Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap

CLW • 13 (2021)

Modernisme
Modernism

Ben De Witte &
Emma-Louise Silva (red.)

ACADEMIA
PRESS

Modernisme / Modernism

CAHIER VOOR LITERATUURWETENSCHAP (CLW)
Hoofdredacteurs: Gwennie Debergh & Bart Eeckhout

CLW 1 (2009)
Tijding en tendens. Literatuurwetenschap in de Nederlanden
Sascha Bru & Anneleen Masschelein (red.)

CLW 2 (2010)
Les nouvelles voies du comparatisme
Hubert Roland & Stéphanie Vanasten (éd.)

CLW 3 (2011)
Hermeneutiek in veelvoud
Lars Bernaerts & Jürgen Pieters (red.)

CLW 4 (2012)
Literatuurwetenschap en uitgeverijonderzoek
Kevin Absillis & Kris Humbeeck (red.)

CLW 5 (2013)
Marges van de literatuur
Arnout De Cleene, Dirk De Geest & Anneleen Masschelein (red.)

CLW 6 (2014)
De auteur
Matthieu Sergier, Hans Vandevoorde & Marc van Zoggel (red.)

CLW 7 (2015)
Grote gevoelens in de literatuur
Tobias Hermans, Gunther Martens & Nico Theisen (red.)

CLW 8 (2016)
Stad en migratie in de literatuur
Bart Eeckhout, Vanessa Joosen & Arvi Sepp (red.)

CLW 9 (2017)
Genrehybriditeit in de literatuur
Hybridations génériques en régime littéraire
Reindert Dhondt & David Martens (red.)

CLW 10 (2018)
Literatuur en muziek
Literature and Music
Inge Arteel & Bruno Forment (red.)

CLW 11 (2019)
Tegen de natuur?
Against nature?
Sophie Wennerscheid (red.)

CLW 12 (2020)
Literatuur en religie
Literature and Religion
Veerle Fraeters, Tijl Nuyts & Gwennie Debergh (red.)

CLW 13 (2021)
Modernisme / Modernism
Ben De Witte & Emma-Louise Silva (red.)

CLW 13 • CAHIER VOOR LITERATUURWETENSCHAP

Modernisme / Modernism

Ben De Witte & Emma-Louise Silva (red.)

ACADEMIA
PRESS

Academia Press
Coupure Rechts 88
9000 Gent
België

info@academiapress.be
www.academiapress.be

Uitgeverij Academia Press maakt deel uit van Lannoo Uitgeverij, de boeken- en multimediadivisie van Uitgeverij Lannoo nv.

ISBN 978 94 014 8114 4
D/2021/45/448
NUR 620

Ben De Witte & Emma-Louise Silva (red.)
Modernisme / Modernism
Gent, Academia Press, 2021, 209 p.

Vormgeving cover: Keppie & Keppie
Zetwerk binnenwerk: Punctilio

INHOUDSTAFEL

Deel 1.

Modernisme / Modernism

The Newness of Modernism: Reading Modernism Today

Ben De Witte (KU Leuven) & Emma-Louise Silva (University of Antwerp)

It is common lore to introduce the advent of literary modernism in the English-speaking world with statements such as Holbrook Jackson's, who suggested in his 1922 review of *Ulysses* that James Joyce 'knows also that he is saying it in a new way' (200). Two years later, Virginia Woolf implied that 'on or about December 1910 human character changed' (1924: 4), and by 1927 Wyndham Lewis wondered whether it was 'the voluminous curtain that fell, belated (with the alarming momentum of a ton or two of personally organized rubbish), upon the Victorian scene' (109). Modernism had clearly kicked its way onto that scene. Claims to modernist newness had also appeared on the European continent, much earlier at that; another commonly cited feat of literary history is that Arthur Rimbaud inaugurated a modernist bidding to say 'Adieu', claiming that in all senses possible 'il faut être absolument moderne' (1892: 147). Throughout the western world, a rapid succession of avant-garde movements would soon afterwards take the first decades of the twentieth century by storm with a credo of 'newness', jumpstarting a more general understanding of 'modernism' as a promotional moniker for self-conscious innovation across a range of literary and artistic expressions.

Scholarship has played no small part in perpetuating modernism's claim to newness, experimentation, and iconoclasm. Matei Calinescu, for instance, in his well-known *Five Faces of Modernity*, qualifies modernism as 'an aesthetic of transitoriness and immanence, whose central values are change and novelty' (1987: 4). Calinescu's placement of modernism at the heart of a wider set of cultural preoccupations with modernity as an 'irreconcilable opposition' (5) between past and present, tradition and newness, obsolescence and urgency, etc., is exemplary for the manner in which scholarship has bestowed broader relevance and legitimacy on literary modernism as an object worthy of serious scrutiny. The study of literary modernism took shape accordingly. In that regard, Mark Wollaeger observes in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms* that in the North-American context the field of modernist studies was defined, from its inception, by a particular historical period (roughly between 1895 and 1945) and a particular body of literature, generally viewed in terms of its formal complexity and aesthetic difficulty. The rise and consolidation of modernist studies in Anglo-American academia is often associated with the heydays of literary theory: first and foremost, New Criticism declared it a venerable object of study, but deconstruction also embraced modernism's liking for representational scepticism. Yet from the 1970s onwards, literary theory (especially in its more politicized – Marxist, feminist, postcolonial, etc. – guises) would gradually cast a suspicious light on modernist doctrines of aesthetic autonomy and diffi-

culty that seemed to condone, or even encourage a retreat into elitist inner recess. Nonetheless, while Wollaeger points out that 'By the 1980s, the study of modernism had become relatively suspect, especially on political grounds' (2012: 8), recent developments in literary studies reveal that modernism has all but lost its appeal to professional readers; a close association between modernism and literary theories persists till today, assuring its prestige as a source for new, wide-ranging methodological and theoretical investigation.

Fast-forwarding to 2008, the notion of modernism's 'newness' is again revived, albeit on specifically disciplinary grounds, when Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz date the birth of *new* modernist studies 'on or about 1999', not only pointing to the creation of the Modernist Studies Association (MSA), but also mentioning new journals such as *Modernism/Modernity* and *Modernist Cultures*, alongside an array of publications exploring new methodologies (737). In their seminal article entitled 'The New Modernist Studies', Mao and Walkowitz proffered that when 'seeking a single word to sum up transformations in modernist literary scholarship over the past decade or two, one could do worse than light on *expansion*' (2008: 737 italics in original). Mao and Walkowitz saw the field of modernism studies traversing into 'temporal, spatial, and vertical directions' (2008: 737). As for the pendulum of the temporal aspect, what was previously deemed the 'core period of about 1890 to 1945' (Mao & Walkowitz 2008: 738) seemed to have swayed towards the mid-nineteenth century one way, and towards the middle of the twentieth century the other way. The spatial fabric wrapped itself around the four corners of the earth (instead of merely the anglophone northern hemisphere), while an encompassing verticality stretched from low-brow via mid-brow to high-brow. Indeed, the myth of the writer locked up in the modernist ivory tower was beckoned to its quietus, loosening or revising associations with elitism. Instead, new approaches to modernist studies have brought into relief how popular media propelled the trajectories of 'words and images in less time, across bigger distances, and to greater numbers of people than ever before' (Mao & Walkowitz 2008: 743).

This *Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap* aims to establish that the 'new modernist' wind is also in flux throughout Flanders and Brussels, albeit from a different position in today's global economies of scholarship. Our location as scholars in Belgium invites probing into where 'new modernist studies' are at in Flanders and Brussels as a comparative question: how, if at all, has the latest scholarship on modernism produced at our universities responded to the 'new modernism' story? Have scholars at work in Belgium staked a self-conscious position vis-à-vis trends set by new modernism's predominantly Anglophone provenance? 'New modernism' in Flanders, judged on our contributions, sustains both resonances and refractions with Anglo-American scholarship, as was felt during the conference held by the Flemish Association for Literary Theory and Comparative Literature (VAL) in 2019. The call for papers ushered in the VAL's wish to 'focus even more strongly on what it regards as its core task, namely bringing together – across linguistic, generational and institutional divides – young and early career literary scholars who are

active in Flanders and Brussels and inviting them to convene around themes of common interest' ('VAL-Symposium 2019').

The VAL conference revealed that the field of modernist studies, as currently practiced at Belgian universities, suggests its own 'new' set of questions and objects of study. The conference, organized with Dutch and English as lead languages, covered a range of topics and approaches to modernist literatures from various European contexts. This *CLW* special issue on 'Modernisme / Modernism' accordingly reflects a broad and comparative scope. Covering European literatures from the modernist period, this issue far from repeats 'old' modernism studies, but shows a field in full action and expansion that crosses national boundaries as well as disciplines and media. Although not every essay in this collection claims a part in the unfolding history of 'new modernism' *per se*, as a whole our contributions' wide breadth of subjects, contexts, and methodologies do invite comparison with Mao and Walkowitz's expansion of the field.

As for the 'spatial expansion' of the subjects discussed in this volume, the contributions present case studies from German, Dutch, Austrian, Italian, British, Irish, American, and Eastern European vantage points. Most articles operate within the 'temporal expansion' of the broader modernist period, with Nicholas De Sutter's focus on Neo-Latin texts on the one side of the pendulum (pre-'core' period) and the US minimalist orientation of Carolien Van Nerom's essay on the other (post-'core' period). This *CLW* does 'vertical expansion' at its best, with new genres emerging as objects of study, such as pantomime (Mathias Meert), hybrid lowbrow and popular novels (Fatima Borrmann and Robrecht De Boodt), travel essays (Chiara Zampieri), the short story (Phyllis Boumans), and radio plays (Pim Verhulst). Furthermore, older genres that have undergone a revamp have also claimed their place in this volume. The modernist novel, a longstanding *locus classicus* of scholarship, still prevails, albeit through the prism of philosophy of mind (Emma-Louise Silva) and less trodden paths in modernist literary criticism (Tilde Geerardyn). Notably, nearly all contributions deal directly with the era's self-conscious construction of modernist novelty in and through a variety of ideas, forms, and discourses. By doing so, our contributors unearth and mobilize new archives of unexplored materials; canonical authors are approached from previously unexplored or forgotten texts, or popular culture is considered through new prisms. Therefore, these papers fuse and converse with one another on the basis of a shared theme: what is 'modernist' (as modernist knowledge – modernist state and culture, or community – modernist gender and race – modernist nationalism and cosmopolitanism, ...)? Many of our contributors historicize modernism itself as a phenomenon that is up for revaluation (see 'new' modernist studies): they investigate how local (which in this volume means European) contexts have responded to, and produced their own modernist ideas, allowing for a more nuanced picture of literary and cultural history.

This collection opens with a contribution by Nicholas De Sutter, who finds an unexpected archive of modernity in mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth-century

Neo-Latin poetry. De Sutter aims to provide a more complete historiography for a body of verse that conversed with the modern world through the prism of antiquity. Then follow two articles that deepen our understanding of the modernist period's intertwining of medical science with literary form: first, Fatima Borrmann explores how motherhood was reimagined in British and German novels from the 1890s and early 1900s by Sarah Grand, Helene Böhlau, Mona Caird and Dolorosa (Maria Eichhorn) that link cultural ideas surrounding 'the New Woman' to the emerging pseudo-science of eugenics. Then, Robrecht De Boodt's contribution focuses on the depiction of medical knowledge in colonial literature, by analysing the western gaze in two literary texts that feature sub-Saharan African colonial territories as backdrops, namely *Tropenwee* (1904) by Belgian writer Henri Van Booven and *Germanin* (1938) by German doctor Hellmuth Unger. From there on, this volume takes us to a variety of modernist settings and contexts, ranging from Central and Eastern Europe to Southern Europe and Ireland. Mathias Meert discusses the role of pantomime theatre within the framework of (German-language) modernist aesthetics. Contextualizing his findings through the analysis of Carl Einstein's pantomime *Nuronihar* (1913), Meert addresses the narrative and intermedial features of Einstein's dance-oriented silent pantomime. Next, offering a Slavic perspective on the cultural history of modernism, Tilde Geerardyn hones in on the ideas of Slovene literary critic Janko Lavrin, who in his writing during the interwar years in London actively promoted a novel 'psychocritical approach' to theorize modernist culture within a comprehensive European framework. Chiara Zampieri offers a very different view on European modernity: her contribution identifies a British perspective that eagerly looks for the sources of a new and better modernity in the Etruscan past, while discussing the literary imagination of modernity in David Herbert Lawrence's travel essay *Etruscan Places* (1932) and Aldous Huxley's novel *Point Counter Point* (1928). That also the familiar 'classics' of modernism continue to inspire the development of new literary theory is suggested by Emma-Louise Silva's contribution, which applies impulses from the field of philosophy of mind, namely 4E – or embodied, embedded, extended and enactive – cognition to reassess the so-called 'inward turn' of Joyce's modernist fiction. We stay in Ireland with Phyllis Boumans, who gauges the Irish middlebrow magazine *The Bell*'s (1940-1954) indebtedness to modernist aesthetics through the lens of the short story. Boumans argues that *The Bell*, in the contemporaneity of the short story form, found an adequate means to bring a culturally impoverished middle class into contact with a revitalised modern literature. Pim Verhulst discusses why modernist studies failed to bestow significance on radiophonic experimentation before the advent of 'New Modernist Studies'. After sketching the current state of affairs in radiophonic studies of modernism, Verhulst points to the continued relevance of the 'inward turn' for the Anglophone post-war period in his analysis of Dylan Thomas's *Under Milk Wood* (1954), Samuel Beckett's *Embers* (1959) and Caryl Churchill's *Identical Twins* (1968). Carolien Van Nerom closes this collection with a contribution that points to the vivid afterlife of modernism, by zooming in on Philip Glass' opera *The Trial*

(2014), which is based on Franz Kafka's *Der Prozess* (1925). Van Nerom provides a musical and narratological analysis of Glass's opera, examining, via a focus on female characters, the reception of Kafka's novel in a new cultural context and medium.

Taken together, these essays illustrate the wide variety of subjects and approaches joined under the banner of this *CLW* special issue on 'Modernisme / Modernism'. The once sharp disjunction in scholarship between highbrow and lowbrow literatures of the modernist period has lost its polemical edge, giving rise to new productive directions that have reshaped and re-energized the field and its objects of study. The essays in this collection reveal that 'new modernism' has claimed modernism as a privileged terrain for conceptualizing media and intermedia, as well as historical incursions into modernist literatures, knowledges, and technologies of all stripes. It is also clear that modernism remains a privileged place for developing new literary theories: the approaches based in philosophy of mind, cognitive narratology, and intermedial studies point to new interaction with existing paradigms of formal and historical analysis. To sum up, the contributions in this *Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap* demonstrate the notion that modernism proves to be up for multiform transvaluation, whether it be in time, in space, or in genre and tone. In 'Madame Grows Older: A Journal at the Dangerous Age', Djuna Barnes writes that '[t]ime and space are my enemies. If it were not for time, I should not be dangerous, and if it were not for space, I should not feel so limited!' ([1924] 2019: 33-34). It must be said that even though Madame Modernism 'grows older', it is striking how the field of modernist studies is still keen on surpassing modalities and on reinventing its own claims to newness.

Bibliography

Barnes, D. 'Madame Grows Older: A Journal at the Dangerous Age', in: *The Lydia Steptoe Stories*. London: Faber, [1924] 2019.

Calinescu, M. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.

Jackson H. '*Ulysses* à la Joyce', in: *To-Day*. 1922. In: Deming, R.H. (ed.) *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage* Vol. I (1902-1927). London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970. 198-200.

Lewis, W. *Time and Western Man*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1927.

Mao, D. and R. L. Walkowitz. 'The New Modernist Studies', in: *PMLA*. 123 (3), 2008, 737-748.

Rimbaud, A. 'Adieu', in: *Poèmes*: *Les illuminations & Une saison en enfer. Notice par Paul Verlaine*. Paris: Léon Vanier, 1892. 145-147.

'VAL-Symposium 2019'. http://www.vval.be/studiedag2019.html.

Wollaeger, M. 'Introduction', in: Wollaeger, M. with Eatough, M. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 3-22.

Woolf, V. 'Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown', in: *The Hogarth Essays*. 1924. Collection Items British Library.

Towards a History of the Latin Poetry of the Modern Age (ca. 1845-1922)

Nicholas De Sutter (KU Leuven / Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek)

Introduction

Although Neo-Latin is generally defined as including all writings in Latin from Petrarch until the present day, scholarship has traditionally focussed the lion's share of its attention on the production of Latin verse and prose during the early-modern period, the 'golden era' that tapered off into the eighteenth century, when Latin lost its pre-eminence as the supranational language of learning, literature, and education. Yet this is not to say that writers suddenly and completely stopped composing in the language of Vergil and Cicero altogether in the wake of the French Revolution. For even though the active use of this 'dead' language was irrevocably caught in a downward spiral on account of a multitude of historical factors, this (d)evolution was a very gradual process. The longstanding tradition of Latin verse and prose composition, therefore, though increasingly moving towards the fringes of the literary landscape, enjoyed much more continuity than it is usually given credit for, and still resulted in a wealth of works produced in Latin during the (late-)modern period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Until quite recently, forays into this literary phenomenon would often fall through the cracks of modern disciplinary boundaries – i.e. regularly brushed aside within Neo-Latin studies on account of its peripheral status and mostly neglected in classical reception studies on account of the language barrier – yet scholarship on Latin's 'twilight years' (see Sacré 2014; Money 2014) and all its forms and functions has clearly been gaining momentum in recent years. In addition to the surge in historiographies of Latin devoting considerable attention to the language's final phase (Waquet 1999; Stroh 2007; Leonhardt 2009; Bloemendal 2016; Korenjak 2016), Neo-Latin studies as a discipline seems to be re-embracing the founding fathers' broad conception of the field (IJsewijn & Jacobs 1961; IJsewijn 1977; see Bertiau & Sacré 2019).[1] Thus, recent scholarship includes studies ranging from the Neo-Latin representation of Napoleon (Krüssel 2011; Krüssel 2016) to the various uses and abuses of Latin and its cultural legacy during the age of Italian Fascism (Lamers &

1. It remains telling, however, that of the three recent Neo-Latin 'companions' (Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014; Knight & Tilg 2015; Moul 2017) that explicitly aim to build on the foundations laid by IJsewijn 1977 and IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, only the first one pays a respectable measure of attention to Latin beyond the eighteenth century (i.a. Haskell 2014; Minkova 2014; Money 2014; Sacré 2014). For a recent reflection on the broadening of Neo-Latin scholarship, see Coroleu2019.

Reitz-Joosse 2016). Even so, it is still quite difficult to get a good overview of modern Latin as a whole, so an encompassing approach to the literary production in Latin in the late-modern period – as opposed to the early-modern period – remains a desideratum to this day (see Bertiau 2017). If, in other words, Neo-Latin is a 'lost continent of literature', as James Hankins put it (2001: 22), 'largely excluded from the story of Western literature', then the late-modern era clearly constitutes the farthest, largely unexplored reaches of this literary Atlantis.

This contribution offers a first look at and some preliminary results of a new research project which aims to offer a step towards a more complete historiography of modern Latin literature, focussing on poetry from the mid-nineteenth century until the early-twentieth century.[2] It does not propose to study all Latin poetry produced during this period, of course, but precisely that body of verse that entered into dialogue with the rapidly changing world around it. For while the entire corpus of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latin literature is still too vast to be encompassed in one study and still includes an endless stream of religious and occasional poetry, there also is a particularly interesting subset of compositions dedicated to contemporary society.

In an age when the effects of the Industrial Revolution started being felt in everyday life as science and technology continued making rapid progress, and in an age when the modern nation state, scrambling for empire, came into being, many of Europe's classically educated still turned to Latin in order to reflect on this changing reality. The tension between the modern world and the ancient language used to reflect on it – which in its turn evoked an entire cultural universe dating back thousands of years – is what characterises this type of poetry most, and forms the common thread running through the study. This prism of antiquity through which Neo-Latin poets saw contemporary society manifested itself in a variety of ways, ranging from entire epics that sing the (re-)birth of the Italian nation as an Ovidian metamorphosis or that use the *Aeneid* as a hypotext to praise colonial enterprises in Africa, to Juvenalian and Horatian satires on Darwin or the suffragettes, to Lucretian didactic verse dedicated to the most recent inventions and discoveries. Though one could say that modernity sparked anti-modernity in this respect in terms of form – the language and genres have remained more or less unaltered – this does not automatically mean that the choice of Latin was predicated on reactionary, anti-modern sentiments. It does not exclude it either, of course, as there certainly is a conservative undertone present in at least part of the corpus. However, Latin compositions singing the praises of the miracle of aviation or the advantages of electricity and steam technology, to name but a few examples, clearly testify to a genuine admiration for the advances of contemporary society.

This last element also shows how the literary phenomenon ties in with what is often called '*Latinitas viva*' (living Latin), a movement with its roots in the mid-

2. FWO research grant n. 64346 ('Through the Prism of Antiquity: the Reception of Modernity in Late-Modern Latin Poetry (1845-1922)').

nineteenth century, promoting the active use of Latin as the international language *par excellence*. By using perfectly Vergilian hexameters and Ciceronian periods to comment on contemporary events and issues, modern Latin writers also tried to show that Latin was more than capable of resuming its position as *lingua franca*, or that it had never really lost its place as the universal language of both learning and literature to begin with.

In its core, this phase in Latin literature is not much different from previous centuries: it is simply the hallmark of Neo-Latin that it uses a petrified, age-old language to reflect on contemporary issues and events. It is therefore pointless, to a certain extent, to try to force this separate 'course' in the history of Western literature into the framework of literary movements in the vernacular. Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Latin poetry cannot, for instance, be situated within the context of modernism very easily, as it simply does not seem to show any signs of wanting to 'make it new' or to break from traditional forms of writing or modes of representation. If anything, Neo-Latin is quintessentially an expression of Neo-Classicism, at least as to its traditional formal characteristics and ancient frames of reference. Yet this does not alter the fact that, in wanting to shine a light on its own times like any literature, the virtually unstudied Latin poetry of the era under consideration was faced with particularly dynamic times – the long nineteenth century as an era of almost blind faith in progress, the rapid advance of science and technology, the rise of nation-states, urbanisation, industrialisation and secularisation in the west – which it actively sought to capture in its own way, thereby giving rise to the anachronistic juxtaposition of the ancient and the modern.

The main reason why modern Latin poetry has been studied so sparingly is not so much for a lack of material or the quality thereof, as it is a question of finding it and getting a decent overview (see Sacré 1996: 67). Inherently international, the Latin production of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been difficult to chart, since the primary sources are often hard to bring together – spread as they are across journals, leaflets, and rare booklets – and encompassing bibliographies are generally lacking.[3] One exception is France, where previous bibliographical work (Jalabert & Sacré 2010) has recently enabled a thorough examination of nineteenth-century Latin poetry, predominantly within the context of the French educational system (Jalabert 2017). Surprisingly little work has been done, for instance, to map Latin culture in modern Italy, though without question the largest supplier of Neo-Latin verse throughout the period, in spite of Vito Giustiniani's excellent first impulse (1979). In fact, scholarship has almost exclusively focussed on the Latin oeuvre of Giovanni Pascoli, who is considered the most influential Latin poet of the era. Though this qualification is more than justified, the exclusive attention that comes with it somewhat obfuscates the existence of hundreds of other (Italo-)Latin poets active in the same period.

3. We are better off with regard to the twentieth century in terms of bibliographical surveys (see IJsewijn 1961-1964; Sacré 1990-2002).

A recent discovery, however, offers a way out of this heuristic quagmire: in 2012, the complete archives of the *Certamen Hoeufftianum* (Hoeufft contest), the most prominent international competition for previously unpublished Latin poetry, which was organised in Amsterdam from 1845 until 1978, were rediscovered in Haarlem (see Fera et al. 2017). In the spirit of the burgeoning *Latinitas viva* movement, contests in the art of composing in ancient languages – Latin and/or Greek, prose and/or poetry, original and/or translations – started mushrooming in nineteenth-century Europe, and became one of the main institutional platforms for modern Latin as such (see Gionta 2006). In time, the *Certamen Hoeufftianum* – named after Dutch Neo-Latin poet Jacob Hendrik Hoeufft (1756-1843), whose last will and testament provided for a competition for original Latin poetry – grew to become the international forum for Latin poetry *par excellence*, even sparking a modest but significant mini-renaissance lasting until the early-twentieth century, which some contemporaries liked to label 'neo-humanism' (see Bartoli 1935). Lying at the very centre of this neo-humanist microcosm, the contest brought together poets from all over the globe to compete for a gold medal and a prestigious publication of their compositions, inspiring new generations of poets to do the same (on its importance, Giustiniani 1979: 5-7).

The contest and its archives provide an ideal vantage point from which to study modern Latin poetry as a whole, both methodologically and in terms of content. For on the one hand, the corpus solves the noted heuristic problem in that it offers a representative cross-section of modern Latin poetic culture, since the contest united the *fine fleur* of contemporary Latinists from a wide range of nationalities. On the other hand, since the *Hoeufftianum* did not impose any mandatory topic – as opposed to most other competitions – contestants were completely free to write about any subject of their own choosing. Accordingly, explorations of the corpus have revealed a deep fascination for all things modern, consistently framed against a classical backdrop.

In order to paint as complete a picture as possible of the Latin poetry of the period under examination, the initial Hoeufft corpus must, in a second step, be supplemented by specific searches in the three other main outlets for Latin poetry at the time – journals, poetry collections, and other competitions – based on the findings and trends discerned in the *Hoeufftianum*. For the purposes of this introductory article, however, I will limit myself to fleshing out case studies from the Hoeufft corpus.

By demarcating the period under examination from 1845 to 1922, finally, the project also dovetails with a chronological gap in scholarship, which – apart from the steady stream of Pascoli studies – has hitherto mainly focussed on either the early-nineteenth century (Krüssel 2011-2015; Jalabert 2017; Bertiau 2017), or the age of Italian Fascism (Lamers & Reitz-Joosse 2016). At the same time, the two dates also represent two key moments in the history of modern Latin itself: 1845, the first *Hoeufftianum* contest and the symbolic dawn of this final revival, and 1922, the rise to power of the Fascist regime in Italy (1922-1943), which gave rise to a vast

corpus of Fascist Latin literature, as is currently being investigated in several research projects at the universities of Groningen and Oslo.

Texts and contexts

As noted above, the current inquiry into the Latin poetry of the mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries zooms in on the novelties and trends of the era as they were experienced by contemporary classicists, who still took delight in reflecting on these matters via the art of verse composition and through a classical lens. The modern change that so fascinated these poets is built around clusters of the most salient recurring themes identified in the Hoeufft corpus, betraying the celebration of industry, nationalism, empire, and (social, political, technological, scientific…) progress so typical of the time. The following section of the article introduces these clusters and offers some illustrative case studies from these categories spanning the entire period under examination.

Science and technology

In the cluster around the various manifestations of 'progress', firstly, light is shed on the classically-inspired reactions to a variety of aspects concerning the continually changing world of the long nineteenth century. This drastic change had been kick-started by the Industrial Revolution, the effects of which on everyday life only really started making themselves felt – and hence only started being reflected on in literature – on a substantial scale around 1840 (Hobsbawm 1996: 27), aligning perfectly with the start of the project. The rapid advancement was first and foremost one of a technological and scientific nature, but this modernisation of course also affected a great deal of socio-economic change (not to forget political change, which is treated separately). In addition to Neo-Latin reflections on e.g. the steam engine and the telegraph – the driving technologies behind globalization – the corpus therefore also includes poetic commentaries on women's and workers' rights, to name but a few examples.

Judging by the submissions to the Hoeufft contest, modern technology fascinated contemporary Latin poets immensely. For there was quite a flood of compositions, often didactic, about all kinds of inventions. To the modern ear, this juxtaposition of didactics and poetry sounds quite contradictory, which dates back to the Romanticist poetics of anti-didacticism. In the Neo-Latin tradition, however, even in the post-Romantic era, didactic poetry never lost its superior position in the generic hierarchy (see Wiegand 1984). The Latin fascination for the advances of technology clearly started with the steam engine. In fact, the second person ever to win the *Hoefftianum* – Giuseppe Giacoletti, Pascoli's poetic mentor – obtained the gold medal with a lengthy and complex '*carmen didascalicum*' in dactylic hexam-

eters dedicated to the steam engine itself: *De lebetis materie et forma eiusque tutela in machinis vaporis vi agentibus* ('On the metal, shape, and safety of the boiler in steam powered engines'). As is customary in didactic epics – the Latin models being Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and Vergil's *Georgica* – the poem starts out with a proem invoking the Muse and stating its subject matter:

> Materiem Musa aggreditur describere aheni
> Ac formam, quo fervescens parit unda vaporem,
> Fabrili ostenta in ludo terraque marique
> Promentem: siquidem pariter quodcumque metallum
> Haud prodest operi, quaecumque aut forma legatur,
> Arx veluti quosvis haud fraenat quaelibet hostes.
> Quippe aggressa foris flamma, intus lympha vaporque,
> Perdere conspirant iuncto ceu foedere molem.[4]

Yet the classical background against which the recent invention is discussed here is not limited to the didactic tradition and its exigencies in terms of form only. Very often, modern Latin poets also harked back to ancient mythology as a prism through which to analyse their changing surroundings. Giacoletti tried to do the same. As the poet already signalled in the proem, steam technology is not without risk, as the pressure building up inside the boiler can result in explosions when left unchecked. Hence the importance of the safety valve, which can let off the excess steam. It is the machine operator's responsibility, therefore, to remain ever vigilant. Here, Giacoletti took the opportunity to make a mythological digression, which, like the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in Vergil's *Georgica*, had become part and parcel of the genre. In book X of the *Odyssey*, the titular hero is given a bag by Aeolus, 'the keeper of winds', containing all the headwinds, which would allow them to sail to Ithaca unhindered. When Odysseus is fast asleep, however, his companions mistakenly open the bag and unleash a violent storm, blowing them completely off course. In a lengthy mythological digression, Giacoletti recounts these events and urges steam engine operators to be mindful of this cautionary tale, likening the steam-filled engine to the magical bag of winds:

> Commissa ergo tibi, custos, fac limina molis
> Gnaviter observes, posita neu lege recedas.
> Incautos vafri socios reminiscere Ulyssis,
> Tot mala qui ventis temere excivere solutis,
> (...)

4. Giacoletti 1863: 5 (all translations are my own). 'My Muse attempts to describe the matter and form of the vessel in which boiling water brings forth steam, which in its turn brings forth miracles in a display of craftsmanship, both on land and at sea. For not any type of metal is equally suitable for this enterprise, and not just any form can be chosen, just as not every stronghold can restrain every type of enemy. For the flame that makes its way out and the water and the steam inside all conspire, as if they made a pact, to destroy the engine'. Giacoletti's work has recently been anthologized in Pasero 2015 (including *De lebetis materie*...).

Quare funesta ut procul infortunia cedant
Neve audax manus horrendas monstri excitat iras,
Binis provisum est valvis munire lebetem.[5]

Most other steam-related poetry focussed on its practical applications, first and foremost on steam trains and steam boats.[6] Trains and railroads in particular have always been regarded as the 'harbingers of modernity' and were treated as such in literature (see Daly 2004: 10-34). Latin literature was no different. Pierre Esseiva, for instance, the little-studied Swiss poet who dominated the Hoeufft contest in the 1870s and 1880s before passing the torch to Giovanni Pascoli, displayed his mastery in fluent Latin verse composition with *Via ferrata* ('Railroad'), in which he painted a picture of the steam train as a monster from ancient mythology. Some of these works – like the 1845 Hoeufft submission *Ode alcaica de universa vaporis in viis ferratis utilitate* ('Alcaic ode on the universal advantage of steam on railroads') by Giuseppe Caregnato, or German poet Eduard August Diller's *Currus vaporarii versibus latinis celebrati* ('Steam trains celebrated in Latin verse'), published in the *Neue Jahrbuch für Philologie und Paedagogik* in 1841 – shifted from didactics to encomiastics, extolling the inventions rather than describing their technical minutiae. Again, the classical frame of reference is never far away: the 1901 Hoeufft bronze medallist *Vulcanus* by the Italian Alberto Salvagni, for instance, even went so far as to revive the Roman poet Vergil in the year 1900 and confront him with the locomotive, presented as the most recent invention of Vulcan, the Roman god of metallurgy (see De Sutter 2019: 52-54).

Ancient gods, mythological beings, and classical writers would often function as the go-to sounding boards, it seems. Especially Prometheus, the Titan who first introduced technology to mankind, featured in this type of modern Latin poetry regularly. In the 1921 Hoeufft submission *Prometheus alter* ('Second Prometheus') by Francesco Tranquillino Moltedo, for example, Guglielmo Marconi, the Italian inventor of wireless telegraphy, is portrayed as a modern Prometheus, even to the point where he would end up being chained to a mountain by a disgruntled Jupiter. When the fascination moved from steam engines to aviation in the early 1900s, Prometheus was often credited with finally helping man soar through the skies as well, while Daedalus and Icarus were regularly adduced as a cautionary tale of technological hubris.

5. Giacoletti 1863: 11-13. 'Therefore, operator, make sure to guard the engine's portals, which have been entrusted to you, diligently, and do not stray from the safety regulations. Bear in mind shrewd Odysseus' careless companions, who thoughtlessly caused so much harm by unleashing the winds (...). Thus, in order to keep at bay such deadly disasters and to prevent foolhardy hands from provoking the terrible wrath of this monster, precautions have been taken to fortify the engine with a double valve'.

6. Giacoletti also wrote other steam-related compositions. For the very first Hoeufft contest in 1845, for instance, he entered *De vehiculis vapore motis carmen* ('A poem on steam-powered vehicles').

Gender and class

In addition to the topical cluster of science and technology, the project also includes the more socio-economic side of this 'century of progress', both in terms of gender (e.g. women's emancipation) and class (e.g. the rise of the working classes and socialism). One aspect of these social transformations I would like to touch on here is that of women's suffrage and emancipation. For it was in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, once again, that women's role in western society started to change drastically. Here as well, I am currently uncovering a great deal of previously unknown writings in Latin concerning women's rights. The question of women's suffrage in particular seemed to attract most attention, as can be ascertained from just a handful of (translated) titles from the ever-growing corpus: 'The progress of women', 'On the advancement of women', 'On learned women', 'Satire on emancipated women', 'On women seeking suffrage', 'Voting rights', 'Whether women should be allowed to vote'...

Again, what characterises these compositions is not just that they have been written in a 'dead' language, but also that they consistently use the classical heritage as a lens through which to critically analyse the changing position of women in society. Whether it be the Roman poet Apuleius, standing on the banks of the river Styx whilst criticizing the typically 'bobbed' hairdo of 1920s emancipated women as their shades arrive in the underworld, or a narrator praising women's quest for equality by drawing extensive comparisons with strong female characters from antiquity like Antigone or the Amazons, classical culture makes out the backbone of Neo-Latin reflections on the modern world, *in casu* modern women.

The quest for women's emancipation often met with conservative ridicule in the form of Horatian or Juvenalian satire. Let us therefore flesh out one such submission to the Hoeufft contest of 1913, by Moltedo, the Italian poet mentioned above who depicted Marconi as a modern Prometheus. In his *In feminas ius suffragii appetentes* ('On women seeking suffrage'), Moltedo paints the picture of a future in which Italian women have finally won the vote – they would really only do so in 1945[7] – and can become MPs.[8] The poem zooms in on their first parliamentary sitting in Rome, and opens with the narrator's wish for female political representation finally having come true:

Hoc est in votis: aulae subsellia in Urbe

7. Though the issue of women's suffrage had of course been a bone of contention in Italy for many years, the debate flared up again around 1912-13 when (quasi-)universal suffrage for men was introduced, and the possibility of including women was discussed but rejected in parliament.
8. Haarlem, Noord-Hollands archief, KNAW 64.820, 23. It did not manage to win a prize; as often happened, the poet subsequently published his work elsewhere, in this case in the Neapolitan journal *Ars italica* (1913). The poem actually built on a submission from decades earlier (1876), *Monita ad poplicolam*, in which the narrator gives advice to a young Italian MP (KNAW 64.809, 3, subsequently published as *Recens poplicola* in Moltedo 1882: 89-98). One piece of advice extended to the newly-elected politician was to make a public stand for women's suffrage, purely for selfish reasons: the day will come when women will have the opportunity to vote, and once they do, they will repay him in kind and he will have his seat forever.

Feminea, arripiens populi suffragia, turba
Invadet victrix. (...)[9]

These opening lines already clearly betray Horatian influence, echoing the beginning of Horace's famous satire 2.6 ('Hoc erat in votis') and reusing the *iunctura* 'populi suffragia' from his *Epistulae* (2.2.103) in the same metrical position.[10] Continuing in this tone – Horace's witty social ridicule, as opposed to the more vitriolic indignation typical of Juvenal – the narrator describes how even before the session is opened, the presence of women in the national assembly causes quite a stir. As the elected women enter into friendly competition in order to find a good seat, the struggle quickly gets out of hand: their dresses make it difficult for them to move around, and the men watch in delight as they tumble and fall, trampling on their hats and tearing their purses. Things go from bad to worse during the debates about the ongoing Italian occupation of Libya, as the women take an anti-war stance and keep interrupting the men. Chaos ensues and eventually the president decides to vacate the room. In a patronizing conclusion, the narrator takes stock of this glimpse of the future and proposes to maintain the status quo, relegating women to the domestic sphere:

Inversas mirare vices! Quas plausibus ante
Excepit plebes, nunc risu impune lacessit.
Tu modo, mi lector, mecum indignaris acerbe,
Seria qui in risum videor convertere. Amice,
Fac queat et mulier concessa sidere in Aula;
Nonne haec evenient quae scripsi, plusve minusve?
Ergo ducat acum, aut dextra data pensa trahente,
Laeta domi cantet, patria contenta quiete.[11]

The (re)birth of a nation: the case of the Italian Unification

Apart from the 'age of progress', the period under examination was also the 'age of nation-building'. Thus, just as the first part of the research project delves into the scientific-technological and socio-economic ramifications of the Industrial Revolu-

9. Haarlem, Noord-Hollands archief, KNAW 64.820, 23, v. 1-3. 'This is my wish: for women to seize the vote and take possession, victorious and *en masse*, of their parliamentary seat in the City'.
10. Submissions also had to be accompanied by a motto, which, not surprisingly, Moltedo also borrowed from Horace's satires ('ridentem dicere verum quid vetat', 'what prevents a person from speaking the truth while laughing?', in 1882: 1.1.24).
11. Haarlem, Noord-Hollands archief, KNAW 64.820, 23, v. 98-105. 'What a wonderful turn of events! The crowd first welcomed them to thunderous applause and now jeers at them with impunity. Dear reader, you are seriously displeased with me now because I appear to be ridiculing serious matters. My friend, suppose that women were allowed to sit in the House; surely what I have just described would more or less happen, wouldn't it? So let her sew, or do some manual labour; let her sing joyfully at home, content that her country is at peace'.

tion, its second part sheds light on the various ways in which Latin poetry reflected on the subsequent political transformation of the west in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and the growth of nations and nationalism. With the Hoeufft corpus once again acting as both litmus test and starting point, it appears that Latin poets displayed the same classically-infused fascination for the various manifestations of the burgeoning nation-state at the time, ranging from the rise of entirely 'new' states like Italy and Germany to the imperialist 'Scramble for Africa' to the many wars fought throughout the long nineteenth century. War and conflict are, after all, the ideal context for poets to ponder issues of nation, nationhood, and national identity.

Just as the start of the project in the 1840s aligns with the first large-scale effects of the Industrial Revolution on everyday life, so too does it coincide with one of the politically most turbulent times in Europe since the French Revolution: 1848, when the whole of Europe was ablaze with revolution. This wave of uprisings started in Palermo, where it evolved into the first major manifestation of Italian nationalism, and sparked off a new phase of 'the Risorgimento', the process of Italian unification. While the project will investigate which aspects of nationalism classically trained poets from all over Europe did and did not treat in Latin, it is clear from the outset that the Risorgimento was a particularly popular topic.

Although there is a wealth of scholarship on the cultural and literary context of the Italian unification, virtually no attention has been paid to the Latin side of the story ever since Tommaso Sorbelli signalled 'a number of Latin poems' on the Risorgimento (1930). However, this presence was much stronger than Sorbelli assumed, as the number of Latin poems, offering their classical musings on the formation of a modern state, runs into the hundreds. Given, on the one hand, the prevailing thesis that one of the driving forces behind the process of Italian nation-building was precisely the search for a common cultural heritage, which was found not only in Roman antiquity, but also in Italy's mediaeval and renaissance past, with Latin as the one common language spanning all periods, and given, on the other hand, the strong presence of the Italians on the Neo-Latin scene in the nineteenth century, it is small wonder that there is such a wealth of Latin Risorgimento poetry. I would therefore like to conclude with one such poem, submitted to the *Hoefftianum* in 1873, at the very end of this process of modern nation-building: *De Italica anastasi* ('On Italy's Resurrection').[12]

Composed by Francesco Dionigi Blancardi, a school teacher from Nice – Giuseppe Garibaldi's native city, which had been ceded to the French in exchange for their help in gaining independence from the Austrian empire – *De Italica anastasi* was one of many attempts within the Italo-Latin community to project the Risorgimento onto the template of the epic tradition and to emphasise the continu-

12. Haarlem, Noord-Hollands archief, KNAW 64.807, 1. The poem's motto is borrowed from Diego Vitrioli's *Xiphias*, which won the gold medal in the very first edition of the Hoefft contest and quickly gained the status of a 'modern classic' within the literary microcosm. *De Italica anastasi* was first published in 1874 and reprinted several times in the 1870s (I quote from the text as it was submitted to the *Hoefftianum*).

ity between the glory of ancient Rome and the newly founded nation, pitting the Italians as descendants of Virgil's Trojan-Romans against the occupiers of the peninsula (the Austrians and the Papal States in the North and Centre, and the Bourbons in the South). A few years later, Blancardi would publish another, shorter epic poem zooming in on the battle of Novara (1849), the crushing defeat of the Piemontese against the Austrians that marked the end of the first war of independence (Blancardi 1876). *De Italica anastasi* essentially picks up where *Pugna ad Novariam* stops, covering the second (1859) and third (1866) wars of independence, as well as the heroic Expedition of the Thousand (1860) led by Garibaldi and the capture of Rome (1870), the crowning event of the Risorgimento.

In singing the story of the long road to unification in epic fashion – the poem even repurposes Vergil's programmatic line 'Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem' (*Aen*. 1,33) into 'Tantae molis erat gentem instaurare Latinam' (*Anast.* 898)[13] – Blancardi pays a great deal of attention to the many battles fought in the process, thus entrenching both the heroics of Garibaldi and the political machinations of Cavour in the language and style of the *Aeneid*. Yet it does more than paint a picture of modern warfare, as it also celebrates Italy's progress as a society and even its incipient religious emancipation. In fact, in keeping with the thematic cluster on science and technology discussed above, Blancardi also displays the typical fascination for contemporary technology, as he dedicates an entire episode to the digging of the first great Alpine tunnel (Monte Cenis) between France and Italy. The epic thus also sings the praises of the marvels of modern engineering and particularly the engineer in charge, Germain Sommeiller (1815-1871), elevating him to the rank of hero and even coining a new word for his innovative pneumatic rock drill ('*terebratrix*').

But the one hero that was celebrated most in contemporary Latin was without a doubt Garibaldi, the soldier-statesman who was consistently portrayed as the reincarnation of various heroes of ancient Greece and Rome. Already larger than life before the birth of Italy, he became a living legend with the 'Spedizione dei Mille' in 1860, when he left Northern Italy with a fleet of approximately 1000 of his Red Shirts, intent on annexing the South for the new Kingdom. Fellow Niçois Blancardi – whose poem can even be found in Garibaldi's private library (Olivari 2014: 72) – was no exception, as we can see in the following fragment about the start of the expedition, in which he not only compares Garibaldi to Thrasybulus, the fabled Athenian freedom fighter, but also draws the recurring parallel between the expeditionary forces and Jason and the Argonauts. Only this time, the Argo is powered by steam:

> Aethna boat; fervens immugit Vesvius. — Audin'?
> Te, Garibalde, vocant Siculi, te Brettia tellus,

13. 'So great a task it was to found the Roman people' and 'So great a task it was to revive the Latin people', respectively.

Parthenopeque ciet periurum exosa Tyrannum.
Rumpe moras, conscende ratem, ventoque ferente
Utere. Quo tua stella vocat, rue: Mille sequantur
Delecti iuvenes alacresque: alter Trasibulus
Borbonidam sacrum Diris ex arce furentem
Excute; te populus, te patria fata iuvabunt.
Argo novella rotis Tyrrhena per aequora fertur,
Attigit et cursu subito Lilybeia saxa
Quae generosa suo respergit sanguine pubes,
Sed tamen optata victrix tellure potitur.
Heros it, comitat victoria: saepius arma
Miscet, semper abit quovis certamine victor:
Redditur et matri antiquae mox Sicelis ora.[14]

Closing remark

As scholarship ventures ever further into exploring 'the twilight years' of the Neo-Latin tradition, it is becoming more and more clear that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries still produced a vast and varied array of writings in Latin – at times dismissed as a collection of insipid school exercises – offering a unique window into the minds of the classically educated as they grappled with modern times. Recent developments like the recovery of the *Hoeufftianum* archives now present a new and firm point of departure for a reassessment of this final phase of Neo-Latin literature. With a few case studies, this article has introduced a research project which tries to do exactly this by shedding light on Neo-Latin poetry from the 1840s to the 1920s in particular, highlighting its fascination for modern change (social, technological, political…) and its tendency to map these reflections on contemporary issues and events onto classical templates. Thus, it hopes to be a first step towards a history of Latin poetry beyond the early-modern period.

14. Haarlem, Noord-Hollands archief, KNAW 64.807, 1, v. 604-618: 'Mount Etna is roaring; Vesuvius is letting out a deep rumble. Can you hear it? The Sicilians are calling on you, Garibaldi, the Bruttian country is calling on you, and Naples is rousing its much-maligned tyrant. Tarry no longer, ascend your ship and let yourself be carried by the wind. Rush to where your star is calling you. Let a thousand young men swiftly follow you; be a second Thrasybulus and banish the accursed Bourbon madman from his castle. The people and the country's destiny will be by your side. A new Argo propels its way across the Tyrrhenian sea and swiftly lands at Marsala's rocky coast, which is drenched in the blood of these fine young men, who at long last prevail and seize the desired land. Wherever our hero goes, victory follows. He is often locked in combat and always emerges the victor. Presently Sicily is returned to her ancient mother'.

Bibliography

Bartoli, A. 'Il movimento neoclassico dell'ultimo cinquantennio', in: Galassi Paluzzi, C. (ed.) *Atti del III Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, vol. 4. Bologna: Cappelli, 1935, 228-242.

Bertiau, C. 'Neo-Latin Literature in Nineteenth-Century Europe: An Overview', in: *History of European Ideas*. 2017 (5), 416-426.

Bertiau, C. & Sacré, D. (eds.) *Le latin et la littérature neo-latine au XIXe siècle: pratiques et représentations*. Brussels/Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 2019.

Blancardi, F. D. *La battaglia di Novara. Carme*. Novara: Dallo Stabilimento tipografico-librario dei Fratelli Miglio, 1876.

Bloemendal J. *Latijn: cultuurgeschiedenis van een wereldtaal*. Amsterdam: Athenaeum Polak & Van Gennep, 2016.

Coroleu, A. 'Beyond Europe, Beyond the Renaissance, beyond the Vernacular', in: *JOLCEL. Journal of Latin Cosmopolitanism and European Literatures*. 2019 (2), 73-77.

Daly, N. *Literature, Technology, and Modernity, 1860-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

De Sutter, N. 'Through Vergil's Eyes: the *Certamen Hoeufftianum* and the Revival of Figures from Antiquity in the Latin Poetry of the First World War', in: *FuturoClassico*. 2019 (5), 45-91.

Fera, V., Van Binnebeke, X. & Gionta, D. 'Per una nuova edizione dei *Carmina*', in: Fera, V., Galatà, F., Gionta, D. & Malta, C. (eds.) *Pascoli e le vie della tradizione. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Messina 3-5 dicembre 2012*. Messina: Centro internazionale di studi umanistici, 2017, 265-400.

Ford, P.J., Bloemendal, J. & Fantazzi, C. (eds.) *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014.

Giacoletti, G. *De lebetis materie et forma eiusque tutela in machinis vaporis vi agentibus*. Amsterdam: Apud C.G. Van der Post, 1863.

Gionta, D. 'I Certamina di poesia e prosa latina nell'Ottocento e nel Novecento', in: Fera, V., Gionta, D. & Morabito, E. (eds.) *La poesia latina nell'area dello Stretto fra Ottocento e Novecento*. Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, 2006, 195-240.

Giustiniani, V. *Neulateinische Dichtung in Italien 1850-1950. Ein unerforschtes Kapitel italienischer Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979.

Hankins, J. (ed.) *The Lost Continent: Neo-Latin Literature and the Rise of Modern European Literatures*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Library, 2001.

Haskell, Y. 'The Classification of Neo-Latin Didactic Poetry from the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries', in: Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014, vol. 1, 437-449.

Hobsbawm, E. *The Age of Revolution. 1789-1848*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.

IJsewijn, J. & Jacobs, J. *Latijnse poëzie van de twintigste eeuw*. Lier: De bladen voor de poëzie, 1961.

IJsewijn, J. 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi', in: *Euphrosyne*. 1961 (3), 149-190.

IJsewijn, J. 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi: auctarium', in: *Palaestra latina*. 1964 (187), 384-390.

IJsewijn, J. *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1977.

IJsewijn, J. & Sacré, D. *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part II: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998.
Jalabert, R. & Sacré, D. 'Bibliographie intermédiaire des poètes et versificateurs latins en France au XIXe siècle', in: *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. 2010 (59), 223-304.
Jalabert, R. *La Poésie et le latin en France au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017.
Knight, S. & Tilg, S. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Korenjak, M. *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur. Vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2016.
Krüssel, H. *Napoleo latinitate vestitus: Napoleon Bonaparte in lateinischen Dichtungen vom Ende des 18. Bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, vol. 1: Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Konsulat Bonapartes (1790-1804)*. Hildesheim: Olms, 2011.
Krüssel, H. *Napoleo latinitate vestitus: Napoleon Bonaparte in lateinischen Dichtungen vom Ende des 18. Bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, vol. 2: Von der Rheinreise und Kaiserkrönung bis zum Preußenfeldzug (1804-1806)*. Hildesheim: Olms, 2015.
Lamers, H. & Reitz-Joosse, B. 'Lingua Lictoria: The Latin Literature of Italian Fascism', in: *Classical Receptions Journal*. 8 (2), 2016, 216-252.
Leonhardt, J. *Latein. Geschichte einer Weltsprache*. Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2009.
Minkova, M. 'Conversational Latin: 1650 to the Present', in: Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014, vol. 1, 83-87.
Moltedo, F.T. *Carmina.* Florentiae: Ex officina Orphanorum, 1882.
Money, D. 'Neo-Latin Verse in the Twilight Years (1700-present)', in: Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014, vol. 1, 865-878.
Moul, V. (ed.) *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
Olivari, T. *La biblioteca di Garibaldi a Caprera*. Montecchi: Giorgio, 2014.
Pasero, D. *Giuseppe Giacoletti. Scelta di poesie italiane e latine edite ed inedite*. Ivrea: Associazione Culturale I Luoghi e La Storia, 2015.
Sacré, D. 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum 1900-1960: supplementum', in: *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. 1990 (39), 328-339.
Sacré, D. 'La poésie néo-latine en France au XIXe siècle', in: Cesbron, G. & Richer, L. (eds.) *La réception du latin du XIXe siècle à nos jours*. Angers: Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1996, 67-77.
Sacré, D. 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum 1900-1960: supplementum alterum', in: *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. 2002 (51), 301-310.
Sacré, D. Tusiani, J., & Deneire, T. (eds.) *Musae Saeculi XX Latinae*. Brussels: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2006.
Sacré, D. 'Neo-Latin Prose in the Twilight Years (1700-present)', in: Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014, vol. 1, 879-903.
Sorbelli, T. 'Il Risorgimento nazionale e alcuni carmi latini', in: *Annuario del R. Liceo-Ginnasio* '*Lodovico Antonio Muratori*' *di Modena.* 1930 (6), 55-60.
Stroh, W. *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer großen Sprache*. Berlin: List, 2007.
Waquet, F. *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe. XVIe-XXe siècle*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1999.
Wiegand, H. 'Icarus hinc absit... Das Technikmotiv in der neulateinischen Dichtung', in: *Jahresbericht 1983-1984 Karl-Friedrich Gymnasium*, 1984, 35-45.

Eugenics and Motherhood in German and British New Women Writings

Fatima Borrmann (KU Leuven)

In her book *Feminism and Motherhood*, historian Ann Taylor Allen locates the emergence of motherhood as a dilemma in the beginning of the twentieth century. Until then, women had no choice, so womanhood could safely be identified with motherhood (Allen 2005: 1). The educational, social and political emancipation of women at the turn of the twentieth century and the availability of 'other forms of self-realization' instigated the debate on the relationship between motherhood and feminism that is still ongoing today. In a comparative approach, I will show how the 'maternal dilemma' (Allen 2005: 1) is central to the plot structure and thematic design of British and German New Woman writing. Looking at novels by Sarah Grand, Helene Böhlau, Mona Caird and Dolorosa (Maria Eichhorn) published during the 1890s and early 1900s, I will show how motherhood is reimagined, and how much of this re-imagination interacts with and reformulates the newly emerging pseudo-science of eugenics.

The relation between eugenics and literature has received some critical attention in Anglophone scholarship (Hanson 2013; Childs 2001; Richardson 2003; Turda 2010). In Germany, the question of heredity has equally been pursued in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century literature, but the focus has been on the work of male naturalist writers (Weingart et al. 1992; Parnes et al. 2008). In this article I extend and further develop these insights in three ways: comparatively, by investigating the role of eugenics in British and German literature, temporally, by connecting fin-de-siècle ideas on degeneration to the modernist period, and in terms of 'brows', by extending the attention from the accustomed highbrow canon to middlebrow fictional texts.

Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century eugenicists based their ambition for racial improvement on evolutionary theory. Darwin's 'natural selection' and Herbert Spencer's 'survival of the fittest' were key concepts in the construction of eugenic theories in both Germany and Britain. Eugenicists advocated interference in the evolutionary process not only to ward off the degeneration of the race they saw around them, but also to bring about more efficiently the ideal human race. According to Spencer's social Darwinism, helping the unfit survive through charities and state support would result in their multiplication, while the laws of nature would have them perish instead. Preventing the unfit from breeding, known as negative eugenics, was therefore proposed as a measure against degeneration. Positive

eugenics, on the other hand, advocated the propagation of the fittest. Positive eugenics included interference with women's reproductive functions. The control over and use of women's bodies in eugenics provoked various responses from women authors. Some adopted positive eugenics to advocate for female agency in partner selection, as well as to argue for a civic motherhood which 'sought political recognition for reproductive labour' (Richardson 2003: 9). Other female authors opposed the equation of women and mothers and were reluctant to pinpoint motherhood as the main justification for emancipatory reform. I will look at the treatment of motherhood in both pro- and anti-natalist narratives in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), Helene Böhlau's *Das Recht der Mutter* (1896), Dolorosa's *Unfruchtbarkeit* (1919) and Mona Caird's *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894). These narratives depict an array of attitudes towards women's issues that were equally progressive. Their treatment of motherhood prefigures the established centrality of reproduction in modernist fiction (Newman 2016: 32).

Grand, Böhlau, Caird and Dolorosa, each in their own way, were controversial figures, because they challenged traditional ideas of women's roles in their fiction. Mona Caird was one of 'the most forthright' among the New Women writers (Bell 2013: 91). She is best known for her article 'Marriage' in the *Westminster Review* (August 1888), in which she attacked the 'conventional ideas of marriage and the fetishizing of premarital virginity' (92). Caird's fiction was as provocative as her article. A review of Caird's *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) describes the main character Hadria, who, like Caird, sees in marriage a system of oppression for women, as an 'astonishingly foolish person' for not recognizing that 'marriage is an institution devised by women for the benefit of their sex, and exacted by them from men as the price of their affections' ('The Daughters of Danaus' 1894: 665). While Caird's novels attack the existing forms of marriage and motherhood as a whole, other New Women authors, such as Sarah Grand, sought a restructuring of the social system from within. Both in her fiction and in her essays, Grand maintains the holiness of marriage at the same time as demanding more educational and political rights for women for their role as mothers to the nation. Her bestselling novel *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) is, on the one hand, hailed in *The Englishwoman's Review* as 'eminently a work of today', while, on the other, the portrayal of venereal diseases and 'strange experiences' of the main character are deemed inappropriate reading material for 'the impressionable soul of a young girl looking out into life' ('Reviews' 1893:198). Contrary to Sarah Grand and Mona Caird, Helene Böhlau was never 'an active campaigner for women's rights' (Diethe 1998: 160). Nonetheless, Böhlau's novels show her awareness of feminist issues and belong to the social protest fiction written by women in the fin-de-siècle era (Woodford 2014: 87). *Halbtier!* (1889) and *Das Rangierbahnhof* (1896) are prominent examples of Böhlau's engagement with woman's emancipation, and both novels have received some attention in scholarship.[1] Böhlau's *Das Recht der Mutter* (1896) is not as

1. See Brinker-Gabler1988; Shafi1988, Grant 1995, 1999; Chambers 2007; Bauer2014; and Woodford 2014.

prevalent in research, despite its international reach.[2] Published two decades prior to the formation of the *Bund für Mutterschutz* in 1905, the novel is a subversive portrayal of single motherhood. Dolorosa's *Unfruchtbarkeit* (1919), also absent from research, depicts urban overcrowding, poverty, suicide and illegitimacy. The novel was described in the *Tiroler Tageblatt* as a counterwork to Zola's *Fecondité* (1899) (qtd. in Gilleir 2015: 43). Dolorosa, although now mostly forgotten, was an incendiary figure in her time. She wrote novels, short stories and erotic poetry, was a cabaret dancer and part of the artistic and literary scene in Berlin at the turn of the twentieth century. The comparative approach helps retrieve these forgotten novels and affiliate them to a larger transnational network of narratives by women writers. Regardless of their take on motherhood, these female authors engage with eugenic and evolutionary ideas to support their claims. Their specific use of eugenic theories often deviates from the dominant (male) approach to eugenics.

Eugenics and Motherhood

Spencer's *The Principles of Biology* (1866), where the term 'survival of the fittest' first makes its appearance, contains a chapter on the 'Multiplication of the Human Race', which measures the fertility of women in relation to their position in society. Spencer links the 'deficiency of reproductive power' in women to both 'bodily labour' in the lower classes and 'the overtaxing of [...] brains' in the middle-class woman. He goes on to explain that 'flat-chested girls who survive their high-pressure education' don't produce the desired 'well developed infant' (Spencer 1898: 486). According to Spencer, the higher rate of multiplication in England compared to other continental countries is a result of 'the easier lives which English women lead' (Spencer 1898: 484-5). Juxtaposed to his concept of 'the survival of the fittest', this view on female fertility seems to suggest that women's lack of evolution is a prerequisite for the evolution of the human race. Female development in either muscle or brain leads to irregularity in fertility and inferior production of offspring, which results in a degenerated race. Darwin justifies the exclusion of women from the survival of the fittest in *The Descent of Man* (1871) by arguing for an innate sexual difference. Men, according to Darwin, '[delight] in competition'. And while this competitiveness might pass 'too easily into selfishness', this particular characteristic is the main drive behind 'the survival of the fittest' and behind the evolution of the human race. Women on the other hand, have 'greater tenderness' and show 'less selfishness' (Darwin 1871: 326). The mellower nature of women is, according to Darwin, due to women's 'maternal instincts' (Darwin 1871: 326). 'These qualities' are not only displayed by a woman towards her own offspring, but are often

2. The Swedish poet Oscar Levertin, for example, reviewed Helene Böhlau's *Das Recht der Mutter*, alongside works by Leo Tolstoy, Hermann Hesse, Oscar Wilde and Emile Zola. See Levertin 1922, on urn:nbn:de:gbv:8:2-430061.

extended 'towards her fellow-creatures' (Darwin 1871: 326). In her recent work on Darwin, Evelleen Richards points out that *The Descent*, instead of relying on 'dependent [...] observations of and readings into the literature on the sexual dimorphism and courtship behaviors of a huge range of sexually reproducing species' in fact reiterates 'a mix of culturally laden constructions of sexuality, gender, and race' (Richards 2017: 23).

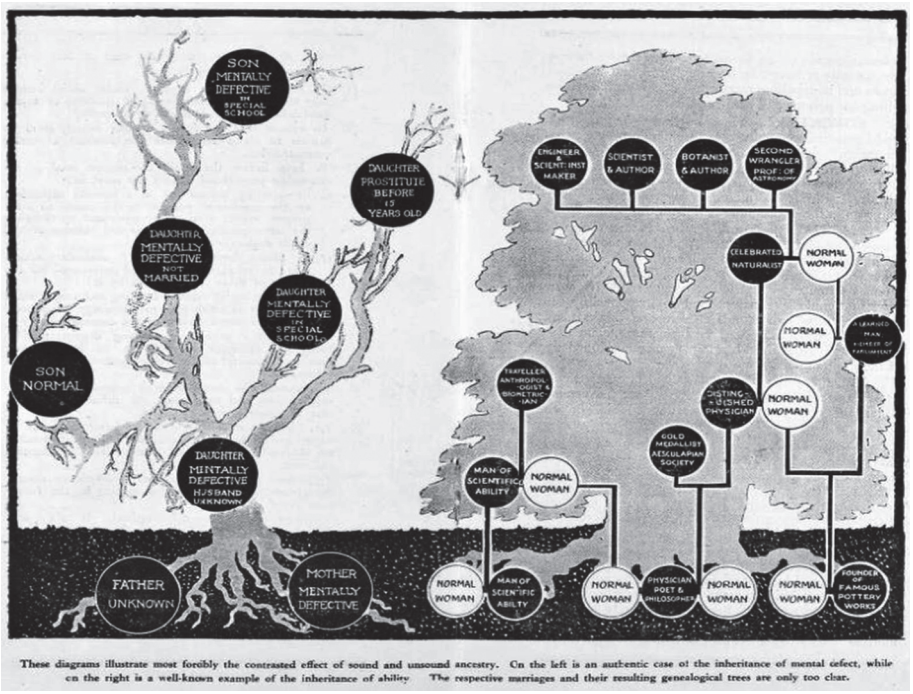

Fig 1. 'Those Who Come After: A Word on Racial Responsibility'

Most nineteenth-century eugenic theories repeat Darwin's depiction of an innate sexual difference as well as Spencer's position on women's fertility. This picture (fig. 1) from a leaflet titled 'Those Who Come After: A Word on Racial Responsibility' published by the Eugenic Education Society, shows two genealogical trees. The thriving healthy family is marked by the active nature of men (engineers, botanists, authors, poets) and the placidity of women, all marked as normal women. By contrast, the decaying tree is marked by the absence of these 'men of science and ability' and the recurrence of illicit female sexual activity. This stance is reiterated by Major Leonard Darwin, Charles Darwin's son and the chairman of the Eugenic Education Society in his response to an article proposing financial arrangements for illegitimate children. When Sybil Gotto, a social hygienist and member of the Eugenic Society, wrote an article in the *Eugenic Review* praising a Norwegian law

that aimed at securing the financial support of illegitimate children by their biological fathers (Gotto 1917: 190), Leonard Darwin replied that

> the descendants of illegitimate unions are, I myself have no doubt, on the average inferior in civic worth to the descendants of legitimate unions; and as it will make for future progress of the world that the higher social levels should be filled by the more fit, it seems to me on the whole advisable that the illegitimates should remain in the lower levels. (Darwin 1917: 303)

Gotto's attempts at introducing fathers in the discussion on illegitimacy are thus lost in Leonard Darwin's response. Instead, illegitimate children are poised as a threat to eugenic ideals and the danger of Gotto's proposal on the current patriarchal structure is revealed. Leonard Darwin asks:

> If a prostitute can entrap a young man of property, and either become or pretend to become the mother of his child, she would get an enormous prize as a reward for her skillful handling of the affair. Would not such unions become more common than they are, and would not the effects be dysgenic? (Darwin 1917: 303)

Motherhood loses thus all ennobling qualities and becomes a eugenic crime, even a self-serving scheme, once outside the bonds of marriage. Women are denied the male struggle for survival. A mother ensuring the protection and survival of herself and her child instead of being regarded as belonging to the fittest becomes a threat to the bourgeois structures behind the eugenic 'science' of Leonard Darwin and other eugenicists.

Another perceived threat to patriarchal eugenics was women's campaign for political, educational and social emancipation at the turn of the century. In a chapter on 'The Woman's Question', Karl Pearson, a prominent figure in eugenic research, writes: 'we have first to settle what is the physical capacity of woman, what would be the effect of her emancipation on her function of race-reproduction, before we can talk about her "rights"' (Pearson 1888: 371). Women's position within society is thus considered dependent on her reproductive function. He concludes this chapter by admitting 'that the past subjection of woman has tended largely to expand man's selfish instincts' (Pearson 1888: 394), but at the same time reiterates Darwin's notion of a selfless womanhood. He asks whether perhaps

> this very subjection has in itself so chastened woman, so trained her to think of others than of herself, that after all it may have acted more as a blessing than a curse to the world? May it not bring her to the problems of the future with a purer aim and a keener insight than possible for man? (Pearson 1888: 371)

Instead of granting more agency and freedom to this blessed and celebrated disposition, however, Pearson suggests that since woman has 'learnt self-control in the past by subjecting her will to his, so in the future she may be able to submit her lib-

erty to the restrains demanded by social welfare, and to the conditions imposed by race-permanence' (Pearson 1888: 394).

The patriarchal form of motherhood was also prominent among eugenicists in Germany, especially in the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygine* and the journal *Archiv für Rassen- und Geselschaftsbilogie* both founded by Alfred Ploetz. Allen identifies this branch of German eugenics as the 'herrschenden Richtung' who concurred with right-wing politics 'hinsichtlich der Wichtigkeit hoher Geburtsraten für die militärische Stärke Deutschlands' (Allen 1991:49). In spite of the aim of military prowess, the role of mothers in this eugenic ideology corresponds with that in Britain. This is best exemplified by Dr. Josef Graßl's frequent contributions to the *Archiv für Rassen- und Geselschaftsbilogie,* especially in an article he wrote titled 'Zur Frage der Fruchtfähigkeit und der Mutterschaft', and in a second installment the following year. In these two articles, his condemnation of illicit female sexual activities and the resulting degeneration is more pronounced than in the examples from British eugenics. He appeals: 'wollen wir ernsthaft Rassenhygiene treiben, müssen wir die Frau zum Gegenstand unserer Fürsorge machen, und zwar die Mutter in der Frau und nicht die Geschlechtsdrohne' (Graßl 1909: 366). He categorizes women as either 'Mutter' or 'Dirne' and argues that the rise of civilizations is due to the first and its fall into degeneration a consequence of the latter (Graßl 1909: 358). He writes that a 'Dirnenvolk' strives to limit the number of their children, because of the pleasure and comfort loving nature of the woman as 'Dirne'. The 'Mutterkultur', on the other hand, reigns supreme because of the selflessness of the mother who grants her valuable 'Errungenschaft' for the next generation and by doing so securing 'die Existenz des Volkes' (Graßl 1909: 365). Graßel not only states an essential difference in character between men and women, but also elaborates on the sexual nature and value of this difference, granting a 'scientifically' grounded sexual double standard. He claims that 'im Gegensatz zum Weibe negiert aber die Abweichung von dem normalen Geschlechtsleben beim Manne nicht die Männliche Eigenschaft. Ein Mann, der den Koitus in prohibitiver Form ausübt, ja selbst einer, der sich der Prostitution hingibt, kann noch immer großen Wert haben, aber eine Frau, welche gewollt kinderlos ist, ist entwertet' (Graßl 1908: 503). According to Graßl then, neither sexual abstinence nor promiscuity devalues man's contribution to the fertility of the nation, while woman's value hinges exclusively on her maternal role. Graßl thus links degeneration with illicit female sexual activity in his conceptualization of the 'Dirne' and also paradoxically denies the existence of sexual life for women other than that resulting in childbearing. Unsurprisingly, Graßl identifies the women's emancipation movement as potential threat to motherhood. He comments:

> Wenn die Frau von der Sklaverei, unter der sie zu leiden hat, befreit werden will, so gelingt ihr dies lediglich vermittels der wirklichen Mutter. Und als Hilfsmittel dazu ist die politische Freiheit zu betrachten. Wenn diese Freiheit aber Selbstzweck der Frauenemanzipation wird, wenn die Frau die große Gefahr, dass in der politischen Freiheit das Dirnentum die füh-

> rende Rolle einnimmt, nicht zu überwinden vermag, dann ist die Erreichung dieses Zieles auch der Todesstoß für die Mutter und damit die Nation (Graßl 1908: 522).

Graßl's view on motherhood, as well as Pearson and Leonard Darwin's, represents the dominant eugenic outlook on the role and function of women within a eugenic utopia. Far from being a homogeneous and constant discourse, eugenic conviction's differed across the different social, political and economic groups. This also applies to fiction, especially in New Woman novels in Germany and Britain which imagined different portrayals of eugenic motherhood.

'Saxon Edith' and 'der Blondkopf': Imagining the Eugenic Mother

In the novels of Helene Böhlau and Sarah Grand, many of the elements from this profoundly patriarchal eugenic discourse are repeated. Selflessness, motherly womanhood and the role of women as contributing to a 'fit' race are recurrent themes. In the novels of the German author Helene Böhlau, for instance, we recognize such eugenic discourse when she describes a family as 'Alles blonde, Große Gestalten, rosige Menschen, die das Maß gewöhnlicher Sterblicher um ein beträchtliches überschritten hatten' (Böhlau 1904: 86). Böhlau's novels also advocate for maternal feelings in women that transcend the biological bond. In Böhlau's novel *Das Haus zur Flamm* (1907), Marianne, a character who is constantly surrounded by visitors and guests in her house, explains the attraction of her company: 'Ein bißchen Schein, ein bißchen Geist und Welt; das mag locken – aber was sie zurückführt, ist die barmherzige Mutter. Wahrheit und Stil ist's: daß sie mich zuletzt nur mütterlich empfinden. Kommen sie mit ihren Wunden, ich verbinde sie' (Böhlau 1915: 55). The 'barmherzige Mutter' who transcends 'Schein', 'Geist' and 'Welt' in Marianne voices an essential and innate motherhood that is reminiscent of Charles Darwin's characterisation of women. Here, Böhlau participates in granting women an elevated and special position within society due to their maternal nature. Böhlau's novels, however, also argue for the same elevated position regardless of the mother's marital status. In *Das Recht der Mutter* (1896), for example, Böhlau portrays the struggle of Kristine, an unmarried young woman who becomes pregnant and has to fight against society's rules and stigmatization in raising her son. The young mother declares that from the day she registered her illegitimate child, she has started 'den Kampf um mein heiliges Recht, das heilige Recht der Mutter, heiliger als alle Menschensatzung' (Böhlau 1906: 318-319). This right to motherhood finds eugenic validation when her child is described as strong and beautiful, much like the 'blondkopf' Kristine herself, who is also 'stark und gesund' (Böhlau 1906: 321, 181, 137). The eugenic rationale is further evident when Kristine's healthy, illegitimate baby is contrasted to the many children of the Majunke family. When Frau Majunke expresses her disgust at Kristine and her illegitimate child, a friend of the single mother lashes back:

> Wollen Sie damit sagen, daß Sie ehrbarer als der Blondkopf sind? [...] Glauben Sie, sie dürfen in aller Ehrbarkeit Kinder auf die Welt setzen, ins Elend hinein, wie es ihnen behagt? Kinder, die so einem erbärmlichen, kranken, armseligen Leben entgegensehen [...] Kinder, die Sie nicht im Stande sind, zu erziehen und zu ernähren, denen Sie nicht einmal so viel Gesundheit und Lebenskraft mitgeben können [...] Solche elenden, verlassenen Kreaturen! So schlecht bei Kraft! So nervös und schwach geraten, so gelb und zapplig – und so en masse und so erbärmlich erzogen, so doppelt schlechte Fabrikware! (Böhlau 1906: 302)

The unfit Majunke children, despite being born within wedlock, serve to disprove Frau Majunke's maternal fitness. Kristine's motherhood, on the other hand, is eugenically sound and legitimate. In Böhlau's writing it is clear that female sexual transgression does not automatically entail a degenerate offspring. The patriarchal eugenic formula, such as the one in the Eugenic Society's decaying tree or in the writings of Leonard Darwin, is refuted in the narrative by Kristine's 'kräftiges Kind' (Böhlau 1906: 316). Böhlau's novels thus echo the dominant take on eugenics in her representation of ideal bodies and in her construction of maternal feelings as essential to womanhood. At the same time, Böhlau's narratives dissociate the connection between degeneracy and female sexual transgression made by male eugenicists. Moreover, the eugenic emphasis on woman's essential maternity is used to expose society's double standard in idealizing married mothers and demonizing unmarried ones. For Böhlau, recognizing the biological primacy, social importance and sovereignty of motherhood requires supporting and respecting it, regardless of social conventions and laws.

In the novels of the British author Sarah Grand female sexual transgression and illegitimacy are not as freely discussed and advocated as in Böhlau's. Like Böhlau, however, Grand's novels teem with eugenic references and a high regard for motherhood. In one of her short stories, the protagonist is called 'Eugenia', and she is described in overtly eugenic language. The narrative asserts that 'with such women' as Eugenia as 'mothers of men, the English-speaking races should rule the world' (Grand 1894: 27). Grand's novels, like those of Böhlau, represent motherhood as intrinsic to women's nature. This maternal nature is however seen as a service to the nation and thus as the premise for granting more civic rights to women. Pearson's call for women to 'submit [their] liberty to the restrains and demanded by social welfare' (Pearson 1888: 394) is in Grand's novels inverted: women should be granted more agency, given the primacy and importance of their maternal role. In Grand's novels, 'social welfare' and 'race-permanence' (Pearson 1888: 394) are key elements for the continuation of the human race, but women's sacrifice, self-denial or anonymity are not a prerequisite for their realization. Rather, it is women who gain superiority in the process of race regeneration. Grand writes: 'the roar of the rolling spheres, astronomers say, is so tremendous as to be beyond the hearing of our mortal ears; and the sudden upward impulse of the human race in our day, as shown in the attitude of women, is beyond the earthbound comprehension of most men' (Grand 1894: 50). Grand's Eugenia is a good example of this superior understand-

ing. She picks the fittest partner in eugenic terms and proposes marriage herself (Grand 1894: 49). The marriage then produces 'fit' and healthy offspring (Grand 1894: 51). However, not all Grand's plots have such a happy – and eugenically ideal – outcome. In fact, the portrayal of ideal motherhood in Grand's novels is rather the exception than the rule. Her novels more often present dysfunctional mothers: mothers whose gendered socialization as societal women teaches them to care little about their offspring, or women who are kept ignorant through lack of proper education and contract sexually transmitted diseases by marrying unfit men, ending up with deformed children. In *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), Edith is as racially superior as Eugenia. She is repeatedly referred to as 'Saxon Edith' with a 'magnificent physique' (Grand 1893: 72, 137, 299). Unlike Eugenia, however, Edith's 'ignorance of life' (Grand 1893: 201) leads her to accept an unfit mate and in turn give birth to a deformed child. Her baby is described as 'old, old already, and exhausted with suffering' and denounced as a eugenic crime: 'as his gaze wandered from one to the other it was easy to believe that he was asking each dumbly why had he ever been born?' (Grand 1893: 246). Edith herself contracts the venereal disease and transforms from a girl with hair 'the colour of burnished brass' to 'gray and ghastly and old' (Grand 1893: 72, 258). She becomes 'quite mad' and she and the baby die (Grand 1893: 298, 497). The physical deterioration and degeneracy is also accompanied by complete disruption of the 'natural' maternal bond. Edith 'had no smile for [her baby], and uttered no baby words to him – nor had he a smile for her' (Grand 1893: 249). In one of her insanity moments, Edith even exclaims 'I want to kill that monstrous child!' (Grand 1893: 262). The classical love plot, and by extension Darwin's sexual selection model where men compete over women proves fatal to Edith in *The Heavenly Twins*. By contrast, in Grand's short story 'Eugenia', rational sexual selection by women ensures the thriving, not only of Eugenia, but also of the race as a whole. Richardson writes that 'in disseminating the new, eugenic love, Grand hailed male literary precedent as a source of contamination that was to be upturned at all cost. Rewriting the love-plot, she exposed the health risks of conventional romance' (Richardson 2003: 123). For Grand, healthy and fit offspring are not the result of learned and genius men, but rather of female empowerment and education. Women's maternal role doesn't function as a means for their submission, but sets the grounds for their active involvement in reforming society.

'Mordet das Kind die Mutter': Reclaiming the Struggle for Survival

In spite of the dominant discourse, many female authors dismiss the idea of an essential motherhood for women altogether. I will present two examples: the British writer Mona Caird and the German writer Dolorosa, the pseudonym of Maria Eichhorn. Both Dolorosa and Caird challenge the idea that the maternal instinct should be innate to women, or that motherhood is the ideal destiny for all women. In Dolorosa's novel *Unfruchtbarkeit* (1905), for example, motherhood is systemat-

ically presented as tied up with death. Only a few sentences into the novel, a mother, whose many pregnancies and childbirths have left her sick and exhausted complains that 'Ich wusste [...] dass ich keine Kinder haben dürfte, wollte ich mich lange gesund halten. Und dann schenkte Gott doch eins nach dem anderen' (Dolorosa 1919: 3-4). The mother dies at the end of the novel, and her children are passed on to various relatives (Dolorosa 1919: 297). This is one of many instances that intertwine motherhood and death in *Unfruchtbarkeit* (Dolorosa 1919: 48-9, 7). Women's individual persona, health and professional ambitions are threatened by childbearing. Instead of the eugenic ideal of a selfless and sacrificing motherhood, women in Dolorosa's novel are struggling and competing for survival. This struggle is rendered all the more difficult if women have children. Interestingly, however, in unsettling the eugenic ideal of motherhood, Dolorosa's novel nonetheless uses the same eugenic language reserved for depicting the evolutionary struggle. The life-or-death struggle that is related to motherhood in *Unfruchtbarkeit* is described as follows:

> Das Leben trägt sich sehr schwer, und zehnfach schwer für ein junges Weib, das mit dem Fluche der Mutterschaft belastet ist. In solchem Falle mordet das Kind die Mutter... Das mörderische Gesetz des Lebens ist eben nicht umzustoßen, das jedes Wesen sein Dasein nur durch die Aufhebung und Vernichtung eines fremden ermöglichen kann. (Dolorosa 1919: 127)

Dolorosa uses Herbert Spencer's 'survival of the fittest' to describe the mother/child relationship. By doing so she challenges the evolutionary claim that men are active and competitive while women are static and selfless, yet she does so using the same eugenic and evolutionary language and imagery that propagates this sexual difference. By contrast, female protagonists who manage to evade 'the burden of motherhood' are the ones to flourish. Virginia, unlike the unfortunate mothers that surround her, has a successful career as an actress precisely because of the absence of children. Describing Virginia, Anke Gilleir writes: 'sie geht [...] alle Beziehungen, die ihre Unabhängigkeit beeinträchtigen, aus dem Weg und ist damit nicht nur eine vollkommen autonome Gestalt, sondern merkwürdigerweise auch die einzige heitere Person [...] in einer Geschichte, in der alle durch sozialen Zwang zerrüttet sind' (Gilleir 2015: 45). This cheerfulness is the result of her awareness of the survival law of anti-natalism, which is her 'Rezept' to remain fit and thrive (Dolorosa 1919: 297). Instead of an early grave induced by motherhood, she rises to fame and fortune (Dolorosa 1919: 295).

Apart from this opposition between suffering or perishing mothers and flourishing childless women, the novel also portrays some mothers who outlive their children in the struggle for survival. Fredine, the novel's protagonist, is the best example of this surmounting. Like Edith in *The Heavenly Twins*, Fredine's child is born 'schwächlich und dürftig' due to the father's venereal disease (Dolorosa 1919: 287). Like Grand, Dolorosa's narrative thus disputes the eugenic patriarchal argu-

ment as maintained by Graßl and others of the irrelevance of the men's sexual promiscuity in producing healthy offspring. The father's blood that runs through the veins of Fredine's child is 'vergiftet von einer unreinen und schleichenden Krankheit' (Dolorosa 1919: 288). Unlike Grand's character Edith, however, Fredine remains healthy. While the child gets 'das furchtbare und heimtückische Gift eingeflößt', Fredine's 'blühnde Gesundheit' remains untested (Dolorosa 1919: 288). The sick and weakly child can not only be contrasted with the mother's physical health, but also to the mother's flourishing laundry business. The novel closes with a twist on the classic love-plot ending. Fredine, now owner of a laundry factory, only agrees to marry her lover if he promises to never ask her to bear him children (Dolorosa 1919: 305). The novel thus locates the evolutionary struggle for survival between the mother and child: the flourishing of both at the same time seems impossible. Yet, this is not the result of a malicious intent of mothers towards their offspring. Rather, the mothers in Dolorosa's *Unfreuchtbarkeit* are weakened physically and financially, and so are defeated both by biology and society. Darwin's self-sacrificing mother and Spencer static middle-class ideal are thus undermined in this novel by representations of motherhood in terms of conflict and competition.

Dolorosa is not the only writer who depicts conflicts within motherhood and does not take women's maternal nature for granted. Mona Caird's novel *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) also repeatedly deploys the language of 'survival of the fittest' to negotiate women's position within society. Hadria, the novel's protagonist who abandons her husband and children to pursue a career in music composition in Paris, challenges the sincerity of virtuous womanhood in society. She tells her sister-in-law:

> It is cunning, shallow, heartless women, who really fare best in our society; its conditions suits them. They have no pity, no sympathy to make a chain of [...] they don't mind swallowing indignity and smiling abjectly, like any woman of the harem of her lord, so that they gain their object. That is the sort of 'woman's nature' that our conditions are busy selecting. Let us cultivate it. *We live in a scientific age; the fittest survive. Let us be 'fit'.* (Caird 1989: 347)

Hadria exposes the scientific ideal of the static, self-sacrificing and selfless maternal woman as a tool to subject women. In reality, according to her, the competitive, ruthless women are the ones who survive in contemporary society. Hadria also argues that motherhood in its current form is a construct. She denies that such a thing as 'free motherhood' exists (Caird 1989: 342). In another passage, Hadria debunks the myth of essential motherhood in a patriarchal society, because the elevation of motherhood is only granted within marriage. Watching a wedding procession, Hadria seizes the opportunity to point out the incongruities of assuming maternal instinct in all women and at the same time only endorsing maternal feelings for married women. She tells her friend Lady Engelton, to imagine if the bride 'on any day *previous* to this, had gone to her mother and expressed an overpowering maternal instinct – a deep desire to have a child!' (Caird 1989: 254). When Lady

Engelton is horrified by the idea, Hadria goes on to ask if, 'on any day *subsequent* to this' the young bride should have a 'profound objection to the maternal function' (Caird 1989: 254). Lady Engelton is equally shocked and states that the bride 'would be wrong in her objection' (Caird 1989: 254). After pointing out the hypocrisy of being 'horribly shocked at the presence of an instinct to-day, and then equally shocked and indignant by its absence to-morrow', Lady Engleton defends her position by referring to 'men of science' (Caird 1989: 256). Hadria responses by wondering why 'women are ready, with open mouths, to reverently swallow this male verdict on their inherent nature as if it were gospel divinely inspired' (Caird 1989: 257). This passage denounces the scientific authority of men on the subject of motherhood, and also condemns women's implication in this patriarchal rhetoric.

Investigating the use of history and the temporal structure in *Daughters of the Danaus*, Lisa Surridge asserts that

> Rather than seeing women as biologically fixed in a particular role, as did eugenic feminists such as Sarah Grand, or seeing society as evolving progressively towards the current gender system, a conclusion strongly implied by Darwinists such as E.B. Tylor and John Lubbock, who used marriage as a key index of social evolution, Caird argued that social relationships were socially constructed [and] eminently liable to change. (Surridge 2005: 129)

Accordingly, Hadria exposes motherhood in the 'present social state' as 'the sign, seal, means and method of a woman's bondage', because it creates biological chains 'of [the mother's] own flesh' (Caird 1989: 341). Like Dolorosa, Caird often links motherhood with death. Hadria informs her sister-in-law of the 'thousands of women [...] to whom the birth of their children is an intolerable burden, and a fierce misery from which many would gladly seek escape by death' (Caird 1989: 342).

The struggle for survival between mothers and their children is also repeated on the plot level. While Dolorosa locates this struggle between mothers and young children, Caird expands it to adult children, but also explicitly frames it as a gendered struggle between mothers and daughters. When a Mrs. Jorden, described as a 'woman who ruled her family with a rod of iron for thirty stern years' reiterates the Darwinian formula that 'to the true woman [...] there is no joy to equal that of self-sacrifice', Hadria is quick with the comeback 'except that of exacting it' (Caird 1989: 386). This questioning of maternal self-sacrifice is demonstrated by the struggle between Hadria, her sister Algitha and their mother. Mrs. Fullerton is described as once having shown 'signs of qualities', an interest in poetry and the possession of an imagination (Caird 1989: 33). But since her marriage and childbearing years, her talents and promise, 'her development', was submerged and stifled (Caird 1989: 33). 'The long stagnation' resulted in 'the slow decay and disuse of her faculties' (Caird 1989: 362). While the subjection of women in the patriarchal system is achieved most successfully through reproduction, the resulting self-negation and degeneration of the mother provides in turn a leash on the daughters, a means of

asking them to do the same. The chief obstacle to both Algitha and Hadria's plans of moving to London and Paris to pursue their artistic and professional ambitions is the distress it would cause their mother (Caird 1989: 29). After the departure of Algitha to London, the mother tells her second daughter that if, she too, would desert her, it would kill her (Caird 1989: 45). It nearly does kill the mother, when, years later, Hadria leaves for Paris. The struggle for survival is most pronounced when Hadria has to return to her mother's sickbed while 'knowing, and realizing vividly, that if her mother lived, her own dreams were ended forever' (Caird 1989: 362). Mrs. Fullerton survives, but the doctor urges her to avoid stress and agitation. The illness, which was caused by Hadria's abandonment of husband and children and the rumors and scandal associated with it, becomes the rein with which the daughter's ambition is kept in check and ultimately destroyed. Rather than provide a triumphant survival of one over the other, however, both mother and daughter end up in a vicious circle of sacrifice that demands further sacrifice. Hadria notes that the current social system requires such an endless cycle of sacrifice of women, while men, exemplified by Hadria's brothers are not asked for reparations (Caird 1989: 268). The demand on daughters hinders them from developing outside the strict boundaries set out by patriarchal society.

Like Dolorosa, Caird undermines the traditional patriarchal image of motherhood as passive and selfless which Darwin, Spencer and other eugenicists sanctioned as a biological given. By highlighting the struggle between mothers, their offspring and society, both women writers contradict the reductive and restrictive positioning of women in eugenic theories and science at large. Both Caird and Dolorosa debunk myths of motherhood by relocating evolutionary struggle for survival from the male sphere to the relationship between mothers and their offspring. The re-imagining of motherhood by New Women writers as a dilemma also paved the way for more complex portrayals of motherhood in literature. For example, Marie Géraldine Rademacher's concept of 'benevolent narcissistic mothers' in the works of D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, 'which fundamentally challenges the ideal image of romantic motherhood and the myth of selfless mothers' (2019: 11), shows how central portrayals of dysfunctional motherhood are to modernism. Such thematic correlations between New Women writers and modernist highbrow texts further debunk myths of a great divide between the brows, as well as expand the traditional boundaries of the modernist period and consolidate the new understanding of modernism in recent scholarship.

Whether pro or anti-natalist, all four authors attempt to beat the eugenicists in their own game by using the scientific discourse of eugenic theories and evolutionary biology to argue for women's emancipation, to grant women more rights and power. Reading four authors comparatively allows locating the similarities and differences between German and British New Woman writings. As shown by the pairing of Grand/Böhlau and Caird/Dolorosa, portrayals of mothers in the novels of female authors transcended the boundaries of national literature. Motherhood, whether as a heavy burden or an ideal to be attained, moves from the margins to the

center of the novel. The love plot is reduced and becomes either a means to achieve an elated state of existence, or the cause of suffering. The striking thematic overlap between these novels in reimagining motherhood reestablishes the need for a transnational research into women's writings, especially in entangling the rich intertwining of emancipation, science and literary innovation.

Bibliography

Allen. A. T. *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe 1890-1970: The Maternal Dilemma.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.

Allen, A. T. 'Feminismus und Eugenik, im historischen Kontext', in: *Feministische Studien*. 9 (1), 1991, 46-68.

Bauer, J. 'Kunst Als Freiraum?', in: Förschler, S., Habermas, R. & Roßbach, N. *Verorten – Verhandeln – Verkörpern*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014. 145-70.

Bell, N. 'The "Woman Question", the "New Woman", and Some Late Victorian Fiction', in: *English Academy Review*. 30 (2), 2013, 79-97, DOI: 10.1080/10131752.2013.834690

Böhlau, H. 'Das Haus zur Flamm', in: *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 4. Berlin: Egon Fleischel & Co, 1915, 7-238. [March 2020]: https://sophie.byu.edu/node/3726.

Böhlau, H. *Das Recht der Mutter*. Berlin: Egon Fleischel und Co, 1906.

Böhlau, H. 'Muttersehnsucht', in: *Sommerseele. Muttersehnsucht. Zwei Novellen*. Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1904, 81-136.

Caird, M. *The Daughters of Danaus.* New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1989.

Chambers, H. 'Ottilie Wildermuth and Helene Böhlau.', in: *Humor and Irony in Nineteenth-Century German Women's Writing.* Vol. 6. Boydell & Brewer, 2007, 53-90.

Childs, D. *Modernism and Eugenics: Woolf, Eliot, Yeats and The Culture of Degeneration*. Cambridge: University Press, 2001.

Darwin, C. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex.* Vol. II. London: John Murray, 1871.

Darwin, L. 'Divorce and illegitimacy', in: *The Eugenics Review*. 9 (4), 1918, 296-306.

Diethe, C. *Towards Emancipation: German Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford/New York: Berghahn Books, 1998.

Dolorosa. *Unfruchtbarkeit.* Leipzig: Georg H. Wigand'sche Buchdruckerei, 1919.

Hanson, C. *Eugenics, Literature and Culture in Post-War Britain*. New York/London: Routledge, 2013.

Brinker-Gabler, G. *Deutsche Literatur Von Frauen*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1988.

Gilleir, A. 'Galateas gebrochene Nase. Künstlertum und Weiblichkeit im Werk Dolorosa', in: Bosco, L. & Gilleir, A. (eds.) *Schmerz. Lust: Künstlerinnen und Autorinnen der Deutschen Avantgarde*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2015, 7-25.

Grand, S. 'Eugenia', in: *Our Manifold Nature: Stories from Life*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894, 1-51.

Grand, S. *The Heavenly Twins*. New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1893.

Grant, A. F. 'From "Halbtier" to "Übermensch": Helene Böhlau's Iconoclastic Reversal of Cultural Images.', in: *Women in German Yearbook*, 1995 (11), 131-150.

Grant, A. F. 'Vom Blaustrumpf zur mütterlichen Lebenskünstlerin: Helene Böhlau', in: Tebben, K. (ed.) *Deutschsprachige Schriftstellerinnen des Fin de Siècle.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999, 95-113.

Graßl, J. 'Zur Frage der Fruchtfähigkeit und der Mutterschaft', in: *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*. 5 (4), 1908, 498-525.

Graßl, J. 'Weiteres zur Frage der Mutterschaft', in: *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*. 6 (3), 1909, 351-366.

Gotto, S. 'The eugenic principle in social reconstruction', in: *The Eugenics Review*. 9 (3), 1917, 183-205.

Levertin, O. 'Helene Böhlau.' *Samlade Skrifter af Oscar Levertin: Utländsk litteratur*. Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 1922, pp. 298-301.

[N.N.] 'Reviews', in: *The Englishwoman's Review: A Journal of Woman's Work*, CCXVIII, 15 July 1893, 197-198. [April 2021]. *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals*, https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/19th-century-uk-periodicals.

[N.N.] 'The Daughters of Danaus', in: *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*. 78 (2024), 1894, p. 665. [April 2021]. *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals*, https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/19th-century-uk-periodicals.

[N.N.] 'Those Who Come After: A Word on Racial Responsibility'. Eugenics Society Archive, in: Welcome Library. [March 2020]: https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b1933512x#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&z=-0.7143%2C-0.0828%2C2.4287%2C1.6553

Newman, D. A. 'Plot Counter Plot: Genetics and Generic Strain in the Modernist Novel of Formation', in: *intervalla,* 2016 (4), 30-70.

Shafi, M. '"Werde, Der Du Bist": Eine Vergleichende Darstellung Des Weiblichen Autonomiekonflikts in Theodor Fontanes Frau Jenny Treibel Und Helene Böhlaus *Das Halbtier*', in: *The German Quarterly*. 61 (1), 1988, 67-77.

Spencer, H. *The Principles of Biology*. Vol. II. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898.

Surridge, L. 'Narrative Time, History, and Feminism in Mona Caird's the Daughters of Danaus', in: *Women's Writing*. 12 (1), 2005 127-141.

Turda, M. *Modernism and Eugenics.* New York: Palgrave, 2010.

Parnes, O., Vedder U. & Willer S. *Das Konzept der Generation. Eine Wissenschafts- und Kulturgeschichte.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2008.

Pearson, K. 'The Woman's Question', in: *The Ethic of Freethought*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888, 370-394.

Rademacher, M. G. *Narcissistic Mothers in Modernist Literature: New Perspectives on Motherhood in the Works of D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Jean Rhys*. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2019.

Richardson, A. *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Richards, A. *The Wasting Heroine in German Fiction by Women 1770-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Richards, E. *Darwin and the Making of Sexual Selection*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Weingart, P., Kroll J. & Beyertz K. *Rasse, Blut und Gene. Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1992.

Woodford, C. *Women, Emancipation and the German Novel 1871-1910: Protest Fiction in Its Cultural Context*. Leeds: Legenda, 2014.

Disease as an Exit from and Entrance to African Colonies

African Colonial Environments and Tropical Medicine in *Tropenwee* (1904) and *Germanin* (1938)

Robrecht De Boodt (KU Leuven)[1]

Scientific and Literary African Colonial Environments

The appeal of African colonial environments in the modernist age (1890-1950) not only sparked new sciences to establish themselves and use the *colonial* as subject matter for their discipline, these African environments also resonated with a wider audience that gleaned new scientific vocabulary, metaphors and popularized insights from literature (Kemperink 2011: 10-18). In his seminal study *Zwischen Abenteuer, Wissenschaft und Kolonialismus* (2005) Matthias Fiedler indicates this clear link, particularly for the German colonial context, between science, political colonial endeavours and the popular interest for the adventurous nature of almost any colonial undertaking. As a case in point, Fiedler shows how the development of ethnology as a discipline in Germany was linked with travel literature and scientific reports that were adventurous in tone (Fiedler 2005: 227-281). Pascal Grosse demonstrates that the socio-economic settling of the German colonial territories heavily depended on (colonial) sciences like eugenics to legitimize and organize this new colonial sphere (Grosse 2000).

Another salient example of this interaction can be found within the history of tropical medicine, which, confronted with new colonial environments, was prompted to develop new cures and ways of dealing with the tropical diseases that plagued white colonials in Africa (Farley 1991: 1-2; Neill 2012: 1-8). Some areas were even called *white man's grave*, because of their high mortality rates. *Tropenfieber,* or *Malaria der Tropen* in the words of the famous microbiologist and physician Robert Koch (1843-1910), and trypanosomiasis, the so-called 'sleeping disease', are two examples of exotic diseases that jeopardized colonial projects (Besser 2009: 120-123; Koch 1896-1897: 280-317). Because of the impact and frequency of such

1. This article is a product of the 'Literary Knowledge: Modernisms and the Sciences 1890-1950' project of the MDRN lab (KU Leuven), which focusses on the unique epistemic status of sciences and (new) modernist sciences like archaeology, astronomy and genetics. The sub-project 'Colonised Citizens' focusses on the epistemic authenticity and authority, via the interplay with colonial (life) sciences for example, in German and Belgian colonial literature between 1890 and 1950. For those interested in the colonial literature, a lot of primary material in the form of Belgian, French and German colonial novels and (scientific) works can be found in the archives of the K.U. Leuven, many of which were donated by former colonial institutions like the Witte Paters and the Koloniale Hogeschool.

diseases, *Tropenfieber* became a standardised term, not only in the German tropical pathography and colonial policy, but in larger international circles as well, notably in the field of literature, which played a pivotal role in popularizing tropical medicine. Indeed, many colonial novels used *fever* as a theme, or at least an important factor in colonial narratives. Notable examples are Frieda von Bülow's *Tropenkoller* (1896), René Poortmans's *Zon in het Zenith* (1939), Léopold Courouble's *Profils Blancs et Frimousses Noires: Impressions Congolaises* (1901).

Colonialism, Tropical Medicine and Literature

Tropenwee (1904) and *Germanin* (1938) are two examples of colonial literary texts that feature medical knowledge in their use of sub-Saharan African colonial territories as the setting for their narration. *Tropenwee* was a successful colonial novel written by the Dutch author and journalist Henri Van Booven (1877-1964). *Tropenwee* would remain the only colonial novel in his oeuvre. The tragic adventure novel tells the story of Jules, nicknamed 'the white one', who travels to the Congo for a Dutch trading house. Jules is a weak, highly sensitive and sentimental figure who, according to Sarah De Mul, embodies the crisis of conventional epic-heroic masculinity of the fin-de-siècle era. (De Mul 2009: 100) His voyage to inner Congo is cut short by a bad case of malaria and he is forced to return home while his life and mental sanity hang by a thread. He also witnesses first-hand how the Indigenous are abused for economic gain and how corruption, alcoholism and violence form part of the colonial reality in Africa (Van Reybrouck 2010: 71-115).

Germanin, on the other hand, is an entirely different kind of literary colonial text. Its author Hellmuth Unger (1891-1953) was a prolific writer who specialized in a form of *Poetologie des Wissens*: literature that took scientific breakthroughs or discoveries as a central theme (Besser 2009: 23). Unger's specialty was to re-naturalize highly technological discoveries or products, like *Germanin*, as if they had been discovered within nature, and not artificially designed in sterile chemical facilities, at which the German industry excelled in the early twentieth century. The cure for the infamous sleeping disease, Trypanosomiasis by its scientific name, is the subject of Unger's hagiographical scientific historical narrative, *Germanin, Geschichte einer Deutschen Großtat,* from 1938. The story uses an omniscient narrator to tell the romanticized history of the discovery of this cure and its development by *Bayer*. The company symbolizes German values through a romanticized narrative of humble beginnings and craftsmanship that developed to an industrial scale, all of which eventually serve the German nation.

The story is propelled by scientific hero-figures, like Robert Koch, whose personal valour, skill and *Germanness* are expressed through interactions with other researchers and colonial figures. The historic and scientific, very detailed and illustrated overviews of the narrator alternate with conversations between scientists and anecdotes, which results in a narrative build-up towards the discovery and

implementation of the cure. Literary scenes include the struggles of the *hero*-scientists, who selflessly work on a cure in arduous living and working conditions. They set up laboratories in the tropics and through genius breakthroughs, impeccable moral standards and a drive for the universal good of humanity, they succeed. The implicit, but often very explicit, goal of the novel is to prove to the world –and especially to Germans – that it was a historic mistake to deprive Germany of its colonies. According to Unger's story no one could claim that a nation that had developed such an important cure was 'unworthy', as was written in the treaty of Versailles, of colonial possessions. Through this narrative Germany's political claims for (its old) colonies are presented as the organic, natural order of things (Honold 2002: 179).

Both novels highlight disease as a crucial part of the sub-Saharan African colonial space. *Tropenwee* refers to the mental and physical illnesses to which especially white colonials fall victim, often with fatal results. Many (pseudo-)scientific term like *Tropenwee* or *Tropenkoller* expressed the deteriorating mental and physical effects of the tropical climate on white colonials. *Germanin* on the other hand, was written 34 years later and reflects the progress tropical medicine had made. The novel presents the *universal cure* against the sleeping disease as an important step in the scientific control over colonial environments. These differing views on disease and the colonial environment lead to very different conclusions concerning colonial morality and the presence of white colonials. In *Tropenwee*, disease is a sign of guilty transgression by white colonials and their corruption of the colonized land, its people and themselves. It is as if the disease is trying to oust them from the colonial space. Conversely, in *Germanin,* disease represents an entry point to a German colonial re-entry of Africa by developing the cure for a disease that plagues all colonial powers and African peoples. Without owning a colony themselves, the Germans prove themselves as champions of humanity and more than worthy of a colonial presence.

Both novels target a European – and in Unger's case a specifically German – audience that was flooded with colonial stories, images, and objects. Despite this abundance however, few people had ever set foot in Africa, which remained a mysterious, *dark continent* to them. Colonial authors wishing to come across as authentic and an authority on colonial matters, therefore needed to adopt an arsenal of epistemic tools. As the Belgian colonial author Sylva de Jonghe (1904-1950) noted in his guide to colonial literature, *Het Koloniale in de Literatuur* (1938),

> Bij zijn ingeboren talent voegt hij zijn menigvuldige kennissen die hij opgedaan heeft in jarenlange studie ter plaatse. De koloniale toestanden en aangelegenheden kent men immers zoo maar niet in één dag; de uitdieping ervan vraagt een of meer langdurige verblijven in de tropen en de kennis van de inlandsche zeden, gewoonten en mentaliteit – het << sine qua non>> der koloniale literatuur – bekomt men slechts door een intiemen omgang met de inboorlingen. (1938: 11-12)

Apart from 'innate talent', de Jonghe identifies two main factors that make up a qualified colonial author: extensive personal experience in the colonies, and the studying of all things colonial through (scientific) works and observation. Van Booven focusses on individual and local knowledge and experiences by taking the reader on a journey from Antwerp to the inner regions of the Congo and back. By using snippets of the local Indigenous languages and vernacular Dutch, laced with French, the official language of the Congo, for his dialogues, Van Booven displays his intimate knowledge of local colonial affairs and hierarchies. The passages that feature tropical medicine highlight its concrete application by (amateur) colonials. Conversely, Unger applies a bird's eye view to highlight the universality of tropical medicine and the German colonial cause. He focusses on minute descriptions of chemical formulas, technical, microscopic imagery and global ideological assertions on race, civilization, the colonial cause and superior Germanness in all these regards.

Tropenwee: Moral Failing and Physical Restriction

'Cinq jeunes Hollandais arrivés à Kinchassa au moment de mon départ de Brazzaville, étaient morts à mon arrivée' (Van Booven 1934: 4). Before the first chapter takes off, the novel quotes from a published report of a commercial caravan in French Congo: *Vers le Nil français avec la mission Marchand* (1898) by CH. Castellani. This quotation not only sets the tone for the story, in which death always seems to loom, but also indicates how illness is only a problem for *white* colonials. The status of Africa as a *white man's grave*, was a hindrance for the colonial enterprise and a threat to political and economic expansion in the colonial territories, as the example of *Tropenfieber* illustrates. All colonial nations established scientific institutes for research on tropical diseases. In Belgium the *Instituut voor Tropische Geneeskunde* was established in Brussels in 1906, after which it was moved to Antwerp, the main exit-point to the colonies via its harbour. In Germany, a similar institute was founded in Berlin and later Hamburg in 1899, also because of city's naval traffic to and from the colonies. Historically, harbours had always been important hubs for (tropical) medicine, which the colonial endeavours amplified (Osborne 2014: 11).

The word *tropenwee* or *tropical pain* carries several meanings, ranging from a sense of melancholia to different kinds of fevers and their enduring effects. The novel describes tropical diseases that affect both mind and body of the white colonials. Most of the protagonist's acquaintances are dead at the end of the novel and his own life is in danger from the moment he gets infected with malaria. In the beginning on the novel, in a chapter called 'Hoe de Ziekte komt', the protagonist finds himself on a boat, travelling to the factories in inner Congo for his trading company. He can feel he is becoming ill by the bitter taste in his mouth, the heavy nausea and profuse sweating which makes him feel hot and cold at the same time. His travelling companion, Fourneau, warns him of what is ahead:

> 'C'est le climat qui en est la cause', hervatte Fourneau en schertsend ging hij door: 'je suis en train de lire quelque chose sur ce sujet. Ecoutez: (...) Tous ceux qui pénètrent dans le centre de l'Afrique, ont tôt ou tard à lui payer leur dette; quelle que forte que soit leur constitution, le climat des tropiques les tuera, ou les stigmatisera gravement pour toute leur vie.' (Van Booven 1934: 167)

Fourneau, a bonafide colonial in the eyes of the protagonist, quickly realizes how serious the situation is as his travelling companion's symptoms deteriorate and he eventually faints: 'Oui, regardez-le ... C'est bien ça ... il paye sa dette à ce pays. (...) Il n'y a pas de doute, il est très malade, il paye sa dette' (Van Booven 1934: 169). The notion of debt has a physical manifestation, as every white colonial eventually pays the price for coming to the Congo by becoming (fatally) ill. However, there is also a moral aspect involved, as coming to the tropics is presented as a form of transgression, a forbidden act. Sarah De Mul, who compares *Tropenwee* to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, concludes that the Congo was a topos of dystopic transgression in the fin-de siècle era. Sub-Saharan Africa was a space of antagonism to the European imagination, a place devoid of morality and of barbarism (De Mul 2009: 96).

Despite the subversive tone of the novel, *Tropenwee* still features stereotypical characterizations of Africa as a secretive, mysterious, unknowable, dense and dark place. Black characters rarely have names or personal characteristics and, as De Mul observes for *Heart of Darkness*, 'in many instances the Indigenous appear and disappear before the protagonists; they blend in and pop out of their surroundings, as if they were inherently parts of nature. The impression is to a certain extent created that they literally belong to nature' (De Mul 2009: 102-103). The Indigenous are presented as having a hardy constitution and overall immunity to diseases. As the white bodies struggle to stay alive and the white minds struggle to stay sane, the black bodies thrive, but their minds remain unknowable and fundamentally different and alien. Throughout the novel the protagonist repeatedly remarks how the black bodies 'shine in the sun' and how they seem to easily execute physical duties: 'De lange, wel-gemaakte, glimmende, kaalgeschoren koppen, daarop scheen dadelijk de felle zon en geen enkel hunner hinderde dat, geen een dacht aan bedekking. Jules herkende in zich den angst van elke blanke man voor de tropenzon, hoe ieder zich nooit zonder breeden, witten helm, buiten wagen zou, uit vrees voor zonnesteek' (Van Booven 1934: 325).

The fate white colonials suffer for their trespassing is seemingly inescapable and enduring. Once the protagonist is back in Europe, he still suffers, mentally and physically, from his illness. Moreover, he has lost all his money and nearly all of his possessions because off his illness. The 'homecoming', as the final chapter is called, is very bitter and marked by a sense of loss and deterioration.

> Toen hij zich waste voor de Spiegel zag hij zijn gezicht. Geel was het, met aan de jukbeenderen rode vlekken. Zonder genade was het tropenklimaat voor hem geweest. Bij zijn inscheping in Antwerpen had hij lang, donker haar gehad, nu was er veel grijs en wit tussen,

> maar dat zou wel weggaan; zijn tanden hadden het ergst geleden, daar zou nooit meer iets aan te doen zijn. (Van Booven 1934: 343)

Until the end of the story, the protagonist is tormented by feverish dreams about his time in the Congo as he realizes that Malaria has marked him for life. It often remains unclear if the symptoms are to be attributed to physical distress, in the form of high fevers and hallucinations, or the post-traumatic shock of witnessing the horrors of colonization, the economic exploitation and the torturing and killing of the Indigenous. Upon the protagonist's return in Antwerp, he compares the start of his journey to the moment of his return in Antwerp in a critical and subversive way:

> Niets was er van de drukte der menigte of van de muziek, die volksliederen speelde, toen de Léopoldville afvoer, lange maanden geleden. Op de kade stonden maar weinigen met bedruktheid te kijken hoe de boot vastgemeerd werd. Het was alsof het aankomen van een schip uit Congo geen vreugde bracht, al lag het ruim rijk geladen met duizenden kilo's ivoor, massa's kaoetsjoek en allerlei gewas der tropen. Even dacht hij er aan met bitterheid hoe heel die lading, al dat kostbaars, veel menschenlevens had gekost, en voor hem rezen de vizioenen, van rampzalige inboorlingen, die, aangehitst door de wapens der Belgische ambtenaren, de donkere, vochtige bosschen waren ingejaagd, terwijl hun vrouwen en kinderen hongerend en ook gemarteld, in nauwe pakhuizen saamgedreven dikwijls stierven vóór wat verlangd werd, uit de kaalgeroofde wouden ingezameld was. (Van Booven 1934: 373-374)

Germanin: A Universal Cure for a National Goal

The feeling of paralysis in *Tropenwee* is nowhere to be found in *Germanin*, which takes off with a dizzying overview of the universe, the earth and mankind. At the outset of the story, the omniscient narrator leaps from vast spaces in the cosmos to the microscopic dimensions of life on earth and moves from Europe to Africa, stopping on historic locations, like Lisbon, to honour national heroes like Vasco da Gama for their contributions to both their individual nation and mankind at large. Throughout this virtual voyage, the narrator strikes a dramatic and grandiose tone: 'Wie unbegreifbar dies alles! Sagst du ganz leise vor dich hin, oder du schweigst überhaupt, denn du fühlst dich eins mit dem All und den Sternen, die dich hilfloses Menschenkind herrlich umstehen' (Unger 1938: 8).

Universal humanity is one of the dominant themes in the novel. In the same first chapter, notions of natural Darwinian struggles within African nature are introduced as the narrator zeroes in on Africa. He provides an account of yearly natural deaths by predators and how the Indigenous have crafted weapons and other ways to defend themselves against these threats. In light of this natural order and the alleged 'tens, hundreds and thousands' of people that die each year because of this struggle with natural dangers, the narrator adds the staggering 'hundreds of thousands' of victims the sleeping disease claims each year. This plague is described as

unnatural, unfair and universally threatening to all living creatures in Africa. Most importantly however, it makes a white colonial intervention natural and necessary:

> Im ewigen Daseinskampf mit der Natur hat der schwarze Mensch das Fürchten vor seinen großen Feinden beinahe verlernt und sich Waffen der Abwehr und der Vernichtung geschaffen. Gegen seinen grausamsten kleinsten Feind blieb er immer wehrlos, und erst der weiße Mann musste kommen, zu helfen, diesen Gegner zu erkennen aufzuspüren und zu vernichten. (...) Nicht das Unendlichgroße, nein, das Unendlichkleinste wird hier zum Zerstörer der Welt. (Unger 1938: 10)

Contrary to *Tropenwee,* the Indigenous and Europeans seem to belong to the same category of humanity and the human race as all are susceptible to the sleeping disease. This setup and claim to universality of the disease is necessary to give weight to the universality of the cure, which heightens the prestige and moral claim for Germany as colonial well-doers. The need for a such a claim arose from Germany's loss of its colonies in 1919, along with all of its industrial and scientific patents, which allowed other European nations to develop similar, yet in the eyes of the narrator less effective, cures. To add insult to injury, Germany was specifically accused of being unworthy and incapable of possessing colonies in the Treaty of Versailles, which is mentioned over fifteen times in the 230 pages of the book.

Paradoxically, claims to universality help strengthen national colonial claims, as it provided the motherland with a moral edge over other European colonial powers. A country with no colonies that would develop a cure for a disease that plagued many colonial nations could not have been a more philanthropic undertaking in the eyes of the narrator. Where other nations and colonials are presented as selfish and loathsome, German doctors and colonials are presented as embodiments of universal, German moral values. The ideal of a *brotherhood of doctors* striving for the betterment of humanity, without ever getting involved in national politics, is seen as the highest good. By doing so, Unger heavily underplays the political, nationalist drive of colonial medicine. In the chapter 'Ärtzte, Forscher, Kameraden', he praises the persisting networks between German doctors and researchers and their European colleagues in the former German colonies since 1919 that had stayed on as the Germans were forced out. Even in the extreme circumstances of the colonial environments, the (German) researchers hold true to their beliefs and universal (German) values.

> Wer da unten einmal, abseits von jeder hohen Politik, mit andern auf Vorposten gestanden hat, der ist und bleibt ihnen Mensch zu Mensch verbunden, besonders wenn es Ärzte sind, die ja einhellig Verschworene gegen Krankheit und Sterben sein sollten. (...) Höchstes Arzttum ist höchstes Christentum. Wahres Arzttum ist noch immer Hilfsbereitschaft für die Menschheit gewesen. (...) Es gab unter den Tropenkameraden viele (...), die die Leistung der Deutschen neidlos anerkannten. (...) Gut, diesmal wieder waren es deutsche Forscher, welche die Welt mit einer genialen Tat überraschten! An der Großtaten der Wissenschaft überhaupt waren aber alle Völker beteiligt. (Unger 1938: 174-175)

The true purpose of the cure is voiced through the Indigenous, the main recipients of the cure, which the omniscient narrator uses as an argument for German re-colonization. As the German doctors heal an English colonial for example, both he and the Indigenous under English command accept the German presence as beneficial to all: 'Von diesem Tage an kamen die Neger [sic!] freiwillig und in Scharen. Für alles suchten sie Hilfe und Rat, und ihr vertrauen war grenzenlos. Es hatte sich erst ein Heilungswunder ereignen müssen, um sie zu überzeugen' (Unger 1938: 26).

The German scientists who venture to former German colonies and British colonies like Rhodesia to conduct research on the sleeping disease quickly prove to be reliable and righteous by gaining the Indigenous population's trust. Throughout the novel, the German doctors are portrayed not only as righteous, but also as highly capable. Their portraits appear next to chemical formulas and images from under a microscope. Such medical and chemical descriptions and images also strengthen the authority of the author, who presents his detailed knowledge of these scientific developments at every opportunity.

The name of the cure, *Germanin*, reflects its nationalist goal. According to the narrator, the German Doctor Asmis wanted a name that would remind the Indigenous of the Germans and their good deeds in the colonies, despite the negative propaganda of the First World War (Unger 1938: 137). By presenting the Indigenous with the gift of *Germanin,* Germany would mentally return to Africa as the morally superior and medically indispensable European presence. In *Tropenwee*, the colonial environment demanded payment, in a form of a mental and physical debt, whereas *Germanin* serves as a gift that buys Germany a renewed colonial presence. Especially in the 1930s and early 1940s: *Germanin*, or other chemical products manufactured by the German medical industry, were a popular topos for literature and film.[2] Besser describes this as the psychological method of projecting German colonial desire onto the so-called hygienically suffering Africa. This projected need for 'imperial hygiene' constitutes what Alison Bashford would describe as a, in this case imagined, spatial form of governance and control aimed at regulating territories and peoples through racial discourses of public health (Bashford 2004: 1-2). Unger mentions professor Dr. Walter Fischer as one of his main sources of inspiration for the novel. Fischer was a microbiologist who, among other works, wrote *Unter der Geissel der Schlafkrankheit* (1938), in which he sees *Germanin* as an intravenous resource of superior German care for the Indigenous. In other words, without holding physical colonial territories German colonization could persist under the skin of the Indigenous. The uniforms might have changed, but through the cure, the Indigenous are forever inoculated with German colonial rule (Honold 2002: 176).

2. Max W. Kimmich, the brother-in-law of Joseph Goebbels, would later on produce a film called *Germanin, die Geschichte einer kolonialen Tat* (1943).

Tropical Medicine and Colonial Worldviews

Access to the sub-Saharan African colonial environment is to a certain extent determined by the medical tools of its colonizers. In *Tropenwee* the protagonist's attempts to reach inner Congo are cut short by disease. Had there been an effective cure, his journey might have continued. Through snippets of conversation the reader can catch a glimpse of the cures that were available. For example, after the protagonist had already spent a number of weeks in the Congo, he has dinner with other colonials. They eagerly discuss the limited effects of Quinine, which was a nineteenth-century cure for high fevers and particularly Malaria. They also discuss 'Eno's fruit salts', a more popular source of minerals that was used against all kinds of ailments, ranging from stomach acid to gout and malaria.

> 'Maar kinine', hervatte een ander, 'als je lang koorts hebt, dat is fataal! 't Werkt op je hart, en niet zuinig. Le Maître van de S.A.B., je weet wel, die we in januari in 't hout gezet hebbe, nauw die nam altijd maar kinine. Op een keer vertelden ze hem dat z'n hart niet deugde, twee dagen later was die ook kapot, en dat kwam van de kinine meneere. Als je mijn vraagt wat 't beste is, uitviere en zweete en "Eno's"'. (Van Booven 1934: 215)

The risky medication and naïve faith in fruit salts demonstrates the lack of knowledge concerning colonial ills at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but it also adds to the authenticity of the novel. A European reader would likely not know any better than the colonial characters' hearsay at that time. Moreover, the use of vernacular adds to the immersion in daily colonial life, far away from the high-ranking administrators and their official discourse. *Germanin* on the other hand was written over 30 years later and the effects of the advances of science and tropical medicine become apparent. Thanks to the cure *Germanin*, the colonial environment appears to be manageable, accessible, and ripe for a renewed German colonial presence. To exemplify this the narrator tells the story of an old German man form Flensburg, aptly named Oldermann, who returns to his family in Tanganyika, which used to be part of Deutsch-Ostafrika. Once, Oldermann had to leave his farm because of the First World War and the expulsion by the British, but now he can finally return for good. On his way there, a plane flies him over all of the old German colonies and other parts of Africa that had once been plagued by the sleeping disease. When he arrives, he remembers the colonial world from before *Germanin* with its plagues and other hygienic troubles. Now, he is happy to find that his family lives in a utopian, post-disease colonial world where the natural order is restored. Oldermann also symbolically carries a small box with the *Bayer* symbol on it. It symbolizes the return of a German, and Germany, to Africa through *Bayer* and its cure *Germanin*.

Colonial Criticism and Propaganda: Disease is the Cure

The colonial novels *Tropenwee* and *Germanin* are comparable in their focus on diseases and cures in colonial environments, which grants epistemic authenticity to its authors. When writing about the *unknowable dark continent* for a European readership, Van Booven and Unger display their intimate knowledge of the colonial realm through, respectively, hands-on experience of improvised applied tropical medicine and detailed studying and technical formulas and images. Despite these similarities, *Tropenwee* and *Germanin* take very different ideological turns.

In *Tropenwee*, entering the sub-Saharan African environment as a white colonial appears as a transgression. Sooner or later the colonial will have to pay with his physical and/or mental health. Disease also represents the corruption and atrocities by white colonials as an unnatural and perverse state of being. Conversely, the younger science novel *Germanin* presents diseases like the sleeping disease as a disruption of the natural order in Africa, which opens up an ideological space for a reentry of German colonials. The unnatural disease is to be combatted by the *universal* and *organic* cure *Germanin,* which was supposedly created in arduous circumstances in improvised laboratories in the tropics. The heroic scientists are propelled by the universal – although presented as essentially German – values of doctors and the medicinal fight for humanity. The development and pan-African potential of the cure establish Germany's moral superiority and claim to a renewed presence in Africa.

Tropenwee presents tropical diseases as inevitable and fatal and confirms a fin-de-siècle obsession with mortality in the form of an African *white man's Grave* (Renders 2019: 198-200). Its characters improvise and rely on hearsay when faced with tropical fever. *Germanin* on the other hand shows the later potential of a medical industry and highly technological research for a cure that could, at least theoretically, *save* an entire continent. Whether it is to display the transgression and corruption of a white, European colonial presence or, conversely, the need for one, both novels present disease as the cure.

Bibliography

Bashford, A. *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004.

Besser, S. *Pathographie der Tropen: Literatur, Medizin und Kolonialismus um 1900.* Amsterdam, 2009. [Dissertation]

Courouble, L. *Profils Blancs et Frimousses Noires: Impressions Congolaises*. Brussel: Lacomblez, 1901.

De Jonghe, S. *Het Koloniale in de Literatuur*. Turnhout: Drukkerij J. Van Mierlo-Proost, 1938.

De Mul, S. 'The Congo as Topos of Dystopic Transgression in *fin-de-siècle* literature', in: *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*. 46 (1), 2009, 95-108.
Farley, J. *Bilharzia: A History of Imperial Tropical Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Fiedler, M. *Zwischen Abenteurer, Wissenschaft und Kolonialismus*. Köln: Böhlau, 2005.
Fischer, Walter O. *Unter der Geissel der Schlafkrankheit*. Berlin: C.A. Weller Verlag, 1938.
Grosse, P. *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1919.* Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2000.
Honold, A. *Kolonialismus als Kultur*. Tübingen und Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 2002.
Kemperink, M. *Gedeelde Kennis: Literatuur en Wetenschap in Nederland van Darwin tot Einstein*. Antwerpen: Garant, 2011.
Kimmich, M.W. *Germanin, die Geschichte einer kolonialen Tat.* München: Universum Film, 1943.
Koch, R. 'Ärtzliche Beobachtungen in den Tropen. Vortrag, gehalten in der Abteilung Berlin-Charlottenburg der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft am 9.6. 1898', in: *Verhandlungen der Deutschen Kolonial-Gesellschaft (Berlin-Charlottenburg)*. 1897-1898 (7), 280-317.
Neill, D.J. *Networks in Tropical Medicine: Internationalism, Colonialism and the Rise of a Medical Specialty, 1890-1930.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.
Osborne, M.A. *The Emergence of Tropical Medicine in France*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2014.
Poortmans, R. *Zon in het Zenith*. Den Haag: Servire, z.j.
Renders, L. *Koloniseren om te beschaven.* Hasselt: Gramadoelas, 2019.
Unger, H. *Germanin, Geschichte einer deutschen Großtat*. Berlin: Verlag Neues Volk, 1938.
Van Booven, H. *Tropenwee*. Amsterdam: N.V. Wereldbibliotheek, 1904.
Van Reybrouck, D. *Congo: een Geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2010.
Von Bülow, F. *Tropenkoller*. Berlin: Hilger, 1911.

Dance and Intermediality in Carl Einstein's *Nuronihar*

Mathias Meert (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Einstein and Pantomime

In 1913, German writer and (art) critic Carl Einstein (1885-1940) published his play *Nuronihar* in the expressionist magazine *Die Aktion*. The play's title refers to the eponymous main character, Nuronihar, the young and beautiful daughter of a rich Arabian Emir who joins the Abbasid caliph Vathek as he embarks on a blasphemous and erotic quest for demonic power and supernatural riches. Paratextually speaking, Einstein presents *Nuronihar* as a pantomime play dedicated to and written for the Polish-Parisian dancer Stacia Napierkowska (1891-1945): '*Eine Pantomime für Frau Napierkowska*' (Einstein 1980, I: 173). In so doing, Einstein inscribes *Nuronihar* in the rich and complex tradition of pantomime aesthetics in turn-of-the-century Germany and Austria. At the beginning of the twentieth century, renowned authors and playwrights such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler and Frank Wedekind experimented with the pantomime as the nonverbal artform *par excellence*. Primarily conceived as silent, nonverbal theatre, the newly popularized genre of the pantomime seemed for many at the time to be uncompromised by the apparent excesses of historical, verbal culture. As Graham Ley pointed out, twentieth-century's theatre and performance art did not only embrace the 'extreme form' of (staged) silence (Ley 2007: 540) as an alternative to traditional speech. It also turned to the rhythmical-expressive depiction and staging of the (dancing) body. Seen against this background, the genre of the pantomime provides an important contribution to the so-called 're-theatralization' (Fischer-Lichte 2010: 163-164) of theatre. The genre contributes to the development of a theatrical language in its own right, amongst others through the enhanced focus on movement, gestures, body language and dance.

From a genre-theoretical and conceptual point of view, Einstein's pantomime can be interpreted as an autonomous dance pantomime ('Tanzpantomime'). On the one hand, the plot features almost exclusively dance scenes and stresses the relevance of the dancing body for the development of pantomime aesthetics. On the other hand, Einstein seems to have specifically conceived his pantomime for Napierkowska's dancing style after having personally witnessed one of her performances, most likely in the Berlin variety theatre *Wintergarten* (see Brandstetter 1988: 117-118). Already in 1911, Einstein published an open letter in the journal *Die Gegen-*

wart which was dedicated to Napierkowska's dance performances. This performance, Einstein notes, apparently transcended any rational, linguistic and conventional understanding of (literary) art: 'Vielleicht entzieht sich nichts dermaßen dem Wort, wie der Tanz.' (Einstein 1980, I: 57). According to Gabriele Brandstetter, Einstein's letter can be read as a manifesto of early 'Ausdruckstanz' as it emphasizes the spatial and mythical character of creative dance as an autonomous form of art (see Brandstetter 1988: 115-116). Einstein's pantomime, however, exists solely in its textual form and was never performed or staged.

This paper seeks to address the complex relationship between dance and literature in Einstein's modernist pantomime. Firstly, it will situate Einstein's dance play in the historical tradition of the modernist (German-language) pantomime. *Nuronihar* will be analyzed as a transgeneric, intertextual adaptation that develops its dance plot in an orientalist setting. Secondly, this contribution will read Einstein's pantomime as an intermedial text and critically situates the concept of intermediality in the methodological framework of (modernist) pantomime studies. The textual evocation of dance inevitably stages an 'intermedial encounter' (Marcsek-Fuchs 2015: 562) between kinetic movement and the mono-mediality of text. Rather than seeing *Nuronihar* as a mere script to be transposed from page to stage, this paper argues for the analysis of Einstein's pantomime as an intermedial text *sui generis*. In a final step, the paper will show how the textual form of Einstein's pantomime creates a narrative form, both with regards to its story world and its narrative discourse.

Pantomime and Modernism

From a discursive and genre-theoretical point of view, Einstein's *Nuronihar* radicalizes the coordinates and aesthetics of the (German-language) pantomime genre as it developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1905, the Moravian-Austrian author and journalist Karl Michael von Levetzow devoted a three-part essay in the newly created journal *Die Schaubühne* on the artistic 'renaissance' of pantomime art that characterized (German-language) theater in the early twentieth century. In his essay, Levetzow desperately tried to counter older, stereotypical images of the pantomime as an effect-oriented *art du spectacle*, i.e. an acrobatic, clownesque or even incomprehensible form of art:

> Das Wort Pantomime erweckt heute, besonders in Deutschland, bei den meisten stets nur eine Vorstellung von Harlekinade oder, im Besten Falle, von Burleske. Oft sogar wird der Begriff in engste Verbindung gebracht mit der Gedankenreihe ‚Zirkus-Klown-Dummer August'. Wenn die Leute auf einem Theaterzettel das ominöse Wort [Pantomime – M.M] lesen, gehen sie entweder nicht hinein, weil sie wissen, dass da ‚nicht gesprochen wird' und befürchten, dass sie die ‚Zeichensprache nicht verstehen werden'. (Levetzow 1905, I: 125)

According to Levetzow, the modern pantomime discarded its burlesque-acrobatic background and abandoned the phallogocentric logic of sign language. Often found in baroque and early modern pantomime, this sign logic tries to translate words and phrases into specific body movements based on a historically and/or culturally codified grammar or lexicon.[1]

Already in 1894, the Austrian critic and author Hermann Bahr developed the notion of the pantomime as a silent drama, minimally defined as a 'Drama ohne Worte': 'Sie haben somit alle dramatischen Mittel. Nur die Sprache fehlt ihnen. Um diese sind Sie ärmer. Dennoch wirken sie mehr' (Bahr 1894: 107). On the one hand, Bahr's theory of pantomime establishes the pantomimic as a specific 'mode', a basic, yet highly effective acting technique used in theatre. According to Bahr, the absence of language on stage does not hinder the comprehensibility of the actions performed. On the contrary, it enhances the spectatorial illusion of identification and immersion by avoiding linguistic and culturally specific connotations of concepts, phrases and words traditionally spoken out loud on stage. On the other hand, Bahr was interested in the concept of the pantomime as a specific (dramatic) genre, featuring fantastical and anti-realistic characters, motives and topoi that that clearly broke away from the naturalist drama dominant at the time.[2] In his series of critical essays *Die Überwindung des Naturalismus* (1891), Bahr drew inspiration amongst others from French fin-de-siècle pantomimes performed at the Parisian *Théâtre des funambules* (see Martinez 2008: 108-110). By way of foregrounding the central protagonist, Pierrot, a stock character whose origins date back to seventeenth century *commedia dell'arte* and who was often transformed into a melancholic alter ego of the poet, Bahr sought to dethrone naturalist aesthetics:

> Nämlich, die Pantomime handelt nicht von Menschen, sondern von Pierrot, und sie kündigt es uns von allem Anfang in Voraus an, rechtschaffen und ehrlich, dass ihre einzige Heimat, welche sie keinen Augenblick verlassen will, das Phantastische ist. Sie hat mit dieser täglichen Straßenwirklichkeit rings um uns nichts zu schaffen, sondern lebt in einer anderen, fernen, unterwölkten Sternenwirklichkeit, von welcher wir nichts wissen [...] Sie hat in ihrer Willkür ihr eigenes Gesetz, welches gegen unsere irdische Wahrhaftigkeit nicht verstößt, weil es neben ihr auf einer ganz anderen Seite verweilt, drüben und weit weg. (Bahr 2013: 47-48)

1. The phallogocentric tendency nonetheless prevailed in several scientific treatises written during the *Fin de Siècle*. In these works, gestural language is typologically classified, studied with regards to its linguistic equivalences and often illustrated through drawings, lithography and/or photography. Prominent examples within the French-speaking context are semiotically inspired essays like Charles Hack's *Le Geste* (1892) or Charles Auberts *L'art mimique* (1901). In Germany, the same principle informs Theodor Piderit's study *Grundsätze der Mimik und Physiognomik* (1885).
2. Bahr's twofold theory of pantomime can be roughly aligned to Alastair Fowler's distinction between strict, thematic and conventionalized 'genres' and looser, trans-generic and abstract 'modes' (Fowler 1982: 106-129).

Both Bahr's and Levetzow's reflections strongly emphasize the modern character of pantomime, advocating the inclusion of the genre in the canon of modernist literature and theatre. Generally speaking, (early) modernist pantomimes largely consisted of a specific plot driven by gestures and a fictional story world populated by non-verbal, mute characters.[3] Bahr also connected the genre of pantomime to the sensual movements of (female) dancers and the voyeuristic dimension of dance performance. The performance of female dancers, which according to Bahr represents an 'Ideal vom weiblichen Körper' (Bahr 1894: 107), is directly associated with the ideological and erotic archetype of the *femme fatale*.

In turn-of-the-century theatrical discourse, the pantomime was not without reason linked to the flourishing world of dance performance and the crucial innovations of so-called 'Ausdruckstanz'. This new, free and expressive form of dance especially sought to transcend the fixed and mechanical forms of traditional ballet. In this regard, recent pantomime studies (Segel 1998; Vollmer 2011) rightly emphasize the historical importance of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's essay *Über die Pantomime* (1911), arguably the most discussed poetological treatise on modernist pantomime in the German-language context. Building on Lucian's *De Saltatione*, Hofmannsthal famously connects the modernist pantomime to the archaic, ritualized dimension of theatrical ceremonies and the rhythmical performances of contemporary dancers such as Ruth St. Denis, Loïe Fuller and Vaslav Nijinksy (see Hofmannsthal 1979: 503). While Hofmannsthal's essay strongly emphasizes the conceptual connection between pantomime and dance, it leaves out any consideration of the concrete, structural or rhetorical form of the (dance) pantomime as *text*. Rhythmical and ephemeral movements of the dancing body inevitably draw attention to intermedial strategies employed by pantomime authors in order to depict the various encounters with dance as a kinetic medium, a cultural-historical topos and an intermedial praxis.

Einstein's notion of the (dance) pantomime differs considerably from the Pierrot-tradition of pantomime elaborated by Levetzow and Bahr. Einstein's radical insistence on the primacy of dance and movement in *Nuronihar* goes hand in hand with a strong anti-psychological perspective that exclusively defines a character's presence through dance: 'Personen ohne irgendeine rhytmische Tanzbewegung gibt es nicht. […] Der Tanz beherrscht alles. […] Es ziehen über die Bühne lebende Kurven weniger, rhythmisch komponierter Figuren' (1980, I: 174-175). In his programmatic letter to Napierkowska from 1911, Einstein evoked the same spatial-abstract experience of dance when describing a performance of Napierkowka: 'Linien, die den Raum durchschmeicheln, Kurven, die unvergesslich in dem leeren Theater lang wirbeln' (1980, I: 57). Einstein develops an anti-psychological,

3. In this regard, the continental, pan-European tradition of pantomime drama and theatre differs crucially from its Anglo-Saxon counterpart. The latter presents itself as a specific theatrical form, often as a musical comedy production inspired amongst other by the practice of music hall. The British tradition of pantomime is furthermore specifically designed for family entertainment and was/is often performed around Christmas time (Mayer III 1969; Richards 2015).

abstract, even geometrical understanding of dance and movement as (embodied) lines and curves. *Nuronihar* not only creates a radical dance pantomime, the play also presents a transgeneric adaptation that situates the dance plot within an orientalist setting.

Einstein's *Nuronihar* as Adaptation

Recent studies on modernism have not only embraced a temporal expansion of their research object, but also focused on its 'spatial broadening' (Mao & Walkowitz 2008: 738) in an effort to make the study of modernism less Eurocentric. In their attempt to establish *A New Vocabulary for Global Modernism* (2016), Eric Hayot and Rebecca L. Walkowitz embrace modernism as a global, worldwide phenomenon that is active on several continents and draws on different languages and cultures (Hayot & Walkowitz 2016: 1-3). In this global context, Monica Miller argues that pantomime, as a 'noun, verb, or adjective and, as such, an act of translation' (Miller 2016: 169) occupies a central place in the proposed critical 'grammar of modernism' (2016: 169). Miller is particularly interested in 'New World' pantomime as it comments on and/or resituates the place of Africa in modernist space/time. Her focus therefore lies on contemporary African artists who use pantomimic gestures, masks and characters. On the one hand, she argues that contemporary pantomimic performances of black/white bodies are linked to postcolonial issues of racial performance and representation. As a form of 'metamodern mimicry' (2016: 179), contemporary African pantomimes present an ambivalent mixture of modernist 'homage and critique' (2016: 172). On the other hand, when seen from the proposed global(ized) perspective of modernism, pantomime – the art form as well as the actor – becomes in Miller's view a fundamental matter of corporeality as such. It even develops into a 'metaphor for performativity and the contingency of performance itself' (2016:169).

Miller's concept of (global) pantomime oscillates between translation and performativity. This inevitably draws attention to the moving body staged on scene and/or constructed in the text. Miller's postcolonial argument also allows to critically asses the orientalist context of Einstein's pantomime. Nuronihar, the female dancer and main character in Einstein's pantomime, is strongly modelled on the exotist dances performed by Napierkowska (see Brandstetter 1988: 119). However, the pantomime also adapts William Beckford's orientalist gothic Novel *Vathek* (1786), which Einstein read in Franz Blei's German translation from 1907. In 1910, Einstein enthusiastically reviewed Bedford's 'Arabian tale' under the pseudonym Sabine Ree in the journal *Hyperion*. Einstein celebrated the eighteenth-century novel as an anti-psychological and anti-didactic 'Kunstmärchen' (Einstein 1980, I: 28), an exemplary form of 'rein[e] Kunst' (Einstein 1980, I: 30). Einstein's pantomime is far from concerned with simply translating or transposing the novel's plot to the framework of the pantomime (see Brandstetter 1988: 124-125). Instead, as

the following analysis will show, Einstein's *Nuronihar* presents a complex intertextual adaptation that reconstructs Bedford's plot from the dominating perspective of dance.

Einstein's pantomime comprises three scenes and a prologue. Compared to Beckford's novel, the pantomime offers an extreme reduction and condensation ('Verdichtung') of the novelistic plot. Apart from some minor, secondary characters, Einstein's pantomime mainly focuses on two central figures, Nuronihar and Vathek. In contrast to her eponymous counterpart in Beckford's story, Einstein's Nuronihar is transformed into a sensuous female dancer that dominates the pantomime: 'Sie ist ein Mädchen, das sich nur körperlich ausdruckt, kurz – die Tänzerin' (Einstein 1980, I: 174). Nuronihar's dance becomes an essential weapon of power. The title figure literally dominates the stage and exercises absolute control over all other characters: 'sie beherrscht mit ihrem Tanz die wichtigen Punkte der Bühne, sie ist der rhythmisch am stärksten beteiligte Teil der Szene' (1980, I: 174). Her successive dances reveal a gradually unfolding erotic awareness of the female body, a topos typically associated with fin-de-siècle and early modernist longing for the exotic 'other' (see Brandstetter 1988: 128). Nuronihar also showcases a broad spectrum of historically significant dance topoi, from the erotic dance of seduction through the spectacular 'shadow dance' to a spiritual 'Beschwörungstanz' (Einstein 1980, I: 183) that conjures up a demonic spirit ('Giaur'). In the end, the title character extatically destroys herself in a magical, all-consuming 'dance of fire'. Each dance transforms the main character, showcasing a permanent state of metamorphosis. The textual descriptions of the various dance scenes draw attention to the intermediality of the text and its construction of theatrical space. The analysis of the pantomime as a *text*, however, has only recently become a focal point in pantomime studies.

Pantomime and Intermediality

Recent academic studies addressing pantomime have primarily tackled the popularity of the genre in the early twentieth century from a thematic and interdiscursive point of view. Particularly in the German-language context, they link the rise of pantomime art to the historical discourse of the so-called 'Sprachkrise', i.e. the linguistic crisis and language skepticism which dominated (Austrian) modernism in the early twentieth century. Inspired amongst others by Friedrich Nietzsche's, Ernst Mach's and Fritz Mauthner's philosophy (of language), prominent authors and critics at the time problematized the communicative, referential and epistemological functions and limits of traditional language. According to Harold B. Segel's study *Body Ascendant* (1998), which defines modernism through its so-called 'physical imperative', this turn away from language went hand in hand with an increased interest not only in folk traditions, but especially in physical culture, dance, sport and (outdoor) spectacle. However, Segel's reflections on modernist pantomimes

offer only an elaborate plot summary and a limited thematic analysis. Conceptually speaking, he treats the genre solely as a dramatic 'retreat from speech' (Segel 1998: 14).

Hartmut Vollmer's book-length study on German and Austrian pantomime, *Die Literarische Pantomime. Studien zu einer Literaturgattung der Moderne* (2011) equally focuses on the manifold connections with the historical discourse of the 'Sprachkrise'. Vollmer's extensive overview and analysis instinctively proposes a thematic typology, dividing the corpus according to the dramatis personae featured in the selected plays. In so doing, he binarily distinguishes a modernized heritage of the *commedia dell'arte*, which include pantomime plays featuring stock characters like Pierrot, Arlequino and Columbine, from the large(r), heterogeneous group of the 'fantastical, mythical, mystical and fairy tale' (Vollmer 2011: 174). The latter group basically refers to all non-*commedia* oriented pantomimes. Vollmer's primary interest however is not the historical performance of pantomimes on stage, but the pantomime as a (literary) *text*. Establishing the pantomimic text as a 'Literaturgattung' and 'Kunstgenre' (Vollmer 2011: 21) *sui generis*, he is theoretically concerned with the paradoxical aesthetics of the pantomime's 'versprachtlichte Wortlosigkeit' (Vollmer 2011: 38), i.e. the textualized forms of muteness and non-verbal communication.

Similar research questions also inform the recent study of French modern(ist) pantomime. In *La Pantomime. Théâtre en mineur. 1880-1945* (2008), Ariane Martinez equally picks up on the 'paradoxes de la dramaturgie pantomimique' (Martinez 2008: 39) as they manifest themselves through the mainly didascalic text of the pantomime. Martinez, too, points out a strong interdiscursive influence on the form and conception of the pantomime as a mute theatre text. Convincingly, she shows how the bodies described in French fin-de-siècle pantomimes are shaped by numerous nervous pathologies and clinical hysteria typical of the early twentieth century. In particular, she notes how the Pierrot-characters in Paul Margueritte's pantomimes seem influenced by the facial expressions and body poses found in Charcot's *L'Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*. As the title of her study indicates, Martinez partakes in the temporal expansion of her modernist research object, a direction often associated with 'new modernist' studies (see Mao & Walkowitz 2008: 737-738). Though her main analytical focus remains on pantomimes of the fin-de-siècle era, she nonetheless transcends the rigid temporal delimitations usually imposed on the period of modernism and situates the French pantomime within an expanded timeframe (1880-1945) that covers not only the rising but also the eventually decreasing popularity of the genre.

In line with Martinez (2008) and Vollmer (2011), this contribution analyzes the modernist pantomime with regard to its often-overlooked textuality, not at least against the background of the more performance-oriented, even 'antitextual sentiments' (Harding 2000: 1) of the historical avant-gardes. However, contrary to the thematic and interdiscursive approach presented above, this paper starts from the assumption that the pantomimic text can be considered as fundamentally inter-

medial. The performance of a pantomimic (dance) play on stage, with actors, light, costumes and décor, is commonly considered a 'plurimedial' entity (Wolf 2014: 29). However, references to dance in the textual form of the pantomime will be approached through the paradigm of the 'intermedial reference', i.e. as literary/written references to kinetic movement. In other words, the perspective of intermedial reference does not involve an alternative mode of reception 'von Text *oder* Aufführung, *von A oder B*, oder [...] einen Medienwechsel *von A nach B*, sondern [...] eine intermediale Referenz, *zwischen A und B*' (Tonger-Erk 2018: 430; original emphasis).

As an intermedial text, Einstein's *Nuronihar* refers to various aspects of movement, dance, music and 'Lichtregie'. The pantomime advances a kinetic understanding of plot and situates the movement of its characters within cultural history of dance. For instance, the originality of Nuronihar's dancing is repeatedly emphasized through the use of recurring contrasts. Especially in the first scene, Einstein sets Nuronihar in clear opposition to the dance aesthetics of classical ballet. Vathek, the caliph, is hardly impressed by the puppet-like dance moves and pirouettes of the traditional 'Corps de Ballet' which are supposed to entertain him: 'Vathek lächelt und wendet sich ab' (1980, I: 176). When Nuronihar starts to dance, however, the interaction between the primary characters shifts. Vathek becomes powerless, mesmerized and fully dependent upon the enchanting dancer: 'Zuletzt ertrinkt er in Nuronihar und ihrer Suggestion' (1980, I: 178).

In order to describe the numerous dance scenes, Einstein employs a musical terminology commonly found in opera and adapts it to the kinetic medium of dance. In so doing, he approaches dance from a musical perspective and typologically conceptualizes dance both as a 'recitative' and as an 'aria'. Both musical modes are respectively linked to the different rhythmical movements of the major and supporting characters. The recitative-dance ('rezitativisches Tanzen') of the secondary characters can be thought of as narratively diegetic, mainly developing the action and basic plot, whereas Nuronihar's dance of seduction acts more like the 'Arie nach dem Rezitativ' (1980, I: 177). The latter creates a strong(er) lyrical and affective atmosphere. Einstein's musically inspired typology of dance gradually disappears throughout the successive scenes and gives room to increasingly abstract descriptions that eliminate all non-rhythmical components. In so doing, the oriental setting of the plot, the gendered staging of erotic power, the motivic quest for supernatural knowledge and the interaction between other characters shift to the background of the pantomime. In other words, Einstein gradually situates the dramatic activity in the exclusive realm of dance, i.e. only dance is regarded as pure and total 'drama' *an sich*: 'Nuronihar tanzt ein Drama [...] dieser Tanz ist ein Kalifat' (1980, I: 174).

From a structural and generic point of view, dramatic texts are characterized by their 'Doppeltextualität' (Tonger-Erk 2018: 443), i.e. they comprise two different yet strongly interrelated textual categories: dialogue ('Figurenrede') and so-called 'Nebentext' (stage directions, didascalia). This difference also manifest itself typo-

graphically (see Weber 2017: 34-37). Like most pantomimic texts, Einstein's *Nuronihar* fundamentally challenges this twofold structure. The dance pantomime no longer relies on any (spoken) dialogues and consists entirely of an extended and modified 'Nebentext'. This 'Nebentext' can be identified as particularly hybrid: it mixes thematic (character, actions), theatrical (stage, technics), narrative (perspective, diegetic) and genre-theoretical comments on the plot and the status of the pantomime text. Descriptions of characters and costumes are for instance combined with theoretical statements that shape the genre framework of Einstein's pantomime, obscuring boundaries between play, stage direction and meta-comment. Surprisingly, *Nuronihar* hardly contains any detailed or choreographical information on specific body language or gestures other than dance, which is elaborately justified in the text itself:

> Die Bewegungen aller Personen haben nicht mit denen des Dramas zu schaffen, auch nichts mit realistischen Gesten. Sie sind keine Bewegungen von Arm und Bein, es gibt keine Mimik, nur eine rhythmische Erregung des ganzen Menschen. Der Tanz der Nuronihar rhythmisiert alle. Das Stellen lebender Bilder ist verboten, Personen ohne irgendeine Tanzbewegung gibt es nicht. [...] Die Bewegungen seinen körperlich derart komplett und prägnant, dass nichts Psychologisches bleibt. Der Tänzer ist ein ganzer rhythmisch erregter Mensch. (Einstein 1980, I: 174-175)

Einstein's notion of the pantomime relies here on an abstract, corporeal totality expressed in lines and curves, which leaves no room for specific poses, facial expressions or realistic gestures. According to Einstein, these gestures and poses fragmentize and thus psychologize the moving body.[4] In so doing, the pantomime text reflects on its own (possible) performance. The text critically dismisses its own status as a script to be simply transposed from page to stage. On the contrary, it seems to offer a highly subjective perspective on the (imagined) stage action. Nuronihar's dance is also situated within different theatrical spaces. These change from an outdoor, hillside landscape to a tent and even a ruined cathedral. Especially the magically denoted move from the inside of the caliph's tent (scene 2) to the fragmentary, even 'endlos[e] Architektur' (1980, I: 183) of a roofless cathedral (scene 3) relies on an anti-realistic blurring of spatial borders. This procedure is not without reason enhanced through the intermedial refence to the art of chiaroscuro (clair obscur), the contrasting use of 'spärliche[s] Licht' (1980, I: 181) and rapidly expanding, all engulfing darkness. In this context, Einstein's 'Nebentext' functions as the main 'instigator' (Tonger-Erk 2018: 430) of intermediality. It suggests abstract movement, musical connotations of dance, metamorphotic space, the complex interplay between light and darkness and its own virtual performance.

4. In his letter to Napierkowska, Einstein equally evoked the abstract notion of totality when witnessing her performance at the Berlin *Wintergarten*: 'Es ist Ihnen alles einheitliche Bewegung voller Formen. Wir besannen uns auf den ganzen Körper, nicht auf partielle Eigenschaften' (Einstein 1980, I: 57).

Narrating the Pantomime

Nevertheless, Einstein's pantomime is more than a mere script or score. *Nuronihar* employs a hybrid 'Nebentext' that inevitably draws attention to the autonomy of its textual form, both on the level of intermediality and narrativity. Regardless of its actual or possible performance on stage, the pantomime text creates a diegetic story-world and uses narrative strategies that are typically associated with epic and prose texts. Drama has nonetheless long been considered as 'non-narrative'. In traditional genre theory, drama was defined by its mimetic 'showing'-mode and marked by the apparent absence of an intermediate, narratorial agency. These characteristics were set in clear contrast to the narrative features of epic, prose texts. Recent studies in the field of drama narratology (see Weber 2017 for an overview) have nonetheless sought to highlight the essentially narrative features of dramatic texts, broadening the conceptual spectrum of narrativity from a postclassical, transgeneric, intermedial and transmedial point of view. This broadening of narrative can be elucidated along the lines of the *story*/*discourse*-distinction proposed by classical narratology.

On the one hand, dramatic narrative can be understood in terms of its 'story'. This broad, content-based definition of narrative deals with the development of plot, character, actions, eventfulness and causal story logic. Such a broad definition is often opposed to a narrow(er), *discourse*-related one. The latter focuses strongly on the inclusion of a mediating narrator or narrating instance in drama. While there is nowadays hardly any discussion among researchers about the narrative aspects of dramatic texts in the broad, *story*-related sense of the term, the *discourse*-premises of a dramatic narrator responsible for the selection, construction and portrayal of the story-world and its characters has been discussed with far more controversy (see Rajewski 2007; Weber 2017: 47-50).

In my view, the study of pantomime texts can profit considerably from the research on narrative drama. At the same time, it will necessarily challenge some of its basic premises. I claim that *Nuronihar* can be seen as a twofold narrative text, with regards to its *story* and its narrative *discourse*. In her analysis of Einstein's pantomime, Brandstetter states that *Nuronihar* is characterized by an anti-realistic and anti-psychological turn away from the figurative. According to Brandstetter, this can be linked to Einstein's love of cubist plastic arts and his own writings on African Art in *Negerplastik* (1915) (see Brandstetter 1988: 131-132). A principle of abstract reduction can indeed be found in the depiction of Nuronihar's dance, as well as in the context of Einstein's adaptation of the *Vathek*-intertext. However, this does not automatically imply that Einstein's pantomime is characterized by cubist art on the level of narrative discourse. The text clearly does not function as a radical collage, nor does it portray a multi-perspectivity typical of cubist deformation. However, I do claim that Einstein's text reveals subtle signposts of a subjectivity that narrates and focalizes the story world, thus revealing a narrative and focalizing agency *en miniature*. Narration in drama (and pantomime) at the level of narrative *discourse* is often connected to the possibility of locating a narrating instance in the 'Neben-

text'. Current research has provided several conceptualizations of this narrating instance, ranging from the direct authorial voice to 'displaying agents', 'Protokollanten' and general 'narrators' (for an overview see Hauthal 2009: 110-128).

In the introductory prologue of the pantomime, for instance, Einstein explicitly mentions and identifies a collective narratorial perspective identified as 'Wir'. According to this 'Wir'-narrator, some minor characters of the pantomime, such as Bedford's Gulchenruz, are basically deemed unnecessary for the play, as the pantomime clearly focuses upon Nuronihar: 'Mit Gulchenruz und den zwei Gespielinnen beschäftigen *wir* uns nur kurz' (Einstein 1980, I: 175; emphasis added). By adopting the perspective of 'wir', the narrator addresses him/herself and the collective of readers and/or spectators, seeking to justify the chosen reductionist approach. When the same agency later on describes Gulchenruz' clothes, the 'Nebentext' specifies that his robe is '*vielleicht* dunkelgelb' (1980, I: 175; emphasis added), indicating another distance towards the represented character and a lack of exactness.

On the level of focalization, the 'Nebentext' generally retains a distancing attitude, alternating between an 'external' (focused on general movement and visual aspects) and 'internal' focalization (relating basic feeling and intentions to dancing characters). However, when contrasting the classical ballet to Nuronihar's dancing in the first scene, the 'Nebentext' suddenly reveals a strong, emotional involvement in support of Nuronihar's dance aesthetics. Sarcastically, the ballet dance is characterized as a 'zärtliche und süße Sache' (1980, I: 176), while essentially remaining nothing more than a 'blöde[r] Sylphentanz' (1980, I: 176). Read against this background, Einstein's pantomime can be seen as a narrative text, also in the above-mentioned sense of its *discourse*. The pantomime text does not construct a narrative that elaborately focalizes or represents different characters, but can be read as a subjective representation *an sich*; a subjective, biased perspective on dance, characters and stage that stresses the narrative and intermedial autonomy of the pantomimic text, independent from any actual performance on stage.

Conclusion

This paper situated Einstein's dance pantomime *Nuronihar* in the historical context of German-language modernism. Rather than illustrating the omnipresent discourse of linguistic skepticism ('Sprachkrise'), Einstein's notion of the pantomime is fundamentally dance-oriented and revolves around the central character of Nuronihar. Pantomime, a genre situated at the crossroads of performance, corporeality and textuality, can be regarded as an intermedial and narrative text in its own right. Einstein's pantomime, written for the Polish-Parisian dancer Stacia Napierkowska, highlights the complex intermedial relationship between text and dance. Characters, plot and space are subsumed under the kinetic primacy of dance, which challenges the traditional genre notion of the pantomime as a merely mute/silent

form of theatre. The analysis of the narrative and intermedial 'Nebentext' makes clear that Einstein's pantomime touches upon crucial aspects such as abstraction, emotional involvement and subjective representation. The narrative discourse of Einstein's pantomime stresses the autonomy of the pantomimic text and solicits further analysis with regards to the genre of modernist dance pantomimes.

Bibliography

Bahr, H. 'Pantomime. Der Buckelhans – Jean Mayeux', in: *Die Zeit*, 1 (17.11), 1894, 107-108.

Bahr, H. 'Pantomime', in: *Kritische Schriften in Einzelausgaben*. Bd. II: *Die Überwindung des Naturalismus*. Ed. by Claus Pias. Weimar: VDF, 2013, 44-49.

Brandstetter, G. 'Körper im Raum – Raum im Körper. Zu Carl Einsteins Pantomime Nuronihar', in: Kiefer, K.H. (ed.) *Carl Einstein-Kolloquim 1986*. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris: Peter Lang, 1988, 115-137.

Einstein, C. *Werke*. 3 Bde. Ed. Baacke, R.F & Kwasny, J. Berlin: Medusa, 1980.

Fischer-Lichte, E. *Geschichte des Dramas. Epochen der Identität auf dem Theater von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 2: Von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*. Tübingen, Basel: A. Francke, 2010.

Hayot, E. & Walkowitz, R.L. *A New Vocabulary for Global Modernism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Harding, J.M. 'Introduction', in: Harding, J.M. (ed.): *Contours of the Theatrical Avant-Garde. Performance and Textuality*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Hauthal, J. *Metadrama und Theatralität. Gattungs- und Medienreflexion in zeitgenössischen englischen Theatertexten*. Trier: WVT, 2009.

Hofmannsthal, H. 'Über die Pantomime', in: *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelbänden*. Bd. 7: Reden und Aufsätze I – 1891-1913. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979, 502-505.

Ley, G. 'Theatrical Modernism. A Problematic', in: Eysteinsson, A. & Liska, V. (eds.) *Modernism*, vol.1. Amsterdam, Philadephia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007, 531-544.

Levetzow, K.M. 'Zur Renaissance der Pantomime', in: *Die Schaubühne*, I: 1 (5), 1905, 125-120; II: 1 (6), 1905, 159-162; III: 1 (7), 1905, 194-198.

Marcsek-Fuchs, M. 'Literature and Dance: Intermedial Encounters.' in: Rippl, G. (ed.) *Handbook of Intermediality. Literature – Image – Sound – Music*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, 562-583.

Martinez, A. *La pantomime. Théâtre en mineur. 1880-1945*. Paris: Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, 2008.

Mao, D. & Walkowitz, R.L. 'The New Modernist Studies', in: *PMLA*. 123 (3), 2008, 737-748.

Mayer III, D. *Harlequin in His Element: The English Pantomime, 1806-1836*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Miller, Monica L. 'Pantomime', in: Hayot, E. & Walkowitz, R.L. *A New Vocabulary for Global Modernism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016, 169-184.

Rajewski, I. 'Von Erzählern, die (nichts) vermitteln. Überlegungen zu grundlegenden Annahmen der Dramentheorie im Kontext einer transmedialen Narratologie', in: *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*. 117 (1), 2007, 25-68.

Richards, J. *The Golden Age of Pantomime: Slapstick, Spectacle and Subversion in Victorian England.* London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015.

Segel, H.B. *Modernism and the Physical Imperative*. Baltimore, London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Tonger-Erk, L. 'Das Drama als intermedialer Text. Eine systematische Skizze zur Funktion des Nebentextes', in: *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*. 2018 (48), 421-444.

Vollmer, H. *Die literarische Pantomime. Studien zu einer Literaturgattung der Moderne*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2011.

Weber, Alexander*: Episierung im Drama. Ein Beitrag zur transgenerischen Narratologie*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017.

Wolf, W. 'Intermedialität: Konzept, literaturwissenschaftliche Relevanz, Typologie, intermediale Formen.' in: Dörr, V.C & Kurwinkel, T. (eds.): *Intertextualität – Intermedialität – Transmedialität. Zur Beziehung zwischen Literatur und anderen Medien*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014, 11-45.

The Interwar Work of the Slovene Russianist Janko Lavrin

Tilde Geerardyn (Ghent University)

> And, truly, is it possible to imagine a spectacle more sadly ironical than a dozen 'old gentlemen', [...] creating a 'new world' at the banquets of Paris, covering their bartering with lofty phrases of brotherhood, of justice, of culture; and hiding behind the still-born cripple called the League of Nations, in which no one believes, although everybody pretends to believe? There is no vital leading idea which could, after all their terrible lessons, unite humanity in a common creative effort towards a new future [...]. (1920: 307)

This fragment is taken from a 1920 article written by the Slovene Janko Lavrin (1987-1986), one of the lesser known East European contributors to Alfred Richard Orage's modernist periodical *The New Age* (1907-1922). It perfectly renders Lavrin's disappointment with the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to build the foundation of a new and better Europe on the ruins created by the First World War. Lavrin was one of many contemporaries who had a dream of a different Europe, a longing which came in many forms. Many considered the First World War as the ultimate proof of the bankruptcy of the old Europe. For some of them its destruction held the promise of a *tabula rasa* from which a new Europe could rise (Bru et al. 2009). Others were disappointed in the aberrations of progress (of which the war was but one example). This feeling nurtured many cultural and political ideas that were based on the belief that Europe needed to be saved from its decadent civilization (Passerini 1999: 11). Others, still, were curious how the pan-European cultural space which had been facilitated by the technological advances of the previous age would reinvent itself after the devastating effects of the war (Boyd 2019).

What the obsolete Europe exactly entailed, or what the new Europe should or could become, formed one of the subjects of debate of the modernist periodical *The New Age*, and this before, during, and after the First World War. Under editorship of A.R. Orage, from 1907 until 1921, the weekly formed an important place of debate, covering a crossroads of social, political and artistic issues, and it had a profound influence on early modernist thought in Britain. *The New Age* was a meeting house for 'a wide variety of competing opinions', which, despite the periodical's initial socialist orientation, did not adhere to one political current (Garver 2011: 90). Among the periodical's contributors were well-known names such as Katherine Mansfield, Ezra Pound, Beatrice Hastings, Thomas Ernest Hulme, and Herbert Read, but also (then, at least) more marginal voices like Lavrin and Edwin Muir.

In discussions about Europe's future after the war, the plurality of voices in the periodical resulted in a broad spectrum of opinions, varying between advocating the idea of creative destruction and expressing the hope that the war would be at least a sociological and political watershed (Jackson 2012: 1). As a consequence of the increased attention for the media of modernism in projects like the Modernist Journals Project, these discussions have received ample attention, among others in Paul Jackson's *Great War Modernisms and The New Age Magazine* (2012). Usually the criticism of prominent contributors, like Orage himself, Wyndham Lewis, or Herbert George Wells, has been addressed. The alternate visions of more marginal voices, like Lavrin's, have only been briefly touched upon, or not addressed at all. Nevertheless, I believe that a closer look at these marginal modernists, in line with the new modernist studies' attention for voices from the periphery that participate from the margin or in the centre (Mao & Walkowitz 2006) will contribute to a better understanding of the broadness of the war-time modernism in *The New Age* and will complement the current understanding of British modernism with new, long neglected perspectives about war, crisis and European change.

In this article, the marginal voice of Lavrin is put in the limelight. Studying Lavrin means breaking a double marginality: a spatial and a historical one. He was one of the few East European émigrés who actively participated in British modernist circles during the interwar period, and who brought his ideas about an alternative Europe – based on his experiences on the borders of Europe – to the British debate. Moreover, the work Lavrin wrote during the British part of his career has largely fallen between the cracks of historical memory. The alternative Europe he laid out on the pages of *The New Age* and during his later career has not been studied yet. This has a twofold reason. First, although the socially critical articles Lavrin wrote for Orage's periodical show a clear longing for a better and united European future, they never explicitly suggest a concrete solution for the political, social, and cultural problems they denounce. The fragment opening this article is an example thereof. Also the mission statement of *The European Quarterly* (1934-1935) – a modernist 'little magazine' Lavrin edited and published together with his former *New Age* colleague, Edwin Muir – does not elaborate on a concrete interpretation of Europe's future, although it betrays a longing for a more united Europe: it expresses the wish 'to transcend political borders' and 'to foster the growth of the European spirit', and points at the unifying power of culture (N.N. 1934: 2). Second, Lavrin is mainly recognized (and criticized) for his literary criticism, the lion's share of his work. For *The New Age* he writes three series of articles in which he assesses the oeuvre of Fyodor Dostoevsky, Henrik Ibsen and Friedrich Nietzsche. Later on, when he is appointed professor of Russian literature at Nottingham University in 1921, Lavrin mainly publishes monographs with analyses of what he views as modern European literature. At first glance, these analyses leave no room for Lavrin's take on Europe's future.

Nevertheless, this article aims to show that this neglected literary criticism should be considered as an important source of Lavrin's European project during

the interwar years. More specifically, the article addresses how the particular methodology Lavrin applied to his analyses, namely what he calls his 'psycho-critical approach', allowed him to systematically disseminate his own peculiar take on a new Europe, albeit in disguise. By doing this, the article can be a first step to determine Lavrin's relationship with, and his place within, British modernism.

The Grey Zone between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

The European project Lavrin disseminates during the interwar period is rooted in his idea of Slavic unity that crystallised during his early Russian career (1908-1917). Working as a journalist, literary critic and editor, Lavrin added his voice to the debate on the so-called 'Slavic question', which rekindled after Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. He mainly reacts to the tension between the imperialism of Europe's great powers and the increasing national consciousness of the Slavic minorities within their borders. Recent research indicates that Lavrin's contributions to this debate are difficult to pinpoint, as it is possible to discern two contradictory lines in his early vision on the Slavic world. Scholars like Marzio Marzaduri (1990), Leonid Katsis (2010) and Mikhail Odessky (2010) – who have addressed Lavrin's 1916 travelogue *Albanian Sketches* (Albanskiye eskizy), the ensuing parodies by the avant-garde collective Bloodless Murder (Bezkrovnoye Ubiystvo) and Ilya Zdanevich, and Lavrin's ties with the conservative newspaper *The New Time* (Novoye vremya) – all categorize Lavrin as a reactionary, right-wing Panslavist. Olga Kosik (née Mudrova) and Iskra Churkina, however, who have tackled Lavrin's literary programmatic journal *The Slavic World* (Slavyansky mir, 1908-1911), claim that the periodical was a vehicle for the left wing of the Neoslav movement (Mudrova 1981; Kosik 2011; Churkina 1989, 2011).[1] Depending on the source material used, scholars thus pigeonhole Lavrin in opposite ways: the former only perceive the right-wing, nationalist, imperialist angle of Lavrin's Slavic idea, while the latter focus on the left-wing, supra-national, cosmopolitan aspect of his worldview.

In Lavrin's British career, one can observe the same contradictory affiliations. His socially critical articles for *The New Age* and his periodical *The European Quarterly* have a clear pro-European, liberal orientation (Passerini 1998: 232), while his literary analyses actually suggest a conservative and Slavophile outlook. Lavrin namely tends to interrupt his analyses with 'irrelevant political excursions' on the Slavic world (Friedberg 1955: 426). Sometimes even the looks of his books seem to entail a political message. One of his overviews of Russian literature, for example, sports a yellow jacket with the then controversial Russian imperial eagle. Also the

1. Panslavism originated in the nineteenth century as a political movement advocating for unity among the Slavic peoples. Soon, however, Panslavism got associated with Russian imperialist ambitions. The Neoslav movement on the contrary promoted the idea of a (cultural) federation of Slavic nations without Russian dominance.

two main works Lavrin writes after his retirement in 1952 suggest the same apparent dichotomy. His posthumously published *Between Eight and Eighty* (Med Osem in Osemdeset, 1987) is dubbed 'the memoirs of a cosmopolitan' (zapisnici kosmopolita), while his monograph *Russia, Slavdom and the Western World* (1969) ties in with his alleged Slavophile orientation.

Addressing Lavrin's oeuvre in its entirety, instead of focussing on a selection of his work, I show in my dissertation[2] that the contradictory affiliations that characterize Lavrin's career from the very beginning actually are an indication of how his works are dominated and connected by a combination of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. More recently, this grey zone between nationalism and cosmopolitanism has also been explored by scholars who feel the growing need to understand the dynamics of the postcolonial globalized world (Bhabba 1994; Nussbaum 1996; Appiah 1998, 2006). Their endeavours have been criticized, however, as for example Daniel Malachuk regrets that the discourse used in the presentation of their concepts

> often seems to betray th[eir] admirable project, revealing an abiding fear among cosmopolitans that nationalism inevitably tends toward blood and soil, and among nationalists that cosmopolitanism is simply too contrived to ever win the hearts and minds of the people. (Malachuk 2007: 140-141)

Besides Malachuk, also Pheng Cheah (1998) and Esther Wohlgemut (2009), among others, refer to the more genuine overlap between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in certain nineteenth-century works. Cheah and Wohlgemut for example point at the continuity between Enlightenment cosmopolitanism and Romantic nationalism. Malachuk, then, states that thinkers like Giuseppe Mazzini, George Eliot, Walt Whitman and Ernest Renan saw nationalism and cosmopolitanism as 'ultimately allied means to the realisation of our universal human essence' (2007: 142). Lavrin's peculiar view on Europe seems to be a re-examination of this nineteenth-century interpretation of both 'isms' as continuous, complementary, and even overlapping. Indeed, the idiosyncratic vision that Lavrin advances presents a well-developed locality and cultural exchange as prerequisites for an ideal, universal world. The fact that Lavrin's seemingly contradictory affiliations continue throughout his British career is a strong indication that Lavrin extrapolates the combination of nationalism and cosmopolitanism to his new European context.

2. My dissertation *Maintaining the Panslavic Dream? The work of Janko Lavrin, a Slovene Russianist in Great-Britain* was due in November 2021.

Diagnosing the State of Europe

In the socially critical articles Lavrin writes for *The New Age*, his pursuit of the fusion of nationalism and cosmopolitanism comes to the fore in his critique on the geopolitical situation of interwar Europe. Lavrin chiefly condemns the lack of unity among the European nations, by attacking, among other things, the League of Nations as a 'still-born cripple' in the opening fragment of this article (1920: 307). In a similar way he challenges the post-war tendency of many European countries to fall back on protective politics and to emphasize local distinctness and, often, superiority. Lavrin for instance warns for the detrimental effect of the 'chauvinistic self-assertiveness, [...] national intolerance, [...] and petty political quarrels' (1921: 257) of the recently liberated small nations, mainly in his home region, the Balkans. Thus, the emancipation of minorities, despite being one of the few positive results of the war in his opinion, makes a united Europe seem 'nothing but a ridiculous Utopia' (1921: 258). Lavrin also condemns the general attitude towards post-war Germany and urges his readers to value the country not only based on its recent political crimes, but also on its cultural contributions to Europe (1920: 383). He foretells that the current attitude will make the Germans 'persist in their revengeful exclusiveness' (1920: 385) and will jeopardize the future of the continent. What is more, Lavrin connects the then exclusive climate with cultural and political isolation and sterility (1921: 258). This negative assessment clearly implies Lavrin's longing for a more tolerant and inclusive climate in which national cultures can contribute to each other and to the European project through cultural exchange.

Lavrin's plea for a balance between nationalism and cosmopolitanism is closely connected to another modern dichotomy he problematizes. This connection is very clear when he states that the Germans find themselves on a crossroads 'where they will have to decide' to follow 'the spirit of Bismarck,' or return 'to the spirit of Goethe' (1920: 385). The opposition between Bismarck and Goethe not only refers to their different attitude towards other nations, but also applies to the contrast between them as exponents of, respectively, civilisation and culture. Throughout his oeuvre, Lavrin systematically distinguishes two sides of modern progress: civilizational progress in the form of politics, economics and science on the one hand, and cultural progress in the form of art, religion and morality on the other. His writings advocate for a balance between the two sides: economic and political progress without any attention for ethics or spirituality has disastrous results. This appears from Lavrin's aversion from the contemporary scientist, who works without a spiritual and ethical basis. In his eyes such an unbalance leads to inhumane implementations (1918: 87) and makes the scientist 'an agent of destruction to mankind (inventing poisonous gas, perfecting guns and other murderous instruments)' (1920: 169). Also, Lavrin's attack on capitalism for facilitating a replacement of creation by quick mass-production and of culture by a cult of 'the money-bag and the account-book' (1918: 188; 1920: 308) illustrates the same problem of unbalance. Lavrin believes that only more attention for cultural progress can lead to what he

calls 'a new vital idea' that can transform Europe and lead to a better future. How exactly culture can serve as a catalyst for the creation of a new and better Europe is not covered in Lavrin's socially critical articles. His literary criticism, however, is nonetheless larded with implicit references to the potential role of culture as a vehicle of transformation.

'A Psycho-Critical Approach'

Probably inspired by Orage's increasing interest in psychoanalysis,[3] Lavrin starts to address literature from a psychoanalytical angle through his so-called 'psycho-critical approach'. Although reviewers of his post-1945 work criticize this unorthodox choice of methodology (Struve 1948: 595; Friedberg 1955: 426; Richards 1974), Lavrin's then innovative application of psychoanalysis on literature receives critical acclaim during the interwar period (Mirsky 1924: 207-209; Mirsky 1926: 223; McWilliams 1931: 247-250). After the First World War, psychoanalysis was on the rise as a tool to better understand what impulses had led to the atrocities of the war and its chaotic aftermath (Passerini 1999: 182). Especially in modernist circles, Michael Frosh argues, where many had an interest in the unconscious as a motor for sometimes incomprehensible behaviour, psychoanalysis was increasingly used to cope with the rapidly changing world (Frosh 2003: 116). Moreover, he holds, psychoanalysis provided a language to not only speak about the destructive 'drives' of the age, but also offered 'a vision of creativity as reparation, which is [...] attuned to the modernist impulse to make something good out of chaos' (Frosh 2003: 107). Psychoanalysis also gave Lavrin a vocabulary and a tool to incorporate his vision on Europe and its future into his literary criticism. At first glance, Lavrin's 'psycho-criticism' mainly reflects the tension between civilization and culture, but a closer analysis shows how Lavrin simultaneously employs the dynamic between what he observes as the rational and irrational currents of a literary work as a conduit for his vision of a united Europe based on local distinction.

The interplay between the rational and the irrational is first displayed in Lavrin's emphasis on the tension between the empirical and the transcendental. Lavrin links the – in his opinion – problematic emphasis on civilisation to the exaggerated belief in human reason and the idea that everything is measurable. He criticizes this tendency by classifying the ways in which different authors represent reality. He for example draws up the category 'Arts of the Surface' (1918: 40) for literary currents that only take into account visual reality, like 'the so-called naturalism' and 'the so-called l'art pour l'art':

3. Orage's interest in psychoanalysis would soon develop in an obsession. Orage leaves *The New Age* in 1922 inspired by the ideas of George Gurdjieff (1877-1949), an Armenian mystic who attracted many prominent followers with his ideas on 'unified consciousness'. He becomes one of Gurdjieff's disciples at his institute in Fontainebleau (see Taylor 2001).

> [...] the former degenerates into journalism and Cinema, the latter – into worship of form, as well as into 'aesthetic' eclecticism, which successively substitutes art by artificiality, the dynamic simplicity by rhetorics, and style by stylisation. [...] this is peculiar to our epoch which has lost almost every organic connection between art and life. (Lavrin 1918: 40)

In either case, Lavrin reproaches these artistic currents, because they, each in their own fashion, only address what meets the eye. Although Lavrin appreciates how naturalist authors represent the empirical reality in all its facets, he regrets that their microscopic view on life often makes them 'lose [their] hold on deeper reality by reducing [the bare truth of life] to the bald external facts of existence' (1929: 119). Lavrin nevertheless values the naturalist approach more highly than an excessive focus on subjective aesthetics, which he for example discerns in the work of authors like Oscar Wilde. Lavrin pigeonholes this approach as an escape from life by those who 'embrace that "aesthetic" gospel which puts Art before life, above life, and – if necessary – even against life' (1935: 21-22). Lavrin puts forward the same demand for a connection between art and life when he tackles the first generation of Russian Symbolists, the so-called *dekadenty* (decadents). He problematizes how the latter mainly pay attention to perfect formal standards and – as he sarcastically adds – aim to 'free the literature [...] from various social and other purposes' (1935: 115). This explains why Lavrin is relieved that the work of the second generation of Russian Symbolists, among others the work of Aleksandr Blok, does explore a deeper, transcendental reality.

Lavrin's assessments indicate that in his view ideal art should go beyond the empirical reality, and expose the transcendental, irrational, and invisible elements of life. Consequently, he actively looks to endorse authors who (attempt to) combine the empirical and the transcendental. From the very beginning of his British career – starting with his series of articles on Dostoevsky for *The New Age* (1918: 229) – Lavrin calls authors who actively straddle the border between the two 'symbolic realists'. A first characteristic of Lavrin's category of symbolic realists is the authors' tendency to use empirical reality as 'raw material' for describing a deeper, transcendental reality. Lavrin, for example, points at how Henrik Ibsen elevates the petty tragedy of simple Norwegian villagers into a universal tragedy (1918: 107, 1921: 28). Also in Nikolay Gogol's work, which Lavrin considers a precursor of modern literature, he observes the same propensity. He applauds the way in which the tragedies of Gogol's 'little men', like the simple clerk Akaky Akakiyevich in *The Overcoat* (Shinel 1842), symbolize a universal truth (1925: 126). This first characteristic also shows in Lavrin's opinion about the creative processing of empirical data in literature. Lavrin, for example, again points at Gogol who selects, orders, distorts, and combines little fragments of reality, so as to make that reality more intense than it originally appears to be (1925: 42). Also in the work of Dostoevsky and Proust he observes and praises the same quality:

> That is so to say they [Dostoevsky and Proust] deal with actual life [...] by re-creating it according to their own vision, which is neither comfortable nor comforting. Reality as such

> is not their final aim, but only their raw material. This material they sift through their intuition until it becomes more real than in actual life. (1927: 610)

The fragment emphasizes the need for a balance between subjectivity and objectivity, and thus between the irrational and rational take on reality.

Lavrin also applies his definition of symbolic realism to literary works that explicitly explore the convergence of both realities in the literary plot. A good example is his analysis of Dostoevsky's work, in which he underlines the exploration of the observable mental pathology of the characters as a way to examine the bounds of normality and abnormality and, thus, to reveal 'the mysteries of inner and transcendental reality' and to discover the essence of life (1918: 229; 1920: 33; 1927: 198).

Lavrin's search for authors who explore the overlap of empirical and transcendental reality – and hence, of rationality and irrationality, – is explicitly aimed at the search of a new and better world, as this fragment from his analysis of Rainer Maria Rilke shows:

> At the same time, he [Rilke] was unable to accept life as he saw it. Hence his poetic transvaluations of actuality [empirical reality]. Again and again he returned to the world, but only in order to re-create it through his vision and his longing; to imbue it with a new significance – until art for him, step by step, became a path towards a transfiguration (and, through it, also a conquest) of all life. (Lavrin 1935: 167)

As Lavrin connects an exaggerated trust in rationality to excessive attention for civilizational progress, the constant praise for an overlap between rationality and irrationality in his literary criticism can be regarded as a symbolical plea for more balance between civilization and culture. The consistent pursuit of this overlap indicates how important Lavrin considers this balance for the future of Europe. It implies that he believes that only on a crossroads between civilization and culture new meaningful values can be created. In other words, only there 'the new vital idea' that could reunite Europe can eventually be found.

The interplay between rational and irrational processes is also reflected in the tension Lavrin observes between the organic (or the instinctive) and the mechanical characteristics of literary works. This is first signalled by his discourse on the Futurist trend in Europe: 'Feeling their spiritual impotence, the apostles of this theory were quite logical in their attempt to transfer the centre of gravity to the external "mechanical" values, preaching the beauty of smoky factories, machines, and American boots' (Lavrin 1920: 191-192). Lavrin points out that the fascination of West European Futurists with the power and velocity of machines actually hides their 'spiritual impotency' (1920: 191; 1935: 189) and their 'lack of creative power' (1918: 40). Being an essentialist, Lavrin regards literature as the mirror of society and its development, and believes that the Futurist's emphasis indicates the problematic valorisation of civilization in contemporary society.

Moreover, Lavrin regularly points out the questionable nature of the mechanical aspects of civilization that have penetrated literary creation, like the growing tendency toward easy profits or industrial ready-mades. He observes that also in the arts quantity is becoming more important than quality (1918: 188). A significant trait Lavrin connects to this evolution is the increasing 'easy imitation' in literature. He for example presents the Soviet author Aleksey Tolstoy, a distant relative of Lev Tolstoy, as an author who does not create, but coldly and rationally welds together pieces of inspiration by others into a new artificial whole (1927: 57). According to Lavrin, uncreative imitation also characterizes the work of Gabriele d'Annunzio, which he describes as a chain of quickly succeeding literary fashions, making his work appear like a 'glittering jewel', although 'on close inspection [it is] only an ingeniously worked up "bit of glass"' (1935: 55). What is more, Lavrin believes this makes d'Annunzio's plays 'ingenious mechanisms rather than organisms' (1935: 66). Other passages in Lavrin's analyses show that he nonetheless considers imitation as an inherent aspect – consciously or unconsciously – of the creative process of writing literature. Lavrin does not condemn every form of imitation, as this remark on the work of Anatole France indicates:

> It would be difficult to find a writer of his calibre who made such frequent use of other people's works, of literary and historical antiques. Instead of inventing, he often only paraphrased, altered and 'stylized' the material suggested to him by old literatures, by folklore, by legends, *contes*, and memoirs. But while taking his goods where he found them, he still turned them into perfect narratives of his own. (Lavrin 1935: 45)

Even though France gets his inspiration and motifs from others, his application of a subjective filter sets him apart from the imitation of Tolstoy and d'Annunzio. According to Lavrin, this subjective filter allows France to deepen existing reality like a symbolic realist does.

Criticizing certain processes of imitation not only fits with Lavrin's ideas on the tension between culture and civilization, but also seems to reflect his ideas on cultural exchange between nations. When cultural exchange is a process where one party uncritically and uncreatively adopts cultural elements of the other party – which is the case in the examples of A. Tolstoy and d'Annunzio – it results in a unity that comes at the cost of cultural wealth: the first party merely replaces its own cultural system by that of the second. In Lavrin's pursuit of a better Europe, where locality and universality complement each other, France's example is more productive: it can be interpreted as a cross-pollination that facilitates a more united future, wherein both the indigenous culture and foreign influence contribute to a more creative and better whole.

Communism as a 'New Vital Idea'?

The opening fragment of this article already signals that Lavrin believes in the search for an ultimate, vital idea that can reunite European nations. It is therefore no coincidence that Lavrin's literary analyses for *The New Age* address authors – Dostoevsky, Ibsen and Nietzsche – who are equally fascinated by the prospect of a transformed world. He centres each analysis on the strategy for modernization the authors suggest: he tackles Dostoevsky's pursuit of a new spiritual union, Nietzsche's Superman, and Ibsen's suggestion of a Third Empire. In the literary analyses that Lavrin publishes after the discontinuation of *The New Age*, he now and again makes a 'political excursion' to address the rise of new political ideas, like communism and fascism. In these detours Lavrin appears to use the same dyads – the transcendental vis-à-vis the empirical, and the mechanical vis-à-vis the organic – to assess the validity of these new ideas. Especially in his evaluation of the rise of communism both pairs play an essential role.

Lavrin's judgement of early communism fluctuates heavily in the course of the interwar period. Initially, when the Russian Civil War is still raging, Lavrin doubts the potential of Bolshevik power. On the one hand, he does not disapprove of the Bolsheviks' audacity to aim at a renewal not only of Russia, but potentially of the world: their attempt at change after the war is the only one that actually tried 'to sweep away without pity all the "bourgeois" foundations of our life' (1920: 308), very differently than the League of Nations and the 'Farce of Versailles', which in Lavrin's eyes merely maintain(ed) the old status quo. On the other hand, Lavrin raises an objection against the Russian Revolution:

> Nonetheless, there arises the delicate question whether the victorious proletariat will not ape the fallen bourgeoisie [...] In other words, the crux of the dilemma is whether the instinctive aim of the Labour movement is a 'popularised' but improved, i.e., castrated, universal bourgeoisie, or whether there is still any possibility of making out this rough clay a New Humanity. (1920: 308)

Lavrin's reserve towards the results of the revolution is substantiated by the tension between the organic and the mechanical: Lavrin juxtaposes a sterile and uncreative future based on imitation to the possibility of organic and creative growth of a 'New Humanity'. More specifically, he emphasises the difference between an imposed 'universal' imitative culture versus a new culture that is rooted in the different pieces of rubble – old and new, indigenous and foreign – that make up the Russian soil in the aftermath of the revolution.

A second objection originates from the same tension between the organic and the mechanical. Lavrin applauds the organic impulse that lay at the basis of the October Revolution, which was 'in its first phase, childishly naïve and unpractical – as most good impulses are', but he criticizes 'the meddling of all the political midwives who assisted its birth' (1920: 307). He regrets that mechanical aspects, like

the increased political pressure provoked by the ongoing war, have led to a premature delivery. Lavin is afraid that this early and quick rise of Soviet communism, has prevented Russia from 'pronounc[ing] a great directing idea of its own' or internalizing Marxist ideas, but instead has led to mere imitation of 'petty second-hand formulae' (1920: 307).

A couple of years later, in 1927, Lavrin's doubts about Soviet communism have been replaced by a more positive assessment:

> On the whole, the present state of Russia is that of transition towards a complete transvaluation of values. [...] to prevent the world from becoming petrified in dull capitalist civilization with its cinemas, its revue stars, its bankers and boxers. It was largely this impulse towards a fuller and worthier life which made her create one of the greatest literatures in the world; [...] It is quite possible that her present trials are only the pangs of a new birth. (Lavrin 1927: 74)

Presenting Russia as a showcase of a society where civilization and culture are more balanced, Lavrin corroborates his argumentation with the interplay between the empirical and the transcendental. He confronts 'the arts of the surface' (and cheap entertainment), which he associates with the old Europe, with the Soviet Union's alleged superior search for a deeper reality. Possible (and unspecified) problems of the young nation are presented as surmountable and temporal. Towards the end of the interwar period, in his analysis of the oeuvre of the poet Blok – a fierce advocate of the Russian Revolution, who became disillusioned during the Civil War – Lavrin re-evaluates the problems of the young Soviet Union during that war:

> He [Blok] was too impatient to see the economic and political upheaval completed by an adequate inner revolution in man himself. [...] It must have been the discrepancy between the external and the inner revolution – the discrepancy which assured most unpalatable aspects during the ravages of the civil war, the famine and the Cheka – that eventually damped Blok's hopes and enthusiasm. (Lavrin 1935: 138)

The fragment again points out the importance of a balance between the empirical and the transcendental. Lavrin presents the early stages of the Russian Revolution as a mere superficial revolution expressed through external, civilizational changes in economy and politics, without a deeper spiritual change. He repeatedly implies that an unbalance between civilization and culture leads to inhumane effects, like famine and the notorious Russian secret service. Nevertheless, the words 'too impatient' confirm the hopeful tone of the 1927 fragment. It suggests that, in the course of the years, the 'external' revolution of the Soviets has been followed by a much needed 'internal revolution'. Thus, in Lavrin's view, the 'new guiding idea' of Soviet communism remains a potential 'transvaluer' of the world.

Conclusion

As Lavrin's British oeuvre, similar to his early Russian work, is characterized by seemingly contradictory affiliations – a liberal, pro-European orientation combined with a reactionary Slavophile outlook, – an extension of Lavrin's pursuit of a balance between nationalism and cosmopolitanism is a logical consequence. Nevertheless, there is an apparent shift from a focus on finding a solution for geopolitical tensions to solving the spiritual and cultural bankruptcy after the First World War. The balance between culture and civilization therefore seems to take in a more prominent place than in his Russian work. Still, there is a strong correlation between Lavrin's assessment of the cultural and spiritual state of modern Europe and his reaction to the geopolitical tensions on the continent.

Adopting a psychoanalytic vocabulary in his literary analyses (also in his 'political excursions') allows Lavrin to transpose the opposition he observes between culture and civilization onto a binary understanding of the human psyche – the division between the rational and irrational halves of the brain – and to thus interweave extra layers in his literary analyses. He uses the opposition between the empirical and the transcendental, and the organic and the mechanical, to reveal what he considers the dynamics behind Europe's cultural bankruptcy. At the same time, he uses the psychoanalytical toolbox to present creation – literary creation in specific – as a possible place of reparation and transformation. Lavrin's vision on literary creation shows that he believes that potential transformation hides in finding a balance between the rational and irrational halves of the psyche: he promotes literature which he categorizes as 'symbolic realism', because it facilitates a meeting place for culture and civilization, the combination of which Lavrin sees as the ideal basis for the creation of 'new vital ideas', like communism, that could potentially help (re)unite Europe.

What is more, Lavrin's discourse about imitation (which he relates to the division between the organic and the mechanical) shows how the combination of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, which he saw as a potential solution for the tension between minorities and great powers in Eastern Europe, is perpetuated in his work as an émigré in Great Britain. Lavrin's recommendations and warnings on imitation suggest an aversion both to acculturation typical for some of the great powers and to a tame appropriation of ideas by European minorities. Instead, he pleas for a new vital idea created and spread as an amalgamation. It has to merge with existing local tradition and become an inherent part of local cultures instead of an imposed veneer.

Bibliography

Appiah, K.A. 'Cosmopolitan Patriots', in: Cheah, P. & Robbins, B. (eds.) *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998, 91-116.

Appiah, K.A. *Cosmopolitanism. Ethics in a World of Strangers*. London: Penguin, 2006.

Bhabba, H. *Locations of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Boyd, W. 'The Europeans by Orlando Figes Review – The Importance of a Shared Culture', in: *The Guardian* (September 2019): https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/sep/07/the-europeans-making-cosmopolitan-culture-orlando-figes-review.

Bru, S. et al. (eds.) *Europa? Europa! The Avant-Garde, Modernism and the Fate of a Continent*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009.

Cheah, P. 'Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical – Today', in: Cheah, P. & Robbins, B. (eds.) *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1998, 20-43.

Churkina, I. 'Yanko Lavrin v Rossii', in: Budarova L.N., et al. (eds.) *Na rubezhe vekov*. Moskva: Institut Slavyanovedeniya i Balkanistiki AN SSSR, 1989, 87-96.

Churkina, I. 'Zhurnal "Slavyansky Mir" Yanko Lavrina', in: Sozina, Yu. (ed.) *Lavrin i Rossiya*. Moskva: Institut Slavyanovedeniya RAN, 2011, 308-334.

Friedberg, M. 'Review', in: *The American Slavic and East European Review*. 14 (3), 1955, 425-426.

Frosh, M. 'Psychoanalysis in Britain: The Rituals of Destruction', in: Bradshaw, D. (ed.) *A Concise Companion to Modernism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003.

Garver, L. 'Neither Progressive nor Reactionary: Reassessing the Cultural Politics of *The New Age*', in: *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*. 2 (1), 2011, 86-115.

Gogol, N. *The Overcoat*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 1998 [1842].

Jackson, P. *Great War Modernisms and The New Age Magazine*. London & New York: Continuum, 2012.

Katsis, L. 'Yanko krul albanskay I. Zdanevicha v karpato-russkom kontekste', in: *Russian Literature*. 67 (3-4), 2010, 443-468.

Kosik, O. 'Vospominaniya o znakomstve s Lavrinym', in: Sozina, Yu. (ed.) *Lavrin i Rossiya*. Moskva: Institut Slavyanovedeniya RAN, 2011, 172-177.

Lavrin, J. *V strane vechnoy voyny. Albanskiye eskizy.* Petrograd: Tipografiya Ivanovskogo, 1916.

Lavrin, J. 'Dostoyevsky and Certain of his Problems. Dostoyevsky and Modern Art', in: *The New Age*. 22 (12), 1918, 229-230.

Lavrin, J. 'Master and Creator', in: *The New Age*. 23 (3), 1918: 39-40.

Lavrin, J. 'The Problem of Genius', in: *The New Age*. 23 (6), 1918, 87.

Lavrin, J. 'Production and Creation', in: *The New Age*. 23 (12), 1918, 188.

Lavrin, J. 'Ibsen and His Creation II – Ibsen as Artist', in: *The New Age*. 24 (7), 1918, 105-107.

Lavrin, J. 'Ibsen and His Creation VII – The Struggle with the "Ideals"', in: *The New Age*. 24 (20), 1919, 327-328.

Lavrin, J. 'Contemporary Fragments II – The Galvanised Muses', in: *The New Age*. 26 (12), 1920, 190-192.

Lavrin, J. 'Contemporary Fragments III – The Coming Wave', in: *The New Age*. 26 (19), 1920, 307-308.
Lavrin, J. 'Contemporary Fragments IV – Germany and Culture', in: *The New Age*. 26 (24), 1920, 383-385.
Lavrin, J. *Dostoevsky and his Creation. A Psycho-Critical Study*. London: W. Collins Sons & Co. LTD., 1920.
Lavrin, J. 'Contemporary Fragments V – Small Nations', in: *The New Age*. 28 (22), 1921, 257-258.
Lavrin, J. *Ibsen and his Creation. A Psycho-Critical Study*. New York: Haskell House Publisher LTD, 1972 [1921].
Lavrin, J. *Gogol*. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1925.
Lavrin, J. 'Dostoyevsky and Proust', in: *The Slavonic Review*. 5 (15), 1927, 609-627.
Lavrin, J. *Russian Literature*. London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927.
Lavrin, J. *Studies in European Literature*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1929.
Lavrin, J. *Aspects of Modernism. From Wilde to Pirandello*. London: Stanley Nott, 1935.
Lavrin, J. *Russia, Slavdom and the Western World*. London: Geoffrey Bless, 1969.
Lavrin, J. *Med Osem in Osemdeset (iz zapisnice kosmopolita*). Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica, 1987.
Mao, D. & Walkowitz, R.L. 'Introduction: Modernisms Bad and New', in: Mao, D. & Walkowitz, R.L. (eds.) *Bad Modernisms*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006, 1-17.
Malachuk, D. 'Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century', in: Morgan, D. & Banham, G. (eds.) *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*. Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 139-162.
Marzaduri, M. 'Creazione e prima rappresentazione del drama Janko krul' albanskaj di I.M. Zdanevic', in: Margarotto, L. et al. (eds.) *Zaumny futurizm i dadaizm v russkoy kulture*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1991, 153-163.
McWilliams, C. 'Janko Lavrin', in: *Books Abroad*. 5 (3), 1931, 247-250.
Mirsky, D.S. 'Review', in: *The Slavonic Review*. 3 (7), 1924, 207-209.
Mirsky, D.S. 'Review', in: *The Slavonic Review*. 5 (13), 1926, 233.
Mudrova, O. 'Zhurnal "Slavyansky Mir" (1908-1911) i voprosy kultury yugoslavyan', in: *Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta*. 10 (1), 1981, 34-43.
[N.N.] 'Comment', in: *The European Quarterly*. 1 (1), 1934, 1-2.
Nussbaum, M. *For Love of Country? Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston: Beacon, 1996.
Odessky, M. 'Pesa Ili Zdanevicha Yanko krul albanskay i balkansky vopros', in: *Russian Literature*. 67 (3-4), 2010, 485-494.
Passerini, L. *Europe in Love – Love in Europe. Imagination and Politics in Britain between the Wars*. London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999.
Richards, D.J. 'Review', in: *The Modern Language Review*. 69 (3), 1974, 712-713.
Struve, G. 'Review', in: *The Slavonic and East European Review*. 26 (67), 1948, 594-595.
Taylor, P. B. *Orage and Gurdjieff: Brothers in Elysium*. York Beach: Weiser Books, 2001.
Wohlgemut, E. *Romantic Cosmopolitanism*. Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Rereading and Rewriting Etruria: D.H. Lawrence and A. Huxley

Chiara Zampieri (KU Leuven)

The Etruscan Silent Culture

In April 1927, when he embarked on his journey through the archaeological sites of ancient Etruria with his friend Earl Brewster, the English novelist and poet David Herbert Lawrence had already been intrigued by the Etruscan civilization for considerable time. In a letter from October 1921, addressed to the Scottish critic and novelist Catherine Carswell, Lawrence writes: '[W]ill you tell me *what* then was the secret of the Etruscans [...]? Please, don't forget to tell me, as they really do rather puzzle me, the Etruscans' (Roberts, Boulton & Mansfield 1987: 105).

The aura of mystery and secrecy which fascinates Lawrence, and which has been lingering over this pre-roman civilization since the 15th century (Irollo 2004: 21), has to do with the fact that Etruscan culture has been a silent culture for a significant time period. First-hand written accounts on the Etruscans are in fact, today still, scarce and often limited in size and scope. This absence of extensive (or more precisely, of discursive) written sources has profound implications: for a start, this situation implies a specific power-knowledge structure, as knowledge on Etruscan culture is almost completely constructed by and through the discourse of others – most notably by the Romans, who occupied central Italy after defeating the Etruscans. In other words, the only available version of the Etruscans' history is the one passed on by their enemies. As a result, until the early twentieth-century, when Etruscology became an independent discipline, the history of the Etruscans had always been portrayed through a Romano-centric perspective, especially through Livy's lens, which presented the Etruscans as barbarous individuals, devoid of aesthetic sensibility and with a flair for obscene sexual practices.

The absence of extensive textual sources also has broader cultural implications, as it implies that modern communities are bound to fill this symbolic-discursive void in other ways. This is where literary and aesthetic representations may come in, for indeed, Etruscan culture has stirred the imagination of writers, travellers and scholars of every age precisely because of the absence of what could be called a cultural narrative.

A particularly significant period in this regard is the interwar period, when multiple Etruscan tombs have already been discovered and unearthed, especially in the sites of Tarquinia and Cerveteri. Archaeology itself is growing into a more institutionalized discipline (Harari 2017: 107-114; Haack 2015) through the foundation of the first departments of Archaeology and Ancient Art History in multiple European universities. Specialized journal and scientific bulletins disseminate informa-

tion about excavations and findings, while associations of scholars and savants assemble the first archaeological museums, thus providing the general public with an opportunity to see and experience ancient past.

In the early twentieth century, scholarly accounts and literary texts on Etruscan culture are intertwined in sometimes peculiar ways. There is an impressive range of literary and erudite texts displaying an interesting variety of forms of cross-pollination with a body of knowledge on the Etruscan civilization that is still consolidating, both from an institutional and from a scientific point of view. Interestingly, this also provokes further questions as to the specific epistemic status of these texts and the kind of cultural or literary knowledge they articulate. Moreover, while knowledge on the Etruscans is subject to processes of increasing specialization and institutionalization, new boundaries and rules come into being as to *who* is entitled to say *what* on this silent culture. In particular, boundaries are set between what can be discussed in an academic context and what can be discussed in literary texts. This is particularly evident in the periodicals and in the press of the period, where scholars and archaeologists distance themselves from literary accounts on the topics of Etruscan origins and language.[1] What appears to be a clear division, however, can reveal itself as a much more complicated and multileveled interaction between discursive fields, where in one way or another literary and aesthetic representations, rather than be marginalized or silenced by institutional scholarship, stress their crucial vocation to restore what archaeology cannot give back. Lawrence will call it 'the magic of life', while Aldous Huxley will refer to it as the 'inner meaning' of places and artefacts that are unearthed.

The present contribution will address this complex and multileveled interaction of discursive fields by focusing on specific illustrations of how archaeological knowledge on the Etruscans was selected, mediated and disseminated through literary works in early twentieth-century Britain. More specifically, we will examine the case of Lawrence's travel essay *Etruscan Places* (1932), along with his less-known poem 'Cypresses' (1920) and essay 'The Florence Museum' (1927) and the case of Aldous Huxley's novel *Point Counter Point* (1928). The analysis of the discourse these texts articulate and their reception through the lens of the periodical *The Spectator* will allow us to put into perspective an intertextual web of tropes, references and indirect quotes. Through this intertextual network, it will be possible to explore how archaeological knowledge informs and interacts with literary production on the Etruscans thus fostering a new form of knowledge on this pre-roman civilization. What is at stake is how this cultural or literary knowledge interacts and positions itself with respect to archaeological scholarship.

1. This is particularly evident in the article 'The Etruscans', in *The Spectator*, 22nd October 1910, p. 23 which contains a review of the book *Up Hill and Down Dale in Ancient Etruria* (1910) by Frederick H. Seymour. The reviewer accuses and criticises Seymour for dealing with topics such as Etruscan language or Etruscan origins, Seymour is said to have 'none of the qualifications necessary for the proper understanding of these questions. He is lacking in scholarship and in the historical sense'.

Etruscan Cypresses

Lawrence's fascination for the Etruscans can be dated back to at least September 1920 (De Filippis 1992: xxv), when, while in the Tuscan town of Fiesole with his wife Frieda, he composed the poem 'Cypresses', which was to be published in 1923 in the collection *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*. This poem, written seven years before the tour of Tuscany which will induce the writing of *Etruscan Places*, already contains *in nuce* numerous references to the questions and elements that will be analysed and developed in his future travel essay. The poem's opening lines, where Lawrence addresses the Tuscans cypresses, are quite telling in this sense:

> Tuscan cypresses,
> What is it?
> Folded in like a dark thought
> For which the language is lost,
> Tuscan cypresses,
> Is there a great secret?
> Are our words no good?
> The undeliverable secret,
> Dead with the dead race and a dead speech, and yet,
> Darkly monumental in you,
> Etruscan cypresses.[2]

Through a series of rhetorical questions, the poem draws a parallel between the silent and dark trees and the voiceless Etruscans, thus tracing a line between what once was and what now remains. The cypresses, as well as the Etruscans, will not answer the questions they are asked, and they will not reveal their secret. The parallel between the cypresses and the silent people is developed throughout the entire poem but made explicit by the juxtaposition of the adjective 'Etruscan' and the noun 'cypresses', which recurs in four stanzas as both an invocation and a refrain. The insistent, but pointless, questioning of the trees also mirrors the inconclusiveness of archaeology, which, according to Lawrence, does not seem to be able to provide satisfactory answers on the Etruscans. Furthermore, the parallel is reinforced through the use of the same adjectives to describe both the cypresses and the Etruscans. A striking example is given by the adjective 'vicious': Lawrence describes the trees as 'Vicious, dark cypresses', but he also wonders 'Were they then vicious, the slender, tender-footed / Long-nosed men of Etruria? / Or was their way only evasive and different, dark, like cypresses-tree in a / wind?'. Through these rhetorical questions, Lawrence also challenges the discursive power-knowledge structure that shapes knowledge on the Etruscans since the Roman times. In the poem he explicitly renegotiates the representation of the Etruscans inherited not only from

2. Subsequent references to 'Cypresses' are given in the text with reference to de Sola Pinto & Roberts1964.

Roman sources but also from scholars, aficionados and intellectuals of early-modern and modern Europe, some of which actually defended antagonistic views on Etruscan art and civilization. In his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764) Johann Joachim Winckelmann had defined the Etruscan art as nothing but a poor copy of the elegant and refined Greek art, and the Etruscans as barbarous people, unable to overcome their base nature (Shipley 2019: 69). A century later, the German historian Theodor Mommsen had made a series of critical assertions about the Etruscans and their degenerated and obscene way of life in his *Römische Geschichte* (1861).

In 1920, when Lawrence writes his poem 'Cypresses', views such as Winckelmann's, and even more so Mommsen's are still considerably widespread in the British context and continue to affect not only the appreciation of Etruscan art, but also the perception of the Etruscans as a people.

In 'Cypresses', while challenging Winckelmann and Mommsen's views, Lawrence also calls into question the hegemony of a Romano-centric perspective on the Etruscans. This is evident in one of the central stanzas of the poem: 'What would I not give / To bring back the rare and orchid-like / Evil-yclept Etruscan? / For as to the evil / We have only Roman word for it, / Which I, being a little weary of Roman virtue, / Don't hang much weight on'. Lawrence, however, does not only criticize the roman version of Etruscan history, he also appears to suggest an alternative to it. Through the multiple questions, Lawrence flips around the traditional, or rather Roman, idea of the Etruscans as weak and depraved people, turning them into a symbol of spontaneity, simplicity and vitality. Therefore, for Lawrence, the Etruscans come to stand for an example of positive civilization – dramatically antithetical to the problematic, chaotic and mechanical present.

'Cypresses' is just the prelude to what Lawrence will pursue and deepen in his travel essay *Etruscan Places*, where he actively engages in the re-writing of an Etruscan history from an anti-Roman perspective. If in the poem he invokes 'the spirits of the lost', in order 'To bring their meaning back into life again', and to restore and unearth the 'delicate magic of life', in *Etruscan Places*, seven years later, he himself will engage in the reconstruction of this lost meaning.

Etruscan Things

When Lawrence sets off for his tour of the Etruscan necropolises in April 1927, he already has a very clear idea of the type of book he wants to write. In a letter from Spotorno, sent in April 1926 and addressed to Martin Secker, his English publisher, Lawrence writes 'I might go to Perugia, and I might do a book on Umbria and the Etruscan remains. […] it would be half a travel book – of the region round Perugia, Assisi, Spoleto, Cortona, and the Maremma – and half about the Etruscan things, which interests me very much' (Boulton & Vasey 1989:413). Already one year before his Etruscan tour, Lawrence makes clear to his publisher that his travel essay

will not be a traditional guidebook made of landscape descriptions and historical accounts, but that it will mainly deal with 'Etruscan things'. What he means by 'Etruscan things' is better explained in a letter sent from Tuscany to his sister-in-law, Else Jaffe, in May 1926:

> Etruscan things...have a great attraction for me: there are lovely things in the Etruscan Museum here...Mommsen hated everything Etruscan, said the germ of all degeneracy was in the race. But the bronzes and terra cottas are fascinating, so alive with physical life, with a powerful physicality which surely is as great, or sacred, ultimately, as the ideal of the Greeks and the Germans. Anyhow, the real strength of Italy seems to me in this physicality, which is not at all Roman. (Boulton & Vasey 1989: 464-5)

What fascinates Lawrence in 'Etruscan things' is what he also admires in the Archaeological Museum of Florence, which is their 'physicality' and this feature, according to him, is all Italian without being Roman. From this letter it is already evident that the Italian people are not regarded by Lawrence as the offspring of the Romans, but rather as the modern heirs of the Etruscans and of their culture of 'physicality' and spontaneity. From his correspondence it is evident that, starting from the observation of material remains, Lawrence is already in the process of not only re-reading archaeological objects, but also re-writing the history and the culture of the people who created and used those objects. In terms of discourse, Lawrence thus creates a discursive space which allows for an alternative narrative of Etruscan history. His letter to his sister-in-law shows that through this process of re-reading of antiquities, for Lawrence, the Etruscans are growing into a form of alterity, a valid alternative to the anxieties, the uncertainties, and the ambiguities of the late 1920s (De Filippis 1992: xxx). At first glance one might believe that Lawrence interpreted the Etruscan remains in consonance with his own imagination and curiosity, regardless of authoritative archaeological research. His correspondence, however, shows that Lawrence was well aware of the main publications on the Etruscans (Orestano 2016: 166). In 1921 he had already read 'that old work, Dennis' – *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*' (Roberts, Boulton & Mansfield, 1987:105), and in April 1926 he wrote to Secker that he was 'reading Italian books on the Etruscans – very interesting indeed' (Boulton & Vasey 1989: 444) in order to get 'the idea into shape' (Boulton & Vasey 1989: 448-9). Lawrence also read Fritz Weege's *Etruskische Malerei* (1920-1921), which interested him only for the reproductions, and Pericle Ducati's *Etruria Antica* (1925), which he did not find particularly interesting, but rather repetitive and dry (De Filippis 1992: xxviii) – not to mention Mommsen's work, which is criticised repeatedly. Lawrence does not seem to think highly of so-called authoritative works, as it is obvious from the following letter to the Scottish painter Millicent Beveridge, in June 1926: 'It's really disheartening: I shall just have to start in and go ahead, and be damned to all authorities! There really is next to nothing to be said, *scientifically*, about the Etruscans. Must take the imaginative line' (Boulton & Vasey 1989: 473). Lawrence's correspondence clari-

fies that his personal reconstruction of Etruscan history is not just an imaginative 'manipulation' or 'transfiguration' (Pallottino 1992: 445-452) of the ancient Etruria, but rather the result of a complex interweaving of discursive fields – the literary and the archaeological – which are constantly subjected to evolution and redefinition. Lawrence explicitly claims that, in *Etruscan Places*, he will react vis-à-vis a previous form of knowledge on the Etruscans. This suggests that the silent culture of the Etruscans may be an excellent laboratory to expose the limits of scientific scholarship and to show how the writer can provide men and women with a kind of knowledge that academic scholarship cannot offer. Whereas archaeology studies dead and sterile objects, literature actively engages with the life hidden inside those objects.[3] The kind of knowledge fostered by this operation, however, has not to be understood as an alternative to academic scholarship, but rather as a necessary complement of it, and even a manner of moving beyond scholarship towards a higher level of insight. The ultimate expression of this discursive interplay is to be found in *Etruscan Places*.

Etruscan Places

Lawrence's correspondence shows that he embarked on a well-prepared Etruscan tour, and that he already had in mind a specific purpose for his book on the Etruscans. Rather than providing his readers with exact historical reconstructions and geographical descriptions, Lawrence wished to tackle the present through the lens of a pre-roman past. In the short essay 'The Florence Museum' possibly written between July and October 1927 (De Filippis 1992: xiv), Lawrence claims:

> What we have to realise in looking at Etruscan things is that they reveal the last glimpses of a human cosmic consciousness – or human attempt at cosmic consciousness – different from our own [...] What we see, in the Etruscan remains, is the fag end of the revelation of another form of cosmic consciousness: and also, that salt of the earth, the revelation of the human existence of people who lived and who *were*, in a way somewhat different from our way of living and being. (Lawrence 1927: 176-177)[4]

According to Lawrence it is necessary to look at the Etruscan civilization not as something dead and sterile, as an archaeologist would do, but rather as an alternative model to embrace in opposition to the fallacies, hypocrisies, and ambiguities of Western industrialised societies. What literary discourse can restore, and archaeology can'(t), is, through the use of emotion, an alternative 'form of cosmic consciousness'. According to Lawrence '[t]here are two separate things: the artistic or impul-

3. D.H. Lawrence explicitly discussed the epistemic function of literature in his critical essay 'Why the Novel Matters' (1925), published posthumously in the collection *Phoenix* (1936).

4. Subsequent references to Lawrence's *Etruscan Places* and 'The Florence Museum' are given in the text with reference to De Filippis 1992.

sive or culture-expression, and the religious or scientific or civilization expression of a group of people. The first is based on emotion; the second on concepts' (Lawrence 1927: 177). In fact, it is with an impulsive, sensual and emotional attitude that Lawrence approaches the Etruscan sites. A clear example of it can be found in the first chapter 'Cerveteri', where Lawrence relates his descent into a tomb:

> The tombs seem so easy and friendly, cut out of rock underground. One does not feel oppressed, descending into them. It must be partly owing to the peculiar charm of natural proportion which is in all Etruscan things of the unspoilt, unromanized centuries. There is a simplicity, combined with a most peculiar, free-breasted naturalness and spontaneity, in the shapes and movements of the underworld walls and spaces, that at once reassures the spirit. (Lawrence 1932: 19)

What Lawrence advocates and puts into practice in this passage – as well as in most of the descriptions in *Etruscan Places* – is an understanding of Etruscan culture through emotions and feelings. The center of interest is not the material reality of what Lawrence actually sees, but the feelings and experiences stirred by this reality, as it is only through feeling that one can truly understand and delve into the Etruscan culture. Emotions and feelings are therefore not only a way of interpreting Etruscan art, but also a hermeneutic methodology. This is particularly clear when Lawrence writes 'What one wants is a contact. The Etruscans are not a theory or a thesis. If they are anything, they are an *experience*' (Lawrence 1932: 171). This passage clarifies that Lawrence proposes an alternative method to understand and experience Etruscan art and remains. This inclination is also confirmed by Lawrence's attitude towards museums and their systematic coordination and exposition of objects (Orestano 2016: 169). In the chapter 'Volterra', when he complains about the removal from Volterra and the reconstruction in the garden of the Florence museum of the Inghirami tomb, Lawrence claims that '[a] museum is not a first-hand contact: it is an illustrated lecture. And what one wants is the actual vital touch' (Lawrence 1932: 171). Lawrence sees the museum as a medium, a form of mediation through which 'the experience is always spoilt' (Lawrence 1932: 171). This passage underlines how Lawrence's approach towards Etruscan remains is underpinned by a tension between attitudes of recognition and estrangement. Despite the 'spontaneity', 'simplicity', and 'naturalness' which Lawrence recognises as essential features of Etruscan culture – and which suggest a sort of immediate, intuitive and straightforward connection – the absence of reliable written sources, and of clues to decipher Etruscan language is also what makes the Etruscans so fascinating, remote and mysterious. According to Lawrence, the Etruscan remains hide in themselves the secret of an entire universe, which, were it not for the resources offered by literature, would remain sealed off and inaccessible.

In this perspective, the theories of the various archaeologists, the German ones in particular, are but 'crazy attempts to co-ordinate and get into a fixed order that which has no fixed order and will not be co-ordinated' (Lawrence 1932: 171).

According to Lawrence, not all experiences can be systematized, and this is one of those for the simple reason that '[t]here is no unified and homogeneous Etruscan people [...] There are Etruscan characteristics, that is all' (Lawrence 1927: 177).

Lawrence's idea of the impossibility of systematizing the Etruscans and their culture is also evident in the structure of *Etruscan Places*. Despite the chronological order and the subdivision in chapters associated with the necropolises, Lawrence's writing is characterized by a lack of linearity. The prose often seems to follow his emotions and his feelings in a sometimes disordered and repetitive way. It is often hard to define where the description ends and the fantasy begins. This is evident in the description of the Tomb of the Leopards, where '[t]he walls of this little tomb are a dance of real delight. The room seems inhabited still by Etruscans of the sixth century before Christ; a vivid, life-accepting people, who must have lived with real fullness.' (Lawrence 1932: 48). The banquet itself seems to come alive under Lawrence's pen:

> On come the dancers and the music players, moving in a broad frieze towards the front wall of the tomb [...] Above the banquet, in the gable angle, are two spotted leopards, heraldically facing each other across a little tree. [...] The dancers on the right wall move with a strange, powerful alertness onwards [...] And so they move on, on their long sandalled feet, past the little berried olive trees, swiftly going with their limbs full of life, full of life to the tips. (Lawrence 1932: 48)

The use of the present tense and of multiple verbs of movement infuse life to the painted scenes and the reader has the impression that Lawrence is actually in the middle of an Etruscan banquet. This is precisely what Lawrence means when he claims that he wants to restore the life and the magic of the Etruscans.

The literary, or aesthetic, reconstruction undertaken by Lawrence in *Etruscan Places* relies on the conception that the Etruscan tomb, as a funerary monument meant to pass on the memory of a people, can, and must be considered as a reliable source to retrace the history of the silent Etruscans. What is at stake in Lawrence's Etruscan writings is – in a somehow paradoxical way – the positivist idea that there is no history without documents, i. e., without written texts. In *Etruscan Places*, Lawrence challenges the positivist alleged supremacy of the document as historical testimony or evidence over the monument and suggests a larger and more inclusive conception of what can be considered a 'reliable source' to retrace the cultural history of a people. Under Lawrence's pen, Etruscan tombs become what the French historian Jacques Le Goff defined as 'Documento/Monumento' (Le Goff 1978), thus implying that funerary monuments are as necessary as written texts to understand the past and the history of a people.

Huxley on Lawrence's Etruria

In November 1932, when *Etruscan Places* is published posthumously, the English writer Aldous Huxley reviews Lawrence's work in the high-culture weekly magazine *The Spectator*, well-known for its critical reviews and essays on political, literary, and economic matters. In the article 'Lawrence in Etruria', published on 4th November 1932, straight from the opening lines Huxley distances himself from the archaeological attitude intended as 'mere locating of treasure'. Huxley, however, suggests that *Etruscan Places* shows how literature can help archaeology to find what is really valuable: 'the significance of what is dug up', what he defines 'the inner why' of things. The scientific method must then be associated with another method, which implies a 'dowser on the psychological rather than the material plane, a diviner, not of water or metals, but of feelings, motives, beliefs'. According to Huxley, 'such psychological diviner was D.H. Lawrence'. Huxley's description of Lawrence's perception of things almost mirrors Lawrence's considerations over the Etruscan ability of 'feeling' reality. Lawrence is in fact described as 'a man extraordinarily sensitive to the life that is buried in every fragment of matter', capable of feeling the quantity and the intensity of life. When Huxley claims that 'Lawrence has felt his way into the minds of the Etruscans' he seems to imply that Lawrence himself is one of them, and that he belongs to the universe that he created.

Huxley goes as far as to declare that *Etruscan Places* in 'not only a beautiful and delicate work of literary art, it also makes a real contribution to historical knowledge'. This is significant because it shows to what extent Huxley saw literary, historical and archaeological discourse as profoundly intertwined. Even though Lawrence expresses a truth that *a fortiori* cannot be proven true on purely empirical grounds – because it is a truth of life and feeling – Huxley believes that everyone who has visited the tombs and read Lawrence's work 'is left with the inner certainty that Lawrence's interpretation is right'. In the wake of Lawrence, Huxley suggests that, as it is impossible to scientifically solve the mystery of the Etruscans, the moderns should just 'embrace the old philosophy' and practice the 'whole hearted acceptance of the universe' that the Etruscans transmitted to us through their painted tombs. In this sense, Lawrence and Huxley are two examples of how the limits[5] of archaeological knowledge on the Etruscans have encouraged literature of the modernist period to re-read the monuments as documents, and to re-write the story. Literary or aesthetic discourse come thus into play as a meaning-maker, which can answer those questions archaeology does not even take into account, namely the ones related to the life and the feelings of those who actually lived that life.

According to Huxley, however, *Etruscan Places* is not only a book about a utopian past, but also the record of a journey 'through modern Italian space and Etruscan time', i.e., a journey that is marked by a discrepancy between time and space. As

5. These 'limits' we refer to are those perceived and exposed by artists and writers of the period. Archaeologists and scholars have in fact a completely different perception of archaeology's limits and possibilities.

a matter of fact, Lawrence's tour of the necropolises is characterized by a double temporality: *Etruscan Places* is both a temporal journey into an uncorrupted past, but also an actual journey through Italy in the late 1920s, where the Fascist regime was considering itself 'in all things Roman, Roman of the Caesars, heir of the Empire and world power' (Lawrence 1932: 31). The choice of turning towards an Etruscan past rather than a Roman one also reflects a political stance against the Fascist regime, which is quite openly criticised by Lawrence in *Etruscan Places*. The Roman past is often associated with the arrogance and the violence of the modern Fascists and opposed to the natural and simple behaviour of the peasants that Lawrence encounters who, according to him, still embody the Etruscan way of life. This is particularly evident in the chapter 'Volterra':

> And I thought again, how much more Etruscan than Roman the Italian of today is: sensitive, diffident, craving really for symbols and mysteries, able to be delighted with true delight over small things, violent in spasms, and all together without sternness or natural will-to-power. The will-to-power is a secondary thing in an Italian, reflected on to him from the Germanic races that have almost engulfed him. (Lawrence 1932: 166)

In the wake of 'Cypresses', this passage of *Etruscan Places* shows how Lawrence tries to re-write Etruscan past not only for its own sake, but also in order to provide the reader with a key to (re)read the present and its ambiguities.

Rampion and Lawrence's Legacy

Fascinated by Lawrence's lively representation of the Etruscans, in his novel *Point Counter Point*, published in 1928, Huxley forges a character, Rampion, who is the spokesperson of Lawrence's beliefs on the Etruscans. Rampion is a writer and a painter, but primarily a fervent critic of modern society. According to him, 'civilization is harmony and completeness. Reason, feeling, instinct, the life of the body' and 'those naked sunburnt Etruscans in the sepulchral wall-paintings [...] they were civilized [...] they knew how to live harmoniously and completely, with their whole being' (Huxley 1937: 136). In the novel, Rampion's multiple references to the Etruscans are often meant to illustrate the natural condition of mankind, which is the opposite of modern society. In *Etruscan Places*, and in some letters, Lawrence praises the Etruscan civilization for its 'phallic consciousness' as against the 'irritable cerebral consciousness' of modern society. 'The phallic reality is warm and spontaneous', whereas the present is cold and mechanical. For Lawrence, the phallic consciousness is not only an alternative to the modern corrupted world, but it is also the 'source of all real beauty, and all real gentleness' and 'the root of poetry, lived or sung' (Boulton, Boulton with Lacy 1991: 326). In *Point Counter Point*, Huxley's character Rampion agrees when he claims that he prefers 'to be alive, entirely alive' and that it is 'time there was a revolt in favour of life and wholeness' against a society

where the 'physical, intuitive, instinctive and emotional part of man' are not important as it does not 'contribute appreciably to making money' (Huxley 1932: 122).

Both Lawrence and Huxley use the Etruscan reference to evoke a possible alternative to the complexity, both political and social, of modernity. If Lawrence is more direct in his criticism towards the present and the rise to power of the Fascist regime, Huxley is more subtle and within his polyphonic and highly ironic novel he makes Rampion stand out as the 'most sympathetic figure in *Point Counter Point*' (Ellis 1998: 448). According to Philip Quarels, Huxley's fictional alter-ego in the novel, Rampion is also the one who lives the most satisfactory life of all. While Huxley's irony is sometimes pungent and harsh with the other characters of the novel, Rampion is always looked at with benevolence by his author. Rampion embodies all the qualities Huxley felt 'were contrary to his own coolly rational nature' (Ellis 1998: 448), which were the very essence of Lawrence's personality. To create Rampion Huxley draws abundantly upon Lawrence's life, especially since the two writers became dear companions in the 1920s. Lawrence, however, never identified himself with Rampion: in a letter from 14th November 1928 Lawrence wrote in fact to the novelist William Gerhardie 'I refuse to be Rampioned' (Boulton, Boulton with Lacy 1991: 617) and his disapproval of Huxley's character will soon become a main topic in the letters of the period. Lawrence will never explicitly give the reasons for why he would not identify himself with Rampion, however, as David Ellis explains it, 'almost anyone who is "put" into a book is likely to feel mis-represented' (Ellis 1998: 448), and this is particularly true for a highly ironic book as *Point Counter Point*.

Despite Lawrence's reaction to Rampion, what is telling in this context is that Huxley's inclusion of an Etruscan reference in his novel completely relies on Lawrence's representation and conception of the Etruscan civilization. Whereas Lawrence read Dennis, Mommsen, and Ducati, among others, Huxley forges a conception of the Etruscans which draws directly and almost exclusively on a re-reading and a re-writing of Lawrence's.

Towards a Literary Knowledge

The corpus of texts discussed in this paper wishes to illustrate how, in a period of unprecedented and ongoing expansion and institutionalization, archaeology exerted a powerful cultural influence over writers from the modernist period, thus becoming significantly more than a scholarly discipline. Archaeology gave rise to a compelling space for imaginative reconstruction and offered new means to explore the political and social complexity of the present. Lawrence and Huxley's works illustrate how archaeological sites and artifacts were selected, appropriated and handled as a way of recasting the anxieties of the present and the future. The analysis of Lawrence and Huxley's texts allowed to recognize and trace a web of references – or *topoi* –, both aesthetic and scientific, drawing from different and various under-

standings, experiences, and imaginations of Etruscan culture. While shading light on this intertextual web, it has also been possible to reveal how, through a chain of reactions vis-à-vis some previous knowledge, the two discussed authors foster a new form of cultural, or literary knowledge on Etruscan culture. Both Lawrence and Huxley build this intertextual web of tropes and references through a preliminary re-reading of pre-existent sources and a subsequent re-writing of them. Clearly, this process of re-writing is also underpinned by an urgency for reaction. For both authors, active reception works as a reaction to previous reception: Lawrence distances himself from every form of previous knowledge, and Huxley, for his part, does not fail to re-elaborate Lawrence's vision. Thus, Etruscan culture becomes for Lawrence and Huxley an instrument not only to investigate ancient origins, but also a quest for a more natural, physical and spontaneous present; a valid counterweight to the hypocrisy and fallacy of modern Europe.

Bibliography

Boulton, J. T. & Vasey, L. (eds.) *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, v. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Boulton, J.T., Boulton M. H. with Lacy, G. M. (eds.) *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, vi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Ceserani, R. 'The Difference between "Document" and "Monument"', in: *The Difference between "Document" and "Monument"*. Leiden: Brill | Rodopi, 2019. [March 2020]: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004384255_003

Cushman, K. '"I refuse to be Rampioned": Huxley, D.H. Lawrence, and Point Counter Point'. [March 2020]: http://www.dalkeyarchive.com/wp-content/uploads/pdf/Huxley_Point_Casebook/cushman.pdf

De Filippis, S. (ed.) *Sketches of Etruscan Places and other Italian Essays. D.H. Lawrence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

De Filippis, S. 'D.H. Lawrence and Tuscany: Art, Nature, Ideology', in: *Il corpo, la fiamma, il desiderio – D.H. Lawrence, Firenze e la sfida di Lady Chatterley*. [March 2020]: http://opar.unior.it/325/1/de_filippis_D.H._Lawrence_and_Tuscany-_Art%2C_Nature%2C_Ideology.pdf

Ellis, D. *D.H. Lawrence: Dying Game 1922-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Haack, M-L. (ed.) *La construction de l'étruscologie au début du XX^e siècle*. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2015.

Harari, M. 'La grande Guerra nella storiografia dell'archeologia italiana', in: *Gli antichisti italiani e la Grande Guerra*. Milano: Mondadori, 2017, 107-114.

Huxley, A. *Point Counter Point,* i. Leipzig: Albatross, 1937.

Huxley, A. *Point Counter Point*, ii, Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1932.

Huxley, A. 'Lawrence in Etruria', in: *The Spectator*. 4th November 1932, 21.

Irollo, J-M. *Histoire des Etrusques. L'antique civilisation toscane VIIIe – Ier siècle avant J.-C*. Paris: Perrin, 2004.

Le Goff, J. 'Documento/Monumento', in: *Enciclopedia Einaudi*. Torino: Einaudi, 1978, 38-43.

Orestano, F. 'Gli Etruschi nella memoria culturale britannica, tra Otto e Novecento: ovvero il sublime fascino di un braccialetto', in: Bagnasco Gianni, G. (ed.) *Aristonothos*. Milan: Ledizioni, 2016, 145-170.

Pallottino, M. 'Les Etrusques dans la littérature européenne', in: Pallottino, M. *Les Etrusques et l'Europe*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992, 444-455.

Roberts, W., Boulton, J.T. & Mansfield, E. (eds.) *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, iv. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Shipley, L. *The Etruscans: Lost Civilizations*. London: Reaktion Books, 2017.

Sola Pinto, V. de & Roberts, W. (eds.) *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*, in: *The Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence*. London: Heinemann, 1964.

Reassessing the 'Inward Turn'

4E Cognition in James Joyce's *Ulysses*

Emma-Louise Silva (University of Antwerp)[1]

'Joyce in Zürich was a curious collector of facts about the human body,
especially on that borderland where mind and body meet,
where thought is generated and shaped by a state of the body.'

(Frank Budgen 1934: 108)

On describing the depiction of his protagonists' thoughts in *Ulysses* (1922), James Joyce mentioned to Frank Budgen that if his characters 'had no body they would have no mind', concluding that mind and body are 'all one' (Joyce in Budgen 1934: 21). Despite Joyce's consideration that mind and body are 'all one' and regardless of his aim to record 'simultaneously, what a man says, sees, thinks' (Joyce in Steinberg [1958] 1973: 3), Joyce's evocations of his protagonists' minds in *Ulysses* have been characterized in terms of an 'inward turn', a commonplace in literary criticism when it comes to modernist fiction, which regards the mind as a skull-bound interior space and thus severed from bodily and worldly surroundings.[2]

The so-called 'inward turn' of modernist fiction has prevailed in literary criticism since the mid-twentieth century and the term is often the first port of call when describing modernist representations of the mind. In *The Novel Today: Studies in Contemporary Attitudes*, Philip Henderson states that 'all the emphasis has been shifted from environment to the individual consciousness' (1936: 13). Likewise, Albert J. Guerard's essay 'The Journey Within' describes Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* as an 'introspective plunge' (1958: 39). Erich von Kahler's 'Die Verinnerlichung des Erzählens', first published in *Die Neue Rundschau* in 1957 and 1959, was translated by Carla Winston and Richard Winston in 1973 as *The Inward Turn of Narrative*. From then on, this coinage of the 'inward turn' has often been used as a hold-all concept for discussing mind evocation in works of modernist fiction. In *A Handbook of Modernism Studies*, for example, Vicki Mahaffey explains how 'the novel underwent a remarkable stylistic change or shift of focus shortly before the start of the twentieth century', echoing that 'it turned sharply inward, its locus not so much the world as the individual mind' (2013: 36). Although there is no doubt that literary modernism brought about a 'turn' towards a heightened con-

1. The research leading to these results was made possible thanks to funding from the TOP BOF project entitled 'Literature and the Extended Mind: A Reassessment of Modernism' led by Dirk Van Hulle at the Centre for Manuscript Genetics, University of Antwerp. I would like to thank Ben De Witte for his insightful comments.

2. See also Barnes 1922.

centration on the cognitive workings of characters' minds, the assertion that the 'turn' is characterized by an 'inwardness' has become problematic due to recent developments in philosophy of mind and cognition that render a purely 'internal' mind unfeasible.

This recent 'turn' in philosophy of mind, namely the 'E-turn',[3] considers 'E-approaches' – or embodied, embedded, extended and enactive approaches – as the 'new paradigm for thinking about mind and cognition' (Hutto & Myin 2018: 95). The focus is placed on sensorimotor interactions and engagements that are located in a bodily experience of the world. Such reciprocities between mind, body and world are depicted rather pertinently in the following passage from Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady*:

> When you've lived as long as I you'll see that every human being has his shell and that you must take the shell into account. By the shell I mean the whole envelope of circumstances. There's no such thing as an isolated man or woman; we're each of us made up of some cluster of appurtenances. What shall we call our 'self'? Where does it begin? Where does it end? It overflows into everything that belongs to us – and then it flows back again. I know a large part of myself is in the clothes I choose to wear. I've a great respect for *things*! One's self – for other people – is one's expression of one's self; and one's house, one's furniture, one's garments, the books one reads, the company one keeps – these things are all expressive. ([1881] 1964: 201)

By exploring the 'cluster of appurtenances' that constitute Leopold Bloom's mind in the 'Lotus Eaters' episode of *Ulysses* (James [1881] 1964: 201), based on an approach integrating 4E approaches to the mind with tenets from cognitive narratology (or the study of 'the nexus of narrative and mind' (Herman 2014: 46)), this essay will establish that Bloom's thoughts are embodied, embedded, extended and enactively brought forth by his bodily and worldly surroundings. The field of Joyce studies has benefited greatly from cognitive readings of Joyce's oeuvre by Erwin R. Steinberg ([1958] 1973), Patrick Colm Hogan (2014), Kerri Haggart (2014), Dirk Van Hulle (2014 & 2016), Sylvain Belluc and Valérie Bénéjam (2018), and Kay Young (2020). This present study aims to add to that corpus of research, by considering the cognitive 'axis of change' – prompted by Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz's concentration on the temporal, spatial and vertical 'ax[e]s of change' in 'The New Modernist Studies' (2008: 738) – in a bid to reassess the so-called 'inward turn' of Joyce's modernist fiction by means of the 'E-turn' (Hutto & Myin 2018: 95).

3. Albert Newen, Leon de Bruin and Shaun Gallagher point out that Mark Rowlands ascribes the '4E label' to Shaun Gallagher who organized a conference on 4E cognition at the University of Central Florida in 2007, however, they also mention that the first use of the term surfaced in discussions held during a workshop on the embodied mind at Cardiff University in 2006 (2018: 4).

A Turn 'Inwards'?

Credos delineating the quintessence of literary modernism, such as Henry James's 'The Art of Fiction' and Virginia Woolf's 'Modern Fiction', urged a generation of novelists to set themselves apart from their realist predecessors (James 1884; Woolf [1925] 1972). As Van Hulle has argued, the statements by James and Woolf did not only contribute to the rhetoric of how modernist works of art should be written, the notions they proposed also came to dominate the perception of modernist literature (2014 & 2016). An important precedent was set by James when he stated in 'The Art of Fiction', printed in *Longman's Magazine* in September 1884, that, above all other things, literature had to be interesting: this particular facet of being interesting was closely linked to the revelation of '*a particular mind*, different from others' (1884: n. pag.; emphasis added). In this respect, James's idea of modernist fiction is focused on an aesthetics that prioritizes depictions of the mind. Although James underlines that experience 'is never limited and it is never complete; it is an immense sensibility, a kind of huge spider-web, of the finest silken threads', thus conjuring up an image of experience resembling an all-encompassing 'web', he does describe the mind as being 'suspended in the chamber of consciousness' (1884: n. pag.), an interpretation that foregrounds a high level of interiority.

With her famous essay 'Modern Fiction', Virginia Woolf joins James with her call for authors to 'look within', urging them to 'examine for a moment an ordinary mind on an ordinary day' ([1925] 1972: 106).[4] Woolf claims that by doing so, it will become clear that life is not at all how the so-called 'materialist writers', such as H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, and John Galsworthy, represent it ([1925] 1972: 104). Even though Woolf had previously revealed to T. S. Eliot that she felt *Ulysses* was 'underbred' and 'the book of a self-taught working man', she did consider Joyce as an exponent of this new approach to characters' minds (Woolf qtd. in Ellmann [1959] 1983: 528).[5] In his 'attempt to come closer to life', Joyce is described by Woolf as being a 'spiritual' writer, quite distinct from the 'materialist' writers ([1925] 1972: 107). Woolf's urge towards her contemporaries to examine minds, and her self-imposed 'look within' paradigm certainly contributed to an internalist interpretation of modernist fiction and became the default starting point for many in the field of literary criticism.

It is worth noting that the evolution from literary realism to literary modernism was more of a gradual transition than a sharp switch. As early as 1815, Jane Austen's novel *Emma* displayed examples of internal focalization with a near complete merging of 'narratorial incursions' and the protagonist Emma Woodhouse's thoughts by

4. Woolf wrote this essay in April 1919.

5. In *A Writer's Diary*, Woolf reveals her disdain for Joyce in her entry for Wednesday 16th August 1922: 'I should be reading *Ulysses*, and fabricating my case for and against. I have read 200 pages so far – not a third; and have been amused, stimulated, charmed, interested, by the first 2 or 3 chapters – to the end of the cemetery scene; and then puzzled, bored, irritated and disillusioned by a queasy undergraduate scratching his pimples. And Tom, great Tom, thinks this on a par with *War and Peace*!' ([1953] 1975: 47).

means of free indirect discourse (Cohn 1978: 16). In *Cognitive Joyce*, Belluc and Bénéjam refer to Alan Richardson's *British Romanticism and the Science of the Mind* (2001), which shows how 'the significant advances made in neurological and cranial research in the late eighteenth century had a massive impact on the works of Samuel Coleridge, William Wordsworth, Jane Austen, and John Keats, all of whom foreground feeling and emotion at the expense of reason' (2018: 11). Alan Palmer suggests in *Social Minds in the Novel* that 'it could be, perhaps, that Jane Austen was the first great English novelist of social minds, just as she was the first of free indirect discourse' (2010: 180).

In a bid to open up an interdisciplinary dialogue among researchers concerned with the nature of the mind in the fields of narratology, philosophy, linguistics, psychology and anthropology, David Herman edited *The Emergence of Mind* and dedicated it to analysing 'mind creation' in narrative discourse (2011: 1).[6] In his own contribution, 'Re-minding Modernism', he points out that the *modus operandi* of modernist fiction writers is not characterized by an 'inward turn' or 'an unprecedented drilling down into the core of some mental interior' (2011: 260). As Somogy Varga stresses: 'we cannot provide a full understanding of cognitive processes by studying exclusively what is occurring inside the head of the cognizer' (2019: 6). Instead, an exploration of the simultaneity and the inherent reciprocity between 'what a man says, sees, thinks', and moreover of what 'a man' does, is necessary (Joyce in Steinberg [1958] 1973: 3).

4E Cognition in 'Lotus Eaters'

Although the embodied, embedded, extended and enactive approaches involve case-specific nuances, they all defend an externalist view of the mind, seeking to demonstrate that the mind cannot be detached from its physical, social and material environment, and thereby casting aside Cartesian dualism, a binary approach launched by René Descartes that views the mind as an interior zone of cognitive goings-on (Descartes in Tweyman [1641] 1993). The first 'E' that emerged in the field of 4E cognition regards the mind as 'embodied': an agent's cognition is shaped by non-cerebral aspects of its physique (Varela, Thompson & Rosch 1991). An agent's cognition can also be 'embedded' in their surroundings. This 'embeddedness' of the mind within the encompassing environment forms the second 'E' of the 4E banner. Albert Newen, Leon de Bruin, and Shaun Gallagher distinguish the nuance between embodiment and embeddedness: 'Extracranial processes can be *bodily* (involving a brain-body unit) or they can be *extrabodily* (involving a brain-body-environment unit)' (2018: 6).

Human beings' interactions with elements in the surrounding environment can also imply that they come to rely on particular tools and objects. In 1998, Andy

6. See also Lars Bernaerts, Dirk De Geest, Luc Herman & Bart Vervaeck 2013.

Clark and David J. Chalmers published an article that introduced the third 'E' to the domain of 4E cognition entitled 'The Extended Mind'. They explained that, if human beings rely on tools and objects accessible within their surroundings, and if these particular elements are able to constitute cognitive processes, then such objects can be considered as parts of the mind (1998: 10-23). In such cases, the mind, according to Clark and Chalmers, 'extends into the world' (1998: 12). The fourth 'E' in the field of 4E cognition is that of the enactive mind. The strand of enactivism regards cognition as being '*enacted* in the sense that it involves an active engagement in and with an agent's environment', whereby the focus lies on an agent's mind being enactively brought forth by the surrounding environment (Newen, de Bruin & Gallagher 2018: 6).

These 4E approaches to the mind illustrate 'how minds at once shape and are shaped by larger experiential environments, via the particular affordances or opportunities for action that those environments provide' (Herman 2011: 249-250). Such 'experiential environments', or contexts, are made up of the physical, social, material, and worldly elements within an agent's vicinity. As for the contexts Joyce created in the fictional environments depicted in *Ulysses*, Luca Crispi points out that Joyce 'had to decide how the various characters acted and reacted in the situational contexts in which he placed them' (2015: 15). This underlines the fact that processes of cognitive and affective nature display 'a continuous dynamical coupling with the perceptually available environment' (Slors et al. 2015: 235). By exploring the 'situational contexts' Leopold Bloom negotiates in the 'Lotus Eaters' episode (Crispi 2015: 15), I will consider the workings of 4E cognition in *Ulysses*.

The unfolding of *Ulysses* on 16 June 1904 revolves around Leopold Bloom and his Dublinesque odyssey, reverberating Odysseus' adventures. In the introduction to her translation of Homer's *The Odyssey*, Emily Wilson elucidates how the epic poem tells 'the story of a man whose grand adventure is simply to go back to his own home, where he tries to turn everything back to the way it was before he went away' (2018: 2).[7] While Bloom, the thirty-eight year old 'all-round man' experiences his 'grand adventure' around Dublin, readers get to experience how this 'son, father, husband, lover, friend, worker and citizen' ponders about an array of matters (Budgen 1934: 65). Budgen explains that Joyce used an 'infinite number of small touches' to 'build up' Bloom's character (1934: 107). These 'small touches' generate what Crispi considers to be 'one of the most sharply delineated and fully rendered characters ever presented in fiction' (2015: 9). The totality of 'word-masses' that Joyce amalgamated to shape Leopold Bloom (Forster [1927] 1970: 52), offer an intense reading experience, described by reviewer Holbrook Jackson as follows:

7. In a letter to his aunt Murray, Joyce advises her to read *Adventures of Ulysses* (1808) by Charles Lamb so as to comprehend his own *Ulysses*: 'You say there is a lot of it you don't understand. I told you to read the *Odyssey* first. As you have not done so I asked my publisher to send you an article which will throw a little light on it. Then buy at once the *Adventures of Ulysses* (which is Homer's story told in simple English much abbreviated) by Charles Lamb. You can read it in a night and can buy it at Gill's or Browne and Nolan's for a couple of shillings. Then have a try at *Ulysses* again' (Joyce qtd. in Gilbert 1957: 193).

> To read the novel is to spend a full day in the company of this person from the time he rises in the morning and gives his wife breakfast in bed to the time of retiring to his bed late at night... You spend no ordinary day in his company; it is a day of the most embarrassing intimacy. You live with him minute by minute; go with him everywhere, physically and mentally; you are made privy to his thoughts and emotions; you are introduced to his friends and enemies; you learn what he thinks of each, every action and reaction of his psychology is laid bare. ([1922] 1970: 199)

Joyce's manner of depicting Bloom's thoughts involves evoking his protagonist's mind in such ways that, even amidst third-person narration that depicts Bloom's whereabouts and his gesticulations, readers are still able to detect his staccato thinking processes with accustomedness.

In the 'Lotus Eaters' episode, Bloom's mind is embodied, embedded, extended and enactively brought forth by his environment: Budgen considers the activities of Bloom's day to be the very building blocks with which the character of Leopold Bloom is constructed, explaining that he actively converges with his surroundings by engaging in trivial actions such as 'the preparing and eating of a breakfast, a bath, looking at bookstalls, wandering round the town, looking in shop windows, buying odds and ends of things in shops, lunch, a stroll through a museum, short talks in the street, the singing of a few songs, a practical joke, stray drinks here and there' (1934: 65). The fictional environment provides numerous opportunities for Bloom's mind to exhibit cognitive (and affective) processes that display a high degree of susceptibility with regard to the world around him.

The 'situational context' of the 'Lotus Eaters' episode (Crispi 2015: 9), evokes Bloom on his way to Westland Row post office. Bloom stops to peer into the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company, the reason of this halt being that it will allow him to discretely move his pseudonym business card 'Henry Flower Esq, $^{c}/_{o}$ P.O. Westland Row, City.' (*U* 5.62-64) from the headband of his hat to his waistcoat pocket (*U* 5.25-26). Bloom will need to hand his card to the postmistress so she can check if there is a letter from Martha Clifford in his pigeonhole, and his window-shopping standstill allows him to switch the card to a less suspicious compartment of his attire.

The first passage I would like to analyse starts with an anonymous and centreless 'narratorial incursion' (Cohn 1978: 16), which then makes way, mid-sentence, for the evocation of Bloom's mind as it is enactively prompted by visible and tangible elements in his surroundings. The only transition marker in the sentence that divides the scene-setting incursion from Bloom's 'dosages of consciousness' is a colon (McHale 2012: 119): 'In Westland row he halted before the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company and read the legends of leadpapered packets: choice blend, finest quality, family tea. Rather warm. Tea' (*U* 5.17-19). The alternation in Bloom's focus of attention between the packages of tea he is beholding and the tangibly warm feeling of the morning are presented in an oscillating staccato: 'choice blend, finest quality, family tea. Rather warm. Tea' (*U* 5.18-19). During this

window-shopping passage, the tea packages act as a visual prompt in that they remind Bloom that he has to buy tea. John Sutton refers to such prompts as 'mind-and-brain-shaping' supports in that they serve as a leg-up (2014: 4): Bloom's cognitive process of forming an intention to buy tea emerges because his mind is enactively prompted by the world around him, namely by the boxes on display in the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company.

After the tea packages give rise to Bloom's intention to buy tea, his thought trajectory is steered towards an associative pattern in that he instantly links buying tea to Tom Kernan, the tea merchant. Bloom knows that Kernan will be attending Paddy Dignam's funeral which is to take place later that morning. However, Bloom's empathy and his respectful consideration of the circumstances shift his cognitive process of thinking about buying tea towards an affective stance of awareness regarding the event of the funeral: 'Tea. Must get some from Tom Kernan. Couldn't ask him at a funeral, though' (*U* 5.19-20). Such alternating cognitive and affective processes as displayed by Bloom's mind continue in the next paragraph as Bloom considers how warm it is, to then proceed with his reading of the information printed on the tea labels. The reciprocity between Bloom's embodied experience of the heat and his visual perceiving of the tea packages lays the foundations for Bloom's mind to be lured towards an imaginary expansion regarding the far East:

> So warm. His right hand once more more slowly went over his brow and hair. Then he put on his hat again, relieved: and read again: choice blend, made of the finest Ceylon brands. The far east. Lovely spot it must be: the garden of the world, big lazy leaves to float about on, cactuses, flowery meads, snaky lianas they call them. Wonder is it like that. Those Cinghalese lobbing about in the sun in *dolce far niente*, not doing a hand's turn all day. Sleep six months out of twelve. Too hot to quarrel. Influence of the climate. Lethargy. Flowers of idleness. The air feeds most. Azotes. Hothouse in Botanic gardens. Sensitive plants. Waterlilies. Petals too tired to. Sleeping sickness in the air. Walk on roseleaves. Imagine trying to eat tripe and cowheel. Where was the chap I saw in that picture somewhere? Ah yes, in the dead sea floating on his back, reading a book with a parasol open. Couldn't sink if you tried: so thick with salt. Because the weight of the water, no, the weight of the body in the water is equal to the weight of the what? Or is it the volume is equal to the weight? It's a law something like that. Vance in High school cracking his fingerjoints, teaching. The college curriculum. Cracking curriculum. What is weight really when you say the weight? Thirtytwo feet per second per second. Law of falling bodies: per second per second. They all fall to the ground. The earth. It's the force of gravity of the earth is the weight. (*U* 5.27-46)

Bloom's mere reading of 'Ceylon brands' on one of the tea packages, in combination with his sensory experience of the day's hot weather, initiates an expansion of his thoughts: Bloom's mind is not only embedded within his Dublin surroundings, but it is also enactively prompted as he considers musings on the far East, a picture of a

man on a postcard he has seen, the dead sea, natural buoyancy, his High school's curriculum, and gravity.[8]

The following components included in Bloom's mind trajectory, namely 'Flowers of idleness' (*U* 5.34), the 'Hothouse in Botanic gardens' (*U* 5.35), and 'Sensitive plants' (*U* 5.35), suggest intertextual links to Lord Byron's *Hours of Idleness*, Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden* and Percy Bysshe Shelley's 'The Sensitive Plant', according to Gifford and Seidman (1988: 85) and Sam Slote (2015: 587). Such literary allusions could be considered as instances of Bloom's mind expanding – under influence of the 'situational context' (Crispi 2015: 9) – towards elements of 'linguistic and sociocultural' origins (Clark 2016: 270). The evocation of Bloom's mind is intensified by means of the manner in which the components of his trains of thoughts are arranged or 'built'. Joyce supposedly revealed to Arthur Power that he appreciated the 'steady sequence of built-up thought' in novels such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1974: 97). Under the impetus of elements in the fictional environment, Bloom's mind constantly hops among an array of relations ranging from tea to gravity.

After his 'window-shopping' halt, Bloom stops at Westland Row post office. He gives the postmistress a card with his pseudonym contact details 'Henry, Flower, Esq' and she passes him an envelope (*U* 5.54-61). It is not until the 'Lestrygonians' episode that readers learn of the advertisement Bloom had placed in the *Irish Times*: 'Wanted smart lady typist to aid gentleman in literary work' (*U* 8.326-327). The 'lady' in question who responds to Bloom's ad is Martha Clifford. Once Bloom reaches the safe haven of Cumberland Street, he opens the letter from his penfriend flirt:

> He opened the letter within the newspaper.
> A flower. I think it's a. A yellow flower with flattened petals. Not annoyed then? What does she say?
>
> Dear Henry,
>
> I got your last letter to me and thank you very much for it. I am sorry you did not like my last letter. Why did you enclose the stamps? I am awfully angry with you. I do wish I could punish you for that. I called you naughty boy because I do not like that other world. Please tell me what is the real meaning of that word? Are you not happy in your home you poor little naughty boy? I do wish I could do something for you. Please tell me what you think of poor me. I often think of the beautiful name you have. Dear Henry, when will we meet? I think of you so often you have no idea. I have never felt myself so much drawn to a man

8. This network of interrelated Bloomesque topics actually reveals a rather well-read Bloom: the items his thoughts cover range from the 'Cinghalese', who constitute 'one of the ethnic groups of Sri Lanka', to the Italian '*dolce far niente*' meaning 'sweet doing nothing', to Greek mythology which holds that the Lotus Eaters slept during half of the year, to 'Azotes', the French word chosen by the chemist Antoine Laurent Lavoisier for nitrogen, to the hothouse in the Botanic gardens of Glasnevin, to 'sensitive plants' (Gifford & Seidman 1988: 85).

> as you. I feel so bad about. Please write me a long letter and tell me more. Remember if you do not I will punish you. So now you know what I will do to you, you naughty boy, if you do not wrote. O how I long to meet you. Henry dear, do not deny my request before my patience are exhausted. Then I will tell you all. Goodbye now, naughty darling. I have such a bad headache. today. and write *by return* to your longing
>
> Martha
>
> P.S. Do tell me what kind of perfume does your wife use. I want to know.
>
> x x x x
>
> He tore the flower gravely from its pinhold smelt its almost no smell and placed it in his heart pocket. Language of flowers.
> (*U* 5.237-261)

The fact that Joyce inserts Martha Clifford's letter in the stylistic form traditionally associated with written correspondence, exemplifies the author's wish to record 'simultaneously, what a man says, sees, thinks' (Joyce in Steinberg [1958] 1973: 3). Bloom's visual registering of Martha's letter, complete with kisses and post scriptum, creates a narratological situation that can be interpreted from at least two angles: do readers go over the letter through the perspective of the protagonist Leopold Bloom? Or do readers opt for a shift in perspective so as to read the letter in the 'voice' of the letter's author, namely Martha Clifford? In any case, Bloom's connection to Martha's letter is an example of 'the use that people make of objects to rekindle specific feelings of attachment towards someone or something', a usage that Giovanna Colombetti and Tom Roberts refer to in their essay advocating that the extended mind hypothesis should incorporate the realm of affectivity (2015: 1254). The letter and its contents (namely the yellow flower and the pin attaching the flower to the letter) not only function as visible and tangible elements in the fictional environment steering the direction of Bloom's thoughts. In order to shift his mind away from his preoccupation with the impending infidelity of his wife, Molly, Bloom 'actively select[s] specific activities and interactions with the material world', specifically in returning to the contents of Martha's letter throughout the day to deviate his attention away from his wife's affair with Blazes Boylan (Colombetti & Krueger 2015: 1163). The letter, the flower, and the pin are also objects that 'scaffold' Bloom's train of thought which reaches new heights (Sterelny 2010):

> Fingering still the letter in his pocket he drew the pin out of it. Common pin, eh? He threw it on the road. Out of her clothes somewhere: pinned together. Queer the number of pins they always have. No roses without thorns.
> Flat Dublin voices bawled in his head. Those two sluts that night in the Coombe, linked together in the rain.
>
> *O, Mairy lost the pin of her drawers.*

She didn't know what to do
To keep it up,
To keep it up.

It? Them. Such a bad headache. Has her roses probably. Or sitting all day typing. Eyefocus bad for stomach nerves. What perfume does your wife use. Now could you make out a thing like that?

To keep it up.

Martha, Mary. I saw that picture somewhere I forget now old master or faked for money. He is sitting in their house, talking. Mysterious. Also the two sluts in the Coombe would listen.
(*U* 5.275-291)

The trajectory of Bloom's cognitive and affective processes in this passage is lead by the pin, which enactively prompts him to an imaginative interpretation of Martha's clothes being pinned together, which triggers him to reflect on the number of pins women have, which serves as a cue for Bloom's association the proverb that there are 'no roses without thorns' (*U* 5.277-278). The very same pin then gives rise to Bloom's rendition of a street rhyme, 'O, Mairy lost the pin of her drawers' (*U* 5.281). This street rhyme is followed by Bloom's wondering why Martha writes of having a headache. He proffers that the headache could be related to Martha 'having her roses', a euphemism for her menstrual period (*U* 5.285). In sympathetic consideration, Bloom then conjectures that Martha's headache could have been brought on by her job as a 'smart lady typist' (*U* 8.326-327). Bloom's claim that 'eyefocus' is 'bad for stomach nerves' (*U* 5.86) also denotes a rather embodied take: the object of Martha's visual focus, being her typewriter, is interpreted by Bloom as having the potential to instigate direct repercussions on Martha's bodily sensations, in this case her 'stomach nerves'.

Once Bloom has received the envelope from the postmistress and then found a safe haven in which to open it, namely 'in the lee of the station wall' (*U* 5.230), his first bout of actions and reactions consists of him opening Martha's letter, beholding the yellow flower, reading the letter, smelling the flower, and putting the flower in his pocket. The second bout of Bloom's interaction with the letter, presents Bloom drawing the pin out of the letter, throwing the pin on the road and then reflecting on the contents of the letter. These reflections, ranging from roses, to the 'Flat Dublin voices' of 'two sluts in the Coombe' (*U* 5.279-280), to a song about Mairy (*U* 5.281-284), to Martha's 'roses' (*U* 5.285) and to a painting by Rubens (*U* 5.289), illustrate how Bloom's mind is evoked by means of his actions and reactions, and by the repercussions these actions have on Bloom's mind. The modern-day hero's frustrations in 'Lotus Eaters' are 'alleviated by an active fantasy life' that is embodied, embedded, extended and enacted by his physical and worldly surroundings (Herring 1974: 76).

By exploring depictions of Leopold Bloom's thoughts in Joyce's modernist fiction, and by tracing the ways in which Bloom's mind displays embodied, embedded, extended and enactive cognition at work, the conclusion can be made that Joyce's modernist mind-evoking strategies portray cognitive and affective processes which are more often than not world-involving, and not necessarily 'inward turning' (this approach also holds for Stephen Dedalus and Marion 'Molly' Tweedy Bloom). Therefore, the so-called 'inward turn' no longer holds, especially given recent developments revolving around the '4E turn' in philosophy of mind.

Embodied, embedded, extended and enactive accounts of cognition reveal that our minds are reciprocally and inextricably linked to our surroundings. Joyce expressed such an understanding of the coupling between mind, body and world in conversations with Power who recounts how the author spoke of his view on modernist writers: 'Our object is to create a new fusion between the exterior world and our contemporary selves' (1974: 74). Joyce certainly lived up to this promise: his concentration on the faculties of the mind and his rendering of his protagonists' formally innovative trains of thought allowed him to display his characters' minds as embodied, embedded, extended and enactively prompted by their environment, in a fused interconnectedness with their bodily and worldly surroundings. It can therefore be concluded that the 'new fusion' Joyce spoke of is more in line with the '4E turn' – that denounces views of the mind as an interior space – than with the commonplace of the so-called 'inward' turn.

Bibliography

Austen, J. *Emma*. Ed. Fiona Stafford. London: Penguin Classics, [1815, dated 1816] 2009.

Barnes, D. 'A Portrait of the Man Who Is, At Present, One of the More Significant Figures in Literature'. *Vanity Fair*. 18 (2), 1922 [May 2021]:
https://www.vanityfair.com/news/1922/03/james-joyce-djuna-barnes-ulysses.

Belluc, S. & Bénéjam V. (eds.) 'Introduction', in: *Cognitive Joyce*. London/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. 1-29.

Bernaerts, L., De Geest, D., Herman, L. & Vervaeck, B. (eds.) 'Introduction: Cognitive Narrative Studies', in: *Stories and Minds: Cognitive Approaches to Literary Narrative*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. 1-20.

Budgen, F. *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*. London: Grayson & Grayson, 1934.

Clark, A. & Chalmers, D.J. 'The Extended Mind', in: *Analysis.* 58 (1), 1998, 7-19.
https://doi.org/10.1093/analys/58.1.7.

Clark, A. *Surfing Uncertainty: Prediction, Action and the Embodied Mind*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Cohn, D. *Transparent Minds. Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Colombetti, G. & Roberts, T. 'Extending the Extended Mind: The Case for Extended Affectivity', in: *Philosophical Studies.* 172 (5), 2015, 1243-1263.
https://doi.org/10.1007/s11098-014-0347-3.

Colombetti, G. & Krueger, J. 'Scaffoldings of the Affective Mind', in: *Philosophical Psychology*. 28 (8), 2015, 1157-1176.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09515089.2014.976334.
Crispi, L. *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in Ulysses: Becoming the Blooms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Deming, R. H. (ed.) *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*. Vol. I 1902-1927. London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
Descartes, R. *Meditations on First Philosophy*. Ed. Stanley Tweyman. London & New York: Routledge, [1641] 1993.
Diodati Thompson, F. *In the Track of the Sun: Readings from the Diary of a Globe Trotter*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893:
https://archive.org/details/intrackofsunread00thom.
Ellmann, R. *James Joyce*. Revised Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1959] 1983.
Forster, E. M. *Aspects of the Novel*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, [1927] 1970.
Gifford, D. with Seidman, R. J. *Ulysses Annotated*. Second Edition. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1988.
Gilbert, S. (ed.) *Letters of James Joyce*. Vol. I. London: Faber and Faber, 1957.
Guerard, A. J. 'The Journey Within', in: *Conrad the Novelist*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958, 1-59.
Haggart, K. 'Crustcrumbs in the Carriage: A Cognitive Reading of Leopold Bloom in the "Hades" Episode of *Ulysses*', in: *Irish Studies Review*. 22 (3), 2014, 339-357.
Henderson, P. *The Novel Today: Studies in Contemporary Attitudes*. London: The Bodley Head, 1936.
Herman, D. 'Re-minding Modernism', in: Herman, D. (ed.) *The Emergence of Mind: Representations of Consciousness in Narrative Discourse in English*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011. 243-272.
Herman, D. 'Cognitive Narratology', in: Hühn, P., Pier, J., Schmid, W. & Schönert, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Narratology*. Second edition. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2014. 46-64.
Herring, P. F. 'Lotuseaters', in: Hart, C. & Hayman, D. (eds.) *James Joyce's Ulysses: Critical Essays*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. 71-89.
Hogan, P. C. *'Ulysses' and the Poetics of Cognition*. London: Routledge, 2014.
Hutto, D. D. & Myin, E. *Radicalizing Enactivism: Basic Minds Without Content*. Cambridge & London: The MIT Press, 2013.
Hutto, D. D. & Myin, E. *Evolving Enactivism: Basic Minds Meet Content*. Cambridge & London: The MIT Press, 2017.
Hutto, D. D. & Myin, E. 'Going Radical', in: Newen, A., Bruin, L. de & Gallagher, S. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of 4E Cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 95-115.
Jackson, H. 'Ulysses à la Joyce', in: Deming, R. H. (ed.) *Today*. 1922. *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, Vol. I, 1907-1927. London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970. 198-200.
James, H. *The Portrait of a Lady*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, [1881] 1964.
James, H. 'The Art of Fiction', in: *Longman's Magazine*. 1884 (4).
http://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/artfiction.html.
Joyce, J. *Ulysses*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe & Claus Melchior. London: The Bodley Head, [1922] 2008.

Kahler, E. von. *The Inward Turn of Narrative*. Trans. C. Winston & R. Winston. ['Die Verinnerlichung des Erzählens'. *Die Neue Rundschau* 68 & 70. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1957 & 1959.]. [*Die Verinnerung des Erzählens*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1970]. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Mao, D. & Walkowitz, R.L. 'The New Modernist Studies', in: *PMLA.* 123 (3), 2008, 737-748.

Mahaffey, V. 'Streams Beyond Consciousness: Stylistic Immediacy in the Modernist Novel', in: Rabaté, J-M. (ed.) *A Handbook of Modernism Studies*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013, 35-54.

McHale, B. 'Transparent Minds Revisited', in: *Narrative.* 20 (1), 2012, 115-124.
https://doi.org/10.1353/nar.2012.0004.

Newen, A., Bruin, L. de & Gallagher, S. (eds.) '4E Cognition: Historical Roots, Key Concepts, and Central Issues', in: *The Oxford Handbook of 4E Cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 3-15.

Palmer, A. *Social Minds in the Novel*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2010.

Power, A. *Conversations with James Joyce*. Ed. C. Hart. London: Millington Ltd., 1974.

Richardson, A. *British Romanticism and the Science of the Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Slors, M., Bruin, L. de & Strijbos, D. *Philosophy of Mind, Brain and Behaviour*. Amsterdam: Boom, 2015.

Steinberg, E. R. *The Stream of Consciousness and Beyond in Ulysses*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, [1958] 1973.

Sterelny, K. 'Minds: Extended or Scaffolded?', in: *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences.* 9 (4), 2010, 465-481. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11097-010-9174-y.

Sutton, J. 'Scaffolding Memory: Themes, Taxonomies, Puzzles', in: L. Bietti & Stone, C.B. (eds.) *Contextualizing Human Memory*. New York: Psychology Press, 2014.
http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315815398-10.

Van Hulle, D. *Modern Manuscripts. The Extended Mind and Creative Undoing from Darwin to Beckett and Beyond*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Van Hulle, D. *James Joyce's 'Work in Progress': Pre-Book Publications of Finnegans Wake Fragments*. London & New York: Routledge, 2016.

Varela, F. J., Thompson, E. & Rosch, E. *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience*. Cambridge & London: The MIT Press, 1991.

Varga, S. *Scaffolded Minds: Integration and Disintegration*. Cambridge & London: The MIT Press, 2019.

Wilson, E., trans. *The Odyssey. Homer*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018.

Woolf, V. 'Modern Fiction', in: *Collected Essays*. Volume Two. London: The Hogarth Press, [1925] 1972.

Woolf, V. *A Writer's Diary*. Ed. Leonard Woolf. London: The Hogarth Press, [1953] 1975.

Young, K. 'Joyce's *Ulysses* and the Neuroaesthetics of "Yes"', in: *Narrative.* 28 (3), 2020, 269-288. https://doi.org/10.1353/nar.2020.0013.

'Let us become a little more sophisticated'[1]

Popularising Modern Irish Short Fiction in *The Bell* (1940-1954)

Phyllis Boumans (KU Leuven)

The Bell's status as Ireland's most influential literary periodical in the middle of the twentieth century has long been recognised. Its position as an ideologically radical magazine standing at the vanguard of a modernising force which propelled the emergence of a more open, liberal and pluralist society, too, has been widely accepted (Cleary 2009: 49-51; Kent 2016: xxix). *The Bell*'s vexed relationship to literary modernism, however, is still subject to debate. Frank Shovlin labels the magazine's editorial outlook 'not just not modernist, but anti-modernist' and Kelly Matthews, in her book-length study of the magazine, similarly argues that its editors operated outside or against a modernist paradigm and explicitly shunned modernist expression in poetry and fiction (Shovlin 2019: 376; Matthews 2012: 10). Niall Carson is more cautious in his appraisal of *The Bell* as neither 'a blast of explosive experimentalism' nor a 'bastion of conservative realism', while Lauren Arrington points to the 'radically avant-garde work' published in its pages to demonstrate the period's literary heterogeneity (Carson 2016: 7, 149; Arrington 2016: 249). This serves to illustrate that the magazine's literary legacy is not uncontested and needs further exploration. This essay seeks to assess *The Bell*'s relation to literary modernism and to gauge the magazine's indebtedness to modernist aesthetics. It does so specifically through the prism of the critical discourse on the short story that was published in *The Bell* in the first six years of publication. The monthly magazine did much to lend distinction to the genre of the short story in particular.[2] Every issue contained on average two stories; three issues were exclusively devoted to the genre; there were two short story competitions; short stories were often promoted on the cover; and every now and then the review section would dedicate a special section to new short story collections. Particularly under Seán O'Faoláin's stewardship, which covered the first six years of the magazine's fourteen-year run before Peadar O'Donnell took over as editor, the magazine actively attempted to cultivate a specifically modern Irish literature, and the short story became the mainstay in this literary revitalisation project.

1. O'Faoláin (1942a: 3)
2. In 'The Dilemma of Irish Writers' O'Faoláin called Ireland at mid-century a 'thinly-composed society' which was non-conducive to the novel and contended that such an 'unshaped society' lent itself better to short story writing (2016b: 401).

Critics have previously commented on the interventionist and programmatic nature of O'Faoláin's editorial style. Malcolm Ballin, for example, calls O'Faoláin an interfering editor who 'set out to manipulate the writer skilfully and persistently', and Maurice Harmon's description of O'Faoláin's incessant editing demonstrates he had a hand in almost every story that went into the magazine (Ballin 2001: 47; Harmon 1994: 131-7). Drawing on Matthew Philpott's typology of editorial dispositions, O'Faoláin's editorial reign can be described as a 'charismatic editorship', in which the ethos of the entire magazine is subordinated to the editor's personal vision to such an extent that the journal 'comes to be wholly determined by it' (2012: 48). In *The Bell*'s opening editorial, O'Faoláin issued a clarion call to all readers to '[w]rite about your gateway, your well-field, your street-corner, your girl, your boat-slip, pubs, books, pictures, dogs, horses, river, tractor, anything at all that has a hold on you' (1940a: 7). Such an opening statement suggests O'Faoláin was primarily interested in recording life, in whatever shape or form and however simple: 'we do not ask, primarily, for perfection in the craftwork; we ask, first and before all, for the thing that lies lurking at the bottom of each man's well, and, if you look through this first number, you will see several things whose merit is not chiefly Art but Truth' (1940a: 7-8). Gradually, however, he began to pay more attention to the form in which life should be presented. O'Faoláin's role as editor was driven by a strong instructive impulse: regular features such as 'New Writers', in which O'Faoláin publicly commented on the quality and merit of debut stories, and 'The Craft of the Short Story', a series of five technically inflected essays on the writing of modern short stories, register a shift from the initial motivation to provide a platform for new literary talent to the desire to instruct new, aspiring writers how to write (D'hoker & Boumans 2020: 293). O'Faoláin's literary norms and ideas were also foregrounded in his critical essays, reviews and his increasingly emphatic editorials, which he later came to refer to as '61 portentous manifestoes' (Carson 2016: 23).

From these essays and editorials we can distil a number of literary precepts, which allow us to evaluate to what extent the magazine's meta-literary discourse was influenced by modernist aesthetics. Central to O'Faoláin's poetics of the modern short story is the unimportance of plot and anecdote. '[T]he least essential elements of all is the actual "story" or anecdote itself' is the central tenet of his essay entitled 'When Is a Story not a Story?'. The same mantra recurs, albeit with varying degrees of vigour, across his other *Bell*-essays and in his 1948 book-length study *The Short Story*: 'the anecdote is, rather, the enemy of the writer of stories' (1944a: 337). While his dismissal of anecdote indicates a clear departure from the ingeniously contrived plots associated with the nineteenth-century tale tradition, plot is not to be entirely dispensed with either, but instead should serve to propel psychological exploration. In his essay 'Instead of Plot', he argues that 'if we were to totally remove from the short-story such things as surprise, suspense, invention, climax, contrivance, narrative, action, or adventure [...] we should kill an essential part of the pleasure of the short story'. Instead, for the modern storyteller, he argues, plot has become a significant incident which triggers a modern 'adventure of the mind'

which still has suspense, surprise and climax yet has made these interior (1944b: 46-7). Modern stories are to shed light on human nature, human relationships and ultimately reveal life, and unless they do so, they are 'not a story in any modern sense' (1944a: 338). These pictures of life were to be invariably nationally inflected, reflecting both rural and metropolitan life, and given shape through a mimetic realism.

'One of the first things to learn', O'Faoláin continues in the second instalment, is that 'a short story writer does not directly tell us things so much as let us guess or know them by implying them' and that 'this compression by suggestion and implication is one of the great charms of the modern short story' (1944c: 405-6). Although O'Faoláin actively encourages this modernist technique of condensation and omission, he also warns against excessive indulgence in this convention. In his verdict on Katherine Anne Porter's short story collection *The Leaning Tower,* for example, he criticises her for 'possibly too much [use] of the pumice stone' (1946a: 80). Too much realistic detail, however, is equally undesirable – 'we do not want realism for the sake of realism' – rather, the wider function of those realistic details 'is to be part of this general revelation by suggestion' (1944c: 408-9). What follows from this short-hand economy of the modern short story is a third characteristic which dictates that any pre-amble is to be eliminated: 'we drive to the heart of the matter at once'. Where traditional stories tended to be preceded by elaborate introductions which locate the story in a certain time or place or which served to corroborate the veracity of a tale, the 'modern true short-story [...] cuts out all that' (1944c: 405). The ending, too, withholds any explanation as to the story's conclusion. The modern short story 'will often not so much end as become exhausted', ending in a sigh or a shrug (1944d: 313).

Tautness and positive brevity become for O'Faoláin key qualities in the construction of stories. 'At the very opening', a writer – in *The Short Story* he adds, 'at any rate a *modern* writer' – 'must make an immediate and intimate contact with the mood and purpose of the tale', where then word for word, sentence for sentence, a compact unity of time and place is effected (1944d: 306; 1974: 217). Seamus de Faoite's early story 'Anniversary', for example, wins plaudits for being 'well directed towards its object', while Elizabeth Bowen's 'Ivy Gripped the Steps' and 'The Happy Autumn Fields' are criticised for sprawling and meandering, 'as if in complete contempt of [...] the inherent limitations of the short-story genre' (1941a: 67; 1946a: 79). In his likening of the short story to an 'eel-trap' – as opposed to the 'expansive delta of a novel' – it is clear that to him the short story favours the particular over the general, the small over the big, the concrete over the abstract (1944d: 310). 'A short story is not a general or vague experience', he writes in his final essay on the craft, 'A short-story has chosen to lift some particular and special experience out of the maze of life for close diagnosis' (1944d: 307). What follows from this is that there is no place for generalisations and abstractions in the modern short story. And all the while the writer must keep a critical distance, avoid sentimentality, remain objective, and be careful to not stand in awe of the characters.

This brief overview of O'Faoláin's precepts for the short story as published in *The Bell* demonstrates how he, with his insistence on unity and compression, suggestion and implication, ellipsis and inconclusive endings, freely availed himself of modernist techniques. Nevertheless, O'Faoláin did not hold up modernist short stories as examples. On the contrary, he repeatedly voiced anti-modernist sentiments. In 'Instead of Plot', he writes, 'the modern highbrow development of the short-story has all too often resulted in a kind of solemn or dull essay from which the public very naturally turns away in boredom to the reliable formulas of Mr Edgar Wallace or Mr. Peter Cheyney' (1944b: 47).[3] This statement signals a disapproval of unreadable modernist short fiction for the way it seems to alienate large majorities of readers, but it attests to an equal disdain for the more popular type of plot-driven and formulaic short story. He clarifies his position, and that of *The Bell,* in the first instalment of 'The Craft of the Short Story':

> A word on ourselves. This magazine has no ambitions to be a sophisticated magazine – in an intellectual or social sense – that could hardly be our line in a country which is not sophisticated in these ways. But [...] there could be little point in printing here either stories that are chiefly 'plot' or stories whose comment is too heavily scored in black-and-white for the reader who has become too tired to look beneath the surface for himself. (1944b: 47)

The modernist short story and the highly plotted tale, whose practitioners he later referred to as 'those tiresome pretenders' and 'concocters of anecdotes' respectively, are presented here as two opposite modes of writing, one that is too sophisticated and one that is too undemanding, with both dismissed as undesirable for his readers (1944b: 47). Such a view informed the type of short story O'Faoláin welcomed in the pages of *The Bell.* A similar preference for the middle ground is evident in the stories O'Faoláin selects as examples in his essays. His examples range from stories by Anton Chekhov, a writer often regarded as the father of the modernist short story, and R.L. Stevenson, who engaged with more popular generic frames, to Guy de Maupassant, whose name is closely associated with the plotted story. This eclectic selection of writers demonstrates a wilful combining of traditions that is not easily captured in terms of either modern or traditional stories. O'Faoláin's short story poetics are thus perhaps best described as late modernist in the way they steer a middle course between highbrow and popular stories, combining properties of both.

O'Faoláin's blending of styles and devices across the brows should be seen as part of a wider trend in post-war writing which, after the excesses of high modernism, returned to more hybrid forms. Adrian Hunter notes that 'in the inter-war and post-war decades [...] modernism was, variously, absorbed, distilled, transformed, ameliorated and [...] rejected' (2007: 120). In the context of the British short story, the 1950s saw a rebellion 'against writing perceived as deliberately experimental, even pretentious, which seemed self-indulgent and elitist, written by people who

3. Edgar Wallace and Peter Cheyney were two British best-selling writers of popular detective stories.

had never done a day's work in their life and did not have to' (Liggins, Maunder & Robbins 2011: 216). Writers such as Bowen and V.S. Pritchett combined popular generic frames such as detective or ghost stories with modernist aesthetics. Pritchett, for example, tried to 'blend Dickens and Chekhov', and Bowen, similarly 'both indulge[d] and antagonise[d] modernist theory and practice' (Hunter 2007: 120, 113). The contemporaneous British magazine *Horizon* (1940-1950), which O'Faoláin saw as *The Bell*'s 'London counterpart', too, sought to offer popular and digestible but literary and serious works (1944e: 96; Cutting 2016: 31). Moreover, the short story poetics defended in *The Bell* recall Bowen's conception of the genre. In her preface to the *Faber Book of Modern Stories,* she pleads for what she calls a 'free short story', a story that is free from the constraints of satisfying popular taste without necessarily lapsing into pompous, over-literary art, and which marries formal characteristics of more accessible tales with modernist narrative techniques. In her essay, she disparages stories which lack verisimilitude, and commends stories which spring from 'inner spontaneity', display 'the germ of real life' and give pleasure to the reader (1976: 156-7).

The Bell's meta-literary discourse on the short story genre, then, reflects the literary trends of its time. That is not to say that O'Faoláin's late modernism merely echoed what was in the air. Such a view would be a reductive understanding of his aesthetic preferences and would fail to do justice to his pioneering efforts.[4] So how can we interpret O'Faoláin's literary vision? That *Dubliners* and James Joyce in general are conspicuously absent from *The Bell,* and the fact that his work is largely ignored in O'Faoláin's later writings on the short story, leads Hunter to believe that O'Faoláin's work 'can be read as a reaction against the internationalism of modernism', suggesting that the 'insistent internationalism of the modernist movement' was incompatible with O'Faoláin's 'wish to identify the short story with particular regional and national literatures' (2007: 96, 100). However, as the above has shown, O'Faoláin and *The Bell* as a literary enterprise were very much concerned with internationalising Irish literature. Recurring features, such as Michael Farrell's 'The Open Window', established avenues of literary connections with the rest of the world and introduced the work of international authors such as Turgenev to an Irish readership. Moreover, the magazine issued three international numbers to 'prick holes where we could in a very large and very tall fence [...] to take a peep and a smell at some other gardens' (1943: 427). Joyce's occlusion from O'Faoláin's discussions on short story writers was perhaps more the result of personal ill will than anything else. Daughter Julia O'Faolain suggests that O'Faoláin, as former Irish Volunteer, saw Joyce's rejection of 'family, fatherland and church' as 'splendidly blasphemous but also inimitable' (2001: 30).

4. Heather Ingman calls O'Faoláin's editorship a 'creative writing course on the short story', and argues that the formal characteristics advanced in *The Bell* under his tutelage made a decisive impact on the direction in which the Irish short story would develop in the second half of the twentieth century (2009: 185).

O'Faoláin's scepticism towards modernist literature seems to lie rather in his greater investment in mimetic realism as the way forward for Irish literature given the socio-political context of the country at the time. In his editorial 'Why Don't We See It?', he argues that 'clear, open, frank and complete vision is necessary for the development of prose-literature' (1942b: 162-3). His emphasis on mimetic realism can thus perhaps best be seen in light of what Shovlin calls O'Faoláin's preference for 'objective depiction over subjective rumination' (2019: 375). O'Faoláin's desire to cultivate writers that were trained in 'seeing life steadily and seeing it whole' – a mode of writing very much associated with Victorian realism – did not stroke with modernists' use of subjective perspectives to represent lived experience (1942b: 162, Liggins, Maunder & Robbins 2011: 159). Similarly, Matthews argues that *The Bell*'s uneasy relationship to high modernism can be attributed to the irreconcilability between the magazine's focus on representation and modernism's scepticism of mimesis (2012: 10). Moreover, the almost total absence of a native publishing industry and the concomitant overreliance on American periodicals which favoured traditional stories meant that Irish writers at mid-century were in a precarious position that was hardly conducive to experimentation (Ingman 2009: 184).

Assessing O'Faoláin's relation to modernism through the vantage point of his short story criticism helps us understand how O'Faoláin's perspective differs from that of the late modernists in Britain. Where in Britain a cult of high modernism was followed by more tempered or hybrid forms of literature, the situation in Ireland was such that the tale tradition, heavily dependent on oral storytelling devices and anecdote, continued to have a strong hold on the literary imagination. O'Faoláin argued that in Ireland it was not, as was the case for Bowen, the threat of the commercial story which the modern short story had to contend with – 'one of the advantages of being a poor country is that we have never been rich enough to commercialise art. There is no market here for the slick story' – instead, his criticism is rather directed towards the 'uncultivated' conventions of a dominant tale tradition which he felt had a deleterious effect on the emergence of modern Irish short fiction (1944a: 341). His is thus a modernising rather than a reactionary stance. 'Good raconteurs rarely make good writers', he begins his course on the modern short story (1944a: 339). Despite conceding he would choose a 'good rattling yarn' over a dull modern story, it is the conventions of this tale tradition, influenced by the *seanchaí* or Gaelic oral storyteller, which bear almost all the weight of his opprobrium (1944b: 47). His distinction between the modern story and the tale sets up a dichotomy where the former enjoys superiority over the latter, which caters to a public 'less quick on the uptake' (1944c: 405). The dominance of anecdote and plot in these stories 'if one considers it, [...] is only natural', he writes, '[t]here is a primitive appeal in narrative, or anecdote: [...] but as we develop we want to go a little deeper. [...] This was probably always true among sophisticated readers' (1944a: 337-8). To O'Faoláin, the same holds true for the prevalence of protracted preambles in stories 'a thousand years ago – or to-day in places like our Gaeltacht where the folk-mind is a thousand years old', but which is no longer acceptable 'as we

become more sophisticated' (1944c: 403-4). The radio story, designed to be heard rather than read, is dismissed for similar reasons as the well-told tale: 'there can be no such thing as suggestion or implication, no reading between the lines, the style has to be as plain as a tub-thump. The governing principle is the crude one that the audience must understand at the first hearing, and, at that, an audience which is probably knitting or playing poker' (1944d: 312-3).

For O'Faoláin, modernising and internationalising the Irish short story begins, then, with casting off the conventions of the tale-tradition in a literary culture which in the main still deemed 'Peasant Quality' (Mulkerns 2006: 12) to be a prerequisite for good writing. Contemporaneous magazines such as *The Dublin Magazine* (1923-1958) and *The Capuchin Annual* (1930-1977), for instance, continued to stage traditional stories about childhood, idealised rural memories, and Revivalist or ecclesiastical themes. In such a literary landscape, modern stories did not always qualify as stories. A reader's letter signed by 'Lowbrow' from Dundalk printed next to one of O'Faoláin's didactic pieces protested against O'Faoláin's literary reforms: 'Many of the alleged "short-stories" printed in THE BELL seem to me to possess no qualities at all: they are certainly all distinguished by a complete absence of plot. They may be adequate descriptions of persons, or of personalities, or of the reactions of a particular mind to a particular situation – but is that a "story"?' (1944: 536).[5] A key impetus behind the magazine, therefore, was to establish 'real standards worthy of our dreams about a great, modern Ireland', in a period that is often – unjustly – evoked as a cultural wasteland (1941c: 11). In his ninth editorial O'Faoláin asserts that with the country standing at 'the beginning of its creative history', its standards were 'undeveloped and unapplied' (1941c: 5-6). O'Faoláin's interventions in *The Bell* should be read as concerted effort to educate the middle and lower-middle classes which had only recently moved up to higher echelons in post-independence Ireland. The advertisements and sketches of everyday life sent in by, amongst others, teachers, doctors, clergymen, farmers, and librarians, indicate that *The Bell* clearly had a lower-middle class to middle class readership. Conor Cruise O'Brien, writing as Donat O'Donnell, described the magazine's readership as 'the lettered section of the Irish petty bourgeoisie', people who 'naturally have not travelled so much [...], nor seen so many paintings, nor have they associated so exclusively with intellectuals' (1946: 1030).

The didactic and instructive dimension to O'Faoláin's editorial role in *The Bell* cannot be overestimated.[6] His project of mediating modernism through the modern Irish short story has much in common with the didactic and pedagogical impulse of middlebrow writing. Looking at *The Bell* in relation to the middlebrow offers a useful way into understanding the magazine's relationship to modernism. Particularly in the American application of the word, the term middlebrow has

5. Writer and *Bell*-reader Eilís Dillon testifies that O'Faoláin 'became a byword for promoting evil literature' (1976: 41).

6. It is no coincidence O'Faoláin trained as a teacher.

come to be associated with educational and edifying purposes, as opposed to serving as an evaluative category. *The Bell* can be seen as a middlebrow enterprise for the way O'Faoláin both 'aimed at making literature and other forms of "high" culture available to a wide reading public' (Rubin 1992: xi) and 'offered to mediate [this] literary culture for modern audiences in need of guidance' (Travis 2002: 340). Moreover, O'Faoláin's literary reforms bear all features of what Ina Habermann describes as the most important aspect of middlebrow writing: 'an accessibility unhindered by either high sophistication or an alienating reliance on cliché' (2010: 35). His efforts to disseminate the techniques of writers such as Chekhov, de Maupassant and Bowen should be seen as a way to hold up as example a more sophisticated literary style for a supposedly philistine audience. The magazine's material conditions – its utilitarian appearance, poor paper quality and the low price of initially one shilling (which would have been the equivalent of half a dozen eggs) bear witness to this democratic impulse. In addition, tracing the genealogy and afterlife of O'Faoláin's literary precepts – from his talks on Radio Éireann on the short story in 1942, to his essays and admonitions in *The Bell* to his 1948 book on the genre – reveals that he repeats the same ideas, often verbatim, throughout different publications, which makes it clear that his criticism was to be heard, to be applied, but above all to be emulated by as wide an audience as possible.

The audience O'Faoláin tried to target in particular were aspiring writers amongst whom there was a greater readiness to receive his advice. From its inception, the magazine opened up its pages explicitly to new writers, and consciously turned away from an established nucleus of writers. O'Faoláin dismissed Shaw's suggestion to turn to an elite corpus of writers for content as he felt that, as a young nation and young magazine, 'we must both start at the bottom and build up' (Freyer 1973: 108; O'Faoláin 1940b: 6). In his 'Ulster' editorial, he pointed out that 'a representative collection of active Irish writers to-day is dismayingly near the average age of sixty [...]. We have hardly any young writers at all' (1941b: 6). The motivation behind explicitly trying to shape a new generation of writers, however, was not only governed by the belief that revivifying Irish letters had to be a grass-roots approach. There was of course the practical element that these neophytes were more susceptible to O'Faoláin's interventions and reforms and were thus more likely to imbibe them.[7] Moreover, his conception of the short story as a craft that can be learned through careful and sustained application as opposed to an art that requires a rare stroke of genius or extraordinary talent certainly played a role in encouraging young writers and democratising the form.[8] If early magazine stories continued to rely on traditional storytelling patterns, later contributions by James

7. Julia O'Faolain recalls that 'there were times when our household was like a narrative workshop, as Sean helped young writers to improve their offerings to the magazine' (2001: 28).

8. The word 'art' was significantly dropped from title of his series of talks on the short story on Radio Éireann in 1942 ('The Art and Craft of the Short Story') when he converted the talks to essays for *The Bell* two years later.

Plunkett, Mary Beckett, and Bryan MacMahon visibly bear out the short story poetics advocated by O'Faoláin (D'hoker & Boumans 2020: 294-9).

O'Faoláin's didacticism, however, did not limit itself to fledgling short story writers, but was almost equally reader-centred and geared towards the edification of the short story reader. He argued that 'the reader, [...] if he wants to get the most out of the art before him, has to go to the same school' (1942a: 1-2). If the modern Irish short story, which depended on the alertness of its readers, was to gain currency, it was vital to generate attentive readers and train readers' critical faculties. 'If a reader fails to catch the suggestions that is his loss', he writes after discussing de Maupassant's story 'The Necklace'. 'No self-respecting writer of short stories can pander to the laziness of readers by making himself more obvious' (1944c: 407). O'Faoláin's efforts in *The Bell,* then, were aimed as much at professionalising young writers of the modern Irish short story as their readers.

His aspirations to form attentive readers and writers was not confined to the realm of the written word. The middlebrow commitment to educate and improve translated itself in *The Bell* also to the cultivation of societal skills: in treating the modern Irish short story as a genre which required clear vision, percipience, eschewed generalisations and abstractions, favoured objective and detached narration, which dissected a small slice of Irish life, and presented this in an accessible style, the specifics of his short story poetics became an exercise in critical thinking and acuity as an antidote to woolly romanticism and partisan, clouded thinking. To O'Faoláin, the ability to critically observe and probe life was a much-needed skill in a largely myopic society which he felt had become 'so self-absorbed as to cut out [...] all detachment, critical sense', to him the greatest weakness of the Irish literary movement (1941b: 7; 2016a: 473). 'All our talk is helplessly in the *vague*', he laments in his tenth editorial, and in his 1962 survey of Irish writing of the past fifty years, he writes 'as one looks back over the prose of the period one sometimes wonders whether our writers ever took off their green glasses' (1941b: 11; 2016a: 473). The virtues he praised in short story writing helped to prevent unwarranted indulgence in neo-Gaelic idealising romanticism: his preference for a detached narrator functioned as a safety valve against sentimentality, combating what he called Irish writers' tendency to 'constantly heighten their harsh material by romanticising it', and, in following Edmund Burke's reasoning that 'there are no *abstract* principles, i.e. that things are only true here and now', the hardline rejection of generalisations helped to open 'his countrymen's eyes to the actual conditions of their own country' (1946b: 71; 1945: 467; Brown 2004: 188). If suggesting that O'Faoláin's short story poetics in *The Bell* are best understood as late modernist while simultaneously calling for an understanding of *The Bell*'s ideological function as middlebrow seems contradictory, it bears witness to the ways in which periodicals sometimes unsettle the critical boundaries between modernist and middlebrow, and testifies to the importance of reassessing our understanding of these terms as strange bedfellows (Kane 2015: 23).

In his exploration of the critical reception of literary modernism in Ireland, Enda Duffy claims that O'Faoláin was 'the figure who had most to do with recast-

ing the debate about Irish modernism as one between native traditionalists and modernist and modernising cosmopolitans' (2014: 201). While his account of Irish modernism as partitioned along the lines of either nationalists or internationalists certainly characterises most discussions about Irish modernism, positioning O'Faoláin at the forefront of this division does not do justice to O'Faoláin's contribution to the development of the Irish short story in *The Bell*. Such a view fails to recognise the complex way in which O'Faoláin made every effort to modernise and internationalise the Irish short story as a genre that was both attentive to literary developments on the continent and committed to reflecting and giving shape to Irish life – his was a desire to be 'European though nationalist' (2016a: 485). A broad aspiration to educate Ireland and revitalise Irish letters from the bottom-up in an inimical cultural climate made *The Bell* a middlebrow magazine which sought to equip a culturally impoverished middle class with a modern literature, and which was ultimately concerned with the democratisation of a modern art form.

Bibliography

Arrington, L. 'Irish Modernism and Its Legacies', in: Bourke, R. & McBride, I. (eds.) *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016, 236-252.

Ballin, M. 'Sean O'Faolain: Man of Ideas', in: Badin, D. & others (eds.) *Sean O'Faolain: A Centenary Celebration*. Torino: Trauben, 2001, 47-58.

Bowen, E. 'The Faber Book of Modern Short Stories', in: May, C. (ed.) *Short Story Theories*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976, 152-158.

Brown, T. *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-2001*. London: HarperCollins, 2004.

Carson, N. *Rebel by Vocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Cleary, J. 'Distress Signals: Sean O'Faolain and the Fate of Twentieth-Century Irish Literature', in: *Field Day Review*. 5, 2009, 48-73.

Cutting, S. 'The Short Story, Censorship, and Wartime Publishing: Julian Maclaren-Ross and Horizon Magazine, 1940-1942', in: *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*. 7 (1-2), 2016, 26-47.

D'hoker, E. & Boumans, P. 'Moulding the Mid-Twentieth-Century Irish Short Story: Seán O'Faoláin and *The Bell*', in: *Irish Studies Review*. 28 (3), 2020, 287-304.

Dillon, E. 'Sean O'Faoláin and the Young Writer', in: *Irish University Review*. 6 (1), 1976, 37-44.

Duffy, E. 'Critical Receptions of Literary Modernism', in: Cleary, J. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Irish Modernism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 195-205.

Freyer, G. *Peadar O'Donnell*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973.

Habermann, I. *Myth, Memory and the Middlebrow. Priestly, du Maurier and the Symbolic Form of Englishness*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Harmon, M. *Sean O'Faolain: A Life*. London: Constable, 1994.

Hunter, A. *The Cambridge Introduction to the Short Story in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
Ingman, H. *A History of the Irish Short Story.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Kane, L. '"Chippy Bits Periodicals" and the Middlebrow: Holbrook Jackson, T.P.'s *Weekly* (1902-1916) and *To-Day* (1917-1923)', in: *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies.* 6 (1), 2015, 23-43.
Kent, B. (ed.) *The Selected Essays of Sean O'Faolain*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.
Liggins, E., Maunder, A. & Robbins, R. *The British Short Story*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
Lowbrow. 'Public Opinion', in: *The Bell.* 7 (6), 1944, 536-537.
Matthews, K. *The Bell Magazine and the Representation of Irish Identity: Opening Windows.* Dublin: Four Courts, 2012.
Mulkerns, V. '"Did You Once See Shelley Plain?" Dublin, The Bell, the Fifties', in: *New Hibernia Review.* 10 (3), 2006, 9-23.
O'Donnell, D. 'Horizon', in: *The Bell.* 11 (6), 1946, 1030-1038.
O'Faolain, J. 'The Irishman Who Stayed', in: Badin, D. and others (eds.) *Sean O'Faolain: A Centenary Celebration*. Torino: Trauben, 2001, 21-34.
O'Faoláin, S. 'Answer to Criticism', in: *The Bell.* 1 (3), 1940b, 5-6.
O'Faoláin, S. 'Fifty Years of Irish Writing', in: Kent, B. (ed.) *The Selected Essays of Sean O'Faolain*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016a, 472-487.
O'Faoláin, S. 'Ireland and the Modern World', in: *The Bell.* 5 (6), 1943, 423-428.
O'Faoláin, S. 'New Short Stories', in: *The Bell.* 12 (1), 1946a, 76-80.
O'Faoláin, S. 'New Writers', in: *The Bell.* 1 (6), 1941a, 67.
O'Faoláin, S. 'On Editing a Magazine', in: *The Bell.* 9 (2), 1944e, 93-101.
O'Faoláin, S. 'One World', in: *The Bell.* 9 (6), 1945, 461-471.
O'Faoláin, S. 'Standards and Taste', in: *The Bell.* 2 (3), 1941c, 5-11.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Art and Craft of the Short Story – 2 The Use and Abuse of Realism', in: *RTÉ Radio Scripts UCD Archive*. 1942a, 1-12.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Craft of the Short Story 1 – When is a Story not a Story?', in: *The Bell.* 7 (4), 1944a, 337-344.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Craft of the Short Story 2 – Some Essential Conventions', in: *The Bell.* 7 (5), 1944c, 403-410.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Craft of the Short Story 4 – Instead of Plot', in: *The Bell.* 8 (1), 1944b, 46-54.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Craft of the Short Story 5 – The Problem of Style', in: *The Bell.* 8 (4), 1944d, 306-314.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Dilemma of Irish Letters', in: Kent, B. (ed.) *The Selected Essays of Sean O'Faolain*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016b, 391-404.
O'Faoláin, S. 'The Irish Consciousness', in: *The Bell.* 13 (3), 1946b, 67-71.
O'Faoláin, S. *The Short Story*. New York: Devin-Adair, 1974.
O'Faoláin, S. 'This is Your Magazine', in: *The Bell.* 1 (1), 1940a, 5-9.
O'Faoláin, S. 'Ulster', in: *The Bell.* 2 (4), 1941b, 4-11.
O'Faoláin, S. 'Why Don't We See It?', in: *The Bell.* 5 (3), 1942b, 161-164.
Philpotts, M. 'The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus', in: *The Modern Language Review.* 107 (1), 2012, 39-64.

Rubin, J.S. *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Shovlin, F. 'Was The Bell Modernist?', in: Castle, G. & Bixby, P. (eds.) *A History of Irish Modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 364-378.

Travis, T. 'Print and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture', in: Casper, S.E., Chaison, J.D. & Groves, J.D. (eds.) *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002, 339-366.

Radio after Modernism / Modernism after Radio

Pim Verhulst (University of Antwerp)

Introduction

While it is beyond all doubt that the field of modernism has contributed enormously to the emancipation of literary radio studies in recent years, it has also imposed limitations on the period and authors we investigate, as well as the critical questions we ask ourselves as researchers. This article therefore sets out to assess what literary studies of radio can offer the field of modernism beyond the efforts that have already been made, owing to the recent upsurge of 'New Modernist Studies' (see Latham & Rogers 2015). Up until the 1980s, scholarly investigations of radio drama were mainly undertaken by (former) BBC staff (see Gielgud 1932; 1946; 1948; 1957; Sieveking 1934; Felton 1949; Gilliam 1950; McWhinnie 1959; Cleverdon 1969; Esslin 1981) and could thus be quite prescriptive, or remained isolated scholarly initiatives that failed to cohere into a discipline and make a lasting impact (see Drakakis 1981; Lewis 1981; Rodger 1982) – although now, from the retrospect of modernism studies, they have all been recognized as pioneering works. After a brief overview of the present state of affairs in radiophonic approaches to the 1920s and 1930s, this article aims to show the continued relevance of the modernist framework for critical enquiries into the medium during the postwar period. On the basis of three radio plays – Dylan Thomas's *Under Milk Wood* (1954), Samuel Beckett's *Embers* (1959) and Caryl Churchill's *Identical Twins* (1968) – I will argue that the focus on the representation of fictional minds or the so-called 'inward turn', a concept that was defining for and often still is central to the critical discourse on prewar or 'high' modernism, can continue to be relevant for the 1950s and 1960s, even beyond.

The Modernist Revival of Radio

Regardless of the fact that the BBC was established in 1922, the *annus mirabilis* of high modernism, authors from this period did not immediately find their way to the medium. Elitist approaches to modernism, like John Carey's controversial study *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (1992), have explained this away as a disdain for, and even a distrust of mass media, but more recent scholarship has largely debunked this view and replaced it with a more nuanced understanding. Todd Avery's book *Radio Modernism: Literature, Ethics, and the BBC, 1922-1938* (2006) was a turning point in this respect, for it revealed that central figures of the Bloomsbury Group – such as Desmond MacCarthy and Virginia Woolf, but also T. S. Eliot and

H. G. Wells – became fascinated with the possibilities of broadcasting and participated in this format of cultural dissemination to varying degrees. Since then, the list has been expanded with other names, including E. M. Forster, David Jones, George Orwell, Ezra Pound, J. B. Priestley, Gertrude Stein and W. B. Yeats (see Cohen, Coyle & Lewty 2009; Feldman, Mead & Tonning 2014).

Still, the two main reasons why this 'heterogeneous group of writers took to the microphone', Avery states, were to 'read their own work' and 'to promote their cultural, political, social, and moral ideas' in what was commonly referred to as 'talks' (2006: 139). Apart from Ezra Pound, no major modernist of the time wrote original, non-essayistic work for the medium. The first of his 'radio operas', *The Testament of François Villon*, was aired by the National Programme on 26 October 1931, but the second one, *Cavalcanti*, remained unfinished (see Fisher 2002). Eliot, by contrast, consented to a radio adaptation of *The Waste Land* (1922), but would willfully 'refuse BBC Producer Archie Harding's invitations to employ radio as a medium for serious writing' (Avery 2006: 116). As these examples confirm, the 'high' modernists regarded broadcasting first and foremost as an additional outlet for their poetry, prose and criticism, not so much as a form of artistic or literary expression in its own right.

Still, radio did impact modernists working in the more traditional or established genres. As David Trotter points out, 'these works can be distinguished from pretty much everything that went before and a great deal that has come after by the sheer intelligence of the inquiries they variously undertake into the technological mediation of experience' (2013: 1). Similarly, in his *Multimedia Modernism: Literature and the Anglo-American Avant-Garde* (2009), Julian Murphet recalibrates modernism as a chasm between old and new media ecologies, forcing literature to defend and assert itself as a medium under the pressures of a new order. According to this logic, avant-garde writers such as Pound and Stein were most successful at crossing the divide because they assimilated the cultural codes of these new technological developments, revolutionizing literature in the process. 'When literary historians speak of modernism's relation to new media', Trotter is right to observe, 'they usually have one medium in particular in mind: cinema' (2016: 386). Indeed, Murphet foregrounds film, in addition to photography and mechanical print technology, which exposes a bias towards visual art forms that underlies the majority of studies on modernism and media. David Trotter and Sean Pryor adopt a broader approach by introducing the concept of 'technography', which can be described as a form of writing that engages with technology, in whatever way, without necessarily being technological itself. Compared to oral storytelling, the act of writing always implies some form of technological mediation, but Pryor and Trotter focus on what they call 'modern technographies' of the long nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly those of telecommunication and broadcasting.

For example, in Woolf's mock-biographical novel *Orlando* (1928), radio instils the protagonist with a new sense of 'magic' when she reflects on the 'fabric of life now' and its wireless nature: 'In the eighteenth century, we knew how everything

was done; but here I rise through the air; I listen to voices in America; I see men flying – but how it's done, I can't even begin to wonder. So my belief in magic returns' (2000: 207). The prominence of voice in modernist literature, especially its polyphonous and fragmented nature, is often related to broadcasting. Katherine Mullin describes Eliot's *The Waste Land* as 'a noisy poem, packed with colliding sounds' in which many '[v]oices compete, displacing one another, as if the listener is tuning an analogue radio' switching 'between stations' (2016: n.p.). A more radical example is James Joyce. According to Jane Lewty, the 'principal motif' in book two, chapter three of *Finnegans Wake* (1939) is the radio, 'whose continual presence ensures that all dialogue is loud, rapid and fragmented' (2007: n.p.). The chapter opens with the words 'tolvtubular high fidelity dialdialler' (Joyce 2000: 309), so that the turning of a radio dial sets off a cacophony of voices and strange sounds, which becomes the stylistic principle of the chapter. Lewty already sees an influence of broadcasting on the stream of consciousness technique, as it is deployed in *Ulysses* (1922), suggesting that 'Joyce's incessant, restless switching [...] invites the comparison between a mind in transit and a radio being manually operated' (2005: n.p.). Woolf also links broadcasting to the mind in her essay 'Three Guineas' (1938), by urging her reader to 'turn on the wireless' and 'consult the findings of the public psychometer for yourself' (1996: 179).

Even if canonical figures like Woolf, Eliot and Joyce did not write for the medium directly, 'the relationship between modernism and the radio was a symbiotic one', Angela Frattarola posits:

> the technology of the radio presented a model for modernist writers, showing them how noises, voices, and music could be juxtaposed in new ways and exposing them to new forms, while modernist writers influenced how radio programs were shaped and what aesthetic possibilities were available to the writer of radio drama. (2009: 465)

Frattarola further argues that during the late 1920s and 1930s, modernist poetry and prose were crucial in helping early radio drama free itself from the conventions of theatre, by encouraging radio dramatists to experiment with new techniques such as fragmentation, multiperspectivism, mythic paradigms and stream of consciousness. This, in turn, led to a particular strand of 'microphone play' that was 'from the start, predisposed to modernist aesthetics' (450), as the 'undistracted listening' it called for 'involved a level of difficulty that required a more attentive ear and focused concentration' (452). While some authors truly warrant this comparison because of the way they apply the *monologue intérieur*, such as Tyrone Guthrie in *The Flowers Are Not for You to Pick* (1929) and *Matrimonial News* (1931), others, such as Val Gielgud, Lawrence Du Garde Peach and D. G. Bridson, are rather 'conventional in form', even if they 'tend to align themselves with modernist sensibilities' in their content (461).

While the paradigm of modernism has seemingly reclaimed radio for the purpose of literary studies, this does come at a cost. Apart from the fact that most

canonical authors did not write for radio directly – although many were clearly inspired by it – and minor figures cannot always be regarded as 'modernist', the studies mentioned above have all tended to restrict the time frame of enquiry to the 1920s-1930s period. As the following section aims to show, the notion of 'late modernism' is particularly valuable with regard to the radio medium. Even though it is differently defined by two of its foremost proponents, Tyrus Miller (1999) and Shane Weller (2018), both extend its timeline to the wartime years and the immediate postwar decades. An additional factor to take into account is the creation of the BBC Third Programme in 1946. What partly complicated and retarded modernism's breakthough on the wireless before the Second World War was the existence of one National Programme that catered to the entire country, alongside a more locally operating Regional Programme, suspended during the war but soon replaced with a Forces Programme to provide light entertainment for troops. With the Home Service and the Light Programme taking over these functions in the late 1940s, space opened up for a new network with a deliberately smaller audience, entirely devoted to the arts and supporting – cautiously at first – experimental and avant-garde work, especially as the 1950s drew to a close (see Whitehead 1989; Carpenter 1997; Chignell 2016).

Radio and (Be)Late(d) Modernism

In their special issue of *Modernist Cultures* on 'Broadcast Traces / Tracing Broadcasting: Modernism and Radio' (2015), Debra Rae Cohen and Michael Coyle include a few case studies from the 1940s. In an even more recent special issue of *Media History* devoted to 'Radio Modernisms: Features, Cultures and the BBC' (2018), Aasiya Lodhi and Amanda Wrigley, argue for a 'temporal extension of modernism beyond the Second World War and into the 1950s' (162). This wider scope would assimilate 'literary features' such as Edward Sackville-West's *The Rescue* (1943), Louis MacNeice's *The Dark Tower* (1946) and Dylan Thomas's *Under Milk Wood* (1954), which scholars have sometimes struggled to critically situate (see Wrigley 2018: 267). It also creates a continuum that reaches back to the BBC's Research Unit from the 1920s and the early radio features of producers such as Lance Sieveking, e.g. *Kaleidoscope I* (1928), *Love* (1928), *Kaleidoscope II* (1929) and *Intimate Snapshots* (1929), which were 'a result of artistic experiments in the direction of producing *radiogenic* drama, as distinct from dramas that were to an extent derivative of the stage' (Lodhi & Wrigley 2018: 161-162). 'Although this experimental phase was to ebb away by 1930', David Hendy notes (2013: 173), with the Second World War placing different, often propagandistic demands on the medium as well as modernist authors (see Dinsman 2015; Whittington 2018), the feature form survived the wartime years and even lasted until the mid-1960s, when it merged with the radio play and the separately created Feature Department was dismantled again (Carpenter 1997: 213).

While the feature form offers a very promising and fascinating avenue of research that advances the study of radiophonic modernism beyond its initial cut-off point, it is not the only way forward. Lodhi and Wrigley emphasize the need for a plurality of 'radio modernisms', since '[r]adio in itself is multiply expressive of many modernities that can be examined through a number of lenses' (2018: 162). The particular 'lens' that I would like to use here is modernism's long-held association with an increased focus on fictional representations of the human mind, also known as the 'inward turn' – although this notion of interiority has now been criticized and reassessed from the perspective of 4E cognition (see Emma-Louise Silva's article in this volume). In spite of John Drakakis's claim that, owing to its foregrounding of voice, 'what the medium could do best was to represent the psychological processes of the human mind' (1981: 24), this connection has not yet been examined in depth. On the basis of three short case studies, I aim to show that a form of 'high' modernism makes a belated entrance onto the radio medium with Dylan Thomas's *Under Milk Wood* (1954), before evolving into 'late' modernist depictions of the mind in Samuel Beckett's *Embers* (1959) and Caryl Churchill's *Identical Twins* (1968), the latter putting (late) modernism in dialogue with postmodernism and the (neo-)avant-garde.

The added value of such an approach is that it straddles multiple types of artistic radiophonic expression, from the dramatic feature (Thomas) and the radio play (Beckett) to a kind of hybrid form that is difficult to classify (Churchill) and comes with its own unique label, as we shall come to see. What further characterizes these authors as 'late' modernists, and thus distinguishes them from a previous, predominantly 'monomedial' generation, is that they are 'multimedial', writing poetry, prose or theatre in addition to engaging with radio, television and film. This places them into the same category as other contemporary figures like Elizabeth Bowen or Muriel Spark, whose forays into radio left a clear mark on their novels (see Hepburn 2013; Waugh 2018). As such, these are not just a few isolated cases, but exponents of a larger – be it understudied – postwar phenomenon.

Dylan Thomas – *Under Milk Wood* (1954)

At the start of Thomas's *Under Milk Wood*, we encounter two narrating voices that hover over the fictional Welsh seaside town of Llareggub. 'First Voice', as it is called, promises us exclusive and direct access to the minds of the characters when it states: 'Only you can hear and see, behind the eyes of the sleepers, the movements and countries and mazes and colours and dismays and rainbows and tunes and wishes and flight and fall and despairs and big seas of their dreams' (Thomas 1970: 4). Yet it is the 'Second Voice' that actually takes us into the characters' thoughts, while the First Voice usually sets the scene (see Davies 1975). Together, they switch constantly from external to internal focalization, from narrated to quoted monologue and back, the language becoming increasingly poetic,

sonorous and dreamy as the perspective turns 'inward'. This is illustrated by the following example:

> FIRST VOICE
>
> From where you are you can hear in Cockle Row in the spring, moonless night, Miss Price, dressmaker ans sweetshop-keeper, dream of
>
> SECOND VOICE
>
> her lover, tall as the town clock tower, Samson-syrup-gold-maned, whacking thighed and piping hot, thunderbolt-bass'd and barnacle-breasted flailing up the cockles with his eyes like blowlamps and scooping low over her lonely loving hotwaterbottled body.
>
> MR EDWARDS
>
> Myfanwy Price!
>
> MISS PRICE
>
> Mr Mog Edwards
>
> MR EDWARDS
>
> I am a draper mad with love. I love you more than all the flanelette and calico, candlewick, dimity, crash and merino, tussore, cretonne, crepon, muslin, poplin, ticking and twill in the whole Cloth Hall of the world. I have come to take you away to my Emporium on the hill, where the change hums on wires. Throw away your little bedsocks and your Welsh wool knitted jacket, I will warm the sheets like an electronic toaster, I will lie by your side like the Sunday roast. (6-7)

After moving in and out of the characters' minds at night, listening in on their innermost desires and fears, the narrator goes on during the day, juxtaposing snippets of dialogue, thoughts and asides in a collage of voices.

Barbara Hardy recognizes in this combination of omniscient narrator with stream of consciousness technique on the one hand, and the use of sonority with free association unhindered by a linear plot on the other hand, a 'debt to Joyce – not only to *Ulysses* but also to the great and poetic novel of the night, *Finnegans Wake*' (2000: 57). By referring to *Under Milk Wood* as 'Thomas's *Ulysses*' (65), which also spans the course of just one day, like *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), Hardy puts his modernist significance for the medium of radio on par with that of Joyce for the novel. The undertaker, Evans the Death, might even be construed as a nod to Woolf's novel, where, in his shell-shocked hallucinations, Septimus Smith imagines seeing the ghost of his deceased commanding officer and close friend Evans roam around the city of London. All of these aspects seem to mark *Under Milk Wood* as the belated arrival of 'high' modernism on the radio, lagging some 30 years behind the genres of poetry and prose.

However, despite such winks to 'high' modernist works of fiction and their use of the stream of consciousness technique, '*Under Milk Wood*' is conspicuously absent from studies of both radio modernism and late modernism' (Epstein 2019: 253). According to Josh Epstein, this is because 'recognizing modernist texts' medium-specificity' and 'the effort to re-historicize "late modernism" of the thirties, forties, and fifties' are such recent scholarly evolutions (252). Invoking the work of Jed Esty, Epstein further aligns *Under Milk Wood* with an 'inward "anthropological turn"' (2004: 3) that counters the traditional '"metropolitan perception" of 1920s modernism' (4) with a 'local, "demetropolitanized"' (47) one, in turn connecting radio to a strand of 'vernacular modernism' (see Lacey 2018). Traditionally, the 'local' and 'vernacular' traits of *Under Milk Wood* have (mis)led critics to characterize it as lighthearted, and deterred them from classifying the radiophonic work as modernist, commonly associated with a seriousness of both intent and style – as found in *Mrs Dalloway* – sometimes balanced out with more humourous passages – as in *Ulysses*. Described rather dismissively by influential theatre critic Kenneth Tynan as a 'comedy of humours' featuring 'characters with one-track minds' (qtd. in Thomas 2014: xxxiv), *Under Milk Wood* is generally thought to lack gravitas.

Still, as editor Walford Davies notes, 'the play might well have turned out darker', since many 'unused ideas in the Texas manuscripts show Thomas contemplating certain shades and shadows not now associated with the work' (xxxvii). To 'show Llareggub no Utopia', Thomas urges himself to:

> Bring in Tom [later Sinbad] the Sailor's hopeless love for Gossamer Beynon. Gossamer's erotic dreams. The tragedy behind Lord Cut Glass's life. The sadness of No-good Boyo. The terrible jealousy of Mrs Cherry. Mrs Ogmor-Pritchard's terrible death-waiting loneliness. The poverty of the town, the idiocy, the incest. Look at the graveyard: remember the early mortalities and fatalities. (xxxvii-xxxviii)

Many of these elements are already present in the text as published, but embryonically and understated, evoked rather than spelled out. While such between-the-lines reading is typically regarded as inherent to the modernist aesthetic, it has not always been extended to the radio play genre, which betrays a somewhat biased attitude to the mass medium on the part of critics. Rather than a falling short on Thomas's behalf, the fact that *Under Milk Wood* comes across as more modernist in draft than in print or in broadcast could also be seen as a sign of the institutional pressures that a popular medium like radio put on authors to keep the proverbial brow slightly lower. Even if Thomas's 'Play for Voices', as it was subtitled, initially aired on the highbrow and experimentally-inclided BBC Third Programme, it was also broadcast on the Home Service and advertised on the Light Programme, which both accommodated many of his earlier features, so it clearly had to serve multiple, conflicting purposes.

Samuel Beckett – *Embers* (1959)

If internal and external reality were still neatly separable in Thomas's *Under Milk Wood*, with transitions from the one to the other clearly marked, that dichotomy is blurred and even dismantled in Beckett's radio play *Embers*, signifying a markedly 'late' modernist treatment of the 'inward turn'. It puts into practice a principle that Beckett admired in the painter Bram van Velde's work, as he explained in a letter to Georges Duthuit on 9 March 1949:

> We have waited a long time for an artist who is brave enough, is at ease enough with the great tornadoes of intuition, to grasp that the break with the outside world entails the break with the inside world, that there are no replacement relations for naive relations, that *what are called outside and inside are one and the same*. (Beckett 2011: 140; emphasis added)

This drastic merging of inside and outside is exactly what the entire listening experience of *Embers* revolves around, and to create this effect Beckett is maximally exploiting the purported 'blindness' of radio (see Crook 1999: 53-69; Cazeaux 2005), as well as its total reliance on sound to evoke storyworlds. Already at the radio play's outset, the protagonist, Henry, issues a warning to his dead father, who he imagines sitting next to him, doubling as the listener:

> That sound you hear is the sea. [*Pause. Louder.*] I say that sound you hear is the sea, we are sitting on the strand. [*Pause.*] I mention it because the sound is so strange, so unlike the sound of the sea, that if you didn't see what it was you wouldn't know what it was. (Beckett 2009: 35)

It is not evident from the published text of *Embers*, but on a late typescript used for the BBC production Beckett indicated that the sea should sound 'heavily stylized' (qtd. in Verhulst 2022), which explains why it has been manipulated with a distorting electronic echo that gives it that ambient quality in the recording. We are not hearing the actual sea, it is suggested, but the sound of the sea as filtered through Henry's perception – if we can assume he is actually at the beach. Over the course of the radio play, he conjures up other sounds as well, such as 'Hooves!' (Beckett 2009: 35, 39, 46) or 'A drip!' (37), alongside companions, stories and remembered or fabulated scenes, turning his imagination into a 'theatre of the mind' that has the listener constantly questioning what is real and what is not.

The best example to illustrate this is probably the ambiguous presence of Henry's wife, Ada. Shortly after her first appearance in the play, she instructs him: 'Raise yourself up till I slip my shawl under you' (39). This seems to confirm her physical presence, yet the directions specifically mention that she makes '[*No sound as she sits.*]' (39), which suggests exactly the opposite. Ada also comments 'Chilly enough I imagine' (39), as if she is not actually there and thus has no idea of the weather conditions. Then again, while Henry is imagining his daughter Addie's

music and riding lessons, Ada remarks 'You are silent today.' and 'What are you thinking of?' (41), as if she is not included in his reveries, but quietly waiting on the strand until they are over. Finally, when she asks him 'Are you afraid we might touch?', he answers 'Yes.' (42), further muddling her corporeality.

To French director Roger Blin, Beckett explained the central ambiguity of *Embers* as follows: 'when you listen, you don't know if Ada exists or not, whether she only exists in the imagination of the character Henry' (Blin 1994: 310). In another interview, with the magazine *L'Avant-Scène*, he broadened this uncertainty to the entire storyworld of the radio play as it is perceived through Henry: 'La parole sort du noir… *Cendres* repose sur une ambiguité: le personnage a-t-il une hallucination ou est-il en presence de la réalité?' (qtd. in Mignon 1964: 8) Even though the boundary between the inside and outside of Henry's mind is obscured as a result, the dichotomy obviously still matters. It is the contrast on which the entire listening experience hinges, as we try to navigate the distinction. As such, *Embers* offers a fitting example of David Herman's enactivist revision of the 'inward turn' that modernist fictional minds 'at once shape and are shaped by larger experiential environments' (2011: 249-250). The main difference, of course, is that the radio medium's powerful capacity for 'simultaneity' – i.e. 'a technique to create the experience of contemporaneity (being in two frames at the same moment) and bilocation (being in two spaces at once)' (Kita 2021: 102) – allows it to figure both as inside and outside at the same time. This Beckett exploits to deconstruct any clear-cut distinction between the two as a 'high' modernist convention or illusion.

Caryl Churchill – *Identical Twins* (1968)

Caryl Churchill takes the critical re-examination of the 'inward turn' one step further in her *Identical Twins*, which was announced on BBC Radio 3 as an 'interior duologue'. The term 'duologue' is commonly used in a theatrical context, where it usually denotes a dramatic performance for two speakers, yet it obviously also puns on the modernist notion of the 'interior monologue'. In this radio play, we get two separate interior monologues that only engage in an acoustic dialogue for the listener, which already hints at the playful nature of the production, broadcast in 1968 but never published.

Identical twins Teddy and Clive take turns to express their thoughts on themselves and each other. They sometimes speak together, and in these instances – although they have been living separately for years – they utter almost exactly the same things, with minor variants, merely changing the names of their wives and children or that of their twin brother. The distinctions are indicated with a forward slash in the broadcasting script preserved at the BBC Written Archives, as the following example shows:

> TEDDY AND CLIVE Margaret/Janet has been distant all day. My own fault of course but it makes me cry because I am doing my best to be responsible. She didn't see me cry luckily and never has, I haven't been so weak the last ten years, though I used to as a child after a long illness or some-times after a bad fight with Clive/Teddy, not an ordinary fight because we had them every day, with bricks in our playpen and knives once when we were sixteen, but I do remember this feeling of collapse. (Churchill 1968: 1)

The twins were even played by the same actor, Kenneth Haigh, which proved to be quite a technical challenge without the advantages of digital editing, as producer John Tydeman explains in an interview with John F. O'Malley:

> She [Caryl Churchill] didn't know how difficult technically it was to do. It is a fact that we had to record twin A and then sync (synchronize) twin B, who was played by the same actor. He had to wear head caps to keep in sync with himself because the two twins had different personalities. You could not use the same tape and double it up because one is more forceful than the other, so although they are saying the same things at times, they have to say it in a slightly similar way but in two different voices. (qtd. in Fitzsimmons 1989: 15-16)

Hardly an attempt at psychological realism or a credible depiction of twin identity, the radio play is rather an absurdly amusing double act that is bent on confusing the listener, who has a hard time figuring out which character says what exactly. Just as we are getting used to the voices and managing to keep them apart, Churchill throws us off again by self-reflexively exposing the radio production as a recording when the directions read: '(SPEEDED UP TAPE OF THEM TALKING TOGETHER INCOMPREHENSIBLE)' (1968: 14). On the following two pages, it reoccurs as '(SPEEDED UP)', '(SPEEDED UP, VERY SHORT)' (15) and, finally, as '(SPEEDED UP, PROLONGED INTO HIGH SHRIEK)' (16), at which point it disappears again. Interestingly, these indications only occur in the production script, not in the actual recording at the British Library's BBC Sound Archive, which also distinguishes the two voices of the twins more clearly by using stereophony. As such, similar institutional mechanisms that diminished the modernist traits of *Under Milk Wood* are at play here, as a factor of the radio broadcasting context.

Apart from drawing attention to the radio medium on which it could be heard, in a time when productions were no longer performed live on air but prerecorded, the tape effects of *Identical Twins* serve to deconstruct the 'high' modernist notion of the interior monologue as a fabrication. They expose how easy it is to be deceived by the illusion of direct access to a character's thoughts, whereas in fact this experience is always mediated, even in the seemingly mimetic genre of radio drama, if not by a narrator then certainly by broadcasting technology and studio equipment. Whereas concepts such as metafiction and parody or pastiche

are more readily associated with postmodernism, their application to the mind and the interior monologue aligns them with (late) modernism. Furthermore, the treatment of language as sound and the human voice as noise, particularly in the tape examples above but also in the instances where the speeches of the two btothers overlap, establishes a connection with both the historical avant-garde and the neo-avant-garde (see Arteel, Bernaerts, Bluijs & Verhulst 2021). As such, *Identical Twins* allows for an even broader and much-needed recontextualization of radiophonic modernism.

Conclusion

In addition to expanding the key notion of the 'inward turn' to radio, as well as extending the timeframe of enquiry well into the 1950s-1960s and after, *Under Milk Wood*, *Embers* and *Identical Twins* in particular invite us to be more mindful of archival and institutional factors when studying the medium. Here, too, 'New Modernist Studies' can be helpful, since the 'archival turn' (see Milthorpe 2019) it has instigated, driven by a constant search for new ways of redefining the literary period, has made notions such as ephemerality, inaccessibility and scarcity into scholarly virtues rather than vices or debilitating practical impediments. Arguably, radio plays from the 1940s and later have even more scholarly potential in this regard. Not only have the texts been published or broadcasts been issued commercially (LPs, CDs, etc.) more often, archival data (scripts, recordings, production files, etc.) from this period is typically better preserved and thus less fragmentary, allowing for a fuller understanding. As the research by Lodhi and Wrigley on the radio feature has shown, there are multiple ways to explore the medium beyond the 1920s and 1930s.

Another avenue is looking at the broadcasting of 'modernism after modernism', or how non-radiophonic but nonetheless radiogenic works such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* or Jean Rhys's *Voyage in the Dark*, with their foregrounding of voice, sound, blindness and disembodiment, were adapted for wireless transmission in the postwar period (see Nudd 2009). Of particular interest, for example, is Woolf's novel *The Waves*, notorious for substituting the traditional concept of character with voices that speak in six interweaving soliloquies, while an elusive seventh – Percival – is mentioned by the others but never heard (see Avery 2018). First adapted for the Third Programme in 1955 by Louis MacNeice – whose own radio plays from the 1940s have been recognized as a form of radiophonic (proto-)modernism – and repeated in the mid-1970s on Radio 3, it was dramatized again by Terence Davies for Radio 4's *Classic Serial* programme in 2007. It thus offers a rich case study not only of how the representation of modernist texts on the medium has changed over the decades, possibly influenced by the critical and academic discourses surrounding it, but also of how this has been differently achieved on multiple networks that cater to a variety of audiences.

I am aware that continuing to link the medium to modernism in this way will only serve to reinforce its hegemony. Still, opposing its academic force and staking out a niche territory, as some American scholars have done (see Heuser 2013; 2021), is perhaps not the most productive strategy. While these recent studies and others testify to and celebrate the diversity of radio as a creative or artistic outlet, they also run the risk of fragmenting the newly burgeoning field and losing or diluting the emancipated status that modernism has brought to it if they do not learn a valuable lesson from its dominance in the academic system. In addition to fostering the connection by showing how literary studies of radio can be of value to modernism's ongoing interrogation of itself, they must, on the one hand, make sure to distinguish themselves more clearly from 'media studies' – into which they are oftentimes assimilated – while retaining their interdisciplinary methodology. On the other hand, they must also begin to organize themselves into large-scale international research networks, consortiums and societies that provide training for PhDs and postdocs, with their own conferences, specialized journals and joint publications, in order to study radio drama as a pan-European and global phenomenon. By first rewriting the history of modernism, we can thus at last begin to write the literary history of radio.

Bibliography

Arteel, I., Bernaerts, L., Bluijs, S. & Verhulst, P. (eds.) *Tuning in to the Neo-Avant-Garde: Experimental Radio Plays in the Postwar Period*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021.

Avery, T. *Radio Modernism: Literature, Ethics, and the BBC, 1922-1938*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Avery, T. 'Waves: Aestheticism, Radio Drama and Virginia Woolf', in: *Media History*. 24 (2), 2018, 180-193.

Beckett, S. *'All That Fall' and Other Plays for Radio and Screen*. Frost, E. (ed.) London: Faber & Faber, 2009.

Beckett, S. *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, Volume II: 1941-1965*. Craig, G, Fehsenfeld, M. D., Gunn, D. & Overbeck, L. M. (eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Blin, R. 'Interview with Roger Blin by Joan Stevens', in: Oppenheim, L. (ed.) *Directing Beckett*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994, 301-314.

Carey, J. *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice Among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1839*. London: Faber & Faber.

Carpenter, H. *The Envy of the World: Fifty Years of the BBC Third Programme and Radio 3*. London: Phoenix Giants, 1997.

Cazeaux, C. 'Phenomenology and Radio Drama', in: *The British Journal of Aesthetics*. 45 (2), 2005, 157-174.

Chignell, H. 'British Radio Drama and the Avant-Garde in the 1950s', in: *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. 37 (4), 2016, 649-664.

Churchill, C. *Identical Twins*. Production script, BBC Written Archives, Caversham, Reading, 1968.
Cleverdon, D. *The Growth of Milk Wood*. London: Dent, 1969.
Cohen, D. R., Coyle, M. & Lewty, J. (eds.) *Broadcasting Modernism*. Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2013.
Crook, T. *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005.
Davies, C. 'The Voices of "Under Milk Wood"', in: *Criticism*. 17 (1), 1975, 74-89.
Dinsman, M. *Modernism at the Microphone: Radio, Propaganda, and Literary Aesthetics During World War II*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
Drakakis, J. (ed.) *British Radio Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Epstein, J. '"We Are a Musical Nation": *Under Milk Wood* and the BBC Third Programme', in: *Modern Drama*. 62 (3), 2019, 249-271.
Esslin, M. *Mediations: Essays on Brecht, Beckett, and the Media*. London: Methuen, 1981.
Esty, J. *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
Feldman, M., Tonning, E. & Mead H. *Broadcasting in the Modernist Era*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
Felton, F. *The Radio Play: Its Technique and Possibilities*. London: Sylvan Press, 1949.
Fisher, M. *Ezra Pound's Radio Operas: The BBC Experiments, 1931-1933*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002.
Fitzsimmons, L. *Churchill on File*. London: Methuen Drama, 1989.
Frattarola, A. 'The Modernist "Microphone Play": Listening in the Dark to the BBC', in: *Modern Drama*. 52 (4), 2009, 449-468.
Gielgud, V. *How to Write Broadcast Plays. With Three Examples: 'Friday Morning', 'Red Tabs', and 'Exiles'*. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1932.
Gielgud, V. (ed.) *Radio Theatre: Plays Written for Broadcasting. With a Foreword to Authors*. London: Macdonald, 1946.
Gielgud. V. *The Right Way to Radio Playwriting*. Kingswood: Elliot, 1948.
Gielgud, V. *British Radio Drama 1922-1956. With a Foreword by Sir William Haley*. London: Harrap, 1957.
Gilliam, L. (ed.) *B.B.C. Features*. London: Evans, 1950.
Hardy, B. *Dylan Thomas: An Original Language*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2000.
Hendy, D. 'Painting with Sound: The Kaleidoscopic World of Lance Sieveking, a British Radio Modernist', in: *Twentieth Century British History*. 24 (2), 2013, 169-200.
Hepburn, A. 'Acoustic Modernism: BBC Radio and *The Little Girls*', in: *Textual Practice*. 27 (1), 2013, 143-162.
Herman, D. 'Re-minding Modernism', in: Herman, D. (ed.) *The Emergence of Mind: Representations of Consciousness in Narrative Discourse in English*. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2011, 243-272.
Heuser, H. *Immaterial Culture: Literature, Drama and the American Radio Play, 1929-1954*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2013.
Heuser, H. 'A Forefront in the Aftermath? Recorded Sound and the State of Audio Play on Post-"Golden Age" US Network Radio', in: Arteel, I., Bernaerts, L., Bluijs, S. & Verhulst, P. (eds.) *Tuning in to the Neo-Avant-Garde: Experimental Radio Plays in the Postwar Period*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021, 67-86.

Joyce, J. *Finnegans Wake*. London: Penguin, 2000.
Kita, C. 'Simultaneity and the Soundscapes of Audio Fiction', in: Bernaerts, L. & Mildorf, J. (eds.) *Audionarratology: Lessons from Radio Drama*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 101-117.
Lacey, K. 'Radio's Vernacular Modernism: The Schedule as Modernist Text', in: *Media History*. 24 (2), 2018, 166-179.
Latham, S. & Rogers, G. *Modernism: Evolution of an Idea*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
Lewis, P. *Radio Drama*. London: Longman, 1981.
Lewty, J. 'Aurality and Adaptation: Radioplay in *Ulysses*', in: *Hypermedia Joyce Studies*. 6 (1), 2005 [May 2020]: http://hjs.ff.cuni.cz/archives/v3/lewty2.html.
Lewty, J. 'Q.R.N, I.C.Q: Joyce, Radio Athlone and the 3-Valve Set', in: *Hypermedia Joyce Studies*. 8 (1), 2007 [May 2020]: http://hjs.ff.cuni.cz/archives/v8/main/essays.php?essay=lewty
Lodhi, A. & Wrigley, A. 'Introduction: Radio Modernisms. Features, Cultures and the BBC', in: *Media History*. 24 (2), 2018, 159-165.
McWhinnie, D. *The Art of Radio*. London: Faber and Faber, 1959.
Mignon, P.-L. 'Samuel Beckett', in: *L'Avant-Scène*. 313, 1964, 8.
Miller, T. *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
Milthorpe, N. 'Archives, Authority, Aura: Modernism's Archival Turn', in: *Papers on Language & Literature*. 55 (1), 2019, 3-90.
Mullin, K. 'Sounds in The Waste Land: Voices, Rhythms, Music', *The British Library*, *Discovering Literature: 20th Century, Articles* (25 May 2016) [May 2020]: https://www.bl.uk/20th-century-literature/articles/the-waste-land-voices-sound-and music.
Murphet, J. *Multimedia Modernism: Literature and the Anglo-American Avant-Garde*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Nudd, D. M. 'The Uneasy "Voyage" of Jean Rhys and Selma Vaz Diaz', in: *Literature in Performance*. 4 (2), 1984, 20-32.
Pryor, S. & Trotter, D. (eds.) *Writing, Medium, Machine: Modern Technographies*. London: Open Humanities Press, 2016.
Rodger, I. *Radio Drama*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
Sieveking, L. *The Stuff of Radio*. London: Cassell, 1934.
Thomas, D. *Under Milk Wood: A Play for Voices*. Jones, D. (ed.) London: Dent, 1970.
Thomas, D. *Under Milk Wood: A Play for Voices*. Davies, W. & Maud, R. (eds.) London: Phoenix, 2014.
Trotter, D. *Literature in the First Media Age: Britain Between the Wars*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.
Trotter, D. 'Literature Between Media', in: Sherry, V. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 386-403.
Verhulst, P. *The Making of Samuel Beckett's Radio Plays*. Brussels & London: University Press Antwerp & Bloomsbury, 2022.
Waugh, P. 'Muriel Spark's "Informed Air": The Auditory Imagination and the Voices of Fiction', in: *Textual Practice*. 32 (9), 2018, 1633-1658.
Weller, S. *Language and Negativity in European Modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
Whitehead, K. *The BBC Third Programme: A Literary History*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.

Whittington, I. *Writing the Radio War: Literature, Politics and the BBC, 1939-1945*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.
Wrigley, A. 'Afterlives of BBC Radio Features', in: *Media History*. 24 (2), 2018, 266-282.
Woolf, V. *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*. London: Vintage Books, 1996.
Woolf, V. *Orlando: A Biography*. London: Penguin, 2000.

Wat onuitgesproken blijft, maar wel gezongen

Het Kafkaëske beeld van de vrouw in de opera *The Trial* (2014) van Philip Glass

Carolien Van Nerom (Vrije Universiteit Brussel / Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek)

Franz Kafka staat als modernistisch schrijver onder andere bekend om zijn kritische reflectie op de bureaucratie. Die kritiek komt niet zozeer tot uiting door de onbetrouwbaarheid van taal in de verf te zetten aan de hand van het literaire experiment, maar door gebruik te maken van relatieve waarheden, absurde situaties of doorverwijzingen zonder einde om de lezer te vervreemden. *Der Prozess* (postuum gepubliceerd in 1925) is een voorbeeld van een roman die de werking van het gerechtssysteem ter discussie stelt. In *Der Prozess* wordt de protagonist Joseph K. (kortweg K.) gearresteerd voor een misdaad waarvan hij zelf niet weet dat hij ze gepleegd heeft. K. zoekt hulp bij verschillende personages, die op de hoogte blijken te zijn van zijn situatie, maar die hem evenmin duidelijkheid kunnen verschaffen. Uiteindelijk wordt K. geëxecuteerd zonder ooit te weten wat hem precies ten laste wordt gelegd.

Naast zijn bedenkingen over een absurd doorgedreven bureaucratie toonde Kafka zich ook kritisch over het negatieve vrouwbeeld van de vroege twintigste eeuw. Vergeleken met zijn tijdgenoten, was hij op dat vlak eerder progressief (Boa 2004: 10; Boa 1996/2011; Lorenz 2002: 169-170). De veranderende positie van de vrouw in de modernistische samenleving, met de vrouw die steeds meer zelfvoorzienend wordt maar daar vaak voor wordt bekritiseerd, komt eveneens aan bod in *Der Prozess*. Dit vertaalt zich ook in de muziek in de opera *The Trial* (première in 2014) van Philip Glass, die gebaseerd is op Kafka's roman.[1] De analyse van de operamuziek in dit artikel toont aan dat de operapersonages, net zoals hun literaire tegenhangers bij Kafka, een veranderend wereldbeeld van de vrouw uitdragen. De sopranen *Frau* Grubach en *Fraülein* Bürstner zijn elkaars tegengestelde in leeftijd en in hun opvatting over wat de rol van de vrouw is. De *Washerwoman* staat dan weer lijnrecht tegenover de aanhangers van de portretschilder Titorelli. Titorelli's volgers geven namelijk gestalte aan burgers die passief en weinig kritisch door het leven gaan, terwijl de Wassersvrouw actief deelneemt aan de naoorlogse maatschappij. De thema's van Kafka's roman vinden dus weerklank in Glass' opera.

1. Het libretto van *The Trial* is geschreven door Christopher Hampton, die zich baseerde op het naar het Engels vertaalde *Der Prozess* van Kafka.

Glass en *The Trial*

Glass valt wat betreft compositiestijl binnen het Amerikaans minimalisme waarin *herhaling* een van de belangrijkste structurele principes is. Het repetitieve principe wordt in deze muziek toegepast op alle vlakken van de muzikale compositie, zoals melodievorming, ritme of harmonische ontwikkeling. Op die manier ontstaat een gevoel van tijdloosheid en valt vaak alle referentie aan een tonaliteit of harmonisch systeem volledig weg.[2] Een van de doelen van de Amerikaanse minimalisten was om de muziek op de voorgrond te laten treden en referenties aan betekenissen of verhalen buiten de muziek onmogelijk te maken. Minimalistische composities worden daarom vaak *non-narratief* genoemd (Ashby 2005; Evans 2015; Gann 1997; Mertens 1980).

Hoewel non-narratief misschien een toepasselijk adjectief is bij het vroege werk van Glass, is er wel een evolutie op te merken in zijn verdere oeuvre (Ashby 2005). Waar *Einstein on the Beach* (1976) zeer episodisch is en daarom niet als verhalend wordt ervaren (zie Maycock 2002: 7), draagt de muziek van latere opera's zoals *The Trial* (2014) in belangrijke mate toe tot de narrativiteit van deze opera's. Dat heeft onder meer te maken met een verschuiving van minimalisme naar postminimalisme, zoals beschreven in onder meer Gann (1997/2021) of Jonathan W. Bernard (2003: 114). Zij omschrijven postminimalisme als een doorwerking van het minimalisme. Postminimalistische muziek is verankerd in die vroege, avant-gardistische, repetitieve basis van het minimalisme, maar kent ook een gedeeltelijke terugkeer naar tonaliteit en referenties aan 'a panoply of [well-known] genres' (Gann 1997/2021). Daardoor is postminimalistische muziek toegankelijker en is de narratieve functie van de muziek duidelijker. Hoewel Glass bewust zulke labels afweert, klopt het wel dat *The Trial* eerder onder het postminimalisme valt. De passage van de Titorelli-fans waarin Glass verwijst naar een classicistische stijl is daar een goed voorbeeld van.

Naast een verandering in muzikale compositietechnieken, die kenmerkend is voor Amerikaanse minimalisten in het algemeen, valt bij Glass specifiek ook een andere trend op. Anders dan bij de drie eerste opera's van Glass, die geïnspireerd zijn op het leven van belangrijke figuren (Albert Einstein, farao Achnaton en Mahatma Gandhi), zijn latere opera's vaker gebaseerd op literaire werken. De metatekst zorgt in dat geval voor een referentiekader waarin de muziek duidelijker begrepen wordt als deel van het narratieve geheel. In *The Trial* is de modernistische brontekst van Kafka bijvoorbeeld belangrijk voor een beter begrip van de narratieve functie van de muziek. De absurde gesprekken, het modernistische vrouwbeeld en verschillende motieven uit Kafka's roman vinden namelijk een weerklank in de opera, zoals ook duidelijk wordt in de analyse die hieronder volgt.

2. Voor een duidelijk en compact overzicht van het Amerikaans minimalisme, zie de inleiding in Gann, Potter en ap Siôn 2016.

Grubach en Bürstner: uitersten op het generatie-spectrum

De dialogen tussen K. en Frau Grubach en Fraülein Bürstner zijn opgesplitst in respectievelijk akte één scène twee (a) en (b). De muzikale structuren van beide scènes zijn ook zeer verschillend. Glass maakt daarmee duidelijk dat de vrouwen tegenpolen zijn. Ze maken deel uit van een andere generatie en hebben sterk verschillende opvattingen over de rol van de vrouw in de maatschappij. Bürstner leidt een druk sociaal leven en oefent een job uit in de gerechtelijke sector. Daartegenover staat Grubach, die in haar interacties met K. overkomt als een moederlijk figuur uit een generatie waarbij de vrouw weinig zelfstandigheid had in het werkleven. Die moederrol wordt bevestigd door K. die zijn relatie met Grubach invult als een moederzoon relatie, weliswaar zonder de daarbij verwachte 'emotional demands' (Boa 1996/2011: 9). Uit de muziek in scène twee (a) uit de eerste akte spreekt een emotievolle K. die Grubach enkel nodig heeft om zijn gevoelens te plaatsen, terwijl K. geen boodschap heeft aan Grubachs emoties. Voor K. moet de relatie eenzijdig blijven. Wanneer de muziek de aandacht vestigt op Grubachs ervaring met het alomtegenwoordige gerechtelijke systeem, wordt die kennis door K. volledig genegeerd. Grubach wordt op die manier beknot en blijft in het vooroorlogse beeld van de vrouw steken.

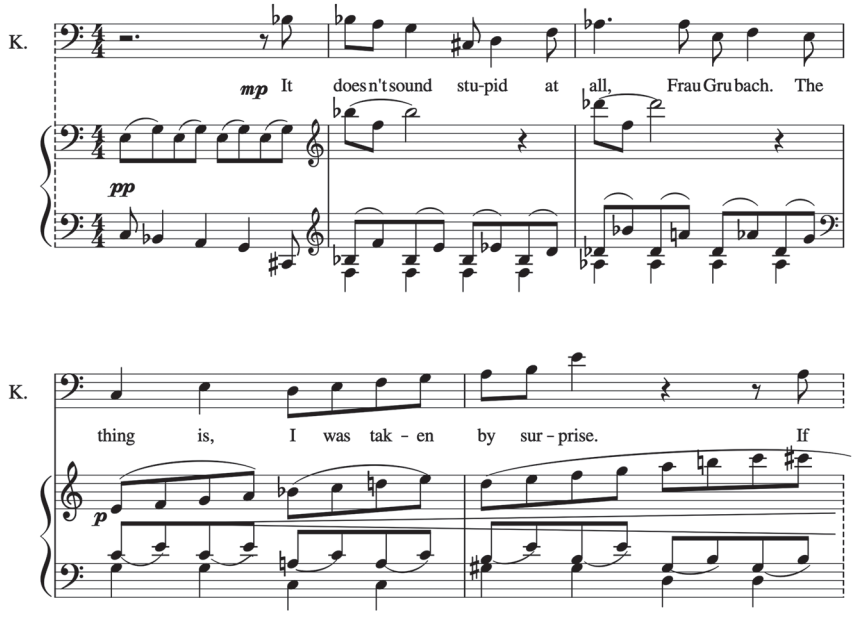

Fig. 1. K. toont zijn gevoelens na zijn arrestatie aan Grubach met een climax in dynamiek en toonhoogte op 'surprise' – akte één scène twee (a) (Glass 2014/2015: 25)

Tijdens de interactie tussen Grubach en K. blijft de muziek aanvankelijk constant: het tempo is traag en de gebruikte instrumenten hebben een eerder lage toonhoogte (cello of marimba bijvoorbeeld) en/of hebben een zacht timbre (fluit of hobo bijvoorbeeld). Hoewel er geen duidelijke toonaard te ontdekken is, wisselen consonante majeur of mineur akkoorden elkaar aanhoudend af. De kalmte bij aanvang van scène twee (a) is verschillend van het gematigde tempo van de voorgaande scène, waarin K. op de hoogte wordt gebracht van zijn nakende proces door twee *inspectors*, Franz en Willem. Het lijkt alsof hij tijdens zijn arrestatie nog weerstand bood, maar nu de ernst van de situatie inziet. K. voelt zich als een geslagen hond en toont nu zijn emotionele reactie aan Grubach die hij de rol van zijn moeder toebedeeld. Hij geeft zijn verbazing over zijn arrestatie toe – iets wat hij voordien niet liet merken. K.'s verraste reactie wordt in de muziek weergegeven als een stijgende lijn in de zangstem en de instrumentbegeleiding. Ook de dynamiek wordt sterker naarmate K. het woord 'surprise' nadert. Later, in een kort, emotioneel solomoment treedt K.'s zangstem prominent op de voorgrond en wordt de muzikale begeleiding echt minimaal. In de vorige scène, die meer dialogisch is, springt geen enkele zangstem er zo uit als op dit moment.

Frau Grubachs reactie lijkt op het eerste gezicht bemoedigend. In het libretto benadrukt ze dat K. de situatie waarschijnlijk te somber inziet. De meanderende begeleiding die eens majeur dan weer mineur wordt, toont echter dat ze zelf twijfelt aan een positieve uitkomst. Ze begrijpt de absurditeit van het gerechtelijk systeem

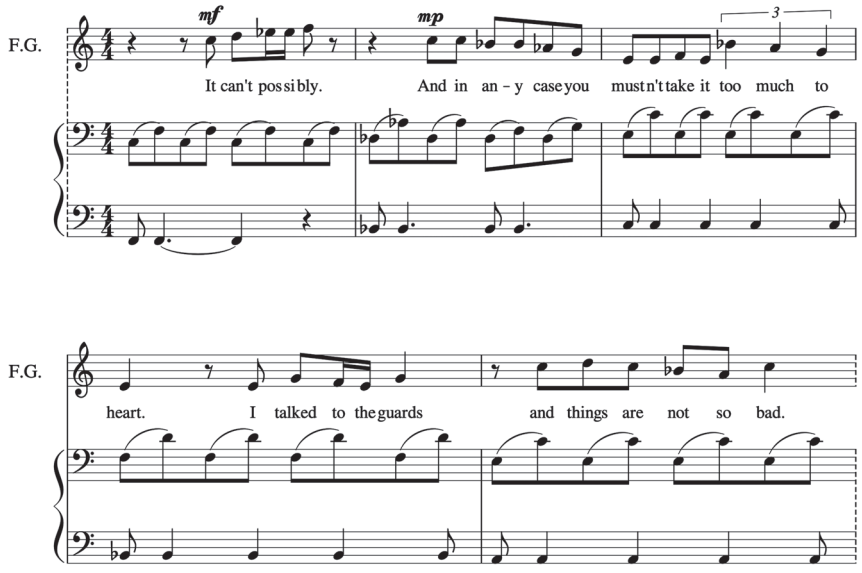

Fig 2. Grubachs gespleten reactie op K.'s arrestatie met een afwisseling tussen majeur en mineur akkoorden – akte één scène twee (a) (Glass 2014/2015: 24)

maar al te goed. Wanneer ze K. aanspreekt met 'you mustn't take it too much to heart' eindigt Grubach op een majeur akkoord (Bes) waardoor ze K. hoop geeft. Wanneer ze meteen daarna echter zegt: 'things are not so bad' verandert het akkoord naar mineur (a). Haar geruststellende woorden blijken dus een leugen te zijn. Dat ze het gerechtelijk systeem niet vertrouwt, wordt daarna nog duidelijker met een dissonante noot in een laag register voor de mezzosopraan (bes_3). Deze noot is geplaatst op het woord 'more' in: 'It wasn't like the arrest of a thief. This was something more… educated' (Glass 2014: 20). Het resultaat is duister en biedt reeds een vooruitblik op het absurde en fatale einde van het verhaal.

Grubach stamt uit een generatie van thuisblijvende vrouwen en zij keurt het gedrag van Fraülein Bürstner, die een job heeft en vaak de bloemetjes buiten zet, niet goed. Wanneer het gesprek tussen K. en Grubach overgaat op Bürstner, laat Grubach haar ongenoegen merken in het libretto: 'twice this month I've seen her out, and each time with a different man. I may have to speak to her about it' (Glass 2014: 21). Na deze uitspraak verandert de muziek van textuur. De dynamiek wordt luider, een gedempt koperinstrument is hoorbaar en de akkoorden in mineur domineren op het einde van scène twee (a). Dit geeft de woorden van K. meer dramatiek wanneer hij Bürstner als nieuwe vrouw verdedigt met 'No! You're quite wrong about her' (Glass 2014: 21). Hij eindigt op een dalende melodielijn en zachtere dynamiek wanneer hij Grubach voor het blok zet: als zij Bürstner ziet als een schande en overweegt om haar niet langer een kamer te verhuren, dan moet ze K. ook maar aan de deur zetten (Glass 2014: 21). De dalende lijn en uitdoving van de dialoog geven aan dat dit voor K. het einde van het gesprek is. De vastberadenheid waarmee K. eindigt, toont hier hoe Bürstners nieuwe levensstijl wordt ondersteund, net zoals bij Kafka. In scène twee (b) wordt in een gesprek tussen Bürstner en K. echter duidelijk dat K. ambivalent is in zijn positie ten opzichte van een nieuw vrouwbeeld.

Enerzijds bejubelt K. de zelfstandigheid van de werkende vrouw. Hij prijst Bürstner voor haar werk en verdedigt haar gedrag tegenover Grubach. Anderzijds vertrouwt hij haar kennis van het gerechtelijk systeem niet en roept hij haar hulp niet in bij zijn proces. K. voelt zich bedreigd in zijn rol als patriarch aangezien een 'New Woman' zoals Bürstner zorgt voor een onbalans in de bestaande gendercategorieën (Boa 1996/2011: 12). Ook in de muziek is het duidelijk dat K. zoekend is in zijn rol als man. Scène twee (b) uit de eerste akte is een gesprek tussen Bürstner en K. waarin muzikaal de nadruk wordt gelegd op K.'s ambivalente reactie. Ze start met los aangeslagen pianonoten in een *walking-bass*-puls die de eerste en derde zware tel in een maat van vier benadrukt. Dat stramien wordt doorbroken door toevoeging van gesyncopeerde ritmes in koper en percussie. Bovendien volgen daarop snelle zestiende noten met een puls op de tweede helft van de tweede tel, meestal in klarinet of in piccolo. Die verwijzen naar een burleske vorm van theater – net die sociale bezigheid van Bürstner waar Grubach aanstoot aan neemt. Het resultaat is een speelsheid en snelheid, eigen aan Bürstner, die haaks staat op de persoonlijkheid van Grubach. Dat laatste wordt in de voorgaande scène weergegeven in een trager tempo en eenvoudigere ritmes, zoals hierboven geïllustreerd.

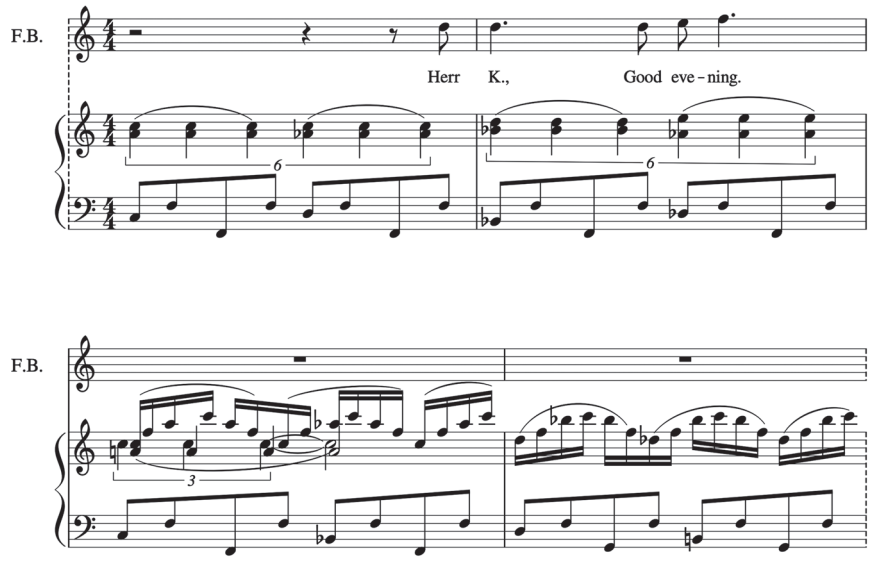

Fig 3. Twee muzikale motieven die zorgen voor een sfeer van speelsheid en snelle noten met een puls die refereert aan burlesk theater – akte één scène twee (b) (Glass 2014/ 2015: 30)

De dialoog tussen Bürstner en K. krijgt door de muziek een snelle, amusante bijklank, hoewel het onderwerp van de conversatie al snel overgaat op K.'s arrestatie en proces. Dat Bürstner deel uitmaakt van een zelfstandigere generatie van vrouwen lijkt wat verloren te gaan in het theatrale karakter van de muziek. Toch neemt Bürstner haar job als *legal secretary* heel ernstig. De speelsheid maakt namelijk deel uit van K.'s focalisatie. Zoals Boa (1996/2011: 13) ook aangeeft, is het K. die zich laat afleiden door Bürstners fysieke eigenschappen en die bijgevolg haar intellectuele capaciteiten minimaliseert.

In de roman is focalisatie een belangrijke techniek om aan te geven dat de lezer door een mannelijke bril naar Bürstner kijkt. Daarnaast zet Kafka in op de metaforische betekenis van de setting, objecten en de lichamelijke posities van de personages binnen de ruimte (Boa 1996/2011: 10; 13). Deze literaire elementen vertalen zich niet in de operamuziek, maar het wordt wel snel duidelijk dat K. Bürstner onderschat. Door muzikaal de aandacht te leggen op bepaalde woorden in haar tekst, geeft Bürstner aan dat ze meer is dan een theatergaande, jonge vrouw en dat ze haar job zeer plichtsbewust en geëngageerd uitoefent. Zo zingt de sopraan haar hoogste noot (bes_5) van de scène bij: 'there's something strangely attractive about the Court' (Glass 2014: 22). Door deze noot tot twee keer toe te herhalen, wordt haar oprechte interesse in het gerechtelijk hof benadrukt. Wanneer ze zegt dat '[she]'ll be able to find out much more' door haar job, loopt de zanglijn ook omhoog

tot bes_5, net zoals ervoor. Haar bedoeling om zichzelf intellectueel te ontwikkelen via haar job wordt op die manier nogmaals onderstreept.

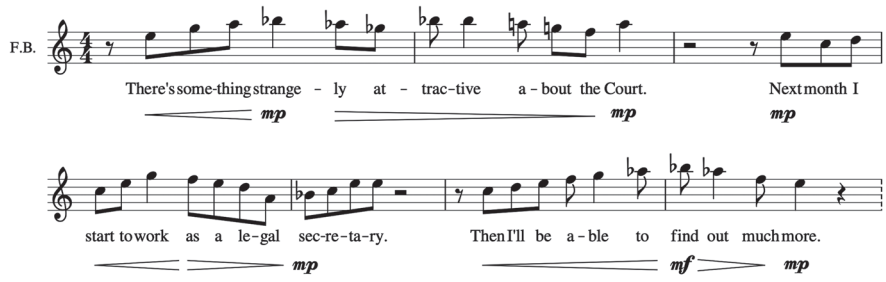

Fig 4. Bürstners zanglijn met oplopende motieven naar een hoog register die wijzen op haar leergierigheid en vastberadenheid – akte één scène twee (b) (Glass 2014/2015: 35; instrumentatie weggelaten)

De lijn van de melodie stijgt hier en culmineert in een kleine climax alvorens opnieuw te dalen. Dat ze deze stijgende lijn tweemaal gebruikt in de context van haar job, getuigt van haar vastberadenheid. Later hanteert Glass nog een stijgende sequens in de zanglijn van Bürstner – 'What was it like? More details. Tell me more.' (Glass 2014: 23). Die getuigt verder van haar interesse in K.'s zaak.

Zoals vermeld, is K.'s reactie op de vrouwelijke personages steeds tegenstrijdig. Waar hij Bürstner eerder in scène twee (a) nog verdedigde tegenover Grubach, laat hij zich in scène twee (b) geringschattend uit over haar kennis van zaken. Wanneer K. aan Bürstner uiteindelijk om hulp vraagt, heeft hij daarbij duidelijk achterliggende beweegredenen die weinig te maken hebben met Bürstners kennis van de wet. Hij beweert 'serious' te zijn over zijn verzoek en blijft daarbij in een tonaliteit die wordt geïmpliceerd door het gebruik van moltekens. Wanneer hij toegeeft dat hij

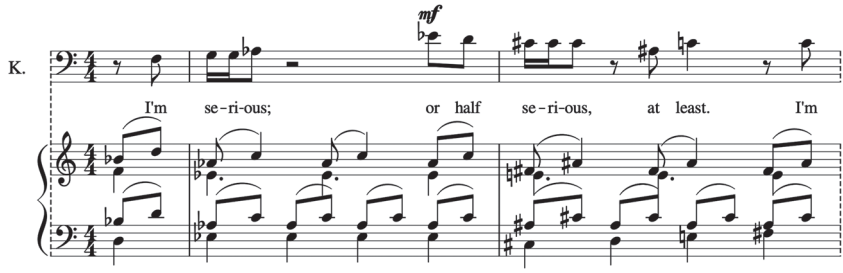

Fig 5. De geïmpliceerde tonaliteit met gebruik van mollen verandert abrupt naar gebruik van kruisen waardoor blijkt dat K. Fraulein Bürstner niet au sérieux neemt – akte één scène twee (b) (Glass 2014/2015: 36)

'half-serious' is, verandert de score plots naar kruistekens en wordt de melodie- en begeleidingslijn verhoogd met één toon. Op de kwintencirkel zijn tonaliteiten die één volle toon uit elkaar liggen mijlenver van elkaar verwijderd. Hoewel de diatonische tonaliteit niet expliciet aanwezig is, is Glass' doorgevoerde gebruik van moltekens naar plotse kruistekens wel zeer opvallend hoorbaar in deze scène. Het zorgt ervoor dat wat K. zegt een ludieke ondertoon krijgt. Dergelijke frivoliteit is tegenstrijdig met de situatie waarin hij zich bevindt. Bovendien trekt hij Bürstners oprechtheid hier in het belachelijke. Waar hij eerder Bürstners 'economic contribution' nog verdedigde tegenover Grubach, reduceert hij haar hier tot 'an object to be possessed' (Boa 1996/2011: 11; 13).

Door gebruik te maken van K. als focalisator en door zijn tegenstrijdige houding ten opzichte van de vrouwelijke personages te benadrukken, brengt Kafka het veranderend modernistische vrouwbeeld in *Der Prozess* onder de aandacht. Voorbeelden van zo'n contradicties zijn de seksualisering van Bürstner via metaforen (zie ook Boa 1996/2011) versus de beschrijving van haar job en de link met het theater. Wat bij Glass zeer helder naar voren komt, zijn K.'s absurde reacties en het generatieverschil tussen Grubach en Bürstner – elementen die ook prominent aanwezig zijn in Kafka's roman. Uiteenlopende ritmes, instrumentenbezettingen en melodielijnen geven de verschillen in hun persoonlijkheden weer. Een andere tegenstelling uit *Der Prozess* die Glass belicht, is die tussen de fans van Titorelli – de gerechtelijke portretschilder – en de Washerwoman. In tegenstelling tot Bürstner die met haar gedrag actief ingaat tegen de patriarchale samenleving, ondergaan deze vrouwelijke personages veeleer de bestaande wereldorde. Toch is de Wassersvrouw op kafkaëskmodernistische wijze zeer gelaagd. Ze blijkt het systeem actief te gebruiken, zij het uit eigenbelang, terwijl de schildersfans zich volledig onbewust zijn van het veranderend wereldbeeld.

Tussen dulden en ondergaan: de Wassersvrouw en giechelende idolatrie

De Wassersvrouw en de fans van Titorelli zijn voorbeelden van personages die slachtoffer zijn van de mannelijke dominantie in de samenleving. De Wassersvrouw wordt op haar werkplek aan het gerechtshof belaagd door mannen uit verschillende standen, zoals de magistraat die K. ondervraagt of de student Berthold. De vrouwelijke fans van Titorelli zijn zeer jong en beelden volgens Lorenz (2002: 171) een kritiek uit op het falende systeem van kinderopvang in de modernistische samenleving. In de opera komt dat laatste niet aan bod, maar schetsen de fans wel een beeld van een minderheid van onbedachtzame volgers die onbewust achtergesteld door het leven gaat. De Wassersvrouw die het systeem duldt, maar er actief aan deelneemt, staat dus tegenover de fans die het systeem ondergaan. Zoals Marinus Ossewaarde (2018) aangeeft: 'The washerwoman [...] is not a plaything in the hands of the powerful rulers of the court: she is an agent who willfully accepts the gendered *status*

quo' (1003). De muziek geeft bij Glass ook aan dat de Washerwoman een complexer personage is dan de luisteraar aanvankelijk wellicht denkt.

Het gesprek tussen de Wassersvrouw en K. heeft bij het begin van akte één scène vier niet dezelfde energie als dat met Bürstner. De maat in drie en de instrumentatie – een dialoog tussen *legato* fluit in een laag register en basklarinet – zorgt voor een rustigere sfeer. Wanneer de zangers hun intrede doen, gaat de begeleiding over naar een uitgedunde bezetting van strijkers. Wat echter opvalt in de begeleiding is een subtiele wissel naar zestiende noten in een hoog register bij de fluit net voor de Wassersvrouw het volgende zegt: 'I liked your speech. What I heard of it. It's so horrible here. Do you think you might be able to make things better?' (Glass

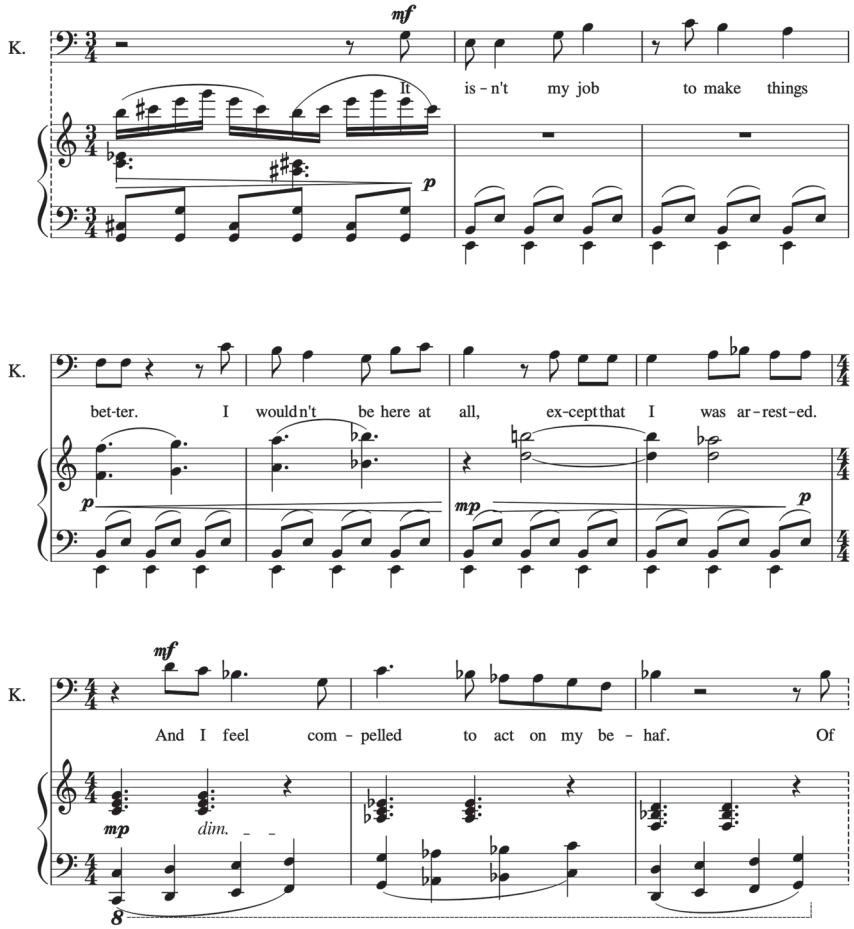

Fig 6. K. is geërgerd door de Wassersvrouw en wordt zenuwachtig in de op- en afgaande dynamiek en melodielijnen in de instrumentatie – akte één scène vier (Glass 2014/2015: 68)

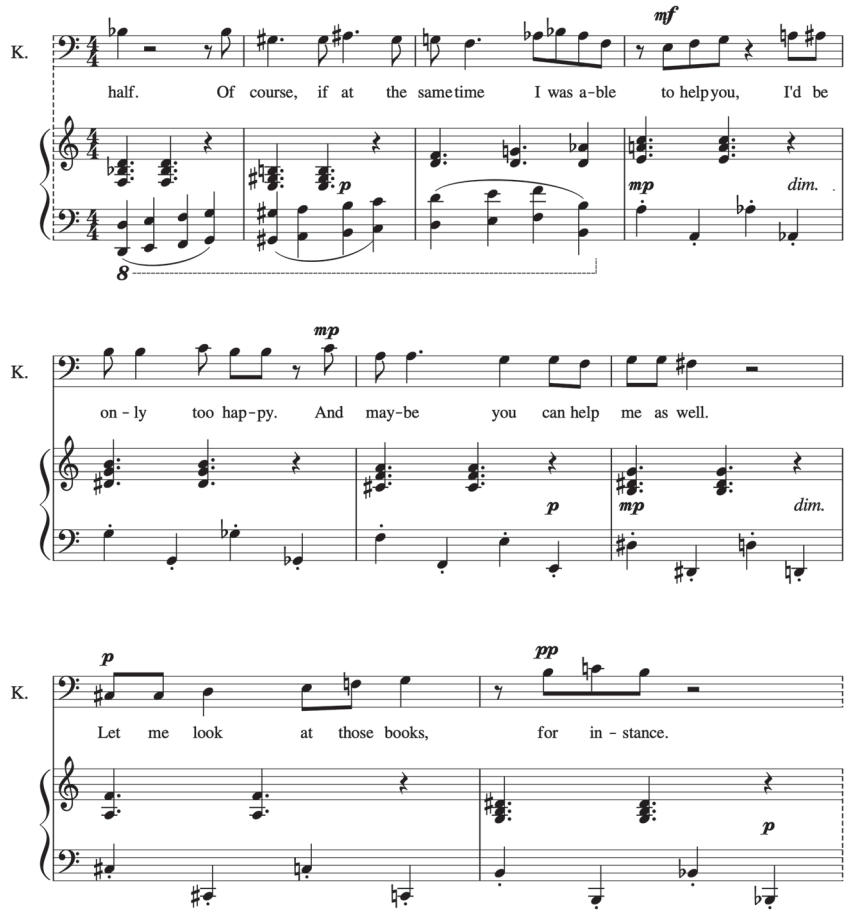

Fig 7. K.'s gelaagde reactie op de Wassersvrouw met een verandering naar pizzicato en zachtere dynamiek – akte één scène vier (Glass 2014/2015: 68; sopraanstem weggelaten uit dit citaat)

2014: 27). Deze plotse verandering naar meer beweging in de fluit geeft duidelijk aan dat de Wassersvrouw hier geagiteerd haar hoop op een verandering in het patriarchale systeem uit. Opnieuw is de reactie van K. op het vrouwelijke personage ambigu. Initieel is hij afkerig en legt hij de nadruk op zichzelf en zijn hachelijke situatie: 'It isn't my job to make things better. I wouldn't be here at all, except that I was arrested, And I feel compelled to act on my behalf' (Glass 2014: 27). Dit wordt in de muziek benadrukt door gebruik van opgaande en afgaande dynamiek, wat wijst op K.'s onrust. Daarnaast krijgen we stijgende motieven in de hoge strijkers of de baslijn die steeds worden afgebroken en opnieuw worden ingezet in de laagte. Omdat de luisteraar enkel de opbouw en geen climax te horen krijgt, is de frustratie

duidelijk te horen bij K. K. geeft aan dat hij noch de hulp, noch de aandacht van de Wassersvrouw apprecieert. Dat is in dit geval volgens Boa (1996/2011) te wijten aan de sociale klasse van de Washerwoman. Ze maakt, vergeleken met Bürstner, deel uit van een lagere klasse. Dat verklaart waarom K. naar de aandacht van Bürstner hengelt, terwijl de Wassersvrouw te min is voor hem. Die laatste is in de ogen van K. slechts een 'adulterous wife [...] [revealing] the sordid disorder of modern society' (Boa 1996/2011: 21).

K. lijkt zich na zijn initiële reactie echter te bedenken over de Wassersvrouw: 'Of course, if at the same time I was able to help you, I'd be only too happy. And maybe you can help me as well' (Glass 2014: 27). De muziek gaat hier over in een andere, lichtere sfeer met *pizzicato* noten in de bas en een heimelijkere, zachte dynamiek. De frustratie van K. is verdwenen en hij gaat nu mee in het verleidingsspel van de Wassersvrouw. De tactiek van de Wassersvrouw lijkt te werken, want K. is toch geïnteresseerd zoals blijkt uit de speelsheid van het pizzicato. K. wordt van zijn rechtszaak afgeleid door de Wassersvrouw, maar anders dan bij Bürstner, is het de Wassersvrouw zelf die hiervoor bewust gebruikt maakt van haar vrouwelijkheid.

De Wassersvrouw zet later in scène vier namelijk een nieuw charmeoffensief in met complimenten voor K. Ze zingt vaak stijgende lijnen bij de volgende woorden: 'come and sit with *me*. You have beautiful *eyes*. Beautiful dark *eyes*. [...] That's why I came in to watch you when you made your *speech'* (Glass 2014: 27; mijn klemtoon). De woorden in het cursief markeren de plaatsen waarbij de melodielijn haar hoogste punt bereikt. De Wassersvrouw legt de klemtoon op eigenschappen van K. om hem te flatteren. Bovendien krijgt de zanglijn van de Wassersvrouw door haar stijgende aard een melodische bijklank, die K. duidelijk kan bekoren aangezien hij later ingaat op haar avances. Toch vormt de rang van de Wassersvrouw op dit moment een probleem voor K.. Hij zingt in respons namelijk enkel dalende lijnen bij: 'I don't think you can help me. You only know the lower grade of officials' (Glass 2014: 27-28).

Wanneer de Wassersvrouw een derde poging inzet om K. te verleiden, biedt K. geen weerstand meer. De muziek gaat in stijgende lijn luider en de triolen die eerder werden geïntroduceerd, gaan steeds hoger in toonhoogte en worden gaandeweg gespeeld door instrumenten met een hoger register. Deze opbouw naar een climax geeft de scène een zeer geladen sfeer.[3] De climax wordt uiteindelijk bereikt bij het inzetten van het slagwerk wanneer de Wassersvrouw de aandacht vestigt op haar 'stockings' (Glass 2014: 28). Helaas worden K. en de Wassersvrouw meteen onderbroken door de student Berthold. De triolen klinken nog na zodat de luisteraar alleen maar kan vermoeden dat de Wassersvrouw K. schaamteloos inruilt voor Berthold. Hieruit blijkt dat de Wassersvrouw bewust meedraait in het patriarchale systeem: Berthold kan als student rechten immers later een invloed uitoefenen op de

3. De *didaskalia* in de score geven aan dat de zangers ook fysiek richting een climax gaan. Zo staat er als richtlijn voor de personages van K. en de Wassersvrouw: 'He nods to her, moves to leave, and she grabs his hand' (Glass 2014/2015: 72); 'K. sits down with her again' (Glass 2014/2015: 73); en 'She pulls up her skirt and puts K.'s hand on her stocking' (Glass 2014/2015: 74).

positie van de Wassersvrouw binnen het gerechtshof. K. is op dat moment dus inwisselbaar omdat Berthold een gunstigere *zakenrelatie* is voor de Wassersvrouw.

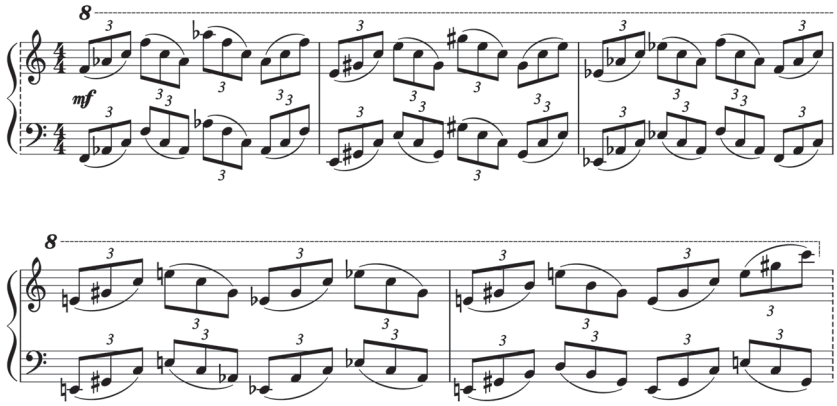

Fig 8. Triolen in een hoog register zorgen voor een geladen sfeer. In de non-climax wordt K. ingeruild voor Berthold – akte één scène vier (Glass 2014/2015: 76)

Kafka zorgt in *Der Prozess* voor vervreemding bij de lezer door situaties zoals hierboven beschreven in het absurde te trekken. Niemand reageert immers op de manier waarop de Wassersvrouw door Berthold en andere leden van het gerecht wordt gebruikt. Dat dergelijke wantoestanden onbeantwoord blijven, wordt in de opera uitgedrukt door een abrupte terugkeer van de climactische triolen naar het muzikale elan van voorheen. Overwegend gezapige achtste noten in de begeleiding komen namelijk terug wanneer Berthold en de Wassersvrouw hun activiteiten stopzetten en K. opnieuw ten tonele verschijnt. Een luisteraar die een *normale* reactie verwacht van de personages blijft dus op zijn honger zitten. In de plaats biedt de opera ook slechts een bevreemdende terugkeer naar de *normaliteit*.

De manier waarop de Wassersvrouw semi-actief deelneemt aan het onderdrukkende, patriarchale systeem staat tegenover de levensvisie van de achterban van Titorelli de portretschilder. De Titorelli-fans beelden een bevolkingsgroep uit die zich volledig onbewust is van het veranderend wereldbeeld. De jonge meisjes hebben enkel oog voor Titorelli en bekommeren zich niet om de maatschappij of hun positie daarin. Daarnaast kaart Kafka volgens Lorenz (2002: 171) het gebrek aan ondersteuning voor zwakke of minderbedeelde kinderen in het modernisme aan.[4] Deze aanklacht maakt geen onderdeel uit van de opera. Niet alleen zijn het groepje

4. Eén van Kafka's kind-personages heeft een misvorming aan de rug en is een voorbeeld van iemand uit de lagere sociale klasse met een gebrek aan medische hulp. Bovendien is het niet duidelijk of het groepje kinderen een dak boven hun hoofd hebben. Ze lijken permanent aanwezig rond Titorelli of zelfs in diens appartement wanneer hij afwezig is (zie Kafka 1925/2001: 132-135).

zangers volwassen stemmen, ze bestaan ook uit twee vrouwen en een man. De roman beschrijft enkel zwervende, minderbedeelde meisjes.

In Glass' opera komt dit trio slechts enkele keren aan bod – wanneer ze de conversatie tussen Titorelli en K. onderbreken – maar ze laten wel een blijvende indruk na. Scène twee van de tweede akte begint in een opgewekte sfeer in een hoog tempo met gevarieerde instrumentatie waarin grotendeels majeur akkoorden worden gespeeld onder tromgeroffel. Zeer opvallend is de sonore inzet van de zangers. Dergelijke akkoorden bij de zangers komen namelijk nergens anders voor in *The Trial*. Zangers zingen altijd dialogisch, met weinig melodische verfraaiing. De zanglijnen staan bovendien eerder los van de begeleiding die zijn eigen gang gaat. De samenklank van dit trio, zowel onderling als met de begeleiding, komt dus als een donderslag bij heldere hemel.

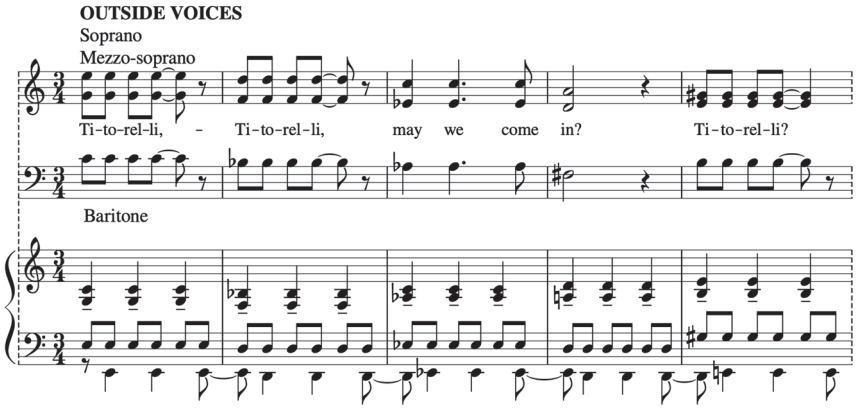

Fig. 9. Voorbeeld van het trio Titorelli-fans, die plots in sonore akkoorden samen zingen – akte twee scène twee (Glass 2014/2015: 137)

Het trio bij Glass doet denken aan de samenzang van de drie dames of de drie knapen bij Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in diens opera *Die Zauberflöte* (KV 620, eerst opgevoerd in 1791). Het gaat om een eerder komische referentie van Glass want het contrast tussen het trio bij Glass en bij Mozart is enorm. De drie dames of knapen bij Mozart vervullen een verhalende, zelfs didactische functie (Nedbal 2017: 84). Ze zijn geen extradiëgetische vertellers want ze maken deel uit van de verhaalwereld, maar ze representeren vaak een *deus ex machina* die met magische krachten het verhaal voortstuwt. Zo komen de dames bij de eerste scène van de eerste akte samen de held Tamino al te hulp met een succesvolle 'Heldentat' door een venijnige slang te doden (Schikaneder 1791/2017). De knapen sturen later Tamino terug op *het juiste pad*: 'Zum Ziele führt dich diese Bahn, doch mußt du Jüngling männlich siegen, drum höre uns're Lehre an: Sei standhaft, duldsam, und versch-

wiegen' (Schikaneder 1791/ 2017). Heldhaftige of belerende interventies van een literair personage zijn in modernistische literatuur en andere kunstvormen ondenkbaar. De verwijzing naar de culturele periode van *singspiel* en komisch vermaak staat in scherp contrast met Kafka's modernistische aanklacht tegen de patriarchale 'Era of Organization' (Ossewaarde 2018).

Toch zijn de drie dames uit *Die Zauberflöte* ook verwant aan de Titorelli-fans in hun attitude van *ignorance-is-bliss*. Nadat ze de knappe Tamino redden van de slang kunnen ze alleen maar bekvechten over wie hem mag meenemen naar de koningin van de nacht. Het gekibbel resulteert zelfs in een overgang naar het metrum van een wals. Dit duidt in het classicisme van Mozart op een alledaagse, zelfs vulgaire dansvorm. Hun bewondering voor de jonge Tamino maakt de drie dames blind voor de realiteit. De Titorelli-fans in *The Trial* zijn evenmin geïnteresseerd in het ernstige gesprek tussen K. en Titorelli. In hun consonante interventies sturen ze aan op het vertrek van K. zodat ze opnieuw alleen kunnen zijn met Titorelli: 'He's putting on his jacket! He's leaving! Let us in, Titorelli' (Glass 2014: 46). Enerzijds contrasteert de referentie aan een klassiek voorbeeld van komische opera met de muziek in de rest van de opera. Sonore akkoorden komen in de postminimalistische operamuziek bij Glass uitzonderlijk voor. Daarnaast vestigt dit uitzonderlijk muzikaal moment de aandacht erop dat een duidelijke ontknoping moeilijk te rijmen valt met een modernistische verhaallijn als die van Kafka. Anderzijds duidt de verwijzing naar een trio in de klassieke stijl een gelijkenis aan. Beide groepen bestaan immers uit personages die niet kritisch in het leven staan en die alles eerder op zich af laten komen.

Met de Titorelli-fans slaat Glass duidelijk een andere weg in dan Kafka. De vrouwelijke zangstemmen en mannelijke zangstem zijn geen reactie op de leefomstandigheden van dakloze kinderen in het modernisme zoals dat bij Kafka het geval is. Eerder zijn ze een gelaagde verwijzing naar een vervlogen verleden van komische opera en heroïsche verhalen. Hoewel Glass zelf zich waarschijnlijk tegen het label zou kanten, is deze referentie aan een klassiek genre een voorbeeld van een postminimalistische techniek, die in het vroege werk van Glass ondenkbaar was. Polystylisme is overigens een trend die kenmerkend is voor postmodernistische muziek in het algemeen (zie o.a. Daniel Albright 2004: 12-13; Jonathan D. Kramer 2002: 16-17). Net zoals bij de postmodernistische literatuur, die zich onderscheidt van modernistische teksten door o.a. intertekstualiteit en parodie (zie o.a. Lewis 1998/ 2001: 125-126; Hutcheon 1988), is het citeren van bekende muziekstijlen of -genres eerder eigen aan muziek uit de periode van het postmodernisme.

Conclusie

Kafka en Glass bieden allebei een beeld van de veranderende positie van de vrouw in de naoorlogse maatschappij. De vrouwelijke personages tonen bij Glass vooral via hun melodielijnen dat ze niet alleen sterke karakters hebben maar ook over kennis

van zaken beschikken. Een frappant voorbeeld is de Wassersvrouw die bij haar hoge tonen de nadruk legt op K.'s goede eigenschappen tijdens haar verleidingspoging. Daarnaast worden twee tegenstellingen tussen vrouwelijke personages muzikaal uitgewerkt. Deze tegenstellingen illustreren hoe verschillende bevolkingsgroepen omgaan met een veranderend vrouwbeeld. Het verschil tussen generaties wordt uitgewerkt in de tweede scène van de eerste akte waarin een gesprek tussen K. en Frau Grubach meteen wordt gevolgd door een gesprek tussen K. en Fraülein Bürstner. Glass geeft door instrumentatie, melodievorming bij Bürstner, en gebruik van motieven en sequensen via de muziek aan hoe beide vrouwen op een verschillende manier in het leven staan. De Wassersvrouw en de fans van Titorelli verbeelden dan weer een tegenstelling tussen vrouwen die actief deelnemen aan een vrouwonvriendelijk milieu en zij die dit passief ondergaan. Hier werkt Glass de tegenstelling vooral uit door de melodievorming bij de Wassersvrouw en het parodiëren van de klassieke stijl van het singspiel.

Het parodiëren van andere muziekstijlen in *The Trial* is een techniek die eerder valt onder het postmodernisme of zelfs het postminimalisme. Maar net zoals het postmodernisme in zekere mate een voortzetting van het modernisme is, komt de vervreemding van Kafka's modernistische roman ook aan bod in de postminimalistische muziek van Glass. Vooral K.'s ontwijkend gedrag en zelfs tegenstrijdige reacties frustreren de lezer of de luisteraar. Kafka's hoofdpersonage uit vaak kritiek op het patriarchale systeem, bijvoorbeeld wanneer hij Bürstner verdedigt tegenover Grubach. Maar K. kan de vrouwelijke personages echter ook kleineren door ze niet naar waarde te schatten. In de melodielijnen van K. is dat vaak te merken, zoals in de tonaliteitswissel wanneer K. al plagend Bürstners expertise negeert. Kafka's vervreemding door literair experiment ligt vaak in het gebrek aan een reactie op absurde gebeurtenissen. Ook bij Glass komt geen reactie op absurde praktijken, bijvoorbeeld door het afhouden van een climax na een muzikale opbouw die zich ontspint bij de *bespreking* tussen K. en de Wassersvrouw. De inertie van K. en de maatschappij in het algemeen bij de aanblik van de *nieuwe vrouw* is dus bij Kafka én Glass een belangrijk terugkerend thema.

Bibliografie

Albright, D. (red.) *Modernism and Music: An Anthology of Sources*. Chicago, IL/London: Chicago University Press, 2004, 1-14.

Ashby, A. 'Minimalist Opera', in: Cooke, M. (red.) *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Opera*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 244-266.

Bernard, J.W. 'Minimalism, Postminimalism, and the Resurgence of Tonality in Recent American Music', in: *American Music* 21 (1), 2003, 112-133. DOI 10.2307/3250558 [april 2021].

Boa, E. 'Revoicing Silenced Sirens: A Changing Motif in Works by Franz Kafka, Frank Wedekind and Barbara Köhler', in: *German Life and Letters* 57 (1), 2004, 8-20. DOI 10.1111/j.1468-0483.2004.00266.x [april 2021].

Boa, E. 'The Decaying Law Discourses of Gender, Class, and Race in The Trial', in: Boa, E. (red.) *Kafka: Gender, Class, and Race in the Letters and Fictions*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 1996/2011. DOI 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198158196.001.0001 [april 2021].

Evans, T. *Shared Meanings in the Film Music of Philip Glass: Music, Multimedia and Postminimalism*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.

Gann, K., Potter, K., & ap Siôn P. 'Introduction', in: Gann, K., Potter, K., & ap Siôn, P. (red.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Minimalist and Postminimalist Music*. London/New York, NY: Routledge, 2016, 1-11.

Gann, K. 'A Course in Postminimalism', in: *Kyle Gann: Composer and Author*. 1997/2021. [april 2021]: https://www.kylegann.com/AshgatePostminimalism.html.

Gann, K. 'Minimalism', in: *American Music in the 20th Century*. Belmont, CA: Schirmer Books, 1997, 184-217.

Glass, P. *The Trial: An Opera in Two Acts* [audio recording by Music Theatre Wales & booklet]. East Hampton, NY: Orange Mountain Music, 2014.

Glass, P. *The Trial* [piano/vocal score]. New York, NY: Dunvagen Music Publishers, 2014/2015.

Hutcheon, L. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. New York, NY/London: Routledge, 1988.

Kafka, K. *The Trial* [translated from German by Muir, W. & Muir, E.]. London: Vintage Books, 1925/2001.

Kramer, J. 'The Nature and Origins of Musical Postmodernism', in: Lochhead, J. & Auner, J. (red.) *Studies in Contemporary Music and Culture Vol. 4: Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought*. New York, NY/London: Routledge, 2002, 13-26.

Lewis, B. 'Postmodernism and Literature', in: Sim, S. (red.) *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*. London/New York, NY: Routledge, 1998/2001, 121-133.

Lorenz, D.C.G. 'Kafka and Gender', in: Preece, J. (red.) *The Cambridge Companion to Kafka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 169-188.

Maycock, R. *Glass: A Portrait*. London: Sanctuary, 2002.

Mertens, W. *Amerikaanse repetitieve muziek: In het perspectief van de Westeuropese muziekevolutie*. Bierbeek: Vergaelen, 1980.

Nedbal, M. *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*. London/New York, NY: Routledge, 2017.

Ossewaarde, M. 'Kafka on Gender, Organization and Technology: The Role of 'Bureaucratic Eros' in Administering Change', in: *Gender, Work & Organization* 26 (7), 2018, 1000-1016. [april 2021]: https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12278.

Schikaneder, E. ''Die Zauberflöte' by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart libretto (German)', in: *DM's Opera Site: Libretti & Information*, 1791/2017. [april 2021]: http://www.murashev.com/opera/Die_Zauberfl%C3%B6te_libretto_German_Act_1.

Deel 2

Femicide in Zuid-Amerika door de lens van twee literaire werken: kroniek versus roman

Eva Van Hoey (Universiteit Gent)

Volgens de Verenigde Naties Vrouwen is Latijns-Amerika, afgezien van oorlogszones, de meest dodelijke regio voor vrouwen (2017); elke dag worden in Latijns-Amerika minstens negen vrouwen vermoord vanwege hun vrouw-zijn (femicide). De voorbije decennia zijn meer en meer feministische groepen opgestaan die het brutale geweld tegen vrouwen op het continent bestrijden (Souza 2019). Het succes van dergelijke groepen illustreert de publieke afkeer van het schrijnende fenomeen van gendergeweld en meer bepaald femicide, wat ook volop gethematiseerd wordt in de literaire productie van Argentinië en Chili. De Argentijnse Selva Almada en de Chileen Diego Zúñiga publiceerden in 2014 respectievelijk *Chicas muertas*, een kroniek, en *Racimo*, een roman, waarin ze allebei het buitensporige geweld tegen vrouwen centraal stellen.[1]

Chicas muertas (2014) gaat over drie femicides die in de jaren tachtig in het binnenland van Argentinië plaatsvonden: Andrea Danne, María Luisa Quevedo en Sarita Mundín werden vermoord enkel en alleen vanwege hun vrouw-zijn. De verteller, een alter ego van de auteur zelf, onderzoekt de drie onopgeloste femicides. Ze interviewt niet alleen familieleden maar onderzoekt ook politierapporten in de hoop dichter te komen bij de ontmaskering van de daders van de gruwelijke misdaden. Almada koppelt de waargebeurde verhalen van de drie meisjes aan haar eigen ervaringen als vrouw in Argentinië. Zo slaagt ze erin de harde realiteit voor de vrouw in Argentinië bloot te leggen. *Racimo* (2014) vertelt het fictieve verhaal van de fotograaf Torres Leiva, die geconfronteerd wordt met het tragische en mysterieuze verhaal van de verdwenen jonge meisjes van Alto Hospicio, een dorpje in Chili. Torres Leiva probeert samen met zijn collega-reporter García te achterhalen wat er echt gebeurd is met de jonge meisjes, die van de ene op de andere dag verdwenen. Net zoals in *Chicas muertas* is de rode draad het brutale geweld tegen vrouwen vanaf jonge leeftijd.

Selva Almada en Diego Zúñiga zijn niet de eerste Latijns-Amerikaanse auteurs die schrijven over het verschrikkelijke fenomeen van de femicide. In de Latijns-Amerikaanse literatuur geldt *2666*, Roberto Bolaño's *magnum opus* uit 2004, als het meest spraakmakende werk over gendergeweld. Voor deze roman baseerde de Chileense auteur zich op de femicides die in de jaren negentig voor opschudding zorgden in Ciudad Juárez, een Mexicaanse stad op de grens met de Verenigde Staten.

1. *Chicas muertas* werd al vertaald in het Nederlands (*Dode meisjes*, Vleugels, vertaald door Marijke Arijs). Andere titels van Selva Almada zijn *Het onweer* en *De steenbakker van El Chaco* (Meulenhoff, vertaald door Adri Boon). *Racimo* werd tot nu toe nog niet in het Nederlands vertaald. Er is wel een andere titel voorhanden van Diego Zúñiga namelijk *Camanchaca* (Karaat, vertaald door Merijn Verhulst).

Honderden vrouwen zijn toen verdwenen en verkracht, gemarteld en vermoord teruggevonden in de Mexicaanse woestijn (Franco 2013: 219). Naar aanleiding van die gebeurtenissen heeft de term 'femicidio' (Wright 2011: 707) ingang gevonden en is de aandacht nationaal toegenomen voor deze extreme vorm van gendergeweld (Lagarde y De Los Ríos 2010: XI).[2] Het fenomeen van femicide beperkt zich echter niet tot Mexico. De strijd tegen gendergeweld is een van de grootste uitdagingen waar Latijns-Amerika voor staat.

Chicas muertas en *Racimo* hebben al aanleiding gegeven tot verschillende artikels. De secundaire bibliografie over Almada's kroniek spitst zich toe op twee aspecten: de combinatie van feiten, getuigenissen en fictionele technieken en de aanwezigheid van verschillende discoursen (Tornero 2020; Nanni 2019; Cabral 2018; Moret 2018; Elizondo Oviedo 2015). *Racimo* werd tot nu toe hoofdzakelijk benaderd vanuit de context van globalisering en neoliberalisme (González González & Candia-Cáceres 2017; Rodríguez 2016) en aan de hand van het 'rizoom'-concept van Deleuze en Guattari (Péndola Ramírez & Landeata Mardones 2018).

Hoewel González González en Candia-Cáceres (2017) zowel *Chicas muertas* als *Racimo* bespreken, bestaat er nog geen vergelijkende analyse van beide werken. Een dergelijke comparatieve insteek biedt een dubbel voordeel. Enerzijds leren we eruit hoe femicide wordt voorgesteld in de hedendaagse Argentijnse en Chileense literatuur. Anderzijds brengt een dergelijke vergelijking aan het licht hoe deze voorstelling al dan niet verschilt naar gelang van het gehanteerde literaire genre – Almada en Zúñiga schreven respectievelijk een kroniek en een roman. De focus op de representatie van gendergeweld in deze regio is interessant aangezien het net in Argentinië is dat de succesvolle feministische beweging 'Ni Una Menos' (Niet één [vrouw] minder), ontstond. Intussen heeft dit collectief het voortouw genomen in de strijd tegen gendergeweld, en specifiek femicide, op het hele continent (Santomaso 2017).

De kroniek is een Latijns-Amerikaans genre dat op dit moment aan een steile opmars bezig is. De hedendaagse kroniek wordt gedefinieerd als een hybride genre dat literatuur (fictie) en journalistiek (feiten) combineert om een alternatief discours te bieden over sociale problemen zoals gendergeweld (Castillo 2015). Vooral de aanwezigheid van de stem van de auteur aan de hand van een eerstepersoonsverteller is een onderscheidend kenmerk van het genre. In het tweede deel van dit artikel ga ik dieper in op de specificiteit van het Latijns-Amerikaanse genre dat minder algemeen bekend is dan het genre van de roman.

2. Voor relevant onderzoek over femicide in Mexico verwijs ik naar de studies van Rosa-Linda Fregoso en Cynthia Bejarano (2010), Melissa Wright (2011) en Rita Segato (2013).

Femicide in *Chicas muertas* (2014) en *Racimo* (2014)

In 1992 formuleerden Diana Russell en Jill Radford een van de eerste definities van 'femicide'. Volgens hen is femicide: 'het vermoorden van vrouwen, door mannen, vanwege hun vrouw-zijn' (Organización de los Estados Americanos: Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres 2008: 3). Verder wordt femicide gekarakteriseerd door het feit dat in theorie alle mannen ertoe in staat zijn (Segato 2013). Het gaat om hele brutale moorden: vrouwen worden verkracht, verminkt en gemarteld. Volgens Rita Segato (2013) wijst dit op de vrouwenhaat die aan de basis ligt van het geweld.

In Latijns-Amerika heerst een machocultuur. Mannen uiten hun dominantie en mannelijkheid door middel van de controle op vrouwen en hun lichamen (Yugueros 2014). Het geweld tegen vrouwen moet volgens Ileana Rodríguez (2009) dan ook in de eerste plaats gezien worden als een uiting van macht en controle. Vooral in *Chicas muertas* komt de dominante houding van mannen duidelijk naar voren. De verteller, het alter ego van de auteur, geeft het voorbeeld van een chauffeur die vond dat hij het recht had om haar en haar vriendin ongewenst aan te raken (Almada 2015: 30-33). Vrouwen die zich verzetten tegen de mannelijke dominantie, worden gestraft. Almada vertelt over een meisje dat verkracht werd met een fles nadat ze een jongen had afgewezen (Almada 2015: 20). Verder benadrukt ze dat femicide niet de enige vorm van gendergeweld is maar dat er ook subtiele varianten voorkomen:

> De mama van mijn vriendin die zich niet opmaakte omdat haar papa dat niet toeliet. De collega van mijn mama die elke maand haar volledige loon afstond aan haar echtgenoot opdat hij het kon beheren. [...] Zij die geen hakken mocht dragen omdat dat iets voor hoeren is.[3] (Almada 2015: 55-56; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.).

In *Racimo* zijn het voornamelijk de autoriteiten die blijk geven van machogedrag. Volgens de agenten die de verdwijning van de jonge meisjes onderzoeken, kunnen ze niet ontvoerd zijn omdat ze al seksueel actief waren (Zúñiga 2015: 129), wat een duidelijk voorbeeld is van *victim blaming*. Er is echter een opvallend verschil tussen *Chicas muertas* en *Racimo*. In haar kroniek benadrukt Almada heel sterk de link tussen gendergeweld en de misogyne houding van mannen tegenover vrouwen in Latijns-Amerika, iets wat bij Zúñiga veel minder het geval is.

Almada wil nadrukkelijk bestaande overtuigingen over gendergeweld ontkrachten. Femicides worden namelijk in de pers vaak voorgesteld als geïsoleerde incidenten, als uitgevoerd door psychopaten of als passiemoorden (Santomaso 2017). In haar kroniek toont Almada daarentegen de structurele kant van het geweld tegen vrouwen. Ze beklemtoont het hallucinante aantal femicides en het

3. 'La mamá de mi amiga que no se maquillaba porque su papá no la dejaba. La compañera de trabajo de mi madre que todos los meses le entregaba su sueldo completo al esposo para que se lo administrara. [...] La que tenía prohibido usar zapatos de taco porque eso era de puta.' (Almada 2015: 55-56). Originele tekst in het Spaans.

veelvuldig voorkomen van gendergeweld en laat zien dat het niet enkel over psychopaten in donkere steegjes gaat: 'Ik ben nu veertig en, in tegenstelling tot haar en de duizenden vermoorde vrouwen in ons land sinds haar dood, ben ik nog in leven. Alleen maar een kwestie van geluk.'[4] (Almada 2015: 181-182; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.). Verder uit ze onomwonden kritiek op de *mainstream* journalistiek in haar land, die op sensationele en morbide wijze bericht over de femicides:

> De zogenoemde 'zaak Quevedo' [...] groeide uit tot dé horrorserie van de zomer van 1984 in El Chaco. Een verhaal van intriges, verdenkingen, valse pistes en valse getuigenissen dat door de mensen gevolgd werd via de kranten en de radio alsof het een soap of feuilleton was.[5] (Almada 2015: 151-152; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.).

Zowel Almada als Zúñiga slagen erin om dit discours te vermijden. Almada bespreekt bijvoorbeeld niet de gewelddaad zelf, maar focust veeleer op het resultaat van de misdaad. Op die manier roept ze de wreedheid van het geweld op zonder het letterlijk te tonen. Beide auteurs spreken op een respectvolle manier over de slachtoffers en besteden aandacht aan het leed van de familieleden van de slachtoffers zonder voyeuristisch te zijn.

In *Racimo* legt Zúñiga de focus vooral op de economische kant van het (gender)geweld. Die economische dimensie van het geweld tegen vrouwen heeft te maken met wat Sayak Valencia Triana (2012) *capitalismo gore* (goor kapitalisme) genoemd heeft, meer bepaald de relatie tussen extreem geweld en de neoliberale logica in Mexico. Volgens Valencia worden lichamen niet enkel gebruikt om producten te maken maar zijn ze producten *an sich* geworden, voornamelijk in grensregio's die het economisch slecht doen en waar veel armoede heerst. Mede door de machocultuur die gereproduceerd wordt door de overheid en haar instellingen ontstaat het idee dat het 'legitiem' is om vrouwen en hun lichamen te gebruiken als waren het (economische) wegwerpproducten. Die logica is zichtbaar in het geval van prostitutie, waar vrouwen letterlijk als product worden verkocht, maar ook in de privésfeer worden vrouwen in Latijns-Amerika verkracht, gedood en daarna op een vuilnisbelt gegooid alsof ze wegwerpproducten zijn.

Ondanks het feit dat ze niet in Mexicaans grensgebied liggen, vertonen de gebieden waar *Chicas muertas* en *Racimo* zich afspelen sterke gelijkenissen met de situatie die Valencia beschrijft.[6] Beide verhalen vinden plaats in perifere regio's die het economisch slecht doen en volledig in de steek gelaten zijn door de overheid

4. 'Ahora tengo cuarenta años y, a diferencia de ella y de las miles de mujeres asesinadas en nuestro país desde entonces, sigo viva. Sólo una cuestión de suerte.' (Almada 2015: 181-182). Originele tekst in het Spaans.
5. 'El llamado Caso Quevedo [...] [se transformó] en la serie de horror y misterio del verano chaqueño de 1984. Un relato de intrigas, sospechas, pistas falsas y falso testimonio que la gente seguía por los diarios y la radio como si fuera un culebrón o un folletín por entregas.' (Almada 2015: 151-152). Originele tekst in het Spaans.
6. In hun artikel over het werk van Bolaño, Almada en Zúñiga gebruiken González González & Candia-Cáceres (2017) Valencia's *capitalismo gore*-concept om over perifere en grenszones te spreken in Mexico, Argentinië en Chili.

(Zúñiga 2015: 185). In *Racimo* gaat het over de woestijnstad Iquique in het noorden van Chili en in *Chicas muertas* over kleine dorpen gelegen in de provincies Chaco, Entre Ríos en Córdoba in Argentinië. De regio's zijn weliswaar geïndustrialiseerd maar de industrialisatie is er mislukt. Arbeiders zijn er ongelukkig (Zúñiga 2015: 106) en dorpen worden beschreven als vuil en lawaaierig (Almada 2015: 63). Door de moeilijke economische situatie beginnen meisjes op jonge leeftijd hun lichaam te verkopen zoals ook het geval is bij Sarita (Almada 2015: 58). In *Racimo* benadrukt Zúñiga vooral het probleem van de georganiseerde prostitutie die over de landsgrenzen heen bestaat (meer bepaald tussen Chili en Peru). Meisjes worden verhandeld en verplaatst over het hele continent. Een van de hypotheses over wat er met de meisjes is gebeurd, is dan ook dat ze ontvoerd en verkocht zijn aan een internationaal prostitutienetwerk (Zúñiga 2015: 221). Verder worden de vermoorde meisjes vaak teruggevonden op vuilnisbelten (Almada 2015: 18; Zúñiga 2015: 201), wat het idee van een vrouwenlichaam als afval verder versterkt. Hoewel Almada ook aandacht heeft voor de moeilijke economische situatie, is het vooral Zúñiga die de problematische economische logica benadrukt aan de hand van zijn focus op prostitutie.

Een derde aspect van femicide dat in beide werken aan bod komt, is de schrijnende straffeloosheid en het hieruit voortvloeiende gebrek aan gerechtigheid voor de slachtoffers en hun familie. Gabriel Giorgi (2014) stelt dat er in de Latijns-Amerikaanse cultuur een onderscheid wordt gemaakt tussen 'levens om te beschermen' en 'levens om in de steek te laten' (Giorgi 2014: 15). Degenen die tot de tweede categorie behoren, mogen uitgebuit en gebruikt worden als waren het producten en hebben geen sociale of politieke rechten (Giorgi 2014: 15-16). Het vermoorden van iemand uit die categorie wordt dan ook niet als misdaad beschouwd (Giorgi 2014: 22). In Latijns-Amerika lijken vrouwen tot die categorie te behoren. Dat zou verklaren waarom de overheid en haar instellingen niets doen om de femicides te voorkomen, laat staan om de daders te vinden en te straffen. In *Chicas muertas* en *Racimo* is dat effectief het geval en doen de autoriteiten geen enkele moeite om de verantwoordelijken van de gruwelijke femicides op te sporen. Ze verzinnen excuses, communiceren niets aan de families en blijken corrupt te zijn, wat ervoor zorgt dat de bevolking geen enkel vertrouwen meer heeft in de politie noch in de werking van justitie.

Beide auteurs tonen hoe de bevolking reageert op de straffeloosheid. De families gaan zelf op onderzoek om de waarheid te vinden (Almada 2015: 153) door te rade te gaan bij waarzeggers of hun toevlucht te nemen tot andere vormen van populaire religie (Almada 2015: 41; Zúñiga 2015: 130). In *Chicas muertas* wordt het belang van solidariteit tussen vrouwen sterk in de verf gezet: vrouwen moeten openlijk spreken over het geweld (Almada 2015: 56) en mogen het niet doodzwijgen. In *Racimo* ligt de nadruk meer op het belang van publieke actie, meer bepaald het organiseren van publieke demonstraties:

> De first lady gaat verder spreken maar het geroep gaat het haar niet toestaan. Zes, zeven, acht, tien personen hebben postgevat tegenover de ingang van het Patricio Lynch-college

> met borden en ze roepen [...]. Ieder heeft om zijn hals de gekopieerde foto van zijn dochter, zijn kleindochter, zijn zus, zijn nicht.[7] (Zúñiga 2015: 161; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.).

Deze demonstraties lijken een expliciete verwijzing naar de Dwaze Moeders van de Plaza de Mayo en de Vereniging van familieleden van de Verdwenenen ('Desaparecidos'), twee bewegingen die in de jaren zeventig ontstonden in Argentinië en Chili en die via demonstraties in opstand kwamen tegen de misdaden tegen de menselijkheid die de militaire dictaturen in beide landen begingen (Horton 2015). In Argentinië gaat het over de militaire junta (1976-1983) met als spilfiguur Jorge Rafael Videla; in Chili over de militaire dictatuur van Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). Telkens 'verdwenen' duizenden (ongeveer 30 000 in Argentinië en 3000 in Chili) tegenstanders van de regimes. Aan de hand van foto's van de vermisten slaagden deze burgerbewegingen erin de regimes onder druk te zetten.

Zowel Almada als Zúñiga leggen verbanden tussen de repressie door de staat tijdens de dictaturen en de hachelijke situatie waarin vrouwen zich vandaag de dag bevinden, waardoor de specifieke context en geschiedenis van respectievelijk Argentinië en Chili nauw met de verhalen verweven worden. Zo creëren ze een continuïteit met het verleden. Ze suggereren dat, ondanks de huidige democratie in beide landen, sommige problemen zoals het extreme gendergeweld daarvan een uitvloeisel zijn. Tevens vergemakkelijken ze het identificatieproces bij die lezers die minder vertrouwd zijn met gendergeweld, maar wel opgroeiden tijdens de gruwelijkheden van de militaire dictaturen.

Chicas muertas speelt zich bijvoorbeeld af ten tijde van de inauguratie van Raúl Alfonsín, de eerste democratisch verkozen president na de dictatuur van Videla. Almada bespreekt ook verschillende gruweldaden die plaatsvonden tijdens de dictatuur zoals het verminken van dode lichamen en de illegale toe-eigening van baby's (Almada: 151). Het is echter vooral *Racimo* dat bol staat van de verwijzingen naar de dictatuur, in casu naar het regime onder Pinochet. Iquique, de stad in het noorden van Chili waar de meisjes verdwenen, werd bijvoorbeeld de lievelingsstad van Pinochet genoemd. Niet alleen roept het hoofdthema, de verdwijning van jonge meisjes, onmiddellijk associaties op met de verdwijningen die plaatsvonden tijdens de militaire dictatuur, maar ook de sterke focus op het belang van foto's is in *Racimo* frappant. Het hoofdpersonage, Torres Leiva, is fotograaf en reflecteert dikwijls over het belang van herinneren en de ethische dimensie ervan. Zo fotografeert Torres Leiva de demonstraties van de familieleden van de verdwenen meisjes. In *Racimo* wordt echter ook verwezen naar de kracht van beelden in het algemeen. Zo is het eerste deel van de naam van het hoofdpersonage 'Torres', wat 'torens' betekent, een verwijzing naar een van de bekendste voorbeelden van de impact van beelden: de

7. 'Va [la primera dama] a continuar pero los gritos no se lo van a permitir. Son seis, siete, ocho, diez personas que se paran frente a la entrada del Patricio Lynch con pancartas y gritan [...]. Cada uno lleva colgada en su cuello la imagen fotocopiada de su hija, de su nieta, de su hermana, de su sobrina.' (Zúñiga 2015: 161). Originele tekst in het Spaans.

beelden van de aanslagen op 9/11 in de Verenigde Staten, die wereldwijd een enorme invloed hadden:

> De man loopt recht naar de camera, zonder zijn tas ook maar een ogenblik los te laten. Torres Leiva kent zijn naam niet, noch zijn leeftijd, noch wat hij daar doet. Hij kan zich echter een verhaal voorstellen, zelfs een naam. [...]. Ze lieten hem toe daar te zijn, in dat beeld, met een rookwolk achter zijn rug, verdergaand tussen brokstukken, kijkend naar de grond, zonder ook maar een ogenblik zijn tas los te laten.[8] (Zúñiga 2015: 39; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.).

Ook de werking van het geheugen en de rol die foto's spelen in het herinneringsproces komen uitgebreid aan bod in de roman, net zoals de fragiliteit van het geheugen en het gevaar van vergeten. Het thema 'vergeten' wordt vooral op symbolische wijze opgevoerd wanneer aan het einde van de roman een enorme vloedgolf Iquique overspoelt. Via de problematiek van gendergeweld, die steeds meer aandacht krijgt in Latijns-Amerika, en de verbanden die worden gelegd met de militaire dictatuur van de vorige eeuw slaagt *Racimo* erin de lezer te doen stilstaan bij het belang van het levend houden van herinneringen aan het verleden om het heden beter te begrijpen.

Kroniek versus roman

Uit wat voorafgaat, kunnen we afleiden dat de belangrijkste kenmerken van gendergeweld in het algemeen en femicide in het bijzonder in beide werken op de voorgrond treden. Toch blijkt duidelijk dat de twee auteurs dit geweld op een andere manier benaderen en verschillende aspecten ervan beklemtonen. Hoewel dat verschil in benadering niet te herleiden valt tot een enkele oorzaak wil ik in dit deel van mijn artikel ingaan op een van de factoren die een invloed heeft gehad op de voorstelling van het geweld.[9] Mijn hypothese is dat het verschil in benadering gedeeltelijk samenhangt met het genre dat wordt gebruikt, respectievelijk de kroniek (*Chicas muertas*) en de roman (*Racimo*).

In wat volgt, zal ik me vooral toespitsen op de eigenschappen van de hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek, een genre waarmee de Nederlandstalige lezer veel minder vertrouwd is. De Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek in haar huidige vorm groeide uit tot een echt fenomeen sinds de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw (Darrigrandi 2013) en wordt gekarakteriseerd als een bij uitstek hybride genre (Castillo 2015) dat zich situeert op het raakvlak tussen journalistiek en literatuur, feiten en

8. 'El hombre camina directo a la cámara, sin soltar en ningún momento el maletín. Torres Leiva no sabe su nombre, tampoco su edad ni qué hace ahí. Sin embargo, puede imaginar una historia, un nombre, incluso. [...] le permitieron estar ahí, en esa imagen, con una nube de humo a su espalda, avanzando entre escombros, mirando al suelo, sin soltar en ningún momento su maletín.' (Zúñiga 2015: 39). Originele tekst in het Spaans.

9. Een andere factor die een invloed kan hebben op de voorstelling van het gendergeweld is het geslacht van de auteurs. Het is bijvoorbeeld mogelijk dat Almada meer aandacht besteedt aan de machocultuur in Latijns-Amerika omdat ze als vrouw al vaker geconfronteerd werd met de nefaste gevolgen ervan.

fictie.[10] Het hybride karakter van het genre wordt benadrukt in de vele 'definities' die erover circuleren. In 2006 definieerde Juan Villoro de hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek als 'het vogelbekdier van het proza' ('el ornitorrinco de la prosa'). In zijn vaak geciteerde beschrijving stelt de Mexicaanse auteur dat de kroniek elementen uit de roman, de reportage, het interview, het moderne en Griekse theater, het essay en de autobiografie gebruikt zonder samen te vallen met een van die genres. Een opvallende eigenschap van de hedendaagse kroniek is de aanwezigheid van een eerstepersoonsverteller: het objectieve karakter van de feiten en de hoge graad van referentialiteit worden gecombineerd met de subjectiviteit van de eerste persoon en bepaalde fictionaliseringstechnieken.

Verder wordt de hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek beschouwd als een genre met een emancipatorisch potentieel. De kroniek wil een alternatief discours brengen over sociale problemen in de maatschappij en gaat hiermee in tegen hegemonische discoursen in Latijns-Amerika, namelijk die vertogen die gecontroleerd worden door de overheid of door grote mediaconcerns (Castillo 2015). Deze instanties nemen, in Latijns-Amerika nog meer dan elders, vaak een loopje met de objectieve 'waarheid' en hebben de neiging de machocultuur, die ingebakken zit in de maatschappij, te reproduceren en uit te vergroten. Een representatief voorbeeld van de soms problematische berichtgeving over gendergeweld in Latijns-Amerikaanse kranten is het artikel 'Een fanatieke fan van de discotheek en schoolverlater' ('Una fanática de los boliches, que abandonó la secundaria') gepubliceerd op 13 september 2014 in *Clarín*, de Argentijnse krant met de grootste oplage. In dat artikel, dat handelt over de verdwijning van een jong meisje, wordt vooral aandacht gevraagd voor het gedrag van het meisje (ze ging vaak uit en hing rond met oudere jongens), waardoor geïnsinueerd wordt dat ze zelf mede verantwoordelijk is voor wat haar is overkomen.

Aangezien de eigenschappen van de roman afdoende bekend zijn, beperk ik mij hier tot een samenvatting ervan zoals beschreven in het 'Algemeen letterkundig lexicon' (DBNL): het genre van de roman verwijst naar (proza)teksten die overwegend fictioneel zijn en in omvang langer zijn dan novelle teksten en daarom op thematisch vlak vaak een complexer plot hebben dat bestaat uit hoofd- en nevenintriges. Het is echter uiteraard zo dat deze eigenschappen niet alleen 'voorbehouden zijn aan de roman' (DNBL). Voor het opzet van dit artikel is vooral het overwegend fictionele karakter en de thematische complexiteit (het 'breder van opzet zijn') van de roman interessant aangezien het genre op deze twee niveaus afwijkt van de hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek, die een sterke non-fictionele inslag heeft en een relatief eenduidige boodschap heeft.

10. De kroniek als literaire vorm heeft al een lange traditie. Aan het einde van de negentiende eeuw maakte de modernistische kroniek opgang. Verder was er in de jaren zeventig van de twintigste eeuw in Latijns-Amerika een opvallende opkomst van de stadskroniek. Bovendien publiceerden verschillende auteurs meesterlijke kronieken buiten deze perioden, zoals de Argentijnse auteur Rodolfo Walsh met zijn kroniek *Operación masacre* (1957).

De nadruk die Almada legt op de structurele dimensie van het geweld tegen vrouwen, de heersende machocultuur, die ook op het niveau van de autoriteiten bestaat, en de problematische weergave van het geweld door de mainstream media in Argentinië valt direct in verband te brengen met het genre dat ze gebruikt om het te hebben over gendergeweld in het algemeen en femicide in het bijzonder. Met haar kroniek *Chicas muertas* wil Almada duidelijk een ander discours brengen over geweld tegen vrouwen. Aan de hand van getuigenissen van familieleden en anekdotes uit haar eigen leven, die ze in de eerste persoon vertelt, schetst ze een beeld van de jonge meisjes dat haaks staat op het beeld dat gecreëerd wordt in de mainstream media en in het officiële discours, dat ze weergeeft in de kroniek aan de hand van autopsierapporten en rechtsverslagen. Door het hybride karakter van haar tekst kan ze de slachtoffers van gendergeweld een stem en een gezicht geven en ingaan tegen heersende overtuigingen over het geweld.

Ze toont dat gendergeweld een realiteit is of kan zijn voor alle vrouwen en dat het niet gaat om geïsoleerde incidenten door vreemden: 'Ze hebben ons nooit verteld dat je echtgenoot, je papa, je broer, je neef, je buur, je grootvader, je leerkracht je kon verkrachten. Een man in wie je al je vertrouwen stelde.'[11] (Almada 2015: 55; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.). De wens van de auteur om een alternatief discours te brengen, in dit geval over gendergeweld, en om het verhaal op zichzelf te betrekken, is bij uitstek een eigenschap van de kroniek, en daarom veel sterker aanwezig in *Chicas muertas* dan in de roman *Racimo*.

In *Racimo* verbindt Zúñiga de specifieke problematiek van gendergeweld niet alleen met het geweld uit het verleden, meer bepaald dat van de militaire dictatuur, en met de economische achterstelling van bepaalde Chileense regio's maar ook met het 'filosofische' belang van herinneren en het gevaar van vergeten. Anders dan bij de kroniek, hoeft Zúñiga zich in zijn roman niet aan concrete feiten te houden noch een alternatief discours te brengen, wat hem een grotere spanbreedte verleent. Die vrijheid wordt weerspiegeld in de ruime waaier aan thema's die Zúñiga expliciet en impliciet, aan de hand van symboliek, de revue laat passeren in zijn roman. Verder is er naast de hoofdintrige, de verdwijning van jonge meisjes, ook sprake van verschillende nevenintriges, zoals het verleden van Torres Leiva en de dood van zijn dochter. Zúñiga baseerde zijn fictionele tekst *Racimo* op het waargebeurde verhaal van Julio Pérez Silva, de seriemoordenaar van Alto Hospicio die actief was tussen 1998 en 2001 (Péndola en Landeata 2018: 36). Door te kiezen voor een roman lijkt het alsof Zúñiga de realiteit gefictionaliseerd heeft om er ruimer over na te kunnen denken.

Vooral het verband tussen fotografie en herinneren is heel belangrijk in deze roman. Ook Zúñiga's focus op de economische kant van het gendergeweld gaat terug op het belang dat hij in zijn roman toekent aan de 'herinnering' van het verle-

11. 'Nunca nos dijeron que podía violarte tu marido, tu papá, tu hermano, tu primo, tu vecino, tu abuelo, tu maestro. Un varón en el que depositaras toda tu confianza.' (Almada 2015: 55). Originele tekst in het Spaans.

den. De huidige economische situatie van de Chilenen is namelijk mee het gevolg van het Pinochet-regime: de Chilenen in en buiten de steden zijn het slachtoffer van de enorme ongelijkheid tussen arm en rijk en van het doorgeschoten neoliberalisme dat begon onder Pinochet. Dat die problemen leven bij de Chileense bevolking werd duidelijk tijdens de recente opstanden in Chili (2019) tegen de verhoging van de prijs van de metrotickets. Of zoals Zúñiga het zelf verwoordde: 'De overgang [naar de democratie] leek heel ordelijk en leek een welvarend land op te leveren, maar het ging niet zo goed met ons.'[12] (Querol 2015; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.).

Zijn verteller laat in het midden of de meisjes ontvoerd werden door een psychopaat of door een internationaal prostitutienetwerk, wat contrasteert met de boodschap van Almada die net wil benadrukken dat we te maken hebben met een structureel probleem en dat iedereen in staat is tot geweld tegen vrouwen. Zúñiga gebruikt de vrijheid die de roman hem biedt om het probleem van gendergeweld open te trekken naar een filosofische reflectie over de relaties tussen het heden en het verleden terwijl Almada aan de hand van de kroniek de waargebeurde feiten aangrijpt om te reageren tegen het hegemonische discours over het geweld in Latijns-Amerika.

Beide werken vertonen desondanks ook sterke gelijkenissen. Net zoals Zúñiga verwijst Almada naar de verdwijningen tijdens de dictatuur door erop te wijzen dat het lichaam van Sarita nooit gevonden werd. En van zijn kant stelt Zúñiga het schrijnende geweld tegen vrouwen meermaals aan de kaak: 'Ze [de jonge meisjes] leerden sneller dan wie ook om zich wantrouwig op te stellen tegenover hun klasgenoten, hun broers, hun vaders, hun moeders, de buur die hen af en toe uitnodigde om uit te gaan.'[13] (Zúñiga 2015: 106; eigen vertaling, E.V.H.). Verder komt ook het belang van foto's en herinnering aan bod in *Chicas muertas*, zij het wel veel minder expliciet. Almada beschrijft bijvoorbeeld telkens de foto's van de dode meisjes die in de huizen van hun families hangen (Almada 2015: 124).

Conclusie

Een diepgaande literaire analyse toont aan dat het schrijnende fenomeen van femicide een belangrijke rol speelt in zowel *Chicas muertas* van Selva Almada als *Racimo* van Diego Zúñiga. Beide werken hebben met elkaar gemeen dat ze analoge aspecten van femicide in de concrete context van respectievelijk Argentinië en Chili bespreken door bijvoorbeeld naar de gewelddadige geschiedenis, de militaire dictaturen, van de regio te verwijzen. Dat is een groot verschil met de literaire productie die op Mexico focust, zoals de bekende en dikwijls bestudeerde roman *2666* van Roberto Bolaño. Mexico heeft immers nooit een formele dictatuur gekend en de problemen

12. 'La transición pareció muy ordenada y que dejaba un país próspero, pero no estábamos tan bien.' (Ricardo De Querol 2015). Originele tekst in het Spaans.
13. 'Aprendieron [...] más rápido que nadie a desconfiar: de sus compañeros, de sus hermanos, de sus padres, de sus madres, del vecino que a veces les invitaba a salir.' (Zúñiga 2015: 106). Originele tekst in het Spaans.

van het land situeren zich op andere vlakken, zoals de migratie door de lange grens met de Verenigde Staten.

Toch zijn er ook duidelijke verschillen vast te stellen. Terwijl Almada een minutieus beeld schetst van de machocultuur in Latijns-Amerika en het problematische discours van de media over gendergeweld benadrukt, legt Zúñiga eerder de nadruk op de problematische logica van het *capitalismo gore* en het belang van 'herinneren'. Beide auteurs delen dan weer een wereldbeeld waarin geld macht geeft om vrouwen en meisjes te gebruiken als wegwerpproducten. Verder formuleren ze alle twee hevige kritiek op het beleid in Argentinië en Chili en op de instellingen die de scheef gegroeide situatie passief en actief in stand houden. Hoewel Almada ook naar de dictatuur van de vorige eeuw verwijst, is het vooral Zúñiga die expliciet verbanden legt tussen de militaire dictatoriale regimes en de huidige overheid en haar instellingen, omdat zowel toen als nu 'levens om te beschermen' onderscheiden worden van 'levens om in de steek te laten'. Die verbanden die de auteur legt, laten ook een uitgebreide reflectie toe over herinneren en vergeten. Almada schuift vrouwelijke solidariteit naar voren als oplossing, terwijl Zúñiga vooral het belang van publieke actie benadrukt.

Deze verschillen kunnen tot op zekere hoogte in verband worden gebracht met de literaire genres die beide auteurs hebben gehanteerd om het over hetzelfde probleem in dezelfde regio te hebben. Almada schreef een kroniek, een genre dat in toenemende mate gebruikt wordt om reële maatschappelijke problemen op alternatieve wijze voor te stellen. Als een echte chroniqueur toont ze een deel van de werkelijkheid en formuleert ze een vertoog dat tegen het algemene discours over gendergeweld ingaat. Zúñiga gebruikt dan weer de vrijheid van de roman om de problematiek van femicide open te trekken naar andere verhalen en problemen zoals de nasleep van de dictatuur van Pinochet in Chili en het belang van de herinnering en de rol van fotografie in dit proces. Zúñiga toont zich wel ook kritisch voor de manier waarop de autoriteiten omgaan met het geweld tegen vrouwen en Almada verwijst eveneens naar het belang van foto's voor het levend houden van de herinnering aan de doden.

Bibliografie

Almada, S. *Chicas muertas*. Buenos Aires: Literatura Random House, 2015.

Zúñiga, D. *Racimo*. Barcelona: Literatura Random House, 2015.

Cabral, M. C. '*Chicas muertas* de Selva Almada. Nuevas formas de la memoria sobre el femicidio en la narrativa Argentina', in: *Orbis Tertius*. 23 (28), 2018, 94-114.

Castillo, A. 'The New Latin American Journalistic *Crónica*, Emotions and Hidden Signs of Reality', in: *Global Media Journal.* 13 (1), 2015.

Darrigrandi, C. 'Crónica latinoamericana: algunos apuntes sobre su estudio', in: *Cuadernos de literatura.* 17 (34), 2013, 122-143.

Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren (DBNL). 'Algemeen letterkundig lexi-

con: roman'. *DBNL*. [maart 2020]: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/dela012alge01_01/dela012alge01_01_02737.php.
Elizondo Oviedo, M. V. 'Femicidio y exhumación del archivo en *Chicas muertas* de Selva Amada', in: *IV Congreso Internacional Cuestiones críticas*, Rosario, 1 oktober 2015.
Franco, J. *Cruel Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.
Fregoso R. & Bejarano, C. *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
Giorgi, G. *Formas comunes: Animalidad, cultura, biopolítica*. Buenos Aires: Eterna Cadencia, 2014.
González González, D. & Candia-Cáceres, A. 'Geografías invisibles de la globalización: Bolaño, Almada y Zúñiga', in: *Anales de literatura chilena*. 28, 2017, 79-94.
Horton, L. 'Women's Movements in Latin America', in: Almeida, P. & Cordero Ulate, A. (red.) *Handbook of Social Movements across Latin America*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2015, 79-87.
Lagarde y De Los Ríos, M. 'Preface: Feminist Keys for Understanding Feminicide: Theoretical, Political, and Legal Construction' in: Fregoso, R. & Bejarano C. (red.) *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010, XI-XXV.
Moret, Z. 'La imposibilidad de la verdad en *Chicas muertas* de Selva Almada', in: *Letras Femeninas*. 43 (2), 2018, 84-94.
[N.N..] 'Una fanática de los boliches, que abandonó la secundaria.', in: Clarín, 13 september 2014. [februari 2020]: https://www.clarin.com/policiales/fanatica-boliches-abandono-secundaria_0_S1ek3YcD7g.html.
Nanni, S. 'Violencia y resistencia en la voces emergentes de América Latina: *Las chicas muertas* de Selva Almada', in: *Altre Modernità*. 21, 2019, 79-91.
Organización de los Estados Americanos: Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres (OEACIM). 'Declaración sobre el Femicidio.' Aprobada en la Cuarta Reunión del Comité de Expertas/os (CEVI), celebrada el 15 de agosto de 2008.
Péndola Ramírez P.A. & Landeata Mardones P.A. '*Racimo*, la novela rizoma de Diego Zúñiga', in: *Literatura y lingüística*. 38, 2018, 35-53.
Querol, R. de 'Los niños de la represión chilena llenan los silencios', *El País,* (13 juli 2015) [april 2019]: https://elpais.com/cultura/2015/06/09/babelia/1433843677_532023.html.
Rodríguez, F.A. 'Cuerpo y capitalismo: el trabajo de la violencia y el miedo', in: *Estrategias – Psicoanálisis y Salud Mental*. III.4, 2016, 43-46.
Rodríguez, I. *Liberalism at Its Limits: Crime and Terror in the Latin American Cultural Text*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009.
Russell, D. E. H. & Radford, J. *Femicide: the Politics of Woman Killing*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992.
Santomaso, A. 'Argentina's Life-or-Death Women's Movement', in: *Jacobin*, 3 juli 2017. [april 2019]: https://jacobinmag.com/2017/03/argentina-ni-una-menos-femicides-women-strike/.
Segato, R. L. *La escritura en el cuerpo de las mujeres asesinadas en Ciudad Juárez*. Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2013.
Souza. N. M. F. de 'When the Body Speaks (to) the Political: Feminist Activism in Latin America and the Quest for Alternative Democratic Futures', in: *Contexto Internacional*. 41 (1), 2019, 89-112.

Tornero, A. 'Feminicidio, literatura testimonial y yo autoral en *Chicas muertas*', in: *Confabulaciones. Revista de literatura argentina*. 2, 2020, 39-57.

Valencia Triana, S. 'Capitalismo Gore y necropolítica en México contemporáneo', in: *Relaciones Internacionales.* 19, 2012, 83-102.

Verenigde Naties Vrouwen. 'Latinoamérica es la región más peligrosa del mundo para las mujeres,' *Objetivos de desarrollo sostenible*, (25 november 2017). [maart 2020]: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/es/2017/11/latinoamerica-es-la-region-mas-peligrosa-del-mundo-para-las-mujeres/.

Villoro, J. 'La crónica, ornitorrinco de la prosa', in: *La Nación*, 22 januari 2006. [januari 2020]: https://www.lanacion.com.ar/cultura/la-cronica-ornitorrinco-de-la-prosa-nid773985.

Wright, M. W. 'Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border', in: *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society.* 36 (3), 2011, 707-731.

Yugueros, A. 'La violencia contra las mujeres: conceptos y causas', in: BARATARIA. *Revista Castellano-Manchega de Ciencias Sociales.* 18, 2014, 147-159.

PLATFORM LITERATUUR EN SAMENLEVING

Filologie (het woord alleen al)

Ortwin de Graef (KU Leuven)

Auch die sternische Verbindung trügt.
Doch uns freue eine Weile nun
der Figur zu glauben. Das genügt.

Rainer Maria Rilke

Benjamin Biebuycks zes thesen over het academische literatuuronderwijs bevatten weinig waar ik me niet in kan vinden. Reden te meer om beter te zoeken – niet naar wat ons scheidt maar naar wat ons akkoord kan aanscherpen.

Misschien klinkt zoiets al in het slot van de eerste these: 'Zeker bij gevorderde academische literatuurstudie zouden we de cirkel rond moeten maken, en na de zeer noodzakelijke fase van disciplinaire professionalisering terugkomen naar de materiële werkelijkheid van onze actualiteit, die onze blik op het verleden en die op de toekomst in beslissende mate ijkt.' De wat sinistere ondertoon van die 'disciplinaire professionalisering' neem ik er bij – dat doet Biebuyck zelf ook met gecursiveerde ironie bij de term 'discipline' iets eerder in zijn tekst (*'het woord alleen al'*), en ik denk dat we het erover eens zijn dat het weinig zin heeft te doen alsof de functionele differentiatie van de moderniteit, met de daar onlosmakelijk mee verbonden professionele disciplinering, een makkelijk terugschroefbare vergissing is. Maar ik heb een hekel aan cirkels, en al helemaal aan cirkels die in fases rond gemaakt moeten worden. Waarom niet meteen die disciplinaire professionalisering en die door de actualiteit geijkte blik op verleden en toekomst samenklinken?

Een bekend beeld van een oudere Benjamin waar Biebuyck mee vertrouwd is maakt dat denkbaar, en misschien bij uitstek denkbaar voor onze discipline. In de appendix bij zijn thesen 'Über den Begriff der Geschichte' contrasteert Benjamin de rozenkrans waarmee het historicisme 'die Abfolge von Begebenheiten' tot een zich als waarheid profilerende causaliteitscirkel prevelt, met de constellatie, die laat zien wat er anders is dan wat zichtbaar is in de waarheidsregimes van de eng begrepen wetenschap waar het historicisme zo graag deel van wil uitmaken. Die beersteelpannen hangen er niet echt, maar als je met wat verbeelding kijkt zie je ze wel, en wat je dan ziet kan wel degelijk een verschil maken, al is het maar door dat verschil denkbaar te maken – hier en nu.

Vertaald naar onze discipline, die ik graag opnieuw "filologie" genoemd zou zien, geeft Benjamins beeld dit te denken. In zoverre filologie geen logonomie is laat ze zich lezen als verwant aan de astrologie; maar anders dan de astrologie, die uitspraken doet over hemellichamen die de astronomie en alle andere wetenschappen met zekerheid kunnen ontkrachten, kan de filologie verbanden leggen waar geen logonomie vat op krijgt – en meer in het bijzonder die verstandsveranderende ver-

banden tussen menselijke verzinsels en zingevingspraktijken uit verleden en heden die beladen zijn met toekomst die Benjamin in gedachten heeft.

In de huidige context gaat het mij niet zozeer om een verder uitvlooien van dit ongetwijfeld twijfelachtige beeld, maar om het didactisch verantwoorde misbruik dat je ervan kan maken in het academische literatuuronderwijs – bijvoorbeeld in een cursus "Engelse literatuur II: geschiedenis van de Engelse literatuur, 1800-heden". Dat die cursus zo heet is op zich al een probleem: de hoofdtitel geeft aan dat het een vak Engelse literatuur is, maar de ondertitel preciseert dat het om de *geschiedenis* van die literatuur gaat, een door het onderwijsprogramma voorgeschreven voortzetting van "Engelse Literatuur I", dat in 600 begint. Je zou dan twee dingen kunnen doen: die geschiedenis chronologisch doorlopen, met hier en daar wat commentaar op een literaire tekst die zich tot voorbeeld laat herleiden; of die geschiedenis de geschiedenis laten en lukraak wat *greatest hits & misses* lezen. In beide scenario's loop je het risico de kritische relatie tussen literatuur en geschiedenis onderbelicht te laten: door literatuur aan geschiedenis te onderwerpen, of door geschiedenis gewoon te negeren.

Een degelijke anthologie biedt een prima platform om die relatie wat productiever door te denken. Zelf gebruik ik daarvoor de *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, een voorbeeldige versie van een wetenschappelijk onderbouwde canon van de Engelse literatuur – en als dusdanig meteen een goede aanleiding om het fenomeen van canonformatie zelf in beeld te krijgen. Overigens is dat ook de reden waarom ik zo'n door geleerde medemensen voorgesneden anthologie verkies boven een zelfverzonnen bloemlezing of een op verzoek door een uitgeverij als boek verpakte selectie favoriete nummers: niet alleen staat er veel meer in dan je zelf bij elkaar zou kunnen harken, maar je wordt ook uitgedaagd om na te denken over de beslissingen die de samenstellers genomen hebben.

Voor de periode vanaf het eind van de achttiende eeuw bestaat de *Norton Anthology* uit drie boekdelen: *The Romantic Period* (zo'n 1050 pagina's), *The Victorian Age* (een kleine 1000 bladzijden) en *The Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries* (een dikke 1250 pagina's). Voor we nog maar beginnen te lezen, bekijk ik die drie boeken met de studenten op afstand: Hoeveel bladzijden per jaar krijgt elk van die drie periodes, wat is het verschil tussen een "period" en een "age", wat is de verantwoording van de begin- en einddata, wat is de verhouding per boekdeel tussen poëzie, verhalend proza, drama en non-fictie? Wat die vragen vooral opleveren is een eerste ruw begrip van hoe relatief onrepresentatief de anthologie is voor de periodes die ze bestrijkt, een begrip dat nog aangescherpt wordt als je opeenvolgende edities van de anthologie naast elkaar legt. Wat je ook ziet is dat de belangrijkste ontwikkeling in de literatuur van de afgelopen tweehonderd jaar het wegkwijnen van de poëzie ten voordele van de fictie is: tussen de romantische periode en het victoriaanse tijdperk halveert het aandeel van de poëzie en verdrievoudigt het aandeel van verhalend proza, al is poëzie zelfs dan nog onbeschaamd oververtegenwoordigd. Ook voor de twintigste en eenentwintigste eeuw blijft het aandeel poëzie belachelijk

hoog, maar tegelijkertijd is er haast geen spoor van poëzie zoals die vandaag wél alomtegenwoordig is in de publieke ruimte. Bob Dylan *anyone*?

Voor gebrevetteerde literatuurwetenschappers is dit allemaal weinig verrassend, maar voor literatuurstudenten levert het een vrij concreet beeld op van de onevenwichtige selectiviteit van de canon. Uiteraard kan dat beeld aanzienlijk scherper worden uitgetekend en kan de ideologische dynamiek van diverse vormen van canonformatie meer systematisch in kaart worden gebracht, maar als inleidende ervaring kan zo'n verkenning op afstand wel volstaan. Bovendien zou een verdere uitwerking van een metakritiek op de vooroordelen van de (literatuur)geschiedenissen waarop canons gebaseerd zijn de aandacht opnieuw te veel afleiden van de teksten die al dan niet terecht (niet) in die canons zijn opgenomen.

Wat doe je dan met die pakweg drieduizend bladzijden tekst waarvan de representativiteit ter discussie kan worden gesteld? Beeld jezelf in dat de canon ontploft is en dat alles wat er in was opgenomen samen met wat er uit geweerd was rondzweeft in het tekstzwerk, en zoek dan naar constellaties die er mogelijk niet zijn maar die je wel kan laten oplichten. En laat die constellaties benoemen wat vandaag aandacht opeist: democratie ('Revolution & Reform'), collectief geïnstutionaliseerd geweld ('War'), diversiteit en identiteitsconstructie ('Gender'), verdelende rechtvaardigheid en inclusiviteit ('Class'), geopolitieke agressie, racisme en kolonialisme ('Empire')... *Per astra ad ardua, quoi*. Uiteindelijk zijn dat gewoon thema's, maar die thema's denken in termen van constellaties heeft een dubbel voordeel: (i) het feit dat het verband tussen een aantal teksten van dezelfde orde mag zijn als het verband tussen een aantal hemellichamen in een sterrenbeeld ontslaat je van de verplichting om dat verband ook te verantwoorden in termen van naspeurbare directe of indirecte beïnvloeding (zodat je meteen ook net zo goed vooruit als achteruit in de tijd kan gaan) én van de verplichting om te verantwoorden waarom je net die teksten in beeld brengt en niet andere teksten die thematisch even relevant kunnen zijn; en (ii) het astrologische bijgeloof dat een sterrenbeeld invloed uitoefent op de geschiedenis en op het gedrag en het denken van mensen biedt een fictieve maar daarom niet minder effectieve basis voor de gedachte dat literaire teksten een performatieve lading dragen die levensveranderend kan zijn, en dat het lezen ervan kan bijdragen tot wat Biebuyck het denkbaar maken van de denkbaarheid noemt: 'een essentiële oefening in het erkennen, in het onderkennen van blinde vlekken, van de grenzen van de waarneming en daardoor een belangrijke stap naar het inzetten van een multiperspectivistische blik.'

Dat tweede voordeel behoort uiteraard vooral tot de orde van de nobele of zelfgenoegzame (wan)hoop, dus ik laat dat voorlopig maar hangen voor wat het is; maar het eerste voordeel is erg concreet – niet enkel in termen van de keuze van teksten die je zelf maakt uit het in de anthologie beschikbare aanbod, hier en daar aangevuld met teksten die het niet gehaald hebben, maar ook in termen van de uiteindelijke evaluatie van studenten die het vak volgen. Over dat examen straks meer, eerst een voorbeeld van hoe zo'n constellatie er uit kan zien.

Tot de teksten die mijn constellatie 'Class' vormen behoren onder meer Wordsworths 'Preface to *Lyrical Ballads'* (1802), 'Simon Lee' (1798) en 'Resolution and Independence' (1802), fragmenten uit Matthew Arnolds 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time' (1864) en *Culture and Anarchy* (1868), Thomas Hardy's 'A Trampwoman's Tragedy' (1902) en 'On the Western Circuit' (1891), de sectie 'A Game of Chess' uit T.S. Eliots *The Waste Land* (1921) en Roots Manuva's rap track 'Hard Bastards' (2016). Het verband tussen die teksten is de programmatische vraag van de *Lyrical Ballads* naar de vertegenwoordiging van de stem van de lagere klassen in het traditioneel aan de hogere klassen voorbehouden vertoog van de literatuur, en wat deze teksten onder meer te lezen geven is hoe die stem nauwelijks aan bod komt maar vooral dienst lijkt te doen als imaginair moreel medicijn voor de middenklasse zelf.

'Simon Lee' is een ballade die begint met het verhaal van een aan lagerwal geraakte bejaarde jachtknecht maar halverwege omslaat in een les van de verteller voor zijn 'gentle reader' over de droefmakende maar niettemin heilzame impact van de dankbaarheid van minderbedeelden voor een belangeloze goede daad. Simon Lee zelf komt niet rechtstreeks aan het woord. 'Resolution and Independence' is een veel complexere en meer expliciet poëtische compositie waarin de door zichzelf geobsedeerde dichter van zijn al te dichterlijke zelfbeklag verlost wordt door een ontmoeting met alweer een oude man – dit keer een wat mysterieuze figuur die de kost verdient met het vangen en verkopen van bloedzuigers. Ook deze vertegenwoordiger van de minder gefortuneerden komt haast niet aan het woord. Dat is vooral opmerkelijk in vergelijking met de oorspronkelijke versie van het gedicht, die overwegend de oude man aan het woord liet maar door Wordsworths entourage als te saai bevonden werd. De stichtende invloed van ontmoetingen met de lager geplaatsten heeft blijkbaar behoefte aan vertaling die hun het woord ontneemt. In Hardy's 'A Trampwoman's Tragedy' heeft het hoofdpersonage wel doorlopend het woord, maar van een heilzame invloed is dan weer geen sprake en de doffe ellende van het beeld waarmee het gedicht eindigt laat zich lezen als een ongemakkelijke parodie van Wordsworths dubieuze vertolking van de nobele marginale. Het beklemmende tragikomische korte verhaal 'On the Western Circuit' ontleent ook extra venijn aan de tekortkomingen van voorafgaandelijke volksverheffingsinitiatieven: niet alleen zijn de ambitieuze onderwijshervormingen waar Matthew Arnold voor pleitte slechts in heel rudimentaire vorm doorgevoerd, maar zelfs die minimale tegemoetkomingen aan de wens om geletterdheid te bevorderen zijn niet doorgedrongen tot meer afgelegen hoeken van het eiland, met desastreuze klassemisverstanden gevoed door goedbedoeld bedrog tot gevolg.

De relatieve mislukking van de poging om het programma van *Lyrical Ballads* uit te voeren die in deze constellatie oplicht is niet een eenvoudig te corrigeren blinde vlek maar een indicatie van de geïnstitutionaliseerde ongelijkheid die vandaag nog net zo actueel is. Eliots onderhoudende maar sinister klassistische persiflage van Cockney conversaties bij sluitingstijd van de pub krijgt honderd jaar later lik op stuk in Roots Manuva's indrukwekkende combinatie van werkloze *working-*

*class*woede en visionaire verbeelding. 'Hard Bastards' staat weliswaar (nog) niet in de *Norton Anthology*, maar het goede nieuws is wel dat er in de tiende editie eindelijk een songtekst is opgenomen, Linton Kwesi Johnsons 'Inglan Is a Bitch' (1980), dat zich op zijn beurt mooi laat lezen als respons op Claude McKays 'Old England' (1912), zoals in dit geval de samenstellers van de anthologie ook zelf aangeven.

Deze ingeblikte samenvatting doet uiteraard geen recht aan de behandelde teksten. In de lessen die ik eraan besteed tracht ik hen wel tot hun recht te laten komen, maar van de studenten verwacht ik niet in de eerste plaats dat ze mijn commentaar instuderen. Ik verwacht wel dat ze in de les behandelde teksten kunnen identificeren op basis van in principe makkelijk herkenbare passages en er kort iets over kunnen vertellen, maar de hoofdmoot van het examen bestaat uit hun presentatie van een door hen zelf gekozen tekst die niet op de leeslijst staat. Al mogen dat ook teksten zijn die niet in de *Norton Anthology* zijn opgenomen, de meeste studenten tonen zich bijbelvast. Hoe dan ook betekent dit dat ze op zoek gaan naar literaire teksten die hen aanspreken en waar ze dan zelf een verhaal over mogen vertellen, weliswaar met verwijzing naar relevante secundaire bronnen. Op een aantal zeldzame uitzonderingen na doen ze dat allemaal prima, en ongeveer de helft kiest teksten die ze ook expliciet verbinden met een of meer van de tijdens de les uitgetekende constellaties. Grote claims over de wereldverbeterende wervingskracht van de literaire verbeelding hoor ik hen zelden uit eigen beweging maken, maar als ik hun vraag waarom ze net die tekst uitgekozen hebben voor hun presentatie krijg ik doorgaans wel schuchtere suggesties dat ze door die tekst aan het denken zijn gezet – al blijkt de hoofdmotivatie toch gewoon te zijn dat ze kiezen wat ze leuk vinden. Misschien niet meteen twijfelbestendig bewijs dat deze aanpak een antwoord biedt op Biebuycks pleidooi om het leesplezier te bevorderen, maar een zinvolle voorzet is het wellicht wel. (In het verlengde hiervan ligt het overigens voor de hand om studenten ook voor hun bachelorpapers en meesterproeven zelf onderwerpen te laten kiezen, wat minder gebruikelijk lijkt te zijn dan je zou denken. Dat kan weliswaar leiden tot een overdosis *Lord of the Rings & Flies* maar daar zijn altijd wel alternatieven voor te verzinnen.)

Wat verder opvalt is dat de overgrote meerderheid in hun presentatie kiest voor een gedicht, waarmee de disproportionele nadruk op poëzie in de anthologie alleen maar bevestigd lijkt te worden. Grote zorgen maak ik me daar niet over – en het is goeddeels toch mijn eigen schuld omdat de teksten die ik in detail behandel ook overwegend gedichten zijn die ik dan ook nog eens goed ingestudeerd voorlees. Dat laatste doe ik niet uit het hoofd maar wel in het lichaam, en ik maak daar ook een punt van: aan poëzie moet je minstens proberen je fysiek te onderwerpen, en hardop lezen biedt een binnenweg naar de erkenning van de materialiteit van de taal die essentieel is voor de studie van literatuur in het algemeen. Als filologie liefde is voor de taal moet ze zich kunnen verzetten tegen de verleiding van het verhaal, dat alleen maar beter wordt als het de taal niet verteert.

Uiteraard beperkt die materialiteit van de taal zich niet tot geluid, maar ook voor de verkenning van andere vormen van stoffelijkheid zijn gedichten dankbare

voorwerpen: hun doorgaans relatief beperkte omvang leent zich ertoe om diepgaande compositorische oppervlakkigheden snel te detecteren. Alleen al het aantal versregels tellen kan tellen – bij sonnetten uiteraard, maar ook bij bijvoorbeeld een verder ongeregeld gedicht van 60 lijnen zoals Robert Brownings 'Porphyria's Lover' (1836) waar in regel 31 plots een sinds regel 5 verdrongen voornaamwoord opnieuw verschijnt en daardoor meer aandacht vraagt dan zo'n semantisch redelijk doorzichtig ding doorgaans vergt, zodat het hele gedicht in tweeën splijt. Filologen weten hoe zwaar dit soort schijndetails ook in vuistdikke romans kunnen wegen; kandidaat-filologen kan je dat leren door sonnetten te lezen, vooral dan sonnetten die zich op het tekstoppervlak schuil houden, zoals Geoffrey Hills 'September Song' (1968).

Tot slot nog iets over Biebuycks pleidooi voor een multidisciplinaire coöperatieve literatuurstudie. Daar kan je moeilijk tegen zijn, maar mijn persoonlijke ervaring is dat het niet zo makkelijk te realiseren is. Collega's van de Faculteit Ingenieurswetenschappen benaderden de Faculteit Letteren een paar jaar geleden met de vraag of we hen konden helpen bij het zoeken naar oplossingen voor de publieke terughoudenheid ten opzichte van waterstofenergie. Dat wij bij waterstofenergie meteen dachten aan de H-Bomb vonden ze merkwaardig, en dat vonden wij op onze beurt dan weer merkwaardig. Om die wederzijdse verwondering onder woorden te brengen zetten we een samenwerking op waarbij een student ingenieurswetenschappen met een masterproefproject over waterstofenergie en een student literatuurwetenschap met een masterproefproject over de representatie van nieuwe of alternatieve energie in fictie een keer per maand zouden samenzitten onder begeleiding van hun promotoren om van elkaar te leren. We waren er redelijk gerust in dat studenten dit een aantrekkelijk traject zouden vinden, maar dat viel tegen. In het eerste jaar waren er geen kandidaten literatuurwetenschap voor dit project; in jaar twee was er één – die maakte een prima verhandeling over nucleaire energie in science fiction van net voor en net na Hiroshima, maar de geplande samenwerking met een student ingenieurswetenschap kwam niet van de grond; en in jaar drie parkeerde coronamiserie onze plannen in de koelkast. Een succesverhaal kan je dit vooralsnog dus niet noemen, maar we hebben goede hoop om volgend jaar echt van start te kunnen gaan. Wellicht moeten wij als docenten daarvoor wat proactiever tewerk gaan bij het zoeken naar geschikte kandidaten, bijvoorbeeld door dit soort thema's al eerder in het curriculum ter sprake te brengen. Constellation Energy komt in zicht.

Bibliografie

Benjamin, W. 'Über den Begriff der Geschichte', in: *Illuminationen: Ausgewählte Schriften.* Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977, 251-261.

Lynch, D.S. (ed.). *The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Tenth Edition. Volume D: The Romantic Period.* New York: Norton, 2018.

Ramazani, J. (ed.). *The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Tenth Edition. Volume F: The Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries.* New York: Norton, 2018.
Robson, C. (ed.). *The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Tenth Edition. Volume E: The Victorian Age.* New York: Norton, 2018.

Literatuuronderwijs aan de universiteit: een hedendaagse aanpak

Griet Theeten (Universiteit Gent)

De laatste jaren worden de STEM-disciplines steeds populairder en boeten talenrichtingen in het secundair en hoger onderwijs aan maatschappelijk aanzien in. Letterkundigen in het bijzonder moeten de meerwaarde van hun specialisatiedomein steeds meer verantwoorden. De coronacrisis maakte duidelijk hoe belangrijk exacte wetenschappen zijn voor onze samenleving, voor het redden van levens en creëren van levenskwaliteit. Maar anderzijds zijn we tijdens deze periode weer vaker op zoek gegaan naar zingeving en diepgang in het leven; en soms vinden we die in boeken. Literatuur kreeg tijdens de pandemie een onverwachte waardering wanneer boekhandels in België beschouwd werden als 'essentiële handelszaken' en hun deuren geopend mochten blijven tijdens de lockdown. Ook al bekleedt literatuur niet meer dezelfde plaats als vroeger in het culturele landschap – andere vormen als films of series hebben bepaalde sociale functies van literatuur overgenomen –, tijdens de pandemie grepen mensen toch opvallend terug naar literaire werken. Klassiekers deden het bijzonder goed: *La Peste* van Camus en de *Decamerone* van Boccaccio werden gretig herlezen. Literatuur bevindt zich dus niet in een 'crisis', zoals soms wordt beweerd. En toch lijkt het literatuuronderwijs onder een negatief imago gebukt te gaan, niet alleen bij ons, maar ook bijvoorbeeld in Frankrijk (Schaeffer 2011). Het is daarom belangrijk om dit moment aan te grijpen om verder na te denken over de manier waarop literatuur vandaag wordt onderwezen, zowel in het secundair onderwijs als aan de universiteit. Nadenken over de finaliteit en de middelen van het literatuuronderwijs, betekent stilstaan bij het doelpubliek, bij wat we jongeren willen bijbrengen en hoe we dat het best doen. Die vragen wil ik hier benaderen vanuit mijn eigen opvattingen en mijn onderwijservaring aan de UGent bij de afdeling Frans, voortbouwend op de thesen van Benjamin Biebuyck (2019) over het academische literatuuronderwijs.

Literatuur binnen de vreemde talendidactiek

De situatie van een literatuurles in het Frans is uiteraard niet altijd vergelijkbaar met die van een college in de moedertaal. Voor literatuur in een vreemde taal stelt zich het probleem van de taalbeheersing, die niet altijd voldoende is om de teksten correct te begrijpen of te interpreteren. De verschillen tussen de studenten qua taalniveau zijn vooral in het eerste jaar aan de universiteit soms erg groot. Tegenwoordig bestaan er wel middelen om aan dit probleem tegemoet te komen. Zo kan een e-reader met een geïntegreerd woordenboek een aantal lexicale lacunes in de talenkennis

opvangen. Een goed begrip van de letter van de tekst is tenslotte essentieel voor elke letterkundestudent.

Ook de voorkennis van studenten over tekstanalyse en literatuurgeschiedenis loopt soms sterk uiteen. De meeste jongeren komen voor de aanvang van hun universitaire studies voornamelijk in contact met (korte) literaire teksten in de vreemde taal in het kader van taalvaardigheidsonderwijs. Sommige leerkrachten koppelen er een literair, cultureel of historisch kennisaspect aan, maar dat is niet systematisch het geval. De handboeken, die tegenwoordig frequent gebruikt worden in het secundair onderwijs, bieden niet altijd voldoende ruimte voor diepgaande analyse of kennisuitbreiding, zoals een aantal recente studies aantonen (D'hoker 2020; Artois 2016 en 2017). Er zijn dus zeker mogelijkheden om het literatuuronderwijs op secundair en universitair niveau beter op elkaar te laten aansluiten.

Literatuur zou voor nog meer doeleinden ingezet moeten worden dan nu het geval is. Naast het uitbreiden van de beheersing van de vreemde taal, heeft literatuuronderwijs ook als doel het lezen te promoten en te verrijken, een taalexpressie te leren analyseren en bij te dragen tot persoonlijke ontplooiing. Tegelijk moeten we erop toezien dat we niet voorbijgaan aan het gegeven dat literatuur een esthetisch fenomeen is.

De bruikbaarheid van literatuur expliciteren

De gemiddelde taal- en letterkundestudent verschilt tegenwoordig niet zozeer van de doorsnee scholier in het (algemeen) secundair onderwijs wat betreft de esthetische, intellectuele en wetenschappelijke benadering van literaire teksten. Het is niet omdat jongeren kiezen voor de richting taal- en letterkunde dat ze een grote literaire bagage hebben; sommigen geven zelfs aan dat ze eigenlijk niet graag lezen. Vlaanderen heeft dan ook geen algemene leescultuur zoals die onder andere in Frankrijk bestaat. Van Franse studenten politieke en sociale wetenschappen, bijvoorbeeld, wordt verwacht dat zij kennis hebben van literatuur en er een gefundeerd standpunt over kunnen formuleren. Als keuzevak maken kunst en literatuur in ons buurland nog deel uit van die opleidingen aan de universiteit, wat bij ons niet het geval is.

Een literatuurwetenschapper moet zijn vakgebied regelmatig verantwoorden, zelfs tegenover de huidige generatie studenten in talenrichtingen. Zo vroegen enkele studenten Toegepaste Taalkunde me hoe een literatuurles, waarin onder andere oudere, gecanoniseerde romans aan bod komen, een meerwaarde kan betekenen voor hun vorming. Ik heb toen tijd genomen om met die studenten te spreken over wat een 21e-eeuwse lezer uit literatuur kan leren als hij ze op een doordachte manier benadert. Niet-letterkundestudenten blijken niet zozeer geïnteresseerd in de historische of ideologische tijdsgeest van het werk, maar vinden het wel een meerwaarde om iets bij te leren over de confrontatie van die boeken met onze huidige samenleving. Dit aspect voldoende duiden bleek een stimulans om hen te motiveren voor het vak. Het academische onderwijs – ook bij letterkundestudenten

– heeft er baat bij om de link tussen literatuur en ons dagelijks leven of onze persoonlijkheid te expliciteren; om, zoals Biebuyck (2019: 137) het stelt, 'aan te tonen dat literatuurstudie steeds verband houdt met ons begrip van het heden'. Enkel op die manier kan een positieve attitude tegenover literatuur ook naar het secundair onderwijs en de bredere maatschappij doorsijpelen, waar mensen nog vaker overtuigd moeten worden van het 'nut' van literatuur. Volgens Rita Felski (2008b) is het trouwens van belang om literatuur niet te beschouwen in termen van 'nuttig' ('useful') maar als 'bruikbaar' ('usable') en zo de focus te leggen op zowel het poëtische als het pragmatische aspect ervan (Felski 2008: 7-8).

Belevingsperspectief en leescompetentie

Leesplezier bevorderen beschouw ik, net als Benjamin Biebuyck, als een van de taken van academisch literatuuronderwijs. Dat betekent dat ook aan de universiteit moet erkend worden dat lezen in de eerste plaats een ervaringsmoment is in het echte leven, een gevoel van ontsnappen aan het dagelijkse leven, of er net een echo in vinden. Deze individuele leeservaring, die Jérôme David (2012) 'le premier degré de la littérature' en Todorov (2007: 72) de 'lecture ordinaire' noemen, verloopt via een vrije en intieme toe-eigening van de tekst. Ze is niet gedistantieerd, de lezer hecht zich (soms te veel) aan het verhaal, identificeert zich met de personages of het fictieve universum, koppelt het boek aan persoonlijke verhalen en leesherinneringen. Door zijn subjectieve karakter krijgt dit aspect niet altijd een plaats in het academische literatuuronderwijs. Dat is er traditioneel op gericht om in de eerste plaats op zoek te gaan naar wat E.D. Hirsch 'meaning' noemt (1976: 2-3): de universele, onveranderlijke betekenis van een werk, zoals de auteur die in de tekst stopte. Daarbij wordt de 'significance' (Hirsch 1976: 2-3) – de persoonlijke en sociale betekenis van een tekst – soms te veel buiten beschouwing gelaten.

Wanneer we een centrale plaats willen geven aan de ervaringswaarde van het lezen van literaire teksten, kan onderzoek naar leeservaringen helpen om inzicht te krijgen in de manier waarop een literaire tekst de lezer beïnvloedt en hoe we die invloed op een wetenschappelijke manier kunnen beschrijven. De resultaten van dergelijk onderzoek gevoerd vanuit het perspectief van de lezer, kunnen de manier waarop professionele lezers teksten interpreteren beïnvloeden, alsook de selectie van het corpus.

Door belang te hechten aan een dergelijk belevingsperspectief van de lezer, kan de literatuurwetenschap ook toenadering vinden tot verschillende vormen van literatuurkritiek. Zo heeft mijn ervaring met het leiden van een leesgroep geholpen om literatuuronderwijs ook vanuit dit ervaringsperspectief te benaderen. Hoewel de meeste deelnemers van die leesgroep Franse letterkunde gestudeerd hebben en dus over een theoretische achtergrond beschikken, vertrekt elke bespreking vanuit persoonlijke leeservaringen. Sommige lezers vinden de inhoud belangrijker dan de vorm, anderen hechten meer belang aan de formele vondsten, maar de meeste lezers

zijn gevoelig voor beide. De verschillende ervaringen worden met elkaar vergeleken en vormen het startpunt voor een diepere analyse.

Het academische literatuuronderwijs moet ernaar streven om die 'gewone' lectuur, gebaseerd op leeservaring, te verrijken en uit te diepen aan de hand van specifieke kennis (literatuurgeschiedenis, tekstanalyse, ...). Op die manier kan de tekst gesitueerd worden in zijn bredere context, die van de auteur, van het genre, van literaire tendensen. Door die tools aan te bieden worden de studenten niet alleen gestimuleerd om actief op zoek te gaan naar wat het leeseffect heeft veroorzaakt (zowel vanuit persoonlijke verhalen als vanuit de tekst zelf), maar leren ze ook om teksten kritisch te benaderen. Dit procedé kan een andere vorm van leesplezier creëren, die minder spontaan is maar ontstaat doordat men na een grondige analyse een tekst plots beter of anders begrijpt.

Didactische tools en methodes

De tools aanreiken alleen is niet voldoende, er moet in een literatuurles ook voldoende ruimte zijn om de studenten te begeleiden bij het zich eigen maken van deze middelen. Wanneer studenten hun universitaire studies aanvatten, hebben ze nog niet vaak literaire teksten diepgaand geïnterpreteerd en interpretaties beargumenteerd. Of ze voelen zich er niet voldoende vertrouwd mee. Deze competenties aanleren gaat niet vanzelf, zoals Biebuyck ook duidelijk stelt in zijn artikel (2019: 138). We moeten de studenten zelf hypothesen laten formuleren, bijsturen en helpen argumenteren. Studenten krijgen op die manier zelf de autoriteit van de tekstinterpretatie. Wetenschappelijke artikelen synthetiseren is een competentie die studenten sneller onder de knie hebben dan zelf een literair werk analyseren aan de hand van een descriptieve methode die vertrekt vanuit een concrete vraagstelling.

Tijdens de lessen merk ik hoe belangrijk het is om studenten met elkaar en met de docent in dialoog te laten treden. Zo leren ze een literair werk te analyseren door te verwijzen naar zowel objectieve als intersubjectieve kennis die door dialoog ontstaat, eerder dan door te steunen op subjectieve meningen of vooroordelen. Bij een college over *L'Étranger* van Camus, bijvoorbeeld, geven de studenten eerst hun spontane impressies over het boek; velen hadden geen voeling met het hoofdpersonage, en vonden de roman nogal eentonig; enkele anderen voelden zich net aangetrokken tot het boek door het apathische karakter van Meursault. Aanvankelijk kunnen ze niet verklaren wat die indruk opwekte, maar een narratologische bespreking van het boek laat toe om te begrijpen wat die verschillende leeservaringen heeft opgewekt: de structuur van het boek, het aparte gebruik van de verleden tijd en de vrije indirecte rede, het vertelperspectief, ... In dit proces evolueert de perceptie van een literair werk, en ik vind het verrijkend om die ontwikkelingen bij te houden.

Op een ander niveau, biedt de Ambassade van Frankrijk sinds enkele jaren de mogelijkheid om de aangeleerde vaardigheden toe te passen binnen de 'Choix Goncourt de la Belgique', een leesjury waarbij zowel letterkunde- als niet-letterkunde-

studenten van alle Belgische universiteiten hun laureaat aanduiden uit de tweede selectie van de prestigieuze Prix Goncourt. Wij hebben deze activiteit gekoppeld aan een mastervak over hedendaagse literatuur, want ze laat de studenten toe hun kennis toe te passen op een concrete context van literatuurkritiek. We vragen hun om de boeken als literatuurwetenschappers te benaderen tijdens deze discussies. Ze zien dit zelf als een mooie kans om hun leeservaringen en wetenschappelijke achtergrond te combineren in een literair debat.

Een alternatief corpus

Door het perspectief van de auteur en tekst te combineren met dat van de lezer, komt het onderwijs tegemoet aan de doelgroep van niet-professionele lezers die de startende studenten aan de universiteit zijn. Maar ook de selectie van literaire werken die aangeboden worden tijdens de lessen speelt hierbij een rol. Studenten lezen vaak wel nog, maar niet het soort teksten dat als 'literatuur' wordt beschouwd door professionele lezers. Het secundair onderwijs heeft zich aangepast aan de doelgroep van niet-specialisten door vaker te kiezen voor hedendaagse, soms vertaalde werken, jeugdliteratuur, romans uit de *francophonie*, graphic novels, slam poetry, … Het universitaire letterkundeonderwijs heeft uiteraard veel meer dan het secundaire de taak om een aantal klassiekers van de literatuur van het taalgebied te behandelen. Wanneer studenten door de samenstelling van het curriculum tijdens hun opleiding geen werken van de traditionele, academische canon hebben gelezen, zijn ze zelfs ontgoocheld. Maar bij de selectie van wat we lezen is het belangrijk de blik breed genoeg te houden. Literatuuronderwijs is tot op zekere hoogte normatief en draagt bij tot de transmissie van culturele, sociale en esthetische waarden. Door in het programma voldoende boeken op te nemen die nu 'achter de canon' zijn verdwenen, dreigen we niet te vervallen in patrimoniale constructies en houden we rekening met verschillende genres, aanpakken, culturen, identiteiten en ook met verschillende types lezers. In dat opzicht is het positief dat zowel postkoloniale als hedendaagse literatuur een legitieme plaats hebben gekregen in het universitaire onderwijs, en dat ook 'genreliteratuur', zoals de politieroman, vaker in de curricula wordt opgenomen.

De link tussen onderzoek en onderwijs is hierin weer belangrijk: via onderzoek worden vergeten boeken opnieuw actueel gemaakt, wordt aan bepaalde werken aandacht geschonken vanuit een nieuw perspectief (vb. ecologie, racisme, traumaliteratuur, …). In literair onderzoek wordt ook meer en meer over de grenzen van het taalgebied heen gewerkt, en dit bredere perspectief moet in de lessen nog meer verkend worden. Aan de hand van een bredere selectie laten we studenten boeken ontdekken die ze niet via andere kanalen zoals literaire krantenbijlagen of blogs zouden aantreffen. Ze maken kennis met werelden, personages en schrijfstijlen waar ze niet vertrouwd mee zijn. Zo leren ze ook nieuwe ervaringen opdoen. Via het universitaire onderwijs komen sommige van die boeken dan hopelijk ook in het secundair

onderwijs terecht. De universitaire gemeenschap kan hiertoe ook bijdragen door actiever mee te werken aan navormingen voor leerkrachten.

Het literaire leven

De studie van literatuur beperkt zich volgens mij niet tot de analyse van literaire werken die onderzoekers om uiteenlopende redenen de moeite waard vinden. Het is belangrijk dat studenten ook inzicht krijgen in de werking van wat we het 'literaire leven' kunnen noemen. Niet alleen de auteur, tekst en lezer zijn hier belangrijke actoren, maar ook uitgevers, literatuurcritici, journalisten, boekhandels en literaire festivals. Hoe worden manuscripten vandaag geselecteerd, hoe verloopt de promotie van boeken, enzovoort? Dergelijke zaken hebben een invloed op ons leesgedrag. En hoe ga je om met alle literaire werken die online beschikbaar zijn, soms in weinig wetenschappelijke uitgaven? Al deze aspecten moeten een plaats vinden in een letterkundige studierichting aan de universiteit.

Niet alleen primaire bronnen, maar ook de reflectie over literatuur bereikt de jongeren niet meer enkel via onderwijs. Veel lezers worden beïnvloed door kritieken van bloggers, boektubers, leesgemeenschappen op sociale media. Auteurs worden ook zelf vaker spreekbuis van hun eigen teksten, via eigen websites en via interviews die op het internet verspreid worden. Het is de taak van het onderwijs om leerlingen en studenten hier kritisch mee te leren omgaan – en de taak van de universiteit om meer onderzoek te voeren naar de manier waarop dergelijke nieuwe vormen van literatuurkritiek de lezer beïnvloeden.

Gewapend met de ervaring die de studenten in de lessen hebben opgedaan, gaan ze dan idealiter zelf op ontdekkingstocht in het literaire leven. Toch heb ik de indruk dat dit spontane leesgedrag niet geldt voor alle studenten. Dat heeft waarschijnlijk ook te maken met de academische kalender, die niet veel plaats laat om het literaire domein te verkennen buiten de vakken om. Daarom moet er ruimte worden gelaten voor exploratie binnen de vakken zelf. Studenten inspraak geven in het samenstellen van een deel van de lectuurlijst, zoals Benjamin Biebuyck voorstelt, is daar een mooi voorbeeld van. Een bonusvraag op het examen waar studenten een problematiek die in de les wordt besproken benaderen vanuit een zelf gekozen literair werk, is een andere mogelijkheid. Op die manier kunnen studenten tonen dat ze naast subjectieve lezers ook literatuurexperten en gecultiveerde analisten zijn, en dat alles terwijl ze plezier beleven aan het lezen, interpreteren en analyseren van een werk.

Bibliografie

Artois, L. *Le rôle de la littérature en FLE*, Universiteit Gent, 2016. [Bachelorproef]

Artois, L. *La littérature en FLE – Une étude de cas de la pratique en Flandre*. Universiteit Gent, 2017. [Masterproef]

Biebuyck, B. 'Het aandikken van vriendschap. Zes thesen over het academische literatuuronderwijs', in: *Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap 11*. 2019, 135-143.

David, J. 'Le premier degré de la littérature', in: *Fabula-LhT*. 9, maart 2012 [februari 2021]: http://www.fabula.org/lht/9/david.html.

D'hoker, E. 'Literatuuronderwijs en schoolboeken: een kritische beschouwing', in: *Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap 12*. 2020, 117-126.

Felski, R. *Uses of Literature*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

Felski, R. 'Remember the Reader', in: *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* 17 december 2008, z.p.

Hirsch, E.D. *The Aims of Interpretation*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976.

Schaeffer, J.M. *Petite écologie des études littéraires. Pourquoi et comment étudier la littérature?* Vincennes: Thierry Marchaisse, 2011.

Todorov, T. *La littérature en péril*. Paris: Flammarion, 2007.

‘Open alle kanalen’

Een meervoudige kijk op literatuuronderwijs

Geert Vandermeersche & Free De Backer (Educatiewetenschappen, Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Literatuur heeft op andere kunsten nog voor dat het min of meer een plek heeft in het secundair onderwijs. Hoewel de uren en aandacht voor romans of poëzie spijtig genoeg steeds meer onder druk komen te staan, is dat niets in vergelijking met de bijna-afwezigheid in het onderwijs van architectuur, dans, of nieuwere vormen van conceptuele of mediakunst die in het artistieke veld wel volop aandacht genieten. Of men kan de vergelijking maken met kunstvormen zoals beeldende kunst, film of theater, die dan weer vaak utilitair aan bod komen in het secundair onderwijs, als illustratie van een thema of bij een bezoek aan het jeugdtheater of de bioscoop. In die gevallen is er nauwelijks een kritische omkadering.

We kunnen ons de vraag stellen wat het verschil in de positie van literatuur tegenover de andere kunsten verklaart, zelfs als literatuuronderwijs als precair omschreven wordt zoals Benjamin Biebuyck (2019) doet in zijn bijdrage. Wie literatuuronderwijs wil legitimeren, wijst er vaak op dat het lezen van literaire teksten de analytische vaardigheden aanscherpt, leerlingen hun persoonlijke smaak laat uiten, taalverwerving ondersteunt of een noodzakelijke pijler is wanneer de leerling het nationale, culturele erfgoed wil begrijpen (zie het recente debat over een ‘culturele canon’). Dat de leerling een uniek artistieke taal kan verwerven, komt minder aan bod. Binnen het vakoverschrijdende idee van een schoolcurriculum zijn zulke connecties met taal- en cultuuronderwijs vanzelfsprekend wenselijk, maar de vraag blijft of literatuuronderwijs an sich enkel te herleiden is tot taal- en/of een soort van erfgoedonderwijs. Is dat alles wat een leerling kan halen uit de omgang met literatuur? Het valt daarbij op dat de zwaartepunten komen te liggen bij tekstanalyse met focus op het specifieke, literaire tekstgenre, een uiting van persoonlijke voorkeuren (zonder een diepere reflectie op persoonsvorming), de verfijning van een al verworven leesvaardigheid, of het verwerven van traditionele kennis, zoals literatuurgeschiedenis of een leeslijst. De kritiek op literatuuronderwijs komt dan ook makkelijk in de vorm van vragen als ‘waarom net deze literaire teksten of auteurs, en niet de vele nieuwere en schijnbaar relevantere visuele of digitale media?’, of ‘waarom net deze selectie van culturele vormen en niet die uit een andere traditie?’.

Het is verleidelijk om vakken die zichzelf in het verdomhoekje zien, te legitimeren aan de hand van populaire discoursen zoals STE(A)M of de ontwikkeling van een creatieve *mindset*. Het is niet verwonderlijk dat zulke discoursen de leraar die uit liefde voor literatuur koos niet helemaal bevredigend in de oren klinken. Het is daarom noodzakelijk om de esthetische ervaring van het literaire lezen als lens te

gebruiken, zodat we de positie van literatuuronderwijs beter begrijpen en kunnen versterken. We moeten onderzoeken hoe literatuuronderwijs net een onderdeel kan zijn van een breder esthetisch onderwijs. Pas dan kunnen we het hebben over wat de academische literatuurstudie kan doen om in dialoog te treden met het secundaire onderwijs.

De esthetische ervaring & onderwijs

In het literatuuronderwijs kunnen we drie verschijningsvormen van kunst in onderwijs herkennen: onderwijs door kunst, kunstonderwijs en esthetisch onderwijs. Belangrijk is telkens de vraag hoe het kunstwerk of de esthetische ervaring zich verhoudt tot leren. Deze vormen dienen vooral om de onderwijspraktijk te verduidelijken: het zijn geen strikt afgelijnde categorieën, aangezien ze overlappen en elkaar kunnen ondersteunen.

De eerste vorm, onderwijs door kunst, behelst alle vormen waarbij een pedagogische inhoud of vaardigheid wordt aangebracht door het gebruik van kunst: iemand leert over de toestand van de 19de-eeuwse kinderarbeid door Charles Dickens te lezen, ontwikkelt een grotere verdraagzaamheid tegenover andere culturen door muziek te beluisteren, enzovoorts. De tweede vorm, kunstonderwijs, herkennen we natuurlijk in het buitenschoolse deeltijds kunstonderwijs, waarin de leerling op technische wijze een instrument leert bespelen, of muziektheorie aanleert. Deze benadering houdt dus eveneens in dat men de theoretische kaders en analysemethoden leert die kunnen bijdragen tot een beter begrip van kunst of in dit geval muziek. In feite zou het leren van literatuurgeschiedenis, het narratologisch analyseren van een roman of het cultureel contextualiseren van metaforengebruik in een gedicht dit steeds voor ogen moeten houden: ons meer inzicht geven in literaire werken.

Dan rest er nog de laatste vorm, esthetisch onderwijs. Het is een begrip dat ver teruggaat, van het Griekse *aisthesis* tot Friedrich Schillers *Brieven over de esthetische opvoeding van de mens* (1794-1795). Voor een beter begrip gaan we te rade bij de Amerikaanse onderwijsfilosofe Maxine Greene die het probeerde te begrijpen vanuit het idee van 'esthetische geletterdheid' (Greene 1981). Net zoals wiskunde- en taalonderwijs kunnen steunen op respectievelijk gecijferdheid of geletterdheid, moet er in esthetisch onderwijs een esthetische geletterdheid worden ontwikkeld. Op dit vlak kunnen de kunsten een volwaardige plek innemen in het formele onderwijs en zodoende bijdragen aan andere pedagogische doelen. Vanuit dit kader bekeken krijgt literatuur ook meer diepgang dan wanneer leerlingen bij het lezen enkel een smaakoordeel delen, een analysemethode toepassen of een bepaald historisch normatief kader leren kennen in de vorm van literatuurgeschiedenis.

Greene geeft enkele elementen aan van deze esthetische geletterdheid: het gaat om het verwerven van specifieke kunsttalen, die niet enkel fungeren als symbolische repertoires maar ook kunnen worden gezien als 'ways of perceiving and imagining' (Greene 1981: 120). Dit zijn niet de theorieën over of analysemethoden van de

kunst, maar dit is de 'taal' van de kunst zelf: de manieren om bijvoorbeeld kleur, klank of beeld te gebruiken in een artistieke creatie. Deze aanpak moet vanzelfsprekend leiden tot een dieper beleven van kunstwerken, maar ook tot een grotere betrokkenheid op de wereld. De esthetisch geletterde mens is immers in staat om de concreetheid van de wereld te zien, aangezien het in de kunsten gaat om een experiment met kleur, klank, gevoel, of de zoektocht naar nieuwe vormen om die wereld te beschrijven. Door kunst kan die wereld anders vormgegeven worden, en dus anders gedacht worden. Door zich te verplaatsen in deze symbolische representaties kan de lezer, kijker, luisteraar, ruiker, voeler of proever het gebrek in onze concrete wereld zien, en zoals Greene het stelt, een stap zetten om die wereld te herstellen. Hier ligt dan ook het politieke potentieel van esthetisch onderwijs.

Het is immers zo, stelt Greene, dat een esthetische ervaring vanuit zichzelf een vraag (of probleemstelling) kan oproepen. De esthetische representatie zal immers nooit samenvallen met ons beeld van de werkelijkheid. In die kloof en door de specifieke taal van de kunst ontstaan vraagstellingen: een vraag over de denkpatronen van een personage kan leiden tot een interesse in psychologie, een onbehagen bij de representatie van onbekende cultuuruitingen kan leiden tot antropologische vragen, enzovoorts. Het is aan de leraar om hier de verbeelding van hun leerlingen los te weken van een routinematige manier om de wereld te aanschouwen of beleven. Op dat moment kunnen theorieën of analysemethoden deze vraagstelling ondersteunen.

Literaire geletterdheid

Greene (1981) schreef het essay zonder kennis van de explosie aan onderzoek over geletterdheid, in de zogenaamde *New Literacies*. Anders dan de traditionele invulling van culturele geletterdheid wijzen deze onderzoekers erop dat een geletterdheid eerder een manier is van handelen in een bepaalde context met een bepaald medium. Bovenal bestaat geletterdheid niet in een vacuüm: het is niet zomaar een vorm van kennis of vaardigheden die men kan verwerven zonder daarbij ook een ideologie en een manier van zijn aan te leren. Zoals James Paul Gee het stelde, geletterdheid is 'fully attached to "other stuff": to social relations, cultural models, power and politics, perspectives on experience, values and attitudes, as well as things and places in the world' (Gee 2008: 1). De geletterdheid die we ons eigen maken, hangt dus samen met een manier van 'in de wereld zijn' en deel uit te maken van een bepaalde groep: een identiteit, dus. We leren dat er regels en verwachtingen zijn over hoe we 'goede' (of 'slechte') wetenschappers, leraren, muziekfans, lezers, etc. moeten zijn. We zijn ook steeds lid van diverse groepen, gebruiken diverse media en leren dus de gepaste geletterdheden voor al deze situaties. Mensen komen zo in het bezit van meervoudige geletterdheden omdat we ons continu in en uit een bepaalde groep (of institutie) bewegen en andere media hanteren. We zijn de keurig sprekende leraar op een werkvergadering, de kwade twitteraar op sociale media en de passionele boe-

kenliefhebber in een leesgroep. Volgens de onderzoekers van de *New Literacies*, is het ook de verantwoordelijkheid van het onderwijs om leerlingen niet enkel te bekwamen in een selectie van die geletterdheden (in hun volle, socialiserende begrip), maar ook om hen te leren navigeren tussen verschillende registers, taalsituaties en dus identiteiten. Elke cultuurbemiddelaar (in de brede zin) kan zich dus afvragen hoe we bruggen kunnen bouwen tussen geletterdheden en identiteiten.

Hier is Benjamin Biebuycks (2019) opmerking over de 'gedeconnecteerde' positie van literatuur een diepere reflectie waard. Niet zozeer omdat literatuur en het boek los zouden staan van andere media en verzuipen in de visuele populaire cultuur. Dit blijkt immers niet het geval: de verhalen en thema's uit de boekencultuur blijven inspiratiebronnen voor de massa- en digitale cultuur. Het gaat er eerder om of er voor adolescenten een bepaalde rol of identiteit klaarligt waar zij in kunnen stappen als lezer en of jongeren de verbindende stap kunnen maken van hun online of niet-lezende identiteit naar de meer reflectieve of verbeeldende identiteit van de boekenlezer. Literatuuronderwijs is bij voorkeur persoonsvormend, waarbij de leraar in de eerste plaats een rolmodelfunctie kan vervullen. Maar het gaat verder ook over welke manieren van lezen en dus posities van subjectiviteit beschikbaar worden gemaakt voor jongeren. Vandaag zijn dat eerder de uitersten van de BV of influencer die vanuit een individuele smaak deelt wat een cultuurobject hen deed voelen en van de kritische, academische literatuuranalyse. Misschien is het niet verwonderlijk dat veel jongeren voor de eerste positie kiezen aangezien die explicieter verbonden is met een duidelijk omschreven identiteit die de jongere kan innemen.

De zoektocht naar zekerheid

Wat de juiste weg is naar academisch competent lezen, blijft onzeker. In die onzekerheid grijpen we snel naar vastomlijnde modellen. Het is een kenmerk van hedendaags didactisch onderzoek waar Gert Biesta (2012) al op wees. Al te vaak gaat de zoektocht naar efficiëntie en toepasbaarheid voorbij aan de vraag: waar willen we in dat onderwijs naar toe? Wat is, in de context van deze bijdrage, goed literatuuronderwijs? Een voorbeeld van deze situatie is het populaire *Lezen voor de Lijst*, bedacht door Theo Witte in zijn *Het Oog van de Meester* (2008). Om een antwoord te formuleren op het gebrek aan leesmotivatie en aan stimulerend literatuuronderwijs, wil Witte bepalen welke fasen leerlingen doorlopen in hun ontwikkeling naar literaire competentie. Op basis daarvan zou de leraar een aangepaste didactiek kunnen toepassen. Witte doet dit op basis van enerzijds bestaande modellen uit de ontwikkelingspsychologie (en literaire theorieën) en anderzijds een analyse van leesdossieropdrachten en inschattingen van literatuurdocenten. Hij levert zo een nuttige bijdrage aan het denken over literatuur door de fasen gedetailleerd te beschrijven met aandacht voor aspecten zoals motivatie, kennis van literaire techniek, praten over literatuur, enzovoorts.

Naast de vraag in hoeverre literaire competentie opgevat kan worden naar analogie met ontwikkelingspsychologische modellen, is er vooral een gevaar voor de reproductie van heersende opvattingen over literair lezen. Het is weinig verrassend dat de hoogste en dus meest gewaardeerde niveaus overeenkomen met letterkundig en academisch lezen. Hieruit spreekt een voorkeur voor een bepaald soort identiteit of rol voor de lezer, met bijbehorende geletterdheid en dus manier van zijn. Hiermee blijven we in hetzelfde rondje draaien bij de problemen van ontlezing en demotivatie in het literatuuronderwijs.

Dat Witte de heersende opvattingen over literaire kwaliteit reproduceert, wordt vooral duidelijk wanneer hij en zijn docentexperten representatieve boektitels toekennen aan elk van de niveaus. Dit gebeurt aan de hand van een vijfpuntenschaal (van eenvoudig naar complex) ingevuld door een panel van docenten: er worden daarbij geen pogingen gedaan om een rem te zetten op subjectieve of maatschappelijke vooroordelen over wat literair kwalitatief is. Het blijft daarnaast onduidelijk hoe bijvoorbeeld het lezen van een boek als *De aanslag* van Harry Mulisch (niveau 4) lezers zal helpen om meer 'verteltechnisch en stilistisch raffinement' te verkrijgen, wat hij als een specifiek leerproces en een literatuurdidactisch doel omschrijft. De uiteindelijke lijst lijkt dan ook sterk op een soort literaire canon, waarbij eerder een inschatting van maatschappelijke waarde of esthetisch imago een rol heeft gespeeld dan wel de rol die het boek zou kunnen hebben in de ontwikkeling van literaire competentie.

Ons lijkt het nochtans de uitdaging om die vele contexten waarin jongeren spreken en leven deel te laten uitmaken van literatuuronderwijs, zoals ook blijkt uit het onderzoek naar geletterdheid. Het is zeker een meerwaarde dat de specifieke elementen van een competentie in academisch literair lezen geformuleerd worden. Tegelijkertijd moeten we ons ook bewust zijn van de relatieve draagwijdte van die specifieke geletterdheid. Er is immers recent terechte kritiek geuit op die vernauwde visie van een bepaald soort attitude in de academische literatuurstudie: de kritische afstandelijkheid. Rita Felski beschrijft in haar *The Limits of Critique* (2017) hoe deze houding dominant blijft binnen het academische literatuuronderwijs. Maar deze eenzijdige focus op 'suspicious reading' heeft een zekere 'depleted language of value' (5) doen ontstaan binnen de legitimatie van het lezen.

We weten hoe belangrijk het is om jongeren redenen voor het lezen te geven en die als leraar ook te belichamen in de lespraktijk. Een gezonde leescultuur, gedragen door volwassenen die er zelf belang aan hechten, is immers een belangrijke factor in het verhogen van leesmotivatie. Is het academisch literair lezen de enige rol die we waardevol vinden voor het literatuuronderwijs? Zien we andere manieren van lezen en dus lezer-zijn enkel als een opstapje naar het hogere goed van de kritisch-argwanende lezer?

Wat de lezer ons vertelt: een meervoud van functies

Als we willen weten hoe literatuur een waardevolle plek kan innemen in het verdere leven en leren van lezers, is de beste optie nog steeds om bij henzelf te rade te gaan. Ondanks een gezond wantrouwen tegenover grandioze uitspraken zoals 'kunst heeft mijn leven veranderd', kunnen ervaringen van lezers wel richtinggevend zijn. Het lijkt vanzelfsprekend dat esthetische ervaringen een zekere impact hebben, al is dit eerder een geaccumuleerd fenomeen van lezen als gewoonte. Alhoewel we al vele eeuwen van denken over de functie(s) van kunst kennen, zoals Eleonora Belfiore en Oliver Bennett aantonen in hun *The Social Impact of the Arts* (2008), blijft dit eerder bij een veronderstelling. Uit eigen onderzoek komen catharsis, persoonlijke ontwikkeling, bijleren, zelfontwikkeling, morele ontwikkeling, enzovoorts naar voren als functies van wat een groep lezers online beschreef als significante leeservaringen. Uiteraard overlappen deze functies van lezen: het was nooit enkel één impact die in de beschrijvingen terug te vinden was. Door dit in kaart te brengen, blijkt ook dat 'leesplezier' als een soort van ultieme legitimatie voor literatuuronderwijs te beperkend is. Daarom zouden we graag Benjamin Biebuycks (2019) these over het verhogen van leesplezier graag uitbreiden: de impact van lezen is immers niet altijd plezierig, maar gaat soms ook gepaard met negatieve emoties of bevragingen van de eigen identiteit of de wereld rondom zich.

De uitdaging blijft hoe we deze verschillende functies vertalen naar een literatuurdidactiek voor lezers in hogere graden van het secundaire onderwijs en later. Cognitief-psychologisch onderzoek heeft geleid tot een gedegen leesdidactiek voor beginnende lezers, maar een diepgaande, didactische integratie van inzichten over de verschillende functies bij volwassen lezers kent nog veel obstakels. Als voorbeeld nemen we Timothy Aubry's beschrijving van een therapeutische leescultuur (lezen als persoonlijk welzijn) in de Verenigde Staten, waarbij lezers 'treat novels less as a source of aesthetic satisfaction than as a practical dispenser of advice or a form of therapy' (Aubry 2011: 1). Het is niet verrassend dat er wantrouwen bestaat tegenover deze vorm van lezen vanuit de academische literatuurstudie. Maar zoals Aubry zelf aangeeft, moeten we ons afvragen hoe we deze vorm van lezen kunnen aanwenden binnen een brede leescultuur. Dit geldt in feite voor alle manieren van literair lezen die vandaag minder aan bod komen binnen een literatuuronderwijs dat gericht blijft op expressie, analyse en vooral taalverwerving of het leren van 'cultureel' erfgoed.

Een kritische vriendengroep

Uit dit alles mag blijken dat er bij het 'aandikken van de vriendschap tussen de academische literatuurstudie en het secundair onderwijs', zoals Benjamin Biebuyck (2019) dit beschrijft, een aantal andere 'vrienden' nodig zijn. Er is nood aan (ped)agogische, cultuurfilosofische en didactische inspraak in de richting en verta-

ling van academisch onderzoek dat zich specifiek richt op de context van het literatuuronderwijs. De vraag over de richting van het onderwijs wordt in de eerste plaats gesteld in de (ped)agogiek. Daarom is het belangrijk om dit debat te blijven voeden. We kunnen daarvoor een beroep doen op (ped)agogische en empirische inzichten over de huidige status van kunst- en cultuurparticipatie (m.a.w. wat lezers en cultuurparticipanten zelf denken en doen) en op het denken over de mogelijke educatieve aspecten van kunst en literatuur. Maar ook onderzoek naar veranderingen in geletterdheid is hier relevant, net als een kritische meta-visie op didactisch onderzoek vanuit overkoepelende (ped)agogische kaders.

De (ped)agogische dimensie hierin is dat alle mensen cultuur maken, en dat een praktijk dus niet zomaar kan bestaan uit het aanpraten van een cultuur die al helemaal af is. Mensen zijn niet enkel symboolgebruikers, maar ook makers. Ze hebben elk een rol te spelen in de manier waarop zij zich cultuur eigen maken. Cultuur-, kunst-, of literatuuronderwijs bestaat dus bij voorkeur uit een dialoog waarbij culturen en geletterdheden die leerlingen al bezitten een startpunt zijn. De rol van de leraar is dan om een arsenaal aan selectie-, verdiepings-, maar ook verbindingsstrategieën toe te passen. Deze beslissingen kunnen enkel volgen uit een reflectie op specifiek (ped)agogische vragen. Hoe zie ik als leraar de verhouding tussen kunst, literatuur en onderwijs? Op welke geletterdheden kan ik me beroepen? Welke manieren van lezen kan ik aanspreken? Welke lezersrol bied ik aan een leerling? Het is een vorm van onderwijs die volop in de maak is. Of zoals Raymond Williams het zei: 'we should not, therefore, try to determine in advance what should be offered, but clear the channels and let all the offerings be made, taking care to give the difficult full space, the original full time, so that it is a real growth, and not just a wider confirmation of old rules' (Williams 2001: 23).

Bibliografie

Aubry, T. *Reading as Therapy: What Contemporary Fiction does for Middle-class Americans*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011.

Belfiore, E. & Bennett, O. *The Social Impact of the Arts*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Biebuyck, B. 'Het aandikken van vriendschap. Zes thesen over het academische literatuuronderwijs', in *Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap* 11, 2019, 135-143.

Biesta, G. *Goed onderwijs en de cultuur van het meten. Ethiek, politiek en democratie*. Amsterdam: Boom Lemma Uitgevers, 2012.

Felski, R. *The Limits of Critique*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017.

Gee, J. P. *Social Linguistics and Literacies. Ideology in Discourses* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge, 2008.

Greene, M. 'Aesthetic Literacy in General Education', in: Soltis, J.F. (red.) *Philosophy and Education. 80th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, 115-141.

Schiller, F. *Brieven over de esthetische opvoeding van de mens.* Amsterdam: Octavo publicaties, 2009 [1794-1795].

Williams, R. 'Culture is Ordinary', in: Higgins, J. (red.) *The Raymond Williams Reader*. Oxford/Malden: Blackwell, 2001, 10-24.

Witte, T. *Het oog van de meester. Een onderzoek naar de literaire ontwikkeling van HAVO- en VWO-leerlingen in de tweede fase van het voorgezet onderwijs.* Delft: Uitgeverij Eburon, 2008.

Complexe evenwichtsoefeningen

Het academische literatuuronderwijs in een digitale maatschappij

Thomas Ernst (Universiteit van Amsterdam / Universiteit Antwerpen)

De Vlaamse overheid heeft in 2021 extra in de opleiding van leraren geïnvesteerd. Hierdoor wordt de vraag actueel op welke oriëntatiepunten het academische literatuuronderwijs zich vandaag zou moeten richten om betere studenten en dus ook betere leerkrachten op te leiden. Benjamin Biebuyck stelt in het vorige PLISA hierover zes thesen op. Zijn bijdrage is een pleidooi voor een 'academische letterenstudie met aandacht voor de *actualiteit* van haar eigen bedrijf, met een *probleemstellende* en *coöperatieve* focus, die oog heeft voor *leesplezier* en voor een *concreetkritische ingesteldheid*, en erop gericht is *de grenzen te verkennen van wat denkbaar is en wat niet*' (Biebuyck 2019: 143; cursivering door mij, T.E.).

Deze zes thesen wijzen allemaal in een goede richting, maar toch lijkt het mij nodig om nog enkele andere klemtonen te leggen en specifieke basisveronderstellingen ter discussie te stellen. Zoals Biebuyck spreek ik vanuit het veld van de Moderne Duitstalige Letterkunde, maar in mijn reactie spelen ook ervaringen mee met de academische systemen in Duitsland, Luxemburg en Nederland waarin ik sinds 2008 heb gewerkt. In deze jaren heb ik kennis gemaakt met de *Digital Humanities* en haar visie op het academische literatuuronderwijs; met onderwijssystemen die zichzelf als fundamenteel meertalig beschouwen; met studieprogramma's die nauw met het mediawerkveld verweven zijn; met gedereguleerde geesteswetenschappen die gedwongen zijn om interdisciplinaire samenwerkingen aan te gaan die niet voor de hand liggen; kortom: met zeer verschillende academische culturen tussen de polen *vrije bildung* enerzijds en *economische ratio* anderzijds die wegen zoeken om met de uitdagingen van de 21ste eeuw zoals digitalisering, diversiteit en meertaligheid om te gaan.

In die jaren heb ik vaak met enthousiasme nieuwe paden bewandeld, maar ben ik ook op bepaalde ideeën teruggekomen. Terwijl Biebuyck vooral focust op de verhouding tussen academisch onderwijs en schoolonderwijs, wil ik twee andere dimensies sterker bij het debat betrekken. Ten eerste lijkt het mij nodig om algemeen na te denken over de positie van het onderwijs in een geglobaliseerde, digitale maatschappij. Bijgevolg wil ik voorstellen doen om het belang van academisch literatuuronderwijs in een digitale cultuur en ook van *Digital Literacy* als een centrale competentie te beklemtonen. Ten tweede wil ik op basis van mijn ervaringen toch ook eerder maatschappelijke en disciplinaire spanningen benoemen waarin het academische literatuuronderwijs zich zou moeten positioneren. In een digitale maatschappij zou het literatuuronderwijs volgens mij vooral een

complexe evenwichtsoefening moeten zijn, zowel voor de docenten als voor de studenten.

Uitdagingen: onderwijs in een geglobaliseerde en digitale maatschappij

Het academische literatuuronderwijs wordt vandaag geconfronteerd met bijzonder complexe en uitdagende maatschappelijke processen. Het moet zijn plaats herdefiniëren in een geglobaliseerde en digitale maatschappij waar in politieke processen en dus ook in het discours over onderwijs meer en meer directe economische effecten tellen en minder de intrinsieke waarde van (literaire) bildung op zich. Mijn discipline, de germanistiek, is een nationale filologie en is historisch ontstaan in het boek-tijdperk en dit onder meer om een Duitse natie te helpen construeren op basis van taal en cultuur.

Vandaag moet de letterkunde echter bijdragen aan een economisch en cultureel geglobaliseerde wereld waarin spanningen tussen regio's, nationale staten, Europese en globale instituties bestaan – instituties waarvan Kant in zijn filosofisch ontwerp *Zum ewigen Frieden* in 1795 in Königsberg (sinds 1946 Калининград / Kaliningrad) alleen nog maar kon dromen. In onze geglobaliseerde wereld spelen nieuwe uitdagingen een grote rol. Ik noem als voorbeelden de discussies over meertaligheid en integratie, herinneringsculturen en standbeelden of de noodzaak en inhoud van een canon. De historisch en theoretisch bewuste reflectie van deze maatschappelijke vragen is niet mogelijk zonder de complexe beschrijving van culturele tegenspraak, historische breuken en de veelvoudige betekenis van taal in literaire teksten.

Daarnaast is er nog een andere centrale uitdaging voor de letterkunde: door de digitalisering worden wij allemaal geconfronteerd met nieuwe communicatievormen en sociale media. Door deze ontwikkeling wordt niet alleen het belang van de publieke communicatiestructuren ter discussie gesteld, maar ondergaan ook de werkvormen en beroepsprofielen grote veranderingen. Als wij dus over de nodige competenties nadenken die studenten in het academisch literatuuronderwijs moeten verwerven, moet – en dat zeker bij de leerkrachten en mediawerkers van het 21e eeuw – de nodige *Digital Literacy* hierbij horen.

Nu heeft Marshall McLuhan al in de jaren vijftig voorspeld dat in het elektronische tijdperk ons besef van de geschiedenis zal verdwijnen – en dit kan ik als germanist alleen maar als een waarschuwing lezen. Zeker mogen wij het kind niet met het badwater weggooien en de studenten enkel nog met technische vraagstukken confronteren of alle problemen als actuele problemen presenteren. Juist de productieve verbinding van geschiedenis en actualiteit is belangrijk, bv. in de germanistiek: wat zijn de grondideeën van de Duitse subjectfilosofie? In hoeverre is de democratische maatschappij en het subsidiesysteem voor cultuur van vandaag ook op ideeën van o.m. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Immanuel Kant en Friedrich Schiller over het subject, de *Aufklärung* en de *Ästhetische Erziehung* gebaseerd? En hoe kunnen wij de

spanning beschrijven tussen deze ideeën aan de ene kant en de realiteiten van sociale media, *crowdworking* en *fan fiction* aan de andere? Natuurlijk is het dus een belangrijke vaardigheid van het academisch literatuuronderwijs om de hedendaagse wereld ook door de bril van de historische kennis en oudere filosofische en literaire teksten te reflecteren, zoals Biebuyck terecht zegt.

Het gaat m.i. echter een stap te ver om te stellen dat 'literatuurstudie geen doel op zich is, maar steeds verband houdt met ons begrip van het heden.' (Biebuyck 2019: 137) De literatuurstudie staat in verschillende Europese landen al onder druk van politieke structuren en mediadiscoursen die nog nauwelijks de culturele meerwaarde van de letteren *an sich* erkennen. In Nederland is uit een regeringsonderzoek (doorgevoerd door adviesbureau PwC) gebleken dat de wetenschapsfinanciering 1,1 miljard euro tekortkomt. En hoewel dit geld nog ontbreekt, bracht de *commissie-Van Rijn* in 2019 het advies uit dat ook nog eens 250 miljoen euro naar universiteiten met bèta-technische opleidingen verschoven moest worden. In Duitsland heeft *Der Spiegel* in 2017 in een veelbesproken betoog een fundamentele kritiek op de germanistiek en haar legitimatie in een digitale maatschappij gepubliceerd ('Wer war Goethe? Keine Ahnung, irgendso'n Toter'). Eveneens symptomatisch is het feit dat zowel in Nederland als in Vlaanderen recent een Nationaal Platform voor de Talen resp. een Vlaams Talenplatform zijn opgericht. Het lijkt me dus inderdaad zinvol om de directe maatschappelijke waarde van de letterkunde te onderstrepen, maar het literatuuronderwijs mag nog altijd zelfbewust claimen dat het *an sich* een belang heeft, ook in een digitale cultuur.

Bildung en algoritmiciteit: het belang van literatuuronderwijs in een digitale cultuur

Literaire teksten zijn teksten die cultureel complex en (taal)reflecterend zijn en esthetische regels van specifieke genres volgen – en dus andere kwaliteiten hebben dan bv. wetenschappelijke papers, politieke speeches of de alledaagse communicatie. Idealiter helpen literaire teksten daarom ook vandaag nog om de steeds complexere wereld beter te begrijpen of tenminste om de onbegrijpelijkheid, verdeeldheid of absurditeit van de hedendaagse wereld beter te kunnen vatten. Aangezien talrijke conflicten ontstaan door de spanningen tussen mondiale en regionale of nationale instituties, aangezien wij de digitale maatschappij van morgen ook op basis van onze literaire en filosofische geschiedenis moeten opbouwen, en aangezien transculturaliteit en meertaligheid toenemend aan betekenis winnen, blijft het academische literatuuronderwijs in deze wereld uiteraard fundamenteel belangrijk. Vandaag *framen* partijen en bedrijven zich zelfs door een *narratief*, en samenzweringsmythes op sociale media beïnvloeden politieke beslissingen. De expertise van een wetenschappelijk onderbouwde narratologie die haar analysemethodes en begrippen baseert op literatuur om dan haar kennis ook op andere maatschappelijke velden toe te passen, is waardevoller dan ooit.

In het uitdagende proza van Johann Wolfgang von Goethe en Franz Kafka, in de betekenisvolle compositie van Paul Celans gedichten, in de intertekstuele gezangen van Elfriede Jelineks *Sprachflächen*, maar ook in de popculturele romans van Thomas Meinecke over de constructie van geslacht en in de gemonteerde teksten van Kathrin Röggla over de hedendaagse werkverhoudingen – in zulke teksten worden complexe figuren, symbolen en narratieven op een buitengewoon geraffineerde manier (en anders dan in krantenartikelen of TV-berichten) 'vertaald' en gereflecteerd. De lectuur en de bespreking van zulke teksten vergroten en verfijnen onze culturele competenties. Literaire teksten helpen ons om concepten van tijd en ruimte te doordenken, zij sensibiliseren ons met betrekking tot de constructie en differentiatie van sociale groepen, diversiteit en machtsverhoudingen, de representatie van figuren en ideeën. Zij dragen bij aan het culturele geheugen, zij tonen de veranderingen en de meerduidigheid van betekenissen. Zij helpen ons ook om over taal als materialiteit en over de tradities van verschillende genres of mediaformaten te reflecteren.

Indien het ook in de digitale kennismaatschappij het streefdoel is om een voor alle mensen waardige samenleving op te bouwen, dan moet literaire *bildung* en haar kritische zelfreflectie hier een beschermde ruimte in kunnen vinden, als deel van een *Kultur der Digitalität*. Volgens Felix Stalder heeft deze cultuur drie kenmerken: ten eerste haar *algoritmiciteit* die helpt om op een gereguleerde manier specifieke elementen uit de informatiestroom te vissen; ten tweede haar *referentialiteit* die de doelgerichte verbinding van (uiteenlopende) inhouden mogelijk maakt; en ten derde de *gemeenschappelijkheid* omdat de digitale cultuur nieuwe formaties van (online-)gemeenschappen mogelijk maakt.

Dit geldt ook voor de literatuur: de verhoudingen van auteur, werk, lezer en context in een digitale wereld veranderen zo ingrijpend, en de mogelijkheden van digitale methodes en digitale tools zijn zo groot, dat de letterkunde voor talrijke uitdagingen staat. Hiermee gaan de universiteiten op zeer verschillende manieren om: er zijn departementen die eerder de traditionele structuren en inhouden van de studieprogramma's bewaren, maar ook departementen die sterk inzetten op *Digital Humanities* – en natuurlijk groeien ook veelvoudige mengvormen van een digitale letterkunde. In een tijd van smartphones en laptops wordt literatuur vandaag meer en meer webliteratuur, groeit uit het literaire werk een literair netwerk en ontstaan literaire en wetenschappelijke teksten toenemend collaboratief op platformen. Ook al zijn de fenomenen op zich vaak niet nieuw, de vormen en intensiteiten zijn dit wel. De studenten bewegen zich vandaag sowieso al in een mediawereld waarin zij via het *world wide web* communiceren, maar dit gebeurt vaak zonder dat ze een verband leggen tussen hun dagelijkse webpraktijken en hun letterkundige studies.

Digitale letterkunde: *digital literacy* in het academische literatuuronderwijs

Toen het *world wide web* in de jaren negentig vrij beschikbaar werd gemaakt, waren hieraan veel beloftes en utopieën verbonden. Jammer genoeg leven wij momenteel eerder in een digitale dystopie met monopolistische platformen, ontbrekende databescherming, racistische en misogyne uitlatingen op sociale media en problematische bedrijfsmodellen: het internet als een permanent reclameplein vol brullende bezoekers. Deze ontwikkelingen vinden ook hun weerklank in romans als *The Circle* van Dave Eggers of *GRM* van Sibylle Berg. Het is aan een volgende generatie om het *world wide web* tot een plek van echte participatie en humaniteit te maken, waarin datasoevereiniteit voor de gebruikers en *linked open data* voor de wetenschappelijke kennisproductie de overheersende principes worden. Hiervoor zijn wereldwijd grote inspanningen nodig, en zeker ook in België, dat momenteel – onder meer samen met Duitsland – op een van de laatste plaatsen van de EU-landen staat op de *Index of Readiness for Digital Lifelong Learning*, ver achter koplopers als Estland, Nederland of Finland.

Het academische literatuuronderwijs moet een centrale rol spelen als het gaat over de verbetering van de digitale cultuur: de letterkunde kent haar mediageschiedenis, zij heeft de nodige kennis om het belang en de betekenis van het schrift, schriftelijke communicatie en intermediaire verhoudingen te analyseren. De digitale letterkunde heeft de laatste jaren standaarden kunnen definiëren voor de digitalisering en de digitale archivering van teksten. Zij heeft digitale methodes ontwikkeld en toegepast die helpen om literaire netwerken, stijlen en topics ook kwantitatief te analyseren. En zij gebruikt tools voor de collaboratieve annotatie en productie van literaire en wetenschappelijke teksten. Als effect hiervan zijn nieuwe werkvormen en epistemologische discussies ontstaan. Vandaag kunnen de (master-) studenten zeker een bijdrage leveren tot de objectkeuze van de literatuurstudie zelf, zoals Benjamin Biebuyck schreef, maar daarnaast staan er ook veel meer teksten ter beschikking die door de nieuwe analysemethodes bovendien op andere manieren gelezen kunnen worden: *Distant Reading* en *Mixed Methods*.

Hierdoor wordt op het veld van de digitale letterkunde een probleem benaderd dat ook op het niveau van de wetenschappelijke wereld centraal staat: hoe kan men de technische en de digitale uitdagingen van het heden en van de toekomst het best wetenschappelijk benaderen om een betere maatschappij op te bouwen? De technische wetenschappen hebben inmiddels bv. zelfsturende auto's helpen construeren, maar het is intussen duidelijk dat het concrete gebruik hiervan veelvuldige culturele en ethische vragen met zich meebrengt. Zonder filosofische, psychologische en sociologische kennis zijn die vragen niet te beantwoorden. Onder meer daardoor zal het nog duren voordat zelfsturende auto's een gewoon vervoermiddel zullen zijn. Kunstmatige intelligentie en de digitale wereld blijven fundamenteel aangewezen op een productieve samenwerking van de alfa-, bèta- en gammawetenschappen. Dit wordt, met negatieve effecten voor de geesteswetenschappen, vaak onderschat.

Ook in het academische literatuuronderwijs leren studenten om met deze ingewikkelde verbinding van disciplines en methodes om te gaan. Als men bv. met studenten een centrale tekst van de *Digital Humanities* bespreekt, waarin Franco Moretti zijn model van *Distant Reading* introduceert, is het natuurlijk fascinerend om zijn kwantitatief onderzoek over *7,000 Titles (British Novels, 1740-1850)* te lezen, en om op visualisaties te zien hoe deze titels meer en meer gestroomlijnd worden, wat natuurlijk op het ontstaan van een literaire markt met eigen regels duidt. Echt interessant wordt Morettis kwantitatieve kijk op zijn data echter pas als men zijn resultaten gebruikt om (kwalitatief) de diepte in te duiken: hoezo zit er volgens afbeelding 6 (Moretti 2013: 212) rond 1830 een onregelmatigheid in de voortschrijdende afname van het aantal woorden in boektitels? Welke boeken vallen er op een significante manier uit de algemene trend en hoezo? Deze vragen kunnen dan weer beter door een literatuursociologische studie of door een close reading van de afzonderlijke boeken worden beantwoord – wat dan een mixed methods-benadering zou zijn waarin de digitale analyse maar één element is (die wel de algemene resultaten onderbouwt). Zo ontwikkelen studenten idealiter de competentie om aan de ene kant hoogstaande literaire werken in close readings te kunnen duiden en aan de andere kant de methodes van distant reading te begrijpen en beide benaderingen op een zinvolle manier te combineren.

Kennis over de methodes en standaards van de digitale letterkunde zijn echter maar één deel van de nodige *Digital Literacy* die de studenten in het academische literatuuronderwijs moeten opdoen. Daarnaast horen hier algemene competenties bij, die ook in scholen aan de leerlingen doorgegeven zouden moeten worden. Dit zijn aan de ene kant eerder basale vaardigheden van het literatuuronderzoek zoals kennis van digitale databanken, bibliotheken en archieven, van wetenschappelijk betrouwbare zoekmachines, van digitale databanken, bibliotheken en archieven. De digitale mogelijkheden hebben hier een heel nieuwe wereld geopend, maar haar bevolking moet zich in deze ruimtes ook veilig en bewust leren bewegen. Aan de andere kant hoort hier op het theoretische niveau ook een basiskennis van algoritmes en markuptalen en van de grondprincipes van de netwerkcultuur bij. Maar ook interdisciplinaire kennis maakt deel uit van de *Digital Literacy*, bv. over de rechtswetenschappelijke visie op auteursrechten in de digitale wereld, of media- en cultuurwetenschappelijke benaderingen van de zeer nodige webkritiek.

Ten slotte moet het academisch literatuuronderwijs door zijn vorm zelf bijdragen aan een betere digitale cultuur. Wie al voor de Covid19-pandemie met concepten van blended leren in het literatuuronderwijs heeft gewerkt, zal dat zeker ook na de pandemie blijven doen – en nu bewuster en doelgerichter synchrone momenten op de campus afwisselen met asynchrone digitale werkmomenten. Op de onlineconferentie *Digitale Lehre Germanistik* werden in augustus 2020 acht theses over het toekomstige academische literatuuronderwijs opgesteld. Centraal staan hier de principes van *Open Humanities* en het experimenteren met coöperatieve samenwerkingsvormen, bv. digitale schrijfpraktijken en collaboratieve annotatie. Daarnaast blijkt duidelijk dat digitaal onderwijs niet minder, maar eerder meer middelen

nodig heeft, en dat het binnen de letterkunde belangrijk blijft om standaarden te bediscussiëren en te definiëren: over de *Digital Literacy* van de studenten, over tools en lespraktijken en over de rol van de taal- en letterkunde in de digitale kennismaatschappij.

Ja, maar…: het academische literatuuronderwijs als complexe evenwichtsoefening

De zes thesen van Benjamin Biebuyck over het academische literatuuronderwijs wijzen in een goede richting. En toch zou ik in plaats van één duidelijke *richting* waar deze thesen naartoe wijzen (*actualiteit*, *probleemstelling*, *coöperatie*, *leesplezier*, *concreet-kritische ingesteldheid*, *verkenning van het denkbare en zijn grenzen*) dit onderwijs eerder als een *ruimte* afschilderen waarin complexe evenwichtsoefeningen plaatsvinden: Anders gezegd: *Ja,* wij moeten ons in een (nieuwe) richting bewegen, *maar* wij moeten ook de landschappen in het oog houden waar wij vandaan komen. En wij moeten ons bewust en doordacht in een ruimte vol spanningen bewegen: zelfbewust draaien en dansen in plaats van alleen maar optimistisch vooruitlopen. De mooiste manier van lezen is ook niet altijd de lineaire, en het grondprincipe van blended leren is een slimme verbinding van synchrone en asynchrone elementen – (literatuur-)onderwijs is dus sowieso een complexe evenwichtsoefening.

Ja, wij hebben in ons onderwijs meer *aandacht voor de actualiteit* nodig, en daarbij hoort zeker ook het omgaan met *Digital Literacy*. Als de letterkunde een centrale rol wil spelen bij het opbouwen van een betere digitale wereld, moeten wij met digitale methodes experimenteren en reflecteren over onze eigen transformatie naar een digitale letterkunde. Maar tegelijkertijd moet het literatuuronderwijs door de bewerking van complexe historische teksten ook *kennis over de geschiedenis, de culturele evolutie en haar tegenspraken* uitbrengen.

Ja, het helpt de studenten als het academische literatuuronderwijs een *probleemstellende* en *coöperatieve* focus heeft. Maar deze nodige praktische kant van het literatuuronderwijs mag nooit zo ver gaan dat *het literaire* uit het literatuuronderwijs verdwijnt. Een abstracte, theoretische benadering van problemen blijft een belangrijke praktijk op zich. Natuurlijk moet het disciplinaire in elke *inter*disciplinaire samenwerking duidelijk blijven; ook een eerder cultuurwetenschappelijke opleiding *German Studies* zou het verschil tussen fictionaliteit en feitelijkheid, tussen literaire en andere genres moeten blijven benadrukken. En natuurlijk moet onderzoek naar de digitale kennismaatschappij en naar kunstmatige intelligentie technisch-wetenschappelijke *en* geesteswetenschappelijke kennis samenbrengen – maar de specifiek geesteswetenschappelijke kennis moet herkenbaar blijven.

Ja, de docenten moeten zich altijd afvragen hoe zij het *leesplezier* van de studenten kunnen verhogen. Maar in elke cursus en in elk jaar moeten studenten ook blijven ervaren hoe zij met een tekst kunnen omgaan die qua stijl, woordenschat,

inhoud of verhaallijn *moeilijk en dus een uitdaging* is – de wereld waarin onze studenten later leven zal levenslang een ontzettend complexe uitdaging blijven. Ook de geesteswetenschappen worden vandaag in vele Europese landen gemeten aan een economische rationaliteit die voor de letterkundige hoofdbezigheden – lezen en denken – nauwelijks adequate beoordelingscriteria kent.

Ja, het academische literatuuronderwijs moet voor een *concreet-kritische ingesteldheid* van de studenten zorgen, de academische reflectie en de rationale redenering is in tijden van groeiende samenzweringsmythes en populistische bewegingen op zich al een kritische bezigheid. Maar dit betekent dat *de (digitale) letterkunde van vandaag ook kritisch met zichzelf dient om te gaan.* Zij moet haar eigen onderzoeksmethodes, haar eigen begrippen en concepten en ook de digitale en literaire culturen waaraan wij momenteel meewerken, ter discussie stellen en aanbevelingen en standaarden voor een betere digitale wereld ontwikkelen.

Ja, letterkundige studies moeten zeker helpen om *de grenzen te verkennen van wat denkbaar is en wat niet* – maar dit mag niet alleen de inhoudelijke literaire reflectie over de geschiedenis en haar handelingsmogelijkheden betreffen. Vandaag is het al bijna een grensovertreding als men de reflectie van literaire werken als culturele waarde op zichzelf beschouwt. Ook vandaag moeten studenten een begrip kunnen ontwikkelen van de autonome esthetiek van het literaire kunstwerk, juist om te kunnen reflecteren wat (esthetisch) denkbaar is en wat niet – en wat het specifieke is aan deze intellectuele denkoefening.

Het academische literatuuronderwijs in een digitale maatschappij is dus een complexe evenwichtsoefening voor de docenten en voor de studenten; een evenwichtsoefening om verleden en heden, individuele en collaboratieve lees- en schrijfvormen, uitdagende en plezierige lectuur, oude en nieuwe concepten van literatuur, en kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve methodes van tekstanalyse in een evenwicht te brengen. En juist daarom is het literatuuronderwijs een uitstekende denk- en oefenruimte voor studenten die zich in de complexe wereld van de 21e eeuw op een verantwoordelijke willen bewegen.

Bibliografie

Berg, S. *GRM. Brainfuck. Roman*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2019.

Biebuyck, B. 'Het aandenken van vriendschap. Zes thesen over het academische literatuuronderwijs', in *Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap* 11 (2019), 135-143.

CEPS 'Readiness for Digital Lifelong Learning: Changing How Europeans Upgrade their Skills'. Beblavy, M. et al. 2019 [april 2021]: https://www.ceps.eu/download/publication/?id=25419&pdf=Index-of-Readiness-for-Digital-Lifelong-Learning.pdf.

Conferentie Digitale Lehre Germanistik 'Das brauchen wir: 8 Anforderungen an die zukünftige Lehre in der Germanistik' (2020) [april 2021]: https://vfr.mwwforschung.de/web/digitale-lehre-germanistik/konsenspapier.

Doerry, Martin 'Wer war Goethe? Keine Ahnung, irgendso'n Toter. Germanistik-Studium', in: *Der Spiegel*, 6 februari 2017 [april 2021]: https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/

germanistik-studium-wo-die-chancen-fuer-germanistik-studenten-liegen-a-1133069.html.
Eggers, D. *The Circle. A Novel*. New York: Penguin, 2013.
Moretti, F. *Distant Reading*. London; New York: Verso, 2013.
'Nationaal platform voor de talen', 2021 [april 2021]: https://platformtalen.nl/.
Stalder, F. *Kultur der Digitalität*. Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2016.
'Vlaams Talenplatform', 2021 [april 2021]: http://www.vlaamstalenplatform.be/.

Personalia

Free De Backer is Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Sciences at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Her research and teaching focus on arts and cultural education and on participation in various learning environments at different ages. More specifically, she investigates the role of the mediator in the relationship between the arts and the audience. She also collaborates on several larger arts mediation and learning projects, and occasionally consults on initiatives in regards to arts mediation in cultural and arts policy and organisations.

Robrecht De Boodt is a PhD student of the MDRN lab at the arts Faculty of K.U. Leuven. He is currently working on the 'Literary Knowledge: Modernisms and the Sciences 1890-1950' project, which studies the interplay between the (new) sciences in the modernist age and literature. The project is divided up into three clusters: astronomy, archaeology and the life-sciences. Robrecht's project tackles epistemic authenticity and authority in Belgian and German colonial literature between 1890 and 1950. The new and evolving modernist sciences like ethnology, tropical medicine and eugenics were, among other factors, a vital tool in disclosing the *dark continent* in an *authentic* and *authoritative* way to a European audience that was otherwise flooded with seemingly random and/or imagined colonial images, objects and stories. Robrecht has a background in history (BA+MA) and literary studies (BA+MA), with a particular interest for the *narrative* turn in historiography and the *grey area* between historiography and literature. By treating his source material both as literary texts and historical sources, he attempts to apply an interdisciplinary approach that borrows, among other things, from *Interdiskurstheorie*, (post-colonial) discourse analysis, historical contextualization theories and *ethos* and literary posture-studies.

Fatima Borrmann is a phd researcher at KU Leuven, she did her MA in English Literature and Culture at the Ruhr Universität Bochum. Her research project 'Eugenic Women' is a subproject of the MDRN research programme *Literary Knowledge (1890-1950): Modernisms and the Sciences in Europe.* In her research she investigates literature by German and British women writers for its engagement with eugenics in the late 19th and early 20th century. Her research interests are modernism, gender, biopower, the lowbrow/highbrow dichotomy, essentialism and postcolonial theory.

Phyllis Boumans is a doctoral researcher in Irish literature at KU Leuven, where she is researching publication and mediation of Irish short fiction in the Irish literary periodical *The Bell* (1940-1954) so as to assess the magazine's impact on the canon and tradition of the short story in Ireland. She previously completed an MA in Literary Studies and the Book Industry and a BA in English at Radboud Univer-

sity Nijmegen. She holds a PGCE from Utrecht University, and has published on Irish short fiction and *The Bell* magazine in *Irish Studies Review* and *New Hibernia Review*.

Thomas Ernst doceert en doet onderzoek over Moderne Duitstalige letterkunde en digitale culturen aan de Universiteit Antwerpen. Daarnaast houdt hij een venia legendi voor Germanistische media- en cultuurwetenschap aan de Universität Duisburg-Essen. In zijn onderzoek focust hij op meertaligheid en transculturele ruimtes in de Duitstalige literatuur, op experimentele en subversieve Duitstalige literaturen en op de digitale mediatransformatie en haar culturele effecten. Hij heeft onder meer de boeken *Literatur und Subversion* (2013) en zijn habilitatie over *Netzliteraturwissenschaft* (2019/2022) gepubliceerd. Meer informatie: https://thomasernst.net.

Tilde Geerardyn is affiliated as a teaching assistant to the Eastern-European Languages and Cultures section, embedded in the Languages and Cultures Department of Ghent University. She is currently finishing her PhD on the evolution of national and collective identity in the works of the Slovene Russianist Janko Lavrin: *Maintaining the 'Pan-Slavic' Dream. The Case of Janko Lavrin, a Slovene Russianist in Great-Britain*. Before she has published on the oeuvre of the contemporary Slovene author Boris Pahor (Neohelicon 2017). A contribution about Lavrin and the concept of 'Accelerated Nationalization', a collaboration with Michel De Dobbeleer, will be published in a volume edited by Brill publishers.

Ortwin de Graef, hoogleraar Engelse Literatuur aan KU Leuven, is de auteur van twee boeken over Paul de Man en van talrijke publicaties over Romantische en post-Romantische geschriften gaande van Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Arnold en George Eliot over Joseph Conrad, Isaac Rosenberg, Virginia Woolf en Pearl S. Buck tot Hafid Bouazza, David Grossman, Alan Warner en A. L. Kennedy. Samen met Jan Baetens en Silvana Mandolessi schreef hij ook het studieboek *Digital Reason: A Guide to Meaning, Medium and Community in a Modern World* (2020). Zijn onderzoek is vooral gericht op de zeer lange negentiende eeuw (221 jaar *and counting*) en de ideologieën van de sympathie, de wetenschap en de Staat zoals die verstuurd en verstoord worden door de transmissie-technologieën van het literaire.

Eva Van Hoey is als doctoraatsstudent verbonden aan de vakgroep Letterkunde (afdeling Spaans) van de Universiteit Gent. In haar onderzoeksproject '"Ni Una Menos": Gendergeweld door de lens van de hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek (1994-2015)' bestudeert ze de representatie van gendergeweld in de hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse kroniek. Haar onderzoeksinteresses omvatten hedendaagse Latijns-Amerikaanse literatuur, genre studies, gender studies en de representatie van geweld.

Mathias Meert works as a postdoctoral researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB) and currently serves as the secretary of the research Centre for Literary and Intermedial Crossing (CLIC). He is a member of the editorial board of the online *Journal for Literary and Intermedial Crossings* (JLIC). He studied German and French literature at the VUB, literary Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KUL), and defended his PhD in 2016 at the VUB. His research focuses on intermediality and intertextuality, German-language theatre and drama, (Viennese) modernism, drama and narratology and the genre of the pantomime. He has published articles on the works of Richard Beer-Hofmann, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Stefan Zweig. His monograph on 'Intertextuality in the dramatic works of Richard Beer-Hofmann' was published by Frank & Timme (Berlin) in 2020. From 2017 till 2020, he worked as a postdoctoral research fellow of the FWO on a project that analyzed the narrativity of pantomime texts in German Modernism. His current research focusses on gestures in pantomime drama and gestic theatre in Germany and Austria since 1945.

Carolien Van Nerom behaalde een master in de muziek (klarinet) aan het Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel en een master in de taal- & letterkunde aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Ze werkt als doctoraal onderzoeker aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel aan een project over narrativiteit in operamuziek van Philip Glass dat gefinancierd wordt door het Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek. Ze publiceerde over onderwerpen als de graad van narrativiteit in Philip Glass' operamuziek, muzikale verteltechnieken in *Les enfants terribles* (1996), of personages en setting in *Waiting for the Barbarians* (2005). Caroliens onderzoek bevindt zich op het raakvlak tussen muzikale analyse en cognitieve literatuurwetenschap. Haar corpus beperkt zich dan ook tot Glass-opera's die gebaseerd zijn op literaire werken.

Emma-Louise Silva is a postdoctoral researcher aboard the ERC-project 'Constructing Age for Young Readers', led by Vanessa Joosen. Within the project she focuses on age studies, cognitive narratology, genetic criticism and philosophy of mind in children's literature. She combines this role with a lecturing position at the University of Antwerp. As a member of the Centre for Manuscript Genetics, Emma-Louise defended her doctoral dissertation on James Joyce in 2019, aiming to reassess the so-called 'inward turn' of Joyce's modernist fiction by applying approaches formulated in philosophy of mind to Joyce's oeuvre, within a framework that leans on cognitive narratology and genetic criticism. Her PhD was part of the Top Bof project 'Literature and the Extended Mind: A Reassessment of Modernism', led by Dirk Van Hulle. She has also worked as a digital editor for Peter Petré's ERC-project 'Mind-Bending Grammars', and as a postdoctoral coordinator of the Pillar 1 Science and Technology Roadmap under the supervision of Mike Kestemont for Time Machine Europe. Emma-Louise has published in *James Joyce Literary Supplement* (2018), *James Joyce Quarterly* (2019), *Genetic Joyce Studies*

(2020), and *Joyce Without Borders* (forthcoming), and she co-edited *James Joyce and the Arts* (2020, with Dirk Van Hulle and Sam Slote).

Nicholas De Sutter is doctoral student at KU Leuven's Literary Studies Research Unit. He holds MAs in Linguistics & Literature (Latin-English) and Law from KU Leuven, where he subsequently started working as a PhD researcher at the Latin Literature Department. He obtained an FWO scholarship in 2019, from which time he has been preparing his doctoral dissertation under supervision of professors Toon Van Houdt and Dirk Sacré. Nicholas's main focus involves Neo-Latin poetry; specific attention goes to the final phase of Latin literature in Western literary history, from the eighteenth century onwards. His doctoral dissertation, for instance, deals with the ways in which poets used Latin in order to reflect on modern times through a classical lens throughout the long nineteenth century. Other research interests include early-modern Latin theatre.

Griet Theeten is als lector verbonden aan de vakgroepen Taal- en Letterkunde en Vertalen, Tolken en Communicatie aan de Universiteit Gent. Ze promoveerde aan de Universiteit Gent met een proefschrift over de Eerste Wereldoorlog in de hedendaagse Franse literatuur. Ze doceert vakken over Franse letterkunde en schrijfvaardigheid Frans. Daarnaast animeert ze een leesgroep Franse literatuur bij de Alliance française Oost-Vlaanderen.

Geert Vandermeersche is Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Sciences at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. His research and teaching focus on arts and cultural education and the digital transformations in these field. More specifically, he investigates how the functions, literacies and the mediation of arts such as literature, music and film change within different (digital) learning environments.

Pim Verhulst is a postdoctoral researcher and teaching assistant at the University of Antwerp. His research focuses on radio drama and intermediality in postwar literature from the British Isles, combining insights from audionarratology, genetic criticism and media studies. He has published articles in *Variants*, *Journal of Beckett Studies*, *Samuel Beckett Today/Aujourd'hui*, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, *La Revue des lettres modernes* and *The Harold Pinter Review*, and chapters in *Beckett and BBC Radio* (Palgrave 2017), *Beckett and Modernism* (Palgrave 2018, co-edited with Olga Beloborodova and Dirk Van Hulle), *Pop Beckett* (Ibidem 2019), *Luisterrijk der letteren* (Academia Press 2019), *Audionarratology: Lessons from Radio Drama* (Ohio State UP 2021), *Beckett and Technology* (Edinburgh UP 2021), *Beckett and Media* (Manchester UP 2021) and the *Oxford Handbook of Samuel Beckett* (Oxford UP 2022). He has co-edited *Radio Art and Music: Culture, Aesthetics, Politics* (Lexington 2020, with Jarmila Mildorf) and *Tuning in to the Neo-Avant-Garde: Experimental Radio Plays in the Postwar Period* (Manchester UP 2021, with Inge Arteel, Lars Bernaerts and Siebe Bluijs). His monograph, *The Making of Samuel Beckett's Radio*

Plays, is appearing with Bloomsbury in the Beckett Digital Manuscript Project (www.beckettarchive.org), which won an MLA Prize and of which he is an editorial board member.

Ben De Witte holds a PhD in Comparative Literature from Rutgers University and is currently Doctor-Assistant and Academic Staff at KU Leuven, where he teaches courses in European and comparative literature, literary multilingualism, world literature, and translation. His research on queer modernism and modern drama is published in *Theatre Research International*, *Vooys*, and *Modern Drama,* and his book reviews have appeared in *TTR: Traduction Terminologie Rédaction*, *Theatre Journal* and *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*. With João Nemi Neto, he is translating João Silvério Trevisan's novel *Em nome do desejo* for Columbia University's Sundial House series. At KU Leuven, Ben is affiliated with the Research Group Translation and Intercultural Transfer, the Centre for Reception Studies, and the MDRN-group. His research interests are in global modernism, gender and sexuality, literary translation, and twentieth-century English- and Spanish-language drama and literatures. Ben is a recipient of fellowships by the Belgian American Educational Foundation and the Andrew Mellon Foundation.

Chiara Zampieri is a doctoral researcher at the MDRN Research Lab, based at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KU Leuven) in Belgium. She is part of the interdisciplinary research programme Literary Knowledge (1890-1950): Modernisms and the Sciences in Europe, and her work focuses on the reception of archaeological knowledge on the Etruscans in the Italian, French and English literature of the modernist period. She also actively collaborates with Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, in Rome.

CLW

Cahier voor Literatuurwetenschap (CLW) is an annual publication devoted to comparative literature and literary theory. Much like Paul Valéry's *Cahiers*, CLW aims to be a site of intellectual stimulation, an open-ended work in progress on the rich variety of approaches to literature. CLW only features special issues focusing on topics of wider interest within the field of literary studies. After appearing between 1983 and 2008 under the title *ALW Cahiers*, CLW brought out special issues on such diverse topics as comparativism, hermeneutics, book publishing houses, margins, authorship, big emotions, and city and migration.

Issues of CLW are guest-edited and all scholars of literature are welcome to contribute to CLW. Individual contributions to the theme section need not have a comparative scope, but should focus on an aspect of the central topic. Articles can be composed in Dutch, English, French or German, and should be ideally between 5000 and 7000 words in length. All submissions to CLW are read and evaluated by the guest-editors and two anonymous specialists. In the section "Het veld" (The Field) CLW publishes shorter pieces on specific trends, focal points or areas of expertise within literary studies. These review articles (max. 2000 words) present a survey of the central ideas, the main historical developments and a list of key studies within that specific area. Literary scholars are also welcome to submit unsolicited essays.

CLW's general editors are Gwennie Debergh and Bart Eeckhout (Universiteit Antwerpen). Advisory board members are Inge Arteel (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Elke D'hoker (KU Leuven), Zoë Ghyselinck (UGent), Hans Vandevoorde (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Kris Van Heuckelom (KU Leuven) and Berenice Verhelst (UGent).

CLW is generously sponsored by the Flemish Association for Literary Theory and Comparative Literature (VAL). It is distributed by Academia Press. Single issues cost EUR 29,99 (postage excluded).

To order CLW: www.academiapress.be

CLW • 13
(2021)

Modernisme
Modernism

CLW13 schetst een actueel beeld van modernismestudies aan verschillende Belgische universiteiten. De essays in deze collectie boren nieuwe archieven aan van minder gekende teksten en auteurs, of stellen innovatieve denkkaders voor die modernistische thema's vanuit een frisse invalshoek benaderen. De diversiteit van dit themanummer toont dat de modernistische periode een rijke bron is voor onderzoek op het kruispunt tussen literatuur, culturele geschiedenis, media, technologie en cognitieve theorie.

CLW13 outlines the state of modernism studies as currently practiced at various Belgian universities. The essays in this collection tap into new archives of lesser-known texts and authors, or propose innovative frameworks that approach modernist themes from new vantage points. The diversity of this special issue shows that the modernist period is a rich source for research at the intersection of literature, cultural history, media, technology, and cognitive theory.

www.academiapress.be

9 789401 481144