekriminalizēt abortus. Padomju Savienībā abortu aizliegumu atcēla 1922. gadā un atkal ieviesa 1936. gadā ar politisku bezierunu nostādni, ka, pateicoties "revolūcijas paveiktajai sievietes galīgai un pilnīgai emancipācijai" (Goļakovs 1947: 204), sievietēm ir pa spēkam tikt galā ar komunisma celtniecību, darbu un mātes pienākumiem. 1940. gadā, kad Latvija tika uzņemta Padomju Savienībā, Vissavienības likumi stājās spēkā arī Latvijas PSR teritorijā, tajā skaitā arī 1936. gada 27. jūnija likums "Par abortu aizliegšanu". Pēc Staļina nāves 1953. gadā tika atcelta kriminālatbildība grūtniecēm, kas izdarījušas abortu, un kopš šī laika legāli veikts aborts Latvijas teritorijā nav krimināli sodāms (Blūma, Reigase 1972: 13). Zīmīgi, ka abortu aizlieguma atcelšana Latvijā (LPSR APP Ziņotājs 1956) izziņota reizē ar "Māte varone" goda nosaukuma piešķiršanu 22 daudz bērnu mātēm. Padomju direktīvā kriminālatbildības atcelšana, tad atjaunošana un atkal atcelšana bija krass pretstats Latvijā notikušajam demokrātiskajam likumu apspriešanas procesam, ko būtiski novērtēt mūsdienu kontekstā, kad Krievijā sāka propaganda par abortu aizlieguma atjaunošanu.

Abortu skaita pieauguma sociālie iemesli pēc Pirmā pasaules kara bija dzimumu disproporcija, ekonomiskā depresija, inflācija, bezdarbs. Aborti bija aizliegti, bet notika un tika apspiesti, tie bija kā publiskais noslēpums. Par to, ka sabiedrībā uz abortiem skatījās ar iecietību, liecina maigais apzīmējums "eņģeļišu taisītāji", ko skarbā apzīmējuma "kaktu dakteris" vietā lietoja sensāciju rakstos, karikatūrās, policijas ziņu atreferējumos un arī Saeimas debatēs. Piemēram, karikatūra ar pārišiem zaļumos un divām "eņģeļišu taisītājām", kas priecājas: "Rudzi zied... Būs mums maizīte..." (Lapsene 1923: 5) vai ilustrācija ar daiļavu, kas no papīra gatavo eņģeļišu figūras un karina eglītē, pirmssvētku feļetonam, kura tekstā ironizēts par preses sensāciju ikdienišķo saturu: "[N]edēļa sākās bez sniega, bez valdības un bez rožainām nākotnes cerībām. [...] [A]siņainas slepkavības un pašslepkavības, briesmu romāni avīzēs, stāsti par kailumu klubiem, par eņģeļišu taisītājām, par kokaīna šausmām un krogus briesmām." (Svari 1924: 407) Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudētajās drāmās eņģeļišu taisītājas bija komiski, negatīvi blakus personāži, galvenās lomas bija izmisumā iedzītājām sievietēm un ārstiem, kas savus pienākumus un sirdsapziņu konfrontēja ar abortu aizlieguma pantiem.

Publika uz apsūdzēto sola: aborta paragrāfu drāmas Vācijā

Par līdzzināšanu noziegumā pastāv kriminālatbildība. Ja sabiedrība zināja par notiekošiem krimināliem nodarījumiem, bet noklusējot tos pieņēma, tad visa sabiedrība bija līdzzinātāja desmitiem tūkstošu ik gadu veiktiem abortiem. Teātra publikai apsūdzēto sola vieta bija ierādīta ievērojamā politiskā teātra režisora Ervina Piskatora (*Erwin Friedrich Maximilian Piscator*, 1893–1966) iestudējumam Vācijā, Lesinga teātrī (*Lessing-Theater*) Berlīnē. Tā bija skatuves versija ginekologa Karla Krēdes ieslodzījumā rakstītajām piezīmēm, kas tika publicētas ar viņa advokāta palīdzību un gleznotājas Kētes Kolvicas (*Käthe Kollwitz*, 1867–1945) ilustrācijām. Iestudējumā atainots paša autora aresta iemesls, projekcijās citēti likuma panti, inscenēta tiesas sēde, kurā apsūdzēto sols ir iekārtots tā, it kā uz tā atrastos publika. Iestudējums padarīja apcietināto ārstu Krēdi par visvairāk spēlēto autoru uz Vācijas skatuvēm 1929./1930. gada sezonā (Pollähne 2023). Piskators par abortu tēmu iestudēja divas izrādes, abas 1929. gadā. Otra bija Frīdriha Volfa "Ciankālijs". Abu viņa izvēlēto autoru lugas nonāca arī uz Rīgas Strādnieku teātra skatuves 1930.–1932. gadā.

Karls Krēde bija vācu ārsts un sociālās ētikas speciālists, aizstāvis tiesībām uz abortu. Cietumā viņš aprakstīja savu apsūdzību pēc 218. paragrāfa, un tā aizsākās viņa rakstnieka karjera. Piskatora versijā vienā iestudējumā bija apvienoti abu lugu sižeti, kam Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējumos doti nosaukumi "Paragrāfs 218" un "Vai tiesa taisna?". "Ciankālija" autors Frīdrihs Volfs dramaturga darbību aizsāka pēc Pirmā pasaules kara un atzinību ieguva kā ekspresionisma lugu autors. Kopš Volfs pievienojās komunistiskajai partijai un publicēja eseju sējumu "Māksla ir ierocis" (*Kunst ist Waffe*, 1928), viņa ieroči bija aģitlugas, kas pauda politisku vēstījumu. Starp šīm lugām ir arī "Ciankālijs" (Wolf 1928). Tā tika uzvesta Berlīnē, Leipcīgā, Tīringenē, kā arī nelielos provinces teātros. Viens no iestudējumiem, ko realizēja Jauno aktieru grupa (*Gruppe Junger Schauspieler*, 1928–1933), to aizveda turnejā uz visām lielākajām Vācijas pilsētām un pēc tam uz Šveici. "Ciankālijs" kļuva par sensāciju, iestudējumi izraisīja skandālus, izrādes tika apvienotas ar aģitācijas akcijām un reizēm beidzās ar kautiņiem, kurus provocēja nacionālsociālisti.

1931. gada 19. februārī Volfs, kā arī sieviešu ārste un tiesību aizstāve Elze Kīnle (*Else Kienle*, 1900–1970) tika arestēti. Viņi bija apsūdzēti par komerciāla labuma gūšanu, veicot abortus un sniedzot nepieciešamās medicīniskās izziņas vairāk nekā 100 sievietēm. Procesā celta prasība arī visu viņu klients tiesāšanai. Volfa un Kīnles aresti nonāca arī Latvijas preses izdevumu slejās. Laikraksts "Jaunākās Ziņas" publicēja rakstu par sašutuma vilni, kas Berlīnē izvērsies teatrāli: Piskators pārtraucis ieplānotās izrādes un trīs vakarus izrādījis Volfa "Ciankāliju", apvienojot to ar protesta sapulcēm. Zīmīgs rakstā lietotais izteiciens: "Mēs varam arī sacīt, ka tagad ir iesācies

“Ciankālija” ceturtais cēliens, jo pašai lugai ir tikai trīs cēlieņi.” (Rafkajs 1931) Kā aculiecinieks par to raksta “Jaunāko Ziņu” redaktors un teātra kritiķis Jānis Kārklīšs (1891–1975): “Pirms pāris gadiem “Ciankālija” izrādes sacēla skandaložu sensāciju Vācijā un Polijā. Man gadījās toreiz redzēt šo drāmu Berlīnes rupji naturālistiskā un Varšavas asi reālistiskā traktējumā. Grūti pateikt, cik sabiedrības skandāli toreiz bija īsti, cik inscenēti, bet iespajds abos gadījumos bija tiešām satriecošs. Ļaudis starpbrīžos sēdēja mēmi, teātrus atstāja kā apskurbuši.” (Kārklīšs 1932) Dzīvē izspēlētajā lugas ceturtajā cēlienā autors bija pārvērties par apsūdzēto un viņa pacientes par līdzvainīgām. Krēdes lugu “Vai tiesa taisna?”, kurā par aborta izdarīšanu tiesāts tika ārsts, Rīgas Strādnieku teātrī iestudēja novembrī, bet reālie notikumi Vācijā bija risinājušies tā paša gada februārī.

Kā runāt par abortu teātra valodā?

Izrādes par abortu paragrāfu Rīgā notika uz diskusiju saasinājumu viļņa. Trīs secīgos Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējumus par abortu tēmu iespējams apskatīt kā kreisās koalīcijas virzīto Sodu likuma grozījumu izskaidrošanas kampaņu. Krēdes “Paragrāfs 218” tika iestudēts divus mēnešus pēc jaunā Sodu likuma projekta publicēšanas: likums publicēts 1930. gada 8. oktobrī, pirmizrāde notiek 7. decembrī. Izrāde bija aģitējoša, tā bija trauksmes celšana par Sodu likuma tālāku virzīšanu bez būtiskām izmaiņām abortu kriminālo sodu punktos. Krēdes otras lugas iestudējums “Vai tiesa taisna?” bija iepriekšējās izrādes stāsta turpinājums par ārsta tiesas procesu. Tā pievērsa uzmanību reālajām tiesu prāvām kā sekām, ko rada netaisnīgais likums. Trešās lugas iestudēšanas laiks sakrīt ar sociāldemokrātu frakcijas likuma izmaiņu priekšlikumu iesniegšanu un izskatīšanu Saeimas sēdē 1932. gada oktobrī (LR IV Saeimas IV sesija 1933). Volfa lugas “Ciankālijs” iestudējums panāca emocionālu līdzpārdzīvojumu kriminālā soda draudu upuriem. Skaudrais stāsts par jaunas meitenes nāvi pēc ciankālija iedzeršanas, lai izraisītu spontāno abortu, bija aicinājums uz rīcību. Atbalsojums reālajā dzīvē Latvijas situācijā bija sieviešu organizāciju konsolidācija, lai sekmīgi virzītu diskusiju (Lipša 2022). Uz politiskās skatuves kaislības ap likuma grozījumiem izspēlējās trīs saspringtās Saeimas sēdēs 1932. gada decembrī (LR IV Saeimas IV sesija 1933), kurās pieņēma aborta sodus atvieglojošus grozījumus. Politiskajās norisēs un sabiedriskajā domā tika panāktas izmaiņas par labu pragmatiskai izpratnei par pastāvošo sodu bezspēcīgumu abortu skaita pieauguma ierobežošanai un nodarīto milzīgo postu desmitiem tūkstošu sieviešu dzīvē.

Tēmas aktualitāte prasīja mākslinieciski meklēt iedarbīgu formu satura atklāšanai. Trīs iestudējumi Strādnieku teātra nozīmīgāko dekoratoru sniegumā vērtējami kā piemēri būtiskām sava laika tendencēm skatuves telpas iekārtojumā. “Paragrāfa 218”

iestudējumam dekorācijas veidoja Mihails Jo (Meiers Jofe (*Joffe*), 1895–1960), scenogrāfs, gleznotājs un grafiķis. Viņš izmantojis savam rokrakstam raksturīgas skatuves konstrukcijas ar vairāku līmeņu spēles laukumiem, kas lugas saturā izspēlē ienesa teatrālisma efektu. Grafiski izsvērtā kompozīcija bija papildināta ar sadzīviskiem rekvizītiem un kostīmiem, kas saderēja ar lugas materiāla dokumentālo raksturu. Notikumu turpinājums izrādē "Vai tiesa taisna?" risināts Arnolda Vilkina (1904–1979) veidotajās dekorācijās, kur ainu dinamiskai pārmaiņai izmantota griežama skatuves platforma. Trešā izrādē "Ciankālji" bija mākslinieciski iespaidīga ar Herberta Lūkuma (1902–1980) skatuves telpas iekārtojumu, kas, atainojot nabadzīga strādnieku pagraba dzīvokļa "atsegumu" uz Rīgas torņu siluetu fona, pārcēla notikumus uz Latviju. Tas apliecina, ka laikmetīgs saturs veicināja skatuves tehnisko paņēmieni jauninājumus.

Pirmā uz Rīgas Strādnieku teātra skatuves parādījās Karla Krēdes izrādē "Paragrāfs 218" Kārļa Freinberga (1884–1967) tulkojumā un Olgas Bormanē (dzimusi Groskaufmane, 1893–1968) režijā. Stāsts par strādnieku ģimeni parādīja situāciju, kā abortu aizlieguma likuma panti ietekmē maznodrošināto cilvēku dzīvi. Strādnieku kvartālā nelielu dzīvokļu namā kaimiņos dzīvo liela ģimene un pensionāru pāris. Noltes: vīrs ar sievu, pieci bērni, vecākā meita Līze (Malvīne Ustube) ir prostitūta, vidējā – Mīce (Elza Bergmane) bijusi cietumā par aborta izdarīšanu un zaudējusi darbu, viņai ir līgavainis, šoferis Fricis (Hermanis Vazdiks). Nolte, ģimenes galva (Edgars Zīle), arī bijis sodīts, pārtiek no gadījuma darbiem, dzer. Noltiene (Olga Bormane vai Olita Starka-Stendere) ir stāvoklī, ģimenē gaidāms sestais bērns. Lūk, kas notiek, kad māte, gaidībās būdama, to paziņo savam vīram:

"NOLTE: (pēkšņi pieceļas, draudīgi tuvojas viņai): Olle, tas nevar būt! (Pauze.) Nu, tas atkal. Pilna māja bērneļu, bet nav noteikta darba. Paēdis neesmu, un tu nāc ar kaut ko tādu? Vienkārši nenobrīnīties, kā jūs visu atņemat! (Pauze.) Tagad beidz gausties, nekas nesanāks! (Pauze.) Vai esi bijusi pie ārsta? Ko viņš saka? (Pauze.) Tagad runā, cilvēk!" (Crede 1930, tulkojums autore – S. D.)

Visas iespējamās pretrunas un neatrisināmās problēmas savijas kopā – likuma pants, noziegums, pienākums, trūkums, bailes, izmisums. Kaimiņos dzīvojošais pensionāru pāris Šmits (Alfrēds Rentovics) un Šmitiene (Lūcija Baumanē) kļūst liecinieki Noltu ģimenes tragēdijai. Aborts pie kaktu dakteres Knoblohenes (Valija Skuja) beidzas ar Noltienes nāvi, bet slimokases ārsts Hanzens (Nikolajs Mūrnieks), kas ieradies, lai mēģinātu slimnieci glābt, tiek arestēts. Iestarpināta ir vidus aina, kas notiek pie mirtiesneša (Luijs Šmits), kur par aborta izdarīšanu taisnoties atnākusi fabrikanta Klēberga (Ģirts Bumbieris) sieva (Olga Matisone), kas dabūjusi izziņu aborta atļaujai tuberkulozes dēļ. Medicīnas padomnieks (Leonīds Leimanis) ir uzpirkts, un apsūdzētā tiek attaisnota. Uz skatuves atklāta liekulība un šķiru netaisnība: kas vienam nokārtojams, citam – neaizsniedzams.



1. attēls. Karls Krēde. "Paragrāfs 218". Rīgas Strādnieku teātris. Pirmizrāde 1930. gada 7. decembrī. RTMM 160189.

Figure 1. Carl Credé. *Paragraph 218* (§ 218). Riga Workers' Theatre. Premiere on 7 December, 1930. RTMM 160189.

Preses recenzijās, iztīrējot dramaturģiju, materiāls vērtēts kā naturālisma stilā sarakstīts (A. U. [Andrejs Upīts] 1930; Erss 1930; Sudrabkalns 1930). Andrejs Upīts (1877–1970) rakstīja: "Patiešām, tik vienkārši un tieši izcelt drausmīgo proletārieša sievas likteni nespēj profesionāli rakstnieki, tur vajadzīgs strādnieku kvartāla ārsts, kas šīs traģēdijas vērojis paša piedzīvojumos, vajadzīgs īsts dilettants, kas pēc to pašu vācu oriģinālā kritiķa Leo Berga konstatējuma vienīgi spēj parādīt mums dzīvi viņas nepārkrāsotā, estētiskās fantāzijas nesagroztā veidā." (A. U. [Andrejs Upīts] 1930) Teātra kritiķis Jānis Sudrabkalns (Arvīds Peine, 1894–1975) recenzijā laikrakstā *Segodnja vecherom* norāda, ka materiāls ir "radikāls naturālisms paraugs" un tas tiek radīts "tīriem līdzekļiem", ievērojot "mākslinieciskās antiestētikas" principus. Sudrabkalns uzsver, ka īsti vietā ir "diezgan novazātais teiciens par īsto, neizskaistināto dzīvi", jo Krēde saviem personāžiem ļauj būt dzērājiem, rupji lamāties un nevis kaut ko notušē vai padara pieklājīgāku, bet tieši pretēji: "pasvītro visu ar treknēm triepieniem un apvelk ar izcēlumiem, pievienojot izsaukuma zīmes". Viņa vērtējums par iestudējumu ir atzinīgs: "Tas neapšaubāmi ir teatrāls panākums visās nozīmēs, [...] jūtama ir dzīves duna, visas riskantās vietas ir pasniegtas prasmīgi, [...] kopējais

tonis ir paņemts precīzs, iespaids ir nopietns, cilvēcisks, dziļš." (Sudrabkalns 1930, tulkojums autores – S. D.) Jāsecina, ka tolaik naturālisms tika uzskatīts par aktuālu drāmas virzienu, kura paņēmieni izmantoti emocionāla iespaida panākšanai.

Dekorators Mihails Jo iekārtojumu veidojis askētiskiem izteiksmes līdzekļiem, ar grafiski pārdomātu līniju kompozīciju. Izrādes stilistika veidota, savienojot sadzīvi atainojošu naturālismu un ekspresionismam raksturīgo nosacītību un tipizāciju. Skatuves uzbūve veidota kā simultāna dekorācija, kas ļauj mainīt ainas un norises vietas bez pārbūvēm. Skatuves iekārtas divstāvu konstrukcija veido asimetriskas līnijas, kurās iezīmējas logi, starp otrā līmeņa platformas balstiem skatuves centrā ir kāpnes, pa labi un pa kreisi no tām nosacīti veidoti divi nelieli strādnieku dzīvokļi. Spriežot pēc melnbaltajām fotogrāfijām (Foto RTMM 160189, LNA 13984), atšķirīgās telpas iezīmētas ar dažādu krāsojumu. Iekārtojums papildināts ar sadzīves priekšmetiem un veido ikdienišķas darbības vidi. Pa labi – izrādes galveno personāžu, Noltu daudz bērnu ģimenes, mājvieta, kur izžauta veļa, centru veido saimes ēdamgalds ar dažiem krēsliem, stūrī ir malkas plīts, fonā – mazgājamā bļoda, veļas vanna un trauku plaukts. Kreisajā pusē – Šmitu dzīvoklītis ar etažeri, mežģīņu auduma pārklātu apaļu galdiņu un diviem krēsliem, rupja auduma aizkaru fonā. Nelieli podesti skatuves priekšplānā, kā arī starpsienu nišas no spraišļiem un plātnēm līdzsvaro kompozīciju un veido telpas nosacītību, kas ļauj darbību izvērst kā dinamisku montāžu un paralēli galvenajam notikumam padarīt redzamas arī blakus darbības, piemēram, kā no dažādām pusēm kaimiņi novēro ārsta Hanzena arestu Noltu dzīvoklī.

Rīgas Strādnieku teātris pārdomāti veidoja iestudējumus atspoguļoto problēmu izskaidrošanas un aģitācijas programmu. "Paragrāfa 218" programmiņā atspoguļoti dati par abortu situāciju: "Neraugoties uz 218. paragrāfu, Vācijā katru gadu izdara veselu miljonu abortu. Tātad nepieciešamība ir tomēr vēl lielāka, nekā bailes no soda. Pie tam tikai 5 no 1000, tas ir 5000 gadījumus gadā, nosoda tiesa. Bet simtiem tūkstošiem sieviešu iedzen neprašu rokās, kas nomirst vai top padarītas uz visu mūžu neauglīgas." (Strādnieku teātris 1930) Izskaidrojoši raksti tika publicēti sociāldemokrātu un arodbiedrību organizāciju presē. Piemēram, Rīgas Arodniecisko biedrību centrālbiroja izdevums "Arodnieks" publicēja rakstu "Strādnieku teātris cīņā pret likuma paragrāfu": "Tāds paragrāfs ir Vācijā, tāds pat arī Latvijā. Tamdēļ luga nāk īstā laikā, un tai visaktuālākā nozīme arī mūsu sabiedrībai." (Arodnieks 1930) Līdzīgi Piskatora teātra iestudējumam Berlīnē, pašā izrādes norisē bija ietverti likumus skaidrojoši un aģitējoši paņēmieni.

Būtiskas izrādē "Paragrāfs 218" bija interaktīvas ainas un iesaicināšana uz līdzdalību. Izrāde notika ne tikai uz skatuves. Programmiņā norādīts: "Uzmanību! Starpspēles notiek publikā, neliekaties traucēties." Izrādes trīs cēlieņi bija papildināti ar starpcēlieņu darbībām. Par skatītāju atsaucību var spriest pēc recenzijām. Piemēram,

laikrakstā "Sociāldemokrāts" atstāstīta izrādes norise, sīki aprakstot iestarpinājumus, kas spēlēti publikas vidū. Tādi bija gan izrādes sākumā, gan abos starpbrīžos un beigās. Pirmā starpspēle sākās jau pirms izrādes, skatītājos iesēdinātie aktieri apmainījās replikām un starpsaucieniem. Beigu starpspēlē skaidroti tolaik spēkā esošie Latvijas likumos paredzētie sodi par abortu, kā arī izmaiņas likuma projektā. Recenzents atzīmē, ka skatītāju atsaucība "norīb kā pērkons" un visi kopā skandē: "Nost ar šo likumu!" "Tā klausītāji un skatītāji šinī speciālā drāmā kļūst par līdztēlotājiem, jo te tēlojas mūsu pašu dzīves likteņu mīņas veidojums. Un ja visa dzīve ir teātra spēle, tad mēs viņā tiešām vienreiz esam pārliecināti un aktīvi, pašu dzīvi veidojoši aktieri – jaunradītāji." (Gruzna 1930) Tieši tāpat publikas atsaucība raksturota arī žurnāla "Signāls" recenzijā: "Zālē skan nerimstoši aplausi, publika līdz ar tēlotājiem kliež: "Nost ar šo varmācīgo likumu! Nost!" Drāmas izveidojums arī par sevi ārkārtīgi interesants. Te nav parastā skatuves šablona – te publika var spēlēt un iedzīvoties līdz aktieriem." (A. T. [Ādolfs Talcis] 1930) Laikrakstā *Segodnja večerom* par publikas iesaisti norādīts, ka ovācijas bieži pārtrauc izrādi, un atreferēta pēdējās starpspēles norise: "Jūs domājat, ka Latvijā viss ir labāk? – tiešā tekstā jautā izrādes dalībnieki – Nebūt ne! Nolasīti tiek pašreizējā krimināllikuma 434. pants un arī Saeimā iesniegtā likuma grozījumu 465. pants. Šie likuma panti ir netaisnīgi, viņš saka. Publika savijņojas un atskan trokšņaini aplausi. Kurš ir par un kurš ir pret abortu legalizāciju? Kādas ir jūsu domas par dzimstības kontroli? Ko jūs domājat par šiem ārstiem, tiesnešiem, likumu un sirdsapziņu? Par divām taisnībām nabagajiem un bagātajiem?" (Sudrabkalns 1930, tulkojums autore – S. D.) Kreisā prese atbalstīja iestudējuma aģitējošo raksturu un atzina novitāti aktieru veiktajai ieaicināšanai uz līdzdalību. Citādu viedokli pauda konservatīvi noskaņotie kritiķi, kas pārmeta, ka, saņemdamas ievērojamus valsts pabalstus, Strādnieku teātris repertuāra izvēli un mākslinieciskos līdzekļus vērš uz idejisku propagandu un aģitāciju: "§ 218 autors kritikas spējīgam skatītājam liek brīnīties par to neloģiskumu un rupjumu, ar kādu viņš dzen savu aģitāciju. [...] Daļa spēles te pārnesta skatītāju telpā. Tā izteic attieksmi pret traktējamo tematu – krasī *pro* un *contra*. Šie izsaucieni, šis nemiers skatītājos izjūtami kā asi pātagas cirtieni. Intelīgents skatītājs, estētisks vērotājs grib mierā un zināmā izolētībā uzņemt sevī mākslas darba iespaidu bez tāda nervozas satrauktības starpnieka. Masas, pūļa suģestēšanai, ievirzīšanai gribētās ideoloģijas gultnē šis paņēmieni izdevīgs. Aktieru tiešie uzsaukumi skatītājiem izrādes beigās aizrauj jau attiecīgi noskaņotos prātus, un – izrādes mērķis visumā panākts." (Jēger-Freimane 1930) Plašais citāts reprezentē sabiedrības konservatīvās daļas viedokli un iezīmē politisko uzskatu konfrontāciju. Paustās bažas par politiskas nostājas izteikšanu teātra valodā nolasāmas arī kā atzinums Rīgas Strādnieku teātra nozīmei Latvijas teātru ainā un mākslinieciski iespaidīgajam sniegunam.

“Vai tiesa taisna?” jautāts izrādē

Krēdes “Vai tiesa taisna?” bija

stāsta turpinājums par iepriekšējā lugā arestētā ārsta Hanzena lietas izmeklēšanu, tiesu, cietumsodu un nāvi ieslodzījumā. Lugu tulkojuši Emīls Skujenieks (1903–1965) un Jānis Sudrabkalns. Tāpat kā iepriekšējā Krēdes izrādē režisore bija Olga Bormane, bet šoreiz dekorators – Arnolds Vilkins (Strādnieku teātris 1931b). Darbojās tie paši personāži – Doktors Hanzens (Luijs Šmits) un Tiesas priekšsēdētājs (Nikolajs Mūrnieks), kurus atveidojošie aktieri mainījušies lomām, bet Medicīnas padomnieks (Leonīds Leimanis), Knoblohe (Valija Skuja), Nolte (Edgars Zīle) turpināja savas lomas. Jauni personāži – Hanzena kundze (Olita Starka-Stendere) un meita Hilda Hanzena (Lūcija Baumanē), Aizstāvis (Hermanis Vazdiks). Aktieri tika mācīti, lai paši varētu veidot tēlu, improvizēt, attīstīt darbību un mizanscēnas uz skatuves. Tas darīja iespējamu izrādes iestudēšanu īsā laikā. Šī izrāde bija “ātrais” iestudējums, kas veikts trijās nedēļās.

Ekonomiskās krīzes laikā visi profesionālie teātri strādāja sasprindzinātā tempā un laida klajā pirmizrādes ik pēc divām līdz trijām nedēļām. Iespējams, sasteigtība bija iemesls, kāpēc šī izrāde saņēma daudz kritiskākas atsauksmes. Piemēram, Pāvils Gruzna (1878–1950), vairāku Strādnieku teātrī iestudētu lugu un programma-tisku rakstu autors, lielu daļu savas neapmierinātības vērsa tieši pret lugas materiāla attēlojumu uz skatuves. Viņaprāt, stāsta pirmajā daļā ārsts nav bijis tik bezpalīdzīgs un viegli salaužams, kā tas tēlots šajā iestudējumā. Viņam gribētos ārstu redzēt “spītējošāku, spēcīgāku un galu galā – uzvarošu”. Viņš iebilda, ka apsūdzētajam tiesā nav dots pēdējais vārds, kā arī ieteica izrādes beigās uz skatuves nerādīt nāves ainu cietumā. Recenzijā izteikti ieteikumi uzlabojumiem, tomēr atzīts skatītājiem dotais satricinošais un netaisnības novēršanu rosinošais iespaids (Gruzna 1931). Tieši publikas aktivitātes rosināšana bija būtisks šīs izrādes mērķis un arī Strādnieku teātra mērķis kopumā.

Lugas nosaukums “Justīcijas krīze” iestudējumā bija mainīts uz jautājuma formu: “Vai tiesa taisna?” Tas bija kā Strādnieku teātra jautājums skatītājiem, kas provocēja atbildi. Par iestudējuma sabiedrisko nozīmi no jurista viedokļa rakstīja Nikolajs Valters, kurš kā teātra valdes loceklis un brīvprātīgais juridisko jautājumu kārtotājs, iespējams, bija ieteicis to iekļaut repertuārā. Drāmā “Paragrāfs 218” uzdotie jautājumi par sodu pārveidi šajā iestudējumā mērķtiecīgi tika paplašināti uz tiesu iekārtas izmaiņām. Rakstā norādīts, ka iepriekšējā Krēdes luga un par to sarīkotie dispu-ti raisījuši lielu interesi. Sabiedrības domas iespaidā jaunajā Sodu likuma projektā jau panākti jūtami, kaut arī nepietiekoši uzlabojumi tieši jautājumā par abortu sodiem. Autora vērtējumā lugā tēlotā izmeklēšana, tiesa un ieslodzījums cietumā Latvijas situācijā būtu vēl smagāki (Valters 1931b). Valters tajā laikā darbojās Latvijas juristu kongresa organizācijas valdē (Valters 1931a), un viens no kongresa mērķiem bija



2. attēls. Karls Krēde. "Vai tiesa taisna?" Rīgas Strādnieku teātris. Pirmizrāde 1931. gada 14. novembrī.

Foto: Leonīds Leimanis. RTMM 160409.

Figure 2. Carl Credé. *Is the Court Fair?* Riga Workers' Theatre. Premiere on 14 November, 1931.

Photo by Leonīds Leimanis. RTMM 160409.

veicināt diskusiju starp daudzajām juristu organizācijām, lai panāku ietekmi uz Sodu likuma grozījumiem. Valtera atsauksme par izrādi apliecina, ka viens no Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējuma "Vai tiesa taisna?" mērķiem bija likumu reformas nepieciešamības izskaidrošana.

Otrās Krēdes lugas iestudējuma dekoratīvais ietērps bija veidots uz griežamās skatuves. Izrādes dekorācijas būve grūti novērtējama pēc izrādes fotogrāfijām (Foto RTMM 160405, RTMM 160409, RTMM 160410). Vienā no fotogrāfijām redzama frontāli attēlota tiesas zāle, otrā – cietuma kamera, trešā aina izveidota aiz proscēnijā iznesta restota loga rāmja. Liecība par dekoratora sniegumu atrodama recenzijā: "Neapšaubot A. Vilkina spējas vienkāršotā konstruktīvā dekorāciju stilā, var iebilst, ka šī ir drāma, kuru varēja tēlot ne tikai bez "griežamās" skatuves, bet arī bez dekorācijām, pie neitrāla aizkaru fona." (Gruzna 1931a) Tātad šajā iestudējumā bija izmantota griežama skatuves konstrukcija. Tāda bija veidota jau iepriekš izrādei "Amnestija" (1931), kuras programmiņā norādīts, ka skatuviskā iekārtojuma autors bijis režisors Jurijs Jurovskis (Georgijs Saruhanovs, 1894–1959), bet dekoratīvais izpildījums pieder Arnoldam Vilkinam (Strādnieku teātris 1931a). Tā bija inovācija, kas Strādnieku

teātrī tika ieviesta pirmo reizi Rīgā. Herberts Līkums "oriģinālas virpuļdurvis" dekorācijā izgatavoja jau 1929. gadā iestudējumā "Lidojošais ērglis". 1930. gadā griežamās skatuves iekārtu no sava teātra atveda Makss Reinharts (*Max Reinhardt*, 1873–1943) operetes "Sīkspārnis" iestudējumam Latvijas Nacionālajā operā, bet tā tehniski labi nedarbojās un netika izmantota. Strādnieku teātra iestudējumos "griežamās ripas" kļuva par raksturīgu iezīmi. Lielisku dinamiku tās panāca tādos iestudējumos kā "Dzirneklis" (1931), "Emīls un Berlīnes puikas" (1931), "Sliežu bīdītājs" (1932) u. c. Jāsecina, ka aktuāls izrāžu saturs veicināja radošus skatuves iekārtojuma konstruktīvos risinājumus.

Likuma reformas prologs izrādē

Turpinājumu politiskajās cīņās par aborta pantu grozījumiem iezīmēja Frīdriha Volfa lugas "Ciankālijs" pirmizrāde. Strādnieku teātra iestudējuma tēmas un politiskās dienaskārtības sakritības atzīmētas preses atsauksmēs, kuras par šo izrādi sniegtas ne tikai kreisi noskaņotajā, bet arī liberālajā presē. "Dailes Magazina": "Vienā laikā uz Strādnieku teātra skatuves parādījās Frīdriha Volfa luga "Ciankālijs" un Saeimas sodu likumu komisijā iztirzā jautājumu par Sodu likumu 465. un 466. pantu grozījumu, t. i. abortu legalizāciju. [...] Pirmizrādi publikas pilnais nams uzņēma atsaucīgi. Izrādi noskatījās Saeimas priekšsēdētājs Pauls Kalniņš, daudz deputātu, ārstu, sabiedrisku darbinieku un intelligences." (Briedis 1932) "Jaunākās Ziņas": "'Ciankālijs" – drausmīga ilustrācija pēc sociāldemokrātu iesnieguma saeimai, prasot abortu legalizēšanu un dzimstības regulēšanu saskaņā ar mūslaiku sabiedrības interesēm." (Kārklis 1932)

Volfa luga vēstīja par strādnieka atraitnes (Olga Bormane) meitas Hētes (Olita Starka-Stendere) un Paula (Edgars Zīle) skarbo drāmu ar traģiskām beigām. Groteski un komiski bija liekulīgie tikumības sargi – mājas pārvaldnieks Prosniks (Luijs Šmits), avīžu pārdevējs Kukuks (Nikolajs Mūrnieks) un ārsts Mellers (Leonīds Leimanis). Sabiedrības sirdsapziņu personificēja strādnieks Maksis (Hermanis Vazdiks) un strādnieces (Valija Skuja, Austrā Skuja). Lugas uzbūve no atsevišķām, nesaistītām ainām, kuras nomainās kā kino montāžā, bija raksturīga ekspresionisma drāmām. Šādu formu lugas autors izmantoja, jo sākotnēji sevi bija pieteicis kā ekspresionisma virziena dramaturgs, bet vēlāk pievērsās aģitējoša satura un reālistiskas formas darbiem. Recenzijā izrādes dramaturģija raksturota kā ekspresionisms, kas pāraudzis skarbā naturālismā (Sudrabkalns 1932). Volfa aģitlūgām raksturīga bija vienkārša sižeta shēma un nepārprotams ziņojums. Skatītājiem, sekojot personisko attiecību samezglojumam, bija jāuzdod sev jautājums – vai iespējams rast risinājumu?

Lugu "Ciankālijs" Kārļa Freinberga tulkojumā iestudēja Jānis Zariņš (1893–1979), dekorators bija Herberts Līkums, mūzikas konsultants – Aleksandrs Melli (1894–1968).



3. attēls. Frīdrihs Volfs. "Ciņkālījs". Rīgas Strādnieku teātris. Pirmizrāde 1932. gada 29. oktobrī. RTMM 160255.
Figure 3. Friedrich Wolf. *Čyankali*. Riga Workers' Theatre. Premiere on 29 October, 1932. RTMM 160255.

Izrādes fotogrāfijās redzamā skatuves iekārta bija veidota asimetriski – skatuves kreisajā pusē atklājas dziļumā novietots fona gleznojums ar Rīgas torņu siluetiem, bet labajā – divstāvu dzīvojamās ēkas "atsegums", kur divos līmeņos var notikt darbība dažādos dzīvokļos (Foto RTMM 160255). Recenzenti skatuves iekārtojumu sauc par drūmu un pelēku, kas varētu liecināt par ieturēto krāsu gammu. Epitēti, kas veltīti stilam, norāda uz saskatīto konstruktīvisma iespaidu: "Līkuma konstruktīvās un tau-pīgās dekorācijas nekliedz, bet izrādei atturīgi piekļaujas." (Erss 1932) Herberts Līkums bija ietekmējies no Vsevoloda Meierholda (*Vsevolod Meyerhold*, 1874–1940) konstruktīva skatuves iekārtojuma idejām, tomēr viņa veidotās dekorācijas nekad nebija pilnīgi abstraktas, tās vienmēr iezīmēja reālas vides aprises. Šajā izrādē skatuves iekārtojums deva nepārprotamu norādi, ka darbība notiek strādnieku rajonā Rīgas nomalē, kas radīja tiešu asociāciju par izrādes notikumiem kā reālās dzīves atspoguļojumu, "drausmīgu ilustrāciju", kā tas apzīmēts iepriekš citētajā preses atsauksmē.

Par to, ka arī šis iestudējums bija iecerēts ar mērķi pievērst sabiedrības uzmanību nepieciešamajai likuma reformai, liecina izrādes programmiņā publicētā anotācija: "Tās normas, kas pastāv it kā aiz tradīcijas un ko sargā arī likuma panti, mūsu

laikos ir novecojušas un atmetamas, kā to atzīst visdažādākās sabiedriskās aprindās, bet neatceļ tās aiz konservatīvisma vai kaut kādiem aizspriedumiem un aprēķiniem.” (Strādnieku teātris 1932: 6–7) To pašu atzīmē arī recenzenti, kas uzmanību veltījuši politiskajam izrādes vēstījumam. “Domas”: “Drāmā pacelts un, galvenais, radikāli atrisināts jautājums, kas atstāts novārtā kā praktiskā dzīvē, tā arī sociālā likumdošanā.” (Čaks 1932) “Jaunā Diena”: “Likums, kas 800 000 sievietes padara par noziedzniecēm, nav vairs likums. Lugā ar strādnieka Paula vārdiem izteikta ir likuma neatbilstība notiekošajam [...], tāpēc mums darba sievietēm šī cīņa par aborta legalizāciju jāuzskata kā mūsu tagadējās un turpmākās cīņas pamatprasība!” (Slisse 1932) Izrādē iekodētais politiskais vēstījums par nepieciešamajām likuma izmaiņām panāca rezultātu. Sabiedrība bija informēta par paredzētajiem likuma grozījumiem, diskusijā iesaistījās sieviešu organizācijas, juristi, katra partija precīzi formulēja un izteica savu pozīciju, kas izskanēja likuma apspriešanas debatēs.

1932. gada 2., 9. un 20. decembra Saeimas sēdē tika apspriesti likuma grozījumi. Debatēs izteikto katras partijas nostāju sieviešu reproduktīvajās tiesībās rūpīgi analizējusi un atreferējusi Ineta Lipša (Lipša 2013: 183–185). Likuma grozījumi visradikālākās izmaiņas paredzēja 466. pantā, kurā ar negatīvu formulējumu pieļāva izdarīt abortu, kas agrāk pilnīgi aizliegts. Negatīvā atruna “nav uzskatāma par noziedzīgu” tika attiecināta uz četrām indikācijām: medicīnisko (grūtnieces dzīvības apdraudējumu vai smagu viņas veselības satricinājumu), eigēnisko (lai novērstu bērna piedzimšanu ar smagiem garīgiem vai miesīgiem trūkumiem), juridisko (lai novērstu bērna piedzimšanu, kurš ieņemts noziedzīgā veidā 517.–523. pantā norādītajos gadījumos), sociālo (lai novērstu bērna piedzimšanu, kas radītu smagu postu grūtniecei vai viņas ģimenei). Pats būtiskākais bija 466. pantā iestrādātais pieļāvums par nosacījumiem, kas ļauj abortu legāli izdarīt pirmajos trīs grūtniecības mēnešos. Pēc karstām debatēm par Sodu likumu trīs lasījumos notika aizklāta balsošana par jaunieviesto 466. pantu, un pēc tās ar 50 balsīm “par”, 33 – “pret”, 3 – “atturas” likuma grozījumi tika pieņemti. Līdz ar to aborts Latvijā vairs nebija kategoriski aizliegts. Latvijas tiesību vēstures mācību grāmatā norādīts: “Šis grozījums krimināltiesībās iezīmēja jaunu izpratni par sievietes tiesībām pieņemt lēmumu par bērna dzimšanu.” (Lēbers 2000: 254) Kad jaunais likums stājās spēkā, pieņēma arī “Amnestijas aktu aborta lietās” (Likumu krājums 1933: 77), kas sakarā ar jaunā 466. panta ieviešanu no soda atbrīvoja agrāk par šiem noziegumiem sodītās sievietes. Sodu likums divpadsmit gadus tika gatavots un apspriests, nemitīgi to papildinot un precizējot. Latvijas tiesīzinātnieki mūsdienās to raksturo kā savam laikam atbilstošu un pilsoniskas, demokrātiskas valsts principus reprezentējošu, arī šobrīd uz to bieži vien mēdz atsaukties (Neverževskis 2016). Pēc Latvijas valsts neatkarības atgūšanas sabiedrībā zināmu atbalstu guva ideja apturēt spēkā esošo padomju Krimināllikuma darbību un atjaunot

demokrātijas laika Sodu likumu, līdz Saeima pieņēmtu jaunu Kriminālkodeksu (Reigase 1998). Tas netika realizēts, bet apliecina Latvijas demokrātijas perioda nozīmīgo sasniegumu, sabiedrības iesaisti politiskajos procesos un cieņpilnas diskusijas nozīmi. Rīgas Strādnieku teātris bija viens no aktīvajiem demokrātijas procesa dalībniekiem.

Nobeigums

Sabiedriskie procesi un teātris atrodas pastāvīgā mijiedarbībā. Teātris ir publiska telpa, kurā indivīds ar klātbūtni kopējā līdzpārdzīvojumā sevi izjūt kā auditorijas daļu. Teātris kā medijs politiskam vēstījumam formē auditorijas un līdz ar to sabiedrības viedokli. Kritisks, no padomju ideoloģiskā uzslāņojuma atbrīvots Rīgas Strādnieku teātra nozīmes vērtējums latviešu teātra un scenogrāfijas mākslas attīstībā sociālās mākslas vēstures aspektā vēl ir turpmākās izpētes uzdevums. Trīs rakstā apskatītajās izrādēs teātris iesaistījās likuma izmaiņu izpratnes veidošanā. Rīgas Strādnieku teātra sociāli aktīvā pozīcija mūsdienu kontekstā ir skatāma kā sava laika mākslas aktīvisms. Rakstā apskatītajiem Rīgas Strādnieku teātra iestudējumiem bija politiski mērķi. Trīs secīgie iestudējumi par abortu tēmu bija kā rūpīgi izplānota sabiedriskās domas izmaiņas kampaņa. Pirmā izrāde, Krēdes "Paragrāfs 218", bija trauksmes celšana par Sodu likuma tālāku virzīšanu bez būtiskām izmaiņām abortu kriminālo sodu punktos. Izrāde pārliecināja par pastāvošo sodu netaisnīgumu un bezspēcību abortu skaita ierobežošanā. Stāsta turpinājums otras Krēdes lugas iestudējumā "Vai tiesa taisna?" par ārsta tiesas procesu tika veidots vienlaicīgi ar reāliem tiesu procesiem pret ārstiem Vācijā. Trešās lugas iestudēšanas laiks sakrīt ar sociāldemokrātu frakcijas iesniegto likuma izmaiņu priekšlikumu izskatīšanu Saeimas komisijā. Volfa lugas "Ciankālijs" iestudējums panāca izpratni par tepat līdzās notiekošām traģēdijām un emocionālu līdzpārdzīvojumu kriminālā soda draudu upuriem. Strādnieku teātra iestudējumi deva savu ieguldījumu, lai panāktu sabiedriskās domas izmaiņas par labu likumos nepieciešamo grozījumu pragmatiskai izpratnei.

Izrāžu laikmetīgi aktuālais saturs prasīja meklēt mākslinieciskos risinājumus, kas būtu uz tās dienas viļņa. Satura aktualitāte veda pie formas novitātes. Inovācijām bagātākais bija Krēdes "Paragrāfa 218" iestudējums. Šajā izrādē izmantotās interaktīvās intermēdijas bija piemērota forma, lai publiku ieaicinātu līdzdalībai, provocētu skaļi izteikt viedokli. Iespēja noskatīties jau redzēta stāsta turpinājumu otrajā izrādē "Vai tiesa taisna?" padziļināja emocionālo iesaistīšanos un izpratni par to, kā likumi ietekmē ikdienas dzīvi. Mākslinieciski tas tika risināts, reālistiskās līnijās veidojot ekspresīvi sakāpinātu dramatisko darbību. Tehnisko risinājumu inovācija – griežamā skatuve, kas Rīgā pirmo reizi izmantota Strādnieku teātrī, šajā izrādē, spriežot pēc recenzijām, neattaisnoja sevi. Tomēr tās izveide un lietojums ļoti daudzās izrādēs bija sekmīgs un kļuva par raksturīgu Strādnieku teātra iezīmi. Trešajā

iestudējumā, lugā “Ciankālijs”, mākslinieciskais risinājums panāca skatītāju identifi-
cēšanos ar lugas personāžiem, jo dekorācijās tika iekļauti elementi, kas asociē
darbības vidi ar Rīgu. Jāsecina, ka laikmetīgs saturs kā nepieciešamus darīja arī
māksliniecisko un tehnisko paņēmieni jauninājumus.

Rakstā apskatītie trīs izrāžu piemēri ir apliecinājums tam, ka Rīgas Strādnieku
teātra vieta Latvijas teātru kopainā bija īpaša. Pirmkārt, tas bija teātris ar skaidri
deklarētu politisko nostāju. Tādi mākslinieciskie paņēmieni kā tieša skatītāju uzru-
nāšana izrādes laikā, skatuviskās darbības ienešana skatītāju zālē tipoloģiski līdzi-
nās vācu politiskā teātra ievērojamo pārstāvju Ervina Piskatora un Bertolta Brehta
(*Bertholt Brecht*, 1898–1956) teorētiski pamatotajiem principiem. Otrkārt, šis teātris
raksturojams kā sociālās kritikas virziena pārstāvis, jo savos iestudējumos pievērsās
nopietnām sava laika problēmām, komentēja gan vietējās, gan starptautiskās aktuālās
norises. Repertuārā iekļautās lugas bieži bija rakstītas, balstoties uz reāliem notiku-
miem, ko apliecina rakstā apskatītie iestudējumi. Treškārt, tas bija spilgts modernis-
ma teātris, kas meklēja savu suverēno stilu, izmantojot tā laika teātrim raksturīgā
konstruktīvisma, ekspresionisma, aģitpropa, reālisma un naturālisma virziena ska-
tuviskos paņēmienus. Teātris pārstāvēja kreisi centrisku politisko pozīciju. Tas noro-
bežojās no radikāli kreisajiem, piemēram, Rīgas Arod biedrību centrālbiroja drāmas
studijas – “vajātā teātra” – klaji revolucionāri aģitējošajiem paņēmieniem no vienas
puses un viegla satura izklaidējošajiem produktiem pilsoniskās gaumes apmierināšanai – no
otras. Spēles stils tika meklēts tāds, lai skatītāju padarītu par aktīvu līdzdalībnieku.
Par to liecina atsauksmēs un atmiņās par šī teātra izrādēm bieži pieminēti skatītāju
starpšauļi, līdzī dziedāšana un celšanās kājās. Rakstā skatītajos gadījumos ska-
tītāju līdzdalība tika panākta ar tēmas aktualitāti, kas sasaucās ar politiskās dzīves
norisēm. Izrādes caur līdzpārdzīvojumu ļāva iejusties traģiskajās situācijās, kas bal-
stītas reālos notikumos, ko pieredzējuši lugu autori. Interaktīvās starpspēles skatī-
tājus iesaistīja dialogā, provocēja izteikt viedokli. Tas rosina turpmāk pētīt, vai Rīgas
Strādnieku teātris vietējā teātra ainā būtu skatāms kā aizsācējs līdzdalības teātra
virzienam. Laikmetīgi nozīmīgu norišu komentārs teātra valodā veda pie jaunu spēles
un vizuālo paņēmieni radīšanas. Protams, nav iespējams noteikt, cik lielā mērā tieši
šie trīs iestudējumi noveda pie izmaiņām Latvijas likumos, bet, ņemot vērā trīs secīgi
veidoto iestudējumu sakritību ar izmaiņu projekta publicēšanu, diskusiju uzvilnījumu
saistībā ar ārstu prāvām Vācijā un Sodu likuma pieņemšanas debatēm Saeimā, tos
var uzskatīt par aģitācijas platformu, lai mainītu sabiedrisko noskaņojumu par labu
sieviešu tiesību akceptēšanai reproduktīvajos jautājumos. Rīgas Strādnieku teātra
izpētes tālākai virzīšanai šajā rakstā tika izsekots iestudējumu paralēlēm ar politisko
notikumu gaitu. Tas sniedz jaunu skatījuma rakursu teātra vēstures izpētē, akcentējot
mijiedarbību ar sabiedriski politiskajām norisēm.

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Colonialism, Resistance and (Anti-)Nationalism in Andrus Kivirähk's *The Man Who Spoke Snakish*

Koloniālisms, pretošanās un (anti)nacionālisms Andrusa Kivirehka romānā "Vīrs, kas zināja čūskuvārdus"

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Atslēgvārdi:

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literatūra,
ekoliteratūra

Summary

This article examines the role of the fictional Snakish language as a form of resistance in Estonian author Andrus Kivirähk's 2007 historical fantasy novel *The Man Who Spoke Snakish*. I begin by discussing the processes of colonization and Christianization in the novel, and how these might be seen as parallels for more recent experiences in Estonia's history, including Soviet colonialism and post-Soviet transitions. I then consider how the Snakish language functions as a form of resistance against the Crusaders' violence and against the Christian worldview. Finally, I examine the fantastical language in the context of contemporary Estonian nationalism, and I consider how the crueler and more destructive uses of Snakish in the novel may have parallels with the potentially destructive power of nationalism.

Kopsavilkums

Šis raksts analizē to, kā igauņu rakstnieka Andrusa Kivirehka vēsturiskajā fantāzijas romānā "Vīrs, kas zināja čūskuvārdus" aprakstītā iedomātā čūsku valoda funkcionē kā pretošanās līdzeklis. Vispirms es aplūkoju romānā attēlotos kolonizācijas un kristianizācijas procesus un to iespējamās paralēles ar nesenākiem Igaunijas vēstures notikumiem, tādiem kā padomju koloniālisms un pēcpadomju pārejas procesi, bet pēc tam – čūsku valodu kā pretošanās formu pret krustnešu vardarbību un kristīgo pasauluzskatu. Visbeidzot šī izfantazētā valoda tiek skatīta mūsdienu igauņu nacionālisma kontekstā – pievēršot uzmanību tam, kā čūsku valodas nežēlīgākie un destruktīvākie pielietojuma veidi, iespējams, sasaucas ar nacionālisma potenciāli postošo varu.

Andrus Kivirähk's 2007 historical fantasy novel *The Man Who Spoke Snakish* (Estonian title: *Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu*) is set in 13th-century Estonia, during the Northern Crusades. In Estonian history, this period saw the arrival of Christian colonizers from Western Europe and the forced Christianization of the native inhabitants. In Kivirähk's novel, it is also the time when humans are forgetting the ancient language of Snakish. Snakish, in the novel, is a magical language taught to humans by snakes many generations ago, and it gives humans the power to control most animals of the forest. It also facilitates dialogue, friendship and even sometimes cohabitation between humans and snakes. However, as humans are migrating from the forest to Christian villages, they are abandoning the ancient language, and by the end of the novel, the protagonist Leemet is the last human who speaks Snakish.

In this article, I examine the role of the Snakish language as a form of resistance against the Crusaders' violence and oppression in the novel. I begin by discussing the processes of colonization and Christianization in the novel and how these might be seen as parallels for more recent experiences in Estonia's history, including Soviet colonialism and post-Soviet transitions, before turning to the role of Snakish as resistance. Finally, I discuss the fantastical language in the context of contemporary Estonian nationalism, and I consider how the crueler and more destructive uses of Snakish in the novel may have parallels with the potentially destructive power of nationalism. The characters of the Primates offer a more peaceful, tolerant alternative to this violence, suggesting a hopeful possibility for a coexistence between the old and new worlds in the novel. Ultimately, however, the Primates and their way of life die out, leaving a zone of hatred, violence and warfare between the old and new worlds.

Crusaders and colonialism

The Livonian Crusade of 1198–1227, proclaimed by Pope Innocent III, has been described by Liina Lukas as the beginning of “German colonial history” (Lukas 2015: 67). Lukas quotes the Christian chronicler Henry of Livonia, who describes how his own people “burned and devastated everything, killed all the males, captured the women and children, and drove off their horses and many flocks” (Henry of Livonia, quoted in Lukas 2015: 70). This brutal invasion of Livonia (the land that is now Estonia and Latvia) led to a long period of rule by the Baltic German aristocracy. Epp Annus notes that, though the land was repeatedly invaded by various European powers throughout the following centuries,

“the German ruling class, initially composed of the crusading knights, kept its privileged position”, while members of this class used the word ‘colony’ to describe their situation from the 18th century onwards (Annus 2018: 144–145). *The Man Who Spoke Snakish* is set at the beginning of this period of German colonialism in the Baltics, with knights and monks using force to bring the word of God to the Estonian people.

The Germanic invaders are shown to be a force of violence and oppression in Kivirähk’s novel, but the Estonian villagers happily accept their authority.¹ When Leemet travels to the nearest village, he hears a group of local boys cheerfully discussing the fact that, as simple peasants, they must always doff their caps when a knight rides by, lest they receive “a good walloping” from the knight (349).² When Leemet expresses amazement, they mock him for being ignorant of this “famous old foreign custom” (349). Leemet is also surprised to learn that the village boys aspire to become servants and that it is “the custom in foreign lands for important men” to sleep with their serving boys (218). Combined with a popular desire to become castrati so as to sing better, this adds a sexual, emasculatory element to the villagers’ willing submission to the Germanic colonizers. Piret Peiker notes that, “[w]hile the novel is generally sexually free-spirited, its only pervasive fear and taboo is that of being unmanned by the decadent Europeans” (Peiker 2016: 125). However, the sexual element of the colonizers’ domination of the Estonians is also exhibited by the rape of the female character Magdaleena, the young daughter of village elder Johannes, who joyfully recounts to Leemet how a German knight “pulled [her] onto his horse’s back and carried [her] straight to his castle”, where he slept with her and “made a child inside” her (331). Despite the fact that Magdaleena is only a child herself, her father is also “terribly glad” that this has happened, believing that Magdaleena’s child “will go out into the wide world and become a famous man” (333). Both the male and female Estonians who embrace Christianity appear to accept that powerful foreigners have the right to sexually dominate them without seeking consent, and indeed they actively celebrate this fact, much to Leemet’s confusion and disgust.

Lukas describes the Livonian Crusade as an example of “Christian imperialism – the conviction that Europeans (read: Christians) are in possession of the absolute

1 The Northern Crusades took place several centuries before the formation of the German state, but the Crusaders are regularly referred to as Germans in both the English and Estonian versions of the novel, for example, “*päris ehtne sakslane*” (189, Kivirähk’s original Estonian), “a genuine German” (221, Moseley’s English translation). Similarly, the villagers refer to themselves as “*eestlased*” (24, original Estonian) or “Estonians” (25, English translation).

2 Unless otherwise stated, page numbers in brackets refer to Christopher Moseley’s 2015 English translation of Kivirähk’s novel.

and ultimate religious truth to which all people have to submit and for which they must instantly abandon their own religion" (Lukas 2015: 70). In Kivirähk's novel, the villagers have indeed abandoned their old pagan ways for the new religion, while those who resist the change are treated with violence by the Christians. The first time that a monk appears in the story, he steals a ring from Leemet and assaults the boy, after checking that there is no one else around to witness it. While the ring was admittedly stolen before Leemet obtained it (see below), Leemet also notices that the monk puts the ring into his mouth, "apparently to hide and defend a precious thing from others" (59), indicating a purely selfish motivation. Additionally, Christianity motivates the villagers to act violently towards snakes whom Leemet and the forest-dwellers view as their friends. On an earlier visit to the village, Leemet arrives with his friend Ints the adder and, upon seeing the snake, Johannes tries to kill Ints with a stick because, he claims, "[t]he snake is the right hand of Satan, and it is the duty of people of the cross to beat down these abominable creatures" (113–114). Later, the villagers burn a whole nest of snakes, along with Leemet's mother who had been hibernating with them. The belief that snakes are agents of the devil, which derives from the Christian teachings introduced by the Crusaders, motivates the villagers to carry out needless violence against snakes and against forest-dwellers like Leemet's family. Lukas notes that Henry of Livonia at one point describes the pagan natives as a "brood of vipers" (Lukas 2015: 72), and the massacred adders in Kivirähk's novel can perhaps be seen as a metaphor for the Estonian rebels who refused to submit to the doctrine of the Christian imperialists.

The attitudes of the Estonian villagers that Kivirähk presents in the novel also have parallels with features of the Baltic German colonialism that followed the Northern Crusades. Though many Estonians resented their Baltic German overlords throughout the centuries of their rule, many of the values and cultural practices of the German aristocracy were imitated by Estonians during the National Awakening of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Annus notes that, for example, Estonian poetry and singing were often based on German rather than Baltic traditions; Estonian civic associations were modelled on those of the Baltic Germans; and even "the search for an archaic, precolonial past and the growing interest in folk culture" had German roots, while the inspiration for the Awakening came at least in part from "progressive Baltic German thinkers, such as Garlieb Merkel, who declared the equal rights and abilities of all nations" (Annus 2018: 147–148).³ Similarly, the Estonian villagers in Kivirähk's novel copy the values and practices of the Germans in an effort to further their own national interest. Upon learning that Leemet's family still live in the forest, Johannes laments:

3 Ivars Ijabs (Ijabs 2014) discusses this further in the Latvian context.

It's pathetic to think of those poor people who still carry on a miserable existence in caves, while others are living in castles and palaces! Why do our folk have to be the last? We want to enjoy the same pleasures that other folk do! (24).

Comparing the lives of his fellow Estonians to those of the colonizing Germans, Johannes is saddened by the unbalanced situation. However, rather than seeing any value in the traditional way of life, he desires that his own people abandon their old lives and copy the Germans, seeking equality only through imitation.

In addition to the links with Baltic German colonialism, there are also multiple parallels between Kivirähk's story and a more recent experience in Estonia's history: the era of Soviet rule. In both cases, the land of Estonia is being invaded and settled by European foreigners: Germans in the novel and Russians in the Soviet era. In both cases, the foreigners bring with them a new ideology: the Germans bring hierarchical Christianity, and the Russians bring Leninism. And in both cases, an ancient native language is under threat: Snakish is dying out in the novel, and Estonian is suppressed by the Soviet authorities.⁴ Many scholars have justifiably analyzed post-Soviet Estonia and the other Baltic nations as postcolonial states. Violeta Kelertas, for example, points out that inhabitants of these countries were not "merely opposed to the *form* of government" imposed by Moscow but also to the fact that they were being ruled by a foreign power (Kelertas 2006: 2, emphasis in the original). Discussing these countries' experiences specifically after gaining independence, David Chioni Moore argues that:

the term "postcolonial", and everything that goes with it – language, economy, politics, resistance, liberation and its hangover – might reasonably be applied to the formerly Russo- and Soviet-controlled regions post-1989 and -1991, just as it has been applied to South Asia post-1947 or Africa post-1958 (Moore 2006: 17).

More recently, Annus has distinguished between the *process* of colonization and the *system* of colonialism, arguing that, "even though the Soviet Union occupied rather than colonized the Baltic States, the period of occupation nevertheless developed into a period of colonial rule" (Annus 2012: 37). The colonial situation in Kivirähk's novel, then, may be an allegory for this more recent experience of colonialism in Estonia.

However, there are clearly differences between these two colonial situations. Firstly, the worldview of the Christians is quite different from Marxism-Leninism: the villagers are devoutly religious, in contrast to the state atheism of the Soviet Union, and they enthusiastically accept social hierarchies, such as the superiority of knights over peasants. Secondly, even though Christians like Johannes celebrate the decline

4 For a discussion of the parallels between Snakish and Estonian, see for example Niitra 2011: 56–57; Ehala 2007; Rooste 2007; Howard and Nelson 2024.

of Snakish and happily enact violence against snakes, the language itself is not being actively suppressed by the colonial authorities in the novel. In fact, most people outside of the forest seem to be unaware of its existence. Similarly, although the villagers persistently try to persuade Leemet to join them, the forest-dwellers are not being forced to abandon their way of life. Indeed, the villagers themselves appear to be mostly Estonian families who have voluntarily decided to move out of the forest. These things are, of course, in contrast to the deliberate language suppression and forced relocation of people carried out by the Soviet authorities in Estonia and elsewhere.

In fact, there are perhaps clearer parallels between the novel and the *post*-Soviet era in Estonia. Rather than being forcibly incorporated into a multinational empire under threat of destruction, the Estonians in Kivirähk's novel are voluntarily deciding to abandon their traditional lifestyle in favour of a new socioeconomic system that is more integrated with Western Europe. Johannes, who was born in the forest but has now embraced Christianity, boasts of having seen "the glory and splendor" of "the holy city of Rome" (197), and the village boys compare Snakish unfavourably to Latin, telling Leemet that "if you knew Latin well, [...] you'd sing hymns and you'd get all the women into bed" (217). The boys also lament their ignorance of German, since, "German is [...] what the knights speak. If you understand German, some knight might take you as his servant" (217). Magdaleena even imagines that her child, as the offspring of a knight, will "start speaking German right from childhood like his father" (332).⁵ It is worth noting that modern English is a Germanic language with a large amount of Latin influence, largely via Norman French. As the dominant language of both the United States and the United Kingdom, English is the main lingua franca of international capitalism in Europe and North America – and incidentally, of course, the language of this article on Estonian literature. Kivirähk has observed in an interview that "everyone who lives [in Estonia today] speaks English to each other. Or I-don't-know-what language" (Rooste 2007, my translation).⁶ The villagers' abandonment of

5 It is interesting to compare this strange conception of Germanness with that expressed in "The Wound", a 1988 short story by Estonian author Jaan Kross. In Kross's story, set in 1939, the narrator Peeter learns that his ex-lover Flora and her family plan to take up Hitler's offer of repatriation for Germans living in Estonia and Latvia – despite the fact that they are not really German. Seeing Flora for the last time before her planned departure, Peeter contemplates her "newly German" hand and the fact that "[her] legs are German now" (Kross 1995: 20–21). Like Leemet, Peeter is scathing of the Estonian family's rush to Germanify themselves. His sarcastic observations highlight how artificial German identity is, in contrast to Magdaleena, who believes that Germanness – including even German language skills – is inborn.

6 Original Estonian: "*Kõik, kes siin elavad, räägivad omavahel inglise keelt. Või maieiteamiskeelt*". I am grateful to Piret Peiker for directing me to this interview.

Snakish in favour of German and Latin, then, may represent the neglect of Estonian in favour of supposedly more useful international languages like English.

In the context of post-Soviet Estonia, it is interesting to consider an article titled “The Estonian Economic Miracle” by Mart Laar, Prime Minister of Estonia from 1992 to 1994 and from 1999 to 2002. This article was published by *The Heritage Foundation*, a conservative American think tank, in 2007 – the same year that Kivirähk’s novel was first published. In the article, Laar describes how the radical economic reforms of his post-independence government led Estonia out of the “backward” underdevelopment and high inflation of the Soviet period and set the country on track to “[catch] up to the average European living standard” (Laar 2007). There are similarities here with the attitudes of the villagers in Kivirähk’s novel: Western (i.e. not post-Soviet) Europe is seen as a model to strive towards, while Estonia’s own past is dismissed as backward and impoverished. As before, a foreign ideology is also being followed – in this case, a conservative neoliberalism similar to that which had been pursued in the preceding decade by Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the US. Laar proudly describes how his government pursued international integration by reducing tariffs and other barriers to international trade while cheerfully disregarding the “furious opposition, demonstrations, and petitions ‘to protect strategic parts of the economy’ or ‘defend local producers’” (Laar 2007). Parallels can even be drawn between Johannes’s joy at the decline of the supposedly satanic Snakish and Laar’s cheerful report that Estonia’s flat-rate income tax successfully “suppressed the gray [informal] economy” (Laar 2007). Like Snakish, the informal economy can potentially provide opportunities and livelihoods for many people,⁷ but since, like Snakish, it exists “outside the framework of official institutions” (Hart 1985: 54), those official institutions have a vested interest in its decline, even if they do not actually take steps to violently suppress it.

Discussing the work of another Estonian writer, Jaan Kaplinski, Thomas Salumets writes:

In the course of their 700-year colonizing process, as Kaplinski sees it unfold, Estonians find their culture wanting, particularly during the period of national awakening in the 1860s and 1870s. Estonia was perceived to be lacking in what Europe’s centres took for granted: stone buildings, churches, palaces, poetry with end rhymes, manor houses, cities, abstract words, a Protestant ethic, a national epic, song festivals, fraternities, operas, the devil, a standard literary language, a single God, and other manifestations of the mentality associated with the cultures of the colonizers. In the 21st century, the lack is associated with globalization – a new economic form of colonization. Among the contemporary colonizers who

7 This is not to say that an informal economy is necessarily good; it often allows for greater exploitation of workers than a formal economy.

threaten the cultures of smaller surviving units, according to Kaplinski, are Time-Warner, Microsoft and Walt Disney (Salumets 2006: 435).

Here, as in *The Man Who Spoke Snakish*, Christianity, feudalism and European culture are attributes of historical colonizers that are envied by Estonians and seen as essential for Estonia to become a “proper” (European) country. In the post-Soviet era, these are replaced by the culture and technology of the Western (European and American) world, which the people of Estonia again seek to imitate. Indeed, Salumets identifies Kaplinski as an Estonian who is critical of his people’s “self-colonization” and laments “that the Estonian people themselves drove away their souls and cut down their sacred trees” (Salumets 2006: 436), similar to Leemet’s frustration with the villagers’ voluntary abandonment of Snakish and forest life. Leemet’s refusal to abandon Snakish, then, can be seen as an act of anti-globalization, a refusal to accept the “Western” order – whether that be feudalism or neoliberalism.

Snakish as resistance

The Snakish language acts as a form of resistance against the Crusaders in a number of ways. Firstly, it resists the transition to agriculture by making hunting-gathering in the forest a more feasible alternative. While the Christians view the forest-dwellers as “benighted” fools living a “miserable existence” (24), their lives are shown in many ways to be poorer than those of the forest-dwellers. While the villagers live mainly off bread and porridge and only eat meat on holy days, Leemet’s family routinely has an abundance of meat and other protein-rich foods such as owl’s eggs. On one occasion, Leemet’s mother cooks “a whole goat” for the family’s evening meal (121). Leemet explains that, using “Snakish words, [...] you can force a goat to submit within one minute” and kill the animal easily, whereas the villagers, who do not speak Snakish, can only obtain goat meat through “a hunt lasting hours” (202). Remembering a deer hunt that he once witnessed, Leemet reflects:

The villagers didn’t know Snakish, and therefore couldn’t summon the deer to them, so they hunted it across the country and fired little sticks into the air. This stick caused the deer outrageous pain, but didn’t kill it, and so the poor animal rushed with bloodshot eyes through the forest, shrieking and thumping everything in its path, until Uncle Vootele calmed it with Snakish words and cut the animal’s throat, to release it from its suffering (114).

As far as Leemet is concerned, the abandonment of Snakish is not progress but regress. Not only does it impoverish the villagers by denying them meat, but it also results in crueler methods of obtaining that meat. Similarly, when Johannes tries to “heal” a cow using a treatment taught to him by a German stable boy, the process involves a series of tortuous procedures which eventually kill the cow (221).

Snakish also resists the Crusaders by defying Christian dogma. For the Christian villagers, “[t]he snake is the right hand of Satan” (113) and the cause of original sin. When Leemet tries to tell the village elder Johannes about Snakish, Johannes declares that “[n]owhere on earth do they talk to snakes” and celebrates the fact that the Estonians are gradually forgetting the language, because “God doesn’t want us to talk to snakes, for a snake is his enemy” (195). Snakish, indeed, can be seen as a synecdoche for the forest-dwellers’ whole way of life, which is dismissed as backward and savage by the Christianized villagers. Like this way of life, Snakish is dying out, but Leemet’s defiant speaking of the language is an act of anticolonial resistance. Indeed, the Snakish language in Kivirähk’s novel blurs the very boundary between humans and snakes. Leemet’s Uncle Vootele vows to “teach Leemet the Snakish words so well that he won’t know anymore whether he’s a human or a snake” (31). Snakish not only allows humans to communicate with snakes; it leads them down a path of physically becoming more like snakes. This is exemplified by Leemet’s grandfather, a fluent Snakish speaker who has snakelike “fangs” and crawls around “like some hairy adder” (249–250). The Snakish language not only facilitates dialogue between humans and the supposedly satanic snakes; it also subverts the boundary between human and animal, which is central to the villagers’ worldview.

It seems likely that Kivirähk’s novel was influenced by a similarly titled children’s story, *Jutt mehest, kes teadis ussisõnu* (“A Tale about a Man Who Spoke Snakish”, or “The Tale of the Man Who Knew Snake-Words”) (Sõrmus 2015: 44). This short tale, attributed to Jüri Parijõgi and published in a 1977 collection of the same title edited by Andres Jaaksoo, tells the story of Leeli Märt, a man who uses snake-words (*ussisõnu*) to command the local snakes and prevent them from biting people.⁸ However, while Leeli Märt uses words to control and command snakes, Leemet interacts with snakes on much more egalitarian terms. Throughout the novel, he maintains a close friendship with the adder Ints after saving her from a hedgehog, and his whole family even spends one winter hibernating with the adders. Indeed, the close relationships between forest-dwelling humans and snakes in the novel may suggest the influence of another folktale: the tale of the snake’s wife, in which a human woman marries a snake. Many variants of this story exist across the Baltic

8 I am grateful to Virve Vihman for her help with translating this story. It seems reasonable to suggest that the name “Leeli Märt” may be an inspiration for the name of Kivirähk’s protagonist. Another possible inspiration is Lembit (also known as Lembitu), a historical figure who led the Estonians in resistance against the Crusaders. Mari Niitra (Niitra 2011: 56) also notes that elements of another story told by Parijõgi, *Kuidas mees ussikoopast õnne leidis* (How a Man Found His Fortune in a Snake-cave), can be seen in Kivirähk’s novel.

region, perhaps most famously the Lithuanian story of Eglė the Queen of Serpents, in which the reptile husband is none other than the king of the snakes – a title that also exists in Kivirähk's novel. In *The Man Who Spoke Snakish*, snake-words are not a means for humans to control snakes: instead, they form the language of an entire Snakish culture.⁹

Another way in which Snakish acts as a form of resistance is through its power to awake the legendary Frog of the North. This strange creature is a further example of a folkloric influence in Kivirähk's novel.¹⁰ *Põhja konn*, as he is known in Estonian, appears in a story collected by the 19th-century Estonian writer and folklorist Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, published in English as "The Northern Frog". In this story, the creature is described as a monster with the body of "an enormous ox", frog's legs and "a chain-long tail of a snake", his body "armoured with scales [...] stronger than stone or iron" (Kreutzwald 1985: 206). He travels around in giant leaps, devouring people and animals and desolating huge swathes of land, until he is finally defeated by a young hero. In Kivirähk's novel, however, the Frog of the North has quite a different role: he is an ally of the Estonians, having helped them to fight against the Crusaders in the past. Leemet seeks to find the Frog using a ring given to him by the mysterious character Meeme, and a ring also plays a role in Kreutzwald's story: the young hero uses a magical ring that once belonged to King Solomon to defeat the Frog. In Kivirähk's novel, however, Meeme eventually reveals that the bag in which the ring is carried is the key to finding the Frog, and that the ring itself is "a useless trinket, pulled off the finger of some foreigner who was killed" that only functions "as a weight, to keep the bag in place" (436). Kivirähk subverts Kreutzwald's story not only by presenting the monstrous Frog as a saviour, but also by relegating Solomon's ring – a Christian relic of sacred importance and magical power – to a comically worthless item.

In Kivirähk's novel, however, the Frog has gone to sleep for many years and can only be woken by ten thousand men speaking Snakish together. As Vootele laments at the start of the novel, the forest-dwellers "can't even get ten [men] together" to speak Snakish anymore, never mind ten thousand (7). The decline in speakers of Snakish has caused the language itself to tangibly lose power, since it can no longer

9 For an English translation of the tale of Eglė, see Kuncaitis 1996. For an Estonian version of the story, also translated into English, see Päär, Tünnpu 2005: 60–63. In this version, it is the woman, not the snake, who has a royal background. For an analysis of the subversion of the nature/culture distinction in Kivirähk's novel, see Sörmus 2015; Howard and Nelson 2024. For a broader contemporary discussion of environmental humanities in the related Baltic context of Latvia, see Zariņa et al. 2022.

10 For a discussion of folkloristics in the Soviet and post-Soviet Baltic area, see Kencis, Üdre 2021.

be used to call the Estonians' most powerful ally. Martin Ehala (Ehala 2007) compares this lost power of Snakish with the Singing Revolution, a coordinated vocalization of collective will through which the Baltic nations gained independence from the Soviet Union: the Frog represents the collective will of the Estonian people, while Snakish is the language through which that will can (or could formerly) be realized. Snakish, then, can be seen to embody the form of anticolonial, liberatory nationalism expressed through the Singing Revolution, empowering the Estonian people to determine their own future.

Nationalism and violence

Kivirähk's novel, however, also suggests how the nationalism of anticolonial resistance can contain xenophobic and violent elements. Although they defy the religiously sanctioned hierarchies of the colonizers, Snakish speakers also construct their own hierarchical view of non-human life, with snakes at the apex as "the brothers of humans" (14). Although bears are intelligent and capable of speech, Leemet still sees Snakish-speaking humans as bears' "superiors", and he believes that bears' "culture" derives from "their dealings with men and snakes" (15); when the snakes die and the humans leave the forest, that culture vanishes. Below bears are animals like goats and deer, who can understand and obey Snakish commands but cannot participate in dialogue with humans or snakes. At the base of the hierarchy are animals that cannot speak or understand Snakish, such as hedgehogs and insects, whom Leemet and the snakes hold in complete contempt. Leemet explains that hedgehogs are "the stupidest of all animals" having "never learned Snakish", while insects have "brains [that are] too small for that sort of wisdom, no bigger than a speck of dust" (35). As Peiker puts it, "[t]he hierarchy of all the creatures is based upon and expressed through Snakish" (Peiker 2016: 124). While this hierarchy places Snakish-speaking humans and snakes as superior to all other creatures, the hierarchy also exists within humanity, with those who speak fluent Snakish superior to those who are ignorant of the snake-words. For example, when a snake bites Magdaleena, Leemet asks the snake why it bit a human, and the snake replies that the girl "doesn't know Snakish", implying that humans in this category do not deserve to be elevated to the same status as snakes and Snakish-speaking humans (191). As the snake-king himself explains, "a human who has gone to live in the village and no longer understands Snakish words [...] is like a hedgehog or an insect and we don't pity him" (39).

This language-based hierarchy is particularly significant in the context of Snakish as a metaphor for the Estonian language. After Estonia regained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, any resident of Estonia who had not been a citizen –

or who was not descended from someone who had been a citizen – before the Soviet occupation had to apply for citizenship, which required them to demonstrate proficiency in the Estonian language (Estonian Citizenship Act 1995). This has led to a situation where many people born to Russian-speaking families in Estonia do not have citizenship, despite having always lived in the country (Avgerinos 2006). In the same way, the villagers' ignorance of Snakish excludes them, in the eyes of the snakes, from the rights ascribed to Snakish-speaking humans. In both cases, those being victimized are residents of Estonian land who are not directly responsible for the oppression and violence inflicted on their fellow countrymen.

Indeed, Snakish itself is also a force of violence in the novel. Let us recall, for example, that one of the main uses of Snakish for Leemet and his family is making it easier to obtain meat. While Snakish may defy the Christians' philosophical separation of human and animal, the language still facilitates violence against non-human animals, such as goats and deer, by "forc[ing] [them] to submit" to human hunters (202). Indeed, it is worth noting that the English title of the novel is not a literal translation of the Estonian. "*Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu*" literally translates as "The Man Who Knew Snake-Words", with *ussisõnu* being a compound of *uss* ("snake", "worm") and *sõnu* (partitive plural form of *sõna*, "word"). The title of the English translation presents "Snakish" as a language that Leemet speaks, whereas in the Estonian original it is simply words that he knows, presented as a set of useful tools rather than a full non-human language. Peiker argues that, for most animals other than the snakes themselves, "Snakish simply works as a magic spell the orders in which they must – quietly – obey" (Peiker 2016: 124). Although characters like Leemet who are fluent in Snakish can use the language to have full conversations with snakes, when it comes to other animals, the "snake-words" are almost exclusively used to force the animal to submit to the will of the speaker.

Leemet also uses Snakish to inflict violence upon his fellow humans. Towards the end of the novel, Leemet and his grandfather embark on a vengeful, destructive war against the rest of humanity, a "crusade" against the Crusaders and the Estonian villagers (399). The two Snakish-speakers attack randomly, massacring villagers and turning their skulls into drinking cups for no reason other than revenge, after the villagers kill Leemet's mother in the snake nest (see above) and attempt to execute Leemet himself. Leemet acknowledges the madness of the fight, reflecting: "We were warring only for our own pleasure and because we couldn't do anything else in the new world" (399). In one particularly violent passage, Leemet uses Snakish words to command a group of bears to massacre the lords and ladies with whom the bears share a fortress. Although the bears protest that they "love and admire" the humans and "don't want to kill anyone at all", Leemet's Snakish "[takes]

away the bears' free will and awaken[s] their wild desire to kill" (405–406), forcing them to massacre the humans. Many bears also die, and after the bloodbath the two surviving bears weep and grieve for the dead humans, while Leemet and his grandfather are totally unsympathetic towards them. The whole fight seems to achieve only destruction and suffering.

Although Leemet is the protagonist and narrator of the novel, his actions in the later chapters are, arguably, just as horrifying as those committed by the villagers against the forest-dwellers. Peiker notes that "the overall value structure of the novel does not support the narrator's [Leemet's] account and judgement fully, but leaves space for paradoxes and ironies" (Peiker 2016: 124). Kivirähk has described himself as a "peaceful and pacifistic person", stating that he has no desire to see a real-world version of Leemet's rampage played out in contemporary Estonia (Rooste 2007, my translation). Indeed, the closing chapters of the novel can be read as Kivirähk critiquing a form of Estonian nationalism that is not liberatory and anti-colonial but instead reactionary and oppressive: a nationalism that violently targets immigrants and other minoritized groups rather than oppressive systems of power.¹¹ The fact that hedgehogs specifically are mentioned as stupid creatures can also be seen as a subversion of Estonian nationalist narratives. In the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg*, a hedgehog gives wise advice to the eponymous hero in a scene that is famous in Estonia; folklorist Ülo Valk writes that "even those [Estonians] who have never held the epic in their hands know about the hedgehog's advice 'Edgewise, edgewise!'" (Valk 2011: 515). For the snakes in Kivirähk's novel, however, the spiny mammals are "[c]oarse, wooden-headed creatures" (38), "as stupid as pinecones and tussocks" (36), undermining the national image of the wise hedgehog. Mari Niitra observes that the novel similarly mocks the national image of ancient Estonians as "hardworking peasants, for whom bread has always been something sacred" (Niitra 2011: 54), with bread inducing physical sickness for the forest-dwellers. Kivirähk also seems critical of the specifically anti-German sentiments expressed by Leemet in the novel, having suggested in a 2021 interview that "everything good about Estonia has been taken from the Germans" (Vaino 2021). The author's own views, in other words, stand in stark contrast to the outlook embraced by his protagonist towards the end of the novel.

Prior to Leemet's vengeful rampage, this reactionary, xenophobic form of nationalist violence is represented by Ülgas, an old sage of the forest, and his devoted

11 In addition to the parallels with citizenship laws mentioned above, Kivirähk suggests in his interview with Rooste that a similar kind of violence to the one presented in his novel could be – and perhaps already is being – inflicted on immigrant groups, particularly Muslims, throughout Europe (Rooste 2007).

follower Tambet. Ülgas regularly demands sacrifices on behalf of vengeful “sprites”, and he eventually decides that Tambet’s daughter Hiie must be sacrificed to “make the world as it was” before people started moving to the village (232). Tambet, who resents Leemet’s family for having previously lived in the village before returning to the forest, agrees that it is much better for his daughter “to be sacrificed to the sprites and in that way save the old way of life than to start living with a traitor born in the village [i.e. Leemet, the only young man still living in the forest]” (233). Ülgas and Tambet’s hatred for foreigners and the changing world motivates them to try and kill Hiie, Tambet’s own daughter and the only child left in the forest aside from Leemet and his sister Salme – and indeed, it is one of Tambet’s wolves that does eventually kill Hiie, ending any prospect of a future generation of forest dwellers. Ülgas later murders Magdaleena and her son, whom Leemet had been planning to teach Snakish, and Leemet then kills Ülgas in revenge. Ülgas and Tambet’s violent attempts to preserve the old way of life, in a tragic irony, contribute to the destruction of that way of life. Their religion is presented as absurd and destructive, much like the invaders’ Christianity. Linda Kaljundi describes it as a “sickening” cult “marked by rabbit blood, torturing wolves and scaring children” (Kaljundi 2007, my translation), while Niitra notes that “fundamentalism”, whether Christian or pagan, is criticized throughout the text and that “[n]either progress nor traditionalism is shown as redeeming and each is potentially limiting” (Niitra 2011: 57–58).

The reactionary, purist approach exemplified by Ülgas and Tambet is further ridiculed by the Primates, a pair of ape-like forest-dwellers named Pirre and Rääk who are “human, though hairier than any of us” and who believe that the fall of humanity “hadn’t started with moving to the village or eating bread, but with putting on alien creatures’ skins and adopting iron tools stolen from ships” (63). The Primates refuse to wear animal skins or any other sort of clothing, and they use stone tools rather than “foreign iron”, claiming that, “[i]n the olden days, with these stone axes you did all the work; you were in a good mood and nobody got upset” (64). They eat meat half cooked, and later they start living on a tree branch, since “even living in a cave seem[s] senselessly modern to them” (180). The Primates want to reverse not only Christianization and farming but (aside from speech) essentially the entire process of human evolution, highlighting the arbitrariness of the attempts by Ülgas and Tambet – and later Leemet – to change the world back to the “old ways”, when those ways are in fact modern by evolutionary standards.

The Primates also highlight the unnecessary cruelty and intolerance of Ülgas and Tambet:

Unlike Tambet, who also held sacred the ways of his ancestors and tried steadfastly to walk their well-worn paths, Pirre and Rääk were very mild. They didn’t demand

anything of anyone. They didn't want other people to bare their bottoms, and they never quarreled when they saw someone with a knife in their belt or a brooch on their jacket. If anyone had visited Tambet carrying a piece of bread, he might have set his wolves on that person as punishment for their impertinence, or at least cursed such a village lickspittle in the strongest terms. Pirre and Rääk, on the other hand, never spoke ill of anybody. They were friendly and hospitable, and were not offended even when a visitor declined to eat the half-cooked hunk of meat they offered them (64).

In their kindness towards the other people of the forest despite their different values and lifestyles, the Primates demonstrate a tolerant approach that forms the basis for peaceful coexistence between old and new, between local and foreign. They also speak Snakish but, unlike Leemet, they “pronounce Snakish in the old Primate way” (66), allowing them to command lice, which they breed and keep as pets. Although they are willing to use violence, they do so in a far more restrained and defensive fashion than Leemet does,¹² and their ability to communicate with lice disrupts Leemet's view of insects as “born idiots” (66). While Leemet's words have no effect on the lice, the Primates' superior Snakish skills demonstrate the practical value (in addition to the implied moral value) of their lifestyle – a lifestyle that is rooted in the distant past but also open to change and difference. At the end of the novel, however, the Primates die, still sitting on their tree branch, turning into “little white furry snowdrifts” in winter (441). Leemet tells the reader that the Primates' cave, in which they and their ancestors created rock art to record their history, “has now collapsed shut”, sealing their visual records away in the earth (134). It seems that there is no place for the Primates' peaceful tolerance – or for their records of the ancient past – in the violent conflict between old and new that engulfs the world of Kivirähk's novel.

Conclusion

The themes of colonialism and resistance in *The Man Who Spoke Snakish* have relevance throughout Estonia's history: in the context of the Northern Crusades, during which the novel is set; in the context of the subsequent period of Baltic German colonialism; in the context of the Soviet era; and in the context of post-Soviet transitions. The Snakish language empowers Estonians like Leemet to resist the colonial violence of the Crusaders, enabling them to continue living a hunter-gatherer lifestyle while defying the religious dogma of the colonizers. However, Snakish also establishes its own systems of violence and oppression – against both humans and non-human animals. This can be seen as a metaphor for

12 The Primates use Snakish words to save Leemet from torture and death at the hands of a group of Crusaders, killing the Crusaders and their own pet lice in the process (416–420).

Estonian nationalism, which similarly has the power to be radical and liberatory, but also the power to be reactionary and unjust. While the characters of the Primates offer some hope that it may be possible to live a life that is rooted in the past while still being open-minded and striving for peace, their way of life ultimately dies out, and their history is sealed off from the violent world of conflict between the old and new worlds in the novel.

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Balys Sruoga's Vision of the Future of the Theatre from the Nazi Concentration Camp in Stutthof

Baļa Srogas skatījums uz teātra nākotni no nacistu koncentrācijas nometnes Štuthofā

Keywords:

dialogue,
aesthetic reality,
"the lordship of spirit",
theatre of the future,
Balys Sruoga

Atslēgvārdi:

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"gara dominance",
nākotnes teātris,
Balis Sroga

Summary

This article discusses two letters sent by the writer and scholar Balys Sruoga from the concentration camp in Stutthof to his wife Vanda Sruogienė. One of these letters was written on May 31, 1944 and later published under the title *Teatro romantika* (The Romanticism of Theatre), and the other was written on June 5, 1944 and later published as *Tikroviškumas vaidybos mene* (Verisimilitude in the Art of Acting). In these letters, their writer summarizes the state of the art of theatre on the background of the humanitarian catastrophe in the middle of the 20th century, and offers his prospects for theatre's evolution. The analysis of Sruoga's letters aims to determine what kind of evaluation criteria he set for the creators of the future theatre, and to compare these criteria with the theatrical language used by the director Gintaras Varnas in his performance *Natanas Išmintingasis* (Nathan the Wise) in 2017. After examining the aesthetic and value aspects outlined by Balys Sruoga, we can discern a dialogue with his vision of the future theatre in modern Lithuanian theatre practices. We can surmise that Sruoga's longing for what he termed "*dvasios viešpatystė*" (the lordship of spirit) is the beauty of utopia presented in the performance of *Nathan the Wise* as staged by Gintaras Varnas in 2017.

Kopsavilkums

Šajā rakstā aplūkotas divas Baļa Srogas (*Balys Sruoga*) vēstules sievai Vandai Srogienei (*Vanda Sruogienė*): 1944. gada 31. maijā rakstītā, kas vēlāk publicēta ar nosaukumu "Teātra romantika", un 1944. gada 5. jūnijā rakstītais "Reālisms aktiermākslā". Savās vēstulēs rakstnieks aplūko teātra mākslas stāvokli 20. gadsimta vidus humanitārās katastrofas laikā un piedāvā savas perspektīvas teātra attīstībai. Srogas vēstuļu analīzes mērķis ir noskaidrot, kādus vērtēšanas kritērijus viņš izvirzījis nākotnes teātra veidotājiem, un salīdzināt viņa redzējumu ar ideālās pasaules vīziju, kas rādīta režisora Gintara Varnas 2017. gada iestudējumā "Nātans Gudrais". Izpētot Baļa Srogas formulētos estētikas un vērtību aspektus, mēs varam mūsdienā Lietuvas teātra praksē saskatīt dialogu ar Srogas nākotnes teātra vīziju. Varam izteikt minējumu, ka viņa ilgas pēc tā, ko viņš nosauca par "*dvasios viešpatystė*" (gara/garīgo dominanci), ir tas pats utopijas skaistums, kas parādīts Gintara Varnas iestudētajā "Nātana Gudrā" izrādē 2017. gadā.

Introduction

Balys Sruoga – poet, prose writer, playwright, theatre scholar, researcher of literature and folklore, translator and publicist – was born on 2 February, 1896 in Baibokai of Vabalninkas district in North-Eastern Lithuania, and died in Vilnius on 16 October, 1947. The creative legacy that Balys Sruoga has left us after his quite short life of 51 year was published in a collection of seventeen books in 1996.

In this article, we will limit our analysis of Balys Sruoga's oeuvre as a theatre scholar to the two-year period between 1943 and 1945, which is defined by his experience in the Nazi concentration camp at Stutthof. By applying descriptive and analytical method, we will discuss two letters sent by Sruoga from the concentration camp to his wife Vanda Sruogienė. One of these letters was written on May 31, 1944 and later published under the title *Teatro romantika* (The Romanticism of Theatre) and the other was written on June 5, 1944 and later published as *Tikroviškumas vaidybos mene* (Verisimilitude in the Art of Acting). The aim of this study is to determine what kind of evaluation criteria Sruoga set for the creators of the future theatre, and to compare these criteria with the theatrical language used by the director Gintaras Varnas in his performance of *Natanas Išmintingasis* (Nathan the Wise), which was based on Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's play *Nathan der Weise* (1779) (Lessing 2015).

Thus, comparative method has been applied to Sruoga's concept of "the lordship of spirit" and to the idea of religious tolerance expressed in Varnas's production of *Nathan the Wise*, emphasizing the therapeutic and utopian character of the "ideal world". This comparative approach helps to highlight the similarities and differences between these two perspectives on theatre, and shows the potential for growth and development within the theatrical arts.

On 16 March 1943, Balys Sruoga was taken captive by the Nazis and transported to the Stutthof concentration camp near Gdansk in Poland, where he managed to survive and also was able to correspond with friends and relatives who had remained in Lithuania, as well as with close friends and colleagues who had left the country. (The camp was liberated in 1945, and on May 13 of that year Sruoga was flown to the then Soviet-occupied Lithuania.)

Before becoming an inmate of Stutthof, Sruoga was an experienced theatre critic. Since his study years in Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Munich, Sruoga had not only been inseparable from the practical activities of Lithuanian professional theatre, but had also achieved fame as a popular, acute reviewer. His reviews influenced the process of theatre development, and the theatre seminar that Sruoga taught at the University of Lithuania (since 1930 known as Vytautas Magnus University) established the Lithuanian school of theatre criticism and laid the foundations for

research of the history of Lithuanian theatre. In a brief summary, Prof. Rasa Vasinauskaitė has formulated the merits of Balys Sruoga as a theatre critic as follows: “[H]e created the canon of Lithuanian drama theatre [...]” (Vasinauskaitė 2019). (Here and elsewhere – translations by the author of the article.) She offers this statement about Sruoga’s canonical insights on theatre in her article *Kritika kaip teatro dokumentas. Balio Sruogos atvejis* (Criticism as a Theatre Document. The Case of Balys Sruoga). Vasinauskaitė rationalizes this statement by the broad education that Sruoga had, arguing that he “began to form the criteria of this canon while studying in Moscow (1916 to 1918), absorbing the Russian culture of the threshold between nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or the “silver age”, which he knew through Jurgis Baltrušaitis, the verse by the Symbolist poets, the productions by Konstantin Stanislavski and the Moscow Art Theatre (MAT), as well as the First and Second MAT studios, along with the opera performances of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre” (Vasinauskaitė 2019). We can agree that one can link Sruoga’s theatre criticism and theatre knowledge to the Eastern European theatrical movements and practices but, as regards the analysis of these practices, I believe it is worthwhile to consider the methodological approach developed during his studies at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (*Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*). Balys Sruoga enrolled at this university in November of 1921 and studied there until February 8, 1924. The main focus of his learning were courses in Slavonic and Germanic studies, but in retrospect, his participation at Professor Arthur Kutscher’s (1878–1960) theatre seminar and the theatre history courses taught by the same professor played the greatest role in encouraging Sruoga’s interest in the history of the theatre and gave him a more profound understanding of the subject. Kutscher’s seminar set the methodological foundations for theatre research in Germany. He collaborated actively with the theatre scholar Max Hermann (1865–1942) in establishing the German Institute for Theatre Studies. At Kutcher’s seminar, Sruoga studied the history and theory of German theatre. He got acquainted with the still nascent field of comparative German theatre studies and also with the method of reconstructing a performance, which the theatre scholar Max Herrmann had already been successfully applying in his work as he was writing the history of German theatre. We can describe the period of Sruoga’s studies at the University of Munich as a crucial period during which he may have formed his idea of a theatre seminar as a scientific and practical laboratory of theatre processes, which he later taught during his professorship at the University of Lithuania.

As already noted, Balys Sruoga had earned a reputation in the field of theatre criticism as a competent, sharp polemicist. Reviewing the theatre activities of the first decade of the Lithuanian State Theatre and the performances by directors

Konstantinas Gliniskis, Antanas Sutkus, and Borisas Dauguvietis, and actively collaborating with the director Andrius Olekas Žilinskas during the following years, Sruoga, as pointed out by Vasinauskaitė, shaped not only the drama canon but also the “value signposts” for Lithuanian theatre criticism. According to her, Sruoga’s criteria for evaluating theatre “are very simple – professionalism, artistic purposefulness (artistry) and commitment to the people” (Vasinauskaitė 2019: 51). However, the new, tragic reality of the Stutthof camp may have influenced his evaluation of the previous theatre processes. In Sruoga’s argumentation, we can clearly spot the difference between the theatre of his present and his conception of the theatre of the future. This separation seems to imply a revision of his previous experience and a desire to search for a new, different kind of theatre.

Sruoga’s letters from the Stutthof concentration camp stand apart from all his other texts on theatre: not only by their epistolary genre, but also by their emotional and intellectual context. The job that the author of these letters held in the camp office protected him from the gas chamber, but not from the experience of being a prisoner of the Nazis. In his book *Dievy miškas* (The Forest of the Gods, 1957), Sruoga has ironically summed up the consequences of Nazi ideology: the crisis of humanity in the mid-20th century was accompanied by the smell of... burnt human flesh (Sruoga 2021). One can possibly view Sruoga’s letters about the theatre of the future as an outline of a scientific hypothesis, but also as a vision motivated by a denial of his current existence that was filled with traumatic experiences.

Therefore, the theoretical context that one can associate with Balys Sruoga’s ideas of the future of theatre is not only that of the field of the humanities, but also of the social sciences. After examining the aesthetic and value aspects outlined in Sruoga’s letters, we can look for a dialogue between his vision and the Lithuanian theatre practices of today. The issue of cultural dialogicality that Mikhail Bakhtin raised and analyzed in his cultural studies (Bakhtin 1996) can explain how the traumatic past experience of Balys Sruoga connects with our present – namely, with contemporary theatre directors who face new challenges.

The dialogical form of Sruoga’s letters reveals and emphasizes the shift in place and time from a catastrophic present to a predictable dissimilar future. We can better understand the utopian character of his vision of the future through the concept of moving objects or ideas into a space or time that does not yet exist. Let us remember Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) who is considered to be the author of the *Capriccio* technique, which can be used to transport a historical object to another time and place, creating new links with the object to be replicated, and the context of a new environment (Piranesi 2011). This technique is also used in modern architecture, fine arts and photography.

There have been several scholars that have studied the aesthetic aspect of Balys Sruoga's letters: Gabija Bankauskaitė-Sereikienė in her monograph *Balys Sruoga – tarp tradicijos ir modernumo* (Balys Sruoga – Between Tradition and Modernity) (Bankauskaitė-Sereikienė 2007), Algis Samulionis in his book *Balys Sruoga – dramaturgas ir teatro kritikas* (Balys Sruoga – Dramatist and Theatre Critic) (Samulionis 1986), and Aušra Martišiūtė in her essay *Poetinio teatro vizija Balio Sruogos "Pavasario giesmėje"* (The Vision of the Poetic Theatre in Balys Sruoga's Play "The Chant of Spring") (Martišiūtė 2005). These studies have established the connection between the term "romanticist art" and poetic theatre, and linked the vision of future theatre to the poetics of syncretic theatre. A valuable source that has revealed the emotional contexts of Balys Sruoga's letters from Stutthof was Jurgis Blekaitis's detailed contemporary testimony *Balys Sruoga: asmuo ir teatro kūrėjas* (Balys Sruoga: the Person and the Theatre-maker) published in Munich as early as 1948 (Blekaitis 1948). As regards the therapeutic overtones of Sruoga's vision of the future on the background of his traumatic experience in a specific place and time – this phenomenon might also be analyzed by employing the findings and theories of the trauma researcher Judith Lewis Herman (see, for instance: Herman 1992). Drawing on the insights and methodological approaches of the aforementioned scholars, we will seek to reveal the main features of Balys Sruoga's conception of the future theatre.

Balys Sruoga on the Stylistic Expression of Mid-20th Century Theatre

The already mentioned two letters by Sruoga about theatre were written five days apart, and the second letter substantially complements and extends the analysis of the present and future theatre outlined in the first letter. The author constantly revises the terminology that he uses in both letters, expanding the semantic field of these terms.

Sruoga employs terms familiar to art history – such as "naturalistic" and "realistic". (He uses the term "naturalistic theatre" more often.) Sruoga perceives the expression of naturalistic theatre as a direct reflection of reality (with reality understood as nature). Extending the concept of nature, Sruoga sees the strategy of translating nature into a work of art as a direct transfer of objects from the reality into the artistic totality of the performance. He makes a distinction between the objects of reality and the objects used on the stage, and describes their different effects as follows: "The reality on stage is very different from the true reality. For example, a golden crown (made of real gold) makes no impression on the spectator, whereas a crown made of shiny paper is very impressive. A heart made of red fabric (e.g. flannel)

is more impressive than a heart of meat." (Sruoga 1994: 263). He characterizes naturalistic theatre or realistic theatre as a "non-aesthetic" reality.

The most complicated is the use of the term "romanticist" in both letters. Their author observes that the concept of romanticism has not been developed, and takes up this task with vigour. He notes that there is an "old romanticism" associated with the 19th century art of the early Saxon Romantic period. In addition to that, Sruoga uses a term "new romanticism", not linking it to the romantic style but to the romanticist, poetic theatre. He employs the term "poetic theatre" to describe the future theatrical strategy and techniques.

In the Nazi camp, Balys Sruoga continued his work as a writer and theatre scholar: he wrote the comedies *Pagunda* (Temptation), *Pranciškuo marškinėliai* (The Shirts of Little Pranciškus), *Uošvė* (Mother-in-Law), *Dobilėlis penkialapis* (The Lovely Five-Leaved Clover) and the poetic drama *Pavasario giesmė* (The Chant of Spring"), as well as the articles *Apie estetinę ir anestetinę tikrovę* (On Aesthetic and Non-aesthetic Reality) and *Apie dramaturgijos pradžiūdalas* (On the Beginnings of Dramaturgy). He thoroughly explores the principles of reflecting reality in the work of art, as if building a bridge to the future playwright's attitude towards reality: "True comedies and tragedies in real life do not proceed in a way which is necessary for theatre. Even the most "natural" playwright has to compose the events of life: to juxtapose some facts, to omit others, to create new ones that did not exist, to change other facts again, etc." (Sruoga 1994: 265). The opposition between the facts of reality and the transformations of these facts in the artistic, imagined reality may vary but nevertheless, in the process of creating a drama, the author has an inspiring power to reduce, increase or unpredictably change them. The tool that determines the distance between the fact of reality and its reflection in the artwork is the artist's idea. Sruoga denotes the process of transforming the facts of reality by the term "stylization". We should note, though, that he finds the starting point of creative experience in the natural reality.

As regards acting, the experience of the actor and their emotional involvement is inseparable from creating a role in realistic theatre. *Verisimilitude in acting*, according to Sruoga, is indispensable: "Verisimilitude is more necessary in theatre than in other fields. Here, verisimilitude involves psychology and the logic of events. [...] When a character or a situation is given, that character or situation can behave according to the general laws of psychology. If you don't do that in the theatre, you get a dog with its nose attached to its side, not to its head. So the verisimilitude of the action on stage is based on the laws of psychology, in short: the action is based on the verisimilitude of the character and the situation." (Sruoga 1994: 266).

In the context of the stylistic trends that had emerged in the contemporary

theatre, Sruoga writes the following: "We have already lived through the epochs of naturalism and realism [...]. Everything we have learned from realism must be used. But realism, as the following of nature, is the lower stage of art – the preparatory stage. It only serves as a means, only as a way, to seek the understanding in the audience. That is the legacy. [...] So realism, as the following of nature, is not the goal, it is only a means. We have higher artistic goals." (Sruoga 1994: 262).

In order to summarize the stylistic features of the then contemporary theatre and their evaluation by Balys Sruoga, let us highlight his insights into the psychological method of acting. He describes this method as a natural characteristic of theatre, evaluates it in a very positive way, and elaborates on it by referring to the theatrical practices of Konstantin Stanislavski. It is noteworthy that when describing the technique of acting in psychological (or realistic, as Sruoga uses these terms synonymously) theatre, he characterizes it as an active interpretation of the facts of life, with the actors transforming themselves into roles inseparable from the emotional truth. Sruoga hopes to leave the features of realistic and naturalistic theatre styles in the past. The pursuit of scenic truth, according to him, separates an artist from a craftsman and, be it noted, frees him or her from a dialogical approach to the achievements of theatrical art and from the opposition between "real" and "fake" scenic life, because a dialogue with the skills and abilities acquired in the theatre of the past can broaden and enrich the theatre-makers of the future.

A Vision for the New Theatre

In his letters, Balys Sruoga presents his arguments on why the approach to theatre-making principles should be changed. In a way, he sets a goal to refute the practices of his present and encourages artists to take up new challenges. In his vision of the future theatre, one can see its mission, creative principles and goals in the bright light of innovative reforms.

How does Balys Sruoga, a graduate of Eastern and Western universities, a member of the European academic community, an artist and a Nazi prisoner, see the new times through the window of a concentration camp barrack in 1944, a year before the end of the war in Europe? His vision of the future is striking in its difference from the dehumanized present: "[N]ow that materialism has fallen, the mighty lordship of spirit will begin" (Sruoga 1994: 263). What are the reasons for the collapse of the materialistic worldview, according to Sruoga? "The physiological worship of matter has led mankind into war. Humanity is paying dearly for this sin. Materialism has brought so much sorrow, horror and misery to humanity" (Sruoga 1994: 263). In his censored letter, Sruoga does not elaborate on the political and social causes of

the catastrophic present. He only notes that humanity has grown tired of the disasters brought by materialism and no longer wants to know anything about it; after the war, one no longer wants to see the cruel and dirty life on the stage. Sruoga suggests to follow a new creative strategy: "We do not imitate life, but we create a new world out of the material of life" (Sruoga 1994: 263). He knows the name of this new world: "After materialism comes the great epoch of idealism" (Sruoga 1994: 263).

Images of the ideal city or the ideal state have been with the humankind since Ancient Greece and the Renaissance. Thus, the vision of a new world echoes the humanity's long-standing aspiration to see a different, still unexperienced but desirable new reality. Let us note that it is not political ideas, urban images or objects brought to life by mnemonic techniques that a writer transports into the utopian time that has not yet come (and probably will never come), but the soul of the artist. It may seem that Balys Sruoga is implementing the lordship of spirit in his image of the future world – and creating a new home for this spirit in the theatre of the future.

In the new world ruled by the spirit, the mission of the theatre will also be changed. In Sruoga's programmatic statements, we can see several steps: the theatre of the future is meant to revive, if not to resurrect, the human being which is in a crisis of humanism: "After the war, a human must awaken as human. Human beings must become aware that they must become sublime. Human sublimity must be awakened by the healing emotion of catharsis." (Sruoga 1994: 264).

Sruoga formulates the next step in the same categorical way: "Our work must console people. Console them in a higher sense. Our art has to awaken in one's heart all that belongs to eternity." (Sruoga 1994: 254). His message to the theatre artist of the future is that traumatic experiences are not a generational problem; they have accompanied humanity in all historical periods. Therefore, Sruoga believes that the theatre of the future will have a therapeutic mission. One can relate his concept of catharsis to the theories of catharsis in the theatre of the past (from the Aristotelian theory to its numerous interpretations in the Enlightenment and the Modernist era), and to a rethinking of the meanings and power of this concept in the postmodern era. Sruoga's idealistic vision of the theatre as the lordship of spirit aspires to heal the human being torn by the crises of civilization, to revitalize the spiritual vision, and to direct it towards eternity. The latter interpretation of the concept of catharsis and the idea of healing through spiritual practices and rituals distinguishes Balys Sruoga from other Lithuanian theatre scholars of that time. It connects his visions to the directors of the late 20th century modern theatre who were also exploring the power of spiritual practices.

Can these goals of the lordship of spirit really be achieved in the theatre? Can its field of power reach into eternity? Let us leave this aspect to the researchers of

theatrical utopias or to the specialists on eternity. Balys Sruoga does not specify the features or qualities of the eternity, nor does he attribute to it the qualities presumed by any religious denomination. For him, eternity is another, ideal *reality that does not exist* in real world. Therefore, the aspect of the lordship of spirit brings his vision of the future world (which, according to Sruoga, we can create in the theatre) closer to the utopia of an *ideal reality* on which the light of eternity falls.

What about the aesthetic features of the future theatre? According to Sruoga, the theatre creates an aesthetic reality to which the real world is only the initial stage. Sruoga discusses the process of transforming the real world through his own experience and his knowledge about the art of acting. He describes this transformation process as follows and concludes by a rhetorical question: "Theatre continues to "poeticize" life, and it must continue to do so, otherwise it cannot be. Thousands of real features (lines, colours, sounds, movements, shadows, etc.) are always omitted, and new features are brought in (set design, gestures, intonations, nuances, etc.). So if the nature of theatre is to rearrange life on the stage, how can the task of theatre be to represent life?" (Sruoga 1994: 266). Let us pay attention to the aforementioned components of the performance: set design, movements, and music. Sruoga lists them as equal components of the performance. Let us add the following: it was as early as in Max Hermann's method of reconstructing performances that isolated these parts of the performance as a whole, and in reconstructing a performance the aim was to reconstruct not only its textual features, but also the audio-visual.

What is the power that joins all elements of the performance into a visual image of a new, aesthetic reality? Balys Sruoga has no doubt: one has "to "poeticize" reality in such a way that the "poeticizing" evokes aesthetic emotions (Sruoga 1994: 266). In the theatre of the future, he sees the performance as an artwork inspired by an artistic idea where the aesthetic aspect is inseparable from the principle of artistic integrity: "Stylization, then, is not an attempt to give the artwork one style or another, but to fit its parts together according to the idea of an artistic whole" (Sruoga 1994: 266). The artistic means of expression provide the performance with "new imprints" and are a part of its artistic whole. In modern Western European theatre, this quest for an indivisible whole has been carried out since the time of the reformist and avant-garde directors, changing the structures of the performance integrity and seeking new principles for organizing the artistic integrity. Therefore, it seems that the principle of the artistic integrity of the performance, which Sruoga discussed in his letters, has reached the theatre of our time and is still valid, although the tactics chosen by the practitioners of the theatre today vary a lot and are, at times, astonishingly unpredictable.

In his vision of the new reality of theatre, Balys Sruoga sees a phenomenon

that, as he believes, should permeate the work by a professional artist. Using examples from different schools of acting that, according to him, are in conflict – “the art of natural experiences”, Konstantin Stanislavski’s method and aesthetic emotions, and also Denis Diderot’s theory –, Sruoga enters that part of creative processes which is connected with the mystery, the unconscious, and ecstasy. The latter part of his vision for the future of theatre is the least elaborated, and he presents it in a very laconic way, as an ideal aspiration: “The art of acting [...] must be the art of freedom-inspired creation, I would say, the art of ecstasy, the ecstatic art!” (Sruoga 1994: 267). While being a prisoner of a Nazi camp, he saw the theatre of the future as an experience of creative freedom and, perhaps, of the Dionysian beginnings of theatre. However, Sruoga does not write anything on the mystical practices of ecstasy. We can attribute the statement about freedom-inspired art not only to his own tragic experiences at Stutthof and in the Soviet Lithuania, but also to his desired, sought-after of the ideal, utopian world of the lordship of spirit, and to the state of the future world.

An Ideal World Presented by Director Gintaras Varnas in the Production of *Nathan the Wise*

The performance *Nathan the Wise*, staged by director Gintaras Varnas in 2017, was based on Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s play *Nathan der Weise*, written in 1779. We will discuss it in terms of the narrative of an ideal future world and theatrical language. Both aspects relate to Balys Sruoga’s vision of the future of theatre and to his idea of “the lordship of spirit”, as well as to a poetic theatrical language dominated by the emotions of “healing catharsis”.

One can say that the said play contains a program for an ideal world order, which is described by its protagonist Nathan the Wise with the help of a symbol of a ring. The ring, according to Nathan, belongs to Christians, Jews and Muslims in the same way as the love of God and the human love belongs equally to people of different faiths. A world in which people share the same virtues is illuminated by the light of religious tolerance.

The perspectives of an ideal world are also represented in the plot of the five-act poetic drama. The young Templar Conrad and Nathan’s daughter Recha whom he rescues have to embrace the fact that they are a brother and a sister, and that their common family tree includes relatives who belong to three religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Lessing, the author of this Enlightenment-era humanist utopia, believed that the world can be saved with the idea of religious

tolerance. The action takes place in the blessed Jerusalem, at the Tomb of Christ, and in the Sultan's court. It is easy to imagine the settings of this poetic drama or even visit them today. However, unlike the all-embracing harmony depicted in Lessing's dream, the echoes of bloody religious wars continue to reverberate in present-day Jerusalem (and not just in Jerusalem) in the 21st century.

In the production by Gintaras Varnas, word and image serve as equal partners. While the performance of the actors shows features of the psychological or "experience" method of acting that Balys Sruoga recommended for the future theatre-makers, in the visual narrative of the performance we can spot an exceptional relationship between the image and the word. (It is noteworthy that the processes of space visualization in the theatres of Lithuania and Latvia are very similar, as testified by Zane Kreicberga et al. (2022).) The play's dialogues express feelings of doubt, reflection, wonder and discovery, while the images live an independent, often associative life – but nevertheless they are always in dialogue with the scene they depict.

In this production, the director has chosen the image of a book as the main symbol of religious identity. In contrast to the existing practices, in this performance Jews, Muslims and Christians are shown to have a single, common book. As the place and time of the action change and the characters' relationships transform, new pages of the book open up with the iconography of the scriptures. They combine Persian miniatures with Christian medieval engravings and facsimiles of Judean manuscripts. We can also discern the symbol of identity in the authentic ritual dress of Judeans and Muslims, as well as Christian bishops and monks. When declaring their identity, the characters choose a mannequin and seem to be trying to blend in with its religious attire.

Gintaras Varnas depicts the threat to the religious identity by Crusader battle scenes, showing a film with flying Templar knights and Muslims who attack or defend themselves, while refugees in the streets of a devastated city look up and stretch their arms towards the sky. In the last scene of the play, the visual narrative is completed with Nathan's wordless prayer surrounded by candles, stones and tombstones.

The visual narrative of the performance reminds us of an ideal world where religious harmony has been sought for so many centuries. According to Nathan, this harmony can be attained by choosing the humanist virtues and love. Traumatic experiences from religious wars can be overcome by retelling them. Retelling saves one from despair and, according to Balys Sruoga, heals the human soul. In a way, the director Gintaras Varnas has responded with his nostalgic images of an ideal world to the vision of a better future that the prisoner of a Nazi concentration camp had

long ago envisaged. We can surmise that his longing for “the lordship of spirit” is the beauty of utopia that is constantly being rediscovered.

Conclusions

Balys Sruoga in his letters to his wife Vanda Sruogienė summarizes the state of the art of theatre on the background of the humanitarian catastrophe in the middle of the 20th century, and offers his prospects for the evolution of theatre.

Sruoga believes that naturalistic theatre only reflects direct reality and objects, and emphasizes that theatrical reality is perceived differently than actual reality. He argues that we must use what we have learned from the epochs of naturalism and realism, but only use it as a means to achieve higher artistic goals. Sruoga hopes to leave the characteristics of the realistic and naturalistic theatre styles in the past.

Sruoga states that in the theatre of the future the spirit will dominate and replace materialism. He believes that after the war one must awaken as a human and realize the importance of sincerity. This vision includes the transformative power of art, inviting both creators and audiences to embark on a journey towards healing, understanding, and connection with the eternal aspects of our existence. Sruoga also discusses the concept of “romanticism”, noting that there is old romanticism associated with romantic art, and “new romanticism” associated with poetic theatre.

Sruoga also talks about the creative process of staging a performance. He states that the language of theatre must be permeated with poetic means. Future theatrical performances, according to him, should create an aesthetic reality where the real world is just the primary level. The language of theatre should incite aesthetic emotions and be inseparably linked to spiritual phenomena.

The performance of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s *Natan the Wise*, staged by Gintaras Varnas at the Kaunas Drama Theatre, evokes a longing for an “ideal world” similar to what Balys Sruoga envisaged. The narrative of the play revolves around the idea of a world where religious tolerance is embraced. This concept is symbolized by a book that represents the love of God and human love shared by people from different faiths. The play explores the perspectives of religious tolerance through the characters of Conrad and Recha who realize they are brother and sister, with their relatives representing Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

Comparing Balys Sruoga’s concept of theatre with the performance by the director Gintaras Varnas, one can notice a synergy among these artistic creators. The representation of an “ideal world” in the contemporary Lithuanian theatre recalls the visionary aspect of Balys Sruoga’s theories about the theatre of the future.

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***Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu:* Translating a Latvian War Folk Song into Modern Greek (on the Occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the Greek Revolution)**

***Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu:* latviešu kara tautasdziesmas atdzejošana mūsdienu grieķu valodā (saistībā ar Grieķu revolūcijas 200. gadadienu)**

Keywords:

Baltic languages,
folk poetry,
foreignization,
domestication,
literary translation,
poetry translation

Atslēgvārdi:

baltu valodas,
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svešādošana,
pielāgošana,
literārā tulkošana,
atdzejošana

Summary

Although Modern Greek literary translations from lesser-used languages do appear from time to time, Greek translatology does not pay much attention to such language pairs. Starting from ethnomusicologists' assumption that the Baltic (especially Lithuanian and Latvian) folk music tradition is musically and thematically related to that of the Balkans, this article case-studies a poetic Modern Greek translation that I made of the Latvian folk song *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu*. In 2021, when I translated it, Greece was celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Greek Revolution, and the song in fact resembled various Modern Greek revolutionary folk songs in remarkable aspects. After a brief introduction to various aspects of Balto-Balkan cultural relations and the identity of this particular song, I retrospectively reflect upon my translation process in poetic, linguistic, translational and pragmatic terms, in an attempt to highlight one more instance when the domestication vs. foreignization dichotomy is virtually neutralized and contributes to a Greek-Baltic cultural dialogue.

Kopsavilkums

Lai gan jaungrieķu literārie tulkojumi no retāk lietotām valodām parādās laiku pa laikam, grieķu tulkojumzinātne parasti nepievērš lielu uzmanību šādiem valodu pāriem. Izejot no etnomuzikologu pieņēmuma, ka baltu (īpaši lietuviešu un latviešu) tautas mūzikas tradīcija ir muzikāli un tematiski tuva Balkānu tradīcijai, šajā rakstā ir aplūkots latviešu tautasdziesmas *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* tulkojums jaungrieķu valodā. 2021. gadā, kad es to atdzejoju, Grieķija svinēja Grieķu revolūcijas 200. gadadienu, un dziesma daudzējādā ziņā patiešām atgādināja vairākas jaungrieķu revolucionārās tautasdziesmas. Pēc īsa ievada dažādos Baltijas un Balkānu kultūras sakaru aspektos un konkrētās dziesmas identitātē es retrospektīvi aplūkoju tulkošanas procesu poētikas, lingvistikas, tulkošanas un pragmatikas aspektā, mēģinot izcelt vēl vienu gadījumu, kad dihotomija starp pielāgošanu un svešādošanu ir praktiski izlīdzināta un veicina Grieķijas un Baltijas kultūras dialogu.

In the last years, Greece has witnessed an increasing translation activity regarding contemporary Baltic poetry. Some examples are: *Anthologia neōn Letonōn poiītōn*¹/*Jauno latviešu dzejnieku antoloģija* (An Anthology of Young Latvian Poets, 2019, compiled by Artis Ostups, a researcher at the University of Latvia Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, translated by Stergia Kavvalou, and prefaced by the Latvian poet Anna Auziņa; *Anthologia Esthōnikīs poiīsīs: “Ap’ ton amilīto kairo”* (An anthology of Estonian poetry: “From times untold”, 2018), compiled and translated by Magdalīnī Thōma; *Efta Lithouanoi poiītes ston 21o aiōna* (Seven Lithuanian Poets in the 21st Century, 2018), translated by Sōtīrīs Souliōtīs and edited by the Lithuanian writer and translator Dalia Staponkutė. However, no Greek translational study has so far analyzed Latvian or Lithuanian as source languages in literary translation. Very few Greek scholars study Lithuanian and/or Latvian, a fact that affirms what Peter Arkadiev, Axel Holvoet and Björn Wiemer said when warning against underresearching the Baltic languages as “not exotic enough from a global perspective [...] and too exotic on a European background” (Arkadiev et al. 2015: 1). Baltic folk music is similarly underresearched in Greece; one notable exception is Fōfō Logothetī’s early study on Lithuanian folk music (1941).

However, folk music traditions of the Baltic region – such as the drone, the isochrony, the multipart singing or the so-called *Schwebungs-Diaphonie* – present remarkable similarities with Balkan folk music (see Zemcovskij 1983; Brambats 1983 cited in Boiko 1994; Vyčinionė 2002 and 2012; Račiūnaitė-Vyčinionė 2018; West 1975: 8–9, 12–13 cited in Psychogiou 2019: 534; Velička 2024). Both regions have the same type of bagpipes (see Sarrīs 2007: 81–86) and various zithers. Todorova (2000: 161–162) recalls that the 16th century traveller Reinhold Lubenau had found Balkan and Baltic women very similar. Linguistic similarities between the two regions have also been perceived by non-specialists for centuries, to such extent that the 16th century physician and writer Jodocus Willichius claimed that Old Prussian, a Baltic language with no current native speakers, was “corrupted Greek” (Dini 2014), while some linguists accept – or, at least, do not reject – the possibility of a closer connection between Baltic and ancient Thracian languages of the Balkans (Duridanov 1969 et al.; cf. also Schmid 1992: 213–214, 221; Holst 2009: 66; Krimpas 2022: 85–91).

1 Modern Greek script is transliterated according to ELOT 743:2001. Accents are omitted in Greek personal names and bibliographical entries.

Working hypothesis and methodology

The above-mentioned translational 'gap' justifies, I believe, the retrospection-oriented methodology underlying this case-study, actually an instance of delayed introspective translation process research (cf. Koster 2000: 17–19, 31; Hansen 2013: 88–90; Gabryś-Barker 2009: 32–33) of my own poetic² Modern Greek translation of the Latvian folk song *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* [A Mom is Asking Her Dear Son], which shows structural and thematic similarity with various Greek folk songs. I argue that retrospective research of the translations process of similar Baltic folk songs into Modern Greek can be an interesting, bridge-building task where, in cases such as the one discussed here, the contrast between domestication and foreignization is virtually neutralized (cf. Ajtony 2017; Gray 2020) by stylistic and thematic affinities. Given that (at least to my knowledge) no other Modern Greek translations of Latvian folk songs exist yet, I am compelled to case-study a translation of my own – while being aware of the 'traps' inherent in such research (Hansen 2013: 90; Gabryś-Barker 2009: 34). However, my intention here is neither to define my individual translation style or strategies (cf. Hansen 1997; Gough 2023), nor to provide a tool for language teaching (cf. Gabryś-Barker 2009), nor to delve into the deep cognitive mechanisms involved in the translation process (cf. Hvelplund 2019), or, least of all, to judge my own translation as good or not. Instead, I use this kind of translation process research in order to illustrate how straightforward a poetic translation can be when the source and target cultures share stylistic, dramatic and pragmatic features so far ignored in the relevant literature.

My choice to translate the particular Latvian folk song *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* into Modern Greek³ was not accidental: the year I first translated the poem, 2021, marked the 200th anniversary of the Greek Revolution whereby the Greeks managed to throw off the Ottoman yoke. What inspired me was precisely the theme of the song, comparable to the theme of many Modern Greek revolutionary folk songs, such as *Mána sou léō de mporó* (Mom, I'm Telling You I Cannot [take it anymore]) (Table 1) and falling within the narratives of the long-standing struggles of Europe against the Ottomans. In Ivars Šteinbergs's words, "the choice to translate a certain

2 By *poetic translation* I mean one that aims at producing a target text (TT) that is a poem itself (cf. Šteinbergs 2022: 154, who notes that "[t]o translate a poem means to write a new poem in the target language"; italics in the original), whereas *poetry translation* is a more generic term used even when the TT is not necessarily a poem. Most works, however, use *poetry translation* for both cases.

3 My first poetic rendering of the song appeared in the poetry magazine *3ī Chilitia* (3rd Millennium), issue Nr. 87, January-February-March 2021 (p. 50). The version that appears here is improved in terms of meaning, rhyme and lexical coherence.

text can be viewed as a form of political activism” (Šteinbergs 2022: 54); I would add that the choice of the language pair can also be politically activist, and this is true in my case when translating this particular folk song from this particular source language (SL) into this particular target language (TL). I want to emphasize a neglected cultural connection between two regions of Europe that, to various degrees, keep paying attention to aspects of tradition and folklore as identity markers.

The methodology here applied is as follows: first, the reader is presented with the original or source text (ST) in Latvian along with a literal translation into Modern Greek, which serves as a starting point for the final, poetic target text (TT). Second, the song’s recording history and poetic features are discussed, and its rough thematic comparison with a Modern Greek folk song is attempted. Third, the extra-linguistic (pragmatic) context of the song is explored; and fourth, the reader is presented with a poetic Modern Greek translation of the song and a detailed, step-by-step retrospective analysis of the translation process by accounting for the choices made in poetic, translational, linguistic and pragmatic terms, with some final considerations as a conclusion.

A ‘raw’ translation of the ST into Modern Greek

The original (Latvian) text of the song *Māmiņ’ vaicā sav’ dēliņu* is as follows:⁴

1. *Māmiņ’ vaicā sav’ dēliņu:*

Kam pucēji kumeliņ’?

2. *Kam pucēji kumeliņu,*

kam mauc zelta gredzenīņ’?

3. *Vai tu jās’ pie tautu meitas,*

tautu meitu bildināt,

4. *tautu meitu bildināti,*

uz nākošu rudeniņ’?

5. *Māmiņ, tautās vis nejāšu,*

bet uz citu tālu viet’,

6. *bet uz citu tālu vietu,*

tāli, tāli svešumā.

7. *Jāšu es uz turku zemi,*

tur ar turkiem izkauties.

A literal Modern Greek translation of the ST is the following:⁵

(1) Latvian

<i>Mām-iņ-’</i>	<i>vaicā-Ø</i>	<i>sav-’</i>	<i>dēl-iņ-u:</i>	<i>Kam</i>	<i>pucēj-i</i>	<i>kumel-iņ-’?</i>
mom-DIM-NOM.SG	ask-3PRES.SG	own-ACC.SG	son-DIM-ACC.SG	what-for	polish-2PAST.SG	colt-DIM-ACC.SG

4 This is a version provided by a folklore informant Ansis Bergmanis (see below and Annex). In some recordings the first verse (and title) is *Māmiņ’ vaicāj’ sav’ dēliņu*, where *vaicāj’* is a past tense form instead of the present tense *vaicā*.

5 For space economy, grammatical gender is not given in the glossing, unless relevant.

(1a) Modern Greek

Man-ou-l-a rōtā-ei to giō-ka-Ø tīs: Giatī gyalíz-eis to poular-áki?
mom-DIM-NOM.SG ask-3PRES.SG the.ACC.SG son-DIM-ACC.SG her.POSS why polish-2PRES.SG the.ACC.SG colt-DIM-ACC.SG
'A mom is asking her dear son: Why are you polishing (i.e. grooming) [your] dear colt?'

(2) Latvian

Ka-m pucēj-i kumel-iņ-u, kam mauc zelt-a gredzent-iņ-’?
why groom/brush-PAST.2SG colt-DIM-ACC.SG why put.PRES.2SG gold-GEN.SG ring-DIM-ACC.SG

(2a) Modern Greek

Gia-tí gyalíz-eis to poular-áki, gia-tí forá-s chrysó dachtylid-áki?
why polish-PRES.2SG the.ACC.SG colt-DIM-ACC.SG why put-PRES.2SG golden.ACC.SG ring-DIM-ACC.SG
'Why are you polishing (i.e. grooming) [your] nice colt, why are you putting on a lovely golden ring?'

(3) Latvian

Vai tu jā-s-’ pie taut-u meita-s, taut-u meit-u bildinā-t,
Q you ride-FUT-2SG to folk-GEN.PL daughter-GEN.SG folk-GEN.PL daughter-ACC.SG ask.in.marriage-INF

(3a) Modern Greek

Mípōs tha pa-s s-tīn kōrī tous, tīn kōrī tous na zītī-s-eis
Q FUT go.PFV-2SG to.the.ACC.SG daughter.ACC.SG their the.ACC.SG daughter.ACC.SG their SBJV ask-PFV.2SG
se gámo-Ø,
in marriage-ACC.SG

'Will you ride to their daughter, to ask their daughter in marriage,'

(4) Latvian

taut-u meit-u bildinā-ti, uz nāk-oš-u rudent-iņ-’?
folk-GEN.PL daughter-ACC.SG ask.in.marriage-INF on come-PTCP-ACC.SING autumn-DIM-ACC.SG

(4a) Modern Greek

tīn kōrī tous na zītī-s-eis se gámo, to erchómeno fthinopōr-áki?
the daughter.ACC.SG their SBJV ask-PFV.2SG in marriage the.ACC.SG come-PTCP-ACC.SING autumn-DIM-ACC.SG
'to ask their daughter in marriage, in the coming autumn?'

(5) Latvian

Mām-iņ-, taut-ās vis ne-jā-š-u, bet uz cit-u tāl-u viet-’,
mom-DIM-VOC.SG folk-LOC.PL at.all.NEG NEG-ride-FUT-1SG but to another-ACC.SG distant-ACC.SG place-ACC.SG

(5a) Modern Greek

Man-ou-l-a, s’ aut-oús de tha pā-ō, ma s’ állo-Ø, makrinó-Ø tópo-Ø,
mom-DIM-NOM/VOC.SG to they-ACC.PL NEG FUT go.PFV-1SG but to other-ACC.SG distant-ACC.SG place-ACC.SG
'Mom, I will no way ride to them, but to another, distant place,'

(6) Latvian

bet uz cit-u tāl-u viet-u, tāl-i, tāl-i svešum-ā.

but to another-ACC.SG distant-ACC.SG place-ACC.SG far.away-ADV far.away-ADV foreign.land-LOC.SG

(6a) Modern Greek

ma s' állo-Ø, makrinō-Ø tópo-Ø, péra, péra s-tin xenitiá.

but to other-ACC.SG distant-ACC.SG place-ACC.SG, far.away, far.away to.the.ACC.SG foreign.land.ACC.SG

'but to another, distant place, far away, far away to a foreign land.'

(7) Latvian

Jā-š-u es uz turk-u zem-i, tur ar turk-iem iz-kau-t-ies.

Ride-FUT-1SG I to Turk-GEN.PL land-ACC.SG there with Turk-INSTR.PL out-beat-INF-REFL

(7a) Modern Greek

Tha pá-ō 'gó s-tōn Toúrk-ōn tī gī, ekeí me tous Toúrk-ous na

FUT go.PFV-1SG I to.the.GEN.PL Turk-GEN.PL the.ACC.SG land.ACC.SG there with the.ACC.PL Turk-ACC.PL SUBJV

chtypī-th-ó.

beat-REFL.PFV.1SG

'I will ride to the Turks' land, there to fight against the Turks.'

This 'raw' Modern Greek translation is an attempt to render as literally as possible each line of the ST, and acquaints the reader with its semantic content. However, as will be shown below, almost all the poetic features of the Latvian ST are also found in Modern Greek folk poetry, a fact that justifies an attempt to reproduce as many ST features as possible in the Modern Greek TT.

History of the song's recording

The research of Latvian folk music tradition began in the late 1860s (Boiko 1994: 47), but its relations with non-Baltic regions of Europe are less studied. Like most folk songs, *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* falls under the genre of 'impersonal folk poetry', i.e. it is authored by an unknown composer and lyricist; unknown are also the exact place and date of composition.⁶ The first recording of this song, included in *Latviešu folkloras krātuves digitālais arhīvs* (The Digital Archive of the Latvian Folklore Repository) with item number 1968, 4612 and archive code 003072, was made on tape in the Īle parish of Auce municipality by the *18. zinātniskā ekspedīcija Aucē un Dobeles rajonā 1964. gadā*⁷ (The 18th scientific expedition to Auce and the [rest of] Dobeles district [in the south-western part

6 On the history and dating of Latvian folk songs see, e.g., Zeiferts (1923).

7 <https://garamantas.lv/lv/collection/887930/18-zinatniska-ekspedicija-Auce-un-Dobeles-rajona>

Latvia] in 1964). The informant who made the song known to that expedition was Ansis Bergmanis,⁸ a native of Ēdole who had been taught the song by a distant relative named Jānis Anuža.⁹ Early-2000s arrangements of the song are included in the work of contemporary Latvian folk and ethnic music bands, such as the award-winning *Auļi* (Gallops),¹⁰ as well as *Vilkači* (Werewolves)¹¹ and *Vilki* (Wolves).¹²

Poetic features of the song

The song *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* consists of seven lines, each sung twice. The first half of each couplet is a repetition of the immediately preceding half, i.e. the poem displays isometric parallelism.¹³ Line 1 rhymes with line 2; however, given that traditional Latvian music, including war songs,¹⁴ is generally non-rhyming,¹⁵ this rhyme could be unintentional and due to the eventual use of diminutives at the end of the respective lines. Nevertheless, in any event, this does not mean that it is not worth trying to reproduce the eventually rhyming elements in the TT; quite the contrary, given that rhyme makes the TT resemble more with the vast majority of Greek folk songs, which do use rhyme. In terms of rhythm and metre, the verse is a trochaic fifteen-syllable one (trochaic tetrametre), i.e.:

— u | — u | — u | — u | — u | — u | —

8 This recording is available at *Garamantas.lv: Latviešu folkloras krātuves digitālais arhīvs*, <https://media.garamantas.lv/files/audio/003001-004000/003072.mp3> (see Annex).

9 Bergmanis (1964).

10 This arrangement is on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IhscFFPzR-8> (Accessed 8.03.2024)

11 This arrangement is on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XajbKFT9NAg> (Accessed 8.03.2024)

12 This arrangement is on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T0vdtSLCNh0> (Accessed 29.03.2024).

13 On the term 'isometric parallelism' (in Greek: *isometrikós parallilismós*), denoting the pattern where the second hemistich of the verse repeats the meaning of its first hemistich, see e.g. Baud-Bovi (1973).

14 See, e.g., the Latvian war songs included in Beitāne (2008: 33–259), where rhyming is only occasional and mostly due to line repetitions or individual word repetitions across lines.

15 See, e.g., Muktupāvels (1998: 67, 69).

In Modern Greek folk poetry the fifteen-syllable verse (*dekapentasyllavos*) is likewise very common, but as a rule the rhythm is iambic, rarely trochaic. However, in parts of Greece and adjacent Greek-speaking areas (e.g. Pogoni in Albania) the trochaic fifteen-syllable rhythm is extremely common. The rhythm similarity becomes clear if one compares, e.g., the first two lines of a Modern Greek folk song from Pogoni, *Ti kakó 'kama o kaīménos,*¹⁶ with the first two lines of *Māmiñ' vaicā sav' dēliñu*:

(8) Modern Greek

Ti kakó 'kama o kaīménos kai me len óloi foniá (x2)

— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |—

(9) Modern Greek

Mīna skótōsa kanéna, mīna fīlisa kamiā? (x2)

— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |—

Semantically glossed version:

Ti kakó 'kam-a o kaīmén-os kai me le-n ól-oi foniá-Ø? (x2)

What crime make-AOR.1SG the poor-NOM.SG and I.ACC call.PRE-3PL all-NOM.PL murderer-ACC.SG

'What crime have I committed that everyone calls me a murderer?'

Mīna skótō-s-a kanéna-Ø, mīna fīlī-s-a ka-miā? (x2)

Q kill-AOR-1SG anyone-M.ACC.SG Q kiss-AOR-1SG any-one.F.ACC.SG

'I wonder, have I killed anybody, have I kissed any lady?'

(1) Latvian

Māmiñ' vaicā sav' dēliñu: Kam pucēji kumeliñ'? (x2)

— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |—

(2) Latvian

Kam pucēji kumeliñu, kam mauc zelta gredzentiñ'? (x2)

— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |— u |—

The language of this Latvian folk song exhibits clear poetic elements, e.g., the many elisions (marked with an apostrophe) that serve the metre, namely: *Māmiñ'* for *Māmiņa* (Nom. sg. of the fem. noun *māmiņa* 'mummy'), *sav'* for *savu* (Acc. sg. of the 3rd person masc. poss. pronoun *savs* '[his/her] own', which always agrees in gender with

16 Note that in Greek folk songs word stress does not always coincide with rhythmic stress, as well as that a vowel is often pronounced as one syllable with the preceding vowel, even across word boundaries, e.g. '*kama o* [aō] *kaīmén-os* [aĩ]. Moreover, the music genre and the way of singing may mask the verse structure similarities between the two songs. An impressive interpretation of this Greek folk song, by Giōrgos Chaligiannīs, is on YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ODgMb_oNe-w (Accessed 8.03.2024).

the possessed), *kumeliņ'* for *kumeliņu* (Acc. sg. of the masc. noun *kumeliņš* 'little colt', as the horse (*zirgs*) is oftentimes called in Latvian folk poetry), *gredzentiņ'* for *gredzentiņu* (Acc. sg. of the masc. noun *gredzentiņš* 'little ring'), *rudentiņ'* for *rudentiņu* (Acc. sg. of the masc. noun *rudentiņš* 'little autumn'), *jās'* for *jāsi* (future tense, 2 pers. sg. 'you will ride'), *viet'* for *vietu* (Acc. sg. of the fem. noun *vieta* 'place'); the use of many poetic and archaic forms of words and expressions, e.g. *tautu meita* 'a maid from another region and/or from another clan' (lit.: 'the folks' daughter') which I render simply as *tīn kōrī tous* 'their daughter' to avoid a wording unintelligible to a Modern Greek speaker) for *meitene* 'girl'; *kumeliņš* 'little colt' for *zirgs* 'horse' (see previous paragraph); *bildināti* (with archaic infinitive suffix *-ti*) for *bildināt* 'to propose, ask in marriage'; the use of numerous diminutives, marked with the suffix *-iņš* (masc.) / *-iņa* (fem.): *māmiņa* (< *māma* 'mom, mother', nowadays usually *mamma*), *kumeliņš* (< *kumeļš* 'colt'), *gredzentiņš* (< *gredzens* 'ring; wedding ring'), *rudentiņš* (< *rudens* 'autumn'), *dēliņš* (< *dēls* 'son'). At the syntactic level, at least one instance of marked poetic syntax is present, namely the subject-verb inversion of the last stanza, *jāšu es* 'I will ride (lit. 'ride will I')' instead of standard *Es jāšu* 'I will ride'.

The theme of the song is warlike, not uncommon for Latvian folk songs (Zeiferts 1923). Its plot involves a dialogue between mother and son, while the horse, the potential bride, and the Turks are mentioned (in this sequence) as third persons. The mother asks her son why he is preparing and grooming his horse. This is followed by a question that misses the target,¹⁷ an expressive and dramatic means that is common in both Baltic and Balkan folk songs and contributes to a build-up of tension, as it slows down the dénouement. In this case, the mother wonders if her son is preparing to propose to his beloved one in order to get married the coming autumn. The son replies that he will not go to ask his beloved one in marriage, but to ride to the distant lands of the Turks in order to fight them. As mentioned above, it is precisely this topos that prompted me to translate this song at that particular time period. The theme and plot – especially in the last three lines – are roughly comparable e.g. to the Greek revolutionary folk song *Mána sou léō de mporó* (Table 1):

17 In Modern Greek this traditional expressive and dramatic device is called an *ástochō erótima* 'lit. a question that misses the target', i.e. one that is intended already beforehand to elicit a negative answer from the other participant(s), who will later on give the correct answer as the solution to the "riddle".

<i>Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu</i> (LV)	<i>Mána sou léō de mporó</i> (GR)	<i>Mána sou léō de mporó</i> (EN)
[..] “–Mommy, I will not go to them, but to another distant place, but to another distant place, far away, far away, in a foreign land. I will ride to the Turks' land, there to fight against the Turks.”	<i>Mána sou léō de mporó</i> <i>tous Toúrkous na doulévō</i> <i>Tha páró to ntouféki mou,</i> <i>na pá' na gínō kléftis,</i> <i>na katoikísō sta vouná</i> <i>kai stis kontorachouúles.</i> [..] <i>Na xaskīthō ston pólemo,</i> <i>na ríchnō sto sīmádi,</i> <i>to giatagáni na mporó,</i> <i>sa gklítsa na to paízō,</i> <i>na sfáxō Toúrkous san tragiá,</i> <i>mpéides san kriária.</i>	Mommy, I'm telling you I cannot take it to be a slave of the Turks; I will take my rifle, I'm going to become a <i>klepht</i>, to dwell on the mountains and on the low ridges; [..] To practice war, to aim and shoot, to learn how to handle the yatagan like a shepherd's stick, to slay Turks like billygoats, <i>bey</i>s like rams.

Table 1. Rough thematic comparison of the folk songs *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* and *Mána sou léō de mporó*

At least three elements thematically link these two folk songs: the son's dialogue with his mother, the son's intention to leave her, and the son's intention to fight the Turks. But although the figure of the mother and/or the woman in Greek folk poetry has been thoroughly researched in an intra-Greek perspective (e.g. Natsoulis 1992; Chatzilia 2004), no reference is ever made to their wider Eastern European context. The same is true of Greek studies addressing the possibility of allusions to a partially matriarchal society in Greek folk songs (e.g. Malevitsis 1999), which fail to discuss these considerations in a wider Eastern European context – despite relevant reports on matriarchical features in parts of Eastern Europe (e.g. Gasparini 1973; Gjelstad 2020).

Dating the song (and choosing the TT language version)

Any translation of texts that reflect diachronic or synchronic cultural individualities calls for some historical and/or cultural research. In this connection, Joanna Gough has correctly underlined that “[r]esearch activities, whether acquiring background information about the topic, checking the exact meaning of the source word or phrase in context or looking for an equivalent in the target language, constitute an important part of the translation process” (Gough 2023: 2). A legitimate question in connection with the ST under discussion would be, therefore, the following: When and how could the Latvians have come into contact with the Ottomans, since Latvia was never part of the Ottoman Empire?

Trying to answer this question, a combination of linguistic and historical data is warranted. From a linguistic point of view, it is relevant that the verb *pučēt* used in the text of the song points to a date at least as recent as the 18th century.¹⁸ This matches with the chronology of most Latvian war songs, including those narrating about battles against the Ottomans, whose beginnings are placed exactly in the 18th century (Beitāne 2008: 261). From a historical point of view, we do know that following the Russian conquest of Latvia (beginning in 1710 with the conquest of Riga by the forces of Russian Emperor Peter the Great), many Latvian peasants were drafted as soldiers to fight for Russia (and sometimes even became officers) against various enemies of the Russians, including the Ottomans,¹⁹ which suggests that at least the text of the song, or at least this version²⁰ of the text (if not the song as a whole) dates somewhere between the beginning of the 18th and the end of the 19th century. Namely, between the fourth and the tenth Russo-Turkish war, most probably during the latter (1877–1878), when recruitment of Latvians into the Russian army reached its peak (cf. Beitāne 2008: 13–14). In general “it is almost impossible to define the connection of the war songs with certain historical events” (Beitāne 2008: 261), but if such inferences are correct about the song under discussion, then the Modern Greek language version most adequate for the TT could be one that attempts to reproduce at least some traits of the 18th–19th century vernaculars, as they are known through Modern Greek folk songs.

A poetic translation of

Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu into Modern Greek

The strategy that I have chosen to render the Latvian folk song *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu* into Modern Greek is seeking to preserve: (a) first and foremost, the theme (dialogue between mother and son, preparation for war against the Turks); (b) the main morphological elements (fifteen-syllable trochaic rhythm, isometric parallelism, dialogical

18 Cf. Ernstsone (1999: 136).

19 See more in Jēkabsons (2022: 145–151). Cf. also Zeiferts (1923): “*Atnākuši krievu valdības laiki, kad, kara klausībā iedodoties, saka, ka ņem krievus, aiziet krievos. Starp ienaidniekiem, ar kuriem ved karu, nu parādās tādas tautas kā turki un franči.*” [“Then the days of the Russian rule had come when, as one entered (i.e. was drafted into) the military service, it was described as *being taken [for] the Russians, going away [in]to the Russians*. Among the enemies, with whom one wages war, now appear such peoples as the Turks and French.”]

20 Presuming that more versions have existed. One with *vaicāj'* instead of *vaicā* has already been mentioned above; however, this is its only difference from the version under discussion.

structure, the question that misses the target, answer to the question as the solution of the “riddle”); (c) the existing analogies of poetic linguistic peculiarities (elisions, literary words, poetic licence); and (d) the metre, often by means of *balancing equivalence*²¹ whenever the exact meaning of particular words or phrases did not fit in the metre, without the poem’s overall meaning being in any way compromised. The possibilities of preserving virtually all features of the poem are offered, at least in this particular case, by the Baltic-Balkan cultural, literary and linguistic affinities.

The “raw” translation featured above can only serve as a draft, as it lacks most of the poetic means of expression found in the ST and thus also lacks its emotional charge – an aspect of particular importance for the perception of the song, which might allude to the brave liberation struggles of the European countries against the Ottoman yoke. In order to reproduce the expressive means of the original as faithfully as possible in the TT, I made the following modifications to the draft: (a) reworded the first two lines so that they rhyme between themselves (even if rhyme is unintentional in the ST); (b) reworded all the remaining lines so that they reproduce the metre of the original; (c) sought to preserve the semantic content at the line level, whenever it was not possible to preserve it at the word level; (d) tried not to lose essential information from the individual lines, whenever some loss was inevitable; (e) chose a language variant that employs many colloquial and poetic elements of Standard Modern Greek (e.g. elision, poetic vocabulary, poetic morphology, poetic syntax) with the intention to imitate both the language of the original, whenever the common Indo-European heritage of the two languages allowed for this, and the language variant found in most Modern Greek folk songs; and (f) ensured that any expressive losses due to necessarily ‘unfaithful’ translation choices (e.g. ones due to the lack of a formal equivalent) were compensated by other expressive means within the same line.

A problem concerning the number of syllables in each line arose from the extensive use of diminutives (and thus words with more syllables) in the original, thus impeding the reproduction of metre and rhythm. As shown above (instances 1–7 and 1a–7a), the semantically translated Modern Greek text has more syllables than the original Latvian text, so the removal of diminutive suffixes in the TT was a practical idea to reduce the number of syllables, whenever appropriate, without losing essential information. On the basis of the poetic translation strategy outlined above, the following TT was produced (instances 1–7 and 1b–7b):

21 I have proposed this term to denote an equivalent rendering that compensates in a subsequent TT segment for a loss of ST information in a previous TT segment (see Krimpas 2017: 59–61).

1. *Māna rôtage to gio tīs:*
Ti stolízeis to farí?
 2. *To farí ti to stolízeis,*
ti forás véra chrysí?
 3. *Mīn travás péra stīn kōrī,*
na tīn kámeis taíri sou,
 4. *Taíri sou na tīne kámeis,*
t' állo to chinópōro?

5. *Māna, den travó stīn kōrī,*
món' se tōpo makrinó;
 6. *gi' állo tōpo xekināō,*
péra kei stīn xeniteiā.
 7. *Stōn Tourkón ta mērī pāō,*
kai m' autoús na chtypīthō.

(1) Latvian

Mām-iņ-' vaicā-∅ sav-' dēl-iņ-u: Kam pucēj-i kumel-iņ-'
 mom-DIM-NOM.SG ask-3PRES.SG own-ACC.SG son-DIM-ACC.SG what-for groom-2PAST.SG colt-DIM-ACC.SG

(1b) Modern Greek

Māna rôt-ag-e to gio-∅ tīs: Ti stolíz-eis to farí?
 Mom.NOM.SG ask-IMPF-3SG the.ACC.SG son-ACC.SG her.POSS why polish-2PRES the riding.horse

(GR > EN) 'A mom was asking her son: Why are you polishing (i.e. grooming) [your] dear colt?'

(2) Latvian

Ka-m pucēj-i kumel-iņ-u, kam mauc zelt-a gredzent-iņ-'
 what-for groom-PAST.2SG colt-DIM-ACC.SG what-for put.PRES.2SG gold-GEN.SG ring-DIM-ACC.SG

(2b) Modern Greek

To farí ti to stolíz-eis, ti forá-s véra chrysí?
 The.ACC.SG riding.horse why it.OBJ ornate-2PRES why put.on-2PRES wedding.ring-ACC.SG golden.ACC.SG

(GR > EN) 'The horse why are you ornating, why are you putting on a golden²² [wedding] ring?'

(3) Latvian

Vai tu jā-s-' pie taut-u meita-s, taut-u meit-u bildinā-t,
 Q you ride-FUT-2SG to folk-GEN.PL daughter-GEN.SG folk-GEN.PL daughter.ACC.SG ask.in.marriage-INF

(3b) Modern Greek

Mīn travá-s péra s-tīn kōrī, na tīn kám-eis taíri sou,
 Q go-2PRS over.there to.the.ACC.SG daughter SBJV her.OBJ make.PFV-2SG match.ACC.SG your

(GR > EN) '[I wonder if] you ride over to their daughter, to ask her in marriage,'

(4) Latvian

taut-u meit-u bildinā-ti, uz nāk-oš-u rudent-iņ-'
 folk-GEN.PL daughter-ACC.SG ask.in.marriage-INF on come-PTCP-ACC.SING autumn-DIM-ACC.SG

(4b) Modern Greek

Taíri sou na tīne kám-eis, t' állo to chinópōro?
 match.ACC.SG your.GEN.SG SBJV her.OBJ make.PFV-2SG the.ACC.SG other.ACC.SG the.ACC.SG autumn.ACC.SG

(GR > EN) 'to ask her in marriage, in the coming autumn?'

22 On the importance of silver and gold in Latvian folk songs see, e.g. Zeiferts (1923): "*Sudrabā un zeltā mirdz liela daļa tautas dziesmu pasaules.*" ["Much of the folk song world shines in silver and gold."]

(5) Latvian

Mām-iņ, taut-ās vis ne-jā-š-u, bet uz cit-u tāl-u viet-,
mom-DIM-VOC.SG folk-LOC.PL at.all.NEG NEG-ride-FUT-1SG but to another-ACC.SG distant-ACC.SG place-ACC.SG

(5b) Modern Greek

Mána, den trav-ó s-tīn kóri, mōn' se tópo-Ø makrinó-Ø;
mom NEG go-1PRES to-the.ACC.SG daughter.ACC.SG but to place.ACC.SG distant.ACC.SG

(GR > EN) '— Mom, I don't go to the daughter, but to a distant place,'

(6) Latvian

bet uz cit-u tāl-u viet-u, tāl-i, tāl-i svešum-ā.
but to another-ACC.SG distant-ACC.SG place-ACC.SG far.away-ADV far.away-ADV foreign.land-LOC.SG

(6b) Modern Greek

gi' állo tópo-Ø xekiná-ō, péra kei s-tīn xeniteiá.
for another.ACC.SG place.ACC.SG depart -1PRES over there to.the.ACC.SG foreign.land.ACC.SG

(GR > EN) 'I depart for another place, far away to the foreign land'

(7) Latvian

Jā-š-u es uz turk-u zem-i, tur ar turk-iem iz-kau-t-ies.
Ride-FUT-1SG I to Turk-GEN.PL land-ACC.SG there with Turk-INSTR.PL out-beat-INF-REFL

(7b) Modern Greek

S-tōn Tourkōn ta mēri pá-ō, kai m' aut-ous na chtypī-th-ó.
to.of.the.GEN.PL Turk.GEN.PL the.ACC.PL place.ACC.PL go-1PRES and with them-ACC.PL SUBJV beat-REFL.PFV.1SG

(GR > EN) 'I'm going to the Turks' land, there to fight against them.'

Accounting for the translation choices in the first line

First hemistich:

ST diminutive suffixes were not reproduced in the TT, while the ST present-tense verb (*vaicā* 'asks') was rendered in *paratatikós* (roughly imperfect or past continuous) tense in the TT (*rótage* 'he/she asked; was asking').²³

Second hemistich:

Kam? 'why, wherefor[e], to what purpose?' was translated by *Ti?* 'what?; coll. & poet. why, wherefor[e], to what purpose?' (rather than the standard *Giati?* 'why, wherefor[e], to what purpose?') in order to avoid superfluous syllables in the line and, at the same time, to reproduce the non-standard and poetic linguistic effect of the original (where the archaic *kam* instead of standard Latvian *kāpēc* 'why' is used).

23 Among the *paratatikós* forms available in Standard Modern Greek for the verb *rōtāō* 'to ask', I chose the more colloquial (in southern Greece) 3rd person singular form ending in *-age* (rather than *-ouse*, preferred in all registers in northern Greece), which also preserves the intonation that characterizes the trochaic rhythm (— u | —).

pucēji 'you were polishing (i.e. grooming)' (past tense of *pucēt* 'to polish; dress up; array') was translated by *stolízeis* 'you are dressing [sb.] up' (present tense of *stolízō* 'to ornate; to decorate; to dress [sb.] up'), given that *gyalízeis* 'you are polishing' (present tense of *gyalízō* 'to polish'), a semantically formal equivalent of *pucēt*, is not normally used with animate direct objects (as are horses); by contrast, *stolízō* can be used with both inanimate and animate objects and, even if it has a more intense meaning than *pucēt*, it rather enhances connotations of a rider who is preparing for something important. The present instead of the past was used in order to preserve the stress-conditioned metre and rhythm of the TT, given that past forms such as *stólizes* 'you were dressing [sb.] up' or *gyálizes* 'you were polishing' are stressed on the antepenultimate.

The poetic word *kumeliņš* 'horse; lit. little colt' (*kumeliņ*, elided form of *kumeliņu*, Acc. sg.) was rendered as *farí* 'poet; war/riding horse', which also rhymes with the last word of the next line (*chrysí* 'golden', fem.); besides, since *farí* apart from a riding horse also denotes a war horse, this choice also enhances the lexical coherence of the TT, foreshadowing the battle mentioned in the last line of the song (see below). The fact that the mother does not yet know about her son's plans is of no importance here, since one can assume that she uses the word *farí* in the meaning of 'riding horse'. The equally poetic *āti* 'horse' was ruled out from the start, as it has one syllable less than it was necessary, and hence it would have to be supplemented with another syllable, e.g. via a possessive pronoun; this would lengthen the odds for a subsequent rhyming vs. meaning imbalance. The standard *álogo* 'horse', although syllable-wise possible within the line in question (since the definite article would phonetically merge with it: *to álogo* > *t' álogo* 'the horse'), would be linguistically too neutral to render the poetic *kumeliņš* and would increase the risk for a subsequent rhyming vs. meaning imbalance. Admittedly, *farí* is not an optimal solution either, for two reasons. First, it is not a diminutive, which means that it lacks the affectionate content of *kumeliņš* (however, one could argue that it does look like a diminutive, as it ends in *-í*, cf. *tragí* 'buckling goat', *gatí* 'kitten' etc.); second, it is an Arabic loanword which – at least for etymology-aware readers – could sound incompatible with the central idea of the song, which is precisely about the expulsion of the Muslim Ottomans from Christian Europe.²⁴ But, at least from my viewpoint, the technical advantages of this choice seem to outscore the implicit meta-linguistic issues that, after all, would only concern rather few readers.

24 Cf. the Modern Greek song *Kemal* (alias *O mythos tou Sevach* 'The Myth of Sinbad'; lyrics by Nikos Gatsos, music by Manos Hadjidakis, orchestration by Tasos Karakatsanīs), where *farís* is used in a Middle Eastern/Muslim-oriented context: "*Me dyo gérikes kamíles, m' éna kókkino farí, stou parádeisou tis pýles o profítis karterei*" ['With two old camels, with a red horse, at the gates of heaven the prophet is waiting.']

Accounting for the translation choices in the second line

First hemistich:

On metric grounds (given the 'return' of the *-u* ending in the initially elided *kumeliṇu*) the verb and the object appear in inverted order in the TT (otherwise an extra syllable – e.g. of a possessive pronoun – would have been necessary), which also called for insertion of the atonic personal object pronoun *to* (clitic doubling), normally required in non-learned register when a definite object precedes the verb.

Second hemistich:

The formal difference between the syntax of ST and TT is due to the fact that Modern Greek, unlike Latvian, uses an adjective or prepositional phrase to express an attribute denoting the material something is made or consists of (despite that Greek does share the genitive case with Latvian). However, both *chrysó dachtylidáki* 'golden little-ring' and *dachtylidáki apó chrysáfi/chrysó* 'lit. little-ring out-of-gold' would lead to superfluous syllables in the line and, what is more, they would neither rhyme with the preceding line nor reproduce the metre or rhythm of the original. Thus, after removing (as in the previous line) the diminutive suffix, and given that the 'golden ring' of the original is in fact a 'wedding ring' (Greek uses *dachtylídi* for 'ring' and *véra* for 'wedding ring', while *gredzens* has both meanings), the rendering *véra chrysí* 'lit. wedding-ring golden = golden wedding-ring', with the adjective following the noun (as happens very often in Modern Greek poetry depending on metre, rhyme, and/or emphasis), was finally chosen as the best possible, as it both rhymes with the previous line and reproduces the metre and rhythm of the ST. At the same time, it enhances the coherence of the TT by foreshadowing the marriage proposal discussed in the next two lines. After all, even if the son did not wear a wedding ring, but just a ring of whatever kind, the mother thought it was a wedding ring, otherwise she would probably have not ask him whether he was going to visit a girl and to ask her in marriage. What is more, the rhyme *farí ~ chrysí* reflects also the vowel /i/ of the last syllable of the first two lines of the original, thus contributing to a closer sound effect between ST and TT.

Accounting for the translation choices in the third line

First hemistich:

Modern Greek, unlike Latvian, does not normally use an interrogative particle in yes/no questions. However, after all lexical options were taken into account in the TT, the song's metre and rhythm could not afford to dispose with the syllable of the Latvian *vai* particle. Thus the colloquial interrogative particle *mī* (or its allomorph *mīn* before vowels or voiceless stops) was used in the TT, being very common in Modern

Greek folk poetry and despite being somewhat more marked than *vai* in terms of emphasis (i.e. it is closer to 'I wonder if') and register. Its standard synonym *mípōs*, although equally adequate in metric terms provided that the monosyllabic *pas* 'you go' would be used to translate *tu jās* 'you ride', would be of too learned a register to be used in a folk song context.

Modern (unlike Ancient) Greek does not distinguish between going on foot and riding; this is why *tu jās* (elided version of *tu jāsī*) 'you will ride' was rendered with *travās* 'lit. you pull; coll. & poet. you go' (a similar semantic shift is seen in Norwegian *å dra* 'to pull; go; leave; travel' or in Latvian *vilkties* 'to move/walk (slowly); lit. to pull oneself; be pulled'). What is more, the TT verb is in the present tense, as the future cannot be used after the interrogative *mīn* (and, after all, one would then end up with superfluous syllables). At the same time, the sentence subject represented by the pronoun *tu* 'you' was not reproduced in the TT, as it would lead to more syllables (since *travās* has more syllables than the elided *jās*). After all, despite the fact that both Modern Greek and Latvian are pro-drop languages, the ST subject pronoun was necessary in this case, because *jās* after the elision could be confused with the 3rd person (sg. and pl.) form *jās*, while in Modern Greek, which allows for no elision in the 2nd person singular, such a confusion would be impossible.

The preposition *pie* 'at' (much like Latin *apud*) has no formal counterpart in Modern Greek; therefore it was translated by the adverb *péra* 'over [there]; far [away]', which here implies going to other people's places.

Second hemistich:

Since it was not possible to render *tautu* (gen. pl. of *tauta* 'folk; nation') in the set phrase *tautu meita* 'lit. the folks' daughter; poet. 'a maid from another place and/or another family,' it was left untranslated, while the *meita* element was rendered as *kóri* 'daughter'. In this case, the possessive *tous* 'their', which was inserted in the literal translation (3a above) to compensate for the non-translation of *tautu*, could not be used as it would produce one superfluous syllable. However, the insertion of *péra* 'over there' compensates, to some degree, for the non-translation of *tautu*, as it suggests that the daughter (*meita*) is indeed in another place and/or another family.

The verb *bildināt* 'to propose; to ask in marriage,' which has no single-word equivalent in Modern Greek, had to be rendered periphrastically. Instead of the unmarked *zītāō se gāmo* 'to ask in marriage', the poetic expression *kāno* (*kápoion/-a*) *taīri mou* 'to mate (with someone) in marriage; lit. to make one's own match (of someone)' was used – and, moreover, its dialectal/poetic perfective aspect (*na tīn*) *kāmeis* (instead of *kāneis*) *taīri sou* '(that) you mate (with her) in marriage'. As to the repetition of *meita* in the ST, the polysyllabic expressions available in the TT would leave no room for lexical repetition either in the third or in the fourth line. However,

the use of the object pronoun (*tīn* 'her', acc.) restores lexical cohesion, merely changing the cohesion strategy from repetition to reference.

Accounting for the translation choices in the fourth line

First hemistich:

Besides the repetition of the translation choices made in the second hemistich of the preceding line, the verb and the predicative (*taīri* 'match; mate' and *kāmeis* '[that] you make') appear in inverted order so as to preserve the metre and rhythm of the original, which requires an extra syllable (cf. *bildināti* vs. *bildināt*). This extra syllable is supplied by the colloquial and poetic morphophonological *-e* added to the personal pronoun (*tīn* > *tīne* 'her', acc.).

Second hemistich:

The adjectival participle *nākošu* (Acc. sg. of *nākošs*, masc. 'coming; next' was rendered as *t' āllo* 'the other; coll. the next' rather than as to *erchómeno* 'the coming; the next', the latter being too formal for a Greek folk song). Most importantly, *t' āllo* has fewer syllables and leaves space for the next word, i.e. *chinópōro* 'poet. autumn' = *fthinópōro*, without diverging from the metre and rhythm of the original. I opted for *chinópōro*, as the learned consonant cluster /fθ/ of *fthinópōro*²⁵ would be stylistically inadequate for a folk song. Moreover, this poetic word compensates for the poetic impression achieved in the ST by the diminutive suffix (*rudentiņ* 'little autumn').

A slight rhyme loss arises from the fact that, unlike what happens (even if unintentionally) in the respective lines of the ST, the word *chinópōro* does not rhyme with the words *farí* and *chrysí* in the first and second lines respectively. But, given that the third line intervenes, which in the original does not rhyme either with the two preceding lines or with the next line, this loss is not felt, at least when one sings the Modern Greek lines. After all, this is compensated for in the sixth and seventh lines where, contrary to the original, *xekināō* 'I depart' rhymes with *pāō* 'I go'.

Accounting for the translation choices in the fifth line

First hemistich:

The choices made in the previous line of TT were repeated (for the sake of lexical coherence, metre and rhythm) with a simple inversion of verb and adverbial determiner (*den travó stīn kōrī* 'I do not ride to the daughter' vs. *tautās* [...] *nejāšu* 'To the folks I will not ride'), while *tautās* itself (Loc. pl. of *tauta* 'folk; nation'), here used with

25 Cf. Thumb (1974[1901]: 19).

a meaning that cannot be translated by a single word into Modern Greek (cf. *tautu meita* in the previous line, itself lexically cohesive with the following *tautās* via lexical repetition), was again rendered synecdochically by *kōrī* ‘daughter,’ since the son’s negative answer refers precisely to the mother’s previous question. Thus the lexical cohesion via repetition is retained (cf. *kōrī* [...] *kōrī* with *tautu* [...] *tautās*), preemptively compensating for the impossibility of metrically reproducing the repetitions *bet* [...] *bet* ‘but [...] but’ and *tāli*, *tāli* ‘far away, far away’ appearing in the next line (see below).

Second hemistich:

The conjunction *bet* ‘but’ was rendered with the poetic *mōn’* (poet. = *mōno* ‘only; but’), although the colloquial (and much more used) *ma* would raise neither metrical nor stylistic issues. However, the option of *mōn’*, used almost exclusively in Greek folk songs of the late Ottoman period, aimed at restoring throughout the TT the poetic-language effect that had to be neutralized in earlier lines due to the non-translation of the many diminutive suffixes featuring in the ST. Moreover, the adjective *citu* (Acc. sg. masc./fem. of *cits/cita* ‘[an]other’) was not translated, as it would lead to superfluous syllables. However, the meaning was not affected since, when the son said that he was going to a distant place, that place was self-evidently *another* one, rather than the one where he stood when talking to his mother.

Accounting for the translation choices in the sixth line

First hemistich:

To avoid superfluous syllables, the conjunction of the fifth line is not repeated in the sixth line of the TT, contrary to what happens in the ST. Despite the expressive importance of such repetitions in folk poetry, this choice was a last resort that, in any case, did not lead to information loss but ‘merely’ lessened grammatical cohesion with the previous line (see above).

Second hemistich:

In addition, contrary to what happens in the previous line, the non-translated item here is not the adjective *citu*, but the adjective *tālu* (Acc. sg. masc./fem. of *tāls/tāla* ‘distant, remote’) – in order to avoid superfluous syllables and rhythm issues. However, no information is lost here either, since the “other place” has already been described as being *distant* in the previous line (*tópo makrinó* ‘lit. place distant’). Furthermore, it was not possible to reproduce the repetition of the adverb (*tāli*, *tāli* ‘far away, far away’), as this would lead to superfluous syllables and rhythm issues. Thus, the emphasis was conveyed not by repetition, but by addition of the adverb ‘*keĩ*’ (elided form of *ekeĩ* ‘there’; *péra kei* ‘yonder; over there’).

Accounting for the translation choices in the seventh line

First hemistich:

The verb and the adverb appear in inverted order (*Stōn Tourkōn ta mēri pāō* 'To the Turks' land I go' vs. *Jāšu es uz turku zemi* 'Ride will I to the Turks' land') in order for *pāō* 'I go' to rhyme with the first half of the previous line (*xekināō* 'I depart') and to compensate for the fact that the fourth line does not anymore rhyme with the first and second lines. This choice prevented the reproduction of the subject pronoun (*es* 'I'). If it were rendered, the line would have taken the form *Stōn Tourkōn pāō 'gō ta mēri* (where '*gō* < *egō* 'I'), perhaps with a slightly reduced effect of the hero's self-confidence, but restoring the previously lost (even if unintentional) rhyme.

The word *zemi* (Acc. sg. of fem. noun *zeme* 'earth; soil; land; country') was rendered, for metrical reasons, as *mēri* 'parts; places' instead of *gī* 'earth; soil; land'.

The plural genitive *Tourkōn* (instead of *Toúrkōn*) was used for rhythmic reasons and to enhance the folk-song-language effect, since this morphologically 'incorrect', last-syllable stressed genitive,²⁶ originating from poetic licence, has been used in various Modern Greek folk songs – e.g. in the revolutionary folk song *Tis Lénōs tou Mpótsari* (On Botsaris' [sister] Leno).

Second hemistich:

Again on metrical and rhythmic grounds, the adverb *tur* 'there' was not translated in the TT, as the meaning 'there' is already present in the second hemistich of the sixth line (*'keī* < *ekeī* 'there; yonder'). Meanwhile, in terms of lexical consistency, the cohesion achieved through repetition (*uz turku [zemi]* 'to the Turks'; *ar turkiem* 'with the Turks') is achieved in the TT through reference (*stōn Tourkōn [...] m' autoús* 'to the Turks' [...] with them'), in order to avoid superfluous syllables and to retain the rhythm. Admittedly, however, the assonance between *tur* and *turku/turkiem* that is present in the ST is lost in the TT.

Finally, the inherited similarity between SL and TL enabled the accurate reproduction of not only the meaning, but also the connotations and morphology of the ST verb, since both *izkauties* and *chtypīthō* (perfective aspect of *chtypiēmai* 'to fight, combat) literally mean 'to beat each other', and hence also 'to fight, combat', while both are morphologically passive and semantically reciprocal. If the conventional *polemísō* (perfective aspect of *polemāō* 'to wage war; to fight, combat') had been used, such connotations could not have been reproduced in the TT.

26 The genitive plural ending of masculine nouns in *-os* (such as *Tourkos* 'a Turk') is unstressed in standard Modern Greek.

Discussion

The translation glossed in instances 1b–7b closely resembles Modern Greek folk songs, both in terms of theme and plot, as well as in terms of language and poetic form. At first glance, this could be described as domestication in Lawrence Venuti's terms (Venuti 1995: 15, 19–20). But, in order to apply such dichotomy as domesticating vs. foreignizing translation, one should first define the *domestic* and the *foreign* (see Ajtony 2017: 97), since in most translations there is interplay between the two (Ajtony 2017: 103–104; Gray 2020: 93–94). However, if the source culture and the target culture share stylistic (e.g. in identic poetic forms) and pragmatic characteristics (e.g. comparable historical experiences), at times also reinforced by genetic and/or typological linguistic affinities (Ajtony 2017: 101–102), the dichotomy virtually loses its meaning, because what is “foreign” is already “domestic”. In other words: when translating this Latvian song into Modern Greek, I was constantly feeling that the Latvian ST was “guiding” me towards acceptable choices, as it was constantly reminding me of well-known expressive and dramatic devices in my own language and culture. Certain “foreign” features already looked “domestic”, and this is why, by means of ‘foreignizing’ a translation (i.e. imitating features of the ST), the TT was at the same time being “domesticated”. Cultural competence, which is just as important as translation competence in order to attempt the linguistic processing of a poetic translation (Veckrācis 2019: 251), in this particular case is exhausted in a timely identification of the aforementioned affinities and a thorough understanding of the equivalence between the SL and the TL poetic and linguistic expressive and dramatic devices. Virtually, I applied a genuinely domesticating translation only when rendering the idiom *tautu meita* (instances 3–5, 3a–5a and 3b–5b).

Basically I attempted to meet the evaluation criteria set for poetic translations (see e.g. Connolly 1997: 44–45; Kokolīs 2001: 16–17; Veckrācis 2019: 251), so that the TT could function as fully as possible like the original in terms of: (a) artistic features; (b) retention of the dramatic and linguistic means of expression of the original; (c) avoiding linguistic errors with only minor, justified semantic and/or stylistic deviations from the original, all of which are compensated for in surrounding lines; (d) retention, to the extent possible, of both explicit and implicit pragmatic information²⁷; (e) creation of a self-standing poem in the TL in a poetic idiom that imitates native poetic idioms. I have tried, as Cees Koster (2000: 167–204) defines it, to take into account the text worlds, the semantic-pragmatic skeleton and its methodological function, as well as the prosody (poetic form, stanzaic segmentation, rhythm and metre etc.) and the rhetorical means.

27 On explicit and implicit pragmatic information/content see e.g. Volkova (2017: 380, 392, 415).

The mere existence of criteria such as the above-mentioned implies that it would be simplistic to see poetry translation (and, in particular, poetic translation) as a loss and distortion by definition, since its success consists in preserving the poet's vision and in manipulating the TL elements in such a way that the TT becomes "alive" (Veckrācis 2019: 251). For the translator of poetry the original is the experience, while the poetic act itself is the translation process, which is why any poetry anthology that does not also include translated poems is incomplete (Vagenas 1986: 68–69). After all, "we need to continuously improve our understanding of how translators interact with information, how they use resources that contain this information, and, more broadly, how they carry out research for translation" (Gough 2023: 1–2).

Conclusion

The pragmatic, linguistic and translational factors taken into account to produce a poetic Modern Greek translation of a Latvian folk song suggest, in my opinion, that sometimes poetic translation in the specific language pair can, at least in certain textual genres, in a way essentially neutralize the dichotomy between foreignization and domestication, as explained above. I hope that the poetic translation discussed above might stimulate the interest of Greek-speaking translationalists in translations of less known (at least in Greece) poetic traditions such as those of the Baltic. Moreover, lengthy as it may be, a detailed retrospection or in the best case even synchronous description of the translation steps and strategies in such text genres and language pairs can contribute to the teaching of literary translation (especially that of poetry) and give an insight into a self-conscious translator's mind. After all, translational studies involving lesser-used language pairs can contribute to the forging of closer relations among the communities of their speakers. The example of Greeks and Latvians (and Balkan and Baltic peoples in general), who in addition are political allies in Western international organizations, suggests that at least in Europe we must stop talking about "brotherless" nations²⁸ and instead reflect on ourselves through the perspective of others²⁹. This is a preliminary step for acknowledging that regional European identities are just

28 I here allude a popular – and, of course, false – Greek viewpoint that Greeks are an *éthnos anádelfo(n)* 'a brotherless nation' within Europe, as if a "brotherless" uniqueness (not to say isolationism) was something to brag about. About the impact of this myth on Modern Greek literature's readability abroad see, e.g., Perantōnakis (2023). For a psychoanalytic approach to this myth see, e.g., Gavrilidis (2008).

29 Cf. Muehlhoff & Lewis (2011: 213); Nastevičs (2021: 111).

versions of a wider European culture. According to Balode (2013: 168 cited in Šteinbergs 2022: 148), members of the so-called Latvian school of poetry translation “write poetry themselves and study foreign languages” – characteristics not so prominent in the Modern Greek school of poetry translation, but ones I attempted to take advantage of when translating *Māmiņ’ vaicā sav’ dēliņu* into my mother tongue.

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Annex. Sheet music (with lyrics) of the song *Māmiņ' vaicā sav' dēliņu*.

Source: *Garamantas.lv: Latviešu folkloras krātuves digitālais arhīvs*³⁰

115. 4612 J = 72

1. Mā-miņ' vai-cā 'sav' dē-li-ņu: Kam-ju-cē-ji 'ka-me-lip'; Mā-miņ' vai-cā 'sav' dē-li-ņu: Kam-ju-cē-ji

2. Kam-ju-cē-ji: Kam-ju-cē-ji: Kam-ju-cē-ji: Kam-ju-cē-ji

3. Vai tu jās' pie tautu meitas? Tautu meitu baidināt?

4. Tautu meitu baidināt? Vai mūsu rudenī?

5. Māmiņ, tautas vis neapā, Bet uz citu tautu mēt';

6. Bet uz citu tautu mēt'; Tā, tā, šodienā.

7. Tā, tā, šodienā. Tā, tā, šodienā. Tā, tā, šodienā. Tā, tā, šodienā.

³⁰ This particular sheet music illustrates the first recording of the song in 1964 (Bergmanis 1964). Music file: <https://media.garamantas.lv/files/audio/003001-004000/003072.mp3>

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Herder's '*Frieden Frau*' and Simonas Daukantas's Concept of the 'Lithuanian Wife'

Herdera '*Frieden Frau*' un Simona Daukanta "lietuviešu sievas" jėdziens

Keywords:

women,
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peace,
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Atslėgvėrdi:

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humanitėte,
humėnizmas,
kultūra,
nėcijos veidošanės

This article is dedicated to the 280th anniversary of the birth of Herder and the 160th anniversary of the death of Daukantas

Summary

The article posits that Simonas Daukantas (Polish: Szymon Dowkont, 1793–1864), the first Lithuanian national historian, conceptualised the paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife' in his work on the history of the Lithuanian national culture by following the construct of the '*Indische Frau*' / '*Frieden Frau*' ('Indian Woman' / 'Peace-Woman'), created by Johann Gotfried Herder.

The article first demonstrates that Daukantas, while living in Riga, had the opportunity to get acquainted with Herder's works, which he read and summarised and/or quoted in his notebooks.

It is believed that Daukantas, mainly adhering to Herder's ideas and his own mother's example, conceptualised the 'Lithuanian Wife' as assiduous, fair, wise, courageous, freedom-loving and responsible for instilling humanity in children, the family and the community. A woman's close kinship with the environment, according to Daukantas, determines common sense, creativity and the ability to orientate oneself in life. This article postulates that Herder's metaphor of the '*Indische Frau*' / '*Frieden Frau*', which he utilised to examine the question of eternal peace (*pax sempiterna*) and outline seven principles of intellectual, moral and legal development, influenced Daukantas when conceptualising the paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife'.

Kopsavilkums

Rakstā tiek izvirzīta tēze, ka Simons Daukants (lietuviešu: *Simonas Daukantas*; poļu: *Szymon Dowkont*, 1793–1864), pirmais lietuviešu vēsturnieks, savā darbā par lietuviešu nacionālās kultūras vēsturi konceptualizēja "lietuviešu sievas" paradigmu, sekojot Johana Gotfrīda Herdera (*Johann Gotfried Herder*) radītajam "*Indische Frau*" / "*Frieden Frau*" (indiešu sievietē / Miera Sieva) jēdzienam.

Rakstā vispirms parādīts, ka Daukantam, dzīvojot Rīgā, bija iespēja iepazīties ar Herdera darbiem, kurus viņš lasīja, apkopoja un/vai citēja savās piezīmju kladēs.

Domājams, ka Daukants, galvenokārt sekojot Herdera idejām un savas mātes piemēram, konceptualizēja "lietuviešu sievu" kā centīgu, taisnīgu, gudru, drosmīgu, brīvību mīlošu un atbildīgu par cilvēciības ieaudzinašanu bērnos, ģimenē un sabiedrībā. Sievietes ciešā radniecība ar apkārtējo vidi, pēc Daukanta domām, nosaka veselo saprātu, radošumu un spēju orientēties dzīvē. Šajā rakstā postulēts, ka Herdera indiešu sievietes / Miera Sievas metafora, ko viņš izmantoja, lai aplūkotu jautājumu par mūžīgo mieru (*pax sempiterna*) un izklāstītu septiņus intelektuālās, morālās un tiesiskās attīstības principus, ietekmēja Daukantu, konceptualizējot "lietuviešu sievas" paradigmu.

Introduction

Similarly to Homer, who created *areté* (Greek: ἀρετή) for the Greek aristocracy, Simonas Daukantas, the first Lithuanian national historian, established the image of a free Lithuanian for Lithuanians. This image was embraced and promoted by the Lithuanian intelligentsia of the late 1800s–early 1900s, which in 1918 succeeded to put Lithuania back on the European map. Lithuanian national identity, constructed by Daukantas, was once again actualised at the end of the 20th century, when Lithuania sought to restore its independence after an approximately 50-year long occupation by the USSR.

Daukantas, although he was an exhausted servant of the Russian Empire, managed to utilise his limited leisure-time to write textbooks and dictionaries, collect and publish Lithuanian folklore, as well as to conduct research on Lithuanian history and translations of various types of texts by ancient Latin and contemporary authors. He wrote three versions of Lithuanian history, which remained in manuscript form. However, he was able to publish the cultural history of the Lithuanian nation in at the beginning of 1846 (although dated 1845) *BUDAŲ Senovės–Lėtuvių Kalnienų and Žemaitių* (1845; hereafter *Būdas*). In *Būdas*, Daukantas employed the “genetic method” of Johann Gotfried Herder (1744–1803) (See Forster 2020: 25), thereby delving into the ancient Lithuanian historical legends and determining that various authors compared the proto-Lithuanian language, culture and religion to Indian, Greek and Roman societies. In his work, Daukantas considered language to be the most important source of a nation’s history, therefore along with written sources he used folklore material. The originality and novelty of Daukantas’s work are notable, as he was the first to attempt to convey the Lithuanian national culture via its own language, notable for being one of the oldest languages in Europe. In *Būdas*, same as in Herder’s works (See Adler 2009: 93), the concept of national culture is closely linked to the concept of humanity. The paradigm of the ‘Lithuanian Wife’, formulated by Daukantas, demonstrates that he relied not only on folk tales, but also on the Western European tradition, ostensibly declaring that, regarding women, Lithuania, at that time the western province of the Russian Empire, remained a part of the Western Europe.

Daukantas broached the topic of marauding wars in all of his Lithuanian history manuscripts, including *Būdas*, wondering how Lithuanians managed to retain their humanity while defending themselves against the Crusaders for 300 years. Daukantas believed that a vital role was played by the Lithuanian women, who were not only traditionally responsible for housework and child-rearing, but also for the development of humanity within the family and the dissemination of these humanistic virtues within the community and beyond. From this point of view, we can recognise the kernel of Herder’s “*Friedensfrau*” within Daukantas’ paradigm of the ‘Lithuanian Wife’. As Mark Johannes van der Laan observed, “Indeed, Herder defined *Humanität*

in the same, essential terms he uses for his Peace-Women, *allgemeine Billigkeit, Menschlichkeit, thätige Vernunft*" (2009: 343).

It is assumed that Daukantas was influenced by Herder's authoritative approach to the conquest of the Balts. In various works, Herder mentions the ancient battles of the Prussians, Latvians and Lithuanians against the Crusaders, whom he regards as predatory marauders. In volume 10 of *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* (1797), Herder questions the legitimacy of war and considers the possibility of eternal peace, and in letter 114, he inquires what benefits the Crusaders brought to the ancient Prussians, Livonians, Estonians and Latvians, who continued to curse their subjugators ("*Unterjochern*") for their misery (Herder 1797: 8).

In letters 118–119, Herder (1797: 111–142), based on the book *Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika* (1789) by Georg Heinrich Loskiel (1740–1814), the Latvian-born Bishop of the Northern District of the American Province of the Moravian Church (1802–1811), created the metaphor of the "*große Friedensfrau*" (Herder 1797: 127), which helped him discuss the universal principles of peaceful coexistence. In letter 119, Herder states that the corn stalk ("*Kornstengel*") in the hands of the Indian woman ("*der Indischen Frau*") is a weapon against the sword (Herder 1797: 139).

According to Karla Lydia Schultz, Herder, by conceiving the metaphor of the Native American "*Friedensfrau*", presented a resilient and wise sisterly figure who spreads the idea of peace to the masses (Schultz 1989: 419–420). Herder advocated a grassroots process that is primarily contingent on the moral education of the populace and the mobilisation of their benevolent inner nature. According to Herder, the key to lasting peace is upbringing and education, which would fundamentally change people's attitudes toward war and foreign nations (Spencer 2016: 151).

Daukantas's researchers have yet to concentrate on his idea of peace in relation to the concept of humanity. However, they have often referred to the Lithuanian national revival strategy that was preferred and promoted by the historian, who advocated to induce this rebirth not through revolution, but through the education and cultural development of the nation. Some associate Daukantas's pacifist approach with his peasant roots (Kubilius 1993: 34; Žukas 1988: 119–126), others with the reception of the natural law theory and the European philosophical thought (Merkys 1991: 116–120; Pivoras 2022). Andreas Roepstorff and Aušra Simoniukštytė, while discussing the features of Daukantas's national mythology, which later became the elements of national consciousness, state that his attitude towards the Lithuanian language and nation was shaped by Herder (Roepstorff, Simoniukštytė 2001: 145–166). Other researchers of Daukantas reiterate that he was influenced by Herder's ideas (Merkys 1991: 104; Baár 2010: 112, 119; Pivoras 2022: 18), but have

not conducted specific research. The author of this article has written about the connection between culture and the concept of humanity that Daukantas adopted from Herder (Bončkutė 2019: 174–180; Bončkutė 2021: 31–38).

The aim of this article is to discuss the similarities between Daukantas's concept of the 'Lithuanian Wife' and Herder's metaphor of '*Friedensfrau* / *Indische Frau*'. In terms of methodology, the article applies hermeneutic principles: Daukantas's texts and his lectures are used to trace the origins of his reasoning regarding women's role within the history of the nation.

The first part of the article emphasises the fact that Daukantas became acquainted with Herder's works while living in Riga, the city, where, in the words of Kurt Stavenhagen, "the Herderian in Herder emerged" (Piirimäe 2012: 80). The second part of the article discusses Herder's concept of the Indian woman of peace, the seven principles of peace he proposed, and their possible reception in Daukantas's work.

Riga – *genius loci* of Herder and Daukantas

Herder's letters and essays written in Riga demonstrate his encyclopaedic curiosity, his passionate thinking and his disregard for the language rules and norms that constrain thought (Bollacher 1994: 80). In Riga, he highlighted the culture of colonised nations and observed that national poetry is a treasured part of their collective consciousness (Bollacher 1994: 89). Because of his critiques and contentious ideas that had been published, Herder quickly became a persona non grata, as his freethinking was abhorred by the entire local clergy (Prusinowska 2019: 36).

Daukantas lived and worked in Riga from 1825 to 1834. As evidenced by the sources recorded in his Lithuanian history manuscript *ISTORYJE ZEMAYTYSZKA* (c. 1831–1834) as well as his notebooks, being in Riga created favourable conditions to familiarise himself with the works of Herder and German contemporaries, especially Baltic Germans (German: *Deutsch-Balten* or *Deutschbalten*, later *Balten-deutsche*) (see Pivoras 2019).

Daukantas was born and raised in the north of Samogitia, very close to the then Curonian Governorate (western province of present-day Latvia). It is possible that is why he, in 1823, after defending his work *De patria potestate secundum leges naturales, romanas et patrias* (On the authority of the father according to natural, Roman and country law) and obtaining his master's degree in both Roman and country law, looked for a job in Riga, near his family and relatives.

During his Riga period, Daukantas observes in his notebook that in *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1769) Herder deploys convincing examples in his dialectics about language, allowing the conclusion that there can be no living

language that can be expressed in twenty letters (quotes cited from Daukantas' notebooks are presented as they appear in the source text, even when grammatically incorrect):

Gruntownie Herder dowiódł naprzykładach w swoiey rozprawie o ięzyku, iż niema żadney żyjącey mowy którą można było dostatecznie wyrazić na dwudziestu kilka literach wyrazie można by było, albowiem żadną z żyjących niedaie się przetać w literymia nowicie na dwadzieście. (Daukantas 1828: 21v)

In Riga, Daukantas, influenced by Herder's linguistic ideas, changed the previously used spelling and created more letters with diacritics, which were not used in Lithuanian Catholic religious publications of that time, and began to rely on the use of the living language.

In Riga, Daukantas read a lot of Herder's works, which is known because of the various comments found in his notes. For example, Daukantas emphasised that in order to write about religion, one must read Herder ("*Naypotrzebnieysza i naylepsza mająg o religij, chciąc pisać o religij d. L. nieodbicie trzeba czytać*") (Daukantas 1828: 23v). Daukantas also transcribed extracts from the first volume of Herder's *Sämtliche Werke* (1820). For example, Daukantas opined that Herder's works are refreshing and bring joy ("*trudy zdrowie i radości*"; Daukantas 1828: 21r). In another part of his notebook, Daukantas noted in German that the "clever" Herder already suspected that Lithuanians and Latvians had an undetermined origin and that their languages, although containing loanwords and features from other languages, still maintained their own individual characteristics, likely inherited from an ancient language that originated in remote regions ("*Der geistvolle Herder hat es bereits geahnet*") and, abbreviating, quotes:

die Lithauen und Letten seien von ungewissen Ursprunge, und un geachtet der Mischung ihrer Sprache mit anderen, habe sie doch einen eigenen charakter, sei wahrscheinlich die Tochter einer uralten Mutter, vielleicht aus fernen Gegenden her. – Herders Werke Bd. VI. s. 20. (Daukantas 1828: 29r)

For comparison, the original extract appears in the 1820 edition *J.G. v. Herders Sämtliche Werke*, Volume Four, Part VI:

Die Litthauer, Kuren und Letten an der Oftfee find von ungewiffem Ursprunge; aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach indeffen auch dahin gedrängt, bis sie nicht weiter gedrängt werden konnten. Ungeachtet der Mijchung ihrer Sprache mit andern, hat sie doch einen eignen Charakter und ift wahrscheinlich die Tochter einer uralten Mutter, die vielleicht aus fernen Gegenden her ift." (Herder 1820: 20)

Daukantas wrote down this extract on the same page as his commentary about Wilhelm von Humboldt's 1828 published lecture *Ueber den Dualis* (Humboldt 1828). Next to these notes is a Russian transcription dated 1833. This demonstrates that Daukantas read Herder intensively around 1828–1833.

Herder's philosophical approach to language fundamentally changed Daukantas's approach to Lithuanian religious texts. In Daukantas's opinion, Lithuanian religious texts do not reflect the nature of the Lithuanian language because they were not written by Lithuanians, but by the Christian clergy who learned Lithuanian later in life. He adopted Herder's arguments, including the assertion about the importance of the native language for preserving a nation's history and its authentic consciousness, and the need to nurture and implement the native language in all areas of life. In his work *Būdas*, Daukantas emphasised that the Lithuanian language was preserved by Lithuanian mothers in their tiny, moss-covered, woodland homes ("*iszmintingas Kalniënû ir Ziamajtiû motinas sawo apkerpiejusĩ tarp gĩrriû numelusĩ*"; *Būdas*, "Pratarme": 8). Daukantas assimilated Herder's theory of translation and translated both Ancient and Late Latin texts, taking into account the addressee and applying the principle of domestication.

Similarly to Herder, who rehabilitated the use of the word 'nation' in the respectable definition of *demos* (citizens/city-state) and not *ethnos* (tribe/flock/herd) (*Pöbel*) (Bollacher 1994: 90), Daukantas also patiently introduced this Greek concept. Thus, both of them, although highly educated and in communication with contemporary intellectuals, could be distinguished by having "made a social contract" with the populace, or more accurately, with the "living masses", instead of the theoretical, written representations of people. Herder's attention as a teacher and his Christian love for the individual led to his formation of the humanist philosophy and the conceptualisation of humanity ("*Menschenheit*" and "*Humanität*") popularised in Riga, where the most important texts on this topic were first published. While living in Riga, Daukantas became well versed in a considerable number of these works. In his *ISTORYJE ZEMAYTYSZKA* manuscript, Daukantas describes the Lithuanian nation according to Herder's work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–1791). First, the reader is introduced to the characteristics pertaining to the Lithuanian region (Herder: *Klima*) and familiarised with the *modus vivendi* of ancient Lithuanians, including their appearance, apparel, customs, holidays, funeral rites, religion, warfare, trade, societal structure and systems of governance. This extensive context is followed with the chronologically outlined discussion of the battles against the Crusaders. Herder was one of the first to critically evaluate the role of the Crusaders and Christian missionaries (Löchte 2005: 70–71). The German philosopher consistently condemns enslavement, conquest, inequality, violence and intolerance in his work, whether it occurs within a particular society or is directed against a foreign community (Sikka 2011: 18).

Herder's tolerance for different foreign nations and cultures came from Christian Neoplatonism. The diversity of nature, epochs and cultures, according to

the philosopher, stems from the Creator, and the ultimate goal of human existence on this earth is reaching universal humanity (Buntfuss 2012: 154–155). Herder justifies only defensive wars. According to him, a person's main purpose is to develop humanity, leading to eternal peace (*pax sempiterna*) among culturally different societies (Herder 1797: 128–129). Daukantas quotes medieval chronicles that name the Prussians and Samogitians as *homines humanissimi*, who are only lacking a christening. Notably, during his Riga period Daukantas already employed his constructed Lithuanian equivalents for Herder's term *Humanität*: *žmonysta*, *žmonybė*.

At the end of 1834, Daukantas moved from Riga to St Petersburg, both of these cities were notable for their significant German-speaking population, thus this atmosphere created favourable conditions for Daukantas to research Herder and his followers, such as Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Schlegel. When Daukantas wrote *Būdas*, he presumably reread Herder, because in 1843, on June 23, when writing to Teodor Narbutt (1784–1864), he remembered the philosopher again and described him as famous:

[...] wyszły dwa tomy Codex Diplomaticum Prusicum zawierający akta do 1333 roku przez Vogta, może by cokolwiek do naszego kraju znalazło się, mianowicie układ Krzyżaków z Prusami 1232 jeśli się niemyłę dla pokazania stopnia Ciwilizacyi i obyczajów owczesnych tego narodu, znajduje się też Mendoga Króla darowania Litwy Mieczowym przywilej w Rigaische Jahrbücher pod tym tytułem jeśli się niemyłę które sławny Herder będąc nauczycielem w Rydze za czasow Katarzyny pisał [...]. (Griškaitė 1996: 373)

In *Būdas*, a relatively small book (*in octo* 252 pp.), Daukantas uses the words 'human' and 'people' on 69 pages. It is notable that Daukantas, even when translating texts from Latin, often, in accordance with egalitarianism, chooses the word 'human' instead of another, which, for example, denotes class (Bončkutė 2003: 46). Such abundant use of the word 'human' emphasises not only the impact of Herder's philosophy of humanity, or Daukantas's support of the notion that for a nation a united community is more important than how its populace is stratified by class, but also the concept of a human, as perceived by Samogitians. In the book *Žemaičio šnekos* (1961) by the Lithuanian ethnologist Ignas Končius (1886–1975), it is stated that "a Samogitian does not waste the word 'human', not every neighbour will be called human. Only the good ones, only the friends." Končius notes that Samogitians took care not to forget someone's name (Končius 1996: 79, 80). The Samogitians were an integral but very distinctive part of the ethnic Lithuanian nation and had their own identity, which Daukantas in *Būdas* applied when describing all Lithuanians. The Lithuanian language has a word *žmogiškas*, which refers to the human bodily form, the mode of speaking, the features, the acceptable norms, as well as the use of objects characteristic of humans and humanity (See Pažėraitė 2008: 197–210). Only Daukantas's contemporary Dionizas Poška (1764–1830), who wrote poetry in

Lithuanian, used the word *žmogiškas* to define 'humanity' (Pažėraitė 2008, 199). In the *Lithuanian Dictionary*, *žmoniškas* is defined as humanism, kindness, virtuousness, the qualities exemplary of a good person, and occasionally in commonfolk vernacular, even a pregnant woman (LKŽ). Daukantas, on the other hand, is original in that he conceptualised the Lithuanian equivalent for the word 'humanity' by creating a new term *žmonystė*, which is etymologically linked to the word 'wife' (*žmona*), and not the word 'human' (*žmogus*). In the Lithuanian language, as in other Indo-European languages, lexemes denoting 'land' and 'human' coincide. This means that 'human' is etymologically connected to the earth. The same root is repeated in Latin *humus*, *homo*. Therefore, the word 'humanity' in the Lithuanian language, like in Latin, possesses not only human, but also earthly connotations, which are further reiterated by the aforementioned construction of the Lithuanian equivalent term *žmonystė*, etymologically linked with the word *žmona* (wife), reflecting Daukantas's view that women are naturally closer to the earth, closer to reality, and better know the essence of all things.

Based on Daukantas's biography, one may argue that he modelled his largely generalised paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife' after the image of his mother Kotryna Odinaityė-Daukantienė (born around 1757–1766, died 1847). Like Albert Welles, the author of the biography on the first USA President George Washington (1732–1799), who, in order to demonstrate that USA was created by the descendants of nobility, connected Washington with Odin, declaring that he was a 55th generation descendant (Welles 1879), Daukantas also had euhemeristic views and traced his own family origins to the descendants of the legendary apotheosised hero Odin (see Bončkutė 2022). Daukantas's mother was literate, had noble origins, and was not only a good and responsible moral educator of the younger generation, but also taught her children to love their motherland. During his infancy, Daukantas's mother, together with her husband and three of his brothers, participated in the 1794 uprising against Tsarist Russia, led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (Andrzej Tadeusz Bonawentura Kościuszko; 1746–1817), who also participated in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). According to family lore, Daukantienė provided food to the rebels in Latvia. Daukantas, when writing in *Būdas* about preparing horses for the winter campaigns, although without explicitly mentioning his mother, remarks on the participation of the Samogitian women in the uprising near Grobiņa and Liepāja. After his mother's death, Daukantas ordered a huge (186–86 cm) red granite tombstone in St Petersburg, which he had inscribed with his mother's maiden name "*Odinate*" and the description of the aforementioned venture to Liepāja with her husband and her husband's three brothers. The mother was buried in the churchyard of the Lenkimai Church, which indicates that she was highly respected in the parish

and among the clergy, as in the mid-19th century Lithuania, civilians were already being buried in separate cemeteries from distinguished priests who were laid to rest in churchyards.

Essentially, it can be said that Daukantas's individual cognitive structure, which consisted of general and national competences and knowledge of the German language, made it possible to quite adequately understand Herder's line of thinking, and determined his subsequent attention to the concept of humanity.

'Indische Frau / Friedensfrau' and the 'Lithuanian Wife'

In his previous works (which remained in manuscript form) (1822, 1834), Daukantas had already depicted female historical figures who rose to prominence during particularly turbulent times for the nation. Daukantas, using chronicles and the recorded lore of the oral tradition as sources, in his first works created memorable, romanticised images of women who led tragic fates living alongside men who were constantly fighting and dying.

Of the female historical figures who influenced Lithuanian history, Daukantas in *Būdas* mentions only Birutė (d. 1382), the second wife of Kęstutis, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (Latin: Kinstut, c. 1297–1382) and the mother of Vytautas the Great (Latin: Alexander Vitoldus, Old German: Wythaws or Wythaw; c. 1350 –1430), Živilė, the daughter of Karijotas (or Koriat), the Duke of Navahrudakthe, who was the son of Gediminas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (Latin: Gedeminne, c. 1275–1341) and the Duchess Anastasia Olelkien (1473–1524; Belarusian: *Алелькавічы*, Lithuanian: *Olelkaičiai*, Polish: *Olelkowicze*, Ukrainian: *Олельковичі*), who, after her husband went to war, in 1504 organised the defence of the Sluck Castle (*Būdas*: 198).

Daukantas mentions Birutė and Živilė twice next to Mindaugas, the first known Grand Duke of Lithuania (German: *Myndowen*, Latin: *Mindowe*, c. 1203–1263), as well as Gediminas, noting that Lithuanians never forgot their heroes, he also documents the locations of Birutė and Živilė's graves (*Būdas*: 148 and 152). In *Būdas*, Daukantas does not flesh out his depictions of female historical figures, but based on the broad strokes of their lives he imparts a generalised image of the 'Lithuanian Wife'.

It is possible Daukantas placed importance on the fact that Herder, when considering the possibility of eternal peace, instead of employing the narrative of the great European empires, used the story of the peace treaty reached by the American Indian tribes as an example. In letter 118, Herder (1797: 111–124) depicts the story of how the Delaware people repeatedly attacked the villages of another Native

American tribe, leading to many casualties¹. As Herder depicts in the letter, the Delaware people were stronger and the Cherokee realised they would be wiped out. The Cherokee sent messengers with a letter, stating that the tribes will annihilate themselves by continuing the infighting; therefore it was necessary for one tribe to assume the role of the woman ("*eine Nation die Frau seyn*") and for other tribes to assume the role of men and protect "her" from "her" enemies. They argued that if any male-designated tribe attacked the 'Woman-Nation' (Delaware), the others would ask "why do you abuse a woman?" and all join together to attack the abuser. And the 'Woman-Nation' could not start a war of "her" own volition, instead being expected to strive to maintain peace. And if "men" should start a war, "she" should find the strength to tell them to think of their wives and children who will perish if they do not stop fighting, and the "men" should listen to the "woman's" voice (Herder 1797: 113–114).

According to Herder's recounting of Loskiel, the Delaware tribe agreed to become the 'Woman-Nation'. Then the Native Americans held a feast, and clothed the Delaware in long skirts, and adorned them with jewels, declaring their first clause – that the Delaware would no longer take up arms. The second clause of their agreement was to give the 'Woman-Nation' vessels with oil and medicines so that they could "wash the eyes" of the other tribes, making them see good and not evil, thereby leading others to the path of truth and peace. And the third clause of the agreement stipulated that the 'Woman-Nation' should engage in agriculture, and thus received a cornstalk and a hoe ("*einen Welschkornstengel und eine Hacke*") (Herder 1797: 114–115). Furthermore, in his letter, Herder turns his focus back to Europe and observes that there did exist a similar metaphor of the 'Peace-Women', who claimed the role of the peacekeepers, i.e., the clergy. However, "she" (the clergy) did not make peace, but, on the contrary, incited wars. Here Herder, of course, contemplates the wars of plunder during the Middle Ages that used the propagation of Christianity as a pretext. Herder also asks whether any contemporary European nation should be clothed in women's clothing and made the justice of the peace (1797: 117).

However, he writes that in Europe, wars are fought in dark cabinets and any efforts by the 'Peace-Women' would be futile (1797: 118). Herder offers a reminder that the Indian woman of peace, when attacked by Europeans, was forced to take up arms anyway and defend "her" land. And so, according to Herder, it will always be until the tree of peace takes root in all nations (1797: 119). Before proposing his method of achieving eternal peace (*pax sempiterna*), Herder goes on to discuss the

1 Herder, using Loskiel as a source, names that other tribe as Cherokee; however, according to Jay Miller, it was a tributary of the Iroquois nation (Miller 1974: 507–514).

history of European wars, the unsuccessful defence efforts of nations, and writes that his concept of the Great 'Peace-Women' has another name, and "her" remedies are definitely effective though not immediate (1797: 120). And already in letter 119, Herder delineates his 'Peace-Women' (Herder, 1797: 125–142). He calls it the universal fairness, humanity, and active reason ("*allgemeine Billigkeit*", "*Menschlichkeit*", "*tätige Vernunft*"). Herder goes on to present seven principles of eternal peace that should be disseminated to all nations. First, hatred of war should be cultivated (Herder, 1797: 128–129). Herder declares that only defensive wars can be justified, as well as reminding us of the consequences of wars – diseases, hospitals, famine, pestilence, looting, rape, land degradation, the collapse of families, and the decline of traditions. Therefore, fathers and mothers should raise children who know the dreadfulness of war. The second principle of eternal peace, Herder states, is to avoid worshipping the heroes of the wars of plunder, and to destroy by all means the false halo of their glory (Herder, 1797: 129–131). The third principle is to expose the fraudulent policies of nations that seek to expand state borders under the guise of security needs. Herder says that children from a very young age ("with mother's milk") must get an understanding of the real political motives at play and learn to appreciate only the things promoted by the nation that better one's humanity (Herder, 1797: 131–132). The fourth principle, according to Herder, concerns how patriotism is misunderstood (Herder, 1797: 133–134). The philosopher asserts that one should not be proud of their ancestors, but try to do great, beautiful, noble things themselves. As part of this principle, it is necessary to cultivate love for one's country and not tolerate those who leave their homeland; to not support those who interfere in the affairs of other countries, pointlessly imitate other nations, and forget their duties to the well-being of their own nation. Herder expresses that hatred towards other nations cannot be tolerated. He believes that a person can self-actualise only in their birthplace. The philosopher's fifth principle of peace deals with justice towards other nations (Herder, 1797: 134–136). He proclaims that people need to develop a sense of solidarity and empathy. The sixth principle, as Herder explains, concerns the relationship between commerce and humanity (Herder, 1797: 136–138). He says that international trade must not be predatory; it must bring people together, not separate them, and the social and personal importance of trade must be explained from childhood. And when writing about the seventh principle of peace, Herder notes that the cornstalk in the hands of the Indian woman acts as a weapon against the sword (Herder, 1797: 139–142). This refers to the idea that the more people learn to reap the fruits of their productive labour, the more they will feel that nothing can be created with the carnage of the hatchet. The sooner the shameful superstitions of the war-born caste are forgotten, the more honourable it will be to

adorn the head with a wreath of bellflowers, and apple and palm tree branches, instead of the sad laurel that grows by the gloomy cypress.

At the beginning of *Būdas*, Daukantas, following the structure of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, describes the ancient Lithuanian land, the people, their character, customs, and traditions. When writing about the ancient Lithuanian family, Daukantas states that Lithuanians had many concubines, but only one was called a wife, because she was responsible for humanity at home (*Būdas*: 51). Elsewhere in *Būdas*, Daukantas reiterates this statement and further specifies that in ancient times, out of three wives, only the noble one was responsible for humanity ("žmônysta") at home, and she was the only one called wife (*Būdas*: 163). Although Daukantas indicates that he is relying on *Preußens ältere Geschichte* by August von Kotzebue (1808: 39), through on comparing the texts it is evident that Daukantas departs from this German source. Kotzebue writes about Prussia's legendary times when the Cimbri relocated there. The priests of the colonisers, in order to equalise the rights of the natives with those of the newcomers, indicated that the first wife of a native man must be noble, i.e. of Cimbri origin. Daukantas makes no mention of the arrival of the Cimbri.

In another part of the work, Daukantas explains the backbone of humanity through the word 'courtesy' ("wiežlybum's"; *Būdas*: 35). He uses the word 'courtesy' synonymously with virtue, politeness and cleanliness ("Elgīmos sō swietō wissados buo mândagōs īr sweļnōs", *Būdas*: 64). Using the *Lithuanian Dictionary*, we can see that the dictionary also indicates more meanings relating to elegance: virtue, chastity, innocence, modesty, respectability, politeness, cultural refinement, cleanliness, orderliness (LKŽ). According to Herder in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*:

Ich wünschte, daß ich in das Wort Humanität alles fassen könnte, was ich bisher über des Menschen edle Bildung zur Vernunft und Freiheit, zu feinern Sinnen und Trieben, zur zartesten und stärksten Gesundheit, zur Erfüllung und Beherrschung der Erde gesagt habe; denn der Mensch hat kein edleres Wort für seine Bestimmung, als er selbst ist, in dem das Bild des Schöpfers unsrer Erde, wie es hier sichtbar werden konnte, abgedruckt lebet Um seine edelsten Pflichten zu entwickeln, dürfen wir nur seine Gestalt zeichnen. (Herder 1965: 152).

It can be assumed that Daukantas, following Herder, considered humanity to be the sum of the noblest human virtues, shared by all people, and that humanity is nurtured through consistent upbringing and education from an early age. As mentioned before, Herder suggests that the question of peace should be addressed from the grassroots, creating seven prerequisite features (Herder 1797: 128–142) that each of us must cultivate in order for mankind to voluntarily pursue peace by gradually abandoning war. Schultz interprets Herder's seven principles to be

necessary as antidotes to war and essential as conditions conducive to peace. She restates those "*sieben Gesinnungen*" to be a stance against brutality and destruction during war ("*Verrörung und Verwüstung durch Krieg*"), hero idolatry ("*Heldenidolatrie*"), deceitful politics ("*betrügerische Politik*"), arrogant patriotism ("*selbstfälliger Patriotismus*"), a demagogic image of the enemy ("*demagogische Feindbilder*"), and commercial imperialism ("*Handelsimperialismus*") (Schultz 1989: 421).

When describing the ancient Lithuanian wars against the Crusaders in his work, Daukantas also used Herder's principles against war, which could merit further examination. This article, however, focuses on the concept of the 'Lithuanian Wife' created by Daukantas, a paradigm likely inspired by Herder's Indian 'Woman-Nation' or the 'Indian Peace-Woman'. Herder allegorically "summed up" his "great woman of peace" to be the personification of justice, humanity, and an active mind. Just as Herder's 'Indian Peace-Woman' is not weak, but strong, wise and eloquent (Schultz 1989: 423), so is Daukantas's 'Lithuanian Wife'. Daukantas bestowed the woman with the role of the humanist educator, because she, being around children every day, should be able to inculcate awareness of the loftiest human goals, introduce universal principles of equality, freedom and morality, and teach children to communicate with family and community.

When describing ancient Lithuanian weddings, Daukantas provides examples of various rites, which illustrate how the bride was tested to see if she would be able to cope with wifely duties. According to the historian, a wife has to demonstrate her wisdom, cunning, politeness, gentleness and eloquence while performing the wedding ritual tasks and showcase her ability to successfully communicate with different people (*Būdas*: 54). It is within the context of wedding ceremonies that Daukantas provides the paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife'.

Daukantas, following the Greek concept of the 'statesman' (*aner politikos*), creates an analogous compound *ūkės vyras* ('farm man') ("*ukės wirajs*", "*lietos-wirajs*"; *Būdas*: 47) and reasons that when men were at war, women also had to do men's work, and since they had to try to replace men they sought to be called farmworkers / organizers ("*ukės wilkiei*"). Although Daukantas, through his sources, on multiple times in *Būdas* conveys a patriarchal attitude towards women, and indicates their obedience to men (*Būdas*: 139), he also emphasises that the most important thing for Lithuanians was to maintain a sense of decency and justice everywhere (see *Būdas* 36, 93, 125, 161, 163). Just treatment of women is described when detailing the state of widowhood, as Daukantas indicates that the wife received a third of the entire property upon her husband's death (*Būdas*: 179–180). Although Daukantas gives men the most important role in the fate of Lithuania, the historian demonstrates that wives were always there at the man's side to provide wise and intelligent

support, and they wanted to be equal to men and were able to make important decisions. During the war, women fought alongside men (*"kruvino dino motrīszkoses stoię i karę ligę sō wirīszkasejs kariautī"*; *Būdas*: 44). Daukantas further reflects upon the bravery and strength of the Lithuanian women by describing how, when the men were hesitant to defend the pagan sacred groves, the women did it without hesitation (*Būdas*: 120).

According to Daukantas, the dominant relationship in ancient Lithuanian society (cf. Hsu 1980: 144–164) was between the husband and wife, not between brothers and sisters, as recorded in traditional Lithuanian folk songs (Kavolis 1992: 28). Daukantas states that love marriages were typical for Lithuanians. When young people met, if they fell in love (*Būdas*: 51), they got married. During the wedding, the priest wished them a firm, strong and true love (*Būdas*: 58). The free decision of the husband and wife to marry led to the equality of the spouses. Daukantas rhetorically asks what would describe the great love of women for men (*"Kas apraszys dar dīdybybę motrīszkuiū mejlęs, kōrę rodę sawo wirīszkēms"*; *Būdas*: 48). Daukantas, like Herder, understood marriage as life together until death. According to Herder, human love must be humane, and base instincts must be subordinated to a voluntary union that lasts a lifetime:

Auch die Liebe sollte bei dem Menschen human sein; dazu bestimmte die Natur, außer seiner Gestalt, auch die spätere Entwicklung, die Dauer und das Verhältnis des Triebes in beiden Geschlechtern, ja sie brachte diesen unter das Gesetz eines gemeinschaftlichen freiwilligen Bundes und der freundschaftlichsten Mitteilung zweier Wesen, die sich durchs ganze Leben zu einem vereint fühlen. (Herder 1965: 153)

Daukantas, when describing the functions of the mother and emphasising the endurance of women, states that sometimes women gave birth while working in the fields and brought back a new family member with them when they returned home from a gruelling day's work (*Būdas*: 101). They raised their children by setting an example, teaching them to observe the lives of animals and plants. According to Daukantas, the close connection of a person with their environment forms self-awareness, common sense, creativity and the ability to find direction in life. Daukantas also viewed women to be responsible for preserving traditional clothing. Perhaps following the history of the decline of ancient Rome, Daukantas considered the replacement of traditional Lithuanian clothing with the clothes of other countries to be a sign of the collapse of Lithuanian statehood, noting that the representatives of the highest (ruling) class were first to abandon their traditions, foreshadowing cultural decline.

Conclusion

When dealing with the question of *pax sempiterna*, Herder created the metaphor of the '*Indische Frau / Frieden Frau*' and outlined the seven principles of intellectual, moral and legal development.

Daukantas also explored the problem of personal morality in his historiosophical work *BUDAS Senowęs–Lėtuwiū Kalnienū Ir Žámajtiū* (1845) by seeking to explain how Lithuanians could have resisted the Crusader invasion for hundreds of years. He demonstrated that the personal morality of ancient Lithuanians, which manifested itself through hospitality, courtesy, and mercy, was fully aligned with the "Christian love" that was pretextually preached by Christian humanism but disseminated by sword, fire and carnage.

Daukantas, like Herder, believed that love through coercion and violence is impossible, thus they both only advocated for defensive wars. They believed that love for peace and intolerance towards violence are most often instilled by women, who function as the guardians of the hearth and home and the educators of the younger generation. Therefore, Daukantas, when conceiving the original Lithuanian version of the word *humanitas*, derived it from the Lithuanian word for 'wife' (*žmona*) and created the Lithuanian equivalent – *žmonystė*.

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Embodying Spanishness in Latvian Ballet (1923–1941): Exoticism, Identity, and Propaganda

Spāņu ietekme latviešu baletā (1923–1941): eksotika, identitāte un propaganda

Keywords:

ballet,
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Atslēgvārdi:

balets,
dejas vēsture,
starpkulturālisms,
citādība,
maigā vara,
stereotips

Summary

Spanishness, the imagined perception of Spain, played a major role in interwar Latvian ballet. We located forty-five Spanish-themed ballets, *divertissements*, and concert miniatures performed between 1923 and 1941. Dancing bodies act as cross-cultural archives that enable us to comprehend the identities projected through inherited gestures. This article proposes that Spanishness, perceived as an exotic and distant Other, may have enhanced the identity of the pre-war Republic of Latvia. We examined the ballets *Paquita*, *Jota Aragonesa*, *Don Quixote*, *Boléro*, and *Laurencia* through primary visual sources supported by Latvian press data. These case studies depicted a polyhedric image of Spain firmly based on Andalusian archetypes, intertwined with Orientalist motifs, and the *jota* of Aragon. Spanishness can be seen as an integral aspect of the multicultural manifestation of Latvian interwar society. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 marked a turning point that increased interest in this multilayered mirror. In late 1930s with increasing political and military pressure of the Soviet Union, Spanishness evolved into a soft power strategy and, ultimately, became a Soviet propaganda tool.

Kopsavilkums

Spāniskumam jeb iedomātajam Spānijas tēlam starpkaru periodā bija liela ietekme uz Latvijas baletu. No 1923. līdz 1941. gadam atradās 45 spāņu tematikai veltīti baleti, fragmenti un koncertminiāturās. Dejojāšu ķermeņi var uzskatīt par starpkultūru "arhīvu": tas palīdz izprast idejas un identitātes, kuras projicējas kā noteikti žesti. Šajā rakstā izteikts pieņēmums, ka spāniskums, kas tika uztverts kā eksotisks un tāls "citādaļ", varēja veicināt pirmskara Latvijas Republikas identitātes veidošanos. Baleti *Pahita*, *Aragonas jota*, *Dons Kihots*, *Bolero* un *Laurensija* pētīti, izmantojot vizuālos pirmavotus, kā arī Latvijas preses materiālus. Šajos baletos daudzšķautņains Spānijas tēls veidots, stingri balstoties uz Andalūzijas arhetipiem, kas savijušies ar orientālisma motīviem un Aragonas hotu. Spāniskumu var uzskatīt par starpkaru Latvijas multikulturālās sabiedrības neatņemamu izpausmi. Spānijas pilsoņu kara sākums 1936. gadā iezīmēja pagrieziena punktu, pēc kura pastiprinājās interese par šo daudzveidīgo "spoguļi". 30. gadu beigās, sakarā ar Padomju Savienības politiskā un militārā spiediena palielināšanos, spāniskums transformējās par "maigās varas" stratēģiju un galu galā izvērtās par padomju propagandas ieroci.

Introduction

On December 1, 1922, the Latvian National Ballet performed *La Fille mal gardée* for the first time. This performance marked the beginning of Latvian ballet (Bite 2002: 34; Bāliņa 2018: 482). Or, at least, this has been the mainstream notion. In this article, we believe that the trajectory of ballet in Riga is richer than its literature has portrayed so far. Between 1922 and 1941 there were five ballet masters. Nikolai Sergeyev, the former Russian *régisiseur* of the Imperial Ballet, became its first director. During his time in Saint Petersburg, Sergeyev annotated the choreography of dozens of Marius Petipa's ballets using the Stepanov system (Fullington and Smith 2024: 7-15). Sergeyev fled Russia with these choreographic notations in the wake of the 1917 Revolution. In 1921, the impresario Sergei Diaghilev invited him to stage a revival of *The Sleeping Beauty* for his Ballets Russes in London (Garafola 1989: 124).¹ There he met Latvian dancer Voldemārs Komisārs whom he invited to Riga (Bite 2002: 25).²

Nevertheless Ēriks Tivums considered that Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina,³ Mikhail Fokine's sister-in-law,⁴ became the actual "founder of Latvian ballet" (Tivums 2000: 192).⁵ During one of her last interviews for *Dance Magazine*, she declared that "[w]e started with 11 dancers and in 3 or 4 years, we had 120 on stage" (Horosko and Fedorova 1971: 28). Between 1925 and 1932, Feodorova-Fokina staged 22 productions that had been previously premiered mainly in Saint Petersburg and Paris (Preciado-Azanza 2022a: 304-305). Not only she had been a soloist with the Imperial Ballet for 18 seasons (Horosko and Fedorova 1971: 24) but also she had been part of Diaghilev's breakthrough ballet season in the French capital.⁶ Anatolii Viltzak, a prominent Lithuanian principal dancer of the Imperial Ballet as well as Diaghilev and

1 The production *Sleeping Princess* had additional choreography by Bronisława Niżyńska.

2 Before joining Diaghilev, Komisārs was a ballet master of the Latvian opera (Bite, 2002: 21-25), a precursor of the Latvian National Opera (Čeže 2000: 278).

3 In this article, we use her name as displayed on her calling cards in Riga and Kaunas. Later, her ballet studio in New York bore the name Alexandra Fedorova Fokine (NYPL *MGZMD 110).

4 Feodorova-Fokina married Alexandre, Mikhail's older brother, who founded the *Troitsky* theatre of miniatures in 1911 (Suquet 2012: 231).

5 [Ī]sto latviešu baleta dibinātāju.

6 On May 18, 1909, Feodorova-Fokina performed *Le Pavillon d'Armide* at the Théâtre du Châtelet alongside Mikhail Mordkin, Tamara Karsavina, and Wacław Niżyński (Garafola 1989: 383-384).

Ida Rubinstein's companies (Garafola 2004: 341),⁷ substituted Feodorova-Fokina at the helm. Even though his tenure lasted for merely a season, he introduced cutting edge ballets by Fokine and Léonide Massine to Latvian audiences.⁸ Afterwards, Mieczyslaw Pianowski, a Polish dancer and ballet master of Anna Pavlova's troupe (Jonīte 2019: 679), produced several one-act ballets that Ivan Clustine had choreographed for the Russian ballerina (Bite 2002: 95-98).⁹ In 1934, Osvalds Lēmanis became the first Latvian ballet master to lead the company. Despite the tumultuous years of World War II, Lēmanis continued to be at the forefront for a decade, until he passed the baton to Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece (Bāliņa 2018: 483).

Latvian ballet has not yet been fully studied to comprehend its international relevance. The history of ballet in Riga constitutes a transnational cultural crossroads that can be traced back to, at least, the mid-19th century. On August 29, 1863, Riga's first professional theatre, the Stadt-Theater in Riga – Rīgas 1. pilsētas teātris –,¹⁰ moved to the new building designed by Ludwig Bohnstedt. It was renamed Rigaer Stadt-Theater (Čeže 2000: 278) and it played a key role for the heterogeneous Baltic German community (Spārītis 2000: 24).¹¹ The theatre has served as a venue for dynamic choreographic activity. Since its inception, there have been several female ballet masters, such as the French Jeanette Procher, Polish Elina Grinitzka, Italians Emilie Bellini and Adelle Fiori, German Helena Thiele-Leonhardt, and, most notably, Austrian Katti Lanner (Tivums 2000: 187). After working in the Baltic capital during the 1868/69 season, Lanner settled in London where she established herself as a

7 In 1921, Viltzak starred in Sergeyev's *Sleeping Princess*. After his time in Riga, he joined René Blum's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo where he danced *Don Juan's* title role in 1936 (Garafola 2004: 341). Both Viltzak and Feodorova-Fokina emigrated later in the United States. Cuban ballerina Alicia Alonso expressed how relevant they were for her ballet education in New York (Alonso 2020: 445).

8 Such as *Petroushka*, *Pulcinella*, and *The Steel Step*. These productions were performed only four times (Štāls 1943: 51).

9 Clustine had been Paris Opera Ballet's director between 1911 and 1914 (Guest 2001: 319).

10 It was founded in 1782 by German philanthropist Otto von Vietinghoff-Scheel. Elias Vogt was the first ballet master of the troupe (Bāliņa 2018: 481). Among others, Louis Duport, Lola Montez, Julius Heisinger, Marius Petipa, Nadezhda Bogdanova, Katti Lanner, and Lucile Grahn performed in this theatre (Tivums 2000: 186-187).

11 It was considered the German theatre. Rīgas 2. Pilsētas teātris – currently, the Latvian National Theatre – hosted numerous performances of Russian dancers, such as Anna Pavlova and Jekaterina Geltzer (Tivums 2000: 187). In addition, Stadt-Theater in Riga can be considered a socio-political thermometer. It had eight different appellatives between 1914 and 1919 (Čeže 2000: 278).

prominent figure within the Empire Ballet (Guest 1992: 93–101). It seems that Riga contributed to the shaping of Europe's cosmopolitan culture (Figes 2019),¹² as well as international ballet history. It is a history of migration (Jonīte 2019), a multilayered diaspora that goes beyond prevailing histories that barely acknowledge Russian influence.

Such cross-culturalism can also be seen on stage. This text addresses the impact of Spanish-themed choreographies. Manuel Lucena Giraldo points out that “[t]he national image is a cultural construction which makes a collective identity through reading of signs into an existed narrative” (Lucena Giraldo 2006: 219). Spanishness has been constructed as a mixture of cultural stereotypes,¹³ often associated with the pejorative Black Legend.¹⁴ This imagined Spain contributed to the creation of characters such as bullfighters, bandits, and *manolas* (a woman from Madrid's lower classes).¹⁵ These portrayals showcased mostly an oriental depiction based on Andalusian archetypes that strongly relied on the country's extensive Muslim heritage. Riga's audiences became acquainted with this imagery during the 19th century. On March 5, 1863, Marius Petipa and his wife, Marie, performed the ballet *La Perle de Seville* at the Stadt-Theater in Riga (ULL R6790/63).¹⁶

Spanishness has shaped the Latvian ballet repertoire for years. Between 1868

12 Figes (2019: 39–47) considers the emergence of a cosmopolitan culture as a result of the increasing number of transnational train lines. Between 1837 and 1839, Richard Wagner worked as a conductor of the Stadt-Theater in Riga.

13 In this article, we follow Homi Bhabha's interpretation of a stereotype as “what is always in place, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated” (Bhabha 1994: 66).

14 This term, defined by Julián Juderías in the early 20th century, encompasses the stereotypes that were once used, mainly by Europeans, to counteract the rise of power of the Spanish Empire in the 16th century. Spaniards were perceived as a barbaric, cruel, despotic, and religious Other (Lucena Giraldo 2006: 220–224).

15 Spanishness must not be confused with the colonial term Hispanic. In Spanish, the word *hispánico* not only includes people from Spain, but also different cultures that were once conquered by the Spanish Empire. In English, Hispanic often tends to be used as a synonym for Spanish culture. This misunderstanding seems to be related to the fact that in Spanish, another word (*hispano*), functions with analogous purposes. During the Roman Empire, the Iberian Peninsula was known as Hispania. Thus, we believe that the term *hispano* reflects more accurately what Spanish culture encompasses.

16 Petipa choreographed this ballet in 1844 while he was a principal dancer and choreographer of the Teatro del Circo in Madrid (Hormigón 2010: 416).

and 1869, Lanner choreographed the miniatures *La Mancha*,¹⁷ *Pas de Tambour de Basque*,¹⁸ *La Sevillana*,¹⁹ *La Gallegada*,²⁰ and *Los Toreadores* for Rīgaer Stadt-Theater's ballet troupe.²¹ Spanish-themed choreographies flourished in the 20th century. The Latvian National Ballet and Liepāja's professional ballet company performed productions of *Paquita* (1923, 1929, 1974, 1989), *Jota Aragonesa* (1930), *Don Quixote* (1931, 1932, 1936, 1941, 1945, 1960, 1982), *Bólero* (1936, 1942, 1958, 1983), *Capriccio espagnol* (1937), *Laurencia* (1941, 1949), *Rapsodie espagnole* (1961), *The Gold of the Incas* (1969), *Carmen* (1971), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1987), *Guernica* (1990), and *Don Juan* (1997) (Bāliņa 2018: 487-574; Zvirgzdinš 2018: 338-361). This list would be endless if we were also to include the large number of Spanish-themed *divertissements* that can be found in *Swan Lake*, *Coppélia*, *Raymonda*, *Nutcracker*, and *Scaramouche*, among others.

This article focuses on the period of the interwar Republic of Latvia. Dace Ļaviņa highlights that "[i]nterpretations of passionate Spanish emotions were very popular in the 1920s" (Ļaviņa 2019: 133). The magazine *Atpūta* showed how deeply Spanishness had permeated Latvian art and society. In a previous study, we located 115 references covering a wide range of topics. In terms of news published about Spain and its inhabitants, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War as well as the picturesque portrayals of Andalusian clothing, the Carnival, and the *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) often appeared in Emīlija Benjamiņa's publication (Preciado-Azanza 2022b: 89-90). This magazine also reproduced several Spanish-themed international artworks, whose stereotypes highly influenced several Latvian artists (Preciado-Azanza 2022b: 91-92), such as Gustavs Šķilters, Kārlis Brencēns, Jazeps Grosvalds, Aleksandra Beļcova, Oto Skulme, and Sigismunds Vidbergs.²² Aija Zandersone and

17 On August 18, 1868 (ULL R6815/147).

18 On October 13, 1868 (ULL R6815/202).

19 On November 3, 1868 (ULL R6815/223).

20 On November 10, 1868 (ULL R6815/230).

21 On February 20, 1869 (ULL R6816/53).

22 Šķilters became one of the first Latvian artists to visit Spain. Not only did he meet his friend, Oleguer Junyent, but also became profoundly inspired by this country. Between 1902 and 1908, Šķilters produced numerous watercolours – *Spānietis*, *Skats Kordovā*, *Pilsētas vārti Burgosā*, *Pilsdrupas Spānijā*, and *Alambras muri, Granadā* – and the pastel *Spāniešu dejotāja* (1908) (Zandersone and Kalnača 2024: 160-161; 187). Brencēns portrayed Hermenegildo Anglada Camarasa and Ignacio Zuloaga, whom he met in Paris. Later on, he became acquainted with Antonio Gaudí during a trip to Spain (Zandersone and Kalnača 2024: 166; 188). Particularly interesting is Grosvalds's sketch-

leva Kalnača emphasize “how closely the worlds of [the] young Latvian and Spanish artist were intertwined” (Zandersone and Kalnača 2024: 176) The vibrant performing arts scene in Riga showcased this notable connection. The multiple Spanish-themed opera, ballet, and theatre productions displayed by *Atpūta* – *Carmen*, *Fidelio*, *Don Juan*, *Paquita*, *Ernani*, *Fuenteovejuna*, *Don Carlos*, *Il trovatore*, *The Star of Seville*, *Don Quixote*, *The Barber of Seville*, *Jota Aragonesa*, *Boléro*, and *The Marriage of Figaro* – depicted bullfighters, shawls, fans, guitars, and especially *manolas* (Preciado-Azanza 2022b: 93–98). Spain was perceived as an exotic and distant Other in Latvian society.

Spain and Latvia are located on the outer edge of Europe. This geographical location caused both countries to be considered to be on the periphery. Both Spain and Latvia have often undergone a process of Orientalization. Edward Said explored how the difference between cultures was conceived “first, as creating a battlefield that separates them, and second, as inviting the West to control, contain, and otherwise govern [...] the Other” (Said 1979: 47–48). A clear example is when Napoleon invaded Spain and Russia. The French writer Louis Viardot compared the similarities between the impact of the Muslims in Spain and the Mongols in Russia: “[The] Orient has entered Europe from its two extremes” (Viardot 1846: 86). In other words, the people of Spain and Russia were considered barbaric, savage, and uncivilized (Figes 2019: 36). However, despite being situated on the continent’s margins, both countries shared cultural ties.

The Baltic and the Mediterranean regions are connected by a mutual interest in their cultures and imageries. Alison Sinclair has analyzed “the vision of Russia as the primitive, erotic and erotic (br)other of Spain” in the early 20th century (Sinclair 2004: 214). Even though Spain recognized the independence of Latvia on March, 23 1921 (AHN H 1637/Exp. 4),²³ the image of Latvia often intermingled with the perception of Russia. Particularly striking is the vision of Spanish politician Rodrigo Soriano. Not

book *Spānija* (1913), which included several landscapes from Seville, Córdoba, Castile, Toledo, and Segovia (Zandersone and Kalnača 2024: 189–191). After visiting a small Spanish town near the border with France, Beļcova created the large-format plate *Korīda/Spānijas motīvi* in 1926 (Laviņa 2019: 133), while four years later she authored the canvas *Spāniete* (Jevsejeva 2019: 175). In 1929, *Atpūta* published a Spanish-themed drawing by Skulme (Preciado-Azanza 2022b: 94). Beatrise Vīgnere’s students inspired the graphic work *Spaņu deja* by Vidbergs (Bērzina 2015: 68), who also designed the vase *Dejotāja* (c. 1929–1939) reminiscent of a female Spanish dancer.

23 A few months earlier, Spanish journalist Enrique Domínguez Rodiño discovered the tomb of renowned Spanish writer Ángel Ganivet, who committed suicide in the Daugava River in November 1898 when he was the Spanish Consul in Riga. Domínguez Rodiño published three influential articles in the Spanish newspaper *El imparcial*, which contributed to the repatriation of Ganivet’s body (Preciado-Azanza 2022a: 309). We believe that the impact of this discovery on Spanish society prompted recognition of the Latvian state.

only did he compare Riga with Galicia (Sinclair 2004: 208),²⁴ but he also portrayed his vision of Latvian women. In *San Lénin (Viaje a Rusia)* (1927), one of the most influential Spanish travel books about Russia in the 1920s (Sinclair 2004: 211), Soriano declared that “[b]eautiful Latvian women of one’s dreams, in the pallid Northern light that shrouds them in whiteness, enter the sea like marble statues or ivory figures from an ancient museum” (Soriano 1927: 35).²⁵ Simultaneously, in Latvia, the perception of Spanish women was based on Carmen (Preciado-Azanza 2022b: 100).

In this text, we believe that Spain and Latvia share an “imagined community” (Anderson 1983),²⁶ that can be traced through dance. Dancing bodies act as cross-cultural archives that enable us to comprehend identities projected by inherited gestures,²⁷ that is, by means of the “gestural imaginary” (Ruprecht 2019). This research is based on the hypothesis that Spanishness, perceived as the Other, may have enhanced the identity of the prewar Republic of Latvia. Therefore, “Spain [might have been] used as a facade (Meglin 1994: 269), an imagined mirror that projects the issues facing society. Joellen A. Meglin analyzed the influence of Spanish dance on French society. We believe that such a perspective can also be used in the Latvian context.

Indeed, Tivums noted that “Latvian ballet [fell] in love with Spanish dances and Spanish passions for many years” (Tivums 2000: 194).²⁸ Despite such a significant role, there have been no in-depth studies. In the pioneering *Latviešu balets* (1943), Štals briefly covered early Latvian ballet productions. After the hiatus of Soviet stagnation, Bite (2002) broadened this outlook by including numerous reviews in her noteworthy *Latvijas balets*. Bāliņa (2018) provided relevant updated data in *Latvijas baleta un dejas enciklopēdija*, while Zvirgzdiņš (2018) compiled an exhaustive chronicle of choreographic productions in *No skices līdz izrādei*. Spanish-themed ballets were influenced by the Ballets Russes’ *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Thus, prominent Latvian artists oversaw their designs. Jevsejeva (2024), Tišheizere (2024), and Vanaga (2014)

24 Galicia is a northern region in Spain. Soriano portrayed these similarities in *La bomba* (1932).

25 Las bellas letonas del ensueño, a la lívida luz del Norte que las amortaja en blancuras, entran en el mar cual marmóreas estatuas o marfilinas esculturas de museo antiguo.

26 In this article, we follow Beatriz Martínez del Fresno’s interpretation of Benedict Anderson’s term as a transversal concept that does not necessarily need to coincide with the prevailing borders of nation-states (Martínez del Fresno, 2016: 50). By doing so, we can connect geographically distant communities, such as Spain and Latvia.

27 This perspective was introduced by Lepecki (2010).

28 Latviešu balets uz ilgiem gadiem iemīlējās spāņu dejās un spāniskās kaislībās.

highlighted Ludolfs Liberts' work for *Jota Aragonesa*, Jevsejeva (2016) disclosed the reasons for Romans Suta's removal from *Don Quixote*, while Tišheizere (2021) studied Niklāvs Strunke's Spanish dancers' sketches for *Scaramouche*. In our previous works, we have conducted initial research to examine *Paquita*, *Jota Aragonesa*, and *Don Quixote* (Preciado-Azanza 2020, 2022a, 2023a), in addition to the relationship between dance and Latvian identity (Preciado-Azanza 2021). This article examines the image projected by Spanish-themed choreographies during the interwar Republic of Latvia.

We located 45 Spanish-themed ballets, *divertissements*, and concert miniatures performed between 1923 and 1941 (Table 1). All choreographies were danced in Riga, except for Liepaja Ballet's *Capriccio Espagnol*. Although the majority of the performances took place at the Latvian National Opera²⁹ we also located Spanish-themed choreographies at the Latvian National Theatre and on the premises of the Riga Latvian Society. Most miniatures were danced between 1936 and 1940. We believe that the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War might have boosted interest in Spanishness. Indeed, in the midst of World War II, Latvian dancer Marta Alberinga performed her repertoire of Spanish dances across Europe with the aid of the Blue Division (Brancis 2002: 104–105).³⁰ It is beyond the scope of this article to fully cover this broad panorama. Therefore this article proposes an initial framework for further research by analyzing five case studies – three full-length and two one act ballets – premiered in Riga: *Paquita*, *Jota Aragonesa*, *Don Quixote*, *Bólero*, and *Laurencia*.

This interdisciplinary research combines historical, social, and cultural analyses based on primary sources in Latvian, French, and American institutions. First, we elaborated a catalogue of Spanish-themed choreographies performed during the interwar Republic of Latvia (Table 1). Our data is based on the program notes held in the Museum of Literature and Music,³¹ the Latvian National Opera and Ballet

29 Not all the choreographies were danced by members of the Latvian National Ballet.

30 The Blue Division was a Spanish unit of Francoist volunteers serving in the Nazi Army.

31 RMM 227095; RMM 852251.

Archive,³² and the Latvian State Archive.³³ This information has been completed with existing literature: Štals (1943), Tivums (2000), Brancis (2002), Bite (2002), Bāliņa (2018), and Zvirgzdiņš (2018). This preliminary task enabled the selection of the case studies and their primary sources. Our focus lies mainly on photographs as well as costume and set designs. Spanishness can not only be seen visually, but also choreographically. Therefore this study lies at the intersection of Art History and Dance Studies. In addition to applying iconological analysis (Panofsky 1955), we also included the corporeal semiotic approach (Forster 1986). Finally, our outcomes have been supported by Latvian press data. The reviews published by *Jaunākās Ziņas*, *Sociāldemokrāts*, *Aizkulisēs*, *Pēdējā Brīdī*, *Latvijas Kareivis*, along with *Cīņa* served as a thermometer to fully understand the constructed image of Spain in Latvian society.

Table 1. The author’s own graphical depiction of Spanish-themed Latvian ballets, *divertissements*, and concert miniatures performed during the interwar Republic of Latvia. 1923–1941.

	Choreo-graphic Work	Date of premiere	Typology	Theatre	Chore-ographer	Stage director	Composer	Libretto	Dancers (selection)	Designs
1	<i>Paquita</i>	1923: May 22	Full-length ballet	Latvian National Opera	Joseph Mazilier, Marius Petipa	Nikolai Sergeyev	Édouard Deldevez, Ludwig Minkus	Marius Petipa	Jelena Lukoma, Boris Savrov, Nikolai Sergeyev	Eduards Vītols
2	<i>Panaderos (Raymonda)</i>	1924: April 28	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Theatre	Marius Petipa	E. Sveķis	Alexandr Glazunov	-	Eiženija Sveķis, Harijs Plūcis	-
3	<i>Acts II and IV dances (Carmen)</i>	1924: December 17	Opera <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Nikolai Sergeyev	Pytor Melnikow	Georges Bizet	Georges Bizet	-	Ludolfs Liberts

32 Not all the programs that we have been able to locate are from the first performance of each production. Next, we specify each date. LNOB 483; LNOB 646 – *Carmen*: December 27, 1925 –; LNOB 641 – *Swan Lake*: May 9, 1926 –; LNOB 680 – *Coppélia*: October 12, 1926 –; LNOB 746 – *Raymonda*: April 28, 1927 –; LNOB 781 – *Nutcracker*: April 13, 1928 –; LNOB 855; LNOB 1114 – *Jota Aragonesa*: November 16, 1930 –; LNOB 1215 – even though we located the program notes of the premiere of *Don Quixote*, they have not been catalogued. Therefore the earliest performance we can document dates from November 12, 1931 –; LNOB 1678 – Lēmanis’s *Don Quixote*: February 18, 1936 –; LNOB 1805; LNOB 1990 – *The Song of the Desert*: September 22, 1936 –; LNOB 1895; LNOB 1981 – *Scaramouche*’s Spanish dance and *Boléro*: December 28, 1936 –; LNOB 2171 – *Clivia’s Pasodoble*: November 2, 1937 –; LNOB 108; LNOB 2042; LNOB 2275; LNOB 2396 – *Tobago’s* Spanish dance: February 4, 1939 –; LNOB 2771 – *Laurencia*: January 4, 1941 –.

33 LSA 2256/3.

4	<i>Spanish dance (Swan Lake)</i>	1926: March 30	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Pyotr Ilych Tchaikovsky	Vladimir Begichev	Sira Jurgense, Klara Gentele, Georgs Brants, Eižens Leščevskis	Eduards Vītols
5	<i>Bolero (Coppélia)</i>	1926: May 20	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Arthur Saint-Léon, Marius Petipa	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Léo Delibes	Charles Nutter, Arthur Saint-Léon	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Eduards Vītols
6	<i>Grand pas espagnol (Raymonda)</i>	1926: November 30	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Alexandr Glazunov	Lydia Pashkova	Melānija Lence, Georgs Brants	Eduards Vītols
7	<i>Spanish dance (Nutcracker)</i>	1928: April 4	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Lev Ivanov	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Pyotr Ilych Tchaikovsky	Marius Petipa	Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece, Georgs Brants	Ludolfs Liberts
8	<i>Grand pas classique (Paquita)</i>	1929: February 7	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Ludwig Minkus	Marius Petipa	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina, Lev Lvov	Eduards Vītols
9	<i>Jota Aragonesa</i>	1930: November 6	One-act ballet	Latvian National Opera	Mikhail Fokine	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Mikhail Glinka	-	Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece, Osvalds Lēmanis	Ludolfs Liberts
10	<i>Don Quixote</i>	1931: October 30	Full-length ballet	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa, Alexander Gorsky, Fyodor Lopukhov	Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina	Ludwig Minkus	Marius Petipa	Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece, Osvalds Lēmanis	Sigismunds Vidbergs, Romans Suta (unofficial)
11	<i>Spanish dance (Swan Lake)</i>	1934: November 3	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa	Osvalds Lēmanis	Pyotr Ilych Tchaikovsky	Marius Petipa	-	Eduards Vītols
12	<i>Two Spanish Impressions: Cadiz, Jota</i>	1935: December 1	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Beatrise Vignere	Beatrise Vignere	Isaac Albéniz, Emmanuel Chabrier	-	Marta Alberinga, A. Priede	-
13	<i>Don Quixote</i>	1936: January 23	Full-length ballet	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa, Alexander Gorsky, Fyodor Lopukhov, Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Ludwig Minkus	Marius Petipa	Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece, Osvalds Lēmanis	Sigismunds Vidbergs
14	<i>Pasosoble, Spanish group (The Desert Song)</i>	1936: September 19	Opera <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Eižens Leščevskis	Jānis Zariņš	Sigmund Romberg	Sigmund Romberg	Eižens Leščevskis	Pēteris Rožlāpa
15	<i>Beggars</i>	1936: October 4	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Manuel de Falla	-	Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece, Osvalds Lēmanis	-

16	<i>Zambra</i>	1936: October 4	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Dolores Moreno	Mirdza Griķe	Modesto Romero	-	Mirdza Griķe	-
17	<i>Spanish dance (Scar- amouche)</i>	1936: December 10	Ballet divertisse- ment	Latvian National Opera	Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Jean Sibelius	Osvalds Lēmanis	Tatjana Fokina, Tatjana Vestene, Karmena Burkeviča	Niklāvs Strunke
18	<i>Boléro</i>	1936: December 10	One-act ballet	Latvian National Opera	Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Maurice Ravel	Osvalds Lēmanis	Mirdza Griķe, Rūdolfs Saule	Pēteris Rožlapa
19	<i>Capriccio Espagnol</i>	1937: April 4	Full-length ballet	Latvian National Opera	Alberts Kozlovskis	Alberts Kozlovskis	Nikolai Rimsky- Korsakov	Alberts Kozlovskis	-	E. Gūtmanis
20	<i>Alegrías</i>	1937: March 9	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	-	Mirdza Griķe	-	-	Mirdza Griķe	-
21	<i>Spanish dance</i>	1937: March 9	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	-	Mirdza Griķe	-	-	Mirdza Griķe	-
22	<i>Male Variation (Don Quixote)</i>	1937: June 3	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa, Alexander Gorsky, Fyodor Lopukhov, Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Ludwig Minkus	Marius Petipa	Jānis Grauds	Sigismunds Vidbergs
23	<i>Female Variation (Don Quixote)</i>	1937: June 3	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Marius Petipa, Alexander Gorsky, Fyodor Lopukhov, Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Ludwig Minkus	Marius Petipa	F. Tracevska	Sigismunds Vidbergs
24	<i>Jota (Don Quixote)</i>	1937: June 3	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Guerrero	Marius Petipa	Melānija Lence, Eižens Leščevskis	Sigismunds Vidbergs
25	<i>Flamenco (Don Quixote)</i>	1937: June 3	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Osvalds Lēmanis	Osvalds Lēmanis	Massotti	Marius Petipa	Osvalds Lēmanis, Melānija Lence, O. Titovs	Sigismunds Vidbergs
26	<i>Pasodoble (Clivia)</i>	1937: October 30	Operetta <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Eižens Leščevskis	Jurijs de Bürs	Nico Dostal	Eižens Leščevskis	Jānis Grauds, Pauls Fibigs	Jānis Rozenbergs
27	<i>Seguidilla (The Last Waltz)</i>	1937: November 25	Ballet <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Eižens Leščevskis	Eižens Leščevskis	Johan Strauss, Josef Strauss, Eduard Strauss	Eižens Leščevskis	Mirdza Griķe	Pēteris Rožlapa
28	<i>Spanish dance</i>	1938: January 6	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Victor Gzovski	Mirdza Griķe	Enrique Granados	-	Mirdza Griķe	-

29	<i>Serenade</i>	1938: January 6	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Dolores Moreno	Mirdza Griķe	Isaac Albeniz	-	Mirdza Griķe	-
30	<i>Tonadilla</i>	1938: December 12	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	E. Moreno	Tatjana Vestene	Enrique Granados	-	Tatjana Vestene	Elf. Kalnavārņa
31	<i>Intermezzo (Goyescas)</i>	1938: December 12	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Dolores Moreno	Vera Ļiĥačeva	Enrique Granados	-	Vera Ļiĥačeva	M. Jakobi
32	<i>Gitana</i>	1938: December 12	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Dolores Moreno	Vera Ļiĥačeva	Juan Mostazo	-	Vera Ļiĥačeva	-
33	<i>Jota</i>	1938: December 12	Concert Miniature	Latvian National Opera	Dolores Moreno	Vera Ļiĥačeva	Laveja	-	Vera Ļiĥačeva	-
34	<i>Spanish dance (Tobago)</i>	1939: February 2	Opera <i>divertissement</i>	Latvian National Opera	Osvalds Lēmanis	Jānis Zariņš	Mārtiņš Jansons	Mārtiņš Jansons, Aleksandrs Grīns	Helēna Tangjjeva- Birzniece, Klāra Gentele, Jānis Grauds, Pauls Fibigs	Pēteris Rožlāpa
35	<i>Moresca</i>	1939: February 27	Concert Miniature	-	Dolores Moreno	Edīte Pfeifere	-	-	Edīte Pfeifere	-
36	<i>Corrida</i>	1940: January 30	Concert Miniature	-	-	Mirdza Griķe	-	-	Mirdza Griķe	-
37	<i>Granada</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	Villaroso	-	Marta Alberinga	-
38	<i>Sevillana</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	Santis	-	Marta Alberinga	-
39	<i>Bulerías</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	Piervano	-	Marta Alberinga	-
40	<i>Asturiana</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	-	-	Marta Alberinga	-
41	<i>Seguidillas</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	-	-	Marta Alberinga	-
42	<i>Tango</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	Font	-	Marta Alberinga	-
43	<i>La Corrida</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	Quinito Valverde	-	Marta Alberinga	-
44	<i>Jota Aragonesa</i>	1940: February 12	Concert Miniature	Riga Latvian Society	Marta Alberinga	Marta Alberinga	Vicente Costa Nogueras	-	Marta Alberinga	-
45	<i>Laurencia</i>	1941: January 3	Full-length ballet	Latvian National Opera	Vakhtang Chabukiani	Osvalds Lēmanis	Aleksandr Krein	Vakhtang Chabukiani	Mirdza Griķe, Jānis Grauds, Osvalds Lēmanis	Pēteris Rožlāpa

***Paquita* (1923, 1929), a ballet inspired by the Sieges of Zaragoza**

Paquita initiated the path of Spanishness in Latvian ballet by introducing a theme, the Sieges of Zaragoza, which was fairly familiar to the audience in Riga. In 1908, Anna Pavlova included this ballet in the repertory of her first Northern European tour (Fullington and Smith 2024: 325). Riga was the first stop on this trip.³⁴ Both cities, Riga and Zaragoza, had experienced the invasion of Napoleon. The capital of the Governorate of Livonia was unsuccessfully occupied in 1812. However, the *Grand Armée* eventually conquered Zaragoza. Despite that its inhabitants initially resisted the French in 1808, this northern Spanish city surrendered after the second siege in 1809. Such iconic battle of the Peninsular War inspired numerous artists and writers across Europe. Goya became a pioneer with his prints *The Disasters of War*, while Victor Hugo and Leo Tolstoy included this episode in *Les Misérables* and *War and Peace*. Undoubtedly, Agustina, also known as *Maid of Saragossa*, symbolized the resistance of heroic female civilians (Lasa Álvarez 2020). It is most likely that *Paquita* was inspired by her courage.

This romantic two-act ballet opened on April 1, 1846, at Paris Opera's Salle Le Peletier. Joseph Mazilier choreographed this ballet with music by Édouard Deldevez. *Paquita* is set in Zaragoza under Napoleonic rule. Paquita (Carlotta Grisi), a young gypsy, falls in love with the hussar Lucien d'Hervilly (Lucien Petipa). Íñigo (Georges Élie), the gypsy leader, disapproves of the union and arranges a conspiracy with the governor of the province, Don López de Mendoza (Coralli), to assassinate the French officer (BNF MS-7166). *Paquita* was also known as *Empire* (Gautier 1846: 1). Its debut occurred only two years before Napoleon III came to power.³⁵ Thus, by extolling the French patriotic victory, this ballet may have played a significant role in the use of the imagery of the Sieges of Zaragoza as a political tool (Preciado-Azanza 2023b: 173). A year later, Marius Petipa restaged *Paquita* in Saint Petersburg. By then, Europe had been immersed in a cross-cultural exchange (Figes 2019) that enabled Budapest, Naples, Moscow, Munich, Hamburg, Milan, or Saint Petersburg to witness *Paquita* during the second half of the 19th century. In 1881, Petipa choreographed a new version with musical additions by Ludwig Minkus that emphasized its evolution towards classicism through the *Grand pas classique* (Fullington and Smith 2024: 264–327).

Paquita premiered at the Latvian National Opera on May 22, 1923 (Bāliņa 2018: 542). Sergejev staged the production of Petipa. As previously stated, he notated

34 Pavlova also danced in Helsingfors (Helsinki), Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin.

35 In 1848, Napoleon III became the only President of the Second French Republic because he proclaimed the Second French Empire in 1852.

dozens of works of the French choreographer with the Imperial Ballet which would become the legacy of classical ballet. In Riga, Sergeyev completed this vast material, currently known as the Sergeyev Collection (Wiley 1976: 99). On December 10, 1922, the ballet master wrote the libretto of *Paquita* (HTC MS Thr 245/29),³⁶ it was to be danced by Jelena Lukoma (Paquita), Boris Savrov (Lucien), and Sergeyev himself (Íñigo). *Jaunākās Ziņas* published an unflattering review. Ernests Brusubārda (1923: 5) considered this ballet old-fashioned and reproached Sergeyev's choice. Nevertheless, his work "gives hope that performances will some time reach an even higher level".³⁷ Unfortunately, the ballet did not receive sufficient support from the theatre management, prompting Sergeyev's departure from Riga. Even though *Paquita* was merely performed twice (Stāls 1943: 51), this production marked a milestone for ballet history. It was the last time that *Paquita* was danced as a full-length ballet during the 20th century.

This ballet was chosen mainly because of poor economic conditions in the early 1920s. It was suitable for the relatively small Latvian ballet company which could not afford scenery, costumes, and props of their own and had to use, instead, existing items from opera productions (Bite 2002: 35–36). *Paquita* included a mixture of designs by Eduards Vītols. Although there are no original sketches,³⁸ his depiction of Spanishness can be studied through the photographs preserved at the Museum of Literature and Music. Most of the portraits feature *pas de trois* dancers Melānija Lence and Alberts Kozlovskis, but the first-act images depict a visual potpourri (Fig. 1).³⁹ Besides Lukoma and Savrov, the female corps de ballet appears to wear *La Fille mal gardée* costumes. Instead of the original bullfighter capes in Paris, female dancers en travesti used elongated straw packages for the *pas de manteaux*. In doing so, *Paquita* acquired a rustic atmosphere. However, wigs are unsuitable for these purposes. On the left, a young shepherd appears with a blackened face. Such makeup disguised racist stereotypes intertwined with Orientalist motifs, as previously depicted by *Schéhrazade's* Golden Slave and *Petrouchka's* Blackamoor in the Ballets Russes (Järvinen 2020). The backdrop of mountains most likely portrayed the Pyrenees. Eurocentric viewers perceived these mountains as an imagined border that placed Spain outside the boundaries of Europe.

36 This libretto became the basis for subsequent international productions.

37 [D]od cerību, ka [...] izrādes reiz sasniegs vel lielāku pilnību.

38 Between 1918 and 1935, Vītols worked as a Latvian National Opera designer. He oversaw *Swan Lake* and *Raymonda's* Spanish-themed *divertissements*.

39 RMM 256146.



Fig. 1. Unknown author. Performers of the ballet *Paquita* in Riga. 1923. Paper, 8.9x13.9 cm.
National Museum of Literature and Music of Latvia

On February 7, 1929, Riga witnessed again the *Grand pas classique* of *Paquita* (Bāliņa 2018: 542). Despite that this *divertissement* includes few Spanish elements musically, Fullington and Smith (2024: 264–327) have located several gestures, such as the *pas de basque*, *saut de basque*, and *cabrioles*, that we believe Petipa introduced from the *jota* (Preciado-Azanza and Vela, 2024: 434). The *Grand pas classique* was staged by Feodorova-Fokina,⁴⁰ who played the leading role alongside Lev Lvov. Among the soloists were Tangijeva-Birzniece. *Paquita* was included in a triple bill with *Les Sylphides* (also known as *Chopiniana*) and the Polotvsian Dances from the opera *Prince Igor*. Feodorova's brother-in-law, Mikhail Fokine, starred in both of his choreographies (Zālīts 1929: 7). Most critics praised the Russian dancer and choreographer. However, *Aizkulīses* (1929: 5) dared to tell the truth: "Fokine's career as a solo dancer is over [...] Fokine has no strength left in his arms. In *Chopiniana* you can see that his hands are even shaking".⁴¹ Fokine was about to turn forty-nine. Because of his age, his level did not meet expectations. Latvian audiences witnessed what would probably be Fokine's last performance. At that point, Riga stood as a

40 During her tenure as soloist with the Imperial Ballet, Feodorova-Fokina performed excerpts of *Paquita* alongside Viltzak and Pierre Vladimiroff in different summer tours (Horosko and Fedorova, 1971: 26).

41 Zolo dejotāja Fokina karjera jau beigta [...] Rokās Fokinam vairs nemaz nav spēka. Šopenianē var redzēt, ka tam rokas pat dreb.

benchmark that could rival with Paris, London, and Saint Petersburg. In fact, Fokine told the press: "It has been a rare pleasure and a great satisfaction for me to work with such a great ballet company" (LNOB 856).⁴² The fourteen shows of *Paquita's Grand pas classique* (Stäls 1943: 51) not only strengthened the international excellence of the Latvian National Ballet, but also initiated a Spanishness cycle between 1929 and 1931 (Preciado-Azanza 2020: 109).

***Jota Aragonesa* (1930), an allegory of Spanishness in the Baltics**

The ballet *Jota Aragonesa* displayed a picturesque palette of colors and rhythms. *Jota* is the dance of Aragon, a northern Spanish region whose capital is Zaragoza. This dance embodies the vivacity, known as *rasmia*,⁴³ of the people of Aragon, whose refusal to even consider surrendering was Napoleon's despair. Even though the *jota* is performed all around Spain, only the Aragonese *jota* captivated prominent 19th and 20th century choreographers such as Petipa, August Bournonville, Léonide Massine, Mikhail Fokine, and George Balanchine. So far, we have located over 50 Spanish-themed choreographies that included this dance (Preciado-Azanza 2023c). We consider the *jota* to be one of the dances that best symbolizes Spanishness. Its *rasmia* often constituted the climax of several Spanish-themed ballets *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *Don Quixote*, among others. In Riga, we encounter several *jotas* performed as concert miniatures (See Table 1). Alberinga finished her program at the Riga Latvian Society with an Aragonese *jota* (LSA 2256/3). Here, we focus on the case study of *Jota Aragonesa* by Fokine.

This modern one-act ballet premiered in Saint Petersburg on January 29, 1916, at the Mariinsky Theatre. Fokine choreographed Glinka's *Capriccio Brillante on the Jota Aragonesa* after visiting Madrid, Sevilla, Granada, and Malaga during the summer of 1914. The outbreak of the World War I forced him to stay in Spain for three months, where he studied a wide range of local dances (Beaumont 1935: 114). The plotless ballet *Jota Aragonesa* enabled him to accomplish his groundbreaking choreographic approach. The five principles, published by *The Times* in 1914, laid the theoretical foundation that was expanded in 1916 through the article *The New Ballet* published by the Russian magazine *Argus*. Fokine called "[t]o free the dancers of the future ballet from unnecessary rules" (NYPL *MGZMC-Res. 11). Fokine pursued a more

42 Man bija rets prieks un liels gandarījums strādāt ar tik lielisku baleta trupu.

43 The cultural term *rasmia*, mainly used in the Aragon and Navarre regions, indicates a combination of eagerness, strength, activeness, courage, tenacity, and gracefulness (Merino, Velázquez, and Lomas 2020).



Fig. 2. Unknown author. Performers of the ballet *Jota Aragonesa*. 1930. Glass, 13x18 cm.
National Museum of Literature and Music of Latvia

expressive and reliable vision of Spain prompted by the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal. Alexander Golovin included numerous Aragonese leitmotifs in the designs, but we cannot say the same about the choreography. Despite that Fokine (1961: 236) stated that it “was the closest approach to authentic Spanish dancing the Mariinsky ballet company had ever performed”, his *jota* also included other Spanish dances (Sokolov-Kaminsky 1992: 55), such as *panaderos*, *sevillanas*, and *peteneras* (Siliņa 1930: 505). Unfortunately, we have little data, as this ballet has been considered lost after its performances in Riga and London.⁴⁴

Feodorova-Fokina staged *Jota Aragonesa* at the Latvian National Opera on November 6, 1930 in a triple-bill of Fokine’s ballets, alongside *Le Pavillon d’Armide* and *The Firebird* (Bāliņa 2018: 491). 36 dancers performed in this choreographic production in Riga (LNOB 1114). Among its soloists were Tangijeva-Birzniece and Osvalds Lēmanis, both future ballet masters. *Jaunākās Ziņas* praised *Jota Aragonesa* by highlighting its Spanish rhythms as the peak of a night that paid homage to

44 The Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo danced *Jota Aragonesa* in 1937 (Murga Castro 2012: 262).

Russian ballet (Zālīts 1930: 7). We believe that the public was delighted by Fokine's choreography according to its 16 shows (Štāls 1943: 51).

Much of its success has been attributed to the designs of Ludolfs Liberts.⁴⁵ He is widely regarded as the epitome of Art Deco in Latvia (Jevsejeva 2024; Vanaga 2014: 351). In *Jota Aragonesa*, each costume combined numerous Art Deco golden mosaics with strident colors that became "a colorful feast for the eyes" (Sudrabkalns 1930: 6).⁴⁶ Elsa Fortsmāne's costume can be seen as a clear example (Fig. 2).⁴⁷ Her comb and curly hair, as well as the abundant ruffles of her flamenco dress, represent Andalusian influences that we can also appreciate in the scenography. The "magnificent sets [were] created with rich imagination" (Zālīts 1930: 7).⁴⁸ Despite that both versions of the backdrop included a mountainous landscape, probably the Pyrenees, the final sketch, captured by Andrejs Senakols (RMM 777536),⁴⁹ showcased the typical whitewashed houses of Andalusian towns. This depiction reinforces Spain's Orientalization intertwined with Andalusia. The influence of this southern region seems to dominate this ballet, starring characters considered exotic (Preciado-Azanza 2023a), such as bandits, bullfighters, and the typical male Andalusian *traje de corto* (working dress) (Fig. 2).⁵⁰ At the forefront, we can see two dancers kneeling. This vigorous movement is usually performed as the final step of the Aragonese *jota* (Vittucci and Goya 1993: 17). Therefore, we believe that the ballet *Jota Aragonesa* can be seen as an allegory of Spanishness, a constructed image that combines Andalusian and Aragonese stereotypes.

45 Between 1924 and 1937, Liberts authored more than 40 operas, ballets, and operettas designs at the Latvian National Opera.

46 The translation from Latvian has been done by Vanaga (2014: 352).

47 RMM p91518.

48 [K]rāšņās dekorācijas [...] bagāta izdomā veidotie.

49 The Zuzāns Collection includes an earlier version featuring several flamenco dancers (ZK GL 02070).

50 Simons Šapiro is one of them.

***Don Quixote* (1931, 1936), a polyhedric image of Spain turned into a soft-power tool**

Don Quixote was the

turning point for Spanishness in Latvian ballet. Cervantes's novel is a milestone not only in Spanish literature, but also in the literature of the whole humankind. Since its publication in the early 17th century, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* has crossed all artistic and geographical boundaries. Latvia became acquainted with the idealist knight, Alonso Quijano, in 1922. After Ādolfs Erss's first approach, Konstantīns Raudive was in charge of translating this work again into the Latvian language in 1937.⁵¹ Raudive's edition materialized through the mediation of the diplomat and historian Arnolds Spekke, who in his preface praised Spanish culture as an epic land (Cimdīņa 2006: 215). Thereafter, *Don Quixote* established in Latvian culture. Indeed, during the Soviet occupation, Vīma Belševica's poem *Spanish motif: The eternal Quixotes* (1969) highlighted the windmill metaphor as an expression of desperate struggles under seemingly hopeless conditions.

There have been many choreographic adaptations of *Don Quixote*. In 1614 it was already performed as a *ballet de cour*, while during the 18th and 19th centuries Jean Georges Noverre, Louis Jacques Milon, and August Bournonville left their imprints (Martínez del Fresno 2007; Murga Castro 2016). Camacho's wedding seems to have been the excerpt that inspired the most. On December 26, 1869 Marius Petipa's choreography debut took place at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow with music by Minkus.⁵² This *grand ballet*, set in Barcelona, includes a prologue and four acts. It follows the love story of the barber Basilio (Sergei Sokolov) and Quiteria (Anna Sobeshchanskaya), in spite of the obstacles presented by her father, Lorenzo, and her fiancé, Camacho. Petipa included *seguidillas*, *boleros*, *fandangos*, and *jotas*. Two years later, he restaged this ballet in Saint Petersburg, introducing the virtuoso *pas de deux* and the dual role of Quiteria and Dulcinea. In 1900, Alexander Gorsky revitalized the corps the ballet with realism, while Fyodor Lopukhov rearranged Legat's fandango in 1923 (Souritz 1990: 31).

Don Quixote opened at the Latvian National Opera on October 30, 1931 (Bāliņa 2018: 502).⁵³ Despite the profound impact of the Great Depression (Vanaga 2014: 352),⁵⁴

51 In 1934, the Spanish writer Miguel de Unamuno entrusted to Raudive the translation of *Niebla* (RMM 470665).

52 Some sources indicate that it premiered on December 14.

53 On September 11, 1932, Viltzak staged a revival (Bāliņa 2018: 502).

54 Between 1929 and 1934 numerous operettas were included in the repertoire (Bite 2002: 101–106).

Feodorova-Fokina finished her Spanish-themed choreographic cycle. She staged a mixture of Petipa, Gorsky, and Lopukhov's choreography. *Don Quixote* became her last important success in Riga and it was the first major ballet in which Tangijeva-Birzniece starred alongside Lēmanis. Tangijeva-Birzniece went to Saint Petersburg to prepare for the role of Quiteria with her teacher, the renowned Agrippina Vaganova (Bite 2002: 62). *Jaunākās Ziņas* highlighted the effusive reaction of the audience towards her technical display (Zālīts 1931: 5). Whilst *Latvijas Kareivis* published a nationalistic plea by Latvian army officer and writer Edvīns Mednis (1931: 4) who wondered "when will we see a Latvian ballet?".⁵⁵ He also questioned the appropriateness of using foreign, rather than Latvian, imagery and criticized the stereotypes depicted. Such comments need to be understood in the complex socio-political context that emerged after the economic recession. Spanishness was of great interest in 1931. Besides *Don Quixote's* 19 performances (Štāls 1943: 51), Spanish dancers Bonifacio, Vicente Escudero and Antonia Mercé *La Argentina* also delighted Riga's audiences with their eclectic programs (RMM 227158; LNOB 1177; RMM 227156).

As a result, Sigismunds Vidbergs portrayed a polyhedric image of Spain in his theatrical debut "crowned with success" (Madernieks 1931: 14).⁵⁶ Despite that Romans Suta had been chosen first, he did not fit in with the prevailing atmosphere of the opera's atmosphere (Jevsejeva 2016: 417). The reasons for the removal of Suta cannot be determined with certainty. *Atpūta* (1930: 3) depicted a promotional image of Tangijeva-Birzniece, whose black and white costume is reminiscent of the sketch LNMM SB 74. Thus, it seems that at least some of his sketches were used. *Aizkulises* (1931: 2) pointed out that *Don Quixote* combined Vidbergs's work alongside existing costumes from Liberts's operas and *Jota Aragonesa's* designs. This is the case of Espada (Eižens Leščevskis), the bullfighter, dressed in an Andalusian *traje de corto*. On October 29, *Jaunākās Ziņas* published several images of the dancers. The costume worn by Quiteria's friend (Mirdza Kalniņa) included abundant ruffles, earrings, and a comb (Fig. 3),⁵⁷ while Mercedes (Sira Jurgense) looked like a flamenco dancer. Besides the costumes for Don Quixote, Basilio, and Sancho Panza, Vidbergs designed the first act's backdrop based on a cobbled wall, surrounded by rustic houses, as showcased by *Pēdējā Brīdī* (1931: 10). This was merely the starting point of *Don Quixote* in Riga.

On January 23, 1936, Lēmanis staged another version of *Don Quixote* that would be danced 15 times (Štāls 1943: 51). Vidbergs completed his work with 80 more costumes and sets, as noted by *Pēdējā Brīdī* (1936: 6). So far, we have located a dozen.

55 Kad redzēsim latvju baletu?

56 [N]ozarē vainagojas panākumiem.

57 RMM 102128.



Fig. 3. Sigismunds Vidbergs. Costume design for Quiteria's friend for the ballet *Don Quixote*. 1931. Pencil and gouache on cardboard, 36.8x23.5 cm. National Museum of Literature and Music of Latvia



Fig. 4. Sigismunds Vidbergs. Costume design for the Dryad Queen for the ballet *Don Quixote*. 1931. Pencil and gouache on cardboard, 36.8x23.5 cm. National Museum of Literature and Music of Latvia

Besides Quiteria's friend and Mercedes, Vidbergs's sketches also include bullfighters, gypsies, a Moor, and the Dryad Queen (Fig. 4),⁵⁸ whose costume was typical of the fashion of the Roaring Twenties. Vidbergs was influenced by the use of geometric forms and Art Deco ornamentation (Bērzina 2015: 7), as well as the forms and aesthetics of the Ballets Russes' designers Coco Chanel, Pablo Picasso, and Léon Bakst (Preciado-Azanza 2022a: 313). The impact of these sketches was extensive. The sets were used until 1941, whereas the costumes were used up until 1960. On a choreographic basis, Lēmanis introduced six new dances (Bite 2002: 121): *jota*,⁵⁹ *bolero*, *flamenco*, Sancho Panza's dance, the Dream Scene waltz, and the final *pasodoble*, *España cañi*, composed by Pascual Marquina.⁶⁰

58 RMM 102129.

59 It seems that the new *jota* choreographed by Lēmanis, with music by Guerrero, became a relevant concert miniature, at least, during the season 1936/37. It was performed on October 4, 1936 (LNOB 1805), and June 3, 1937 (LNOB 1895).

60 Aivars Leimanis's *Don Quixote* (2004) includes most of these dances (except the *jota*).

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War on July 17, 1936 increased the interest of Spanishness in Latvian society. We believe that the rise of Spanishness in Latvian ballet might have been used as a “soft-power” strategy. Joseph Nye emphasized how political leaders “have long understood the power of attractive ideas or the ability to set the political agenda and determine the framework of debate in a way that shapes others” (Nye 1990: 166). Spanishness not only became an internal mirror, in which to construct their identity based on the Other, but also an external tool within Latvian state cultural policies. Ballet performances represented a unique opportunity to showcase their fellow European neighbors what Latvia had achieved in the interwar period. On October 9, 1936, the new *jota* and the *pas de deux* from *Don Quixote* were included in a tour to Helsinki,⁶¹ alongside the Latvian-themed ballet *The victory of love*.⁶² *Latvijas Kareivis* (1936: 4) explained the company travelled together with politicians and press members.⁶³ Finnish audiences were particularly enthusiastic about Spanish-themed ballets.⁶⁴ *Brīvā Zeme* (1936: 10) stated that *Don Quixote*’s solos were danced by Harijs Plūcis and Tangijeva-Birzniece who also starred in the miniature *Beggars*. Lēmanis had premiered this work, with music by Manuel de Falla, in a concert that took place at the Latvian National Opera on October 4 (LNOB 1805).⁶⁵ We think that this choreography might be a reinterpretation of the *Ritual Fire Dance* from Falla’s *El amor brujo* (The Bewitched Love).⁶⁶

61 Between 1930 and 1939, the Latvian National Ballet also performed in Brussels, Berlin, Budapest, Stockholm, and Warsaw (Bāliņa 2018: 575).

62 Latvians understood the potential of dance as a tool for reinforcing their national consciousness, as shown by the Latvian Song and Dance Festival. It was founded in 1873 as a singing festival that incorporated folk dances in 1948 (Muktupāvels 2018).

63 Cīrulis (1936: 3) pointed out that three ministers from Prime Minister Kārlis Ulmanis’s cabinet came to see Tangijeva-Birzniece, Aleksandrs Birznieks’s wife, at the premiere of *Don Quixote*.

64 On October 21, 1930, George Gé, a pioneer of Finnish ballet, choreographed his own production of *Don Quixote*. There are similarities between the Finnish and Latvian ballet companies, both founded in 1922 (Vienola-Lindfors and Hällström 1981).

65 Mirdza Griķe also danced in *Zambra*.

66 In 1931, both Bonifacio and Antonia Mercé, *La Argentina*, performed the *Ritual Fire Dance* at the Latvian National Opera (RMM 227158; RMM 227156).

***Boléro* (1936), *España Negra* in the midst of Spanish Civil War**

Boléro unconsciously showcased

a darker image connected with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Latvia, just as the rest of the world did, was concerned about the evolution of a conflict that would become the prelude to the World War II. *Atpūta* (1936: 24) published a large number of battle scenes, while *Brīvā Zeme* (1936: 7) wrote an extensive article that opened like this: "The whole world observes with horror by the terrible fratricidal war in Spain".⁶⁷ After this powerful phrase, the article covered the polyhedric image of Spain by speaking of its diverse geography, Muslim heritage, prominent artists and writers such as Cervantes and Goya, the iconic characters of Spanishness Don Quixote and El Cid, plus the intricate political situation in Catalonia and the Basque country. Yet there was one more theme that was not mentioned: the *España Negra* (Black Spain).⁶⁸ In 1899,⁶⁹ Belgian poet Émile Verhaeren and Spanish illustrator Darío de Regoyos showcased a darker perception of Spain in the travel book *España Negra*. At that point, Spain was facing a profound moral crisis due to the loss of its last transatlantic colonies in 1898. A year earlier, Spanish writer and diplomat Ángel Ganivet published *Idearium español* (1897) during his posting in Helsinki. This influential work enhanced the intellectual debate about Spain's crisis of identity. Shortly afterwards, Ganivet was transferred to Riga. Thus, we could state that the Baltic region contributed to shaping Spanish identity.

The one-act modern ballet, *Boléro*, premiered on December 22, 1928, at the Palais Garnier in Paris. Ida Rubinstein commissioned Maurice Ravel this work for her company. Originally, Rubinstein wanted Ravel to orchestrate Isaac Albeniz's *Iberia*. Unfortunately, Spanish conductor Enrique Fernández Arbós had done so before (Garafola 2020: 258). Instead, Ravel decided to compose a new piece that can be regarded as a musical icon of Spanishness.⁷⁰ Bronisława Niżyńska choreographed a ballet inspired by Ravel's "machinist aesthetic", connected with a "sexual connotation

67 Visa pasaule ar šausmām vēro briesmīgo brāļu karu Spānijā.

68 This term must not be confused with the pejorative *Leyenda Negra*.

69 They travelled through the Basque Country, Navarra, Aragon, Castile, and Madrid.

70 It might seem paradoxical that a French composer contributed to such an extent in the construction of Spanishness. Nonetheless, this imagery played an important role in the French Third Republic. Samuel Llano recently explored how "Spain [became] a discursive site on which to project shared anxieties over the definition of a French identity" (Llano, 2013: 3), that can be traced musically between 1908 and 1929. Furthermore, Ravel was born in Ciboure, a small village located in the French Basque Country rather close to the Spanish border.

and violent, bloodthirsty outburst" (Mawer 2006: 220–221) that seems to showcase the dramatism of *España negra*.⁷¹ It remains unknown if Nižyńska used bolero dance movements. Only the scenic concept of the female soloist (Rubinstein) dancing on a table surrounded by an entourage of twenty men – led by Viltzak – had remained in later stagings.⁷² After being performed in London, New York, and Copenhagen, Boléro's international journey arrived in Riga.

Boléro was performed at the Latvian National Opera on December 10, 1936 (Bāliņa 2018: 495) in a triple bill together with *Scaramouche* and *La Boutique Fantasque*. This format allowed Lēmanis to introduce modern ballet trends. The ballet master spoke with *Brīvā Zeme* (1936: 16) about the two months he spent in Paris, London, and Berlin. Lēmanis attended numerous ballets by Fokin, Nižyńska, Massine, Serge Lifar, and Kurt Joos and brought back with him several scores that he wanted to choreograph; *Boléro* and *The Three-Cornered Hat* were two of them. Unfortunately, Riga did not witness Massine's ballet. We do not know the reasons, but the political shift resulting from the Soviet occupation could be behind its cancellation. Even so, *Boléro* was danced and it catalyzed modernity. Brants (1936: 10) highlighted that Lēmanis constantly moved groups of dancers as a means of expressivity. *Boléro* was a success for the whole company, who danced it 24 times (Štāls 1943: 52). Mirdza Griķe shone in the leading role alongside Rūdolfs Saule. Griķe had already danced Quiteria that year, as well as the miniatures *Spanish dance* by Victor Gzovski and *Zambra*, choreographed by Dolores Moreno (Bite 2002: 123). The press praised her vigorous portrayal. Grosbergs (1936: 10) noted her "truly Spanish flexibility and expressiveness".⁷³ However Brants pointed out her performance was "a bit too robust for the Spanish type".⁷⁴ It seems that Latvian critics thought of Spanish women through the prism of pre-established stereotypical misconceptions of the Other that had circulated across Europe for centuries.⁷⁵

España negra appeared in the libretto and the designs. This production continued Nižyńska's concept of a Spanish tavern full of people (LNOB 1981). However, the plot twists toward a darker end. The knife fight abruptly finished their lively dancing. Cīrulis (1937: 91) spoke in *Daugava* of a "bloodshed". Pēteris Rožlapa's backdrop

71 In Riga, such debauchery concerned theatre management (Bite 2002: 125).

72 In 1961, Maurice Béjart included this in his production.

73 [Ī]sti spānisku lokanību un izteikemi.

74 [D]rusku par robusta spānietes tipam

75 *Carmen* became the epitome of that constructed image (Lucena Giraldo 2009: 224: 227).



Fig. 5. Pēteris Rožlapa. Set design of the ballet *Boléro*. 1936. Tempera on cardboard. 45x60.8 cm. Zuzāns Collection

depicted the terrace of the tavern based on dark tones (Fig. 5).⁷⁶ The red dress of the *flamenco* dancer stands out, as well as the mysterious hooded figures on the left side. We can read them not only as a mirror of the bloody conflict on stage, but also as a metaphor for the ongoing war in Spain. Rožlapa's evolution from Art Deco into monumentality (Vanaga 2014: 360) can be appreciated here. He emphasized the palms and the metallic structure reminiscent of Ravel's machinist aesthetics. This effect was amplified by the introduction of smoke. These costumes were inspired by Andalusian clothing. Griķe's dress included prominent ruffles, while Saule's apparel continues the influence of the *traje de corto*, as reported in *Jaunākās Ziņas* (1936: 3). Siliņa (1936: 748) considered *Boléro* to be among Lēmanis's finest choreographies. This was largely due to the "music, choreography and scenery merging into one",⁷⁷ as stated in *Latvijas Kareivis* (1936: 4). Lēmanis followed the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal, previously introduced in Riga by Feodorova-Fokina and Viltzak.

76 ZK GL 04037.

77 [M]ūzika, choreografija un dekorācijas saplūst viena veselā.

***Laurencia* (1941), a Soviet propaganda tool**

Ultimately, the work *Laurencia* used Spanishness as a Soviet propaganda tool. The choreographic adaptation of Lope de Vega's play, *Fuenteovejuna* (1617), became the first ballet premiered in Latvia after the Soviet occupation. Such a political shift was immediately perceived at the Latvian National Opera, a socio-political thermometer renamed LPSR Opera and Ballet Theatre. Ballet became a major political tool in the Soviet Union. Despite Lenin's initial will to dismantle Bolshoi and Mariinsky theatres, considered Imperial symbols, Bolshevism finally understood the power of this silent art with the first Soviet ballet titled *The Red Poppy* (Khitrova 2014: 136). In 1933, Vasily Tikhomirov staged his choreography in Riga, and it became one of the most successful interwar Latvian ballet productions.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, communist ideology had come to dominate in the Republic of Latvia. *Laurencia* embodied the new regime dogmas as highlighted by *Cīņa* (1941: 5).

This Soviet three-act ballet opened on March 22, 1939, at the Kirov Theatre (Mariinsky) in Leningrad (Saint Petersburg). Vakhtang Chabukiani choreographed *Laurencia*, with music by Aleksandr Krein, in a context where Spain was fashionable as a consequence of the Spanish Civil War. Lope de Vega spoke of fighting against tyranny in *Fuenteovejuna*. Although authorities might have interpreted this choreographic adaptation as an allegory of the 1917 Revolution, the chosen theme is striking —considering Stalin's Great Purge (Chiginskaya 2016: 345–347). Chabukiani portrayed the so-called *dramballet* by combining the choreographic language of character dance and classical ballet in addition to stylized ordinary movements and exaggerated pantomime that carried forward the libretto. This genre strongly shaped the Soviet ballet repertoire, in which dance symbolized the regime's cultural policies (Ezrahi 2012; Stern, 2019). *Laurencia* is set in the Andalusian village of Fuente Obejuna. The commander Gomez (Boris Savrov) opposes the union between the peasant couple consisting of Laurencia (Natalia Dudinskaya) and Frondoso (Chabukiani himself), whose imprisonment inflamed the villagers. Laurencia calls for an insurgency and the evil commander is eventually killed. The female protagonist's strength was unfairly reduced. Chabukiani divided the features of Lope de Vega's *Laurencia* into three different women: Laurencia, Jacinta, and Pascuala (Chiginskaya 2016: 349).

Laurencia's debut in Riga took place on January 3, 1941 (Bāliņa 2018: 532). Lēmanis staged Chabukiani's choreography and also danced the role of the

78 It was danced sixty-four times, the same amount as Feodorova-Fokina's *Swan Lake* (Štāls 1943: 51).



Fig. 6. Unknown author. Performers of the ballet *Laurencia*. 1941. Paper, 8x12 cm.
National Museum of Literature and Music of Latvia

commander. Jānis Grauds became Frondoso, while Griķe performed Laurencia. Latvian Modern dance pioneer Beatrise Vīgnere (1941: 7) noted that Griķe displayed outstanding technique and expressive movements. *Laurencia* included several Spanish dances such as the *flamenco*, *farruca*, and the final *jota* before the rebellion (LNOB 2771). The newspaper *Brīvais Zemnieks* (1941: 5) highlighted the Spanish color and authenticity brought by use of the castanets. The whole nation was pointed out as this ballet's actual hero, the main theme was ironically described as "the struggle of the people against violence and injustice".⁷⁹ *Cīņa* (1941: 5) included an extensive indoctrinating pamphlet about the role of art in the very recently established Soviet republic. It is no coincidence that *Laurencia* was the first ballet to be performed in Soviet Latvia and later in other republics as well (Chiginskaya 2016: 352). It clearly followed the ideological path previously established by *The Red Poppy* and Rostislav Zakharov's *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*. Lēmanis astutely staged Zakharov's work some weeks before the occupation, a strategic move to survive under oppression of the new regime.

79 [T]autas cīņa pret vardarbību un netaisnību.

Laurencia needs to be understood as a means of subjugation, a Soviet propaganda tool to unify its vast empire.⁸⁰ Such a political statement can be seen in the image chosen by *Cīņa* to promote the ballet (Fig. 6).⁸¹ This photograph clearly embodied Soviet ideology. *Laurencia* and Frondoso held a revolutionary flag, in front of the rest of the cast, as an allegory of the triumph of communism in 1917. Rožlāpa was in charge of the designs. *Brīvais Zemnieks* (1941: 5) noted the contrast between the picturesque clothing and austere Spanish nature. In addition to the spotted Andalusian flamenco dresses, the peasant apparel for the corps de ballet (RMM 402903) may have been inspired by Aragonese *baturros* (a rustic apparel from Aragon) (Boone and Lorente 1999). The commander appears to have followed Niklāvs Strunke's earlier visualisation for *Fuenteovejuna's* theatrical adaptation in 1927 (Tiškeizere 2021: 544), which was based on the black tone associated with the hegemony of the Habsburg Spanish Empire. Rožlāpa emphasized the mountainous Spanish landscapes on the sets – later used in the staging of *Don Quixote* in 1941. We could continue to analyze Spanish-themed subsequent productions by Lēmanis, but this would require further research about its role in Soviet Latvian ballet. Across the second half of the 20th century, Spanishness not only acted as a tool of Soviet colonization but also represented a call for freedom, symbolized by Gerardo Viana's *Guernica*, the first ballet in Latvia after regaining its independence. For now, it seems evident that, for many years, Latvian ballet carried on a love affair with Spanish dance (Tivums 2000: 267).

Conclusion Spanishness played a key role in interwar Latvian ballet. We identified 45 Spanish-themed ballets, *divertissements*, and concert miniatures performed between 1923 and 1941. This article examined the ballets *Paquita*, *Jota Aragonesa*, *Don Quixote*, *Bólero*, and *Laurencia*. These case studies depicted a polyhedric image firmly based on Andalusian archetypes intertwined with Orientalist motifs displayed visually by set designers Eduards Vītols, Ludolfs Liberts, Sigismunds Vidbergs, and Pēteris Rožlāpa. Such exoticism often relied on picturesque characters such as bandits, bullfighters, gypsies, *trajes de corto*, and *flamenco* dancers. Paradoxically, the influence of this southern region seems to dominate *Jota Aragonesa*.

80 Curiously, *Laurencia* takes place in the 15th century. In 1469, the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, the Catholic Monarchs, symbolized the unification de facto of both kingdoms, which initiated the formation of Spain. Soon after, the first conquests of the Spanish Empire began. We do not know if this was intentional or a mere coincidence.

81 RMM 402906.

This ballet can be seen as an allegory of Spanishness, constructed mainly as a mixture of cultural stereotypes from Andalusia and Aragon. The *jota* embodies the vivacity, known as *rasmia*, of the people of Aragon, whose refusal to consider surrendering to Napoleon inspired *Paquita*. We consider *jota* to be one of the dances that best symbolizes Spanishness. Its *rasmia* often constituted the climax of several Spanish-themed ballets. *Paquita*, *Jota Aragonesa*, *Laurencia*, and especially *Don Quixote* included this dance.

In this article, we conducted an initial approach to showcase how Spanishness, perceived as the Other, has contributed to the shaping of the identity of the pre-war Republic of Latvia. Spain and Latvia are located on the outer edge of Europe. Both countries seem to be connected by a mutual interest in their cultural differences. We traced this imagined community through dance. In the 1920s, Spain was perceived as an exotic and distant Other in the Latvian society. The Latvian National Ballet progressively incorporated this imagery, reaching its pinnacle with *Don Quixote*. The choreographic adaptation of Cervantes's novel became the most frequently performed Spanish-themed ballet during the interwar period. In the 1930s, *Don Quixote* evolved from a foreign choreographic language to a soft power strategy within Latvian state cultural policies. Since 1936, Spanish-themed choreographies can be found in the repertoire of the Latvian ballet troupe performing abroad.

As a whole, we believe that Spanishness can be seen as a facade of interwar Latvian society. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 marked a turning point that notably increased interest in this multilayered imagined mirror. *Boléro* unconsciously depicted a metaphor of the ongoing war in Spain based on the aesthetics of *España Negra*. This ballet catalyzed modernity based on the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal. However, the introduction of cutting-edge choreographies was unduly brief. The first ballet premiered in Latvia after the Soviet occupation, *Laurencia*, was staged as an allegorical triumph of communism. Spanishness became a Soviet propaganda tool. Further research will be required to fully understand the role of Spanishness in the development of the history of ballet in Riga, a transnational cultural crossroads that contributed to the shaping of European culture.

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In memoriam

Andrejs Plakans

1940.31.XII–2024.4.VII

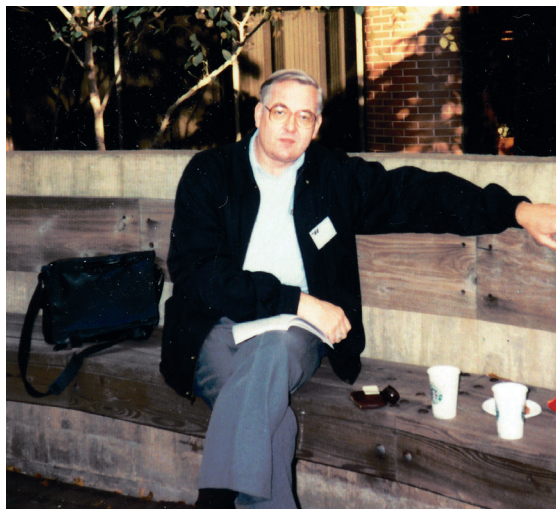


Pirmā ierosme tapt par profesionālu vēsturnieku radās, pusaudzā gados lasot daudzās lētās mīksto vāku iesējuma grāmatas par Otro pasaules karu, stāsta Aiovas Pavalsts universitātes emeritētais profesors Andrejs Plakans – izcils Latvijas un Baltijas, sociālās un ģimenes vēstures pētnieks, daudzu zinātnisko monogrāfiju un rakstu autors, pētniecības projektu īstenotājs, kā arī Latvijas Republikas augstākā apbalvojuma – Triju Zvaigžņu ordeņa – virsnieks. Šie vēstures stāsti rosināja domāt par indivīda attiecībām ar lielajām pasaules norisēm, to ietekmi uz viņa dzīvi, sociālajām un politiskajām mijiedarbēm, tostarp arī

Otrā pasaules kara ietekmi uz savu un daudzo Amerikā nonākušo latviešu dzīvi. Intervijā žurnāla "Ir" komentētājam Paulam Raudsepam Andrejs Plakans atzīst: "Gribējās izpētīt, kāpēc es augu tur, kur nebiju dzimis. Tāds vienkāršs jautājums. Kopš tā laika visa mana izglītība ir bijusi vēstures jomā, nekad neesmu atkāpies no tās, gadu gaitā mana interese ir tikai padziļinājusies."¹

Andrejs Plakans ir dzimis Rīgā 1940. gada 31. decembrī Klāras (dz. Ozola, 1905–1982) un Alfrēda Plakanu (1908–1983) ģimenē. Alfrēds Plakans 1939. gadā ar teicamiem panākumiem absolvēja Latvijas Universitātes Tautsaimniecības un tiesību zinātņu fakultātes Tautsaimniecības nodaļu. 20. gadsimta 20. gadu beigās un 30. gados viņš strādāja dažnedažādos amatos Satiksmes ministrijā un Iekšlietu ministrijā, bija arī Tirdzniecības un rūpniecības kameras zvērināts revidents. Padomju okupācijas laikā iztiku pelnīja ar grāmatveža darbu, nacistiskās okupācijas gados cenu inspektora amatā, kādu laiku arī darbojoties Tirdzniecības departamentā. Andreja Plakana māte absolvējusi Rīgas Skolotāju institūtu un pirms laulībām strādājusi profesijā.

¹ Raudseps, P. (2016). Mīti un vēsture [intervijas ar vēsturnieku Andreju Plakanu]. *Ir*, Nr. 47, 24.09.–30.09., 28. lpp.



1. attēls. Profesors Andrejs Plakans
27. Slāvu studiju veicināšanas
asociācijas nacionālajā konventā
Vašingtonā. 1995. gada oktobris

1944. gada jūnijā Klāra un Alfrēds Plakani un viņu trīs dēli – deviņgadīgais Juris, četrgadīgais Andrejs un gadu vecais Jānis – atstāja Rīgu un devās bēgļu gaitās. Ar viņiem kopā bija arī aukle Emīlija Norvele. Vispirms ar kuģi *Santa Rosa* tika sasniegta Dancīga, tālāk ceļš veda uz Reichenbergu (Liberecu) Sudetos. 1945. gada februārī Plakanu ģimene nonāca Delčas ciemā netālu no Veidenas Bavārijā, kur aprīlī ienāca ASV karaspēks. Nākamie seši gadi pagāja pārvietoto personu nometnēs (*displaced persons, DP*) – Delčā, Virsburgā, Karlsrūē, Švābu Gmindē, Ingolštātē –, kā arī tranzīt-nometnēs Gronā un Ludvigsburgā. Dzīvojot DP nometnēs, Andrejs Plakans paguva absolvēt latviešu pamatskolu. 1951. gada 6. jūnijā Plakani no Brēmerhāfenes ostas ar kuģi *USS gen. S.D. Sturgis* atstāja Eiropu un pēc desmit dienām nonāca Ņujorkā, ASV. Par viņu mītnes vietu kļuva Lankastera Pensilvānijas pavalstī. “Kad 1951. gada jūnijā nonācām Amerikā, mums bija tukšas kabatas. Mamma tūlīt sāka strādāt, uzkopjot vidusšķiras amerikāņu mājas. Tēva pirmais algotais darbs bija palīdzēt veikalniekiem iznēsāt pa klientu mājām pārtikas produktus. Mamma pēc ilgāka laika pārgāja strādāt saldējuma ražotavā. Paps sāka strādāt uzņēmumā, kur grieza linoleju. Vakaros viņš gājaursos, lai atjaunotu grāmatveža licenci. Mamma faktiski nekad neatkopās no šīs traumas. Tēvam izdevās sākt strādāt specialitātē, un viņš pensionējās kā grāmatvedis. [...] Pabeidzot domu, kas pamudināja manus vecākus šajā lietā nesabrukt, – viņiem bija trīs dēli, kurus vajadzēja izskolot. Koledžās un universitātēs vajadzēja naudu. Tur nekā par brīvu nebija. Faktiski viņi upurēja savu dzīvi mūsu, manām un manu brāļu, vajadzībām,” stāsta Andrejs Plakans.²

2 Sprūde, V. (2016). Trimdas vairs nav [intervija ar Andreju Plakanu]. *Latvijas Avīze*, 05.10., 6. lpp.



2. attēls. Profesors Andrejs Plakans un Barbara Plakans pie sava pirmā dzīvokļa nama Vašingtonā. 1995. gada oktobris

1959. gadā viņš absolvēja Pensilvānijas pavalsts Lankasteras Dž. P. Makkaskija (*J. P. McCaskey*) skolu. Bakalaura grādu vēsturē un politikas zinātnē Andrejs Plakans ieguva turpat Lankasterā Franklina un Māršala koledžā (*Franklin & Marshall College*) 1963. gadā. Jau pēdējos studiju gados viņš uzsāka stažēšanos galvaspilsētā Vašingtonā Pensilvānijas senatora republikāņa Hjū Skota (*Hugh Scott, 1900–1994*) birojā. Darba pienākumos bija senatora korespondences kārtošana, materiālu vākšana un uzmetumu veidošana politiķa runām, kā arī Kongresam iesniedzamo rezolūciju melnrakstu rakstīšana.³ Šajā laikā Andreja Plakana interesi par Latvijas pagātni sekmeja saskare ar dzimtenes intelektuālo un kultūras eliti, no kuras daudzi pārstāvji mājvietu bija raduši tieši Vašingtonā, šo vietu veidojot par rosīgu latviešu trimdinieku centru. Andrejs Plakans vēlāk atzina, ka īpaši nozīmīga bijusi sastapšanās ar režisoru un aktieri Osvaldu Uršteinu, kurš tolaik vadīja Amerikas Latviešu teātra Vašingtonas ansambli un tajā iestudēja gan trimdas autoru, gan latviešu klasiķu darbus. Tas paplašināja skatu uz latviešu kultūras daudzveidību un sakņojumu, kā arī latviešu valodas funkcionēšanu trimdā. Laikrakstā "Laiks" publicētas Andreja Plakana atmiņas par tikšanos ar vēsturnieku un diplomātu Arnoldu Speki (Spekke), kura Zviedrijā izdotā grāmata par Latvijas vēsturi angļu valodā bija viens no retajiem informācijas avotiem latviešu valodu nezinošajai auditorijai par viņa dzimtenes pagātni. No Spekes Andrejs Plakans cerēja gūt padomu, jautājot par iespējām specializēties Latvijas vēsturē. Spekes atbilde bijusi iedrošinoša un profesionāla, pieredzējušais vēsturnieks analizējis šīs jomas speciālistu trūkumu ASV un avotu pieejamības sāpīgo

3 Br., V. (1962). Latviešu students iegūst ASV senatora atzinību. *Laiks*, Nr. 83, 17.10., 6. lpp.



3. attēls. Latviešu vakars profesora Andreja Plakana mājā Eimsā. No kreisās: veterinārmedicīnas doktorante Ilze Matīse-Vanhoutana, arhitektūras students Miks Kārklīšs, profesora znots Roberts Batlers, profesors Andrejs Plakans, Aiovas Pavalsts universitātes Bibliotēkas nodaļas vadītājs Jānis Galējs, Benita Galēja un profesora Andreja Plakana meita Lia Plakans. 1996. gada marts

problēmu.⁴ Strādājot senatora Hjū Skota birojā, Andrejs Plakans arī satika savu nākamo dzīvesbiedri Barbaru Svīniju (*Barbara Sweeney*), un 1964. gadā viņi apprecējās.

Andrejs Plakans laiku Vašingtonā vērtē kā ļoti labu pieredzi, tomēr viņu vairāk vilināja studijas un pētniecība. Viņš turpināja vēstures studijas Hārvarda Universitātē un tur 1964. gadā ieguva maģistra grādu vēsturē. Nākamais solis – doktora studijas. To laikā tika izstrādāta disertācija *National Awakening in Latvia, 1850–1900* ("Nacionālā atmoda Latvijā", 1850–1900). Andrejs Plakans ir pateicīgs savam padomdevējam profesoram Stjuartam Hjūzam (*Stuart Hughes*) par iespēju strādāt pie šīs Amerikas vēsturniekiem pilnīgi svešās tēmas un par akadēmisko brīvību. Disertācijas pamatā bija latviešu literatūras krājums Helsinku Universitātes bibliotēkā, tā ir lielākā 19. gadsimta iespieddarbu kolekcija latviešu valodā ārpus Latvijas. Pētnieciskais darbs ar šo kolekciju bija iespējams, pateicoties Fulbraita stipendijas atbalstam. Andrejs Plakans disertāciju aizstāvēja Hārvarda Universitātē 1968. gadā un ieguva *Ph. D.* grādu vēsturē. Vēlāk šo veikumu viņš raksturoja: "Disertācija ļāva man atbildēt uz jautājumu – kā latvieši sāka domāt par sevi pavisam citādā veidā? Kāpēc Valdemārs pie durvīm pielika vizītkarti "Latvietis"? Kas tādiem kā Alunāns, kas bija izglītojušies vāciskā garā, lika domāt, ka viņu identitāte nav saistīta ar kultūru, kurā viņi bija izglītojušies? Toreiz kā doktorants es par šo procesu nekādas dziļas domas nevarēju izteikt, varēju vienkārši dokumentēt, ka tas notika. Varēju izsekot pārejai no

4 K.[arule], I. (1997). Klivlandes latviešu dziesmu svētkos ALA atzīmē prof. Arnolda Spekkes 110. dzimšanas dienu. *Laiks*, Nr. 31, 02.08., 7. lpp.



4. attēls. Profesors Andrejs Plakans
sava kabinetā Aijovas Pavalsts
universitātes Vēstures departamentā.
1996. gada marts

pusvāciskas literatūras, kas bija pirms Atmodas un ar katru gadu tika vairāk latviskota.”⁵ Šī pētījuma rezultāti pārtapuši vairākos *Bulletin of Baltic Studies*, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, *The Journal of Modern History* u. c. izdevumu publicētos zinātniskos rakstos, tomēr plašākais disertācijas satura koncentrēts izklāsts ietverts Edvarda Tādena (*Edward C. Thaden*) rediģētajā zinātniskajā monogrāfijā *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914* (“Rusifikācija Baltijas provincēs un Somijā”, 1855–1914). Šī 1981. gadā izdotā monogrāfija iztirzā modernizācijas procesus Krievijas impērijas Rietumu nomalēs pēc zaudējuma Krimas karā un pēc tā sāktajām reformām. Tās uzmanības centrā ir latviešu, igauņu un somu nacionālisma tapšana un moderno nāciju tapšana, kā arī šo nāciju spēja nepakļauties impērijas īstenotajam rusifikācijas kursam. Andreja Plakana rakstītā nodaļa par latviešiem ir tulkota arī latviešu valodā un publicēta “Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnālā”.⁶

Andreja Plakana akadēmiskās karjeras pats sākums saistās ar Bostonas koledžas Vēstures departamentu. Šajā augstskolā viņš docēja no 1967. līdz 1974. gadam un vienlaikus arī veica pētniecības darbu. Andrejs Plakans aktīvi izmantoja grantu un stipendiju iespējas, jo tās deva iespēju nodarboties ar zinātni un sagatavot publikācijas. Viņš ir saņēmis stipendijas no ASV Nacionālā humanitāro zinātņu fonda un Nacionālā zinātnes pētniecības fonda antropoloģijā. Pēcdoktorantūras pētījumus

5 Raudseps, P. Mīti un vēsture. 28. lpp.

6 Sk.: Plakans, A. (1996). Rusifikācijas politika: latvieši. 1855.–1914. gads. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 2, 107.–132. lpp.; Nr. 4, 61.–81. lpp.; (1997), Nr. 1, 70.–89. lpp.



5. attēls. Profesors Andrejs Plakans kopā ar meitu Liu Plakans un sievu Barbaru Plakans Aijositijā. 2012. gada 23. novembris

Andrejs Plakans veica Antropoloģijas katedrā (1972–1974) Masačūsetsas Universitātē Amherstā. Šajos gados viņa zinātniskais darbs ieguva vēsturiskās demogrāfijas, sociālās vēstures un ģimenes vēstures specializācijas virzienu.

Kopš 1975. gada Andreja Plakana dzīve un darbs bija saistīti ar Aiovas Pavalsts universitāti, kas bija viņa darbavieta līdz aiziešanai pensijā 2006. gadā. 1982. gadā viņš kļuva par šīs universitātes profesoru. Andrejs Plakans divkārt ir bijis Vēstures departamenta vadītāja amatā (1986–1992, 2002–2006), darbojies neskaitāmās universitātes komitejās, piemēram, Studiju programmu komitejā, Bibliotēkas komitejā, Tenūras un promocijas komitejā, vairākās stipendiju piešķiršanas un mācībspēku konkursu komitejās. Viņš docējis studiju kursus "Eiropas civilizācijas vēsture kopš 1648. gada", "Eiropas sabiedrība un industriālā sabiedrība", "Nacionālisms un komunisms Austrumeiropā", "Eiropas lauksaimniecības vēsture", "Vēstures metodes: statistikas liecības un analīze", kā arī vadījis vairākus tematiskos seminārus augstākā līmeņa studentiem. Andrejs Plakans bijis viesprofesors Kalifornijas Universitātē Riversaidā (1985), Pitsburgas Universitātē (1985), Latvijas Universitātē (1993) un Vašingtona Universitātē (1995), kā arī bijis pētnieks Vudro Vilsona Starptautiskajā pētnieku centrā Vašingtonā (1992). Viņš arī turpināja izmantot ASV un starptautisko pētniecības un ceļojumu grantu un pētnieku apmaiņas programmu piedāvājumus. Amerikas Sabiedrības izglītības padomes un PSRS Zinātņu akadēmijas apmaiņas programmā notika arī Andreja Plakana pirmās vizītes Latvijā 20. gadsimta 80. gadu sākumā. Profesora zinātnisko darbu atbalstīja ne vien Aiovas Pavalsts universitāte, viņš īstenojis arī Forda Pētniecības fonda, ASV Nacionālā humanitāro zinātņu fonda, Amerikas Slāvu studiju veicināšanas asociācijas, Nacionālā zinātnes pētniecības

fonda antropoloģijā, Nacionālā novecošanas institūta, Nacionālās Padomju un Austrumeiropas pētniecības padomes u. c. projektus.

1984. gadā nāca klajā Andreja Plakana pirmā individuālā zinātniskā monogrāfija *Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life 1500–1900* ("Radniecība pagātnē: Eiropas ģimenes dzīves antropoloģija 1500–1900"), kuras uzmanības centrā ir eiropiešu radniecības vēstures izpētes metodoloģiskās un konceptuālās problēmas. Tās recenzenti atzina, ka šī grāmata vērtējama kā pagrieziena punkts ģimenes vēstures pētniecībā, jo piedāvāja jaunus un perspektīvus šās jomas metodoloģiskos risinājumus, kas balstās vēstures un antropoloģijas koncepciju un metožu sasaistē.⁷ Ģimenes vēsturei veltītas arī vairākās citas Andreja Plakana publikācijas, kas iekļautas kolektīvajās monogrāfijās, žurnālos un enciklopēdijās, kā arī viņš ilgstoši darbojies žurnāla *Journal of Family History* redaktora palīga (1986–1995) un žurnāla *History of the Family* līdzredaktora (1996–2002) un redaktora (2002–2005) amatā.

Būtiska nozīme Rietumu akadēmiskajā telpā bija Andreja Plakana nākamajai monogrāfijai *The Latvians: A Short History* ("Latvieši: īsa vēsture"), kas 1995. gadā izdota Stenforda Universitātes veidotajā grāmatu sērijā *Studies of Nationalities* ("Nāciju pētījumi"). Tā tolaik bija ļoti gaidīta un pieprasīta grāmata, jo gan Amerikā, gan Eiropā trūka zināšanu par Latvijas vēsturi un tās mūsdienīgu un analītisku iztirzājumu. Grāmatas spēcīgā puse bija koncentrēts faktoloģisks izklāsts, salīdzinošās pieejas lietojums, izvērtējot Latvijas vēstures norises gan lineārā, gan reģionālā griezumā, kā arī kritiski aplūkojot padomju historiogrāfijā rodamos spriedumus par Latviju un tās pagātni.⁸ Plašu rezonansi guva arī sērijā *Cambridge Concise Histories* ("Kembridžas kodolīgās vēstures") izdotā Andreja Plakana monogrāfija *A Concise History of the Baltic States* ("Kodolīgā Baltijas valstu vēsture") 2011. gadā. Kritikā tika uzsvērtā autora lieliskā prasme veidot konceptuālu Baltijas reģiona jēdzienu un vienotā stāstījumā apvienot Lietuvas, Latvijas un Igaunijas vēsturi, kas lasītājam ļauj izsekot Baltijas

7 Piemēram, sk.: Kertzer, D. I. (1986). [Review of *Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500–1900*, by A. Plakans]. *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 92(2), pp. 508–510. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780192>; Tilly, L. A. (1987). [Review of *Kinship in the past: An Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500–1900*, by A. Plakans]. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, No. 18(1), pp. 155–156. Available: <https://doi.org/10.2307/204745>; Jasiewicz, Z. (1988). [Review of *Kinship in the Past. An Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500–1900*, by A. Plakans]. *Anthropos*, No. 83(1/3), pp. 283–284. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40461560>; u. c.

8 Vairāk sk., piemēram: Misiunas, R. J. (1997). [Review of *The Latvians: A Short History*, by A. Plakans]. *The Russian Review*, No. 56(3), pp. 475–477. Available: <https://doi.org/10.2307/131779>; Weeks, T. R. (1995). [Review of *The Latvians: A Short History*, by A. Plakans]. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 26(2), pp. 170–172. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43211955>; Purs, A. (1998). [Review of *The Latvians: A Short History; Latvia in Transition*, by A. Plakans & J. Dreifelds]. *Russian History*, No. 25(1/2), pp. 221–224. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24659178>; Šterns, I. (1996). Andrejs Plakans: *The Latvians: A Short History*. *Universitas*, Nr. 76, p. 61; u. c.

jūras piekrastē pieredzētajām daudzajām sarežģītajām vēsturiskajām transformācijām.⁹ Grāmata tulkota arī lietuviešu un krievu valodā.

Īpaša vērte ir izcilajai Andreja Plakana monogrāfijai *The Reluctant Exiles. Latvians in the West after World War II* ("Nelabprātīgie trimdinieki. Latvieši Rietumos pēc Otrā pasaules kara"), kas iznāca 2021. gadā. Tajā sniegts izsmelošs, saistoši uzrakstīts vēstures stāsts par 1944./1945. gadā no Latvijas uz Rietumiem izceļojušajiem latviešiem kā lielu, bet neviendabīgu sociālo grupu. Pētījuma uzmanības centrā trimdas latviskuma apziņā balstītās identitātes tapšana un tās daudzās transformācijas, ko noteica dzīve ārpus dzimtenes, integrācija mītnes zemēs, attiecības ar Latviju un tās valstiskuma atgūšana.¹⁰ Valters Nollendorfs šo darbu raksturo: "Grāmata – piemiņeklis. Un – izaicinājums," jo tā vienlaikus ir trimdas vēstures summējums un nozīmīgs tās izziņas paplašinājums, jauns "metodoloģiskais standarts", kā arī rosinošs stimulants un paraugs tālākai pētniecībai.¹¹

Andreja Plakana akadēmisko veikumu sarakstā ir arī vēstures avotu krājums *Experiencing Totalitarianism: The Invasion and Occupation of Latvia by the USSR and Nazi Germany, 1939–1991: A Documentary History* ("Totalitārisma pieredzēšana: PSRS un nacistiskās Vācijas iebrukums un okupācija Latvijā, 1939–1991: dokumentārā vēsture"), pētniekiem tik noderīgā *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* ("Latvijas vēstures vārdnīca"), kas jau pieredzējusi trīs izdevumus (trešais laidniens tapis sadarbībā ar vēsturnieku Aldi Puru), vairākas rediģētas un sastādītas grāmatas, ap 150 zinātnisku rakstu, kas publicēti akadēmiskajos žurnālos, rakstu krājumos, kolektīvajās monogrāfijās, konferenču ziņojumu krājumos un zinātniskajās enciklopēdijās. Tematiski to absolūti lielākā daļa veltīta Latvijas vēstures jautājumu analīzei.

9 Piemēram, sk.: Ingle, O. (2013). [Review of *A Concise History of the Baltic States*, by A. Plakans]. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, No. 57(1), pp. 134–135. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24642433>; Swain, G. (2012). [Review of *A Concise History of the Baltic States*, by A. Plakans]. *Russian Review*, No. 71(1), pp. 143–144. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41409441>; Hiden, J. (2012). [Review of *A Concise History of the Baltic States*, by A. Plakans]. *History*, No. 97(3(327)), pp. 476–477. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24429991>; Gamsa, M. (2013). Tomas Venclova on Vilnius and Andrejs Plakans on the Baltic Littoral: With Some Thoughts on Unfootnoted History [Review of *Vilnius: Gorod v Evrope. [Vilnius. A City in Europe.] Perevod s litovskogo Marii Čepaitite; A Concise History of the Baltic States*, by T. Venclova & A. Plakans]. *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas*, No. 61(2), pp. 276–283. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23511936>; u. c.

10 Vairāk sk.: Alenius, K. (2023). Andrejs Plakans: The Reluctant Exiles. Latvians in the West after World War II. *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, No. 72(1), pp. 148–149; Zelče, V. (2023). 175 000+ latviešu biogrāfija. *Letonica*, Nr. 53, 233.–239. lpp. Pieejams: <https://doi.org/10.35539/LTNC.2023.0053.11>.

11 Nollendorfs, V. (2024). Grāmata kā piemiņeklis. *Facebook*, 26.07. Pieejams: <https://www.facebook.com/valters.nollendorfs>.



6. attēls. Profesors Andrejs Plakans kopā ar valsts pētījumu programmas "Nacionālā identitāte" projekta "Latvijas sociālā atmiņa un identitāte" īstenotājiem. No kreisās: Kaspars Zellis, Kristiāna Kirša, Aija Rozenšteine, Andrejs Plakans, Klinta Ločmele, Gita Siliņa, Laura Ardava, Laura Uzule, Vita Zelče un Didzis Bērziņš Rīgā, Esplanādē. 2013. gada 11. septembris

Izceļama ir arī Andreja Plakana darbība Baltijas humanitāro un sociālo zinātņu akadēmiskās vides kvalitatīvās izaugsmes sekmēšanā, veidojot sadarbību starp Rietumu un Latvijas kolēģiem, piedaloties Latvijas zinātnisko institūciju projektos, rakstot grāmatu pirmspublikāciju recenzijas, izvērtējot promocijas darbus, uzstājoties ar lekcijām Latvijas Universitātes studentu auditorijās. Viņš ilgstoši ir bijis Baltijas studiju veicināšanas asociācijas (*Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, AABS*) biedrs, kā arī tās prezidents no 1988. līdz 1990. gadam. Profesors ar ziņojumiem regulāri uzstāties *AABS* konferencēs, vadījis to sekciju darbu, iesaistījies vairāku konferenču organizēšanā, ilgstoši darbojies *Journal of Baltic Studies* redakcijā.

Nozīmīga Andreja Plakana dzīves daļa bijusi saistīta ar Amerikas latviešu trimdas sabiedrību. Viņš ik gadus ar priekšlasījumiem par Latvijas vēsturi uzstājās daudzos latviešu centros. Ar viņu sevišķi lepojās Aiovas pavalsts latviešu sabiedrība, kuras namā Demoinā viņš bija biežs viesis. Trimdas laikraksts "Laiks" pastāvīgi publicēja ziņas par profesora grāmatām un akadēmiskajiem sasniegumiem. 2013. gadā



7., 8. attēls. Profesors Andrejs Plakans sarunājas ar komunikācijas zinātnes maģistrantiem un doktorantiem LU Sociālo zinātņu fakultātē. 2015. gada 12. maijs



Andrejam Plakanam tika piešķirta Anšlava Eglīša un Veronikas Janelšinas fonda balva par Latvijas vēstures izpratnes veicināšanu.

Kopš 20. gs. 90. gadu sākuma Andrejs Plakans regulāri viesojās Latvijā, lai veiktu pētniecisko darbu, piedalītos projektu īstenošanā, uzstātos zinātniskajās konferencēs un lasītu lekcijas. 1990. gadā viņš tika ievēlēts par Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas ārzemju locekli. Ražīga bija profesora kopdarbība ar Latvijas vēstures institūtu, īstenojot tā 19. un 20. gadsimta vēsturei veltītos projektus. 21. gadsimta pirmajās desmitgadēs Andrejs Plakans ir daudzkārt viesojies LU Sociālo zinātņu fakultātē, vadot seminārus komunikācijas zinātnes maģistra un doktora studiju programmu studentiem un konsultējot fakultātes pētniecisko projektu īstenoātājus. Viņš ir arī fakultātes pētnieku sagatavotās grāmatas (*Two Sides: Diaries of Latvian Soldiers in WWII*) ("(Divas) puses: latviešu karavīru dienasgrāmatas Otrajā pasaules karā") redaktors. Profesors ir bijis arī vairāku Sociālo zinātņu fakultātes izdoto zinātnisko monogrāfiju

iekšējais recenzents, viņa padomi sekmējuši šo darbu tapšanu un atzinība – to kvalitātes apzināšanos, kas darba procesā pētnieku komandai allaž ir ļoti svarīgi. Andrejam Plakanam laba un abpusēji vērtīga sadarbība bija izveidojusies arī ar Latvijas Nacionālo bibliotēku un Latvijas Nacionālo vēstures muzeju. 2017. gadā profesors par ieguldījumu Latvijas vēstures pētniecībā un atspoguļošanā ASV, Rietumeiropā un Latvijā un ievērojamo sniegumu Latvijas vēstures zinātnē, atbalstot Latvijas sociālo un humanitāro zinātņu ieviešanu starptautiskā aprītē, tika apbalvots ar celtās šķiras Triju Zvaigžņu ordeni.¹²

Andrejs Plakans savā Aiovas Pavalsts universitātē labprāt uzņēma Latvijas pētniekus. Ar Fulbraita stipendiju tajā stažējās vēsturnieces Irēna Šneidere un Vita Zelče. Arī Plakana ģimenes māja allaž bija atvērta viesiem un studentiem no Latvijas. Viņu vidū bija arī politiķis Roberts Zīle, ekonomists Inesis Feiferis, veterinārmedicīnas studentes Ilze Matīse-Vanhoutana un Santa Skuja, arhitektūras students Miks Kārkliņš un biznesa vadības students Ronalds Blūms.

Andreja Plakana aizraušanās bija pagātnes izziņa un analīze. Viņš sevi dēvēja par "grāmatu tārpu".¹³ Profesors aizrautīgi lasīja labu literatūru, viņa iecienīto autoru vidū bija arī Anšlavs Eglītis, Gunars Janovskis, latviešu detektīvliteratūras klasiķi Andris Kolbergs un Jānis Ivars Stradiņš. Andrejs Plakans sekoja arī vēstures romānu sērijai "Mēs. Latvija, XX gadsimts", latviešu un prozas mijiedarbes projektam "Es esmu..." un citiem latviešu literatūras jaunumiem. Viņa interešu lokā bija arī latviešu režisoru veidotās spēlfilmas un dokumentālais kino. Viesojoties Latvijā, Andrejs Plakans labprāt apmeklēja teātri, it īpaši Jauno Rīgas teātri un Latvijas Nacionālo teātri. Vēl viņa aizraušanās bija teniss un skvošs, kurus viņš spēlēja ilgus gadus un šajos sporta veidos piedalījās universitātes sporta spēlēs. Profesors arī ar dzīvu interesi sekoja Ernesta Gulbja panākumiem tenisa kortos.

Andreja Plakana dzīvē ļoti svarīga bija viņa ģimene – sieva Barbara Plakane (Plakans), abas meitas Brenda un Lia un viņu ģimenes, kā arī mazbērni. Ģimene allaž bija viņa atbalsts, drošā un stiprā aizmugure, spēka un enerģijas avots.

Andrejs Plakans mūžībā devās 2024. gada 7. jūlijā Hilsā, Aiovas pavalstī. Latvijas un starptautiskā akadēmiskā sabiedrība ir zaudējusi izcilu zinātnieku un savas dzimtenes patriotu. Visdziļākā līdzjūtība emeritētā profesora Andreja Plakana ģimenei, kolēģiem un draugiem.

12 Vairāk sk.: Ardava, L. (2017). Izcilības apbalvojums: profesoram Andrejam Plakanam pasniegts Triju Zvaigžņu ordenis. *Lu.lv*, 17.06. Pieejams: <https://www.lu.lv/par-mums/lu-mediji/zinas/arhivs/arhiva-zina/t/4071/>.

13 Sprūde, V. Trimdas vairs nav. 6. lpp.

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