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Shirin Ramzanali Fazel, author of *Far from Mogadishu,*
holding a photo of herself as a child in Mogadishu, Somalia.
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Posttraumatic Growth Following WWII: Polish people who were child refugees in New Zealand tell their story

Abstract: Posttraumatic growth (PTG) denotes positive changes that arise due to one's struggle with traumatic experiences. Despite growing interest in this field since the 1980s, PTG among individuals who have experienced trauma in childhood has been relatively understudied, and the process by which it occurs requires further examination. The narratives of 51 elderly Polish people who narrated their WWII experiences, deportation to Soviet labour camps, and migration to New Zealand as refugee children were analyzed by thematic content analysis. PTG was

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identified using the 5 factors of the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Relating to Others, New Possibilities, Personal Strength, Spiritual Change, and Appreciation of Life. The most commonly mentioned PTG dimension overall and among women was Changes in Interpersonal Relationships, a dimension that reflects a change that includes feeling closer to others, improvements in getting along with others, and a better understanding of others. Men reported instances of Changes in Perception of Self more frequently than women, though further analysis would be required to confirm significant gender differences. These results reveal that the experience of childhood trauma and migration may be affected by a country's welcome practices towards refugees, and that these experiences can influence personal transformations that occur across the lifespan.

Key words: Posttraumatic growth, narrative analysis, resilience, refugees, migration, Poland, New Zealand, personal transformation, Second World War, gerotranscendence, war trauma, Siberia, labour camp.

Introduction[1]

Posttraumatic Growth (PTG) is a term that describes how one's struggles with traumatic events can act as catalysts for positive growth. It reflects changes in the dimensions of Interpersonal Relationships, Perception of Self, and Philosophy of Life[2]. Although there has been an increasing interest in examining PTG, most attention has been given to subjects who experienced trauma as adults. There are therefore relatively few studies examining PTG following a traumatic childhood experience as reported later in life[3]. To the best of our

[1] This research was completed with the financial support of grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the Fonds de recherche du Québec – Société et culture (FRQSC)

[2] L. G. Calhoun, and R. G. Tedeschi, *Posttraumatic growth: Future directions*, [in] *Posttraumatic growth: Positive changes in the aftermath of crisis*, Eds. R. G. Tedeschi, C. L. Park, and L. G. Calhoun, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998, pp. 215-238.

[3] C. H. Cryder, R. P. Kilmer, R. G. Tedeschi, and L. G. Calhoun, *An exploratory study of posttraumatic growth in children following a natural disaster*, "American Journal of Orthopsychiatry", 76 (1): 2006, pp. 65-69.

knowledge, this is the first study to examine – with the PTG framework – personal transformation associated with childhood trauma in the narratives of elderly Polish survivors of war and migration-related trauma as child refugees.

The purpose of this study is to offer insight into the personal transformation identified in the narratives of elderly Polish people who lived through WWII and were exiled to Soviet labour camps as children. The 21-item Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (PTGI)[4] was applied in a thematic content analysis form to examine the individual narratives presented in the text "New Zealand's First Refugees: Pahiatua's Polish Children"[5]. These testimonials were written by elderly individuals who had been deported to Soviet labour camps as children and who were eventually resettled in New Zealand. Research questions relate to the different personal transformations that coincide with factors of posttraumatic growth identified in these narratives, as well as the conditions that may have encouraged posttraumatic growth. These research questions are addressed through the analysis of individual narratives that relate to the trauma experience, migration journey, and resettlement experience in New Zealand.

This paper begins with an overview of the historical context and experience of this group of children as they moved from Poland to New Zealand. Next, literature is presented regarding the long-term consequences of childhood trauma, and on research related to PTG and personal transformation. The research methods and theoretical framework are then outlined in greater detail. Results are presented by PTG dimension with notes on the specific context. The discussion focuses on what these results may reveal about this experience of childhood trauma, migration, and a country's welcome practices towards refugees, as well as how memories may transform over time. For the purpose of this paper, the experience of childhood trauma is related to the deportation experience and the repercussions of the deportation. The following section provides the historical context and details regarding the traumatic experience, migration journey, and resettlement context, in order to help situate the reader and ground the rationale for this particular study.

[4] R. G. Tedeschi and L. G. Calhoun, *The posttraumatic growth inventory: Measuring the positive legacy of trauma*, "Journal of Traumatic Stress", 9 (3): 1996, pp. 455-471.

[5] S. Manterys and S. Zawada, Eds., *New Zealand's First Refugees: Pahiatua's Polish Children*, Wellington: Polish Children's Reunion Committee, 2004.

Historical context: From Poland to New Zealand (1939–1950)

In September 1939, both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union invaded Poland, which the two totalitarian states subsequently occupied. Within the first two years of WWII, the Soviets deported anywhere between several hundred thousand and 1.5 million Polish citizens by cattle car trains from eastern Poland to Soviet labour camps and resettlement areas in "Siberia". This is a term that refers to both the geographical region and the vast labour camp, internment camp, and gulag system spread across the Soviet Union. Some estimates state that up to 380,000 children were deported, mostly at gunpoint from their homes, alone or with their families. Life in the camps varied by location, but overall living conditions were poor, with very little food and much hard physical labour. Children were often exposed to traumas such as witnessing death, experiencing forced exile, extreme hunger, forced labour, separation from family, freezing weather, and inadequate living conditions. Some children were sent to classrooms that were organized by the Soviets, which encouraged assimilation into Soviet society and thinking, with direct attacks on their Polish identities and culture. In 1941, the exiled Poles were liberated due to an Amnesty that was agreed upon among the Allies; a response to Operation Barbarossa and the Nazi turn against the Soviets that broke their previous Non-Aggression Pact (also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact). Given that Poland was part of the Allies, the Polish citizens in Siberia were allowed to make their way south to Iran, where transit camps existed and the Second Polish Corps was being formed under General Władysław Anders. Initially, only individuals and families that were army-affiliated were allowed to do so, but soon enough non-military affiliated people also began to make their way to Iran. In part as a response to the influx of children arriving in Iran, refugee camps were established around the world by the Polish Government-in-Exile based in London to care for these children, as well as for people who could not join the army and who could not return to war-torn Poland. At the end of WWII, Poland was under the Soviet sphere of influence, which complicated and largely deterred the possibility of returning to a Poland that had become largely controlled by the very forces that had led to their initial violent deportation. Furthermore, the borders of Poland had shifted west after WWII, and much of the land from which these Polish citizens had been deported had become a part of what is now Belarus and Ukraine.

The children who arrived in New Zealand had a somewhat unique end to their migration journey. In 1944, the government of New Zealand accepted Polish children who had lost at least one parent during or following time in Soviet labour camps.

> When on 9 June 1943 the US transport ship Hermitage, carrying a group of 706 Polish refugees from Iran to Mexico, anchored for a short time at Wellington, the wife of the Polish Consul, Countess Maria Wodzicka, visited them and conceived an idea of bringing some of the other Polish orphans from Iran to New Zealand. She shared her idea with Prime Minister Peter Fraser's wife, and eventually that idea became a reality when Mr Fraser and his government offered hospitality to 732 Polish children and 102 staff who were to accompany them[6].

Invited as New Zealand's first refugees, these children were accepted and settled in the Polish Children's Camp in Pahiatua, a rural town 160km North East of Wellington. They were accompanied by adults who had travelled with them from Iran and had been similarly deported to Siberia. Some of these adults provided teaching and care, with many also serving as administrative personnel. Three schools rapidly established themselves at Pahiatua: a nursery and two gender-separated primary schools. Most of the children who were sent to New Zealand settled across the country once the camp closed in 1949. The children then went to local schools or took on work and trade apprenticeships. The New Zealand government and the Polish caregivers were responsible for the children's well-being, providing basic necessities, such as food, clothing, and education. Most of these children eventually became permanent citizens of New Zealand[7, 8, 9, 10, 11].

6 Ibid., p. 24.

7 N. Davies, *Trail of Hope: The Anders Army, an Odyssey Across Three Continents*, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2015.

8 K. Jolluck, *Exile and Identity: Polish Women in the Soviet Union during World War II*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2002.

9 L. Krolikowski, *Stolen Childhood: A Saga of Polish War Children*, Buffalo: Author's Choice Press, 2001.

10 S. Manterys and S. Zawada, op. cit.

11 M. Antosiewicz and K. Kubalska-Sulkiewicz, P*olska Szkoła Na Tułaczych Szlakach; Polish Schooling in War-time Exile*, Warsaw: FAFT, 2004.

To illustrate how this journey may have played out in an individual child's life, we include here two case vignettes from the text "New Zealand's First Refugees: Pahiatua's Polish Children". Regina writes that:

> When I was six, my mother died after the birth of our baby sister […]. It was a very cold winter in 1940 and the country was at war. I remember how we cried all the time and missed our mother. Then on 10 February, only eight days after her funeral, the Soviet militia burst into our farmhouse at 2am, searched my father for weapons, and ordered him to pack his children and take whatever clothes and food we could take with us.
>
> We were taken in that severe winter night to the nearest railway station, which was close to the Russian border. There we were loaded – shoved and pushed – into cattle cars and taken north to Siberia. There were thousands of people on this train, one of the many from eastern Poland, in this first ruthless deportation of Polish citizens from their country.
>
> Women tried desperately to help crying children and our baby sister was fed by other breastfeeding mothers or given boiled water, which was shared when guards allowed us to collect it at various stops on the journey. But the baby died soon after we arrived in the remote mountain place past the Ural Mountains. Many died on this journey. […]
>
> I remember that our father worked, like all other men and young people, in the mine. My sister […], then 14, worked unloading the trolleys of copper ore on the surface. If people didn't work, they were not given bread rations either for themselves or their families. My eldest sister […] was a housekeeper. […], 12, was a nanny in a Russian family and the two youngest, myself and my brother […], had to go to a Russian school. […]
>
> I remember our train journey from Wellington to the Polish Children's Camp in Pahiatua. […] We saw beautiful colourful houses on hills, so different to those in Iran. And in Pahiatua we had a great reception, with the army band playing and photos taken with smiling, friendly people. Happiness was everywhere and we felt very welcome. […] At the camp, we were divided into classes and housed in

army barracks, with a bed and a chest of drawers, each nicely made up. Young New Zealand girls and boys tried to teach us tap dancing and took us to visit their homes or to the pictures [cinema] in Pahiatua[12].

Antoni writes that:

My earliest memories go back to 1939, the year World War II broke out. As a four-year-old, I vaguely remember that my father was arrested, and we were eventually deported to the Semipalatinsk region of Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union. From there, we were eventually evacuated to Iran.

Unfortunately, our salvation came too late and my mother died in Pahlevi, Iran, just a week after we were evacuated there. The terrible time and other hardships of our enslavement took their toll. I have always remembered my mum repeating to me over and over to never forget my name, date of birth, and that I was Polish and Catholic. Shortly after her death, I was taken to a Polish orphanage at Polish Civilians' Camp No 5 in Tehran to join hundreds of other orphans. Suddenly being alone among all these orphans was a very difficult time for me. Mum gave me a small photo of herself and I often looked at it so I would not forget what she looked like. I have kept that photo to this day.

Providence was good to me and, as it happened, I, together with a group of 732 children, was selected to go to New Zealand in 1944 for the remainder of the war. After that journey to New Zealand, we settled down to a stable and what seemed like a carefree life at the Polish Children's Camp in Pahiatua. Shortly after, my sister […] found me through the Red Cross.

Everyone fell in love with Wellington and the beautiful countryside in Wairarapa. The camp became a home away from home – "Our little Poland". Even the camp's streets had Polish names. Most of us look back on those years at the camp as some of the happiest in our lives[13].

12 S. Manterys and S. Zawada, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

13 Ibid., pp. 168-169.

Among the most striking elements of this migration story is how the welcome and initial life in New Zealand is often recalled positively. As the children disembarked at the Wellington wharf, they were greeted by cheering crowds, heartfelt speeches, a band, cameras and a film crew. Ryszard recalls that: "As we were shepherded to the train for the journey to Pahiatua, someone in the crowd handed be some candy. […] As I recall, it was shaped in the form of small biscuits in different colours and tasted heavenly. This was my first taste of candy"[14]. For many, this hospitality lasted beyond the children's initial arrival. Pahiatua may have helped to provide an environment for healing and a social context to facilitate PTG. Ryszard continues that for "a young kid [it] was a paradise. We made our own toys and our surroundings were a magic land – a river, native bush and the surrounding farms which we raided for turnips"[15]. Many narratives suggest that the children were well cared for and were invited to perform their traditional dances, plays, and songs.

These recollections and those of others reflect the collective memory and shared history of those who experienced this journey and time in Pahiatua. Today, the Poles of New Zealand have a strong community and an overall positive connection to their refugee welcome. The narratives that reflect these beginnings offer a contrast to much of what is presented regarding modern welcome practices for refugees, though examples of similarly welcoming arrivals do exist. Given this difference from the norm in terms of welcome practices, we reflect: could the overall positive collective narrative reveal an avoidance of presenting personal hurt, or rather does it converge with a narrative of personal transformation?

Lasting effects of childhood trauma

Childhood traumas related to war can have long-lasting effects. For example, according to Robinson and colleagues[16], some child survivors of the Holocaust continued to experience symptoms of survivor syndrome even 50 years after

[14] Ibid, p. 97.

[15] Ibid.

[16] S. Robinson, M. Rapaport-Bar-Sever, and J. Rapaport, *The present state of people who survived the Holocaust as children*, "Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica", 89 (4): 1994, pp. 242-245.

the end of persecution. Despite numerous findings of negative outcomes in the aftermath of trauma, there is increasing evidence that the role of resilience has been overlooked[17]. Some elements that helped traumatized individuals, such as war refugees[18], overcome adverse circumstances include the ability to seek and obtain positive social support, spiritual or religious affiliation, high self-regard, optimism, and competence[19]. Individuals who experience trauma as children may indeed become well-functioning adults. In a study by Sigal and Weinfeld[20] which involved a group of Holocaust survivors 40 years after the trauma, those who were children in 1945 expressed less paranoia and depressive/masochistic symptoms than those who were adolescents or young adults at the time. Possible explanations for this difference among the child survivors are their caregivers, psychodynamics, endowment, and social and cognitive development following the war. A PTG framework offers particular attention to the possibility that people may experience growth, and even thrive, despite adverse situations. The role of the surrounding environment in this process remains to be determined and better understood. Important activities and priorities for refugee children in host countries are to reunite them with family or other caregivers, to provide a school setting, and to promote community-building activities[21].

Personal transformation: PTG and Gerotranscendence

There is a general notion that the more traumatic an event, the more impaired an individual will become, and thus, the more difficulty they will have

[17] M. Giberovitch, *Recovering from Genocidal Trauma: An Information and Practice Guide for Working with Holocaust Survivors*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

[18] N. Peddle, *Assessing trauma impact, recovery, and resiliency in refugees of war*, "Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma", 14 (1-2): 2007, pp. 185-204.

[19] A. S. Masten, K. M. Best, and N. Garmezy, *Resilience and development: Contributions from the study of children who overcome adversity*, "Development and Psychopathology", 2 (4): 1990, pp. 425-444.

[20] J. J. Sigal and M. Weinfeld, *Do children cope better than adults with potentially traumatic stress? A 40-year follow-up of Holocaust survivors*, "Psychiatry", 64 (1): 2001, pp. 69-80.

[21] A. Ager, L. Stark, B. Akesson, N. Boothby, *Defining Best Practice in Care and Protection of Children in Crisis-Affected Settings: A Delphi Study*, "Child Development", 81 (4): 2010, pp. 1271-1286.

recuperating[22]. However, contradicting these observations, Calhoun and Tedeschi[23] note that as many as 70% of the people that they surveyed reported positive aspects of having gone through traumatic experiences, including changes in interpersonal relationships, perception of self, and philosophy of life. For instance, although Holocaust survivors may be viewed as severely traumatized, some studies have shown that they reported more favourable resolutions than unfavourable ones, and had "very positive views about their lives, accomplishments, and goals"[24]. In the psychotherapeutic approach of logotherapy, Frankl[25] has suggested that the attitude taken towards suffering that is unavoidable promotes the process of meaning-making. Similar to how Lazarus and Folkman[26] emphasize the importance of one's cognitive appraisal over stressors, further study is necessary to examine how situations and life experiences can be appraised under specific conditions, and how adjustment and development can be affected over time.

Given that this study specifically analyzed the reflections of elderly individuals who experienced childhood trauma, it is relevant to review the concept of gerotranscendence as it relates to PTG. Whereas PTG is a model of positive changes that follow traumatic events, gerotranscendence theory describes positive changes that relate to the aging process. The three dimensions of PTG/gerotranscendence, respectively, are: Interpersonal Relationships/Social Relationships, Perception of Self/Self, and Philosophy of Life/Worldview[27, 28, 29].

22 S. Robinson, M. Rapaport-Bar-Sever, and J. Rapaport, op. cit., pp. 242-245.

23 L. G. Calhoun, and R. G. Tedeschi, *Facilitating Posttraumatic Growth: A Clinician's Guide*, London: Erlbaum, 1999.

24 P. Suedfeld, E. Soriano, D. L. McMurtry, H. Paterson, T. L. Weiszbeck, and R. Krell, *Erikson's "components of a healthy personality" among Holocaust survivors immediately and 40 years after the war*, "International Journal of Aging and Human Development", 60 (3): 2005, p. 240.

25 V. E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning (revised and updated)*, New York: Square Press/Pocket Books, 1984.

26 R. S. Lazarus and S. Folkman, *Transactional theory and research on emotions and coping*, "European Journal of Personality", 1 (3): 1987, pp. 141-169.

27 L. G. Calhoun, and R. G. Tedeschi, *Posttraumatic growth: Future directions*, pp. 215-238.

28 R. G. Tedeschi and L. G. Calhoun, *Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence*, "Psychological Inquiry", 15 (1): 2004, pp. 1-18.

29 L. Tornstam, *Gerotranscendence: A Developmental Theory of Positive Aging*, Springer Publishing Company 2005.

While these two paths to personal transformation overlap in some ways (such as common areas of growth, salutogenic and phenomenological bases, social contexts in facilitating growth, and this growth's connection to well-being, wisdom, and life satisfaction), the key difference is what triggers growth. Although the trauma, crisis, and aging literature have separately addressed personal transformation and psychosocial well-being, their similarities are beginning to be empirically analyzed[30], thereby increasing our understanding of how personal transformation occurs across the lifespan. Such transformations are defined by Tedeschi and Calhoun as the changes that occur in mental structures and worldviews.

Research questions

Although the idea that negative experiences can stimulate positive changes has not been unfamiliar throughout history, scholars shifted their interests to measuring positive outcomes of traumatic events in the 1980s and 90s, with the development of scales that measured positive growth. A developmental perspective of PTG had been lacking in the literature[31]. Calls have been made for more consideration to be given to long-term outcomes[32], while those who experienced trauma during childhood have been relatively under-examined[33]. Moreover, the available literature on these topics has heavily focused on examining PTSD, leading to a shortage of studies that examine the processes by which individuals experience growth[34]. This study addresses the following research questions: (1) What are the different personal transformations that coincide with factors of posttraumatic growth in the collective narratives of elderly

[30] T. Weiss, *Personal transformation: Posttraumatic growth and gerotranscendence,* "Journal of Humanistic Psychology", 54 (2): 2014, pp. 203-226.

[31] C. Aldwin and M. Levenson, *Posttraumatic growth: A developmental perspective*, "Psychological Inquiry", 15: 2004, pp. 19-22.

[32] M. Fazel, R. V. Reed, C. Panter-Brick, and A. Stein, *Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: Risk and protective factors*, "Lancet", 379: 2012, pp. 266-282.

[33] C. H. Cryder, R. P. Kilmer, R. G. Tedeschi, and L. G. Calhoun, op. cit., pp. 65-69.

[34] R. G. Tedeschi and L. G. Calhoun, op. cit., pp. 1-18.

Polish-New Zealanders who experienced war and migration-related trauma during WWII? and (2) What were some of the conditions that appear to have encouraged posttraumatic growth? The objective of these research questions is to use historical material to document reactions to stress and to analyze what factors might have helped children experience positive growth. Individual narratives written to showcase a collective experience serve as a unique window into understanding these understudied phenomena.

Method

Theoretical framework

The PTG model conceptualizes how positive changes follow trauma and stressful events through three dimensions of change: Interpersonal Relationships, Perception of Self, and Philosophy of Life[35]. The salutogenic orientation allows the human condition to be better understood by shifting a deficit-based approach that focuses on trauma resulting in pathology and misery to a strengths-based approach that understands trauma as an opportunity potential growth and demonstrations of human strength[36], [37]. With this in mind, a phenomenological lens gives precedence to the individual voice and subjective experience of trauma. This lens is integral to the development of the PTG model by clinicians Tedeschi and Calhoun, emerging from the reports of individuals who experienced traumatic events[38]. As an ecological model, it identifies events, individuals, and social contexts as the functions of positively coping with trauma. Growth may be triggered if at least one of these three characteristics is considered as a challenge to basic beliefs and goals, serving as a "turning point" with a "before" and an "after" phase identified in the life narrative. The resulting cognitive-emotional process facilitates the reassessment and/or reconstruction of goals, beliefs, life narratives, and basic

35 L. G. Calhoun, and R. G. Tedeschi, *Posttraumatic growth: Future directions*, pp. 215-238.

36 A. Antonovsky, *Health, Stress, and Coping*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 1979.

37 T. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 203-226.

38 Ibid., pp. 203-226.

schemas. PTG is associated with the events or contexts that provide positive models of change and support[39].

Overall design

Writers of narratives provided rich, detailed accounts of significant life experiences. Given the uniqueness of the particular migration experience, analysis of narratives allowed for common, recurrent PTG factors to be identified, as well as for the analysis of contexts in which these items emerged. The book "New Zealand's First Refugees: Pahiatua's Polish Children"[40] was "developed from a wish to record for posterity a unique episode in New Zealand's history – the arrival of the first refugee group in 1944 and its successful integration into New Zealand society"[41]. Written, published, and produced in 2004 by the refugees themselves and their descendants as part of the 60th anniversary of their arrival in 1944, the book commemorates their history with the purpose of dissemination. The preface reads that:

> Their integration is a success story. It is the success of an unintentional experiment by New Zealand's wartime Government to accept refugees into a then very insular society. It is the success of the refugee children who made this country their home and positively contributed to it. It is a success made even more remarkable by the odds stacked against them – a childhood defined by wartime exile, horror and refuge. New Zealand's wartime Prime Minister Peter Fraser believed that Poland's loss was New Zealand's gain. His humanitarian gesture was instrumental in giving the children shelter in a society that was strange to them and not always welcoming. […] It presents the subject from their own perspective, and is open to further research from archival materials and sources shown in this book[42].

39 L. G. Calhoun, A. Cann, R. G. Tedeschi, *The posttraumatic growth model: Sociocultural considerations*, [in] T. Weiss and R. Berger (eds.), *Posttraumatic Growth and Culturally Competent Practice: Lessons Learned from around the Globe*, John Wiley & Sons Inc. 2010, pp. 1-14.

40 S. Manterys and S. Zawada, op. cit.

41 Ibid., p. 4.

42 Ibid.

Tedeschi and Calhoun[43] developed the posttraumatic growth inventory (PTGI; see Table 1), which identifies and evaluates the five factors of PTG. Thematic content analysis was done by coding the narratives and identifying words, groups of words, or sentences that fit the PTG items included in the PTGI. Because narratives were used, reports of positive aspects had to be analyzed in conjunction with other sections of the narratives to ascertain that changes occurred. In order to increase the reliability of the scoring, PTG items were identified by two raters trained in PTGI rating and scoring. Scores were finalized following discussions and once an agreement for the rating was reached. Fifty-one narratives from the book were analyzed for PTG. The final sample for this analysis was comprised of 29 narratives; excluded narratives contained no instances of PTG. The selected narratives were written by 29 people, 16 women and 13 men, who were at the Polish Children's Camp at Pahiatua in New Zealand for varying lengths of time between 1944 and 1949. The 29 narratives are a representative sample in terms of length of narrative and gender balance.

Results

Table 2 outlines the frequency of PTG factors overall and by gender. Overall and among women, the most frequent PTG factor in this sample was Relating to Others (Changes in Interpersonal Relationships). Among men, the most frequent PTG factor was New Possibilities. When combined with Personal Strength, the dimension of Changes in Perception of Self was most reported by men, at an equal frequency as women for Changes in Interpersonal Relationships.

Changes in Interpersonal Relationships: Relating to others

Although all 7 subfactors are represented in the narratives (see Table 1), the most frequent ones are subfactors 1 ("knowing that I can count on people in times of trouble), 2 ("a sense of closeness with others"), 6 (I learned a great

[43] R. G. Tedeschi and L. G. Calhoun, op. cit., pp. 455-471.

deal about how wonderful people are") and 7 (I accept needing others"). The context of these narratives was a relatively supportive, caring, and welcoming environment, both in Pahiatua and in New Zealand's broader society, according to the narratives in this particular text. As Janina K. expressed upon her arrival: "What we found was a heart-warming welcome. The beds were beautifully made and there were flowers in the rooms. I almost felt the love of the people who had prepared it all. I finally felt safe again"[44]. These sentiments are further expressed with relevance on a broader scale by Ryszard, who writes: "I could hardly believe that strangers could be so kind. I think this restored my faith in humanity"[45].

Despite a relatively short stay in the safe space of Pahiatua, there appear to have been both immediate and long-lasting positive impacts in terms of changes in interpersonal relationships. The orphans appear to have created family-like bonds during this experience. This development is expressed by Janina S., who writes: "My stay in the camp was only for two years, as I left to attend college in Christchurch, but it was long enough for me to make lifelong family-type bonds among these special people in my life, to care for each other and to call ourselves 'one of us'"[46]. With regards to a previous lack of family and close ties, Bogusław writes that:

> For more than five years, we were without parents, and the camp life created a feeling of belonging and comradeship. This created the atmosphere of an extended family, which has been retained to varying degrees by most of us for the rest of our lives[47].

These children were surrounded by a community of other Polish children and staff with similar migration experiences who were overall sources of social support, helping to instill a sense of belonging during their time at the camp following their traumatic experiences.

44 S. Manterys and S. Zawada, op. cit., p. 129.

45 Ibid., p. 97.

46 Ibid., p. 181.

47 Ibid., p. 113.

Changes in perception of self: New possibilities and personal strength

The PTG items of the Changes in Perception of Self dimension tended to cluster around subfactors 11 (New Possibilities: New opportunities are available which wouldn't have been otherwise"), 13 (Personal Strength: A feeling of self-reliance"), 14 (Personal Strength: "Knowing I can handle difficulties"), and 15 ("Personal Strength: "Being able to accept the way things work out").

New possibilities and a full life provided by time in Pahiatua, relative to the traumas that they had experienced, become evident when Bogusław states:

> The usual routine life comprised church, meals, school classes, sports activities, general cleaning, hygiene and sleep. But during our free time on weekends a whole new range of opportunities became available. Exploring the camp's surroundings and the adjacent farms, forests and river was one of the most thrilling facets of camp life[48].

These new possibilities went beyond the individual. Narratives also reflect the new possibilities that were made available for these refugee children as a group, and eventually their families. As Julian reflects: "New Zealand has provided me with the chance to bring up a family in a safe environment with many opportunities for them to become educated and realise their potential"[49]. Felicja furthers this idea: "Throughout my life, I encouraged my children to study and work hard. I believe that knowledge of the world and its people makes us more tolerant towards each other, and thus we become better citizens of this world"[50]. Moving from new possibilities towards personal strength, she then states: "I have had a good life and I am proud of what I have achieved." Accepting the way things turned out, Janina D. notes that: "Sixty years later at the age of 80, I am leading a quiet life. I am grateful for my life – the good and the bad of it, the happy moments and the sad"[51].

The context of Changes in Perception of Self appears to revolve around new possibilities in New Zealand in terms of work, education, activities, and

48 Ibid., p. 111.

49 Ibid., p. 154.

50 Ibid., p. 124.

51 Ibid., p. 90.

potential for children and grandchildren, given that returning to a Poland under the Communist political system that was established after WWII – with affiliations to the Soviet Union and powers that had contributed to their traumas and orphan-status – was difficult both emotionally and logistically. The opportunity to create a new life and family (both biological and fraternal) where they could realize their potential, in New Zealand, was welcomed. Feelings of self-reliance, ability to handle difficulties, and accepting the way things work out may have been means to also move forward and take the opportunities that New Zealand provided, among those whose narratives reveal instances of PTG.

Changes in philosophy of life: Spiritual change and appreciation of life

In contrast to the previous dimensions, few examples of Changes in Philosophy of Life are explicitly documented here. They include subfactors 17 ("A better understanding of religious matters), 19 ("My priorities about what is important in life"), 20 ("An appreciation for the value of my life"), and 21 ("Appreciating each day"). Irena reflects that upon arrival in Pahiatua: "The joy of simply being alive filled my whole body. It was lovely to be, to live and to experience. Life was worth living"[52]. As a result of the experiences that he had, Stanislaw notes that even today: "I never take well-being and security for granted"[53]. Bogusław recalls that: "In [my brother and my] youth, we were exposed to hardship, pain, starvation, tragedy and sorrow. Despite this, I believe in God's presence and care over us throughout our ordeal." He continues: "I am therefore convinced that our survival and future blessings are God's way of compensating for having taken our mother so early in our lives"[54]. Similarly to the previous factors of change, arrival in New Zealand is regarded as positive and associated with a safe place that restored the will and ability to "live", manifesting for some as an increased appreciation of life.

Overall context

In part due to the uniqueness of government policies and welcome practices, New Zealanders and Polish caregivers appear to have provided

52 Ibid., p. 85.

53 Ibid., p. 150.

54 Ibid., p. 113.

resources, care, and sincere acceptance to many of these child refugees who were recovering from the traumas of war and displacement. Doing so may have eased the children's adjustment to a foreign country while helping them to see the good in people. For these children, rather than migration to New Zealand having been construed as yet another negative experience, stressor, or setback, it appears, for many, to have been perceived as an opportunity that offered them a chance to build "a new life" following their traumatic experiences. The following narrative extract from Irena provides additional description regarding the context and experience of the youth who arrived in New Zealand in 1944.

> When we arrived at the Polish Children's Camp in Pahiatua, lines of grey army barracks seemed to be everywhere. There was a beautiful freshness about it – green patches of grass, some trees and a specific quality of happiness. Or, more correctly, an absence of threat and terror. There were New Zealand soldiers everywhere smiling at us and looking friendly. They were so different from the hostile, dangerous-looking adults who had been a large part of my experience in my young life.
>
> Very soon after arriving, we were offered our first New Zealand meal. Miraculously, it seemed, all the 732 children were accommodated in several dining halls. Each child was handed a plate, and as we filed past an open server, colourful and delicious food was placed on it. I felt absolutely stunned to see so much food. This was because I remembered always being hungry, always looking for food. My reaction was to hide this food because I thought there might not be any more after this wonderful offering. But our Polish teachers circulated among us, encouraging us to eat and promising that tomorrow there would be more. […]
>
> The effect of eating regular meals began to change my body, I began to want to run and jump with my friends. We started to play games and we started to laugh. I don't think I had ever laughed before. They joy of simply being alive filled my whole body. It was lovely to be, to live and to experience. Life was worth living! […]
>
> As I look back on the planning and thought that the New Zealand authorities put into our reception, housing and programme of recovery for us at the camp, I am profo-

> undly thankful for the wonderful welcome and recovery programme that enabled us to begin a new life in this country. In Pahiatua, I came to appreciate the features of the country – its lush green landscape. Life in New Zealand for me had magic about it and a quality of excitement that I had never experienced before. […]
>
> We gradually made friends with many [New Zealand] girls who often invited us to stay with their families. This was a wonderful introduction to the warm-hearted and compassionate New Zealanders who took us in and treated us as their own children. They frequently treated us to new clothes, shoes and outings, as if we were their own. Meeting New Zealand families formed a valuable link to human goodness everywhere, and we formed lasting and enduring friendships. […]
>
> I frequently reflect on my life – the loss of my family, home and country in World War II, and our arrival in New Zealand as a bewildered group of war orphans. I also reflect on how fortunate I have been to have landed in this hospitable land. I salute the humanitarian concern of the New Zealand Government for having accepted us. I thank New Zealand for having given us shelter, food, education and the opportunity to build a new life[55].

The children were largely in a safe and playful environment while their basic needs were satisfied. While it may not have been experienced in such a positive way for everyone (and further work is needed to fully understand the diversity of experiences), Irena's reflections strongly resonate with many of the narratives, regardless of whether or not instances of PTG were recorded.

Discussion

The analysis of individual narratives that represent a collective experience illuminates the role of the host country in the perception of this experience. It also highlights possible pathways to growth and transformation, namely contrasting PTG and gerotranscendence, given that these early experiences are recalled and communicated through a publication by the elderly people that they became.

55 Ibid., p. 85-88.

PTG and post migratory environments

The most positive description that emerges across narratives is the impact of New Zealand as a receiving society that provided both a social context of welcome and well-being, along with important caregivers following various traumatic events. Unaccompanied refugee minors have been identified as a risk group. They are often missing the influence of caregivers who may help them be resilient and adaptive to stressful circumstances, and who are also integral to their development.

The narratives in this study clearly demonstrate that positive growth may occur despite the experience of a number of traumatic events. In fact, numerous positive growth factors, even a wide array of them, emerged in the narratives that were analyzed. Sociocultural contexts have a critical role in personal transformation[56]. Interactions with individuals in the immediate social environment relate to perceptions of growth. Evidence suggests that, across cultures, PTG correlates with social support in the forms of emotional comfort of growth modeling following adversity[57]. Self-disclosure and dialogue are some means by which PTG is facilitated among individuals affected by trauma, and therefore a responsive proximate social context should be considered as emotional support where role models may be provided[58, 59].

New traumatic experiences in the host country may reawaken past traumas, creating further adversity while diminishing potential positive adaptation[60]. A challenge faced by migrant youth is the social, cultural, and linguistic differences that may exist between the place of origin and the new setting[61]. In terms of social acceptance and relations, both the Pahiatua Camp and the New Zealand society appear to have been reported as mostly positive experiences,

56 T. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 203-226.

57 T. Weiss and R. Berger, *Posttraumatic growth around the globe: Research findings and practice implications*, [in] T. Weiss and R. Berger (eds.), *Posttraumatic Growth and Culturally Competent Practice: Lessons Learned from around the Globe*, John Wiley & Sons 2010, pp. 189-195.

58 L. G. Calhoun, A. Cann, R. G. Tedeschi, op. cit., pp. 1-14.

59 T. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 203-226.

60 R. S. Pynoos, A. M. Steinberg, and J. C. Piacentini, *A developmental psychopathology model of childhood traumatic stress and intersection with anxiety disorders*, "Biological Psychiatry", 46 (11): 1999, pp. 1542-1554.

61 M. Fazel, R. V. Reed, C. Panter-Brick, and A. Stein, op. cit., pp. 266-82.

even when PTG was not explicitly recorded. These contexts appear to have promoted well-being in the post-migratory environment. Improved psychological functioning has been associated with high perceived peer support[62], while perceived discrimination has been found in some studies to be an important predictor of depression and PTSD[63] but not in other studies[64].

Elderly people reflecting on childhood: Is this just gerotranscendence?

The changes that present themselves in this study appear to be different from exclusively gerotrascendent processes, having occurred in childhood following the traumatic migratory experiences and settlement in New Zealand. The possibility exists that, in their old age, they are remembering their childhood experiences differently than they had actually occurred, possibly influenced by gerotranscendence. However, it is worth noting that, especially for those individuals whose narratives describe their lives up to the present, it appears as though some of these beneficial PTG changes had positive impacts in their youth on how they continued to live into old age, and in some cases for their children and grandchildren.

Sociocultural contexts and environments facilitate growth, being important for trauma survivors and the elderly alike. Narratives of positive transformation may occur when opportunities for reflection and contemplation in a supportive setting are present[65]. While age and gerotranscendence are theoretically connected, growth and positive changes as a result of adversity may occur across the lifespan. Although empirical findings are inconsistent, some interesting results have emerged regarding PTG and older age. The reporting of all three gerotranscendence dimensions increases with age, beginning in adulthood, at different rates based on gender and other factors[66]. For example,

[62] L. Kovacev and R. Shute, *Acculturation and social support in relation to psychosocial adjustment of adolescent refugees resettled in Australia*, "International Journal of Behavioral Development", 28 (3): 2004, pp. 259-267.

[63] B. H. Ellis, H. Z. MacDonald, A. K. Lincoln, and H. J. Cabral, *Mental health of Somali adolescent refugees: The role of trauma, stress, and perceived discrimination*, "Journal of consulting and clinical psychology", 76 (2): 2008, p. 184.

[64] K. Liebkind, *Acculturation and stress: Vietnamese refugees in Finland*, "Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology", 27 (2): 1996, pp. 161-180.

[65] T. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 203-226.

[66] L. Tornstam, op. cit.

positive changes in philosophical/spiritual views were the highest rated changes among individuals in the 50-79 year age range in a study by Kurtz and colleagues[67]. Many of the Polish-New Zealanders were in the latter part of this age range when they wrote their narratives, yet narratives in this study had a minimal mention of positive changes in philosophical/spiritual views (which maps onto the Changes in Philosophy of Life PTG dimension). Weiss[68] calls on additional empirical exploration of how PTG and gerotrascendence are related, noting that PTG as a possible precursor for gerotranscendence requires longitudinal work. This paper calls for continued exploration of diverse overlapping pathways to personal transformation.

Limitations and future directions

The 51 narratives that are included in the text "New Zealand's First Refugees: Pahiatua's Polish Children" were written on a volunteer and individual interest basis. Therefore, there is a degree of self-selection that took place, where those individuals interested in discussing and sharing their experiences in a public form shared their stories. More individuals may have participated or revealed different stories if there had been a greater degree of confidentiality provided in that text. Personal avoidance and a degree of censorship may be present. Greater diversity of narratives may lead to the emergence of different levels and types of PTG. Therefore, increasing the sample size by adding more narratives to the analysis would help offer insight into more diverse experiences and contexts. Also, as this study was limited to those children who were sent to New Zealand, an analysis of samples of children who had similar experiences in Siberia but were relocated to different refugee camps from their transit camps in Iran (especially to refugee camps in India, Lebanon, Mexico, and across Africa) could be done to identify similarities and differences among the subjects, thereby increasing the generalizability of results. Another consideration is the language of the narrative. Although many appear to have acquired a mastery of the English language, some who chose not to contribute may have

[67] M. E. Kurtz, G. Wyatt, and J. C. Kurtz, *Psychological and sexual well-being, philosophical/spiritual views, and health habits of long-term cancer survivors*, "Health Care for Women International", 16 (3): 1995, pp. 253-262.

[68] T. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 203-226.

done so because they felt that their English was not strong enough, which may be associated with other elements of their life experiences. Their narratives may have been written differently, with certain elements receiving more or less attention, if they were written in Polish rather than English.

Changes that occurred among the subjects could not always be accurately captured by the PTGI. This limitation may have been due to the wording of the items. For instance, an item under the Personal Strength factor includes "I discovered that I'm stronger than I thought I was" as a PTG factor. There were instances when PTG was implied, but the narrative does not provide enough information about their history and background to determine whether what they were indicating was a change or not. When uncertain, these instances were not included as examples of PTG. A future direction is to follow-up narratives with semi-structured interviews that allow liberty in how the interviews take place. Finally, the particular purpose of the book may have influenced the areas of emphasis that the individuals chose to discuss. By reviewing narratives that were written 60 years following the initial traumas of the migration experience, this analysis offers room to consider how memories may have changed over time, and how they are recalled during their elderly stage of life.

Conclusion

In 2020, we still have a lot to learn from the example of New Zealand's treatment of the Polish Children of Pahiatua. What was initially temporary refuge offered by New Zealand and Polish caregivers became a permanent home in which many of the survivors flourished. Many grew up to be happy, active citizens with an enduring love for their adopted country. These children went through several distressing experiences, including war, exile, loss of their family member(s), and migration. Childhood trauma can have lasting negative effects, yet individual narratives in this study demonstrated that rather than only experiencing overwhelming setbacks caused by their trauma experiences, there was a range of positive posttraumatic growth among some of the narrative contributors. The most frequent examples of PTG were Relating to Others, Personal Strength, and New Possibilities. The kindness and care of many of their caregivers and New Zealanders appears to have been part of their growth

process, as was their access to resources that may otherwise not have been available to children during and following the wartime period. Working with now elderly survivors of childhood trauma, we need to work to identify what helped them survive, grow, and rebuild their lives while being mindful of possible gerotranscendence. Noteworthy research endeavours include a focus on the conditions that encourage growth following trauma, and personal transformations that emerge in narratives.

While there is a uniqueness to their story and experience, there is also an important common and relevant thread to be understood. Childhood migration is not uncommon today. Increasing attention has been placed on the treatment of children who are asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants during their various stages of migration. There appears to be a period following trauma when stress may be compounded or when growth may be facilitated. This growth and these positive memories may prove to offer healing and support across the lifespan.

Table 1

Posttraumatic Growth Inventory

Factors of Posttraumatic Growth
A. Relating to Others
1. Knowing that I can count on people in times of trouble.
2. A sense of closeness with others.
3. A willingness to express my emotions.
4. Having compassion for others.
5. Putting effort into my relationships.
6. I learned a great deal about how wonderful people are.
7. I accepted needing others.
B. New Possibilities
8. I developed new interests.
9. I established a new path in life.
10. I'm able to do better things with my life.
11. New opportunities are available which wouldn't have been otherwise.
12. I'm more likely to try to change things which need changing.
C. Personal Strength
13. A feeling of self-reliance.
14. Knowing I can handle difficulties.
15. Being able to accept the way things work out.
16. I discovered that I'm stronger than I thought I was.
D. Spiritual Change
17. A better understanding of spiritual matters.
18. I have stronger religious faith.
E. Appreciation of Life
19. My priorities about what is important in life.
20. An appreciation for the value of my life.
21. Appreciating each day.

Table 2

Factors of PTG Reported by Women, Men, and Total Combined

Factors	Women	Men	Total
Relating to Others	13	6	19
New Possibilities	4	8	12
Personal Strength	7	5	12
Spiritual Change	0	2	2
Appreciation of Life	1	4	5

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Economic Migration of Ukrainians to the EU: A View from Poland

Abstract: The present study aims to analyze several aspects of economic migration from Ukraine to Poland in the context of the last 10 years (2007–2017). It looks at how changes in migration policy in Poland and the EU impacted the dynamics of migration to Poland, which has been for a long time one of the most popular destinations for Ukrainians. In 2014, an increased number of Ukrainians migrating to Russia was observed, although no similar increase was recorded for EU countries (excluding Poland). In 2014, Polish consular services issued over 556,500 visas to Ukrainian citizens. Since 15 September 2012, Ukrainians no longer have to pay for national visas if they intend to stay in Poland for 3 months to 1 year. Since July 2009, the Agreement on Local Border Traffic between Poland and Ukraine has been in force. Based on this agreement, Ukrainian nationals residing in the border zone – the area extending 30 km from the border – do not need visas, only local border traffic permits entitling them to multiple crossings of the Polish border. The number of border crossings by Ukrainian citizens under the local

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border traffic agreement has been increasing each year (13 to 40% depending on year). It amounted to 10,734,959 in 2015. My purpose is to present how migration law in Poland affects migratory waves.

Key words: Migration, Ukrainians, migrations to Poland, migrations from Ukraine, migration law.

Migrations are an inseparable element of every community's existence. Reasons to migrate are related to a diverse series of factors, including the individual's relationship with their environment, the interaction between individuals and politics, and various cultural and social conditions. This multiplicity of areas affects the motives for migration, causes of displacement, migration possibilities, and migration trajectories.

In analyzing migrations of Ukrainian residents, we see that there are several types of migration depending on external and internal factors ("push and pull factors") that motivate individuals to move[1]. According to Sergei Pirozhkova, among the inhabitants of Ukraine there are the following types of migration:

1. Economic migrations: migrations which are the result of a desire to improve their material situation;
2. Political migrations: migrations related to armed conflicts, change of state borders, etc;
3. Ecological migrations: migrations which are the result of the impact of the environment on health (this is especially about migrations that took place after the Chernobyl accident)[2]

The causes of migration change over time. The following article will present the changes that have occurred in the migrations from Ukraine to Poland.

[1] G. Dorigo and W. Tobler, *Push-pull migration law*, "Annals of the Association of American Geographers", 73 (1): 1983, pp. 1-11

[2] For: B. Terminski, *Przesiedlenia inwestycyjne. Nowa kategoria migracji przymusowych*, Warsaw: Łośgraf, 2012.

Initially, the reasons for migration from Ukraine to Poland were economic reasons. This is noticeable before 2014, the Euromaidan. After 2014, migrations are caused not only by the desire to improve the economic situation, but also by the desire to permanently stay in Poland. The motive for migration is the desire to move away from the armed conflict in Crimea.

In 2017, at the time of writing this article, there was an increase in economic migration among Ukrainian citizens. These migrations are a challenge for both the host countries, i.e. the target for migrants, and for the sending country, i.e. the country of origin of the migrant. This intensification of population movements is increasingly evident in different areas of social life.

However, the reasons why Ukrainians want to migrate to Poland remain unchanged. The next part will present changes in the number of economic migrants, and in the last part, changes in the position of migrants on the labor market.

The article presents changes that have occurred in economic migration over the period of 10 years. The aim of the article is to present the changes and possible effects of economic migration, which changed from circular migration to settlement migration. So how are the migrations from Ukraine to Poland changing and what long-term effects may they cause?

Why do migrants migrate? Causes of the migration of Ukrainians

In Poland, there has been a significant increase in the number of migrants from the former Soviet Union. The most numerous migrant group is comprised of people who hold Ukrainian citizenship. The number of people from Ukraine wishing to settle in Poland has been gradually increasing. In 2008 there were 12,000 Ukrainian citizens who received a residence card to settle in Poland, while in 2013, the number increased to almost 18,000[3].

In the case of the migration of Ukrainians, economic migration is quite common. This type of migration is characterized by the movement of a professionally active population that wants to improve their own and/or their family's financial situation by migrating and taking up employment in the target country[4].

[3] Z. Bunarska, *Studia BAS Biura Analiz Sejmowych kancelarii sejmu*, No. 4 (40) 2014, p. 157.

[4] M. Stoczek, *Współczesne migracje zarobkowe. Regionalne studia porównawcze*, [in] J. Zamojski (ed.), *Migracje i społeczeństwo*, Warsaw: "PAN", 1997, p. 13.

The migrations undertaken by Ukrainians are also very often "shuttle migrations"[5]. This means that migrants from Ukraine come to Poland for a period of 3 to 6 months, return to Ukraine where they spend several months, and then come back to Poland. This is enabled by migration networks (which are still being developed by incoming migrants), ease of obtaining a visa and taking up legal work, and a special bond connecting the sending and receiving country. In the case of Ukraine, these include geographic proximity, history of the countries, and similar culture[6].

There are several reasons for Ukrainian citizens to come to Poland. The most important include:

1. Unemployment rate and delayed payment of wages: According to data of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, in 2015 the unemployment rate in Ukraine was 9.1%[7]. This level of unemployment seems comparable to the situation in Poland, where in December 2015 the unemployment rate was almost 10% according to data form the Central Statistical Office[8]. It should be noted, however, that the actual unemployment rate could be much higher. This is related to, among other factors, late payment of salary. According to the Ukrainian National Statistics Service, 52% of Ukrainian citizens did not receive their remuneration in 2015. At the moment, occupation by rebels in Ukraine is also contributing to the increase in the unemployment rate. The highest level of unemployment in the first quarter of 2015 was recorded in the Luhansk region (15.3%), Donetsk (14.4%), Poltava (13.9%), Tarnopol (12.4%) and the Black Sea and Kirovograd oblasts (11.8%), and the lowest – in Kiev (6.4%), Odessa Oblast (6.6%) and Kharkiv (7.4%)[9].

[5] R. P. W. Jennissen, *Macro-economic Determinants of International Migration in Europe*, Sittard: Rozenberg Publishers, 2004, pp. 3-9.

[6] H. Zlotnik, *Empirical identification of international migration systems*, [in] M. Kritz, L. Lean, H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International Migration Systems: Global Approach*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, pp. 19-40.

[7] УКРАЇНА – 2015, Державна служба статистики України, *СТАТИСТИЧНИЙ ЗБІРНИК*, Kiev, 2016, p. 10.

[8] *Stopa bezrobocia w latach 1990–2016*, http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/rynek-pracy/bezrobocie-rejestrowane/stopa-bezrobocia-w-latach-1990-2016,4,1.html, access: 19.02.2016.

[9] N. Szymborska, M. Gawin, *Przegląd aktualności gospodarczych na Ukrainie*, 22–28 czerwca 2015 r., No. 25/2015 (364), Wydział Promocji Handlu i Inwestycji Ambasada RP w Kijowie, p. 11.

2. Geographic, spherical, linguistic and social proximity: Both countries share a common history, as well as socio-economic and political-economic experiences. Both Poland and Ukraine remained under the control of the Soviet Union during the isolation of the Eastern Bloc and the centrally controlled economy. In addition, there were parts of Ukraine that, until the Second World War, were part of Polish territory. Geographic proximity and a common history make it relatively easy for Ukrainians to complete the formalities related to entry/arrival[10].
3. Simple arrival processes of legalization: Before Poland found itself in the Schengen area, Ukrainian citizens could cross the border without passport-visa formalities. After Poland joined the European Union and then the Schengen area, Ukrainian citizens were required to have a "short-term Schengen uniform visa, long-term Polish national visa (D), residence permit in Poland, or a residence permit or national visa issued by another Schengen state"[11]. This ease of entry into the territory of Poland compared to the countries of Western Europe is becoming one of the reasons why migrants from Ukraine choose Poland as the country of destination.
4. The armed conflict in Ukraine: With the armed conflict of the Donbas region in eastern Ukraine, comprising a population of around 5 million people in the Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts, the number of migrants from Ukraine to Poland significantly changed. Previous Ukrainian migrations were mainly economic in nature and a way of addressing poverty and long-term unemployment. During the conflict in the Crimea, the mobility of people living in the eastern part of Ukraine increased significantly. According to data from 2015, the status of Internally Displaced Persons rose to 1,369,844 Ukrainian citizens living in the Crimea[12].

In the case of external migration of Ukrainians to the countries of the European Union, exact data are not known. According to the information published

[10] *Warunki wjazdu do Polski dla obywateli państw trzecich objętych obowiązkiem wizowym*, http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/informacje_konsularne/przyjazd_do_polski/zasady/, access: 19.02.2016.

[11] Мінсоцполітики – Ministerstwo Polityki Społecznej Ukrainy z roku 2015.

[12] *Odpowiedź na interpelację nr 34620 w sprawie przyjęcia imigrantów do Polski*, http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm7.nsf/InterpelacjaTresc.xsp?key=0F1AF095, access: 18.03.2017.

on the Sejm's website (Polish Senate), from January to August 2015, 597,511 visas were issued to Ukrainian citizens (including 283,215 Schengen visas and 314,296 domestic visas). Almost 25,000 visas for temporary stay in the period from January to October were given, of which 59% of permits concerned residence permits related to paid work. On the other hand, 467 citizens of Ukraine received a long-term resident permit in the European Union[13]. The majority of migrants from areas subject to armed conflict decided to legalize their stay in Poland, enabling them to work if they chose an application for international protection for the first 6 months of their stay, and they would not be able to work. Analyzing the reasons for the migration of Ukrainian citizens, it can be noted that these are mainly people who want to escape from the area directly affected by the armed conflict, where they cannot be under the protection of the Ukrainian government, and those who want to avoid compulsory conscription. In previous years, specifically from 2006 to 2013, the main reason for the migration of Ukrainian citizens to Poland was the desire to improve their economic situation.

In addition, one should also distinguish individual motivations that occur among migrants from Ukraine, the so-called "push and pull factors".

Table 1. Types of motivation – push and pull factors

Type of motifs	"Push out factors"	"Attractive factors"
Economic and demographic	poverty, unemployment, low wages, high natural increase, lack of basic medical care, deficiencies in the education system	higher earnings prospects, prospects improving the standard of living, personal or professional development
Political	conflicts, danger, violence, corruption, human rights violations	sense of security, freedom political
Social and cultural	discrimination based on reasons ethnic and / or religious	migration to the country of ancestors, no discrimination phenomenon

Source: A. Mansor, B. Quillin, (Eds.), *Migration and Remittances. Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*, "The World Bank", Washington, 2006, p. 78.

[13] *Cudzoziemcy pracujący w Polsce – statystyki*, https://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/, access: 18.03.2017.

In the case of the analyses from 2005 to 2015, the main factors are:

1. Low wages, untimely payment of wages: The occurrence of this factor is especially noticeable among the residents of the western part of Ukraine. However, after 2014, i.e. after Euromaidan, the inhabitants of the eastern part of the country began to migrate because of this factor.
2. Political: After 2014 migration is related to the impact of both push and pull factors. The reason for this is the fact that with Euromaidan, war, and the earlier Crimean Orange Revolution in Ukraine, there are challenges in political stability, labor market and territorial issues. As a result, according to the Office for Foreigners, the number of applications for permission to reside for a fixed period or temporary stay and for a permit to settle or permanent residence increases. The number of applications for a settlement permit or permanent residence for 2007 was 2059, while in 2015 it increased to 8,872.

There are many reasons for the migration of Ukrainian citizens. Many of them depend on external factors, such as easier legalization processes, as well as internal factors related to, for example, insecurity or untimely payment of salary. In the analyzed period, i.e. from 2005 to 2015, the causes of migration changed, as indicated by, among others, motivations of Ukrainian citizens who want to leave the country.

Economic migrations of Ukrainian citizens

The migration of Ukrainian citizens to Poland is mainly of an economic nature. This means that the goal of migrants is to improve their financial situation. Both short-term and long-term migrants move to work.

Before the annexation of Crimea to Russia, the Ukrainians' migrations showed a slow tendency of decreasing. From 2005 until 2008, 1.5 million Ukrainians aged between 17 and 70 worked or looked for work abroad, while from 2010 to 2012 this number dropped to 1.2 million people[14]. This declining number of migrants was related to the global economic crisis and the change of

[14] O. Betliy, *Migration between the EU, V4 and Eastern Europe: The present situation and the possible future. The perspective of Ukraine*, [in] M. Jaroszewicz, M. Lesińska (eds.), *Forecasting Migration Between the EU, V4 and Eastern Europe Impact of Visa Abolition*, Warsaw: Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia, 2014, p. 161.

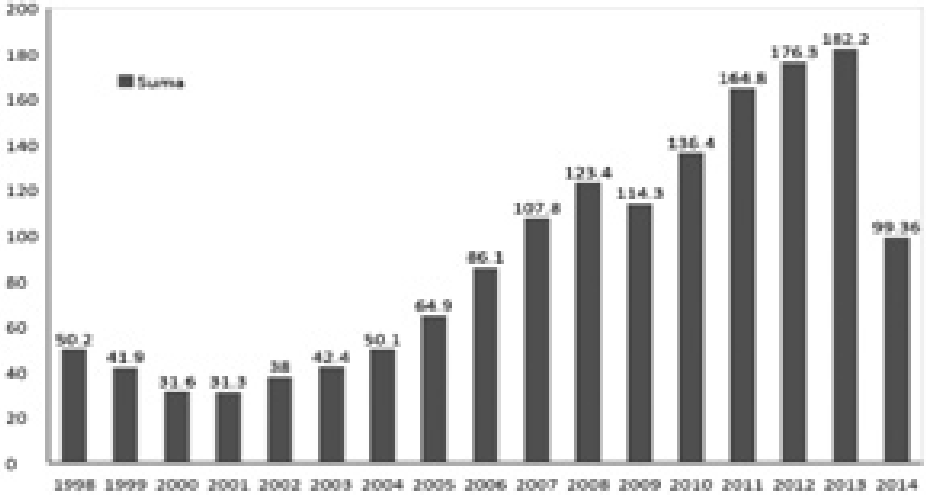
migration strategies of Ukrainian citizens. More and more often they chose temporary and circular migration (pendulum). Such migration allowed Ukrainians, among others, to maintain social networks in their country of origin. The fact that both Poland and Russia significantly eased their migration policy influenced the choice of this kind of migration, which allowed Ukrainians to cross borders more easily and work legally in the host country[15]. A change in the number of migrants and their type occurred after 2014. The influx of Ukrainians to Poland is related to the Euromaidan of 2013 and the armed conflict in Crimea in 2014. According to data from the Ministry of Labor, in 2015 it issued almost 30,000 work permits for citizens of Ukraine. The largest number of permits issued concerned residence in Poland for a period of 3 months to a year[16].

Analyzing the waves of economic migrants, there is a positive correlation between Ukraine's GDP and the number of applications filed by citizens of Ukraine for a residence permit for a fixed period or temporary stay, and for a permit to settle or permanent residence in Poland.

[15] M. Jaroszewicz, *Polska bardziej atrakcyjna dla ukraińskich imigrantów zarobkowych*, http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2013-06-12/polska-bardziej-atrakcyjna-dla-ukrainskich-imigrantow-zarobkowych, date of publication: 12.06.2013, access: 18.03.2017.

[16] *Information on the employment of foreigners in Poland, the Ministry of Home* , Labor and Social Policy Dept. of the Labor Market, https://www.mpips.gov.pl/gfx/mpips/userfiles/_public/1_NOWA%20STRONA/Analizy%20i%20raporty/cudzoziemncy%20pracujacy%20w%20polsce/Zatrudnienie%20cudzoziemcow%20grudzien%202015%20r.popr.pdf, access: 18.03.2017.

Chart 1. GDP global value (according to the exchange rate, USD billion)



Source: Based on World Bank data, http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&type = metadata & series = NY.GDP.MKTP.CD # , access:18.03.2017 .

Table 2. The number of people who in the years 2007-2015 submitted an application for a residence permit for a fixed period or a temporary stay

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
number	8558	9054	9609	9844	9114	11743	11111	23390	58740

Source: Statistical bulletin, http://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/, access: 1.11.2016.

Table 3. Number of persons who in the years 2007-2015 filed an application for a permit to settle or permanent residence

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
number	2059	1725	1534	1895	2008	2248	1980	4645	8872

Source: Statistical bulletin, http://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/, access: 01.11.2016.

On the basis of the above data, three migration waves of economic migrants were distinguished:

1. The economic crisis in Ukraine from 1998 to 2002 (the crisis in Russia was the reason for the collapse of the economy of Ukraine): In this period, the economy of Ukraine depended on the Russian economy, which caused a sharp drop in production exports in Ukraine, which translated into an increase in unemployment and inflation. Ukrainian citizens were having problems with obtaining a visa. There were also job placement issues, while the Polish labor market had a low demand for workers from Ukraine. It should also be mentioned that during this period, the Polish economy was experiencing a crisis, revealing hidden unemployment and privatization of state-owned companies.
2. The global economic crisis in 2008: The increase in the number of migrants in Poland was also related to the liberalization of regulations, mainly for people migrating to Poland from the former Soviet Union in 2006.
3. Euromaidan and the Crimean Crisis from 2014 to the present: There has been further liberalization of regulations regarding the flow of migrants, taking up work on the territory of Poland, and the possibility of recognizing diplomas acquired in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

Migrant, foreigner, employee legal situation of Ukrainian citizens on the territory of Poland

According to information contained in the European Social Charter, in Article 19 an employee arriving in another country is "a citizen of one country, which another country allowed to stay on its territory, in order to take up hired work there"[17]. The Council of Europe also draws attention to the process of integration and assimilation of migrant workers. Integration is understood as involving migrants and increasing their participation in the social institutions of the host country. Assimilation, on the other hand, is understood as the acceptance by migrants of worldviews and values professed by the host country, while rejecting the values and worldviews prevailing in the sending country. In

[17] *European Convention on the Status of Rights of a Migrant Worker No. 093 of November 24*, 1977.

the case of migrants from Ukraine, integration and assimilation are relatively simple, as has been mentioned above: both countries have a similar culture and have experienced similar economic and ideological changes. In addition, the migration networks that Ukraine's migrants enjoy are relatively permanent, which is part of the reason why it is easy for them to assimilate.

From Article 11 of Convention No. 97 from 1949 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), a migrant worker is "a person who emigrates from one country to another to take up employment other than on his own account" and "any person admitted in accordance with the regulations to employment in the nature of a migrant worker"[18]. Therefore, there is no proper definition of an employee who has received a settlement permit and has started work in the host country. In addition, in Polish legislation at the time of writing this paper, due to the low participation of migrants in the labor market, there have been no clearly defined rules about who they are and what are the rights of a migrant wishing to work in Poland.

People coming to Poland for both short and long periods of time are referred to as "foreigners", and the basic legal act defining and regulating their legal stay on the territory of Poland is the Act on foreigners of December 12, 2013 (Journal of Laws of 2013., item 1650). On the other hand, the act in force on the territory of the European Union allowing entry into the EU is the Act of 14 July 2006 (Journal of Laws No. 144, item 1043, as amended).

The basic legal acts regulating the possibility of foreigners taking up work are:

1. The Act on Promotion of Employment and Labor Market Institutions of April 20, 2004 (Journal of Laws of 2013, item 674, as amended);
2. Act on foreigners of 12 December 20013 (Journal of Laws of 2013, item 1650);
3. Act on the legalization of the stay of some foreigners on the territory of the Republic of Poland and on the amendment to the act on granting protection to foreigners within the territory of the Republic of Poland, and the Act on foreigners of 28 July 2011 (Journal of Laws No. 191, item 1133).

[18] *Act 11 of Convention No. 97 of 1949 of the International Labor Organization.*

Legislation on the employment of foreigners (migrants) in force in Poland so far focuses on employing highly qualified employees (financial services, banking, corporate employees, senior managers) and employing people with low qualifications (employees in industries such as agriculture, household maintenance, construction).

However, the number of people coming from the countries of the former Soviet Union is now gradually increasing, with people who want to settle in Poland and take up a job requiring higher qualifications in Poland. To help them take up legal employment, it is easier for them to be employed in companies in Poland based on the provisions of the Ordinance of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy of 20 July 2011 in cases in which it is permissible to entrust work to a foreigner on the territory of the Republic of Poland without the need to obtain a work permit (Journal of Laws No. 155, item 919). These regulations make it easier for migrants coming from Belarus, Russia or Ukraine to work in Poland. These persons can work legally in Poland for 6 months, then during the next 12 months it is necessary that the employer registered in the local labor office submit a statement on the employment of a foreigner.

A notable increase in the number of migrants also resulted in the adoption of a new law by the Sejm (Polish Senate, which entered into force on 1 May 2015. This act is the adaptation of Polish migration law to EU arrangements. Under this Act, migrants (foreigners - definition from Polish legislation) may stay legally on Polish territory for up to 3 years (previously it was a maximum of 2 years). In addition, a foreigner may apply for a period of time enabling them to extend their stay. Previously, the relevant application had to be submitted within 45 days before the end of the residence permit or visa validity.

The procedures for employing foreigners were also made simpler. Before the entry into force of the above law, the employer was forced to apply for a work permit for an employee who did not have Polish citizenship, and only after obtaining consent could the migrant apply for a permanent residence permit. At the time of writing, the municipal office does not check where the worker lives or by what means. It is sufficient for them to show that they have a place to live in Poland. This law is to a large extent to help migrants take up legal employment in Poland. Polish law is not yet

fully adapted to arriving migrants, including laws regarding the protection of their rights or defining their rights and obligations in Poland. The laws protecting foreigners at the moment refer directly to refugees and asylum seekers. They are:

1. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997 (Journal of Laws No. 78, item 483, as amended);
2. Act on granting protection to aliens within the territory of the Polish Republic dated 13 June 2003 (i.e. Dz. U. of 2012., Pos. 680);
3. Social Assistance Act of 12 March 2004 (i.e. Dz. U. of 2013., Pos. 182);
4. The Law on supporting the family and foster care system, of 9 June 2011 (i.e. Dz. U. of 2013., Pos. 135).

Thus, it can be acknowledged that the current changes in Polish legislation concerning migrants, their stay and work on the territory of Poland, are aimed at limiting the occurrence of illegal migration and the employment of migrants in the "gray zone".

Conclusions

At the time of writing this paper, most Ukrainians on the Polish labor market were people coming to Poland for a period of 3 to 6 months. According to research carried out by the National Bank of Poland in the Warsaw agglomeration, 710 people in the first half of 2015 show that Ukrainians on average were earning 34% less than Poles in these positions. On the other hand, the analysis of weekly working time is on average 60 hours (150% of the time), and the hourly rate is 10 PLN net[19]. People from Ukraine working in Poland have often agreed to do the same work as Polish citizens for longer hours and for lower wages. However, it should be noted that migrants from Ukraine present a type of short-term, shuttle and economic migration. This means that their work in Poland has a temporal dimension and funds obtained in Poland are largely spent in Ukraine. Therefore, they may not affect the Polish labor market to a significant extent. Therefore, it can be argued that employees from Ukraine employed in Poland do not significantly affect:

[19] *Kwartalny raport o rynku pracy w I kw. 2016 r.*, http://www.nbp.pl/publikacje/rynek_pracy/rynek_pracy_2016_1kw.pdf, access: 18.03.2017.

1. The amount of salary in Poland: Due to the fact that migrants from Ukraine usually stay in Poland from 3 to 6 months, they do not have a long-term outflow of remuneration for Polish citizens working in the same positions. In addition, the temporary migration dimension makes it easier for a Polish employer to train a Polish employee and employ them for longer rather than regularly changing Ukrainian employees. In addition, Polish law provides employees with a minimum amount of remuneration that they should receive for their work. Ukrainian citizens often work in jobs that Poles do not want to take on, which is why they cannot be fully replaced. A negative aspect of the impact of migrants on wages is observed in the area of their wages. This means that with their higher inflow, migrants' salaries are falling. A positive effect, which is noticeable in the case of migrants from Ukraine coming to Poland, is that they increase the efficiency of the positions they work in, e.g. they work a greater number of hours a week.
2. The unemployment rate: Due to the temporary dimension of migration and the lack of impact of their presence on the wages of local workers, the unemployment rate is largely unaffected. The employment of foreigners is connected not with the replacement of Polish employees with migrants, but with the demand for work. This means that employees from Ukraine are most often employed in those sectors in which Poles do not want to work.

However, this does not change the fact that in the last 10 years migrations of Ukrainians to Poland have been subject to change. Many Ukrainian citizens migrated to Poland mainly for commercial purposes. According to data from 2012, as many as 70% of migrants came from western Ukraine, 10.8% from the central part, and 1% from the eastern part[20]. However, with the armed conflict in the Crimea, economic crises that affect Ukraine, compulsory conscription to the army, and a facilitated possibility of migration, the goals and time of migration of Ukrainian citizens are changing. The number of applications requesting temporary or permanent residence has increased. In 2013, 20,400

[20] International Labor Organization, *Report on the Methodology*, Organization and Results of a Modular Sample Survey on Labor Migration in Ukraine, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---sro-budapest/documents/publication/wcms_244693.pdf, access: 18.03.2017, pp. 37-40.

Ukrainians were given work permits, and the applications of 217,600 Ukrainian citizens were registered[21].

Analyzing the above data, it can be concluded that the inflow of Ukrainians to Poland can become both a positive and a negative phenomenon for the Polish economy. A positive sign of the growing number of migrants on the Polish labor market is that they undertake work that is not desired by Polish citizens in sectors such as construction or agriculture. As a result, they enable the development of enterprises related to these sectors. On the other hand, the negative aspect of the influx of migrants from Ukraine may turn out to be partly unregulated by the Polish law of flow and non-compliance with the law, among others, such as the use of social welfare, health care, etc. by foreigners. In addition, highly qualified employees who become competitive for Polish citizens are beginning to arrive in Poland. The influx of migrants to Poland from Ukraine affects some labor market areas. In 2015, an increase in workers from Ukraine wanting to work in medicine-related areas was noted. In 2015, 123 work permits were issued, for example for doctors, nurses or midwives[22]. In 2009, according to the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, there were only 64 such persons.

To sum up, the inflow of migrants from Ukraine to Poland is becoming more and more noticeable. An increasing number of Ukrainian citizens want to settle in Poland, as a result of which they will start to influence the Polish labor market. However, this situation may change depending on external and internal factors that relate to the movement of people and their possibilities.

[21] J. Konieczna-Sałamatin, *Imigracja do Polski w świetle danych urzędowych*, http://www.i-see.org.pl/strona/uploads/ngrey/Documents/Analiza_danych_urzedowych_JKS.pdf, access: 18.03.2017.

[22] *Na podstawie raportów Cudzoziemcy pracujący w Polsce – statystyki*, https://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/, access: 18.03.2017.

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Exodus, Exile and Resettlement: **Displaced children and families in Ireland and the challenges for state and educational facilities

Abstract: Where oppression, denial of culture, faith, identity, and language have been a significant part of a group's collective history, strong nationalistic and ethnocentric tendencies develop to protect and reinforce a threatened and diminishing sense of self[1, 2, 3]. Within such a context, policies and practices in schools and state towards newcomers may be problematic. The preferred position in government policies would be for assimilation into the host culture and adoption of its values, but this approach diminishes the values

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** Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrant children and families are referred to as displaced in this paper in relation to displacement from home, land, culture, language, and family.

1 D. T. Ayton-Shenker, '*The Challenge of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity'*, New York: Backnote, United Nations Department of Public Information, 1995.

2 J. Cummins, *Diverse Futures: Immigration, Education, and Identity in Changing Times*, [in] Ed. P. O Duibhir, R. McDaid and A. O'Shea, *All Changed? Culture and Identity in Contemporary Ireland*, Dublin 2011, pp. 49-68

3 A. Horan, *Nationalism, prejudice, and intercultural education,* "Irish Teachers' Journal", 2(1): 2014.

and culture of newcomers and undermines the processes of integration[4,5]. This approach does not promote an environment where debate on inclusion, equality and identity can create a positive understanding of migration and diversity. Ireland, as part of the global world, will continue to receive new communities, and migration from both Europe and further afield. Therefore, education personnel at all levels need to be trained, inspired and competent when working with diversity[6]. The approach of schools towards diversity and the experience of immigrants can provide a key understanding of inclusion and exclusion in Irish society[7]. These can range from communication difficulties, to cultural practices and beliefs, racism experienced, isolation, and the hopes as well as aspirations of families and young people[8, 9]. This paper explores, in the context of social justice and equality, issues of identity, needs, education, multiculturalism, acceptance and belonging for newcomers to Irish society, and the Irish education system's preparedness in supporting their children. It offers an overview of the Irish education system in terms of new arrivals, with a focus on challenges and implications for school systems.

Key words: Displaced, Inclusion, equality, diversity, school, integration.

4 H. K. Bhabha, *Race, Time, and the Revision of Modernity: From the Location of Culture*, London: Routledge, 1994, pp. 236-56.

5 R. Flecha, *Modern and postmodern racism in Europe: dialogic approach and anti-racist pedagogies*, "Harvard Educational Review", 69(2): 1999, pp. 150-171.

6 A. Bryan, and M. Bracken, *Learning to Read the World? Teaching and Learning about Global Citizenship and International Development in Post Primary Schools*, Dublin: Irish Aid, 2011.

7 D. Devine, *Immigration and Schooling in the Republic of Ireland; Making a Difference?*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

8 N. Richman, *In The Midst of The Whirlwind: A Manual For Helping Refugee Children*, London: Save the Children &Trentham Books, 1998.

9 G. Richards, and F. Armstrong, *Teaching and Learning in Diverse and Inclusive Classrooms. Key Issues for New Teachers*. Second edition, London: Routledge, 2016.

"The stories a society tells about itself are a measure of how it values itself, the ideals of democracy and its future." – Henry Giroux, 1991

Ireland has within its own history experienced war, displacement, migration, and famine. These experiences have included discrimination, subjugation and long-term civil unrest for its own freedom. The indigenous inhabitants of this island have experienced within their collective memory the fear and distress of displacement, and the separation and loss of its people and future generations to migration[10, 11]. Ireland has also experienced significant transformation in recent times, from a nation of migrants to one of new immigration[12, 13]. The impact of the change that Irish society has faced in a relatively short period of time, and whether this Irish generation has been equipped to live in a diverse society, are issues that have yet to be addressed adequately[14]. Having experienced the denial of cultural values, faith and language in its history, strong nationalistic policies have developed to protect and reinforce its identity[15, 16, 17]. In most societies ethnicity, status, culture, socio-economic viability, and our faith/religion can sometimes be held as markers of our eligibility for acceptance or rejection within that society[18, 19]. Entrenched within this are decades and even centuries of beliefs and values that are sometimes unwittingly ethno-

[10] M. MacGreil, *Pluralism and Diversity in Ireland. Prejudice and Related Issues in Early 21st Century Ireland*, Dublin: The Columba Press, 2011.

[11] J. Cummins, op. cit., pp. 49-68.

[12] A. Bryan, *The co-articulation of national identity and interculturalism in the Irish curriculum: Educating for democratic citizenship?*, 1 (6), 2008. DOI: 10.1080/14748460801889894.

[13] D. Faas, and W. Ross, *Identity, diversity, and citizenship: A critical analysis of textbooks and curricula in Irish Schools*, "International Sociology", 27:2012, p. 574.

[14] R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, *Irish post-primary students' attitudes towards ethnic minorities*, "Irish Educational Studies" 31(2): 2012, pp.157-173. R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, *Irish post-primary students' attitudes towards ethnic minorities*, "Irish Educational Studies" 31(2): 2012, pp.157-173.

[15] J. Cummins, op. cit., pp. 49-68.

[16] M. MacGreil, op. cit.

[17] A. Ugba, *When 'Home' is Nowhere: Re-Assessing African Diasporic Experience in 21st-Century Ireland*, [in] *All Changed? Culture and Identity in Contemporary Ireland*, op. cit., pp.71-81.

[18] J. Cummins, op. cit., pp. 49-68.

[19] M. Hickman, *Re-Imagining Ireland: Ireland and The Irish Diaspora for the 21st Century*, [in] ibid., pp. 85-102.

centric and xenophobic. These values and beliefs are then incorporated into the language and communication that is applied socially and within standards and policies in education, the media and in political rhetoric. This lack of social and emotional sensitivity towards newcomers promotes segregation and not inclusion[20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25].

The displaced are as diverse as the communities and societies that encapsulate our global world. Displacement can occur when, due to conflict or natural disasters, you are forced to flee due to fear for your life and that of your family. It includes those seeking safe havens due to persecution, discrimination, or prejudice[26, 27]. These events can create homelessness whereby individuals, families and communities must leave for places of safety and security when at risk. They are then unable to return for a period or are officially considered as displaced by agencies such as UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees). Many of these communities face displacement with members of their family, but increasingly survivors include young children who are separated from those who would care for them. Sometimes this separation is permanent due to the inability of officials to locate next of kin or may be due to death during flight from areas of unrest[28, 29]. This can cause long term mental

[20] E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon, 1978.

[21] H. Winant, *Rethinking race in Brazil*, "Journal of Latin American Studies", 24 (1): 1991, pp. 173-192.

[22] F. J. Davis, *Who is Black: One Nation's Definition*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

[23] T. Modood, *Difference', Cultural Racism and Anti-Racism*, [in] Ed. P. Werbner and T. Modood, *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, London and New Jersey 1997, pp. 154-172.

[24] Runnymede Trust, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*, London: Profile Books, 2000.

[25] S. Elton-Chalcraft, V. Lander, L. Revell., D. Warner, and L. Whitworth, *To promote or not to promote fundamental British values? Teachers' standards, diversity, and teacher education*, "British Educational Research Journal", 43 (1): 2017, pp. 29-48.

[26] N. Richman, op. cit.

[27] UNHCR, 2017– http://www.unhcr.org/en-ie/1951-refugeeconvention-html, Accessed 16th December 2017.

[28] N. Richman, op. cit.

[29] R. Hinds, *"A family belongs together." Refugees' experiences of family reunification in Ireland*, Dublin: Oxfam Report, 2018.

health difficulties due to anxiety and grief, which can affect resettlement in a new country and community[30, 31]. This situation could happen to any or all of us. Therefore, the impact and consequences of displacement must be understood as a universal possibility and viewed with a compassionate and humanitarian lens. The requirements of the displaced are not easily defined. They are not a homogenous group, and their needs are as complex as their individual experiences of war, famine, persecution, bereavement, and loss. What defines them is their resilience and courage in the face of adversity, but equally their vulnerability in exile[32]. Displacement significantly disrupts social, economic, and household norms and the protection and security they provide. It creates a situation of risk, fear, and anxiety in everyday life, and therefore the basis for inequalities. Lack of finances, food, shelter, and the inability to access appropriate services to meet basic needs creates marginalisation and a sense of hopelessness and helplessness[33, 34]. In resettlement, as in flight, most displaced individuals, families, and communities face stressors in their safe havens, in understanding systems, language and cultures, and in navigating processes that are complex and multiple[35, 36]. This state of being creates stressors that have physical, psychological, and social impacts[37, 38]. Displaced children need a sense of safety and security to cope with the uncertainty of their situation. Some challenges that children and their families face include the uncertainty and insecurity of their new environment, the complexities of the new language that

30 W. H. Sack, R. H. Angell, J. D. Kinzie, and B. Rath, *The Psychiatric effects of massive trauma on Cambodian children; II, the family, the home and the school*, "Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry", 25: 1986, pp. 377-383.

31 R. Hinds, op. cit..

32 N. Richman, op. cit.

33 J. Carey-Wood, K. Duke, V. Karn, and T. Marshall, *The Settlement of Refugees in Britain*, London: HMSO, 1995.

34 N. Richman, op. cit.

35 C. Jones, and J. Rutter, *Refugee Education: mapping the fiel*d, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, 1998.

36 N. Richman, op. cit.

37 Ibid.

38 A. Baylav, V. Beining, S. Corcoran, S. Donnelly, K. W. Kalialia, and J. Healey, Addressing the needs of the newly arrived, "In Rising East, The Journal of East London Studies", Vol. 2, No. 3., Ed. T. Butler, 1998.

they must master to communicate and express their needs, and the challenges of their day to day life in a strange land[39, 40, 41].

The challenges faced by these children, their families, the education systems and receiving societies must be addressed and improved upon. John Dewey and Paulo Freire are two educational thinkers and influencers who reimagined education and educational spaces as environments where potential would be cultivated, equality invested in and empowerment and emancipation the normative landscape of our everyday realm. (165,166,167) Dewey described education as having the potential to develop progressive and well-rounded future citizens, and societies where diversity of skills and ability at all levels are celebrated. Freire saw classrooms as places of collaborative learning between teachers and students, and the process allowing for the mutual development of knowledge, skill, and social justice.

Taken together, the purpose of this paper is to offer an overview of the challenges in the education system in Ireland in terms of new arrivals, with a focus on challenges and implications for school systems. In order to do so, the paper begins by describing the specific context in Ireland with regards to displaced people and their needs, with an additional focus on the experience of children and resettlement. It then provides arguments for the importance of diversity in the education system, specifically that it is in these educational contexts that integration and understanding can be promoted. Finally, an emphasis on application is presented in terms of the preparation of teachers for these diverse classrooms. Preparation that empowers teachers who promote equality in the classroom, along with the role of school leadership in facilitating a system that supports equity of access and school communities where anti-racism values are practised. Therefore, the specific research problem that is addressed here relates to the need for a new paradigm in intercultural competence development, in preparing teachers for diverse and multicultural classrooms.

[39] N. Richman, op. cit.

[40] D. Devine, M. Kenny, and E. Macneela, *Naming the 'other': Children's construction and experience of racisms in Irish primary schools*, "Race, Ethnicity and Education", 2008, pp. 369-385.

[41] A. Horan, op. cit.

How does Ireland fare in its support of the displaced?

Numerous studies have been conducted on the socio-economic impact of immigration in Ireland[42], but fewer on the response of the Irish state to the needs of immigrants[43]. Work on issues of racism and institutional racism has been explored[44, 45, 46, 47], while school attitudes and the accommodation of newcomer students have been researched within the primary and post-primary context[48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54]. However, immigration research is mostly limited to the perspective and voice of the host researcher and not the Migrant, Refugee or Asylum Seeker. Therefore, this situation does not provide a platform for a broader and more nuanced perspective or debate on the experiences of Refugees, Asylum Seekers or Migrants in Ireland. Provision for Asylum Seekers remains structured around 'Direct Provision Centres', residential spaces housing both adults and children

[42] A. Barrett, A. Bergin, and D. Duffy, *The Labour Market Characteristics and Labour Market Impact on Immigrants in Ireland*, Dublin: ESRI Seminar Paper, 2005.

[43] D. Devine, op. cit.

[44] L. Bond, F. McGinnity, and H. Russell, *Making Equality Count. Irish and International Research Measuring Equality and Discrimination*, Dublin: Liffey Press, 2010.

[45] M. MacGreil, op. cit.

[46] C. Kitching, and A. Curtin, *Addressing the Concept and Evidence of Institutional Racism in Education in Ireland*, [in] Ed. K. Kitching and A. Curtin, *Proceedings of the Racism and Education Conference and Networking Event 2012*, Cork 2012.

[47] J. Carr, and A. Haynes, *A clash of racialisations: The Policing of 'Race' and of Anti-Muslim racism in Ireland*, "Critical Sociology", 2013.

[48] D. Byrne, F. McGinnity, E. Smyth, and M. Darmody, *Immigration and school composition in Ireland*, "Irish Educational Studies", 29 (3): 2010.

[49] M. Darmody, E. Smyth, D. Byrne, & F. McGinnity, *New Schools, New Systems: The experiences of immigrant students in Irish schools*, [in] Ed. Z. Bekerrman, T. Geisen, Migration, *Minorities, and Learning – Understanding Cultural and Social Differences in Education. Minorities and Education*, London 2011, pp. 283-300.

[50] A. Bryan, and M. Bracken, op. cit.

[51] D. Devine, op. cit.

[52] D. Byrne, and M. Darmody, *'Educational Careers of Migrant Students in Ireland'. Addressing the Concept and Evidence of Institutional Racism in Education in Ireland*, [in] *Proceedings of the Racism and Education Conference and Networking Event 2012*, op. cit.

[53] R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, op. cit., p.157-173.

[54] M. Parker-Jenkins, and M. Masterson, *No Longer 'Catholic, White and Gaelic: schools in Ireland coming to terms with cultural diversity*, "Irish Educational Studies", 32 (40): 2013, pp. 477-492.

in restricted, managed and controlled environments where social and community interaction is limited[55]. Financial support is basic, with non-provision of educational and play/child-friendly spaces being the norm. The length of waiting times for immigration processes prevents meaningful development of social, economic, or educational experiences and progression in a new but also possibly permanent environment. Countries that provide safe havens and are signed up to the UN conventions that specify the rights and entitlements of children should not fall short of the actual promotion and delivery of these rights. Article 29 particularly advocates for the child to be provided with education that develops a child's personality and talents and respects the child's own cultural values[56].

Refugees, Asylum Seeking and Migrant communities in Ireland hail from many parts of the world, including Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, West Africa, Asia, South East Asia, and the Middle East. In the recent Irish census (2016)[57] the significant nationalities listed in terms of non-Irish population in the Republic of Ireland were, Polish (122,515), those from the United Kingdom (103,113), Lithuania (36,552), Romania (29,186), Latvia (19,933) and Brazil (13,640). The figure estimated for non-Irish nationals living in the Republic of Ireland is 535,475. Mixed Irish and non-Irish households are estimated to be around 134,838 and those carrying dual nationalities are estimated at 104,784. Inward immigration to Ireland prior to 2016 is estimated at 83,346, and 53,708 of these newcomers are non-Irish, a significant figure for a nation with a small landmass[58].

Ireland as an island nation has experienced a dramatic shift in terms of its population evolving and becoming multicultural from a nation once perceived

[55] KNASC, Irish Immigrant Support Centre, (2017), http://www.nascireland.org/campaigns-for-change/direct-provision/. Accessed 3rd January 2018.

[56] Council of Europe, *European Convention on Human Rights*, 1947, www.cvce.eu/en/collections/unit.../aadf5a4c-2972-41e8-9d44-9d5d4edb8dd, accessed July 1, 2017.

[57] Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2016), *Census 2016: Migration and Diversity*, Dublin: The Stationary Office.

[58] The request for dual nationality has increased since April 2011 in Ireland and will clearly be an area of interest as Brexit negotiations develop between the United Kingdom and The European Union. Brexit (Britain's referendum to exit the European Union) has created an increase in applications and interest in obtaining Irish passports by British citizens, (The Guardian, 28th June 2016). Most British citizens living in the Republic of Ireland have up to this point been able to maintain their citizenship and live with full rights in the state. This may change with Brexit.

as homogeneous[59, 60, 61]. This developing cultural change creates an impetus for this society to learn to co-exist and to build structures and generate systems that accommodate diversity. Cultural competence and culturally relevant pedagogy must be part of the education system and policies of a nation with a fast changing cultural, ethnic, and social landscape[62, 63, 64, 65, 66].

Needs of displaced communities

Many new arrivals, particularly those from areas of war, conflict and famine have been subjected to difficult travel for freedom and safety. During their arduous and difficult exodus they would have faced a lack of food, shelter, and security, as well as poor access to health and social care services[67]. The impact of malnourishment, lack of sleep, anxiety, chronic illness from injuries, and the stress of relocation can take a toll on their health and well-being on resettlement[68, 69]. The need for support services that encompass advice and information on their practical, physical, psychological, social, and educational needs are vital for resettlement[70, 71, 72]. Many Refugees and Asylum Seekers may see

59 R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, op. cit., p.157-173.

60 D. Devine, op. cit.

61 A. Horan, op. cit.

62 C. Sleeter, *How White Teachers Construct Race*, [in] Ed. C. McCarthy, and W. Crichlow, *Race Identity and Representation in Education*, New York 1993, pp. 151-71.

63 G. Ladson-Billings, *Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*, "American Educational Research Journal", 32 (3): 1995, pp. 465-491.

64 D. Gillborn, *Anti-racism. From policy to praxis*, [in] B. Moon, S. Brown and M. Ben-Peretz (eds.), *Routledge International Companion to Education*, London, 2000, pp. 476-488.

65 D. Devine, op. cit.

66 R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, op. cit., pp. 157-173.

67 UNHCR, 2017, op. cit.

68 N. Richman, op. cit.

69 H. McColl, K. McKenzie, and K. Bhui, *Mental healthcare of asylum-seekers and refugees*, "Advances in Psychiatric Treatment", 14: 2008, pp. 452-459.

70 N. Dagnino, *Responding to the Psychosocial Needs of Refugee Children: A Multifaceted Approach*, [in] M. McCallin (ed.), *The Psychological Well-Being of Refugee Children; Research, Practice and Policy Issues*, Geneva, 1992.

71 N. Richman, op. cit.

72 R. Hinds, op. cit.

shelter, food, and immediate security as the most important factors. Health and well-being needs are not often seen as the most significant, as the basics of life take precedence. Unsupported and unrecognised health and mental health needs can have a serious impact on and create emotional obstacles to a new life. Therefore, all aspects of relocation and resettlement must be approached with equal priority, including appropriately trained and culturally responsive advocacy and interpretation services[73]. Health service provision for Refugees and Asylum Seekers remains uncoordinated in Ireland. There is a necessity for understanding, awareness, and training for health professionals in a country where the provision of mental health support should be reimagined. Mental Health services and therapeutic programmes must develop culturally sensitive approaches that are sympathetic to displaced communities' belief systems, gender roles and trauma experiences, and appreciate the importance of trust and value of treatments to the client, to ensure equity of access and uptake of services[74, 75]. Mental health services in Ireland have yet to establish a comprehensive, specific provision for Refugees and Asylum Seekers who have experienced psychological and physical trauma from the impact of war and conflict. Whilst other nations with significant displaced populations, such as the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, have developed different models of care, these may not necessarily be the right fit for the communities in Ireland. Ireland needs to develop a system of care that works with its health infrastructure, the needs of the displaced groups arriving and settling here, and upskill their clinical and social care professionals to be competent in managing their psycho-social needs[76].

Children and resettlement

Refugee and Asylum-Seeking Children who may have witnessed events or violence that happened to their families or others can present their trauma

[73] N. Richman, op. cit.

[74] H. McColl, K. McKenzie, and K. Bhui, op. cit., pp. 452-459.

[75] HSE, The National Intercultural Health Strategy 2007–2012, Ireland: Health Service Executive, 2008.

[76] Many of the support programmes and activities for Refugee and Asylum-Seeking families and adults in Ireland are provided by community organisations and NGO's (Non-governmental organizations). Many remain under-resourced to provide comprehensive support programmes or initiatives.

in several ways which are not always obvious. Fear, anxiety, distrust, anger, aggression, nightmares, depression, and withdrawal are not uncommon as they try and make sense of their past, present and future worlds[77, 78, 79, 80]. Their parents may be unable to respond to their needs due to their own trauma and distress[81, 82]. Their grief for the loss of the familiar, their family and a sense of home can create a profound sense of uncertainty and confusion. The lack of language skills in a place of new culture, values and behavioural system can be difficult to adjust to when their parents lack the same skills[83, 84, 85].

Communication and meaningful interaction are vital to gain trust, but this becomes a barrier if language and cultural understanding is limited or non-existent, due to a lack of well-resourced advocacy and interpretation provision[86, 87]. A translator is not necessarily a skilled interpreter, nor can they adequately provide advocacy in equal measure. These are skills that must be applied appropriately and meaningfully as per occasion and need. Cultural sensitivity and the willingness to see beyond just verbal language is a necessity for those who seek to work with individuals and families who have experienced immense trauma and grief and who may feel there is stigma associated with their experiences[88, 89, 90]. A lack of skill in working with newcomer communi-

77 N. Richman, op. cit.

78 A. Burnett, and Y. Fassil, *Meeting the Health Needs of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK: An information and Resource Pack for Health Workers*, London: London Directorate for Health and Social Care/Department of Health, 2002.

79 NASC, Irish Immigrant Support Centre, (2017), op. cit.

80 R. Hinds, op. cit.

81 S. Melzack, *Thinking about the Internal and External Experiences of Refugee Children in Europe*, [in] *Children, War and Persecution*, Stifftung fur Kinder/UNICEF (ed.), Osnabruck 1995.

82 N. Richman, op. cit.

83 Ibid.

84 C. Jones, and J. Rutter, op. cit.

85 R. Hinds, op. cit.

86 H. McColl, K. McKenzie, and K. Bhui, op. cit., pp. 452-459.

87 G. Richards, and F. Armstrong, op. cit.

88 N. Richman, op. cit.

89 Idem, *Communicating with Children; Helping Children in Distress*, London: Save the Children, 1993.

90 H. McColl, K. McKenzie, and K. Bhui, op. cit., pp. 452-459.

ties can and will do more harm than good for those already in a fragile state psychologically and emotionally. It can also create a sense of distrust in terms of information requested and collated by professionals[91].

Why diversity in education matters: Promoting integration and understanding

Within the context of Europe, Ireland remains on the margins of the debate on migration and immigration, and the far-right anti-migrant rhetoric that has taken shape in France, Germany, Italy, the United States and the United Kingdom. Nationalism is often a product of colonisation and both occupation and fear of occupation by others. Educational spaces are therefore not necessarily neutral and can embody a society's own culture, fundamental values, practices, faith, and sense of national identity; they are representations of that society[92]. Inclusion and opportunity for displaced communities are vastly diminished if policies and practices in education, the first step towards financial and social mobility, prevent future achievement and potential to flourish. Schools and teachers are the gatekeepers to this opportunity[93, 94, 95]. In Ireland schools are mostly Catholic in terms of values and culture. There are limited alternative choices, with some multidenominational and Protestant faith schools. The teaching force is also mostly homogeneous in terms of ethnicity (White Irish), socio-economic status (middle class) and faith (Catholic or Protestant)[96]. Despite the recent census (2016)[97], where the numbers of those who chose no faith has grown, Christenings, Communions and Confirmations are events that are still seen as sacrosanct in families. Schools support these rituals, which are part of the educational/curricular norm and can have a place of significance in

[91] S. Melzack, *Thinking about the internal and external experiences of refugee children in Europe*, [in] *Children, War and Persecution*, op. cit.

[92] J. Cummins, op. cit., pp. 49-68.

[93] D. Devine, op. cit.

[94] N. Richman, op. cit.

[95] G. Richards, and F. Armstrong, op. cit.

[96] M. Parker-Jenkins, and M. Masterson, op. cit., pp. 477-492.

[97] Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2016), *Census 2016: Migration and Diversity*, op. cit.

the school calendar. Similar accommodation is not always provided for the newcomer and their beliefs or representation of their faith[98, 99]. Irish schools, however, generally accommodate the wearing of 'hijabs'(head-scarves), unlike some Western European school systems (Parker-Jenkins & Corcoran, 2018).

Education and accurate information are key to developing respect, compassion, and integration in communities. Ethical intercultural education promotes equality and human rights, and challenges prejudice and discrimination[100]. To promote this, teachers should be equipped with the skills and knowledge that enable them to be confident practitioners who can deal with complexity and diversity in the classroom[101, 102]. Schools are the perfect communities in which to foster integration and understanding, where classrooms can be inclusive and sustainable environments, created by exploring issues that relate to diversity, displacement, loss, and rights. Subjects such as civic and citizenship studies, development education and social studies have a key role to play in this process[103]. Integration must be a process that involves the entire school community and the local community. Within their premises schools should aim to create a just, democratic, and equal community for all, a reimagined landscape that is inclusive[104, 105, 106, 107]. The most therapeutic support that displaced children can experience is to become a part of the local community and attend a welcoming school where they can

98 D. Devine, op. cit.

99 ZC. Kitching, and A. Curtin, op. cit.

100 NCCA (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment), *Guidelines on Intercultural Education in the Primary School*, Dublin: NCCA, 2005.

101 C. Sleeter, op. cit., pp. 151-71.

102 R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, op. cit., p.157-173.

103 A. Bryan, and M. Bracken, op. cit.

104 K. Lynch, *The Hidden Curriculum: Reproduction in Education, A Reappraisal*, Lewes: Falmer Press, 1989.

105 Idem, *Equality in Education*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999.

106 DES (Department of Education and Science) and Department of Education and the Office of the Minister for Integration, *Intercultural Education Strategy, 2010–2015*, Dublin: Stationery Office, 2010.

107 M. Hickman, op. cit., pp. 85-102.

learn, and form friendships. The language, educational and social skills that they can attain will enable their participation in their new community[108, 109]. Their sense of settlement and security can have a further positive impact on their parents and family and promote a sense of stability. Equally, their family will benefit from the support and understanding of their children's schools. Information and advice on new and often baffling school structures can be beneficial to this process[110, 111].

Preparing teachers for diverse classrooms and the promotion of equity

The requirement for preparation and training on the broader issues of diversity for all teachers, pre-service teachers, and those involved in the delivery of training and education at all levels is a necessity in our globalised societies. What is required cannot be a tokenistic rhetoric on change, or the delivery of training based on basic stereotyped cultural beliefs, practices, and behaviours, but a culturally relevant and sensitive pedagogy[112, 113]. It should be a programme that enables educators and those they educate to make sense of their immediate culture and the global world, creating multiskilled future citizens[114, 115, 116, 117]. Teachers and educators should be both participative and engaged in the process of building bridges, address their own assumptions and presumptions, and facilitate awareness that enables those they teach to understand diversity and

108 N. Richman, op. cit.

109 G. Richards, and F. Armstrong, op. cit.

110 K. Valtonen, *Adaptation of Vietnamese refugees in Finland*, "Journal of Refugee Studies", 7:1994, pp. 63-78.

111 N. Richman, op. cit.

112 G. Ladson-Billings, *Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*, op. cit., pp. 465-491.

113 L. Darling-Hammond, and J. Bransford, *Preparing Teachers for a Changing World: What Teachers Should Learn and Be Able to Do*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2005.

114 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, translated by A. Sheridan, London: Penguin Books, 1977.

115 R. Deacon, *Michel Foucault on education: a preliminary theoretical overview*, "South African Journal of Education", 26(2), 2006, pp. 177-187.

116 J. A. Banks, *Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age*, "Educational Researcher" 37 (3): 2008, pp. 129-139.

117 A. Bryan, op. cit.

inclusion, and be attuned to their place within it[118]. Ireland at this point does not have any real representation of the growing diversity in its classrooms within the ranks of its teaching profession. Access to teacher education programmes for migrant teachers is currently being funded by the Department of Justice and Equality through the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration[119]. However, teachers who choose particularly to teach within the Primary sector will still be required to be proficient in Irish (Irish Heritage Language). Therefore, the exclusion criterion remains for those without proficiency in Irish, despite English being the mode of delivery in most schools. There is a need for deconstruction and dialogue in Ireland, on what education means, what it needs to provide, how it is delivered, who benefits, and what skills and tools are necessary for the nation's place within a global context[120]. Teacher education programmes should ensure that the areas covered include cultural diversity so that culturally competent teachers can 'ignite' migrant students' learning[121]. Furthermore, within the globalised world in which we live, teachers need to learn about, appreciate and respect the identities of their students, so that they can empower their individual learning and academic achievements[122, 123]. Children are expected to fit into school systems, adhere to rules, and accept and promote school values, but equally schools must address, value and integrate the differences that children bring into the classroom and the identities that they present[124, 125, 126, 127].

118 G. Richards, and F. Armstrong, op. cit.

119 Migrant Teacher Project, (2017). https://www.mie.ie/en/Research/, Migrant Teacher_Project, Accessed 16th December 2017.

120 M. MacGreil, op. cit.

121 Y. DeGaetano, and C. Espana, *Cultural Competence in Education*, New York: Center for Puerto Rican Studies at CUNY, 2010.

122 Ibid.

123 A. M. Villegas, and T. Lucas, *Educating Culturally Responsive Teachers: A Coherent Approach*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

124 J. King, *Dysconscious Racism; Ideology, Identity, and the Miseducation of Teachers*, [in] G. Ladson-Billings and D. Gillborn (eds.), *Multicultural Education*, London 1991.

125 C. Sleeter, op. cit., pp. 151-71.

126 G. Bhatti, *Good, Bad and Normal Teachers. The Experiences of South Asian Children*, [in] *Asian Children at Home and at School*, London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 178-206.

127 T. Modood, *Difference, Cultural Racism and Anti-Racism*, [in] *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, op. cit., pp. 154-172.

When a culturally and socially relevant pedagogy is applied to learning, it creates awareness, and contributes to the improvement, efficiency, and capability of learners[128, 129, 130, 131]. Educators at every level should be taught to teach, assess, and be inspired and motivated when working within diverse classrooms[132, 133, 134, 135].

School leadership

The proficiencies principals need to manage and lead schools in a rapidly changing social, cultural, and financial landscape can be complex and insurmountable[136, 137, 138]. Furthermore, they are expected to promote policies and practices that will ensure that equality and diversity are supported within their schools. They are also expected to create spaces that promote social justice and apply democratic approaches that will empower their pupils, teachers and school communities while being the leaders accountable for the success or failure of their schools. This creates immense pressures and a sense of responsibility that

128 K. Zeichner, *Educating Teachers for Cultural Diversity*, East Lansing: National Centre for Research on Teacher Learning, 1992.

129 S. Nieto, *Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives*, [in] Ed. S. May, *Critical Multiculturalism*, London 1999, pp. 191-215.

130 J. Landsman, and C. Lewis, *White Teachers, Diverse Classrooms 2nd Edition*, Stylus Publishing, LLC, 2011.

131 M. A. Alsubaie, *Examples of current issues in the multicultural classroom*, "Journal of Education and Practice", 6 (10): 2015.117

132 M. Witsel, *Teaching and Learning issues in the multicultural classroom*, "Proceedings of Effective Teaching and Learning Conference", 2013.

133 G. Ladson-Billings, *Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*, op. cit., pp. 465-491.

134 A. Bryan, and M. Bracken, op. cit.

135 R. Tormey, and J. Gleeson, op. cit., pp. 157-173.

136 S. S. Takahashi, *The Keeper of the house: Principal succession and the mending of the hearts*, "Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association", San Diego 1998.

137 B. M. Davidson, and D. L. Taylor, *The effects of principal succession in an accelerated school*, San Diego: Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1999.

138 B. Davies, *The Essentials of School Leadership, 2nd Edition*, London: Sage, 2009.

can be overwhelming due to the multiple and often perplexing and continuously changing guidelines that they receive[139, 140, 141, 142, 143]. Within the context of such complexity, to create educational spaces that can support traumatised, displaced children with multiple needs can be challenging. Schools that are successful are often supported in learning and development for both teachers and pupils, but also where the leadership has authority and is fair, consistent, and democratic towards change[144, 145, 146, 147]. This is promoted by the NCCA – (Irish National Council for Curriculum and Assessment), and within documents, toolkits and circulars produced by the Irish Department of Education and Skills to support intercultural classrooms and intercultural education[148].

Racism, equality, and educational spaces

Discrimination and marginalisation can create social, health and educational inequalities within any society and contribute to the detriment of quality of life[149, 150]. Racism is often defined rather subjectively as prejudice relating

139 B. J. Caldwell, *Strategic leadership, resource management and effective school reform*, "Journal of Educational Administration", 36(5): 1998, pp. 445-461.

140 R. F. Elmore, *Building a New Structure for School Leadership*, Washington DC: Albert Shanker Institute, 2000.

141 J. Blasé, and J. Blasé, *Shared Governance principals: The inner experience*, "NASSP Bulletin", 83(606): 1999. pp 81-93.

142 K. S. Whitaker, *Principal role changes and implications for Principalship candidates*, "International Journal of Education Reform", 8(4): 1999, pp. 352-362.

143 M. A. Copland, *The myth of the super principal*, "Phi Delta Kappan", 82 (7): 2001, pp. 528-533.

144 W. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform*, New York: Routledge, 1986.

145 M. W. Apple, *Between Neo and Post; Critique and Transformation in critical educational studies*, [in] Ed. C. A. Grant, *Multicultural research: A Reflective Engagement with Race, Class, Gender and Sexual Orientation*, London 1999, pp. 54-56.

146 J. P. Spillane, R. Halverson, and J. B. Drummond, *Investigating school leadership practice: A distributed perspective*, "Educational Researcher", 30 (3): 2001, pp. 23-28.

147 B. Davies, op. cit.

148 NCCA (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment), *Guidelines on Intercultural Education in the Primary School*, op. cit.

149 S. Fernando, *Mental Health in a Multi-Ethnic Society. A Multidisciplinary Handbook*, London: Routledge, 1996.

150 S. Fernando, and F. Keating, *Mental Health in a Multi-Ethnic Society: A Multidisciplinary Handbook*, Second Edition, London: Routledge, 2009.

to the colour or ethnicity of the individual. In effect it should be addressed objectively in relation to ethnocentrism in a broader context such as language, culture, behaviour, religion, gender and sexuality within both political and social institutions[156, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156]. Our sense of social justice and fair play does not always reflect a true sense of equity. It can be influenced by our own perception of who is deserving of it, and equally influenced by our identity, experience, values, beliefs, and the societal factors that inform us, and impacts our judgements. The imposition of the values and beliefs of the host country while not celebrating the different beliefs of the newcomer creates resentment and a devaluing of the culture of the newcomer[157]. Institutional racism has not been debated or explored adequately in Irish educational institutions[158, 159, 160]. This is particularly noticeable in the homogeneity of teaching staff in schools and higher educational institutions. Equality should not become a rhetoric of policy; rather it must be a process practised as equal respect for all groups and individuals[161]. This is a necessary reminder of the fact that try as we may, the system, staff, and modes of assessment in educational sectors in many countries, Ireland included, do not epitomise equality. The incorporation of faith- based cultural values, such as the requirement for Catholic

151 H. A. Giroux, *Postmodernism, and the Discourse of Educational Criticism*, [in] Ed. S. Aronowitz and H. A. Giroux, *Postmodern Education: Politics, Culture, and Social Criticism*, Minneapolis and Oxford 1991, pp. 57-86.

152 M. Omi, and H. Winant, *On the Theoretical Status of the Concept of Race*, [in] *Race Identity and Representation in Education*, op. cit., pp. 3-10.

153 G. Ladson-Billings, *Just what is Critical Race Theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?*, "International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education", 11 (1): 1998, pp. 7-24.

154 K. Lynch, *Equality in Education*, op. cit.

155 D. Gillborn, op. cit., pp. 476-488.

156 M. MacGreil, op. cit.

157 A. Bryan, and M. Bracken, op. cit.

158 N. Haran, and R. Tormey, *Celebrating Difference, Promoting Equality; Towards a framework for intercultural education in Irish classrooms*, 2002, Centre for Educational Disadvantage research, http://works.bepress.com/roland_tormey/30/, Accessed 3rd January 2018.

159 C. Kitching, and A. Curtin, op. cit.

160 K. Kitching, *Taking responsibility for Race, Inequality and the Limitless Acts Required: Beyond 'good/bad whites' to the immeasurably whitened self*, "Power and Education", 3 (2), 2011.

161 K. Lynch, Equality in Education, op. cit.

baptismal certificates for school registration and holy communion programmes within the education system in Irish schools creates segregation between those who are part of the host culture and faith, and those who are not. Furthermore, the lack of cultural diversity within staff structures creates a vacuum in terms of cultural competence and sensitivity in working in multicultural classrooms. The process of adaptation is complex for displaced children without the added pressure of conforming to another's values, beliefs, and faith practices[162, 163]. It is also a form of politicization of the teaching profession, whereby to collude in this process is also a form of racial discrimination towards the different other[164].

Conclusion

In the context of ongoing waves of migration to Ireland and a demonstrated need to improve the experience of migrant children, it is imperative that educational spaces be equipped to support diversity and equity for all. Education and educational spaces have the potential to develop progressive and well-rounded future citizens, through collaborative learning and mutual development between teachers and students, and a process allowing for the mutual development of knowledge, skills, and social justice. Whether the Irish governing bodies and government equally aspire to these principles is a question that institutions and school leaderships must reflect on and champion for the sake of their students, teachers, and school communities. The change that must begin to take place in teacher education and in schools will not be achievable without an investment in political will and resources. That investment must be placed, within Ireland, in its teacher education institutions to lead in a reform that is long overdue. A reform that must address equality, equity of access, as well as the preparation of teachers and principals for diverse needs and multicultural classrooms. This should enable schools to promote and embrace diversity not just in their classrooms but also in their staffrooms. Equally, educational research and researchers must contri-

162 D. Devine, op. cit.

163 C. Kitching, and A. Curtin, op. cit.

164 S. Elton-Chalcraft, V. Lander, L. Revell., D. Warner, and L. Whitworth, op. cit., pp. 29-48.

bute towards a movement for change and be collaborators with schools and communities as advocates for such change. That would truly be educational democracy, equality and social justice in action and access to and delivery of culturally responsive and empowering education for all.

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Language, narrative, self, and memory in two language memoirs: Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* and Ilan Stavans's *On Borrowed Words*

Abstract: This article focuses on two memoirs authored by a bilingual and a multilingual author – Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* and Ilan Stavans's *On Borrowed Words*, respectively – to examine how their authors construct their linguistic selves, what they tell us about living in two (or more) languages, and how the process of recalling their past contributes to the construction of their self and what the role of language is in that process. The first part of the essay shows that language, narrative, memory, and self are mutually dependent and constitutive, and that memory, especially in its individual manifestation, is not given enough attention in autobiographical research. The second part examines how the interplay between these four concepts is captured in the memoirs of Eva Hoffman and Ilan Stavans. Both authors show what it means to be trapped in the space between languages, when one feels that no language adequately captures the events of the everyday life, and how it influences the sense of self and the formation of memories.

Key words: language, narrative, autobiographical memory, self, memoirs.

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Introduction

The majority of autobiographical narratives treat language as a transparent medium of communication or as a raw material to be molded into an elegant narrative. There are, however, memoirs that have language at their core. These are usually memoirs that deal with some sort of identity crisis. Among them there are memoirs written by people who either moved to another country and had to acquire a new language, or grew up in bilingual families, memoirs of those who were deprived of language, or memoirs written by people who recount either their relatives' or their own struggles with the loss of memory due to head injuries or various medical conditions such as Alzheimer's. Not only do these memoirs make evident the importance of language and narrative to our sense of self – also noted by some contemporary neuroscientists like Joseph LeDoux or Antonio Damasio, psychologists like Robyn Fivush, and theorists of autobiography studies like Paul J. Eakin – but also point to the close interdependence of language, narrative, memory and the self. In the course of this paper it will become clear that this quartet – language, narrative, memory, and self – is so interconnected that at times it may seem seamless, and therefore it is often taken for granted. This article focuses on two memoirs authored by a bilingual and a multilingual author – Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* and Ilan Stavans's *On Borrowed Words*, respectively – to examine how their authors construct their linguistic selves, what they tell us about living in two (or more) languages, how the process of recalling their past contributes to the construction of their self, and what the role of language is in that process. Consequently, the aim of this essay is twofold, and it is reflected in its structure.

The aim of the first part is to show that language, narrative, memory, and self are mutually dependent, and that memory, especially in its individual, psychological manifestation, which I consider here, is not given enough attention in autobiographical research[1]. Memory is an essential ingredient of narrative iden-

[1] Paul John Eakin is one of a few life writing theorists (that I am aware of) who elaborates on the role of memory (understood in his works from a psychological and a neurological perspective) and language in the emergence of the extended self [Eakin employs Ulric Neisser's model of the self which distinguishes five registers of self-experience: the ecological self, the interpersonal self (both present in infancy), the extended self (the self that exists outside of the present moment and usually develops by the age of three), the private self (our mental life), and the conceptual self (social concepts of the self) (Eakin, 22-23)]. In the third chapter of his seminal book *How Our Lives Becomes Stories* (1999), Eakin draws on then-very-fresh research on autobiographical memory conducted by

tity. We can say that thanks to memory autobiographical texts are produced in the first place. Although we sense that to create a life narrative of any kind – be it informal and spoken, or written and published – we need to engage in the process of remembering, this process is often taken for granted, as if its own aspects had little bearing on autobiographical texts or the construction of the self. While most critics in autobiography studies focus on narrative identity, the construction of the self on the pages of life stories, or the process of self-fashioning, memory is rarely given center-stage. Assuming that any text of an autobiographical nature is not only an interpretive but also recollective enterprise – while at the same time acknowledging that remembering is, in fact, an act of reconstruction and therefore of interpretation – I build my argument around memory. Memory will be the point of departure for our examination since to write a memoir one has to employ memory. One has no choice but to go back in time – to engage in mental time travel, as renowned psychologist and neuroscientist Endel Tulving would put it[2] – if one wants to write about bygone times. I will focus on the individual dimension of memory – that is on autobiographical memory – drawing on findings from cognitive psychology, neuropsychology, and neuroscience. Due to space restrictions, I will not consider here the enormous amount of research conducted on collective memory, although at this point I would like to indicate that autobiographies and memoirs, being cultural products which are accessible

such renowned developmental psychologists as Katherine Nelson or Robyn Fivush to demonstrate that "the development of autobiographical memory [which is always connected with the acquisition of language and narrative skills] in early childhood prepares for writing of autobiography – when it occurs – in adult life" as both narratives produced by children and literary autobiography written by adults "belong to a single, continuous, lifelong trajectory of self-narration" (113). This essay follows in Eakin's footsteps.

There is also prominent line of research in life writing and narrative studies which focuses on memory from the perspective of psychoanalysis and/or trauma studies. This approach is represented, for instance, by Nicola King's *Memory, Narrative, Identity: Remembering the Self* (2000) that uses two models of memory, both inspired by Freud, to analyze a variety of autobiographical texts and first-person fictional accounts. King is particularly interested in memory as the "continuous process of retranslation" (8) and in the recovery of the (often traumatic) past. It is a very different approach to the one employed in this essay.

There are also works that do not provide a specific definition of memory. Such seems to be the case with James Olney's dense *Memory and Narrative: The Weave of Life Writing* from 1998 in which he analyzes how various writers and thinkers since St. Augustine has defined the nature of memory. Olney traces models of memory suggested by these authors and shows metaphors they employed to describe the process of remembering in their life-writing or quasi life writing texts.

[2] E. Tulving, *Episodic memory: From mind to brain*, "Annual Review of Psychology", 53:2002, pp. 1-25.

to various audiences, contribute in many ways to the development of collective identity. Moreover, the fact that I disregard collective memory in this essay does not mean that I ignore the social dimension of remembering. On the contrary, the social context will be central to my understanding of memory processes, as it is also for scholars working on autobiographical memory.

My second aim is to examine how the interplay between these four concepts is captured in the memoirs of bilingual/multilingual authors, and to demonstrate that autobiographers intuitively spell out important connections between the self, memory, language, and narrative. People have intuitively sensed and successfully described many phenomena related to our mind, long before they were dissected by scientists in their labs. For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Freud observed and described the phenomenon of infantile amnesia without having access to neuroimaging scanners[3]. Childhood amnesia is now widely accepted, and there are a plethora of studies trying to understand the reasons behind it. I therefore believe that life narratives can provide us with valuable research material which can shed some light on the workings of our mind. This view is shared by other critics who examine life narratives. For instance, Anna Wierzbicka, a professor of linguistics and a Polish-English bilingual, believes that testimonies of bilingual people can constitute a supplement to other methods of examining the phenomenon of bilingualism[4]. Finally,

[3] Freud put forward his theory of infantile amnesia in 1905 in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* in which he described it thus: "What I have in mind is the peculiar *amnesia* that hides from most people, though by no means all, the earliest beginnings of their childhood up to their sixth or eighth year. It has not hitherto occurred to us to feel any astonishment at the fact of this amnesia, though we might have had good reason for doing so. For we are told that during those years, of which we later recall nothing but a few incomprehensible fragments of memory, that we reacted vivaciously to impressions, that we knew how to express pain and joy in a human way, that we showed love, jealousy, and other passionate feelings by which we were strongly moved at the time, and indeed, that we said things which were noted by grown-ups as good evidence of insight and the beginnings of a capacity for judgment. And of all this we, as adults, have no knowledge of our own! Why does our memory lag so far behind our other psychical activities?" (11.5). Further in the essay he provides his explanation for this phenomenon: "I believe, then, that infantile amnesia, which turns the childhood of each individual into something like a *prehistoric* past and screens from each one the beginnings of one's own sex life, is responsible for the fact that in general no importance is attached to childhood in the development of sexual life" (11.9).

[4] A. Wierzbicka, *Preface: Bilingual Lives, Bilingual Experience*, "Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development", 25 (2&3): 2004, p. 95. There a plethora of studies devoted to bilingualism from a variety of perspectives, such as Aneta Pavlenko's excellent *The Bilingual Mind* (2014) (which examines the phenomenon from a linguistic and cognitive point of view), Mary Besemeres's *Translating One's Self* (2002) (which analyzes autobiographical texts authored by bi-

I also wish to indicate how broadly understood discourses circulating in a given culture shape narratives and self-understanding, as any life story is necessarily an interaction between our memory (which itself is shaped by cultural discourses) and socially constructed subject positions.

Language – narrative – self – memory

This part will start with an attempt to define language and narrative, as they can be easily confused. It will be followed by a brief revision of the relationship between narrative and the self, and in the further part of this section memory will take center-stage.

I would like to begin with elucidating how I understand language and narrative, what the relationship between them is, and how each of them influences the formation of self/identity, although I need to indicate at this point that language and narrative are so interconnected that at times it is impossible to completely distinguish between them, and there will always be a certain degree of overlap. At its fundamental level, I understand language as our ability to communicate with other human beings. This ability is facilitated by the existence of various specific language systems that are based on conventional rules and use symbols to represent human experience. I also use language to refer to the use of such systems by various communities and groups. According to Nancy Budwig, language in relation to self can be understood in two ways: language as grammar and language as a discursive action. The language-as-grammar approach focuses on certain grammatical features of language such as pronouns, voice, or the choice of specific lexical items. The discursive approach concentrates on discursive practices and the way they constitute the subject. The latter perspective is therefore more interested in culture and the subject positions the speakers of a given language can take up[5].

Narratives are defined by Anna De Fina as "texts that recount events in a sequential order."[6] Obviously, those texts need to be recounted in a particular

lingual authors), or Gustavo Pérez Firmat's *Tongue Ties* (2003) (which considers bilingualism from the perspective of emotional bonds in the writings of Hispanic writers).

5 N. Budwig, *Language and the construction of self: Developmental reflections*, 1995. Retrieved from http://www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/nancy/nancy2.htm (17 January 2015).

6 A. de Fina, *Identity in Narrative: A Study of Immigrant Discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003, p. 11.

language, and different languages allow for different stories to be told, both from the grammatical point of view and from the perspective of discursive positions that are made possible by a given culture, which is inevitably in a close, mutually dependent relationship with a language. Not only is culture, with all its conventions, expressed in a given language, but it also shapes language, which also constantly shapes culture in return. What interests me here is the relationship between identity and narrative which is emphasized by critics from various disciplines from psychology through philosophy to sociology, and which is often expressed in the term "narrative identity." After Paul John Eakin, an eminent critic of autobiography studies, I take the view that "narrative is not merely something we tell, listen to, read, or invent; it is an essential part of our sense of who we are"[7]. A similar view is voiced by De Fina who, in her examination of immigrant stories, treats narrative as "the locus of expression, construction and enactment of identity"[8].

Following Bruner, and many other contemporary scholars, I take the view that there is no essential self – "rather, we constantly construct and reconstruct a self to meet the needs of the situations we encounter, and do so with the guidance of our memories of the past and our hopes and fears for the future"[9]. It has to be noted, however, that memoirs both fix the self in a given moment and reconstruct the self – or rather the succession of selves – that no longer exist(s). In our daily life, our identity is constantly negotiated in various contexts, and it depends on our interlocutors and the circumstances in which we find ourselves. In memoirs, both the present and past selves are perceived through the lenses of the self at a specific moment in time and place – it is usually the moment of the production of a life narrative. The self presented to us in a memoir is therefore a self frozen in time. The narrative covering the same years but told from a different vantage point or at a different time would be a different narrative because it would be told through the prism of a different

[7] P. J. Eakin, *Living Autobiographically: How we Create Identity Narrative*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008, p. ix.

[8] A. de Fina, *Identity in Narrative*, p.13.

[9] J. Bruner, *Self-Making Narratives*, [in] *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self*, Eds. R. Fivush and Catherine A. Haden, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2003, p. 210.

self. And self, as it was already pointed out by Buner, is inextricably connected with memory. The importance of our past to our selfhood is deeply ingrained in the Western tradition. As Mark Freeman explains:

> when asked who and what we are and how we might have gotten that way, we ordinarily turn to our personal pasts for possible answers. Far from being a merely arbitrary choice, this is precisely how it must be, at least for now. The idea of the self, as we have come to know it, and the idea of history are in fact mutually constitutive[10].

Although such a conceptualization of the self might seem obvious and universal, is it not for everyone. Freeman gives an example of Trobriand Islanders (Lee 1959) for whom "there apparently is no firm boundary between past and present"[11]. Freeman therefore posits that "a life history, rather than being a 'natural' way of accounting for the self, is one that is thoroughly enmeshed within a specific and unique form of discourse and understanding. As such, it is but one among numerous possible modes of conceiving of and accounting for the self"[12]. Before I delve into the relationship between the self and autobiographical memory, I need to explain what autobiographical memory is since it is this type of memory that is of interest here.

Endel Tulving states that people tend to be surprised when they are told that only a small fraction of memory concerns the past[13]. Indeed, memory functions go well beyond the role that we normally attribute to it, that is the recollection of our past life, and memory controls many of our daily activities. We need memory to function properly: to speak, to walk, to drive a car. These and other actions, which most of us take for granted and do not associate with memory, are, according to psychologists and neuroscientists, performed by our implicit memory. Other activities, such as recalling the name of the French capital or remembering the events of the previous weekend, belong to the realm of ex-

[10] M. Freeman, *Rewriting the Self: History, Memory, Narrative*, London: Routledge, 1995, p. 29.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] E. Tulving, *Episodic Memory*, p. 6.

plicit memory. Explicit memory is further divided into semantic and episodic memory. In fact, the two above examples – recalling the name of the French capital and recalling the events of the past weekend – are performed by semantic and episodic memory, respectively. These two types of memory underpin autobiographical memory, as when recalling our last Christmas we combine the particulars of the specific occasion with general knowledge about things we usually do at Christmas time[14].

The symbiotic relationship between autobiographical memory and the self is well captured by Martin Conway, according to whom memories define us while we, in turn, determine the nature of our memories. It is expressed in the things we find worth remembering or types of memories we attend to and share with others. In 2000, Conway and Pleydell-Pearce advanced the self-memory system (SMS), which Conway has refined over the years. At the heart of the self-memory system lies the conviction that memory is motivated by our goals, and it is "the data base of the self"[15]. Most importantly, Conway's model also highlights the social context of memory processes. Conway and Jobson explain: "The self that the SMS emphasizes in autobiographical remembering is a psychological reality that is rooted not only in the brain and the body […] but also in the sociocultural context. […] Consequently, autobiographical remembering both is shaped by culture and is a shaper of culture"[16]. They elaborate further:

> the sociocultural world – through societal factors and pervasive ideas (e.g., economic, historical, environmental, religious, scientific, what is good? what is normal? what is moral? what is self?), institutions and products (e.g., education, health, politics, media, language), and daily situations and practices (e.g., home, work) – influence the conceptual self and, hence, autobiographical remembering.

[14] For a detailed discussion of various types of memory, see for example *Memory* by Alan D. Baddeley, Michael W. Eysenck, and Mike Anderson, 2nd ed., Psychology Press, London 2015. Chapter 1 presents a division of different kinds of memory, and chapters 6, 7, and 11 discuss episodic, semantic, and autobiographical memory, respectively.

[15] M. Conway, *Memory and the self*, "Journal of Memory and Language", 53: 2005, p. 594.

[16] M. Conway and L. Jobson, *On the Nature of Autobiographical Memory*, [in] *Understanding Autobiographical Memory: Theories and Approaches*, Eds. D. Berntsen and D. Rubin, Cambridge: CUP, 2012, p. 58.

> As culture changes, the conceptual self changes, and in turn, autobiographical remembering changes[17].

Although remembering seems to be an individual process, it is in fact social to the backbone and on so many different levels. First of all, as many scientists have proved, one of the major functions of autobiographical memory is a social function which promotes interpersonal interactions through memory sharing[18]. The role of memory, not only for individuals but also for whole societies, is also stressed by neuroscientists, like Eric Kandel, who explains:

> Memory is essential not only for the continuity of individual identity, but also for the transmission of culture and for the evolution and continuity of societies over centuries. [. . .] All human accomplishments, from antiquity to modern times, are products of a shared memory accumulated over centuries, whether through written records or through a carefully protected oral tradition[19].

Another factor that points to the social nature of remembering is the fact that our memories, especially those we share with others, are formed in language, and therefore in the frameworks of a highly cultural and social structure. There is much debate as to whether autobiographical memories exist prior to the development of language, and there are some critics, like Mark Howe[20], who claim they do. I, however, follow Fivush in this respect, who, together with many other psychologists and neuropsychologists, maintains that although autobiographical memory does not have to be linguistically based, narrative performs a vital function: "it is through narrating the past with

[17] Ibid., p. 59.

[18] See for example S. Bluck, *Autobiographical memory: Exploring its functions in everyday life*, "Memory", 11 (2): 2003, pp. 113-123.

[19] E. Kandel, *In Search of Memory: The Emergence of the New Science of Mind*, New York: W. W. Norton &Company, 2006, p. 10.

[20] Howe says: "it is the emergence of the cognitive self in the second year of life that is the key event that launches autobiographical memory. […] [L]anguage serves to preserve […] or potentially to alter […] memory records of personally experiences events, but it is not a prerequisite to their foundation." In *Early Memory, Early Self, and the Emergence of Autobiographical Memory*, [in] *The Self and Memory*, Eds. D. Beike, J. Lampinen and D. Behrend, New York: Psychology Press, 2004, p. 46.

others, through joint reminiscing, that we come to have a sense of ourselves through time"[21].

That language plays a central role not only in sharing but also in the formation of our memories can be clearly seen when we observe the development of children and their memories. Many developmental psychologists believe that there is a close correlation between language development and cognitive development. Children are usually unable to remember anything prior to the age of two to four years – this phenomenon was mentioned earlier and is known as childhood amnesia. Some critics believe that the failure to retrieve memories from this period is not only due to neuropsychological development but also due to the lack of language. As soon as children start to acquire language and narrative competencies, they begin constructing stories of their past. At the beginning, this process is helped by parents or carers[22]. Nelson and Fivush explain that "the adult provides a linguistic 'scaffold' that helps to focus the child's attention and organize the event into a coherent whole"[23]. This leads Nelson and Fivush to argue that language is important for the development of autobiographical memories for three reasons:

> First, language is not simply the way in which memories are expressed, but is instrumental in providing an organizational structure for personal experience. Second, language allows children to enter into dialogues with other people about their experiences, and these dialogues facilitate children's developing abilities to form organized representations of their experiences. Finally, these dialogues highlight for children the fact that memories are representations of events that occurred at specified points in the past and that are evaluated from multiple perspectives[24].

[21] R. Fivush, *The development of autobiographical memory*, "Annual Review of Psychology", 62 (5): 2011, p. 565.

[22] R. Fivush, T. Habermas, T. Waters, and W. Zaman, *The making of autobiographical memory: Intersections of culture, narrative and identity*, "International Journal of Psychology", 46 (5): 2011, pp. 5-7.

[23] R. Fivush and K. Nelson, *Culture and language in the emergence of autobiographical memory*, "Psychological Science", 15 (9): 2004, p. 574.

[24] Ibid.

The importance of language to the formation of memories can also be seen in Helen Keller's moving autobiography *A Story of My Life*, which was published in 1903. Keller lost her hearing and vision before she managed to acquire language, and her communication was hindered until the age of seven – the time when she began being trained in tactile sign language. Up to this point her memories are a mixture of descriptions of sensations and dry facts about her family and her household, which could have been provided by any family member, and which might have been obtained after she acquired tactile language. I would risk saying that many of these memories formed part of her semantic memory – things she knew but did not necessarily remember. The fact that we need language to form a coherent story of our life is suggested by Keller herself in the following fragment: "Many incidents of those early years are fixed in my memory, isolated, but clear and distinct, making the sense of that silent, aimless, dayless life all the more intense"[25]. Keller clearly states that she remembers some of the events but they are isolated; they contribute neither to the coherent story of her life, nor to the coherent sense of self, which is in line with Fivush's observations on the role of language and narrative in the formation of life stories.

Keller also narrates a very interesting incident which can suggest that our mind is textually structured to a considerable degree. In the course of acquiring tactile sign language, Keller was fond of having books read to her, and later she tried her hand at composing narratives. In one of the chapters, she recounts how she unintentionally and unconsciously plagiarized a story. She wrote a story and sent it to a magazine, but as soon as it was published it turned out that a very similar tale had already existed. Keller comments, "At that time I eagerly absorbed everything I read without a thought of authorship, and even now I cannot be quite sure of the boundary line between my ideas and those I find in books. I suppose this is because so many of my impressions come to me through the medium of others' eyes and ears"[26]. And then she adds: "It is certain that I cannot always distinguish my own thoughts from those I read, because what I read becomes the very substance and texture of my mind."[27]

25 H. Keller, *The Story of My Life*, New York: Bantam Classic, 2005, p. 8.

26 Ibid., pp. 44-45.

27 Ibid., p. 49.

Keller remembered new words but not the circumstances of reading. I find the last part of her statement particularly fascinating because it shows the extent to which our mind is textually and culturally structured, how the stories we hear and read contribute to our ideas, and how they ingrain themselves unconsciously in our memory.

These four aspects – memory, language, narrative and self/identity – are therefore closely interrelated. Language, narrative, memory, and self are in a circular interdependence. When we lose our memory, we often lose language and narrative capacities together with our sense of self (this can be particularly observed in Alzheimer's patients). And conversely, to be able to use language one has to have knowledge, that is memory, of it. Language and narrative are then used for the construction of our self through recounting and sharing memories. Memory feeds our sense of self and is constantly shaped by it as our changing self can change our memories, which turn out to be very plastic. As Schacter explains, "We often edit or entirely rewrite our previous experiences – unknowingly and unconsciously – in light of what we now know or believe. The result can be a skewed rendering of a specific incident, or even of an extended period of our lives, which says more about how we feel *now* than about what happened *then*."[28] Our self therefore influences which memories are favored, which ones are recounted and shared, and how they are perceived.

Language, narrative, self, memory in language memoirs

Autobiographical texts give us a rare opportunity to witness how narrative identities are constructed. For Aneta Pavlenko, and I agree with her in this regard,

> Narrative identities, constructed in fiction and non-fiction writing, often emerge as reactions to available identity options, reproducing some and rejecting or re-imagining others. Autobiographies play a central role in the process of identity negotiation in writing, as they are a prime example of 'identity narrative' [...][29]

[28] D. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001, p. 5. [Original italics].

[29] A. Pavlenko, *"The Making of an American": Negotiation of Identities at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, [in] *Negotiations of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*, Eds. A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2003, p. 35.

This negotiation of available identity options is particularly visible in memoirs written by people who are, at least to a certain extent, outsiders to the cultures they describe, and such is the case with both authors analysed here.

Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language* published in 1989 concentrates on the acquisition of the English language and describes how her identity was influenced in the process. Hoffman, a Jewish-Polish author, divides her narrative into three parts: the first one, entitled "Paradise," is devoted to her childhood in Poland; the second, "Exile," narrates her move to Canada, and the third one, "A New World," depicts her life in the United States. The other analyzed text, written by a bilingual, or in this case multilingual, author is Ilan Stavans's *On Borrowed Words: A Memoir of Language* published in 2001. Stavans, a speaker of Yiddish, Spanish, Hebrew, and English, spent his childhood in Mexico, several years of his youth in Israel, and eventually settled in the United States. Despite being written over a twelve-year span, these texts share many reflections and observations on language and beyond, although there are also some considerable differences among them. While some of these disparities are the result of the authors' personal circumstances, others stem from the subject positions and discourses available at a given time and place. However, it is not the aim of this essay to provide a comprehensive comparison of these narratives.

Although I refer to these books as memoirs, I realize that providing them with such a label is debatable, as at least one of them might be easily characterized as autobiography. Defining life genres, however, is difficult, and distinguishing between autobiography and memoir is particularly so. Julie Rak observes that in the North American publishing industry "memoir is in the process of becoming a byword for autobiography."[30] Some critics therefore treat them interchangeably, like Ben Yagoda in his study *Memoir: A History*, while others try to make a distinction. Differentiating autobiography from memoir, Thomas Couser notes that "*autobiographies* are generally more comprehensive – in chronology and otherwise; *memoirs* are generally more focused and selective."[31] According to this classification, Hoffman's narrative can be regarded as autobiography because her story is recounted in chronological order

[30] J. Rak, *Are memoirs autobiographies?: A consideration of genre and public identity*,"Genre", xxxvi: 2004, p. 305.

[31] G. T. Couser, *Memoir: An Introduction*, Oxford: OUP, 2012, p. 24. [Original Italics].

and covers most of her life. Stavans's text is different in this respect. In fact, Stavans plays with autobiographical genres and is well aware of it, for at the end of his narrative he states: "My book in not really a memoir in the traditional sense, but a series of snapshots," and describes it "a disjointed picture, the way life really is – incongruous"[32]. However, both texts are treated here as memoirs because both authors reconstruct their past through the prism of language. The focus on language shapes their narrative, their reminiscence, and their self-understanding. The importance of language is even evident in the titles and subtitles they chose. Framing their stories by concentrating on language, both authors pierce its transparency so often assumed in other memoirs, and their texts can be classified as "language memoirs"[33].

Hoffman and Stavans take similar views on how their languages contribute to their sense of self and to their identity. Aneta Pavlenko, a professor of linguistics particularly interested in the phenomenon of bilingualism, conducted a survey among bilingual people asking "Do you feel like a different person sometimes when you use your different languages?"[34] Analyzing her data, she distinguished four systems of coherence that speakers employ to understand their various selves. The first one – "one language – one personality" – suggests that each language creates a different self; the second one – the "in-between system" – allows for the intersection of various languages and selves; the third one posits that only one language – usually the native one – is the language of the true self; and the fourth one, "language independent self" asserts that there is one self and it is not related to the languages we speak[35].

Hoffman clearly fluctuates between the first and the second perspective. On the one hand, she writes about the conflict between the Polish and English self and illustrates it quite vividly by simulating the conversations, or rather arguments, between them. She endows each self with different views, beliefs,

[32] I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words: A Memoir of Language*, New York: Viking, 2001, p. 248.

[33] See for example A. Pavlenko, *Language Learning Memoirs as a Gendered Genre*, "Applied Linguistics", 22 (2): 2001, pp. 213-240 in which she mentions Hoffman's book as an example of a language memoir.

[34] Idem, *The Bilingual Mind: And What is Tells us about Language and Thought*, Cambridge: CUP, 2014, p. 198.

[35] Ibid., pp. 198-99.

and sensibilities, but towards the end of the narrative, she manages to integrate them, coming to the conclusion that "Each language modifies the other, cross-breeds with it, fertilizes it. […] Like everybody, I am the sum of my languages […]"[36] Stavans also seems to waver between the first two perspectives, but, like Hoffman, he eventually leans towards the second one. He clearly states that there is no essential self that would be unrelated to his languages, and that he is "not one, but two, three, four people," which would be in line with the first system of coherence – one language – one self. However, in the course of his memoir, it becomes clear that there is a crossbreeding between his various selves and languages. At some point Stavans quotes Mary Antin – the author of the well-known immigrant autobiography entitled *The Promised Land*, which has been popular ever since its publication in 1912 – who points to a clear divide between her past and present self, stating in her preface that "*she*, and not *I*, is my real heroine"[37]. Stavans says that he is unable to create a similar split "for I sense that miscegenation has taken place: my Mexican self is not altogether gone, nor is my American self so prevalent as to erase everything else"[38]. Although he favors English, his other languages coexist with it, and they all contribute to the person he is. As he explains, although initially "[t]he immigrant feels trapped in the space in between words and in the intricacies of the journey. […] sooner or later, loss is transformed into gain: the immigrant is born again […]. [T]he successful immigrant feels the fusion of tongues as an addition rather than a subtraction."[39]

Schrauf and Rubin demonstrate that memory is language-specific for bilinguals, and from this they draw the following conclusion: "insofar as memory is language-specific, it makes sense to think of the bilingual immigrant as inhabiting different worlds and having the experience of language-specific selves"[40]. They also believe that "bilinguals seem to retrieve memories in

36 E. Hoffman, *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language*, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1989, p. 273.

37 I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words*, p. 253. [Original italics].

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., p. 184.

40 R. Schrauf and D. Rubin, *On the Bilingual's Two Sets of Memories*, [in] *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self*, Eds. R. Fivush and C. A. Haden, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2003, p. 141.

the same language in which they were encoded"[41]. As a result, they suggest that the loss of mother tongue can entail the loss of memories for childhood events[42]. The relationship between memory and language is evident in Stavans's story of his Jewish grandmother, Bobbe Bela, who was born in Poland and managed to flee the country for Mexico before Hitler's invasion. Interestingly, once she left the country, she decided to never speak Polish again despite the fact that she arrived in Mexico as a grown-up (she was 19) and therefore was a fluent speaker of that language. Stavans comments: "her past needed to be overcome, even erased, if survival was to be achieved. Not only a new country and a new culture but a language was on the horizon when she left Nowe Brodno"[43]. Although Spanish first overwhelmed her, "to survive, she would need to master it, to make it her own. […] She would think: What is 'nostalgia' in Polish? And she would not be able to come up with the right word, for it had retreated to depths she would no longer be capable of reaching."[44] His grandmother's refusal to speak Polish indeed suggests that the erasure of language in a way prompts the erasure of memories. She forces herself to forget the language, hoping that it would bring the loss of unwanted and difficult memories and make space for a new self in a new language. Stavans comments: "pain and unpleasantness ought to be ignored, eliminated from memory, nullified"[45].

However, his grandmother has never given up Yiddish – her mother tongue, which erupts whenever she is in distress or when she talks to herself. Yiddish seems to be the language of her emotions. The connection between languages and emotions is aptly described by Mary Besemeres, another Polish-English critic, who illustratively explains:

> If Polish has the words like *ptaszku* [little bird] and *córuchna* [sweet-daughter-of-mine] whereas English does not, this is not an arbitrary idiosyncratic fact about the language, unrelated to other aspects of Polish culture. For a Polish-English

41 Ibid., p. 129.

42 Ibid., p. 138.

43 I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words*, p. 52.

44 Ibid., p. 72.

45 Ibid., p. 62.

> bilingual, the emotional style made possible by such words is part of the two emotional worlds that she lives in, which engage different parts of her self[46].

For that reason, Stavans is disappointed in his grandmother's choice of language for her diary – a piece of very intimate writing – which she composed in Spanish. He appreciates that this decision was motivated by that fact that few members of her family were familiar with Yiddish, and her aim was "to be read, understood, appreciated"[47]. Yet Stavans regards it as a form of treason, saying that her diary strikes him as "inauthentic"[48]. Stavans wonders whether the translation from the languages available to her in adolescence to Spanish skewed the memories of the past. He writes:

> I try to imagine how Bela would have written to me in her *true* tongue: Yiddish. I conjure the warm, gentle sounds articulated in its sentences, the magic of re-creating Nowe Brodno as it felt to her. [...] In seeking words absent from her childhood (simple forms: *se me declaró, un malparido* [son of a bitch, bastard], *Puerco Judío* [Jewish pig]), has she amended her own past?[49]

He suggests that the things experienced in one language are often not translatable into another, at least not fully.

A similar dilemma presented itself to the adolescent Hoffman, who recounts being given a diary by her Canadian friend. Hoffman could not decide in which language she should write in it. She admits that "writing in Polish at this point would be a little like resorting to Latin or ancient Greek"[50] – remote and impersonal languages – so she decides to keep it in English, even though it makes her diary devoid of typically teenage subjects such as "sentimental effusions of rejected love, eruptions of familial anger, or consoling broodings about

46 M. Besemeres, *Different languages, different emotions? Perspectives from autobiographical literature*, "Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development", 25(2&3): 2004, p. 156. [Original italics].

47 I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words*, p. 51.

48 Ibid., p. 88.

49 Ibid. [original italics].

50 E. Hoffman, *Lost in Translation*, p.120.

death"[51], for, as she explains, "English is not the language of such emotions."[52] With time, however, she admits that writing in English, like Stavans's grandmother's use of Spanish, begins "to invent another me"[53].

Stavans is also bothered by the choice of language for his reminiscences. He admits that "crafting my memoir in English will, in and of itself, be a form or treason. For shouldn't it be written in at least three or four languages (Yiddish, Spanish, Hebrew, English), the four tongues in which – and through which – I've experienced life"[54]. But he knows that "no publisher in his right mind would endorse such an endeavor"[55] and indeed it would be daunting for an average reader. Moreover, he, like his grandmother, is also motivated by a desire to be read. He writes openly about his reasons for not expressing himself in a marginal language like Spanish. "Spanish", he claims, "in spite of being the third-most-important language on the globe, after Chinese and English, is peripheral. It is a language that flourishes in the outskirts of culture, more reactive than active."[56] Writing in English guarantees authors a bigger audience and the cultural validation they seem to crave. English seems to endow these writers with public identity, with a voice, and even with acclaim. This obviously points to the hegemony of English, but it is a marginal remark that is beyond the scope of the present study. Would these memoirs be published in other languages? Would they gain such popularity? It is doubtful.

In one of the evocative fragments, in which she describes her beginnings in Canada, Hoffman emphasizes the interdependence of language, memory, and the self. She explains:

> The small event, instead of being added to the mosaic of consciousness and memory, falls through some black hole, and I fall with it. What has happened to me in this new world? I don't know. I don't see what I've seen, don't comprehend what's in front of me. I'm not filled with language anymore, and I have only a me-

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., p. 121.

53 Ibid.

54 I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words*, p. 88.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., p. 223.

> mory of fullness to anguish me with the knowledge that, in this dark and empty state, I don't really exist[57].

Hoffman tries to capture the perceptions and emotions of her adolescent self. Having spent too little time in Canada to master the new language, Hoffman is temporarily devoid of language that would adequately express her experiences in a new place. During the transition period, English is too limited and does not feel "the language of the self"[58], and Polish "is becoming a dead language, the language of the untranslatable past"[59]. Neither of the two languages available to her can effectively encode her experiences in a new environment. Hoffman therefore implies that language is important in the understanding and framing our experiences, and, as a result, it is central to forming new memories because as soon as we try to grasp the present moment and put it into words, it becomes our past. Without language to capture the here and now and to turn it into memories, Hoffman feels as if she did not exist. The lack of language equals the lack of memories, which, in turn, equals the lack of the story of the self.

Stavans emphasizes the importance of language and memory to our selfhood, too. After an already quoted fragment, in which Stavans says that he is "not one, but two, three, four people," he continues: "Is there an *original* person? An essence? I'm not altogether sure, for without language I am nobody."[60] His selves are therefore in a mutual relation with languages, and for that reason he cherishes all his languages because in them he can find his past selves. As far as memory is concerned, Stavans decides to finish his memoir – a decision that is very telling itself – with a story that clearly shows that devoid of memory we dissolve into non-being. In the last pages, Stavans recounts a rather impersonal story of a woman whom he encountered at the airport. While awaiting his flight, Stavans spots and starts observing the woman, who seems to be oblivious to her surroundings and who remains weirdly immobile, except for repeated movements such as checking her nonexistent watch or

57 E. Hoffman, *Lost in Translation*, p. 108.

58 Ibid., p. 121.

59 Ibid., p. 120.

60 I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words*, p. 250 [Original italics].

opening and closing her handbag. As it turns out later, the woman, whom Stavans describes a bit cruelly as "a lifeless object"[61], "automaton," and "robot"[62], has lost her memory. This incident provokes the following thought: "Memory: Is there a more fragile human faculty? Without it, what are we? It is the only record we have of who we were and what we want to become. Take it away and only a spiritless machine is left, free of conviction, free of purpose."[63] Indeed, clinical studies conducted on patients suffering from either retrograde amnesia (the inability to remember the past) or anterograde amnesia (the inability to form new memories), or both, confirm that the life and identity of amnesiacs is highly disturbed. Alan Baddeley, for instance, reports the case of a patient named Clive – a talented musician and conductor who suffered a brain infection from herpes simplex virus which led to deep amnesia. Clive had some very general, sketchy, and scarce ideas about his past life – he knew, for example, that he graduated from Cambridge University – but he did not remember any specific episodes. Despite the fact that he was still able to play instruments, read music scores, or conduct a choir, he could not remember anything from his current life, which almost totally incapacitated him. Clive could not follow any conversation, book, or program. He was unable to leave the hospital because he immediately got lost. As Baddeley comments, Clive "was locked into a permanent present, something he described as 'hell on earth'. 'It's like being dead – all the bloody time'."[64] Our ability to mentally time travel is therefore more crucial than we might realize as memory is essential for the self.

The way Stavans develops his narrative resembles the process of reminiscing. His memoir is divided into six parts, although the sixth one seems to serve as a kind of afterword, which recounts the conversation with his friend, Richard Rodriguez, and provides a metanarrative on the process of writing his memoir. The first five parts concentrate on (1) his Mexican childhood, (2) his grandmother, (3) his father, (4) his brother, and (5) his journeys, although in each of these parts memories from various periods of his life appear. Each

[61] Ibid., p. 261.

[62] Ibid., p. 260.

[63] Ibid., p. 263.

[64] A. Baddeley, *What is Memory*, [in] *Memory*, Eds. A. Baddeley, M. Eysenck and M. Anderson, London: Psychology Press, 2015, p. 4.

story is represented by an item: pistol, *la pistola*, of his Mexican childhood, his grandmother's diary – *diario*, his father's car keys, the childhood photograph of his brother, and his passport. All these objects, as he puts it, "constitute a kind of almanac, a registry of reminiscences"[65]. They seem to trigger memories and serve as a springboard for other reflections, and his memoir, as he states in the last part, is "a series of snapshots" which, he hopes, "add up to a cinematic picture, not of me but of my mind"[66]. Stavans therefore tries to capture his mind at work, and he does so rather convincingly. His book is a collection of reminiscences: Some of them are related while others spring up unexpectedly. Stavans's memoir resists the narrative urge to organize his recollections into a coherent and chronological narrative. Of course, this is not to say that his memoir is an exercise in freewriting. On the contrary, his narrative is very controlled and deliberate; yet one has the impression that his thoughts, reflections, and memories flow freely through his mind (and narrative), as they often do in real life.

To give just one example: the first part starts with the story of him packing books from his personal library in New York (although at that point we do not know it is New York) – the story that will not only recur at different points of part one but will also conclude it. Packing his books, he is suddenly struck with an image of a small pistol that his father kept locked up in a safe-deposit box. This triggers memories of his Mexican childhood. He talks about his obsession with the pistol, which often led him to wonder why his father kept it in the houses. His obsession with the pistol is compared with his lack of interest in books in his adolescence, which, in turn, is juxtaposed with his love of them now. The memory of the pistol turns into a reflection about the presence of guns in Mexico, and then he goes back to contemplating particular books that he either had or has in his library, for he believes his collection tells a lot about the person he is and has been. Although it focuses mainly on Mexico, the narrative moves between various reminiscences of his life in Mexico and in New York, and his reflection on his personal collection of books serves as a thread that binds together the first part of his narrative.

65 I. Stavans, *On Borrowed Words*, p. 248.

66 Ibid.

That memories might indeed be encoded in a specific language is suggested in both memoirs by the presence of non-English words in the text. Each part of Stavans's book is concentrated on a given language, and thus, the first, third, and fourth parts are centred around Spanish, the second around Yiddish, and the fifth one is a mixture of Hebrew and English – his two newly acquired languages. Stavans feels the need to include words in the language in which he experienced life at a given time, and his narrative is peppered with words and sentences, or even whole passages, in his four languages. For some of them, like a Spanish tongue-twister or a Hebrew song, he does not even provide any translation. Thus, he distances the reader, who may experience indirectly what an migrant feels when s/he moves to a land of a foreign language. His insistence on having equivalents of certain words and phrases in other languages also suggests that languages do not easily translate, and that culture may determine slightly different connotations, even for apparently equivalent lexical items – a fact that any person with a reasonable mastery of at least two languages is aware of or at least intuits. This is clearly spelled out by Hoffman, who, for instance, explains that there is a cultural chasm between what Poles and Canadians mean by referring to a person as a friend. She says that in Polish, friendship "has connotations of strong loyalty and attachment bordering on love" and for that reason she first tries to distinguish between "acquaintances" and "friends," but because in English the term "friend" "is such a good-natured, easygoing sort of term"[67], she quickly adopts it in circumstances in which she would not necessarily use it in Poland.

Hoffman's narrative is also full of Polish words, which feature particularly prominently in the first section devoted to her childhood in Poland and at the beginning of the second section, devoted to her transition to Canada, so the time when Polish was still her predominant language. Inserted in her recollection, these words constitute an inseparable part of the landscape of her Polish childhood and evoke nostalgic feelings. They act as cues by bringing back certain reminiscences. Hoffman often tries to capture the essence of these words, words which for her seem to ooze a certain aura or which trigger various associations. She explains the meaning of certain Polish words, trying to show that a simple translation does not suffice as words have different overtones in

[67] E. Hoffman, *Lost in Translation*, p. 148.

different languages. Such is the case with "tęsknota" – a word she mentions whenever she misses Poland or yearns for something unknown. It appears for the first time at the very beginning of the book when she recounts her departure from Poland and says that she experienced a bout of nostalgia or rather "tęsknota" – "a word that adds to nostalgia tonalities of sadness and longing"[68]. To a larger degree than Stavans, Hoffman dissects the way words represent our experiences. Using structuralist discourse, popular at the time when she wrote her memoir, she explains the process of the acquisition of a new language:

> the problem is that the signifier has become severed from the signified. The words I learn now don't stand for things in the same unquestioned way they did in my native tongue. "River" in Polish was a vital sound, energized with the essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of my being immersed in rivers. "River" in English is cold – a word without an aura. It has no accumulated associations for me, and it does not give off the radiating haze of connotation. It does not evoke[69].

For Hoffman, river – "rzeka" – in Polish is most likely associated with the Vistula River (*Rzeka Wisła*) – the longest river in Poland, along which are situated the most important Polish cities, such as Warsaw, Gdańsk, Toruń, and Cracow where Hoffman grew up. The Vistula features prominently in Polish literature and culture, and for Hoffman, who has just moved to Canada, it brings to mind certain memories. Over the years spent in Poland, Hoffman most likely acquired many experiences connected with rivers ("rzeki"), and with time these experiences turned into memories. In her newly acquired English, river is just a word, a sound, a visual representation, devoid at this point of any recollections. Experiencing life in languages, we build associations. Each of us, upon hearing the word "river" in our mother tongue, has a different mental image of this natural stream of flowing water. It might be the river close to our house, or the river we pass on our way to work, or the one by the banks of which we spend our free time. The fact that words bring to mind memories is often used by psychologists, who use them as cues words in their experiments to examine the remembering process.

68 Ibid., p. 4.

69 Ibid., p. 106.

In order to recount stories of our life we need not only to remember our past and to possess language capacities to describe it, but also to have the knowledge of social and cultural conventions that govern the creation of stories. This brings us to another important aspect of self-making, namely the fact that we tell our lives adopting cultural scripts, which brings culture into the equation. For Conway, cultures determine the self-concept – a model for the self constructed at the intersection of the beliefs one holds about oneself and social norms and expectations. Fivush and her colleagues state that "culture provides organizational and evaluative frameworks for narrating lives, including canonical cultural biographies, life scripts, and master narratives"[70]. Canonical biographies are simply life narratives significant in a given culture thanks to which we can learn what people at a given time and place mean by a valuable life. For Stavans and Hoffman, a canonical biography is Mary Antin's *The Promised Land*, a classic immigrant autobiography from the beginning of the twentieth century which glorifies the process of assimilation and frames immigration from Europe to the United States as a success story. This is the text mentioned by both writers, who, being immigrants, measure themselves against its famous author, rejecting the model of the self put forward by Antin. Stavans, as mentioned above, rejects Antin's split between the past and present selves, for he strongly believes that his linguistic selves are in a close, mutual relation. Hoffman, in turn, points out that she would not be able to produce a story similar to Antin's because not only did she arrive in a different America than Antin, but also her own times predispose her to tell a different story. She explains:

> she, like I, was affected by the sentiments of her time [...]. The America of her time gave her certain categories within which to see herself – a belief in self-improvement, in perfectibility of the species, in moral uplift – and those categories led her to foreground certain parts of her own experience, and to throw whole chunks of it into the barely visible background[71].

[70] R. Fivush, T. Habermas, T. Waters, and W. Zaman, *The making of autobiographical memory*, p. 322.

[71] E. Hoffman, *Lost in Translation*, pp. 163-64.

Hoffman's words touch on the third element mentioned by Fivush and her collaborators in the above quote, namely master narratives or, in other words, the ways in which we frame our stories. Hoffman lists things that were important in Antin's time, and says that her own story must be framed within the "blessings and terrors of multiplicity"[72]. Hoffman's narrative incorporates contemporary discourses – structuralism, postmodernism and postcolonialism. Her, and Stavans's, focus on language is not accidental either. In her article "'The Making of An American': Negotiations of Identities at the Turn of the Twentieth Century" Pavlenko explains that language was not important to immigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century in the way it is for many immigrants these days, and she provides a few reasons why this is the case. First of all, she mentions that before 1924 immigrants could use their native languages freely – a freedom that was curtailed only by the Immigration Act of 1924 – and therefore they did not feel the need to defend their right to express themselves in their mother tongues. She also acknowledges that the cultural ambience of the 1960s made language an important part of the struggle for ethnic identity"[73]. She fails to recognize, however, at least one more significant factor, namely that the linguistic turn triggered a focus on language as an important part of our identity. Previously, language had not been necessarily considered as a vital element of the self.

As for the cultural life scripts, Fivush et al. understand them as "the culturally shared expectations regarding the temporal order of normative significant life events (e.g. getting married then having children)"[74]. They explain that if one's own life differs from the prescribed cultural scripts, one feels obligated to explain his or her choices (like not getting married or having children), whereas one never gives reasons for expected events (like getting married or having children)[75]. Hoffman beautifully illustrates the importance of life scripts for self-understanding in the conversations between her English self and her Polish self that appear at different points of her book. As Jarczok notes:

[72] Ibid., p. 164.

[73] A. Pavlenko, *"The Making of an American": Negotiation of Identities at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 62-63.

[74] R. Fivush, T. Habermas, T. Waters, and W. Zaman, *The making of autobiographical memory*, p. 331.

[75] Ibid., p. 332.

> The most compelling, and at the same time the most advertised[76], fragments of Hoffman's autobiography are the dialogues between her Polish and American self. The conversations in which she engages during the most momentous times of her life, such as deciding whether to get married and later divorced or whether to pursue her music career, reveal subject positions one can take up in a given culture[77].

Jarczok illustrates this with the example of divorce:

> Divorce, a topic of the third and final conversation, is... treated differently in both cultures. A few decades ago divorces in Poland were rare and Hoffman knows that if she had lived and got married in Poland, she probably would not consider a divorce. In 1970s America, the second wave of feminism introduced significant changes in divorce law, and these were accompanied with the discourse of individual happiness and individual responsibility for that happiness. Divorce is therefore thinkable. In Poland Hoffman might have felt exactly the same in the confinement of an unhappy marriage, but she knows that in Poland divorce would not be something she would consider because she "would exist within the claustrophobia of no choice, rather than the agoraphobia of open options" (1989: 230-231)[78].

Each culture enables a different way of being in the world, and being an outsider to that culture makes these life scripts more evident. These scripts and

[76] The following fragment:
"Should you marry him? the question comes in English.
Yes.
Should you marry him? the question echoes in Polish.
No." (199)
is quoted in a range of academic and non-academic sources. Just to give a few examples: It is a fragment that features on the back cover of the American hardcover edition of the book. It is quoted in a recent article on language in *The Scientific Mind*, in Pavlenko's study *The Bilingual Mind* as well as a number of other publications (Judith Oster's *Crossing Cultures: Creating Identity in Chinese and Jewish American Literature*; Julia Creet and Andreas Kitzman (eds.), *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*; and Peter Auer and Li Wei (eds.), *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*).

[77] A. Jarczok, *Re-constructing the self in language and narrative in Eva Hoffman's "Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language" and Anaïs Nin's "Early Diaries"*, "Studia Anglica Posnaniensia", 50 (2-3), p. 29.

[78] Ibid., p. 30.

master narratives determine what we remember and how we remember it, and the memories we select for attention regulate our life stories, which, in turn, affect our self.

I hope that the above reflections have shown that memory processes, and research conducted on memory by psychologists and neuroscientists, need to be given more attention in autobiography studies for they can open up new ways to understand the relationship between the self, memory, language and narrative, as well as new ways to interpret memoirs, particularly those that concentrate on language. I have argued in this essay that language, narrative, memory and the self are mutually dependent and constitutive and together they contribute to "narrative identity." Although the relationship between the self and narrative has been well-established and widely examined in many disciplines, memory processes need to be investigated more explicitly in our discussions of narrative identity because stories we tell about ourselves (and which shape our identity) often concern the past. Our life stories –whether spoken or written – are therefore produced at the intersection of our memories (which themselves are sociocultural to a large extent), subject positions, which are specific to various cultures and their languages, and narrative patterns, which are also inextricably linked to culture and language. While culture influences what we attend to forming and then retrieving our memories, languages (and various narrative schemes) help us encode, frame, and later share various experiences. Most of us experiences life in a language, and in language we build associations. These experiences and associations eventually become the repository of our memories, and memories inform our sense of self. The examined authors and their memoirs can help us better understand these various processes and correlations. Both authors show what it means to be trapped in the space between languages, when one feels that no language adequately captures the events of the everyday life, and how it influences the sense of self and the formation of memories.

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Crossing borders: Turkish Asylum Policies and Displaced Syrians' Journeys in and away from Turkey

Abstract: In recent years, economic, political and ecological crises throughout the world have created a monumental human flux, forming new migratory routes, spaces and challenges. As a result of these movements, distinct geographical, political, and social borders are formed and crossed, giving life to unique journeys with distinct stories. The current paper presents observations from field research and a creative expression intervention (conducted in 2015–2016) with Syrian displaced people in Turkey to illustrate the mutual relationship between Turkish asylum policies and the movements of Syrian migrants in and away from Turkey. It unpacks three different routes to contextualize the ways in which the availability and the characteristics of labour shape the mobility of displaced Syrians in Turkey. In examining the movements of people and communities through the lens of political and economic dynamics, the paper argues that displaced Syrians' mobility is largely shaped by Turkish refugee policies, which deny mi-

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grants access to legal work and condemn them to vulnerability and destitution.

Key words: Forced migration, immigration law, migrant labour, border politics, creative expression.

Introduction

> "If he [the migrant] is aware of a current, a tide which is stronger than his own volition, he thinks of it, in an undifferentiated way, as Life. This view of the wholeness and inexplicability of what happens to him upholds a sense of destiny and propels a special endurance and courage. This is not to say he will never resist, that he will accept every injustice. It is to say tragedy is more real to him than explanations"[1].

War, famine, oppression and injustice have always been intrinsic forces behind human migration. Journeys of crossing mountains, deserts, oceans and cities have led to endless challenges and opportunities, creating complex human currents with their own routes, spaces, systems of values, and aspirations.

Today, the ever-present hostility and the excruciating repercussions of violence and destitution around the world have resulted in the greatest migration crisis since the end of the Second World War[2]. Every day thousands are forced to leave their homes with memories of violence, civil unrest and poverty, traveling prolonged distances under severe pressures. Through these monumental human movements, new geographical, political and social borders are formed, crafting unique journeys with distinct stories.

In this paper I present observations collected in the course of field research with Syrian displaced people in Turkey to illustrate the relationship between

1 J. Berger, *A Seventh Man*, London: Writers and Readers, 1982, p. 36.

2 Trends Global, *Forced displacement in 2017*, "The UN Refugee Agency" 2015.

Turkish asylum policies and the flight of Syrians in and away from Turkey. Through qualitative field notes, I argue that while every migrant has a unique story, there are interrelating external factors that ultimately define and restrict the routes they take and the spaces they come to inhabit. More specifically, I aim to illustrate the close dependency of Syrian mobility on the availability and the specific characteristics of the Turkish informal labour sector, and respectively, contribute to the field which critically examines the hegemony of discriminatory migration policies and the resulting disparity for migrant populations.

In the following pages I first present the socio-political circumstances in relation to the Syrian migrant crisis within the Turkish context and describe Turkey's asylum policies at the time of the field observations. Thereafter, I lay out the three main corridors Syrian migrants trace across Turkey and the Aegean Sea. By unpacking their journeys through these paths, I argue that Syrian migrants' movements are largely shaped by the Turkish State's asylum policies, which deny a majority of the Syrian migrants legal work and thereby confine them to the informal labour market, where they endure vulnerability and destitution.

Socio-Political Context

The Republic of Turkey was one of the only countries to maintain a relatively open-door policy for displaced Syrians in the early stages of the Syrian conflict[3]. Consequently, today, Turkey holds the world's largest community of Syrian migrants: As of September 2019, over 3.6 million Syrians have been registered; about 30% of this population are hosted in official refugee camps managed by the Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), while the remaining majority live within the host population[4].

Turkish asylum policies concerning Syrian displaced people have been evolving over the years. At the beginning of the conflict, those fleeing from Syria were classified as 'guests' rather than refugees. Two main reasons rationalized this decision. First, although Turkey is a signatory of the 1951 Conven-

[3] A. Icduygu, *A panorama of the international migration regime in Turkey*, "Revue européenne des migrations internationals", 22 (2006): pp. 11-21.

[4] United Nations Human Rights Council, Syria Regional Refugee Response http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria [Accessed: 9 May 2020]..

tion on the Status of Refugees, its asylum policy is determined by "geographical limitation". Accordingly, the Turkish state grants refugee status only to those who flee their homes as a result of conflicts occurring in Europe and deny individuals from non-European countries of the prospect of long-term legal integration in Turkey. Second, the Turkish state assumed the conflict in Syria would come to a rapid conclusion, allowing the displaced Syrians to return home within a short period. However, as the Syrian conflict proved to be a long away from declining, and greater numbers continued to cross to the Turkish side with no clear prospect of return, in April 2013 Turkey adopted the comprehensive, EU-inspired *Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIPT)*. As a result, a more dedicated legal framework for asylum in Turkey was established, which affirmed Turkey's obligation towards all persons in need of international protection, regardless of country of origin, at the level of binding domestic law. In alliance with the new law, the *Temporary Protection Regulation* for Syrian migrants was formalized in late October 2014. These developments granted Syrians displaced "temporary protection" status, allowing beneficiaries the right to legal stay, protection from refoulement – safeguarding Syrians against forcible return to Syria where they may be liable to be subjected to persecution and violence – and access to a set of basic rights and services, including free healthcare. At the moment, the temporary protection concept represents a *prima facie*, group-based approach where all nationals of Syria and stateless Palestinians originating from Syria are eligible without formal status determination, as long as they register with the Turkish Government[5]. However, although the new changes improved on previous policies, the Temporary Protection Regulation in its current form falls short of a stable, long-term solution. The new law does not impose a set duration on the temporary protection regime - continuation or termination of the policy going forward is entirely at the discretion of the Turkish Government ,, and the "geographical limitation" policy continues to bar Syrians from accessing long-term legal integration.

As part of the new law, Syrians are also granted the right to legal work, under the condition that employers must apply on behalf of employees once

[5] Asylum Information Database, *Introduction to the Asylum Context in Turkey* https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/turkey/introduction-asylum-context-turkey [Accessed: 14 November 2016].

residency, registration and health requirements are met (such a contract also requires the employers to pay the legal minimum wage and social security payments)[6]. Although this was expected to prevent the exploitation of displaced people as a source of cheap labour, decrease the dangers of radicalization, and create better overall living standards, as of late April 2016 fewer than 0.1 percent of Syrians were provided the right to legal work[7]. While greater numbers of applications are expected to be received by the Turkish authorities, barriers such as lack of documentation for the majority of the Syrians, unwillingness of employers to comply with the new law, bureaucracy surrounding the documentation process, and lack of proper information or access to the registration points stand out as the main reasons why the new regulation does not offer blanket access to the labour market for Syrian migrants in Turkey[8].

Methods

The observations presented in the following pages were collected in two different time periods. The information about migrants' journeys in Istanbul were gathered in the summer of 2014, during my fieldwork with a group of Syrian children. For my Master's thesis I had the opportunity to establish and run a small creative expression intervention in a Syrian community centre with 18 displaced children. In addition to the intervention's main goal, providing a safe and stable environment for children to engage in artistic expression activities such as drawing, storytelling and play, I also collected in-depth field notes for research purposes. Due to the instability in the region and security reasons, I ensured the confidentiality of each participant by using alias and avoided collecting potentially incriminating data. The notes I collected explored the specific processes that took place during the activities in the intervention period and provided comments and observations on the circumstances and pressures Syrian families faced in the neighbourhood.

6 O. Karasapan, *The Impact of Syrian Businesses in Turkey*, "Brookings", March 16, 2016.

7 P. Kingsley, *Turkey is No 'Safe Haven' for Refugees – It Shoots Them at the Border*, "The Guardian", April 1, 2016.

8 T. Karas, *Not Syrian, Not Turkish: Refugees Fleeing War Lack Documentation*, "Aljazeera", September 24, 2015.

The records concerning journeys in Izmir were recorded a year after, in the summer of 2015. In the midst of writing my thesis, I decided to go back to Turkey to help a local NGO that was assisting Syrian migrants in Izmir. There, I gathered field notes while working with other volunteers to collect and disseminate food, medicine and goods to impoverished Syrians working in farms on the outskirts of the city, as well as Syrians located in the city who, in the majority, were preparing to take the journey across the Aegean Sea.

In order to analyze the field notes, I used content analysis to conceptualize all the collected data. This allowed me to find common themes and features, which were then embedded in the specific context to identify communalities in relation to the effects of Turkish asylum policies on the Syrian migrants' journeys, as well as the individual differences that emerged in response to contrasting spaces and circumstances.

Three Paths into the Unknown

In the following sections I will present three routes. Three corridors across Turkey into the remote: Istanbul, Izmir, and the Aegean Sea. While the routes follow their own direction with unique circumstances and outcomes, they share the same underlying distresses of vulnerability and destitution. Across these challenges, the corridors run into similar spaces, converging through geographical, political and cultural borders.

Journey to Istanbul

Istanbul, the economic, cultural and historic centre of Turkey, is home to over 14 million people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. It is responsible for about 20 percent of the country's industrial labour force, where the informal sector – a diversified set of economic activities, enterprises, jobs and workers that are not regulated or protected by the state – may account for up to 30 percent of the overall metropolitan economy[9]. In 2016 the city hosted approximately 366,000 Syrian migrants, more than the rest of Europe put together. While a small portion have substantial financial security and social networks, the majority of Syrians are left on their own to find financial means

[9] OECD, *Territorial Reviews: Istanbul, Turkey* https://www.oecd.org/gov/oecdterritorialreviewsistanbulturkey.htm [Accessed: 2 October 2016].

to survive. Although formal and informal support networks provide goods and services, the increased number of arrivals over the years has resulted in a vast disparity between the needs and resources available[10]. Consequently, today, large numbers of Syrians either work in the informal workforce or beg on the streets.

Textile sweatshops are some of the most common places for Syrian migrants to find work in Istanbul[11]. Many Syrian families, including young children, work extended hours every day of the week, to earn between half and a third of the rate for the same work done by local workers[12]. The families in my intervention were no exception. At the beginning of their journeys, most of the families stayed with distant relatives living along the eastern border. Due to the diminished hopes of returning to Syria and the lack of work opportunities in the Eastern regions, they made their way to Istanbul. In Istanbul, they settled in neighbourhoods close to the textile industry. While my participants were not old enough to work (between the ages of 6-12), the rest of their family members engaged in degrading work at various textile sweatshops. The majority of the parents depended on their older children to contribute financially to pay for shelter and food. When asked how they feel about this, a grave sense of powerlessness and anguish were most commonly expressed. It was not a choice, but rather a form of despair.

In their struggle for survival, sweatshops become the most common spaces for many migrants' journeys in Istanbul. In a way, one can argue that they imitate the environment of a detention centre, creating a culture of economic dependence, where the migrant is left with no choice but to stay and work in the face of inequality and injustice. Moreover, as a result of the dependency, the sweatshops come to be the end of the path. Migrants enter into a cycle of exploitation, where, in most cases, the urge to survive overwhelms the urge to continue the journey forward.

[10] United Nations Human Rights Council, *3RP Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan 2015–2016: In Response to the Syria Crisis*, Accessed October 1, 2016.

[11] D. Afanasieva, *In Turkish Sweatshops, Syrian Children Sew to Survive*, "Reuters", July 26, 2016.

[12] B. Norton, *Syrian Child Refugees Making Clothes for British Companies in Turkish Sweatshops, BBC Investigation Found*, "Salon", October 24, 2016.

Journey to Izmir

Izmir, an old port city bordering Greece by the Aegean Sea, is home to one of the main Aegean sea routes taken by migrants coming from the conflicts and depressed economies of Africa, the Middle East and the Southeast Asia. Izmir is also an attractive city for a significant number of migrants who decides to stay in Turkey. Live-in farm camps on the outskirts of the city offer both shelter and work for thousands of Syria's poorest displaced. Far from the reach of health care, education and, oftentimes, electricity and clean water, most of the families live in makeshift tents around farm fields. Similar to those in Istanbul, they work extended hours for low wages. In the absence of any legal rights, the informal work conditions establish an asymmetrical power relationship, in which the migrant workers fall under the sole authority of the landowners. However, unlike Istanbul, where large ghettos offer permanent spaces for migrants to live, the seasonal nature of work in Izmir forces migrants to be constantly on the move, ready to disassemble their tents to move on to the next farm. Consequently, unstable living circumstances create a perpetual mobility in which the migrant assumes the role of a wanderer. The pressures of survival shape the route, establishing a reciprocal relationship between labour and mobility.

Yet, within the above common framework, unique stories also transpire. At the time of my volunteer work, some of the main challenges faced by migrants, besides poverty and physical violence, were racism, xenophobia, segregation and language barriers. Although the live-in farm camps were away from local neighbourhoods, the idea of migrants was commonly conjured to fuel the fear of the unknown and the reason behind the declining economy. These stereotypical perceptions and discourses were used to further establish the ground necessary to rationalize the unfair work conditions and normalise the malicious hierarchy between migrant workers and the landowners. However, in some cases these challenges were lessened through solidarity with the locals. For example, during one of our activities with migrant farm workers, several local farmers joined the migrants to sing a song that is common across both cultures; and thereafter, shared their lunch. While the interaction was brief and under the gaze of "outsiders" (NGOs), it nevertheless established a mutual space, where, for the first time, both groups came together and shared their culture and food, signalling the prospect of companionship through mutual recognition as an initial constructive step.

Journey across the Aegean

As the crisis in Syria escalated over the years and the conditions in Turkey worsened for the migrants, the journey across the Aegean has grown more sophisticated. Increasing numbers, who cannot bear the instability surrounding their future and refuse to partake in the informal workforce under grim conditions, have been desperate to cross over to Europe, to continue their journeys in the hope of finding better living standards.

Izmir, the closest city to reach the popular islands of Chios, Samos and Lesbos, has become the main stopover for migrants from diverse backgrounds. Acting as a "melting pot of cultures, nationalities, and identities"[13], the old city is crowded with migrants and smugglers, waiting for their turn to make the journey towards Greece. According to the UN's refugee agency, an estimated 19,140 migrants have died while trying to cross the Mediterranean since 2014, while tens of thousands of others have successfully reached southern Europe. Although the recent agreements between the European Union and the Turkish State that allow Greece to return all the "irregular migrants" back to Turkey has considerably slowed down the movement, the corridor still stands as one of the main routes for countless migrants[14].

The following observations were taken during my time in Izmir in the summer of 2015, where I had the opportunity to personally meet migrant families who lived in the poor regions of Izmir. By focusing on one particular family's journey, I will present some of the common routes, spaces, agents, as well as the challenges faced by migrants who take on the life-threatening journey across the Aegean waters.

The family's journey started in Kobane, a city mainly populated with Syrians of Kurdish ethnicity. As the violence became unbearable, the family decided to cross over to Turkey to stay with distant relatives, hoping the crisis would come to an end soon so that they could return to their homes. However, as the time passed, the prospect of peace diminished and the family decided to move to Izmir, where they had higher chances of finding work.

[13] J. Wood, *Refugee Deal Turns Hope to Despair in Turkey's Izmir*, "The National", March 29, 2016.

[14] E. Collett, *The Paradox of the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal*, "Migration Policy Institute", March 2016.

At the time of our meeting, all of the family members except the youngest daughter were working at a textile sweatshop in Basmane, a neighbourhood near one of the city's main train stations. While they spent the majority of their time working to stay alive, the father of the family decided they had no future in Turkey and sold all of their personal belongings to gather money for smugglers (the price for smuggling across the Aegean changes from one smuggler to another; however, in general, it is US $1,000.00 to $2,000.00). With the decision to leave Izmir and continue their flight, the family's story entered the realm of the complete unknown. The father's daily route took on a different direction. In order to find a smuggler, he started to visit a café near their home, a well-known place filled with smugglers and fellow migrants. After consulting the owner and visiting the place over several days, he finally found a smuggler who was willing to guide the family across the Aegean. Next, the father had to buy life jackets for everybody in the family. However, since he gave almost all of their money to the smuggler, he had to shop at a black-market factory, which sold counterfeit life jackets at a much cheaper price. At the time, he was fully aware that the jackets he had bought to keep his family from drowning were filled with cheap packaging rather than proper material to keep users alive in the water. He explained that it was at this moment the "psychological" journey had started. Unlike their flight across Turkey - walking through different cities, sleeping on the streets, and working to survive - this time the journey was to the unknown, and the only thing to keep them alive, life jackets, were, in fact, useless. A sea that was a graveyard for many like him and his family stood not just as a geographical border but also as a psychological one, between them and their hopes of a better future. I have not heard anything about the family since our last meeting; I still do not have the courage to read the list of names of those who drowned that summer.

What differentiates those making the voyage across the Aegean from those choosing to stay in Izmir is a matter of complex elements. Every individual and family have their own ambitions, strengths, as well as weaknesses. That being acknowledged, it is undeniable that the overall instability surrounding Syrian migrants' legal status and the pernicious working conditions in the informal sector play a critical role in their decision to make the journey across the Aegean. In this sense, this time, instead of pulling migrants into a cycle of exploita-

tion, the lack of conscientious labour opportunities force those migrants who do not abide them to continue their journeys, fully aware of the high chances of mortality.

Reflections

The three journeys presented in this paper illustrate unique stories with their own circumstances and challenges, where different geographical routes lead to distinct economic and social opportunities as well as barriers. In a micro sense, it would be absurd to assume that the life of a migrant working at a sweatshop in Istanbul would be the same as that of a migrant working in the farms of Izmir. Nevertheless, it is critical to recognize that beyond the differences of specific life stories, there are common macro factors which frame the direction of the routes taken by the migrants, and in doing so, mould their journeys. For displaced Syrians, Turkish asylum policies are a major factor behind their increased vulnerability and destitution. The number of difficulties to obtain work permits and the shortage of humanitarian support largely undermine their livelihood, in most cases forcing them to join the informal workforce as illegal workers. As a result, their journeys evolve according to the labour markets, where they become dependent on a system that is characterized by asymmetrical power relations. Their illegal status inevitably creates a social hierarchy in which the migrant becomes an inferior, allowing the inequality and injustice faced on a daily basis to be normalized. As a result, they are forced into ghettos, where informal work is the only option to survive. For some, though, their journey does not end there. In the face of extreme destitution and instability, some take on the ultimate journey across the Aegean, risking their lives in the hopes of safety and stability. In that instance on the boat, I imagine individual resilience and collective solidarity guide their journeys across the unknown.

Conclusion

The mutual relationship between Turkish asylum policies and the mobility of displaced Syrians, shaped by the informal workforce, highlights the intimate relationship between policy thinking, state action and public welfare. The complex nature of legal status and rights assigned to displaced Syrians in Turkey functions as an indirect regulatory vehicle with direct human consequences.

From a macro perspective, the difficulties of obtaining legal work channels the migrant flow either into the informal sector, forming a homogeneous group of individuals who must endure similar vulnerability and destitution, or into the voyage across the Aegean, where the only two options left are either survival or death. It is within these channels that new cultural, political, economic and psychological spaces are formed. Within the context of violence, persecution and destitution, individual stories of resilience, solidarity, hope, as well as despair and pain emerge. These are the moments where we are reminded of the human nature of migration and thus the humanitarian obligation to accentuate the forgotten, or in some cases ignored, migrant stories, journeys and spaces.

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Patterns of Memory in Askold Melnyczuk's Novels as an Example of Ukrainian-American Émigré Fiction

Abstract: Although Ukrainian emigration to North America is not a new phenomenon, the dilemmas of memory and amnesia remain crucial in Ukrainian-American émigré fiction. The paper focuses on selected novels by Askold Melnyczuk (*What is Told* and *Ambassador of the Dead*) and analyzes how traumatic memories and family stories of the past shape the American lives of Ukrainian emigrants. The discussion of the selected Ukrainian-American émigré novels focuses on the dilemmas of remembering and forgetting in the construction of both Ukrainian and American narratives of the past. The voluntary amnesia of the American-born Ukrainians in Melnyczuk's novels confronts their parents' dependence on the past and their inability to abandon it emotionally. Memories of 'the old country' make them, similarly to Ada Kruk, ambassadors of the dead. The expression becomes a metaphoric defini-

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tion of those wrapped by their repressed, fragmentary and sometimes inaccessible memories. Crucial events of European history of the 20th century are inscribed and personalized in the older generation's stories which their children are reluctant to hear. For them, their parents' memories became a burden and a shame. Using the concept of transgenerational memory, the paper explores the challenges of postmemory, and eventually its failure.

Key words: émigré fiction, immigration, memory, amnesia, nostalgia, identity.

Ukrainian-American literature shares many features characteristic of other ethnic literatures in the USA. Even a brief and superficial review of contemporary ethnic American fiction (Jeffrey Eugenides, Aleksandar Hemon, Dominica Radulescu, Téa Obreht, Irene Zabytko, Amy Tan to mention just a few writers' names) shows an ubiquitous centrality of the motif of remembering and amnesia that each ethnic literature develops in a culturally specific way determined by history of the community it respresents. Characters' memory in Ukrainian-American émigré fiction is deeply rooted in the traumatic reminiscences of "the old country" they preserved and cherished in the USA and passed on to younger generations. From that perspective, Askold Melnyczuk's novels *What is Told* (1994)[1] and *Ambassador of the Dead* (2001)[2] can be identified as fictions of generational memory (Astrid Erll's term)[3]. It is a specific type of writing that addresses the "complex constellations of generationality and genealogy," i.e. intersections of generationality and genealogy, and mnemonic transmission within these constellations[4]

[1] A. Melnyczuk, *What is Told*, Byfield: PFP, Inc, MA 2011.

[2] Idem, *Ambassador of the Dead*, Washington D.C.: Counterpoint Press, 2001.

[3] A. Erll explores the concept of generational memory in her contribution to *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory Studies* (Berghahn Books, 2017).

[4] Idem, *Fictions of Generational Memory: Caryl Phillips's In the Falling Snow and Black British Writing in Times of Mnemonic Transition*, [in] *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory*, Ed. L. Bond, S. Craps, and P. Vermeulen, New York 2017, p. 111.

and shows how the controversial relations of the characters with their past function in the construction of their new (American) identity. Erll develops and translates into modern cultural, social, and political terms the concept of generation that was proposed by Karl Mannheim in his 1928 essay "The Problem of Generations"[5]. Following Mannheim, she writes about generation as a twofold term that can be understood as generationality, i.e. generational identity and also as genealogy[6]. In other words, the scholar identifies diachronic (vertical) and synchronic (horizontal) generations that constitute inter- and intragenerational relations[7]. Erll also broadens the idea of generational memory by introducing the concept of transgenerational memory, which she see as one of the dimensions of memory unbound.

Until recently, the principle of transgenerational memory has been expressed clearly only in Marianne Hirsch's influential concept of postmemory[8]. However, as Erll notes, traumatic memories constitute only part of the memories that travel between generations[9], while traumatic memories transmitted between generations are related not only to memories of the Holocaust but also those of wars, genocides, immigration and migration, and exile. The concept of transgenerational memory that brings into play Hirsch's idea of postmemory expands the postmemorial community beyond family boundaries. The latter is achieved by the "conventionality of the familial tropes prevalent in postmemorial writing and art, which provides a space for identification that can, in theory at least, be occupied by any reader or viewer"[10]. Thus, Hirsch's postmemory becomes a structure of mediation between horizontal and vertical generations

5 Mannheim emphasizes that generations are not exclusively biological entities. They represent social phenomena that share "social location" i.e. experience, temporal framework, and collective memory (*Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952).

6 A. Erll, *Generation in Literary History: Three Constellations of Generationality, Genealogy, and Memory*, [in] *New Literary History*, vol. 45, 2014, p. 385.

7 Idem, *Fictions of Generational Memory: Caryl Phillips's In the Falling Snow and Black British Writing in Times of Mnemonic Transition*, p. 111.

8 M. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory. Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

9 A. Erll, *Fictions of Generational Memory: Caryl Phillips's In the Falling Snow and Black British Writing in Times of Mnemonic Transition*, [in] *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory*, op. cit., p. 111.

10 L. Bond, S. Craps, and P. Vermeulen, *Introduction. Memory on the Move*, [in] ibid., p. 11.

and is "therefore potentially producible by and available to members of very different generational locations"[11].

Melnyczuk's family history was an inspiration for his novels. He is the son of Ukrainian immigrants who used to live in Przemyśl/Peremyshl, near the contemporary eastern border of Poland. His parents left for the USA in 1944, and as a child Askold could closely observe the life of the Ukrainian émigré community. His novels are not autobiographical but the Ukrainian heritage of his family and the neighborhood he grew up in contained many untold stories and experiences America knew nothing or almost nothing about. In the interview Melnyczuk gave in Kyiv in May 2017, he compared the United States to a huge island surrounded by a wall. Modern technologies help to see through it but sometimes you need a ladder to be able to climb the wall and see the world beyond it. The writer admits that the Ukrainian experience of his family was burdensome, at times incomprehensible, but also exciting. In his adult life it became a microscope, then a window, and, finally, binoculars through which he could look at the world ("Rozkazhy meni pro mene").

Although both novels are united by the Ukrainian theme, they offer the reader different insights into the past. Memory models are contingent upon the characters' attitude towards "the old country" and their willingness (or unwillingness) to embrace their new American identity. Prior to their emigration to the US, Melnyczuk's characters *nolens volens* engaged in the whirlpool of the most tragic events in Eastern Europe in the 20th century. For them, emigration meant peace, a new identity, and very complex relations with the past nobody particularly cared about in the new country. The memorial practices of Melnyczuk's characters are typical of other immigrant groups and ethnic literatures: we deal with another new voice that at a certain point became part of the American literary landscape. As opposed to immigrants from Asia or even the Mediterranean region, Ukrainians seemed to resemble WASPs in their appearance. They spoke a strange language and had obscure religious practices but otherwise they were not much different. Nonetheless, their story of the past was painful, contradictory and incomprehensible. Their country was erased from the map, and they had a problem expressing themselves and telling their stories.

[11] A. Erll, *Generation in Literary History: Three Constellations of Generationality, Genealogy, and Memory*, p. 400.

While Melnyczuk's novels to be analyzed further in the article are united by the same theme, they differ in their approach to it. Memorial models created in these novels are contingent upon the characters' attitude towards 'the old country' and their willingness (or unwillingness) to embrace their new American identity. Therefore, the reader can trace the evolution of Ukrainian émigré experience and its impact on émigré memorial practice. While in *What is Told* memories of 'the old country' and references to its folklore, traditions, and language are among the key elements of the narration, *Ambassador of the Dead* problematizes ethnic elements and brings into the foreground the theme of assimilation, voluntary amnesia, and rejection of Ukrainian identity for the sake of new American identity.

The conflict between the old and new generations in Melnyczuk's fiction is rooted in their vision of the past and determined by the system of values they no longer share. Generational criteria become crucial for the selection and communication of memory. According to Aleida Assmann, the relations between generational memory as a format of social memory and "lived experience" create a complex existential amalgam that helps us to analyze the nature of social communication[12]. The latter is particularly significant in émigré fiction as it brings into play a wide range of social and historical dilemmas.

In *Ambassador of the Dead*, Adriana (Ada) Kruk's story creates a memoryscape that her younger son Alex and even many of her friends from the past do not seem to understand. Ada clings to the past and wants it to be as attractive and interesting for everyone as it is for her. Her family arrived in the USA from a DP camp a few years after WWII. The war split her life into two parts, not only chronologically but also emotionally and socially: a naïve, happy and nonchalant girl from a well-established family transformed into a sexually attractive young woman who had to face the challenges of a new life, a new community, and a new language. Ada never integrated fully into the new reality, but it did not seem to bother her too much. She never learned to speak good English and she was obsessed with memories of her past. Ada did not really care about her roots, and her past did not seem to give her a sense of national pride. Instead, stories of the past were a link to a world that she associated

[12] A. Assmann, *Memory, Individual and Collective*, [in] *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, Ed. R. E. Goodin & C. Tilly, New York 2006, pp. 213-215.

with stability and confidence, and that helped her to identify herself in the new world.

Ada was unwilling or even unable to abandon her past, although she appreciated the comfort and predictability of her American life and "thanked God for a haven in which to recover from Europe where neighbors sharpened knives against each other, revenge their sustaining force"[13]. The woman suffered OWS – Old World Syndrome – which was the code her son and his friends used to describe the adult behaviors they were not able to explain otherwise, "words like trauma, manic depression being unfamiliar" to them[14].

Ada's connection with the past was the connection with the dead – dead aunts, uncles, cousins, neighbors, and friends. For her, they were like moths fluttering around:

> Ada carried two decades of memories from another country, full of other buildings and other people, all of which had been real as the ones surrounding her now; they superimposed themselves onto the faces she saw in the streets, so she had to stop herself from waving to a man she thought she recognized, a former classmate, a second cousin who once lived around the corner on whom she'd had a crush and who quite possible still lived there, in a city on the other side of the world where life continued without her, and where even at this moment someone she'd known in short pants may well have been thinking of her[15].

Ada's "embassy of the dead" which she established during her stay in the DP camp was her link with the past, where she looked for support and understanding. In her dreams and visions the past was alive and people from the past, even those who were dead, participated in her present life, counseled and supported her in difficult moments of her life. Ada saw her past life as a story, and it added fictitiousness to her experience.

Ada's attachment to the past annoyed her children. Their parents' country disappeared from the map because of the change of borders in Eastern Europe

13 A. Melnyczuk, *Ambassador of the Dead*, p. 72.

14 Ibid., p. 97.

15 Ibid., p. 78.

after WWII, and that made their identity and origins problematic. For a teenager, like Alex, it created many awkward situations:

> Shifting from foot to foot, he stared at the map, which seemed nothing like the one he'd studied at home. It wasn't there. Try as he might, he couldn't find the old country anywhere. Anxiety overwhelmed him: what would he say? What would he tell the teacher? She'd call him a liar, and would she be wrong? He wanted to erase himself the way Mrs. Linnaean swiped clean the board ...
> "Not there," she said confidently. "That's Russia now."[16]

Ada failed to transmit her stories to either of her sons, and we can view Melnyczuk's novel as the fiction of failed transgenerational memory. Alex, as well as his older brother Paul, refused to speak Ukrainian even to their mother, and preferred to change his last name at school to Kruko, claiming Italian origin. At least that identity was less problematic than Ukrainian. For Alex, the past was like a monster. Every time Ada tried to tell him a story about her past life "Alex seethed – here was the old world he was learning to hate slipping into the room again. He felt the tribe of hungry ghosts surrounding him with long chalk bodies"[17]. Thus, the past was tiring, annoying and even scary, and Alex saw no point in bringing it up again. "The whole damn Ukrainian mess. They fucked everybody, everybody fucked them, and now their stories fuck us"[18]. This vulgar description of transgenerational memory shows that postmemory may also acquire an emotionally negative format, when remembering is a curse and amnesia is a blessing: "Self-hatred in his eyes. I knew what he meant – the Ukrainian story was so tangled, it was hard to separate truth from myth, or to decide whose version to believe. Easier to forget it entirely"[19]. Alex did not feel he needed roots or stories of the past to establish his identity. He was reluctant to adopt the traumatic experience of his mother and to inscribe it into his own life story[20].

16 Ibid., p. 46.

17 Ibid., p. 67.

18 Ibid., p. 211.

19 Ibid.

20 L. Bond, S. Craps, and P. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 9.

Even Ada's best childhood friend Slava seemed reluctant to share her attachment to the old country. Nick, Slava's son, who was a life-long witness to the Kruks efforts at adjustment, compares them with his family. His parents were ideal new citizens who chose voluntary amnesia as the major adjustment tool. Nick's father earned a medical degree and the family moved away from the Ukrainian ghetto. They were not ashamed of their past, but they preferred "slamming the door" on it[21]. Assimilation for them meant psychological comfort and social welfare. Amnesia was the best choice when one had to respond efficiently to the challenges of American life. The old homeland became an abstract place that was difficult to accommodate new realities. Thus, the connection between communicative and cultural memory broke down, while transgenerational generational memory transmission was deliberately brought to an end.

Memories about the old country did not fit American life, or at least the Ukrainian community, obsessed with its own historical offenses and grudges, could not find an appropriate language to tell the story about its traumas. As Nick observes,

> My first twelve years I lived in a closed community which couldn't have been more different from that of my neighbors. While this estranged me from my peers, it also gave me purpose and definition that were altered by our move to the suburbs. There traditions were supplanted by instructions in a stream of increasingly complex practical skills enabling me to adapt with ease. Assimilation, however, is never straightforward or painless – to a degree, sanity and humanity depend on keeping faith with a self over time. Without access to your childhood, you risk slipping into the land of Ulro, as the poet Blake called that place where individuals meet each other at the level of appearances alone[22].

Only Anton, Ada's old friend from the old country, understood her fascination with the past, although he did not share her anxieties. On the contrary, Anton disappointed the local Ukrainian community when during his guest lecture he spoke about the necessity to adjust to the new culture and appreciate

[21] A. Melnyczuk. *Ambassador of the Dead*, p. 30.

[22] Ibid., p. 216.

the heritage of the new homeland. His position could not integrate into the collective memory because it did not fit the general model of Ukrainian-American identity dominated by a "peculiarly Slavic mix of hopelessness, the weight of the past drifting down in invisible webs, raining from the sky in soft, sticky lattices that snared and smothered, leaving me feeling action was impossible"[23]. The idea of shared memory (Max Silverman's concept) that "eschews self-sufficiency and autonomy"[23] did not work out in a hermetic community. Anton's awareness of the past as a trap could not have been accepted because of its openness and flexibility, which were seen as culturally dangerous.

The narration in Melnyczuk's earlier novel *What is Told* is more historically saturated, hence memory performs a different function there. When the Zabobons still lived in the town of Rozdorizha, where the government changed almost every month (the action took place in 1910-1920s), the memorial practice of its residents focused on material and cultural elements of the Ukrainian national past: songs, legends and food. Zenon Zabobon wanted to preserve them as their identity stabilizers. The same elements functioned as "memory stabilizers"[25] when the family moved to the USA[26].

The memoryscapes Melnyczuk creates in both novels are complex and open to diverse readings. In *What is Told* the writer used Ukrainian last names and place names, and deliberately did not explain them to the English-speaking reader. As he mentioned in one of his interviews, he did it intentionally as he wanted to make the reader plunge into the mystery of a language he/she didn't speak ("Rozkazhy meni pro mene"). Those names play an important role in the creation of memoryscape in the novel and add insights that otherwise would have been impossible. Although it is hard to expect a reader to be that inquisitive, Melnyczuk certainly succeeded in creating an enigmatic atmosphere. Those who speak Ukrainian know that "zabobon" means superstition, and Rozdorizhia stands for "crossroads". In *Ambassador of the Dead* place

[23] Ibid., p. 245.

[24] L. Bond, S. Craps, and P. Vermeulen, op. cit., p. 7.

[25] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization. Functions, Media, Archives*, 1st English edition, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 239.

[26] Assmann describes different types memory stabilizers that translate physical experience into meaning. She believes that language is the most important among these.

names also play an important role in the construction of memoryscape, although Melnyczuk proposed English equivalents for them ("Adriana was born in the city of Resurrection on the river Memory"[27]). The English toponym did not make the specific ethnic atmosphere of the novel less expressive as the writer integrated the Ukrainian theme into the American context using other tools. In *What is Told* Ukrainian words help to understand the mnemonic priorities of the characters of the novel. Rozdorizha happened to be located at the crossroads of history, and that determined the fate of its residents.

Natalka, one of the protagonists of *What is Told,* is similar to Ada in her obsession with the past. However, she did not share it with her daughter or other family members. When she learned about her husband's death, she promised that

> From now on she'd live in retrospect. In a world where Zenon still breathed, where he walked up and down the room lecturing her on nationalism, the woman's movement, the wisdom of Marx, the role of the peasant. A world where they were both young and future-laden. Nothing more from the outside world would ever enter[28].

Natalka kept her promise: because of her detachment from the outside world she transformed into a secondary and almost inarticulate character.

The Zabobon family not only remembered the old country, but they also continued living in an imagined space. America changed old friends and gave them the right to forget. Very often the people pretended they didn't recognize their old acquaintances. Similarly to Nick Blud's parents they simply preferred to disconnect themselves from their past. While Nick's parents did it seriously and consciously, in *What is Told* Americanization is presented in an exaggerated and thus ridiculous form: Uncle George, for example, wore the Indian headband from the five and dime store and wondered why Ukrainians still dressed like Europeans because it was time to assimilate.

In the novel, memories help the immigrants to survive. Most of them lost their social status moving to the US, and meeting those who used to know

[27] A. Melnyczuk, *Ambassador of the Dead*, p. 109.

[28] Idem, *What is Told*, p. 55.

them when they were important people (lawyers, teachers and politicians) and when their world was still coherent and predictable was both a painful and a rewarding experience. That was the case when memory functioned as an indicator of historical awareness: "The manager at Woolworth's was a twenty-four -year-old Polish kid who knew nothing about the history of relations between Ukraine and Poland. America. Sweet amnesia"[29]. Amnesia was a problematic choice even for the younger generation of Ukrainian immigrants. They tried to remember, but at times remembrance acquired weird, if not absurd forms. Lastivka's husband, who found life in the States very problematic, clung to the old identity and the old country. However, as opposed to Ada's nostalgic stories of the past, his nostalgia acquired a ridiculous expression: for example, many pieces of furniture in their place were painted yellow-blue which are the colors of the Ukrainian national flag, Arkady made his little son do physical exercises in order to be strong and ready to fight with the enemies of the old country and, as the most absurd idea, he introduced a family ritual of singing the Ukrainian national anthem every day after dinner:

> He insisted that Lastivka sit at the yellow-blue piano (he had painted it, the colors of the Ukrainian flag)... Following a few introductory chords, Lastivka sang, in a voice passionate as that of the guitarist in *Casablanca*, belting out the *Marseillaise; Sche ne vmerla Ukraina...* The national anthem. Arkady, unlike Victor Lazlo, would not join in... At the end he commented, "You were off-key, nightingale," or *"Fortissimo, Slava, fortissimo!"* And they began again[30].

The notion of memory in both novels is linked with the concept of identity: you are what you remember. Memories of the old home country, which after WWII was no longer on the map and its people were often labeled as Nazi collaborators, hurt. Peaceful and stable life in the new country meant either sweet amnesia or the awareness of loss and fear because memories could be too scary to articulate. As Stepan Zabobon noted, "I come from a place where the earth has been trying to speak for so long. I'm afraid when it finally does, the first thing it will do is scream… I know I have no place in America. I came

[29] Ibid., p. 135.

[30] Ibid., p. 103.

here to die"[31]. On his deathbed, Stepan scrolled his life back and remembered the turbulent years of his youth in France, the wonderful peaceful years full of passion and adventure. Those memories were not soothing but they let Stepan remind his grandson Bo of what might happen "if you are careless enough to lose a country and a continent"[32]. Thus, memory and bitter immigrant experience became crucial existential elements that accounted for characters' attitudes and perspectives.

What is Told and *Ambassador of the Dead* present patterns of memory that are based on generational and transgenerational relations shaped by the traumatic experience of immigration. In Melnyczuk's earliest novel, characters' memories interiorize their painful family histories but deliberately leave many stories untold as they do not fit a new American frame of reference. In *Ambassador of the Dead,* characters' conscious choice of remembering or forgetting as well as failed generational transmittance of memory focalize the creation a new hybrid Ukrainian-American identity and problematize the relations of émigré community with its past. For all his irony and skepticism, Melnyczuk sympathizes with his characters' dependence on the past and very problematic relations with the American present. For them, the past was a story that one could reorder, reconfigure and even repair. While Melnyczuk the writer makes only a few references to the historical past and the traumas his characters had to go through, there is a clear awareness in their lives that "history overtook domesticity, and countless private lives and stories never found their natural end"[33]. This awareness is crucial in the creation of both Ukrainian and American narratives of the past as cultural and social constructions to be painfully remembered, sweetly forgotten or bitterly present in the new life. In any case, the future is recognized as "the only road open for approaching the past"[34] while the past is a combination of both told and untold stories that must be deciphered by everyone in his or her own way.

31 Ibid., p. 138.

32 Ibid., p. 169.

33 Idem, *Ambassador of the Dead*, p. 263.

34 Ibid., p. 261.

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Media, Community Building, and Refugee Resettlement Policies: The Impact of Canada's Welcoming Culture and Media Coverage on the Settlement Outcomes of Resettled Syrian Refugees

Abstract: This paper argues that positive online media coverage of Syrian refugees arriving in Canada, and the welcoming culture of Canadian society, have both influenced positive settlement and integration outcomes for Syrian refugees. It also provides a better understanding of Canada's response to the Syrian refugee crisis and shows how the process of resettlement becomes stronger when local community members and citizens are involved. These arguments are demonstrated firstly by analyzing the relationship between welcoming cultures, positive media coverage, and the perception of refugees. Secondly, the role of media coverage in influencing welcoming cultures in Canada, as well as its role in encouraging community members and ordinary citizens to be involved in national humanitarian projects,

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is described. Finally, information related to Canada's welcoming culture and positive media coverage are discussed relative to settlement outcomes, which portrays the strong influence of storytelling and inclusive communities on the success of new immigrants as they rebuild their lives in a new country. The various refugee resettlement programs in Canada are also outlined. The Canadian response to the Syrian refugee crisis has demonstrated to the world a different approach to civic engagement and humanitarian work. This national humanitarian response may be perceived as a major successful project. Nevertheless, it also leaves us with many unanswered questions around the topic, and most importantly, questions about the relationship between politics and power, citizenship, culture, online media and public opinions.

Key words: Community building, migration, public opinion, storytelling, inclusion, citizenship.

Introduction

In November 2015, when the new Canadian federal government led by Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party came into power, a commitment was made to help resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees before the end of February 2016[1, 2]. With that announcement, the state began to lead various initiatives in order to help refugees settle, providing housing, employment, education and other essential needs. Citizens and members of civil society also played a big part in this national project, as they took on different roles to help empower the

[1] A. M. B. McMurdo, *Causes and Consequences of Canada's Resettlement of Syrian Refugees*, "Forced Migration Review", 52: 2016, pp. 82-84.

[2] S. Levitz, *A Timeline of Canada's Policies and Decisions during the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, "The Canadian Press", March 31 2016: https://toronto.citynews.ca/2016/03/31/a-timeline-of-canadas-policies-and-decisions-during-the-syrian-refugee-crisis/, [Accessed 16 May 2017].

newcomers[3]. The response did not stop there. Canadian media channels, organizations and governmental institutions also took this opportunity to highlight on their platforms the welcoming attitude of the host community and to cover the settlement journeys of the newly arrived refugees. The coverage was not limited to traditional media outlets; the topic also received extensive local and international attention online and on emerging social media platforms.

This paper focuses on exploring the influence of media coverage and public opinion on the settlement and integration outcomes of resettled Syrian refugees in Canada. This paper will argue that positive online media coverage of Syrian refugees arriving in Canada, and the welcoming culture of Canadian society, have both influenced better settlement and integration outcomes for many Syrian refugees. It will also provide a better understanding of Canada's response to the Syrian refugee crisis and show how the process of resettlement becomes stronger when local community members and citizens are involved. I will demonstrate these arguments firstly by analyzing the relationship between welcoming cultures, positive media coverage, and the perception of refugees. Secondly, I will examine the role of media coverage in influencing welcoming cultures in Canada, as well as its role in encouraging community members and ordinary citizens to become involved in national humanitarian projects. Finally, information related to Canada's welcoming culture and positive media coverage are discussed relative to settlement outcomes, which portrays the strong influence of storytelling and inclusive communities on the success of new immigrants as they rebuild their lives in a new country. I will also outline the various refugee resettlement programs in Canada. A diverse range of academic research was used and analyzed to understand if there is a connection between public opinion, media coverage, and the public perception of refugees. In order to provide specific context and examples on the topic, two widely circulated and high-profile refugee stories were examined to explore the influence of media and public opinion on refugees. Additionally, a range of reports and studies by the Canadian government and international organizations like the UNHCR were analyzed to highlight the different refugee resettlement streams in Canada, and to examine the short and long term settlement and integration outcomes of each program.

[3] J. Hyndman, W. Payne, S. Jimenez, *Private refugee sponsorship in Canada*, "Forced Migration Review", 54: 2017, pp. 56-59.

There is a lot that can be learned from the response to the Syrian refugee crisis in Canada, lessons that may be valuable for similar future projects[4, 5]. The role of media in the topic of migration is instrumental as it sets the agenda for public discourse, identifies opportunities and challenges, and may also provide solutions that lead to smooth and more successful integration of refugees in host countries[6]. According to Reker[7], the term "Welcoming Culture" initially emerged in Germany in national conversations on demographic changes and refugees. It can be defined as a positive attitude of societies towards foreigners, and particularly towards refugees and immigrants. The appearance of a welcoming culture for refugees in the Canadian context can perhaps be dated back to the late 1970s with the launch of the private sponsorship program, and when a system was established by the government of Canada to engage the public in responding to the Indochina refugee crisis. The private refugee sponsorship program gave people the chance to take action by helping Indochinese refugees settle in Canada[8]. In 1986, the program won the United Nations Nansen Medal, the only time a whole country has ever been recognized with this refugee-focused award[9]. Since its inception, the private sponsorship program has allowed Canadians to offer a new home to more than 200,000 refugees[10]. Evidence suggests that the process of integration has proven to be more successful in the case of community involvement than for those admitted into the country through governmental assistance[11]. It is also important to note that private sponsorship

4 S. Marwah, *Syrian refugees in Canada: Lessons learned and insights gained*, "Ploughshares Monitor", 37 (2): 2016, pp. 9-11.

5 S. Pathberiya, *Paying it forward: Lessons Learned from Syrian resettlement can prepare us for the future waves of climate change refugees*, "Alternatives Journal", 42 (3): 2016, pp. 62-66.

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9 M. J. Molloy, J. C. Simeon, *The Indochinese refugee movement and the launch of Canada's private sponsorship program*, "Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees", 32 (2): 2016, p. 4.

10 J. Hyndman, W. Payne, S. Jimenez, op. cit., p. 56.

11 P. T. Lenard, *Resettling Refugees: Is Private Sponsorship a Just Way Forward?*, "Journal of Global Ethics", 12 (3): 2016, p. 302.

came in as an addition to government assisted resettlement commitments, and not as a substitute[12]. In other words, the private sponsorship program arose out of the desire to do more for refugees[13]. This demonstrates the historical background behind the role of community members in influencing welcoming cultures for refugees in Canada.

Relationship between media coverage and perception of refugees

To argue that positive online media coverage has had an impact on Canada's response to the refugee crisis, it is important to prove first that there is a strong relationship between media and the perception of refugees. According to Danilova[14], in the age of globalization, media have become a very powerful tool and some of the main determinants of public opinion. Media, and particularly online media have the ability to raise awareness about the daily experiences and challenges faced by refugees. More importantly, media coverage can influence the framework of immigration policy debates and the decision-making process[15, 16]. Lawlor and Tolley[17] affirm that there is a very strong relationship between media coverage and the perception of refugees. Their research (2017:968) states that media can either lead or follow public opinion, and that it holds the ability to shape policy responses towards refugees and migrants. A strong example of the relationship between media coverage and the perception of refugees can be observed through the story of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian boy who drowned in the Aegean Sea in September 2015. The pho-

[12] J. Hyndman, W. Payne, S. Jimenez, op. cit., p. 59.

[13] S. Labman, *Private Sponsorship: Complementary or Conflicting Interests?*, "Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees", 32 (2): 2016, p. 76.

[14] V. Danilova, *Media and Their Role in Shaping Public Attitudes towards Migrants*, "Our World", July 16 2014, https://ourworld.unu.edu/en/media-and-their-role-in-shaping-public-attitudes-towards-migrants.

[15] D. G. Papademetriou, A. Heuser, *Public Opinion, Media Coverage, and Migration: Developing Strategies for Immigration and Integration Reforms*, "Migration Policy Institute", p. 4, May 2009: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/public-opinion-media-coverage-and-migration-developing-strategies-immigration-and.

[16] H. Dempster, K. Hargrave, *Understanding public attitudes towards refugees and migrants*, "Overseas Development Institute (ODI)", Working Paper 512: 2017.

[17] A. Lawlor, E. Tolley, *Deciding Who's Legitimate: News Media Framing of Immigrants and Refugees*, "International Journal of Communication", 11: 2017, pp. 967-991.

tos of Alan Kurdi triggered strong international reactions from governments, NGOs, citizens and politicians[18]. In fact, the Canadian response to the Syrian refugee crisis was arguably mainly fueled by this incident. The influence that Alan Kurdi's photo had was crucial in creating the Canadian public impression towards Syrian refugees[19]. The media coverage of this incident was a major contributor to the government's response and to mobilizing citizens. Tyyska, Blower, Deboer, Kawai and Walcott[20] also found that media coverage plays an essential role in the construction of socially shared understandings and influential representations of newcomers, especially refugees.

That said, it is important to note that the existing relationship between media and the public perception of refugees is still a very sensitive topic given that it can be steered in directions that will not necessarily be in the best interests of vulnerable refugees. Kosho[21] indicates that various studies on media coverage and public opinion concerning refugees have shown that the images in the media, the descriptions, and the labeling of the immigrants and refugees can influence public attitudes concerning immigrants, and impact the national policies on immigration. Media coverage holds a certain type of power over public opinion, and citizen should be aware and critical about the type of information they receive, or even seek. As framed by Boomgaarden, Matthes and Lechele[22], the refugee crisis has shown how central digital and social media communication has become a part of many citizens' lives, with online social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter acting as first sources of information, as well as potential risks for political radicalization.

[18] C. Bozdag, K. Smets, *Understanding the Images of Alan Kurdi with "Small Data": A Qualitative, Comparative Analysis of Tweets about Refugees in Turkey and Flanders*, "International Journal of Communication (Online)", 11: 2017, pp. 4046-4069.

[19] V. Tyyska, J. Blower, S. Deboer, S. Kawai, A. Walcott, *Canadian Media coverage of the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Representation, Response, and Resettlement*, "Geopolitics, History, and International Relations", 10 (1): 2018, pp. 148-166.

[20] Ibid.

[21] J. Kosho, *Media Influence on Public Opinion Attitudes Toward the Migration Crisis*, "International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research", 4 (8): 2015, p. 90.

[22] H. G. Boomgaarden, J. Matthes, S. Lecheler, op. cit., pp. 531-532.

Positive coverage of Syrian refugees in Canadian media and welcoming attitudes of Canadian communities

Canada's response to the Syrian refugee crisis in late 2015 can be considered unique and inspiring at a time when most Western countries were closing their doors to refugees. Positive online media coverage majorly contributed to the development of this national response. Portraying Syrian refugees positively through online platforms of Canadian media and institutions encouraged private sponsors across various communities in Canada to take action and support the newly arrived refugees[23], unlike other countries, where negative coverage resulted in lower support for Syrian refugees. In fact, a 2018 report by the Environics Institute for Survey Research showed that one out of three Canadians had a connection with the Private Sponsorship of Refugees (PSR), either directly or through someone they knew[24]. The PSR is a program that allows Canadian Citizens and Permanent Residents to take part in the resettlement process by offering protection and helping refugees build a new life.

The Canadian online media coverage that focused on the public's volunteerism in relation to refugee resettlement is noteworthy[25]. Videos produced by organizations like UNHCR Canada and World Vision Canada were shared on social media platforms and gained thousands of viewers[26, 27]. These videos focused on the welcoming attitudes presented by Canadian communities and citizens, and further enhanced the relationship between refugees and the newest community members. Swain reminds us that social media can both inform and misinform the public, and make significant changes in people's perceptions. The media had a positive impact on people's understanding of different cultures and struggles[28]. This is something we can observe in the Canadian context,

[23] V. Tyyska, J. Blower, S. Deboer, S. Kawai, A. Walcott, op. cit., pp. 148-166.

[24] Environics Institute for Survey Research, *Canada's World Survey 2018. Final Report*, 2018 pp. 1-35, https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/canada's-world-2018-survey/canada's-world-survey-2018---final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=17208306_2.

[25] V. Tyyska, J. Blower, S. Deboer, S. Kawai, A. Walcott, op. cit., pp. 148-166.

[26] World Vision Canada. Canadian Children Welcome Syrian Refugees to Canada, 2015.

[27] UNHCR. The Canadian Businessmen Who Sponsored Over 200 Syrian Refugees, 2017, https://www.unhcr.ca/news/canadian-entrepreneur-invests-millions-syrian-refugees/.

[28] L. Swain, *The Influence of the Media on Public Perspective of the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, "Concrete", October 6 2015, https://www.concrete-online.co.uk/the-influence-of-the-media-on-public-perspective-of-the-syrian-refugee-crisis/.

where many Canadian citizens had first-hand contact with Syrian refugees through the PSR program or by volunteering. Shedding light on these positive relationships through online content shaped the perception of the public and encouraged further community responses. Coker[29] states that the media attention on the lived experiences of Syrian refugees moved Canadians to respond. An example of that can be seen through the actions of ordinary citizens who came together through online groups such as GTA Refugee Assistance Hub, a growing Facebook group with more than 3500 members, to support the newly arrived refugees by donating items and sharing resources[30]. It is arguable that online media platforms, whether through social media websites or online news coverage, have been instrumental in creating, or perhaps improving, welcoming attitudes towards Syrian refugees and by Canadian communities.

Impact of positive online media coverage and welcoming cultures on the settlement and integration of refugees

The online coverage of Syrian refugees in Canada has influenced welcoming attitudes among diverse populations in Canadian society. Based on that finding, it is safe to argue that the welcoming attitudes by the current government, organizations and ordinary citizens have contributed to successful settlement and integration outcomes for refugees. According to Tyyska, Blower, Deboer, Kawai and Walcott[31], the acceptance and integration of Syrian refugees was mainly dependent on the way certain media platforms related the resettlement plan to the Canadian public. UNHCR Canada's 2017 data also showed that after less than one year, 90% of Syrian refugees resettled between 2015 and 2016 reported having a strong or very strong sense of belonging to Canada[32]. Welcoming cultures can allow citizens to contribute more and refugees to integrate better. A good example of that is the story of Danby CEO Jim Estill, a Canadian citizen who was recognized as a global hero for his humanitarian actions in response to the refugee crisis. Estill contributed 1.5 million dollars to

29 C. Bolu, *A Half Welcome*, "Citizens for Public Justice", 2017.

30 GTA Refugee Assistance Hub, https://www.facebook.com/groups/973720629340291/.

31 V. Tyyska, *Syrian Refugee Crisis in Canadian Media*, "Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement", 2017.

32 UNHCR Canada. Canadian Resettlement Fact Sheet, 2017.

sponsor 58 Syrian refugee families – more than 200 people – and helped them settle and integrate in his hometown, Guelph Ontario, by providing language training, job opportunities and even helping some start their own business[33]. He took the lead and engaged over 800 volunteers to support this humanitarian initiative. Estill's story is one out of many stories that demonstrate the strength of welcoming cultures and communities. The story was circulated widely on social media platforms and perhaps encouraged new community members to take action and help.

Another positive impact that the online coverage created can be witnessed in the settlement and integration of refugees and their communities, where the successful settlement of one family or individual can form public opinion and also help fellow refugees find or navigate new opportunities. The Hadhad family are a good example on that. The Hadhad family landed in the town of Antigonish in Nova Scotia with the arrival of 25,000 Syrian refugees back in 2015. With the support of their new community, the family was able to rebuild their chocolate business that was bombed in their home country[34]. They called the business "Peace by Chocolate", and have been utilizing the power of social media platforms to promote their story and business. The story went viral online after it was mentioned by Canada's prime minister at the Leaders' Summit on Refugees at the UN in New York[35]. Today, almost three years later, the Hadhad's are hiring an additional 25 local community members to meet demand[36]. It is hard to imagine this success happening without a welcoming culture for refugees and positive media coverage supporting it.

[33] A. Kassam, *The Canadian Who Spent C$1.5M to Rescue More Than 200 Syrian Refugees*, "The Guardian", January 6 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/06/jim-estill-syrian-refugees-canada-guelph-ontario.

[34] C. Ray, *Syrian Chocolate Company in Antigonish Set to Double in Size*, "CBC", August 5 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/peace-by-chocolate-antigonish-company-doubling-in-size-1.4774576.

[35] C. Martin, *Tareq Hadhad on Building a Successful Business in Canada as a Refugee*, "The Globe and Mail", February 12 2018: https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/careers/tareq-hadhad-on-building-a-successful-business-in-canada-as-a-refugee/article37933851.

[36] C. Ray, op. cit.

Canada's Refugee Resettlement Programs

According to the evaluation division at the Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), resettled refugees can be admitted into the country via one of the following three resettlement programs[37]: the first program is the GAR, otherwise known as *Government-Assisted Refugees.* Through this program, the refugees to be sponsored are usually referred by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or other designated referral agencies, and the Government of Canada provides them with initial resettlement services and supports them financially for up to one year. GARs are also eligible to receive resettlement services (i.e. reception at port of entry, temporary housing, assistance in finding permanent accommodation, basic orientation, links to settlement programming and federal and provincial programs) provided by special organizations that have signed a contribution agreement with the government in order to deliver these services. The second program is PSR, otherwise known as *Privately Sponsored Refugees.* Under this program, refugees are sponsored by permanent residents or Canadian citizens. Refugees under the PSR program are resettled under the same conditions as those under the GAR program, but the PSR program allows the private sponsors to be more involved (one on one) in the resettlement process and offer protection over and above what is provided directly by the government (i.e. principle of additionality). The third program is called BVOR, the *Blended Visa Office-Referred.* Under this program**,** refugees are referred by the UNHCR or other designated referral agencies and identified by Canadian visa officers for participation in the BVOR program based on specific criteria. BVOR refugees receive up to six months of financial support from the Government of Canada, and six months of financial support from their sponsors, plus start-up expenses. Private sponsors are responsible for supporting the BVOR refugees socially and emotionally during their first year of arrival.

One of the main differences between the three programs is the involvement of community members and citizens in the resettlement process. Private-

[37] I. IRCC, *Canada welcomes more privately sponsored refugees in 2018*, "Canada.ca", last modified April 10 2019, https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/mandate/policies-operational-instructions-agreements/timely-protection-privately-sponsored-refugees.html.

ly Sponsored Refugees and the Blended Visa Office-Referred benefit from that involvement. For the purpose of this research, a deeper study into the Private Sponsorship Program will be conducted in order to present how it is strengthened by the support of local Canadians.

Benefits of Implementing the Private Sponsorship Program

According to the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR), the private sponsorship program holds a unique position and has strong advantages when it comes to refugee resettlement in Canada. The program is capable of enriching the lives of both refugees and Canadian community members. For Canadians, it is a chance to contribute directly, be a part of a refugee resettlement process, and impact the lives of people who are seeking security and stability. For refugees, it is a chance to connect with people who know the country, and who can guide them through the process of blending in. Refugees tend to rely on their sponsors to overcome the loneliness and the isolation that come from the experience of being a refugee[38]. The CCR also argues that private sponsorship does not rely solely on public resources, but instead collects support and funds from faith and ethnic groups, families, and other community organizations. The support offered through the program is the equivalent of approximately $79 million annually, as well as an estimated volunteer contribution of over 1,600 hours per refugee family[39].

Jennifer Bond, chair of the Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative and a professor at the University of Ottawa, talks about the benefits of the private sponsorship program by stating in a media interview that "The provision for private citizens to offer help not only provides a vehicle for tapping into communities, but also allows for individual Canadians to feel and be engaged." One of the strongest pillars of this program is its community engagement component, since it facilitates and creates opportunities for a deeper cultural understanding among both refugees and sponsors. The close relationship that is built up during the one-year sponsorship period tends to create bonds that go

[38] P. T. Lenard, op. cit., p. 304.

[39] Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR), *The Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program: Current Challenges and Opportunities*, April 2006, p. 2, http://ccrweb.ca/en/private-sponsorship-refugees-program-current-challenges-and-opportunities.

beyond the obligation, and soon become life-long friendships. Refugees have also reported a high level of satisfaction with their transitional experiences[40]. Krivenko also states that the private sponsorship of refugees is a key agenda for successful integration through the following:

> No institution, including government, is able to create personal and lasting links between the refugees and the local community. The private sponsorship program naturally creates these links. It is imperative that any integration policy, and any program, draws on lessons drawn from the PSR and creates mechanisms that allow refugees to establish personal ties with the host community. Multiple forms of public-private partnership are conceivable in this context[41].

In interviews conducted by the Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative[42], sponsors and refugees shared how the overall sponsorship process has strengthened their relationship and allowed them to understand each other's differences in culture and habits. These community relationships have also given these sponsors a way to understand firsthand what the real struggles and challenges are that these refugees have faced prior to their arrival Canada, and this has created public awareness and stimulated compassion towards strangers from other parts of the world. Another advantage of applying the private sponsorship model is that it gives the government fewer financial obligations to fulfill the needs of refugees during their first year, given that the sponsors are the ones who raise the funds to cover the expenses of the refugees, while the government mainly focuses on administering the program[43].

40 P. T. Lenard, op. cit., p. 302.

41 E. Y. Krivenko, *The Private Sponsorship of Refugees: A Key Agenda for Integration*, "Policy Options", 5: 2016, p. 1.

42 Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative, 2017, http://refugeesponsorship.org.

43 J. Kumin, *Welcoming Engagement: How Private Sponsorship can Strengthen Refugee Resettlement in the European Union*, Migration Policy Institute, 2015, p. 2-15: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/welcoming-engagement-how-private-sponsorship-can-strengthen-refugee-resettlement-european.

Role of Community in Resettlement

Treviranus and Casasola[44] state that the strength of sponsors and community members lies in their capacity to dedicate financial resources and time, knowledge in their community, and network as well as personal support. That said, the role of the community in successful refugee integration through the private sponsorship model is also demonstrated by the government's announcement to increase the level planned to four times the average number welcomed in the last 10 years, 2015 and prior[45].

In a country like Canada, where immigration is considered to be an essential part of its formation, it is no surprise that communities and citizens are able to relate well to the journeys of refugees and migrants, and to respond to them accordingly. With the arrival of Syrian refugees in late 2015, the response of community members was remarkable, and triggered memories of that of the Indochinese influx (Boat People) back in the 1970s[46]. We have also observed how Vietnamese refugees who experienced the same Canadian welcoming spirit have wanted to give back years later and help Syrian refugees integrate and thrive[47, 48]. We notice that the involvement of active community members and volunteers can in fact strengthen and improve the overall process of refugee resettlement. Such collaborative actions can have various advantages and benefits to both the ones providing the help and for those receiving it.

Conclusion

The impact that positive online media coverage has had on the Canadian response to the Syrian refugee crisis from 2015-2018 is evident, and it has undoubtedly resulted in successful settlement and integration outcomes for many

44 B. Treviranus, M. Casasola, op. cit., p. 196.

45 I. IRCC, op. cit.

46 M. Friscolanti, *How a Vietnamese boat person helped save a family of Syrian refugees*, "Macleans", January 21, 2016, http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/how-a-vietnamese-boat-person-helped-save-a-family-of-syrian-refugees/.

47 T. Carman, *Two Generations of Boat People, 40 Years Apart; Refugees Who Fled Vietnam Band Together to Help Syrians*, "The Vancouver Sun", September 19 2015.

48 C. Szklarski, *Vietnamese 'Boat People' Unite to Sponsor Syrians: 'it's the Least we can do'*, "The Canadian Press", December 9 2015: https://toronto.citynews.ca/2015/12/09/vietnamese-boat-people-unite-to-sponsor-syrians-its-the-least-we-can-do/.

Syrian refugees. The welcoming culture of Canadian society was critical during this process as it strengthened the country's collective community bonds and brought people from different backgrounds together for a shared national purpose. Our modern and emerging social media platforms, digital storytelling tools and interactive websites have played an essential role in making all these group efforts possible.

The private refugee sponsorship model in Canada was examined to show how government and citizens can work together to achieve better humanitarian, social and economic results. We have seen how the involvement of citizens and community members in the settlement process can bring about positive results to the lives of refugees as they walk their first steps in a new country. The impact is much greater than finding employment, assisting in health-related issues, social support, or cultural integration. The impact is seen and felt in the friendships and community connections that are built among local citizens and refugees throughout the entire sponsorship process and beyond. This, however, does not mean that other refugee resettlement programs are not effective or helpful. It demonstrates that there is an opportunity to build on success and community connections through storytelling and positive media coverage to encourage citizens to take action and create a more welcoming environment for refugees and future citizens.

Moreover, the Canadian response to the Syrian refugee crisis has demonstrated to the world a different approach to civic engagement and humanitarian work. This national humanitarian response may be perceived as a major successful project. However, it also leaves us with many unanswered questions around the topic, and most importantly, questions about the relationship between politics and power, citizenship, culture, online media and public opinions.

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Narratives Transcending Borders: Sabrina Janesch's *Katzenberge* as a German Response to Polish Migration Literature

Abstract: The establishment of the Oder-Neisse border between Poland and Germany, as well as the westward shift of Poland's eastern border resulted in migration for tens of millions in regions that had already been devastated by nearly a decade of forced evacuation, flight, war and genocide. In Poland, postwar authors such as Gdańsk's own Stefan Chwin and Paweł Huelle have begun to establish a fascinating narrative connecting now-Polish spaces with what are at least in part non-Polish pasts. In Germany, meanwhile, coming to terms with a past that includes the *Vertreibung*, or forced migration, of millions of Germans during the mid-1940s has been limited at best, in no small part on account of its implication of Germans in the role of victim. In her 2010 debut novel *Katzenberge*, however, German author Sabrina Janesch employs a Polish migration story to connect with her German readers. Her narrator, like Janesch herself, is a young

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German who identifies with her Polish grandfather, whose death prompts her to trace the steps of his flight in 1945 from a Galician village to (then) German Silesia. This narrative, I argue, resonates with Janesch's German audience because the expulsion experience is one with which they can identify. That it centers on Polish migration, however, not only avoids the context of guilt associated with German migration during World War II, but also creates an opportunity to better comprehend their Polish neighbors as well as the geographical spaces that connect them. Instead of allowing border narratives to be limited by the very border they attempt to define, engaging with multiple narratives of a given border provide enhanced meanings in local and national contexts and beyond.

Key words: Polish-German border narratives, Paweł Huelle, Stefan Chwin, Günter Grass, Silesia, Galicia, Gdańsk.

Introduction and historical context

In this paper I show how Sabrina Janesch provides German readers with what Stefan Chwin and Paweł Huelle have given their Polish readership for decades now: namely, the ability to see migration from another perspective. Works by Chwin and Huelle have challenged their readers to consider German and Jewish experiences linked to transnational Polish spaces. By breaching national borders and stereotypes while utilizing multiple generations in her narrative, Janesch has tactfully broached the delicate topic of migration in postwar German literature. Before examining precisely how Janesch does this so successfully in her debut novel *Katzenberge*, I will provide useful historical context and theoretical background on postwar German migration literature, as well as contextualize the Polish works to which I refer.

In her introduction to a 2013 special issue of the journal *German Politics and Society* on German-Polish relations, Germanist Friederike Eigler summarizes some of the staggering migration numbers in Eastern Europe following

the redrawing of German and Polish borders at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences in 1945:

> At the end of the war and in the immediate postwar period, approximately eight million ethnic Germans were expelled from territories that became part of Poland; furthermore, and this is little known in Germany, approximately one million Poles were forced to relocate from the Eastern territories that Poland lost to the Soviet Union (most of these Polish citizens were moved to the new Western territories of Poland)[1].

This is the specific scene in 1945 Europe in which *Katzenberge* is set, following the migration narrative of a Polish couple who fled (then) Polish Galicia westward to what had been German Silesia. The fact that few Germans are even aware of the vast numbers of Poles who were displaced, as Eigler points out, is part of why Janesch's novel – written for a German audience – has been so appropriate and effective. I will revisit this later in my analysis of the novel.

The postmemorial and third-generation perspective

Since 1990 Germany has seen a not insignificant amount of productive work on *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* – a term referring to Germans' struggling with or coming to terms with the past – with regard to World War II and the Holocaust, with Germans in the role of *Täter* or perpetrator. Yet since 1945, and even since reunification in 1990 when *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* began to pick up, the (forced) migration topic has remained difficult, in large part because of its implication, or perceived implication, of "Germans" in the role of *Opfer* or victim. The late Nobel laureate Günter Grass in fact chided the postwar (second) generation in his 2002 novel *Im Krebsgang*[2] [English *Crabwalk*; Polish *Idąc rakiem*][3] for refusing to allow this migration narrative any space in the decades following the war. At the same time, however, the novel

[1] F. Eigler, *Moving Forward: New Perspectives on German-Polish Relations in Contemporary Europe*, "German Politics and Society", Vol. 31, No. 4, New York: Berghahn Books, 2013, p. 2.

[2] G. Grass, *Im Krebsgang*, Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2002.

[3] G. Grass and K. Winston, *Crabwalk*, Orlando: Harcourt, 2004.

also demonstrates how incendiary the narrative of German victimhood can be. As Germanist Kristin Kopp and comparatist Joanna Niżyńska put it, "the grandmother's unattended memory finds its outlet in her grandson, where it ultimately generates violence"[4]. This can be read as a broader form of "post-memory," a concept introduced by comparatist Marianne Hirsch in the context of Holocaust studies[5]. Hirsch defines postmemory as "the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before – to experiences they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up"[6].

Janesch's novel also presents the migration narrative from a postmemorial perspective and, more specifically, from a third-generation perspective[7, 8]. Eigler has described a "generational shift away from the first generation of witnesses, perpetrators, and victims and toward the second and third generations"[9]. In *Katzenberge* the narrator, Nele, repeatedly uses the phrase "Großvater sagte,…" ["Grandfather said,…"] to recount her Polish grandfather's experiences in his westward migration in 1945 from Galicia to Silesia. The third-generation perspective is part of an important trend[10] that has significantly impacted how we engage with past events both in literature and in public and

4 K. Kopp and J. Niżyńska, *Germany, Poland and Postmemorial Relations: In Search of a Livable Past*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012, p. 10.

5 M. Hirsch, *Family pictures: Maus, mourning, and post-memory*, "Discourse", 15 (2), 1992, pp. 3-29. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41389264.

6 Idem, *Postmemory.net*, https://www.postmemory.net/.

7 C. Winkler, *A Third-generation Perspective on German-Polish Flight and Expulsion*, "German Politics and Society", Vol. 31, No. 4., New York: Berghahn Books, 2013, p. 85ff.

8 F. Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative: Toward a Transnational Approach to Flight and Expulsion*, Rochester NY: Camden House, 2014, p. 151ff.

9 Idem, *Beyond the Victims Debate: Flight and Expulsion in Recent Novels by Authors from the Second and Third Generation (Christoph Hein, Reinhard Jirgl, Kathrin Schmidt, and Tanja Dückers)*, [in] Eds. L. Cohen-Pfister and S. Vees-Gulani, *Generational Shifts in Contemporary German Culture*, Rochester NY: Camden House, 2010, p. 77ff.

10 In Kathrin Schmidt's *Gunnar-Lennefsen Expedition* and Tanja Dückers' *Himmelskörper*, Eigler identifies two other novels with transnational elements and third-generation authors that have begun "to open up traditional notions of *Heimat* and Germanness by tracing Polish and other national and ethnic affiliations in the process of rewriting 'German' family history." F. Eigler, *Beyond the Victims Debate: Flight and Expulsion in Recent Novels by Authors from the Second and Third Generation (Christoph Hein, Reinhard Jirgl, Kathrin Schmidt, and Tanja Dückers)*, op. cit., p. 89.

private discourse – whether that be connected to experience of war, trauma, guilt, loss of *Heimat*, migration, or the Holocaust.

German author Hans-Joachim Noack uses the verb *riskieren* (to risk) in referring to members of the third generation and their inquiry into the past, to which many are personally connected through family: "[V]or allem die Enkel scheinen nun einen unverstellten Blick jenseits von Schuld und Selbstkasteiung zu riskieren. Sie wollen das Unabänderliche nicht infrage stellen, sondern wissen, was war." ["It is the grandchildren in particular who seem willing to risk an undisguised glance beyond the guilt and self-mortification. They wish not to question that which is unchangeable, but simply to know what happened."][11] Similarly, German journalist Annette Großbongardt points out, "Flucht und Vertreibung, die deutsche Vergangenheit im Osten…ist ausgerechnet bei den Jüngeren wieder attraktiv." ["Flight and expulsion, the German past in the East…is once again attractive to the younger generation of all people."][12] In the German context, the third generation is able to pursue this narrative, since it does not carry the trauma (or perhaps contextual guilt) of the first generation's experience, and because it can operate with more temporal and emotional distance than the second generation, over which loomed the long shadow of the crimes for which their parents' generation was responsible. The grandchildren often simply want to know what happened, or "Was da geschah," as Noack puts it[13].

A German response to a Polish approach

The aforementioned Grass novel *Im Krebsgang* recounts the 1945 sinking of the refugee ship *Wilhelm Gustloff* and is marked by conflict between the second and third generations, who share the narrative (making it, in part, another third-generation novel). If one reads Grass' novel as a warning of what

[11] H-J. Noack, In *Die Flucht: Über die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten*, Eds. S. Aust and S. Burgdorff, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005, p. 20. Translation is the author's.

[12] A. Großbongardt, *Neue Schlüssel zur Geschichte: Die Enkelgeneration der Vertriebenen sieht die Vergangenheit unverkrampfter*, [in] Eds. A. Großbongardt, U. Klußmann and N. F. Pötzl, *Die Deutschen im Osten Europas: Eroberer, Siedler, Vertriebene*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2011, p. 18. Translation is the author's.

[13] H-J. Noack, op. cit., p. 16.

can happen when the discourse of traumatic experience (in this case, of German migrants) is suppressed, Sabrina Janesch's 2010 debut novel *Katzenberge* can be seen as an answer to Grass' warning, a unique and vital contribution to a broader public discourse of World War II migration – which one might say Grass' novel calls for.

But I would also like to propose Janesch's novel as a much-needed German response to an approach to migration in Polish literature, one that has been largely rooted in Grass' hometown of Gdańsk in the Baltic region of Pomerania, to the north of Lower Silesia, where Janesch's *Katzenberge* is set. Stefan Chwin (1949) and Paweł Huelle (1957) were both born after the Second World War in Polish Gdańsk, and both authors took a deep interest in the German and Jewish pasts of their city and its spaces. This is perhaps most evident in their choice of narrators, as the following three examples demonstrate.

Huelle's 1987 debut novel *Weiser Dawidek*[14] [English *Who Was David Weiser?*][15] recounts the mysterious disappearance of the eponymous character, a Jewish boy in 1950s Gdańsk. The narrator, Paweł, now in his 40s, recalls that summer he and his friends spent with Dawid, the episode of the latter's disappearance, and their subsequent interrogation by the authorities. The group spent its time playing in the ruins outside the city, and found weapons, helmets, and other items left by the Germans. Dawid organized magnificent colorful explosions in the chimneys of the old gasworks, and it was during one of these planned explosions that he disappeared. Paweł is haunted by Dawid's disappearance and is left asking himself – some 30 years later – whether he ever really existed at all. Dawid's character provides a chilling but effective metaphor for the post-1945 Jewish void in Poland, when the vast majority of some 3.5 million Polish Jews – what had constituted more than 10% of the pre-World War II population of Poland – were gone. Not only with his first name does the narrator Paweł resemble the author, but also by the fact that both were born after the war. Narrator Paweł's genuine curiosity about the Jewish and German pasts of his hometown represents, however, not only the curiosity of the author, but of the entire post-war generation of Polish Gdańsk. A similar narrator is

[14] P. Huelle, *Weiser Dawidek*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1987.

[15] The book was translated into English by Michael Kandel and published in 1992. P. Huelle and M. Kandel, *Who Was David Weiser?*, Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.

the Polish child in Huelle's short story "Stół"[16] [English "The Table"][17], whose parents are given a table from a German man, Mr. Polaske, who leaves Gdańsk after World War II. While his parents constantly argue about the table, the Germans, and the Soviets, their son is fascinated by Mr. Polaske, and in particular by a picture of him with pre-war Danzig in the background.

Stefan Chwin's 1995 novel *Hanemann*[18] [English *Death in Danzig*; German *Tod in Danzig*][19] centers on a German anatomist who resolves in spring of 1945 to remain in Gdańsk as so many Germans are leaving and Poles arriving on account of the shifted border. He shares his house with a Polish family from further east, and with a Ukrainian woman who finds work with the family, before eventually leaving after a few years because of pressure imposed by the Polish communist authorities. It is once again the Polish boy, fascinated by the details of Hanemann, who gathers every detail he can – from his own memories and those of the neighbors – to piece together the story of a man who represented his city from an enigmatic bygone era.

Historian Peter Oliver Loew, an authoritative voice on the history of Gdańsk/Danzig, demonstrates the influence Grass' (first-generation) work had on the postwar (second) generation of Polish novelists in Gdańsk once they were translated into Polish in the 1980s. Authors such as Chwin and Huelle began to investigate the German as well as Jewish pasts of the urban spaces and neighborhoods that they – as did Grass – call home[20]. Janesch, who represents the third-generation, has in turn been influenced by Grass as well as by Polish authors such as Chwin and Huelle[21]. Her first two novels *Katzenberge* and *Ambra*, like Grass and Huelle in particular, also employ elements of magic realism

[16] P. Huelle, *Stół*, [in] idem, *Opowiadania na czas przeprowadzki*, London: Puls, 1991, pp. 7-23.

[17] "Stół" was translated by Michael Kandel as "The Table" in 1991. P. Huelle and M. Kandel, *The Table*, [in] *Moving House: Stories*, New York: Harcourt Brace, (1991) 1995, pp. 3-35.

[18] S. Chwin, *Hanemann*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Tytuł, (1995) 2008.

[19] S. Chwin and P. Boehm, *Death in Danzig*, Orlando: Harcourt, 2005.

[20] Loew's essay was published in 2012 at the end of a special "Presse-Exemplar" (press edition) of Sabrina Janesch's second novel, *Ambra*. P.O. Loew, *Danzig – Erinnerungsort Europas und Schauplatz großer Literatur* [in] *Ambra*, Presse-Exemplar (Press edition), by Sabrina Janesch, Berlin 2012, Aufbau Verlag, pp. 377-378. http://www.sabrinajanesch.de/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/Loew_Danzig.pdf.

[21] Idem.

in appealing to mythical or imaginary spaces. Loew argues that in literature since 1945, Gdańsk/Danzig has functioned as a European space rather than a Polish or German one, and Eigler makes the same case for Silesia and Galicia in *Katzenberge*: "[Janesch's novel] explore[s] alternative kinds of attachment to specific geographical places in contemporary Europe that can no longer be conceptualized in national parameters"[22].

Reading spaces as local/regional rather than national

As mentioned above, Janesch's novel *Katzenberge* is told from the perspective of a third-generation protagonist. The narrator, Nele, like the author Janesch herself, is a young German woman from Berlin whose mother is Polish. Nele spends her summers with family in Polish Silesia, and particularly identifies with her Polish grandfather, whose death early in the novel prompts her to trace the steps of his flight in 1945 from a Galician village to (then) German Silesia. I argue that the work resonates with German readers because of their familiarity with and perhaps need for literature that addresses the important shared experience of expulsion and migration without being categorized as kitsch or creating a sense of guilt for engaging the topic in the first place. Secondly, the migration story told in *Katzenberge* is not one of German expellees leaving Silesia for the Germany inside the new post-1945 borders. Instead, the protagonist is a Polish man, Janeczko, fleeing west with his family and fellow villagers from Galician farms to far-away Silesia. The German protagonist, Nele, is Janeczko's granddaughter. She travels not westward, but eastward – first from Berlin to her grandfather's funeral, and then from Silesia to eastern Poland and finally Galicia to explore her grandfather's former home – a *Heimat* region "lost" to many Poles in 1945 just as Silesia was to so many Germans.

Janesch, therefore, is not writing about Germany and Poland per se, but about smaller local regions, namely Silesia and Galicia. Eigler writes that the novel "reference[s] the histories and memories of the "real" geographies of Silesian and Polish-Ukrainian border regions"[23]. Part of what allows Janesch's

[22] F. Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative: Toward a Transnational Approach to Flight and Expulsion*, op. cit., p. 179.

[23] Ibid.

novel to resonate is that in terms of place, she deals not with the national regions of Germany and Poland, but with two regions whose very names today invoke their respective multicultural pasts.

Germany and Poland share this topography of the Silesian space – a region that was displaced by the border shift – and therefore the two nations likewise share history and memory associated with that physical space and the inhabitants – past, present, and future – of that space. Success and progress in working through this shared history and memory, argues Eigler, is more attainable when approached from a transnational perspective[24]. Kopp and Niżyńska conclude that it is the combination of the local with the global – avoiding the rigidity and baggage of the national – that can prove advantageous and productive in these endeavors[25]. Indeed, to conceive of a space only in national paradigms is to invite weighty associations that are not easily forgotten – even generations after war and conflict. Examining a space from a local or regional perspective can more readily incorporate multiple perspectives.

Besides reaching across current and former national borders, the spaces affected by border shifts also reach across generations. Eigler uses the term "postmemorial spaces"[26], that is, spaces that are both real to the first generation, marked by lived experience, and "imaginary" to the third generation – that of the narrator – "carrying within them the postmemories of earlier times and other inhabitants"[27].

Katzenberge is the story of the successful journey of a third-generation protagonist. Nele risks her present understanding of her grandfather, his past, and her own identity – all with which she is at peace – to engage an unknown past and present place to which her grandfather is connected: Galicia. She proves that this can be a positive experience that can break down mental barriers – between generations; between Germans and Poles; between Poles and Ukrainians; and between western Poles and eastern Poles.

24 Ibid., pp. 177-179.

25 K. Kopp and J. Niżyńska, op. cit., p. 21.

26 F. Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative: Toward a Transnational Approach to Flight and Expulsion*, op. cit., p. 179.

27 Ibid., p. 176.

Early in the novel, while trying to convince herself not to travel to Galicia, Nele observes: "Man brauche keine drei Sekunden, um im Internet festzustellen, wo Nele Leibert herkommt. Aus Berlin. Basta." ["It takes just three seconds on the Internet to find out where Nele Leibert is from. Berlin. Basta."][28] The novel demonstrates through Nele's subsequent travels, however, that one's heritage and identity are not as simple as belonging to one of the large, "national" categories that Europeans have created and to which so many have struggled to adhere.

After the funeral, it would have been easiest for Nele simply to return to her job, her friends and her boyfriend Carsten in Berlin. About the small Polish village Nele even explains: "Man verlässt Bagno schneller, als man es erreicht" ["One leaves [the village of] Bagno more quickly than one reaches it."][29] Nele's mother proposes a trip to the Galician village – now in Ukraine – where her grandfather lived before being forced out with other Poles in 1945. Nele is skeptical of the trip at first. She asks her mother, "Warum sollte man nach Galizien reisen, wenn alles, was Großvater betrifft, hier in Schlesien ist?" ["Why should I travel to Galicia, if everything regarding Grandfather is here in Silesia?"][30] Later, after having agreed to make the trip, Nele uses her work for a Berlin magazine as a cover – she would collect a few stories and photographs for an article – arguing with disinterest: "Spurensuche sei unseriös, etwas für Amerikaner und Melancholiker." ["Tracing one's roots is unambitious, something for Americans and melancholics."][31, 32]

Her mother's answer convinces her otherwise, however: "Eben nicht alles, was deinen Großvater betrifft, ist hier in Schlesien. Hier in Schlesien, Töchterchen, ist höchstens die Hälfte." ["Not everything regarding your

[28] S. Janesch, *Katzenberge*, Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, (2010) 2012a, p. 42. Translation is the author's.

[29] Ibid., p. 48. Translation is the author's.

[30] Ibid., p. 42. Translation is the author's.

[31] Ibid., p. 96. Translation is the author's.

[32] Nele distances herself from those Germans who come back to Poland for what Karl Schlögel has called "Heimwehtourismus" [homesickness tourism], a phenomenon seen all over Europe because of shifted borders in the twentieth century (Schlögel, *Die Mitte liegt ostwärts*, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2002, p. 246). As one example, Nele is embarrassed riding with her father in his BMW bearing a German license plate as they passed some of the houses in the village (Janesch 2012a, p. 94).

grandfather is here in Silesia. Here in Silesia, sweetheart, is barely the half of it."][33]

That Nele has much in common with her grandfather is stressed in the first half of the novel by the weaving together of two travel narratives that mirror one another: the grandfather's migration journey to Silesia in 1945 and Nele's trip to her grandfather's funeral in Silesia in the present. The two also share a great deal of sentiment for one another, and there are memories, conversations and shared experiences to which Nele repeatedly alludes from the summers she regularly spent with her grandfather and extended family in Silesia.

Yet there are also things the two do not share. Since Nele can move relatively effortlessly between Germany and Poland, speaks both languages, and identifies with family and friends in both cultures, she does *not* share her grandfather's experience of being a complete outsider. While certainly aware of tensions based on Poles' and Germans' shared past of the spaces in Silesia, Nele has access to both, whereas her grandfather led a group of villagers to a far-away place about which they knew nothing[34]. Nele recalls a question her grandfather asked while showing her a map of the area in what is now Ukraine where he came from: "Kannst du dir vorstellen, wie es sich anfühlt, wenn alles fremd ist?" ["Can you imagine what it feels like when everything is foreign?"] Nele answers no, asking her grandfather how it feels. This time his response was silence[35].

Thus, Nele is the perfect character to be able to take her German readers interested in migration along on her continued journey in the opposite direction: to her grandfather's native Galicia. She is bright, educated, and well-traveled. She is also the only person in her Polish family (among her aunts, uncles and cousins) who is able to move so effortlessly between two national "spaces" and "cultures" (German and Polish). This experience aids her in her journey. Yet Nele is also somewhat stubborn about certain things, and she knows absolutely nothing about the country to the East to which she is traveling – a place to which she and her family are connected, and a place to which they often refer with disinterest and a stereotype-laden dismissiveness.

33 Ibid., p. 42. Translation is the author's.

34 When they first arrived in Silesia, the men stared at the high ceiling of the train station in Wrocław/Breslau, having never seen a building of that size before (Janesch 2012a, p. 24).

35 Ibid., p. 95. Translation is the author's.

At the end of the novel, Nele returns from Galicia with her grandmother's handkerchief tied together and filled with some of the Galician earth from her grandparents' former village. She awakes before dawn and sets out on foot for the cemetery in Silesia where they are buried, walking through a mysterious but protective cover of fog. When she arrives, she opens her jacket to find that the handkerchief has come undone and nearly all of the dirt has fallen somewhere along the way as she walked between Morzęcin Mały and Bagno, where her grandparents were buried[36]. What little dirt remained was spread inside her jacket or caught in the fibers of her sweater. Brushing off what she could into a hole she had dug between her grandparents' gravestones, Nele asks herself, frustrated, "Wie viele Kilometer hatte ich zurückgelegt, und alles nur wegen dieses einen Ziels?" ["How many kilometers had I logged, and everything only because of this one goal?"][36] However, both Nele and the reader, I would argue, have accomplished much more than just the symbolic "goal" to which Nele alludes. Nele has gained a richer understanding of both her grandfather and herself, as well as the journey they share and the spaces that now connect them. Janesch's German readers benefit from a meaningful migration story with which they can well identify. The fact that it centers on Polish migration not only avoids the context of guilt associated with German migration during World War II, but also creates an opportunity to better comprehend their Polish neighbors as well as the geographical spaces and mutual experiences that connect them.

Conclusion

Polish historian Robert Traba, founder of Fundacja "Borussia"[38], said of the third generation: "[D]ie neue Generation sucht neue Schlüssel, um die Geschichte erfahrbar zu machen" ["The new generation is looking for new keys, in order to make history tangible"][39]. Janesch's migration narrative in the novel *Katzenberge* has provided one such key, not merely because of the generation

36 Ibid., p. 269.

37 Ibid. Translation is the author's.

38 Fundacja "Borussia" is a nongovernmental organization, founded in 2006, that promotes transnational research and dialogue concerning the Warmia and Masuria regions of Poland. "Borussia" is the Latin designation for Prussia.

39 Quoted in A. Großbongardt, op. cit., p. 18. Translation is the author's.

she represents, but also on account of the story she tells. The novel was praised in reviews from a wide range of German publications from *Der Spiegel* to *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, while Janesch was decorated with prestigious literary awards such as the Mara-Cassens-Preis, the Anna-Seghers-Preis and the Nicolas-Born-Förderpreis[40].

Janesch's narrative, I argue, has resonated with her German audience because the story is one with which they can identify. The author not only takes a step towards altering the paradigm, but also provides her German readership with an opportunity to reflect upon a Polish experience that, though it in many ways parallels the experience of German refugees at the end of the war, is far less familiar to most Germans. German journalist Hans-Joachim Noack describes certain Polish authors who see in those German refugees what Noack refers to as *Schicksalsgefährten* or companions in fate or suffering[41]. Though it is perhaps just beneath the surface of the narrative, calling readers' attention to the similarities of this shared experience is potentially the greatest feat of Janesch's novel, and one that – as was the case with Grass' *Im Krebsgang* a decade earlier – should lead to increased dialogue about migration among the current generation and those to follow.

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40 Cf. *Polnische Sippensaga*, "Der Spiegel", 14 March 2011, https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-77435301.html; C. Schärf, *Im Reich der Oberhexe Baba Jaga*, "Frankfurter Allegmeine Zeitung", 29 July 2011, https://www.faz.net/-gr4-6lara.

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Silesian-Texans' Memories as Recorded in Autobiographical Accounts

Abstract: The paper discusses the significance of immigrants' memory in exile as well as its influence on the new lifestyle people have to adjust to in unknown surroundings. The author concentrates on a group of Silesian-Texans who left their homeland in Upper Silesia in the 19th century and found their first settlement in Panna Maria, Texas, USA. That emigration was a challenge for those migrants, and they had to go through difficult cultural, social and economic changes in the remote area. However, they never wanted to forget about their Silesian home. That is why they tried to preserve contact with their Polish families in the form of letters, short notes and stories. This paper analyses the unique autobiographical accounts which were used as the correspondence between the old homeland and new homeland for Silesian migrants. They were written mainly in the forms of letters, but there could also be found diaries and stories which depict their life

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in the USA. Those autobiographical accounts are based on migrant reality, without distorting it, thus presenting the devotion towards Polish and American culture, religion and society. The author of this paper explores the most crucial aspects of life for Silesian migrants which shaped their identity in the USA on the basis of the preserved materials and interviews.

Key words: memory, autobiography, Silesian-Texans, adaptation, homeland.

Introduction and Literature Review

What is memory? Is memory significant? Do we need it? What does memory mean to an emigrant who leaves their homeland? Those questions have been crucial in the life of emigrants in every decade and century. Certainly, there are various definitions of the concept of memory. For Aristotle:

> Memory is neither Perception nor Conception, but a state or affection for one of these, conditioned by lapse of time. It is a fixed image analysed as a picture of the object from which it derives. It is moreover remembering about something a man has learned, seen, heard or [sth] that he has experienced[1].

Paul Ricoeur points out that "recollection has the character of a print on human consciousness, so the act of remembering is realized due to the lapse of time"[2]. One of the most beautiful and valuable definitions of memory is presented by St. Augustine in his *Confessions,* where the author says:

> Great is the power of memory. It is a true marvel, O my God, a profound and infinite multiplicity! And this is the mind, and this I myself am. What, then,

[1] http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/memory.html [accessed on: February 18th, 2017].

[2] P. Ricoeur, *Pamięć, historia zapomnienie*, Kraków 2012, pp. 31-32. [all quotations from Polish sources translated in this article by P. Nosiadek]

> am I, O my God? Of what nature am I? A life various, and manifold, and exceedingly vast. Behold in the numberless halls and caves, in the innumerable fields and dens and caverns of my memory, full without measure of numberless kinds of things -- present there either through images as all bodies are; or present in the things themselves as are our thoughts; or by some notion or observation as our emotions are, which the memory retains even though the mind feels them no longer, as long as whatever is in the memory is also in the mind. So great is the power of memory, so great the power of life in man, whose life is mortal![3].

Herodotus, the Greek historian and the so called "father of history and geography" on the other hand, was overwhelmed by the idea of memory. He was aware of the fact that memory is something defective, fragile and ephemeral – even illusive. One may not live without memory, as it raises man above the world of animals, it constitutes his soul, intangible and untraceable[4].

Therefore, memory is the power which constructs human identity on both an individual and a social level. It has influence on the human psyche and shapes one's identity. For the migrants from Silesia, memory has been strongly merged with their concept of the Church. The Eucharist for Catholics is something very deep, universal, and becomes the source of various dimensions of human memory and communities, as John Paul II states in his book entitled: *Memory and Identity*[5]. It allows a man to understand himself deeply and at the same time to analyse his humanity. Moreover, it facilitates the understanding of other minorities: their history, heritage and nationhood. It enables us to look deeply into their language and culture.

This paper concentrates on *autobiographical memory,* which is a "memory system consisting of episodes recollected from an individual's life, based on a combination of *episodic memory* (personal experiences and specific objects, people and events experienced at a particular time and place) and *semantic*

[3] https://www.ourladyswarriors.org/saints/augcon10.htm#chap17 [accessed on: March 24th 2017]

[4] R. Kapuściński, *Podróże z Herodotem*, Warszawa 2008, p. 62.

[5] Jan Paweł II, *Pamięć i tożsamość*, Kraków 2011, p. 151.

memory (general knowledge and facts about the world)"[6]. Episodic memory is always referred to by Silesians while showing the valuable objects which were brought to America from the old homeland by their descendants. These include holy books, rosaries, pictures of Saints, and kerosene lamps. They also reference historical artifacts from America, including the first-built houses in Texas and agricultural tools. The descendants of the first Silesians pay substantial attention to the traditions that they brought from their homeland, and successfully cultivated in America, as well as various customs, such as singing Polish Christmas carols at weddings and funerals till this day. With regards to semantic memory, the first settlers from Silesia receive much of their knowledge about America from their spiritual guide, Fr. Leopold Moczygemba, who used to describe the Texan life and its good sides for the people from Upper Silesia.

Methodology

This paper examines the lived experiences of the Silesian Texans in their early years of settlement during the second half of the 19th century. The analysis of letters exchanged between them and their relatives in their native land can help us understand the significance of memory among people who leave their homeland. These letters were accessed by me during a sixth-month stay in Texas among the descendants of the third, fourth and fifth generation. Those letters and other personal documents are still kept in the houses of the descendants and for that reason I felt privileged to be granted access to them. I was able to read the original letters dated back to the 19th century. I do have a copy of a great number of those epistolary forms brought from Texas. It is vital to mention that the descendants decided to hand them to me firstly because they trusted me and secondly because I am a researcher from Silesia, which is crucial for them. The Silesian Texans were chosen as a case study because I have been interested in Polish migration to the United States for many years and most of all as I am Silesian myself, which helps me to understand the identity of this groups of people. I have met and was a guide for a number of groups and individuals from Texas who visit Silesia searching for their roots. I get to know those people, spend a lot of time with

[6] H. William, M. A. Conway, & G. Cohen, *Autobiographical Memory*, [in] G. Cohen & M. A. Conway (Eds.), *Memory in the Real World*, Hove, UK: Psychology Press, 2008.

them, we visit their long-distance relatives in small villages in Opole province, visit cemeteries where they find the graves of their relatives or National Archive in Opole where they can see the old documents that are stored in that location. Narrative analysis was applied to over one hundred letters and other personal documents whose authors were the first and second generation migrants, simple peasant people who settled in the remote and vast Texas area having left their families and relatives in Silesia. For the analysis, I selected letters which describe the migrants' very first impressions after their arrival to America as well as the reaction of their families who still lived in Silesia at that time. That analysis was undertaken in order to examine the significance of personal correspondence which was at that time the only way of communication and the only possibility to express their emotions that both sides felt, observations concerning both the surrounding world as well as the psychological changes they had to go through. In my view, the autobiographical accounts help to analyse the unique knowledge we gain from those forms concerning Silesian tradition, attachment to religion as well as what can be described as typical Silesian features such as stubbornness and perseverance. They also allow us to answer questions about the importance of memory for migrants who left for America in the 19th century.

This paper begins with a historical context section with situates the Silesian Texans. The results of analyses of the letters are then presented in three sections: the intersections of memory, identity and resettlement processes in the initial phases of their migration, the roles of documenting and communicating daily life through letters as messengers to large audiences, and their experience of ultimately creating their own place in America. Detailed excerpts are presented throughout the paper to give voice to the lived experiences and reflections of the authors. An understanding of the significance of cultivating the remembrance of descendants enables the shaping of an individual's life and future, no matter where their place on earth is.

Historical Context: Situating the Silesian Texans

If one looks at the map of Texas in the USA, one can notice a little town situated not far from San Antonio called Panna Maria which is the oldest Polish settlement in America. It has been mentioned and described by writers, researchers and travelers including Stefan Nesterowicz:

> The little town of Panna Maria, [as it was depicted by Polish traveler and journalist Stefan Nesterowicz at the turn of the 20th century] is surrounded on all sides by a thick forest. It makes both a pleasant and, at the same time, a sad impression. There is a monastic-like silence here. From the walls of a place of worship, surrounded by old oak trees, a stone school building and empty houses, exudes a serene feeling. On weekdays people seldom stop here [...] On holy days when many people come for divine service, noise is not heard. When one is present in this quiet remote place, you cannot help but imagine the faces and think of those first Polish pioneers of settlements in America[7].

It was 1854 when around one hundred families from Upper Silesia[8] (which was under Prussian rule at that time) set off on a journey to the United States. They decided to leave their homeland, sell their farms, leave their families, take all their belongings, and leave for an unknown country. After nine weeks spent on the ship "Weser" they finally reached the United States. It was a time when they started their battle with nature in the remote area. They had to start their life from scratch, not knowing the language, culture or customs of the new land. Not only did nature and the harsh conditions become obstacles in the everyday life of the first immigrants, but also encounters with Native Americans, which evoked danger and fear at that time. Nevertheless, they tried to find a common language with the local people, as "dialog – although not impossible – demands a great effort, patient tolerance and the will of understanding of its participants"[9] as Ryszard Kapuściński, a Polish reporter and columnist points out. He adds that:

> Being conscious of the fact that communication with the Other, who has a different vision of the surrounding world at that very moment, is significant in order to

[7] S. Nesterowicz, *Travel Notes*, translated by E. Szczepaniak Mc Neilly, Houston, Texas 2007, p. 119.

[8] The number of emigrants given in the text may not be entirely consistent with those collected by special agents paid by the authorities of the Opole Regency, whose duties were to conclude written emigration contracts on behalf of shipping companies. See K. Jońca, *Emigration from Opole Silesia to Texas (1853–1857)*, "Studia Śląskie", 57: (1998), p. 45. Data from the State Archives in Opole allows to suppose the number of people who emigrated to America between September 30, 1853 and September 30, 1854, and between September 30, 1854 and December 30, 1854, was 542. Compare AP Opole.

[9] R. Kapuściński, *Ten Inny*, Kraków 2007, p. 35.

> create the atmosphere of positive dialog [...] every human being needs another one, looks for him and is aware that he cannot live without others. At the same time, at the first meeting the impulse could lead a person naturally to the feeling of mistrust, lack of self-confidence and fear. But all those feelings are impossible to control, no matter how hard one tries[10].

Memory, Identity and Resettlement

It is vital to state that beginning a life in an unknown world has been inextricably linked with changes in one's identity, perseverance, hopes and possibilities. For the Upper Silesians in the 19th century it was a great challenge to overcome the uncertainty, to listen to the "other-different" and to oneself, as well as to build mutual relationships which might help in their adaptation to the new society. Moreover, they remembered that:

> The Father of success is called hard work, the Mother of success is called ambition. The oldest son is called Common Sense. Some of the other boys are called Stability, Perseverance, Honesty, Thoroughness, Foresight, Enthusiasm and Cooperation. The oldest daughter is called Character, and some of the sisters are called Cheerfulness, Loyalty, Courtesy, Care, Harmony and Sincerity[11].

All those features describe the Silesians who came with nothing but great hope to the unknown American world. It seems that common sense did not allow them to give up, and perseverance and enthusiasm enabled them to make Texas their new home and accept their harsh reality. That is why, with the help of their spiritual guide, Father Leopold Moczygemba (a monk born in a small village in Upper Silesia who already worked there), the immigrants managed to settle down in Texas, trying to find for themselves a new place on earth. However, it is significant to point out that immigrants from Upper Silesia lived on the border of two cultures and traditions: the one they brought with them from their homeland and the new American one they were exposed to from the beginning of their settlement. They had to face the harsh reality, and build not only their houses and churches, but also the relationships with local people.

[10] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[11] M. Mika, *Welcome to Panna Maria!* (October 11), 1981, p. 11.

In order to go through the assimilation process successfully, they had to find a "golden mean" between the old and the new tradition. The immigrants did not give up. On the contrary, they organized new towns and parishes, giving them Polish names such as: St. Hedwig, Cestohowa and Kosciuszko.

For Silesian Texans, memory was strongly connected with the homeland they left and its people. They did not want to lose contact with the people they had left in Upper Silesia. They yearned to know everything about their families, friends and the situation in their country. That is why, the only way for the 19th-century migrants was to stay in touch with their relatives through epistolary forms. They started to write letters from Texas to Upper Silesia in their Silesian dialect, as this was the only language they knew. Certainly, those simple people wanted to share their experience about the new, unknown world, and at the same time to receive information about the difficult situation in their country. It is important to state that those early experiences were very hard for the Polish migrants. In one of the articles from that time we find such a description:

> For this reason, year after year, I waited for the time when I could somehow head out for that paradise. So, in the years 1854 and 1855, when a large number of Upper Silesian folk were leaving their Polish land for paradise in Texas, my personal desire was also fulfilled.[...] Oh my God, what a disillusionment when, upon our arrival at the site of present Panna Maria, we found ourselves in the middle of wilderness covered with brush, some trees, bushes, stones and the sky over our heads. Left alone to fend for ourselves without a leader, without any knowledge of the English language, we felt utterly abandoned. Rivers were flowing from our eyes melting the diamond pears and golden apples in our tears. Suddenly, the Polish landscape seemed more and more like a paradise[12].

This passage demonstrates that the first years in the new world were extremely harsh for the migrants, although they were lured by Fr. Leopold Moczygemba, who used to write vividly in his letters to Upper Silesia about the opportunities in America. They simply did not know what they were to expect in the remote land so far away from their homeland. In their letters we face

[12] *From America*, "Katolik", Krolewska Huta, September 10, 1870, p. 2. (unknown author).

two types of memory: one concerning the beloved Upper Silesian region, and the other depicting the 'promised land', which is presented in the following fragment:

> What to do? God was high up, home was far away, and there was no way out. We had to settle where we landed, under the sky at the mercy of the capricious and often inclement Texas weather, constantly watchful for predators, venomous snakes and all kinds of unfamiliar critters. We were running out of food, and even though a few of us still had some money, where could we go to buy food? It was easy to walkout one or two miles but to find your way back was next to impossible. When all of our supplies were gone, we had to find work, but where? It was necessary for us to go out and try to find employment with the Americans. After months of hard work we were paid nothing, and if we claimed what was due us, we werethreatened with a pistol. We were forced to return to our families empty-handed[13].

This fragment from the personal correspondence clearly presents what the Silesians' lives looked like after having reached America. Instead of the awaited paradise, they had to cope with obstacles and difficulties. The unusual fact is that they wrote about their first encounters in a serious and honest way. Those autobiographical accounts were sent to their homeland to depict their life in America, but they also longed for the letters of their relatives who had stayed in Poland. However, there is one feature that has to be mentioned – their resilience. The Silesians did not give up. From the very beginning they displayed stamina and inner strength in order to achieve their goals in the New Land, which is expressed in the following letter written by Valentine Kosub in Panna Maria in August 1856:

> How golden, despite our hardships, was life in our Silesia! This America, while open and large, is not the land of milk and honey we dreamed about before we came. It is a dry, barren land, with danger at every turn. Finally, we are beginning to build shelter for ourselves. When we arrived there was nothing here. The Lord blessed us with a mild winter. If it had been as cold here as it is back home,

[13] Ibid.

> I know we would not have lived. We had no shelter whatsoever till winter was over. Under trees, or near the streams in caves with brush for protection, was our shelter from storms. But now we are gathering stones to build our first house[14].

This fragment clearly presents much of the hardship that the first generation of Silesian migrants had to go through in America. Life in Texas was not as they were told and as they expected at the beginning, but they did not give up as they still remembered the harsh conditions in their homeland as well as poverty they faced there. Resettlement was not quite a blessing for Silesians, but they tried hard to find their own place concentrating on "social and cultural identification"[15], which seemed to be the only way to adapt to the already existing reality.

Messengers of Harsh Realities

When writing the letters, immigrants from Upper Silesia were aware of the fact that their correspondence would be read by a larger audience. At that time they did not know whether they would stay forever in the remote and vast area of Texas. They wanted to share their harsh experience not only with members of their family but also with friends and acquaintances who were thinking of coming to Texas as well. It has to be mentioned that their Catholic faith was always very strong, as well as their memories concerning the homeland they left. They often used religious phrases in their letters, such as: "Praised be Jesus Christ", "We thank God that we are all in good health" or "Our Lord has brought us here for a reason, and we must persevere"[16]. Similar expressions can be found in the letters sent from Upper Silesia to Texas. People who stayed in Silesia tried to give them support and strength, as we read in one of such accounts written in 1855 in Szimiszów:

> We were waiting for this letter because we didn't know what is happening to you. Fromyour letter we learn that sea waves wanted to drown you but the good

[14] Valentine Kosub, Panna Maria, 23 August 1856, Texas, [in] *The Faith of Our Fathers – The History of the Oldest Polish Settlement in the United States*, Texas. Through Its Own Words. Eric Christopher Opiela. Proseminar in Historical Writing, University of Texas at Austin, p.17.

[15] A. Kłoskowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni*, Warszawa 2005, p. 106.

[16] Ibid.

> Lord happily took you to America. [...] At the beginning you are sad and worry a lot, but with time your situation will improve. Your mother was very happy that she received a message from you but was sad that you have so many difficulties over there[17].

They also told their families about the hard times and extreme conditions in their homeland, as in the following letter written in Walce in April, 1877:

> The poverty over here is so unbelievable that it is even impossible to say how big it is. Last year, we didn't have any income, and therefore we couldn't save anything for the winter. The harvest was also very bad. It is very tough; there is no money. Everyone wants to buy something from my store on credit. They don't even think to pay[18].

These are just some excerpts from numerous letters written in the 19th century both to Poland and back to America, filled with opposing emotions, such as anger, fear, sadness and despair, but also love and hope for a better life. They are very emotional at times, as might be noticed in the following letter written in Jemielnica (Opole province) in 1855:

> We would like to greet you all from Jemielnica, and especially me, the one who is writing this letter, Stephan Konietzny, and we wish you from the bottom of our hearts all the best there, and could you describe how your life there looks please? [...] and if it is hard for you to accept it there, come back home right away as we will welcome you warmly; and if you like it there, let us know promptly as I, your mother, your sister Rozalia, and others will leave for America[19].

On the example of the following quote one should pay attention to the special bond that the migrants had with their relatives in their old homeland. There was always one person in the family (sometimes in the whole village) who was responsible for writing the letters. Although they did not have the slightest idea

17 Schlapa, Szimiszów, February 20th, 1855, p.1 (personal correspondence).

18 D. Schickelms, Walce, April 3rd, 1877, p.1 (personal correspondence).

19 S. Konietzny, Jemielnica, February 25th,1855, p.1 (personal correspondence).

of how life in America was like, they wished those who left the best of luck. It is significant to point out that this information was usually read aloud in one of the homes, and other people from the village used to gather there to listen to this news. They wanted to know how their relatives or friends adapted in the new world and what decision they themselves should make in the near future. As one might notice, this piece is very emotional as they do not show any envy but rather support and love towards those who settled in America.

Creating a place in America

All those feelings were mixed as the immigrants were trying to find their own way of assimilating within the new land, despite considerable difficulties, such as encounters with Native Americans, which evoked feelings of danger and fear at that time, which resulted in the Silesians settling in places which were less favorable as far as farming was concerned, but safer. What is interesting is that even non-Americans admired the immigrants from Upper Silesia for what they achieved. Thomas Ruckman, a descendant of one of the original settlers of Karnes County, belonged to one of the well-off families of that area, and grew up in the county seat of Helena, situated just a few miles to the southeast of the Silesian settlement of Panna Maria. In his descriptive report he wrote:

> These people began life in this country with comparatively nothing. No capital but their strong arms. They have turned their wilderness into large and well stocked farms in their own names, on which you can find no mortgage. From these farms they fed and clothed themselves with the best the country affords [...] We hold up these facts before the world, a true history of these Poles to prove that farming in Karnes County will pay. From poverty they become thrifty, rich and independent. A moral industrious, Religious Catholic community that any county might be proud of – And look at it – there are lands enough in our county growing nothing but brush and grass[20].

[20] T. Ruckman, *The Census Taker: A complete description of the County of Karnes – in the South West Texas – by Thos. Ruckman June 1890, Thomas Ruckman Papers, [in] The Faith of Our Fathers – The History of the Oldest Polish Settlement in the United States*, Texas, op. cit., p. 24.

This quote demonstrates that the Silesians' hard work, stubbornness and perseverance were acknowledged not only by their relatives who learned about their life from letters, but also by other members of American society. The principles and work ethic they brought with them from their country allowed them to fight for themselves and overcome the hardships they had to face in Texas. The epistolary legacy is of great importance for current generations of Silesian immigrants who eagerly search for their heritage. Moreover, it enables us to understand and analyse their whole process of assimilation within a demanding 19th century American society: the feelings and emotions both of those who decided to leave for the unknown world across the ocean and those who stayed in Upper Silesia. We learn from the letters that the culture which the settlers brought with them from Poland helped the next generations overcome difficult moments and strengthen their feelings of stability, affiliation and dignity, despite the lack of direct contact with the old homeland. Silesians, building their future in Texas, cultivated the Silesian traditions they remembered with great care. Immigration enabled them to gain the land they lacked in Silesia. Arguably, in part due to their incredible fortitude and endurance, they improved their life expectancy. Since 1854 there has always been a bridge between Silesia and Texas, due to the letters sent to their homeland and the contacts which have been built and developed. They encouraged the next generations of Silesian migrants to visit their ancestors' land and to learn about their history and culture.

Conclusion

Migration for every person is inevitably connected with the feeling of uncertainty, fear of being rejected by the society and successful adaptation in the chosen country. Every migrant takes with them a baggage of individual experience which shapes their future fate in the new country. The first generation of Silesians did not forget about their roots and tradition. They used autobiographical accounts to preserve their memory, the memory of their homeland, friends, places and culture they left in their homeland. The letters sent and received show the unusual, strong bond between the families. Till this day, their memories are cultivated and preserved by the generations that followed them. It has been over thirty years that groups of their descendants come to visit the land of their ancestors, especially Silesia. This is the heritage that has been

passed to the next generations among Silesian Texans. It is vital to point out that memory which was cultivated in the 19th century in the form of epistolary forms, nowadays has taken form as visits to Poland, regular contacts with relatives in Silesia and preserving the customs and tradition of their ancestors in their everyday life.

Summing up, the stories about Silesia have been told for centuries. The letters written to families, and the traditions and culture which the first immigrants were able to pass on to the next generations, constitute an individual's memory. This is the memory of Silesian ancestors, roots, heritage, language and homeland. According to the old saying: "Without memory, there is no culture. Without memory, there would be no civilization, no society, no future"[21]. An understanding of the significance of cultivating the remembrance of descendants enables the shaping of an individual's life and future, no matter where their place on earth is. Memories which are valued do not fade. It is worth finishing with a quotation by Carl Sandburg, an American poet, historian and an author of autobiographies, whose words are meaningful and could become the voice of migrants: "I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us, I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision"[22].

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Uprooted by war: The child refugee crisis in the wordless book *La Valigia* by Angelo Ruta

Abstract: Humanity is currently facing the greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War. Children find themselves both directly and indirectly affected by this crisis. They are faced with making sense of complex issues and their diverse repercussions. For example, the distinct difference between a refugee whose life is at risk and a migrant seeking to improve their economic situation by moving to another rich country with prospects, is of particular importance for the objective study of the reasons and dimensions of the refugee crisis. In this context, this article explores the wordless book "La Valigia" by Angelo Ruta, where the construction of the meaning is dependent entirely on carefully sequenced images. The book depicts how a child of the war zone remembers and dreams while facing the chaos of having been chased by bombs and guns. This is the story of a sweet dream; dream that, despite the chaotic environment of reality, was kept alive inside a large suitcase. In this 'silent' book, which was a finalist of the Gianni De Conno Award

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(Silent Book Contest 2018), the vacuum created by the lack of words strengthens the meaning and allows it to exist in another form. At the same time, this style of book is changing the ways we understand and approach literature.

Key words: silent/wordless picture book, refugee, reader-response theory, visual narration.

Introduction[1]

It probably comes as no surprise that, over the last few years, the ideology of protectionism on the part of parents, educators, etc. intensifies the marginalization of children by limiting their opportunities to face the real weight of reality. In addition, in a memorable phrase, the poet T. S. Eliot[2] reminds us that "*human kind cannot bear very much reality*", and it is precisely this intolerance that is regurgitated by those who are afraid of being offended by children.

As a matter of fact, of the approximately 50 million uprooted children, 28 million have been pushed to leave their homeland because of the constant danger that war entails, inside and outside borders, while another 22 million children who are international migrants have left their homes for other reasons, such as extreme poverty or gang violence. Children are not responsible for bullets and bombs, persecution, crime or low economic opportunities,

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[2] T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets*, Orlando: Harcourt Brace International, US, 1974 [1941].

but they are the first to be hit by war, conflict and poverty[3]. Those children are affected by migration in at least three ways: some have the 'luck' to travel with their families; others alone - paying a terrible emotional and social cost, sometimes including that of their lives-; or they are left behind in war zones while their parents are seeking a better life for their family[4].

The interpretation and understanding of the world and the 'other' is undoubtedly an issue that emerges through the reading experience. A story enables the reader to read about different cultural groups, communicates a set of emotions to him/her and, most importantly, it acts as a communication bridge with the unknown. It is very important, therefore, to mention that Children's Literature has, among other things, an ideological function. The way that an image of an 'other' child will be depicted, its characteristics and the development of the plot, reveal ideological assumptions concerning, in particular, in our paper the notion of the refugee[5]. Hopefully, nowadays, it seems that the 'protective pedestal' in children's stories has collapsed. Children do really need readings that provide them with an empathetic reading experience by capturing their stories through the 'lens' of reality. Children ought to be given the opportunity and space to cope with reality, and to dream of an alternative future for the world they live in. We have to argue with Arizpe, Colomer & Martìnez-Róldan[6] that, unlike usual books with words and written in one language, wordless books have the strength to overcome the language or culture barrier and in the way they foster encounters among different cultures. These are in fact books that make it easier to work with special groups, as is the case with refugee children, since they depict common scenes of their harsh reality.

Humanity is currently facing the greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War. Children find themselves in a particular situation: they may be personally caught up in the crisis, may develop friendships with children who have been affected by it, and may be confronted with news of the crisis and

3 From Unicef's Records.

4 Ibid.

5 M. A. Wham, J. Barnhart & G. Cook, *Enhancing multicultural awareness through storybook reading experience*, "Journal of Research and Development in Education", 30 (1), 1996, pp. 1-9.

6 E. Arizpe, T. Colomer, & C. Martínez-Roldán, *Visual Journeys through Wordless Narratives*, London–New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.

need to therefore somehow make sense of it. In all cases, children are required to face the challenge of making sense of difficult social issues. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the visual representation of the child refugee crisis in the wordless book *La Valigia* by Angelo Ruta. The content, characters, images and presentation of the book are analysed sequentially to reveal the various ways that the reader may interpret images based on their personal experience. Doing so mirrors the experience and process of a child as they would 'read' a wordless book. The proposed impact and result of this study is therefore to explore the wordless book as a means of expression and communication that exposes children to difficult topics. The wordless book may also serve as a means to equip children with tools to understand and to face these challenges.

What is a wordless picture book?

The use of words is often considered as a requirement for a 'voice' and therefore the telling of a story. But what precisely is a book without words? A wordless book (silent book) tells a story in a sequence of images. It belongs to the wider space of the illustrated children's book and is a special category of books that have their own independence and their own dynamics. Wordless books rely primarily on visual language, sometimes including a few words, where images "speak", and the reader narrates what he/she understands by interpreting them. As such, the whole process of information acquisition takes place through the process of viewing and decoding images. That is why it has been proposed, from time to time, to replace the term reader with that of observer ("beholder")[7]. The above distinction may be justified since the reader's notion is more closely related to the verbal text and implies knowledge of the verbal codes, while the observer's notion indicates in turn the knowledge of decoding the visual images[8]. Because images in a book have a narrative function – which is by no means inferior to their aesthetic function – the "observer" gains an active position as they are called on to discover "deeper meanings" and link them together.

[7] J. Doonan, *Looking at pictures in picture books*, Stroud–Gloucester: Thimble Press, 1993, p. 9.

[8] Ibid.

Until recently, the reading of a visual narrative had been established in the consciousness of the world as a simple and unambiguous process, since it was usually argued that reading an image is nothing more than a mere process of recognizing objects, and therefore we all see the same things when we look at images, without the need for some specialized knowledge to understand them[9]. In contrast, Nodelman[10], in his book *Words about Pictures*, argues that images are no more specific and less abstract than words. Although the image, at first glance, is realistic and plausible, it actually contains deduction elements and belongs to a code system acquired by learning visual conventions. Images, like words, require learning their "language" so that the reader can read them and derive meaning[11]. Consequently, images, in a similar way to words, are symbolic representations. Their decoding and their meaning presupposes specific skills, experiences, and reading strategies which the implied reader[12] is called upon to have conquered. The viewer in possession of this knowledge will be able to better understand the image and at the same time its obscure sides, because "*illustrators of wordless books depend on the ability of the images to suggest information that they do not actually offer*"[13].

A Social-Semiotic perspective of the book *La Valigia*

In our inquiry we understand visual literacy as "*a way of deepening understanding and critical appreciation through the viewer's active engagement in the interpretative process*"[14]. Kress & Van Leeuwen[15] argue that any visual image, like language, can be considered as a point system. Their approach serves as a useful framework for understanding visual literacy. Every image

9 P. Nodelman, *Words about pictures: The narrative art of children's picture books*, Athens–London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988, pp. 29-30; S. Oikonomidou, *The child behind words. The implied reader of children's books* (in Greek), Athens: Gutenberg, 2016, p. 222.

10 P. Nodelman, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

11 M. Nikolajeva, & C. Scott, *How Picturebooks Work*, New York–London: Garland Publishing, 2001, p. 2.

12 W. Iser, *The implied reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, MD, 1974.

13 P. Nodelman, op. cit., pp. 67-72.

14 E. Arizpe, T. Colomer, & C. Martínez-Roldán, op. cit., p. 31.

15 G. Kress, & T. Van Leeuwen, *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*, London: Routledge, 1996.

fulfills three meta-functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. At the first level, the visual mode depicts how viewers perceive "*the world around and inside them*"[16]. The second concerns the type of relationship that is created between the viewer and the depicted objects and/or persons. Dimensions such as the presence/absence of eye-contact, distance and viewing angle of the scene indicate the intended social attitude of the viewer toward the subject. The third relates to the way in which the compositional arrangements of visual elements (color, lines, etc.) are able to form "*a meaningful whole*"[17].

I have chosen one wordless book to highlight how the literature discusses the factors that lead to migration, as well the implication for those who migrate out of necessity. The choice of the above book was not accidental. *La Valigia* is a special case of a book which manages 'exiled' memories through a narrative carried entirely by images. The author-illustrator, Angelo Ruta, in this powerful portrayal of loss -or maybe, for others, survival, has gathered together a strong frame in order to reach our destination.

First of all, the size of the book is believed to be among the fundamental elements that define the reader's relationship between his/her own space and the plastic space of the image. In our case, the reader, scrolling through half a meter and above-wide images, feels that he/she is in front of the events, while the large size of the book allows him/her to observe the details with much attention.

In our book, though wordless, we find textual sources of information on the last pages, which concern the essence of the book without words and the biographical note of the author. Furthermore, on the back cover there are two rows of written text concerning the theme of the book, and on the front cover the name of the author, the logo of the publisher and the title. As Beckett suggests, the title "*may provide the only key to unlocking the story, while in less ambiguous narratives, it may merely corroborate the reader's interpretations of the pictures*"[18]. As a result, particularly in a wordless book where the textual information is in a way absent, the meaning of the title may influence the process of meaning con-

[16] Ibid., p. 13

[17] Ibid., p. 14.

[18] S. Beckett, *Crossover Picturebooks: A Genre for All Ages*, New York: Routledge, 2012, p. 117.

struction[19]. Regarding the title of the book, we can say that it 'guides' the reader from the very start. *La Valigia*, in English *The suitcase*, expresses the symbol of collective memory of its family; more precisely, it acts as a metaphor for the 'exiled' memory. At the same time, looking at the front cover, we observe a suitcase surrounded by rose petals; our first hypothesis can be that the image implies a metaphorical carriage, probably emotional. Also, an image of a suitcase expresses what Georg Lukács[20] called "*transcendental homelessness*", a philosophical term described as "*the urge to be at home everywhere*".

The story opens with one image in which we can see a half-opened suitcase on a pile of rocks. Then, by turning the page, we observe two double-spreads that feature two images which present a sequence. In the first, the suitcase is depicted a little more open, from where we can see the figure of a child looking tentatively out, and in the second, it is shown that the child has come out of the suitcase and is pulling it towards him. Initially, what prevents the reader's gaze from identifying with the character is the round frame of the picture. The circle places a boundary around the refugee child and encompasses the reader's eyes to peek out at the scene.

Within this process there is a basic element that we cannot ignore; the image of the main character. The question of the study of literary characters is compelling as they "*activate identification mechanisms, represent patterns to imitate or avoid, talk about human nature, build emotional bonds with the reader, and some of them continue to be a reference point for readers in their later adult life*"[21]. In particular, the characters of silent books have an intrinsic value: they are open constructions that are subject to the reader's ability to give them specific characteristics. Therefore, it is suggested to the reader to use what is depicted for them in the text, and thus to construct them by connecting them with his/her pre-existing knowledge of the concept of the individual. It is very important to mention that in books without words great emphasis is given

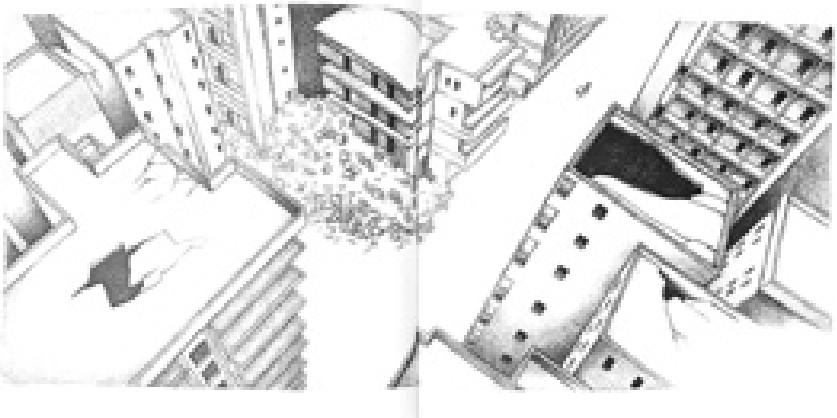
[19] I would also like to mention that the same function may also have a dedication. In our book we can read: "*To who goes to bed, at night, under sheets of water and wind. And after all can dream*".

[20] G. Lukács, *The theory of the novel: A historico-philosophical essay on the forms of great epic literature*, translated by A. Bostock, Cambridge: MIT Press, Mass., United States, 1984 [1920], pp. 29, 41.

[21] S. Gavriilidou, *The Difficult Profession of the Classical Hero* (in Greek), Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2008, p. 9.

to the interpretive process of the reader. His/Her responsibility for the narrative result is great, that is, how he/she will 'translate' the present characters and what name he/she will give them. Readers' names, if the characters are anonymous, become important because they have been chosen by readers, as they function in some way as co-authors of the story. This means that the reader is being asked to enrich the personality of the character by him/herself, drawing the necessary information from the images. In concluding the above ideas, I consider that the anonymity of the character and his/her appearance provide a crossroad of meanings, including the universal idea of the child, and allow readers, especially refuge children, to identify with them.

In the next two spreads, the perspective is omniscient, from above. The reader, as if they were a bird ("*bird's eye view*"), is placed by the illustrator in order to get a deeper insight into the surroundings of the story. So far we can only assume that the child is in an almost completely destroyed house; we notice that the floor has fallen in. As we turn the page, we can see a panoramic view of a destroyed town, and in the top right-hand corner the small size of a figure that is leaving the town. The small size of the character defines his small status and power in the book; he is all alone in this big destroyed city. In a similar way, the large size of the suitcase, as opposed to that of the character's, indicates the weight that he is forced to lift upon leaving.



On the next pages we become eyewitnesses of the child's journey with the suitcase. No man is in sight, only images of destruction. Theoretically, the reader still makes assumptions about what happened. Given the absence of words, the reader becomes a participant in the creation of meaning. Each individual in-

terprets the narrative with his/her own voice. One can assume that this book is about an earthquake, or that is about the destructive consequences of war. The reader's questions will be answered in the next double-page spread, where the child is depicted behind a shot up car in order not to be seen by the soldiers. In this scene, Ruta has not changed the perspective of his image; we see the scene as external observers, and the story is presented to us from a safe distance. There is war, and as we turn the page we are faced with the image of the child lying on the suitcase, and over it a flock of ravens which are threateningly approaching him. The raven is a symbol of ancient times. Many people, mainly in Western societies, associate the image of the raven with the underworld and death. This interpretation is in part related to the fact that the raven eats carcasses. But even more, the raven 'smells' death, and a flock of them gathers near a creature that is about to die. Another reason why people perceive them as harboring superstition is that their dark color has often been associated with funerals. Black is definitely the color of mourning and loss. Furthermore, in fairytales and movies we are presented with bad characters that can be easily recognized by their black appearance, for example black-dressed witches or the black big bad wolf. More specifically, Gombrich[22] notes that: "*what we see is not just given, but is the product of past experience and future expectations*". With the dynamic metaphor of the notion of the raven in our 'cultural baggage', we may assume that the child is dead. But our assumptions will be reversed, as on the following pages we see that the child is still alive. It is raining. In the sky there are many war planes. Below, the child is trying to protect himself by placing his suitcase over his head.

22 E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, Edinburgh: Phaidon, 1972, pp. 28-29.

On the last double-spread the circle frame is used again. We see him touching his back on the suitcase; there is nothing and no one to stand beside him. In the next image, the perspective has been totally changed. The illustrator uses an over-the-shoulder-shot, as the character has decided to open the suitcase. Angelo Ruta has positioned us as if we are the eyes of the child; at this glimpse of time we become one with the 'other'. We see from his eyes the contents of his suitcase. Inside the suitcase there are no clothes, no objects, only memories from a happy life. His suitcase stands for past events; it is filled with delightful memories of his home, before the war. Now we understand the burden of pressure that he had chosen to put on his shoulders during his departure. The child chooses to dive into his dreamy past. It is time to quit and live only as a lived past; there is no place for him outside the suitcase. He gets in, and the suitcase closes forever.

Ruta's final image of the 'closed suitcase' reveals much about the author's ideological stance toward the main theme of the book, the refugee child. The ending of the story is open to many interpretations; there is no monopoly on truth. Some may see the end as a new start. On the back cover we can read this: "*Even when everything seems to collapse and crush, in a sweet dream you can find the hope that saves*", so the suitcase can be the medium that helps him survive, while others can perceive the ending as a portrayal of cruel reality; there is nowhere to go, he is helpless, he will be lost forever with his memories.

One last aspect of the visual language of the text that we have not yet discussed is the choice of color. Both the absence and presence of color contribute to the composition of the book's atmosphere[23]. The black and white design -often linked with cartoon illustrations- of *La Valigia* is shown suitable for carrying the detailed descriptions of the character's feelings and the destructive scene of the action. On the one hand, "*Black is nothing without potential. A dead end after the death of the sun, an eternal silence, without even the hope of a future*", noted the famous artist Vasily Kandinsky[24]. But on the other hand, when the white color prevails over the black, it symbolizes the purity of the soul, supreme faith, hope and transparency.

As we can conclude, in a wordless book we may find infinite possibilities for image representation. For this reason, it is up to the reader to interpret each sign. It is certain, however, that the reader takes on a co-author role and that the overall reading process requires his/her intellectual activity, previous experiences from life, cultural knowledge, among others, that help him/her construct the meaning of the story.

Final thoughts

Children of the 21st century face new challenges due to ongoing social change. So do their books. The role of Children's Literature is not, of course, to 'wrap them up in cotton wool', but rather to introduce them to real life situations and provide them with the necessary 'tools' in order to be encouraged to develop their social awareness. Angelo Ruta has succeeded with his masterful pen to depict with social sensitivity what it means to be a refugee. To this end, he constructed a small literary hero to help his readers understand the phenomenon of forced displacement. The way in which the reality of the refugee problem is transmitted through the dense meaning of its images undoubtedly promotes a number of issues around human rights. We realize then that our smallest, and, at the same time, our greatest task is to narrate to our children stories about other children, to enable them to think critically about refugees as an ongoing issue that affects every person on this planet. As our detailed interpretation of *La Valigia* has shown, its images have a lot to say even if they

23 P. Nodelman, op. cit., pp. 67-72.

24 V. Kandinsky, *On the Spiritual in Art*, Canada: Dover Publications, 1977 [1914].

are silent. As Yannicopoulou[25] aptly comments: "*In a culture where the word "see" has become synonymous with the word "understand" [...] of particular interest is no longer the answer to the question "Who sees?" but "Who understands the Other?*"".

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Specifics of USSR era migrants' adaptation in the modern Russian Federation

Abstract: The task of this paper is a quantitative assessment of the possible fact and speed of assimilation of Ukrainian migrants in the modern Russian Federation according to the data of all-Russian censuses of 2002 and 2010. In all regions of the Russian Federation, and even in regions where the absolute number of the population has increased, we note the decrease in the number of Ukrainians significantly exceeded the overall rate of depopulation. The share of the decrease in the number of Ukrainians, which goes beyond the general rate of depopulation in a relevant region, can characterize the rate of assimilation of Ukrainian migrants in Russia. Thus, the annual rate of assimilation of Ukrainian migrants in the Russian Federation varies in different regions from 2.38% to 6.25%. The average rate of Ukrainian migrants' assimilation is estimated for regions of the Russian Federa-

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tion as 3.78% per year. Some assumptions are made about the main factors of such an unexpectedly rapid rate of peaceful assimilation of Ukrainians. Related factors include the tradition of Russians' scornful attitude towards foreigners and "younger brothers" (a terms used to refer to Ukrainians); the Russian Federation's disregard towards the cultural and educational needs of national minorities that do not have their territorial administrative formations on the territory of the Russian Federation; as well as a disregard of Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian state towards Ukrainians living on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Key words: Ukrainians assimilation in Russia, contemporary Russian Federation, Ukrainian migrants.

Introduction

This paper aims to study some of the peculiarities of adaptation regarding national identification of the Soviet Union era migrants who remained in the Russian Federation (RF) at the beginning of the 21st century. The migrants from Ukraine who stayed in the Russian Federation after the collapse of the USSR were considered for the purpose of this research. Quantitative assessments were carried out on the basis of the RF population census in 2002 and 2010[1, 2].

Features of migration at the post-USSR space in the 1990th

The 1990s were characterized by significant and fairly chaotic migration processes within the republics of the former USSR. In particular, there were also movements of people of separate nationalities from the Russian Federation to the territory of republics that corresponded to their nationality.

1 http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm.

2 http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=17.

According to the All-Union in the USSR census of 1989, nearly 25.3 million Russians (21.1%) remained in the new countries outside of Russia's historic homeland. If we count it together with other indigenous peoples, it is approximately 28 million. In the meantime, 6.8 million Ukrainians (15.4% of all Ukrainians lived in the USSR), 2.1 million Belarusians (21%), 1.6 million Kazakhs (20%), and 1.5 million Armenians (32.6%) remained outside of their historic homelands, respectively[3].

This may explain the fact that in all the years of independent existence of the former union republics, migration exchange with an ethnic dominant was carried out with varying intensity between them. The largest scale of this exchange is in Russia and Ukraine. In the total migration turnover of Russia, from 1989 to 2003, Ukraine's share was approximately 30%. The same number accounted for Ukraine and the migration turnover of Russians. Among the arrivals and departures from Russia for the new foreign countries, Ukraine's share exceeded 50%. Kazakhstan accounted for about 23-24% of migration with Russia, Central Asia – 20%, Transcaucasia – 12%, and Belarus – 6%[4].

The largest group of migrants in the CIS by 1996 – 4.2 million people – comprised repatriates, defined as persons who voluntarily moved to their country of citizenship or origin for permanent residence. Strictly speaking, repatriation, motivated by economic, social or personal reasons, is not a completely new phenomenon for the post-Soviet space. Since the end of the 1970s, the Russian-speaking population constantly returned home to their former residence. The overwhelming majority of Russian-speaking repatriates were Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusian, and they naturally went to the Russian Federation, Belarus and Ukraine in the 1990s. The flow of repatriation and refugees was significant from the Baltic States as well[5]. Additional migration flows have arisen because of a late return of migrants of eight nations previously deported in the USSR from their historical homeland. They were resettled during the Second World War in the Siberian and Central Asian steppes. Many of them,

3 http://rybakovsky.ru/stati1a12.html.

4 Ibid.

5 О. Д. Воробьева and И. Ш. Мажинов, *Трансформация миграционных процессов на постсоветском пространстве. РАН. Ин-т соц—полит.исслед.*, ed. Л.Л.Рыбаковского, Academia Москва, 2009 (in Russian), http://rybakovsky.ru/migracia3b4.html.

especially the Crimean Tatars, the Meskhetians and the Germans of the Volga region, experienced obstacles to return to their homeland until the end of the 1980s. In the late 1980s, new times changed the situation. For example, 183,400 Crimean Tatars returned from Central Asia to Crimea between 1989 and 1996. Also, 850,000 Germans of the Volga region have emigrated to Germany since 1992, and only a few thousand preferred to return to their historical homeland in the Russian Federation. More than 60,000 of the Meskhetians, who lived in the Ferghana Valley in the summer of 1989, were forced to move, mainly to the Russian Federation and Azerbaijan[6].

With the collapse of the USSR and the ensuing political and military conflicts, forced resettlement resulted in the emergence of a large number of refugees and persons in situations similar to those of refugees, involuntary resettled persons and internally displaced persons. Natural and human-made disasters and environmental degradation have led to the emergence of hundreds of thousands of environmental migrants. Between 1989 and 1996 there were about 870,000 refugees and persons in the CIS countries in a situation of refugees or similar to that of refugees. For example, the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh resulted in the emergence of almost 220,000 refugees in Armenia and 185,000 in Azerbaijan. In 1992 Ukraine took over 60,000 people because of the conflict in Transnistria (Moldova). Thousands of refugees sought asylum in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and other CIS countries because of the Abkhaz conflict in Georgia. The civil war that erupted in Tajikistan in 1992 and 1993 forced about 60,000 people to flee to Afghanistan and another 200,000 to resettle to neighboring states of Central Asia, the Russian Federation and other CIS countries. In addition, in the first half of the 1990s, about 47,000 refugees and asylum-seekers came from countries of Africa, Southeast Asia and the Middle East[7].

2.2 million Russians returned to Russia from abroad during 1991–1995, and 486,000 people returned backwards. In the next five years (1996–2000) 4.6 million Russians returned to Russia and left over 1.4 million[8]. Thus, the

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 *Миграционные процессы в России*, ed. В.В. Локосова and Л.Л. Рыбаковского, М.: Экоинформ, 2014, pp. 170-171.

number of Russians increased by 2006 (from 1989 to 2006 inclusive) by 5.6 million migrants who arrived in Russia from abroad after the collapse of the USSR. In addition, the number of Russians has increased by no fewer than 1.5 million people from the representatives of those Ukrainians, Belarusians and some other peoples who have Russian "blood". During the 2002 all-Russian census, they of course identified themselves as Russians[9].

According to L.L. Rybakovsky, from 1989 to 2003 the migration turnover of Russia with the countries of the new foreign countries amounted to 13.7 million people, 4.2 million of whom fell to Ukraine, i.e. more than 30%. Ukraine was and remains the main migration partner of Russia[10]. All the above-mentioned processes make it difficult to make an adequate assessment of the presence and possible intensity of national minorities' assimilation processes in the Russian Federation in the 1990s.

At the same time, there was an era of decisive prosperity growth in the republics of the former USSR. Russia in the 2000s almost stopped the flow of titular nationalities' representatives of the former union republics to their historical homelands. Consequently, the number of migrants from Ukraine remaining on the territory of the Russian Federation in the 2000s may be estimated quite precisely on the basis of the Russia-wide census in 2002.

Thus, we can proceed from the fact that there were no significant migrations of Ukrainians in the 2000s from the territory of the Russian Federation. Moreover, there are many cases known when Ukrainians have moved from Ukraine to the Russian Federation due to the regular flow of labor forces to places with higher salaries. Since per capita GDP in Russia in the 2000s was three times higher than the per capita GDP in Ukraine, this migration cannot be considered as something surprising. However, for the purity of further reasoning, we accept such labor migration as insignificant and equal to 0. Moreover, a certain part of these labor migrants were not ethnic Ukrainians, but ethnic Russians. Based on the analyzed sources, we also do not take into consideration the volume of seasonal migration.

9 http://rybakovsky.ru/stati1a12.html.

10 http://rybakovsky.ru/migracia3a8.html.

Dynamics of Ukrainians quantity in the Russian Federation according to the RF population census data

Analysis of census data for 2002 and 2010 showed that in general the number of people in the Russian Federation who indicated their nationality as "Ukrainian" had decreased by 34% within 8 years. At the same time, the average rate of depopulation throughout the Russian Federation was only 1.49%, and the rate of depopulation of the Slavic population -3.26%.

In all regions of the Russian Federation, and even in the regions where the absolute number of the population has increased, the decrease of Ukrainians had significantly exceeded the overall rate of depopulation. While the change rate of total population of the regions varied from -14.1% to +10.8%, the change rate of the number of Ukrainians was negative in all regions of the Russian Federation, and varied by regions from -19% to -50% within the same eight years.

In our opinion, the share of the decrease in the number of Ukrainians, which goes beyond the general rate of depopulation in a relevant region, can characterize the rate of assimilation of the Ukrainian diaspora in Russia. Thus, the annual rate of assimilation of the Ukrainian diaspora in the Russian Federation varies in different regions from 2.38% to 6.25%; on average for regions of the Russian Federation this number is 3.78%. Particularly remarkable are the cases of Moscow and St. Petersburg: with the growth of the total population in these cities by 10.8% and 4.7% respectively, the number of Ukrainians there over the period 2002-2010 sharply decreased by 39% and 26%, respectively.

Thus we are facing a fast assimilation of Ukrainian migrants mainly from soviet times in the modern Russian Federation. It is worth emphasizing that we consider 2002 and 2010, notably a time which was generally characterized by a favorable relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples as seen from the perspective of 2014 and further years of Russian-Ukrainian war. Nevertheless, every year about 4% of Ukrainians living in the Russian Federation at the time of the 2002 census took the decision to change their national identity within the next 8 years.

Processes of Ukrainians' assimilation in the Russian Empire and the USSR in the 19th and 20th centuries are commonly perceived as purposeful and centrally managed. Russian and Soviet leadership actions concerning national assimilation, certainly, were distinct in details, the nature of justification and degree of secrecy. There are no reasons to be in doubt about goal-setting and

corresponding actions. As per the leadership of the Russian Federation of the 2000s, a lot of statements were made, but never, apparently, were they caught in purposeful assimilatory attempts.

For the purposes of comparison, we can take the situation with the self-identification of Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians in Poland. There were two censuses in Poland – in 2002 and 2010. We can see in Poland 30,000 Ukrainians (0.081% of the whole population) by the 2002 census, and 49,000 (0,13% from all population) by the 2010 census. There were 37,000 Ukrainians by the "first identification" and 12,000 Ukrainians by the "second identification". These terms – first and second identification – were the innovation of the 2010 census. As for Russians in Poland, we can see the same picture of growth: there were 6,100 Russians by the 2002 census, and 13,000 by the 2010 census. Also, we can see 48,700 and 46,000 Belarusians in Poland in 2002 and 2010, respectively. There was no increase in quantity but there also was not a large drop. Thus, in the Russian Federation we are dealing with a completely different self-identification behavior.

Presumed factors of the fast assimilation of Ukrainians in RF

The unexpectedly rapid rate of Ukrainians' change of national identification (i.e. peaceful assimilation) in the Russian Federation can be explained by several superimposed factors:

1) Widely-known, and traditional for Russians', scornful attitude towards foreigners and "younger brothers", including Ukrainians, repeatedly fixed by sociological polls;

2) Neglect of cultural and educational needs of national minorities that do not have their own territorial formations on the territory of the Russian Federation, lasting since USSR times. Basically, similar treatment is explained by Russian government statements saying that "providing education in languages other than Russian violates the principle of equal possibilities, because, according to Russian authorities, children taught in such a manner will further appear in unequal conditions in relation to others (specifically in searching for work), i.e. they will be discriminated against"[11].

[11] http://an-babushkin.livejournal.com/2017/01/12/.

In pursuance of the above approach, the RF presidential decree of 2009 abolished the possibility for school leavers to pass the obligatory "single state examination" at the end of secondary school in one of the minority languages. The opportunity to take this obligatory examination only in Russian was given. According to a study by Federica Prina, this provision has led to a decrease in the number of parents who want to educate their children in languages other than Russian, since in that case their children would be at a disadvantage when doing exams[12]. In practice, this decree concerned only those national minorities that have their national territorial formations on the territory of the Russian Federation. For such peoples who do not have their own national-territorial entities on the territory of the Russian Federation, like Ukrainians or Belarusians, such measures were superfluous, since school instruction in the native language in the territory of the Russian Federation was not carried out there both from the time of the collapse of the USSR and in the previous 70 years.

Currently on the territory of the Russian Federation there are no schools where instruction is provided in the Ukrainian language. Approximately the same number of schools was observed in the 1990s and the 2000s. To be fair, it is worth noting that in the Russian Federation in the 1990s – 2000s there were several schools where the Ukrainian language was studied as a discipline: 5 schools in the 1995/96 school year, 8 – in the 2000/01 school year, 4 – in the 2001/02 school year and 5 – in the 2002/03 school year[13].

This situation is in line with the continuing policy of the Russian government: Russia continues to refrain from ratifying the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, despite making commitments on this issue when joining the Council of Europe. In 2009 -2011, a joint program of the European Union and the Council of Europe was held in cooperation with the Russian Ministry of Regional Development, entitled "Minorities in Russia: the development of culture, language, media and civil society". The program was aimed at assisting Russia in ratifying the Charter through research, public discussions and seminars. However, after the program was implemented, the

[12] *Федерика Прина (Federica Prina) Защита прав меньшинств и коренных народов Российской Федерации: проблемы и решения для будущего*, p. 16, http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/mrg-protecting-rights-minorities-indigenous-peoples-russian-federation-RU.pdf.

[13] http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b03_33/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d010/i010630r.htm.

Russian authorities stated that its conclusions "indicate that the application of the Charter is not suitable for the specific multilingual situation in the Russian Federation"[14].

Before the events of Russian-Ukrainian war that began in 2014, in 2010-2012 several Ukrainian national cultural organizations – the Association of Ukrainians of Russia and the Federal National-Cultural Autonomy Ukrainians of Russia – were liquidated in the Russian Federation[15]. At the same time, the authorities of the Russian Federation created a pocket organization called "The Federal National and Cultural Autonomy 'Ukrainians of Russia'". Authorities of the Russian Federation did not even let Ukrainian journalists attend its constituent congress, which testifies to the pocket status of this organization[16].

3) Complete disrespect of Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian state towards the Ukrainians living on the territory of the Russian Federation. It may be stated that such insolence has some traditional grounds going by its roots the USSR era – only at that time such indignity was promoted by the union's authorities. In the 2000s, the government of the independent Ukrainian state had the same attitude towards its compatriots on the territory of the Russian Federation as the republican Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine. Such negligence may have more or less feasible and logical grounds, for instance "those who wish to live in the Ukrainian environment and preserve their identity always have a possibility to leave for Ukraine". However, such disputable explanations do not change the general evaluation of such treatment.

Even according to the information of the Ukrainian Embassy in Russia, there are only about 100 Ukrainian public organizations in Russia (for 1.9 million people who recognized themselves as Ukrainians according to the 2010 census)[17]. Moreover, the existing websites of some of these organizations (they do not exist for all organizations of Ukrainians in Russia) leave no doubt:

[14] *Федерика Прина (Federica Prina) Защита прав меньшинств и коренных народов Российской Федерации: проблемы и решения для будущего*, op. cit., p. 17.

[15] https://ubr.ua/ukraine-and-world/society/obedinenie-ukraincev-rossii-okonchatelno-likvidirovali-157831; https://zn.ua/SOCIETY/obedinenie_ukraintsev_rossii_obzhaluet_reshenie_suda_o_likvidatsii_organizatsii.html.

[16] https://ubr.ua/ukraine-and-world/society/obedinenie-ukraincev-rossii-okonchatelno-likvidirovali-157831.

[17] http://russia.mfa.gov.ua/ru/ukraine-ru/ukrainians-in-ru.

organizations exist formally and, even at best, did not go beyond two or three small cultural events a year, even until 2014[18]. The law "On State Support of the Ukrainian Community Abroad", the draft of which was submitted to the Parliament in 2010, has not been adopted in Ukraine yet[19].

In the early 2000s, the intensification of the assistance of the Ukrainian state in meeting the national-cultural needs of Ukrainians abroad and the protection of their rights and interests was put forward as a counter-strategy of the then government in response to an attempt by Western diaspora representatives to exert political pressure on it. A key role in this strategy was assigned to the III World Forum of Ukrainians, organized and conducted with the involvement of significant resources and active involvement of government agencies. Formed by local administrations, the "delegations" of the forum participants from all oblasts were intended to ensure the loyalty of the Forum to the incumbent President. In the Administration of the President of Ukraine, program documents were developed, in particular, the National Program "Foreign Ukrainians", which had to create the visibility of the country's decisive intentions in this area. However, during the next period, the state authorities did not ensure the implementation of one tenth of the provisions of the National Program. In the decree of the President of Ukraine, by which this program came into force, neither the sources of its funding nor the mechanisms of coordination and responsibility of the authorities regarding the implementation of the specific provisions of the program were foreseen. This practice has caused considerable disappointment and pessimism in the Ukrainian environment of those regions where their activity has a particularly limited support base and often faces opposition from local authorities. The fair indignation of community activists also caused the lack of attention to the interests of Ukrainian communities by some Ukrainian embassies and consulates, and attempts at bureaucratic pressure on Ukrainian organizations abroad[20].

More success in terms of state support for the Ukrainian diaspora could be considered from 2012-2015: On July 18, 2012, the Ukrainian Government

[18] See for example: http://ukrnkaspb.narod.ru/unka.html; http://zemlyaki.moscow/?p=301; http://nko-karelia.ru/nko/318; http://ukrcentr.ru/ukra%D1%97nci-rosi%D1%97/ukraina-dalekaya-i-blizkaya/.

[19] http://search.ligazakon.ua/l_doc2.nsf/link1/JF4NZ00B.html.

[20] *Україна: Стратегічні пріоритети. Аналітичні оцінки*, 2006, pp. 175-176, http://old.niss.gov.ua/book/Vlasyuk_mon/04-4.pdf.

adopted a resolution, "On Approval of the State Program of Cooperation with Foreign Ukrainians for the Period until 2015". According to this program, it was planned to allocate 109 million UAH (approximately $13 million) for cooperation with foreign Ukrainians for four years[21]. In a rough recalculation on all foreign Ukrainians, it turned out that approximately less than 1 dollar would be allocated to one person for 4 years. However, the specification of the estimated costs under this program shows that only a quarter of the funds were supposed to be spent on activities that somehow related to mass cultural and educational activities[22].

For the solace of the rapidly decreasing remnants of Ukrainian migrants on the territory of the Russian Federation, it may be noticed that the Ukrainian state shows similar treatment of its compatriots not only in the Russian Federation, but in the majority of countries in the world. In this context the tiny connections with the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada and USA looks like discord. Such dissonance provides a recipe for seeking contacts with the Ukrainian state for diasporas: to establish solid connections with the homeland, the representatives of diasporas should independently get on their feet, preserve national identity and interconnections of foreign communities, and after that the Ukrainian state will notice them and will even ask for assistance (financial) in the building of an independent Ukraine.

It is telling that in the above-mentioned draft law "On State Support of the Ukrainian Community Abroad", three of the six goals of state support for the Ukrainian community abroad (Article 2) refer to the sphere of the cultural development of the Ukrainian diaspora, and three to the issues of attracting diaspora finance to the economy of Ukraine[23].

Another aspect of the problem is related to civil society in Ukraine: due to various reasons, in the 2000s different communities and assemblies foremost reproduced factually the attitude of our state towards Ukrainians in CIS countries, as well as in the Russian Federation.

[21] *Державна програма співпраці із закордонними українцями на період до 2015 року. Затверджена постановою Кабінету Міністрів України від 18 липня 2012 р. № 682*, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/682-2012-%D0%BF#n48.

[22] Ibid., Додаток 2 до Програми. Завдання і заходи з виконання Державної програми співпраці із закордонними українцями на період до 2015 року.

[23] http://search.ligazakon.ua/l_doc2.nsf/link1/JF4NZ00B.html.

It seemed important to focus Ukrainian society efforts on the support to Ukrainians in the Russian Federation and other CIS republics. It is essential for both the internal development of civil society in Ukraine (in the sense of capacities for consolidation around one common task) and for the slowing of Ukrainians' assimilation processes in the Russian Federation.

Conclusion

According to the study of the RF census 2002 and 2010 data, we can state that in all regions of the Russian Federation, and even in regions where the absolute number of the population has increased, was decrease in the number of Ukrainians significantly exceeded the overall rate of depopulation. While the rate of change in the total population of the regions varied from -14.1% to + 10.8%, the rate of change in the number of Ukrainians was negative in all regions of the Russian Federation and varied from region to region from -19% to -50% over the same 8 years. The share of the decrease in the number of Ukrainians, which goes beyond the general rate of depopulation in a relevant region, can characterize the rate of assimilation of Ukrainian migrants in Russia. Thus, the annual rate of assimilation of Ukrainian migrants in the Russian Federation varies in different regions from 2.38% to 6.25%. The average rate of Ukrainian migrants' assimilation is estimated for regions of the Russian Federation as 3.78% per year.

The main factors of this issue are: 1) Widely-known, and traditional for Russians', scornful attitude towards foreigners and "younger brothers", including Ukrainians; 2) Neglect of cultural and educational needs of national minorities that do not have their own territorial formations on the territory of the Russian Federation, lasting since USSR times; 3) Complete disrespect of Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian state towards the Ukrainians living on the territory of the Russian Federation.

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Mapping the Way: The Use of Maps in Artistic Projects, Working with Migrants and Refugees

Abstract: This article deals with three art projects which take into account the relationship between maps, migration and memory. We shall analyse how Céline Boyer, Bouchra Khalili and Marie Moreau artistically respond to the diverse waves of migration in Europe. In each of their respective projects, engagement with these themes and with individual participants created opportunities for the transmission of knowledge and experience. The connection between maps and power is explored relative to these artistic projects and related processes. Whether it be photography, writing, video installation or participative ateliers, all three artists seem to pinpoint the importance of the hand when it comes to telling and mapping a story.

Key words: art walking, mapping, migration, hand, Boyer, Moreau, Khalili.

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Introduction

Artists have been using maps since time immemorial. Whether it be illustrating maps, using them in installation work or imagining new systems of projection, the map is a never-ending source of inspiration for the artist. Maps can be explored, enabling one to dream, to imagine, leading one through places one used to live in or on routes one had once travelled, guiding one through places one has settled in or helping one plan journeys to come. Hence, we can grasp how some artists who work with migrants use maps in their art projects. Maps' plasticity becomes evident and we can perceive them as matter to explore and to manipulate.

Céline Boyer, Bouchra Khalili, and Marie Moreau have all used maps while working on art projects with migrants. In each piece of artwork, the hand seems to be of great importance, just as much as maps. Thus, we shall ask ourselves how the hand and the map interact in Bouchra, Khalili and Moreau's work. How does a map become cathartic for displaced people? And how does the artist use this powerful system of representation to evoke memory and help migrants to adapt.

This paper will explore the works of Boyer, Khalili, and Moreau relative to the above questions. Boyer, Khalili and Moreau's artistic approach to maps and migration differ in several ways as we shall see as the article unfolds. However, the three works are complementary here in that each piece of art responds to another. The artists' works were analysed through an almost Warburgian approach in that my research in visual arts acknowledges both contemporary art and historical works of art, connecting established and more innovative theories. In this paper, following the offbeat path enables the reader to interpret works of art in a unique way, bringing to light the three pieces of art, the singularity of each creative form and how memory, maps and migration all three converge in different ways.

First, we shall look at Céline Boyer's work, at her series of hands, *Empreintes*, meaning 'imprints'. Here we shall focus on the metaphor of the skin as territory. Then, we shall centre on Khalili's *Mapping Journey Project*. Unlike Boyer's static, photographic hands, Khalili's move in his series of videos leads us to focus on the gesture and language of the hand. Furthermore, we are able to then distinguish between the cartographic map and the sketch map. Tim Ingold's definition of "cartographic map" and "sketch map" will be defined and

further discussed. Finally, Moreau's work happens to be more participative, in that the migrants work on blank paper or even on material, weaving their story into the fabric, the gesture of the hand becoming part of the map. What counts here seems to be the lines, which are those of the wayfarer.

Each hand tells a story

Céline Boyer is a French photographer. She began a series of photographs in 2009 entitled *Empreintes*, meaning 'Imprints', an ongoing series in progress, for she collects more and more stories and photographs of hands as she goes along through life. In terms of migration, adaptation, and memory, this work further explores where we come from, how one's body adapts and remembers, and one way that our stories and experiences can be told through our bodies

It all began when she was a young girl. She used to play a game with her globe, her eyes shut, and point her index finger somewhere. She would then do some research on whatever mysterious place she had located and try to imagine another world and all the possibilities of another life elsewhere. She had discovered the power of cartography and how systems of projection can evoke distant places and time.

Boyer then decided to put on her great grandmother's wedding ring and photograph her own hand, superimposing the picture with the map of the Ural Mountains, her great grandparents having emigrated from Russia. Although she found the image curious, she was, however, troubled by the result of this superimposition. Hence, she began to explore the past, asking her grandfather to have his hand photographed in turn. The suggestive strength of this work led Boyer to photograph other hands, those of friends, of friend's friends, and then, friend's acquaintances whom she did not know. This is how her art project, *Empreintes*, was born.

The photograph being the medium of communication, she asks each person to present himself or herself, showing the palm of their hand. The photographer and each person have to trust one another. While Boyer photographs their hands, they tell their story and confide in her, sharing the secrets of their past. Boyer superimposes a cartographic map of the territory from where the person comes onto the photograph of the hand. The exhibition juxtaposes each image with a text, a testimony, a story of the person attached to their place of

birth, to his or her memory, thus creating a collective memory made of maps, hands and stories. This goes to show how rich the regions and towns of France are, in that people have immigrated into France over time, from all different parts of Europe and even from all over the world.

IMAGE 1. Céline Boyer, *Empreintes*, image taken from the book documenting the photographic and text work, Paris, Broché, 2013.

The hands form a series of portraits, in that each image evokes the path of life each person has travelled along. The cartographic signs, the rivers, roads and mountains, the names of towns, villages or hamlets travel across the skin, just like lines on the palm of the hand, those a palmist would study in chiromancy. Boyer's hands create a metaphorical story of the skin as territory, where rivers and roads are woven into the wrinkles and veins of the hand and where mountains and valleys meet the curves of fingers, palms and wrists. The colourings of the cartographic map shadow and highlight the skin of the hands, bringing them to life and suggesting a "unique landscape"[1], using the words of David Le Breton, a French anthropologist.

Henri Focillon used these same words in 1943, in a short essay on hands. He asked himself how the hands, being a mute organ of the body, are so capable of moving us. He saw the palm of the hand as a receptacle or even a repository of forgotten memories. The skin of the palm resembles a "unique landscape, with mountains, a great central depression, narrow fluvial valleys, […]"[2].

Boyer's hands speak to us in their own language. Our eye travels along the lines of the hands where the plasticity of the map meets that of the skin in order to conjure up images of distant lands and memories.

Retracing the journey

Gilles A. Tiberghien perceives the map as a "dream machine"[3]. The map is a system of representation, which is actually drawn by the human hand. The fingers proceed, transcribing lines and levels, sketching, scribbling and scrawling, while the genius of the cartographer translates the rhythm and the melody of the territory. At that instant, the map becomes a space one can explore. The artist opens up this cartographical space and brings it to life. More precisely, it is the hands that bring it to life, for we manipulate maps, we point at different spots and locations, and we follow lines with a finger. These gestures result from either real or mental journeys, from the movements of the mind and the

1 D. Le Breton, *La peau et les traces, Sur les blessures de soi*, Paris: Editions Métailié, 2003, p 24.

2 H. Focillon, *Éloge des mains*, [in] *La vie des formes,* Paris 1943, p. 103.

3 G. A. Tiberghien, *Finis Terrae: Imaginaires et imaginations cartographiques*, Paris: Bayard, 2007, p. 169.

body. Moving across a map is quite similar to moving through space. Thus, a map could help us recall a walk, a trip or a journey.

Bouchra Khalili's *Mapping Journey Project* could be thought of in this way. Over a period of four years, Khalili travelled round the Mediterranean Basin collecting testimonies of migrants; we could envisage this proceeding as an unusual form of interview. The migrants confide in Khalili while their hands travel along the map in a video installation. Each video tells the story of a migrant Khalili encountered. The sensual movement of the hand in these videos pinpoints how our hands constantly interact with our voice, sound and gesture complementing one another. As Henri Focillon says, hand gesture articulates our everyday life. It confers rhythm and colour to one's existence, voice and hands working together, exchanging signs and sound. The hands create depth in Khalili's work as they move along the maps, defining space and bringing the fixed and rigid cartographic maps to life, creating what Ingold calls a sketch map, one that accompanies the voice. Ingolds "sketch map" shows the way people inhabit the world[4]. The ephemeral movement of the body and gesture accompany stories and the path of the "wayfarer" travelling through life:

> The lines on the sketch map are formed through the gestural re-enactment of the journeys *actually made*, to and from places that are already known for their histories of previous comings and goings. The joins, splits and intersections of these lines indicate which paths to follow, and which can lead you astray, depending on where you want to go. They are lines of movement. In effect, the 'walk' of the line retraces your own 'walk' through the terrain[4].

[4] T. Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History*, Oxon: Routledge, 2016, p. 87.

IMAGE 2. Bouchra Khalili, *The Mapping Journey Project*, installation view, 8 videos, sound, 2008-11.

Florence Jou underlines how the map in Khalili's video-installation resembles the "sketch map"[5]. The gesture transforms the normative surface of the map, revealing depth as one traces trajectories bringing it to life. The lines drawn by the migrants resemble those one performs while walking, in that the trajectories each individual follows involve both the body and the mind. The ephemeral lines appear on the map as Khalili's storytellers remember where they came from, the places they travelled through, the path they followed and where they settled down, whether temporally or permanently. The trajectories of the migrants make their way to the surface of the map as Khalili's migrant's hands retrace their trajectories. In this way, they remember how their whole body and mind are connected to the territory.

[5] F. Jou, *The Mapping Journey Project: la cartographie à l'état dynamique*, [in] *Textimage*, online article, http://www.revue-textimage.com/12_varia_5/jou1.html [Accessed: 18 August 2017]

IMAGE 3. Bouchra Khalili, *The Mapping Journey Project* (detail), 8 videos, sound, 2008-11.

Participative ateliers

We can say that Khalili's work is participatory in a certain sense. However, French artist Marie Moreau took participation a step further when she agreed to join a research project in 2013, along with twelve asylum seekers, two researchers in geography and three other artists. This creative research project involved contemporary migratory experiences. The artists, researchers and migrants worked together creating maps. Their goal was to re-invent the system and signs of the map, which debase the border to a line for instance, or migration to an arrow. They endeavoured to translate the political and practical complexity of the journey. The artistic and scientific experiment of this project raises several questions. For example, during these experimental ateliers, how is it that the gesture of the hand, combined with mapping techniques, can help migrants to adapt?

Marie Moreau decided to use her own sister's experience as a starting point for the project. Her sister, a social worker in a home in Grenoble, would regularly point out how the paper table cloths would become a surface for ephemeral and personal trajectories, facilitating cooperation, aid and, by all means, communication between the residents of the home, simplifying conversation when individuals did not necessarily speak the same language. Thus, maps would become a calling card. Strictly speaking, mapping would mean intro-

ducing oneself. There would be no words, or hardly any words, just lines, sketches and symbols. Doubtless, these meaningful scribbles would be true "sketch maps". One would have to draw to help one another, to get along, to move on. In addition, one would have to show the way to the others: the way through the city, or should we say, the way of life.

Marie Moreau used this technique during the ateliers, along with two other artists, Lauriane Houbey and Fabien Fischer. During the sessions, the artists would work with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, comforting them on a moral level, while each individual would express themselves using oral language, body gesture, writing and/or drawing. Maps would begin to appear on various surfaces: on paper, cloth or even pieces of wood, some bi-dimensional, others tri-dimensional, such as Gladeema Nasrussin's clay map. As a child, in Sudan, he would create and sculpt with sand, so, naturally, he began to model his map with clay. He entitled his map *The World is stopping Us.* There is obviously something therapeutic not only in Nasrussin's map, but in all these maps, which convey a mixture of feelings, such as nostalgia, regret, anger or hope.

IMAGE 4. *Cartographies traverses*, research and creation project, creative ateliers involving asylum seekers, researchers and artists, 2013.

Moreau has clarified the meaning of sticky labels she uses with migrants and which form a colourful key to the maps, translating constellations of words and feelings: red labels translate as danger, black as death, brown stickers point out luck and blue locate the police. In addition, one can choose the size of the label according to the intensity of the cold, how hungry one felt, or how strong a relationship was experienced. The migrants then use these labels on their maps, combining them with words and symbols.

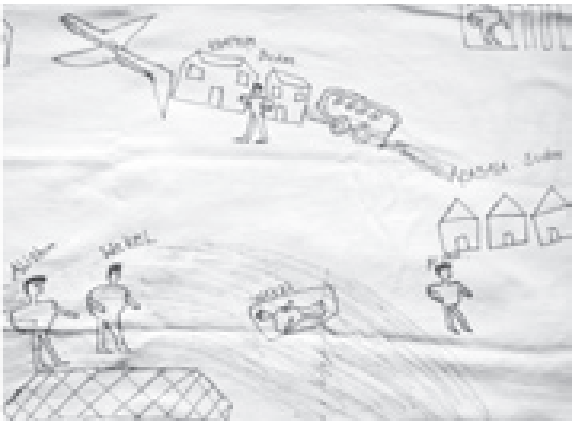

IMAGE 5. *Cartographies traverses*, research and creation project, creative ateliers involving asylum seekers, researchers and artists, 2013.

IMAGE 6. *Cartographies traverses*, research and creation project, creative ateliers involving asylum seekers, researchers and artists, 2013.

Marie Moreau also suggests working on white cloth, which, she says, resembles the white shroud Muslims use to cover the deceased, for she believes it evokes friends and family who died during the journey. Working with cloth enables the use of either pens or embroidery, which, through the presence of the needle and thread, can also recall stitching a wound. Let us not forget that the migrants are still dealing with traumatic and painful memories. Some of the photographs documenting the sessions reveal how the hands relate to the white cloth, and how expressive they are, in such a way that the white material becomes symbolic to those who have fled their own country.

Whether the maps are drawn, sculpted or embroidered, they all show how the hands can become engaged in a healing process of traumatic loss, and how they can lead a displaced person along the way to adaptation in a new environment.

Discussion

These three significant works and their analyses hold important relevance beyond the scope of their immediate participants. All three pieces of artwork bear an underlying question which is the connection between maps and power. For instance, the upright hand in Boyer's work conveys ideas of identity and/or justice. Moreover, the collaborative work with Moreau could suggest subversive mapping or even activism. If we consider Karen O'Rourke's research into art and cartography, we could state that collaborative cartography can become a means of control. She notes that:

> For the most part, the projects and tools of collaborative cartography draw connections among sources of information. This has not prevented cartographers from being accused of taking a superior, godlike view of whatever they are mapping. So do people map something to gain knowledge of it and ultimately power over it?[6]

Thus, if we bear in mind this viewpoint, maps can be seen as truly empowering systems which can have both negative and positive sides to those

[6] K. O'Rourke, *Walking and Mapping, Artists as Cartographers*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, Massachussetts, 2013, p. 207.

who are part of the actual system itself. We may suggest that maps should be *manipulated* with precaution.

Conclusion

Our hands are linked to our 'path' of life. They tell our story. Céline Boyer's hands reveal how much the territory is embedded in us. Her *geo-photographs* begin to tell us how intertwined the hands, the map and the territory are. This is more evident in Khalili's installation work. The gesture of the hand opens up the space of the cartographic map, turning it into a "sketch map", bringing it to life. However, it is the Grenoble ateliers which reveal how the hand and the map can play a role in adapting to a new life, after the traumatic experience of a war, a dictatorship, extreme poverty or a precarious journey. The plasticity of the "sketch map" seems to soothe harrowing memories and the feeling of loss. The gesture involved in these participatory sessions is a form of communication, and, therefore, adaptation. Touch, gesture, traces show how much the human hand still has to say. It cannot be separated from the rest of the body and mind. The hand remembers, tells, plans and helps us make our way.

Taken together, all three artistic projects suggest a space for discussion and exchange.. These can be understood as important experiences for the participants in these projects. Each one of the participants in Boyer, Khalili and Moreau's projects voluntarily collaborated in diverse intersecting processes, which included storytelling, searching for comfort or guidance, and seeking or sharing advice. There are important links to be drawn between these artistic projects, the analysis presented in this paper, and the themes of memory, adaptation and migration. The importance of this work lies within sharing and remembering, travelling along paths of memory and transmitting knowledge, whether it is to simply bear witness of the terrible traumas of migration, or to find a form of relief or guidance; a way for adaptation to take place.

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Memories of Mogadishu: Reconstructing post-conflict societies through memory and storytelling

Abstract: For many members of the Somali diaspora, the fear of fading memories places a sense of urgency on them to keep these stories of their homeland alive. The great African novelist Ben Okri once said, "to poison a nation, poison its stories". Stories have the ability to harm or heal societies. Oftentimes, it is simply exclusion from the main narrative that can greatly harm or marginalize a group of people. This paper examines the use of memory in the reconstruction of a once cosmopolitan city by the Somali diaspora around the world through the *Memories of Mogadishu* initiative. The film by the same title is a short documentary made by the author, in which she interviews nine members of the Somali diaspora currently residing in Canada. Ultimately, this project and this paper reveal the realities of how post-conflict societies, and individuals within them, reconstruct and reconcile their memories, in this case of their former home of Mogadishu, Somalia. This paper analyses the nine interviews and is divided into the follow-

* Asha Siad is a Somali-Canadian filmmaker. Her recent credits include the Amnesty International Canada Media Award winner Living at the Border, which is an interactive documentary that explores the experiences of African asylum-seekers in Italy. Asha's latest film, Memories of Mogadishu, reveals the realities of how post-conflict societies reconstruct and reconcile their memories of Mogadishu.

ing four sections: “Memories of Mogadishu before the Civil War”, “Civil War and Leaving Mogadishu”, “Identity Revision, Memory, and Routinization”, and “Losing and Rebuilding Memories of Mogadishu (and Themselves)”.

Key words: Mogadishu, Somalia, refugees, migration, narratives, memory processes, stories.

IMAGE 1. *Portraits of individuals who were interviewed for the film Memories of Mogadishu.*
Left, top to bottom: Fowsia, Abdirahman, Ahmed G, Omar.
Centre: Hersi. Right, top to bottom: Canab, Ahmed A, Hamdi, Dahir.

> "To me, memory is something that we live in all the time, live with, but the memory of a place. It fascinates me just how intertwined your thoughts, your dreams, your psyche is to a place that you might not have been for a long time."[1]

Introduction

As written in Shirin Ramzanali Fazel's book *Far from Mogadishu*, "Mogadishu is a city that exists in the stories of its inhabitants, now displaced in various parts of the world, and only thanks to their memories can it be reconstructed"[2]. Despite the mainstream media portrayal of Somalia as a place of violence,

[1] A. Siad, Voice of Fowsia, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

[2] S. Ramzanali Fazel, *Far From Mogadishu*, Datanews: 1994.

destitution and death, for those who are part of Shirin's generation, their homeland is far from those news media images. They have countless stories, from long days spent at Lido Beach enjoying ice lollies, to catching a movie in one of the city's many open-air theatres. Mogadishu is preserved in their minds and in their stories.

The *Memories of Mogadishu* initiative is based in Canada and is one that I have been leading for several years. It is a multimedia project which includes a short documentary film, which I directed and conducted the interviews for the film. The overall initiative offers an intimate portrait and unprecedented glimpse into the lives (past and present) of nine people who experienced displacement related to almost two decades of political instability and conflict. Through multimedia storytelling, the project combines archival footage with personal interviews of members of the global Somali diaspora, with the goal of documenting their collective memory of the pre-civil war city. Furthermore, the initiative reveals the realities of how post-conflict societies reconstruct and reconcile their memories of a once cosmopolitan city.

While memory can play an important role in healing and creating a sense of belonging for individuals, it can also be a source of pain. In an interview with *Memories of Mogadishu*, Professor and leading linguist Cabdalla Umar Mansur from Rome, Italy, says that "I kept thinking it would end this year, but the next year, and eventually it's become 27 years of me being in Italy." In Birmingham, United Kingdom, writer Shirin Ramzanali Fazel shares that writing memories allowed her to heal: "I left Mogadishu in 1971, and I started writing the book in 1991... it was almost 20 years, and for me it was not difficult to remember everything suddenly... in a way, it is like you are telling yourself you don't want to lose these memories... you want to see them written, in a way you keep them." Across the globe in Ottawa, Canada, Fowsia Abdulkadir, a researcher and human rights activist, talks about the moment the war broke out: "In December 1990 the war broke, the first thing that hit me at a very sort of visceral level was ok I don't have the option of going home once a year anymore… that was taken away... it felt like someone kind of removing the rug under your feet... you have no option now, you cannot go back because it's not safe to go back"[3]. The memories of these three members of the Somali

[3] A. Siad, Voice of Fowsia, op cit.

diaspora, which appear to be worlds away, capture the intergenerational experiences and sense of loss faced by some of those who have been most impacted by conflict. It also shifts the narrative by putting the individuals at the centre of their stories as it relates to the past.

The recent *Memories of Mogadishu* documentary film takes place inside of a photo studio. This short film offers an intimate portrait and unprecedented glimpse into the lives of those who have been forcibly displaced by conflict. It can be considered a form of mediated memory work[4], given that the film offers a representation of the past that is transmitted through a form of media, while also affecting the construction of both personal and collective memory. Both the film and this paper strive to address the following question: How does the Somali diaspora remember or reimagine the once cosmopolitan city of Mogadishu? To do so, interviews were conducted with nine individuals currently residing in Canada. The transcripts of their individual life narratives were analysed to identify what themes emerged. Within each of these themes, specific content was analysed to further understand what is remembered and how remembering takes places.

This paper is divided into the following four sections, which present the results related to the research question stated above: "Memories of Mogadishu before the Civil War", "Civil War and Leaving Mogadishu", "Identity Revision, Memory, and Routinization", and "Losing and Rebuilding Memories of Mogadishu (and Themselves)". This sequence of thematic analysis also follows both the flow and narrative of the film *Memories of Mogadishu*, as well as the life story trajectories described by the nine interviewees.

Memories of Mogadishu before the Civil War

Individuals interviewed for the film *Memories of Mogadishu* described their experiences and thoughts about Mogadishu as it was before the war. Fowsia, a human rights activist and researcher who left Mogadishu 40 years ago, brings the viewer into her perspective as she describes: "When I close my eyes Mogadishu is that beautiful, white villas, and the Indian ocean, and every Fri-

[4] C. Lohmeier and C. Pentzold, *Making mediated memory work: Cuban-Americans, Miami media and the doings of diaspora memories*, "Media, Culture & Society", 36(6): 2014, pp. 776-789.

day going to the Indian ocean and just listening… There is a special noise that comes from the ocean."[5] Abdirahman, a former tech and production manager at the state printing agency who left Somalia 30 years ago, echoes these sentiments, as he describes his reflections and experiences of Mogadishu:

> Honestly, it was a city known as the pearl of the Indian Ocean because it was a beautiful city, very colourful, attracting all kinds of people. The infrastructure was very vintage. That could have been a heritage site today. A place in the history books of Africa like Zanzibar and many others[6].

As a former government official who left Mogadishu 27 years ago, Dahir describes the broader society and functioning in Somalia from his perspective: "My best memories… I remember my country was at a very good place, grasping development, education was at an all time high, the economy was developing. Back then, the Somali Shilling compared to USE, $1 was 3 Somali Shillings. Everyone was living significantly fine. It was good."[7] Ahmed G, a former pilot for Somalia Airlines who left 28 years ago, shares a perspective specific to the centrality of Mogadishu: "Mogadishu was the centre of the whole Somalia, where if you are from North, South, anywhere where you come and present your talent of your music of your entertainment and that was one thing I will always remember."[8]

Reflecting specifically on Mogadishu, Dr. Hamdi Mohamed, a social historian and author with a PhD, who left Somalia 30 years ago, states that it "was a very serene, beautiful, cosmopolitan city. With each neighbourhood having its own culture, its own dynamic, its own community."[9] Regarding interactions between people, Canab was a businesswoman in Somalia who left 26 years

5 A. Siad, Voice of Fowsia, op. cit.

6 A. Siad, Voice of Abdirahman, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

7 Idem, Voice of Dahir, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

8 Idem, Voice of Ahmed Ali, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

9 Idem, Voice of Canab, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t

ago. She describes the Somalia of her memory as "a country where nobody will ask who you are or where you come from. The neighbours were like your mother and father, who would take care of us if we were outside". Ahmed A, a former businessman who left Somalia 30 years ago, brings these themes together with the following statement:

> Somalia got its independence in 1960. The memories I can recall now is that a country that existed for 17 years, that declared its own independence in Africa, and reached self-sufficiency. And if you finish university or high school you graduate debt-free and nothing is demanded from you. When you finish university, a job is offered to you, provided to you. That is the best memory I have and will never forget. Because when you go to other countries, peaceful, lavish countries, you see how their children are overwhelmed with university and life balance. And it is not free. So in my opinion Somalia was the most developed country that I could see. Other African countries reached out to us [Somalia] to help with education. That was Africa![10]

Taken together, the quotes presented in this section reveal an idealized remembering of Mogadishu. They represent a city that was not troubled by war or conflict, and instead represent a city that was a regional leader in many ways, one of great potential, and one in which the interviewees were living a good life in a city of which they were proud.

Civil War and Leaving Mogadishu

War and migration relate to a diversity of challenges at several different points in time. Following the idyllic descriptions and memories of Mogadishu before the war that were brought forward by those who were interviewed, the realities of civil war and its repercussions began to settle in. Canab observes that:

> The country seemed to be giving birth to a war and had this smell of war. We did not have any experience of war. The first time was in primary/intermediate school that was in my neighborhood, a huge missile passed over us that hit a place

[10] Idem, Voice of Ahmed Ali, op. cit.

> that was relatively 200 metres away from us, that was not that far away from us. At that time we decided to get out of Mogadishu[11].

Dr. Hersi Mohamed Eyow, a medical doctor who left Somalia 26 years ago and was practicing in Mogadishu during the conflict, shares his experience that reveals the challenges of the particular circumstances they were under:

> Oh, it was a difficult time because at that time when people are coming to our clinic in SOS, laboratories were not functioning, blood transfusion bank was not functioning, even electricity was not functioning. So we used to treat the patient with blood transfusions. Once we know the blood group of the person, we used to give the blood transfusion through one person to another person because you do not have those bottles that you can sustain the blood so it was very difficult[12].

In describing daily life and how the war affected being able to do his work, Abdirahman adds that:

> The conditions we were working under were very scary. Sometimes, the last day before the war started, I still remember, the minister called me and he said, "are you going to produce the newspaper today"? I said, "I cannot come because my region where my house is located has been taken over by the battle so I cannot even move to one metre close to the print shop."[13]

A difference is noted between the physical objects, infrastructure and architecture of Mogadishu, as compared to the people and family in Mogadishu. Dr. Hamdi Mohamed recounts that:

> At the time, we were absolutely not concerned of anything breaking. Building can be rebuilt, but family members were lost. So I don't remember consciously

[11] Idem, Voice of Canab, op. cit.

[12] Idem, Voice of Hersi, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

[13] Idem, Voice of Abdirahman, op. cit.

> thinking about Mogadishu buildings or places where we grew up or homes or any of that. Because first things first if you will...our priority was finding out if our family was alive or not[14].

Similarly, Fowsia describes the stories that she was hearing from family regarding what was going on in Mogadishu. At the time when the conflict erupted, she was not in Somalia:

> It was very vivid the way they were telling the stories, my cousins, my dad was still there. The way they were talking about how they got out actually gave me dreams of nightmares and seeing, because I know the streets they were describing, I know where they lived in Mogadishu, I know when they talk about leaving the Bakarii area going all the way to Medina, which is the south end of Mogadishu, I know what that route entails and then they will tell you how many roadblocks and what intersections they had to negotiate to get through. So I started dreaming about that, which is weird. I started seeing because you know the place, the people, so I would see in my dreams loads of buses of people, men with guns, roadblocks, what was being described is what was I seeing in my dreams, so sad. It makes me really sad[15].

Dahir describes how he went from being a deputy director leading a major project, to being a refugee fleeing to Kenya by foot:

> My goodness! The war left us with an enduring negative impact. I was one of the people who sought refuge in Kenya. Just imagine that you are a knowledgeable person, I was a deputy director and led a project on the decentralization of education funded by the World Bank. I worked in the educational sector of the federal government. On that day, the war began in Mogadishu. The director and I planned to go to New York to meet with the World Bank to discuss the project's funding. So, it had an impact on us. I became a refugee, so just imagine, fleeing Mogadishu and you go to Kenya by foot, and being in a car that is getting stuck

[14] Idem, Voice of Hamdi, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

[15] Idem, Voice of Fowsia, op. cit.

> in places. That was a rough journey. Honestly, you cannot visualize how much Somali people have suffered and the impact it had on them[16].

Describing the physical destruction and sense of loss, Abdirahman reflects that "we were the heart of the economy of the country, so there is a lot of memories. There is a lot of anger in me when I saw what we have built for so many years has been destroyed in just a couple of days. It took 40 years to produce and build all that technology and machinery."[17] Ahmed A summarizes these thoughts with the following statement: "For me, I saw it as the shattered paradise. It was shattered by its own people, in my perspective. There was no foreign army that invaded Somalia. We destroyed it with our own hands."[18]

The quotes presented in this section demonstrate how the interviewees remember the emergence of the conflict and reflect on loss. These memories are especially poignant and meaningful relative to the previous section, in which Mogadishu is recalled positively, as a regional leader, and full of potential. Interestingly, the memories presented in this section refer to both the loss experienced by Mogadishu as a city and the loss experienced by the individuals. They lost the opportunity to live in Mogadishu as a result of the conflict, and they lost the life that they had been cultivating for themselves.

Identity Revision, Memory, and Routinization

It is important at this point in the analysis to integrate a reflection of identity revision, memory, and routinization as related to trauma. It is at this point in the film *Memories of Mogadishu,* that the nine interviewees describe a "before" and "after" moment in their lives. These can be interpreted as before/after trauma, before/after migration, before/after a sense of "normality", among others. It is understood that the trajectory they had been on before the outbreak of the civil war was ruptured in a traumatic way that affected them individually and collectively, in a way that was directly related to their Somali identity and to Somalia itself. They were put in a position of needing to leave Somalia,

16 Idem, Voice of Dahir, op. cit.

17 Idem, Voice of Abdirahman, op. cit.

18 Idem, Voice of Ahmed Ali, op. cit.

thereby being uprooted and needing to reconfigure themselves and their identities as they sought safety outside of their home country.

"Experiencing trauma" can be understood as a sociological process that defines a painful injury to the collectivity, establishes the victim, attributes responsibility, and distributes both ideal and material consequences. Insofar as traumas are so experienced, and thus imagined and represented, the collective identity can become significantly revised. This identity revision suggests that there will be a searching and re-remembering of the collective past, for memory is not only social and fluid but deeply connected to the contemporary sense of the self. Identities are continuously constructed and secured not only by facing the present and future, but also by reconstructing the collectivity's earlier life[19].

The process of migration involves the loss of social networks, isolation and alienation. Dinesh Bhugra, the author of Migration, Distress and Cultural Identity, suggests that "migration is a process of social change where an individual, alone or accompanied by others, because of one or more reasons of economic betterment, political upheaval, education or other purposes, leaves one geographical area for prolonged stay or permanent settlement in another geographical area"[20]. The process of migration involves the loss of social networks, isolation and alienation. These experiences lead to the processes of acculturation. In particular, "a series of factors in the environment combined with levels of stress, the ability to deal with stress, and the ability to root oneself according to one's personality traits, will produce either a sense of settling down or a sense of feeling isolated and alienated"[21]. When individuals migrate, they do not leave their beliefs or idioms of distress behind, no matter what the circumstances of their migration. However, the presentation of these beliefs and idioms of distress may vary across individuals, as do their memories and rebuilding processes.

[19] J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, & P. Sztompka, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, University of California Press: 2004.

[20] D. Bhugra, *Migration, distress and cultural identity*, "British Medical Bulletin", 69 (1): 2004, p. 129.

[21] Ibid.

Losing and Rebuilding Memories of Mogadishu (and Themselves)

Although people may experience a common war and resulting migration, individual stories can reveal the complexities of experiences. The individual stories that are told together demonstrate the rebuilding process and the various reflections along the way. Fowsia speaks to the experience of "up-rooting" and its effects across generations that she experienced:

> That is a level of up-rooting for that generation for my grandma to come out of Somalia, of Africa and to come to north America, to me that was a major, sort of like a shift, it's like uprooting your settlement. So, that I remember you know wanting, because restarting the process and all that, wanting to make sure that they boarded their plane, they are coming. But then after hanging up the phone, thinking about Grandma Asha is on that plane and what that meant. I remember breaking down and crying in my own bedroom, thinking this is a shift in our settlement process, not only my sister and her children of two generations but this is like a third generation of an elderly person coming[22].

Omar, a former government official who left Somalia in the early 1990s, recalls his experience, describing the patience required to deal with the whole process while also suggesting an active approach to change:

> I am one of the people it affected the most, that the country took a long time to recover from the civil war. So, as I told you before, it was very hard for a person to have that patience. We have waited and we are still waiting, as a diaspora we are to blame because change does not just come, you have to take part in it[23].

Coping is a complex and diverse process for different people, even in the face of similar contexts of war and migration. Dr. Hamdi Mohamed reflects that:

> It's interesting. Different people have different ways of coping. My coping was not to think about Somalia. Once my family members left, I stopped thinking

[22] A. Siad, Voice of Fowsia, op. cit.

[23] Idem, Voice of Omar, *Memories of Mogadishu*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhjV82gQ0Zg&t.

> about Somalia. Because we have lives to build. And all of us, many of us, had this hope at the back of our head. This...this is going to be a life temporarily outside of this country. We will eventually go back[24].

In closing, Dr. Hersi Mohamed Eyow brings together the various themes explored throughout this paper through the following statement:

> I remember a lady in a teashop came to me then she said to me "doctor do you know me?" I couldn't guess and she said that "you delivered me in Banadir hospital my first son." Ok, patients who are coming to know you they know you, but how many people you have given medical help, assistance or advice. That is why you feel good in yourself, somebody who you didn't remember that he is saying you are a medical doctor, you are my medical doctor, so and so. Then here... in Somali, it is called "I lost myself"; "wan is waayey", meaning I could not find a single person who recognized me, other than those who remembered me back home. So that is the difference, that is the memory I have there, but you don't have here[25].

The interplay between what to remember and what to forget results in narratives that are constructed and expressed to fulfil psychological needs for the individual and socio-political functions for the groups and discourses that are influential in his or her life. Gemignani presents the notion that "memory is a key aspect of identity, the past is subject to practices of interpretation and power that shape the process and possibilities of identity construction at individual, political, and collective levels" [26].Ultimately, Gemignani concludes with the notion of tensions between memories, namely that memory and remembering are cultural processes. These processes reproduce the tensions between what is believed to be unforgettable, and therefore what must be remembered versus what ought to be remembered. Despite these seemingly assigned remembering tasks, the individual may remember in other ways, and therein lies the tension.

[24] Idem, Voice of Hamdi, op. cit.

[25] Idem, Voice of Hersi, op. cit.

[26] M. Gemignani, *The past if past: The use of memories and self-healing narratives in refugees from the former Yugoslavia*, "Journal of Refugee Studies", 24 (1): 2011, p. 141.

Conclusion

As Lisa Ndejuru writes in *A Modest Reconciliation*, "owning and caring for stories calls for reorientation and recovery work among the many of us who have been led to believe such stories do not matter"[27]. Thus, it is crucial to understand the importance of storytelling in post-conflict societies and the ability that it has to harm or heal marginalized groups. At its core, *Memories of Mogadishu* seeks to build a collaborative storytelling platform for the Somali diaspora around the world to share their memories of Mogadishu with the hope of contributing to the reconstruction, reconciliation and healing of Somali.

Through the analysis of the nine interviews presented in our film, several important responses emerged in response to the research question: How does the Somali diaspora remember or reimagine Mogadishu? In describing Mogadishu relative to the period before the civil war, Mogadishu is remembered as an idealized cosmopolitan city filled with success, potential, opportunity, fun, and beauty in which the interviewees were living good lives. As interviewees recall the outbreak of war and their need to flee Mogadishu, the theme of personal and collective loss emerges in a way that also reflects a rupture and loss for the city of Mogadishu itself. A clear "before" and "after" period is presented, rooted in the trauma of war, migration, and layered displacement. A tension may exist between what ought to be remembered and what is actually remembered, especially as related to individual versus collective memories and healing processes. These are issues worth investigating in future research, especially through the lens of mediates memory work. It is also worth noting that the film premiered on YouTube on May 25, 2020, and at the time of writing this paper had over 6,000 views. Watching and sharing the film may be an additional means to remember, reimagine, and possibly reinforce the memories of Mogadishu.

In closing, Fowsia's words from the opening statement of this paper are brought back and read in light of the stories and memories of Mogadishu: "To me, memory is something that we live in all the time, live with, but the

[27] L. Ndejuru, *A Modest Reconciliation: Coming to Terms with Conflicted Stories through Oral History, Dialogue, and Playback Theatre in Montreal's Rwandan Canadian Community*, [in] *Forced Migration, Reconciliation, and Justice*, Ed. M. Bradley, McGill Queens University Press: 2015.

memory of a place. It fascinates me just how intertwined your thoughts, your dreams, your psyche is to a place that you might not have been for a long time"[28]. It appears that, among many who once called pre-war Mogadishu home, the revisiting of Mogadishu in their memory space is an ever present process that plays an important role in rebuilding Mogadishu, their communities, and their lives.

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[28] A. Siad, Voice of Fowsia, op. cit.

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Whose Nostalgia is Ostalgia? Post – Communist Nostalgia in Central-European Contemporary Art

Abstract: The paper is focused on a particular group of visual artists from Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak republics dealing with the issue of memory, history and nostalgia in their work. A common feature of their art is the perception of local space in its historical connotations, the exploration of historical content, causality reception, and the time-space orientation of man. Using space, with its physical and symbolic expression, is their strategy; a specific interest is the process of searching, changing or losing the identity in a historically complicated area of Central Europe. The article examines relations between collective memory, identity and nostalgia, captured in the artistic reflection and thus mirroring the actual state of a society.

Key words: Contemporary art, Central European art, history in art, nostalgia.

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Whose nostalgia is Ostalgia? is originally an essay title by Edit András[1], an art historian from Hungary, writing about the New York exhibition of Eastern European art in 2011[2].

I borrowed the title for my paper because it is focused on a certain segment of contemporary Central and Eastern European art focusing on history including an undertone of nostalgia.

I will try to indicate here the most common artistic approaches to the topic and pick several examples among prolific contemporary artists.

Nostalgia for communist times – the so called ostalgia – is a widespread phenomenon in all of the countries of the former Eastern bloc. It has many variations – from collecting old everyday objects, reprising favourite communist films and series on TV, T-shirt prints with the hammer and sickle, special reeditions of food and drinks of that era etc. Some countries even have a special term for it (*Titostalgia* or *Yugonostalgia* in the former Yugoslavia, etc.).

There are many studies about ostalgia in different areas – cultural, political, sociological etc.[3], but in the field of visual arts[4], it is still not sufficiently reflected.

Nostalgia (the term is a mix of Greek "nostos" and "algos", "return home" and "longing"[5]) is longing for place or time that no longer exists or has never existed. It's a sentiment of loss and displacement[6]. The core of nostalgia (and of its Eastern version, ostalgia) lies in positive memories about the past: people miss it, but don't want it to return, nor do they want the old systems back. They

1 E. András, *Whose Nostalgia Is Ostalgia? An Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Republics survey exhibition in the New Museum, New York*, [online] https://www.springerin.at/en/2011/4/wessen-nostalgie-ist-die-ostalgie/ [accessed: 20 January 2020].

2 *Ostalgia*, curated by M. Gioni in New Museum, New York, 07/06/11–10/12/11.

3 There are several key texts as Charity Scribner, *Requiem for Communism*, Owen Hatherley, *The Landscapes of Communism*, Maria Todorova (ed.), *Post-Communist Nostalgia*, Mariusz Czepczyński, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities*, Beverly James, *Imagining Postcommunism* etc.

4 Basically, any work produced in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc is often being called as „ostalgic" – as in the aforementioned New Museum's *Ostalgia* exhibition (author's note).

5 The term was coined by Swiss physician Johannes Hofer in 1688 to describe a medical condition of soldiers longing for their homelands (author's note). Read more in Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, London: Basic Books, 2002.

6 Ibid.

play with the images of return, but only because they are absolutely certain that it will not be back. Nostalgia is an unsatisfiable wish in a certain way, and thus it is so strong, present and convincing[7].

The key to understanding nostalgia is however the present, not the past. The strength of nostalgic feeling depends on the state of the society: the more problematic it is, the stronger nostalgic feeling is – to sum up, the more is the society disappointed[8] with unfulfilled wishes and promises, the more nostalgic it is.

It is necessary to define the difference between nostalgia and calming memory of old happy times, which serve as a connection with the past and offers a feeling of continuity. For nostalgia, a certain underrating of the present and exaggerating the past is significant. Only some of the aspects of the past are pointed out, such as "safe and easy life", low prices, stable jobs, etc. Other significant features of the communist state – repressions, centrally planned economics, censorship, travelling restrictions – are out of sight or forgotten. The result is that the past seems to be resurrected and critical thinking about its heritage is left out. Nostalgia is collecting and preserving several elements of a fallen era, and the renewing of the reality in certain points seems to be possible[9].

Nostalgia is considered to be a personal feeling, but there are several ideas that whole periods of history can be nostalgic, like the postmodern era[10]. If we can mark a single time period as nostalgic, it surely can be applicable to a certain spacial area, or a society segment.

In the countries of former Eastern bloc, diversities in social groups' nostalgia can be spot. There is the older generation, who of course spent most of their lifetime under socialism – they now suffer identity loss, they are retired,

[7] M. Velikonja, *Lost In transition*, "East European Politics And Cultures", 2009, 23 (4) p. 532.

[8] Ibid.

[9] N. Pancheva-Kirkova, *Between Propaganda and Cultural Diplomacy: Nostalgia towards Socialist Realism in Post-Communist Bulgaria*, [online] https://www.scribd.com/document/220436391/Nina-Pancheva-Kirkova-Between-Propaganda-and-Cultural-Diplomacy-Nostalgia-Towards-Socialist-Realism-in-Post-Communist-Bulgaria [accessed: 25 January 2019].

[10] Cf. F. Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1992 and L. Hutcheon, *Irony, nostalgia, and the postmodern*, "Studies in Comparative Literature", 2000, 30, pp. 189-207. Etc.

usually in a bad financial situation, without ideals, and they are not young anymore, so longing for youth is a huge nostalgic factor.

Then there are people of the youngest generation, who are searching for their identity via current retro trends and some kind of "historical magic" narrative.

And then there is the generation in between, the so-called "generation X" in Western countries, but in Central and Eastern Europe it has a very specific position. They are on the edge of two historical times, stuck between past and future, with a specific nostalgia, sourced in their childhood memories and attempts to define their identity.

This generation is crucial in my research, where I focus on art, reflecting the social environment and changes. In the visual arts, a strong tendency to reflect the past is current: the so-called "historiographical turn" seems not to be spent yet. But a particular group of authors and works can be marked: those who reflect a socialist past in various ways and points of view, and thus the word nostalgia is on the daily menu while dipicting their work. Let me talk about several ways to explain this nostalgia and its principles in several images.

I have marked several categories or artistic approaches to the past, with a very nostalgic point of view: returns to visual culture elements, work with the issue of architecture and housing, re-contextualisation of past phenomena and documentary forms of reflection.

Returns to visual culture elements

For these returns, artistic use of aesthetic patterns of previous eras is significant. In our area of interest, those authors follow (socialist) modernist forms.

Returns to certain aspects of modernism – design, architecture and visual culture – has been a persisting trend of contemporary European art since the nineties. These early practicioners[11] revisited classic modernist tropes as an object of fascination and criticism, a multiple and inconsistent entity. They have addressed modernism for various reasons, from formal attraction, nostalgia (for example for its commitment to social agendas) to failed ideological system[12].

[11] e.g. Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster, Tobias Rehberger and others.

[12] C. Bishop, *Reactivating Modernism*, "Parkett", 2013, vol. 92, pp. 146-153.

Polish artist **Paulina Ołowska** (*1976) mixes elements of western avant-gardes with the eastern modernist style and socialist modernism, creating unique and very nostalgic images, implying lost utopian dreams.

In *Covers from Morze* (2009), she combined old magazine covers, creating tiny stories according to the pictures' themes: the man lighting his cigarette from the welding machine fire, and the sexy blonde woman bathing in the waves, which seems to be caused by the fire, etc. These lost fantasies of the proletariat reveal strange relationships between labour and culture, industry and soft pornography, similar to the atmosphere of communist Poland, all in the mist of nostalgia for the past[13]. The time period has been chosen purposedly: the year 1958 is the middle of four year rule of Władysław Gomułka, whose politics was later called "Gomułka's thaw", and 1980 – the beginning of the Solidarnosć movement in Gdańsk. Being the author's hometown, these covers document not only social events, but the period of her childhood as well, binding collective and personal memory together.

"Applied fantastic" is a 1959 term by the writer Leopold Tyrmand[14] depicting the imitating of Western styles in socialist countries. In the eponymous painting series from 2010, Olowska was inspired by fashion magazines, imitating Western styles of dressing, together with card-like instructions for knitters with a certain model pictured, as they were popular in Poland at that time. Both female and male models are depicted in knitted sweaters in front of a neutral background or a winter landscape, and several painitngs are inscribed with the original and playful titles of the knitting patterns as well: *Cake* (*Torcik*), Bee (*Pszczoła) or Clown (Klaun).*

In these series, nostalgia is present in a most obvious way. However, it seems quite ambivalent in the work: it is a fascination with the aesthetic of that period and a kind of "optimistic amnesia" of the time, and on the other hand a desire for the Western lifestyle and a critique of contemporary consumerism. Both a certain deprivation and forcefully improvised elegance, and a contrast to mass production following the socialist era[15] is expressed in the work.

[13] J. Szupinska, *Paulina Ołowska´s Covers from Morze (1958-80)*, [online] http://www.artslant.com/mia/articles/show/13265 [accesssed 1 February 2020].

[14] D. Crowley, *Warsaw*, London: Reaktion Books, 2003, p. 123.

[15] T. Williams, *Paulina Ołowska: Metro Pictures*, "Art in America", 2011, no. 2, p. 98.

Modernist architecture and housing in art

Many of the contemporary artistic works reflect the past via space and its form for living – the architecture. They use architecture as a topic and method to culture survey. The artists from Central and Eastern Europe are facing the fact that social, political and economical legacy of socialism – their preferred issue – had found its expression primarily in architectonical structures. They reflect how history, collective memory and desires for the future are imprinted in urban space[16].

Slovak artist **Tomáš Džadoň** (*1981) is such an example. Džadoň often uses architecture for various forms of interpretation: he reflects his own experience of his childhood, spent partly in a panel house block and partly at his grandma's country house. He explores local traditions together with socialist life phenomena, and the formative impact of both on personal and collective identity. He asks how are we able to deal with the fact of the constant destruction of traditions during the socialist era? According to Džadoň, tradition is a living element, bound together and influencing our present and thus the future as well.

The artist is very well aware of the fact that childhood nostalgia affects our view of the past, and his confrontations deal with this conscious and unconscious amnesia.

A dominant element in Džadoň's work is the panel house block, one of the symbols of the former regime – typical, often very low quality concrete architecture. A contrast between the panel house and traditional folk architecture is a huge issue in the artist's work.

His outstanding project *Folk Architecture Monument* (2013 – 2016) was realised in the city of Košice (SK). On the roof of a common 13-storey panel house three traditional Slovak wooden houses were installed. The question here – among many others – is whether the "ugly" panel house is inferior to traditional architecture, and whether we should deal with the fact that the panel house is gaining a traditional status as well.

Various possibilities of intepretation can also be found in Džadoň's installation *I Have Lost The Instruction* (2009), which consisted of 17 cardboard scale

[16] L. Polyák, *The Pavillions of Recollection. Architecture and Memory in Contemporary Eastern European Art*, [in] N. Wendl, I. Wallace (eds.), *Contemporary Art about Architecture: A Strange Utility*, London: Routledge 2013, pp. 209-210.

Tomáš Džadoň – *Folk Architecture Monument* (2013–2016)
photo Szaszák György

models of panel house walls in full scales, with all the details, like balconies and windows. In fact, together it would form a real flat which the author had lived in as a child. Each part seems to be waiting for displacement and re-building in various combinations. A panel house is used as a time-layer and a forming element: it is a new village, a new wooden cottage. Thanks to this relativization of panel housing the artist is getting over a personal feeling of uprooting, questioning a searching for identity related to tradition, old or recent.

Polish author **Julita Wójcik** (*1971) works with tradition in a different way, although she works with local architectural contexts as well. Wójcik often explores the role of women and their stereotyping in contemporary society, comparing it with past eras. Although there is a certain form of criticism in her

works, the ambition of most of them is far more simple: to praise common human work, everyday life, and things often escaping our attention despite being a creative factor of our everyday existence.

Understandability, the playfulness and lightness of her work often lead viewers to participate in it. Julita Wójcik works in a local context: her work is sourced in the Polish environment, in homely soil. However, its impact is widened into a global scale. By realising our own context we can make our world prettier and thus better.

In her art, the traditional handwork of all the previous generations of women, such as knitting or crocheting, takes an important role. One of her first crocheted artifacts was presented in a private show called *Dreaming of a Provincial Girl* in 2010, being an early manifestation of the "new banalism movement" in Poland, a tendency which can be observed in the seventies-born artists and is characterised by banal, common everyday issues[17].

One of her imposant knitted works is *Falowiec* (2005 – 2006), a replica of the famous housing block in Gdańsk. Built in 1970 – 1973, it is the longest housing block in Europe with more than 6.000 inhabitants. Wójcik's *Falowiec* is a nostalgic connection between the past and today: the artist accented its monumentality, the absurd, inapropirate presence, the embodied bizarre ideal of communist architecture into a decorative object, visually attractive, enabling to transform the memories into something nice and in human proportions. She made some kind of mascot here. An unidentifiable object at first sight, seeming to be as similarly surreal as its original, immense mass of building material.

Wójcik reflected the problematics of the aestheticization of socialist-modernism in several other works. Video *Wedutystka* (*The Vedutist*, 2004) was a performance record. In Gdańsk, the autor, dressed in a typical frock and a headscarf, fictionally "painted" old block house facades. Her hand was led by an invisible voice, taking care that the imaginary colour covered all the marked fields. We can see here another attempt at object interiorization, similarly as in *Falowiec*, and its aesthetization.

The artist created a similar atmosphere in *Sielanka* (*Idylle*, 2004): the video depicts the author, dressed in the same way, lying on the grass and watching

[17] M. Ujma, *Sztuka krytyczna i co dalej?* [in] M. Lewoc (ed.), *Contemporary Identities: Current Artistic Creation in Poland*, Szczecin 2004, p. 49.

the sky, having a grass stalk in hand. Idyllic at first sight. But then we notice the totally non-idyllic background of the scene – old factory towers and chimneys, a relic of the former industrial era.

Very strong media echos and discussions were raised around Wójcik's performance called *Potatoes Peeling* (**Obieranie ziemniaków**) in Warsaw's Zachęta Gallery in 2001. The artist, sitting on a stool, dressed in a frock, peeled fifty kilos of potatoes during the action, talking with press and visitors at the same time.

This performance offered various interpretations. The first one is peeling potatoes seen as a traditional women's job, the predestination of women being responsible for everyday food preparation and household care. Potatoes have long been an essential part of Polish cuisine, so preparing them was an everyday task. The author thus identified herself with housewives, not only of today, but of several generation before[18]. Peeling potatoes is a boring, endless routine, and such was Zachęta's performance as well. Here is another – participative – context. There were many visitors who came to help the artist with peeling, some of them with their own peelers; a social scuplture was created there. The performance raised a great scandal, and it was questioned whether it could be considered art or not, and what should be presented in gallery space – especially in an institution like a state gallery.

Re-contextualization of the past phenomena

Another very common strategy in contemporary artistic practice is replacing or re-contextualization. Putting or transferring objects or ideas into different contexts enables connection of the past with the present, and finding a specific way to understand this transfer.

In the action of Polish artist **Maciej Kurak** (*1972), called *The Space*, a socialist grocery store was recreated on its original spot in the city centre of Poznań (2002). For one day, it was returned to the past. All details were recreated – the facade, house number, walls, interiors, even the goods like soap and exercise books, the shop assistant's uniform and the radio programme broadcasting. The installation divided the guests into two groups: one group who came to the opening couldn't find the gallery place; the others, elderly people

[18] K. Sienkiewicz, *Julita Wójcik, „Obieranie ziemniaków"*, [online] https://culture.pl/pl/dzielo/julita-wojcik-obieranie-ziemniakow [accessed: 16 February 2020].

who remembered the shop, thought that it was open again and were happy about it. The project was a kind of a sentimental or nostalgic way to the past, but posed important questions about the history of a certain place, our ability to connect with it, how do we react to its changes, etc.

Other examples of re-contextualization are several projects of the Hungarian duo **Little Warsaw**. The physical replacement of artifacts is their basic strategy for expressing a transfer of values, common interpretations, and tension between momuments and memory. In their famous action *Instauratio* (2004) they made a simple but monumental gesture: they moved a bronze statue from a small Southern Hungarian village to a gallery space in Amsterdam. The statue of János Szántó Kovács, a leader of the agrarian movement from the beginning of the 20th century, was created by a reputable sculptor, József Somogyi, in 1965, and we can call it a mild modernist statue typical for socialist production of that time. This act by Little Warsaw aroused great controversy among the Hungarian art scene, and they were criticised and accused of "desecration" of the statue and mocking its sculptor. But the aim of Little Warsaw was quite different: on one hand, it was an institutional critique showing different practice inside and outside museums and public space, and on the other hand pointing out recent attitudes to evaluation of the past. They revealed something which was forgotten, and together with that the scars of the past which were never fully healed. The question is – who has the right to dig out the past and re-contextualize the objects and ideas of the past today? Little Warsaw uncovered a very interesting phenomenon: a hidden mechanism of a society, whose aim is to preserve a certain status quo – or to get back something from the past, which is the key of nostalgia.

Documentary forms as an interpretation of history

The last point of view is the documentary mode in contemporary art, working primarily with found archived materials and confronting them with the current situation. Artistic documentary become a very prolific form in the historiographical turn current. To document means to collect different data, leading to interpretation[19] of historical events or facts: history is depticted and interpreted

[19] M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse of Language*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1982, pp. 126-31.

through the imagination of the author and the viewer. The documentary thus offers various possibilities of space and memory analysis[20].

Documentary tendencies in the region of Central and Eastern Europe can be perceived as a medium to cognition and re-cognition of post-soviet situation[21]. The authors document the background of their own culture and cultural past, so I call their approach as autoethnographical.

One of these authors is the Slovak photographer **Lucia Nimcová** (*1977), who uses pictures found in the archives of institutions and personal archives as well. In these photographs she is searching for the history of not only her birthplace, but mainly the stories of local people and the changes of their lives in the time stream.

In one of her earlier series, *Instant Women* (2003), Nimcová focused on Central and Eastern European women of different age groups, their plans and dreams contrasting with the harsh reality they were living in. She observed the fragile moments of people's fates. Women who were – together with all the society – adapting to new, radically changed reality, who were searching for their own reality within traditional models and new situations. Their lives were absorbing fragments of the Western world's reality from television and magazines, idealized and the core of dreams that life could be similar, although the difference is so huge now. It may seem that somewhere below the everyday life surface everything stays the same, but principal human values, the way of thinking, are, in fact, shaking: the traditions are fading and disappearing, conflicts between generations are increasing, life is less close and more ambitious, as the artist stated[22]. In *Instant Women*, real women as well as the fictional ones from the TV screen are depicted, even the non-present ones, whose existence is marked only by the environment, such as an unmade bed. There are several motives repeating: skirts in motion, little girls dressed as princesses, brides in kitschy frocks, typical party food, grannies with grandchildren. Every image

[20] J. Verwoert, *Research and Display: Transformations of the Documentary Practice in Recent Art*, [in] M. Lind, H. Steyerl (eds.), *Reconsidering the Documentary and Contemporary Art #1: The Greenroom*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2008, pp. 201-205.

[21] H. Weeks, *Re-cognizing the post-Soviet condition: the documentary turn in contemporary art in the Baltic States*, "Studies in Eastern European Cinema", 2010, vol. 1, pp. 57-70.

[22] See more on: http://www.luco.sk/iw.htm.

has its own atmopshere, though – melancholy and nostalgic after life like it was and how is should look.

Her powerful documentary series called *Rusyns* (from 2006 on) depicts the past and present of the Rusyn people, who were removed from their homes because of the construction of the Starina dam in the eighties. Seven villages in the area (Eastern Slovak region of Prešov) were destroyed due to this socialist project "for public welfare and the people", and people had to settle in their new homes in the nearby city of Humenné, mostly in newly constructed panel housing blocks, losing their identity, their bond with a place, and their memories as well. The artist, being one of the descendants of this Rusyn community, thus created not only a historical document, but recorded her own search for identity as well. She went through thousands of archive pictures, both in official archives and family ones, meeting different types of memories: the family ones (often being the only things preserved), and the ones from amateur or official photographers (using their skills for propaganda).

Expressing her feeling as a member of probably the last generation remembering a few things from the everyday rituals, spirituality and language of the Rusyn community, she attempts to preserve the disappearing culture. Young people do not keep the traditions, so they are doomed to vanish, and they are losing the connection with the older generation. Lucia Nimcová worked as a mediator or curator here: from the archives she mostly chose the pictures showing everyday family and village life. Then she invited several young Rusyn photographers to document the everyday life of contemporary families, and by confronting these two documentaries the past and present are bound together.

In another series, *Unofficial* (2006 – 2009), Nimcová combines archival and newly made pictures. She picked photographs showing life during the socialist era, created for official purposes: not only everyday life, but events such as local party meetings, choir performances, regional festivals or sports events. This series is unique research of changes of a certain space. In her newly made pictures, Nimcová focused on depicting today's life of the people from archival photographs. The older generation, more than twenty years after the fall of comunism, seem to live in a similar way: they are equally passive, indifferent and depressed. As the artist remarked: they are not living real life, but they live a life according to their memories.

Archival materials are the core of the Hungarian author **Zsolt Keserue**'s (*1969) work. His main genre is experimental videodocumentaries, focusing on man, his environment, and common, everyday problems and issues. He is interested in tiny matters, details, put together as mosaic pieces in a wider picture of society and interpersonal relationships – it is a kind of social probe into the local community.

His primal topic is mutual affection of the past and present. Always working within a specific context, a certain time, the artist follows the connection between place and history.

Lekerekítás (*Rounding off*, 2006) is a videodocumentary about personal and intimate space, namely about the life in socialist panel blocks. Situated in Budaörs, a suburb of Budapest, the documentary is constructed by interviews with the panel houses' inhabitants. We can't see the faces, nor do we know the questions posed. The participants become a part of the film via their anonymous stories[23]. The main aim of the artist is to find out why the people decided to live here: bad financial conditions, impossibility of finding other flat, the habit of many people living there since their childhood, or other reasons. They all agree that the inner space of the flat is very individual, and the documentary further follows very various attempts to build their personal living space, to define their own place within a collective, in physical and psychical ways as well.

Keserue's video *Ki Volt Mátyás király?* (*Who Was King Mathias? 2008*) is an interesting probe into contemporary society with the help of its historical reflexion. It captures a group of elderly people in a very cheap dirty bar in Budapest, drinking and discussing. The main issue of the debate is the personality and historical background of King Mathias Corvinus (1443–1490), who is still very popular in the country. He is a cultural phenomenon, about whom everybody can say a word. The talk begins with interpretations of tales and legends about the king, most of them very similar to those known in other countries as well (e.g. the emperor walked incognito among his people and tried to live like poor peasants). The reflection of historical facts becomes the bridge to the recent past and now. The simple question "Who was king Mathias?" uncovers the layers of collective memory. Deep and aching social problems are revealed: ide-

[23] Z. Frazon, *Modernity as Local Tradition – Subjective City Archive*, [in] N. Alföldi, Z. Frazon, *Keserue Zsolt: 23 monológ*, Budapest: Paksi Keptár 2009, p. 25.

alizing past eras, misinterpretation of historical events, negative feelings about the present, mythization and overrating certain social segments, like peasants.

The most monumental video work of Zsolt Keserue is *Nagyólvasztó* (*Blast Furnace*, 2008). This multi-layered fresco tries to catch the beginning and development of cultural life in Dunaújváros, probably the biggest living memento of socialism in Hungary. The city on the Danube riverside, founded in 1949, was settled as a starting point of Hungarian industrialization. Formerly Sztálinváros – Stalin's Town – it rose rapidly. Hand by hand with heavy industry, the city infrastructure developed as well. Is it possible to create any culture in an artificial city? Keserue's documentary traces these attempts in different storylines.

Conclusion

By marking several cathegories of artistic approaches concerning post-soviet period nostalgia I tried to illustrate them with specific works of various artists from Central Europe. Through different media, these authors create paintings, videos, installations or objects using elements from previous era: visual culture, architectonical structures, archive materials or real objects, which they replace or recontextualize to new circumstances.

All these artists articulate a generational feeling of unsettling, a permanent balancing between two regimes, two different worlds, not to be able to mark the better and the worse one, because both are a part of individuality. We can spot a common feature of their work, which is the perception of a local space in its historical connotations, exploring historical content, the reception of causality and time-space orientation of man. They focus on collective memory, and its metamorphosis and processes. A specific interest is the process of searching, changing or losing identity in a historically complicated area of Central Europe.

These artistic approaches are part of the so-called historiographical turn in contemporary art, which has been settled as a common trend since the nineties. The article is a contribution of how is history and specific experience of Central and Eastern Europe reflected in the current artistic tendencies.

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The Common and the Specific in the Translation of Pragmatic Clichés

Abstract: The object of the analysis is pragmatic clichés. Their linguistic behavioral nature serves as an example to demonstrate subtleties of Czech-Ukrainian translation and is based on the differentiation of the common and the specific, systemizing the specific which causes most translation difficulties. Among the common features we can specify are: the presence of explicit or implicit performatives in the structure of clichés; speech act specificity; the connection with stereotypical communicative situations and culturally defined standards of behavior; perception of communicative success in different spheres and at different stages; retranslation of ethical and cultural meanings; the obligatory nature of the recipient's reaction, at least, in the form of '*received*'. The specific is presented as a set of attributes different from the attributes of an analogous unit of the target language; it should demonstrate quantitative and qualitative definiteness. The study shows the way the specific can cause interest, occasionally cognitive dissonance, and cases when it can hinder full-fledged communication. The specific has been described in the context of issues of translation equivalence and adequacy. It has been proved that the vocabulary si-

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gnificative equivalent is only one possibility among the abundance of reference variants connected with specific contexts. Taking verbs as an example, the paper offers possible approaches to rendering grammatical meanings which are abstract by their nature and require taking into consideration different nuances and subtleties, including frequency of usage. Zero equivalence is presented as the highest degree of expressing the specific. This idea is proved using the translations of wishes which include the lexemes *рушник* (lit. 'towel/ cloth') and *доля* (lit. 'fate') in the Ukrainian language. The common and the specific are characteristic for both the linguistic model and the communicative model of translating pragmatic clichés. But it is the specific which offers most resistance in the process of rendering linguistic units.

Key words: pragmatic clichés, translation, common and specific, equivalence and adequacy, non-equivalence.

Introduction

The transition to translation as an international communicative process has highlighted considerable gaps in translation studies as the phenomena of language and speech frequently fail to be differentiated in the search for analogies. As a result, vocabulary significative correspondences become irrelevant at the reference level. This also applies to the object of our study, pragmatic clichés belonging to a wider category – language stereotypes. Leaving aside the differentiation of stereotypes and clichés as a separate terminological issue[1], we assume that these groups typically enter genus-species relations where stereotypes belong to the genus field. Pragmatic clichés possess pronounced conventional behavioral features and are different from other stereotypes as the usage of the former is equal to action. Hence, there is a clear reason for using the

[1] N. Romanyuk, *Dyferencijni ta klasyfikacijni oznaky movnoyi klishovanoyi odynyci*, „Visnyk Zaporizkogo nacionalnogo universytetu. Seriya „Filologichni nauky", Zaporizhzhya 2017, no. 1, pp. 177-182; F. Baider, *Cultural Stereotypes and Linguistic Clichés: Their Usefulness*, „Intercultural Competency. International Journal for Cross-Disciplinary Subjects in Education" 2013, Vol. 4, Issue 2, pp. 1166-1171.

attributive feature of this notion *'clichés' – 'pragmatic'* deriving from Greek *pragma* 'action'. By saying *Thank you*, the speaker performs an act of expressing gratitude. The maxim *Word is Action* used referring to pragmatic clichés ceases to be a mere metaphor. The same applies to greetings, partings, wishes, requests, permissions, prohibitions, etc., i.e. for a standard set of formulae used in stereotypical situations and characteristic for different communicative cultures. There is a simplistic perception of such formulae as 'trite coins', as routine interactions can become a stumbling-block for international communication and translation processes.In modern translation studies, the role of stereotypes and the peculiarities of their translation remain poorly explored as a possible result of insufficient studies of communication issues in general and, more specifically, of standardized communication. In the context of the general Theory of translation, they were occasionally considered by specialists in Germanic and Romance languages (A. R. Garipova, A. I. Kazantsev, V. I. Karaban, J. K. Catford, L. L. Nelyubin, L. M. Chernovaty), there are separate works on the Slavic linguistic basis (L. I. Danylenko, S. Leshchak, O. L. Palamarchuk). At the same time, it is the standardization of all spheres of human activity in the age of globalization that requires scholars to study these linguistic units in-depth, the necessity of which has been repeatedly stated by different professionals[2]. It is also worth noting the applied aspect of the issue: clichéd units. First and foremost, etiquette formulae are acquired during initial stages of study of any foreign language, and that is why the results will be useful for the analysis of interlingual communicative and culturally specific features.

The object of our study is Czech-Ukrainian translation clichéd analogies, the unique linguistic behavioral natures of which can serve as an optimal example for a demonstration of translation subtleties. This research aims to differentiate the common and the specific in pragmatic clichés of the Czech and the Ukrainian languages, to systemize the specific features hindering the translation process.

Theoretical-methodological basis of the work are achievements in the field of Theory and practice of translation (S. Vlahov, S. Florin, V. I. Karaban,

[2] L. L. Nelyubin, *Vvedenie v tekhniku perevoda*, Moskva 2007, p. 133; Ya. I. Retsker, *Teoriya perevoda i perevodcheskaya praktika. Ocherki lingvisticheskoi teorii perevoda, dopolneniya i kommentarii D. I. Ermolovicha*, Moskva 2007, pp. 163-165.

I. V. Korunets, V. N. Krupnov, Y. J. Retsker, J. Levý), Communicative linguistics and the Theory of speech acts (F. S. Batsevich, V. I. Karasik, J. R. Searle, J. Hoffmannová, O. Müllerová) and Intercultural communication (J. Bartmińsky, A. Wierzbicka, V. M. Manakin, K. I. Mizin).

The paper utilizes a complex methodology including a structural-semantic method used to locate structural elements of pragmatic clichés and their inherent meanings; a comparative method is used to describe the national cultural specificities and their assimilation through a different language; a method of speech act analysis is used to select translation equivalents creating an adequate communicative effect.

The Unity of the Common and the Specific in the Process of Studies of Pragmatic Clichés

Pragmatic clichés are problematic for our cognition as they require taking into consideration a whole range of indicative features – linguistic categorial, cognitive, communicative, national specific, occasionally motivational affective[3]. They work at all stages of communication, contribute to the implementation of the principles of successful communication in various fields: domestic, official-business, scientific, socio-political, cultural-artistic, represent the standard of conventional behavior established by cultural tradition. Pragmatic clichés, on the one hand, are linguistic units belonging to the language system, and on the other hand, they are verbal reactions to stereotypical situations, and that is why the translation should conform to the requirements: 1) linguistic systemic equivalence; 2) communicative pragmatic and cultural adequacy.

Having set the aim to ascertain the role of the common and the specific in the process of pragmatic cliché translation, we need to make a small remark about the essence of the dual philosophical category *common / specific* in the context of our study: the common is the complex of features uniting the pragmatic clichés of both languages; the specific, on the contrary, showcases clichés of one language on the background of the other one as different, singular. Understanding the unity of the common and the specific leads to the conclu-

[3] N. F. Balandina, *Funktsiyi i znachennya ches'kykh prahmatychnykh klishe v komunikatyvnomu konteksti: monohrafiya*, Kyyiv 2002; G. R. Safiullina, *Sposoby perevoda pragmaticheskih klishe s tatarskogo yazyka na russkij yazik*, „Filologicheskie nauki. Voprosy teorii i praktiki" 2018, no. 9(87), vol. 1, pp. 166-169. Available at: www.gramota.net/materials/2/2018/9-1/37.html.

sion about the necessity to analyze any translation unit as the one having both common and specific features.

Among the common, general features of pragmatic clichés from both languages we can specify the following:

- the structure of pragmatic clichés – explicitly or implicitly – includes performatives (from Latin *performo* – 'act') – verbs in the first person singular or plural of the Present Tense of indicative mood: *прошу / просимо, проголошую / проголошуємо, застерігаю / застерігаємо* etc. The term *performative* was introduced by a British logician, John Austin[4], who laid the groundwork for the classification which was later developed by an American philosopher, John Searle[5]. This classification has been modified and extended on the basis of specific languages. For instance, Yu. D. Apresian specified fifteen groups of words in the Russian language: 1) messages, declarations; 2) confession; 3) promises, 4) requests, 5) offers and advice; 6) warnings, prophecies, 7) requirements, orders, 8) prohibitions, permissions; 9) agreements, objections; 10) approval; 11) condemnation; 12) pardon; 13) language rituals; 14) social acts of transference, alienation, cancellation, refusal; 15) nomination, designation[6], generally characteristic for both the Czech and the Ukrainian languages.
- valency potential of performative verbs in the structure of clichés asks for the positions of the speaker and the recipient, and there appears a three-component speech act: *speaker – verbal action – recipient*, for example: *I (we) ask you.* Naturally, it is an ideal pattern. In real-life speech, one can observe various transformations and modifications, e.g. verbs can be nominalized, but the deeper meaning remains virtually unchanged if one refrains from delving into pragmatic and situational subtleties.
- pragmatic clichés are marks of stereotypical actions, have a socially essential and determined quality, and represent a standard of conventional behavior set by the cultural tradition;

[4] Dzh. L. Ostin, *Slovo kak deystviye*, [in] *Novoye v zarubezhnoy lingvistike*, vol. 17: *Teoriya rechevykh aktov, obshch*, ed. B. Yu. Gorodetskogo, Moskva 1986, pp. 22-130.

[5] R. Serl' Dzh., *Chto takoye rechevoy akt?*, [in] ibid., pp. 151-169.

[6] Yu. D. Apresyan, *Izbrannyye trudy: v 2 t.*, vol. 2: *Integral'noye opisaniye yazyka i sistemnaya leksikografiya*, Moskva 1995, pp. 200-202.

- unlike other language stereotypes, they are used at any stage of communication, and ensure its success from the point of view of the maxim of cooperation (according to H. P. Grice) and the politeness maxim (Geoffrey Leech) in different spheres: domestic, business, scientific, social, political, artistic;
- are indicators of ethical and cultural meanings, and optimize the speech process;
- using pragmatic clichés calls for a reaction (at least, in the form of 'Received'), while the main importance is given to the communicative effect, and not the content adequacy.

The Specific as Individuality of Speech Practices

The specific in the pragmatic cliché is a set of properties that set it aside from the properties of an analogue in the target language and demonstrate quantitative and qualitative distinctness.

The specific always causes interest and occasionally cognitive dissonance, and sometimes becomes a barrier to full-fledged communication. At the same time, the specific should not be perceived as an obstacle to be removed. On the contrary, it is an organic and essential component of different language communities that aims not to divide, but to regulate their cooperation. The main aim of the specific is to show the distinctiveness of language practices, and also to stimulate interest in a different cultural society and its cultural code.

In such a way, the Central European words of gratitude are marked by the specificity, and the lexeme with the meaning 'good' acts as their intensifier: *Krásně děkuji* (Czech), *Danke schön* (German), *Köszönöm szépen* (Hungarian), *Chvala lepo* (Serbian). That stresses the courtesy of the behavior and even its aesthetic aspect. Against this background, the intensifiers of qualitative semantics are more common in the Ukrainian, Russian, Byelorussian, and Polish linguistic areas: *Дуже дякую* (Ukrainian), *Очень благодарю* (Russian), *Вельмі дякую* (Byelorussian), *Bardzo dziękuję* (Polish). Still, this pattern is not completely consistent: in the Central European and the Eastern European linguistic areas it is possible to find words of gratitude such as *děkuji mnohokrát* (Czech), *много вам хвала* (Serbian), and *премного благодарен* (Russian). Speakers often try to highlight not only the formal aspect of gratitude, but also its ethical moment, stressing their sincerity: *щиро* (Ukrainian), *искренне* (Russian), *upřímně* (Czhech), *szczerze* (Polish).

An average Ukrainian entering the Czech linguistic area feels cultural dissonance hearing the warning *Pozor*! (*Увага*!, 'Attention!'), which is associated with the Russian *Позор*! (*Ганьба*!, 'Shame!'). Both lexemes present an example of interlingual homonymy that originated as a result of the initial development and later dissolution of polysemy. According to the etymological dictionary, the word had the original meaning 'attention', 'sensation'[7]. With time, the primary meaning acquired new shades: in the Czech language the meaning 'visual perception of something' remained, with an additional seme, 'attention', as concentration on something or somebody. In the Russian language the concentration is aimed at an object (a person, a phenomenon) causing condemnation, disrespect.

An invitation to enter *Dále*! (Ukr.: *Прошу!, Будь ласка, Заходьте*!), due to its formal semantic similarity to the Ukrainian *Далі!,* is also able to deceive the Ukrainian speaker and to cause a case of stylistic disagreement. Though Czech *Dále*! and Ukrainian *Далі!* express declaration of intent – permission to enter, they still belong to different tonal registers: for the former language it is neutral, and for the latter it is low, which can negatively affect both the success of communication and translation.

Similarly, the literal translation of the address to young women *mladá paní* by the phrase *young lady* is correct in relation with linguistic equivalence, but in Ukrainian it is not a cliché that is reproduced in the text as a completed unit, so in terms of communicative adequacy it requires consideration of contextual factors and communication goals. The closest equivalent is the address *панна, панянка,* but they are practically not used in current practices.

Addressing a young woman as *mladá paní* may seem impolite to a Ukrainian as from the psychological perspective it refers to the subconscious antonymy 'young – old' and the subsequent impolite ageism aimed at women. Actually, the Czech form of address *mladá paní* can serve as a sort of flattery, a manipulative technique when a speaker is interested in successful communication with a woman who might not be so young after all. The nomination *mladá paní* owes its frequency to the wide circle of people it can signify: it can be an unmarried girl (*slečna*) and an actual young woman (*mladá paní)*, and even a woman already addressed as *paní* who is past a certain age. This can be

[7] M. Fasmer, *Etimologicheskiy slovar' russkogo yazyka: v 4 t.*, vol. 3, Moskva 1987, p. 303

further proved by a typical newspaper advertisement: *«Mladá paní (52) hledá zaměstnání»*.

A Czech marriage proposal is also likely to cause a certain cognitive dissonance. *Vezmeš si mne? (lit. *Чи візьмеш мене (собі)? – (Чи) Вийдеш за мене (заміж)? Прошу твоєї руки*) can be perceived as somewhat humiliating for a man. A similar configuration of positions is communicated in the constative *Vzala si hodného muže (lit. Взяла собі хорошого чоловіка)*. Meanwhile, in the Ukrainian translation, it is only possible to use *Вийшла заміж за хорошого чоловіка* (and not *взяла собі*). The literal translation *Vzala si hodného muže* as **Взяла собі хорошого чоловіка* is incorrect. However, Czech also uses the synonym *Vdala se za hodného muže,* fully equivalent to the Ukrainian *Вийшла заміж за хорошого чоловіка.* The cultural specificity of the Ukrainian cliché presents the male position as higher. The Czech proposal, in its turn, raises the female position.

A jocular wish of luck, in particular, to students taking an exam, *Zlom vaz!* (Lit. *Скрути собі в'язи) – Ні пуху ні пера!* can be perceived as black humor by Ukrainians lacking the cultural context. But the Czechs are not completely original in this aspect as the British use the expression *Break a leg!* (lit. *Зламай ногу*), and the German wish is to break not only legs but also a neck: *Hals und Beinbruch*. The Czech cliché is likely to have German origins where it is used among sportsmen, actors or acrobats. The Ukrainian equivalent *Ні пуху ні пера!* has an Eastern-European background and used to be a wish for lucky hunting, a ward against the evil eye. The wish for fishermen *Ні хвоста ні луски!* has a similar intention.

The provided examples testify that an essential condition for a successful translation is a knowledge of specificities, subtleties, and the ability to interpret language signs bearing different connotations[8]. Under such circumstances, the translator must maneuver between the proverbial Scylla and Charybdis: keep the national specific worldview, ethical behavioral models, and simultaneously make them accessible for another linguistic space.

[8] See: K. I. Mizin, O. O. Petrov, *Zistavna linhvokul'turolohiya: metodolohichni problemy ta perspektyvni metodyky: monohrafiya, Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyy*, Kremenchuk: Vinnytsya, 2018.

Equivalence and Adequacy of Translation in the Context of the Specific

The behavioral nature of clichés requires both adhering to the linguistic systemic equivalence and the communicative pragmatic adequacy. That mostly corresponds to Yu. Naida's idea about two levels of equivalence: formal and dynamic. With the orientation for the formal equivalency, the attention is focused on the message's form and content; meanwhile, the dynamic level calls for correlations recreating the dynamic connection between the message and the recipient existing in the source language[9]. So, from the point of view of linguistic equivalence, the greeting *Přeji hezký podvečer!* should be rendered as *Бажаю гарного підвечір'я!*, but the dynamic model offers the equivalent *Доброго вечора*! Actually, translation studies have many more translation models[10]. In our case, we focus on the barriers characteristic for the lingual and communicative-pragmatic models.

In related languages, the tendency for word-to-word translation is only natural, but the lexical equivalence is not always sufficient for pragmatic adequacy: the dictionary significative option is only one possibility among the abundance of reference variants. For instance, in the cliché *Upozornění: Průchod zakázán* the dictionary provides the word *upozornění* with the translation *попередження.* This option contradicts the Ukrainian behavioral traditions as such warnings possess a marker *увага (Увага: прохід заборонений / заборонено)*. In the source language, the focus is the fact of warning (*upozornění*), while the target language highlights attracting attention (*увага*).

There exist certain issues with the translation of separate words in clichés as the set of word meanings differs in different languages. The Czech *prohlášení* and the Ukrainian *заява* show some similarity in the meaning "someone's message, addressing someone combined with providing certain data, statements, thoughts', while the meaning 'a written request made according to a specific template and filed to an official body or an organization' is rendered in the Czech language by the word *žádost.* Meanwhile, the Czech *žádost* and the Ukrainian

9 Yu. Nayda, *K nauke perevodit'*, [in] *Voprosy teorii perevoda v zarubezhnoy lingvistike*, Moskva 1978, pp. 114-136.

10 See: V. V. Sdobnikov, O. V. Petrova, *Teoriya perevoda: Uchebnik dlya perevodcheskikh fakul'tetov i fakul'tetov inostrannykh yazykov*, N. Novgorod 2001, pp. 227-257.

клопотання coincide only in the meaning 'written application, request for something sent to an official body', while the Czech system of meanings lacks the elements 'Care, unrest, worrying about someone' (e. g., *'клопочуся за нього'*), considering something *«клопочу собі голову»*, taking care of business or domestic work'; only the expression *žádost o milost* has a similar meaning.

Some difficulties can appear while translating Czech toasts, the specificity of which lies in the usage of the lexeme *přípitek*. To propose a toast is *připít,* '*trochu se napít ve společností (alkoholického napoje)*'[11] (to drink a little in company (an alcoholic drink)). The determined character of table manners, rules of decorum, are likely to have caused the appearance of the word *připít* in the meaning of proposing a toast. The closest Ukrainian equivalent is *пригубити*, 'to drink symbolically'. The temptation to translate the toast *Pripíjím na krásu české země* using the main meaning of *připít* as *пригубити*: *Пригублюю (цей келих) за красу чеської землі* would lead to a certain loss, as in the Ukrainian tradition people would usually drink for somebody or something. That is why a more accurate translation should be even not *П'ю (Хочу випити*), but *Виголошую (Хочу виголосити) цей тост / Піднімаю / (Хочу підняти) цей келих за красу чеської землі*. In Czech table etiquette, there is a rarely used synonymic expression *napit se na... (Napijeme se na...),* but it lacks the seme *trochu* 'a bit'. It is also worth mentioning the formal aspect of the representation of the grammatical object: the Czech language uses the structure *připít / napit se + na*…; the Ukrainian language has *випити + за…* The latter also has a toast *На щастя, на долю!* whose form is similar to the Czech one.

A slightly different approach is needed to render abstract grammatical meanings that require taking into consideration different subtleties. The requirement for adequacy creates the need for tracing the frequency of usage of some grammatical forms. If one compares the Czech prohibitions for smoking *Zákaz kouření* and *Kouření zakázáno*!, the former is more frequent, which is proved by a review of plaque samples advertised by the producing companies. As for the Ukrainian variants – *Курити заборонено!* and *Курити забороняється!* – the latter option is less frequent. The reason is the active spread of impersonal forms ending with *но-, то-*.

[11] *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, Za vedení B. Havránka (hlavního redaktora), J. Běliče, M. Helcla and A. Jedličky. Available at: http://ssjc.ujc.cas.cz/.

The grammatical category of aspect is also significant. In the offers to have a seat *Sedněte si, prosím, Posadte se, prosím* one can observe the perfective form which, from the point of view of translation equivalent, motivates to preserve the aspect form: *Сядьте, будь ласка (прошу).* But in the language usage there is a dominance of the expressions *Сідайте, будь ласка, Сідайте, прошу (просимо),* in which the imperfective aspect of the verb provides the offer with the meaning of flexibility, repeated action, while the offer *Сядьте, будь ласка* (*прошу, просимо*) shows a higher degree of imperativeness. The verb aspect in translation practice often becomes a sticking point as translators are inclined to transfer the grammatical status of their native language to the unit of the target language.

Zero Equivalence as the Highest Degree of the Specific

While translating pragmatic clichés, one can encounter zero-equivalent units metaphorically called *translatorum Cruces* 'Passion of translators' by Jiří Levý. We will explain this notion using the example of Ukrainian wishes including realia *рушник* (literally, 'towel / cloth'): *Рушниками дорога*! (A wish before a long trip), *Швидше станьте на рушник!* (a wish to marry). The groom and the bride step on the towel during the Ukrainian wedding ceremony: *Та ми з тобою на рушнику стояли, та ми з тобою й присягу мали* (*A folk song*).

The towel in the Ukrainian culture is not only a utilitarian object, but also an ornamental element (to decorate the house) and a ritual symbol. Borys Hrinchenko's dictionary offers a specific classification of towels (cloths): *рушник-утирач* – for face and hands, *стирок* – a dishcloth, *кілковий* – richly embroidered – to decorate icons, pictures, *божник* – for icons, *плечеви́й* – richly embroidered for in-laws, *подарунковий* – a cheap one for wedding gifts, etc.[12]. According to experts in Ukrainian ethnography, towels are used to decorate holy icons and crosses; bread is laid on a towel; a child is wrapped in a towel after baptism by water; the groom and the bride step on a towel during the wedding ceremony; matchmakers and important guests are tied with towels during feasts; the coffin is lowered into the grave using towels. Apart from this,

[12] *Slovar' ukrayins'koyi movy*, Uporyadkuvav Borys Hrinchenko: v 4 t., vol. 4, Kyyiv 1997, p. 91.

a towel is a ward against evil. Mothers give towels to their travelling children; and towels serve as reminders of holy and unforgettable things[13].

The Czech realia *ručník* is only a utilitarian object (a synonym – *utěrák*); it signifies a wiping-cloth and a handkerchief: 1) *pruh látky k utírání těla (zvl. rukou a obličeje) po umytí:* lněný, režný r.; vzít si s sebou mýdlo a r. 2) nář. *šátek:* bílý r. musela přes hlavu uvázat (Něm.); → zdrob. ručníček, -čku m. (6. mn. -ččích, -čkách): dětský r.[14] During translation, the full equivalence of the units *рушник – ručník* (*utěrák)* exists only in the meaning ‘ A thing for wiping something’. Actually, the Czech *ručník* (*utěrák)* acquires a certain external similarity to the Ukrainian decorative realia only when the former is embroidered (*vyšívaný*). >From the utilitarian point of view, the Ukrainian towel is not used as *хустка*, which is mentioned in the Czech dictionary.

The highest degree of zero equivalence is typical for clichés with the lexeme *рушник* if the latter signifies realia used in rituals. A towel is an integral attribute given to a newly-married couple. During this, the couple is told the words: *На щастя, на долю* (this wish is impossible without a towel: the object and the words are mutually complementary). *Рушниками дорога* is a wish before a long road. The notion that *рушник* for Ukrainians is a symbol of happy fate, harmony, marital fidelity, purity of feelings, and sincerity of wishes is further proved by the abundance of phrasal expressions with this lexeme: *бра́ти рушникú, вернутися з рушниками, готува́ти рушникú, рушникú дбати, побра́ти рушникú, подава́ти (пода́ти) рушникú, посила́ти (сла́ти, посла́ти) за рушника́ми, присила́ти (присла́ти) [людéй] за рушниками, рушникú дбати, става́ти (ста́ти) на рушникý (на рушникú)*[15].

While translating such expressions, one should be wary of losing folk poetic connotations, high register, compare: *Рушниками дорога – Přeji šťastnou cestu /Ať růže na cestu sypou se ti; Швидше станьте на рушник – Přeji brzy se vdát a mít svou rodinu.* Such adaptations can be regarded as simplified.

[13] V. V. Zhayvoronok, *Znaky ukrayins’koyi etnokul’tury: Slovnyk-dovidnyk*, Kyyiv 2006, pp. 192-194.

[14] *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, op. cit.

[15] Slovnyk ukrayins’koyi movy: v 11 t., vol. 8, Kyyiv 1977, p. 919. Available at: http://sum.in.ua/s/rushnyk.

A towel is given to wish luck and good fate: *Пошли тобі (Вам), Господи, щастя й долю.* Ukrainian wedding towels are usually embroidered with an inscription *«На щастя, на долю»* ('For luck and fate'). *Доля* (literally, 'fate') in Ukrainian wishes is an embodiment of happiness, success. It is also found in some expressions: *щастя-доля, щастя-доленька*, *щастя і доля*. *Доля* also serves as a folk poetic way of addressing a beloved person: *«Ти доле моя!»* (a song), in wishes for health and in drinking songs: *Гей, наливайте повнії чари, Щоб через вінця лилося. Щоб наша доля нас не цуралась, Щоб краще в світі жилося.*

The wish *На щастя, на долю*!, literally translated as *Na štěstí, na osud,* is an unsuccessful attempt. In Ukrainian wishes, the lexeme *доля* includes the seme '*щасливе життя'* ('happy life'), which can be found in dictionaries with the meaning «desirable happy life»[16]. In Czech wishes this meaning can only be rendered analytically using the specifier of positive semantics *šťastný (osud)*.

Comparing concept images of fate in both languages, one should note the commonality of such meanings as *хід подій, збіг обставин, напрям життєвого шляху, що не залежать від бажання, волі людини, як фатум* 'course of events, concatenation of circumstances, life choices independent of the personal will'. Such interpretations of fate are reflected in proverbs: *від долі не втечеш, долі не минути, долі й найбистрішим конем не об'їдеш, перед долею не втечеш,* etc. Similar reflexes can be found in the Czech linguistic space: *rvát se s osudem, osudu neujdeš, hříčky osudu osud vede, nezvratný osud, zajímavý osud,* but this word is used mostly along with extenders connected with negative associations and evaluations: *zkouška osudu, neradostný osud, kurva osud, černý osud, nešťastný osud, pohnutý osud, osud plný běd, smutný osud, klatý osud, neodvratný osud, rany osudu, zásahy osudu, kopí osudu.* In the Ukrainian tradition the word is combined with attributes of both positive and negative evaluation: compare: *до́бра до́ля, щасли́ва доля, гаптована доля; нещасли́ва доля, (нещáсна) до́ля.* Fate in different linguistic views of the world is often depicted adding negative features: *rany osudu, zásahy osudu, kopí osudu, zkouška osudu; зла до́ля, горбáта до́ля, лихá до́ля, щербáта доля;* Czech expressions are notable for representing *osud* as an

[16] Ibid., vol. 2, Kyyiv 1971, s. 360. Available at: http://sum.in.ua/s/dolja.

active, masculine phenomenon: fate wounds, strikes, tests, bends (*rany osudu, zásahy osudu, zkouška osudu, pohnutý osud*), uses tools (*kopí osudu),* one can fight fate (*rvát se s osudem)*; in the Ukrainian language the gender attribute of fate is not so direct. Fate can chase a person: *від долі не втечеш, долі не минути, долі й найбистрішим конем не об'їдеш;* it cannot be bribed: *долі скаргами не власкаєш, на торгу долі не купиш*; it has negative human traits: *доля зла, горбата, лиха, щербата.*

The Ukrainian understanding of fate has folk cultural connotations. It resides in the poetic discourse, flourishes in the Ukrainian folk oral and written tradition, and has a certain layer of elevation causing difficulties in its translation to the Czech language. We can assume that the existing discrepancy between the meanings of words *osud* and *доля* forced St. Masliak, the translator of Jaroslav Hašek's novel *Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka* (literally, 'Fates of the Good Soldier Švejk'), to render the title as *Пригоди бравого вояка Швейка*, as the literal meaning – *доля* – would change the direction of the author's intention to solemnity. Apart from this, the Ukrainian lexeme lacks the plural form: **Долі бравого вояка Швейка*. In the Ukrainian usage, the plural form is used only referring to two or more persons (*їхні долі, наші долі*).

The mostly positive character of the word *доля* compared to the Czech *osud* stands out against the background of the lexeme *недоля (Нехай недоля тебе оминає)*; the meaning of the latter can be rendered analytically – *nešťastný osud.* The word *недоля* is practically a contextual antonym of the word *доля* in wishes like *На щастя, на долю!, Пошли тобі (Вам), Господи, щастя й долю* and in the continuation of the above-mentioned folk song: *Пиймо, панове, пиймо, братове, Пиймо, поки іще п'ється! Поки недоля нас не спіткала, Поки ще лихо сміється*.

The discrepancies in the scope of meaning of the notions *osud* and *доля* in wishes require compensations using positive evaluation extenders, for instance the wish *Пошли йому, Господи, щастя й долю (доленьку, долечку)* can be translated as *Dej mu Bože štěstí a milostivý osud*, toasts *Вип'єм за щастя, вип'єм за долю* as *Připijeme na štěstí a na štastný osud*. Similarly to the Czech worldview, the Russian world *судьба,* which means '*складывающийся не зависимо от воли человека ход событий, стечение обстоятельств',* is specified as destiny, e.g. in the proverb *Наша доля — Божья воля.* This fact may have influenced the translation of the above-mentioned *Song about*

the Towel. B. Paliichuk rendered the words '*І рушник вишиваний на щастя, на долю дала'* with some losses. He excluded the word *доля*: *И расшитый рушник мне на счастье дала*, disregarding the fact that the Russian lexeme *доля* is synonymous with the word *судьба*. In the same way, the Ukrainian colloquialism *судьба* is perceived as a synonym of *доля*. In the Ukrainian language, two words get lexicalized in the word *недоля,* while the Russian language lacks this feature. Compare: *Видать, не судьба нам увидеться*. Language conceptualization of reality, the worldview, is partially common, partially nationally specific. Thus, the speakers of different languages can view the world differently through the prism of their linguistic consciousness.

Conclusions

In the process of the translation of pragmatic clichés, a collision happens between two linguistic spaces that demonstrates the mutual та unique nature of linguistic practices, stimulates interest in them, and simultaneously hinders successful interlingual communication. The methodological basis for the search for equivalent and adequate analogies is the perception of pragmatic clichés as the union of the common and the specific. The specific is a set of properties different from the properties of an analogous unit of the target language. The specific causes interest, sometimes cognitive dissonance, and can become a barrier to full-fledged communication. The general vocabulary equivalent or the presence of common grammatical meanings and categories is only one option among the abundance of specific variants dependent on situational, pragmatic, and cultural factors. Zero equivalence is the highest degree of expressing the specific. The common and the specific are topical notions for both the linguistic model and the communicative model of translating pragmatic clichés. But it is the specific which offers most resistance in the process of rendering linguistic units on different levels of the linguistic system and in different contexts.

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Inherent Vice: Thomas Pynchon beyond the Postmodern Fiction and Anti-Detective Novel

Abstract: This article analyzes the development of noir genre in *Inherent Vice* written by Thomas Pynchon in 2009. In fact, this novel seems to be a time of reflection about all shifts and changes of detective fiction, starting from the Californian *hard-boiled* school and the postmodern *anti-detective fiction* to the contemporary noir. In *Inherent Vice* Pynchon shows his awareness and considerations about the genre tradition – to which some of his novels such as *The Crying of Lot 49* belong– playing out a thought-provoking parodic representation of the detective story and its doom. This paper aims to decrypt the meaning of the references that *Inherent Vice* contains about noir genre and to detect what is the position of the author in writing this novel.

Key words: noir, detective fiction, Thomas Pynchon, anti-detective novel, postmodernism, postmodern fiction.

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– Under the paving-stones, the beach![1]

The uncommon epigraph that we can find at the beginning of the novel *Inherent Vice*, written by Thomas Pynchon in 2009, can be traced back to the famous counterculture French slogan "*Sous les paves, la plage!*", used by protest movements in France during revolutionary May '68, when students began to gouge out tiles from the ground, symbolizing their disdain for the urbanization process and their reluctance to accept modern society.

This way, Pynchon seems to enlighten immediately some of the keys that will help the reader to open his novel, but mostly this epigraph concerns problems and changes discussed during the long postmodern debate that we can find in most of the postmodern novels starting from the '50s. The reason is that *Inherent Vice* offers a vast map of places which can be detected in the tradition and rise of the postmodern novel, for its geographic, socio-politic and literary values put into play.

Above all here, the aim is to identify the matrix and the development process of detective fiction, a subject that Pynchon makes clear, as we will notice in this paper, through his postmodern devices such as metanarrative and parodic ones. Since its publication, *Inherent Vice* (2009) was defined as a noir, a detective story, in a period in which this literary genre is widely used all over the world, in literature, in cinema and TV series, as discussed in some recent journal articles such as in the one written by Charles Scruggs[2]. Although it may not be a wrong definition, it is necessary to account for the history of detective fiction and how its models have changed in time and have been changed by postmodern writers, including Thomas Pynchon, in particular in some of his former novels such as *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966) or *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973).

Although it goes beyond it, basically the *Inherent Vice* model of detective fiction can be traced back to the Californian *hard-boiled school*, not only for the setting of the novel, but also for the similarity between the actors (the detectives) and the plots. Far from the rational and comforting values of the first *British*

[1] T. Pynchon, *Inherent Vice*, New York, The Penguin Press, 2009.

[2] C. Scruggs, *"The Power of Blackness": Film Noir and Its Critics*, in *American Literary History*, Oxford University Press, Vol. 16, No. 4 Winter, 2004, pp. 675-687.

detective novels by Arthur Conan Doyle or Agatha Christie, the *hard-boiled* Californian writer such as Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett introduced a new type of detection, set in the Californian *wastelands,* and were much more realistic, with night-clubs, alcohol and gangsters. Chandler's and Hammett's detectives, Philip Marlowe and Sam Spade, are ordinary men (not like the extraordinary Sherlock Holmes) "with a hangover the next morning, a jaw that really hurts". The *hard-boiled* detective "is above all a man who accepts and endures absurdity"[3]. On the other hand, in *Inherent Vice* we can find the echo of the innovation and subversion depicted by the *anti-detective novel*. Postmodern writers such as Jorge Louis Borges, Vladimir Nabokov, Robert Coover and Thomas Pynchon radically changed the criteria and the leitmotifs of detection.

> Thus a stress on the solution was the automatized principle of the hard-boiled formula against which the anti-detective novel shaped itself, reacting by its opposite constructive principle, that is, the suspension of the solution[4].

Considering the three major steps of a detective story (the detective, the detection and the solution) we can affirm that the solution is the *condition sine qua non,* and this will be the most important object of change in *anti-detective fiction.* As William Spanos suggests in his brilliant article *The Detective and the Boundary*[5]*,* the anti-detective novel will question and challenge the positivistic readers' expectations, creating anxiety and terror through the alteration of the solution.

Above all, this choice is the result of a different need, the postmodern writer's one. In this context the detection and the *quest novel* seem to be a way to analyze the postmodern condition, and more precisely, in Pynchon's case, to analyze the evolution of Los Angeles values as the postmodern town *par excellence*, as Edward Soja suggests in his essay "Taking Los Angeles Apart"[6].

3 S. Tani, *The Doomed Detective*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press, 1984, p. 24.

4 S. Tani, *The Doomed Detective*, cit., p. 38.

5 W. V. Spanos, *The detective and the boundary: Some notes on the Postmodern literary imagination*, "Boundary 2", 1 (1), Autumn, 1972, pp. 147-168.

6 E. Soja, "Taking Los Angeles apart", *Postmodern Geography*, London, Verso, 1989.

This brief foreword is probably redundant but also extremely necessary because in writing *Inherent Vice* Thomas Pynchon shows his complete awareness of all these changes in *noir,* not only in the literary tradition, but also in the crime history of modern America.

In writing his important essay *The Doomed Detective* Stefano Tani depicted the destiny of the *anti-detective*. In *The Crying of Lot 49*, Oedipa falls in the middle of nowhere, in the labyrinth of non-solution, as well as Beckett's Watt does. Facing the emptiness of the chaos is the true role of the *anti-detective,* and Larry Doc Sportello in *Inherent Vice* is the first detective totally aware of being in this mess. So, if we consider *Inherent Vice* as a *quest novel,* maybe the quest would be: What happened during the Sixties in Los Angeles? What could a hippie detective find out through the foggy chaos of the postmodern city?

Starting from these questions, *Inherent Vice* can be nothing but a pastiche, a parodic re-writing of an era from the perspective of a writer who directly experienced the postmodern period and the Californian counter-culture. In fact, Pynchon lived in Venice Bay during the Sixties, along with folk songwriters and poets such as Richard Farina, to whom *Gravity's Rainbow* is dedicated. Los Angeles, like Borges' Aleph, is impossible to describe due to its wide development, its globalization and gentrification processes. As Mike Davis stated, "Los Angeles, a city without boundaries, which ate the desert, cut down the Joshua and the May Pole, and dreamt of becoming infinite"[7]. *Inherent Vice* can dialogue with Mike Davis' and Edward Soja's essays, which analyze the development of Los Angeles' geographic space with some considerations that can be found in the metropolis described by Pynchon. The influence of unrestrained late-capitalism is visible in all its forms, especially in the reorganization of the urban and suburban spaces, creating social phenomena such as segregation (Los Angeles is the most segregated American City), isolation and social class division, and that's why the most important role in the plot is played by real estate and land speculation. This is also a motivation for the spreading of gang neighborhoods and the division between who lives by the sea (hippies, surfers, tramps) and who lives in the flatland (professional, government, boosters). The political situation of terror due to the Vietnam War, Richard Nixon's iron hand against protesters, and the spread of the drug-cul-

[7] M. Davis, *City of Quartz*, New York, Vintage books, 1992. p. 12.

ture come to be the background of a novel based on chaos and paranoia. The boundary between what is real and what is not becomes very thin; what is pure paranoia and what is happening, indeed. This is what Doc Sportello (a drug addicted detective) has to deal with, and this is also his limit, "this glittering mosaic of doubt. Something like what Saunchos colleagues in marine insurance liked to call inherent vice"[8].

The counter-culture dreams are doomed to end as well, as the detective knows it to be doomed facing the postmodern mosaic of doubt. Doc Sportello cannot do anything but observe the manifestation of the detection limit and be overwhelmed by the dense network of events. He will look at Philip Marlowe and Sam Spade through the lens of envy and nostalgia. Pynchon creates many plots and sub plots, and a large number of links between the numerous characters, especially in the past (which is still the most used tense in detective novels). To these are added the several trips made by Sportello and other characters due to drug abuse, acid paranoia: so a high volume of mental projection ends up being a parallel plot.

Psychedelia makes the detection very difficult to conduct, and it will be hard for the reader to pay attention: it is clear that Pynchon wants to play with him once again, telling story after story, a domino effect to recall the early Seventies spirit.

If, in *The Crying of Lot 49* or *Gravity's Rainbow,* paranoia and parody were Pynchon's mere narrative tools, precisely imposed from above, in *Inherent Vice* the mystery, the paranoia and the parodic situations are actually part of the world inhabited by Doc and other characters. They face those kinds of situations horizontally rather than vertically. These literary devices are therefore absorbed naturally by the characters: in my opinion this is one of the motivations (along with the autobiographical tissue of the novel) that makes *Inherent Vice* the most realistic fiction that Pynchon has ever written. The classic artifice of his writing (unlike in *V.* or *Gravity's Rainbow*) is just a mirror of the represented era. I'd say a rather nostalgic mirror.

If, during the Forties Raymond Chandler's noir anticipated the feeling of disillusionment and defeat that the counter-culture generation would experience twenty years later, it is no coincidence that Pynchon chose noir (largely

8 *Inherent Vice*, op. cit., p. 450.

survived as a genre) to resume the Sixties tale. As previously mentioned, Pynchon is aware of noir tradition, not only the literary one, but he is also familiar with the chronicler tradition. This also reverberates through the novel. When the L.A.P.D. detective lieutenant Bjornsen talks about the Manson family murders, he also mentions the oldest famous Californian crimes: the Elisabeth Short[9] and Thomas H. Ince murders.

> "It's all turned to sick fascination," opined Bigfoot, "and meantime the whole field of homicide's being stood on its ear—bye-bye Black Dahlia, rest in peace Tom Ince, yes we've seen the last of those good old-time L.A. murder mysteries I'm afraid."[10]

At this stage it is necessary to ask an urgent question: how does *Inherent Vice* sit within noir and detective fiction history? First of all, we must consider two dates: the one in which the narrative takes place and the one in which Pynchon lives while writing this novel. In the first case, 1970 represents a watershed in noir's evolution as a genre, thanks to the contribution of writers such as James Ellroy, Walter Mosley, Sara Paretsky and many others, who introduce in their plots some elements of conspiracy and political civil wars. As noted by Paolo Simonetti[11], the noir production in those years contributed to the remarkable education of Thomas Pynchon, as a writer and to his approach to the genre during his adolescence. In the preface to *Slow Learner* (1984 edition), his early collection of short stories, Pynchon claims to have read "a lot of spy fiction, novels of intrigue"[12].

The second crucial year is 2009, the year in which *Inherent Vice* was published, and it is a florid year for what concerns worldwide noir production. Among the main characters of this time there are many Scandinavian noir wri-

9 The murder of Elisabeth Short will also be mentioned by James Ellroy in his 1987 novel *The Black Dahlia.*

10 *Inherent Vice*, cit., p. 209.

11 P. Simonetti, *"Bye Bye Black Dahlia»: Pynchon, Coover e il 'vizio intrinseco' della detective fiction"*, in *Crime e Detective Fiction nel Novecento: voci a confronto*, edited by M. Ascari, F. Saggini, Pisa-Roma, Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2011.

12 140 T. Pynchon, *Slow Learner. Early Stories*, New York-Boston-London, Little, Brown and Company, 1984, p. 18.

ters (most of them are Swedish), such as Henning Mankell, David Lagercrantz, and Camilla Lackberg. As Simonetti suggests, it is not a mere coincidence that in a period in which the detective fiction speaks mostly Swedish, Pynchon decides to say goodbye to the traditional mystery genre by calling his policeman character Christian Bjornsen. At first sight his name could be one of the Swedish policemen of popular contemporary novels, such as Mankell's Chief Wallander, also considering his dubious morality. It is very likely that Pynchon chose for Bjornsen the nickname "Renaissance detective", alluding to the renaissance of the mystery genre policeman in a new noir guise. In fact, in *Inherent Vice,* Bigfoot, as a co-star in the novel, represents for Pynchon a passage from the *hard-boiled* tradition to the new mystery frontiers. But what about the role of the main character, Doc Sportello, in this passage? This could be harder to outline.

Doc is moving in Los Angeles but his city – as caricatured as realistic – is different from the dark and obscure city in which Chandler's Marlowe or Hammett's Spade live. Their affinity, however, is quite visible to a keen eye.

> "Cause PIs are doomed, man," Doc continuing his earlier thought, "you could've seen it coming for years, in the movies, on the tube. Once there was all these great old PIs—Philip Marlowe, Sam Spade, the shamus of shamuses Johnny Staccato, always smarter and more professional than the cops, always end up solvin the crime while the cops are following wrong leads and gettin in the way[13].

Through these lines of the book Pynchon underlines the similarities between these private eyes (PIs), but above all he analyzes what is the destiny of post *hard-boiled* noir, what Stefano Tani defines "a decline in quality" for what noir "thus turns into kitsch or, at his best, self-parody"[14].

Doc – or Pynchon in this case – suffers from detection's fate: no country for smart or high moral value PIs such as Philip Marlowe or Sam Spade. The detective is doomed, screwed. This concept is expressed as well in the following and last Pynchon novel *Bleeding Edge* (2013), through Ernie's thoughts:

[13] *Inherent Vice*, cit., p. 97.

[14] *The Doomed Detective*, cit., p. 25-26.

"What happened to private eyes, lovable criminals? Lost in all that post-sixties propaganda"[15].

PIs such as Marlowe and Spade are the best examples for Doc as a detective and for Pynchon as a writer. Doc always tries to keep that moral integrity, that moral code inherent in the *hard-boiled* detective's nature. Just like Marlowe, Doc shows a cynical, stubborn character: he tries to remain indifferent to situations (as with Shasta, the girl he was in loved with) and to all the paranoias that recur like an infinite boomerang ("'Uh-huh.' Doc typed, 'Not hallucinating'"[16]). Similar to Marlowe's characterization, even some routine basic activities as eating or sleeping don't seem to affect the detective's routine: all Doc cares about is his work and his professionalism, which he defends at all costs ("Bigfoot, can we at least try to be professional here?"[17]), even if he keeps a self-deprecating and ironic attitude. In a sense he always shows some respect for the mystery itself: he is totally aware of detection's inherent vice, that is "this glittering mosaic of doubt. Something like what Saunchos' colleagues in marine insurance liked to call inherent vice"[18].

In addition, following his hippie lifestyle, Doc uses marijuana, acid and other drugs, continuing the long tradition of drug addict detectives, from Sherlock Holmes – who used cocaine – to Marlowe, who shows, like many *hard-boiled* characters, his alcohol dependence.

The echo of Chandler's novels, especially *The Long Goodbye* and *Farewell, My Lovely*, is clear not only for what concerns the location (Venice Bay above all), but also for the obscure atmosphere that lies beneath the intricate puzzle of narration, weighing down the sequence of events. Doc has got all the credentials to be a *doomed* detective: he is often helpless and overwhelmed, and he faces all those tricks he cannot decipher. He is unable to concentrate on his main target because he is constantly distracted by drug-induced paranoia, and his deductions are often wrong and slow to show up. Despite everything, at the end of the novel Doc will not be as terrible as we expected. At the very

15 T. Pynchon, *Bleeding Edge*, New York, Penguin Press, 2013, p. 418.

16 *Inherent Vice*, cit., p. 17.

17 *Inherent Vice*, cit., p. 35.

18 *Inherent Vice*, cit., p. 351.

end, thanks to his obstinacy, but not necessarily thanks to him, he will be able to solve mysteries, he will cash his check for the bet in Las Vegas, and Coy Harlingen will be back home with his family. In short, Doc is not as doomed as postmodern detectives: unlike Oedipa in *The Crying of Lot 49*, Doc will not fall in the void, and his investigation will be successful, just like Marlowe's one. In his own way Doc is an antihero – sometimes clumsy, grotesque – who is not able to restore order or to solve all the enigmas through the chaotic clues. In conclusion, he is an intentional parodic version of Philip Marlowe and – considering the categories proposed by Northrop Frye in his essay[19] – from an epic hero he turns into an ironic hero; *hard-boiled* models are still identifiable, and Marlowe's paradigm remains recognizable.

In fact, we can find Coy Harlingen and his dubious death; the relationship between Doc and Bigfoot (with his latent homosexuality) is the typical expression of ambiguity, the friendship/hatred between PIs and police detectives that can be traced back to Sherlock and Lestrade; the disappearance of a woman, Shasta Fay, Doc's ex-girlfriend, who, just like Terry Lennox with Philip Marlowe, reappears at night straight from Doc's past, so that he thinks he is hallucinating.

In view of these considerations, it is necessary to ask another question about the history of detective fiction in which Pynchon is an undisputed protagonist: what kind of debate does the author advance in writing *Inherent Vice*? If he is aware of how his literary innovations recoded a genre forty years before, what is the role of this awareness in the writing of the novel?

The first consideration to make is about Pynchon's attention towards the genre. Above all, he seems to pay homage to the *hard-boiled* golden age, carrying its clichés, and dissembling them in order to draw a personal caricature for both settings and characters.

On the other hand, he goes beyond that paradigm – as is clear in *The Crying of Lot 49*, in *V.* or *Gravity's Rainbow*, which represent *anti-detective fiction* since they are an expression of postmodern fiction and the deep reconstruction of the *quest* novel – adding more and more chaotic elements, fragmenting the plot in impossible pieces of a parodic puzzle; Pynchon embraces the doubt, the irregularity, showing the *inherent vice* of detection.

[19] N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*, Princeton University Press, 1957.

So the writing of *Inherent Vice* is a still further step, a different approach that Pynchon shows towards the genre: at this stage he not only acts towards the tradition and evolution of the genre – just like in his Sixties' novels – but also in virtue of his own contribution to the genre's tradition. In short, it seems that Pynchon is looking at Pynchon, at times imitating him in a sort of self-parody. From this point of view, *Inherent Vice* is not only a post-Chandler novel but also post-Pynchon, and the game it plays is often caricatured. A parodic paranoia spreads inside the novel's whole universe, changing the individual and introspective value that paranoia had in Pynchon' previous novels.

Ultimately, we can state that looking back at the genre's whole tradition is the way in which Pynchon is taking a step forward in his literary production. *Inherent Vice* is a time of reflection (and redemption) on what writing noir implies in the twenty-first century.

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Italo Calvino's *Lezioni Americane* applied to his famous novel *Il Barone Rampante*

Abstract: This article highlights the presence of two of Italo Calvino's lessons in his novel *Il Barone Rampante [The Baron in the Trees]*. In his *Lezioni Americane [American Lessons]* the author focuses on the main features of literature, and in particular lightness and visibility can be found in one of his most famous writings. After a brief explanation of the main characteristics of both lessons, some examples from the novel are given. Starting from some studies about *Lezioni Americane* and *Il Barone Rampante,* the aim of this research is to compare the two novels taking into account the thought of the author.

Key words: Calvino, Baron, American, lessons, lightness, visibility, comparative

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When analyzing Italo Calvino's writings in order to compare them, there are some studies that have been taken into account in this article. Domenico Scarpa's and Marco Belpolit's works about the author represent a fundamental contribution concerning Calvino's life and thinking. At the same time, articles such as the ones published by Umberto Eco provide an interesting point of view on the writer's work.

In 1960 Italo Calvino published the first edition of *I Nostri Antenati [Our Ancestors]*, a trilogy of fantastic-allegorical novels about contemporary man. This particular moment of the author's production delineates the shift from neorealism to fantastc[1]. The collection of novels was published in Turin by Einaudi.

The first novel of the trilogy is *Il Visconte Dimezzato [The Cloven Viscount]*, completed in 1952. It is a brief novel set at the end of the XVI century that narrates the deeds of the viscount Medardo of Terralba, who, with the Christian army, leaves Italy to reach Bohemia in order to fight against the Turks. It is during this war that the viscount is somehow cut into halves which end up fighting one another. This plays a core role in symbolizing the inner contrast typical of the new kind of man that Calvino is describing in this cycle of novels. The second novel, *Il Barone Rampante [The Baron in the Trees]*, was written in 1957 and became one of Calvino's most famous novels due to the particular plot and the unique style of the novel. It is the story of a baron, Cosimo Piovasco of Rondò, told by his brother Biagio. The novel begins in the XVII century when, at the age of 12, the protagonist has a fight with his parents and decides to climb a tree in order to live there for the rest of his life. He achieves these aims by conducting a very well described life in trees, going from one branch to another. He creates his new life, watching the world from above and discovering love, in the character of Viola, and history. *Il Barone Rampante* is to all effects a *bildungsroman*[2] as it follows the growing up of Cosimo and his formation. Living in the trees, in fact, doesn't mean that the protagonist is not involved in culture, philosophy and history. One of the expedients used by

[1] A. Tinkler, *Italo Calvino*, "The Review of Contemporary Fiction", Spring 2002, p. 68.

[2] According to the Collins English Dictionary it is "a novel concerned with a person's formative years and development." The German word is composed by bildung (education) and roman (novel), and the first novel considered as an example of bildungsroman is Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship by Johann Wolfgang Goethe, translated in English in 1824.

Calvino is to place in the novel a correspondence between Cosimo and Voltaire. The last novel that completes the trilogy is *Il Cavaliere Inestente [The Nonexistent Knight]*, completed in 1959. This last novel takes place at the time of the Crusades and relies upon two opposite characters: Agiulfo, an empty suit of armor that exists only because of willpower and conscience, and Gurdulù, who exists, but without conscience.

In the introduction to the edition of 1960, Italo Calvino describes the trilogy as «un'esemplificazione dei tipi di mutilazione dell'uomo contemporaneo» and, he adds, this man is «mutilato, incompleto, nemico a se stesso[3]». The trilogy represents the interest of Calvino for mankind and their feelings, experiences and problems. The same interest that Ludovico Ariosto already showed and for whom Italo Calvino took inspiration. The link between the authors is, in fact, the *fil rouge*[4], which is present in both their writings: the analysis of men's behaviors and emotions in both concrete and fictional realities. Calvino's reference to Ariosto's wriring is visible throughout the trilogy. There are many allusions relating to chivalric literature: from the setting to the name of the characters, such as "Bradamante" and a strong use of irony.

Irony is one of the main tricks used by Italo Calvino in his famous novel *Il Barone Rampante* to give a style to the writing in order to make it light and easy to read. This particular novel is one of the best and proves that the author applies his own ideas, e.g. the one he explained in his *Lezioni Americane*[5] *[American Lessons]*. Italo Calvino should have provided a cycle of conferences at Harvard University during the Charles Eliot Norton Poetry Lectures from 1985 to 1986. Due to the death of the author he never gave these lectures, but they were posthumously published by his wife Esther. The title of each lesson later became the title of each chapter of the book: *Leggerezza, Rapidità, Esattezza, Visibilità, Molteplicità*[6], and the last one, incomplete, that is on con-

[3] In this quotation Calvino means the trilogy as an exemplification of the types of mutilation of modern man, who is mutilated, incomplete, and an enemy of himself. I. Calvino, *I Nostri Antenati,* Torino, Einaudi, 1960.

[4] The concept of *fil rouge* is a French metaphor that means conductive thread. A recurring element or concept present within a work or that links more than one writing.

[5] I. Calvino, *Lezioni Americane. Sei proposte per il nuovo millennio*, Milano, Garzanti, 1988.

[6] Lightness, Quickness, Exactitude, Visibility, Multiplicity.

sistency, and appears as an appendix with the title *Cominciare e finire* (literally *Starting and ending*). Each lesson is a clear summary of Italo Calvino's suggestion for the new century and, at the same time, of his ideas on literature. Some of these ideas are likely to be found in Calvino's most famous novel. In particular, the most evident ones are *Lightness* and *Visibility*.

In one analysis of *Il Barone Rampante*, Umberto Eco noticed how Calvino focused on being somehow light in his way of writing and, highlighted the critic, he directly refers to the first lesson of *Lezioni Americane*:

> [...] eliminato dalle prime versioni delle proprie opere certi paragrafi moraleggianti che avrebbero potuto rendere le sue lezioni troppo invadenti. Cosimo Piovasco di Rondò non insegna nulla, almeno, non ai lettori. Si limita a incarnare un esempio. Solo in due punti il romanzo suggerisce una possibile lettura/interpretazione morale. Il primo punto (nel capitolo XX) è quello in cui si dice che Cosimo riteneva che, se si voleva osservare la terra nel modo giusto, bisognava mantenere la giusta distanza da essa. Il che mi rimanda a un'osservazione dalle Lezioni Americane: «È sempre in un rifiuto della visione diretta che sta la forza di Perseo, ma non in un rifiuto della realtà del mondo di mostri in cui gli è toccato di vivere, una realtà che egli porta con sè, che assume come proprio fardello». [...] Cosimo decide di trascorrere la propria intera vita aerea sugli alberi, volando via dal mondo terreno. Ma quegli alberi non sono per lui una torre d'avorio. Dalle loro cime, osserva la realtà, acquistando una saggezza superiore, proprio perché la gente che egli vede gli appare piccolissima, e comprende meglio di chiunque altro i problemi dei poveri esseri umani che hanno la sventura di dover camminare sui propri piedi[7].

Everything in the novel is based on the antithesis between heaviness and lightness from the very beginning. The omniscient narrator, Cosimo's brother, describes the heavy ritual of family dinners and its participants: the long and weighty wig of their father, the strict rigor of the abbot, their parents' repro-

[7] In this article Eco explains how Calvino decides to remove every moral paragraph from his writing. Cosimo carries a message without imposing it on the reader. His behavior works as an example for what Calvino means in his lessons. U. Eco, *La morale è nella leggerezza*, "Domenica – Il Sole 24 ore", may 26 2013.

aches for any imperfect behavior. The long description underlines the looming climate of heaviness. In contrast, life outside the home is described as easy and bright. In two words: pure lightness. The descriptions of the settings, whether they are indoors or outdoors, are always provided by the author using the dichotomy heavy – light.

In addition, another thing that must be noted is how the language of the author also serves the aim of being light.

> Quella del Barone Rampante è una lingua cristallina, e Calvino (si veda la terza delle sue Lezioni Americane) ha detto che il cristallo, con la sua sfaccettatura precisa e la sua capacità di riflettere la luce, era il modello di perfezione che aveva sempre accarezzato, come un simbolo[8].

Even if the author focuses, through his characters, on historical events, demonstrating a great knowledge of facts and philosophers such as Voltaire, his style does not change. It just stays as clear and light as it is when he tells about the young boy in the trees. The style stays but the point of view is totally different when Cosimo manages to jump over the high branch. It seems, for the guy, a great conquest and a unique opportunity to look at things from another perspective. As the narrator will explain, Cosimo will notice how every single thing looked from above just seemed different:

> Critics have unanimously assessed *The Baron in the Trees* the most successful work of the trilogy. *Bildungsroman* (formation novel), geometric fairytale, historical pastiche, philosophical action: none of these seems to be totally appropriate to describe this work depicting the adventurous life in a fantastic eighteenth-century atmosphere of this positive, rebellious, lonely, impulsive, forward-looking hero, with autobiographical features and therefore particularly well-loved by Calvino[9].

[8] The crystal clear language used by Calvino is coherent with his third lesson. He states that the structure of a crystal allows it to spread light, and somehow a crystal language is the perfection that the author seeks. *Ibidem.*

[9] M. Campagnaro, *A Classic Work of Italian Literature: Italo Calvino's Trilogy for Young Readers*, Padova, Libri & Liberi, 2013, p.88.

As Campagnaro states in this quotation, the adventures described by Calvino are surrounded by the XVIII Century's atmosphere, and moving the point of view of the protagonist permits an honest narration of the history of the time. Also, Calvino highlights the inner debate of every man, split between the use of reason as the main tool for an interpretation of life and, on the other hand, personal relationships and the importance of society. This constant seeking for a balance between solitude and bonding is what Cesare Cases defines in 1958 as *pathos* of distance[10]:

> col Barone Rampante Calvino ha invece trovato la soluzione: ha insediato il suo eroe sulle piante, a una distanza tale da poter essere in rapporto con gli uomini e giovar loro senza essere offeso dalla sana, ma un po' maleodorante natura del popolo e da quella arida e crudele dei suoi nobili familiari[11].

Visibility

By physically moving his protagonist Calvino emphasizes how the character becomes a bridge between the events that take place on the ground and the reader. He narrates this novel through Cosimo's descriptions and perceptions and, most of all, Cosimo's view. He applies to this novel one of his lessons: *visibility*.

> All'origine di ogni storia che ho scritto c'è un'immagine che mi gira per la testa, nata chissà come e che mi porto dietro magari per anni. A poco a poco mi viene da sviluppare questa immagine in una storia con un principio e una fine, e nello stesso tempo [...] mi convinco che essa racchiude qualche significato[12].

In his own *incipit* to *I Nostri Antenati* Calvino underlines how, in his creative act of writing, he starts from an image that comes to his mind. He has an

[10] The concept was firstly defined by Friederich Nietzsche as a behaviour of aristocratic men.

[11] Cases focuse on how Italo Calvino finds a solution by placing his hero in the trees. Cosimo keeps a strong connection with the ground and with his family, but is not spoiled by human nature. C. Cases, *Calvino e il "pathos della distanza"* in *I metodi attuali della critica in Italia* edited by M. Corti e C. Segre, Torino, Eri, 1970, p.50.

[12] I. Calvino, *I Nostri Antenati*, Torino, Einaudi, 1960, p. 11.

image, he visualizes it, and later on it becomes meaningful. This is the basis of his novels. When he published his novel, a few years after the outbreak of television in Italy, he faces a new reality in which mankind is all the time exposed to a lot of images. Due to technological progress, in fact, Calvino is worried about the capacity to preserve imagination in his reader. Writing is, for the author, one of the main means that can develop the human faculty to imagine that could perish because of technology. He wants the reader to create and visualize colours, shapes and scenes simply by starting from letters put one with another on the page of a book. According to this aim, the novel is filled with precise descriptions in order to build precise and meticulous images. For example, in the following extract, it is clear how Calvino's intention is not only to show something but to make it real, to make it viewable and perceptible:

> La villa era chiusa, le persiane sprangate; solo una, a un abbaino, sbatteva al vento. Il giardino lasciato senza cure aveva più che mai quell'aspetto di foresta d'altro mondo[13].

Not only is it possible to read that a shutter slams in the wind, but the reader may also hear it, imagine it.

On the last page of the novel, Calvino entrusts the narrator with one of the most significant representations of his idea of *visibility*:

> Ombrosa non c'è più. Guardando il cielo sgombro, mi domando se è davvero esistita. Quel frastaglio di rami e foglie, biforcazioni, lobi, spiumii, minuto e senza fine, e il cielo solo a sprazzi irregolari e ritagli, forse c'era solo perché ci passasse mio fratello col suo leggero passo di codibugnolo, era un ricamo fatto sul nulla che assomiglia a questo filo d'inchiostro, come l'ho lasciato correre per pagine e pagine, zeppo di cancellature, di rimandi, di sgorbi nervosi, di macchie, di lacune, che a momenti si sgrana in grossi acini chiari, a momenti si infittisce in segni minuscoli come semi puntiformi, ora si ritorce su se stesso, ora si biforca, ora collega grumi di frasi con contorni di foglie o di nuvole, e poi s'intoppa, e poi

[13] I. Calvino, *Il Barone Rampante*, Torino, Einaudi, 1957, p. 85.

> ripiglia a attorcigliarsi, e corre e corre e si sdipana e avvolge in ultimo grappolo insensato di parole idee sogni ed è finito[14].

In these thoughts of Biagio, the evidence of what his hometown was and what it is not anymore is clear. He stays at the window and narrates what he is witnessing, giving to the reader one last glance at the environs. As in Calvino's other works, *Il Barone Rampante* also has some examples of humans' *voyeurism*[15], mostly in the character of Biagio. This kind of *visibility* is one he puts into action when he observes Cosimo's actions and then he narrates them. At the same time, Cosimo himself is somehow an observer as he decides to move into the trees. His lifelong activity becomes to look down and watch. No one can see him, while he is able to have a complete vision of the life that develops below his new position:

> Guardava tutto, e tutto era come niente. Tra i limoneti passava una donna con un cesto. Saliva un mulattiere per la china, reggendosi alla coda della mula. Non si videro tra loro; la donna, al rumore degli zoccoli ferrati, si voltò e si porse verso la strada, ma non fece in tempo. Si mise a cantare allora, ma il mulattiere passava già la svolta, tese l'orecchio, schioccò la frusta e alla mula disse: – Aah! – E tutto finí lí. Cosimo vedeva questo e quello[16].

[14] [Ombrosa no longer exists. Looking at the empty sky, I ask myself if it ever did really exist. That mesh of leaves and twigs of fork and froth, minute and endless, with the sky glimpsed only in sudden specks and splinters, perhaps it was only there so that my brother could pass through it with his tomtit's tread, was embroidered on nothing, like this thread of ink which I have let run on for page after page, swarming with cancellations, corrections, doodles, blots and gaps, bursting at times into clear big berries, coagulating at others into piles of tiny starry seeds, then twisting away, forking off, surrounding buds of phrases with frameworks of leaves and clouds, then interweaving again, and so running on and on and on until it splutters and bursts into a last senseless cluster of words, ideas, dreams, and so ends.] *Ivi*, p. 246.

[15] M. Belpoliti, *L'occhio di Calvino*, Torino, Einaudi, 2006, p. 12.

[16] [My brother sat there like a sentinel. He looked at everything, but nothing looked like anything to him. A woman with a basket was passing between the rows of lemon trees. Up the path came a muleteer holding on to his mule by the tail. The two never set eyes on each other; at the sound of the metal-shod hoofs the woman turned around and moved toward the path but did not reach it in time. She broke into song then, but the muleteer had already rounded the bend; he listened, cracked his whip and said "Aaah!" to the mule; nothing more. Cosimo saw it all.] I. Calvino, *Il Barone Rampante*, cit., 1957, p. 16.

It is only because he observes that he decides to go from a static immobility to a life of adventures: his willingness to witness the famous thief Gian dei Brughi, for example, is the spring that pushes him to one of his greatest deeds. In the character of Cosimo, both of the natures of mankind seem to converge: he is the summary of solitude and social relationships. By placing him in the trees, Calvino seems to relegate him to a lonely life made of observation, but throughout the novel this conception is dispelled. As Alan A. Block noted, in fact

> For Calvino, in Baron in the Trees [sic], reality depends solely on the materialist presences received through the complex ties and connections by which society is organized and controlled. Reality exists in the myriad interactions with which we engage as human beings during the course of our daily lives, and can thus be known in the conscious understanding of the relationships that exist between the self and everything else in the cosmos[17].

Through a detailed description of the events, Calvino enables every reader to literally visualize characters and actions according to what he states in his lesson *visibility*. Indeed, he proposes a process of visualization based on the idea of thinking through images[18]. He confers to the act of writing the major role of shaping reality and fantasy.

Lightness

The other main feature of this novel that Italo Calvino explained in his *Lezioni Americane* is lightness. Not only does he adopt this style for this novel, but it may also be considered as a distinctive mark of all the writings he published. As he himself declares at the beginning of the lessons, he will dedicate the first of them to this concept, which soon became the basis of his production.

> Dedicherò la prima conferenza all'opposizione leggerezza-peso, e sosterrò le ragioni della leggerezza. Questo non vuol dire che io consideri le ragioni del

[17] Alan A. Block, *The Utopian Reality of Italo Calvino: Baron in the Trees*, "Italian Quarterly", XXX, 1989, pp. 5-6.

[18] I. Calvino, *Lezioni Americane. Sei proposte per il prossimo millennio,* cit., p. 71.

> peso meno valide, ma solo che sulla leggerezza penso d'aver più cose da dire. Dopo quarant'anni che scrivo fiction, dopo aver esplorato varie strade e compiuto esperimenti diversi, è venuta l'ora che io cerchi una definizione complessiva per il mio lavoro; proporrei questa: la mia operazione è stata il più delle volte una sottrazione di peso; ho cercato di togliere peso ora alle figure umane, ora ai corpi celesti, ora alle città; soprattutto ho cercato di togliere peso alla struttura del racconto e al linguaggio[19].

He focuses on the contrast between lightness and heaviness which is, as already noted, very common in the novel. Also, he adds, he applies lightness to human and settings' descriptions and to language itself. This first statement is a clear key of reading for *Il Barone Rampante* directly furnished by the author. The weight subtraction, physically elevating the protagonist and choosing a clear style of narration, is the *leitmotiv* of this famous writing. The Cosimo that lives in the trees is, in Calvino's idea, a kind of Perseus that dares Medusa. He symbolically defeats the heaviness of the world and the rationality that loads humankind. The act of disobedience that begins this novel is a clear metaphor for the lightness of thinking that Calvino explains in his lesson. According to the author, and to his character too, there is a strong necessity of distance to approach correctly the events of life and literature. This methodology is not about superficiality but relies on a new way of thinking. When Italo Calvino tells about the time he's living in and his ideas for the new millennium, he embraces a mind-set that has to be not bound to technology and social constrictions.

When it comes to the death of Cosimo and Biagio's father, to give an example from the novel, Calvino's idea of lightness appears very clear. While all the family goes to the funeral, Cosimo watches it from a tree, but the great

[19] [I will devote my first lecture to the opposition between lightness and weight, and will uphold the values of lightness. This does not mean that I consider the virtues of weight any less compelling, but simply that I have more to say about lightness. After forty years of writing fiction, after exploring various roads and making diverse experiments, the time has come for me to look for an overall definition of my work. I would suggest this: my working method has more often than not involved the subtraction of weight. I have tried to remove weight, sometimes from people, sometimes from heavenly bodies, sometimes from cities; above all I have tried to remove weight from the structure of stories and from language.] *Ibidem*, p. 7.

amount of leaves does not allow him to assist properly at the ceremony. Thus, it may seem that he is distant and detached while he is just reflecting on death in another way. To clarify this, the author includes a very evocative image in this passage: «quando noi tutti gettammo un pugno di terra sulla bara lui ci gettò un rametto con le foglie»[20]. Biagio describes this scene in order to underline the differences between who stayed on the ground and Cosimo: they threw handfuls of soil on the grave, while he just put a small bough with leaves.

Death plays a core role in the representation of lightness and heaviness. When the protagonist of his novel is about to die, Calvino does not describe it in the traditional way. He shows his character pale and suffering, stiff and bruised. Nevertheless, Cosimo does not comes back to the ground, surrendering to the heaviness of death and its rituals. In the very last scene of the novel, Calvino gives the greatest image of lightness ever: he describes the last of Cosimo's jumps, the highest of his flights, until no one is able to see him anymore. Like Perseus, who defeated Medusa by standing on a light and fluffy cloud, Cosimo flies away. This similitude is used by the author like he explains in his lesson about lightness when he analyses Ovidio's Metamorphosis. The blood of Medusa gives birth to the famous winged horse Pegasus. Likewise, from the feeling of impending death, Cosimo's lightest image is described. In the same lesson he offers another key for reading this particular part of the novel. He refers to Boccaccio's Decamerone, where the great poet Guido Cavalcanti makes a big leap to step away from the world – at that moment gripped by the plague – and its heaviness[21].

> L'agonizzante Cosimo, nel momento in cui la fune dell'ancora gli passò vicino, spiccò un balzo di quelli che gli erano consueti nella sua gioventù, s'aggrappò alla corda, coi piedi sull'ancora e il corpo ancora raggomitolato, e così lo vedemmo volar via, trascinato nel vento, frenando appena la corsa del pallone, e sparire verso il mare… […] Così scomparve Cosimo, e non ci diede neppure la soddisfazione di vederlo tornare sulla terra da morto. Nella tomba di famiglia

[20] I. Calvino, *Il Barone Rampante*, cit., p. 33.

[21] We Lwowie nie było periodyku o takim tytule. Wychodziła w tamtym okresie „Gazeta Narodowa", redagowana m.in. przez Jana Dobrzańskiego.

> c'è una stele che lo ricorda con scritto: "Cosimo Piovasco di Rondò – Visse sugli alberi – Amò sempre la terra – Salì in cielo."[22]

The weight of his body never lies in the family grave, where to replace it only a stele is put to represent him. This epitaph explains how Cosimo, despite his decision to living in the trees, never stopped loving the ground. Calvino applies to this novel his lesson about lightness and, as a consequence, his personal vision about life. In his lesson, in fact, he states that when he feels oppressed by the heaviness of the world he just imagines being a Perseus that is able to fly away:

> Nei momenti in cui il regno dell'umano mi sembra condannato alla pesantezza, penso che dovrei volare come Perseo in un altro spazio. Non sto parlando di fughe nel sogno o nell'irrazionale. Voglio dire che devo cambiare il mio approccio, devo guardare il mondo con un'altra ottica, un'altra logica, altri metodi di conoscenza e di verifica[23].

What he suggests, anyway, is not a cowardly escape but a change in the approach toward things, so that Cosimo does not flee the ground but watches it from above.

[22] [The dying Cosimo, at the second when the anchor rope passed near him, gave one of those leaps he so often used to do in his youth, gripped the rope, with his feet on the anchor and his body in a hunch, and so we saw him fly away, taken by the wind, scarce braking the course of the balloon, and vanish out to sea. . .. The balloon, having crossed the gulf, managed to land on the other side. On the rope was nothing but the anchor. The aeronauts, too busy at the time trying to keep a lookout, had noticed nothing. It was presumed that the dying old man had disappeared while the balloon was flying over the bay. So vanished Cosimo, without giving us even the satisfaction of seeing him return to earth a corpse. On the family tomb there is a plaque in commemoration of him, with the inscription: "Cosimo Piovasco di Rondò—Lived in trees—Always loved earth—Went into sky."] I. Calvino, *Il Barone Rampante*, cit., p. 245.

[23] Hipotetycznie, bo poza trzema recenzjami (które kwestię tę podejmują marginesowo), nie znamy świadectw odbioru powieści. Zob. „Świat" 1891, nr 17. „Panu Nossigowi nie chodziło o to, aby powieść napisać, ale aby pod zasłoną powieści poddać pod rozbiór stan naszego społeczeństwa, jego zasad, myśli, dążeń" – [Jan Badeni], „Przegląd Powszechny" 1892, t. 34, s. 86-88; M.M. [Marian Morawski?], „Przegląd Polski" 1892, t. 105, s. 652-654.

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Forgotten Books: On the Making of Jane Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw*

Abstract: This article attempts to identify and examine some of the factors and sources that led to the creation of a largely forgotten prose work of English fiction titled *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803) which became an immediate and extraordinary success. Jane Porter's novel deals with a fictitious Polish patriot Thaddeus Sobieski, who is modelled on the Polish national hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The novel presents an excellent illustration of the cultural links between Great Britain and Poland towards the end of the 18th century and constitutes a cautionary tale for Porter's English readers, one that creates a basis for moral reform and political engagement.

Key words: national heroes, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Napoleon, domestic life, 1790s

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The present undertaking is an attempt to identify and examine some of the factors and sources that led to the creation of a largely forgotten prose work of English fiction, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, the first edition of which appeared in British bookshops in 1803. The work is unique among English novels of the time in taking up a Polish theme, hero and setting, namely, the heroic and tragic years of the early 1790s that marked the demise of the Polish state and the creation of a modern hero in the person of Thaddeus Sobieski. The study places the novel in its historical settings of Warsaw and London of the 1790s, looks into the sojourn of Kosciuszko in the English capital in 1797, one made momentous and captured for posterity by British writers and artists moved and inspired by the figure of the Polish General. Examination is also made of the richly detailed presentation of individuals and events depicting life in Poland at the time that remains a largely unappreciated testament of the courage and self-sacrifice of the Polish people in their struggle for independence against the overwhelming military forces of the Russian and Prussian partitioning powers.

Jane Porter (1776–1850), a now largely forgotten writer, was a British novelist known as *la pensorosa*—the thoughtful one. Writing during the years when Britain's military forces were doing battle with Napoleon, Porter was an early pioneer of the historical novel, her most substantial effort being *Scottish Chiefs* (1810). The novel features the heroic Scottish figure of William Wallace (d. 1305), a leader of the ill-fated Scottish Wars of Independence. *The Scottish Chiefs* is exemplary of Jane Porter's sympathy for freedom fighters and the struggle for freedom of subject peoples, be they Poles, Scots, or South Americans. Mme. de Stael (1766–1817) categorized the novel as "une epopée en prose" though Porter herself referred to her novelistic form as "a biographical romance." The divergent views reflect the two-fold nature of the structure of her first novel, *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803), in which battlefield scenes in the borderlands between Poland and Russia give way to scenes of domestic life in the London of the 1790s[1].

Porter, a native Scot, was fascinated by national heroes, including Peter the Great (1672–1725), Simon Bolivar (1783–1830), the Polish–American free-

[1] D. Looser. (2015). *Cambridge Women Writers in the Romantic Age*. Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press. 8

dom fighter, Thaddeus Kosciuszko (1746–1817)[2], as well as the above-mentioned Wallace. Kosciuszko serves as a model of virtue for the main protagonist *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803), Thaddeus Constantine Sobieski, his namesake. Another is the Polish hetman and king, Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696), and the hero of the Battle of Vienna in 1683. The two are revered as outstanding military leaders in the Polish and larger European tradition. The novel became an immediate best seller, and remained popular throughout the first half of the 19th century, going through numerous printings and several new editions. The fact that Porter chose a prominent Pole as the main protagonist for her biographical romance was a remarkable choice[3]. She evidently came to know of Kosciuszko and his aide-de-camp, Julian Niemcewicz[4] (1758–1841) in the course of their brief stay in London and Bristol in May-June, 1797, both of whom are mentioned in her preface to the novel. Kosciuszko himself plays a minor but important role in the novel.

Porter, as can also be seen in her selection of William Wallace as a protagonist of her later novel, was particularly sympathetic to the victims of calamities, political exiles, and fighters for a lost cause. In Kosciuszko, she was drawn to a peculiar type of hero who can be viewed as a counterpart of the larger than life figures of Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar and Napoleon whose exploits were driven by overweening power and personal aggrandizement. For Porter, Kosciuszko embodied a selfless magnanimity in his heroic struggles for the independence of America and Poland, and a disdain for personal glory.

[2] Tadeusz (Thaddeus) Kosciuszko, a Polish nobleman born in the eastern borderlands in what is now Belarus, fought on the side of the Thirteen Colonies throughout the American Revolutionary War (1776–1783), the longest serving foreign officer. Kosciuszko held the rank of colonel in Horatio Gates's army at Saratoga and later directed the fortification of West Point. After that war he returned to Poland to organize the Polish people in their struggle for independence against the King of Prussia and the Czar of Russia. Their last great battle was fought in Warsaw, Poland, where Kosciuszko successfully combined regular military forces with irregular militia, an idea derived from George Washington. Kosciuszko later was offered a command in Napoleon's army but rejected it without guarantees of Poland's independence after the conquest of Europe.

[3] George Eliot likewise selected a Polish musician Will Ladislaw as a protagonist in her novel *Middlemarch* (1872).

[4] Porter refers to "Niemcivitz" in the novel as a "bard and hero" who had "fought at the side of the then imprisoned Kosciusko in the last battle in which the general fell". In a footnote she calls him "the Tyrtaeus of his country" and "a fellow collegian with Kosciusko… but of a more literary disposition, his pen rather than his sword took part in the early struggles between Poland and her enemies" (93).

While he appears as a national hero who redeemed the Polish nation from the ignominy of the partitions by uniting the Polish people in standing up to their enemies, he is also viewed as a fallen hero who failed in his mission to liberate his people from foreign aggressors.

In the Napoleonic era, the destructive spirit of war between nation and nation, with its blatant aggression, private aggrandizement and short-sighted self-interest, was seen by Porter as having a negative model for the younger generation while promoting vices all too characteristic of Regency England. Hence Porter's concern about the crisis of "manly British youth" who were completely lacking in wholesome principles. This dread for the future well-being of Britain served as a major impetus in the penning of the novel. Her stated aim was "to draw a distinguishing line between the spirit of true patriotism and that of ambitious public discontent; between real glory, which arises from benefits bestowed, and the false fame of acquired conquests." In such a context "the character of General Kosciuszko…presented itself to the writer as the completest exemplar for such a picture"[5].

No less an authority than Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) credits Jane Porter with the invention of the historical novel. Scott himself is often considered to be the founder of the genre with its great impact on a generation of Romantic writers. Scott's most important works were published in 1814 (*Waverly*) and 1820 (*Ivanhoe*), significantly later than Porter's early novels. Both writers created memorable characters whose actions, decisions and manner brought history to life[6].

Jane and her sister, Anna, had been household names in the first decades of the 19th century, "the toast of Regency-era England," when other female writers of fiction such as Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849) and Jane Austen (1775–1817) were making names for themselves. Her "biographical romances" appear as densely plotted fictional accounts of heroic men and virtuous women, and were eagerly embraced by a reading public fascinated by uplifting historical tales. "The Porters were bright, pretty and in demand; their literary success allowed them to transcend their lower-middle-class roots to move easily among Eng-

[5] J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, Appendix to the novel, 445.

[6] D. Brown. (1979). *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*. London: Routledge, 10ff.

land's smart set, fussed over and feted by the soldiers, statesmen and artists who were busily transforming Britain into the most powerful nation on earth"[7].

In his unpublished essay, Anessi asserts that Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw* presents a "usable history," that puts some recent and not so recent historical events in Eastern Europe into the service of her readers living in the era of the Wars of the First (1792–1797) and Second Coalitions (1798–1802) against Napoleon. For Anessi, "Porter wants to illustrate a foundation in history for evolutionary political change" by constructing in the novel a hierarchy of forces responsible for social order, with national identity, built upon common historical experience, at the top"[8]. This is accomplished by her depiction of the main character, Thaddeus Sobieski, both as a Polish nobleman fighting for his country, later as political exile in England and ultimately as a true scion of a British lord upholding a traditional and virtuous way of life, one that is in some respects at odds with Kosciuszko's values and political ideals. Porter, surprisingly for contemporary readers, describes in significant detail Thaddeus's participation in the political and military events that shaped the tragic destiny of his native Poland, culminating in the total loss of national independence. Porter vividly describes both the battlefield on which Kosciuszko fell in October 1794 and the subsequent crushing of resistance in Warsaw by overwhelming Russian forces under the command of General Alexander Suvorov (1730–1800) later in that year.

Porter, however, goes beyond historical accounts in her creation of Thaddeus Sobieski, a composite figure based on the two most prominent military heroes in Polish history, Jan III Sobieski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko. While drawing upon the personal virtues and military prowess of Kosciuszko, she endows Thaddeus with royal blood, assigning him a much higher social status than the Polish general. This suits her novelistic purposes in making him a suitable mate for Mary, the novel's upper-class heroine and female counterpart and transforming him into an English Lord. The upper-class-consciousness of the British writer is alien to the democratic spirit of Kosciuszko who

[7] D. Looser. (2016). *Sister Novelists*. Devoney Looser and the Porter Sisters. Jefferson City, MO: Office of Research, 6.

[8] T. Anessi. (1999). *England's Future/Poland's Past: History and National Identity in 'Thaddeus of Warsaw'*. M. A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, Department of English, 5.

espoused republican values and championed the common man. His support of the human rights of Blacks, Native Americans and Jews—all outcasts in British (and American) high society in the early 19th century—was remarkably ahead of his times.

For Porter, the "historical" section of the novel offers an opportunity to depict a true hero in action and a virtuous male figure who forms a stark contrast, once he arrives in London, to the feckless, dandified and unattractive British aristocrats, his contemporary counterparts. The fact that Thaddeus arrives in the British capital without financial resources allows him to get to know the world of the poor and neglected; later, through his characteristic modest dignity and the inherent nobility of his demeanor, together with his native appeal to women, he gains access to the salons of the upper crust of British society. This gives Porter a perspective for examining and satirizing characters from contemporary Regency England, primarily in London, eventually shifting the action to the English countryside where Thaddeus comes to terms with his British patrimony. Thaddeus is depicted as an ideal gentleman, possessed of a set of personal, social and political values that his English counterparts are at pains to measure up to. National identity together with social class determine both the structure of a society's social relations and domestic tendencies that shape an individual's character. Thus, it is unavoidable for the purposes of biographical romance that Porter ultimately transforms Thaddeus into a true scion of the British nobility, making him a suitable match in every respect for a British lady and at the same time satisfying her primarily female readers' expectations of a happy ending. The novel provides a wealth of British characters with whom Thaddeus, the Polish exile, interacts so as to put his democratic instincts and the full range of his virtue on display. These characters come from various social stations—from impoverished city folk and pawnbrokers to wealthy upper-class denizens of London and baronets from the English countryside of Leicestershire[9].

From a Polish reader's perspective, the appearance of an English novel featuring a Polish hero as protagonist seems quite unlikely and unexpected. The Polish writer and philosopher, Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, (1790–1866), who

[9] T. Anessi. (1999). *England's Future/Poland's Past: History and National Identity in 'Thaddeus of Warsaw'*. M. A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, Department of English, 6.

lived and traveled in Britain in the early 1820s, was appalled by the lack of knowledge of Poland and the almost complete unfamiliarity with Polish culture of the British educated class. In order to enlighten the British reading public about Polish life and letters, he wrote a volume entitled *Letters Literary and Political on Poland* (published in Edinburgh in 1823) and *Letters and Tribes* also of 1823. He later wrote *Reminiscences of a Journey through England and Scotland, 1820–1824.* In his own words, Lach-Szyrma admits to his dismay at "the ignorance of people in Britain about the Slav nations— a 'terra incognita' even to the most intelligent and educated." Western historians, he asserted, "were unable to read Slavonic languages" and were dependent almost completely on secondary sources; consequently, they tended to make judgments of the Slavic peoples that appeared unfair and condescending, attacking them for their "barbarity and slavery." Meanwhile, "the moral features of the (Polish) nation, and still more the literary, as they have appeared in the succession of ages, remained a sealed book"[10].

This makes the appearance of Porter's novel. *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, in British bookstores in the first decades of the 19th century all the more remarkable. In the first third of her novel, she offers the reader a Polish setting, describing Poland on the eve of its demise in the 1790s. In addition to the royal Sobieski family, she presents to the British reader with a compelling, if not always completely accurate, depiction of the panoply of life at the time and a surprisingly abundant cast of characters, including the last Polish King, Stanislaw Poniatowski (1732–1798), his nephew, the military commander Prince Jozef (1760–1813), Kazimierz Pulaski (1745–17790, General Tomasz Wawrzecki (1753–1816) and the Polish magnate Franciszek Ksawery Branicki (1730–1819), one of the leaders of the Targowica Confederation and great traitor of the Polish nation, among others. The latter is depicted in the novel not as a Pole but as the Russian military leader Count Brinicki.

Writing over a century ago, Dr. Roman Dyboski, in his essay „Powstanie Kościuszkowskie w powieści angielskiej z r. 1803" (1908), shares this sense of incredulity at discovering the existence of an English novel with a Polish set-

[10] K. Lach-Szyrma. (2009). *London Observed: A Polish Philosopher at Large, 1829-1824*. M. K. McLeod (Ed.). Translated from Polish by M. Magnice & A. Kiersztejn. Oxford: Signal Books, xxii.

ting. As a Polish reader and a Pole with a professional interest in English letters, Dyboski was amazed to come across an article with a list of "Half-Forgotten Novels," among which was the English-language novel *Thaddeus of Warsaw* set in the Polish capital of Warsaw and describing the events of 1794, an annus mirabilis in Polish history. The article had been published by Routledge and Sons in London under the telling title of "Half-Forgotten Books" and was devoted to the peculiarities of novel writing from the previous two centuries. Other works included those by more prominent writers such as *The Mysteries of Udolfo* (1794) by Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823), *Things as They Are, or The Adventures of Caleb Williams* (1794) by William Godwin (1756–1836), and *The Adventures of David Simple* (1744) by Sara Fielding (1710–1768) (sister of the eminent author of *Tom Jones*, Henry Fielding (1707–1754)). Dyboski wonders how an English novel about the Poland of those fateful years came to be written. Jane Porter's name was hardly known in Poland, nor has any Polish translation of the novel ever been undertaken, though it was translated into German. Dyboski acknowledges that, as an account of recent historical events, the novel served as a prelude and a model of sorts for Walter Scott, whose historical novels inspired Russian and Polish historical fiction, including a work by Niemcewicz[11].

As a matter of fact, in spite of the dearth of accurate knowledge of Poland and Polish culture among the British at the time, the figure of Kosciuszko had achieved cult status in the late 1790s. According to Grzegorczyk[12] (1962), two heroic figures from Poland inspired poetic responses from European writers, their courage and deeds serving as testaments to the Polish character and in the process transforming the two generals into legendary figures, namely, Jan Sobieski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The two were different types of heroes: Sobieski was triumphant; his victory over the Ottoman Turks at Vienna in 1683 earned him widespread renown as the embodiment of the "bulwark of Christianity" that was Poland. He was subsequently crowned as the last native

[11] *Jan Teczynski* published in 1825 and known in English as *John of Tenczyn*. See the entry "Walterskottism" in the *Słownik Romantyzmu* (*Polish Dictionary of Romanticism*) ed. by M. Janion et al. and *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Volume 3 | Issue 2 Article 2 10-1-1965 "Walter Scott in Poland: Part II" by W. Ostrowski published by the University of Lodz.

[12] P. Grzegorczyk. (1961). Kosciuszko w poezji angielskiej. In C. Zygmunt (Ed.), *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Stanisława Pigonia*, Kraków: PWN, 241-252.

king of Poland prior to Stanislaw August[13]. Kosciuszko, on the other hand, embodied the tragic fate of Poland as its dauntless defender against impossible odds, the upholder of republican virtue, who by his leadership and self-sacrifice more than any other individual created the modern Polish nation and forged the collective mentality of Poles as freedom fighters. By standing up to the overwhelming forces of the partitioning powers, Kosciuszko continues to inspire admiration and sympathy. As Grzegorczyk[14] shows, no other historical figure of foreign origins ever elicited such a response among England's poets—Coleridge (1772–1834), Byron (1788–1824), and Keats (1795–1821), among others[15], all wrote sonnets dedicated to the Polish General. Their collective effort created a heroic myth surrounding the figure of Kosciuszko among the English at the time as a symbol of patriotism and as an intrepid fighter in the struggle for independence and social justice, helping to create a legend that lives on over two hundred years after the Polander's death.

Porter's novel was thus part of a collective artistic response to the events that had been unfolding in Poland in the 1790s as reported in the London press, culminating in Kosciuszko's defense of Warsaw, his fateful defeat at Maciejowice and the massacre of Praga in the latter half of 1794. In December of 1794, two months after Kosciuszko's defeat, Coleridge wrote a sonnet entitled "Kosciusko" that was printed in a London newspaper[16]. The sonnet was part of a series of "Sonnets on Eminent Characters", eleven in all, mainly devoted to British notables. The series has been compared to those written by John Milton and addressed to his contemporaries in an earlier age of revolution[17].

[13] Porter wonders at the historical blindness of the Austrians and their complete lack of gratitude to Poles for their role in the partitions of Poland. She writes, somewhat inaccurately, in a footnote "Where was the memory of these things when the Austrian emperor marched his devastating legions into Poland in the year 1793?", p. 28.

[14] P. Grzegorczyk. (1961). Kosciuszko w poezji angielskiej. In C. Zygmunt (Ed.), *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Stanisława Pigonia*, Kraków: PWN, 241-252.

[15] See Zapatka's "Kosciuszko among the Romantics" (1985) for an English-language account of Kosciuszko's popularity among English poets at the time.

[16] "Kosciusko" was published in the 16 December 1794 Morning Chronicle, the fifth of his *Sonnets on Eminent Characters.* He revised the poem twice, the first for a 1796 collection after having realized that Kosciuszko had not perished on the battlefield and then for a later, 1828 collection of his poems. (Mays, Vol 2, 155, 159).

[17] J.C.C. Mays. (Ed.). (2001). *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Poetical Works.* Vols. I and II. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 150.

Coleridge's sonnet to Kosciuszko was preceded by one to the Marquis de La-Fayette (1757-1834), who, like Kosciuszko, fought valiantly in the American Revolutionary War. The theme of the sonnet, LaFayette's escape from a dungeon during the Terror in France in 1794, highlights the common fate of the two generals—freedom fighters who ended up as political prisoners[18]. Coleridge's sonnet to Kosciuszko lays emphasis on his role as a martyr for his nation and for his stalwart support and willingness to lay down his life to uphold and protect the constitutional liberties of all peoples:

> O what a loud and fearful shriek was there,
> As tho' a thousand souls one death-groan pour'd!
> Ah me! they view'd beneath an hireling's sword
> Fall'n KOSCIUSKO! Thro' the burthen'd air
> (As pauses the tir'd Cossac's barb'rous yell
> Of Triumph) on the chill and midnight gale
> Rises with frantic burst or sadder swell
> The dirge of murder'd Hope! while Freedom pale
> Bends in *such* anguish o'er her destin'd bier,
> As if from eldest time some Spirit meek
> Had gather'd in a mystic urn each tear
> That ever furrow'd a sad Patriot's cheek;
> And she had drain'd the sorrows of the bowl
> Ev'n till she reel'd, intoxicate of soul! (lines 1–14)[19]

Coleridge's poem is characterized by the powerful and unrestrained emotional response to Kosciuszko's destruction at the hands of an unworthy enemy—the "hireling sword" and the "Cossac's barb'rous yell". Coleridge's lyrical voice expresses the collective grief in "the loud and fearful shriek" of a "thousand souls" at the mortal blow dealt to Freedom. Porter, in similar terms,

[18] Porter writes of Kosciuszko's ultimate fate that he was "doomed to survive the liberty of his country and to pass the residue of his life within the dungeon of his enemies" (88). Kosciuszko was released after being in captivity for two years and two months.

[19] J. C. C Mays. (Ed.). (2001). *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Poetical Works.* Vols. I and II. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 160.

captures the collective response of horror and despair at the news of the fall of the Polish commander: "'Kosciusko, our father, is killed!' was echoed from rank to rank with such piercing shrieks…the consternation became universal; groans of despair seemed to issue from the whole army…"[20].

Interest in Kosciuszko reached a peak during his sojourn in London and Bristol in May of 1797 after his release from the Peter-Paul Prison in the Russian capital. The reception he received in London was overwhelming, as described by his comrade and travel companion, Niemcewicz,: "W żadnym kraju miłość wolności, szacunek dla obrońców jej, słowem, wszystkie szlachetne uczucia powszechniejszymi i żywszymi nie są, jak w Anglii; dziwić się więc nie trzeba, że przybycie generała Kościuszki, rozgłoszone po Londynie, sprawiło największe wrażenie, ściągnęło do widzenia go najznakomitsze w kraju osoby. Le duc de Bedford, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, który wówczas jeszcze nie był parem, wszyscy znaczniejsi czy to w naukach, czy w sztukach, damy nawet, patriotki, między nimi piękna lady Oxford, cisnęli się do mieszkania Kościuszki. [Kosciuszko was residing in the Talioners Hotel on Leicester Square.] Poseł naówczas moskiewski w Londynie, Woroncow, miał rozkaz od Pawła Igo bywać często u niego; bywał więc lub co dzień przysyłał młodego naówczas syna swego..."[21]. (In no country is the love of freedom, respect for its defenders, in a word, all noble feelings widespread and lofty, as they are in England. It is therefore no wonder that the arrival of General Kosciuszko, broadcast throughout London, produced the most powerful impression. The wish to honor him with their presence attracted the nation's most outstanding personages. The Duke of Bedford, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, who at that time was not yet a Lord, all of the most renowned in their various fields of learning and the arts, ladies even, and patriotic women, among them the beautiful Lady Oxford, crammed into Kosciuszko's apartment [in the Talioners Hotel on Leicester Square] – Transl. J.J.J.).

Porter's siblings also played a part in bringing about the realization of the novel. Porter had a very close creative relationship with her younger sister, Anna Maria (1780–1832), her companion and a confidante of her literary am-

[20] J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 74.

[21] J.U. Niemcewicz. (1957). *Pamiętniki czasów moich. Tom II*. Warszawa: PWN, 209.

bitions and endeavors. The two collaborated as authors of collections of short stories. "Between them, the Porter sisters published 26 novels, a handful of plays, and numerous works of non-fiction. They founded a literary journal, albeit anonymously. They kept detailed diaries, some of which survive. And they wrote letters, thousands of letters"[22].

Furthermore, her brother Robert Ker Porter (1777–1842) had an abiding interest in Slavic culture. A painter of panoramic battle scenes, he was invited to serve Tsar Alexander I (1777–1724) as court painter. Robert played a key role in the writing of the novel by arousing his sister's interest in and sympathy for the fate of Poland and exiled Poles in London after he had been introduced to Kosciuszko during the latter's London sojourn[23]. Robert shared the strong impression the Polish general had made on other English painters as the embodiment of a fallen hero tormented by the unhappy fate of Poland and still suffering from the wounds incurred on the battlefield. Kosciuszko's reputation as an irrepressible patriot and a steadfast devotee of the cause of freedom added to his virtue and fame, of irresistible appeal to painters and poets alike.

Jane, a sensitive young female and a budding artist, took Kosciuszko's fate to heart, which inspired her to write her first novel about Poland, and learn about the personalities involved in the Polish-Russian War of the early 1790s and the destruction of Warsaw. In creating her hero of Thaddeus Sobieski, she invests him with a religious devotion to truth and virtue, endowing him with a modest manner and a noble mind, making him into the epitome of an enlightened gentleman. It is significant that the reader learns to appreciate the sterling qualities of Thaddeus the Pole through his erstwhile enemy on the battlefield. In creating the figure of Pembroke Somerset, Porter creates the unlikely scenario of an Englishman fighting for the Russians against the freedom-loving Poles! The youthful and sincere Pembroke, an Englishmen living in happy security of his rights and advantages, gets Thaddeus to express the values closest to his heart, revealing a wisdom at which Pembroke can only marvel. Thaddeus cautions and chides him about his vain-glory: "Do not envy

[22] D. Looser. (2016). *Sister Novelists*. Devoney Looser and the Porter Sisters. Jefferson City, MO: Office of Research, 18.

[23] R. Dyboski. (1908). *Powstanie Kosciuszkowskie w powiesci angielskiej z r. 1803*. Krakow: Drukarnia 'Czas', 10.

me: I would rather live in obscurity all my days than have the means which calamity may produce of acquiring celebrity over the ruins of Poland. O! my friend, the wreath that crowns the head of conquest is thick and bright; but that which binds the olive of peace on the bleeding wounds of my country will be the dearest to me"[24]. Thaddeus opens the eyes of Pembroke for whom victory and glory were synonymous terms: "Sobieski taught me how to discriminate between animal courage and true valor—between the defender of his country and the ravager of other states." Pembroke sees in Sobieski "the sublimity of his sentiments and the tenderness of his soul" and a mind "unacquainted with the throes of ambition or the throbs of self-love", that is, a disinterested amour patriae[25].

Porter goes beyond the events of the Polish-Russian wars, the defeat and devastation of Poland, and the deaths of Thaddeus's mother and grandfather by depicting his life in exile, an all too common fate among Poles beginning with the Kosciuszko Uprising. In so doing, she shifts the action of the novel to the infinitely more familiar London. Fashioning an imagined hero, the descendent of the Polish King Jan III Sobieski, ensconced in a palace on the north bank of the Vistula, the 19-year-old Thaddeus (at the outset of the novel) conformed to her artistic intention of a foreign-born aristocratic hero "educated… to the exercise of all the virtues which ennoble and endear the possessor"[26] while decrying the anti-heroic stature among the native English lords during a time of national crisis.

Porter also came to know of Kosciuszko by the portraits made of him at the time of his English sojourn. These included one by Henry Singleton (b. 1766), a painter of battle scenes. Singleton depicted Kosciuszko in prison as he appeared before his liberator, Paul I (1754–1801). The Russian Tsar is depicted with the Star of St. Andrew on his left side, taking the left hand of the prisoner he is about to liberate. The painting was entitled *Paul I granting Liberty to the Great Kosciuszko* and was done in accord with the instructions of Kosciuszko himself in May/June of 1797. It was presented to the public on

24 J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 39.

25 J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 62-63.

26 J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 2.

March 25, 1798, when Kosciuszko was residing in Philadelphia, the former American capital[27].

Another portrait of Kosciuszko was made by Richard Cosway (1742–1821), a leading portraitist of the Regency period and the most renowned miniaturist of the time. His long creative career extended from 1770 to 1810. During a stay in Poland in the pre-partition years Cosway painted Polish portraits commissioned by Isabella Czartoryska (1746–1835), one of Kosciuszko's patrons. He depicted Kosciuszko lying in a room, leaning on his right hand while his left hand touches folios lying on a couch. He appears dressed in military uniform wearing high fitting boots; a table on the left bears a plume and a saber with the inscription "From the Whig Club of England to General Kosciuszko, 1797." An inscription was attached to the frame of the painting dating from January 1798 by Anna Maria Porter, the novelist's sister, which reads: "O Freedom, Valour, Resignation! here/ Pay, to your godlike son, the sacred tear;/ Weave the proud laurel for his suffering brow,/ And in a world's wide pity, steep the bough." The inscription was dedicated to the Whig Club of England[28].

Jane Porter thus chose the exotic and romantic setting of war-torn Poland for her novel, gathering an abundance of authentic information at her disposal (together with some inauthentic) to create the figure of her Polish-born hero. The novel was an immediate and extraordinary success and earned the novelist an acknowledgement of Kosciuszko himself. The Polish General wrote a letter to Porter in which praised the author for publicizing the Polish cause, gently chided her at the same time for excessive praise "z dodatkiem tylko skromnych zastrzezeń przeciwko pochwałom" ("with this added note of modest reservations against excessive praise)"[29]. In subsequent editions of the novel beginning with the tenth (1820), Porter included a dedicatory essay entitled "Notes chiefly relating to General Kosciuszko." It appeared as a eulogy of sorts in the appendix to that edition published three years after the General's death in 1817.

[27] R. Dyboski. (1908). *Powstanie Kosciuszkowskie w powiesci angielskiej z r. 1803*. Krakow: Drukarnia 'Czas', 7.

[28] Ibid., 8.

[29] J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 8.

In undertaking to write her novel Porter sought to give her readership the opportunity of experiencing the heroic collectively. In the words of Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), writing on the heroic, "it becomes apparent that the soul of a better quality rises up to capture the attention of the community, allowing the collective to enter into an inviting and magnanimous world where they may obtain, if not happiness, then a lasting source of compensation for the imbalances of the past, a redemption for past sufferings and injustices in the stature of the man who is able to raise the standard of civil virtue among mankind"[30]. Compensation derives from the act of self-sacrifice with its posthumous glory, and it redounds upon those whom the hero, with his sense of honor intact, represents. Such compensation is made manifest in Porter's version in having the hero assume a role of stature and influence in his society that is peculiarly British in outlook.

Porter was fortunate in having at her disposal a volume written in English by an Englishmen on the history of Poland, including the recent events that had been unfolding in that country. In 1795 an anonymously published *History of Poland* appeared together with a portrait of Kosciuszko[31]. The author turned out to be Stephen Jones (1763–1827), who wrote his history of Poland with non-Polish sources[32]. A large portion of his 500-page work was devoted to contemporary affairs, including letters and documents dealing with the partitions, and with the battles in which Kosciuszko participated. Porter, as an enthusiast of Kosciuszko, had access to this material for the Polish chapters of her novel *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, the first edition appearing just eight years after the publication of Jones's history.

The religious denouement with the marriage of Thaddeus and Lady Mary in an Anglican church, together with the revelation of Sobieski's English father further distances the fictional character from the historical Kosciuszko. Nonetheless, the novel added greatly to the English cult of Kosciuszko. The Polish

[30] T. Carlyle. (1841). *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. London: James Fraser, 146.

[31] The full title of the volume reads: "The history of Poland, from its origin as a nation to the commencement of the year 1795. To which is prefixed an accurate account of the geography and government of that country, and the customs and manners of its inhabitants…".

[32] S. Jones. (1795). *The History of Poland, from its origin as a nation to the commencement of the year 1795*. London: Venor and Hood.

leader appears in several scenes, most prominently in the description of the battle of Maciejowice, which Porter identifies as Brzesc. Overall, the descriptions in the novel are faithful to the dynamic events in Poland in the 1790s and the fate of Polish veterans exiled after the defeat in London. True to the spirit of romance, the hero finds personal happiness together with an unexpected fortune. In 1823 Porter published a sketch about the building of a monument to Kosciuszko in his native land, famously known as Kopiec Kosciuszki[33].

The following observations highlight Porter's rendition of Polish historical figures and point out historical inaccuracies in Porter's Polish sources. Kosciuszko (spelled "Kosciusko" throughout the text) makes several appearances in the novel as one of the Polish commanders fighting against Russian forces in the East. He is depicted as the beloved friend of Thaddeus's grandfather the Palatine Sobieski[34]. Introduced to the illustrious Polander. Thaddeus finds Kosciuszko a commanding presence, a living model of leadership whose dignified manner and native modesty Thaddeus is destined to emulate.

The patrimony of Thaddeus is presented as an issue early in the novel as the "fatherless" hero is told the mystery of his birth by his mother, the Countess, in a letter dated March, 1792. She recalls the events in which she is seduced by an English nobleman in Florence. The English blood flowing through the boy's veins notwithstanding, the father and his unworthy name are rooted from memory as he is given instead the names of the two greatest Polish heroes, names that gained renown among the nations of Europe and beyond, names that embody the values of truth, honor, courage and steadfastness: Thaddeus, Constantine Sobieski. Yet, on her deathbed, his mother, in the aftermath of war amidst a devastated Warsaw, urges him to seek refuge in England, presenting him with a miniature portrait of his father.

Porter provides a footnote about Kosciuszko the first time he is mentioned in the novel. There she characterizes him as being 'noble of birth, and eminently brave in spirit" and as one who had "learnt the practice of arms in his early youth in America." Whereas Thaddeus Sobieski just comes of age when he is introduced to the reader, Kosciuszko, in fact, had completed his thirtieth year by the time he had made his way to the American capital, Philadelphia,

33 J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 246.

34 Ibid., 26.

in 1776. Porter tells us he attended the "great military college at Warsaw"—the School for Knights founded by Stanislaw August Poniatowski and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734–1823). In his eagerness to serve in the American fight for independence, Porter states that Kosciuszko was made "an especial aid-de-camp to General Washington"[35]. In fact, such a position was given to Alexander Hamilton, becoming one of a small circle of staff serving Washington, that became known as the "Washingon's family." Kosciuszko's wartime contributions took place in other theaters under Horatio Gates (1727–1806) and Nathaniel Greene (1742–1786).

Porter provides a flattering portrait of the last king of Poland, Stanislaw August Poniatowski, (1732–1799). In one of the few historical flashbacks in the novel, Porter recalls the abduction of the "the good Stanislaus" that took place in 1771 by leaders of the Bar Confederation[36]. While the leaders of the confederation are depicted as renegades, including Kazimierz Pulaski (1745–1779)[37], who is dubbed the ringleader of the abduction, the king is depicted in unalloyed positive terms as magnanimous, thoughtful, and forgiving of his enemies (i.e., his abductors). Moreover, he always keeps his word, and is highly esteemed and beloved by his people. Stanislaus is praised as a "brave King," a description few Poles at the time or today would agree with. He is praised, justifiably, for giving his people a new and just constitution which did away with the elective monarchy. Porter sees the latter as the primary reason for the demise of Poland, leading to foreign interference and eventual domination by external agents. Porter has Kosciuszko praising Stanislaus and Sobieski as the greatest kings of Poland.

Nevertheless, Stanislaus undergoes an abrupt transformation in the final struggle against Russia, appearing weak and lacking the will to resist the enemy. Bereft of a fighting spirit, demoralized and despairing the fate of the nation, he encourages the capitulation of the Diet to agree to the second

35 J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 39.

36 Ibid., 35.

37 Pulaski, as the "ring-leader" of the thwarted abduction, according to a note in the novel, escaped execution and was forced to live the life of an exile, finally dying in America in 1779. No mention is made of his heroism in battle and his martyr's death in Savannah, Georgia in 1779, fighting, as did Kosciuszko, for American liberty.

partition of Poland[38]. Stanislaus's decline marks the upsurge of Thaddeus as a charismatic figure whose broad appeal unites the nation as a whole, including the peasantry[39].

At this point Thaddeus takes on a regal stature and is endowed with a halo of sanctity that preserves and protects him in the vicissitudes that are to follow and with which posterity would behold his name. Significantly, he is paired with Kosciuszko at this point: "the two friends proceed to Cracow" seemingly to take over leadership of the uprising. This passage, however, makes no mention of the oath on the ancient capital's Main Square made on March 24, 1794 when Kosciuszko became the leader of the insurrection. Nor does Porter refer to the Polaniec Manifesto in May of that year proclaiming liberty for the peasants and the promise of freedom for those who take up arms on behalf of the nation. Porter, however, reassures the reader on behalf of the Polish nation: "Whilst a Kosciusko and a Sobieski live, she need not quit despair"[40].

Jozef Poniatowski is also present as commander in chief of the Polish forces during the 1792 war against Russia. His affableness and charming manner immediately wins over Thaddeus. In depicting the Polish forces of which Prince Joseph and Kosciuszko are the military leaders engaged in battle with the Russians, the Scottish author is no doubt referring to the Russian-Polish War of 1792, the war in defense of the 3 May Constitution. Porter makes use of place names such as Volunna, (Wolyn) Zielime, (Zieleniec) Mariemont, the hills of Winnica where Thaddeus hears the drumbeats of battle for the first time near the border of Kiovia[41] assigned to the left flank among forces commanded by Kosciuszko himself against Russian attackers. Prince Joseph is also depicted as a commander during the Kosciuszko Uprising, leading an army in Lithuania that is defeated by Suwaroff (Suvorov). In fact, Prince Joseph declined the position of leadership in Lithuania and took part in campaigns near the Polish capital.

Jane Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw* presents a cautionary tale for her English readers, one that creates a basis for moral reform and political engage-

38 J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, 74.

39 Ibid., 75.

40 Ibid., 77.

41 Ibid., 40, 42.

ment. Porter juxtaposes the historical events in Eastern Europe with the ongoing British war with France, and the selfless leadership of both Kosciuszko and Thaddeus that stands in stark contrast to the megalomania of Napoleon. Yet while depicting the tragedy of the Polish state, Porter demonstrates the effectiveness in the Polish leadership of uniting the Polish people in a common cause, reconfiguring society into a purposeful entity that frees itself of the divisiveness and excessive individualism that led to weakness and discord. Porter sees Europe as under the sway of amoral principles propagated by "the flattering sophistries of Voltaire" encouraging the various nations to "drink deeply of the cup of infidelity." For Porter, Thaddeus as a Christian hero serves as a model of moral probity and as an antidote to the "terrible regicidal revolution in France", "a tale of horror, the work of demons," and "a conflict in which no comparisons as between man and man could exist"[42] Porter was apparently unaware of Kosciuszko being named an honorary French citizen in the regicidal year of 1793. Regardless, Porter's characterization of moral leadership and her championing of virtue in both private and public life provide a vision for England's future and engages the reader in coming to terms with the novelistic form as a forum for moral, social, political and military issues and concerns. In uniting the personages of history with creations of her own moral imagination Porter created a new medium for creative thought that has proven remarkably fertile and inventive.

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[42] J. Porter. (1884). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.Porter, xvii.

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Dialogue of Cultures in the Creative Work by Czeslaw Milosz

Abstract: The aticle deals with the peculiarity of the literary representation of multiculturalism and the borderland in creative work by Czesław Miłosz. The factors which influenced the development of Milosz's poetry are revealed, the life of the author in Wilno in the inter-war period is considered, and the romantic tradition of Adam Mizkiewicz is outlined. The cultural and political events which were reflected in the legacy of Miłosz are examined; the period of emigration and the homecoming are studied. The cultural and national specificity of the borderland, which affected the creative writing of Miłosz, is depicted, and distinct ethnic and cultural models, images and symbols in the author's ideological and artistic inquiries are analyzed.

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Key words: literary adaptation, history, tradition, multicultural space, Polish literature, borderland, image, stereotype, intercultural communication, identity, literary translation.

Introduction

The problem of dialogue of cultures has become one of the topical areas of literary research in recent decades. However, the writings by representatives of Slavic literatures through the prism of dialogue of cultures have not been systematically and thoroughly analyzed. It could be explained by the old-established traditions of Slavic literary criticism, with its main focus on social and national problems. A dialogue of different cultures and traditions is an inseparable part of the creative activity by Czesław Miłosz (1911–2004) – a poet, novelist, literary critic, philosopher, essayist and translator whose literary works are becoming more familiar to contemporary reading audiences around the world. New books about his life and literary talent in different languages are being published; new articles are appearing in literary and scholarly journals; conferences and cultural events dedicated to the life and work of the great writer are held; and finally, the Internet space provides rich information about the winner of the 1980 Nobel Prize for literature.

The creative work by Czeslaw Milosz who strongly influenced the development of the Polish poetry in the second half of the 20th century became the subject of intense scientific reflection in foreign literary criticism in the 1980-90s. However, the problem of dialogue of cultures in Milosz's writings is not sufficiently researched. In theoretical, historical and literary aspects the Belarusian cultural discourse in the poetry of Milosz is of great significance since it reflects important cross-cultural connections, a dialogue of national traditions and reveals some peculiarities of Polish literature. We will indicate and consider in the chronological order only the most important literary studies about Milosz for the past three decades[1].

[1] Andrzej Zawada. *Miłosz*. – Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1996; Aleksander Fiut. *W stronie Miłosza*. – Kraków: Wydawnictwo literackie, 2003; Marek Zaleski. *Zamiast. O twórczości Czesława Miłosza*. – Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2005; Jan Błoński. *Miłosz jak świat*. – Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2011

The objective of this article is to identify the peculiarities of the most important cultural interactions in the life and work of Czeslav Milosz. The theoretical basis of the research is M.M. Bakhtin's concept of "dialogue of cultures". The main research methods used here are historical and cultural, hermeneutic and biographical.

Results and Their Discussion

Czesław Miłosz was not widely known in his home country, Poland, before he was awarded the prestigious prize. The lack of recognition can be explained by objective reasons: since 1951, when the poet deliberately chose exile, his name was suppressed in the Polish People's Republic. Only at the end of the 1970s, in the atmosphere of anticipation of changes in the socio-political and spiritual life of the country, reprints of his books that had been published abroad began to appear in the Polish illegal press. After the year 1980, "official" editions of Milosz's writings also came out. Miłosz's book *The Captive mind* ("*Zniewolony umysł*", 1953), along with his other works, created an atmosphere of resistance and contributed to the most important changes that took place at the turn of the 1990s. The writer revealed the metomorphosis of the world views of some Polish writers (their real names were changed) who were prominent after 1945. *The Captive mind* was Miłosz's automystification and a literary parabola. It is a book about the mechanisms of the "enslaved, captive mind" and about the socio-political manipulation of power. The first official edition of this work was not published in Poland until 1990. In the Preface to the Belarusian edition of *The Captive Mind* (Wilno, 2000) the writer emphasized: "The demons of those times, unfortunately, have not disappeared, and I would very much like the Belarusian translation of this book to help finally leave them in the past". Thus, the creative work of this unique writer, whose many-sided personality was formed largely at the intersection of the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian cultural borderlands, is gradually spreading among readers.

Proclaiming 2011 as the year of Czesław Miłosz, the Polish Sejm noted in its message: "Because Miłosz was a universal writer and thinker, he became one of the greatest intellectual figures of authority. In his work, he courageously went beyond the boundaries of cultures and languages". Yet although Miłosz was *a priori* a "borderlander" (*kresowiak*), he did not like to be called that.

He explained: "I do not fit the definition of a 'border man', and this definition even irritates me. Never in our family did we use such a word to call ourselves. On the contrary, we came from the ancient Grand Duchy of Lithuania"[2].

Contemporary scholars recognize the phenomenon of a talent born at the crossroads of different nationalities and social boundaries, at the intersection of cultures and traditions, when the uniform successions and reiterated patterns of life in self-contained and closed national and social environments are violated. Miłosz was born near Vilna (Sheteyne manor), on the Lithuanian-Belarusian borderland, a place where the multinational conglomerate of ethnic groups, cultures, and faiths manifested itself to the highest degree. The birthplace of the future poet, as well as his education at a gymnasium and then at Wilno University, which was considered to be a unique Babylon at that time, also greatly contributed to the multicultural discourse of his life and creative work.

The dialogue of cultures is the ideological and philosophical basis of Milosz's artistic worldview which is embodied in the description of the cultural borderlands and civilizational interactions reflected in the writer's works. This aspect of Milosz's work is a continuation of the literary tradition which was established in the times of the Grand Dutchy of Lithuania as well as a reflection of the centuries-old ethno-confessional dialogue. Regional problems, motifs, themes and images considered by the writer acquired a universal significance and raised deep existential, national, moral and ethical problems.

In this context it is necessary to recollect the poem by Czesław Miłosz *My grandfather Zygmunt Kunat* (*Mój dziadek Zygmunt Kunat*) from the collection *This* (*To*, 2000), which may be read as a special reconstruction of the history of the poet's family, which settled on the border territory in the 16th century. This poem is also the author's attempt to determine his place and his identity in the paradigm of his family roots. Milosz meticulously reconstructs the realities, facts and memories associated with the history of his family:

> Nad znajomym jeziorem, do którego właśnie rzuca kamyki, pod jesionami, które miały znaleźć się w moich wierszach. Kunatów liczono do szlachty kalwińskiej, co

[2] Miłosz, Cz. *Wyprawa w dwudziestolecie* / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 2000. P.9.

snobistycznie odnotowuję, bo u nas na Litwie najbardziej oświeceni byli kalwini. Rodzina zmieniła wyznanie późno, około 1800 roku, ale nie zachowałem żadnego obrazu dziadka w kościelnej ławce w Świętobrości[3].

In an interview, Czesław Miłosz confided about his multicultural family roots: "The documents about the life of my family, for example, going back to the 16th century, are written in two languages. For me, it is an absolute mystery what language my ancestors spoke in the 16th century. Was it Lithuanian, or Polish, or the old Belarusian language? I cannot answer that. Most probably they spoke Polish"[4]. It is interesting to consider this comment made by the Nobel Laureate, in light of the words of the Russian scholar V. Britanishsky:

"In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Miłoszes, like the Lithuanian gentry (shlyakhta), became Polish-speaking. In the 20th century, the problem of self-identification of the Polish-speaking Lithuanian man revealed itself. Milosz defines himself as a Lithuanian man but also as a Polish poet, and compares his situation as a Polish-speaking Lithuanian poet to that of the English-speaking poets of Irish descent. In Milosz's consciousness, the atmosphere of the dual Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is alive, just as it was alive for Mickiewicz, who was born only a few years after the destruction of the Commonwealth. Czesław Miłosz considered the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to be his Motherland, which was multi-ethnic and, as he liked to stress, multi-confessional. It was the land where Lithuanians, Poles, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, Karaites, and Lithuanian Tatars lived side by side"[5]. It is this complex national self-identification that will often resonate in the creative mind of Miłosz as a writer, philosopher and teacher. It will be revealed through various reflections, allusions, reminiscences, and quotations from texts written at a time when Poland was a mighty state, as well as images of historical and cultural iconic figures, including Belarusian ones.

[3] Miłosz, Cz. *To* / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 2001.P.13.

[4] Czesława Miłosza autoportret przekorny. Rozmowy przeprowadził A.Fuit. – Kraków, 1994.P.180.

[5] Britanishsky, V. Vvedenie v Milosza /Britahishsky //Voprosy Literatury, 1991. – No. 6. – S. 109–133.P.111.

Miłosz had a unique surprising ability to masterfully combine both Mickiewicz's (nineteenth-century) and his own (twentieth-century) love for the homeland (according to Goethe, the "land of childhood"), with universalism and the desire for intercultural dialogue. The Polish scholar Helena Głogowska rightly emphasized that "Miłosz's homeland was Lithuania – multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-confessional. Belarusians in his literary work are an inseparable part of this native community – the community of the writer's Small Motherland. The author has always treated Belarusian people with respect. Milosz's sympathetic attitude to Belarusians and Jews was the reason for his dismissal from radio Wilno"[6].

The Belarusian literary critic Svetlana Musienko aptly observed in this respect: "It should be emphasized that Milosz's literary hero does not have the features of localization (place of birth, nationality, local customs) since he is a citizen of the world and he represents the author's wide knowledge about different cultures. Miłosz's Small Motherland is revealed through the memories of his childhood, his parents, and the blurred image of the country of his youth. The lyric hero visited many countries, learned their customs and traditions, and received extensive knowledge of the world. That is why he can represent the memories of the past from a philosophical distance. Sometimes he recollects episodes of his life with irony, no matter how dramatic they are, since he looks back from the perspective of fifty years. Miłosz's literary hero revived the lost Small Motherland in his memories and reconstructed this powerful image in his artistic work, because it was no longer possible to find the homeland in reality. For this reason, the emotional and lyrical component of Miłosz's poems was subordinated to the philosophical-pessimistic factor: "Let the dead poets touch the strings" ("Zmarli poeci niechaj dotkną strun") (in *Prayer on Christmas Eve* (*Modlitwa wigilijna*))"[7]. The idea expressed by Musienko is exemplified in the following lines from Miłosz's poetry, which reflect the colors and smells of the Arcadian memories of his native land:

[6] Głogowska, H. Bezdomność prawdy – o białoruskich motywach w twórczości Czesława Miłosza / H.Głogowska // Pogranicza, cezury, zmierzchy Czesława Miłosza. – Białystok, 2012. – S. 215 – 229.P.226.

[7] Musijenko, S. «Mała ojczyzna w twórczości Czesława Miłosza» / S.Musijenko // Polonistyka wobec wyzwań współczesniści. – T.1. – Opole, 2014. P. 667.

Była to łąka nadreczna, bujna sprzed sianokosów,
W nieskazitelnym dniu czerwonwgo słońca.
Całe życie szukałem jej i rozpoznałem.
Rosły tu trawy i kwiaty kiedyś znajome dziecku.
Przez na wpół przymyknięte powieki wchłaniałem świetłość.
I zapach mnie ogarnął, ustało wszelkie widzenie.
Nagłe poczułem, że znikam i płaczę ze szczęścia[8].

Miłosz also noted down vivid childhood impressions of war: during the First World War, together with his parents he was forced to leave his country, become a refugee, and depart for the remote corners of Russia through Belarus. The description of this road is presented in the famous poem *Anxiety-dream* (*Trwoga-sen*) and based on biographical facts. In 1939–1940 Milosz would make his way to Wilno several times through the territory of contemporary Belarus, which repeatedly became the scene of military confrontation between the neighboring Great Powers. This largely determined the political and socio-cultural existence of this region.

It is well known that as a result of the Polish-Lithuanian and Polish-Soviet wars, as well as the conclusion of the Riga Peace Treaty (1921), Wilno and the territories adjacent to the city became part of the second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów) for twenty years. It was during the interwar period that Czesław Miłosz completed the Polish gymnasium and graduated from the Stefan Batory University in Wilno**,** whose corridors Mickiewicz and his friends, the philomats, frequented so the rebellious spirit was felt especially strongly there. In this regard, Miłosz's attention to Adam Mickiewicz, who was a star of the first magnitude in world literature, was not accidental. The Nobel Laureate wrote about Mickiewicz – the writer of the Belarusian-Polish cultural borderland cross-cultural frontier. Miłosz revised the stereotype of the poet-prophet which was developed in Polish national consciousness and added his own nuances to the portrait of Mickiewicz, focusing not only on the lyrical and romantic nature of his talent, but also on the complex interweaving of various currents, poetics, and artistic trends in his creative consciousness.

8 Miłosz, Cz. Wyprawa w dwudziestolecie / Cz.Miłosz. –Kraków, 2000.P.414.

As a student, Czesław Miłosz was one of the organizers of the *Zhagary* poetic group, which entered the history of Polish literature as "The Second Avant-garde". In the years1931-1934, this society of young Wilno poets published the monthly journal *Zhagary*, whose title, as Miłosz explained in his book *The History of Polish Literature* (1969), took its origins from "the Lithuanian word which meant "firewood" or in the local meaning it denoted "dry branches for lighting a fire"[9]. Although the group did not have an aesthetic program, its members were united by catastrophic motifs, apocalyptic visions, and the anticipation of the inevitable extermination of humankind, which were born in the disturbing atmosphere of the 1930s. It can be noted that all Polish poetry of that time was marked by catastrophism whose vector inspired not formal experiments but attention to content. The desire to understand what was happening in the world led writers to present catastrophic scenarios in such fields as historiosophy, philosophy, metaphysics, and religious studies.

Miłosz's first two books – *A Poem On Frozen Time* (*Poemat o czasie zastygłym*, 1933) and *Three winters* (*Trzy zimy*, 1936) – are evidence of a wide artistic range. The poems included in these poetry collections combined realistic features (as the basis of the poetry), the formal experiments of Polish futurists, surreal imagery, and expressionistic details. All these components surprisingly co-existed, interacted with, and did not oppose each other. In the early works by Czesław Miłosz one can find motifs, images and realities born in the cross-cultural borderline of the inter-war period in Poland.

Nad brzegami niebieskiego Niemna
I Niewiaży o wodzie czarnej
Zasiewają jasnowłosi chłopi
ciężkie pszenicy ziarna.

Koszą łąki, których zieleń jest
Największą radością świata,
I wierzą, że dobry Bóg
Jak jastrząb w niebiosach lata[10].

9 Miłosz, Cz. Historia literatury polskiej (do roku 1939). – Kraków, 1993.P.471.

10 Miłosz, Cz. Jeszcze wiersz o ojczyźnie / Cz.Miłosz // Żagary, 1931, nr 2.

After the war, Miłosz, who was fluent in English, worked for the diplomatic service in the United States and then in France. However, after a short visit to the pro-Soviet People's Poland, the writer decided to emigrate. This decision to a great extent determined the drama of the poet's future fate, his creative work, and his perception of the socio-political and cultural problems of Europe. The ideas of the future Nobel Laureate expressed in his essay *On Exile* (*O wygnaniu,* 1951) about man's search for Home, his place in the axis of anthological coordinates sound prophetic even today: "Those who leave their land, its landscapes and customs, will remain in no man's land, which like a desert, the desert that believers have chosen for wisdom and prayers. The only way to acquire orientation is to re-establish your own North, East, West and South, and in this own space place your Vitebsk or Dublin, raise them, so to speak, to a new height. What was lost is returned on a higher level, as real and alive…"[11]. "Exodus of people from their countries is a fundamental feature of our century, with various reasons... Looking for happiness in distant countries, we must be prepared for disappointment, and even for a dubious leap from the fire into the flames..."[12].

"For centuries, the tradition of showing the image of the entire earth as a land of exile, which is usually drawn as a desert in which Adam and Eve wander alone with their heads down. For they are banished from their homestead, from their own home..." [13].

In the poem *Choosing the poems of Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz for an Evening of His Poetry* (*Wybierając wiersze Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza na wieczór jego poezji*) from the collection of poetry *This*, Miłosz defined the role of this classic of Polish literature, who was a representative of the Ukrainian–Polish borderland:

Bo to przyniosłeś ze swojej Ukrainy
Barwy i zapach kwitnącego stepu,
Słone powiewy od grieckiego morza

[11] Miłosz, Cz. Poszukiwanie Ojczyzny / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 1991.P.203.

[12] Ibidem, p.215-216.

[13] Ibidem, p.212.

I biel, i złoto bizantyjskich zmierzchów.
Nienasycony i zdumiony pięknem,
Słuchałeś rytmów dnia i rytmów nocy,
Zmieniając siebie w muzyczny instrument[14].

As a man of the cultural frontier, Czesław Miłosz could say something similar conceptually about himself, since his artistic heritage could be typologically correlated with the work of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz.

Daylight (*Swiatło dzienne*, 1953), composed of works written between 1946 and 1952, was Miłosz's first poetry book created abroad. The geography of the countries in which he wrote is very diverse: it included Poland (Krakow), where Miłosz lived for some time, America, where he worked in the diplomatic corps, and France (Paris), which became a refuge for the émigré poet. In the works from *Daylight* the moral-ethical and psychological state of the Polish intelligentsia in the post-war period was investigated with particular acuteness. The mighty power of irony, and the tendency to use paradoxes gave the texts of the books a special coloring and the perfect artistic form provided lyrical poetry with internal dynamics. The poetry of Czesław Miłosz was detached from politics: "And so we had our home in history" – this thought would be interpreted in many poems of the *Daylight* collection. It would also repeat the idea that in the twentieth century human destinies were ("swallowed") dissolved in history in a special way. The writer perceived history as a variable and relative phenomenon: truth was presented with a touch of falseness, its sentences were random and unfair, there was nothing definite about it and only with terrible regularity do wars and cataclysms recur.

In the poem *Poetic treatise* (*Traktat poetycki*, 1957), Miłosz considers the spiritual and aesthetic inquires of Polish poetry of the first half of the twentieth century. He represents his ideas about the Spirit of History, placing his theory in the context of the philosophical history of the world created by Hegel – one of the greatest thinkers of the world. Miłosz argues that the Spirit of History, the one of which Hegel spoke and according to which historical facts and events are placed according to the highest order and to the laws predetermined by God, is an unhappy Spirit. From this understanding of history Miłosz's conviction about

[14] Miłosz, Cz. To / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 2001.P.55.

the mission of poetry as salvation was born. None of the contemporary poets managed to state so concisely and courageously: "You, who offended the common man, be not safe" ("*The Poet Remembers*", "*Poeta pamięta*"). But at the same time the writer's philosophical skepticism becomes apparent in this statement, since the power of history is wide-ranging and all-encompassing, and it is this power that makes relative everything that is created by man. That is why it spreads its power to history, and hence poetry is also subject to it.

Most of the works by Miłosz have a strong autobiographical impulse and were born from nostalgic memories of his childhood and youth. A vivid example of his autobiographical writing is the book *Native Realm* (*Rodzinna Europa*, 1958), in which he presents a search for national and cultural self-definition and examines the consciousness of a writer and an individual personality. Miłosz states: "I admit that Belarusians are still a mystery to me"[15]. Another book of essays by the writer, *Search for the Motherland* (*Szukanie Ojczyzny*) is directly connected with the history of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and Poland. In the Preface to the book Miłosz emphasized: "I am interested in geography and history of the territory from which I came, the lands once called the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This knowledge can help understand the historical mistakes of the past, and this is very necessary when Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine are trying to establish neighborly relations that correspond to the realities. In my opinion, I can be proud of one thing: I have never been gripped by hatred in the twentieth century filled by terrible endurance and mass crimes; on the contrary, I sought to speak out against mutual accusations of different peoples and ethnic groups. This may not be much but we are witnessing what inter-ethnic conflicts lead to; that is why every voice aimed at mutual tolerance is important"[16].

Polesie is such a special symbol of unity and common destiny of neighbouring peoples. It is a small part of the world where a unique interaction of the cultures and folklore of Belarusians, Poles and Ukrainians exists even today. Polesie became a problematic subject in the twentieth century, after numerous wars, government redistribution, land reclamation and the catastrophe at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. Literature repeatedly turned to the reflec-

15 Miłosz, Cz. Rodzinna Europa / Cz.Miłosz. – Warszawa, 1990.P.61.

16 Miłosz, Cz. Poszukiwanie Ojczyzny / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 1991.P.5-6.

tion of people's lives in this region and their original traditions, and depicted the manifestations of their material and spiritual culture. Czesław Miłosz also contributed to the preservation of the uniqueness of Polesie: "An abandoned province of Europe is located around it, and its inhabitants, who speak Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian or a mixed language, have preserved many traditions and customs that are unknown anywhere else"[17].

The Nobel Laureate was concerned about the processes that were taking place in this region, because, as he believed, a special local color may be lost in the ethno-cultural palette of Europe.

Once abroad, Miłosz did not depict the realities of foreign life for a long time. It was only after 10 years of living abroad that he turned his attention to the panorama of Western European and American life, interpreting it artistically in many chapters of the book *Vision From San Francisco Bay* (1969). But at the same time, the author always preserved the Polish-Lithuanian perspective of vision and perception, which created a multicultural discourse of the writer's artistic work.

Czesław Miłosz could masterfully combine the universal and the national, the planetary perspective and his local, micro vision. This can be confirmed by his poetry books *King Popiel and other poems* (*Król Popiel i inne wiersze*, 1962), and *Charmed Gutya* (*Gucio zaczarowany*, 1965).

In the volume of poems *Where the Sun Rises and Where It Sets* (*Gdzie odchodzi słońce i kiędy zapada*, 1974), there coexist works that are thematically dedicated both to California, and, as before, to Lithuania, which remained dear to the writer's heart. The spirit of Lithuania is reflected in every line of the book, and the poem that gave the title to the entire collection is dedicated to Lithuania. Prosaic and poetic passages, quotations from different books and ancient documents, lines from Miłosz's friends' letters and his favorite literary works, some fragments from the Bible and the imitation of the Old Belarusian language are intertwined in seven chapters of this book, which is complex in its structure but compositionally logical and coherent.

Unattainable Land (*Nieobjęta ziemia*, 1984) is another poetry collection by Miłosz. The wide geographical and time range represented in the poems is stressed by the title of the book. The powerful intellectual and creative poten-

[17] Miłosz, Cz. Zniewolony umysł / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 1989.P.146.

tial of the writer's poetry is also displayed in his inquiries. In the preface to this edition, the author noted: "the method of combining poetry and prose is most evident in *Unattainable Land*. It is about searching for the most capacious form that will incorporate the free use of fragments of prose, quotes, and even personal letters"[18].

Miłosz's mind and his poetic imagination are often filled with sharp conflict (he is famous for his antithesis). He wrote more than once about history as such, reflecting on its laws, regulations and power, paying attention to the history of an individual personality engaged in everyday work. The writer spoke about planetary, universal problems and often described insignificant scenes, painting the unique color of everyday life. Opposing ruthless events in history, he praised the fate and deeds of man, who was able, despite all obstacles, to create masterpieces and a cultural treasury over the centuries. That is why Miłosz was and remains a humanist and an advocate of culture. His poetry allows readers to feel life in all its complex, multi-dimensional and contradictory integrity.

Over time, in the poetry of Czesław Miłosz a new trend became increasingly noticeable. It reflected the writer's special attitude to reality, which he perceived simultaneously in the heterogeneity and the diversity of the world and the unity of each object as a whole. On the one hand, his poetic strategy includes the desire to describe the materiality and specificity of the surrounding world, but on the other hand, the writer realized that this could not be fully implemented, because words, even poetic ones, deprive things and phenomena of their unity and uniqueness. Miłosz always tried to reach a synthesis of poetry and prose, genre syncretism, the fusion of ancient images and forms with modern ones. This project of poetry is obviously avant-garde; it is designed for an active dialogue between the writer and the reader.

Miłosz's poetry is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which includes the writer's wide intellectual horizons. Each book by Miłosz must be read in the context of the previous ones. The phenomenal fact is that he worked fruitfully as a poet for twenty years after he had been awarded the prestigious Nobel Prize. This is confirmed by the book in which the author was able to realize the ideal of poetry "with a more capacious form" ("formy bardziej pojemnej"). In this book, the writer deliberately limited his usual arsenal of poetic and formal

[18] Miłosz, Cz. Nieobjęta ziemia / Cz.Miłosz. – Paryż, 1984.P.4.

means but retained his rich metaphorical imagery and his originality of style. The stanzas of this book are always aphoristic, they are filled with allusions and reminiscences, and they are distinguished by a specific rhythm. Thus, before us, on the one hand, is a poetic prose, and on the other, – a pure poetry, great in its simplicity, which signifies the highest poetic mastery. In the poetry book *This* it becomes obvious that the author distances himself from objective poetry in order to tell more about himself, which leads to the prevalence of the poetics of confession and repentance. Miłosz's artistic universe and its existential paradigm are defined primarily by the following binary oppositions: good and evil, life and death, the sacred and the profane, the national and the universal. It is no accident that the writer assigns poetry the role of the one who will say the last "Yes" to this world and life:

> Jasności promeniste, niebiańskie rosy czyste,
> Pomogajcie każdemu ziemi doznającemu[19].

The intuitive metaphor of childhood and the ironic rationality of adulthood are combined in many works by Czesław Miłosz. The poetry collection *The Second Space* (*Druga przestrzeń*, 2002) is a lyrical and philosophical dialogue of the poet with God, and with the people with whom his fate brought him together. The central work of the book is the poem *Treatise on Theology (Traktat teologiczny*), in which the author deals with the religious and metaphysical sphere, and he does this by representing all the processes through his own "self", through his personal experience. The author also explores the categories of faith, hope and love, and reflects on the problems of art and nature[20].

On the one hand, Miłosz always rejected the imposition of certain rules, restrictions and recommendations. This is why prose and poetry, translations and originals of literary works, artistic and documentary texts often intertwine in his poetry. In a particular way, without difficulty he combines the four systems of versification – syllabic, tonic, syllabotonic, and free verse in his poetic practice. Of great importance for the poet is free verse, which became dominant

[19] Miłosz, Cz. To / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 2001.P.54.

[20] Miłosz, Cz. Druga przestrzeń / Cz.Miłosz. – Kraków, 2002.

in many literatures of the world in the twentieth century. On the other hand, Miłosz's poetry develops in the context of literary tradition, and through quotations and allusions it is interconnected with many classical works that the poet remembers very well, since this literary legacy taught him not only poetic skill, but also patience, humanism, and high culture.

Concerning the example of Miłosz's poetry collections, one can observe his skilful use of the experience of his predecessors' works, starting with those of Adam Mickiewicz, which enriched the younger poet's creative writing. As he acquired artistic experience, Miłosz's connections with the past and tradition became more and more subtle and complex, which was extremely important for his poetry. The untapped potential of literature – the world of its images, motifs, conflicts, themes, and metalanguage – were gradually passing to a new generation as historical and cultural memory. After all, the more original a writer is, the deeper and more obvious is his connection with the previous artistic experience and literary tradition. Miłosz's work is characterized by the combination of the old and the new, the tradition and innovation, the common and the transcendental.

Conclusion

Thus, the research carried out emphasizes the significance of the dialogue of cultures in Czeslaw Milosz's literary works. The most important concepts that determine the writer's worldview are "borderlands", "dialogue", "tradition", "nature", as well as "Polish" and "Belarusian". The author's poetics can be defined as the "poetics of the borderland" since it is formed in the constant dialogue of traditions and cultures, in the process of intensive reception of spiritual meanings and stylistics. The wit and aphoristic nature of Miłosz's poetry, the cascades of metaphors which create vivid artistic images, the fine use of antithesis, irony, intertextuality, and intercultural discourse – all this combined with the wealth of versification and varied rhythms which reflect the dynamics of the thoughts and feelings of the lyrical "I" make the poetry of Czesław Miłosz a valuable contribution to the literature of the 20th and early 21st centuries and define the author's peculiar poetics as the poetics of the borderland.

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"If you knew how important the word is"[1]: The latest trends in biblical hermeneutics study in the Ukrainian and Polish-language prose of the Baroque period

Abstract: The article deals with the main trends of modern biblical studies of ancient literature, in particular the Ukrainian Polish-language prose of the Baroque period. Attention is focused on the universal and individual factors of sacral images and motifs interpretation derived from the Scriptures and designed on the background of fiction. Accordingly, the polycultural character of Polish-language works created on the borders of Ukrainian and Polish literatures is underlined. The author analyzes the creative work of baroque writers such as Meletii Smotryckyi, Ipatii Potii, Andrii Muzhylovskyi, Lazar Baranovych, Petro Mohyla, Ioanykii Galiatovskyi, Teofil Rutka, Pahomii Woina Oranskyi, etc. In the context of their bible interpretation a special place is dedicated to the quotation of the Holy Scriptures, as well as concord series of biblical images for which numerous references have been given, biblical paraphrases and repositions of evangelical parables, liturgical symbols,

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[1] I. Franko, *Zibrannia tvoriv u 50-ty tomah* [*Collected works in 50 volumes*], Kyiv 1976, V. 3, p. 172.

and metaphorical constructions derived from the Bible mentioned by ancient authors as works possessing individual and typological characteristics.

Key words: biblical hermeneutics, symbol, sacral significance, the Baroque period, Ukrainian Polish-language prose.

Introduction

Being deprived of ideological prejudices and restrictions nowadays, contemporary literature study faces the problem of bible interpretation of ancient national works, namely its little-studied areas such as Polish-language prose, where the sacral aspect is most pronounced.

Scholars such as Zoriana Lanovyk[2], Magdalena Krzysztofik[3], Northrop Frye[4] and others examined and are still engaged in the study of bible hermeneutics issues in the projection of literary works. However, despite their individual hermeneutical theories and concepts, the biblical material of individual literary pages of both our national and foreign literature is mostly poorly understood, and therefore requires a significant up-to-date actualization and concretization. The problem has been mentioned in a number of significant publications of a monographic nature[5], but it still seems that the study of the Bible in literary texts is imposed by a taboo. The tendency of desacralization of today's world encouraged us to return to the topic of biblical hermeneutics in

[2] Z. Lanovyk, *Hermeneutica Sacra*, Ternopil 2006.

[3] M. Krzysztofik, *Od Biblii do Literatury. Siedemnastowieczne dzieła literackie z ksiąg Starego Testamentu* [*From the Bible to Literature. 17 th century Literary Works from the Books of the Old Testament*], Kraków 2003.

[4] N. Frye, *Wielki Kod. Biblia i literatura* [*The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*], Bydgoszcz 1988; N. Frye, *Words with Power: Being a Second Study of the Bible and Literature,* San Diego – New York – London 1990.

[5] S. Sukharieva, *Biblijnyi wymir ukrainskoi polskomovnoi prozy poberestejskoi doby* [*Biblical dimension of Ukrainian Polish-language prose after the Union of Brest*], Lutsk 2008; S. Sukharieva, *Rytorychnyi prostir polskomovnoi prozy XVII st.* [*Rhetorical space of 17th century Polish-language prose*], Lutsk 2015.

the literary space which is widely discussed and studied in the national literary environment and has become widespread. Moreover, we can argue that there is a scientific myth about the abyss between the Bible and literature. Subjects, plots, and artistic means of modern literature rather contribute to the spread of such mythological theory. Thus, the purpose of today's research paper is to explore the sacredness of the literary word based on the example of Baroque Polish-language prose through returning to the origins. Małgorzata Krzysztofik's statement is worth accepting. She states:

> Baroque literature becomes deeply rooted in the Bible, yet the process is bidirectional in its nature: the Bible finds its place in literature, whereas literature finds its absolute meaning in the Bible[6].

The prime objective is to point out the boundaries of the above-mentioned prose, its multicultural nature united into a cohesive whole by bible hermeneutics, and bringing it to the general European level by means of highlighting universal imperatives and, at the same time, emphasizing national achievements. Taking into consideration such motivation, it is impossible to overestimate the value of the studied material.

Ways of expressing sacredness in the Baroque word

At the very beginning we'd like to point out that the concept of biblical hermeneutics is almost identical both in the field of religion and literature since they originate from an original source and build their structure based on sacred symbolism. Nevertheless, literary variations of biblical hermeneutics are often characterized by their subjective nature and depend on many factors, such as the addressee, the public environment of existence, the education and the area of the author's interests, his literary skills, knowledge of the language, etc. Literature focuses on the artistic dimension of the symbol in the broad sense but it does not always take into account the hidden spiritual meaning emphasized by connoisseurs of theological symbols such as Alexandr Kamchatnov[7],

[6] M. Krzysztofik, *Od Biblii do Literatury,* p. 369-370.

[7] A. Kamchatnov, *Istoria i hermenevtika slavianskoj Biblii* [*History and Hermeneutics of the Slavic Bible*], Moscow 1998.

Vasyl Laba[8] and others. Instead, the religious environment provides the biblical material of a confessional nature, focusing on the chosen truths of faith, and the universal dimension of the symbol goes back to the background. These are the danger Holy Scripture confronts when falling into confessional or literary soil, and which should be taken into consideration by researchers who start to analyze biblical hermeneutics at all levels. Nevertheless, Northrop Frye, characterizing biblical archetypes, points to their common semantic purpose. He notes that they are understood by humanity, and the power of their communicative influence is unlimited[9].

One can find a number of biblical interpretation (hermeneutics) definitions as of a phenomenon, and as we have already noted, the differences depend only on the personal position of the authors. For example, the role of the Christian Tradition and oral tradition in the Protestant Tradition is levelled out, the sacred mission of Mary and the holy Apostles is specially interpreted, and the literal meaning of the metaphorical constructions of Sacred Scripture is transmitted. In the circle of the representatives of Orthodoxy an interpretation of *Credo* is individualized and the issue of St. Peter's Patriarchal primacy is questioned. These aspects need to be taken into account in the analysis of the baroque prose written in Polish since it arose in times of polemical dialogues and polygons, in which the examined issue was given considerable attention.

The definition of biblical hermeneutics proposed by Józef Homerski in the second volume of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is one of the most universal, clear and consonant with the literary sphere:

> Biblical hermeneutics is a methodological knowledge that provides the basis for the knowledge of the true meaning of the biblical utterance conceived by the author[10].

This type of knowledge about the Word symbol in artistic framing acquires different forms of interpretation beginning from literal meanings to the

8 V. Laba, *Biblijna hermenevtyka* [*Biblical Hermeneutics*], Roma 1990.

9 N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, Princeton University Press 1957, p. 99.

10 J. Homerski, *Hermeneutyka biblijna* [w:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka* [*Biblical Hermeneutics* [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*], V. 2, Lublin 1976, p. 464.

metaphorical, hidden content of the sacral that needs to be clarified. This level of literalism is expressed in different ways in the works of all Baroque Polish-language prose writers. The task of the researchers is to outline the typical and individual traits of individual authors' styles through which the artistic means of ancient literature were formed, while at the same time the levels of used sacred symbolism were manifested. The most accurate definition of this phenomenon is found in the philosophy and poetry of Hryhorii Skovoroda, who called it a philosophy of *Godthought*.

Fathers of the Church conditionally divided the biblical interpretive material into typology and allegory, the former marked by semantic literal use of biblical quotations and paraphrases, and the latter exclusively symbolic in nature. The typological principle was adhered to by the Antiochian hermeneutic school. But the Alexandrian hermeneutic school worked on the hidden meanings of biblical allegories fully presented in fiction. Instead, hermeneutics was also abundantly represented in fiction. Patristic theology being one of the first theories to dare to interpret the Holy Scripture in details was of use, and as a result of which many theological materials have come to this day thanks to the comments and studies of the Church Doctors in the Eastern and Western religions.

Thus, the phenomenon of double interpretation emerged when patristic authors explained each biblical fragment and every word used in the Holy Scriptures referring to the ignorance of the listeners with the original source and in view of their special mission of evangelization. Baroque writers often did not burden themselves with the extra burden of personal deepening in the Bible despite their considerable interest in theological themes and polemical issues since they had hand-written volumes of comments and postilla in which the interpretive field was so deep that its content claimed the status of a sacred source. Such an interpretation of pre-made interpretations suggests that in the old Polish-language prose there were several layers of hermeneutic material which differed considerably in length and originality but was thematically united into one semantic block.

The Brest Union of the Eastern Church with Rome (1596) became the turning point in the public life of the Commonwealth on the road to return to the biblical and patristic symbolism resulting in a new Greek Catholic confession and a long-standing controversy of a religious nature that embraced all

of the following XVII century. At the same time the Polish language played a mediating and unifying role in confessional debates that led to many social conflicts. The Bible was supposed to serve as the main source of evidence, and all polemicists without exception resisted it. Thus, Polish-language treatises, apologia, sermons, memoirs, orations, apology and communication of controversial content were created.

One of the first creators of such works on the Ukrainian-Polish literary border was Volodymyr-Volyn Bishop Ipatii Potii, who was entitled to convey to the Pope the desire of the eastern hierarchs to join the Roman Patriarchal throne, together with Kyrylo Terleckyi. The union with Rome aroused the lively polemics of Ipatii Potii with Martyn Bronewskyi, Konstanty Vasyl Ostrogskyi and the Cleric Ostrogskyi based on these events and the subsequent signing in Brest, in which Potii spoke on the side of Catholicism.

Considering Holy Scripture the main imperative of his life position and literary inspiration, the writer turned to his opponents:

> You consent to a cursed schism over peace and Christianity, forgetting the Message of God's Son, who says: *After this you will recognize that you are my disciples, that you will save your consent and love among you*[11].

From the given fragment we see that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the baroque on the lands of the then Rzeczpospolita was still in full swing, a gradual departure from literality was already observed in polemical prose, and the paraphrase was given as an arbitrary form of biblical text reproduction. This kind of persuasion compared with the quotation was distinguished by the highest artistic level and arbitrariness. At the same time it remained an element of the rhetorical canon in which Adam Karpiński identified the following main functions: the variational (due to the influence of *aemulatio*), the imitative (in accordance with the requirements of canonicality), the interpretive-explanatory (relationships between the original and the addressee), and the utilitarian (in order to reflect the extra-literary reality)[12]. Aleksandr Kam-

[11] I. Potii, *O przywilejach nadanych od najjaśniejszych królów polskich...* [*About privileges given by the most distinguished kings of Poland…*], Wilno 1605, p. 5.

[12] *Retoryka a literatura* [*Rhetoric and literature*], ed. B. Otwinowska, Wrocław 1984, p. 119.

chatnov recommends drawing attention to the eidetic nature of the biblical material used in the literature. He explains his position as follows:

> All fullness of meaning is given for the purpose of mental observation in eidos, and in the symbol all the completeness of the meaning is given potentially: the meaning in the symbol is not viewed, but is presumed, guessed, or, in the simplest case, mathematically calculated[13].

Thus, we can argue that biblical hermeneutics gives an iconic nature the literary images of the Baroque period. A system of biblical concepts developed based on the development of this rhetoric type, became the hallmark of polemical prose after the Union of Brest.

In the first stage of the Baroque Polish-language prose development, in addition to Ipatii Potii, the following writers such as Joachym Morochovskyi, Lev Kreuza-Rzevuskyi, Zacharii Kopystenskyi, and Martyn Bronevskyj played an important role in the formation of biblical hermeneutics in literature, although their works were still dominated by documentary, historical and the theological factual.

Meletii Smotryckyi, who initially jealously defended the orthodox faith, gave a special role to the diversification of biblical means. In response to the pogroms in the city of Vilno he created the stylized cry of the Church. Such pitiful mourning had to convince the reader and introduce him into a state of equivalence. It should be recalled that he also urged his appeals from the Episcopal cathedral to the pogroms of the Greek-Catholic shrines, namely, the immediate initiator of Josafat Kuncevych's persecution, who was killed by the angry Orthodox. Nevertheless, the writer sought to cause a sense of regret, shame depicting behaviour of the Uniate when he wrote:

> I'm poor, grief stricken, unhappy, everywhere in my riches, looted, my grief, to the disgrace of my body before the world, from the garment, undressed! The trouble to me, the unbearable burdens burdened![14]

[13] A. Kamchatnov, *Istoria i hermenevtika slavianskoj Biblii*, p. 84-85.

[14] M. Smotryckyi, *Threnos, to jest Lament jedynej Ś. Powszechnej Apostolskiej Wschodniej Cerkwie* [*Threnos, or the Lament of the One Holy Local Apostolic Eastern Church*], Kyiv 2015, p. 59.

The polemicist introduced not only an extended version of the lamentation into literary texts, but also fully utilized the elements of the gospel parables, and numerous images and allusions drawn from the Scriptures. At the same time, his quotation and paraphrases have not lost their relevance in his treatise. All biblical material of the works of Smotryckyi was a holistic imaginative complex, which filled polemical works with poetic sound. Through the means of prozopopia researchers unanimously claim that we are dealing with a special author's- poetry in prose.

> If we find in the Cleric of Ostrogskyi only attempts at biblical personalization of the Church Mother and certain elements of weeping drawn from Holy Scripture, then in Meletii Smotryckyi we observe holistic lamentation as a separate literary genre, which, in addition to the national – Sarmatian – character, contained numerous biblical parallels, thus pointing to the diachronic character of the biblical metaphor[15].

Meletii Smotryckyi's work *Threnos* caused a new, even more significant wave of controversy among Christians. In contrast, the Polish-language treaties by Piotr Skarga (*Na Threny and Lament Theofila Ortologa*) and Joachym Morochovskyi (*Paregoria albo utulenie uszczypliwego Lamentu mniemanej Cerkwie Świętej wschodniej*) came out. However, biblical hermeneutics is presented at lower level than the sacred outlook of the opponent. Skarga and Morochowskyi stopped at the traditional typology and did not go further in the direction of the conceptual representation of hierophany.

After the transition to Catholicism, Meletii Smotryckyi published the work *Apologia*[16], which caused a particularly sharp protest of Orthodox supporters Andrii Muzhylovskyi, who introduced political motives in biblical rhetoric. Along with the sacred content, we trace the motives of incarnation through the Church of the national idea. In this way, the writer departed from the universal character of biblical utterances, narrowing their role not so much to the confessional as the nation-making factor. Nevertheless, the richness of the

[15] S. Sukharieva, *Rytorychnyi prostir polskomovnoi prozy XVII st.*, p. 285-286.

[16] M. Smotryckyi, *Apologia peregrinacji do krajów wschodnych* [*Apology for travelling to the eastern countries*], Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University, 1987.

biblical persuasion of this author is impressive. Paraphrased fragments from Holy Scripture are the answer to each of the opponent's theses: *"Beware of the false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing"* (p. 1); *"They came from us, but they were not from us"* (p. 2); *"He will give me the crown of justice, the Lord and the judge are just"* (p. 15), etc. Muzhylovskyi adhered to the canonical principle of overcoming the opponent's own arguments. This general rhetorical tendency is peculiar to all, without exception, polemical writings of the studied age.

Andrii Muzhylovskyi appealed to the monk brothers in the afterword, imitating the style of the apostolic letters of St. Paul, which he carefully referred to throughout his apology. In particular, the writer stated:

> It is fitting for these sad times to be strengthened by the word of God, to teach each other in brotherly love, so that we all may stand before the Lord as His faithful servants, having received each of their rewards according to their merits[17].

At the second stage of controversy in the formation of which a significant role belonged to Kasjan Sakowych, Petro Mohyla, etc. through the prism of biblical hermeneutics, numerous elements of the so-called "low style" with the introduction into the text of current speech are viewed. The secularization of biblical symbolism did not aim to level the sacred content of the Bible. Instead, the rhetorical expressions were painted with bright emotions, and induced the individual reading of one or another image. The reason for such transformations of biblical symbols could be a protracted discussion process, which did not stop for decades, but the personal role of the authors also played an important part, such as their spontaneity, radicalism, or irreconcilability with their opponents. The allegorical type of biblical hermeneutics clearly dominated the typological, and the characters acquired diverse interpretations.

> The treatise ceased to satisfy the writers in the genre in the classical form. Thus, they resorted to active searches for new ways of expressing polemical ideas. The biblical material in these quests did not cease to occupy a prominent place,

[17] A. Muzhylovskyi, *Antidotum przezacnemu narodowi ruskiemu* [*Antidote to a noble Russian nation*], Kyiv 1629, p. 45.

> but somewhat was changed in its forms. The emotional nature of the polemical writings indicated the secularization of the hieratic elements of the works. The literal formants derived from the Bible gradually lost their original metaphorical character, which Frye defined, and acquired formal qualities[18].

We can draw parallels between the process of the development of conceptual structures and the secularization of the sacred themes of Baroque Polish-language prose based on the biblical hermeneutics of various stages in polemics after the Union of Brest. It may seem paradoxical that the more the polemical authors departed from the primary metaphoric words and gave it formal-stylistic functions, the more developed the concept of baroque literature became. First of all, we see it based on an example of a discussion between Kasjan Sakovych and Petro Mohyla (*Επανορυωσις abo Perspectiwa, i Objaśnienie Błędów, Herezji i Zabobonów, w Grekoruskiej Cerkwi Disunickiej* (1642) – *Lithos abo Kamień z Procy Prawdy Cerkwi Ś. Ruskiej Prawosławnej na skruszenie faleczno-ciemnej perspectiwy albo raczej paszkwilu od Kasjana Sakowicza* (1644)). The theological themes are presented as a canon in the works of both authors but the transition from the metaphorical to the metonymic method of artistic speech is especially noticeable.

The formal use of biblical material is marked by the Polish prose of Lazar Baranovych to a large extent, especially his apology *Nowa Miara Starej Wiary*[19] in response to a controversial piece by Pavlo Boim. The author gave vocabulary an individual characteristics. Theological themes retreat to the background in their significance and in its place is a game of words. So, in Baranovych's apology we read: *"For each one God has distinguished a measure of faith"* (p. 2); *"Who plants a vineyard, and does not eat fruit?"* (p. 3); *"As the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, so, God, let us all go to heaven"* (p. 23) etc. The writer stylized part of the text for liturgical worship, for example, under the flood of the Holy Ghost. In particular, he wrote, using an anaphora as a sacred appeal:

[18] S. Sukharieva, *Rytorychnyi prostir polskomovnoi prozy XVII st*., p. 287.

[19] Ł. Baranowicz, *Nowa miara starey wiary* [*New Measure of Old Faith*], Nowogródek 1676.

> Let us learn from God the Father of mercy ... Let us learn from God the Son of obedience ... Let us learn from you, Holy Spirit, holy unity[20].

In addition, the polemical writers used the final doxology prayer everywhere, styled after the letters of St. Paul, but gave it considerable freedom, retaining only certain obligatory elements, such as an introductory address to the Lord, an element of the request, and completion of the *Amen*. Some authors additionally stylized this liturgical stylization graphically with the help of symbolically placed lines of prayer or individual words. The very text of the doxology always had an individual meaning. However, there was always a biblical metaphor of God's name in it.

After a lengthy *Lithos* talk which is still discussed, whether it was created by Petro Mohyla himself under the pseudonym Jevsevii Pimin, or helped by a group of editors and authors, there was a certain calm in the controversy, but it was temporary. Many polemical volumes had already been created, in which each of the controversial theological problems were well discussed. What could Baroque authors do in the final, last stage of polemics on the subject of the Union of Brest? The only thing they could do was to revitalize the existing theses with a new artistic factum and stylized framing, to change the structure of works, to pay more attention to separate groups of the sacral. The work of Teofil Rutka falls on this wave of the Baroque era.

Another question needs to be clarified: who had polemics with Rutka? The circle of his opponents was not as obvious as in the previous times. On the one hand, the work *Goljat swoim mieczem porażony*[20] (1689) was an answer to the performances of contemporary Ioanykii Galiatovskyi (*Miecz Duchowny*, 1666), an explicit supporter of Moscow's influence on Ukrainian religion and culture, who died a year before the publication of the apology of Rutka, in 1688. On the other hand, Teofil Rutka, in the work *Kamień przeciwko Kamieniowi*[22] (1690), objected to *Lithos* by Petro Mohyla, who by then was not alive. So why did the writer meddle with the dead, and what purpose did biblical hermeneutics serve in his writings?

20 Ł. Baranowicz, *Nowa miara starey wiary*, p. 19.

21 T. Rutka, *Goljat swoim mieczem porażony* [*Goliath, pierced with his own sword*], Lublin 1689.

22 T. Rutka, *Kamień przeciw Kamieniowi* [*Stone against stone*], Lublin 1690.

Apologiasy of the end of the XVII century were less voluminous and usually limited to one theological theme. Thus, the work *Goljat swoim mieczem porażony* contained information about the origin of the Holy Spirit and used the biblical fact, which had to confirm the thesis *"from the Father and the Son comes"*. Within the limits of the treatise, which can be considered a minitractate due to thematic similarity, the author had the opportunity, with all zeal, to consider biblical symbolism in more details, to draw as much as possible the parallels between the Old and the New Testament, to bring an unlimited number of quotations from the works of the Fathers of the Church and give them an appropriate explanation, etc. Such diversification has become a broad field for the arbitrariness of interpretations. Therefore, we can assert that at the end of the seventeenth century the most allegorical and arbitrary form of biblical hermeneutics appeared on the pages of artistic scriptures. Similar parallels can be made in the work of Teofil Rutka *Chorągiew zgody i pokoju, to jest Duch Święty od Syna pochodzący* (1691). The writer emphasized: *"Whoever does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not have to give it to him"*[23]. Instead, his *Budynek Chrystusow* (1689) was written in support of the patriarchal primacy of the Pope as the legitimate successor of St. Peter. An apology, *Kamień przeciwko Kamieniowi*, became a continuation of this topic a year later. Its author deliberately dropped other theses of Petro Mohyla, but preferred exclusively to the problem of the primacy of the Apostle Peter. In the same way, in the form of a mini-treatisey biblical hermeneutics is represented in the work of Pahomii Woina Oranskyi, *Zwierciadło albo Zasłona*[24] in and in the apologies of many other authors, whose work the Baroque gradually began to approach the horizons, and at the same time the controversy over the Brest Union ended.

Conclusion

Thus, after analyzing the development of biblical hermeneutics at various stages of the Polish-speaking polemics after the Union of Brest, we came to the conclusion that its time-spatial characteristics in the Baroque period were heterogeneous. At the beginning of the XVII century, documentary and histo-

[23] T. Rutka, *Chorągiew zgody i pokoju, to jest Duch Święty od Syna pochodzący* [*A banner of agreement and peace, or Holy Spirit from the Son coming*], Lublin 1691, p. 1.

[24] P. Wojna Orański, *Zwierciadło albo Zasłona* [*Mirror or Curtain*], Wilno 1645.

rical facts in polemical treatises were much more prevalent in artistic means; therefore, it was primarily a theological perspective with a typological way of representing the sacred sphere and preserving the rhetorically determined canon. Due to the talent of Meletii Smotryckyi, hierophany occupied a significant place in literature and allowed the metaphor and the symbol to outperform the literal sense. A long chain of interchange and complementarily can be traced, which can be schematically depicted as follows: biblical citations – concordation of biblical images – paraphrases – allusions – allegories – stylized texts (lementation, prozopopia, doxology, litania, apostolic messages, etc.) – metaphorical parables and nominal metaphors ... The list can not be completed, because each writer approached the use of the Scriptures in literature individually, and imposed on it his own vision of the world, especially the sense of language and the expression of religious beliefs. Over time the canonical text included the current broadcast, which allows the biblical persuasion to study elements of the so-called "low style", as evidenced by works by Kasjan Sakovych, Petro Mohyla, Lazar Baranovych, and others. Conceptual structures of Polish-language baroque prose evolved with the simultaneous loss of the metaphorical content of hierophany. Eventually, at the final stage of the studied period, polemical miniatures on a single theological theme received primacy, for which numerous individual interpretations were inherent. The gradual transition of biblical hermeneutics from the typological to the allegorical sphere can be traced, which allowed literature to gain its independent place among the humanities, to express the artistic means, and to embody the metonymic vision of the world.

This is just one of the stages in the history of writing in which iconic images and motifs derived from the Bible have played a key role. In the long run, the challenge for scholars is to combine all the temporal manifestations of biblical hermeneutics in literature, taking into account its poetic and prose presentation, and the versatility and peculiarities of the author's style. These studies will serve to dispel the myth of the "abyss" between the sacred worldview and artistic literature, and indicate the true weight of, *"how important the word is"*.

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Darwinism and Surrealism: The Case of Juliusz Słowacki's *Samuel Zborowski*

Abstract: Juliusz Słowacki has been acknowledged as a precursor of the Young Poland poets and recognized as one of the "Three Bards" of Polish Romanticism. A visionary of mystical experience, his later works took a focus on Polish history, including the drama *Samuel Zborowski*, which has been referred to as one of the boldest visionary dramas in world literature. This paper explores the relation of Juliusz Słowacki's drama *Samuel Zborowski* to Darwinism and Surrealism. As a contemporary of Darwin, this paper presents several overlapping points in time between the lives of Słowacki and Darwin, as well as Słowacki's relations to both Darwin and his predecessors. It has been argued that *Samuel Zborowski* is the first surrealistic work in Polish literature. It employs varied scenic tricks that can be termed surrealistic. The textual images of the work include several cinematographic special effects, and the subjects explored in *Samuel Zborowski* reflect a condensed, symbolic

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shorthand sign of cosmic experience and historiosophic meditation. At times impressionistic, the concepts therein are formulated by analogy, allusion and synthesis, with signs and images point to infinity. Taken together, we have a dramatic exposition of fundamental Genesis philosophy, interwoven and ultimately subordinate to the perennial Polish Question in the context of Romantic Messianism. The rich philosophical sources of *Samuel Zborowski* reveal a wealth of influences. The end result is a strange symbiosis of Poland's national history, Słowacki's messianistic historiosophy, and the scientific heritage of Darwin's predecessors..

Key words: evolutionism, Andrzej Towiański, mystical vision, theatre.

The year following the publication of Charles Darwin's *Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* (1842) saw the premiere of Richard Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* (1843), and found Juliusz Słowacki spending the month of September in Pornic in Britanny. Since 12th July 1842, he had been a follower of the mystical Circle of Andrzej Towiański; and only a few days before going on holiday, he had composed his first mystical drama, *Father Marek* (1843, publ. later that year). In Pornic, as he wrote to his mother,[1] he sensed an ineffable, secret bond between himself and the Ocean, and a feeling of total oneness with nature. One month after returning to Paris, on 1st November, 1843, he left the Circle, without however changing his basic attitude towards Towiański and his teaching, appreciating its heterodoxy in relation to church doctrine. Before the year was out, in a febrile spurt of dramatic writing, he had created two more mystical dramas, *Sen srebrny Salomei* and a free translation of Calderon's *Il Principe Constante* (both publ. in the early weeks of 1844).

In the following year, as Darwin published his *Geological Observations on Volcanic Islands* (1844) and Wagner looked ahead to *Tannhauser* (1845), (which would provide Baudelaire with a pretext for elucidating his concept of

[1] Letter dated September, 1843.

correspondences and symbols), Słowacki spent the whole of July and August in Pornic, and wrote *Genezis z ducha*,[2] a hymn of praise for the Creator who had ordered the murmuring sea and windswept, flower-decked fields to awaken the knowledge buried in his soul and teach him to read the Book of Nature.

Subtitled a prayer, *Genesis of the Spirit* is the account of a revelation, or mystical vision in which Słowacki, sensing that he is Immortal, Son of God, and creator of the visible world, recalls his own spiritual prehistory. At the same time, he gives a visionary exposé of cosmic history, and the story of the earth's creation and progress through the slow motion of past aeons, in which he reflects upon the countless frequency of divine thunderbolts thrashing against the basaltic rocks of the first world, the never-ending succession of subterranean fires and earth shakes needed to transform the mineral world before organic life could emerge from the ocean. Like an imaginative lecturer with a magic lantern or slides projector, he unfurls a vast scenario in which charred wood-pith develops into a nervous system, and gigantic sponges and vegetal-reptiles surge from the silvery waves. In a form akin to cinematographic reel, the fossils of the natural history museum trundle past in animated sequence, and the first bird-beaked lizard sets off in search of dry land for the plodding, omnivorous monsters waiting beneath the ocean surface.

Above all, *Genezis z ducha* is a declaration of faith in evolutionism, a doctrine according to which each form constitutes the memory of a past form and the revelation of a future form, and all forms taken together constitute "the dreaming as it were of forms about man" (niby śnicie form o człowieku). The Spirit lies dormant in the rocks, ready to assume human form, and the birth of Athens is contained in a cliffside flower. For it is evolution by the spirit, through the spirit, and for the spirit. "Everything is created for the Spirit and through the spirit, and nothing exists for a carnal design alone[3]." It inaugurates the

[2] Słowacki dedicated *Genezis z ducha* to Andrzej Towiański. Not long afterwards, Aleksander Chodźko's letter to Tsar Nicholas I, written together with Towiański and Adam Mickiewicz, led to further conflict between Słowacki and the Circle, and in April 1845 Słowacki rededicated it to Colonel Mikołaj Kamieński, who on 16th February that year had broken with Towiański as a protest against the appeal to the Tsar. See A. Kowalczykowa, *O 'Genezis z Ducha'*, "Pamiętnik Literacki", 1970, vol. 1; and *Slowacki w Pornic*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny", 1979, no. 9.

[3] J. Słowacki, *Genezis z Ducha. Modlitwa. Dziela X, Pisma prozą*; opr. W. Floryan, s. 173. All translations: N.T.T.

body of Słowacki's so-called philosophical works (*Rozmowy genezyjskie, List apostolski, List do J. N. Rembowskiego*) that are closely linked with the circle of Towiański's ideas, but develop in a manner incompatible with Towiański orthodoxy. Its style assigns it to the category of religious poetry in prose.

Ever since childhood, as he gazed at the ruined castle on the hill in his native Krzemieniec in Volhynia, Słowacki had dreamed of drama as the highest manifestation of the poetic word. If only from the grapevine of the Polish émigré community in Paris, he had been freshly reminded of this Romantic tenet in Adam Mickiewicz's recent lecture on Romantic drama at the Collège de France (April 4th, 1843). There, quite oblivious of Słowacki's by now considerable dramatic output, and modestly neglectful of his own, Mickiewicz had based his blueprint for the Slavonic drama of the future on a close analysis of Zygmunt Krasiński's *The Undivine Comedy* (1835), though his analysis and commentary are no less relevant to his own *Forefathers' Eve* (1823, 1833). To comply with Mickiewicz's theoretical prerequisites, Slavonic drama as yet unborn would encompass all of past time and all of future time. In his Breton epiphany, Słowacki had perceived eternity. His need to dramatize Genesis philosophy may be seen as a further flowering of boyhood dreams, provoked by a bitter sense of personal affront, and kindled by the bardic precepts from the Collège de France.

The upshot was *Samuel Zborowski*, written in 1844, or possibly in 1845. Its beginning was lost, its ending probably never completed; and it remained in manuscript for the next forty years; in all, 2,500 lines survive. Harking back to an incident of sixteenth century history, Słowacki's title might lead one to expect a historic drama in the romantic spirit about the clash between Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and the notoriously anarchic magnate Samuel Zborowski, that culminated in the trial and execution of Zborowski in 1584. Instead, we have a dramatic exposition of fundamental Genesis philosophy, interwoven and ultimately subordinate to the perennial Polish Question in the context of Romantic Messianism.

Samuel Zborowski functions on a number of levels. A study of the play's rich philosophical sources[4] reveals a wealth of influences, including ancient gnosis, Jewish Cabbala, neoplatonicism, occultic mysticism. Słowacki's plu-

[4] On philosophical sources, see in particular Juliusz Kleiner, *Słowacki*.

ralistic spiritualism is related to the monadism of Leibniz, while his reincarnational evolutionism betrays numerous coincidences with the philosophical concepts of natural scientists such as Charles Bonnet and Boucher de Perthes. His mystical system is here integrated with his concept of Polish national messianism, underpinned by the vision of old Republican Poland outlined in his political works, in two letters to Prince Adam Czartoryski *Do emigracji o potrzebie idei*, and his mystical dramas[5].

According to the doctrine of spiritual evolutionism, the ultimate goal is the highest degree of perfection, attainable only through the exercise of total freedom. In messianistic terms, Poland's duty was to rise from the dead, because the old Republican ideal would be productive for the future, and a *sine qua non* for the world to fulfil its eschatological destiny. Within this general scheme, Polish spirits are the most perfect, and stand above all earthly and social laws. The road to ultimate goals therefore leads through Poland and, by granting spirits absolute freedom, Poland will speed up the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth. In the dream of a mystic Poland's sanctity has become a glorification of anarchy: the notion harks back to the anarchical old Polish Republic and its deeply entrenched dislike for any form of state authority as much as to the Romantic hatred of rules, laws and norms of any kind (viz. Shelley regarded law as a synonym of evil), exacerbated by the galling reality of Russian domination.

As a hero, Samuel Zborowski asserts the right of a great spirit to total freedom, and he is conceived as the most perfect incarnation of the national spirit and the idea of the fatherland. By breaking the laws that restricted Poland's liberty, he is seen to be contributing towards a process that would ensure Poland's uninterrupted spiritual advancement. His execution was a crime in that it halted the Genesis process of self-perfectioning by limiting the freedom of the individual that is ever directed towards the future. In the finale Christ's verdict sanctifies Samuel's mission, and in the process apotheosizes the Poland of the future, land of the highest spirits untrammelled by legalistic bonds.

Zborowski makes his first appearance in the drama in Act IV. In Act I, Eolion falls asleep at the edge of the stage and undergoes a sequence of anamnesic dreams, recalling the previous evolutionary stages and earlier incarnations of

[5] See A. Kowalczykowa, *Juliusz Slowacki*, [in] ed. A. Walicki, *Polska myśl filozoficzna i społeczna*, Warsaw 1973, pp. 273-305.

his wandering soul, including a mystical suicide with his sister and wife Atessa as a means to reincarnation. Reborn in Act II as the son of Prince Polonius, he meets Atessa, now a fisherman's daughter, but their idyll is disrupted by Lucifer, who turns himself into a bridge that promptly collapses into the chasm below. Act III takes place in the ocean depths where Atessa, now a water nymph named Heliana-Diana, is buried in a coral coffin. Act IV takes place back on earth. Believing his son Eolion, now named Helion, to have perished, Prince Polonius has gone mad and is possessed by the tormented soul of Chancellor Zamoyski, who is trying to escape from the furious decapitated Zborowski, but is abducted by him. The trial takes place in Act V in preternatural, unearthly spheres – before a lower and a higher court, first in hell, then in heaven, and is judged by the Devil and Christ. Lucifer is advocate for the defence, and now appears in a different guise under the name of Bukary, only to be replaced by the person of the poet.

Ideologically, romantic individualism and the creative freedom of the artist reach their ultimate limits in *Samuel Zborowski*, breaking all the known norms and boundaries, and surpassing all the excesses and formal deconstruction of Polish romantic drama. The list of its dramatic personages is telling enough: Apart from the eponymous hero and his historical executioner and judge (Chancellor Zamoyski), the cast comprises characters human (Prince Polonius, Eolion, a Theologus and Logicus from the magnate court, a Lawyer, and Chorus of Wise Men) and divine (Christ, Lucifer, Iskariot, and a chorus of angels great and small). It includes ancient mythological figures (Pluto, the Head of Medusa, a Nereid, and Amfitryta), cosmic and meteorological bodies (Sun, Moon, Stars, Mists with lightning), cubistic abstractions (a Human Shape, a Face, Voices enclosed in material shapes or disembodied spirits), and two Valkyries with lightning on their head. With her retinue of frozen Genesis forms, the queen of the oceanic kingdom is amorphic.

Since 1833, the *nec plus ultra* of compositional open-planning had been Adam Mickiewicz's *Forefathers' Eve. Parts II, IV and III*. Lacking both beginning and end, *Samuel Zborowski* is unconstrained by logic, time or space. Full of lights and glinting mists, the stage is open to infinity on all sides; Kleiner has referred to the work as a dramatized experiencing of infinity. Temporal and spatial categories are ignored. The laws of cause and effect are in abeyance. Structural elements are arbitrarily joined, in particular in Acts IV and V. In a less than consistent plot, the love story is subordinate to the demands of metempsychosis.

The characters move in oneiric space. Scenic space encompasses the interior of a Gothic castle, an ill-defined beauty spot in the Carpathians, and the bottom of the ocean bed, the place where evolution is arrested and which in mystical and metaphysical terms denotes hell. In Act V, the antagonists meet in interstellar space, in real hell and real heaven, and the trial takes place *sub specie aeternitatis.* As Słowacki wrote in his diary, "Goethe knew nothing". Time is neither sequential nor cohesive. There is no clearly defined present, the focus being simultaneously on the most distant past and the most distant future.

In illustrating a human, historical instance of evolutionism according to the doctrine enunciated in *Genesis of the Spirit*, Słowacki creates a construct akin to the medieval mystery, with its spirits and saints, earth, heaven and hell. As in the medieval mystery, all of the known and unknown world is unfurled, from creation to salvation, with teleological stress on the latter[6]. Attention has been drawn to the drama's Gothic dimension of verticality[7]. Its sinner, saint and hero appears moreover with his truncated head in hand, like a Christian martyr in mediaeval iconography. Scenic space is cosmic; for the cosmos itself has the character of a great theatrical arena ("Co za widok z tych wschodów!/ Cały teatr narodów!/ Światowych stwórca dzieł/Pełny światła i mgieł… A z ognia każdy próg…")[8].

The vision encapsulated sounds like a distant echo of *El Gran teatro del Mundo*. Słowacki's most recent dramas prior to *Samuel Zborowski* had been steeped in Calderon's artistry and mysticism. *El Gran teatro del Mundo* contains more than the germ of an idea to be reworked by Słowacki. Calderon's Author-Director narrates the stages of Creation in dialogue with the World, then summons the characters who are still only pure essences, or virtualities, and the Creator assigns them an attribute (King, Rich Man, Peasant, Poor Man, Beauty, Spirit and Child). They then all play out the comedy of their life on the boards of the *teatro mundi*. God is a silent observer, and the official prompter, the Law of Grace, intervenes and counsels. At the end, the World strips the characters

6 See J. Kleiner, *Słowacki*, 4th edition, Wrocław 1969, p. 256. .

7 T. Terlecki, „*Samuel Zborowski" na scenie lwowskiej*", "Słowo Polskie", no 282 and 283, October 14 and 15, 1932.

8 "What a view from these stairs!/ An entire theatre of nations!/ Creator of cosmic deeds/ Full of lights and mists… Every threshold made of fire…" (J. Słowacki, *Samuel Zborowski*, Act V, 35-40).

of their terrestrial attributes. They will appear as equals before the Supreme Tribunal, being rewarded according to merits and, sooner or later, they will be admitted to the Holy Table. Rooted in the medieval mystery, Calderon's perfected morality was eminently playable on the real boards.

Even from so scant an outline, a vast distance separates the imaginative worlds of the Spanish and Polish dramatist. By its very amplitude and density, Słowacki's dramatized world of spiritual Genesis steps outside the Christian and mythlogical framework of Calderon's stage. Unfurling in cosmic time and space, it is arguably one of the boldest uses or abuses of spectator credulity within the Western theatrical tradition. Yet Słowacki may well have considered *Samuel Zborowski* as a viable, stageable work. In the previous century, Baroque opera had sought to deploy the natural elements draped as mythological personages on an all but cosmic scale (Rameau's Castor and Pollux play out their fate in the stratosphere). For anyone familiar with the *grands spectacles* of the Cirque Olympique in Paris, nothing was technically unfeasible in the theatre: volcanic eruptions and earthquakes were staged there as a matter of routine. Słowacki had seen other wonders in the boulevard theatres – *changements à vue* at the Funambules, and airborne ballerinas at the Opéra. Although Mickiewicz's own *Forefathers' Eve* had been written in Dresden prior to his arrival in Paris, the Cirque Olympique may well have been instrumental in helping him conceptualize his Slavonic drama of the future. After seeing *Les Polonais* there in 1831, Słowacki's had been singularly dismissive; yet, though it is unlikely that he ever became an habitué, he could hardly have failed to read the reviews of Jules Janin in the *Journal des Débats*, fuelling his imagination by proxy and imagining the spectacle in his mind's eye.

Whilst outstripping the theatrical tradition of its time, *Samuel Zborowski* largely antedates the scenic visions of a later age. In Poland he points forward to Stanisław Wyspiański's (1869-1907) dream concept of monumental theatre – a theatre without limits, unrestricted by material boundaries, embracing the vast airy spaces of both the visible and the invisible worlds, and peopled by real characters, shadows of the dead, and ideas embodied in human artistic creations[9]. For Wyspiański, whom one might term "visionary of culture", the

[9] "Teatr mój widzę ogromny/ wielkie powietrzne przestrzenie/ ludzie je pełnią i cienie,/ ja jestem grze ich przytomny". St. Wyspiański, *Dzieła zebrane*, Vol. XI, pp. 160-161.

entire world was theatre; and he staged all that he saw in the "theatre of his soul". A portrayal of the metaphysics underlying the Greek, Judaic and Christian heritage, in which architecture and sculpture are considered as the main residue of civilization, his *Akropolis* of 1904 is a visionary dream dramatization of the historical, mythical, and cultural palimpsest of Western culture, in which the *dramatis personae* are all works of art brought to life on the night of the Resurrection[10]. Its evocation of consecutive cultures and centuries embraces a timescale of some three thousand years.

As a visionary of mystical experience, Słowacki condenses into the space and time of a performance whole aeons of past epochs: embracing Calderon's human and divine set within the entire evolution of the cosmos mystically experienced, complete with stars and planets, and the disembodied, incorporeal beings that have not yet been assigned their shape in the genesis process. The end result is a strange symbiosis of Poland's national history, Słowacki's messianistic historiosophy, and the scientific heritage of Darwin's predecessors. Zbigniew Folejewski has referred to *Samuel Zborowski* as one of the boldest visionary dramas in world literature

Słowacki's two Valkyries anticipate Wagner's *Rhinegold* by eight years; the Ring cycle was completed a quarter of a century after Słowacki's death. By its deflationary device of theatre within the theatre *Balladyna* (published in 1839), his Shakespearean fairy-tale of crime and punishment rooted in peasant lore and folk balladry, had shown him as a precursor of the grotesque and the absurd as early as 1834[11]. Five years later, *Lilla Weneda* (written in December 1839, published before May, 1840), pointed no further ahead than Richard Wagner (four years his junior, b. 1813). Teutonic in mood, laced with reminiscences of Ossian and the *Edda*, and often referred to as operatic, or Wagnerian drama, this "pyramid of misfortunes" consciously modelled on *King Lear* fabricates a fictitious yet true myth around Poland's legendary past, enhanced with lyrical choruses of Harpers and Chieftains, and an allegorical, symbolic prop,

[10] See N. Taylor, *Stanisław Wyspiański and symbolist drama: The work of art as dramatis persona*, [in] *British Contributions to the X International Congress of Slavists*, Sofia 1988. In "Slavonic and East European Review", 66 (2), April 1988, pp. 198-209.

[11] See W. Weintraub, *Balladyna czyli zabawa w Szekspira*, "Pamiętnik Literacki", 1970, vol. 4 pp. 46-76.

the Harp of Derwid; its catastrophizing finale amounts to a provisional twilight of the nation. Though the historiosophical discourse of *Samuel Zborowski* is to be found in embryo in *Lilla Weneda*, it surpasses it by far in terms of the demands it makes of the reader-spectator, director, or scenographer; while its use of sounds and light effects hints perhaps in the direction of *Gesamtkunstwerk.*

Both *Lilla Weneda* and *Samuel Zborowski* are symbolist *avant la lettre*. Słowacki is the acknowledged precursor of the Young Poland poets, who project worlds outside of normal temporality and space, explore semi-conscious states, and are prone to transfer their yearnings, fears and dreams onto the plane of historical indeterminacy. Often heavy with historiosophical argument, the subject-matter of *Samuel Zborowski* is no reflection of life, but a condensed, symbolic shorthand sign of cosmic experience and historiosophic meditation. Impressionistic in parts, it remains overtly anti-naturalistic, formulating its concepts by analogy, allusion and synthesis; its signs and images point to infinity.

Inconsistent, often incongruous, the phantasmagoric play of events in *Samuel Zborowski* is held together by the figure of the Poet undergoing the dream. Dream drama is nothing new in Polish Romanticism; in fact, the dream formula as an external frame of dramatic structure was exploited at least as early as the Polish Baroque in Piotr Baryka's *Z chłopa król* (1629, staged 1633), and recurs in the comedy of the Enlightenment. *Samuel Zborowski* is however more than a dramatized dream: it is an example of dream poetics informing dramatic structure. The Dreamer, moreover, identifies now with one, not with another character.

This is further complicated by the fact that each major character is revealed in the light of his previous spiritual incarnations: the dramatic web of *Samuel Zborowski* is an unending balletic *chassé-croisé* of transmigration and reincarnation. As a protohuman Lucifer, Eolion has been Egyptian Pharao, only to become Helion, Sun Spirit, or Sun Angel; Atessa, his sister lover, is reborn as a Fishergirl, then as Heliana and Diana, female moon and water spirit. Most impressive of all are the successive incarnations of Lucifer, a global, Herculean hero of Genesis labours: as Serpent, Judas, fiery "globe spirit" of the earth, later as Lawyer-Poet. Christ and Lucifer are not antithetical, but rather complementary; Zamoyski and Polonius are the same person. In Act V a fur-

ther confusion of identities ensues as Lucifer, Bukary, the Lawyer, and the Poet succeed one another as the defenders of Samuel Zborowski, each apparently representing a higher level of consciousness and spiritual evolution than his predecessor. In Act I, scene 1, Eolion was the dreamer; but the onus of oneiric activity ultimately falls upon the Poet: his vantage-point of cosmic and spiritual vision lacks anchorage.

More than half a century after Słowacki's death, in 1902, a European dramatist was attempting to interpret life not through the senses and reason, but through memory, imagination, the subconscious, and the experience of dreams in different forms. He was interested in the Bible and medieval moralities, in Swedenborg, Hinduism and Buddhism, influenced too by Maeterlinck, whose *Le Trésor des Humbles* he was translating at the time. He was wrapping his characters, statements, and scenes in ambiguity and uncertainty, dissolving the personality of a character, introducing dream-inspired sequences into open-composition drama using a montage procedure that anticipated film technique. In his dramas he was striving to imitate the uncoordinated, but seemingly logical form of dream, where "everything can happen, everything is possible and probable. Time and place do not exist. On the trivial basis of reality, fantasy spins and weaves new patterns; a mixture of memories, experiences, free ideas, nonsense and improvisations. […] Characters divide, double, dissolve, condense and fuse"[12].

Strindberg was attacked for the incoherent composition of his dramas, yet this surface chaos reveals its own coherent logic, not of dialogue and discourse, but of dreams and visions; the logic of his composition proved to be the logic of dream. In referring to Strindberg reception, we could be reading an entry in some posthumous notebook of Słowacki's. It has been claimed that the last bastion of tradition – the unity of the hero – had been overthrown in *Samuel Zborowski*[13]. Over half a century later, by dividing his own personality into several characters: Stranger, Beggar and the Confessor, Strindberg was

[12] L. Sokół, *Introduction*, [in] A. Strindberg, *Wybór dramatów*, ed. Z. Łanowski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1977, p. 733.

[13] M. Żmigrodzka , *Związki między kosmosem a historią i Polską* (wypowiedź nadesłana), [in] M. Janion and M. Żmigrodzka (eds.), *Słowacki mistyczny. Propozycje i dyskusje sympozjum Warszawa 10-11 grudnia 1979*, Warszawa 1981, p. 379.

creating in *To Damascus* a new type of drama, the ego drama, or Ich-Dramatik. In *The Dreamplay* the authorial ego is split into three characters: Officer, Lawyer and Poet, who acts rather as a medium of the author, dreaming and articulating in his dream the problems that beset him. The Strindberg scholars are, unbeknown to themselves, touching on issues of Słowacki's theatre.

Part of the complexity for both dramatists is how to represent the transmigration of souls. Only two days before finishing *The Dreamplay* Strindberg entered in his diary: "Presently the `Hindu religion' has given me the explanation of my dream play and the meaning of the daughter of Indra, the mysteries of the Doors = Nothingness"[14]. In the words of a Strindberg scholar, "Earlier dramatists had certainly used their powers of imagination and their memories and had touched on the unconscious, but none of them had written a play designed to tell the truth about God, man, and the universe in a form deliberately imitative of a dream"[15]. As is so often the case, the eminent academic had not looked to the chrestomathy of Polish Romantic texts, and the unfinished manuscript of a text that aspired to weld dream, cosmic evolution, and transmigration of souls into a single dramatic text. Over the span of half a century, the two dramatists share an undeniable affinity of the imagination, and a common forebear in the person of Emmanuel Swedenborg, who had been more than a figure-head for the adolescent Słowacki, and whose influence had been instrumental in effectuating Strindberg's conversion.

Unwitting follower of a Polish poet whose name he may never even have heard, Strindberg was a precursor of Expressionism and Surrealism. *Samuel Zborowski* resorts to a number of scenic tricks that can best be termed Surrealistic. Stars bark, and a staircase leaps through cosmic space. The decapitated head, tucked under its dead owner's arm, holds a light for its own corpse. A glittering column of spirits is seen, and the shapes of transitional beings half-way between the animal and mineral world. Individual scenes, especially in Acts I, II & IV, are described as being like film close-ups. For Mieczysław Jastruń, *Samuel Zborowski* is the first surrealistic work in Polish literature. Cinematographic special effects are pre-coded in the textual imagery of *Samuel*

[14] G. Ollén, *August Strindberg*, New York 1972, p. 90; cited by L. Sokół, op. cit., p. lxxxvi.

[15] W. G. Johnson, *Foreword* to: A. Strindberg, *A Dream Play, and Four Chamber Plays*, Seattle:University of Washington Press, 1973, p. vi.

Zborowski. In the view of a young critic, the problem with Wacław Radulski's staging in Lwów in 1932 was not Andrzej Pronaszko's highly inventive sets, but the overall direction, casting, and diction[16].

The visionary quality of *Samuel Zborowski* tempts one, or even entitles one, to speculate and imagine a fictitious encounter somewhere in interstellar space between Słowacki and a twentieth-century theoretician of often unrealized aspirations. For Antonin Artaud, the theatre was to be a dream, not a carbon copy of reality. Artaud would have praised Słowacki's pre-emptive rejection of naturalism, psychological character theatre, and of theatre as entertainment, implicit in his immanent theatrical poetics. He would have approved of his use of sound and light, his return to the metaphysical sources of spectacle, and his reaching to the very font of poetry. In visualizing a future theatre of gods, heroes, or monsters of mythical dimension, cosmic themes and cosmic forces, Artaud preconized a return to the ancient texts of Mexican and Iranian cosmogonies. Słowacki had largely devised and embroidered his own body of myths in the spirit of pagan folklore and the old medieval chronicles: he would doubtless be commended on that score.

In further discussion they would have doubtless agreed about the inherent cruelty of the cosmic process, the *cruauté vitale* which is at the basis of reality, the metaphysical appetite for cruelty without which worlds cannot be created, to which the *théâtre de la cruauté* harks bark. Słowacki would have delighted at the wealth of terminology used to define Artaud's theatre – and might himself have adopted the notion of *théâtre alchimique, théâtre métaphysique*, or perhaps *théâtre de l'absolu*, better still *théâtre de Devenir,* or *théâtre de l'Epreuve*, for his own work. He would certainly have expressed interest in Artaud's scenography of *La vida es sueño* (1922), and enjoyed hearing his thoughts on the staging of Strindberg's *Ghost Sonata*. Finally, on being shown Germaine Dulac's surrealistic film entitled "d'après un rêve d'Antonin Artaud", he may well have retrieved the surviving manuscript of *Samuel Zborowski* in the hope that he had at last found a collaborator.

The death of Artaud takes us a whole century from that of Słowacki. Darwin had set out as a naturalist on the "Beagle" to South America in 1831, the same year as Słowacki opted for the life of a political émigré in the aftermath

16 T. Terlecki, op. cit.

of the November Insurrection. *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection* (1859) came out ten years after Słowacki' death. Written in 1844–45, *Samuel Zborowski* was printed in 1884, two years after the death of Darwin, one year after that of Richard Wagner. Through the imaginative intuitions of a Polish Romantic Bard, the intellectual generation of Swedenborg and Lamarck reaches forward to its disparate progeny of Strindberg and Artaud in a drama of evolutionism to which Darwin himself is relevant, but ultimately redundant[17].

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[17] In a lecture delivered in 1908 at the Philharmonia in Warsaw the philosopher Witold Lutosławski argued that Słowacki in his visionariness had sometimes proved to be more "scientific" on certain points than the materialist scientist Darwin. *Darwin i Słowacki* in "Sfinks", 1909, Vol. 4, pp. 176-198.

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Means of creating perfumery and cosmetics terms in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages

Abstract: This article is focused on the mechanisms that are used for perfumery and cosmetics terminology formation in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages based on material from modern dictionaries and internet sources. **The subject** of the research is the means of creating perfumery and cosmetics terms in three Slavic languages. As a **result**, universal tendencies towards integration, differentiation, internationalization and unification of the language means in its structural, semantic and genetic aspects are determined. The research is based on the synchronic and partially diachronic approach with the use of componential analysis and the method of definition. **Findings**. The specificity of the perfumery and cosmetics terminology in closely related Slavic languages results from extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors, from native language laws of functioning and its special denotative correlation that manifests itself both in the nominative and the semasiological aspects. The following term-forming mechanisms proved to be typical: terminologization of common words, lexical term borrowings from other languages, transterminologization, special words modelling with

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the help of Greek and Latin elements, borrowed models, reduplicate terms, model-forming words, word-forming calques, contracted words, as well as the undivided naming process in the form of multi-component word combinations.

Key words: terminology, perfumery, cosmetics, term-forming mechanisms, borrowings.

The problems of term creation to systematise and normalise special vocabulary in order to "optimally demonstrate distinctive features of a notion, its correlation with other lexemes belonging to the same semantic field"[1] are the centre of modern linguistics attention. One of the most rapidly developing systems in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages is perfumery and cosmetics terminology. It is a subsystem that includes spontaneously created terms with common semantics, and that is formed on the basis of logical and semantic links in the perfumery and cosmetics sphere.

Perfumery and cosmetics vocabulary was analysed by Z. Gandaloyeva (the term system of perfumery and cosmetics manufacturing in the English language), N. Hymer (terminology of cosmetics and cosmetology in the Ukrainian language), Ye. V. Kolomiyets (names of perfumes and cosmetics in the Russian language), T. Hołówka (names of soap and perfumery products)[2]. Nevertheless, a comparative analysis of perfumery and cosmetics term formation mechanisms has not been conducted on the Slavic languages so far.

[1] V. S. Zvyagintsev, *Normalizatsiya i kodifikatsiya meditsinskoy terminologii v usloviyakh variantnosti: avtoref. dis. ... kand. filol. n*., Moskva 2017, p. 13; the definition and the context help the term to find its place in the structure analysed: J. C. Sager, *Practical Course in Terminology Processing*, Amsterdam 1990, p. 48.

[2] Z. S. Gandaloyeva, *Istoriya razvitiya sfery parfyumernogo i kosmeticheskogo proizvodstva i yeye vliyaniye na formirovaniye sootvetstvuyushchey terminosistemy v sovremennom angliyskom yazyke. V mire nauchnykh otkrytiy*, 2015, 3.7; *Osnovnyye tematicheskiye gruppy angloyazychnoy terminologii sfery parfyumernogo i kosmeticheskogo proizvodstva. Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. Seriya: Lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaya kommunikatsiya, 2016; 2.; N. O. Hymer, *Leksyka kosmetyky ta kosmetolohiyi suchasnoyi ukrayins'koyi movy: avtoref. dys.*, kand. filol. n., L'viv 2010; Ye. V. Kolomiyets, *Naimenovaniya sredstv parfyumerii i kosmetiki v russkom yazyke XI–XXI veka: etimologiya, struktura, semantika*: avtoref. dis.kand. filol. n., Moskva 2011.

Since ancient times some diseases have been diagnosed with the help of the olfactory senses. It has been not only the medicinal properties of perfumery and cosmetics that have mattered, but also their aesthetic impact, which has helped to improve one's appearance and make it look beautiful. Modern scientists are investigating the influence scents have on human behaviour. For this purpose, researchers are using perfumery and cosmetics products in marketing, in teaching adults and children, in researching the mechanisms of memory, in overcoming human depression, and so on.

In the 21st century perfumery and cosmetics products (hygienic, decorative, theatrical, medicinal) are regarded as components that fully meet the demand for people's everyday lifestyle habits. At present perfumery and cosmetics vocabulary is being actively enriched with new terms. In the Slavic languages they have begun to express additional axiological meanings, spiritual and vital human values ("beauty", "youth", "health", "development", "physical and aesthetic improvement"), an individual's and people's idea of perfectness, and also positive and negative emotions connected with the potential of the smell as a phenomenon of nature and culture that has an impact on human worries and feelings.

It is noteworthy that the number of new terms is increasing, and special dictionaries lacking the terminology under analysis need managing. The role of the term creation in the processes of categorization and conceptualization of perfumery and cosmetics names needs further consideration, too. There has also been little research into the following problems: what principles were used to form perfumery and cosmetics terms; the extent of term creation means such as terminologization, borrowing, modelling; the reasons for selecting these means in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages. All the enumerated problems make it relevant to analyse perfumery and cosmetics term formation mechanisms in closely related Slavic languages.

The purpose of this article is to research the perfumery and cosmetics term-forming mechanisms in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages.

The methods of the research are comparative and componential analyses, definition, also descriptive analysis with a synchronic and partially diachronic approach. Comparative analysis helped to determine universal and innovative patterns of the term-forming mechanisms in the investigated languages. Regular naming processes point at their common tendencies and laws that

determine term formation in modern Slavic languages. Componential analysis was conducted to perform semantic structures of special terms as a combination of semantic elements. They are: – intergral (i.e. the main hyponymic features that combine terms into separate groups); – differential (i.e. additional semantic features that are different in special terms). Also definitions of perfumery and cosmetics terms were analysed in order to reveal their inner structures.

The object of the study is perfumery and cosmetics terms selected consecutively from Russian, Ukrainian and Polish dictionaries, dictionaries of foreign words, and websites of the early 21st century. The whole body of terms constitutes 2223 special words and word combinations.

Perfumery and cosmetics terminology is a set of scientific and technological terms (words and word combinations) created in the process of historical development as a result of knowledge and activity accumulation, comprehension in the two spheres, and whose term-forming elements denote perfumery, hygienic and decorative cosmetics, and at the same time function for the purpose of communication in the perfumery and cosmetics spheres.

Perfumery and cosmetics terminology forms a rather stable system of "independent nominative units joined into one class and characterised by functioning in the common sphere of activity"[3]. They represent scientific knowledge, namely general scientific terms and professionalisms, that is connected with two spheres of activity.

The process of creating perfumery and cosmetics vocabulary has a number of external and internal grounds. To extralinguistic factors belong objective reasons for perfumery and cosmetics spheres of activity being generated and developed, crafts being singled out, and afterwards perfumery and cosmetics being manufactured. This all resulted in the active process of perfumery and cosmetics term creation aimed at human pragmatical needs and interests. Here we can observe, for instance, words from the national corpus, native words of unambiguous semantics: Russian (Rus.) *благовония* "aroma substances"[4] (BTS, p. 81), Ukrainian (Ukr.) *пахощі* "1. scents; 2. *rare* perfume"[5], Polish (Pol.) *pachnidło książk.* "substancja pachnąca

[3] K. Ya. Averbukh, *Obshchaya teoriya termina*, Moskva 2006, p. 193.

[4] BTS, p. 81.

[5] SUM VI, p. 101.

mocno i przyjemnie, używana jako kosmetyk lub w podobnej funkcji" (WSJP PAN); *ополаскиватель*, Ukr. *ополіскувач*, Pol. *nabłyszczacz*; Rus. *подводка*, Ukr. *підводка*, Pol. *kredka do oczu*.

Intralinguistic (linguistic proper, internal) factors are caused by the system specificity of every national language and its terminology subsystem, as well as by speech factors, to which belong (after N. D. Golev) experience, language mechanisms, an individual's psychology, and the character of the communicative intention[6].

There still does not exist a generally accepted thematic classification of perfumery and cosmetics products, which proves the variability in their vocabulary: 1) perfumery products: perfume, Eau de Parfum, Eau de Toilette, fragrance, cologne, smoking sticks; 2) cosmetic products: skin-care for hands and face (Rus. *крем для рук, мыло, лосьон*), oral care (Rus. *эликсир, зубная паста, зубной порошок*), haircare (Rus. *шампунь, масло для волос*), body skin-care (Rus. *крем для ног*, *дезодорант*) and their subclasses, groups, subgroups that are classified according to their most prominent features in two spheres: 1) in perfumes – depending on the type of the material (natural or synthetic fragrances); 2) in cosmetics – depending on the purpose they are used for (hygienic, curative and protective, decorative, theatrical make-up); and on their structure (cream, powder, solid, liquid)[7].

In this article perfumery and cosmetics vocabulary is divided into the following classes: general scientific (Rus., Ukr. *система*, *структура, метод*, Rus. *процесс*, Ukr. *процес,* Pol. *system*, *struktura*, *metoda*, *proces*), general technical (denotes cars, mechanisms, tools, operations: Rus. *дезодоратор*, *дозатор*, *кассета*, *дистилляция*, *диффузия*, Ukr. *дезодоратор, дозатор, касета, дистиляція, дифузія*, Pol. *dezodorant, dozownik / dawkownik / dozator*, *kaseta*, *dystylacja*, *dyfuzja*), inter-sectoral terms (for instance, medical Rus. *целлюлит*, Ukr. *целюліт*, Pol. *cellulit*, Rus. *псориаз*, Ukr. *псоріаз*, Pol. *łuszczyca*), anatomical (Rus., Ukr. *колаген,* Pol. *kolagen*), chemical (Rus. *альдегид*, Ukr. *альдегід*, Pol. *aldehyd*), phytological (Rus., Ukr. *мускус*, Pol. *piżmo*, Rus. *пачули*, Ukr. *пачулі*, Pol. *paczula*) et al.).

6 N. D. Golev, *Dinamicheskiy aspekt leksicheskoy motivatsii*, Tomsk 1989, p. 52.

7 A. Yu. Krivova, V. Kh. Paronyan, *Tekhnologiya proizvodstva kosmeticheskikh produktov*, Moskva 2009, p. 69, 324.

The basic terms in this terminological subsystem are the hyperonyms 'perfumery' and 'cosmetics' and their derivatives: Rus. *парфюмерия* "1. *collective* fragrances (perfume, cologne, soap, et al.), for cosmetic and hygienic use; 2. perfume industry; 3. manufacturing and trade; 4. a department store where perfume products are sold", *парфюмерный* (*парфюмерные товары*, *парфюмерный запах*), *парфюмы / парфюм*[8], Ukr. *парфумерія* "1. *collective* cosmetic products (perfumes and others), usu. with a pleasant scent; 2. cosmetics industry", *парфумерний, парфум*[9], Pol. *perfumiarstwo daw*. "wyrób perfum, fabrykacja perfum i kosmetyki", *perfumeria* "sklep, w którym sprzedaje się perfumy i kosmetyki", *perfumeryjny*, *pefrumiarski*, *perfumowy*, *perfumy* (SJP PWN), Rus. *косметика* "1. the art of skin and face care; 2. *collective* a special preparation applied to the body, especially the face, to improve its appearance", *косметический* (*косметический салон*, *косметические средства*), *косметичка*, *косметолог*, *косметология*[10], Ukr. *косметика* "1. changes and improvements intended to improve the appearance of something; 2. *collective* a cream or other substance that you put on your skin, hair, etc. in order to improve its appearance", *косметичний, косметичка, косметологія*[11], Pol. *kosmetyka* "1. stosowanie preparatów kosmetycznych i zabiegów w celu upiększania i pielęgnacji ciała; 2. sztuka upiększania i pielęgnowania ciała i włosów; 3. nadawanie czemuś estetycznego wyglądu", *kosmetyki* "środki do oczyszczania, pielęgnowania i upiększania skóry, włosów, paznokci i oczu, także do maskowania defektów urody", *kosmetyczny*, *kosmetyczka*, *kosmetyk*, *kosmetologia* (SJP PWN).

Being closely related in their use, these hyperonyms are arranged into a group of synonyms with common characteristics for different objects and situations. For instance, the generic notion of the term *парфюмерия* ("aroma hygiene products") is "product", which has its differentiating hyponym "synthetic, fragrant", that can be performed in synonymous hyponyms *парфюм*, *духи* (Rus. *душить*, *душиться*, *подушить*, *подушиться*, *надушить*, *надушиться*, *раздушить раздушиться*), *одеколон*, *одорант*, *саше* ("sachet"), *умастить*

8 BTS, p. 784

9 SUM VI, p. 82.

10 BTS, p. 461.

11 SUM IV, p. 306.

"to slather on aromas". For the term *косметика* ("a preparation, care applied to the body (skin, hair, teeth and nails) to improve its appearance") the hyperonym "care for" with the differentiating hyponym "skin" is presented in synonymous hyponyms Rus. *маска* (*наложить маску*), *маникюр*, *маникюрша*, *педикюр*, also in *лосьон* ("a liquid, usually aqueous or sometimes alcoholic, that you put on your skin to protect it"), *крем*, *вазелин*, *помада* ("fragrant cream"), *помадить*, *помадиться*, *напомадить*, *напомадиться*, *кольдкрем*, *косметология*, *косметолог*, *хна*[12].

In terms of scientific and technological developments of the perfumery and cosmetics spheres the process of term creation in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages can be roughly divided into several periods: 1) from the 11th –12th till the 17th centuries – prescientific period – primary notions of aromatherapy and cosmetic products began to appear; 2) the 18th century – first terms were created, other terms were actively borrowed from French and other languages; 3) 19th – mid 20th centuries – the perfumery and cosmetics industries intensively developed, and increased production generated the corresponding term creation; 4) mid 20th – early 21st centuries – phonetic, graphical and lexical assimilation of term borrowing continued, the international perfumery and cosmetics vocabulary was created on the basis of Greek and Latin heritage, and new perfumery and cosmetics terms were borrowed from the English language. It is noteworthy that the process of borrowing special words and phrases from other languages is characteristic of all the periods of perfumery and cosmetics term development.

The body of perfumery and cosmetics terms is not homogeneous in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages – one-word terms, word-combination terms. The group of one-word terms is subdivided into unproductive (root morphemes such as Rus. *флакон*, Ukr. *флакон / пляшечка*, Pol. *flakon* < French *flacon* 'vial') and productive (affixational morphemes – Rus. *ванилин*, Ukr. *ванілін*, Pol. *wanilina*, Rus. *закрепитель*, Ukr. *закріплювач*, Pol. *utrwalacz*; compound words with two root morphemes – Rus. *автозагар*, Ukr. *автозасмага*, Pol. *samoopalacz*; hyphenated terms such as Rus. *маска-пилинг*, *карандаш-тени*, Ukr. *маска-пілінг*, *олійка-догляд*, Pol. *maseczka peeling*; abbreviated terms: Rus. *BB-крем* < English *Blemish Balm cream*, *CC-крем* < English *Color Control cream*).

[12] O. S. Baranov, *Ideograficheskiy slovar' russkogo yazyka*, http://rus-yaz.niv.ru/doc/ideographic-dictionary/index.htm#prim [Accessed: 10 April 2020].

Common nouns can form "terms, the semantic volume of which in special usage is equal to their semantic volume in everyday usage"[13]. They constitute not more than 3 % of the total number of the terms gathered in the three languages. These special terms are rather important as they can form a great number of derivatives and serve as hyperonyms in attributive and prepositional multi-word combinations.

In the prescientific period of accumulating perfumery and cosmetics knowledge the body of the national language was used (the principle of so-called self-reliance). In the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages special vocabulary denoting incense, decorative substance was widely used by the Slavs for treatment in everyday life, in religious rituals[14].

The original perfumery and cosmetics terms that are widely used in modern Slavic languages can be divided into the following thematic groups: 1) substance properties, cf. Rus. *запах* "substance property that can be smelled", in the Russian language since the 11th –17th centuries *запахъ* < from the East Slavic **запахъ*, a derivative with the ending -ъ from the verb stem **запахнõти*: *Приятный запах. Резкий запах*[15]: "*Запах*": in perfumery the word denotes raw material and ordinary shades of smell, cf. the word *аромат*, the smell of the processed material" (SP); Ukr. *запах* "the property of a substance, objects that have a smell // something that can

[13] S. V. Grinev-Grinevich, *Terminovedeniye*, Moskva 2008, p. 124.

[14] "The words "scent" and "aromatic substance" have been known to the East Slavs since the 11th–12th centuries. Initially aromatic substances were used in Kievan Rus during Orthodox worship and burial. The first information on aromatherapy is dated by the 13th–14th centuries", cited from E. Kolomiyets, *Perfumery and cosmetics names in the Russian language of the 11th–21st centuries: etymology, structure, semantics: dissertation abstract for the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences*, Moscow 2011, p. 4; "On the appearance of cosmetics terminology in the Ukrainian language we can only speak beginning with the 16th century… It is indicated in the historical dictionaries that the period of the developing Ukrainian special lexicon in the perfumery and cosmetics sphere (16th–17th centuries) is marked by the appearance of the native cosmetic terms: *молочко*, *облива*, *нечисть*, *короста*. It can be concluded that during the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries the native Ukrainian terminology was gradually formed. It is proved by the functioning of the lexemes: *ожиріння, облисіння*, *мило*, *барвник*, *омолодження*", cited from N. Hymer, *Cosmetics and cosmetology vocabulary in modern Ukrainian language: dissertation abstract for the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences*, Lviv 2010, p. 6; „W Polsce za początek produkcji kosmetyków na skalę przemysłową uznać można dopiero lata 20-ste XX wieku. Powstają wówczas takie firmy kosmetyczne jak: Schicht-Lever (późniejsza Uroda), Miraculum i Ewa", op. cit. HS.

[15] BTS, p. 336; A. K. Shaposhnikov, Etimologicheskiy slovar' russkogo yazyka (t. I–II). Moscow 2010, p. 300.

have a smell"[16], Pol. *zapach* < rzeczownik od dawnego (od XV w.) przedrostkowego czasownika *zapachać* 'wydzielać przyjemną woń' "1. właściwość jakiejś substancji, którą można poczuć, zbliżając do niej nos i wciągając do niego powietrze; *woń*; 2. substancja dodawana do potraw lub kosmetyków, aby przyjemnie pachniały; *aromat, esencja*; 3. płyn lub nasączony nim kawałek materiału, wydzielający zapach – właściwość jakiejś substancji" (WSJP PAN);[17] 2) *dairy products* – Rus., Ukr. *молоко*, *молочко* "a nutrient-rich, white liquid food produced by the mammary glands of mammals for the nourishment of their young; a liquid produced from seeds of fruit that resembles cow's milk", since 11th–17th centuries, Pol. *mleko*, *mleczko* < Proto-Slavic **мелко* with the final stress, a derivative with the suffix *-ко* from the stem, relative to Proto-Slavic **молка* 'the place where milk leaks'; general Slavic **melko*[18]: Rus. *молочко для лица*; Ukr. *косметичне молочко для обличчя*; Pol. *mleczko do twarzy*;

3) *liquids* – Rus. *пена* "bubble mass that is formed on the surface of some liquids", in 11th–17th centuries, Ukr. *піна*, Pol. *piana* < Proto-Slavic **пěна*, from Indo-European **[s]peina* / **[s]poina* or **[s]peima* / **[s]poima* 'foam'[19]: Rus. *пена для бритья*; Ukr. *піна для гоління*; Pol. *pianka do golenia*;

4) *aqueous solution* – Rus. *водка* has been known since the 16th–17th centuries with the meaning "medical tincture of herbs". Native Russian word formation (free calque medical Latin *aqua vitae*?) with the suffix *-к(а)* (*-ък(а)*

[16] SUM III, p. 247.

[17] W języku polskim problem stanowi samo słowo „zapach", które wydaje się neutralne, a niestety za każdym razem domaga się określenia (np. „przyjemny zapach") i posiada swój negatywny odpowiednik, to jest „smród". We współczesnej polszczyźnie rzadko używa się słowa „odór", które zapożyczone z łaciny (*odor*) zostało pozbawione swojej wieloznaczności i znaczy dziś tyle co „przykry zapach". Dla przykładu, w języku angielskim używa się słowa *odor* (w Stanach Zjednoczonych – *odour*), które oznacza zarazem „zapach", jak i „smród", ale i odrobinę więcej: *body odor* to „zapach potu (ludzkiego ciała)", natomiast *the odour of sanctity* to już „aura świętości", op. cit., M. Topolski, *Antropologia zapachu*, http://muzea.malopolska.pl/czy-wiesz-ze/-/a/antropologia-zapachu?view=full [Accessed: 10 April 2020].. The word *вонь colloquial* 'odor' in the Russian language of the 11th–17th centuries is known as *вон*, *вонь* 'scent, incense', but in the dictionaries dated 1704 it obtained the negative connotation '*odoriferous*'. From the proto-Slavic **вонйа*, a derivative with the suffix *-йа* from the stem *в-* **он-*, relevant to **вон'ати*. The meaning "to smell bad" appeared in the Russian language fairly late, cited from Shaposhnikov, I, p. 140; in Polish *woń* (książk.) „zapach – właściwość jakiejś substancji" (WSJP PAN); „Wąchać oznacza więc dotykać skóry, widzieć obrazy przeszłości, słyszeć odgłosy miasta, poznawać smak potu. To inaczej przekraczać granice". M. Topolski, op. cit.

[18] Shaposhnikov, op. cit., I, p. 530; P. Ya. Chernykh, Istoriko-etimologicheskiy slovar' sovremennogo russkogo yazyka, Moscow 1999, I, p. 540.

[19] Shaposhnikov, op. cit., II, p. 117.

from the noun *вода*. The two words (*водка* and *вода*) have the common feature of being clear[20]; in Ukr. *горілка* (< *горіти*), Pol. *wódka* < *woda* pierwotnie 'coś zrobionego na wodzie, rozwodnionego', z XVI w. (WSJP PAN); it is used in perfumery and cosmetology as a disinfectant and preservative;

5) *granular and compound sustances* – Rus. *мыло* "a substance used with water for washing and cleaning, made of a compound of natural oils with sodium hydroxide or another strong alkali, and typically having perfume and colouring added; foam formed by dissolving soap in water", since the 11th –17th centuries, Ukr. *мило*, Pol. *mydło* < Proto-Slavic **mydlo* – a derivative noun as an instrument, ending in *-дло* from *myti* 'wash'[21]: Rus. *лечебно-косметическое мыло*; Ukr. *лікувально-косметичне мило*; Pol. *mydło lecznicze i kosmetyczne*; Rus. *тени* plural "coloured cosmetics applied to the eyelids or to the skin around the eyes to accentuate them", *тень* in the 16th –17th centuries, Ukr. *тіні*, Pol. *cień* < **тень* or **тěнь* (from **темнь* or **темнь*?), from Indo-European **temnis*, derived from the verb **tem[ə]* 'dark, darkness'; the name was influenced by the words **сěнь* and **стěнь* 'shadow'[22]: Rus. *тени для век*; Ukr. *тіні для повік*; Pol. *cień do powiek*; Rus. *свеча,* Ukr. *свіча*, Pol. *świeca* < general Slavic **světja*[23]: Rus. *массажные косметические свечи*; Ukr. *масажні косметичні свічки*; Pol. *świece do masażu*; Rus. *соль,* Ukr. *сіль*, Pol. *sól* < general Slavic **solь*[24]: Rus. *соль для ванны*; Ukr. *сіль для ванни*; Pol. *sól do kąpieli*.

To create special vocabulary that forms the historical nucleus of perfumery and cosmetics terminology in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages, terminologization is applied (by taking words that are already in existence in the language), for instance, Rus. *блеск* "bright shining, glistening", Ukr. *блиск* < Proto-Slavic **бльскъ* or **блěскъ*, relevant to the verb stem **бльшчати*; general Slavic **blьeskъ*, **blěskъ*[25], Pol. *błyszczyk* < *błyszczeć* < *psł.* **blьščati* z 1864 r. (WSJP PAN): Rus. *блеск для губ, для лица*; Ukr. *блиск для губ*; Pol. *błyszczyk do*

20 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., I, p. 129; Chernykh, op. cit., I, pp. 159-160.

21 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., I, p. 547; ESUM III, p. 461.

22 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., II, p. 411; ESUM V, p. 580.

23 Chernykh, op. cit., II, p. 146.

24 Chernykh, op. cit., II, p. 187.

25 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., I, p. 66; Chernykh, op. cit., I, p. 93.

ust), and then specialization (semantic narrowing of a word): Rus. *румяна* "a red or pink powder put on the cheeks to make the face look more attractive"[26], Ukr. *рум'яна* < *румяный* "covered with blush" < Proto-Slavic *rumĕnъ*, **rudmĕnъ* 'ruddy, reddish'[27]: Rus. *нанести на лицо румяна*; Ukr. *компактні рум'яна*; Pol. *róż* < *French rouge* 'czerwień; czerwony' z XVIII w. (WSJP PAN).

With the help of suffixation derivative terms are formed on the basis of native words: Rus., Ukr. *мазь*, Pol. *maź* < *psł.* **mazь od* **mazati* 'mazać, smarować, namaszczać' (WSJP PAN); Rus. *масло* "fat substance made from the milk of domestic animals, from some plants (mainly seeds and fruits) and from mineral substances", since the 11th–17th centuries, Pol. *masło* < Proto-Slavic **масло* (from **мазсло*) 'something that is oiled with', a derivative with the suffix *-сло* from the verb stem **мазати*[28], in Ukr. *олія* is derived from the Latin or Greek language[29]; Rus. *сливки* "thick fat top cover of milk held at room temperature for several days"; since the 11th–17th centuries, native Russian derivative with the suffix *-к(а)* from the noun stem *сливъ*, which originated from the prefixed verb **съливати*, relevant in its aspect meaning to **сълити*[30], Ukr. *вершки* "thick diary product with a high fat content, made by separating fresh milk or holding it at room temperature for several days", shortened from *верх*[31], Pol. *śmietanka*: Rus. *сливки для тела, косметические сливки*; Ukr. *косметичні вершки*; Pol. *śmietanka kosmetyczna*; Rus. *порошок* "fine, dry particles produced by grinding a solid substance", since the 17th century, Ukr. *порошок*, Pol. *proszek* < Proto-Slavic **porхъ*[32]: Rus. *зубной порошок*; Ukr. *зубний порошок*; Pol. *proszek do zębów*. Prefixation is less often (Rus. *отвар*, Ukr. *відвар*, Pol. *odwar* < *вар*) as well as reduction of the derived stem: Rus. *настой* "aqueous extract of a substance or plant", since the 11th–17th centuries < Proto-Slavic **настойь*, a derivative noun from the verb **настойати*[33], Ukr. *настій*.

26 BTS, p. 1131.

27 ESUM V, p. 141.

28 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., I, p. 496; Chernykh, op. cit., I, p. 513.

29 ESUM IV, p. 182.

30 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., II, p. 334.

31 SUM I, p. 338.

32 ESUM IV, p. 527.

33 Shaposhnikov, op. cit., I, p. 577..

The material collected proves that most of the body of the perfumery and cosmetics terms in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages are loan words (72 % of terms in each of the three Slavic languages). The principle of borrowing already existing terms from other languages is a complicated process, when an element of a foreign language is transmitted into another one by means of direct and indirect, oral and written language contacts.

The reasons for borrowing are as follows: the lack of terms in the Slavic languages for new notions in the spheres of perfumery and cosmetics; the use of a one-word term instead of a word combination; the need to specify a certain meaning so the form and the meaning are borrowed (lexical borrowing), the form is only borrowed (formal borrowing), root morphemes or affixes are borrowed (morphological borrowing).

Among perfumery and cosmetics loan words three groups of terms are distinguished. The first group is represented by special words that name the objects and notions which do not have any equivalents in either the source or target languages, for instance: Rus. *помада* "a cosmetic product – coloured paste; a lipstick (usually for colouring)"; in the 16th–17th centuries *помада* 'healing potion', *мазь помада* (since 1645); borrowed from the German *Pomade* or Dutch *pommade*, via French *pommade* – since the mid 16th century to the Italian *pommata*, a derivative with the suffix *-ta* from the Latin stem *pomum*, plural *poma* 'apple; apples'; initially the healing paste was prepared from the fat and flesh of a special Peloponnese variety of small apples in Southern Greece[34]; Ukr. *помада* < French *pomade* 'помада, мазь', Italian *pommata*, *pómo* 'apple, apple tree' (the Italian name resulted from the fact that originally fat and apples were used to prepare the healing paste) from Latin *pōmum*[35], in Pol. *szminka* < German *Schminke* since 1872 (WSJP PAN); Rus. *блоттер* < English *blotter* in perfumery "a scent strip to test fragrance"[36], Ukr. *блоттер / блотер*, Pol. *blotter*; 2) neologisms that name new notions, for instance: Rus., Ukr. *блаш*, Pol. *blush* "one colour blush"; Rus., Ukr. *карвинг* "long-term hairstyling".

[34] Shaposhnikov, op. cit., II, p. 167.

[35] ESUM IV, p. 507.

[36] Ye. N. Shagalova, *Samyy noveyshiy tolkovyy slovar' russkogo yazyka 21 veka*, Moscow: AST, Astrel' Publishing House, 2011, p. 149.

To the second group belong terms borrowed to the target language to replace multiword expressions, for instance, Rus. *тушь для подводки глаз*, Ukr. *туш для підводки очей – айлайнер*, Pol. *konturówka do oczu – eyeliner*; Rus. *смывка для лака – ремувер*.

The third group comprises loan words, that are synonymous with already existing words in the target language and therefore they somewhat modify their semantics: cf. Rus. *косметика, грим – мейк-ап* < English *make-up* 'design or layout; cosmetics' "cosmetics (such as lipstick, mascara, and eye shadow) used to colour and beautify the face", since 1990; Ukr. *мейк-ап*, Pol. *make-up*, rzadziej *make up* z 1992 r. (WSJP PAN); Rus. *макияж* < French *maquillage* (*maquiller* 'to put on blusher, to colour') "1. to apply decorative cosmetics on one's face (to make it more attractive, to strengthen its expressiveness); 2) cosmetics set"[37] – *визаж* "make-up" < French *visage* literary 'face'[38], Ukr. *макіяж* "1. the art of applying make-up, colouring one's face with various cosmetics (concealer, blusher, lipstick); 2. cosmetics (cream, mascara, lipstick) for one's face; 3. make-up applied to one's face"[39], *візаж* "a set of preparations to improve one's appearance (a beauty treatment for one's face and hair, choosing a hairstyle and other accessories to suit one's face etc.)" (TSUM); Pol. *makijaż* < French "czynność polegająca na malowaniu twarzy kosmetykami mającymi na celu zatuszowanie wad i podkreślenie atutów urody; efekt makijażu – czynności", *wizaż* < French "makijaż artystyczny podkreślający czyjąś urodę lub tuszujący jej braki"[40].

Perfumery and cosmetics products seemingly having first appeared in Ancient Mesopotamia or in Arabia – "the country of incenses", the influence of Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Turkic languages is reflected in the terminology of these two spheres. The terms were borrowed into the Slavic languages via donor-languages, cf. Rus. *тальк / талька* via German *Talk* from French *talc*,

[37] T. V. Yegorova, *Slovar' inostrannykh slov sovremennogo russkogo yazyka*, Moscow 2014, p. 394.

[38] Shagalova, op. cit., p. 240.

[39] S. P. Bybyk, H. M. Syuta, *Slovnyk inshomovnykh sliv: tlumachennya, slovotvorennya ta slovovzhyvannya*, Kharkiv 2006, p. 352.

[40] WSWO, p. 774; p. 1333.

Arabic *talk*[41]; Ukr. *тальк,* Pol. *talk* from French *talc* via German, Spanish *talco* from Arabic *talg*[42]; Rus. *хна* < Turkic *kyna* from Arabic *hynna*[43]; Ukr. *хна* < via Turkish *kina* and Arabian *hinnā*' from Persian[44]; Pol. *henna* Neo-Latin from Arabic *hinnā*'[45]; Rus. *бальзам* via German *Balsam* from Greek *balsamon*[46]; Ukr. *бальзам,* Old Slavic *балсам* (XVII c.), *балсан* (XVIII c.), *валсамъ* (XVII c.) from Greek, first in the form of *валсамъ, балсам*, later via German and Latin *бальзам* from Hebrew *bōšām* or Arabic *bašām*[47]; Pol. *balsam* via Latin *balsamum* from Greek *bálsamon* 'rodzaj wonnej żywicy'[48]; Rus., Ukr. *шампунь* < English *champoo* from Hindi *champna* 'knead, press' "haircare"[49], Pol. *szampon* < niem. *Shampoon* z ang. *shampoo*[50].

Later on, perfumery and cosmetics products appeared in the countries of South-Eastern Asia, Babylon, Greece and Italy. Crusaders brought to Europe cosmetics and elementary perfumery products. In Italy, in Florence, Santa Maria Novella, a perfume factory, was built in 1608, then perfumery and cosmetics products were brought to France, which in the 17th century became a centre of manufacturing and consuming perfumery and cosmetics (mainly decorative) in the West (SKH 21).

Foreign special words have been borrowed from one language into another not that easily. In the Russian language there was first borrowed the term *парфюмёр* 'maker of perfumes' from French *parfumer* 'to scent', 'to emit fragrance', in 1837; from its stem there were borrowed special lexemes *парфюмерия* and *парфюмерный*. In French *parfumer* is a loan word from *profumare* (< *perfumare*) 'to besmoke'; cf. Latin *fūumus* 'smoke'[51];

41 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 648.

42 ESUM V, p. 510; WSWO, p. 1231.

43 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 736.

44 ЕСУМ VI, p. 189.

45 WSWO, p. 489.

46 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 82.

47 ESUM I, p. 130.

48 WSWO, p. 134.

49 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 753.

50 WSWO, p. 1210.

51 Chernykh, op. cit., , II, p. 9.

Rus. *парфюм* < French *parfums* 'perfume' and *parfum* 'aroma, inscense'. The original source: Old Italian *perfumo*, derived from *fumo* 'fumes, smoke' (Shaposhnikov, I, p. 250). In the Ukrainian language *парфуми, парфумер*, *парфумити* are borrowed from French *parfum*, *parfumer* from Italian[52]; in Polish *perfumeria* "sklep z perfumami i kosmetykami", *parfumerie*, *perfumować, perfumować się* < French *parfumer* Old Italian *perfumare* initially 'okadzać wonnym kadzidłem'[53], *perfumy* "mieszanka zapachowa w roztworze alkoholu, używana jako kosmetyk" z 1560 r. < wł. *perfumo* (forma włoska jest dawna; dzisiejsza jest *profumo*) (WSJP PAN). The terms in Russian and Ukrainian *косметика* are borrowed from French *cosmétique*, known since the 16th century, from Greek *κοσμητικός* 'putting in order', 'making beautiful', further back from *κόσμος* 'order', 'proper look', 'order of things'; also 'decoration', 'beauty', 'glory'[54]; in Polish *kosmetyka* < German *Kosmetik*, French *cosmétique* from Greek *kosmētikḗ* 'sztuka upiększania' (u Platona)[55].

In the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages the international terminology body is mainly represented by Greek and Latin terms. They were borrowed both directly and indirectly. In the first case they are, for instance, Rus. *гель* < Latin *gelāre* 'freeze' "dispersed system or gelatinous mass that maintains its form, strength and elasticity typical of solids"[56], Ukr. *гель*, Pol. *żel* < French *gelée* 'galareta'[57]. In the second case new terms appeared via intermediary languages, in particular, French, for instance, Rus. and Ukr. *аромат* < Greek *árōma, arōmatos* 'fragrant substance', Pol. *aromat / aromaty* via French *aromate* from Greek *arōmata* '*wonne korzenie*'[58]; Rus., Ukr. *крем* via French *crème*, Latin *chrisma* from Greek *χρῖσμα* from *χρίω* 'I smear'[59], in Polish *krem* < French *crème* 'śmietana; krem; kremowy' (WSJP PAN); Rus.,

52 ESUM IV, p. 301.

53 WSWO, p. 963.

54 Chernykh, op. cit., , II, p. 434; ESUM III, p. 51.

55 WSWO, p. 689.

56 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 149.

57 WSWO, p. 1346.

58 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 57; WSWO, p. 98.

59 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 356.

Ukr. *ладан*[60], Pol. *olibanum / oliban* from Latin *olibanum*, Greek *líbanos* from Arabic *luban*[61]; Rus. *мирра*, Ukr. *мірра*[62], Pol. *mirra / mira* via French *myrrhe* from Latin *myrrha*[63]; Rus. *эмульсия* via German *Emulsion*, French *émulsion* from Latin *ēmulgere* 'to milk'[64], Ukr. *емульсія* < French *émulsion*, derived from the Latin participle *ēmulsus* fthe verb *ēmulgeo* 'I milk'[65], Pol. *emulsja* < Latin *ēmulsus* 'wydojony'[66], etc.

Its evolution being closely connected with the scientific and technological innovations of the 19th–20th centuries, perfumery and cosmetics terminology appeared along with the development of industry and manufacture in the late Modern period[67]. In the early 21st century every year nearly 200 new perfumes are produced – unique compositions that comprise from 50 to 250 various ingredients[68].

Due to the lack of similar terms in the Slavic languages and the shift of the perfumery centre to France in the 18th century, special Gallicisms began to be borrowed into the Slavic languages. French was an intermediary language for terms of Greek and Latin origin, and of the Eastern languages as well.

Gallicisms are most numerous in perfumery and cosmetics terminology in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages. Among the direct loan words there are, for instance: Rus., Ukr. *одеколон* "a perfumed liquid or solid made of fragrant essential oils and alcohol used for cosmetic and hygienic purposes" < French *eau de Cologne* 'Cologne water', produced in the 18th century in the

60 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 367.

61 WSWO, p. 898.

62 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 426.

63 WSWO, p. 831.

64 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 785.

65 ESUM II, p. 166.

66 WSWO, p. 343.

67 The 19th century is "the starting point for the industry term *creation*, aimed at reflecting the developing national fields of scientific and technique knowledge", op. cit., Ye. A. Sorokina, *Novoye v otechestvennoy leksikografii: istoriko-etimologicheskiy slovar' russkoy leksiki kontsa XVIII–XIX veka*, "Vestnik MGOU. Ser. Russkaya filologiya" , 2014, no. 5, p. 19; "The list of raw materials expanded, and extracts and colognes, as well as new cosmetics – powder, lipsticks, – came into use. Decorative cosmetics replaced medicinal ones. From the late 18th, and especially in the mid 19th century cosmetics manufacturers also appeared in Russia", op. cit., E. Kolomiyets, pp. 9-10.

68 Topolski, op. cit.

German city of Cologne[69], in Polish the calque is used, the phrase *woda kolońska*; Rus. *пудра* < French *poudre*, old-fash. *пудер* < German *Púder*, known since the early 18th century[70], Ukr. *пудра* < French *poudre* 'powder'[71], Pol. *puder* < French *poudre* (WSJP PAN); Rus. *лосьон*, Ukr. *лосьйон* < French *lotion*[72], cf. in Polish *lotion* < English[73]; Rus., Ukr. *педикюр* < French *pédicure* (Latin *pes (pedis*) 'leg' + *curo* 'care') "foot care"[74], Pol. *pédicure* rzadziej *pedikiur*, z 1903 r. < French *pédicure* złożenie *pédi-* (< Latin *pes, pedis* 'stopa') i *-cure* od czasownika *curer* (< Latin *curare* 'czyścić, dbać')[75]; Rus. *маникюр* < French *manicure* from Latin *manus* 'hand' + *curāre* 'care') "a cosmetic beauty treatment for the fingernails and hands, trimming and polishing of the fingernails"[76], Ukr. *манікюр* "trimming and polishing of the fingernails"[77], Pol. *manicure* z 1927 r., rzadziej *manikiur* < French *manicure* jest formą z II połowy XIX w., powstałą pod wpływem złożenia *pédicure*; dzisiejsza forma francuska to złożenie pochodne od Latin *manus* 'ręka' i *curer* (< Latin *cūrāre* 'czyścić, dbać') (WSJP PAN).

In spite of the active use of Anglicisms, terms of French origin still remain one of the lexical means to increase the perfumery and cosmetics terminology in the early 21st century, cf. Rus. *броссаж* < French *brassage*, *brosse* 'brush' "in cosmetology – the procedure of smooth cleansing to remove skin flakes with the help of special peeling cream and a face and body cleansing brush", synonyms: *браш-пилинг* < English *brush peeling*, *brush* 'brush' + *peel* 'to strip off the natural external covering of something', *брашинг* < English *brushing* lit. 'cleaning one's face with a brush'[78]; Pol. *brushing* "zabieg kosmetyczny polegający na złuszczeniu naskórka wirującą szczotką" (SJP PWN);

69 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 463.

70 Chernykh, op. cit., , II, p. 81.

71 ESUM IV, p. 627.

72 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 388.

73 WSWO, p. 758.

74 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 497; ESUM IV, p. 327.

75 WSWO, p. 956; WSJP PAN.

76 Yegorova, op. cit., p. 397.

77 ESUM III, p. 383.

78 Shagalova, op. cit., p. 56; p. 61.

Rus. *гоммаж* "1. in cosmetology the procedure of rubbing off dead skin cells with the help of special cream; 2. cleansing paste used for gommage" < French *gommage*, *gomme* 'eraser' [79], Pol. *gommage,* etc.

The 20th century is marked by the manufacturing of new perfumery and cosmetics products, and new natural raw materials and synthetic compounds, and therefore the wide use of American English terms in special literature, advertising, mass media[80] is seen, cf.: Rus. *пилинг* < English *peeling*, *peel* " 1. In cosmetology a procedure of cleansing one's skin surface and of smoothing keratinised skin cells with the help of special cream; 2. peeling cream"[81], Ukr. *пілінг*, Pol. *peeling* / *piling* < English *peeling* z 1957 r., *ścierak pot.* "kosmetyk umożliwiający przeprowadzenie peelingu – zabiegu"[82]; Rus., Ukr. *скраб* < English *scrub* lit. 'to rub' "in cosmetology – a cleansing semi-abrasive cream or lotion that helps to remove dead skin cells off the surface"[83], Pol. *scrub*; Rus. *лифтинг* < English *lift* "1. in cosmetology an operation to correct face and neck defects; 2. correcting and strengthening the muscles of one's face and breast with the help of special cosmetics or physical exercises without being operated on"[84], Ukr. *ліфтинг*, Pol. *lifting* < English *lifting* "zabieg chirurgiczno-kosmetyczny mający na celu zlikwidowanie zmarszczek na twarzy i szyi"

[79] Shagalova, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

[80] „W polskim słownictwie związanym z kosmetyką, czyli zabiegami służącymi do pielęgnacji ciała, podkreślania, utrzymywania urody, dominowały długo tradycyjne zapożyczenia francuskie, np. *makijaż*, *masaż*, *manicure*, *pedicure*. (Zadomowione wyrazy *manicure* i *pedicure* można zapisywać już dziś także w spolszczonej wersji: *manikiur*, *pedikiur*). Francuskiego pochodzenia są także nazwy wielu kosmetyków, między innymi *krem*, *perfumy*. …W latach osiemdziesiątych i dziewięćdziesiątych minionego wieku słownictwo związane z pielęgnowaniem urody (gimnastyka, zabiegi i preparaty kosmetyczne) zaczęło w polszczyźnie gwałtownie rosnąć. Najwyraźniejsze są tu wpływy angielskie, ekspansja anglicyzmów do polszczyzny nie ominęła także tej strefy języka, np. *aerobik*, *eye-liner*, *callanetics*, *jogging*, *lifting*, *lotion*, *make-up*, *peeling*, *tonik*. Pojawiły się też w tym czasie zapożyczenia z innych języków, w tym francuskiego: *balejaż*/ *balayage*, *demakijaż*, *wizażysta*, hiszpańskiego: *mascara*. Przeglądanie jakiekolwiek pisma kobiecego pozwala jednak zauważyć, że liczba nowych jednostek językowych z tego zakresu jest znacznie większa", op. cit., M. Milewska-Stawiany, *O pielęgnowaniu urody i polszczyzny*, http://www.sprawynauki.edu.pl/features/news/148-felietony-m-milewska-stawiany/894 [Accessed: 10 April 2020].

[81] Shagalova, op. cit., p. 218.

[82] WSWO, p. 957; WSJP PAN.

[83] Shagalova, op. cit., p. 268.

[84] Yegorova, op. cit., p. 384.

[85] WSWO, p. 744; WSJP PAN.

z 1991 r.[85]; Rus. *вамп* < англ. *vamp*, abbr. *vampire* 'вампир' "special make-up characterised by bright red lips, purple or dark blue eye shadow, light powder applied to one's face"[86]; Rus. *текстурайзер* < English *texturizer*, *texturize* 'to impart a particular texture to something in order to make it more attractive' "a hair lotion, a texture softener that creates amplified volume"[87], etc.

Most of the loan words borrowed before the mid 20th century became assimilated in the Slavic languages: the terms acquired some grammatical categories (like those of gender, number, and case for nouns), they lost their lexical and grammatical variants (Rus. *лак / лек*, *румяны / румяна*) and separate lexemes for masculine and feminine genders (for instance, French loan words with the stem in *-et, -ie* have word forms of both genders: *masque*, *m – маск / маска*; *pommade*, *f – помад / помада*[88]), and they also formed word-forming derivatives. While paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations were extended, there appeared synonymous terms (Rus. *автозагар – автобронзат*, Ukr. *автозасмага*, Pol. *auto bronzant – opalanie natryskowe*). At present there is a tendency to distinguish between these synonyms, to lead to determinologization of terms (when special terms can acquire figurative meanings as a result of wide use in everyday speech): Rus. *бальзам* high-flown "cure for consolation, relief"[89], Ukr. *бальзам fig*. "healing remedy for relief, consolation"[90], Pol. *balsam przen*. "to, co koi, uspokaja"[91].

The calque is rarely used. For instance, Rus. *духи*, since the 18th century, Ukr. *духи* has been a calque proper from the East-European languages, French *parfum* 'aroma, incense', *parfums* 'perfumes', since the 16th century[92]; Rus. *высокая мода* < French *haute couture*, Pol. *haute couture* 'wysokie krawiectwo' (SJP PWN); Pol. *wysięk* < *wysiąkać*, psł. *sękati* 'czyścić, usuwać wydzielinę z nosa, siąkać' z Latin *exsudare* 'go out' (WSJP PAN).

86 Shagalova, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

87 Shagalova, op. cit., p. 979.

88 N. V. Gabdreyeva, *Leksika frantsuzskogo proiskhozhdeniya v russkom yazyke (istoriko-funktsional'noye issledovaniye). Gallitsizmy russkogo yazyka: proiskhozhdeniye, formirovaniye, razvitiye*, Izhevsk 2001, pp. 106-108.

89 BTS, p. 57.

90 SUM I, p. 98.

91 WSWO, p. 134.

92 Chernykh, op. cit., , I, p. 276).

The lack of new word forms to denote new phenomena causes transterminologization (intersystemic borrowing of terms from adjacent subject areas – chemical (Rus. *альдегид*, *эмульгатор*, *коагулянт, консервант, силикон*), medicinal (Rus. *акне, аносмия, аппликатор*, *гипергидроз*), culinary (Rus. *желе, желатин, паста, сливки, соль*), music (Rus. *аккорд, гамма, лейтмотив, тон, нота* "a particular shade of smell, for instance, *цветочная нота, нота зелени, пряная нота*, and its functional role in a perfume composition: *нота доминирующая, дисгармоничная, дополнительная* и др.") (AR)[93].

The secondary naming of nationwide words ("when an already existing word acquires a new meaning to denotate a new phenomenon")[94] is characterised by associative thinking, for instance: Rus., Ukr. *букет* "the totality of olfactory and gustatory properties"[95]; "the total characteristic of a scent as harmonic, the main shade of scents that is peculiar" (AR); Rus. "*нос*" "an experienced perfumer"[96].

Internationalisms appear due to their similar or identical pronunciation, orthography and meaning, denoting international phenomena, and existing in several (not fewer than three) languages in synchrony, for instance: Rus. *флюид* "decorative cosmetic liquids", Ukr. *флюїд*, Pol. *fluid*, English *fluid*, French *fluide*, German *Fluid* < Latin *fluidus* 'płynny' (WSJP PAN); Rus. *диффузия*, Ukr. *дифузія*, Pol. *dyfuzja*, English *diffusion*, French *diffusion*, German *Diffusion* < Latin *diffūsiō* 'rozlanie, rozprzestrzenianie' (WSJP PAN).

93 „Terminologia muzyczna na stałe weszła do języka perfum: *nuty zapachowe*, *akordy zapachowe*, *harmonia zapachu*. Warsztat pracy kompozytora perfum, złożony z półek i ustawionych na nich niezliczonych buteleczek z pachnącymi ingrediencjami, też nieprzypadkowo nazywa się „*organami*", op. cit., E. Kowalska-Wochna, *W świecie zapachów część 2. Sztuka perfumerii*, http://www.cabines.pl/artykuly/971/w-swiecie-zapachow-czesc-2-sztuka-perfumerii.html [Accessed: 10 April 2020].

94 *Yazykoznaniye. Bol'shoy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'*, ed. V. N. Yartseva, Moscow 1998, p. 336.

95 BTS, p. 102.

96 "Among many professions there also exists a unique one – "a nose". People who have an especially sensitive sense of smell are needed in different spheres... if we remember that it is smells that are simultaneously the most delicate and the strongest to evoke emotions and memories, then the representatives of the profession "nose" can be rightfully called masters of souls. The unique talent allows some of the "noses" to distinguish among more than ten thousand various smells, and even shades of smells that are unnoticeable to others. This talent is often inherited, which leads to dynasties in the profession", op. cit., K. Konstantinova, *The Profession of Nose*, https://iledebeaute.ru/aroma/2016/11/18/81917/ [Accessed: 10 April 2020]..

To form derivative terms, the system of affixes in the Slavic languages is used together with borrowed international terms forming elements and borrowed-and-native combined stems. For instance, native suffixes help to create and expand perfumery and cosmetics vocabulary, Rus. *-ени(е), -тель*, *-иц(а)*, form verbal nouns (*колорирование*, *окрашивание, мелирование, блондирование, очищение, водолечение*, *краситель*, *закрепитель*, *очиститель, освежитель, увлажнитель*, *пудренница*), Ukr. *-енн(я), -анн(я), -инн(я), -ач* (*колорування*, *очищення, водолікування, підведення*, *ластовиння, барвник*, *закріплювач, очищувач, зволожувач*), Pol. *-nik*, *-ec, -yk, -acz, ówk(a), -ek* (*barwnik*, *rumieniec, błyszczyk, utrwalacz, konturówka, olejek*), suffixes and prefixes that name actions, processes and substances (Rus. *подводка, перегонка, отдушка*, *присыпка*, Ukr. *підводка, присипка,* Pol. *zasypka*).

One of the most productive means to create perfumery and cosmetics terms is a series of borrowed term-forming elements, such as: the suffixes *-ер*, *-тор* to name objects, devices, doers (Rus. *тестер*, *бронзер, блоттер, маркер, консел*ер, *плампер, хайлайтер, кондиционер, ароматизатор*, *дегустатор*; Ukr. *блотер, кондиціонер*, *консилер*, *ароматизатор*; Pol. *charakteryzator, depilator, designer* rzadziej *dizajner*), *-аж, -ант, -инг* form verbal nouns, (Rus. *визаж*, *оксидант, пилинг*; Ukr. *візаж*, *оксидант, пілінг*; Pol. *wizaż*, *oksydant*, *peeling*), prefixes *а-, ан-, ін-, диз- (дис-), де-, ре-, ко-, де-* (Rus., Ukr. *антисерн, антиперспирант, дезодорант*; Rus. *демакияж*, *депиляция*; Ukr. *демакіяж, депіляція, реплантація*; Pol. *depilacja*, *dezodorant*), terms with international prefixoids, for instance, *фэшн-* (*фэшн* < English *fashion*), *бьюти-* (< English *beauty*), *лайт-* (< English *light*), *арома-, фіто-, аква-, гипер-, геліо-, гидро-, био-, макро-* (Rus. *фэшн-икона, фэшн-индустрия, фэшн-линия, бьюти-аддикция* "psychological addiction when a man or a woman lets their beauty goals become an obsession, which in extreme cases – can cause such conditions as anorexia, youth mania, tanorexia"[97], *лайт-лифтинг* "in cosmetology – plastic surgery on the face for elevating wrinkles and other signs of age by making an incision near the hair line and excising excess tissue skin"[98]; *аромакамни*, *аромапалочки*, *аромакурительница*,

[97] Shagalova, op. cit., p. 189.

[98] Shagalova, op. cit., p. 509.

ароматерапия, *биоэнзим*, *биокрем*, *аквакрем*, *макросмия*, *фитотерапия*; Ukr. *ароматерапія*, *біокрем*, *аквакрем*, *макросмія*, *фітотерапія*; Pol. *aroma kamienie*, *aromaterapia*; Rus. *гипергидроз*, Ukr. *гіпергідроз*, Pol. *hyperhidrosis*; Rus. *гидролат*, Ukr. *гідролат*, Pol. *hydrolat, fitoterapia / ziołolecznictwo*).

New and productive means of creating perfumery and cosmetics terms since the 20th century have been shortened forms of words – abbreviations that perform "nouns consisting of contracted words that form the original word combination"[99]: *EDP* (*Eau De Parfum / Parfum De Toilette / Esprit De Parfum*); *EDT* (*Eau De Toilette*); *EDC* (*Eau De Cologne*).

It is noteworthy that besides their positive role (enlarging of the perfumery and cosmetics terminology body with term neologisms that contribute to perfumery and cosmetics innovations wide use) the loan words narrow the sphere of the national corpus functioning as they replace the national terms by those with a higher functionality from another language, and cause their grapheme and orthography ambiguity, cf. Rus. *фейс-лифтинг / фейслифтинг*, *сквалан / сквален*; Ukr. *парфюм / парфум*, *желатин / желатина*; Pol. *bronzer* / *brązer*.

Phrasal terms appear because of the necessity to "quickly enlarge the terminology body with words denoting new phenomena". It is a process of adding adjective components to the hyperonym to name new notions. According to S. V. Grinev-Grinevich, the means is becoming the leading one, "which results in the quantitative predominance of word combinations in almost any terminology sphere and in most European languages, as well as in their prolongation up to three and even four components in the late 20th century"[100]. In the material under analysis such compounds constitute 24 % of the total number of the terms.

There are the following widespread structural models of two-component terms: 1) AN ("adjective + noun: Rus. *косметический воск*, Ukr. *косметичний воск*, in Polish NA "noun +adjective": *wosk kosmetyczny*), 2) NN ("noun + noun": Rus. *закрепитель лака*, Ukr. *закріплювач лаку*, Pol. *utrwalacz zapachu*), 3) N for N ("noun + preposition + noun": Rus. *соль для ванн*, Ukr. *сіль для ванн*, Pol. N do N: *wosk do włosów,* N w N: *puder w kamieniu*), 4) PartN

99 Yazykoznaniye, op. cit., p. 9.

100 S. V. Grinev-Grinevich, op. cit., pp. 191-192.

("participle + noun": Rus. *дезодорирующий тальк*, Ukr. *дезодорувальний тальк*, in Polish – NPart ("noun+ participle": *spray utrwalający*). From these models multiword compounds are further developed: AAN ("adjective + adjective + noun": Rus. *натуральная душистая вода*, Ukr. *запашна натуральна вода*, in Polish – ANA ("adjective + noun + adjective": *naturalana woda perfumowana*), prepositional phrases with *для, от, при*, for instance, N *for* NN ("noun + *for* + noun + noun": Rus. *воск для укладки волос*, Ukr. *віск для укладання волосся*); in Polish – PartN do N ("participle + noun + *do* + noun": *odżywcza śmietanka do kąpieli*) etc.

Thus, the study of naming processes in perfumery and cosmetics terminology in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages proves universal tendencies towards integration, differentiation, internationalization and unification of the language means in the structural, semantic and genetic aspects.

The specificity of the vocabulary in the perfumery and cosmetics spheres can account for their special denotates. The former manifests itself both in the nominative and the semasiological aspects. The logical and notional structure of the analyzed terminology as its semantic model is generated by the native language laws of functioning: inflections, homogeneous word-forming models of the terms typical of each Slavic language, morphological and syntactic connections in compound-structured terms, etc. External factors depend on social processes, in particular the terminology under analysis is influenced by integration processes, international contacts expansion, and scientific and technological innovations in the perfumery and cosmetics spheres. The nomenclature process has a secondary character and its own specificity: a term that has separate semantic and formal characteristics first of all correlates with the notion depending on the systemic features and the place that the term takes in the terminology under analysis. The emergence of perfumery and cosmetics proto-terminology in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages occurred on the basis of the common language and the processes of borrowing, although playing an important role for the language contacts. The continuous development of perfumery and cosmetics terminology in the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish languages is provided through the lexicon maintenance of the previous period.

The study of creating and developing the perfumery and cosmetics terminology subsystem in the synchrony of several time periods made it possible to determine the following common regular mechanisms of the nomenclature

in three Slavic languages: 1) the connection with the common vocabulary (terminologization, specialization, secondary naming); 2) expanding of the word-forming means by borrowing and calquing, which results in the international terminology formation; 3) formal and semantic connections as important systemic relations in a language that causes the use of affixal, non-affixal and combined means of forming special words from the original terms and their derivatives; 4) continuous enlarging of the perfumery and cosmetics terminology subsystem, developing of various structural forms (term modelling, contractions such as abbreviations, word modelling components) due to the necessity of naming new notions, phenomena, objects that are to be developed, specified and differentiated; 5) the formation of fixed two or three-component, multicomponent attributive word combinations with or without a preposition.

The correlation of perfumery and cosmetics terminology in Slavic and other languages; their internationalization leads to the development of typological tendencies in special subsystems of genetically related languages.

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Travel Writing Studies

[rev. *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester, Anthem Press, London and New York, 2019.]

Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary was published in 2019 by Anthem Press in their series "Anthem Studies in Travel". The book's editors are travel writing scholars from three different universities in Liverpool: Charles Forsdick (University of Liverpool), Zoë Kinsley (Liverpool Hope University) and Kathryn Walchester (Liverpool John Moores University), while the list of contributors — authors of its one hundred entries — apart from the three editors, includes thirty-eight other scholars; this list includes most of the 'key names' in the discipline of travel writing studies, such as: Mary Baine Campbell, Steve Clark, Alex Drace-Francis, Corrine Fowler, Julia Kuehn, Paul Smethurst, Carl Thompson and Tim Youngs.

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Keywords for Travel Writing Studies is a reflection of the growing maturity of the field of travel writing studies, an academic discipline which started to be established only in the 1980s and which has developed dynamically over the last four decades. This dynamism is visible in the number of scholarly papers, journals and monographs published all over the world, as well as critical anthologies of travel writing and travel writing studies, of which the most recent and the most prominent include: *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (2016), edited by Carl Thompson, *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies* (2015), edited by Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, and *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (2019), edited by Nandini Das and Tim Youngs. *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies* differs from these books in the format it follows, a format first used by Raymond Williams in his seminal *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976) and later applied in many other *Keywords for…,* such as *Keywords for Mobility Studies* (2015), *Keywords for Mobility: Critical Engagements* (2016), to mention only the ones which have had the strongest impact on the book edited by Forsdick, Kinsley and Walchester.

Keywords for Travel Writing Studies consists of one hundred entries. Each of them is approximately 1000 words long, and set alphabetically from "Abroad' to "World". These 'entries' are in fact short essays rather than purely encyclopaedic or dictionary definitions and descriptions. The pattern with all of the 'essays' is very consistent and each of them is structured around two frames of reference. The first frame seeks to give a brief account of the etymology of the entry with references to changing patterns of its use and meanings. The second frame encompasses a range of theoretical and critical texts from travel writing studies (as well as from such 'companion' disciplines as literary studies, sociology, geography and history), but also from the primary sources: 'canonical', as well as many 'non-canonical' travel narratives written over the ages.

The choice of the entries testifies on the one hand to the stability which the discipline of travel writing studies has acquired over the last four decades and, on the other, to strong ties with 'cognate' fields such as postcolonial studies, translation studies, tourism studies and cultural studies, and to a set of philosophical and moral concerns which these disciplines share; this trend is visible in entries such as 'body', 'border', 'ethics', 'ethnicity', 'gender' and 'identity'. In fact, such general entries create the impression of a certain eclecticism when put alongside far more specialized, narrower, and discipline-

specific entries such as 'coevalness', 'end-of-travel', or 'extreme travel'. And, whereas at the core of the glossary are entries associated closely with the act of travelling, such as 'abroad', 'arrival', 'beaten track', 'tourism' or 'velocity', it is the entries like 'Grand Tour', 'Home Tour', 'contact zone', and 'monarch-of-all-I-survey' which testify to the identity and 'independence' of the discipline of travel writing studies, for they are used by travel writing scholars, but also have been adopted in the research of scholars of cognate fields. 'Contact zone' and 'monarch-of-all-I-survey' were first introduced in the discipline's now canonical text by Marie Louise Pratt *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), and are now common among many scholars across different fields of the Arts and Humanities and beyond.

Charles Forsdick, in the Introduction to *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies*, admits that: "[p]ublished in English and locating itself primarily in the English-language tradition, the current volume is characterized by an Anglocentrism and even Anglonormativity that we acknowledge" (xxii). One of the features of both Anglocentrism and Anglonormativity in travel writing studies is the anti-generic stance of its mainstream discourse, with scholars usually glad when they cursorily remark on the 'hybridity' of travel writing and problems with generic distinction. In fact there are two such entries in *Keywords*: 'form' and 'genre', and there are no longer more 'specific' generic entries like 'modern travel book' or 'voyages and travels', which were incorporated into a much smaller, shorter and less detailed glossary provided at the end of Carl Thompson's *Travel Writing* (2011). Alex Drace-Frencis in 'form', on the one hand notes that travel can be recorded "by any number of a vast array of signs" (96) and lists: photographs, paintings, drawings, films, sound recordings, but also documents like passports, passenger records, or even traces like footprints and smells. On the other hand, he notes that "travel writing also played a role in elevating genres such as letters, diaries, and philosophical reflections to literary respectability". (97) Stacey Burton, in 'genre', confirms the fact that many travel writing scholars "have often set the concept of genre aside" (102), and then discusses the issue of 'genre' in very general terms, mostly through reference to scholars and writers located outside the Anglocentric field, such as Bakhtin, Butor and Sebald. And thus, the issues of genre(s) in travel writing in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies* in Anglophone travel writing remain largely 'set aside'.

However, it is quite obvious that a large glossary like *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies* cannot focus on all the complexities of a discipline which has been developing dynamically over the last forty years. The book is an impressive collective work which, thanks to the cross-reference system used throughout it and the attractive essay format of all the entries, offers fascinating reading for travel writing scholars, but at the same time will serve for a long time as a useful introduction to travel writing studies for newcomers.

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The Irresistible Charm of Radicalism

[rev. Nancy Sinkoff, *From Left to Right: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, the New York Intellectuals, and the Politics of Jewish History*, Wayne State University Press, 2020, 538 pp.]

At last, we are given the first, thoroughly researched "intellectual" biography of Lucy S. Dawidowicz (1915–1990), the famous historian of Holocaust studies, the author of the best-selling *The War Against the Jews. 1933–1945* (1975), but also a controversial social critic (passionately disputing with Arno J. Mayer, Norman Davis and Ernst Nolte), and a commentator who notoriously strayed from the commonly accepted sentiments of US political correctness (e.g. concerning the postwar wave of feminist movements or the New Left historicism). These days she is mainly associated with the so-called "New York intellectuals," an umbrella term connoting a loose cultural-political group originating from the immigrant Jewish milieu, bent on escaping from the confinement of the cultural ghetto, or, often, leaving behind the constraints of Jewishness entirely (Mary McCarthy, Lionel Trilling, Hannah Arendt,

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Daniel Bell, Nathan Glazer, among others). As Irving Howe once noted, from the 1930s onwards the members of that intelligentsia did not tend to look upon their European heritage (both in terms of ideas and sentiments) as significant in their intellectual formation. More specifically, however, and this is the point that is of paramount importance in Nancy Sinkoff's biography of Dawidowicz, the group members were ideologically and intellectually meandering in their sustained (sometimes radical) endeavors before WWII to develop and theorize a Marxist variant of the official communist agenda in the West. Dawidowicz can be seen as a very typical New York intellectual, evolving over the span of her lifetime from an ardent young communist to a democrat staunchly embracing Roosevelt's politics to – and this is her most provocative volte face – a fervent advocate of neoconservatism.

Nancy Sinkoff, Professor of Jewish Studies and History at Rutgers School of Arts and Sciences, New Brunswick, NJ, navigates through the facts of Dawidowicz's long and eventful life with the effortless elegance of an experienced and disciplined scholar, pointing to the most probable rationale behind the ideological twists of her protagonist, but tactfully refraining from all-too-easy opinionated valuations, overgeneralizations or moral judgments. Sinkoff seems to be particularly suitable for the writing task she has undertaken, having already edited autobiographical fragments of Dawidowicz, *From that Place and Time: A Memoir, 1938-1947* (2008). It is worth noting, especially for readers in Poland, that her research field, apart from Jewish history, is mainly oriented towards the early modern Polish and European past (see her *Out of the Shtetl: Making Jews Modern in the Polish Borderlands,* published in 2004). Sinkoff has also rediscovered and critically appraised a long-forgotten novel *The Wall* (1950) by John Hersey, a narrative hybridizing fact and fiction, which draws on authentic historical documentation and disregards, at least in the authorial intention, the demands of literary imagination or the liberties of *licentia poetica* to present the background to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Hersey's adherence to historical detail was possible thanks to a three-year study of archives, much of which utilized the translations done by Dawidowicz (the novel, let us note in passing, still awaits its rendition into Polish).

From Left to Right: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, the New York Intellectuals, and the Politics of Jewish History comprises four thematic, chronologically

structured sections. Part 1 narrates Dawidowicz's childhood (she was born in the Bronx, NYC, as Lucy Schildkret), teenage years and the early time she, a daughter of Polish Jewish immigrants, spent in America attending Hunter College (1932–1936) and later Columbia University (though getting no degree from the latter); Part 2 focuses on the moments of her gaining intellectual maturity in Poland before WWII, working at the YIVO Institute of Jewish Research, Vilnius (1938-1939), and in New York City (1940-1946), where she was employed at the new office of the YIVO (*Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut*, established in 1925 in Vilnius, was relocated across the Atlantic during the war, becoming the Institute for Jewish Research, and now is a partner of the Center for Jewish History); Part 3 demonstrates the gradual process of Dawidowicz's metamorphosis from a Jewish woman, who was deeply immersed in the tradition of her parents into a truly American intellectual, who nevertheless decided to be the self-appointed envoy of East European Jewry to communicate their stance to the Jewish American community; Part 4, which in its content best justifies the choice of the title for the whole biography, examines the link between Dawidowicz's modern Jewish mindset, which was heavily marked by her diasporic-cum-nationalistic views, and the midcentury reformulations of liberalism that went hand in hand with the rise of American neoconservatism in the late 1960s. She turned "from left to right" and stuck firmly in that deliberately chosen political position until the end of her life, never seeing the need to reconsider it critically with the benefit of hindsight. Sinkoff's study also brings numerous photographs from Dawidowicz's personal archive and, more importantly, reproductions of thirty-one letters to illustrate an impressive range of correspondents (e.g. Albert Einstein, Simon Wiesenthal, Alfred Kazin, and Noam Chomsky), and issues that she would come to grips with throughout her life.

Arguably, in such a brief, synoptic review as the present one, three aspects of Dawidowicz's career deserve particular attention, marking as they do decisive and watershed moments that testify to her active role in the preservation of Jewish heritage, her importance as a provocative, trailblazing historian, who disagreed with Raul Hilberg and Hannah Arendt in a discussion on Jewish resistance during the Holocaust, and her natural proclivity to act as a gadfly by ostensibly defining herself as an anti-feminist. In 1933, at the time when the Nuremberg racial laws were being implemented by the Nazis, young

Dawidowicz suddenly lost interest in her favorite English poetry (she was passionate about Wordsworth and Keats) to immerse herself in Yiddish language and the history of the Yiddish-speaking Jews of Eastern Europe. That was the main reason for going, in 1938, to Vilnius to study both history and historiography at the Jewish Scientific Institute YIVO. The sojourn left an imprint on her academic preoccupations for the rest of her life, but it was far too short lasting due to the threat of imminent war. In the late 1940s she returned to Europe to volunteer in the American Joint Distribution Committee, the organization whose main purpose at the time was to stave off the mass starvation of Holocaust survivors living in the so-called Displaced Persons camps in Germany. Concurrently, she dedicated her efforts to collecting, reclaiming or virtually salvaging Yiddish and Hebrew manuscripts, documents, and all sorts of book publications that had been appropriated by the Nazis and frequently used as fire-starters. Now all the treasures were dispatched to find shelter in the YIVO archive vaults. Soon, in 1948, she married Szymon Dawidowicz, a survivor who lost his family and relatives during the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, and who after the war was employed as a research bibliographer at YIVO. As Sinkoff argues, it was more or less at that time that Dawidowicz showed the first signs of being attracted to the political right, and became notorious for her disputatious pronouncements. For example, in 1951 and 1952 she published two articles—one in the liberal *The New Leader* and another in *Commentary*, a magazine that was thought of as a platform for the debates that transformed some part of the Jewish left into the neoconservative right—in which she voiced her support for the court decision to convict and execute Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for their spying on behalf of the Soviet Union (specifically, for their passing on top-secret information concerning nuclear weapon designs). But a truly resonating, game changing publication was *The War Against the Jews. 1933-1945*, which earned her the reputation of a contrarian in the territory of Holocaust historiography, forcefully arguing that the "Final Solution" was not a mere surge of criminal acts, but an ideological aberration to eradicate the Jews, categorized by the Nazis as defiling strangers (the claim that does not, of course, spark much controversy anymore). Dawidowicz traces the seeds of the genocide in such distant sources as the early 20th century agenda of the liberal-oriented Social Democrats, who, in her argumentation, often subscribed to the stereotypical view, inherited from the writings of the young Marx, that the

Jew was a hawker worshiping mammon. The Nazis, so further reasoning goes, followed a repulsively sick logic, according to which in the war that they triggered nothing was of greater importance than the very act of killing Jews. After all, the freight trains transporting people to Auschwitz and other death camps were in full operation at a time when the German army desperately needed them for the Eastern front. Thus, Dawidowicz took issue with the most popular theories of Nazism at the time, notably with the Marxist view of racist and genocidal ideology as a means to protect German capitalism. Granted, a fraction of the bourgeoisie did give financial support to Hitler's party and gained considerable advantage from the gesture afterwards, but in general Nazism was a self-propelled social machinery, immune to rational influences, which aside class interests to satisfy its bureaucratically schemed blood-lust.

The publication was harshly criticized by Raul Hilberg, a notable historian himself (the author of the landmark three-volume *The Destruction of the European Jews*, published in 1961) and a former friend of Dawidowicz, for drawing "largely on secondary sources" and thus offering "nothing whatever that could be called new" (a doubtful accusation as she had collected a wide spectrum of documents in half a dozen languages). More specifically, however, the point of contention revolved around the alleged passivity of European Jewry when faced with the realities of mass deportations, ghettos and, finally, death camps. Here Dawidowicz drew on documentary material to unhesitatingly demonstrate that effective resistance was, in fact, an impossibility. She underlined the engagement of more politically aware Jews in underground activities (which were carried out on a larger scale than had been assumed for years), but their poor marksmanship, exhaustion resulting from prolonged starvation, and the might of the oppressors thwarted all their efforts to stop or at least slow down the machine of the "Final Solution." Sinkoff considers the contention between Dawidowicz and Hilberg against the social and intellectual fervor of the 1960s, with its rejection of the so-called "establishment." In this light, the heads of Ghetto Jewish Councils, e.g. Chaim Rumkowski (in Lodz) or Adam Czerniakow (in Warsaw) were frowned upon as the exemplars of the "establishment," who as collaborationists played into the hands of the Nazi oppressors. But, going against the grain of the rebellious epoch in which she lived, Dawidowicz presented them as people who had found themselves in a cul-de-sac, doing whatever was realizable to save at least a part of the ghetto community.

The point made in *The War* that it is morally doubtful for those who did not experience persecutions to condemn the behavior of those who did was later reiterated in *The Holocaust and the Historians* (1983), a study of Holocaust historiography and a harsh critique of Bruno Bettelheim and Hannah Arendt. As Sinkoff remarks, in the 1980s, Dawidowicz's reputation and fame as a researcher of the 20th century Jewish past declined seriously. The New Left historians—a label covering the group of scholars focusing primarily on social justice, i. e. the machinations of the powerful and the resistance of the powerless, and whose works followed trajectories in conjunction with the feminist, civil rights, and Black nationalist movements—depreciated "the significance of both anti-Semitism and the particularism of Jewish suffering during the Holocaust."

Finally, what perhaps deserves even greater prominence than it is given in Sinkoff's study is the fact that Lucy S. Dawidowicz, a woman who distinguished herself for constructing Holocaust awareness in postwar America, was an ardent anti-feminist. As Sinkoff points out Dawidowicz's mindset, "full of contradictions," operated essentially between two mutually exclusive categories: "Jew" and "non-Jew," sex (or gender) playing a marginal role in her intellectual reflection if compared with her manifest adherence to Jewishness. On her rightward route Dawidowicz simultaneously began a gradual interest in and, soon, observance of normative Jewish practice, albeit offhandedly dismissing the feminization of ritual. That attitude was extrapolated onto women's rights in general. Accordingly, feminism, together with other social movements that mushroomed in the late 1960s, was viewed as basically foreign to the original notion of American liberalism, which had grown out of individual and not collective rights. Put differently, for Dawidowicz feminism was nothing more than the noisy pleading of a group that saw itself as deserving special privileges ("a politics of resentment"). As for her own milieu, she discounted the prevalent opinion that Jewish women were notoriously confined in a stifling and cramped prison of patriarchal rules and valuations. In what from today's perspective seems naïve, she believed that a genuine intellectual could be assessed on the basis of merit and achievement, regardless of sex.

The so-far easily observable scholarly indifference to Dawidowicz's critical and historical achievement can perhaps be put down to a number of factors: her unyielding devotedness to Jewish particularism, her growing right-wing

views that in the end became her most recognizable marker, or, last but not least, her strong opinions on the postwar sex/gender revolution in culture. If this is really so (as I believe it is), the great asset of Sinkoff's study lies in its restrained maneuvering between the Scylla of unreflective apologia and the Charybdis of hasty condemnation. In this respect, her well-written, informative study of what may be called the 'irresistible charm of radicalism' is, in my opinion, the yardstick of unbiased biographical investigation for all academics embarking on an analogical task, and nothing less than an intellectual feast for general readers. Last but not least, the very title that Sinkoff has chosen, *From Left to Right*, aptly describes Dawidowicz's intellectual journey, but perhaps inadvertently, and more generally, also names a certain sprit (*Zeitgeist*) that tellingly hovers over America these days. Still, I am not certain whether this was Sinkoff's hidden intention when starting to write and putting the final touches to the book.

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Belief-Geopolitics-Borderland: Central European Borderlands of Russia: Report on a Panel at the 2019 ASEEES Convention, San Francisco, California, United States

Each year the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES) Convention takes place in a different U.S. city and has a different theme. The conventions, which gather over 2,600 U.S. and international attendees, serve as forums for exchanging new research findings about Central Asia, the Caucasus, Russia, and Eastern Europe. Most recently, conventions were held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (2015), Washington, D.C. (2016), Chicago, Illinois (2017), and Boston, Massachusetts (2018). With the theme of "belief," the 2019 annual convention took place at the San Francisco Marriott Marquis from 23 to 26 November.

Apart from the regular panel sessions, a series of meetings and workshops, as well as an awards reception, were held. The convention participants had an opportunity to attend a roundtable during which President Lech Wałęsa discussed the causes and impact of 1989, to listen to prominent historians reflect on the changes in the field of Russian/Soviet history in the last decades, to see

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three short films (*Kiev Frescoes, Hakob Hovnatanyan, and Arabesques on the Pirosmani Theme* by Parajanov), or to join the ASEEES Dance Party. At the awards reception, nine book prizes, a dissertation prize, and a graduate essay prize were given to outstanding scholars in the field.

The 2019 ASEEES panel sessions were grouped into various broad categories, such as Russian and Eurasian Literature, Russian and Eurasian History (since 1924), Politics/Law, Anthropology/Cultural Studies, Gender/LGBTQ, and Linguistics/Language Pedagogy or Translation, with the first two categories being most represented (they had 84 and 83 panels, respectively).

Around 100 Polish scholars in the field of history, politics, Jewish studies, literature, and linguistics attended the ASEEES convention, one third of whom represented the two largest Polish universities: the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Other Polish attendees were affiliated with the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Polish Academy of Sciences, POLIN Museum of Polish Jews, and the University of Gdańsk.

The University of Białystok was represented by three scholars from the Faculty of Philology: Professor Anna Janicka, Dr. Robert Szymula, and Dr. Daniel Karczewski. Their visit at the ASEEES convention was possible due to a grant to the Faculty of Philology from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education under the Regional Initiative of Excellence program for the years 2019 to 2022.

The panel offered by the Białystok group examined phenomena occurring in the geopolitical space of Russia and Central and Eastern Europe. The common denominator of the discussion was political discourse captured through the prism of religion, hate speech, and linguistic manipulation. The analyzed texts concentrated on issues such as (1) the relation of religious beliefs and nationality in the journalistic discourse of the Polish-Belarusian borderland, (2) the tactics of influence used in Russian political discourse, and (3) the manifestations of antisemitism in the Polish conservative press.

Professor Janicka's paper analyzed the journalistic discourse directed against the cultural and ethnic emancipation of Polish Belarusians and the political opposition in Belarus, as well as the nation–state aspirations of the Ukrainians. Dr. Szymula discussed the manipulative tactics used in the election programs of the eleven biggest Russian political parties. As argued by Dr. Szymula, the programs aimed to sway the opinions of citizens, influence their thoughts and

Photograph Dr. Daniel Karczewski (left), Professor Anna Janicka, and Dr. Robert Szymula in the lobby of the San Francisco Marriott Marquis

beliefs, and control their behavior. Finally, Dr. Karczewski's paper presented an analysis of various manifestations of antisemitism in the conservative Polish magazine *Najwyższy Czas*! The analysis showed that the magazine's journalists construct their viewpoints by relying on a dichotomous model of US-vs.-THEM, alluding to different frames, and employing metonymy.

Overall, the conference was highly successful, with many opportunities for discussion and the presentation of new research. Some of the convention's strengths included the presentation of a diversity of viewpoints and perspectives and the opportunity for an exchange of ideas in a multinational and multidisciplinary research community. Scholars specializing in Slavic, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies are bound to continue a multifaceted dialogue at the next convention, to be held in Washington, D.C., from 5 to 8 November, 2020. More details can be found on the ASEEES conference website: https://www.aseees.org/convention.

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Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association Conference 2019: Cognitive Linguistics in the Year 2019[1] September 26 to 28, 2019, University of Bialystok, Poland

Every year, the conference of the Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association, an affiliate of the International Cognitive Linguistics Association, takes place in a different Polish city. In September 2019, the Faculty of Philology of the University of Bialystok had the privilege of hosting this international event.

The first day of the conference started with inauguration speeches by the dean of the Faculty of Philology, Professor Jarosław Ławski, and the chair of the organizing committee, Dr. Daniel Karczewski. In opening remarks, Professor Ławski welcomed the participants to Bialystok and the university and officially opened the conference. Dr. Karczewski paid tribute to Ludwik Zamenhof, the Bialystok-born creator of Esperanto. The international character of this constructed language was not unlike that of the conference; its attendants came to Bialystok from all around the world, including China, Finland, Hungary,

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[1] A PhD student at the Faculty of Philology and the scientific secretary of the *Cognitive Linguistics in the Year 2019* conference.

Russia, United Kingdom, Spain, and Sweden. In his opening address, Dr. Karczewski stressed that the mayor of the city of Białystok had taken honorary patronage over the event and that the conference was being supported financially by the marshal of the Podlaskie Region, as well as by a grant to the Faculty of Philology from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education under the Regional Initiative of Excellence programme for the years 2019 to 2022.

Photograph 1. Participants listening to the inauguration speeches

Professor Jordan Zlatev (Lund University, Sweden) gave the first plenary lecture, titled *Polysemiotic Communication vs. Multimodality: Narration, Pantomime and Metaphor*. In his talk, Professor Zlatev analyzed definitions of multimodality across disciplines and stressed the need for distinguishing it from polysemiotic communication. Subsequent panel sessions covered such topics as multimodality and emotions and gestures, as well as construction grammar and translation studies. A separate theme session was devoted to metaphor identification.

The second keynote speech was given by Professor Jeannette Littlemore (University of Birmingham, United Kingdom), who discussed variations in experiencing metaphor, namely how the physical experience of the world shapes the way people use metaphors to talk about abstract concepts. Six parallel sessions followed the lecture. They were devoted to medical discourse, figu-

rative language, and contrastive studies. Additionally, the morning sessions of the panels on emotions and contrastive grammar continued into the afternoon. The conclusion of the afternoon panels did not signal the end of the first day, however; more learning and networking opportunities ensued.

One of the highlights of the first conference day was a workshop led by the keynote speakers, both from the University of Birmingham: Professor Dagmar Divjak and Professor Jeannette Littlemore. During the workshops, young researchers and doctoral students could learn about increasing one's chances to publish articles in leading scientific journals. The insights were especially beneficial because they were provided by our guests, who were not only fellow authors but also reviewers.Those who did not wish to participate in the workshop had a chance to take part in a sightseeing tour around Bialystok's city center with our wonderful guide, Sylwia Bućko. Warm and sunny weather allowed for fantastic photo opportunities in Kosciuszko Square, around the Branicki Palace, and at many other sites.

The 2019 conference was important for the Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association because board elections were held during the event. Professor Małgorzata Fabiszak (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) was elected president, and Professor Krzysztof Kosecki (Łódź University) was elected vice president. Professor Iwona Kokorniak (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) was elected treasurer, and Professor Anna Drogosz (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn) was elected secretary. Dr. Hubert Kowalewski (Marie Sklodowska-Curie University in Lublin) became an ordinary member of the board. The day ended with the conference dinner, during which participants had even more opportunities to socialize and unwind after the eventful and fruitful first part of the conference.

The second day started with the third plenary lecture, this time by Professor Alan Cienki (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands), whose speech was titled *Constructions on the Level of Utterances: Approaching the Variable Multimodality of Spoken Language Use*. Professor Cienki discussed the analysis of gestures in multimodal communication and construction grammar. A series of consecutive panels followed the lecture. The morning session included the topics of political discourse, normativity, word formation, contrastive grammar, and metonymy. A separate theme session discussed the topic of focus shifts. After the coffee break, it was time for the fourth and last keynote lecture. Professor Dag-

mar Divjak (University of Birmingham, UK), in her talk *The Cognitive Commitment: Not Words, but Deeds,* proposed a new way to describe data derived from language speakers' knowledge. The approach, which includes linguistics, psychology, and engineering, puts the cognitive commitment into practice.

The last lecture served as an ideal foundation for a round table debate with all the keynote speakers. The discussion, led by Professor Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (State University of Applied Sciences in Konin), was devoted to the ways cognitive linguistics can contribute to and gain from other disciplines. Both the keynote speakers and the other participants stressed the importance of cognitive linguistics and the possible influence it could have on all aspects of science and life.

Photograph 2. The round table debate was one of the highlights of the second day of the conference.

The afternoon of the second day further proved the interdisciplinarity of cognitive linguistics. While sessions on multimodality, focus shifts, and figurative language continued, sessions on film and television, as well as corpus studies and philosophy, began and added to the wide range of subjects covered during the conference.

The official part of the conference ended on the second day with the closing address from the chair of the organizing committee, Dr. Daniel Karczewski, and the newly elected president of the Polish Cognitive Linguistics Associa-

tion, Professor Małgorzata Fabiszak, who announced that the following 2020 conference would take place from September 24 to 26, 2020, at the University of Łódź, Poland[1]. The informal part of the conference continued into a third day, with a trip to the nearby town of Supraśl, which is famous for its Orthodox monastery and the Museum of Icons. Attendees had a chance to witness the cultural mix of the region and taste the local cuisine.

Photograph 3. Student volunteers helped the conference run smoothly.

The multidisciplinary character of cognitve linguistics provided an academic platform for cognitive linguists to present their research findings, exchange ideas, share experiences and research results, explore opportunities for collaboration, and recognize outstanding achievements within their scientific community, making it a highly valuable and memorable event. Some of the insights stemming from this very rich conference will soon be published in three journals: *Studies in Logic, Grammar and Rhetoric*; *Crossroads: A Journal of English Studies*; and *LaMiCuS: Language, Mind, Culture and Society.*

[1] Unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the event had to be postponed until September 2021.