

*Journal of
Languages,
Texts, and
Society*



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Issue 3

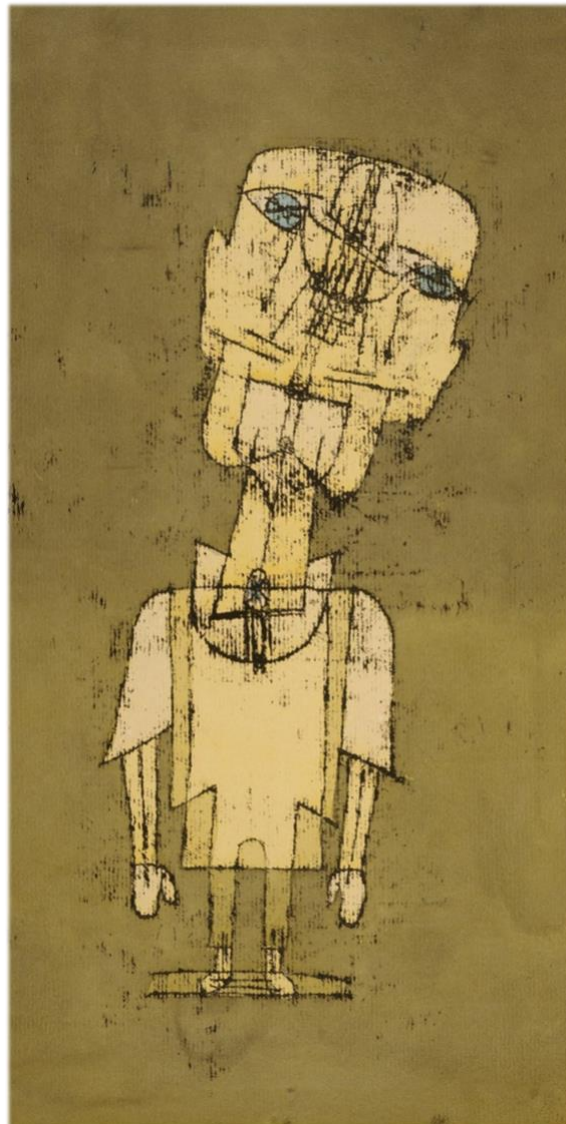
Spring 2019

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on Jürgen Lemke's
*Gay Voices from
East Germany*

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&

book reviews by
Abigail Rhodes,
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and Melanie Fitton-
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Call for Peer Reviewers

The LTS team are always looking to recruit new volunteer peer reviewers for future issues.

We are seeking applications from postgraduate students with expertise in one or more of the five strands of our research area (see our [webpage](#) for details of these strands).

Becoming a peer reviewer for the LTS journal is an excellent way for postgraduate students to participate in academic knowledge exchange and gain experience of journal publication. If you are selected to join our team of volunteer peer reviewers, you will only be asked to provide a review if and when the Journal receives submissions which align with your personal interests and knowledge background. All requests for peer review are made well in advance of publication deadlines, so that reviewers are able to balance any work they are asked to do for the Journal with their academic study.

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Foreword

Chloe Ashbridge, Louis Cotgrove, Hannah Spruce

University of Nottingham and University of Leicester

Welcome to Issue 3 of the *Journal of Languages, Texts, and Society*. This year, we have expanded the team behind the journal to incorporate postgraduate academics from across the midlands at Nottingham Trent University and the University of Leicester. We hope that this leads to further cross-institutional collaboration and can build on the successes of Issues 1 and 2. This issue is the largest yet and we are so grateful to our editing team and peer reviewers for working with our contributors to make the production process as smooth as possible.

Throughout the issue many of the articles touch on matters pertaining to cultural memory, authenticity, and acts of translation. In 'Representing (Oneself Through) Others: Authorial Agency in Svetlana Aleksievich's *Chernobyl Prayer*', Axel Burenus argues that readers should be critical of claims to objectivity in Aleksievich's work as her arrangement of witness interviews shows the distinct bias of a single author. Contained in Issue 3, there are also a number of creative-critical articles that use the innovative methods of autoethnography as academic tools. In 'A Burden of Memory: Inherited Trauma, Fiction, and the German Expulsions, Eluned Gramich explores the process of writing a doctoral novel, 'Windstill', and living with inherited trauma through a

creative-critical lens. In ‘Performing Resistance in Post-Fordism: A Tactical Juxtaposition of Languages in an Academic Paper/Performance’, Denise Ackerl takes readers through the process of giving an academic paper and performance, all the while blurring the distinctions between performance and authenticity to interrogate academic practices. On the subject of translation, Sara Martínez Portillo explores the process of translating the musical play version of Anthony Burgess’ *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) into Spanish. Her article explores the unique challenges inherent in translating Burgess’ slang language, Nadsat, and conveying meaning while retaining vital elements of meaning related to the musical composition.

In Issue 3, we are delighted to publish a translation of ‘The Grey-Eyed Black Cat’ (‘陳若曦自選集’) a short story originally written by the Taiwanese author Chen Ruoxi and translated for the *Journal of Languages, Texts, and Society* by Hui-Min Lin. The issue also contains three book reviews. The first is from Abigail Rhodes, of the University of Nottingham. Rhodes has reviewed Richard Jobson’s 2018 publication, *Nostalgia and the Post-War Labour Party: Prisoners of the Past*, a book that focuses on the ways that nostalgia has impacted the Labour party since 1951. Francesca White, a scholar at the University of Leicester, has reviewed a new release in the popular *A Very Short Introduction* series. White’s review of *Multilingualism: A Very Short Introduction* by John C. Maher argues that, although the book is limited by its brevity, it provides a useful introduction to concepts such as code-switching and segues deftly from micro to macro issues in the field of multilingualism. The final review comes from Melanie Fitton-Hayward, University of Nottingham. Fitton-Hayward reviews Susanna Braund and Zara Martirosova Torlone’s edited collection *Virgil and His Translators* (2018). Fitton-Hayward finds the collection overall to be timely, polished, and balanced while she also outlines the limitations of such an ambitious collection.

We hope that readers will enjoy the range of content offered in Issue 3 of the *Journal of Languages, Texts, and Society*. As incoming Managing Editors, we have been committed to continuing the journal’s mission of providing an open-access platform exploring how communication and language shape and are shaped by wider society; we are delighted be

presenting you with this issue and feel that the contributors have engaged with this task in diverse and wide-ranging responses. A key concern that emerged in this issue is the importance of interrogating the literary form, the practice of textual interpretation and performance authenticity as scholars working within interdisciplinary fields. In tackling these formal and aesthetic concerns, this issue seeks to explore timely issues facing current scholars working across adjacent disciplines in the arts and humanities. As a truly interdisciplinary journal located within fields that are constantly evolving, it seems especially important that postgraduate scholars and early career researchers are active in shaping the direction of critical debate. As the journal and its editorial committee of postgraduate academics grow, we hope to provoke ongoing conversation about the future of our disciplines and look forward to welcoming your responses in the form of future articles and papers at our annual conference.

Our gratitude to all those who have contributed to this issue, to our fellow postgraduate Assistant Editors and, finally, to our readers. Please contact pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk to become involved in any aspect of future issues.

Best wishes,

Chloe Ashbridge, Louis Cotgrove, Hannah Spruce

Call for Papers

Want to contribute?

- Get feedback on your work via our double-blind peer review process; all papers are reviewed by a postgraduate and an established academic.
- Experience the publication process.
- Convert a conference paper or similar into a published article.

The LTS team are now seeking submissions for Issue 4, to be published in spring 2020. Articles should be 6,000 to 8,000 words in length, focusing on ways in which communications, languages, and texts are shaped by and shape society, including:

- Innovative methods to produce, collect, and study texts
- Texts in professional and educational contexts
- How texts shape experience and cultural legacy
- Translation of languages and cultures
- Cultural impact of performance texts

Abstracts of 250 words should be submitted before September 2019, if you would like to check that your topic fits into our issue before working on the full article. Alternatively, contact our editors to discuss your topic: pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk.

The deadline for full articles will be in October 2020; exact deadlines will be announced via our social media channels or can be ascertained by emailing our editors.

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Representing (Oneself Through) Others: Authorial Agency in Svetlana Aleksievich's *Chernobyl Prayer*

Axel Burenus

University of Nottingham

Svetlana Aleksievich is a contemporary Belarusian writer and journalist. Born in 1948 in Ivano-Frankivsk in the Western part of Ukraine to a Belarusian father and a Ukrainian mother, Aleksievich is most proficient in Russian and writes in that language. She has a background in journalism, having graduated from the Faculty of Journalism at the State University of Minsk and worked for a number of newspapers, such as *Selskaia Gazeta* and the literary magazine *Neman*. An outspoken critic of Aleksandr Lukashenko and Vladimir Putin, Aleksievich is widely regarded as a 'dissident' writer. In 1993, following the publication of her third book, *Boys in Zinc* (*Tsinkovye mal'chiki* 1991), she was taken to court accused of having distorted and falsified statements made by her interviewees – a trial which in the West is considered to have been politically motivated and illegitimate. In 2000, she left Belarus for political reasons and spent eleven years living abroad, in France, Italy,

Germany and Sweden, before returning to Belarus in 2011. She received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2015.

Aleksievich is the author of six books, five of which form a part of her large-scale literary project *Voices of Utopia (Golosa utopii)*.¹ Her first two books describe the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. *The Unwomanly Face of War (U voiny ne zhenskoe litso 1985)* focuses on women who participated in battle, and *Last Witnesses: Unchildlike Stories (Poslednie svideteli: kniga nedetskikh rasskazov 1985)* depicts children's experiences of that same conflict. Aleksievich's third book, *Boys in Zinc (Tsinkovye mal'chiki 1991)*, is compiled of testimonies by Soviet soldiers who fought in the Afghan-Soviet War (1979-89). *Chernobyl Prayer: A Chronicle of the Future (Chernobyl'skaia molitva: khronika budushchego 1997)* is devoted to the nuclear disaster at the Chernobyl power plant in 1986. Concluding the *Golosa utopii*, *Second-Hand Time (Vremia sekond-khend 2013)* describes the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Basing her books on interviews with historical eye-witnesses, Aleksievich is widely seen as a writer who 'gives a voice' to the people who experienced some of the most violent and historically significant events of the 20th century. Aleksievich's ambition to 'let the witness speak' is evident both in public statements made by her and in the structural emphasis on the multi-voiced nature of the material presented in her books. In *Chernobyl Prayer*, a multitude of witnesses talk in the first person about their personal experience of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster. Cited in in the first person and with their names clearly stated – akin to individual signatures – the witnesses are elevated to the status of authors. In combination with the multi-voiced structure of the book, this suggests at first sight a strong commitment to a plurality of views and perspectives on the Chernobyl disaster and on Soviet reality.

1 On the book covers of the 2016 publication of Aleksievich's collected works, *Golosa utopii* is presented as "five books in which "the little man" himself tells about his fate" ("пять книг, в которых «маленький человек» сам рассказывает о своей судьбе") (unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Russian are mine). In speeches and interviews, Aleksievich often refers to her "five books", excluding from *Golosa utopii* her fourth published work *Enchanted with Death (Zacharovannye smert'iu 1994)*, which can be considered a draft to *Second-Hand Time (Vremia Sekond-Khend 2013)*. See for instance her Nobel Lecture.

However, as I argue, the ambition to act as a spokeswoman for a multitude of historical witnesses conflicts with another aim of Aleksievich, namely to express her own distinct view on the Chernobyl accident and on the Soviet system in *Chernobyl Prayer*. Through the subtle arrangement of individual monologues and the narrators' collective insistence on particular topics, the distinct biases of a single author emerges. The totality of the text is shaped by a fundamentally anti-Soviet outlook, which, as I show, determines the implicit value of the witnesses' judgements and makes them more or less reliable in the eyes of a postulated reader. Thus, Aleksievich's implicit insistence on the witnesses' independence as textual subjects conflicts with her aim to depict the Chernobyl disaster according to her own way of seeing it. Through the collective insistence of their testimonies and their varying degree of reliability, the witnesses are turned from empowered subjects into objects serving as vehicles by which Aleksievich's expresses her distinct views.

I take my point of departure in the historical and literary context of Aleksievich's work by discussing her writing in relation to that of the Belarusian author Ales Adamovich (1927-1994). Following Slavic language scholar Daniel Bush (2017), I argue that the use of oral history in Adamovich's and Aleksievich's writing is prompted by a sense of lost ownership of historical experience, producing a binary structure in which oral testimonies given by 'ordinary people' provide an image of reality which is more 'authentic' than the mythical images disseminated by state authorities. In the following section, I show the ways in which the witnesses in *Chernobyl Prayer* are apparently empowered as textual subjects, able to speak 'for themselves'. Next, I argue that, contrary to the implied independence of the narrators, the ideological coherence of their statements displays a distinct set of underlying values and assumptions, attributable to a single consciousness. Here, I use the concept of the implied author, an agency that, in Rimmon-Kenan's words, "speaks" only metaphorically, through all the different narrators of the text' (Rimmon-Kenan 88). Finally, I demonstrate how the implied author's ethical outlook determines the reliability of the narrators and the value of their judgements, which in turn undermines their status as 'independent' authors.

“The Witness Must Speak”: Aleksievich and Soviet War Writing

In 2015 when Svetlana Aleksievich was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, the committee citation read: “For her polyphonic writings, a monument to suffering and courage in our time” (Darius 2015). It is interesting to note that the committee stipulates the multi-voiced (polyphonic) nature of Aleksievich’s work as one of her principal literary achievements. Basing her books on tape-recorded interviews with historical eyewitnesses, Aleksievich is widely seen as a writer who ‘gives a voice’ to other people. Indeed, it is one of Aleksievich’s explicit aims to give the witnesses of some of the most calamitous events in Soviet history an opportunity to tell their stories. In her Nobel lecture, she states:

My teacher, Ales Adamovich, whose name I mention today with gratitude, felt that writing prose about the nightmares of the 20th century was sacrilege. Nothing may be invented. You must give the truth as it is. A “super-literature” is required. The witness must speak (Aleksievich 2015).

Aleksievich’s reference to Adamovich as her ‘teacher’ is highly relevant. She has been influenced by Adamovich’s writing in a decisive way, in particular by his co-authored books *The Book of the Blockade* (*Blokadnaia kniga* 1981, written together with Danil Granin) and *Out of the Fire* (*Ia iz ognennoi derevni* 1977, written with Ianka Bryl’ and Vladimir Kalesnik) which examine the experiences of the Soviet population during the Nazi German invasion that begun in 1942. Sivakova sees these two works as canonical for what she conceptualises as “New Documentary Literature” (“новая документальная литература”) (Sivakova 76). Defined by their use of oral history and by the montage of monologues, works in this genre tend to be centered around a single historical event. *The Book of the Blockade* is compiled of testimonies by Leningraders who lived through the siege and *Out of the Fire* describes the experiences of the rural population during the German invasion, whereas *The Unwomanly Face of War* and *Last Witnesses* focus on women who participated in battle and the experiences of displaced children.

As Daniel Bush has argued, Adamovich’s and Aleksievich’s writing emerged directly from a tradition of ‘unofficial’ realism in Soviet writing about the Second World War, which included such writers as Viktor

Nekrasov (1911-1987), Vasil Bykau (1924-2003), Iurii Bondarev (1924), Viktor Astaf'ev (1924-2001), and Bulat Okudzhava (1924-1997). Defining themselves in opposition to the 'official' depictions of the war promulgated by the state, these writers were united by one central idea: "that there was a "truth" about soldiers" experiences that was under constant threat of mythologization" (Bush 217). In other words, there was a sense that the war had been appropriated by Soviet state-controlled media and was being used as a propaganda symbol. Most importantly, this is what underpins the imperative of the writers of New Documentary Prose to 'let the witness speak'. In a preface to *The Unwomanly Face of War*, Adamovich metaphorically refers to depictions of the war in state-controlled media as the "bronze plaque of history" and rhetorically suggests that it is in response to the official dissemination of myths that works such as Aleksievich's are being written:

Is it not because of our inner feeling, which, perhaps, is a feeling shared by the people – a feeling of protest against the fact that the suffering of millions of souls has been covered by, or rather buried under, the cold, dead bronze plaque of history – is it not because of this feeling that literary such works as this are being written?²

The first edition of *The Unwomanly Face of War* includes a conversation between the author and a censor in which Aleksievich employs a logic similar to that of Adamovich in his preface. The aesthetic principles of Soviet propaganda are explicitly contrasted with her own aesthetics. The censor accuses her of "primitive naturalism" ("примитивный натурализм"), for "degrading and debunking the women-heroes" ("унижаете ... развенчиваете ... женщину-героиню") who are "holy" ("святые"), to which the author replies that what she is attempting to show is the "truth" ("правда"). In this way, the two aesthetic systems are presented as a set of binary oppositions, where "grand ideas" ("великие идеи") are set off against "the ordinary person" ("маленький человек"), "instances of heroism" ("героические примеры") against "dirt" ("грязь"), "grand history" ("большая история")

2 "Не в ответ ли на внутреннее чувство наше, а может быть, и народное – на протест против того, что пережитое и перестраданное миллионами душ будет заслонено бронзовой плитой истории, холодной, мертвой, а точнее, похоронено под плитой – не в ответ ли на это чувство и возникают такие произведения?" (Aleksievich, *U voiny ne zhenskoe litso*, 49).

against the “little history” (“маленькая история”) (Aleksievich, *Unwomanly Face of War*, 27, 29, 31).

Explicitly defined against the ‘official’ discourse, then, *The Unwomanly Face of War* insists on its own authenticity and claims the right to talk about historical events, re-appropriating them in the process. The privilege to speak of the event – be it the Second World War or the war in Afghanistan – which always belonged to the official Soviet discourse, is apparently reclaimed by people who experienced the event first-hand. Sergei Oushakine compares *The Final Witnesses* to prose written by American Vietnam war veterans, pointing out that the fragmentation that characterises these works serves to highlight the immediate and disintegrated perception of war, a sensitivity that belongs exclusively to people who experienced it first-hand. Thereby, according to Oushakine, it functions as a means by which veterans attempt to “reclaim power [...] over language and the depiction of war, which has been monopolised by official discourse” (“вернуть себе [...] власть над языком и сюжетным оформлением войны, монополизированными официальным дискурсом”) (Oushakine 2). Similarly, Angela Brintlinger observes that Aleksievich translates this sense of narrative empowerment into structural devices in her works. The titles of chapters and sections in *The Unwomanly Face of War* which consists of quotations from interviews with a witness, seem to “[elevate] the women’s voices to a position of power and authority and [imply] that the women themselves are in control of the book’s contents” (Brintlinger 201).

Thus, the use of oral history in Aleksievich’s work stems from the ambition to challenge the ‘untrue’ mythologized depictions of the Second World War promulgated by the Soviet authorities. Thereby, Aleksievich aims to re-appropriate, on behalf of the interviewed witnesses, the right to speak of their own experiences. In the next section, I show how this is directly manifested in *Chernobyl Prayer* and the witnesses apparently empowered as textual subjects.

Chernobyl Prayer

Chernobyl Prayer is Aleksievich's fifth book and the second one that does not depict war.³ Despite the change in thematic focus, however, Aleksievich's style of writing remains essentially unchanged since the war-writing period, which can be considered formative for *Chernobyl Prayer* and *Vremia sekond-khend* (Bush 215). *Chernobyl Prayer* was first published in 1997, eleven years after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster occurred in April 1986. Aleksievich has reported that she spent ten years researching and writing the book, conducting around five-hundred interviews, one-hundred and seven of which were used in the final version (Aleksievich interviewed by A. Lučić). Except for the witness-statements, the book contains an authorial preface presented as a "Self-interview" ("Интервью автора с самой собой"), a section with "historical information" situated at the beginning of the book ("Историческая справка") and a short section subtitled "In Place of an Epilogue" ("Вместо эпилога") located at the end. One of Aleksievich's more intricately structured works, *Chernobyl Prayer* is composed of three chapters: "Land of the Dead" ("Земля мёртвых"), "The Crown of Creation" ("Венец творения"), and "Admiring Disaster" ("Восхищение печалью"). Each chapter is formed by a succession of subtitled monologues ("Монолог") in which the speakers are identified by name. These are followed by a "choir" ("Хор") where the speakers are collectively named in the beginning and no statement attributed to a particular individual. Framing the three chapters are two more extensive monologues with the same title, "A Lone Human Voice" ("Одинокий человеческий голос").

The monologues comprise the greater part of the book. At the end of them the cited witness is named and it is clarified in what capacity he or she was interviewed. For instance: "*Liudmila Ignatenko, wife of Vasilii Ignatenko, deceased fireman*" (Aleksievich, *Chernobyl Prayer*, 23); "*Marat Filippovich Kokhanov, former chief engineer of the Institute of Atom Energy, Belarus Academy of Sciences*" (203).⁴ The author recedes into the

³ Aleksievich's fourth published work *Enchanted With Death* deals with the wave of suicides in the post-Soviet space following Perestroika.

⁴ "(Людмила Игнатенко, жена погибшего пожарника Василия Игнатенко)" (Aleksievich, *Chernobyl'skaia molitva: Khronika budushchego*, 21); "(Марат Филиппович Коханов, бывший главный инженер Института ядерной энергетики Академии наук Беларуси)" (209). All English

background, limiting herself to bracketed remarks, reminiscent of stage-directions: “(She falls silent.)” (7); “(She cries.)” (9).⁵ The witness is thus granted a maximum of space. Aleksievich’s ‘presence’ is felt only in the bracketed remarks, in the italicized indication of the witnesses’ names, in the empty space between sections, in the authorial preface, and in the monologue and chapter titles, all of which are evidently products of the writing and structuring performed by her. The monologues themselves, on the other hand, as they imitate the texture of a verbally given witness-statement, are written and presented by Aleksievich in such way as to obscure any indications of her own authorial intervention. As they appear in the book, the monologues have the character of fragmentation, spontaneity and temporal and thematic digressions that are associated with face-to-face conversations. The conversational character of the monologues is further reinforced by the frequent use of ellipsis, exclamation marks, rhetorical questions, slang, cursing, fragmented sentences and omitted pronouns. In this way the monologues appear to be given ‘directly’, with only a very low degree of external editing. A monologue narrated by the witness Nikolai Fomich Kalugin begins thus:

I want to testify...

It happened ten years ago, and every day it’s still happening to me now. Right now... It’s always with me.

We lived in Pripyat. That same town the whole world knows about now. I’m not a writer, but I am a witness. Here’s how it was... From the very beginning...

You’re living your life... An ordinary fellow. A little man. Just like everyone else around you – going to work, coming home from work. On an average salary. Once a year, you go on holiday.

You’ve got a wife, children. A normal person! And then, just like that, you’ve turned into a Chernobyl person. A curiosity! (44) ⁶

citations from *Chernobyl’skaia molitva: Khronika budushchego* are taken from Anna Gunin and Arch Trait’s translation from 2016.

5 “(Молчит.)” (12); “(Плачет.)” (14).

6 “Я хочу засвидетельствовать...

Это было тогда, десять лет назад и каждый день происходит со мной сейчас. Теперь... Это всегда со мной.

The witnesses being named and their words seemingly unaltered, they are not presented merely as narrators (constructed intra-textual voices) but as authors (extra-textual agents producing the text). *Chernobyl Prayer* thus asserts itself as the product of a multitude of authors, with the implied claim to represent a multiplicity of views and perspectives. This implicit claim is consistent with public statements made by Aleksievich, who often emphasises the importance of a plurality of ‘truths’ in her works. Continuing her Nobel Lecture, she states:

It always troubled me that the truth doesn’t fit into one heart, into one mind, that truth is somehow splintered. There’s a lot of it, it is varied, and it is strewn about the world. Dostoevsky thought that humanity knows much, much more about itself than it has recorded in literature (Aleksievich 2015).

Similarly, in an interview given in 2016, Aleksievich compares her own work to that of Dostoevsky, perhaps alluding to Mikhail Bakhtin’s reading of Dostoevsky’s novels as “polyphonic”, that is, as novels reflecting a plurality of “independent” truths: “It is like in Dostoevsky – everyone shouts out their own truth. I am not a judge. I simply collect time. Time is varied”.⁷ Thus, aiming to reflect a plurality of perspectives in her writing and to let the witness speak, Aleksievich reduces her own voice to a minimum in the completed monologues, which she presents as essentially unaltered witness-statement. Citing her interviewees in the first person and naming them, she postulates the interviewees as the authors of the monologues, thereby insisting on their independence as textual subjects who ‘speak for themselves’. However, this literary strategy conflicts with another aim of Aleksievich – to express her own distinct view on the Chernobyl accident and on the Soviet system in

Мы жили в городе Припять. В самом этом городе, который знает сейчас весь мир. Я не писатель. Но я свидетель. Вот как это было... С самого начала... Ты живёшь... Обыкновенный человек. Маленький. Такой, как все вокруг – идёшь на работу и приходишь с работы. Получаешь среднюю зарплату. Раз в год едешь в отпуск. У тебя – жена. Дети. Нормальный человек! И в один день ты внезапно превращаешься в чернобыльского человека. В диковинку! (Aleksievich, *Chernobyl'skaia molitva: Khronika budushchego*, 51)

⁷ “Это как у Достоевского – каждый кричит свою правду. И я не судья. Я просто собираю время. Оно разное” (Aleksievich, 2016c).

Chernobyl Prayer. Through the collective insistence of their testimonies and their varying degree of ‘reliability’, the witnesses are turned from empowered subjects into objects serving as vehicles by which Aleksievich’s expresses her own distinct views.

The Implied Author

Although presented as a work produced by a multitude of authors, in its thematic focus *Chernobyl Prayer* reflects the views and biases of a single consciousness. The witnesses’ cumulative insistence on certain topics displays a coherence that is difficult to attribute to a plurality of independent authors. Instead, the intentional agency in *Chernobyl Prayer* can be conceptualized as an implied author speaking *through* the witnesses. Wayne Booth’s notions of the implied author and unreliable narrator are useful here, as they provide a terminology in which the witnesses’ reliability and authority as narrators can be measured against the set of underlying values and assumptions that emerges in *Chernobyl Prayer*. As Rimmon-Kenan has stated, the implied author “speaks” only metaphorically, through all the different narrators of the text; s(he) “instructs us silently, through the design of the whole, with all the voices” (Rimmon-Kenan 88).

While there is no evidence that Aleksievich has altered the wording of the monologues, the persistence of certain themes suggests that coherent criteria for inclusion in the book were applied during the selection process. Therefore, the implied author emerges in the interplay of themes and concerns which are inherent in the interviews and deliberately used by Aleksievich to create a specific interpretation of the Chernobyl accident. The nuclear disaster is treated as a symbol for the failure of Soviet technological progress and colonization of nature, which ultimately leads to the understanding of the disaster as a symbol for the failure of the communist utopian endeavour in general. The notion of the technological superiority of the USSR over capitalist countries played an important part in Soviet ideology; hence the political importance of the space race and technological progress in general. Alla Bolotova states that

the USSR’s struggle against nature was carried out, as it were, as a continuation of the fight against the capitalist world and of the class

struggle, and was meant to further the development of a new type of man and society (Bolotova 2).⁸

Among Aleksievich's witnesses we find plenty of former devotees to these Soviet ideas. For instance, the witness Sergei Vasil'evich Sobolev makes the following statement: "The whole Soviet world broke free of the earth, flew into space with Gagarin. All of us!" (Alexievich 176).⁹ Of course, the accident seriously undermined this ideology, which, as we learn from the statements of several witnesses, was replaced by a sense of disillusionment, in Soviet technology as well as in the Soviet utopian ideas in general. Throughout the book, the failure of Soviet utopian visions of technological progress is continuously emphasised. The previously prevalent perception of nuclear power as a safe source of energy is ironically juxtaposed with the horrifying images of the Chernobyl landscape and with the witnesses' frequent references to the apocalypse. Called up as a clean-up worker, the witness Arkadii Filin recalls these fragments from Soviet newspapers: "our nuclear power plants are completely safe, you could build one right in the Red Square" (99).¹⁰ Having arrived in the polluted area he makes the following reflection: "Out there, you were thrown into this dreamlike world where the End of the world met the Stone age" (100).¹¹ A similar message is conveyed through the somewhat heavy-handed irony of the title of the second chapter, "The Crown of Creation", which is followed by a monologue in which a mother talks about the serious injuries her daughter sustained as a result of the accident:

Her medical record said: 'Girl born with complex multitude pathologies: anal aplasia, vaginal aplasia, and left renal aplasia. That's what they call

8 "Борьба СССР с природой осуществлялась как бы в продолжение борьбы с капиталистическим миром и классовой борьбы и должна была способствовать формированию нового типа человека и общества".

9 "Вместе с Гагариным весь советский мир полетел в космос, оторвался от земли... Все мы!" (Aleksievich, 176)

10 "наши атомные станции абсолютно безопасны, можно строить на Красной площади" (176).

11 "Там ты сразу попадад в фантастический мир, где соединились конец света и каменный век" (108).

it in scientific language, but in plain word [sic]: she has no private parts, no bum, and just the one kidney (94).¹²

The description of their everyday reality is tragic and absurd: “Where else in the world can you find a child who needs to have their urine pressed out every half hour by hand?” (96).¹³ Doctors refuse to admit the causal link between the accident and the child’s birth defect, and someone secretly advises the mother to seek help abroad, that is, in a Western, capitalist country (96). This, then, it is implied, is the result, the ‘crown of creation’ of the technological ambitions of the Soviet Union and the idea to subdue nature to man.

In this regard the depiction of the Chernobyl disaster in *Chernobyl Prayer* is consistent with wider tendencies in Glasnost-era documentaries following the collapse of official Soviet hagiography. Whereas before Glasnost, notions such as the “Conquering of Siberia” had been a part of a ‘State Epos’ and treated as heroic tales of the New man’s struggle against nature in the name of the Revolution, then, during the Glasnost era, documentary filmmakers were keen to expose the catastrophic ecological consequences of technological projects undertaken by the state, with all the ideological implications such depictions entailed (for instance *Bester* [1987], *Computer Games* [*Komp’iuternye igry*, 1987] and *The Mirage* [*Mirazh*, 1987]) (Mouratov 10). This meant a radical change of the aesthetics and ideological assumptions of the documentary medium itself. If documentaries had formerly been an important in the construction of a collective Soviet consciousness, a medium used by the state to “produce and consume “facts” that would contribute and attest to the realization of the [Five-Year Plan]”, the decline of official censorship in the 1980s and 90s utterly redefined Soviet documentary and it was now possible to use the medium to critique the state (Papazian 6). In this vein, in *Chernobyl Prayer*, the understanding of the disaster as being symbolical of the failings of Soviet utopian visions is part of a wider emphasis which amounts to a harsh

12 “В медицинской карточке записано: «девочка, рождённая с множественной комплексной патологией: аплазия ануса, аплазия влагалища, аплазия левой почки»... Так это звучит на научном языке, а на обыкновенном: ни писи, ни попки, одна почка...” (101)

13 “Где ещё в мире есть ребёнок, которому каждые полчаса надо выдавливать мочу руками?” (103).

criticism of the Soviet system in general. It is hard if not impossible to find a single monologue in which the narrator does *not* say something that highlights the inhuman treatment by the Soviet state of its own citizens. *Chernobyl Prayer* presents us with a fierce indictment of the whole Soviet system, not unlike Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* (*Arkhipelag Gulag*, 1973). For the implied author it is a moral imperative to make the crimes committed by the Soviet authorities known to the public. The most common case of structural maltreatment of individuals mentioned in the book may be the failure of the authorities to provide the clean-up workers with protective equipment: "We needed proper protective clothing, special goggles, a face mask. We had none of that" (Alexievich, 149).¹⁴

Another common complaint concerns the meagre compensation given to the clean-up workers. Having returned home from the polluted zone, they receive little or none financial aid from the authorities: "Afterwards, they were discharged from the army with a certificate of commendation and a hundred-rouble bonus. They disappeared into the vast expanses of the Soviet homeland" (173).¹⁵ Also a large number of narrators mention the spreading of misinformation and the efforts of the state to hide the danger in remaining in the polluted zone from the public: "On television, Gorbachev was being reassuring: 'Emergency measures have been taken...' I believed him..." (202).¹⁶ Apart from this, a vast number of instances of various kinds of structural abuse are presented throughout the text. This defines the implied author's (arguably simplified) ethical judgement on the Soviet state as a totalitarian system that showed nothing but disregard for its own citizens. As we shall see, this outlook implicitly determines the value of the narrators' judgements which in turn undermines their status as 'independent' authors.

14 "Нужен был хороший защитный костюм, специальные очки, маска. У нас ни первого, ни второго, ни третьего" (154).

15 "А потом их увольняли из армии, давали грамоту и премию – сто рублей. И они исчезали на бескрайних просторах нашей родины" (178).

16 "По телевизору Горбачёв успокаивал: «Приняты неотложные меры»... Я верил..." (208).

(Un)reliable Narrators

The concept of a narrator's unreliability can be defined as a discrepancy between the implied author's ethical norms and those of the narrator. Since Booth introduced the notion in his *Rhetoric of Fiction* (1961) it has been widely used and subsequently elaborated in studies of narratives. Rimmon-Kenan provides this excellent definition:

A reliable narrator is one whose rendering of the story and commentary on it the reader is supposed to take as an authoritative account of the fictional truth. An unreliable narrator, on the other hand, is one whose rendering of the story and/or commentary on it the reader has reasons to suspect (Rimmon-Kenan 100).

For the implicit meaning inherent in the unreliable narrator's discourse to be successfully communicated, then, the reader must recognise the narrator's discourse as highly subjective or even distorted. As Booth comments: "The author and reader are secretly in collusion, behind the speaker's back, agreeing upon the standard by which he is found wanting" (Booth 304). Fundamentally, a narrator is considered reliable if "he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (that is to say, the implied author's norms), [and] *unreliable* when he does not" (Booth 158). Additionally, Rimmon-Kenan lists a number of "signs of unreliability" and identifies "the narrator's limited knowledge, his personal involvement, and his problematic value-scheme" as the most common (Rimmon-Kenan 100).

In *Chernobyl Prayer* the narrators' varying degree of reliability serves to either repudiate or render valid the political views that they express. Their assumed values being measured against the ideological position of the implied author, the witnesses are subordinate to an overall design which insists on a particular worldview. I will show this by comparing the monologues of two speakers who express typically 'pro-Soviet' and 'anti-Soviet' views, respectively. The first speaker is Genadii Grushevoi, a former university professor and now member of parliament, who narrates "Monologue on Cartesian philosophy and on eating a radioactive sandwich with someone as not to be ashamed" (Alexievich 143).¹⁷ The name of the second speaker is not stated; he narrates 'Monologue of a

¹⁷ "Монолог о картезианской философии и о том, как ешь вместе с другим человеком заражённый бутерброд, чтобы не было стыдно" (148).

defender of Soviet Power' (248).¹⁸ Whereas the latter speaker identifies himself as belonging to the "ordinary people" ["простые люди"], the former can be considered a representative of what is typically labelled as the Soviet 'liberal' intelligentsia, that is, a social stratum of highly educated people whose political views are defined in opposition to Soviet values prevalent during the period of Stagnation under Brezhnev (255). This speaker's monologue is marked by the erudition and eloquence of the intellectual and tells the story of how the Chernobyl accident motivated him politically and eventually turned him from an academic into a politician. The story begins with recollections testifying to the repressive intellectual climate before Gorbachev, when the speaker was discouraged from writing his doctoral dissertation on anything but Marxist-Leninist philosophy: "All in all, they had no time for Cartesian thought" (143).¹⁹ Thus, through its title, with the reference to a then forbidden topic – "Monologue on Cartesian philosophy" – the monologue establishes itself as a space of free speech and the speaker is at liberty to criticize the totalitarian regime.

From its initial discussion of the repression during the Stagnation, the narrative proceeds to a description of Perestroika – for Grushevoi a time of longed-for collective rebirth and liberation: "We had waited so long for this moment" (143).²⁰ Grushevoi then talks about the journeys he made after the accident to the areas around the reactor in order to observe and to make people understand the danger in remaining there. Later, he and his wife make a more conscious and organised effort to help the children in the polluted areas. There is also an episode telling of a protest rally held in Minsk, three years after the disaster, which Grushevoi was involved in organising: "People marched on in tears, everybody holding hands. They were crying because they were overcoming their fear" (151).²¹ People who Grushevoi, with an unwittingly condescending turn of phrase, calls "ordinary people" spontaneously join the rally and can finally speak freely and sincerely:

18 "Монолог защитника советской власти" (254).

19 "тут не до картезианских размышлений" (148).

20 "Время, которое мы долго ждали" (148).

21 "Люди шли и плакали, все держались за руки. Плакали потому, что они побеждали свой страх" (156).

“People came to the hastily erected platform and spoke without notes, ordinary people from the area around Chernobyl” (151).²² After the accident, the monologue suggests, collective sentiments of indignation and longing for justice were more powerful than the fear of state authorities, and in this sense, the Grushevoi believes, the accident liberated “us”, the people (153).

The second witness, the “defender of Soviet power” who in Aleksievich’s rendering defines himself as one of the “ordinary people”, is anonymous. As opposed to some other monologues where the names are abbreviated or simply absent, this is the only monologue in the book where it is emphatically noted that the interviewee chose not to state his name: “*Declined to give his name*” (250).²³ We know that the speaker is male and we can tentatively infer his age. He mentions the death of an old lady who was a “Stakhanov shock-worker at one time” (249).²⁴ This seems to suggest an elderly man, old enough to have recollections of the time when a now dying old lady was a “стахановка”. The setting is very likely to be rural: the death of an “old lady” concerns both him and people around him, which suggests a tightly knit community. The ‘defender’s’ has none of the eloquence of the intellectual – his language is unpolished and extremely crude: “Hey! Fuck off! Hey! [...] Fuck! [...] Fuck!” (248-50).²⁵ As opposed to Grushevoi, the “defender” does not tell a story. Instead his monologue consists of an articulation of opinions in relation to the accident, the Soviet system and its collapse. The only narrative element is the death of the old lady, which spans just a few sentences. We are told that she was lying dead in her house for two days, under the icons; that there was no money to buy a coffin; that “we” organised a protest meeting and demanded that the chairman of the *kolkhoz* pay for the funeral arrangements.

Both monologues are full of explicit and implicit value judgements on the Chernobyl disaster, the Soviet system and its disintegration. While for Grushevoi, the disaster meant a liberation from a totalitarian system,

22 “К наспах обустроенной трибуне сами подходили и без всяких бумажек говорили простые люди, которые приехали из чернобыльских мест” (156).

23 “*Фамилию не назвал*” (255).

24 “Стахановка когда-то, звеньевая” (254).

25 “Э-э-э... вашу мать...Э-э-э! [...] Б...ь! [...] Б...ь!” (254)

which for him was a hybrid between a kindergarten and a prison, for the “defender”, the disaster meant the end of a great empire, which had benefitted “ordinary people”.

Grushevoi says:

- a) Chernobyl liberated us. We learned to be free’ (153).²⁶
- b) ‘A hybrid between a prison and a kindergarten, that’s what socialism is, Soviet socialism’ (154).²⁷

The ‘defender’ says:

- a) ‘If Chernobyl hadn’t exploded, our great power would never have collapsed’ (249).²⁸
- b) ‘I’m for the communists! They were for us, for ordinary people’ (249).²⁹

In slightly simplified terms, then, we can say that Grushevoi promotes clearly anti-Soviet views whereas the “defender” promotes pro-Soviet views. What renders their respective opinions either valid or invalid is their varying degree of reliability as narrators. We are made to trust Grushevoi and distrust the “defender”, as the former’s opinions accord with those of the implied author while the views of the latter do not. In other words, what Grushevoi says is confirmed by the totality of the text, which depicts the Soviet system in an unequivocally negative light; what the “defender” says is repudiated by that same overall design. Inversely, both narrators contribute to creating this totality. Grushevoi contributes positively: his statements provide a seemingly authoritative commentary which tells us how things are. The “defender” contributes negatively: his commentary is suspect and shows us how things are *not*. Herein consists the irony of his monologue. By the time the reader encounters the anonymous speaker and his conviction that “the communists were for ordinary people”, the reader has already been reminded on numerous occasions of the callousness of the Soviet regime which, according to the dominant view propagated in the book, completely disregarded the well-being of “ordinary people”.

26 “Чернобыль освобождал нас... Учились быть свободными...” (158)

27 “Смесь тюрьмы и детского сада – вот что такое социализм. Советский социализм” (160).

28 “Не взорвался бы Чернобыль, держава бы не рухнула” (255).

29 “я – за коммунистов! ‘Они были за нас, за простых людей” (255).

This irony is intensified when the anonymous speaker suggests that Aleksievich is inherently biased, saying: “Why aren’t you recording this? What I’m saying. You only record what benefits you” (250).³⁰ Here, the author manipulatively gestures toward her own impartiality. Contrary to what the speaker thinks, she *is* “recording this”, “accurately” representing his views even if they conflict with her own. At the same time, however, the author undermines the anonymous speaker’s views by presenting them as the rant of an “old communist” whose opinions, clearly, cannot be taken seriously. While Grushevoi’s monologue is eloquent and devoid of colloquialisms, the crudeness and aggression of the second speaker signal his lack of education and by extension his missing objectivity. This together with his obvious paranoia are further indications of his unreliability and mark him as one of the “brainwashed”: “Gorby acted out their plans, the CIA’s plans... They blew up Chernobyl ... I read it in the papers...” (249).³¹

In line with Rimmon-Kenan’s idea that “signs of *unreliability* are perhaps easier to specify, and reliability can then be negatively defined by their absence” (Rimmon-Kenan 100), the reliability of Grushevoi’s discourse can in part be defined negatively, in that it lacks all the signs of unreliability that mark the monologue of the “defender”. However, there are also *positive* indications of reliability that make him one of the most authoritative speakers in the entire book. With its fourteen pages his monologue is one of the longest, signalling that what he has to say is important, as it is allocated plenty of space. Despite his personal involvement in the disaster, he appears to be one of the most detached narrators. He extrapolates the relevance of his own experiences and observations, raising universal questions about the Soviet system and Soviet identity. His tone is calm and controlled, as opposed to many other narrators in the book. Lindbladh has described the witnesses’ ambivalence toward narration in *Chernobyl Prayer* as a conflict between “the imperative to tell” and “the impossibility of telling”: on the one hand, the witness has an inner compulsion to tell about her experience, on the

30 “Почему вы это не записываете? Мои слова. А записываете только то, что вам выгодно” (255).

31 “Горби действовал по их планам, по планам цэрэу... Они Чернобыль взорвали... Я в газетах читал...” (255).

other hand, “no amount of telling ever seems to do justice to this inner compulsion” (Lindbladh 44). This ambivalence is evident throughout the book as plenty of witnesses do not know how to express themselves or find it difficult to continue speaking: “What I’m telling you, it’s not coming out right... The words are all wrong...” (Alexievich 21); “But should I... (*She trails off mid-sentence. I can see she is reluctant to go on*)” (113).³² In this context Grushevoi stands out as he is one of few narrators for whom narration is not problematic. This makes the communication of his monologue very explicit; he is telling us how things are, and there is very little that has to be inferred. At the same time, his tone is often tentative, careful not to jump to simplistic conclusions. His erudition, moreover – the frequent name-dropping of writers and philosophers, the fact that we know he is a former university professor, and now a member of parliament – gives him additional authority, as does his morally outstanding selfless concern for the well-being of others, helping children who suffered from radiation exposure. Thus, one of the most reliable speakers in *Chernobyl Prayer*, Grushevoi contributes to confirming the validity of the value judgements established by the overall design of the book. By contrast, the anonymous speaker, essentialised in the monologue title as a “defender of Soviet power” and the only ‘non-repentant’ Soviet communist of the entire book, is effectively undermined by the signs of unreliability characterising his discourse, as well as by the discrepancy between his values and those of the implied author.

The structural emphasis on the multi-voiced nature of the material presented in *Chernobyl Prayer* suggests at first sight a strong commitment to a plurality of views and perspectives on the Chernobyl disaster and on Soviet reality. Cited in in the first person and with their names clearly stated – akin to individual signatures – the witnesses are elevated to the status of authors. Yet through the subtle arrangement of individual monologues and the narrators’ collective insistence on particular topics, the distinct biases of a single author emerges. The totality of the text is thus shaped by a fundamentally anti-Soviet outlook which determines the implicit value of the witnesses’ own judgements

32 “Все не те слова вам говорю... Не такие...” (26); [‘А мне... (*Обрывает фразу. Вижу, что говорить не хочет*)’] (119).

and makes them more or less reliable in the eyes of a reader. The converging views and assumptions of individual monologues contribute to the sense of an emerging collective voice with its attendant notions of authenticity and authority, suggesting an empirical (rather than merely subjective) validity in both individual monologues and the overall book. The impression is deepened by the presentation of the monologues as unmediated texts, despite clear indications that Aleksievich has shaped the witness statements for the overall purpose of her book at the stage of initial interview and at the stage of the subsequent editing process. The ideological coherence of the different monologues is further evidence that Aleksievich presents the reader with a specific interpretation of the accident based on a particular worldview and ideological assumptions. Although the very structure of *Chernobyl Prayer* insists on the validity of the single voice, presenting each of them in a ‘monologue’, Aleksievich integrates these supposedly independent voices into an artistic design in which the collective subsumes the individual.

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A Burden of Memory: Inherited Trauma, Fiction, and the German Expulsions

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With the ageing of the survivors the task of witnessing has passed to the next generation, a burden of memory almost too great to bear but inescapable because of its moral obligation and urgent because of the new legitimacy of racist discourse in Europe. Memory is important to give meaning to the future and to form identity (Sicher, 19).

Sitting on my bed in the evening's half-light, my German grandmother tells me again the story of her family's expulsion from Sudetenland.¹ She speaks quickly, purposefully. In the darkness her words evoke even darker images: coal wagons, lice, rotten turnips, armed soldiers, the Czech partisans who stole 'everything'. I am afraid of these stories; they

¹ The German expulsions refers to the displacement of around 15 million ethnic Germans from their homes in the east in 1944-45, including Sudetenland, a majority German area of then Czechoslovakia. For a general history of the German expulsions, see R. M. Douglas, *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsions of the German after the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) and, in German, Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat: Die Geschichte der deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Munich: Pantheon, 2009).

don't make sense. They are fragments of some immense, 'adult' truth that the six-year-old me cannot yet grasp. What are coal wagons to a child? What is 'the American zone' or 'forced labour' to me? I wish my grandmother would read from my children's books, but she never does. Despite my unease, I know I should listen. I sense the importance, because earlier that year my father published a novel about her stories, her memories (Gramich 1996). Later, as a teenager, I read the book, *Die Brücke über den Fluß* (The Bridge over the River), first in German, then in English. I'm happy – even relieved – that he has written it: 'Good,' I think. 'That's that.' Her testimony is safely bound. Vouchsafed. I move on.

Many survivors' children ... have testified to their strange inability, sometimes persisting even into adult lives, to put together the fragments of their elders' stories, to put together basic facts, or even to grasp them as facts. It was as if [this] information ... was too transfixing, too overwhelming, initially, to the ratiocinative capacities, as it induced a kind of trance. (Hoffman 58-59)

[T]he Second World War has a long afterlife, and its unfolding in German consciousness can still be observed today (132).

Except, I do not move on. I return to my grandmother's stories, and embark on a PhD in Creative Writing. My hope is that my doctoral novel will catch those long shadows cast by my German grandparents' experiences, perhaps even stop them from reaching any further. The burden of memory on my father and myself has resulted not in one, but two novels: fictional testaments to intergenerational trauma. As the ethnic Germans were expelled from the east, so do we as the inheritors of these memories attempt to 'expel' them through our writing; by reconstructing fragmented narratives, committing them to paper, and sending them out into the public sphere, away from ourselves. The 'burden of memory' is cut away, like a fingernail, threatening to become, to borrow Kristeva's term, abject: 'one of those violent, dark revolts of being...ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be assimilated' (Kristeva 1).

The ‘failure of assimilation’ takes place before the process of writing begins. My grandmother’s tendency to talk repeatedly about her traumatic past suggests her own failure to assimilate at the time she experienced it; my father and my own writing is a reflection of our failure, in turn, to integrate – or even dismiss – those repetitive narratives in our own lives and sense of self. I turn to Marianne Hirsch’s famous formulation of postmemory as traumatic experiences ‘transmitted...so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right’ (Hirsch 5) as a way of clarifying those ‘overwhelming’ and unassimilated inherited memories for myself. In doing so, I also step into the double-role of the practice-based researcher as she explores and constructs ‘evocative narratives’ as a way of examining the postmemorial experience (Ellis 1997). To exist both inside and outside, to be at once writer, critic and subject – the ambition suits, as it comports to, an autoethnographical framework:

Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (*graphy*) personal experience (*auto*) in order to understand cultural experience (*ethno*) ... [A]utoethnography is one of the approaches that acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don't exist. (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 1-2)

Autoethnography is a creative-critical approach that simultaneously contains, in Robin Nelson’s conceptual model, the ‘embodied’ and ‘self-reflexive knowledge’ of the arts practitioner and the ‘cognitive-academic knowledge’ of the empirical researcher (Nelson 105-16). Autoethnographers aim for *subjectivity, emotionality, evocation, authenticity*. As a novelist I share these aims, and choose to respond in kind to the writers who have influenced my doctoral novel-in-progress, ‘Windstill’, harnessing a mixture of memoir and fiction which blends together multiple forms of knowledge and interpretations (Denzin 1997). I adopt the stance of (auto)ethnographer Lisa Tillmann-Healey: ‘I write from an emotional first-person stance that highlights my multiple interpretive positions [...] I write to invite you to come close and experience this world for yourself’ (80).

*

‘It might interest you,’ I say to my German father as I hand him one of my PhD books. He reads it in one sitting, staying up late to finish it. The title of the book that captured his attention is *Wir Kinder der Kriegskinder* by the psychoanalyst Ann-Ev Ustorff. In it she argues that the descendants of the German ‘war children’ (those still under the age of eighteen during the Second World War) inherited their parents’ trauma, despite never witnessing the traumatic events first hand. Although, Ustorff suggests, their parents may have been too young to fully understand what happened to them, these formative childhood experiences shaped and defined their behaviour for the rest of their lives, their personal traumas revealing themselves in the (at times) harmful parental attitudes towards their own children. As a psychoanalyst and therapist, Ustorff casts a practical eye on the ‘treatment’ of familial disorders caused by war-time trauma that has not been dealt with adequately.

I ask my father what he thinks of the book. His reply is surprisingly ambivalent: ‘I agree with what she says. I can certainly see myself in these case studies, but why is it only about middle-aged women? And why this *self-indulgence*? Couldn’t it be that these people have personal problems unrelated to the past?’ I’m taken aback by the mixture of acceptance and hostility, but I concede to his point: ‘I suppose the author herself is a woman and most of her clients are, too. That’s limiting, I agree, but I’m not sure about the charge of self-indulgence. After all, this is the first book of its kind. The idea of ‘inherited trauma’ is still relatively new for the descendants of expellees. At least, I haven’t come across a book like it before.’

I know that my father sees his own upbringing in Ustorff’s description of emotionally distant parenting. He was sent to a Catholic boarding school when he was seven, even though his parents were not religious, and found himself (like Ustorff’s clients) eager for parental attention and approval. Many of Ustorff’s case studies include experiences of substance abuse (drugs and alcohol) as a way of self-medicating against the symptoms of PTSD, both for the first and second generation. She cites research showing that a higher percentage of expellees and their

descendants struggle with mental health and substance abuse issues than those without a background of forced displacement (10). Intergenerational trauma, then, has tangible, medical consequences. It is not only a figurative 'haunting', but one that has direct impact on the receiver's health and worldview.

I often give my father books I come across in my research. After all, he's the author of a realist, historical novel on the subject, a novel concerned with an 'authentic' representation of past events. Its final chapter is set in the present day, where Markus (a thinly veiled version of my father) and his mother, Lynette, go on a nostalgia tour of Sudetenland. Markus in the novel is just as interested in his mother's memories as my father is in real life. One day, I read Marianne Hirsch's definition of 'postmemory' to him. I tell him, 'this is something I'm thinking about at the moment'. He reads the quotation and nods: the definition seems familiar to him, as it did to me that first time I read her monograph *The Generation of Postmemory*, as though I'd already known it long before:

Postmemory's connection to the past is [...] mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation. To grow up with overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic fragments of events that still defy narrative reconstruction and exceed comprehension. (Hirsch 5)

'Yes, she's got it about right,' is what my father says about the matter. 'Ja, so ist es.'

Marianne Hirsch's famous definition is a more conceptual, far-reaching articulation of intergenerational trauma than Ustorff's psychoanalytical case studies. Postmemorials are dominated by memories that are not their own, resulting in a kind of mental harm, even psychic disintegration, since – as Sicher points out in the opening quotation – memories have an identity-forming function. The connection to the past is not achieved through recollection (since, for the second or third generation, the event cannot be remembered in the primary sense of the word), but through 'imaginative investment, projection and creation'.

The link to the past, then, is often constructed by means of fiction. Working through (and, arguably, attempting to expel) those inherited memories which so ‘overwhelm’ the recipient’s consciousness often entails creative and imaginative work.

*

An extract from ‘Windstill’, a work-in-progress:²

It was easy to find unusual reading material in my grandparents’ house. Opa had loved books, not so much as a reader, but as a collector. In an effort to conceal the real use of the room (watching krimis and scrolling through teletext), the television had been stuffed into a wall of literature, between Ancient Egyptian tombs and Immanuel Kant’s *A Critique of Pure Reason*. Facing me was the *Heimat* section. The books on the lost homeland, given to her grandparents by friends and relatives over the years. These filled two shelves. A library of remorse and nostalgia. A *Diary of East Prussia*. Famous personages of East Prussia. *Memoirs of a Königsberg Childhood*. *The Death of Prussia*, and so on. All of them pristine. Lora had never paid these books much attention before, but she went up to them after dinner, touched the spines with the names of unread historians and amateur biographers. Old-fashioned German names like Joachim and Gottfried, and even one by her grandfather’s sister, Aunt Trudi, that had been relegated to the top shelf.

*

We take the S-Bahn to Erding to visit my Godmother. She is a Sudeten German, too; in fact, she is more active than my grandmother in all things Sudeten. She edits the local newsletter for the *Verein*, organises annual trips to the homeland, cultivates friendships with the Czech families from her old region.³ She co-curated an exhibition at the local museum and self-published two memoirs. I’m gifted a copy of each with

2 Extracts of my novel-in-progress are given in italics to differentiate it from the main body of the article.

3 Expellees often set up local organisations or community groups so that people from the old homelands can keep in touch. For more discussion on this, see Arddun Hedydd Arwyn. ‘The Flight from East Prussia: The Social Memory of East Prussians in the Federal Republic of Germany 1989-2011’. Department of History and Welsh History, Aberystwyth University, 2013.

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a dedication on the first page, a little prayer: *To Eluned, So you can come to know our homeland*. On the coffee table, there is a stack of slim, colourful children books: *Damals in Sudetenland*, or ‘Long ago in Sudetenland’, where the expellees are depicted as spectacle-wearing lions, walking in Lederhosen through a yellow-green landscape.

My grandmother is not interested in my godmother’s busy community-making. She does not write her own memoirs, nor does she read her cousin’s work: she knows the story well enough. Still, there are bookshelves at home in Munich groaning under these *expellee memoirs*. There are so many: the expellees cannot stop writing about their experience. Sometimes my grandmother asks me to buy more of these memoirs online when she sees them advertised in the newspaper. I do not believe she reads any of them, either. Perhaps it is comforting to know they are there, proof that others are doing the testimony work for her: Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, *Namen die keiner mehr kennt*, the Vienna-based author Ilse Tielsch with *Die Zerstörung der Bilder, Stille Jahre in Gertlauken* by Marianne Peyinghaus, Erika Morgenstern’s *Überleben war schwerer als Sterben...* This vast amount of autobiographical and reflective writing has only ever reached a select audience; the majority being other expellees and descendants interested in their parents’ origins. Over the last ten to fifteen years, however, the expellee memoir has seen a resurgence. Partly due to the *Zeitzeugen* (witnesses) nearing the end of their lives, feeling compelled to leave behind a complete testimony of those years of suffering, and partly due to wider cultural reasons, such as the release of Nobel Laureate Günter Grass’ bestselling novella *Im Krebsgang* in 2002, which resulted in the expulsions being discussed in the mainstream media, shifting perceptions, and opening conversation about perpetrator wartime suffering (Preece 172).

One of the more recent memoirs is *Und tief in der Seele das Ferne* by Katharina Elliger in which she depicts her family’s expulsion from Silesia. I have read Katharina Elliger’s memoir as a writer, mining for ‘facts’ and historical authenticity; as a researcher, interested in personal and collective memory, scouring the text with a critical eye, and as a member of the third-generation, my breath catching when I read sentences I’ve heard come from my own grandmother’s mouth. Among

other frightening events, Elliger describes the forced march out of her village and the subsequent dangerous journey to safety:

Ich konnte mich nicht bewegen, nichts denken, nichts fühlen, hatte auch keine Angst.

I couldn't move, couldn't think or feel anything, wasn't scared either. (82)

Ich wurde dann plötzlich ganz ruhig, ich verspürte keine Angst mehr, überhaupt kein Gefühl.

I was suddenly very still, I didn't feel scared anymore, didn't feel anything. (95)

Ich beobachtete alles – wie in Zeitlupe. Was da geschah, ging mir nichts an. Es berührte mich nicht. Ich konnte mich auch nicht bewegen, ich war wie gelähmt.

I could see everything – like in a time loop. What was happening had nothing to do with me. It didn't touch me emotionally. I couldn't move either, it was as though I were lame. (130)

Die Sterne standen über mir, gefühllos und kalt.

The stars were above me, numb and cold. (131)

As a writer, I think *this* is how it feels to be on a death-march as a fifteen-year-old, leaving your village, the only place you have ever known. As a researcher, I think *this* is Elliger's *act of remembrance* – that is, her narrative technique and process of selection. I pick it apart, highlighting her use of elisions, euphemism and accepted testimonial clichés. I read as the narrative breaks down, note Elliger's repeated references to her own emotional desensitisation, remembering her numbness *then* and reliving the horror she should have felt through the act of writing *now*. As a third-generation reader, however, I also read my grandmother. She, too, was never scared, or so she had us believe. She, too, felt nothing. Emotional words like 'fear' and 'sadness' did not pass her lips. Perhaps they symbolised weakness for her (*I was not afraid*), when in fact these descriptive, emotional terms presage the opposite: they are powerful words that endanger the self-protective cocoon of selective memory and semi-amnesia. After all, memory, according to James Fentress and

Christopher Wickham, ‘is not a passive receptacle but instead a process of active restructuring, in which elements may be retained, reordered, or suppressed’ (40).

Katharina Elliger’s reaction to her expulsion from Silesia recalls Cathy Caruth’s foundational definition of PTSD; namely, that ‘[t]he event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated *possession* of the one who experiences it’ (Caruth 4). As a child, Elliger felt nothing, unable to take in what was happening to her. As an adult reflecting on her experiences, Elliger repeatedly returns to the event; repeating, too, the language she uses to describe it, mirroring the trauma on the level of textual technique (Whitehead 3). Several decades later, she is able to interpret the situation through the framework of modern psychoanalysis. Elliger ‘reads’ the coldness and numbness as a natural, biological reaction to the mass death and suicides which surrounded her at that time. Yet the numbness continues into the present, in the ‘repeated possession of the one who experiences it’.

In ‘Windstill’, tensions between cold and warmth, between emotional and unemotional reaction, provide the dramatic dynamics of the story. Lora appears, at first, distant and detached while her grandmother, Erika, following the death of her husband, descends into hypochondria and panic attacks. The tension between their opposing temperaments reaches a climax when Lora challenges her grandmother about her Aunt’s controversial memoir. Trudi’s testimony includes an episode of violent war-time rape, which deeply shocks Lora. While Erika continues to outwardly deny that she had been raped or even been a witness to rape, the resurgence of the repressed memory results – not in further panic attacks – but in a kind of emotional numbness as the state recounted by Elliger. It is Lora, the third generation ‘inheritor’ of these memories who is outwardly affected by the discovery, breaking down in exhaustion. Her grandmother’s story (although told by another) chimes with Lora’s own experiences of sexual harassment and personal violation from her ex-boyfriend as, recalling Hirsch’s formulation on the ‘evacuation’ of the postmemorial identity, the line between Lora’s own memories and those of her grandparents’ generation begin to blur.

*

(A family at dinner. Erika, the grandmother; Lora, her twenty-two year old granddaughter; Gerold, Erika's nephew; and Daniel, Lora's ex-boyfriend.)

'Is that what you fell out about, you and Trudi? I mean, what was it about the book that upset you and Opa?'

Erika, for all her previous desire to talk, fell silent.

Gerold said in a low voice: 'Leave it, Lora.'

'You're the one who brought it up,' she countered.

Erika looked at the outsider to the family, Daniel. For him, it seemed, she would continue. She would go on, bearing witness, sharing her memories of home, zu Hause:

'That memoir is full of lies. For instance, my sister-in-law thinks we're trau-ma-tised,' she said, elongating the word as she would do an English loanword. 'They'd take us out of class as soon as the sirens went off. It was very exciting, running up the back of the school, rising above the city, right to the top of this hill, I remember, where we could watch the enemy flying over the city centre, dropping bombs. The light and smoke were overwhelming, you know, it was very exciting.'

'Were you afraid?' Daniel asked.

'No,' she said. 'Not at all. Traumatized, she says. Do I seem traumatized to you? No. It was exciting, very exciting.'

Gerold seemed to force a smile; the shadows under his eyes betrayed his weariness, his impatience: 'Aunt Erika, it's only natural that children would be frightened watching bombs drop on their hometown.'

'Excuse me, but you weren't there. My whole life I've had people, young people, people who were not even born, telling me what it was like in the war. But I'm the one who lived through it. Der totalen Krieg! Total war. I was there, believe me.'

Der totalen Krieg. A phrase, like zu Hause, that her grandmother used repeatedly and which often had the effect of pushing Lora away from the present moment. Her thoughts wandered to empty streets, black and

white rubble, the number zero. The word 'totalen' contained the German word 'tot'. Death.

*

Although sexual violence in immediate post-war Germany has received attention in recent years, it has historically been an overlooked aspect of wartime narratives. In her collection of testimonies, *Frewild* ('Prey' in English), Ingeborg Jacobs states that around two million women experienced wartime rape or sexual violence of some description after 1945; the exact number is difficult to determine since many women were raped several times (10). Marlene Epp in her article on wartime rape and the Soviet and East European Mennonite Refugees points out that 'the occurrence of rape was much higher than the number of women raped' (60). It is no surprise, then, that rape is often mentioned in expellee memoirs: mentioned, or hinted at, but rarely described in detail. Wartime rape was once a taboo subject in Germany, due to the 'sensitive nature of rape itself' (61). The reception and publication history of *Eine Frau in Berlin* ('A Woman in Berlin') is testament to the slowly shifting attitude to this part of history. Published anonymously in 1959 by a small Swiss press, the diaries frankly recount a woman's experiences of Soviet occupied Berlin and the sexual bartering and practicalities that were needed to survive. The reception was one of moral outrage, and some accused it of 'besmirching the honour of German women' (Beavor 3). The book quickly fell out of print. It was only reissued again in 2003 after the author's death when it was received far more positively, even making it to the big screen in 2008. This mainstream success created a platform for the discussion of immediate post-war sexual violence in Germany, just as Günter Grass's novella *Im Krebsgang* did for the expellee community in 2002.

Nevertheless, a sense of social and moral shame surrounding the topic of wartime rape lingers. It is, for instance, extremely rare to find a first-hand account or testimony of rape in expellee memoirs. Instead, euphemism and narrative tropes are used to circumvent the necessity of describing the event. It is this refusal or inability to put into words the experience of sexual violence that informed my doctoral novel. It is highly likely that my protagonist Erika was raped, yet cannot admit to it, either

because she has deliberately forgotten it (self-protective amnesia) or she is unable to articulate the memory, thus making the Freudian ‘talking cure’ that is part of Ustorf’s healing process impossible for her. Although Elliger’s memoir was published in 2004, one year after *A Woman in Berlin*, her approach to sexual violence continues the euphemistic textual traditions and techniques of female testimony on the subject:

Aber wie viele Nächte habe ich voll Angst, mit klopfendem Herzen auf dem Dachboden hinter dem Kamin gehockt, während sie, gezielt oder nicht gezielt, in der Gegend herumschossen, wilde Flüche ausstießen und den Frauen drohten, sie zu erschießen, falls sie nicht zum Vorschein kamen. Und wenn dann, nachdem sie welche gefunden hatten, die gellenden Schreie aus den Nachbarhäusern zu mir herüberhallten! (124)

How many nights did I hide in the attic or the chimney, my heart beating, full of fear, while they [the Soviets] aimlessly ran around the place, shouted curses and threatened to shoot women unless they came out. And then, when they found some, the piercing screams that I heard resounding from the neighbouring houses!

The ‘hiding’ trope recurs again and again, and can be found in Erika Morgenstern, Ilse Tielsch, Helga Hirsch, as well as the use of the third-person (‘they’) in the oral histories gathered by Marlene Epp in her investigation of Mennonite refugees (63-67). It is also interesting to note how the maturity and sexual knowledge of Elliger’s younger self shifts from scene to scene, as if she is unable to decide on the figure of innocent child or the shrewd young woman of *A Woman in Berlin*. In one scene, a German soldier tries to pull her forcibly towards him, but she resists, confidently commenting: ‘Oh, so *that’s* what he wanted!’ (104). In the next scene, she insists she ‘did not know exactly what rape was’ (105) as she describes hearing the screams of women after dark. Elliger uses naivety as a shield, avoiding more explicit description. She hides from the Russian soldiers just as she hides from the reader. Nowhere in the text does Ellinger say whether she was or was not raped. The text is full of fragments – half scenes, paragraphs that seem to go nowhere, interjections disrupting the narrative – which may or may not hint at something larger that is being left unsaid. The story of her sister, Bärbel,

demonstrates the lengths to which rape is an unarticulated part of the post-war narrative:

Ich war verstört. Bärbel war immer so weich und freundlich gewesen, jetzt verzog sie den Mund in Bitterkeit und schaute uns nicht an. Meine Fragen beantwortet sie gar nicht ... [Danach] Sie fühlte sich verfolgt, konnte nicht mehr schlafen, wurde psychisch krank und stumm. Nie mehr hat sie ein Wort über ihre Erlebnisse in Schlesien gesagt. Die Schwester in der Psychiatrie in Warstein, wo sie 1968 innerhalb von drei Tage an Tuberkulose starb, sagte sie nach ihrem Tod: „Nun hat das Bärbelchen endlich ausgelitten. (118, 187-88)

[My translation] I was disturbed. Bärbel had always been so sweet and friendly to me, but now she grimaced with bitterness and did not look at us. She did not answer my questions... [Afterwards] She thought she was being pursued, she couldn't sleep anymore, became mentally ill and mute. She never said another word about her experiences in Silesia. The nurse in the psychiatric ward in Warstein, where she died within three days from tuberculosis, said after her death: 'Now little Bärbel doesn't have to suffer anymore.'

Elliger's older sister repeatedly 'disappears' in the memoir, working irregular hours for the Soviet soldiers. The child Elliger does not know where her sister is and neither, she says, does her mother. Even in hindsight, and with the knowledge that she was later admitted to a psychiatric institute, Elliger does not once mention the word 'rape' with reference to her sister's experiences. It exists only in the silences: 'Since Bärbel couldn't or wouldn't explain, I didn't ask her anymore, and everything continued as usual. I think my mother and the other two [women of the family] didn't know exactly what was going on. But they didn't ask either, and maybe we didn't really want to know the details' (163).⁴

Elliger buries her sister's story inside her own memories. It may be out of respect that she does not conjecture on the cause of the

⁴ 'Aber da Bärbel es mir nicht erklären konnte oder wollte, fragte ich auch nicht mehr, und alles ging seinen Gang. Ich glaube, auch meine Mutter und die beiden anderen wussten nichts Genaueres. Aber sie fragten auch nicht nach, und vielleicht wollten wir es auch nicht so genau wissen'.

psychological disorder that meant her sister ended her life in a psychiatric institute, yet it is also a reflection of how difficult it still is to speak openly and directly about sexual violence. Only in propaganda or the very early testimonies laid down by expellees with the view of sending their accounts to the United Nations in 1948 have I come across explicit description of rape (Reichenberger 1948). *A Woman in Berlin* is an exception in its candid attitude towards sexual relations in post-war Germany, and the controversy it caused clearly suggests it was published before its time. Sexual violence continues to occupy a complex, ambiguous place in the narratives of the expulsions: half-remembered, deliberately forgotten or remembered in selected ways.

*

I think it's very interesting to think about how people in the third generation have gotten even more attached to ancestral histories than in other cases (Hirsch, *Altes Land*, 388).

It is in the kitchen that my grandmother offers us her most personal stories, since the kitchen is the one room in the house that is unquestionably hers. My father dries the dishes while she washes. I sit and listen like a well-behaved novelist-ethnographer as she talks about the Russian zone where she worked for a few years after the expulsion (it is best not to ask for precise dates, since she was fifteen at the time. She does not remember details, and if you ask, she becomes defensive and anxious, because by asking for facts are you not doubting her testimony?) In the Russian zone, there was a Ukrainian officer who looked after her, offered her his straw-mattress. He wanted to take her back to the Ukraine with him and it was up to my grandmother's father to try, as diplomatically as possible, to dissuade the officer – the young man with the gun and the power – of this particular plan. 'He wanted to marry me,' my grandmother announces, proudly. My father puts the cutlery back in the drawers without a word. Later, he asks me what I think about this story, inviting me to read between the lines. She must have been raped, he says. At first, my answer is *No*. Then *I don't know*. And now, well...

*

Prologue: Summer 1945. A field between Poland and Germany

'Woman, come!'

Two soldiers emerged from the woods, shouldering guns. They followed the dirt path across the field to where a group of women were kneeling among the low bushes. Behind the women was the coal train that had brought them here. It hissed, sending a trail of black smoke into the sky, before falling silent.

Again, the soldiers called: 'Come here! Woman, come!'

But the women kept their heads down, continuing to squat in the field, stuffing their mouths with bitter redcurrants, not caring about the tiny, brittle leaves or the maggots. The soldiers were closing in, their shouts more excitable now. 'Hey! Hey!' Better for the women to go back to the coal wagons. But they were hungry, and so they ignored the danger.

A body lay by the tracks—a man in civilian clothes. The women hadn't found anything worth taking.

The younger of the two soldiers blew into his gloves, clapping loudly, trying to warm his fingers; an angry, pink mark covered one side of his face. The other soldier, grey-haired with broken teeth, pointed at two girls who had travelled with the women in the wagons. They were chest-deep among the redcurrant bushes, eating, eating. Not more than thirteen years old. Their heads were shorn, their shifts hung loose, chins stained red.

The man with the birthmark waded into the field and grabbed them, taking a bony arm in each of his gloved hands. One girl cried out; the other stared up at him, her body going limp, as if she'd known this would happen. The grey-haired soldier looked on, loosening his belt.

They were about to lead the girls away to the woods, when one of the women charged towards them, 'Stop! Stop!' An oversized man's coat flapping around her calves as she ran. Her scalp was showing where her dark hair had come out in tufts. She swept through the redcurrant bushes, her belly swollen. The two girls gazed emptily at her, as if trying to remember who she was. The woman spoke rapidly in the soldiers' language. She wrung her hands, sinking down on her knees. The

birthmarked soldier's lip curled. For a brief moment, she laid her hands on his chest.

From the path, the old soldier gave another nod. Birthmark let go of the children, who ran to the tracks. The big-bellied woman remained, kneeling.

Then the train began coughing and squirming, as if painfully regurgitating its insides. The women clambered back into the coal wagons. So did the young girls. They squatted on the sawdust floor, clinging to each other, while the rest watched the soldiers leave with the woman. The trio were heading in the direction of the forest. She walked calmly between them as if she were on a Sunday promenade, flanked by her brothers, her hands resting on her bulging stomach.

The train advanced three hundred metres before stopping again. It did not move for hours. Later, the girls vomited up the redcurrants, wiping the mess away as best they could with their hands.

*

In *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories*, the Hungarian scholar Andrea Pető sets out the powerful feminist agenda existing within contemporary Memory Studies; namely, that of 'feminist unsilencing' (15). Her work explores the wartime sexual violence against Hungarian women in the late 1930s, a traumatic event that has been overlooked, or even actively dismissed from, the master History. I wonder whether, in some small way, my novel too is engaged in this 'feminist unsilencing' Pető speaks of? The action turns on contested narrative, and what is contested is the act (or several acts) of rape. This is the foundational difference between my work-in-progress and my father's novel, which takes my grandmother's story of the Ukrainian at face-value, in respect to her testimony.

As a woman and a member of the third-generation, with that necessary familial distance, I am able to make wartime rape central to the plot. Yet, on re-reading and reflecting on my practice, I realise that my novel continues the work of eliding, avoiding, silencing. The woman of the prologue is escorted by two soldiers to the woods: I do not write about what happens there, nor do I allow the present-day characters to

‘find’ or ‘recover’ that lost story. Erika’s traumatic memories are limited to her nightmares, incommunicable to her granddaughter or the reader. It seems I am hedging, too, escaping from the difficulty of representing the very seeds of trauma by closing the narration, ending the prologue too soon.

Ending is the most difficult stage of writing: how to close an autoethnographic novel where the inherited trauma continues on, beyond the page? How can we – my father and I – finally expel the memories, put them aside at the close of the book? Is Grass right when he says ‘we keep flushing [history] down, but the shit still comes up’ (115)?⁵

For cues, I turn to another German writer, Dörte Hansen, whose debut novel *Altes Land (This House is Mine)* gives fictional expression to the expellees’ sense of dislocation and the second and third generation’s struggle with their fractured identity. Both the German and English titles encapsulate the work’s central preoccupation: *homeland*. The novel shot to the Spiegel bestseller list in 2015 and remained on the top spot for several months. It was a surprise success, and, perhaps, much of this success lies in Hansen’s somewhat sentimental treatment of the expulsions.

Altes Land is an intergenerational family novel set in an old farmhouse. The protagonist, Vera Eckhoff, is the daughter of an East Prussian expellee, and with the arrival of her niece Anne and Anne’s infant son Leon, Vera is forced to recall her own traumatic childhood. The story is fixed in the present, the daily life of a farmer in the flat, vast countryside outside of Hamburg, yet the presence of the past cannot be ignored. Karl, Vera’s step-father, returned from the war as a ‘Pappkamerade’ (a cardboard soldier), a shadow of his former self, his PTSD worsening with age: ‘Dr Burger’s medicine often didn’t work until the next morning, and Vera would hear Karl crying out. First like a child, then like an animal. [...] What he was dreaming of could not be described

⁵ ‘Die Geschichte, genauer die von uns angerührte Geschichte ist ein verstopftes Klo. Wir spülen und spülen, die Scheiße kommt dennoch hoch’.

with words.’ (127).⁶ Even Vera’s half-sister, Anne’s mother, who grew up in the fifties and sixties, describes her ‘incurable homesickness for a home that no longer existed. An expellee who no longer knew where she belonged’ (54).⁷ The mother’s trauma of displacement is transferred to the daughter before being transmitted once more to the third generation: Anne, too, is a ‘refugee’ from her life in the city, restless and uncertain of her place as her mother before her, even though neither experienced first-hand what Vera suffered in 1945.

Only at the very end of the novel does the historical expellee narrative rise to the foreground when, ‘triggered’ by Leon’s presence in the household, Vera recalls her earliest memories of the flight from the East. In a fragmented, stream-of-consciousness passage, Hansen finally reveals that Vera once had a little brother Leon’s age who froze to death while crossing the icy Vistula lagoon. With this revelation, the entire novel shifts: the reader is catapulted back to a traumatic history that had been submerged beneath Hansen’s modern, realist representation of life in Hamburg and the Lower Saxon countryside. The narrative disintegrates, becoming the fragmented, elliptical witness account reminiscent of memoirs such as Elliger’s *Und tief in der Seele das Ferne*: ‘What could they say, the Polacken kids, when they were bullied by the others. That they hadn’t done anything wrong? That they were children who had to walk over corpses? And that it was better to walk over them than the dying, because they didn’t make any noises anymore?’ (233-35)⁸

Vera’s own horrifying memories provide the narrative climax, and they explain the behaviour of her niece: these memories also overwhelm Anne, shaping her life in ways that she could not fully articulate. In the final chapter, she organises a trip to the east, Vera’s ‘homeland’ – a nostalgia tour popular with expellees in Germany or, as Vera calls them,

6 ‘[O]ft wirkten Dr. Burgers Mittel nicht bis zum nächsten Morgen, und Vera horte Karl doch wieder schreien. Erst wie ein Kind, dann wie ein Tier. [...] Was er nachts träumte, war nicht mit Worten zu beschreiben. Vera fragte ihn nicht mehr[.]’

7 ‘[U]nheilbares Heimweh nach einem Zuhause, dass es nicht mehr gab. Eine Vertriebene, die nicht mehr wusste, wo sie hingehörte.’

8 ‘Was hatten sie denn sagen sollen, die Polackenkinder, wenn sie gepiesackt wurden von den anderen. Dass sie nicht verbrochen hatten? Dass die Kinder waren, die über Leichen gehen mussten? Und dass das besser war, als über Sterbende zu steigen, weil Tote kein Geräusch mehr machten?’ ‘Polacken’ is a derogatory term for Polish people.

‘die Heimwehtouristen’, the homesickness tourists (270). When the women return, ‘nothing happened, life went on as before’ (283).⁹ The intergenerational trauma, then, cannot be ‘cured’ by revisiting the homeland or recounting what occurred in fiction. Inherited trauma, and the postmemory which come with it, is an irrefutable part of life.

Writing an autoethnography can be self-consciously therapeutic. But it goes beyond writing – it opens up the conversation, and when it works well, the conversation continues to be therapeutic for the writer. (Ellis 190)

Many writers [...] repeat key descriptions or episodes from one novel to another, and this technique both suggests an underlying trauma and implicitly critiques the notion of narrative as therapeutic or cathartic. (Whitehead 86)

Autobiographical fiction operates in a context of extended consciousness, a kind of emotional foreshadowing: the narrator, in this case, knows at the beginning what he (I) could have only known at the end. (Angrosino 322)

The autobiographical fiction offers an artificial ending to a process that is ongoing, a repetitive, ‘extended consciousness’ and ‘therapeutic conversation’ that is explored, but not finalised, in writing. It is a mistake I made many years ago when I read my father’s novel, thinking ‘that’s that’. Clearly, as in Hansen’s complex, intergenerational narrative, life continues as before, and fiction is not necessarily ‘therapeutic or cathartic’. Indeed, in the act of writing it may even be retraumatising, ‘triggering’, as it was for Vera when the arrival of family members forced her to narrativise her past. At any rate, the memory work of ‘imaginative investment’ continues, and my father and I carry on, in Hirsch’s terms, trying to understand something through writing which may forever ‘exceed our comprehension’ (5).

Eva Hoffman, on the other hand, reaches another, more hopeful conclusion at the end of her autoethnographic work on the inherited trauma of the Holocaust. She realises that her family’s traumatic past

9 *[E]s passierte gar nichts, das Leben ging genauso weiter.*

need not be the defining centre of her life, recognising moreover that: 'The deep effects of catastrophe, the kind that are passed on from psyche to psyche and mind to mind, continue to reverberate unto the third generation. But, after the third, or in rare cases the fourth generation, the direct thread [...] will be severed' (185). Perhaps the final chapter of this novel-in-progress cannot be closed in my lifetime, but eventually the thread 'will be severed' and the 'moral obligation' to remember will cease to be such a burden on those who come after.

*

A woman and her toddler were waiting outside. The girl grabbed hold of her mother's calves, hiding behind her corduroy skirt.

'That used to be you,' Erika told Lora, before stopping to address the woman directly. 'I was saying that she used to look like that.'

The woman laughed distractedly, trying to coax the toddler out from underneath her skirt. 'They grow up fast.'

'Yes. Lora looked just like that. But she had long hair, blonde and curly, like my son.' Erika took hold of her granddaughter's arm, stood close to her, as though she was looking for shelter against Lora's long body. Her grandmother's arm trembled against her own.

'Shall I phone Dad?'

'Not yet. I'm hungry, aren't you?'

Lora smiled. 'No. But I could eat.'

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“The Right Thing to be is a Virtuous Girl”: Women in Medieval Wales

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‘Dear son of God’ she said.

‘Alas that I was born!

Two good islands have been destroyed because of me’ (Ford 70)

With these words, Branwen, daughter of Lyr, the character from whom the second branch of the *Mabinogi* takes its title, dies broken-hearted over the devastation that has occurred around her. The *Mabinogi* is a collection of traditional Welsh tales compiled around the fourteenth century. In Branwen’s branch, or section, Bendigeidfran, the king of Wales and the brother to the titular character, had agreed to the king of Ireland’s request to marry Branwen. This union would create a bond between the two kingdoms, and ideally ensure a sense of loyalty and amity. The union, however, is ultimately futile. Due to mistrust, Branwen’s husband consents to his people’s desire to abuse and alienate the Welshwoman from direct contact with her husband, resulting in a war between her kin and the Irish people. The strong prospects that had

prompted the marriage fail to provide any fruits beside the deaths of both of Branwen’s brothers, her husband and their son.

The *Mabinogi* presents an example of Welsh courtly literature. Literary works such as this recount social norms and expectations. In these works, authors told of fantastic events in a setting that an elite audience would recognise and identify with. The basic precepts of the worlds made sense to those listening to or reading the works. Therefore, they record how they understood the world to work. In it, we see the roles and duties deemed appropriate to men and women as well as the punishments dealt out to those who transgress them. Branwen’s position in this tale allows the reader to examine the social role of women in marriage and the behaviours expected from them. It also opens a window on the position of a married woman between her natal kin and the kin group she married into, the responsibilities that her natal kin held in relation to the women and how the behaviour and welfare of a wife could affect these two groups.

To address the biases present in individual genres, and to present a more nuanced view of the society these sources emerged from, I will bring together sources from two additional genres. The second genre that will be examined is comprised of law codes and legal precepts. What differentiates this genre from the literary sources popular at court is that they offer the proscriptive view of the material and social realities of life. These tracts record a worldview popular among the elite members of society including the class of specialised legal professionals. The tracts and triads, which are three sentences relating to a particular triad used as a mnemonic device by the Welsh lawyers using these texts, map how they thought society ought to work and the methods they deemed appropriate to attempt to pursue these ends. Texts such as the ‘Laws of Women’ from the traditional legal codes the *Laws of Hywel Dda* inform readers how legal professionals, their patron and lords thought marriages ought to work and how women were supposed to act both in preparation for marriage and in their roles as wives. The ideals of this portrayal of the network of relation placed women in an ultimately untenable positions between the two kin groups they were tied to through blood and marriage.

This paper will end by looking at folk poems and other literary works to examine how female poets seemed to view marriage and their roles as wives, and to glean some hints as to how they may have managed to reconcile ideal and reality. It is my hope that this approach may help to spur further research along these lines. In particular, further insights into gender studies as well as the lives and networks available to non-elite members of society may benefit greatly from studies bringing together multiple literary genres as well as additional source types. By delving even deeper than the scope present in this work and taking an interdisciplinary approach the line between the material world and the intellectual world present in medieval Wales and other societies may be brought more into focus.

Interest in the Welsh ‘Law of Women’ increased dramatically around 1980 with the publication of *The Welsh Law of Women*, a collection of essays edited by T.M. Charles-Edwards and Dafydd Jenkins. This book brought together a number of the leading Welsh scholars of the time to look at the social and cultural aspects of this section of the Welsh law codes. Since then, many scholars continue to work with this source, using this legal lens as a window on the normative role perceived for women as an elite audience conceived of it. In particular, Sara Elin Roberts used the legal triads included in some redactions of the law codes to argue for independent Welsh legal development concerning women and their rights in society (Roberts 2008).¹

This paper adds an additional dimension to previous studies on medieval Welsh women by incorporating literary and poetic sources to the discussion allowing for a more nuanced view wherein the inherent biases of the different source types may be balanced by the viewpoints and purposes of others. Through this process the line between a social ideal as perceived by an elite audience and the everyday realities of life for women in medieval Wales may be examined. This last portion is, understandably, the most difficult point and will form the capstone of the paper. It will serve as both an endpoint and the invitation for future work along these lines.

¹ These triads were three sentences on a legal code thought to be used for educational and mnemonic purposes.

The law codes of Wales are called *The Law of Hywel Dda*. The name is taken from a tenth century ruler whose might allowed him to rule as the overlord of the majority of Wales. Traditionally, legal professionals tied the legitimacy of the laws to this king whom they believed codified and promulgated the various tracts of law throughout Wales (Thornton). Many of the extant manuscripts include a prologue describing how Hywel Dda called a council to review and revise the laws of Wales. Scholars, however, have cautioned against reading the prologue at face value. (Jenkins, 'Introduction' viii) The Welsh legal tradition, related as it was to Celtic legal traditions, may share in the propensity for including pseudo-historical information in the prologues of law texts in order to bolster the authority of these documents (ibid).² By tying the authority of the law codes to a semi-mythic and revered figure such as Hywel Dda, Welsh legal professionals worked to make the laws unassailable both to the encroaching English dominion and, to a certain extent, the Church.

There are extant manuscripts of the law codes in both Welsh and Latin. The majority are the 35 vernacular manuscripts that survive with five additional Latin manuscripts. The Welsh law books are organized by particular redactions of which three are extant alongside the Latin manuscripts that draw from them. These are the *Cyfnerth*, the *Iowerth*, and the *Blegywyrdd*. Information in the prologue suggests that the *Cyfnerth* represents the oldest and simplest tradition, followed by the *Iowerth*, with *Blegywyrdd* being the most recent redaction (Pryce, 'Lawbooks and Literacy in Medieval Wales' 37). More than the age of their compilation the aspects that distinguish the redactions are the general order and phrasing of the laws within the various tractates, the area in Wales from which they seem to originate, and the peculiarities in their incipits (Edwards 148). Scholarly consensus considers the point of origin for the *Cyfnerth* and *Blegywyrdd* redactions to be in Southern Wales while the *Iowerth* redaction represents the tradition common in Gwynedd in Northern Wales (Roberts 59-60).

Despite the common name of the law books Hywel was not portrayed as the sole creator of the laws. Extant manuscripts record that the law

² Jenkins relates that one Irish text stated that St. Patrick himself had approved of the laws included in the code.

was later modified by princes such as Bleddyn ap Cynfyn of Powys, who died around 1075, and Rhys ap Gruffdd of Deuheubarth, who died in 1197 (Davies, 'The Twilight of the Welsh Law, 1284-1536' 144). The law codes freely note judges and princes who understood the laws in a particular way. These individuals, however, did not hold the same position in the minds of authors as that held by Hywel Dda. Unlike the contemporary figures who practiced the law and made lasting changes of practice, Hywel alone served as the figurehead of the codes. This earlier ruler, whose distance in time allowed him to serve precisely the functions that the Welsh needed at any particular time, acted as a unifying figure for the Welsh. He was a symbol of power and cultural solidarity that became more important as England increasingly gained control of Welsh lands.

Extant manuscripts have been found to date from the mid-thirteenth century up until the fifteenth century (Edwards 142).³ In this period of time the Welsh laws were still the law of the land. This was applicable to a greater or lesser extent both in Wales itself, continuing after Edward I's conquest and consolidation of Welsh rule in the late thirteenth century, and in some of the Marches along the borders (Edwards 142). It is actually at this juncture when the majority of the extant manuscripts were produced. In this way the production of the law books, if not merely the promulgation of an ongoing code of law, may have been a subtle rebellion against English rule. The fact that these texts became so important to legal practitioners at a time when English cultural authority began to be asserted indicates that some Welsh royal houses may have been willing to disregard Welsh legal practice if and when it suited them (Stacey, 'Learning to Plead in Medieval Welsh Law' 123). The attachment of the Welsh tradition to one of the early Welsh kings embodied in the written word gave them the appearance of stability and the protection of royal and legal precedent. In this way they became a concrete symbol of the independence and strength of cultural tradition of Wales and the Welsh despite English rule.

³ There are many later manuscripts as well, but these were primarily copies of older manuscripts made by antiquarians. Thus the intention of the copy is different from the codes written by earlier authors.

This symbol of Welsh identity is reflected in the languages used in the manuscripts. Of the surviving manuscripts all but five are written in Welsh rather than Latin. The law codes account for more than a third of extant Middle Welsh manuscripts written between 1250 and 1400 CE (Pryce, ‘Lawbooks and Literacy in Medieval Wales’ 33). The earliest of the Latin texts were written at some point in the late thirteenth century, therefore postdating the earliest extant Welsh manuscript by approximately half a century (Harding 140). In the majority of the extant texts the law codes tend to be the only document recorded in the manuscript. To put it more clearly in this period the law texts written in Welsh were preserved alone rather than in a compilation of documents. This suggests that the laws were held in fairly high regard by the authors. The laws possessed a utility in and of themselves, rather than serving merely as textual expressions of authority. Lawyers needed to be able to have the texts at hand in order to consult them.

Legal professionals were common in Wales. In both Wales and Ireland, members of this social group kept and maintained the traditional practices while at the same time subtly adapting them to contemporary concerns (Jenkins, ‘Introduction’ xv). The Law was actively adapted and edited by anonymous scribes and lawyers which preserved older laws, often more similar to Irish laws, alongside newer laws that seem to suggest a closer kinship with thirteenth century Anglo-Norman laws (Davies, ‘Twilight of Welsh Laws’ 145). Thus the Welsh laws seem to possess certain dynamism. The legal profession appears to have had the ability to tweak and adjust the laws to work without obvious shows of formality such as the proclamations of the Anglo-Saxon kings that were made when laws were added or adjusted.⁴ This seems to reflect that Welsh law rather than being set down by a legislative figure was formed around the needs of the people of the society (Harding 137). Of course, this would work more toward the advantage of the landed classes such as those families that could afford to have a member devoted to practicing law. The law books themselves seem to be in many cases personal collections of the laws collected by lawyers for their own use.

⁴ The Anglo-Saxon comparison can be seen in *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. ed. and trans. F.L. Attenborough. cf. The laws of the later kings Alfred and Aethelstan.

This is suggested by the fact that every individual manuscript is slightly different than the others. Besides content, the sizes of the manuscripts vary considerably. While some seem to have been transcribed by expert scribes and bound in large presentation volumes, many are small texts written in a non-professional hand. These smaller versions could fit within an individual's sleeve or another pocket and therefore be immediately accessible should the need arise to consult the Law (Jenkins, 'Introduction' xxi). The manuscripts also show a great deal of wear suggesting continuing use of the volumes over long periods. The intensive use of the codices, along with the fact that the content of the law evolved throughout the period, indicates it was not merely held in high regard for what it meant symbolically to a sense of Welsh identity. Rather than this its importance derived as much from its cultural significance as from its practical use. Law texts were needed for utility as much as ideology. They straddle the ideology of society and the practice of law at the time they were written. Through these lenses, one can view the customs and norms of the society as the authors and their patrons conceived them. Thus the law codes can act as a laboratory for attitudes and opinions concerning the proper order of society. Furthermore, a major point in setting out this ideal order was to establish the position of women therein.

'Concerning the Laws of Girls and Women'

In the majority of the extant manuscripts, the 'Law of Women' opens the second main group of law tractates, the 'Laws of Country'. Tractates included in this section of the code set out the laws for the wider Welsh community. They relate to the processes, as well as anticipated possible malfunctions, that occur in the social community. The codes relate to issues that could arise in society and the ways that wrongs might be rectified. Overall, the purpose of these tractates seems to be the protection of the country. They were meant to prevent or contain any situations that could threaten the bonds that held the community together.

The positioning of the 'Law of Women' at the head of this section of the codes suggests the importance of women, marriage and the bonds forged through this institution to the welfare of the kingdom. The

Cyfnorth redaction of this tractate opens with the laws concerning the establishment of a union. In particular, the focus at the outset in these texts is set firmly on calculating the value of the economic exchanges that occurred during marriage for each level of society (Jenkins, ‘The Cyfnorth Text’ 137). These three payments were known as the *gobr/amobr*, the *cowyll* and the *agweddi*.⁵ In the Iowerth redaction, and to a certain extent the Latin and Blegywyrð as well, the tractate opens not so much with the establishment of a union as with the disintegration of one.⁶

O deruyd y wreic bot rodyeit idi, ydan y hangwedi y dyly bot hyt ym pen y seith mlyned; ac o cheiff teir nos o'r seithet bl6ydyn ac yskar onadunt, rannent yn deu hanher pob peth a u oar y helo oc a uo udunt

If it happens that a woman has givers, she is entitled to be under her egweddi until the end of seven years. And if she gets three nights from the seventh year and they part, let them divide into two halves everything that is theirs which is in their possession. (Charles-Edwards, ‘The Iowerth Text’ 163)

These lines open up the Iowerth redaction’s version of the tractate. In these two sentences, the situation seems quite simply set out. Each member of the married couple ought to take half of their shared property. This becomes more complicated as the text continues as the author of the Iowerth redaction then moves to carefully set out exactly which person received which items from the household. As the list grows the separation of items increasingly suggests a more figurative meaning to the section (Stacey, ‘Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style’ 1111). Items such as the traditionally male broad axe and other large, unwieldy items are designate as the woman’s due while the man receives the smaller wood axe and the sickles (Charles-Edwards, ‘The Iowerth Text’ 163). Throughout this section the separation of goods suggests the breakdown of society. Warfare, protection of the household and country, feasting and

5 In the glossary to his translation of the *Law of Hywel Dda*, Dafydd Jenkins translated *gobr* or *amobr* as a fee paid to the woman’s lord upon marriage or if a single woman was found to be sexually active. *Cowyll* was a payment made to the woman upon her marriage. The *agweddi* or *egweddi* referred to the portion of the property owned by a married couple that the woman was entitled to should the marriage end before seven years had passed.

6 In the Cyfnorth redaction, this section is not considered until much later in the tractate

hospitality become impossible (Stacey, 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style' 1116). By placing this section at the head of the tractate that begins the 'Laws of Country', the author reveals the importance of marriage for the life of the country. The marital union, in this instance, acts as the keystone of social order. Divorce signals misrule and chaos. This section, then, acts less as a guide to the actual separation of shared goods than as a sign of the social necessity for marriages to remain intact unions and for women to remain in their proper positions under the authority of their husbands.

Whether married or unmarried a woman's position in society was in some ways symmetrically linked with the position of her brother or another male of her position in society from her birth (Patterson 31). In reference to the coming of age of children the Laws state:

O'r pan anher y mab ene uo pedeyr blyud ar dec e dele bot urth noe e tat, a'e tat en argluyd arnau; ac ny dele cosp arnau namen un e tat, ac ny dele un keynnyauc o'e da en henne o amser namen a uedhor e tat, ac ny dele maruty arnau ket boet maru en henne o amser, namen bot en eydau y tat e da oll a uo yn y warchahadu, canes y tat en henne o amser a dele altep trostau am pob peth. O'r pan anher ene uo deudeg bluyd e dele bot urth noe y that. Em pen e petwared uluyden ar dec e tat duen e uab are r argluyd a'e orchemyn ydau, ac yna e dele enteu gurhau e'r rgluyd a bot urth ureynt e argluyd, ac ef ehun byeu attep trostau o pob haul a ouynher ydau, ac ef ehun byeu medu e da; ac ny dele a tat y usedu o hene allan muy nac estraun, ac os maed, gan kuynau o'r mab racdau, ef a uyd dryyau ac a wna yaun e'r mab o'e sarhaet. O'e deudeg bluyd allan e dau bronneu a chedor arney ac e blodeuha, ac ena e byd oet ydy e rody e ur. Ac o henne allan, keny chaff our, e dele medu er eydu, ac ny dele bot urth noe e that o hene allan onyt ef ehun a'e men.

From when the son is born until he is fourteen years old, it is right for him to be at his father's platter, with his father as lord over him . . . At the end of the fourteenth year, it is right for the father to take his son to the lord and to commend him to him . . . and [for him] to be dependent on the lord's status . . . From when [a daughter] is born until she is twelve years old it is right for her to be at her father's platter. From twelve years old . . . she is of age to be given to a husband; and from then on, even if she

does not take a husband she is entitled to control what is hers. (Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda* 130-32)

Both the male and female children are recognized as moving beyond the direct control of the father at the age of puberty (Patterson 36). At this point one would expect that the youth began to transfer into the house of another man; a higher status lord for a son and a husband or 'lord' for a daughter. At this point both sexes would be expected to contribute to the benefit of their respective lords. In the case of the woman, this would be through her household labor and fertility (Patterson 36). The codification of a woman's transference from one male head to another, one the father figure and the other a legally recognized sexual partner, implies that in this society women were understood to contribute less to society as a whole. In the same way that a man was below a lord who inhabited a higher position in the social hierarchy, the woman was below a man, a person who was of a sex considered to hold a higher position in the social hierarchy.

There could be many reasons that affected the social position of the female sex. A man had a range of culturally approved ways to contribute to society. Men were deemed more useful in agricultural labour and they could fight in military campaigns. It is true that women in Wales, as well as in Ireland at times, appeared on the battlefield and perhaps even acted as military strategists but this practice does not seem to be considered entirely approved of and was very uncommon after the sixth century, if it ever existed at all (Swartz 113-14). At the time of the recording and compilation of the Laws it would seem that a woman's most important function was as a means of continuing her husband's line.

Returning to the code above, it is significant that the age of maturity for a daughter is slightly younger than that of a son. A male child's transition happens as he leaves his father's house and rule upon entering into the house and rule of his lord. This change is almost entirely shown through one's social ties and responsibilities. The transition from childhood to adulthood for a female child was marked primarily by the physical changes in her body rather than by community relationships and responsibilities as it was for a male.

A girl entered marriageable age just before the physical signs of puberty emerged. In a section of the laws on marriage and possible fraud the text states: 'If it happens that her breasts and pubic hair have developed and she has menstruated, then the law says that no one knows what she is, whether maiden or woman' (Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda* 49). This was noted because it directly affected a girl's ability to marry. An unmarried young woman who had reached puberty became suspect. The most assured way for a man to be sure that the bride he was taking was as free of risk as possible was for her to be a prepubescent virgin. Girls remained with their immediate family until marriage partly in order to ensure that they could protect their virginity (McAll 8-9). Rather than sending a young girl out to fosterage where individuals only distantly related to her may not closely guard her, having her stay in the family home allowed the girl's kin to keep her from any mischief. This arrangement allowed any potential husband to receive a surety from an intended bride's kin on her virgin status (Owen 48). The intimate kin group would be in a position to swear upon her virginity for it had been their duty to ensure that the girl had been protected.

This is not to say that virginity solely related to moral purity. The writers of these texts decided to include for reasons outside of the influenced of the church and religious concerns alone (Owen 47). The risk of taint referred to the economic liability of a woman of childbearing age having had sex with another man before marriage and therefore being pregnant with another man's child. The virginity of a bride was economically beneficial for both the woman's kin and for the man. This benefit for the woman was reflected in the payment of *cowyll* to the woman after her husband took her virginity. The fact that the laws seem to suggest the preference for having a daughter married before she had entered puberty suggests the economic nature of marriage. Despite this, however, it seems though a woman was recognized as being of marriageable age at twelve, outside of the nobility, most Welsh women entered their first marriages in their late teens (Herlihy 73). It is perhaps in recognition of this fact that many of the codes refer to the fear of a fraudulent virgin. If the majority of women in Wales were being married at the age of twelve, when they first became of an age at which they might

get pregnant, then the laws would have little need to consider how, and in which cases, a man might be compensated for the fraud.

The modern notion of marriage cannot be applied directly to the union to which the Laws refer. The laws included a list of nine legally valid sexual unions. These unions ranged from the highest, the *gwraig briod*, which means marriage in modern Welsh, to the lowest, the deception of a virgin (Charles-Edwards, '*Nau Kynywedi Teithiauc*' 35). In practice, the law codes recognized any form of sexual union or cohabitation between a man and a maiden or woman as a legal marriage in that it was capable of producing legitimate children (Davies, 'The Status of Women and the Practice of Marriage in late Medieval Wales' 104). Therefore, men who spent a series of successive nights with a woman were subject to payments not unlike those required in legitimate marriages. 'Whosoever sleeps three nights with a woman . . . let him pay her a steer worth 20 p and another worth 30 p and another worth 40 p. And if he takes her to house and home . . . he is bound to share with her as with a wife with bestowers' (Jenkins, *The Laws* 50). In this code, the phrase woman with bestowers denotes a woman given in marriage by her kin. It is a higher designation of wife than a woman who had married against the wishes of her family or who seemed to freely fraternize with men. Wives given in marriage by bestowers possessed rights to a certain portion of the marriage property in order to sustain them in case of widowhood.

The arrangement of this code suggests that each steer reflected payment to the woman for each night spent together. This not only reflected the legal recognition of a union being made but also served as a disincentive for the man to abandon or "misuse" the woman. Should he choose to sleep with her and then leave her, the chance that she might be pregnant was seen to have increased with each night they spent together. This makes that particular woman a risky or undesirable potential partner were she to try to marry another man after the fact. The cost of a brief union, therefore, seems to serve as both an incentive to remain in a regularized union and as a potential economic protection for the woman should she find herself set aside, unable to enter a more established union afterwards and/or with child.

Rape was treated in a similar way. The Laws do not strictly distinguish between the rape of a virgin and the rape of a non-virgin

(Jenkins, 'Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women' 86). Both a virgin and a non-virgin could, if they were able to prove rape, receive similar payments. The laws do not treat rape as a moral issue but rather as an injury such as other bodily attacks were treated. Rape did not affect the standing of a preexisting union. In fact, under the laws a rapist paid both the woman and her husband in turn for the offense. The woman received payment for the assault upon her person and the husband received payment for the insult that derived from an attack upon an individual under his protection, as well as the sexual misuse of his wife.

For the non-married women, as noted above, rape created a legally recognized union. In a paper on laws concerning rape, Lisi Oliver noted that one of its three meanings of the word used to distinguish rape from other forms of illicit sex, *forcor*, is 'appropriates' ('Forced and Unforced Raped in Early Irish Law, 94').⁷ The idea of rape as appropriating seems to fit into the notion of unions as economic arrangements. In this case, the rapist could be seen as taking one of two things. Either the rapist is appropriating the woman herself, which would imply that the woman was seen as a commodity, or he could be taking over an economically viable form of her labour. Since the rape was seen as a union, the laws stated that the woman ought to receive her *cowyll*, and other payments, which she would receive if a marriage ended before seven years (Charles-Edwards, 'The Iowerth Text' 171). The arrangement of such payments suggests that it was not that the woman herself was taken in cases of rape. Rather, rape was seen as a theft of a form of approved sexual labour. Thus, in rape, the wronged women suffered an act of violence against her own honour and the forced, inappropriate application of what in legal matters may be seen as one of her roles in a marriage. In these situations the wronged, unmarried woman received the payments rather than one of her male relatives.

The Shames of Women and the Shame of Kin

⁷ Oliver's paper primarily deals with the Irish laws concerning rape, but there is a fair resemblance between the two systems on this issue. The paper notes that the Welsh cognate for the Irish *forcor* is *fflet*.

The position of women in society and in her network of kin, along with her role in marriage, required that both women and men subscribed to ideas about proper and improper behaviour for women. To help build this mindset the law codes included social incentives for proper behaviour and disincentives for any transgressions against established social mores. Shaming punishments and practices helped to foster an anxiety about committing such actions and a desire to live within the boundaries set by the community (Elias 114). In this way women became active participants in the cultivation of the roles of and the acceptable behaviour for girls and women. Shame and the anxiety it provoked could be used both as punishment and as a prod toward proper thought and action.

The careful use of shaming can be found both in the law codes and in the cultural mindset that surrounded them. One of the triads included in the laws seems to attempt to explain the three economic exchanges that occurred around marriage as payment to women for the passage from girl and virgin to woman and wife (Owen 48-49).

Tri chy6ilyd mor6yn yssyd: vn y6 dy6edut o'e that 6rthi 'mi a'th rodeis y 6r'; eil y6 pan el gyntaf y g6ely y g6r; trydyd y6 pan el gyntaf o'r g6ely ym plith dnyon. Dros y kyntaf y rodir y hamobyr y'r argl6yd; dros yr eil y rodir y chy6yll idi hitheu; dros y trydyd y dyry tat y heg6edi y'r g6r

The shame of a maiden is threefold: first, when her father declares in her presence that he has given her to a man; secondly, when she enters her husband's bed; thirdly, when upon rising from the bed she comes among people. And therefore, for the first *amwaybyr* is given, for the second *cowyll*, for the third *egweddi* if she is left. (Fletcher 159)⁸

This triad carefully sets out the three payments that can be given to a woman when a marriage is contracted and if her husband leaves her before seven years passed. What is key in this triad is the catalyst of these payments. It is for the shame that a woman experiences naturally as she grows up and becomes a sexual being that these payments are made.

⁸ Q.118. *Amwaybyr* is a variant spelling in the Latin Redaction for the *amobr* Welsh text taken from Bleg. triad collection.

The changing status and role of the woman as she comes of age almost seems to be envisioned as a gauntlet of shame. In this arrangement, a girl feels shame upon the communal realization that she is nearly at puberty and thus ripe for marriage. This is repeated as she loses her virginity on her wedding night. Finally, she is granted the third potential payment for being seen by the community as woman who has had sexual relations even though she is now accepted as a wife. The young bride feels shame for the change in her classification in the village. Though she is in married, and has not lost her honour, she no longer possesses the desirable quality of virginity. Her loss is common knowledge in the community. Sex and adulthood for women is charged with a sense of anxiety. Even in the acceptable process of a woman's life, a sense of embarrassment surrounded changing sexual status that could only be countered if she remained married.

Rituals of shame became more pointed when provoked by sexual misconduct. Whether or not a potential bride truly possessed her virginity drew particular attention. Brides who had reached puberty before marriage required an oath from seven members of their immediate family in order to establish their virginal status (Charles-Edwards, 'The Iowerth Text' 167). If a woman refused to seek these oaths, the assumption erred toward her non-virginity:

Os hitheu ny mynn y diheyra⁶, lladher y chrys yn guu⁶ch a'e gwerdyr, a roder dinawet bl⁶yd yn y lla⁶ g⁶edy ira⁶ y losg⁶rn. Ac o geill y gynhal , kymeret yn lle y ran o'r argyfreu. Ac ony eill y kynhal, bit heb dim.

If she does not wish to be vindicated, let her shift be cut off as high as her genitals and let a year-old steer with its tail greased be put into her hand. And if she can hold it, let her take it as her share of the agryfrau. And if she cannot hold it, let her have nothing. (Ibid.)⁹

A woman, and by extension her kin-group, who refused to swear that she was a virgin was regarded as untrustworthy social outcasts. The potential marriage would be dissolved, leaving the woman without the financial and social support that it would provide.

⁹ *Agryfrau* entered the law codes as the Welsh term equivalent to the English dower. This is an alternative spelling of *agweddi*, used in Jenkins translation of the law code on page 49

For her assumed fallen status, the laws provided a ritual of public shame as the process through which she had to endure in order to keep some portion of what would have been her share of the marital property. The Lowerth redaction has the woman go in public showing her genitals. This state of undress gives a concrete sign to the community of her lack of shame in both her inability to prove her virginity and the assumption that she has participated in sexual misconduct. As she attempted to maintain her grasp upon the tail of the steer, in an exposed state, her transgressed would be emphasised. Through this process, the woman's failure was made public knowledge. It also allowed the community to view the punishment for inappropriate action.

Even when a woman maintained her virginity until her marriage and fulfilled her role and duties as a wife, the risk remained that she could invite shame upon her family. Branwen, the character with whom the paper began, is such an example. When she married the King of Ireland, Branwen fulfilled her role as a Queen and wife insofar as this was conceived by the author and audience. Moreover she provided her husband with a male heir.

No great lord or lady in Ireland would come to see Branwen to whom she didn't give either a brooch or a ring or a precious gem that would be remarkable to see given away. In all that, she spent the year in high regard . . . And then she conceived, and . . . a son was born to her. (Ford 64-65)

Despite all of this, Branwen's husband was swayed by the rumours of his court and turned against her. He sent Branwen away from his presence. She is set to perform the tasks of a servant in the kitchen, where the King has the cook beat her daily. As wives, women maintained their links to their natal kin alongside the kin-group they entered through their marriage. Thus, any insult to a woman directly affected her male kin (Owen 47). This occurred either through actions taken against a woman, or through a woman's own failure to act. Thus, if a woman was aware that her husband was committing adultery, it was her responsibility to take actions to end the affair. If the offense was repeated and the wife failed to leave her husband she gave up her right to her *wynebwerth* 'for she is a shameful woman' (Jenkins, *Hywel Dda* 53). The *wynebwerth* was

the face value or honour price of the woman. It was paid to her for insults that her husband committed against her, and through her, to her kin (Owen 51). Therefore, if a woman failed to either prevent her husband from committing adultery, or if she left her husband if he proved to be repeatedly unfaithful, she lost her honour. This is expressed through the cessation of her claim to *wynebwerth*.

The ties that women maintained to their natal kin gave the kin-group a certain amount of responsibility for the protection of a woman relative even after her marriage. If a woman was mistreated in her marriage, the insult was felt not only by the woman herself, but also by her male kin (Roberts 67). The honour of the entire group could be tarnished if they did not rectify this unwelcomed situation. In Branwen's case, when her kin in Wales found out how she was being treated, war broke out between the two kingdoms for the slight against the honour of the Welsh nation as a whole.

The position of women in society as portrayed in Welsh literature and law is fraught with tension. They held duties and had responsibilities to both their husbands and their kin. Legally, husbands were recognized as the lords of their wives. Therefore obedience to one's husband was a necessity. Yet women were also responsible for safeguarding the honour of their natal kin. Failure in any of these counts invited shame upon the woman and all of the people to whom she was connected, either by blood or by marriage. In the extreme case of Branwen, the inherent instability of her position led to the death of all of the men attached to her along with hundreds of Welsh and Irish soldiers.

Coda: Folk Poems and the Lived Experience of Marriage

I thought that in marrying / I would have nothing but dancing and singing;
/ But what did I get after marrying / But rocking the cradle and hushing
the baby? (Lloyd-Morgan 184)

Up to this point, women have appeared in the narrative as remarkably passive participants in Welsh culture. In the Welsh laws coverture saw the woman's legal person subsumed by her husband (Smith 26). The law codes, and the literary depiction of women, portray them as entirely under the guardianship of their closest male kin, whether father,

brother, uncle or husband. Accepting this view absolutely, however, simplifies the position of women to the point where it would seem that they lacked any modicum of agency.

Hen bellion are traditional Welsh folk-verses. These four-line poems, composed anonymously, flourished with the oral tradition of the Welsh countryside. It has been suggested that women may have arranged many of these works (Lloyd-Morgan 183).¹⁰ In these poems the lived experience of women could be expressed. This ranged from their dissatisfaction in married life, like that shown in the verses at the head of this section, to painful recognition of the multifarious and, at times, contradicting duties and responsibilities of women. ‘Blamed for courting, blamed for not / Blamed for throwing over my lover, / Blamed for getting up at night to the window; / The right thing to be is a virtuous girl ...’ (Lloyd-Morgan 184). This poem suggests a keen awareness of the fraught position of women. Women were expected to attract a husband and yet they risked being accused of misconduct for acting in a flirtatious manner. The virtuous girl of the poem is an impossible ideal to live up to. It lacks concrete substance.

Beyond the folk tradition, some women held socially significant positions both in the domestic sphere and in the wider community. In some of the extant poetry, marriage is shown as a co-operative endeavour, built around mutual support and the interdependence of the couple (Lloyd-Morgan 14). Through the network of kin and clients, Gwenyth Richards argues that Welsh noblewomen possessed a distinct ability to wield power (238). This placed women in socially vital positions in their roles as wives. Like Branwen in her role as queen, women provided the centre and core of hospitable gestures for the family (Smith 26). As the guardians of the social welfare of the family, women held far more power than allotted to them in the law codes. In practice, women were socially and legal inferior to men. This, however, did not fully inhibit their ability to hold positions of importance in their families. In some cases, women were able to use their role to become the centre of their domestic sphere and to build ties for their families in the

¹⁰ These poems were written down by antiquarians in the Early Modern period, but Lloyd-Morgan seems to suggest that the tradition has roots in the medieval period.

community. Rather than static and wholly subject to the roles and positions granted to them in texts written largely by men for an elite audience, the place of women in their communities and in society was far more fluid and flexible. By looking at different genres of texts, as well as moving towards an interdisciplinary approach combining written evidence with material sources, the range and shades of roles open to women may slowly come into focus.

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“Our Environment is Hostile Towards [Us], Without a Doubt”: The Politicisation of Sexuality in Jürgen Lemke’s *Gay Voices From East Germany*

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In this article, I discuss Jürgen Lemke’s (1989) text, *Gay Voices from East Germany* with reference to the politicisation of sexuality in the German Democratic Republic. As a brief overview of the political and cultural context in which Lemke’s text was produced, the GDR, more commonly referred to in the English-speaking world as East Germany, was a member of the former Soviet bloc from 1949-89. During this time, the regime complicated the conventional image of what constitutes a dictatorship. It must be conceded that human rights to freedom of expression and the right to assembly were systematically violated in the GDR, which existed as a one-party state under the rule of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)* for the entirety of its

existence (Kocka 18).¹ However, as historian Mary Fulbrook illustrates, in its capacity as a ‘participatory dictatorship’, ‘extraordinarily large numbers of people were involved in its functioning [...] *participat[ing]* in and sustain[ing] the system; they took on [...] and enacted roles, and played within the rules and parameters of the system’ (236, my emphasis). This is not to say that the GDR was democratic by any means, but this certainly challenges the notion that its citizens were fully subjected to a repressive state, as is typical for a dictatorship. On the contrary, the power relations between citizen and state were more nuanced than in other examples of totalitarianism as ‘participation in the exercise of state power spread [...] beyond the rather small group who can be characterised as the core ruling elite’ (Fulbrook 241). Consequently, means of normalising and maintaining surveillance on citizens were also required to expand as more people contributed to the functioning of the state.

My primary text, *Gay Voices in East Germany*, which was published in 1989 by *Aufbau* comprises 15 interviews with fourteen gay men and one trans woman, conducted by Jürgen Lemke.² Lemke began to conduct his interviews for *Gay Voices* in 1981, which he then repeated in 1986 and then, as with Svetlana Aleksievich's 1985 or Maxie Wander's 1977 work, the interviews were then edited so that they read as short pieces of discursive prose, as though the subject is delivering a monologue. Implicitly, due to the restrictive environment under socialism, there are certain topics, such as religion or overtly sexual themes, which were deemed unsuitable for public discourse in the GDR. On some levels, Lemke's *Gay Voices* conflicts with Party ideology as his subjects frequently mention experiences with homophobia (108), rejection from society or family members (45) and in certain cases, prostitution (73) and the contemplation of suicide. In spite of the fact that many gay authors were banned under the Nazis and the Communist Party in the Weimar Republic had actively campaigned for the decriminalisation of

1 The *SED* is also known as the Socialist Unity Party.

2 Originally published by *Aufbau* as *Ganz normal anders: Schwule Auskünfte aus der DDR*, all citations translated by the author. The author uses the edition published by *Luchterhand*, a western publisher based in Frankfurt am Main as this was published simultaneously and there are no differences in the text content.

homosexuality, as Josie McLellan points out, ‘East German books and newspapers were all but silent on the issue of homosexuality until the late 1960s, and the few references that did creep in were invariably derogatory’ (*Love in the Time of Communism* 115). For these reasons, it is surprising that Lemke's *Gay Voices from East Germany* was ever published by *Aufbau*, the central publishing house in the GDR. In this article, I draw heavily on the work of Michel Foucault, especially his concept of the confessional as defined in the *History of Sexuality* (1976). Lemke's voice is excluded from the text, but his presence is made known as the subjects occasionally address him directly (36). From this, the allusion to confession is made clear as those interviewed reveal intimate details about their lives to a silent observer.

Throughout this article, I refer to the concept of politicising sexuality. I acknowledge that this concept is not exclusive to the context of the GDR or even the Eastern bloc, and that the term has been in use for a significant length of time. For some, this term refers to the process which leads to political activism to campaign for greater civil liberties in expressing one's sexuality (Bronski 88). By contrast, according to other theorists, the politicisation of sexuality refers to a “normalizing disciplinary” exercise of power geared toward the production of subjects with [...] habits [...] that will be socially useful’ (Blasius 75). Either of these conceptions is applicable to the context of the GDR. In the current context, twenty-first-century western Europe, it is usual to view sexuality as a depoliticised construct largely as rights to protections against discrimination on the basis of sexuality and rights to equal marriage and same-sex adoption have been achieved. However, the politicisation of sexuality is central to an understanding of the GDR. Primarily as, with respect to Lemke's text in many of the interviews, the men call for greater civil liberties, but also as a transition occurred in the GDR in which emphasis was taken away from moral concerns for behaviour and transferred onto concerns about queer people as political individuals, who may align themselves with western thought, diverging from the socialist vision set over GDR citizens (Evans “Unnatural” Desire’ 555).

In the GDR, two sections of the criminal code prohibited ‘unnatural fornication [...] between people of the male sex’ until they were abolished

in 1968 (StGB-DDR, §175). Paragraph 175 prohibited all male same-sex activity, whereas paragraph 175a made special provisions for those under the age of 21.³ In the 1950s, attempts to have homosexuality decriminalised were met with resistance. Dr Rudolf Klimmer, a psychologist from Dresden ‘petitioned the authorities tirelessly’ in 1947, 1949, 1952 and 1958 for the decriminalisation of homosexuality, but all attempts failed. As justification, he was told by a prominent academic in the field of social medicine that unfortunately, ‘opening the floodgates to same-sex activity [was not] compatible with the principles of socialist morality’ (McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism* 115-16). This environment was sustained for several more years until the sudden, yet partial, decriminalisation of same-sex activity in 1968. Subsequently however, new legislation §151 meant that the ages of consent for same-sex couples of either sex was four years later than that for mixed-sex couples. As Hillhouse notes, the gay rights movement was the first pressure group in the GDR to have their demands met by the government (596). With thanks in part to a growing gay rights movement in the 1980s, in August 1987, the GDR Supreme Court [*Oberste Gericht*] overturned a conviction under §151 with the following justification:

Homosexuality just as much as heterosexuality [represents] a variant of sexual behaviour. Homosexual people, therefore, do not stand outside of socialist society, and civil rights are afforded to them just as any other citizen [of the GDR] (Vormbaum 562).

The following year, §151 was repealed without replacement. With this statement, the gay rights movement received public acknowledgement of its efforts from a prominent state institution. However, before that point, the fear of a conviction under §§175, 175a or, after 1968, under §151 is prominent in Lemke’s text. Several of the men represented relate their experiences coming to terms with their desires and same-sex activity’s legal status. Some are even convicted under §§175 or 151 (46).

Paragraph 175 was introduced in Imperial Germany in 1871, whereas its expansion, §175a, was introduced in the Third Reich under the Nazis. The original legislation from 1871 equated homosexuality to bestiality.

³ Unless at the start of a sentence, henceforth abbreviated to §§175 and 175a.

However, at that time, material evidence that same-sex behaviour had taken place was required to convict men for an offence. In the Third Reich, the ambiguity of the term *Unzucht* in its original German was taken advantage of to convict men for a much wider range of same-sex activity including kissing, mutual masturbation, and even homoerotic letter writing (Evans, 'Bahnhof Boys' 613). It was also the Nazis who were responsible for introducing §175a, which made special provisions for sex for commercial gain, any same-sex activity initiated through violence or coercion, and the "seduction" of those under the age of 21. Although in the Potsdam Conference, the GDR agreed to repeal all Nazi legislation, §175a was retained on both sides of the inner-German border in the same wording as under Nazism (Childs 6–9; Evans, "Unnatural" Desire' 556). The introduction of §175a is responsible for the imprisonment or internment in concentration camps of over 65,000 gay men during the Holocaust. One of Lemke's interviewees, known as K. recalls how gossip would spread around sexual orientation:

The next day, I opened the newspaper and stared. People, together with their name, address, and occupation had been branded as homosexual vermin among the German people. At the top of the list, an art professor. [...] In the Nazi parlance, a central square had been renamed to "175er Square" as four of those who had been named had their businesses there.

The proverbial weight was lifted from my shoulders. My name was not on the list (193).

Not only was homosexuality seen as against socialist morality in the early years of the GDR, the articulation of Holocaust experiences went against the principles of socialist realism. Understanding that systematic persecution of homosexuals had taken place in the Third Reich, it appears hypocritical that the self-styled "anti-fascist state" would see fit to directly inherit Nazi legislation. Especially as the GDR denied responsibility for the Holocaust. Furthermore, as McLellan makes clear, the GDR was resistant to acknowledging the victimhood of homosexuals during the Holocaust as 'those who had been persecuted on the basis of their [...] sexuality did not fit easily into the dominant paradigm of political victimhood' (*Love in the Time of Communism* 126).

In other words, communists could be the only “true” victims of fascism. Those who had been consigned to the camps for homosexuality were automatically assigned to blocks reserved for criminals and were disproportionately subjected to experimentation. In stark contrast, the communists were protected from certain areas of camp life; they were even significantly more likely to be recruited to have a hand in the administration of the camps than their homosexual peers (McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism* 126; Heger 34). For this reason, calling attention to the suffering of homosexuals is a particularly sensitive area of contention which challenges the focus on ‘a heroic narrative of [communist] resistance’ against fascism, which is rarely ‘alluded to in East German accounts’ of the Holocaust (McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism* 127).

Lee Edelman explains in his book that certain values which are categorised as ‘invest[ing] in the [...] narrativity of reproductive futurism’, in other words facilitating or supporting future generations of the population, are taken not only to be extrapolitical but their value is believed to be self-evident (17). In 1968, homosexuality was decriminalised in the GDR, but §175a was replaced by new legislation, §151, which prohibited sexual relationships with an individual of either sex under the age of 18. In Great Britain in 1988, the same year §151 was abolished in the GDR, Margaret Thatcher introduced the infamous Section 28 as part of her address to the Conservative party at Winter Gardens. Section 28 was a modified form of the Local Government Act (1986) which allegedly would serve to give school pupils 'a sound start in life' by disallowing the promotion of homosexuality in schools, affecting the rights of queer teachers nationwide but also the rights of students to positive queer representation (Thatcher, 1988). The legislation was in full effect for almost 15 years until it was repealed in Scotland in 2001 and the rest of Great Britain in 2003. Thatcher had dismissed the possibility that Section 28 could inflict damage on queer children as she had dismissed even the possibility of a queer child. Implicitly for her also, “a sound start in life” ostensibly equates to one of enforced cisheteronormative values.

Unfortunately, decriminalisation was something of a pyrrhic victory. This was primarily owed to the fact that decriminalisation was only

partial because of the introduction of §151, but also as homosexuality's former criminal status in the GDR contributed to the stigma long after 1968. Dieter describes how this stigma negatively affected his perception of homosexuality:

It was clear [...] that these people were criminals [...] money was involved, prostitution'. In retrospect, he qualifies this view by saying 'at this point, [he] didn't feel like a homosexual. [He] associated the word with disgusting images. *Homos*, who spent their lives chasing after the male member, cruising the public toilets, behaving like girls. That', he says, 'was just not me!' (46-47)

This sense of dissociation from one's own sexual identity is not uncommon and many of the men interviewed by Lemke share this sentiment. Although sexuality was no longer viewed as a matter of choice, the idea that the male youth in the GDR could be seduced into a life of aberrant sexual desire persisted. Paragraph 151 and its predecessor §175a were viewed 'as a bulwark against the development of abnormal sexual expression' (Evans, "Unnatural" Desire' 556). Consequently, even after decriminalisation, the perception that same-sex behaviour is criminal or inherently shameful did not disappear. Dieter internalises this view and subsequently chooses to distance himself from this image.

Jack Halberstam argues 'that new visibility for any given community has advantages and disadvantages [...] with recognition comes acceptance, with acceptance comes power' but 'with power comes regulation' (18). This description of visibility is paradoxical categorising it as the means to obtain power and the medium through which power is asserted, on the one hand as visibility leads to increased susceptibility to critique. On the other hand, those with the most power in society are given the right to look. Visibility is simultaneously desirable and restrictive, but seemingly these restrictions are only escapable if one conforms to the norm. In some respects, Dieter's inability to reconcile his same-sex desires with the dominant image of homosexuality is easily understood. After all, not only did this image conflict with the values of

socialist morality (Herzog 185–87), as Jennifer Evans explains, until 1958, East Berliners could commit *Republiksflucht*, the criminal offence of leaving the GDR, simply by boarding the *S-Bahn* [suburban commuter train]. Typically, the *Bahnhof* [train station] itself was the haunt of male sex workers; ‘the Bahnhof was thus a potent symbol of political transgression as well as the site of much of the city’s clandestine sex trade’ (Evans, ‘Bahnhof Boys’ 606–21). In this sense, sexuality is politicised as the right to express certain desires or engage in certain behaviours is based on value judgements over which an individual has no control. On the contrary, rights are structured in a way which asserts the hegemony of the cisheterosexual majority over the queer minority. Crucially, these norms are bolstered by the politicisation of sexuality, justifying the restrictions by aligning same-sex desire with the decadence of capitalist society and growing concerns surrounding public health and national security.

In his book, *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Michel Foucault demonstrates the limitations of visibility by referring to the design of Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon, which can be taken as a paradigmatic example for the normalising function of society. By way of its design, in the panopticon a single guard is able to observe any of the prisoners at one time, but crucially, without the prisoners being able to know when they are being watched. In Foucault’s view, all disciplinary systems, or normative mechanisms, fulfil three main requirements. These comprise hierarchical surveillance, what Foucault calls normalising judgement, and finally, the examination, a combination of the former two, the ‘normalizing gaze’, in other words, ‘surveillance [...] makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish’. Hierarchical surveillance, in Foucault’s words, functions as ‘a network of relations from top to bottom, but also [...] from bottom to top and laterally’, meaning that behaviour is observed, reported, and disseminated throughout the network so that those who figuratively sit at the top of the pyramid are informed of all behaviour without the need to observe it for themselves. Normalising judgement then takes place to ensure that ‘the non-conforming is

punishable’, meaning ‘an “offence” [has been committed] whenever [an individual] does not reach the level required’ of them (176-84).

Foucault makes it clear that the role of the panopticon is to ‘induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power’ (201). Visibility, then, can only be restrictive as it inevitably leads to judgement; even the possibility of being discovered performing behaviour which does not conform is sufficient to sustain the hegemonic influence of cisheteronormativity. Foucault builds on his paradigm of the normalising function of society in his 1984 text, *the History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*. In its way, the GDR might be seen as an almost panopticistic society. Although the GDR had a population of only 16 million people, at its peak in 1975, over 180,000 “unofficial collaborators” assisted the infamous *Stasi* in its operations, the most expansive surveillance network of any state in the Eastern bloc (Fulbrook 241). In the *History of Sexuality*, Foucault turns his attention to the repressive hypothesis, which suggests that in a modern society, all activity undertaken purely for sexual pleasure is frowned upon. Consequently, sex has become a private affair and is not discussed openly in public life. Foucault argues that ‘as if in order to gain mastery over it in reality, it had first been necessary to subjugate [sex] at the level of language, control its free circulation in speech’ thereby eliminating discourse which might lead to subversions of the established norm (17).

Whereas in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault examines the normalising judgements pertaining to observable behaviour, concerning sexuality Foucault examines the means by which public discourse surrounding sex is regulated or controlled, by extension how sexual behaviour itself is controlled. Kyle Frackman notes that throughout its history, ‘the open discussion of homosexuality’ in the GDR usually ‘[took place] in specific contexts, often as part of efforts to prohibit its existence through criminal legislation’, which parallels Foucault’s concept of controlling behaviour through the regulation of language. Frackman continues by saying that ‘when it did arise as a subject of debate or

education, it was often through the lens of homophobic anxiety' (26-27). Evans corroborates this view of the GDR and states that the 'Stalinist regimes relied on similar notions of youth endangerment, rendering the male homosexual a danger to the moral [...] integrity of the state' ("Unnatural" Desire' 554). Consequently, the youth were to be protected from this ostensible threat in much the same way that Margaret Thatcher justified the introduction of Section 28. However, firstly that threat would need to be identified before it can be dealt with, which, in Foucauldian terms, relates to his concept of the confessional introduced in the *History of Sexuality*. In his words, it is as though 'the legitimate couple, with its regular sexuality, had a right to more discretion' whereas the "sexually perverse" are required to 'confess to their desires contravening the law [...] decorated with the most numerous and searching details' (21-38). Foucault goes on to describe the obligation to confess as:

Now relayed through so many different points, [...] that we no longer perceive it as the effect of a power that constrains us; on the contrary, it seems to us that truth [...] "demands" only to surface; that if it fails to do so, this is because a constraint holds it in place [...] and it can finally be articulated only at the price of a kind of liberation (60).

Here, Foucault argues that societal pressure will always lead to a normalising judgement placed on sexual desires and behaviours, but only if that desire is transformed into discourse. After this occurs, the behaviour can be observed in absentia mediated by a confession, a normalising judgement can be applied, and private sexual desires can be brought into the panopticon of societal normative structures. The assurance that a confession will be articulated is a consequence of the politicisation of sexuality in that it implies individuals will feel compelled to confess out of a desire to be normalised, but moreover, as cisheterosexual privilege has been asserted so frequently and without question, that the behaviour of those who fall outside of these norms are taken as a matter of public interest.

Monitoring from the GDR state increased immediately after the Workers' Uprising of 1953, due to a heightened perceived threat of

Western espionage and because of their frequent contact with westerners, this marked queer people as the clear opponent in a political and ideological conflict. In the GDR, citizens were required to register all house guests in the *Hausbuch* [house book], which was kept by one resident in the building [*der Hausvertrauensmann*] (Betts 28). Further examination of the Foucauldian confession reveals the possibility for two categories of confession. For the purposes of this article, I differentiate between the two forms with the terms discovery and confrontation. This particular feature of state observation, the house book system, in which ‘nosy neighbourhood authorities’ report non-conforming sexual activity is motivated by discovery, the desire to acquire knowledge of or the act of exposing perceived abnormal sexuality and bringing it into the public view (30). Another of Lemke’s interviewees, known only as T., overhears a conversation between his colleagues, one of whom has discovered a homosexual lives in her building. Her co-workers ask how she ‘worked it all out so quickly’.

She [answers], “I was *warned*, by the entry in the house book”. – Incidentally, [T. adds] the man in charge of my floor [meine Etagenverantwortlicher] is the one who keeps the house book.

Nobody judged this as an indiscretion, though. Everyone thought it was good that one is warned about *someone like that*. The sooner the better, you never know (75).

In incidents of discovery, the politicisation of sexuality is made evident by normalising judgements which are made. In the GDR, the narrative was perpetuated that queer people were politically subversive, or that they ‘made elaborate plans to corrupt the innocence of youth through seduction’ into a life of anti-socialist decadence (Evans “Unnatural” Desire’ 553-54). In Foucault’s conception of the panopticon, the house book represents surveillance, normalising judgement, and when repeated incidents are documented, the examination. As the incident occurs after partial decriminalisation in 1968, no punishment can be delivered within the formal judicial system, but it could lead to societal stigma and ostracism which would constitute punishment. Furthermore, T.’s co-worker is compelled to share this information around his workplace, in a way which participates within the network of

hierarchical surveillance, as though to inform anyone who may be listening that the that the ‘truth [...] demands only to surface’, that non-conformity will always be discovered (Foucault, *Sexuality* 60).

What is significant in Foucault’s description of the normalising judgement is that that which is not observable, specifically that which shows no visible evidence of producing the desired result is also punishable, as opposed to performing undesirable acts exclusively (178). In the predominantly heteronormative pronatalist context of the GDR, rather than the presence of a certain trait, queerness is viewed in some respects as the absence of traits associated with cisheterosexual people. In this case, the absence of children further demarcates queer people as an Other in that it ‘suggests a [...] perverse refusal [...] of every substantializing of identity [...] and, by extension, of history’, portraying queerness as a threat to humanity’s shared future (Edelman 3-4). Many of the men who are interviewed by Lemke share a fear that they will be accused of something which has not been observed, but which is based on the fearful assumption of their private desires and behaviour. Peter, who lives with his partner, Volker, notes that his behaviour towards children is restricted out of a fear for what their parents might think of his interactions with them, especially around boys. In his interview with Lemke, he mentions his feelings of entrapment or, in his words, ‘unfreedom’ [*Unfreiheit*] which is an aspect common to his life as a queer man and to his experience in totalitarianism (98).

Cisheteronormative values are inherently political as they facilitate the restriction of minority rights. Moreover, the politicisation of sexuality ensures that queerness is viewed as a matter of public concern, either from the perspective of public health, collective sensibilities or from the perspective of socialist ideology. The perpetuation of the dominant image of homosexuality as something anti-socialist, anti-family and potentially, by extension, against fundamentally core values of the average GDR citizen, not only exacerbates the fear of child seduction but demonstrates how pre-existing homophobia in the GDR was validated by homosexuality’s legal status. In incidents of discovery, a value judgement is made based on this image of homosexual identity. Historically, as Jose Muñoz explains, ‘the discourse of the fact has often cast antinormative desire as the bad object’; discovery relies on evidence of fundamental

differences and makes these desires known to the majority so that normalising judgements can be made (65). McLellan notes that ‘if a worker was known to be acting in an “immoral” way’, and this was not necessarily limited to same-sex behaviour, ‘his or her co-workers were encouraged to intervene to put him/her back on the right path’ (*Love in the Time of Communism* 91-92). In Lemke’s text, T. recounts his experience of this occurring when his parents suspect that he has been engaging in sexual activity with older men. As he is under the age of consent at the time, they send a representative from the state to speak to him. In his words:

I went to the door, [...] once again, I had been out getting drunk all night, opened the door and in front of me was a slightly out of touch woman, but in smart modern dress. She said: good morning, I am Frau Meyer, advisor in marriage and sexual relations from so and so, I would like very much to speak with you [...].

To which I replied: with me? Why just with me? Then I knew exactly, what had been going on.

Oh yes, she answered. Your mother called me – in her desperation, she didn’t know what else to do, and so here I am [...]

She started to babble as though she had been wound up and let go: you just can’t do that to your mother. Stay away for nights on end, going off on your own at your age! With those sorts of men, what ever will become of you? (72).

In this excerpt, it becomes apparent how normalising judgements can be used to punish those who do not conform to cisheteronormativity, but also how the right to privacy is granted only to those who conform to those norms (Foucault, *Discipline* 184; *Sexuality* 21-22). For Frau Meyer, it is inconceivable that T.’s actions are performed willingly. Rather, she wishes to protect him from being seduced into a life of aberrant sexual desire and anti-socialist decadence (Evans, “‘Unnatural’ Desire’ 553-54). In his sociological study of gay men in the GDR, Kurt Starke notes that ‘homosexuals grow up, just like the rest of us in a heterosexually dominated society, with prescribed male and female gender archetypes and a model for the family as mother – father – child’ (141).

Consequently, the aspiration to conform to this model by establishing a relationship with a member of the opposite sex is repeatedly, yet tacitly enforced as the norm. Confrontation, then, the second iteration of the confession I wish to address in my argument, is to break free from this model and to form an identity which can be disclosed to others voluntarily.

Unlike discovery, which robs the individual of their agency to disclose or withhold information about their sexuality, confrontation is always voluntary and provides the opportunity to challenge the normative values of society. Perhaps because of the negative experience he had with his parents, which led to him leaving home and performing sexual favours for money, T. believes that society at large ‘is hostile towards homosexuals, without a doubt’ and that ‘homophobia is part and parcel [of life here]’. He goes on to say:

essentially, these prejudices persist because very little is done to push the facts. Besides, there’s an awful lot of history behind these prejudices, the Nazi era, the Church. I’m not surprised most people face the issue so narrow-mindedly, they don’t know any better (73-75).

This cynical view of the GDR is matched by Peter and his partner, Volker, who are also interviewed in Lemke’s text. The pair meet in 1968, almost immediately after decriminalisation and although Peter remembers that ‘looking back, it’s obvious [...] that [he] already knew he was homosexual’, he is engaged at the time and aspires to a career in Church ministry. Eventually, he and Volker realise their attraction to each other and Peter abandons his engagement and his career (89-91). Although they stay together for at least eighteen years before the interview is given, they are both aware that their relationship will likely never be fully accepted by society as a whole.

Repeatedly, the men in Lemke’s text make references to a desire for conformity. When in denial of his sexuality, Dieter marries a woman and has two children with her. When his first son is born, he remembers thinking ‘regardless of how the marriage went, the main thing was that I was a father [...] finally, a man *like all others*’ (44, my emphasis). Similarly, Volker, Peter’s eventual partner sleeps with a woman as a student at vocational college because he ‘wanted [...] [his] status’ among

his peers, which meant by extension ‘to have slept with a girl’ implying that same-sex relationships are of a lower status (101). Finally, T. rationalises his first same-sex experience as merely a consequence of ‘puberty, everything half as bad’; he claims that ‘his friends have all done that with each other too, [that] he’ll grow out of it’ and that ‘[he will] be *like the others*’ (71, my emphasis). Discovery only has any effect as the individual internalises these normative values, subsequently building a façade to conceal the identity which causes them to experience shame. Confrontation breaks through this façade also, but in a way which is based on the individual’s terms and which can turn the politicisation of sexuality back onto cisheteronormativity, to demonstrate the damaging influence of reproductive futurism.

Confrontation is less to do with depoliticising sexuality in a way which renders every sexual desire as permissible, rather it is political in the sense of the restructuring and ordering of power inequalities within society. Confrontation or political activism more broadly is to overcome the stigma which pervaded at every level of society in the GDR. Instead of the state perception that they were working against the ideals of socialism, the burgeoning gay rights movement in the 1980s worked within the constraints of socialist ideology as far as they could. These organisations fought for social inclusion in the GDR by attempting to redefine the parameters of what constituted a committed socialist. Dieter, at the time of his interview is unambiguously supportive of the GDR and of socialism. As he declares:

For me, my mother was an aunt, who would occasionally visit me and bring me things. [...] I didn’t know my father. [...] I say today, though, the Soviet Union [where his father is from] is my fatherland, the GDR my motherland. I really mean that (38).

Dieter grew up in a children’s home and therefore had no contact with his biological family when growing up. Although he was arrested and convicted under §151, he feels a great sense of solidarity in his labour brigade and gains acceptance from his colleagues. He mentions that if his colleagues arrange a social event outside work, ‘[they] invited [his partner] without even needing to ask. To [his co-workers, Dieter and his

partner, H.] belonged together' (33). Perhaps for these reasons, Dieter attributes this sense of belonging to life in the GDR under socialism.

In conclusion, the act of confrontation makes it possible for norms to be redefined and for various gender and sexual identities to be normalised. Precisely because of the politicisation of sexuality, *Gay Voices* exerts a powerful normalisation effect on its audience by emphasising the commonalities between those who are queer and those who form part of the cisheterosexual majority. The men in Lemke's text are united by their desire to be accepted and their shared need for a sense of belonging. In addition to these desires which are common to the majority of GDR citizens, Lemke emphasises the mundane elements of the queer experience such as sharing household duties between partners, thereby establishing the assignment of fixed gender roles as relative and presenting acceptance for queer individuals in the GDR as a tangible possibility (47; 95). However, confrontation does not equate to simply yielding to confession voluntarily or to pre-empt the removal of an individual's agency. In fact, the confrontation is the only way to normalise queerness within society by providing an alternative image of homosexuality which may or may not fit within the perceived norm. In so doing, gaining the ability to establish one's own norms of sexual expression as a parallel norm to the values of heteronormativity and monogamy. Furthermore, confrontation illuminates what is so often missing from the discourse surrounding identity politics: that the cisheterosexual majority have a sexual and gender identity which has been depoliticised, 'relayed through so many different points, [...] that we no longer perceive [discovery] as the effect' of an unequal power structure (Foucault, *Sexuality* 60). On the contrary, the confrontation calls this power structure into question in a way which allows for multiple points of parallel normality to be established.

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Performing Resistance in Post-Fordism: A Tactical Juxtaposition of Languages in an Academic Paper/Performance

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Note to the Reader

The following paper is a personal account of a presentation held at a conference organized by LTS, at the University of Nottingham under the theme of “resilience” in June 2018.¹ Next to my authorship, and the usually invisible but excellent work of the peer reviewer, I would like to point out that German Philologist Viktor Klemperer, I *almost* consider a co-author. Viktor Klemperer, who after this note I will only refer to in the footnotes, died in 1960 and I was born in 1987, hence I put the emphasis on *almost*. My intention is to stress his influence on my thinking and writing, particularly through the diary that he composed during the Nazi Regime in Germany, titled *LTI, Lingua Tertii Imperii – Notebook of a*

¹ The title of the journal in which this paper is published is the *Journal of Language, Texts, and Society*.

Philologist, first published in 1947.² Klemperer, who lived in Dresden, was a professor of Literature and was forced to give up his academic title in 1935 due to his Jewish descent. In the diary, he provides a personal account of how during the Third Reich, propaganda was executed through the use of specific language.

Thursday 14th June 2018 – 2 pm

I am about to start my conference presentation and I feel excited and slightly nervous as I am about to present to the entire conference participants. But it is actually not the full potential of attention that makes me nervous, it is rather the performance / presentation that I am about to give. In fact, I am not entirely sure how much of the presented material is going to be ‘authentic’ and how much of it is part of a performance.³ In my application to the CFP I wrote:

2 Klemperer writes at the beginning of *LTI, Lingua Tertii Imperii – Notebook of a Philologist* (2000) in 1947:

The label LTI first appears in my diary as a playful little piece of parody, almost immediately afterwards as a laconic aide-memoire, like a knot in a handkerchief, and then very soon, and for the duration of this terrible years, as an act of self-defence, an SOS sent to myself. A tag with a nice erudite ring - the Third Reich after all delighted from time to time in the rich sonority of a foreign expression: *Garant* {guarantor} sounds much more persuasive than *Bürge* {supporter}, and *diffamieren* {defame} more impressive than *schlechtmachen* {run down}. (Perhaps some people won't understand such words; they are precisely the ones who are the most vulnerable) LTI: *Lingua Tertii Imperii*, the language of the Third Reich. (9).

On 24th January 2019, the BBC launched a news item titled ‘*Brexit: Jargon-Busting Guide to the Key Terms*’ which can be found here: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-43470987>. Tout se tiens.

3 On the subject of what is sometimes referred to as sneer quotes, Klemperer (2000) writes in 1947 in his chapter 12 “Punctuation” that:

From time to time it is possible to detect, both amongst individuals and groups, a characteristic preference for one particular punctuation mark. Academics love the semicolon; their hankering after logic demands a division which is more emphatic than a comma, but not quite as absolute a demarcation as a full stop. ... Instead the LTI makes exhaustive use of what I would call ironic inverted commas. The simple, primary inverted comma merely denotes the exact words spoken or written by someone else. The ironic inverted comma is not restricted to this neutral form of quotation, instead it questions the truth of what is being quoted, declares that the reported remark is untrue. In rendering that which in spoken language would be expressed by the mere adoption

For the conference, I would like to present/perform a paper investigating how the exaggerated adaptation of production modes and constant contradiction can create an agonistic space through performance. ... Part of my intention here is to use the conference as the site of investigation on how to re-politicize spheres that have been subject to post-Fordist production modes such as academic research. ... In the performative talk, I present an analysis of my previous performance pieces in relation to the category of research impact.⁴

In the context of this paper and the presentation, I am referring to a specific strand of production within post-Fordism: the knowledge economy which is often also referred to as cognitive capitalism. Austrian theorist Gerald Raunig writes in *Factories of Knowledge Industries of Creativity* (2013), that knowledge has become a commodity “which is manufactured, fabricated and traded like material commodities” (18). This new mode of production, that is to a great extent based on immaterial flows, Raunig states, is “*not* necessarily coupled with an improvement of working conditions or a substantialization of cognitive labour” (18). Italian theorists Cristina Fumagalli and Andrea Morini wrote in ‘Life Put to Work: Towards a Life Theory of Value’ (2010) that this type of production, where the circulation of affect creates value, is causing instability in everyday life (240). According to them, the decreasing distinction between working- and free-time and the unstable

of a sarcastic tone, the ironic inverted comma is closely allied to the rhetorical character of the LTI (73).

4 Within the LTI the use of abbreviations and repeated use of specific buzzwords played a crucial role in the implementation of fascism in people’s minds. Abbreviations, next to the function of introducing efficiency into the language, also create a conspiracy between users. Klemperer (2000) writes in 1947:

No linguistic style prior to Hitler’s German had made such an exorbitant use of this form. The modern contraction always appears with new technology and new organization. And in line with its claim to totality Nazism brings new technology and new organizations into everything. Hence the immense number of abbreviations. However, since this claim to totality also involves an attempt to control people’s inner lives, because it aspires to be religion, planting the swastika everywhere, each of its contractions is also related to the old Christian ‘fish’: Kradschuetze (motorised infantry) or teams of MGs (machine-gunners), members of the HJ or the DAF- everyone is ‘sworn into the community’ (92).

frameworks of work relations, simultaneously recall the dualism between (wo)man and machine. This instability and the consequential growing nationalist tendencies that thrive on insecurities, are the subject of my resistance. Gerald Raunig further writes that:

If we ourselves and our forms of subjectivation are the source of machinic subservience, if we ourselves contribute to the modulating university through self-discipline and self-government, then lines of flight can be also drawn on the same field of consistency, which do not necessarily have to serve the machines of the knowledge factory *like that*, not in *that* way (27, original emphasis).

Raunig suggests that the university as the site of subjectivity could be equally the site of its resistance. I chose the conference and this paper as a site within this site. To enable this resistance, I use Chantal Mouffe's *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (2013) and her concept of the agonistic space, which in contrast to an antagonistic space, sits outside a hegemony. The agonistic space should allow a pluralism of positions which are contested in a common space by adversaries and not enemies as in the antagonistic model (7). Compared to the antagonistic model where the reaching of consensus through ratio is at the centre, in the agonistic model, no consensus can be reached because of the counterhegemonic character of the positions (10). Mouffe writes that in this context, art practices have the function to reveal what is suppressed by the current consensus within the hegemony of Post-Fordism which is at the centre of my research (93).

And here in Nottingham, I was about to do this with the help of a PowerPoint presentation, which is the format I have chosen to embrace as a performance artist. I am using it as a power to point, investigate, and juxtapose. In fact, I have been working with the PowerPoint Presentation for over a decade, first in marketing seminars during my business administration degree, then within my fine art degree, which I studied in parallel. The PowerPoint presentation offered a shortcut by combining those two disciplines during my studies in Vienna, making them more efficient and effective. Within the context of the academic presentation, the PowerPoint presentation occupies a certain authority enhanced by the setting of a conference where those presenting are

selected by an academic community. Once information, data, and statistics become projected onto a wall as part of a talk, they seem to become constative facts.

Recently the so-called PechaKucha, the most virtuosic form of a PowerPoint presentation, is gaining popularity in academic gatherings. Compared to the traditional twenty minutes paper-presentation, in the PechaKucha the presenters have exactly six minutes and forty seconds to present twenty slides with each slide being twenty seconds long, moving along automatically during the presentation. In different tutorials such as on globalcitizen.org, it is recommended to use as little text as possible and mainly refer to visuals instead.⁵ The growing popularity of the PechaKucha is based on its dynamic, where emphasis is put on a *zackig* style of presentation.⁶ Teresa Brennan writes in *The Transmission of Affect* (2003), “Rhythm is a tool in the expression of agency ... while dissonant sound also separates” (70). Although for this talk I won’t be doing a PechaKucha, my style of presentation is *zackig* while trying to create dissonance at the same time.

Today I am wearing my mustard-yellow blazer, a beige top, my smart dark-blue trousers and my Oxford shoes. At the moment, this is my favourite presentation outfit. In a 2017 article in the *Hamburger Abendblatt* focusing on the wardrobe of German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the author Vera Fengler writes:

Angela Merkel is becoming more daring, wearing powerful colours like red or mustard-yellow. For her visit with Donald Trump in Washington, she showed attitude wearing an ice-blue Schoenbach jacket. It seems as though the chancellor was nailing her colours to the mast in election year. Maybe to avoid hiding behind her function, as *Der Spiegel* recently wrote.

5 <https://globaldigitalcitizen.org/how-to-make-great-presentations-with-pecha-kucha>. Last accessed 8th February 2019.

6 In “Blurring Boundaries” written by Klemperer in 1947 (2000) the *zackig* was an expression primarily used by soldiers in the First World War where everything had to be delivered *zackig* like a salute. He writes that ‘anything that conveys a taut and disciplined expenditure of energy is *zackig*’ (68). ‘*Zackig* literally means jagged, pointed or angular (Zickzack, being the German for ZigZag). Figuratively it can mean smart, brisk, dynamic or zippy (68, footnote by the translator).’ Klemperer later refers to how within the LTI the special jagged form of the letters SS represents for him the link between the visual language of the poster and language in narrower sense (69).

“Angela Merkel developed her style by herself. She is the most influential politician in the world. Of course she wants to be recognised” explained Bettina Schoenbach regarding the new fashion awareness of her client.⁷

Before I start my talk, I get introduced by the panel chair, whose professional approach accelerated my excitement and confusion of what I was about to present. Not only did he consult me beforehand on how to say my last name correctly, but he also read my original proposal. In his introduction to the talk, he himself was not sure if the following was going to be a performance or a talk or both? I met this doubt by stating “I consider everything I do within my research a ‘performance’”.

My research and that of everyone else in the United Kingdom including the audience of my talk, is subject to performance-based higher education funding.⁸ Dr Alis Oancea in ‘Buzzwords and Values: The Prominence of “Impact” in UK Research Policy and Governance’ (2013) asserts that this is rooted in the strategic framework titled *Excellence with Impact*, established by UK Research Councils.⁹ Here the so-called

7 The above passage is translated from German into English by the author and amended according to suggestions by the peer reviewer:

Angela Merkel traut sich mehr, trägt kräftige Farben wie Rot oder Senfgelb. Zum Besuch bei Donald Trump in Washington zeigte sie in einer eisblauen Schoenbach-Jacke Haltung. Es scheint, als würde die Kanzlerin im Wahljahr Farbe bekennen. Vielleicht, um nicht hinter ihrem Amt zu verschwinden, wie jüngst „Der Spiegel“ schrieb. „Angela Merkel hat ihren Stil selbst entwickelt. Sie ist die einflussreichste Politikerin der Welt. Natürlich muss sie wahrgenommen werden“, erklärt Bettina Schoenbach das neue modische Selbstbewusstsein ihrer Kundin (Fengler, 2017).

8 In the context of research and the REF, we can recognise a strong focus on ‘performance’ in various combinations, functioning as the basis for the standards set-out by the REF. Klemperer writes that one decisive characteristic of the *LTI* was that in its entire vocabulary it was dominated by the will to movement and action (226). To this he adds that ‘Charlie Chaplin achieved his most comic effect by suddenly abandoning a headlong dash and freezing like a sculpture cast or carved for some vestibul’ (227).

9 In chapter 30 “The curse of the superlative” Klemperer (2000) writes in 1947:

The numerical superlative can also be arrived from another angle: ‘unique’ is just as much a superlative as a thousand. A synonym for extraordinary, and stripped of its numerical significance, the word became, in Neo-Romantic philosophy and literature at the end of the First World War, a fashionable expression with a whiff of the aesthete about it; it is used by people who set great store by exclusive elegance and stylistic originality, such as Stefan Zweig and Rathenau. (219)

REF offers the central guiding principles through which all academics have to show how their research creates ‘impact’ which is defined as ‘an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia’ (REF 2011). In performance art, the measurement of impact is often reduced to audience-numbers but performance-based research measurement is significantly more complex. In my practice, ‘impact’ in regards of my intentions and standards of the REF could collide. It is the origin of this category that I am trying to contest in my research but not the category as such. Oancea writes that:

The current focus on the impact of research beyond academia – while clearly the buzzword of the moment in UK research policy – has complex roots in policy discourses around wealth creation, user relevance, public accountability, and evidence-based decision-making ... Given this complexity, a grudging consensus is currently being forged around the importance of strengthening the connections between academic and non-academic contexts, while controversy continues around performance-based higher education funding and the extent to which universities ought to be held accountable by the government (on behalf of the taxpayer) for the non-academic implications and outcomes of their research (Oancea).

Oancea further explains that “research funding is no longer defined in policy circles as a long-term investment in intrinsically worthwhile activities. Rather, in what is described as a knowledge and innovation economy, research is expected to make a case for funding in terms of external value”.

In the twenty minutes presentation that I am about to start, I will present examples of my performances produced during my practice-based research. In my presentation I will acknowledge their partly-failed compliance with:

- the standards of knowledge and innovation economy in terms of external value and
- my intentions of creating an agonistic space that sits outside the hegemony of post-Fordist production.

Slide 1: Strategies of resistance in the digital space: a feminist performance perspective in a post-Fordist economy

Slide 2: Overview

- Introduction of Key Concepts
- Aims
- Practice
- Conclusion

Slide 3: What is this resistance against?

Depoliticisation of the on and offline space → *communicative capitalism* (Dean 2005)

Here I am specifically referring to Jodi Dean and her 2005 paper titled ‘Communicative Capitalism: Circulation and the Foreclosure of Politics’. As early as 2005, Dean argues that online political activity has replaced real political action as it acts on our behalf; we end up in a state of “interpassivity”; we think we are active while we are not (60). Tweeting against Donald Trump is an example, where everyone is very actively tweeting against him, re-affirming his influence while simultaneously generating value in a post-Fordist economy through the circulation of affects.

Growing nationalist tendencies

Dean also states that we are experiencing a shift away from the focus on content towards circulation as the main indicator of value and relevance in communicative capitalism. The most outrageous, even though potentially untrue ‘facts’, generate more value on social media. As Dean writes in a later paper in 2010, called ‘Affective Networks’, this particularly benefits right wing movements, as they thrive on montage and insecurity (Dean 29).

Precarisation of female workforce → *feminization of labor* (Morini 2007)

Part of the insecurity that right wing movements thrive on is the increased precarisation of work relations, which Cristina Morini

discussed in 'The Feminization of Labor in Cognitive Capitalism' in 2007. Unstable work relations shift responsibilities from employers to individuals and increase competitiveness. In the case of knowledge workers, new forms of impact metricisation, such as twitter follower numbers, are contributing to a highly competitive and individualised form of competition.¹⁰ These new measurement tools reward immediate response, require flexibility and constant availability, which is not available to everyone, for example those with caring responsibilities.

The question remains, how do I intend to create this resistance?

In my research I investigate two specific strategies; over-identification and opacity through which, in their combination, I hope to create an agonistic space as the location for the resistance.

Slide 4: Over-identification

Over-identification was first coined by Slavoj Žižek, in his book *The Universal Exception: Selected Writings, Volume Two* from 1993, to describe the work of the Slovenian Avant Garde music group Laibach. Since their beginnings in the 1980s, Laibach have adopted an overtly totalitarian aesthetic to formulate a critique of totalitarianism. It is based on the intention that to create critique you become the subject of critique by fully immersing oneself in it. The Dutch research collective BAVO, in their essay 'Always Choose the Worst Option - Artistic Resistance and the Strategy of Over-Identification' (2007) base it on a notion that was marked by the Austrian satirist Karl Krauss. In the context of uprising of fascism in the 1930s, he supposedly said that "between two evils, I refuse to choose the lesser" (BAVO, 28).¹¹ I engage with this strategy by fully adopting the aesthetics as well as modes of operandi of my subjects of critique, while juxtaposing them with different positions and languages to reveal what is suppressed by the consensus created through their usage. Over-identification is most successful as a

¹⁰ This was pointed out during a talk by Dr Jamie Woodcock at Westminster University (London, UK) on 31st January 2017, in the workshop *Academic Labour, Digital Media and Capitalism*.

¹¹ On December 19th 2019, during a parliamentary debate on the Brexit deal suggested by British Prime Minister Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn states: "The Prime Minister is making us choose the lesser between two evils."

strategy when critique and subject of critique are very close, so it becomes believable.

(Seven minutes = one PechaKucha)

Slide 5

The most famous and well-known example for applying a variation of this strategy, is Charlie Chaplin in *The Great Dictator* (1940).¹² In short, Chaplin and his subject of critique shared the same moustache, were born in the same week in the same year and both were small men who rose from poverty to world fame.

Slide 6: Opacity

I use opacity as a tool to blur a clear position in the presentations. It was first introduced by the Martiniquais philosopher Édouard Glissant in his *Poetics of Relations* (1997) wherein he conceptualized a theory of racism and how it can be avoided.¹³

My intention in combining these two strategies in my work is to create a constant moment of paradoxical productivity in which not everything is true but real. The intention behind taking this approach is to not allow the work to be categorised as a mere critique of something, as this would make it fit perfectly into a post-Fordist circle of value production. But rather it is as an act of avoiding categorisation and eventual concretion.

Slide 7: Aims

My aim is to offer a critical artistic position within the practice by:

¹² In the final speech at the end of *The Great Dictator* (1940), Chaplin states:

Don't give yourselves to these unnatural men - machine men with machine minds and machine hearts! You are not machines! You are not cattle! You are men! You have the love of humanity in your hearts! You don't hate! Only the unloved hate - the unloved and the unnatural! Soldiers! Don't fight for slavery! Fight for liberty!

¹³ Glissant (1987) writes

As far as I'm concerned, a person has the right to be opaque. That doesn't stop me from liking that person, it doesn't stop me from working with him, hanging out with him, etc. A racist is someone who refuses what he doesn't understand. I can accept what I don't understand (185).

1. creating affect towards the audience in the moment of their encounter with the performance,
2. withdrawing from modes of coercion within post-Fordist production.

Disclaimer: Please note, I do not aim to convert anyone but to create constant contradiction as the aim of my artistic efficacy (Bishop 2010).

Slide 8: PRACTICE

Slide 9: VIVA 2023

Like my presentation today, which is towards the end of my practice-based research, the subject of critique of my first performance within my practice-based PhD was the circumstances in which it was embedded in. It was part of my first-year PhD student exhibition at Chelsea College of Art in March 2016. As part of the show, I ‘staged’ the end of my PhD, my Viva. At that point in time, I expected it to take place at the very last opportunity of my part-time studies in the year 2023, hence the title *VIVA 2023*. With no funding in place, a referendum on the question if the UK should stay or leave the EU ahead, in the performance, I first presented a fictional but to this date accurate future scenario of political and economic circumstances influencing the almost failed completion of my research degree in the year 2023. These circumstances included:

- Brexit,¹⁴

14 According to a BBC article (Moseley, 2016) and the OED, ‘Brexit’ was first coined by Peter Wilding who is the founder and director of the “British Influence” think tank - which campaigned for the UK to Remain in the EU in the June 2016 referendum. He used it as early as 2012 before David Cameron even announced that there was going to be a referendum. Next to its continuing use in media coverage up until today, Brexit was also frequently used by Donald Trump during his successful US presidential campaign. In chapter 26 “The Jewish war” Klemperer (2000) writes in 1947:

The Jewish war! The Führer didn’t come up with this idea, he had certainly never heard of Flavius Josephus, he simply noticed one day in the newspaper or in shop window that the Jew Feuchtwanger had written a novel called *Der jüdische Krieg* (The Jewish war). (Published in England in 1932 under the title Josephus). It is probably like this with all the words and expressions of the LTI: England is no longer an island, *Vermassung* {de-individualisation}, *Versteppung* {to turn into steppes}, *Einmaligkeit* {uniqueness}, *Untermenschentum* {subhumanity} etc. – they have all been appropriated from

- the failure of the Tory government in the negotiations,¹⁵
- the demand for a second referendum, and
- the election of Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister.

I stage *VIVA 2023* via a Skype conference call with two examiners who were also enacted by myself in a pre-recorded video. To the audience I declare that in 2023 examiners won't be flown in anymore while at the same time, shared office space will be replaced by working from home. In a triangle conversation during *VIVA 2023*, sometimes interrupted by the noise of the washing machine in the background of one of the examiners, we discuss the intention of my research project and how it almost failed.

Slide 10¹⁶

The performance was a success in terms of applause at the end; the research student community and staff applauded the Brexit critique and my intention to defy it in my 'fictional' future scenario. From an over-identification perspective, my full immersion with the hyper-networked precarious female young academic was very believable. Looking at it from the perspective of opacity, it is less clear. In fact, very little was left opaque in this performance to the audience; except for the result of my Viva. It was clear that it was a performance and it was clear that I

secluded corners of intimate, technical or group-specific usage and were contaminated through and through with Nazi ideology. (173)

15 In "From the Great Movement Forward" Klemperer (2000) describes the increased usage of cover-up words used within the LTI as the war progressed and a defeat of Germany was becoming more likely. He writes in 1947:

This multitude of cover-up words is all the more extra ordinary given that it is in stark contrast to the general, innate and essential poverty of the LTI. (...) This circumspect way of describing this crisis was adequate for a very long time because, in complete contrast to the customary German *Blitzkrieg*, the enemy only engaged in 'snail like offensives', and only made headway at a 'snail's pace'. Only during the last year of the war, when the catastrophe could no longer be concealed, was it given a more complicit name, albeit one that still amounted to a cover-up: defeats were now termed 'crises', but the word never appeared on its own. Attention was always either directed away from Germany to the 'global crises' or the 'crisis facing western civilization', or alternatively a phrase was used which very quickly became stereotypical – 'a crisis under control'. (229)

16 I am trying to show to the audience the documentation of this performance. Unfortunately, I cannot do so online as my laptop is not connected to a WiFi network.

thought Brexit was going to have severe consequences for the UK and my research degree, further decreasing my own prospects to ever receive any funding for it. Taking into account the category of ‘impact’, this performance eventually failed on multiple layers but mainly because the recipients of the critique were one-hundred percent academic.¹⁷

(Fifteen minutes = two PechaKucha)

Slide 11: Vacanzeromane2016.tumblr.com

The second example of my practice that I present, was produced only a few months after *VIVA 2023*, in July 2016 during a research residency at the British School in Rome, Italy. This four-week residency was an award I received from my university. In the three months between the residency and the staging of *VIVA 2023*, Brexit actually happened and was accompanied by a row of resignations including then Prime Minister David Cameron. During the residency I produced a series of seven video speeches, starting with a Declaration of Independence, followed by six resignations from different positions:

1. artist
2. feminist
3. art critic
4. culture and
5. the head of the English Football team.

The sixth resignation was the resignation from all resignations. Over the timeframe of two weeks I regularly posted a video within a two day interval, all of which can be still watched on the blog called vacanzeromane2016.tumblr.com.

¹⁷ In ‘The curse of the superlative’ Klemperer (2000) writes in 1947: *Tout se tient* as the French say, everything hangs together. The expression ‘*hundertprozentig* {100 per cent}’ comes directly from America and goes back to the title of a novel by Upton Sinclair which was widely read in German translation; throughout the twelve years it was on everybody’s lips and I often heard the adjunct ‘Stay clear of that chap, he’s a 150-per-center!’ And yet, it is precisely this most indisputable of Americanisms that has to be set against most basic demand and keyword of Nazism – ‘*total*’ (218).

Slide 12

The title of the work is derived from the Italian version of the famous Hollywood classic *Roman Holiday* (1954), for which Audrey Hepburn received the Oscar for best performance.

Slide 13

In this work, despite the overt staging of adapted resignation speeches by men, I actually over-identify with Samantha Cameron rather than David Cameron. I empathized with her on the day of her husband's resignation, because she was the silent witness in the background wearing a stylish summer dress.

Slide 14

In each video work produced during the residency, I am present in the front and the background of the video. I witness my own resignation as a tourist in Rome, taking selfies in the background. I performed a decoy speaking in the front, being a form of distraction as well as an act of feminist appropriation. While speaking in the front, I am wearing a red blazer and a white shirt; in the background, I am wearing a variety of my favourite summer dresses. The red blazer functions, as pointed out by the aforementioned article in the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, to signify assertiveness among female politicians.¹⁸

Slide 15

The speeches can be followed up on the blog, including Wikipedia links to the buildings in the background. They are all adapted versions of already existing texts; for example the resignation speech of Pope Benedict in Latin (2008), where I replaced *freres* (brothers) with *sorores* (sisters). The adaptation always includes the insertion of women in the texts in which they were completely absent before like in several countries' Declaration of Independence. The work mainly circulated

¹⁸ In the course of Brexit negotiations, Theresa May was wearing a red blazer when meeting with EU leaders at the Salzburg Summit in September 2018 (See *The Times*, 2018).

online within my own network, potentially limiting its own impact beyond academia.

Slide 16: October 2017.

The turning point in my research.

From October 2017, after two years of self-funded part-time studies, I received a doctoral research award. Suddenly I got overwhelmed by the responsibility of being accountable to the taxpayer. How to justify the taxpayer financing a research project that intends to create a critique of the very same system? Where was the impact that I was promising to create in my application for the funding? Where was the evidence? And what is going to happen once the funding runs out? As pointed out at the beginning, this is an issue that concerns many researchers. I decided to address it, by immersing myself in impact enhancing measures and strengthening my research profile. I invite everyone in the audience (and the reader) in case they (you) liked my presentation/paper and want to stay in touch to follow me on any of these channels:

Twitter (5676 followers),¹⁹

Vimeo (3467 followers),

Instagram (5433²⁰ followers),

Other sharing platforms:

Mendeley,

YouTube,

Aademia.eu,

Periscope.

(Twenty minutes = three PechaKucha)

19 In Chapter 28 “The language of the victor”, Klemperer (2000) writes in 1947: Right at the outset, when a few Jewish periodicals were still being published, I once read the following title of a funeral oration: ‘In memory of our leader {Führer} Levinstein’. The Führer in this case was the chairman of a community. (196)

20 According to Samuel W. Mitcham in *Why Hitler?: The Genesis of the Nazi Reich* from 1996, Hitler’s membership number as part of German Workers party (DAP) was 555 even though in reality he had been the 55th Member. Their trick was to start the counting at the number 501 in order to make the party appear larger (67). Thanks to the peer reviewer for pointing that out.

Q&A

My twenty minutes for presenting are over and now the ten minutes of Q&A where the conference audience can question the presented materials are about to start. At this point I have to thank the organizers of the conference and the panel chair, for doing such a great job in organizing the panels and the conference altogether. After attending several conferences throughout my PhD, I experienced a lot of issues with time keeping and not enough time for Q&A or unevenly distributed time among presenters, and in this case, it was flawless. Please note that the following account of the Q&A is based on notes taken afterwards and no other recordings have been made during the Q&A.

Question 1: So the point of the strategy is to create a critique of social media by fully immersing yourself in it by using it?

Answer: It is the very exaggeration that makes the critique visible.

Follow up question: Why recruiting so many followers? And what happens with the network afterwards? Once the research project is over?

A: In order to disrupt a network, one needs a network. But I also have the hope that once followers realize that what they have been following is fake that they might withdraw from these networks or at least change the attitude towards it.

Comment: Academic Twitter is used by many female academics as it allows them to jump hierarchy ladders that are in place in academia otherwise. So what about the advantages of academic twitter?

A: It is still exclusive to a certain age group of academics and we also have to take into consideration the price we pay for this when considering who gets really heard on these platforms; those already in power like the POTUS. Like I said in my presentation, my intentions are not to create conversion in anyone in the audience but rather to reveal through contradiction as well as raising the question of what can we really perceive as truth when it is right in front of us and how are we complicit in an economy where hyper-self-promotion feeds into post-Fordist modes of value creation based to great extent on free labour. In the end this is not a black and white case but it is important to look at the grey areas and how we are part of it.

Q: Why only performing in front of academics? How about schools?

A: A valid question, especially in regards of the very category of impact which eventually would solve my sustaining issue of evidencing it. I actually already worked as a speaker in High schools talking about banking and finances. This was a very eye-opening experience to me but also showed me how challenging this environment is. For now, I choose consciously academia as my audience, as this is my current circle of peers that I want to address even if it does not tick the impact box.

Q (final question): What is the difference between parody and self-parody?

A: I guess parody is when everyone knows that it is staged, the difference between the parody and the subject of the parody is clear. Here it is ridiculed to an extreme. Self-parody, well is it a parody of the self?²¹ Actually, I am not entirely sure how to answer that.

End of Q&A.

I enjoyed the questions and the discussion that came up. The entire session is over now, and the next coffee break is up before the next session of panels which are scheduled in parallel. When I made the strategic decision to use conferences as the sites of investigation for my research,

21 In chapter 28 “The language of the victor”, Klemperer (2000) describes what happened to Dr P, a colleague of his Jewish doctor. He writes:

Prior to 1933, Dr. P. had felt himself to be a German and a doctor, nothing more and nothing less, and wasted no time thinking about the problems of religion or race, he had held Nazism to be a delusion or an illness which would pass without a dire catastrophe. Now he had been thrown out of his job entirely, worked as a forced labourer in a factory, and was the foreman of a group to which I belonged for a long time. Here his bitterness expressed itself in a strange way. He appropriated all of the Nazi’s anti-Jewish expressions, and especially those of Hitler, and uttered them so incessantly that he himself could probably no longer judge to what extent he was ridiculing either the Führer himself, or whether this self-deprecating way of speaking had simply become second nature. (...) We put up with his quirks, or rather obsessions, of our foreman sometimes with a sense of humour, sometimes with resignation. To me it seemed symbolic to the whole subjugation of the Jews. (...) Had this enslavement only surfaced in everyday speech it would at least have been understandable; one is less careful about what one says there, is more dependent on what is constantly in front of one’s very eyes and ringing in ones ears (194-95).

I also had to make a decision if I use the conference only as a form of rhetoric through the PowerPoint presentation or as an entire structure of power and display that I use for creating a productive paradox. In this case the answer was determined by the time limit of the coffee break and the fact that I had to catch a pre-booked very expensive privatized train from Nottingham back to London, leaving before the conference ends.

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Shared Memory: Transgenerational Transmission and Transcultural Junctions in Ulrike Draesner's *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt*

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Introduction

Kommt dir das bekannt vor: Zwei Leute treffen sich zum ersten Mal. Zufällig stoßen sie auf ein Stück Familiengeschichte, stellen fest, dass jeweils wenigstens einer ihrer Elternteile vertrieben wurde, und fragen einander sofort, woher Mutter oder Vater stammte. Bizarr! Meist kennen sie den Ort gar nicht. Aber es hat für sie eine Bedeutung, dass ihre Eltern oder Großeltern sich gekannt haben könnten. Es hat eine Bedeutung, aus welcher Landschaft man kommt, welche Erfahrungen die Familie dort machte. Mit dem Wetter, der Erde, den Menschen, dem Schlag (Draesner 265).

The psychologist Boris Nienalt, one of the main characters in Ulrike Draesner's novel *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt*, reflects here on the

meaning of homeland and origin from the perspective of the descendants of displaced persons, who were forced to migrate during and after WWII in Silesia and Poland. His conclusion: origin matters. Not only for those who witnessed the historical events themselves, but equally for those who belong to the following generations.

Published in 2014, Draesner's novel serves as an example of transgenerational transmission of flight and forced migration and how the effects thereof are depicted in contemporary German literature. Through the application of multiple generational perspectives, the text sheds light on different ways of dealing with a traumatic past through familial interaction. By including the experiences of 'Zeitzeugen' as well as members of the following generations, the novel exemplifies a shift from silence and displacement to a mutual understanding.

Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt connects the histories of two families, one German, one Polish. The encounter of the descendants Boris Nienalt and Simone Grolmann illustrates similarities and differences of the characters' family histories and post-memories.¹ Beside the impact on their individual biographies and identities, the novel also points to transcultural junctions of a globalised collective memory in which overlapping, but also distinctive parts are revealed and negotiated.

This article analyses acts of transmitting and remembering collective history in transgenerational and transcultural settings. Using Ulrike Draesner's novel *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt* as an example for contemporary German postmemory literature, the article contributes to the literary discourse of cultural memory studies with an emphasis on the memory of the family and effects of migration in the 21st century.

Generational Lacks and Cracks in Identity

As one of the typical institutions of transmitting experiences, the social structure of the family represents a genealogic point of reference for the individual. According to Maurice Halbwachs' understanding of collective memory, the memory of a family constructs a framework of identity by

¹ In contrast to memories that associated with lived experiences of an individual or a collective, the concept of post-memories extends the possibility to remember an experience to subsequent generations. See Marianne Hirsch's theory below.

selecting different elements of a shared past ‘to ensure the family’s cohesion and to guarantee its continuity’ (83). In *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt* Boris Nienalt chooses »Shared Memory« as the title for his psychological study about post-traumatic symptoms of children of war.² This contribution to the discourse of collective remembrance reflects how traumatic experiences and memories of the historical events of WWII are shared within the social structure of the family. In line with Halbwachs’ theory, the transmission of memory in Nienalt’s book therefore represents an act of intersubjective communication.³

In the novel Nienalt defines the meaning of ‘sharing’ for his theoretical approach:

Shared Memory lautete mein Arbeitstitel, geteiltes Gedächtnis. Ich meinte: aufgeteilt, unterteilt. Zugängliches und Weggestecktes. Selbstkartierung. Selbstbild (Draesner 80).

According to this, ‘shared memory’ means not only the collective construction of a common memory and group identity, as in Halbwachs’ theory of collective memory, but also a subdivided structure of the remembered content. The double connotation of the German expression ‘geteilt’ unfolds two possible meanings: One is the understanding of sharing the memory of a common historical experience among a group. The other is the idea of a divided memory, which might be divided in itself, or exist partially detached from conscious acts of remembering. Through the depiction of multiple perspectives of different generational and cultural references, *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt* addresses both the linking and the dividing aspect of ‘teilen’/‘sharing’.

2 The focus in Draesner’s novel lies on German childhood memories, which include not only the experiences of the war, but also on a social level the presence of the ideology of the National Socialism as part of family life. There is a vast wealth of research on the dynamic effects and aftermaths of these experiences, especially in the field of oral history studies. For further reading see e.g., Reiter 2006.

3 The theory of ‘communicative memory’ was implemented by Jan Assmann in which he specified Halbwachs’ concept. The communicative memory represents acts of daily communication among oral communities. Referring to this, Assmann points to a ‘floating gap’ of forgetting after every three generations. For an overview of Assmann’s theory and its impacts on cultural memory studies see e.g., Astrid Erll et al. 2005.

The novel contains two storylines, including two basic temporal references: the first one, which is linked to the past, depicts the experiences of flight and forced migration of the Silesian and the Polish population in the year 1945, during the last months of WWII.⁴ The other is intended to take place in the present, here in 2013, with the focus on the familial interactions and the everyday life of the characters in different places, mainly in the region of Munich and in Krzyżowa / Kreisau, a village in Lower Silesia, where Boris Nienalt gives group seminars for his patients. On the one side there is the German family Grolmann, who escaped to Bavaria in January 1945 from Oels, a small town in Lower Silesia. On the other side there is the history of Boris Nienalt's Polish family, who was resettled from the east to the west of the country shortly after the end of WWII. Despite the parallelism of the two families, the ratio between the German and the Polish perspective on the past and present experiences is not balanced in the structure of the novel: eight of the eleven chapters contain different perspectives of the Grolman characters, so the German experience is center stage in the novel.⁵ Altogether nine characters appear, who represent in total four generations.

In line with the literary genre of generational novels⁶ in Ulrike Draesner's book, the generation serves as a key medium to track the private history of the family against the backdrop of the collective history of the 20th century. The generation as a sociological concept goes back to Karl Mannheim. In his influential essay *Das Problem der Generationen* from 1928, he introduces the concept of a generation as a social group of

4 The Soviet army occupied the territory of the river Oder in January 1945, which caused a massive migration movement of the German population. Shortly afterwards the allied powers decided on the settlement of the territory with a Polish population as an effect of a new nationalisation, the so-called repolanisation or "Westverschiebung" (Halicka 118ff.).

5 As Ulrike Draesner refers partially on memories of her own family archive, one can interpret the overweigh of the German perspective in line with an autobiographical approach, which is characteristic for many contemporary German generational novels (Eichenberg 28). See also Draesner's web page of the novel, which functions as a paratext: <https://der-siebte-sprung.de/>.

6 Friederike Eigler implements the term 'Generationenroman' for the genre of family novels after 1989. Therein are depicted most of all the cracks and contradictions within the memory of the family and the novels focus on the backdrop of transgenerational interactions, to what extent the family history was forgotten, displaced or deformed (Eigler 2005 25).

individuals who participate in the same historical events and therefore share a certain collective identity (165). According to Mannheim a generation is an age-based community of experience which differs from other generations by 'limits of understanding' (Giesen 206). Whereas Mannheim's approach of differentiating separate generations of experience had a broad influence in social and cultural studies, recent approaches shift more to the process of dissolving generational boundaries, by means of transgenerational exchange, for example in the works of Sigrid Weigel. She points out that on the micro level of the family the concept of generationality becomes visible in the genealogic structure and its vertical form of transmission (93ff.). In contrast to segregating experiences alongside the horizontal generational framework, the family as a contact zone of three or four generations synchronises experiences by intergenerational transmission and shows how historical events affect the individuals beyond the generational gap (A. Assmann, 'Unbewältigte Erbschaften' 55).

In *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt* one can distinguish four different generational points of view within the collective of the Grolmann family. The parents Lilly and Hannes represent the perspective of 'Zeitzeugen', who witnessed the historical events of WWII and fled from their Silesian hometown, while their sons Eustachius and Emil experienced the events as children. The history of the family's 'expulsion'⁷ mirrors two fundamental experiences of violence and loss: first, the forced loss of home, second the loss of the disabled Emil. When Lilly escapes from Oels on the 19th of January 1945 with Emil, the older sibling, and the 14-year old Eustachius, the husband / father Hannes is based in Breslau as a soldier in the German Wehrmacht. The reunion of the family takes place about one year later in a Bavarian reception hall, but Emil is no longer with the family. He disappeared during their flight from Silesia. The night of Emil's disappearance is central of the multi-perspective tracking of the past events. Until the end of the novel is not entirely clear what exactly happened on that night and it remains a

⁷ 'Expulsion' refers to the act of forced migration as an involuntary act of losing one's homeland (Ther 99). In this context Friederike Eigler claims to a potential nostalgic rendering of a lost homeland which runs the risk to show slight tendencies of historical revisionism (Eigler 214 4).

mystery whether Emil left his mother and brother of his own accord or if Eustachius might have killed him.⁸

Both experiences, the loss of home and the loss of the son / brother, represent traumatic experiences for those who witnessed the events. It becomes visible to what extent Lilly's, Hannes' and Eustachius' conflicts of identity are based on their inability to track the meaning of the events and to link their life-stories before and after they were forced to flee. This crack in identity leads to forms of misplaced experiences and blurred facts, as discussed in Cathy Caruth's analyses of the structure of traumatic experiences (84ff). The inability to come to terms with the experiences during the war and the forced migration causes different conflicts of identity that come to light after the family is reunited. Hannes lists the losses which are not part of the public discourse of the immediate postwar area, but shape the mental state of the individuals:

Wir hatten ein Kind verloren, das Erbe verloren, alle Gräber, ein Stück unserer Selbst, die Verbindung zu unserer Vergangenheit, die Verankerung in Besitz und Beständigkeit, das Vertrauen, da sein zu dürfen (Draesner 381).

By means of the multi-perspective, internal viewpoint of each of the three remaining family members, one can trace the difficulties each has in processing the past events. The paradoxical time perspectives of Lilly and Hannes after their deaths illustrate their struggle to cope with their new environment and to go on with everyday life, including the unwelcoming attitude of West Germans towards them as refugees. In contrast, Eustachius' forward-looking approach represents the ambition to succeed within the new structures. Even more, in focusing in his scientific research on the free will of great apes, he seemingly seeks an explanation for the deeds of his father's generation and in doing so he attempts to overcome the traumatic family history (ibid. 379).

In light of these experiences it becomes clear that the characters' identity conflicts also refer to issues on the level of intergenerational communication. While important memories remain unspoken, others are

⁸ In one of the last dialogues between Eustachius and his granddaughter Esther, he confesses to her, that he shot Emil (Draesner 501). Although he finally seems to take the responsibility for the deed, Esther cannot determine, if he is telling the truth or if it is just Eustachius' imagination.

transmitted in a selective way. The sociologist Harald Welzer analyses communicative acts of transmitting memories within the social framework of the family. Welzer points out that acts of ‘conversational remembering’⁹ take place unintentionally, *en passant*, in the sphere of everyday conversations (2001 17). The collective memory of a family is highly affected not only by the present situation and the context in which the communicative acts take place but most of all by the particular members who generate memories that help constitute the identity of the group. In another study Welzer looks at representations of ‘memory talk’¹⁰ in German families, and especially the ways of communicating about the experiences and memories of National Socialism and the war time within the setting of the family. In his influential analysis »*Opa war kein Nazi*«, Welzer examines the extent to which German family memories paint the image of victimization and suffering of WWII and how this functions as a strategy of harmonisation (155).

In her essay on *Flight, Expulsion and Resettlement in Contemporary German Literature*, Jessica Ortner stresses that Draesner’s novel “highlights the suffering of the German refugees and represents the accusation of the Wehrmacht soldier Hannes” (Ortner 106) as those topics, which are communicated within the family. But while the experience of the lost homeland represents a conscious narrative¹¹ in the collective of the displaced family, the individual loss of Emil is not. His disappearance brings up fundamental questions of responsibility and guilt which reflect the racial ideology of the National Socialists: firstly, in terms of the familial failure to take care of and protect the disabled family member, and secondly, in terms of the attitude of Eustachius who had been influenced by Nazi ideology since his early childhood and who might have questioned his brother’s very existence. According to Nicole Sütterlin, the generation of ‘Zeitzeugen’ in *Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der*

9 The term ‘conversational remembering’ is rooted in the field of cognitive psychology in order to frame, how individuals adapt narrative representations of the past to their specific context and according to their conversation partners (Hirst and Manier 1996).

10 The German literary scholar Birgit Neumann applies the concept of ‘memory talk’ to the analysis of fictions of memory (176ff).

11 In her recent study Friederike Eigler analyses narratives of the lost homeland and concepts of ‘Heimat’ on the basis of ‘postmemory’ literature of German and Polish writers (Eigler 2014).

Welt emphasizes an increase in the silence about the experiences of the displacement, due to a blending of perpetrator's and victim's identities (171). At the beginning of the novel Boris Nienalt subsumes various belated effects of the experience of losses for the generation of the war children in a radio interview:

Hitlers Kinder, die 1945, anders als die Erwachsenen, die einzige Welt verloren, die sie kannten, seien nicht erzogen, sondern im wörtlichen Sinne verzogen gewesen: an ihrer Psyche habe man gezogen. [...] Jetzt im Alter, erlebe auch diese junge Kriegsgeneration, dass die Kindheit zurückkehre. Also der Verlust (Draesner 22).

The character of Eustachius, who works as a scholar in the field of emotional dispositions in primates, experiences such flashbacks of his childhood in an unconscious way.

Apart from the depiction of the perspective of the 'Zeitzeugen', the characters Simone and Esther exemplify the perspectives of family members who are born after the war and the displacement. In depicting these two characters of the Grolmann family, Draesner's novel illustrates Marianne Hirsch's theory of 'postmemory'. According to Hirsch,

'[p]ostmemory' describes the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before - to experience they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up" (Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* 5).

In Hirsch's theory, the term represents forms of intergenerational transmission to describe the relation between post-Holocaust children and their parents as survivors. Like Mannheim, Hirsch also distinguishes between different generations, but she points to specific genealogical dynamics between the generation who witnessed a historical event and the generation who is born after the event. Although the descendants have no lived or experienced memories, their life-stories are affected by the event and they perceive their parents' memories "in their own right" (Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory" 110). This

phenomenon of partially adapting another's life-story very often contains an unconscious and traumatic core and reveals certain identity conflicts.

The problem in communication amongst the 'generations of experience' is in fact a lack of communication regarding the next level of generational transmission: due to the silence about the events of the war and the forced migration, the postmemory generation only receives fragmented recollections and ideas about the past. Simone suffers from symptoms which show the impact of the event of the family's displacement on her life. She remembers the conversations with her father and her grandmother as followed:

Vater berichtete wenig aus seinem vorbayrischen Leben, Oma Lilly hatte stets nur Anekdoten aus einem versunkenen Landstrich des 19. Jahrhunderts erzählt, der Schlesien hieß, und ich ahnte, was fehlte, wenn ich anfang, darüber nachzudenken, warum mein Vater war, wie er war. Eine Antwort hatte ich nicht. Nur Vorstellungen, Annäherungen, Symptome (Draesner 16f.).

One of her symptoms, the fear of snow, reveals a structure of transmission beyond communicated acts of remembering and sheds light on her conflict of identity. She perceives the subconsciously transmitted memories as if they were her own memories without the possibility of verifying if they are real: "Ein Stück kopiertes Leben im eigenen. Oder andersherum: eigenes Leben, umschlossen von Kopiertem." (ibid., 19) Because of these fantasies of experience, Simone is not able to connect her parents' and grandparents' experiences with her own life-story and the lack of communication between father and daughter becomes visible. In the dialogue with Simone, Boris Nienalt explains to her,

in welch luft-, genauer erdleerem Raum sich die ersten, einer Vertreibung nachfolgenden Generationen befanden, welchen Ängsten, Verletzungen, Einschränkungen sie sich ausgesetzt sahen (ibid. 130).

His argument explicitly classifies her feelings in the non-fictional contemporary discourse of trauma and memory studies, which represents the specific 'metafictional' aesthetics¹² of the text. Concerning

12 The aesthetics of 'historical metafiction' are characterized by the application of intra- and extra-textual references to the historicity of the fictional story, for instance by integrating

the perception and the aftermath of the experiences of violence and resulting losses, Draesner's novel clearly frames the topic of transgenerational transmission (Sütterlin 169). The postmemory perspective of Simone shows a conflict of identity that is predominantly caused by an unspoken "lost direct link to the past" (Hirsch, "Generation of Postmemory", 111).

Through the character of Esther, the novel also reflects the aspect of generational transmission on the level of a second generation of postmemory. According to Philippe Codde, the structure of postmemory as Hirsch frames it is not limited to the witnesses of the Holocaust and their children, but can be extended to all generations that come after a traumatic turning point in history (Codde 676). Center stage in contemporary literary depictions are often therefore perspectives of the third or fourth generation of descendants instead of those who witnessed the history of violence themselves. Though the descendants are shaped by the past experiences of their ancestors, they live in a greater temporal distance to the historical event. One of the strengths of Draesner's novel is to bring all these different perspectives together in one work.

The novel shows that the subsequent generation has other ways of dealing with the past than their parents and grandparents. In the character of Esther, the novel reflects a kind of a supersaturated attitude towards the historical experience of flight and expulsion: Reacting to what seems to be an omnipresent topic in cultural discourse, the granddaughter of an expellee ironically starts a webpage which she calls "Antimigrations-Blog" (Draesner 491). Being aware of her family's history, her attempt to connect denials of migration ("Migrationsleugner", *ibid.*) illustrates a distance to the historical case of the resettlement of the German population in Silesia. At the same time

autobiographical elements or documentary material (Gansel and Zimniak 2010). According to the theoretical framework of Linda Hutcheon 'historiographical metafiction' points the mediated character of historical knowledge in postmodern historical fiction (Hutcheon 1988). See also Ansgar Nünning's modification of Hutcheon's theory and his understanding of 'historiographical metafiction' (Nünning 1995). While this is characteristic of most of the generational novels from the last three decades, Draesner's meta-reflection of the postmemory discourse itself goes one step beyond.

it becomes clear that Esther is trying to understand her own affiliation with the history of the family.

In contrast to the relationship between Eustachius and Simone (father and daughter), the interactions and dialogues between Eustachius and Esther (grandfather and granddaughter) depict a potential communication beyond the trauma. Still affected by the past experiences of her family, Esther focuses on the present needs of her grandfather. When she takes care of him in the final state of his dementia, she comes to the following conclusion:

In diesen Situationen fühlte ich immer klarer, dass Opas Gegenwart und Zukunft mir wichtiger waren als Phantasien über seine Vergangenheit, egal, welcher Art (ibid. 527).

She is able to understand him as a person, although she is aware of the uncertain and fragmented elements in his life-story. In the end, Esther becomes the closest witness of his incomplete memories and also finds ways to connect the grandfather's life-story with her own. In skipping one generation, the transgenerational transmission between grandfather and granddaughter shows potential for understanding the family history, including traumatic experiences and without neglecting its cracks.

Transcultural Legacies of the History of Violence

In line with the multigenerational perspectives on the past, the novel connects two different cultural perspectives on forced migration in Lower Silesia. While the history of the Grolmann family depicts the expulsion of the German population, the history of the second family illustrates the events from the Polish perspective. In doing so, the novel performs what Friederike Eigler marks as “legacies of multiple relocations – including the expulsion of Poles from Poland's former Eastern territories” (Eigler 2014 8) and broadens the perspective on a transnational memorial culture.

The mother of Boris Nienalt, Halka, arrives in Wrocław, the former Breslau, as a teenager with her parents in May 1945, immediately after the end of the war. At that time their hometown, the eastern Polish city Lwów, became part of the Soviet territory as a consequence of the Polish

‘Westverschiebung’ and the population was resettled in the former German territory. When the family arrives, the city is still characterized by the destructions of the war and a violent atmosphere of revenge against the former German occupiers. They move into a flat that was obviously left in a hurry by the German inhabitants, a family named Schönfließer. Here, two family histories overlap in the topography of the destroyed Wrocław / Breslau as a former and a new homeland. Halka remembers a scene, where she finds her mother Grazyna mourning the fate of the Schönfließers and their losses:

Als Mamuś wieder einmal im Fotoalbum der Schönfließers blätterte, riss ich es ihr weg, zerriss die aufgeschlagene Seite, es traf die unschuldige Anngret, die nicht unschuldig war, hier war niemand unschuldig, »unschuldig« war eine zerbombte Kategorie, und schüttelte Grazyna, wütend nun auch auf sie, aber sie weinte nur wie ein Kleinkind, das man nicht schütteln soll” (Draesner 466)

The newly arrived are surrounded by the lost world of the former inhabitants. Whereas Halka feels the need to destroy the family photographs and to get rid of the memories of suffering under the German occupation, Grazyna’s behaviour demonstrates empathy for the losses of the enemies. By juxtaposing two histories of broken life-lines the city Wrocław / Breslau becomes a site of memory in both the German and the Polish family histories. Beside the attitude for blaming the German perpetrators for the atrocities of the war, the resemblance of losses “constitutes a microcosm of European history in which the suffering of the German and the Polish histories are equated and flight and expulsion is represented as a common European catastrophe” (Ortner 104).

In the dialogue between the two descendants Simone and Boris, these experiences are reflected against the backdrop of a globalised memorial culture in the 21st century. Based on theories of the ‘transnational turn’, like Michael Rothberg’s theory of a ‘multidirectional memory’, the idea of the transcultural implies “crossreferencing” (Rothberg 3) spaces of memory as well as hybrid forms of cultural identity. Although Jessica Ortner claims that Draesner’s novel has a “false symmetry that represents both Boris’ and Simone’s ancestors as equally victimized and

guilty” (Ortner 104), the text shows the awareness of an interconnected history of violence. The postmemory exchange between the descendants Simone and Boris allows them to look beyond a binary structure of victims and perpetrators. On a microlevel their relationship exemplifies the dialogue between two narratives of cultural memory. In this way, the interaction between Boris and Simone demonstrates what Aleida Assmann calls ‘dialogic memory’, which combines a variety of cultural perspectives and tries to construct a common interpretation of the past (Assmann 2006 193).

Thus, Draesner’s novel depicts a quest for a transcultural memory among the generations of postmemory. Simone’s and Boris’ life-stories are inextricably linked with the family’s history of forced migration. Boris declares his identity as a hybrid of more than one cultural background which attempts to transcend the national boundaries of remembering the past. He also reminds Simone of the multiethnic background of her unpacked family history. In this way, the transcultural exchange between the two characters is intentionally brought about by Boris, the bilingual border crosser, who is trying to understand his family history and his identity as a product of the multiple entanglement of the German, Polish and Silesian cultures.

Against the backdrop of the fourth generation, represented by the characters Esther and Boris’ daughter Jennifer, the novel reflects on the topic of transculturality and migration in a broader social sense. On this level the text also refers to the hybrid structure of origin and belonging, especially in the character of Jennifer. Raised by her grandmother Halka, she feels connected to the German and the Polish culture: ‘Bei ihr war ich Dzenusia, sie drückte mich von oben bis unten und sagte »ljubow nie kartoschka«, auf Ostpolnisch-Russisch, »die Liebe ist keine Kartoffel« (Draesner 418). The symbolic reference to the ‘Kartoffel’ as a colloquial stereotype of German identity in Polish language illustrates the interconnectedness of the two cultural backgrounds.

Regarding fictions of generational memory, recent approaches in literary and cultural memory studies claim that migration as one of the most life-shaping experiences which is bound up with the issues of

remembering the German past in the 21st century.¹³ Many examples of contemporary literature refer to movements of migration, especially through the depiction of memorial sites in central and eastern Europe (Haines). The history of the family in the novel is linked with the experience of flight, forced displacement and the shift of borders. The narrated conflicts of identity show how the history of violence in the 20th century reveals questions of home and origin in a globalised world, and how the different generations find ways of coming to terms with issues of connection and identity. Both of the two young women, Jennifer and Esther, are depicted in interaction with their female friends: Jennifer with the Russian Natascha, Esther with the Pakistani Pawani. The two friendships demonstrate on a micro scale reasons for and effects of global movements of migration and contextualise them within the history of the migration of the German population during and after WWII. Esther's and Pawani's game to find 'eine Vertreibungs-Leugnungs-Geschichte mit befriedigendem Ende' (Draesner 516) makes light of and deconstructs the burden of coping with the family history. The character of Esther shows on the one hand the sensitive awareness of the grandfather's trauma, but on the other hand also a less emotionalised approach to the atrocities of WWII. By juxtaposing various experiences of forced migration, the text relocates the history in the present and sheds light on contemporary reflections in a 'postmigrant society'.¹⁴

Summary

The structure of a 'shared memory' appears in the novel on two levels: First, in depicting how the family represents an important social framework for the transmission of traumatic experiences and memories. The experience of dealing with the history of violence is rooted in various forms of familial intergenerational transmission as well as forms of displacement. The members of the third and the fourth generation after the historical turning point of WWII appear more and more detached from binary victim and perpetrator positions. Shared memory also

13 See e.g., Erll 2017 or C. Assmann 2018.

14 The term understands migration as an open-ended process, which points diversity as the main characteristic in immigration societies (Hill and Yildiz 2018).

manifests itself in the literary junction of two different, partially conflicting family memories of the events of loss and migration. The novel shows the dialogical structure of transnational remembering, in which the overlapping yet distinctive parts of the collective memories are revealed and negotiated.

Sieben Sprünge vom Rand der Welt therefore represents acts of transmitting traumatic experiences and remembering collective history in transgenerational and transcultural settings. The novel illustrates forms of shared memory, both on the level of the small collective of the family in terms of transmitted legacies of the past, and on the level of collective history as a shared form of suffering from the loss of homeland. As an example for postmemory fiction, the novel tracks and cracks open the blank spaces of the family histories, predominantly from the descendants' perspectives, who already know and reflect their post-datedness to the events. Draesner's text contributes to crucial questions of remembering the history of violence in the 21st century by taking into account different generational and cultural experiences. Center stage in these literary depictions are forms of transmitting and narrating the past as well as the awareness of the multiple interrelations of memory and migration. Without blurring perspectives of victims and perpetrators, the fictionalization of the family creates space for a postmemorial dialogue, revealing future structures of remembrance.

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Translating *A Clockwork Orange*: A Case Study on the Conundrums of Musical Dramas

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Introduction: Music in Drama Translation¹

The English writer and composer Anthony Burgess published his best-known novel *A Clockwork Orange* in 1962. In it, Alex, the anti-hero and leader of a teenage hoodlum gang, is arrested after a night of ultra-violence and mayhem and is subjected to an aversion therapy experiment which detaches him from his criminal instincts by reconditioning his actions. The whole story is wrapped in Beethoven's music and in Nadsat, a slang specifically created by the author by mixing Russian and English words, enabling his adolescent characters to communicate in a distinctive manner from the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the novel

¹ This article is an abridged version of the authors Master's thesis. Should you need access to the whole content or the Spanish translation mentioned throughout the paper, please contact the author of the paper at saramart01@gmail.com or samart01@ucm.es.

and the slang contained therein only had a moderate success, confirming the author's expectations and concerns.

In contrast, in 1971 the film director Stanley Kubrick adapted the novel into a film version which was widely acclaimed. After the film adaptation was carried out, Burgess commented on several occasions that his book had been dissected on set, as in a literary seminar, in order to freely improvise upon it. As a matter of fact, the book that had been ignored by the audience almost a decade earlier had, in his opinion, little to do with Kubrick's work and its tremendous success (Burgess vii).

Thus, in 1987 Burgess created the stage version of his novel, under scrutiny in this study, to offer his audience an actable version imbued with as much authorial authority as possible, displaying the original story in its entirety with a twist, but which has passed unperceived since its publication. The stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* provides the audience with a hybrid text that merges the dramatic text with semi-operatic arias, resulting in a musical play that has preserved the cunning and witty language of the original novel mixed with the musical compositions that the author himself either adapted from Beethoven's originals or created from scratch.

It is probably due to the hybrid nature of the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* that little attention has been paid to this text, not only in its original context but also abroad: remaining untranslated in Spanish until now. This is not entirely surprising, considering that musical plays have often been disregarded by both literary and operatic translation, since musical dramas are not considered to purely belong to any of the two categories.

In their bibliographical compilation, "Translation and Music: A General Bibliography" (2008), scholars Johan Franzon, Marta Mateo, Pilar Orero and Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva extensively outlined the translation of operas and dramas whereas few studies have focused on the translation of musical plays. In fact, the limited number of research studies carried out within this field appeal to the difficulty of the task to justify the lack of investigation in this area. Nonetheless, though scarce, the studies that have delved into this subgenre within the field of translation studies have proven useful in identifying some of the main hurdles that need to be overcome by translators.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that when translators adapt a dramatic work, their task is different from that of any other kind of literary genre. The translation of these texts must not only take responsibility for the discourse level, but also for the various prosodic aspects of the text, such as rhythm, pitch or intonation, among others (Braga, "Non-Verbal in Drama Translations" 125-26), and since dramatic texts are aimed to be performed, the resulting product should be able to combine the linguistic code with the different verbal and non-verbal semiotic codes. When translating dramatic texts, translators must also take into consideration the audience; they must be able to transmit to the spectators the same effect that the play in the source language creates. Accordingly, similar constraints can be encountered when translating operas or musical plays, with the added restraints posed by the inserted lyrical texts that, given their different nature, will require special attention.

Regarding operas, researchers such as Marta Mateo and Javier Rubiera have asserted that, in these pieces, it is the fusion between words and music, through the singing, that creates the expressive vehicle that articulates the whole drama; additionally, the artful and extravagant character of these texts joins the ensemble of hurdles that translators must face during their task (Mateo, "El Debate en Torno" 226), being of paramount importance to the preservation of all these characteristic features so as to create the same effect as the original.

Traditionally, in the translation of operatic or semi-operatic texts, the verbal element had been assigned a secondary position, giving prominence to the voices and the music, which negatively influenced the amount and the overall quality of the translations. In those cases in which the choice of a translation has prevailed, there have been two different options: "Sung translations, which are still the way chosen by certain companies to convey foreign operas, and prose versions, which are nowadays most familiar with through the literal translations coming with recordings" (Mateo, "Reception, Text and Context" 169).

Thus, this article is justified by the lack of practical research that exists in the field of musical drama translation and it is the purpose of the article to provide a proper account of the main conundrums, as well as the solutions that arise, while translating these kind of texts from the

source into the target language. Departing from my unpublished translation of the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* by Anthony Burgess, the article will show how the responsibility of translators devolves upon the task of creating both a stageable and a singable product.² This article will also try to oust the old-fashioned belief that music is more important than the text in this context and will propose an equilibrium between the verbal and the musical modes to achieve a final product that satisfies the audience of the target culture as much as the original did. Additionally, it will also be observed how additional elements such as a made-up jargon can also intervene and must be reflected and captured in the translation process.

Consequently, the analysis of the translation will focus on the diversity of elements and modes that appear intertwined in a specific text belonging to the category of musical dramas. It will be observed how multiple communication channels and codes work together to create a multimodal ensemble in which the two dimensions that conform the text—the verbal and the musical—come together to create a meaningful unit that has also been adorned with a very singular argot.

1. Methodology

The play selected to develop this study, as it has already been mentioned, is the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange*, a musical adaptation that the English author Anthony Burgess wrote himself almost 25 years after the publication of his homonymous novel. This text was chosen due to the relevance that *A Clockwork Orange* has acquired over time, becoming one of the most popular science-fiction novels of the twentieth century; therefore, it was considered that the stage version should be made available to a Spanish audience to allow them to enjoy this revision of a literary classic. As it has already been commented, what makes this text an interesting piece for study is its hybrid nature, combining drama and opera, constituting a musical play that has little to envy its narrative

2 The translation was carried out by the author of this paper (Sara Martínez Portillo), prior to undertaking the study shown here. The translation is currently unpublished since it was carried out with the purpose of, firstly, undertaking this study with the intention to later take it to the Spanish publishing houses that might be interested in publishing a play of these characteristics, but so far, no publishing house has shown interest in the project.

predecessor in content or in any other of its original characteristic features, such as the use of the Nadsat argot.

Thus, this paper departs from the Spanish translation of the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* carried out by the author, which brings together the necessary equilibrium between the dramatic and the musical speech of the text in an attempt to create a product worthy of being considered a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, that is, a piece of work which, as understood by the German composer Richard Wagner, “aspires for the rigorous merge between text and music in a thematic unit through the use of the *leitmotiv* and in which the musical, verbal and performative arts come together in a perfect symbiosis” (Mateo, “La Traducción de *Salomé*” 226). Consequently, the major difficulties that could be anticipated for this part of the study were the hurdles usually encountered in any translation of a dramatic text with the additional prerequisite of the musical parts of the text. As specified by Burgess, all the musical numbers had to be respected, always preserving Beethoven’s music in those in which it was specified, with the only opportunity of creating new compositions for those numbers which had been written by the author himself without any influence of the German composer.

Provided that the purpose of the translation was to maintain the original text as intact as possible, no new compositions were created. To deal with the dramatic part of the text, no special measures had to be taken; however, in the case of the musical parts, it was necessary to transcribe the scores with the scorewriter program *Sibelius 7* to be able to listen to the melodies as conceived by Burgess for his play. This step of the process eased the process of translation as it aided the reading of music, the localization of the lyrics in the melodies, and the placement of the accents or any other peculiarities that could not be perceived or derived from the analysis of the written lyrical texts.

Following the translation of the play ensues the theoretical analysis of it, which examines the main drawbacks encountered while developing the practical part of this study. As it will be seen, the analysis has been subdivided classifying the translation hurdles in three categories: the conundrums that arose in the translation of the dramatic text, those related to the musical parts, and, finally, those associated with the translation of Nadsat. The study will consist of a commentary of the

particularities of this translation, illustrated with representative examples of each problem. It was decided that this method was the most appropriate for this research since the use of examples would enable a greater understanding of the decisions taken in the translation process by contrasting the original text with the translation and the theory that supported the decision made.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. The Translation of Musical Dramas

Firstly, a consideration of the differences between dramas, operas and musicals is essential to understand the complex nature of the text under discussion. Musical dramas, apart from showing the particularities that will be commented on in the upcoming sections, are not free of those linguistic problems inherent to the translation of any kind of text. Those problems encompass mainly purely linguistic contrasts between languages —English and Spanish in this case.

The first distinction that should be made regarding dramas, operas and musicals is the intrinsic musical component in operas and musicals. If dramas are plurisemiotic, that is, an ensemble of multiple communicative sign-systems working in unison, in their combination of multiple communication modes, such as performance and verbal text, operas add music to the collaborative process of creating the unit presented on stage in which “the powerful presence of music has traditionally framed the conception of opera as an essentially musical genre, rather than as a dramatic art” (Mateo, “Music and Translation” 115); nonetheless, in order to achieve a meaningful coherent unit, more recent translations have tried to avoid this conception in which one mode prevails over another, attempting to find balance among the different communicative codes present in the text. It could be asserted that, in operas, meaning comes not only from the music, but from the text as well; hence, there exists a blend between verbal and non-verbal modes that requires a holistic approach to the translation of these texts (Mateo, “Multilingualism in Opera Production” 328).

As many scholars point out, there has always existed a debate regarding the viability of opera translation due to the extreme complexity

of the task which does not only entail knowledge of languages and genres but also of music and vocal technique, together with rhythm and prosody. Those who stand against the translation of operatic texts rely on the argument that their double nature intertwines music and texts so closely that they eventually become indivisible, but those who support the translation process, such as O. G. Sonneck, assert that the inevitable losses that occur in the transfer process are by far balanced out by the understanding of the text. Moreover, Sonneck's understanding might not only benefit the audience but also the actors and directors in charge of the production of a certain play, who will comprehend the libretto more accurately to perform the musical numbers in a more natural way (Mateo, "El Debate en Torno" 209-11).

Musicals and operas share both similarities and differences: they rely on the use of multiple signifying codes to build up the multimodal communicative ensemble and share the complexity and controversy entailed in the translation task. Conversely, scholars agree on the "divergent artistic and musical quality" of these two types of texts together with "the social functions assigned to each genre" (Mateo, "Anglo-American Musicals" 320) to differentiate them; the presence of a verbal component is another striking variance, considering that operas very rarely admit the presence of spoken dialogue between the musical numbers, as it frequently occurs in musical plays. Regarding these similarities and differences between operas and musicals, Mateo asserts that "musicals are more realistic in terms of singer-role and are, on this respect, closer to (conventional) productions of plays" (Ibid.) which may help to understand why musicals are believed to exist midway between dramas and operas.

2.2. The Translation of Drama

As mentioned before, translators of dramatic texts must not only be aware of the different linguistic contrasts that exist between the languages that they translate, but they must also pay attention to the various prosodic aspects of the texts. Thus, when translators face a dramatic text, their major concern should be focusing on creating another text that preserves the following characteristics: *speakability*, *playability*

and *performability* (Aaltonen 41; Espasa, “Performability in Translation” 49-50), which are the features that carry the strength and most of the literary weight of the text. It has already been commented that translated texts should feel in the target language as if they had never been translated from the source language, and it is for this reason that texts need to be naturally spoken out so that the actors and the audience perceive them in the way the authors intended.

Regarding *speakability*, texts need to be read easily without changing the original’s literary complexity and this will depend, of course, on the purely linguistic resources resorted to by translators, relying on their sense of which expressions will produce the same effect or will be more acceptable in the target language. Concerning *playability* and *performability*, labels that can be used interchangeably, Eva Espasa considers that the eventual success of a translation may depend on the choices that translators make to establish the necessary connections between the textual and extra-textual factors involved in the play (“Stage Translation” 320).

Hence, the intrinsic oral nature of dramatic texts makes silences matter as much as the text; the amount of time that a character is silent on stage can be as significant as the words uttered. Besides, translators must not only pay attention to the rhythm of the monologues and dialogues but also to the rhythm between *replicas* and scenes.³ If the rhythm is misinterpreted, the resulting play may last longer or shorter than intended, deviating the audience from the original content and purpose (Vivis in Braga, “Non-Verbal in Drama Translation” 125; Braga, “*La Traducción al Inglés*” 24-25). Additionally, intonation is of great importance to any translation of a dramatic text, and probably one of the most difficult elements to achieve, given the differences between the intonation patterns of different languages. A word of a certain length that is stressed in one language may not find an easy equivalent in length and strength in another one; as stated by the translator Ben Gunter, in

3 The concept of *replica* refers to "a structural dramatic unit, smaller than the act and the scene, constituted by the two textual levels present in dramatic texts, the dialogue and everything that is not the dialogue [...] In the written page a *replica* is fundamentally defined by the discourse assigned to a character, preceded by the name of that character and the stage directions or other stage notes related with the discourse in question." (Merino 147). My translation.

these instances it is the translators' duty not to allow the philological fidelity to alter the dramaturgy (in Braga, "¿Traducción, Adaptación o Versión?" 63).

According to Susan Bassnett, the dramatic text is "a network of latent signs, waiting to be brought out in performance, as the deep structure of a performance, or even as a blueprint for an eventual performance" (91); thus, a failure in the interpretation of any of these verbal or non-verbal signs will result in a misleading final text. Moreover, Bassnett classified the different semiotic modes that intervene in any play into five "categories of expression" being "the first of these the spoken text, for which there may or may not be a written script, the second is bodily expression, the third the actor's external appearances, gestures, etc., the fourth is the playing space with props, lighting, etc. and the fifth is non-spoken sound" (Ibid., 99).

Lastly, and following Bassnett's classification, "the translator must not only transfer the linguistic information in the text, but also pay attention to the complex set of other sign systems [...] which make of every performance a unique act" (Braga "Non-Verbal in Drama Translation" 121).

2.3. The Translation of Song

Previously, it was anticipated that the presence of music in a dramatic text only poses an additional difficulty to its translation. As is the case in the translation of poetry, the specific form of the text must be preserved in the target language, as well as the content; but, as stressed by Peter Low, the music that accompanies the lyrics determines the translator's creativity to transfer the source text, making it indispensable to take into account rhythms, harmonies or stresses, among many other features that build up the musical text (185). Nonetheless, translators of musical dramas must not forget that if the spoken parts of the texts are to sound natural and should occur effortlessly during the performance as if they were real spontaneous conversations, the sung parts of the text might bring on stage more unusual or unexpected structures (Gorlée, "Prelude and Acknowledgments", "Singing on the Breath").

Grounding his studies in the Skopos theory, Peter Low put forward the “Pentathlon Principle”, or five criteria that must be considered to create a musical product that communicates effectively, respecting the constraints posed by the text in the source language. The five elements that made up Low’s “Pentathlon Principle” are singability, sense, naturalness, rhythm, and rhyme.

Initially, it should be considered that the first of the five events is, in words of Jean Stephenson, the translators’ “duty to the singer” (141), that is, the requirement to create a song that can be performed by the singer and that, if possible, maintains the stressed words in the original in the same position in the translation. Although it can be a difficult task, it is possible to maintain these highlighted terms in the same position if translators allow deviations from the most natural structures.

Secondly, in regard of sense, which Stephenson considers the translators “duty to the author” (141), although translators may take some of the aforementioned liberties altering or deviating from typical structures to accommodate the content to the melody, they may also need to transform certain words or translate them by near-synonyms to maintain, for instance, the syllable-count.

Thirdly, the translators “duty to the audience” (Stephenson 142) comes from naturalness, which proposes the creation of a song that is easy to comprehend in its first listening, which complicates the transfer process if translators do not want to make the mistake of simplifying the text so much that it does not resemble the linguistic complexity of the original.

Finally, the fourth and fifth duties of translators are “to the composer” (Stephenson 142). Consequently, rhythm and rhyme are the last two pieces to create a meaningful unit according to Low’s proposal. Whereas rhythm asks for the use of the exact syllable-count and placement of accents, there may be some flexibility if the melody allows the addition or subtraction of syllables. Similarly, rhyme seems to be one of the most rigid points in the translation of songs, although there may be instances in which some flexibility might be allowed. Actually, and contrary to what is commonly assumed, “rhymes need not to occur in the same locations or with the same frequency as they do in the source song” (Stephenson 143), although it might be desirable to maintain the original

rhyiming patterns to maintain the stresses and changes in intonation derived from the melody.

2.4. The Translation of Nadsat

According to Pina Medina, Burgess achieved in his dystopian novel the perfect work to serve for both literary and linguistic analysis; additionally, the dramatic version of *A Clockwork Orange* demonstrates that literature and linguistics are not hermetic compartments of study, dismissing the idea that language studies should be fragmentary (26).

It is worth noting that in the creation of the Nadsat argot in Spanish, the translator of the novel, Aníbal Leal, worked with Burgess to create the equivalents that are used in the only existing translation in Spanish.⁴ The process of making the words Spanish did not require as much effort — since most of the words have preserved the phonetics of the terms in the English version with minor changes in their orthography — as the merging of Russian and English words required. Nonetheless, the morphological changes intrinsic to the Spanish language are the major complication that must be considered in the process of translating this slang.

The adaptation system that is followed to transfer the words from the English version of the novel to the Spanish one basically focuses on preserving the complexity that the terms pose to the audience of the original. The feeling of puzzlement that was intended with the creation and use of this peculiar argot also matches the literary purpose of making the audience appreciate the way that the teenagers of the story differentiate themselves from their elders and the authorities, as well as causing certain bewilderment and confusion when they refer to the things that interest them, such as violence, freedom or music. Pina, in the second chapter of his study, observes the different semantic fields that are covered by the terms created by Burgess and it can help in the understanding of how this argot functions (77-147).

3. Translating A Clockwork Orange: A Case Study

⁴ This is mentioned in a note right before the glossary of the Spanish translation by Anibal Leal. See Burgess, Anthony. *A Clockwork Orange*. Minotauro, 2012.

3.1. Translating the Dramatic Text

The dramatic nature of the text under scrutiny in this study has forced the translation of the play to pay special attention to its intrinsic oral character to transfer it into the target language producing the same effect as intended by the original. Acknowledging the various linguistic contrasts that exist between English and Spanish, the focus of the translation was, following the terminology put forward by Aaltonen (2000) and Espasa (2000), to create a *speakable* and *playable* product that preserved the characteristics of the source.

Preserving the strong oral nature of the original means maintaining the rhythm and intonation patterns that confer the strength to the text in the source language, as well as upholding the necessary pauses and silences that mark the speed in the transition between scenes, musical numbers and acts. Additionally, as it will be observed in the following examples, transferring the balance between the textual and the musical parts is also of great importance.

In the following excerpt, it can be clearly observed how the dramatic text and the music work together to create a scene that will characterize the main character of the play and his actions. Right after the first two musical numbers, Alex and his band attack the writer P. Alexander and his wife; Alex destroys the manuscript that the writer carries with him, while Georgie, Pete, and Dim physically abuse Alexander and his wife. The scene is accompanied by music while Alex speaks and recites parts of the book and Alexander and his wife soundlessly fight the *droogs*.

Alex: [...] And the name is Alexander, the same as mine. There's a cohen sidence [sic]. A *Clockwork Orange*. A fair gloopy title. Who ever heard of a clockwork orange? **"The attempt to impose upon man, a creature of growth and capable of sweetness, to ooze juicily at the last round the bearded lips of God, to attempt to**

Álex: [...] Y de nombre es Alexander, lo mismo que yo. Menuda *cohin cidencia*. La *naranja mecánica*. Es un título bastante glupo. ¿Quién oyó hablar jamás de una naranja mecánica? **«El intento de imponer al hombre, una criatura en crecimiento y capaz de ser buena, que beba el jugo rebosante de los barbados**

impose, I say, laws and conditions
appropriate only to a mechanical
creation - against this I raise my
sword-pen.”

labios de Dios; por tratar de
imponer, digo, leyes y condiciones
solo apropiadas para una creación
mecánica... contra esto alzo mi
acerada pluma».

Example 1. Alex's Recitative

Alex's monologue and the recitative in it are a great example of the artful language that the character employs all through the play and the marked highbrow flavor of the whole text. In this specific case, the main concern was to preserve the complexity of the language used in the whole *replica* without losing the sardonic tone that Alex employs to mock Alexander. For that purpose, it was necessary to maintain the word game that he creates by dividing the word “coincidence” to make it appear as sonorous as P. Alexander's elaborate words resound while uttered by Alex following the rhythm of Beethoven's Sonata Pathétique.

Although the words Alex recites from the book are accompanied by music, the translation of the recitative entailed less difficulties than any song, for it was only necessary to choose words that could be easily spoken to the rhythm of Beethoven's Sonata; in fact, it was not necessary to stick to a strict syllable-count nor rhyming the lines, since the original does not present any of these characteristics. Nonetheless, it was required to preserve the complex punctuation employed by Alexander in his text, since it matches the rhythm of the music that is played with such text; in fact, if the reading of the words matches the intonation pattern and rhythm marked by the music, it is easier to understand the message of these complex sentences.

It has been commented that, to create a *speakable* and *playable* product, it was of paramount importance to maintain the oral character of the dramatic text; that includes conveying in the target language as many peculiarities found in the source language as possible (Aaltonen *Time-Sharing on Stage*). Namely, any deviation from a standard variety of language should be noted and specifically considered in the translation process. As it occurs with the transfer of Nadsat, any dialectal or register variety manifested in the language of the play should be manifested in

the translation too, conveying the same effect as the different register or dialect produced in the original. The following excerpt is an example of a deviation from the standard register of the play used by one of the characters that must be preserved in the translated version, since that is what characterizes the character's speech.

Big Jew: Alekth, you were too impetuouth. That latht kick wath a very nathty one.

El Gran Judío: Alekz, haz eztdado muy impetuoazo. Eza última patada ha eztdado muy pero que muy mal.

Example 2. Register varieties

Although brief, the appearance of Big Jew in the scenes that take place in the prison where Alex is confined in the First Act is of great importance, since the verbalization of this *replica* triggers in Alex a very violent response after the beating in which the prisoners have just been involved. Hence, the translation of this excerpt needed to capture the lisping of the English character. The strategy employed to maintain this characteristic feature in Spanish was the use of incorrect spelling, substituting all the “s” sounds by “z”, emulating the substitution of “s” sounds with “th” present in the original. Perteghella (qtd. in Rica and Braga 139) has labelled this strategy as parallel dialectal translation, since the target text substitutes the original dialect or argot by a very similar one in the target language that shows similar connotations.

All the peculiarities present at the phonological level were maintained in the translation following similar decisions, emulating the characteristic sounds utilized by the characters in their speech.

Concerning the vocabulary and the structures used, it is worth considering Ben Gunter's idea of not allowing philological fidelity to impede in the transfer process of creating a product that seems natural in the target language (Braga, “¿Traducción, Adaptación o Versión?”, 63). It is for this reason that all the frequent repetitions that appear in English cannot be maintained in Spanish or, at least, not with the exact same structure as in the original, as seen in the following example:

Alex: I can viddy myself very clear running and running on like very light and mysterious nogas, carving the whole litso of the creeching world with my cut-throat britva.

Branom: You're cured all right.

Alex: Yeah. Cured all right.

The scene ends, but not the play.

Example 5. Repetitions

In this extract, Alex repeats Branom's words almost in the exact same manner. Although the translation does not greatly change the original's structure, it was necessary to modify the word order in Alex's *replica* not to overdo the text in Spanish, since repetitions are very frequent and more natural in the English version that they would result in the Spanish text if they were all maintained. In addition to the change in the word order, translators can also resort to compensating the appearance of these repetitions along the text in parts in which they are not so frequent; furthermore, translators may also contemplate the complete suppression of these repetitions if they create an unnatural text in the target language that is not aimed by the original text.

Although it is not always possible, the aim of every drama translator should be ensuring the performability of the play; translators should always secure a correct reception of the source text (Johnston in Espasa 99). For this reason, intrinsic features such as structural and emotive emphasis were always transferred, following López and Minett by using transposition, changing the source language structures or modulating the *replicas* as necessary, always in search of the most accurate equivalence between languages (255-76).

Álex: Puedo videarme a mí mismo muy claramente corriendo sin parar con unas nogas muy claras y misteriosas, tallando el litso de todo mundo que cricha con mi despiadada britba.

Branom: Efectivamente, estás curado.

Álex: Sí, curado, efectivamente.

La escena termina, pero la obra no.

3.2. Translating the Songs

If in the previous section the main considerations that needed to be deliberated in the creation of a *speokable* and *playable* product were analyzed; in this section, special attention will be devoted to the process followed to create *singable* Spanish translations of the songs that appear in the text (Low “Pentathlon Approach to Translating Songs”; Bosseaux “Translation of Song”; Stephenson “Quizás, Quizás, Quizás”).

It should be noted that, although all the musical numbers have been manipulated to some extent by the British author, there is a clear difference between the numbers that were originally composed from scratch by Burgess and those that depart from Beethoven’s original operatic compositions which the playwright modified to suit his play’s necessities. Even though all the musical compositions of the play maintain a similar tone and operatic flavor, it can be easily noted how those numbers that use the German composer’s scores as their starting point are more elaborate than Burgess’ sole creations. As a matter of fact, the arrangements made by the playwright to Beethoven’s symphonies only serve to bring the scores closer to his strident style, probably to accommodate them to the overall mood and atmosphere of the play. In terms of lyrical composition, the complexity of Burgess’ use of language is the only justification needed to understand the arrangements that he made to Beethoven’s music (Phillips, 302-03). If the English lyrics are studied, it can be clearly seen how the author plays with and modifies the rhythms *ad libitum* to suit his particular rhymes, syllable-count, and the content of his songs. To cope with these peculiarities in the transfer process, legatos, subdivisions of notes, and the breakdown of synalephas were some of the strategies more frequently resorted to.

In music, the term articulation refers to “notation which indicates how a note or notes should be played” (“Music Glossary”); thus, the different signs that are written in any score serve to mark the arrangements made to the musical compositions modifying their articulation. In the case of the scores included in the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange*, the articulation of the rhythm is usually modified in the needed measures to accommodate Beethoven’s originals to Burgess’ necessities. Since Burgess’ compositions needed to be respected, the translation of the lyrics into Spanish employed different articulation

strategies, too, in order to accommodate the content to the pre-established rhythms, accents, and rhyming patterns, always without elaborating new compositions, but slightly compensating Burgess' articulation modifications to the linguistic requirements of the translation.

One of the most useful strategies employed while transferring the content from the source language into the target language was the use and modification of legatos, a musical figure that serves to mark that two or more notes should “be performed without any perceptible interruption between the notes” (“Music Glossary”). There are two types of legatos: extension legatos, which join two or more musical notes with the same pitch, or expression legatos, which join notes with a different pitch. Both types of legatos allow more flexibility in the selection of the words in the target language to suit the syllable-count determined by the music; for instance, two notes can be joined to be performed as if they were only one if the legato is retained, allowing the translation to suppress one syllable where necessary. Contrariwise, the suppression of legatos can be employed to subdivide those notes that should be performed without distinction to add one syllable to the verse and to allow the lyrics to accommodate different stress patterns.

9

CHORUS MINISTER

Voz

rate. On the crime rate. I'm on-ly here to serve. I steeled my nerve with
 Re-du-cir. Me pon-go a sus pies, co-mo ha de ser. Ya

Pno.

Figure 3. Legatos and subdivision of notes

This arrangement is frequently used in the translation of musicals to allow the addition or subtraction of one syllable in certain verses so as not to create lyrics with words stressed in the wrong position in the target language. Although sometimes this arrangement results in a more reduced rhythmical variety, it must be borne in mind that it is not always necessary to submit the whole content of the text to the demands imposed by music, since these arrangements may allow for a more complete dramatic action by transferring the content but barely sacrificing any of the arrangements made to the music. Since musical dramas are multimodal texts, music should be considered to be at the text's service as much as the text needs to be at the service of music.

The translation of song needs to consider that, when two or more voices participate in the same song, their interventions should not only occur following the constraints marked in the scores, but also considering the natural communication of the content of the lyrics. That is the case of the following polyphony in which the Minister is interpellated by the Chorus to emulate a situation similar to that of a press conference:

Minister: [...] I'm only here to serve.

I steeled my nerve

With what results you'll observe.

Chorus: Let us observe.

Minister: Give us the votes we deserve.

Chorus: We will vote you back in like responsive adults / When we see -

Minister: Yes?

Chorus: When we see -

Minister: Yes?

Chorus: Positive results.

Ministro: [...] Me pongo a sus pies

Como ha de ser

Y ahora lo vais a ver.

Coro: Vamos a ver.

Ministro: Con vuestros votos lo haréis.

Coro: Como adulto leal votaré de verdad,

Al poder...

Ministro: ¿Sí?

Coro: Observar...

Ministro: ¿Sí?

Coro: Una prueba eficaz.

Example 11. Polyphonic Compositions

Given the importance of preserving the content, the translation of some the *replicas* that conform the lyrics of this song did not focus on

preserving the repetitions in the original text, but instead these short *replicas* served to accommodate the information conveyed along the text. This strategy of suppressing repetitions to preserve as much content as possible was frequently resorted to in the translation presented in this paper, since it was considered that the loss of repetitive and catchy structures was outbalanced by the possibility of rendering as much content as possible in the target language, therefore providing a more complete version of the source.

Another interesting strategy employed by Burgess with repercussions for the translator is the use of the counterpoint, that is,

the combination into a single musical fabric of lines or parts which have distinct melodic significance. A frequently used polyphonic technique is imitation, in its strictest form found in the canon needing only one part to be written down while the other parts are performed with a given displacement (“Music Glossary”).

Regarding translation, the use of counterpoint does not pose any further difficulties other than those already found in regular musical translations; nonetheless, when the two melodies that are combined present such singular melodic differences, the score should always be studied to discover which of the two (or more) melodies has been followed for the creation of the lyrics, and consequently which one should be used as the lead for the translation of the contents.

Finally, another strategy that was employed along the translation of the songs of *A Clockwork Orange* was the rupture of synalephas when the target text was required to follow a more rhythmical coherence.

16

Voz

In just a fortnight or so he knows he's going to be free...
 En quin-ce dí - as o a-sí por fin de a - quí él sal- drá.

Voz

be.
 más. he knows he's going to be free...
 Por fin de a - quí él sal- drá.

Pno.

Figure 6. Rupture of Synalephas

In this case, it was necessary to create the hiatus breaking the synalepha to accommodate the text to the score's rhythm, although the poetic rules mark that the words should be linked in their pronunciation, given that vowels coincide at the end of one word and the beginning of the following one. This minor change can also give the actors the possibility of breathing, making the lyrics more singable.

3.3. Translating Nadsat

Last but not least, one of the main considerations that had to be pondered in the translation of the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* concerned the Nadsat argot; its use in the narrative version and Kubrick's film adaptation had proven to be of great help in the transmission of the shocking effect intended by the author. Even though Burgess himself was not sure about its use (Burgess iii). The merge between Russian and English words enabled Burgess' adolescents to distinguish and detach themselves from the rest of the characters in the narration. Additionally, such a language serves not only the purpose of confusing and bewildering

the people they interact with throughout the story, but also its audience, whether reader or spectator.

Thus, the peculiar argot in which the story is wrapped should remain untouched and be presented as it is in the translation of the novel. There are two main reasons for this decision: firstly, to preserve the original feeling of puzzlement intended by the author, who decided to keep the slang in the revision of his novel although to a lesser extent. Secondly, to maintain Aníbal Leal's collaborative work with Burgess, since it was specifically carried out and prepared to retain the flavor of the original narrative.

Additionally, it was considered that if Leal's translation had been maintained even in the Spanish translation of the film adaptation, any possible reader or spectator of the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* familiar with the story and its language would be expecting the use of the exact same jargon; therefore, changing it would result in a detachment of the audience's expectations from the original.

Hence, Nadsat was employed all along the text, not only in the dramatic parts, but also in the musical ones. In the following excerpts, it will be observed how the argot has been maintained in the different parts of the text and which strategies were employed to transfer this distinguishing characteristic of the original text into the target language.

Although a pre-existing glossary was accessible to the translator so as to facilitate a successful transfer of this peculiar argot, there were instances in which some modifications or creations were needed to produce a *speakable* and *playable* target text. That is the case of the expression "rightiright": even though it was not included in Leal's Nadsat glossary. Later studies have considered the term to belong to the set of expressions employed by the teenage characters that resort to the use of this jargon (Pina Medina, *La creatividad lingüística*). Thus, it was necessary to create an analogous expression in Spanish that would serve for the same purpose and that would resemble the extravagant character of the rest of the dialectal terms. The two extracts below exemplify the aforementioned expression:

Alex: Anybody else interesso-vatted
in a bit of fillying? Eh? Good.

Álex: ¿Alguien más interesobado
en divertirse un poco? ¿Eh? Bien.

Dobby. **Rightiright**. We proceed, under the like leadership of your little droog Alex, to the next veshch of the nochy. **Right**, Dim? **Right**, Georgie? **Rightiright**, O Pete of my heart?

Dobo. **Requetebién**. Continuemos, bajo el liderazgo de vuestro pequeño drugo Álex, con la siguiente vesche de la naito. ¿**Bien**, Dim? ¿**Bien**, Georgie? ¿**Requetebién**, oh, Pete de mi corazón?

Example 13. Rightiright I

Georgie: What's this of a leader? You Alexander the bolshy then? We govoreeted not before of a leader. It was all for one before and all droogs together. **Right?**
Rightiright?

Georgie: ¿Qué es eso de líder? ¿Entonces eres Alejandro el bolche? Nunca antes habíamos goborado sobre un líder. Antes era todos para uno y todos los drugos juntos. ¿**Verdad?** ¿**Verdad verdadera?**

Pete: Oh, very much **rightiright**.

Pete: Oh, claro que es **verdad verdadera**.

Alex: Wrong, Pete. Wrong, Georgie. (He sings.)

Álex: Incorrecto, Pete. Incorrecto, Georgie. (Canta.)

Example 14. Rightiright II

These two excerpts demonstrate how the same expression may need two different translations (“requetebién” and “verdad verdadera”) in order to guarantee that the pun intended by the original is correctly communicated in the two different contexts. The need for two translations is because the Spanish expression employed for one excerpt would not suit the necessities of the other extract and vice versa. Likewise, the remaining instances in the text in which this expression appeared alternatively resorted to the two translations utilized in the target language considering the necessities of each case.

The linguistic creativity showed by Burgess in the creation of this singular argot allows for equal creativity and boldness in the target product. Translators should not be afraid of making their own decisions

while transferring the terms of this made-up jargon (Pina, 19). It is for this reason that for the extracts that have been previously studied it was decided that the use of two different translations was more useful than the complete neutralization of the expression, leaving the text without any characteristic feature that would distinguish a peculiar use of language (Perteghella in Rica and Braga, 139).

As commented, the use of this set of terms was not only limited to the dramatic text of this musical drama, since it was also employed all along the musical numbers along the text; thus, in the translation of the songs more careful attention was required as to when and how to introduce the Nadsat terms, since their inclusion in the translation may not go hand in hand with the musical necessities imposed by the articulation of the sheet music, as already mentioned.

As Pina expresses in his study on the social functions of the argot, Burgess does not randomly use these words: the use of this argot fulfills a social function and his characters need to be careful in their use of the argot, since if it is decoded, it will fail to create the pretended effect of puzzlement in their interlocutors' responses (59).

To conclude this section, it should be asserted that Burgess chose to create the Nadsat argot to catch the audience's attention from the very first moment they come to know his works—both the narrative and the theatre play. Consequently, any translation of *A Clockwork Orange* should consider the transfer of this slang as one of its main concerns. In the case of the stage translation presented in this paper, the transfer of Nadsat was placed as one of the priorities, on the same level as the musical features and the dramatic characteristics present in the source text.

Conclusion

The study presented here departed from the lack of practical research that still exists in the field of musical drama translation with the purpose of providing a proper account of the main conundrums, as well as the solutions, that were encountered in the translation process of this specific text. As a matter of fact, the translation of the stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* was chosen to attempt to show how the responsibility of translators devolves upon the task of creating not only a stageable

product, but also a singable one. Consequently, the analysis carried out subsequent to the translation of the play tried to oust the traditional belief that music is more important than the text in the translation of musical dramas. It was shown how translators should try to create in the target language the necessary equilibrium between the verbal and the musical modes that coexist in texts like *A Clockwork Orange* to achieve a final product that satisfies the audience of the target culture as much as the original did.

Regarding the translation of the dramatic parts, the main findings that were revealed by the analysis showed that all the decisions taken at this level were focused on the preservation of the intrinsic oral character of drama, as all the strategies resorted to in the translation process were aimed at the creation of a speakable, natural text. As a matter of fact, it could be asserted that the eventual achievement of an appropriate translation was determined by the linguistic and extra-linguistic choices made to establish the necessary connections between the complex set of sign systems that constitute the text and that help to create the literary unit as it was conceived by the author in the source language. The translation presented in this paper was always aimed at remaining loyal to the original form and content, trying to prevent philological fidelity from altering the dramaturgy. Some of the changes made regarding sentence structures, vocabulary choices, for example, might be considered deviations from the original, but they were employed not to impede the text from developing as naturally and spontaneously as the original. Finally, it was also necessary to bestow the dramatic parts of text equal force of that of the musical parts: since the musical numbers are not evenly divided between the acts, it was vital to come up with a translation that did not seem lopsided in the target language.

Concerning the decisions made in the translation of the songs, the eventual accomplishment of a singable product was possible by following Low's "Pentathlon Principle". Only when considering the five criteria listed by Low—singability, sense, naturalness, rhythm, and rhyme—it was possible to create lyrical texts in the target language that were capable of transmitting the content conveyed in the source language as much as the form. As stated in the song translation analysis, it was of chief importance to bear in mind all the arrangements that Burgess had

made to the musical compositions that make up this musical and that are only found in the scores that accompany the text. Besides, it was equally necessary not to rely solely on the texts found in the edited version of the text; as they needed to be set for contrast with the sheet music to understand the series of arrangements and subsequent melodic modifications that had been made by the author, and that may affect the understanding of the lyrics and, consequently, their translation. Lastly, attention was paid to the use of certain strategies, such as the addition or suppression of legatos and syllables, the subdivision or union of notes, and the modifications made to the hiatus and synalephas found across the melodies. These elements enabled a coherent translation that did not dramatically depart from the carefully elaborated originals.

With regard to the translation of Nadsat, it is worth noting how important this invented jargon is for the development of the play and the effect that it should cause in the audience as originally intended by the author. Thus, the preservation of Nadsat was an upper priority, and it is for this reason that the translation tried to retain most of these terms in the same positions that they occupied in the text. In those instances in which the preservation of Nadsat in the exact position would hinder the understanding of the text or impede a proper translation, these terms were either suppressed or compensated in the text. Henceforth, the translation carried out primarily focused on transferring the terms already created by Aníbal Leal in collaboration with Burgess to preserve the original flavor while maintaining the shocking effect that they cause to the audience.

Regarding future research that might be derived from the elaboration of this research paper, additional investigations could be carried out in the field of musical drama translation to fill the gaps that have not been yet covered by the literature available to pose further solutions to the problems encountered in this text. Further research could also delve into the translation of other musical compositions by Anthony Burgess that were included in his lesser known works to observe if the strategies applied in this stage version of *A Clockwork Orange* could be of any use in similar compositions by the same author. No doubt this would add to the enrichment of Translation Studies as a discipline, most specifically in the case of the performing arts.

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Transgressing Translations: Interpreting Ancient Lesbian Texts as Anglican Hymns

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In 1919, Ezra Pound published ‘Homage to Sextus Propertius,’ a poem that interacts closely with books 2 and 3 of Propertius’ *Elegies*. Although Pound did not view his own work as a translation of the ancient Latin text, but rather as the title indicated, a homage to Propertius, his work was criticised by a Latin professor at the University of Chicago, W. G. Hale, for its linguistic inaccuracies (Comber 52). Acknowledging that its polyvalent transmission of the original depends on a transformation of the original, via ‘misreadings’ and ‘misunderstandings’ which can shed light on aspects of the original that are under-read (53), Comber (55) writes, ‘If Pound is wrong, he is productively and excitingly wrong. What more can one ask of any poet and translator?’ Here, Comber exemplifies an ambiguous attitude in Classics towards translation. On the one hand, there is a right way – Hale’s linguistically accurate way, perhaps – and conversely, a wrong way to do it, as Pound may have. Yet, what exactly constitutes ‘wrong’ translation is rendered uncertain by Comber’s use of

the conditional mood; and even if Pound is wrong, his wrongness is nonetheless 'productive' and 'exciting' for Comber, a classicist, to consider in relation to Propertius' original works. But, if Pound is wrong, what is 'correct' translation in Classics? And if wrong can be productive and exciting, then can wrong not still also be, to some extent, right?

Echoing this ambiguous attitude towards translation is recent classical scholarship, though explicit views about translation from translators themselves are unusual (Balmer, *Piecing Together* 4-7, 229). One lingering view of translation, partly born of the discipline's traditional pedagogical emphasis on linguistic ability and philology (Balmer, *Piecing Together* 4; Morley 13; cf. Whitmarsh 26-29), indeed echoes Hale, and 'continues to exert a good deal of force' in the discipline (Young 2): a good translation should convey the linguistic meaning(s) of the original text as accurately as possible. On this traditional view, the work of translators and adaptors has often been 'denigrated' as derivative (Balmer, *Piecing Together* 4; Comber 52). Meanwhile, the translator's greatest strength is remaining 'invisible' or 'transparent' in allowing the original author's intention to show through the translator's new medium (Venuti 1-7; Young 2).

One example of a 'literal and accurate' translation (Yatromanolakis, 'Review' 272) that embodies this traditional approach is Campbell's (*Sappho and Alcaeus* 53) literal prose version of Sappho's Fragment 1:

Ornate-throned immortal Aphrodite, wile-weaving daughter of Zeus, I
entreat you: do not overpower my heart, mistress, with ache and anguish,
but come here, if ever in the past you heard my voice from afar and
acquiesced and came, leaving your father's golden house...

While Campbell renders each Greek word (Sappho fr. 1.1-8) in English prose that is 'literal and accurate,' such translations privilege literal meanings over other translatable aspects of ancient texts and their contexts, thereby de-prioritising elements which may also be productive for classicists to study, as Comber notes above. For example, the fact that this translation is written in continuous English prose omits the poetic metre (Sapphic stanzas) of the Greek text; and while the quoted text corresponds to the first two stanzas of Sappho's Fragment 1, the English does not reflect the stanza structure.

Yet this traditional, philologically-focused type of translation co-exists with more creative modes of translation in Classics which aim to convey poetic aspects of the original texts beyond the literal meaning(s) of their vocabulary and grammar. Williamson (186) remarks on the compromise that all translators of Sappho's poetry (and indeed, any poetry) must make: '[n]o English version could reproduce their exact literal meaning together with their impact as poetry.' Listing a range of Sappho translations available, Williamson implies the diversity of priorities that different translators and readers have, depending on their varying theoretical perspectives and interests (186-7, cf. Whitmarsh 29-32). Philological, linguistic priorities are catered to by translations which convey the original text's literal meanings. Contrasting historicist priorities are supported by poetic translations that aim to reconstruct the 'poetic impact' that the originals would have had in their historical contexts. Meanwhile, the priorities of reception theory are served by translations which convey the fragmentary status of Sappho's poetry alongside the poetic elements. Williamson legitimises creative approaches to translation alongside philological approaches, reflecting a growing acceptance of diverse theoretical priorities within Classics (Young 5).

Regarding this plurality of priorities in classical translation, there are those who value some of these priorities more than others. For example, Yatromanolakis ('Review' 272) assesses Campbell's work in the context of his review of Carson's translations of Sappho's poetry:

Compared to Mary Barnard's celebrated, but overly poeticized and 'reconstructive', renderings, or David Campbell's literal and accurate translations, Anne Carson's *If Not, Winter* stands out as a major attempt at recapturing the polysemic state of Sappho's fragments, as well as the echo of their original language.

For Yatromanolakis, Carson's work is judged favourably as a translation because her approach encompasses multiple priorities that readers of classical texts might have, without abandoning the traditionally sanctioned attention to the 'original language.' Carson exceeds Barnard and Campbell, by incorporating their historicist and philological priorities with the third priority of reflecting the fragmentary state of the

texts as they have been received. Barnard's work, meanwhile, addresses a historicist priority to reconstruct the poetic impact of the text by presenting some fragments as complete poems, but in doing so, is criticised as 'overly poeticized' – indeed, her creativity in poeticising the translations renders her, the translator, distastefully 'visible' to Yatromanolakis. It is telling that Campbell's more philological work is not similarly criticised, here, despite his (implicitly unfavourable) comparison to Carson's work: unlike Barnard, Campbell's more 'invisible' approach does not transgress the traditional view that translations should accurately reflect the original language. Indeed, Yatromanolakis' implicit boundary between 'right' and 'wrong' translation does not rule out Carson as *too* creative, since a traditional emphasis on the 'echo of the original language' is preserved in her work.

However, while Carson's version might strike the 'right' balance in translation for Yatromanolakis, a key aspect of Sappho's original poetic impact is omitted by all translators mentioned so far: the musical impact. A historicist approach (common in Classics, Golden and Toohey 1-8), that aims at reconstructing original texts as they would have been understood in their original historical performance context(s), would benefit from exploring this (cf. Lardinois, 'Who Sang Sappho's Songs?'). Yet the fact that the Greek text is frequently translated to be read, rather than sung, causes the musical impact of the original to become under-emphasised in classical scholarship. This observation formed part of the basis for my decision to translate Sappho Fragment 1 musically. Indeed, as Comber observes in the case of Pound and Propertius, creative translations and versions, while being (conditionally, ambiguously) 'wrong' in that they abandon a traditional philological focus, can nonetheless (Comber 53) 'shed light... on under-read features conventional translations do not reach.'

However, Balmer (*Piecing Together* 183) notes that the potential of creative translation to contribute original and informed readings of classical texts to academic research in Classics and Classical Reception – and therefore to *constitute*, rather than merely to serve the discipline – remains underexplored. She laments the lack of 'practitioner statements' given by translators of classical texts, statements which could forge a more overt, fruitful connection between the practices of classical

translation and research, by virtue of translators making the creative decisions behind their reception of classical works explicit (Balmer, *Piecing Together* 4-7, 229). In an attempt to redress this, it is within this framework that I situate a practitioner statement of my own, commenting on my classically-inspired choral compositions, ‘The Lesbian Hymns,’ which I entered into the Modern Classicisms Competition 2018. The competition, held by King’s College London and the Courtauld Institute, invited students and staff from those institutions to submit creative contemporary takes on ‘the classical’ in any medium.

Here I will discuss how my versions transgress traditional, philologically-focused models of classical translation, and why this is productive for classical research, in illuminating under-read interpretabilities and avenues for cross-cultural comparisons latent in these texts. The hymns are based on contrasting ancient perspectives on lesbian desire and the gods: Sappho Fragment 1 and Ovid’s story of Iphis from *Metamorphoses* 9.666-797. If they are performed together, then an archaic Greek perspective, which portrays female homoeroticism as divinely encouraged, is juxtaposed with a contrasting Augustan Roman perspective, which depicts female homoeroticism as viewed negatively by the gods. This juxtaposition of diverse ancient religious attitudes is effected through the medium of Anglican-style music, recalling the modern Anglican Church with its similarly diverging attitudes towards God and homoeroticism. While my creative translations significantly transform the original texts beyond the philological scope of their original languages, rendering my own creative intervention ‘visible’ in translation, my versions nonetheless encourage fruitful transhistorical comparisons between diverse ancient and modern Western religious attitudes towards female homoeroticism. In so doing, like Balmer (*Piecing Together* and *Sappho*) and other creative translators, I hope to show that ‘wrong’ classical translations can nonetheless also be ‘right’.

Echoing the Original: ‘The Hymn to Aphrodite,’ a Translation of Sappho Fragment 1

Sappho is famously one of the only ancient Greek female poets whose work survives in any substantial amount.¹ The *Suda*, a 10th century CE encyclopaedia, credits Sappho with nine books of poetry, but almost all that survives of her work is fragmentary (Campbell, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 6-7). She was active in the sixth century BCE, and from the Roman period onwards, six hundred years after she lived, already held as a famous poet, she became known also for writing about ‘her’ (or her poetic persona’s) love for other women (Ovid *Heroides* 15.15-20). This ongoing association of Sappho with female-female desire inspired the English adjective ‘sapphic,’² as well as the adoption by lesbians of Sappho as a role model throughout history (Gubar 58; DeJean xv.). One of the only complete examples of Sappho’s work is Fragment 1, which shows ‘Sappho’ praying to the goddess of love, Aphrodite, for help in assuaging her unrequited love for another (anonymous) female:

Eternal goddess on your throne,
 I pray that you will hear me;
 Spare my heart from the pain you impart,
 Don’t let your sorrows spear me.

5 When before you heard my cries,
 From Heav’n, you came and helped me,
 Leaving the halls and the golden walls
 Of God, when you beheld me.

 Your chariot was borne along
 10 By sparrows through the ether;
 Swiftly they whirled you over the world,
 So blessed, you came to me there.

1 Although Sappho’s works are the best-known and largest body of female-authored work to survive from antiquity, she was by no means the only female poet or author from the ancient world. Indeed, fragments of many others survive (Snyder *The Woman and the Lyre*; Plant).

2 The term ‘lesbian’ is also associated with Sappho’s native Lesbos, but the link between Sappho’s own supposed sexuality, her birthplace, and the word ‘lesbian’ is not as direct as is commonly believed, since the association of women from Lesbos with lesbian desire was produced by several ancient discourses, some of which did not directly implicate Sappho (Gilhuly).

A smile upon your deathless face,
 You asked me why I called you;
 15 For what madness turned me, who now had spurned
 My love, and what could you do?

'Who, O Sappho, wrongs you now,
 Who now needs persuading?
 Who, yet again, in love will I bend,
 20 Her heart, yet again, invading?

'If she flees, to you she'll run;
 If gifts she shuns, she'll give them;
 If she's above returning your love,
 Then soon, love she'll feel, unbidden.'

25 Return here now, and quell that pain
 My anguished heart's igniting,
 Grant all I pray, be with me today,
 My ally, with me fighting.

Above is my English translation of Sappho's Greek hymn. I have set these rhyming English words, which contain Christianising references to 'Heav'n' (line 6) and 'God' (line 8), to be sung to an original eight-bar, Anglican-style hymn chant, accompanied by organ or piano. An audio recording is available at www.modernclassicisms.com/competition. These performative specifications are in keeping with the (not rigid, but broadly characteristic) generic requirements of Christian hymns (e.g. Phillips 2-3): their language is overtly religious; their music is broadly accessible (Watson 4-5); they publicly worship the contextually relevant deity (Watson 8); they frequently rhyme and keep to a metre (Watson 30-36). But why should I have translated a non-Christian text as an Anglican-style hymn, a style of religious singing that did not develop until centuries after Sappho lived? Why should the musical conventions of a monotheistic religion, which excludes the worship of other gods, be appropriate for translating a text that worships the ancient Greek goddess Aphrodite? I aim to translate the text culturally, rather than only linguistically. In terms of religious function, there is a compelling parallel between Sappho's text and Anglican hymns: Christian hymns

are a cultural mechanism through which the Church disseminates Christian mythology accessibly among lay people (Adey 2-3), similarly to how Sappho's text musically communicates a mythological religious narrative about Aphrodite.

How do we know that Sappho's text was originally composed as an ancient Greek hymn? While scholars are divided on whether or not Sappho's hymn was composed as a 'serious' hymn or a parody,³ they agree that it shares formal features of ancient Greek hymns and prayers (Furley and Bremer 1-8, esp. 3). For example, characteristic of a hymn, fr. 1 has a tripartite structure (Budermann 115) consisting of i) invocation, including epithets (fr. 1.1-2, cf. 'Hymn to Aphrodite,' line 1; Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* 264-5); ii) praise (fr. 1.1-2, 13-14, cf. 'Hymn to Aphrodite,' lines 1, 12, 13) and reminders of past interactions, including a narrative (fr. 1.5-24, cf. 'Hymn to Aphrodite,' lines 5-24; Campbell *ibid.*, Hutchinson 152); and iii) a request (fr. 1.2, 3, 5, 25, 27, cf. 'Hymn to Aphrodite,' lines 2, 3, 25, 27). Additionally, its compositional artistry (Pulley 49-50; Furley and Bremer 3), poetic metre and thus musical performability (Budermann 116, 22) are also typical of hymns (Furley and Bremer 4). There are two main differences between Sappho's text and many other ancient Greek hymns: firstly, the apparent humour, which arises from the goddess' implicit exasperation as she asks why 'now again' (δηῦτε, fr. 1.16, cf. lines 19-20) Sappho has called, and whom 'now again' (δηῦτε, fr. 1.18) Sappho wishes the goddess to persuade to lead her into love.⁴ The implication that Sappho calls on her often for the same problem creates a potentially humorous sense that the goddess is teasing her for this (Page 15-16; Stanley 306; Zellner 438, 435 n. 3; Burnett 245-46; Hutchinson 155-7; Budermann 119). The second

3 For a 'serious' reading of Sappho fr. 1, see Campbell *Greek Lyric Poetry* 265-6. For interpretations of the text as 'humorous,' see e.g. Page 12-18 (esp. 15-16), Budermann 115, 118-120 (esp. 13-24n.). For an interpretation that blends humour with 'seriousness,' see Hutchinson 150, which discusses Aphrodite's 'light-hearted teasing' alongside '...the extraordinary intimacy between goddess and mortal...'

4 However, humour does feature in some other Greek hymns, notably the *Homeric Hymns* to Hermes and Aphrodite (Brillet-Dubois, Vergados). Humour in any case does not prevent Fragment 1 as a hymn from achieving its characteristic purpose of worshiping Aphrodite via flattery, reminiscence, and praise (Furley and Bremer 6); for example, Sappho praises Aphrodite through the adjective 'blessed' ('The Hymn to Aphrodite' line 12), ὦ μάκαιρα (fr. 1.17).

difference between this text and other ancient Greek hymns is the supposedly more ‘personal’ relationship between the goddess and the human making the prayer, here Sappho (Stanley 316; n. 47; Cameron, ‘Aphrodite Again’ 238; Wilson 22; Hutchinson 150), which portrays Aphrodite as more benign to Sappho than she is to mortals elsewhere, as in *Iliad* 3.399-420 where she malevolently forces Helen to sleep with Paris against her will (Hutchinson *ibid.*).⁵

However, regardless of whether it was ‘serious’ or jocular, the Greek poetry performed with musical accompaniment (Lardinois, ‘Who Sang Sappho’s Songs?’ 152-3) would have clearly evoked the generic tendencies of hymns, protean though these were (Furley and Bremer 2), for an ancient audience (Snyder ‘Public Occasion,’ 6; Page 16). Although the appearance of Sappho’s name in four fragments (frs. 1, 65, 94, 133) results in the frequent assumption that Sappho performed her compositions herself as a soloist (DeJean 129), Lardinois shows that other ancient Greek poets include their names and personae in texts that were created for choral performance (‘Who Sang Sappho’s Songs?’ 153). Therefore, we do not know whether this hymn was originally performed by a chorus, or by a solo singer, although ancient anecdotes and vase paintings suggest that, in later antiquity, Sappho’s songs were performed both by groups and by soloists at symposia (Lardinois *ibid.*, cf. Yatromanolakis *Sappho in the Making* 63-88).

However, the majority of English translations of Sappho’s texts are written to be read as poetry or prose (Williamson 186-7; Reynolds 8). Here, a crucial impact of the original text – the religious music, and the live performance – is lost. Addressing this loss, some musicians and classicists have reconstructed ancient music, including Sappho’s, to give audiences an impression of what it might have sounded like in antiquity. The ancient commentator Aristoxenus says that Sappho used the mixolydian mode (fr. 81, Campbell *Sappho and Alcaeus* 35, n. 2; Pseudo-Plutarch *On Music* 16.1136d, Campbell *ibid.*), and from Sappho’s texts

5 I say ‘supposedly’ because there is some disagreement as to how uniquely ‘personal’ Sappho fr. 1 is. For example, Lardinois (‘Review’) argues, in his review of Wilson, ‘There is... nothing subversive about Sappho’s adaptation of the cletic hymn in fr. 1. It is a standard type of prayer that was widely used by the archaic Greek poets to voice personal requests, including divine help with love (cf. Anacreon fr. 357).’

and visual depictions of her on Greek vases, we know that the musical instrument associated with her was the *barbitos* (Yatromanolakis, *Sappho in the Making* 69, 74, 89). Drawing on this information, as well as on the fragments' usual metre, Sapphic stanzas, and what has been recently discovered of other, later ancient Greek musical notation (D'Angour, 'The Musical Setting' 64-5), D'Angour has set the Greek text of Sappho's recently discovered 'Brothers Poem' to music ('Sappho's new poem sung'), while De Guzman has set Sappho Fragment 1 (and many other ancient texts) to music ('The Invocation to Aphrodite'). These versions reflect what original ancient performances might have been like.

While such interpretations do convey the musicality of the original, they sound unfamiliar to a contemporary Anglophone ear, because they are reconstructions of ancient music. They do not attempt to give contemporary audiences an equivalent cultural, religious experience that the original may have created for ancient audiences. Rather, these versions keep the text grounded in the 'deep' past, unfamiliar to and unreachable by contemporary Anglophone listeners, who are less likely to have a 'horizon of expectations' surrounding ancient Greek religious music than they are surrounding more familiar religious musical styles from their own societies (see Jauss 11, 13, 18-19, for discussion of an audience's 'horizon of expectations'). However, the original music and text would have been familiar to the original audience, owing to the recognisable generic markers of the texts as a hymn. Therefore, a translator aiming to retain the performative religious effects of the original should aim at cultural and musical, as well as linguistic, religious familiarity for their audience. There are a few versions of Sappho's fragments which lend a contemporary Anglophone audience some musical familiarity, through, for example, sung English text (as opposed to the use of ancient Greek in D'Angour and De Guzman's versions), such as Campkin's choral work, 'Unleash the Beauty of Your Eyes' (a translation of Fragment 31), and Rorem's madrigal, 'My Lady Paphos' (a version of Fragment 1).⁶ Yet while Fragment 31 does not contain overt religious features or direct addresses to divinities, and

⁶ Cf. Natalie Clifford Barney's musical re-enactments of Sappho's fragments at her Parisian homes in the 1890s and 1900s (Dorf 47-78).

therefore has no reason to include religious hymn-like musical features in translation, Rorem's madrigal omits the specifically religious impact of the original Fragment 1.

My major motivation for translating Fragment 1 as an Anglican hymn is to address the lack of emphasis on the original's impact as a musical religious performance in existing translations and musical versions. Nonetheless, my version allows some ambiguities surrounding the interpretation and performance of the original to remain open. Whether the original was intended to be serious or not, my translation works both as a typical Anglican-style hymn and as a parody. It is a typical hymn, with English rhymes in consistently structured verses, as well as in its four-part choral arrangement and organ or piano accompaniment. Yet its inclusion in each verse of one 5/4 bar (five crotchet beats in the bar, with the extra beat corresponding with the last line of each stanza, e.g. line 4: 'Don't let,' line 8: 'Of God'), amongst the remaining 4/4 bars (four crotchet beats per bar), is atypical, since most hymns have simple and consistent time signatures (i.e. consistently either three or four crotchet beats per bar; see e.g. *Common Praise*). This lengthening metrical irregularity somewhat reverses that of Sapphic stanzas, in which the final line is shorter than the other lines. Adding to its metrical idiosyncrasy, my version more overtly parodies a Christian hymn through its praise of Aphrodite rather than the Judeo-Christian God, drawing on the divine epiphany of Aphrodite to Sappho, rather than liturgical or Biblical texts, thus precluding it from becoming a serious performative act of Christian worship in a church service. My translation also admits some unconventionality through its compromise on the possibility that the texts might have originally been performed by a soloist. My version is choral, but the score includes two optional solo verses for the fifth and sixth stanzas, which convey the voice of Aphrodite, even though Anglican hymns are generally congregational (i.e. without solos) throughout their duration (as in e.g. *Common Praise*).

By virtue of incorporating attention to these issues of interpretation and performance, my translation is informed by academic research. Yet unlike traditional translations, I have frequently prioritised recreating the musical religious impact of Fragment 1 over conveying the philological meaning of the original text, such that my version can aptly

be termed ‘transgressive’ of traditional classical translation. I shall briefly outline how some of these transgressions are, nonetheless, justifiable in amplifying the original’s religious musical impact.

One key transgression relates to naming. Sappho’s text includes detailed names and epithets for Aphrodite and Zeus, opening with ‘Immortal Aphrodite of the many-coloured throne, child of Zeus, weaver of wiles’ (Sappho fr. 1.1-2: ποικιλόθρον’ ἄθανάτ’ Ἀφρόδιτα, / παῖ Διός δολόπλοκε, cf. ‘Hymn to Aphrodite,’ line 1). The text also later refers to the ‘golden home of the father’ (Sappho fr. 1. 7-8: πάτρος δὲ δόμον... χρύσιον, cf. ‘Hymn to Aphrodite,’ line 7), again emphasising the familial relationship between Aphrodite and Zeus. However, although my version contains a shortened version of Aphrodite’s epithet (‘Hymn to Aphrodite,’ line 1: ‘Eternal... on your throne’), her name, and the explicit references to her as the daughter of Zeus, are omitted from my translation. This is to ensure the recognisability of the text as an Anglican-style hymn to a contemporary Anglophone audience. The descriptive address of Aphrodite as ‘Eternal goddess’ marks the opening as a religious invocation to those who may be unfamiliar with the names of the Greek gods. Secondly, the anonymous address as goddess also plays into Christian conventions of naming God, since God’s true name (Yahweh or Jehovah) is frequently left unspoken.⁷ Thus, Zeus becomes ‘God’ rather than Zeus. This replacement of ‘Zeus’ (Sappho fr. 1.2: Διός) and ‘father’ (Sappho fr. 1.7: πάτρος) with ‘God’ (‘Hymn to Aphrodite,’ line 7) creates a contrast between the lower case ‘goddess’ and the upper case ‘God,’ thus hinting at the impossibility in a Christian hymn of addressing the goddess Aphrodite, a goddess from a polytheistic culture, in terms truly equal to the God of a monotheistic and patriarchal religion (Miller 62). My non-literal approach to naming therefore reflects the religious context into which I am translating, alongside the impossibility of truly composing a Christian hymn for an ancient Greek goddess.

My version also obscures a key ambiguity of the original text. My version has Aphrodite state that not only will the beloved eventually stop fleeing and start chasing, but that she will specifically be chasing Sappho

7 E.g. *Common Praise* hymn nos. 7 (‘O Splendour of God’s Glory Bright’), 14 (‘Glory to thee, my God, this night’) and 15 (‘God that madest earth and heaven’) do not name God.

herself ('Hymn to Aphrodite,' line 21: 'If she flees, to you she'll run'). The interpretation that the beloved will chase Sappho is common in the literature on Fragment 1, and appears frequently in translations (Carson, 'Justice' 227; Dover 177; DeJean 32; Powell 4). However, as Carson has shown, the Greek text does not specify in the equivalent line (fr. 1.21) that Sappho will be chased by the beloved (*ibid.*). Rather, the Greek text simply states, 'Even if she flees, soon she will chase.' There is no explicit direct object of the chasing (Sappho fr. 1.21: καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει). While it is possible that she will chase Sappho, this is by no means the only likely possibility. Indeed, Carson argues that Sappho might be asking the goddess to exact vengeance on her beloved by causing her the pain of unrequited love for someone else, a common sentiment elsewhere in ancient Greek lyric poetry (Carson, 'Justice' 229).

However, the Greek hints at lines 18-19 that Sappho desires a reciprocal relationship with the beloved, when Aphrodite asks, 'whom do I persuade to lead you into your love? Who, O Sappho, wrongs you?' (Sappho fr. 1. 18-20: τίνα δηῦτε πείθω / ...σ' ἄγην ἐς σὺν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὃ / Ψάπφ', ἀδίκησι; cf. 'The Hymn to Aphrodite' lines 17-20.)⁸ '[L]ead you into your love' (σ' ἄγην ἐς σὺν φιλότατα) is an elusive phrase, which Budelmann (119) suggests would work better as 'bring you... to *her* love' (my emphasis) on a reading of σὺν as φᾶν. Either way, it seems that Sappho has asked the goddess to persuade the beloved to 'lead' Sappho into some kind of reciprocal love relationship or sexual act.⁹ The phrase 'to lead you into your love' (or 'her love') could mean little else in the context of a prayer to the goddess of love. After Aphrodite asks these questions, she then promises that the beloved will chase, rather than flee (etc., fr. 1.21-4, cf. 'Hymn to Aphrodite,' lines 21-4). The structure of the text implies that Aphrodite's promise of a reversal of the beloved's actions are a direct result of Aphrodite persuading the beloved to 'lead' Sappho into her (whether Sappho's own, or the beloved's) love. Therefore, the

8 Voigt's and Lobel and Page's editions both render the first legible word of line 19 as σάγην (29), which does not result in a complete infinitive that would make sense here in ancient Greek. I follow Lobel's suggestion of σ' ἄγην, an elision of σε, 'you,' and ἄγην, 'to lead' (Lobel and Page 3, Budelmann 36).

9 The noun φιλότης, 'love' (Sappho fr. 1.19), in an erotic context, can refer to sexual intercourse in ancient Greek (Calame 40-3, see 40 n. 2).

inference that the direct object of the beloved's 'chasing' is, in fact, Sappho, is textually supported, even while it is not textually explicit at Sappho fr. 1.21. The narrative of the Greek text, a goddess apparently facilitating, and thereby accepting and encouraging, Sappho's desire for a reciprocal (to an unspecified extent) same-sex love relationship in the context of a publicly performed religious hymn, becomes more overt through my version.

Although my translation can be said to misrepresent the literal, philologically-grounded meaning(s) of the original text in certain ways, these transgressions of traditional norms of classical translation are justifiable, in that they ultimately serve the purpose of culturally translating the often-understated religious musical impact of the original. Moreover, as we shall see, in contemporary performance, this hymn on the theme of same-sex desire has the potential to speak pertinently to contemporary religious and political contexts (cf. Balmer, *Piecing Together* 104-5). This comparison can be made more politically poignant when performed alongside another, contrasting ancient religious perspective on female-female desire.

Echoing the Original: 'The Hymn of Iphis,' an Interpretation of Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.666-797

Writing six hundred years later than Sappho, Ovid was a Roman poet from the first centuries BCE and CE. His epic *Metamorphoses* offers a perspective on female homoeroticism and the gods that contrasts with Sappho Fragment 1, through the story of Iphis and Ianthe (*Metamorphoses* 9.666-797):

'There are two things that I pray,
That your pain be relieved,
And that your womb will give away
A boy by us conceived.
5 The other type of child would be
A burden, weak and shy.
So, if a female child I see,
Then, Heav'n forbid, she'll die.'

The husband's words upset his wife,

10 Whose pain a goddess quells,
 'You asked, I came, forget your strife,
 For you have served me well.
 Your husband gave some harsh commands
 That may well be ignored.
 15 So, may the child, whate'er its brand,
 By you be well adored.'

When the mother bore a girl,
 The father was deceived:
 She said, 'We'll feed him!' and the world,
 20 Except the nurse, believed.
 The name of Iphis soon they chose,
 And put clothes on the child.
 The name fit either sex, the clothes,
 On either sex, beguiled.

25 Her father, after thirteen years,
 Chose lanthe as her bride.
 In looks, the two girls were close peers,
 And age, schooled side by side.
 Equal was the love they shared,
 30 Unequal, though, their dreams:
 lanthe for a husband cared,
 The man that Iphis seems.

The girl who loved another girl,
 The tearful Iphis cried,
 35 'What monstrous love the gods unfurled,
 To ruin me, despised!
 No mare has ever loved a mare,
 No cow another cow.
 How with lanthe could I share
 40 My love, after our vows?'

Her mother, on the wedding's morn,
 Addressed the goddess nigh,
 'O goddess of the seven horns,¹⁰

10 '[S]even horns' refers not to the physical appearance of the goddess, but to her dominion over the River Nile 'of the seven horns divided' (Ovid *Met.* 9.773-5).

.....

Do not your help deny!
 45 The altar moved, the temple shook,
 The mother watched her daughter:
 Longer strides the child now took,
 Voice deeper now, hair shorter.

As a boy, could Iphis say
 50 His votive thanks to Isis:
 ‘*Dona puer solvit quae*
Femina voverat Iphis.’¹¹
 Don’t shy from faith, but give your thanks
 At temples with great joy!
 55 For, looking on, gods swelled the ranks,
 As lanthe wed her boy.

Again, I have set the above text to an original Anglican-style hymn chant, to be accompanied by piano or organ.¹² ‘The Hymn of Iphis’ was awarded second prize in the Modern Classicisms Competition (see above, p. 4). Yet, belying its success as a translation from a traditional point of view, recreating the tale of Iphis as an Anglican hymn significantly departs from both the philology of the original language and the performative impact of the original text. The epic Latin poem from which the tale is taken, the *Metamorphoses*, was published in 8 AD. Unlike Sappho, Ovid did not compose for musical performance. However, the *Metamorphoses* would have been semi-publicly recited at *recitationes*, which were readings from raised platforms before the author’s invited audiences (Winsbury 95, 97), as well as likely circulated amongst a mainly upper-class audience for them to read privately (Citroni 21). Iphis’ story was one of over two hundred and fifty myths recounted in Latin hexameter verses. Therefore, my hymn separates the story from its original epic context, and provides religious musical accompaniment where there would have been none for the original when recited. The Latin text of the story is 131 lines long, and flows continuously rather than being broken up into stanzas like hymns. However, the longest hymns in *Common*

11 The Latin text of lines 51-2 quotes Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.794.

12 A recording is available at www.modernclassicisms.com/competition.

Praise tend to be between forty and sixty lines long,¹³ which determined the much shorter length of my own text.

Each verse of the hymn corresponds to a major narrative event from the original.¹⁴ However, some of Ovid's poetic devices; names and

13 Hymns no. 380, 'At the Name of Jesus,' and no. 112, 'My Song is Love Unknown,' have identical structures to 'The Hymn of Iphis,' containing seven verses of eight lines each. Other hymns of similar length include: no. 128, 'All glory, laud and honour' (60 lines); no. 119, 'O sacred head, sore wounded' (40 lines); no. 86, 'From the eastern mountains' (48 lines); no. 80, 'Christingle' (52 lines); no. 549, 'Onward Christian soldiers' (60 lines). No. 586, 'The God of Abraham Praise' (80 lines), no. 149, 'Light's glittering morn bedecks the sky' (78 lines), and No. 81, 'O Come All Ye Faithful' (70 lines) exceed this general rule of length. All these hymns are from *Common Praise*.

14 Here is a summary of how each verse corresponds to Ovid's narrative:

1. Iphis' father, Ligdus, makes his two prayers, warning Telethusa that they will have to kill a baby girl (Ovid *Met.* 9.675-9).
2. The goddess Isis appears to Telethusa (Iphis' mother) in a dream, telling her that she does not need to obey Ligdus' command to kill a baby girl (*ibid.* 684-701).
3. Telethusa pretends that Iphis is a boy, by giving her an androgynous name and clothing (*ibid.* 708-10), and everybody believes this except the nurse (*ibid.* 705-7).
4. Ligdus betroths Iphis to lanthe, of the same age and educated together (*ibid.* 718-19). The two girls love one another equally (*ibid.* 720-1), which contrasts with their unequal expectations of the wedding (*ibid.* 721-5).
5. Iphis is distressed at the gods allowing her to love lanthe contrary to nature (756-9); she interprets her lesbian desire as unnatural (*ibid.* 758-9) including her observation that cows and mares do not love other cows and mares (*ibid.* 731). She does not believe that she will be able to consummate her marriage to lanthe (*ibid.* 749-54, 759-63), despite their mutual love.
6. Telethusa invokes the 'goddess of the seven horns,' i.e. Isis (literally 'goddess of Paraetionium, the Mareotic fields, Pharos, and the Nile of seven horns divided'), to ask for help (*ibid.* 773-5). In response, the temple doors shake (*ibid.* 783) and the altar moves (*ibid.* 782), and subsequently Iphis develops more masculine physical features (*ibid.* 785-791), among these a 'bigger step' (*ibid.* 787: *maiore gradu*) and shorter hair (*ibid.* 789: *brevior... capillis*).
7. Iphis thanks the goddess Isis by devoting a votive inscription at her temple (*ibid.* 790-794). The reader is invited to 'give offerings at temples and rejoice with faith, not fear!' (*ibid.* 791-2: *date munera templis / nec timida gaudete fide!*). The gods of marriage, Venus, Juno, and Hymen, attend the wedding (*ibid.* 796-7), implying their approval of the (now) heterosexual union.

epithets;¹⁵ minor narrative details or events, such as Ianthe's excitement and prayers about her forthcoming marriage (Ovid *Met.* 9.764-5); and mythological references, particularly Iphis' invocation of Paisphae and Daedelus (*ibid.* 735-43), are omitted for economy. Generally, I exclude details which are likely unfamiliar to contemporary Anglophone audiences (i.e. mythological references and epithets) and also unnecessary to communicating the major elements of the narrative. Consequently, unlike 'The Hymn to Aphrodite,' 'The Hymn of Iphis' obscures many components of the original text, including its genre, performative context and mythological content. This raises the question: why should an Anglican-style hymn seem an appropriate contemporary communicative vehicle for this ancient tale?

Throughout Ovid's tale, there are frequent references to prayer, piety and divine intervention. Indeed, every point of the narrative either hinges directly on the gods, or humans' relations with the divine. The Roman gods, both imported from Egypt (Isis, Ovid *Met.* 9. 773-5) and more traditional Roman divinities (Venus, Juno and Hymen, *ibid.* 796-7), are therefore at the forefront of a narrative which condemns female homoeroticism.¹⁶ This condemnation is especially evident through Iphis' perception that her homoerotic love is unnatural (*ibid.* 758-9), and through Isis' physical transformation of Iphis into a 'real' boy (*ibid.* 785-91) following Telethusa's prayer for help, so that the wedding can go ahead. Isis thus ensures a 'happy,' heterosexual ending, underscored by divine attendance of the wedding (*ibid.* 796-7). Moreover, the end of the story addresses readers directly, urging them to rejoice faithfully and give their own votive offerings (*ibid.* 791-2), which I echo at 'Hymn of Iphis,' lines 53-4: 'Don't shy from faith, but give your thanks / At temples with great joy!' Not only is this story religious within the narrative, but

15 E.g. References to Crete (Ovid *Met.* 9.666) and Isis' divine Egyptian companions (687-94) are omitted, as is Isis' full epithet at 773-4. My omission of the Cretan context further divorces this tale from its original epic context, since the Cretan setting intertextually links Iphis' story to the preceding tales in *Metamorphoses* 9 of 'grotesque female sexuality,' such as Pasiphae's bestial desires (Armstrong 61, 110).

16 Given the differing geographical origins of these gods, their approval of the heterosexual ending of the tale arguably implies that heterosexual marriage is 'universally' approved of by gods regardless of whether they are originally Roman.

these lines explicitly address the ‘real-life’ religious sensibilities of Ovid’s Roman readers, which may have been stirred by performance at a *recitatio* in a similar way to how a Christian hymn might stir the religious sensibilities of a modern counterpart hearing Christian hymns sung at school or on the radio (Bradley 1, cf. Watson 5), though outside a formal religious performative context. While other interpretations and scholarly discussions of the tale do mention the involvement of the gods, they frequently prioritise interest in the homoerotic desire in the tale ahead of the tale’s religious significance.¹⁷

Other than the formal conventions of Anglican hymns (and, in the first and last verses, some musical evocation of plainchant, through the use of a drone in the vocal accompaniment of the tune; Swain 100, n. 6), which foreground the religious elements of the narrative, one transgressive approach to traditional classical translation amplifies the religious impact of the original in particular. As a boy, Iphis thanks Isis with a votive offering at the temple, on which he inscribes one line of Latin to thank the goddess (Ovid *Met.* 9.794): *dona puer solvit quae / femina voverat Iphis*, or, in English, ‘the boy, Iphis, gives gifts which he had promised as a woman.’ I quote Iphis’ inscription in the original Latin, at ‘Hymn of Iphis,’ lines 51-2, pointedly not translating it. Iphis’ offering of a votive inscription of thanks reflected a typical Roman means of performing gratitude to the gods (Rüpke 154-65; Hickson Hahn 235-41). However, while votive offerings of inscriptions are not given in contemporary Anglican churches in the United Kingdom,¹⁸ performing hymns remains a widespread Christian custom for thanking, praising and worshipping God (Jefferson xii; Adey 5-6; Watson 8). Relatedly, the Latin language features significantly in the Western tradition of hymnody (e.g. Phillips 48; Jefferson 160-62), and the language retains religious associations in modern Christianity. Some Christian choral music, such as Byrd’s ‘Ave Verum Corpus,’ is sung in Latin as an anthem in church services (hence its inclusion in King and Rutter); other

17 Pintabone includes the involvement of the gods in the story’s portrayal of morality (261-7), but the main focus of the discussion is sex and gender, priorities reflected by Wheeler and Walker.

18 While some Anglican churches offer votive candles in honour of the dead, the practice is not universal (Geddes and Griffiths 68).

Christian choral music interweaves Latin and English text together, as in Britten's 'Hymn to the Virgin' or Pearsall's arrangement of the traditional carol 'In Dulci Jubilo.' Iphis' conventional offering to the goddess is culturally transposed through my quotation of the inscription, since Latin in a hymn evinces a contemporary means by which religious gratitude might analogously be expressed.

My Anglican recreation emphasizes the religious impact of the original tale, responding to the fact that the religious elements of the story are rarely foregrounded in reception of this homoerotic narrative. Ovid's literary reputation as 'fun' largely precludes his work from being portrayed as seriously engaged with the religious mores of his time (with the exception of the *Fasti*: Hedjuk 45-6, 57-8). Yet the tale of Iphis is just one example that would challenge the widespread assumption that Ovid is not seriously concerned with Roman religion, demonstrating, rather, that his depiction of female homoeroticism is inextricably interwoven with Roman religious beliefs.

Resounding into the Present: 'The Lesbian Hymns' in Performance

Classical translation can mobilise ancient texts to communicate politically to the contemporary concerns of the translator and their readers (Balmer, *Piecing Together* 104-5, 140). Similarly, 'The Lesbian Hymns' have the potential to speak into contemporary political religious debates, which invite comparison between the diverse ancient and modern religious approaches to sexuality. This can challenge homogenising perceptions of ancient societies as fundamentally 'other' regarding homoeroticism, compared with modern Western societies (Halperin 3-4; cf. Sedgwick 47, Traub 24-5). As in contemporary Christianity, within and across denominations (e.g. Hassett 47-8; Robinson; Beeching x, 146-8; Marin 16-22), ancient Greco-Roman religious beliefs surrounding sexuality and female homoeroticism were pluralistic and, sometimes, in conflict (Brooten 16-17).

When performed together, 'The Lesbian Hymns' dramatize a contrast between ancient Greek and Roman religious perspectives on same-sex desire. While Sappho Fragment 1 portrays (to some extent reciprocal) female same-sex desire positively in the eyes of 6th Century BCE Aphrodite through Aphrodite's previous help of Sappho (fr. 1.21-4, 'Hymn

to Aphrodite,' lines 21-4), Ovid presents a fundamental incompatibility between the notion of consummating female same-sex desire ('Hymn of Iphis,' lines 39-40; Ovid *Met.* 9. 749-54, 759-63), and what is acceptable to the first century (BCE and CE) Roman gods. The synchronic dramatization in performance of this diachronic contrast, through the modern conventions of Anglican hymns, invites a contemporary audience to compare these divergent ancient religious perspectives with contemporary Anglican ones (and, perhaps, other relevant religious perspectives that may shape their horizon of expectations for Christianized music (cf. Jauss 11, 13), such as Evangelical Christian perspectives (Marin 16-22)). The historical, linguistic and cultural boundaries that separate ancient Greek, ancient Roman, and contemporary perspectives are thus broken down. The contrast between the two hymns directly mirrors the conflict in the contemporary Anglican Church on the issues of homosexuality and gay marriage, thus forging a transhistorical link between ancient and modern conflicting religious perspectives on female homoeroticism.

This national and international Anglican conflict consists in the question of whether it is acceptable, according to scripture and God, for Christians to act on homoerotic feelings and have same-sex romantic and sexual relationships (Brittain and McKinnon 351-3). There is further debate around whether the Church should officially recognise homosexual unions in official religious ceremonies or blessings, or adhere to the scriptural definition of heterosexual marriage (May; Hassett 76, 78-9). Progressive churches, such as the Scottish Episcopal Church, can be interpreted as reflecting Sappho Fragment 1, in its official approval of same-sex relationships and acceptance of same-sex marriages in church. Likewise, Aphrodite encourages Sappho's homoerotic desire to become reciprocal, by promising a reversal of her beloved's affections ('Hymn to Aphrodite,' lines 17-24; Sappho fr. 1.17-24).¹⁹ However, more conservative churches, such as the Churches of England and Wales, mirror the disapproving religious perspective in Ovid's story. For these

19 By 'Sappho's homoerotic desire,' I refer only to the desire expressed by the persona in Fragment 1, rather than the desires of the historical person, Sappho, whose biography cannot be inferred unproblematically from her works (Ludov 204, Williamson 5).

more conservative churches, only heterosexual marriage is acceptable in the eyes of God. Echoing this belief, Iphis believes that her love for Ianthe is an unnatural affliction from the gods, and that either the gods ought to have spared her from it, or that they should at least have afflicted her with a malady that was 'natural' (Ovid *Met.* 9. 728-30). Isis later carries out Iphis' wish to be spared by the gods, by transforming Iphis into a boy in answer to his mother's prayer (Ovid *Met.* 9.785-91). Venus, Juno and Hymen, the goddesses of marriage, show their approval of this outcome by attending Iphis' heterosexual wedding (*ibid.* 796-97).

'The Lesbian Hymns' thus dramatize a politically pertinent divide between contemporary religious perspectives on homoeroticism. However, the hymns do not explicitly comment on the Anglican Church's conflict. Rather, they reflect it, allowing opposing views to co-exist in performance, whilst maintaining their distance from contemporary debate by means of their ancient source texts. This political mirroring transgresses traditional classical translations of ancient texts, in that the hymns do not privilege philological readings ahead of cultural, political, and religious readings of the texts. Rather, 'The Lesbian Hymns' show that the ancient world can reflect our own political and religious concerns, and thus advocate for continued contemporary engagement with classical antiquity. Each hymn, on its own, transgresses traditional classical translation in order to emphasise the often-understated musical (for Sappho) and religious (for Ovid) elements of the original texts. Yet it is only when each text, divorced from its original context, gains a new performative context alongside one another in the present-day – thus transgressing another historicising tendency of classicists to ground ancient texts exclusively or predominantly in their original historical contexts (Halperin 2; Golden and Toohey 1-8) – that their contemporary political resonance is realised.

In conclusion, 'The Lesbian Hymns' justify their transgressions by offering original readings of Sappho and Ovid, in diachronic dialogue both with one another and our contemporary society. This illuminates transhistorical similarities regarding the diversity and conflict of religious approaches to same-sex desire. This attention to ancient and modern similarities around homoeroticism complements historicist classical scholarship, which often emphasizes the differences between

ancient and modern homoeroticism (Halperin 2, 8-9; Williamson 92-103). 'The Lesbian Hymns' can therefore contribute valuable readings and cross-cultural comparisons to classical and comparative research. Transgressing the norms of traditional classical translation emerges as productive, and indeed 'right,' for the discipline.

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Polyphonic Memory and Narratives of Resilience in Svetlana Alexievich's Secondhand Time

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Introduction

“For her polyphonic writings, a monument to suffering and courage in our time” (Swedish Academy on Alexievich’s Nobel Award, 2015).

Svetlana Alexievich was the first Belarussian and the fifth representative of Russophone literature to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2015. Alexievich’s case has been one of the most debated Nobel awards, due to the, seemingly, ‘journalistic’ nature of her work (Lindbladh 287). At the same time, critics have praised her for the ethical side of her literature describing it as the moral memory of the Soviet Union (Lashuk; Karpusheva 275; Marchesini 315), which covers the historical period from the Second World War to the post-Soviet era. Nevertheless, Alexievich does not address the political or cultural legacy

of the Soviet Union, but instead, the personal stories of people who lived through major political and historical events.

In this paper, I examine the narrative construction of resilience and non-resilience in Svetlana Alexievich's latest novel, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets* (2013; trans. to English 2016). Focusing on the transition from communism to capitalism and the survival of the Soviet heritage, the author aspires to create a choral mnemonic mosaic about the historical collective traumas and peoples' adaptation (or not) to it. To this end, she adapts the traditions of Adamovich's collective novel and Dostoyevsky's polyphonic novel to her needs using life narratives, confessions and testimonies as her primary material. Reviewing literature on the fragmented nature of the Soviet and post-Soviet collective memory, I aim to explore the ethical side of her work that looks at struggle and tragedy with compassion and without any didactic tone. I hereby argue that resilience for Alexievich does not represent one particular coping strategy against adversities, but an empathetic and all-embracing stance towards the full spectrum of human adaptability.

Secondhand Time: The Novel

Svetlana Alexievich's biggest project on the Soviet and post-Soviet times until now has been the polyphonic novel *Secondhand Time*, a choral mosaic about the collapse of the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the creation of a new world. In this book, Alexievich 'capitalizes' on her literary experience from her previous work and addresses the socialist cultural experience at large through testimonies and interviews, held as early as 1991 until late in 2012, with thousands of ex-citizens of the former USSR who entrusted her with their memories from Glasnost (the thawing of the relationships with the West), Perestroika (Reconstruction) and the capitalist era. Alexievich writes in the book's introduction called *Remarks from an accomplice*: "We're paying our respects to the Soviet era. Cutting ties with our old life. I'm trying to honestly hear out all the participants of the socialist drama" ("Secondhand" 13). The novel has a clear structure consisting of two parts with each one having separate subsections based on their theme and topic: the first part covers the period of 1991 to 2001, including testimonies collected at that time, and focuses on the abrupt, 'apocalyptic'

transition from communism to capitalism, but also reminiscences of the Soviet Union; in the second part the author groups the interviews from 2002 to 2012 examining the multi-level ‘emptiness’ of the new era. In both parts, although the interviewees are the narrators telling their own or someone else’s story, the author declares her presence through introductions, comments or descriptions of her reactions to the testimonies. With this ‘mosaic’ or ‘collage’ technique, Alexievich manages to articulate her musings, while she reveals her distinctive literary voice.

By collecting testimonies and personal stories, Alexievich shows a particular interest in memory: “Human memory interests me not at the level of information, but as one of the human mysteries” (“Life”). The author defines memory as a human mystery, not to support a metaphysical approach to mnemonics or personal experience, but instead to approach memory as an imperfect historical source. The nuances of memory force her to question the reasons behind the remembrance or non-remembrance of an event and to look for multiple informants in order to reflect more efficiently on the post-Soviet collective memory. For this reason, Alexievich provides a selection of different stances and approaches to the same events through the various testimonies of her collection; a decision that manages to represent the polyphony of collective memory. The author offers the readers a choral piece varying from screams for help to self-assured testimonies of full adaptation and from endless mourning to calm recollections of the past. As it will be shown with the analysis of the narratives, the personal experiences of the interviewees cover the full spectrum of resilience and non-resilience stances to trauma and tragedy.

From the Polyphonic Novel to the Polyphonic Memory

The Nobel Prize brought significant attention to Svetlana Alexievich’s work, which was previously understudied by literary scholars (Coleman 193). What caught the attention of the Nobel Prize committee was her polyphonic writing, which is strongly connected to Alexievich’s literary vision (Lindbladh 282). Alexievich’s aim is to create a “history of the Russian-Soviet soul” through the personal accounts of hardships and trauma resulting from the main historic events of the 20th century. In her

opinion, the personal accounts and stories that were unheard or suppressed constitute a ‘missing history’, an alternative historiography to the official one that includes events such as the Chernobyl accident and the Soviet-Afghan War (Lashuk). For that reason, she committed herself to give the stage to the hundreds of voices around her, against the hegemony of the Soviet and Russian official discourse and the master narratives (Lyotard 11).

Alexievich’s vision can be better understood if we zero in on the Belarusian literary tradition. Alexievich mentions on her website the importance that Ales Adamovich’s work played in the formation of her own writing. Subsuming to what he called courageous and sincere ‘sverkhliteratura’ [hyperliterature] (Bykov), Adamovich created a multivocal genre with multiple narrators; the ‘collective novel’, ‘novel-oratorio’, ‘novel-evidence’, ‘people talking about themselves’ (Alexievich, ‘Chronicler’). The unprecedented tragedies of the previous century couldn’t be captured by fiction, nor could fictional characters replace the stories of the victims who endured, suffered and managed to survive the catastrophes. Sverkhliteratura is not characterized as such due to its superiority, but for its humble mission to bring to light the multiple, unaltered truths and traumas of ordinary people. Polyphony shows respect to the victims, and thanks to its choral character it allows the reader to experience the stories in multiple levels. At the same time, the genre underlines the ethical side of literature and its capacity to overcome the limitations posed by other genres like the memoir and the historical novel. The tragic chorus of narrators under sverkhliteratura does not sing the extraordinary story of one person or some fictional characters, but the personal story of each narrator transforming trauma into a multisensory collective experience; seen, felt and heard. It is important to note that polyphony first appears in Russian literature in Dostoyevsky’s masterpieces.

For Bakhtin “Dostoevsky is the creator of the polyphonic novel” (Bakhtin 6), a totally new genre of novels that captures “a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses” (Bakhtin 6). Bakhtin developed the notion of ‘polyphony’ to articulate a writing technique according to which real-life situations are best depicted when the characters express different and contradicting positions or ideals.

That happens to the extent that they seem to act free from the writer's discursive authority. Polyphony might create the illusion that the author is absent when they are still omnipresent and omnipotent. Most importantly, according to Bakhtin, Dostoyevsky made a breakthrough destroying the tradition of the "monologic (homophonic) European novel" (8) and replacing it with a polyphonic literary world that corresponds to the scope and depth of his poetics.

Alexievich clearly influenced by both traditions, formed her own documentary prose, 'epic-choral prose', or as she calls it, 'novels in voices': "This is how I hear and see the world - as a chorus of individual voices and a collage of everyday details" ('Chronicler'). Her material though, is not fictional, but consists of real life-stories of people who survived a tragic historical event or eye witnesses. Capturing the memory and extracting the personal truth, the essence of the experience, is very demanding and Alexievich has to meet several times with some of her interviewees before she considers a narrative complete. She chooses between 10 and 20 to construct the centre or the core of the book (Lindbladh 285). Having built the narrative structure, Alexievich studies the transcriptions and rewrites them in a synthetic way: on the one hand, the interviews are 'narrativized' to recreate the feeling of the testimony to the author, while on the other, they are restructured in a way that fits a choral mosaic of memories. In Alexievich's case, the polyphonic novel turns to a form of resistance towards the repression of the Soviet and post-Soviet fragmented collective memory, as articulated by the 'monologic' official political discourse. The polyphonic novel brings to light not only the traumas and the personal reflections of the interviewees, but also the various resilient stances that the population had to take to overcome adversities.

Soviet and Post-Soviet Collective Memory

Collective memory is a notion first coined by Halbwachs in 1925 to describe the remembering patterns of a particular community or society as they are affected and forged by their norms and particular characteristics (Halbwachs 97). Since then, the concept has been widely employed and developed by social and political scholars and historians. Coming from cultural studies, Jan Assman proposed a

reconceptualization of collective memory by expanding Halbwachs initial concept in order to include not only the social but also the cultural sphere. In his opinion, we should distinguish the two dimensions of collective memory: the social aspect is called “communicative memory”, while the cultural aspect is called “cultural memory” (110).

Communicative memory refers to collective memory that is socially mediated and transmitted through everyday communication. This type of remembrance is often found in oral history and life narratives representing the shared memories of a certain community, in a particular historic period (Assman 111). In this account, communicative memory is regarded as ‘non-institutional’ and as limited, in terms of temporal duration, surviving up to eighty years or just a few generations. At the same time, cultural memory is a type of collective memory connected to cultural identity, traditions and cultural symbols. As Assman states, it is institutional, “exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms” but also exists “in disembodied form” passing, in both forms, from generation to generation as reference points (111).

Contemporary scholarship studying the legacy of the Soviet Union and the role of its remembrance in the construction of national identities, views the case of the Soviet and post-Soviet collective memory as quite problematic. The reason for this is that post-Soviet and post-socialist remembrance is based on a contradiction: on the one hand “the past is as alive as the present [...] glorified, mourned and condemned” (Rutten and Zvereva 23), while on the other, historical events and figures constitute “blank spots” (Wertsch 58) forgotten, ignored or silenced. As it is understood by the characterization ‘post-Soviet’, Russia lacks a new self-description (Etkind, ‘Post-Soviet Russia’ 153). Haunted by the Soviet past, its achievements and atrocities, the new state gives the impression that instead of moving forward it persistently looks back and, for some, it also moves backwards (Uffelmann 103). This direction has been given by the country’s official discourse and the politics of history and memory that leave no place for critical reflection, acceptance and accountability. State power is legitimized by constructing its mission and identity (Rutten and Zvereva 20) based on the glorification of the victorious past (i.e. WWII and Stalin) or on its demonization (the case of the Baltic countries).

A very interesting analysis of the post-Soviet Russian collective memory comes from Etkind who explores what he describes as “post-Soviet political melancholia” (‘Mourning’ 57). In contrast to Assman’s approach, Etkind regards cultural memory as an ever-changing phenomenon that can acquire three different stances towards the past: “amnesia as preferring the present to the past, nostalgia as preferring the past to the present, and melancholia as an inability to distinguish between the past and the present” (54). Through his analysis, Etkind shows that the majority of book titles in contemporary Russia (especially in the period from 2004 until 2008, when the research was conducted) deal with two tragic dates: The Great Terror (1937) and the beginning of the Great Patriotic War (1941) with Stalin being the most referenced political figure. Instead of focusing on the expected victory of Russia in the War, readers prefer books about these dramatic events proving, as Etkind argues, “the active and continuing, though not acknowledged, immersion into the darkest parts of the Soviet past – a feature of melancholy” (55). Instead of a nostalgic longing for the past, Russian society or at least the Russian reading public remains ambivalent about the legacy of the Soviet Union, reflecting upon it, while it treats it as the main navigator towards the country’s future.

When trying to interpret Russia’s paradoxical collective memory, one should delve into the historical conscience of the Russian population. For starters, the two main events that have traumatized the Soviet and post-Soviet collective memory are the Stalinist ‘Great Terror’ and the collapse of Soviet Union. Regarding the ‘Great Terror’, almost 80 years have passed, and the episodic memory has started to fade away, diminishing the emotional burden. While the historical distance grows, Russians are less and less interested in the atrocities of the Stalinist era and they reject both guilt and responsibility. But without remorse and repentance, it seems impossible to move forward; the past will hinder every move. Khazanov argues that it is necessary for the existence of a contiguous and cohesive collective memory to allow individual memories to be part of the public dialogue and discourse and to be acknowledged by the official historiography (294).

In the case of Russia, the stories of the victims have long been repressed leaving blank spots in the collective remembrance and

ambiguity about the extent of the human tragedy, which was, in turn, severely downplayed by the official discourse. Jones writes: “trauma can give rise to fragmented selves, as survivors struggle to control and articulate 'unspeakable' and 'pathogenic' memories” (347).

An inconsistent and discontinuous collective memory is more vulnerable to manipulation and non-critical acceptance of propaganda. By influencing what is to be remembered and what is to be forgotten, politicians aspire to manipulate the public opinion and manoeuvre its decisions. As far as the breakup of the USSR is concerned, the adversities and the rapid decline in living standards resulting from the traumatic transition to capitalism make many Russians reminisce about the socialist regime with its extended social safety net (Khazanov 299). The times of living a predetermined and simple life, provided by a superpower, are idealized in a way that ignores tragic historical events and periods. Coming into terms with the simultaneously traumatic and glorious past and critically establishing polyvocality as the main approach to history is the only way-out of the post-Soviet political melancholia and towards a reconstituted collective memory.

The Concept of Resilience

The notion of resilience has been employed in a wide variety of fields that include ecology, psychology, management and engineering. In psychology, resilience has been a rather popular term that has been used in many different ways. A presentation of the different definitions of the term seems necessary before introducing the term to the field of post-Soviet memory studies. The most common definition of the term is “the capability and ability of an element to return to a stable state after a disruption” (Bhamra, Dani & Burnard 5376). In this sense, adversity amounts to a disruption of a person’s typical and proper state. To return to homeostasis is a process that should not be over-simplified, as it often varies significantly from individual to individual with highly differentiated outcomes. A pre-disturbance position might be impossible to reach, since the traumatic experience leaves traces on the person that experienced it. Resilience is also associated with the ability to recover from loss or trauma, highlighted by cases such as the psychopathological anxiety disorder PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) (Bonanno,

Westphal, and Mancini 512). For Bonanno the coping process is related to recovery and not resilience (20). For him, resilience is the ability to preserve homeostasis without significant interruptions and systematic discontinuities. Homeostasis is the internal stability and balance of organisms, a dynamic condition of equilibrium. Rutter proposes a theorization of resilience as the “steeling” outcome of stressful situations or trauma (337). In this account, resilience is regarded as a coping outcome, as a gradual and acquired immunity to future hardships. Exposure to adversities can either increase or diminish the vulnerability of individuals. In case of a decrease in vulnerability, the resilient individuals can cope more successfully with further unpredictable misfortunes. One final approach is that of resilience as a trait, a personal characteristic that some people possess. In this case, resilience relates to skills like flexibility, equanimity and ingenuity, as skills that allow a person to bounce back quickly or to limit the effects of an imbalance. Reflecting on the different approaches to resilience, it appears that resilience can be viewed as an inherent quality (that some may not possess), as an acquired skill that can be ‘learned’, or as transmittable quality that can be passed from one person to another.

In the study of the Soviet and post-Soviet era, resilience constitutes a theoretical concept of high significance, since the collective historical traumas of the past are still relevant. Kirschenbaum in her article on the children’s traumatic stories during Leningrad’s blockade writes about the role that resilience played in personal narratives and how it was used by the official regimental discourse as a means of propaganda (522). Describing a traumatic situation during warfare, she suggests that the Western concept of trauma, as an aftermath of hardship and adversity, might not be applicable in the case of the USSR because the official discourse promoted stoicism and endurance, thus denying the existence of psychological trauma (524). This ‘meaning system’ could not change the actual traumatic experience, though it considerably affected the construction of memories. As Merridale supports, the “history of individual trauma” (‘Collective’ 50) was influenced by the politics of repression and the myth of Soviet heroism (‘Night’ 251). The denial of trauma in the official propaganda, which was conveniently translated to heroism, also corresponded to the peoples’ need for survival. The

undeniable and extraordinary hardships of the period left the Soviet population no choice but to cope silently and stoically, in order to appear resilient in the eyes of the Soviet state. At the same time, Merridale notes that ‘the Leningrad hypertension’, the phenomenon of the Leningraders’ post-traumatic neurosis, “was neglected and forgotten partly because there were so few resources to attend to” (239). Despite the fact the victims were numerous, survivors’ personal stories were repressed or ignored not only during the Great Terror and the Great Patriotic War but in general (Jones 348). Jones challenges Merridale’s argument on the constant repression of trauma in the Soviet period maintaining that in Khrushchev’s Thaw (1953-1964) a “narrative of healing emerged to compensate for, and ultimately to redeem, the ‘gloomy’ memories” of the Stalinist regime (349). Yet, the narrative of healing was constructed at that time in a way to distance the communist party from Stalin’s supporters, to control the public expression of trauma and resilience, as well as to “shame other victims out of pathological attitudes to past trauma” (Jones 353). Svetlana Alexievich’s work has come to fill the gaps of this fragmented, constructed and reconstructed collective memory offering consolation through the acceptance of the various official and unofficial resilience stances.

Narratives of Resilience and Non-Resilience in *Secondhand Time*

The novel *Secondhand Time* focuses on the traumatic transition from communism to capitalism following the dissolution of USSR. The adaptation to the new era demanded that the Soviet population be ready for radical changes in every aspect of their lives. Capturing a wide range of different stances to change, Alexievich offers a unique, polyphonic collection of narratives on resilience and non-resilience. Polyphony is achieved through the documentation of all the different approaches to resilience analyzed previously, including those cases when people were unable to adapt and accept the transformation of their sociopolitical reality. The material used for the present novel consists of fragments of memory that Alexievich carefully and compassionately places into the collective mnemonic mosaic. She asks her readers to look at the resulting artwork and reflect on human nature. The analysis of *Secondhand time* will be divided into two parts, with the first part giving examples of

different resilience stances and strategies, and the second presenting narratives of non-resilience.

Under the theme of resilience, three main narratives can be found. The first narrative refers to cases of embracing the new era emphatically or reluctantly. In many stories, there are people who seized every opportunity for enrichment even if it meant participation in a criminal organization (*Who were these people? These strangers appeared out of nowhere—and they somehow knew everything. “We understand your trouble. We’re here to help.” They made a phone call, a doctor came over immediately and issued a death certificate, then a policeman arrived*; Alexievich, ‘Secondhand’ 308) or finding their place in the new system (*Some went into business ... The second secretary runs a movie theater. One district committee instructor became a priest*”; Ibid 72). Highly adaptable people didn’t mind making profit from symbolic items of the Soviet era since the market showed relevant interest (*And Soviet war medals! Orders of Lenin and the Red Banner. Medals! ‘For Valor’ and ‘For Military Service.’ [...] All of them were real. Precious. Soviet army uniforms, jackets, and greatcoats ... peaked caps with red stars ... being sold for dollars*”; Ibid 95). Even though for some switching was easy and happened fast, others experienced the adaptation as a long, coping process and moved forward rather reluctantly. One voice recounts that it took her years to change her mentality (*That’s how zombified we all were. I spent years scrubbing away my Soviet mentality, dredging it out of myself by the bucketful*”; Ibid 62), while another remembers that *“it was as though everyone had changed into gray costumes. All the colors had faded”* (307) underlying the suffering and the in-betweenness of people that transformed them into colorless existences.

In other narratives resilience is articulated as a trait or a skill associated with people’s lifestyle, age and frame of mind. In one of the two main accounts of this narrative, the voice affirms his greater resilience than others, since he was a ‘country boy’ and *“[c]ountry boys are tougher than city folk [...] [m]ore used to death”* (Ibid 268), and they were used to killing animals. In the transitional period of the 1990s, deaths skyrocketed as a result of living standards’ dropping and organized crime becoming common place. In the second account, a woman narrates her success story which was made possible thanks to

her very strong, ambitious and resilient character: “*I came to Moscow ten years ago. I was wild, fired up, I told myself that I was born to be happy, that only the weak suffer, and modesty is nothing but adornment for the weak*” (Ibid 321). For her, the transition was much easier for young people who were ready to take risks and do anything in their power to get to the top: “*There’s one thing I know for sure: Capitalism was not what my parents ordered. No two ways about it. It’s what I ordered, it’s made for people like me, who didn’t want to stay in the cage. The young and the strong. For us, capitalism was exciting ... Adventures in enterprise, risk ... It’s not just about money*” (Ibid 322–323). Even though she presents herself as an extraordinary person - whose difference was evident from an early age (self-made and hard-working), she actually represents a group of people who later received the name *Novie Russkie* (New Russians), with its elite forming the Russian oligarchs (Schimpfössl 4).

The main corpus of resilience narratives is connected to various resilience strategies that the voices have employed in their life and in their endeavor to survive, to adapt and even to prosper. A resilience strategy encountered in the novel is related to the engagement with art and literature. A representative example from the book is that of a woman, well-adapted to the new era, who occasionally feels the need to visit an art gallery and gaze at the paintings: “*One of the paintings had all this light in it and a woman standing on a bridge. Gazing off into the distance ... There was so much light ... I couldn’t look away. I’d leave and come back, I was so drawn to it. Maybe I too could have had another life. I just don’t know what it would have been like*” (Alexievich, ‘Secondhand’ 72–73). Art can act as a short-term, imaginary getaway, a refuge from everyday difficulties and hardships. She can recharge herself through daydreaming about another life, before going back to her everyday struggle. A similar therapeutic distraction, which supposedly assists in coping with reality, is related to consumerism and shopping. The notion of when a person does not buy what is needed but buys for the sake of buying is voiced in the narrative as: “*You want to spoil yourself, indulge. It’s therapeutic. We’re all so sick*” (Ibid 135). This attitude also reveals the importance that access to commodities and the free market played in general for the Soviet people, from Perestroika onwards. A type of shopping mania was a phenomenon of the era and corresponded to the

psychological needs of a nation that had experienced long periods of repression and a shortage of goods (Barker 13; Trudolyobov 32).

In the same category of narratives regarding practices and attitudes that help someone cope with hardships, I subsume strategies related to the sociopolitical framework and the importance of interpersonal relationships. In one of the stories, we read: *“I can tell you with certainty that it’s possible to live well in Russia as long as you stay out of politics”* (Alexievich, ‘Secondhand’ 282–283). Maintaining a distance from politics is expected advice in an ever-changing political atmosphere. Another recurring theme is that of getting through life by making light of everything: *“He didn’t like being questioned ... He had this bravado ... always trying to make light of everything...this prisoner’s habit of hiding everything serious behind jokes”* (Ibid 213). With this resilience strategy, the person tries to understate a situation, to bring some easiness, or to encourage others to change their perspective on the problem. When an imbalance resulting from adversity lasts longer than expected, bouncing back quickly is not always a choice. In one of the most shattering stories, the voice ends her life-narrative by stating that: *“Now I want to live with every fiber of my being, all because of my Zhenya ... I even dream of us having a baby someday ... The doctors are against it, but that’s my dream. I want us to have a home together; my whole life, I’ve wanted a home”* (Ibid 318). This excerpt reflects on the significance of personal relationships in hard times by underling that living through hardships is possible if someone is supported by loved-ones. Life becomes again meaningful and worth fighting for. If it is not possible to have the company of real people, then imagination can be the only choice: help. *“The scraps ... Where had those bits of fabric come from? They were many different colors, a lot of them magenta. Someone had brought them to me and I sewed little people out of them. I would cut off pieces of my hair to make them hairdos. They were my friends ... I’d never seen a doll, I didn’t know a thing about them”* (Ibid 221). This narrative is not related to the post-dissolution era, yet it represents a common behavioral pattern of children trying to deal with difficulties by creating an imaginary social circle. This practice has usually a limited duration. At the same time, resilience is witnessed in the way that the child overcame the limitation of materials and toys and managed to create its own world.

The last category of narratives on resilience is the one dedicated to surviving mechanisms. These narratives are found in some of the most tragic stories of the book, which are the most confessional due to the fact that people were ashamed of their personal experiences and the past actions that helped them survive. The narrators were additionally embarrassed, given that as citizens of the recently collapsed Soviet Union they had to show the Soviet ethos of courage, endurance and steadfastness. Nevertheless, many were proven resilient and resourceful and adapted to the requirements of the period when the social infrastructure collapsed: *“The great Russian intelligentsia did what it could to survive. People remembered the old recipes ... what they ate during the war ... In the hidden corners of the parks and on sloping plots off the railroad tracks, people planted potatoes. Does eating nothing but potatoes for weeks on end count as going hungry? [...] There was no milk, but there was plenty of ice cream, so that’s what we made porridge with. Would I still eat that today?”* (Ibid 155). In general terms, people had to change jobs and find new ways to get money and ‘Going into business’ was a one-way street. Yet, going into the market meant different things and depended on the opportunities that everyone had: *“Then I went into ‘business.’ I started selling cigarette butts. A liter jar of butts ... or a three-liter jar of butts ... My wife’s parents (college professors) collected them off the street, and I would sell them. And people would buy them! Smoke them”* (Ibid 134). Still, even finding a job, left many devastated with the loss of their social status: *“My friend, she and I went to college together, she’s a housekeeper for this businesswoman, she walks her dog ... essentially, she’s a servant. She used to cry from the humiliation, but now she’s used to it. I couldn’t do it”* (Ibid 282). In this excerpt, resilience represents a coping process which results in acceptance and adaptation in accordance with the principles of homeostasis. While on one hand resilience might mean return to a previous state of balance after a disruptive event, on the other resilience can be translated as acceptance of the new state when the change is permanent.

At the same time, there is another side to resilience, that of non-resilience. Non-resilience is the opposite to successful adaptation, to the ability to ‘play by the new rules. Non-resilient characters look for different ways to evade reality by either imaginatively recreating their

previous life or escaping altogether. In the post-Soviet context, the people who resist change and still support the Soviet regime are called informally ‘Sovoks’ deriving from ‘Homo Sovieticus’, the ideal of the creation of a new person under communism (Bogdanov 179; Hansen and Kaiser 127). In Alexievich’s novel there are many descriptions and definitions of who can be called ‘sovok’: *“Now, this is the sovok.’ People live very poorly, even by Russian standards. They blame the rich and resent everyone. Blame the government. They feel that they’ve been lied to, that no one had told them that there was going to be capitalism; they thought that socialism was just going to get fixed.”* (‘Secondhand’ 46). ‘Sovok’ can be regarded as synonymous to non-resilience, as sovoks are people stuck in the past refusing to accept that the Soviet Union collapsed. In the narratives, sovok’s portraits are constructed on a basis of denial, resistance and tragedy, and as living monuments of the Soviet Union. The heritage of the Soviet Union lives through the sovoks who, even though they are scattered in different states, share a cultural memory: *“Homo sovieticus isn’t just Russian, he’s Belarusian, Turkmen, Ukrainian, Kazakh. Although we now live in separate countries and speak different languages, you couldn’t mistake us for anyone else. We’re easy to spot! People who’ve come out of socialism are both like and unlike the rest of humanity”* (Ibid 13). At the same time, sovoks are presented as immature people (*“I don’t like the word ‘sovok!’ My parents aren’t sovoks, they’re romantics! Toddlers living adult lives”*; (Ibid 323) or as obstacles to actual change (*What’s there to talk about with sovoks? We just have to sit tight until they all die out and then remake everything the way we think it ought to be”*; (Ibid 277).

More specifically, denial and resistance to change (the first of the two dimensions of the ‘sovok’ phenomenon) are extensively represented in the stories. In one account, denial is embodied in the form of a person’s nervous breakdown who realised the changes that they were expected to undertake (*“The director of the Party bureau had a nervous breakdown and spent a long time in the hospital recovering”*; Ibid 72). By resisting change a person practically lives in the past, in a non-existing timeframe (*“You should never go back to the past. Because ... Yes ... But me, I practically ran there! I was dying to go. Fifty years ... For fifty years, I kept returning to that place ... In my thoughts, I was there day and night”*;

Ibid 252). In another narrative, denial reaches a psychopathological level with the voice consciously rejecting information and events that could sully the memory of the Soviet Union: *“I can’t get excited about this new life! I’m not going to do well, I’m never going to be happy on my own. Alone. And life keeps pulling and pulling me into this muck. Down to the earth. My children already live according to these new laws. [...] I’m a rare specimen! A therapist’s dream ... isn’t that right? You’re very lucky to have found me”* (Ibid 99). In this passage an interesting juxtaposition is found: the mother, a middle-aged if not an elderly person, is incapable of changing, while her children successfully adapt to the new era and do not seem as traumatised by their mother or by the transition. The interconnection between age and adaptability is a repetitive theme in the narratives.

The other dimension of *sovok*, the nostalgia of Soviet life, constitutes a notion that has been widely theorized, by significant academics such as Svetlana Boym’. According to Boym, there are two types of nostalgia: the restorative and the reflective. The first refers to a process of resituating and reconstructing a certain lost locus (i.e. the home), in the present, while the second focuses on reminiscing and longing (Boym 13). Alexievich shows special interest in narratives of nostalgia trying to capture all its facets. One of the things that was lost, and that people have been nostalgic about, is social life as constructed under communism. In many cases, social and personal relationships did not survive the transition from the Soviet to the post-Soviet era leaving an empty place in peoples’ lives (*“I still miss the girls from my department—the girls, in particular, our chatter. Work came second; socializing, our banter, came first”*; Alexievich, ‘Secondhand’ 282). At the same time, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, a part of the population lost their special position in society. The narrator tells the story of a deceased Soviet veteran who visited every year the fortress of Brest where he fought: *“Why did he visit so often? Like his friends from his regiment who would meet him here, he only felt truly safe at the fortress. Here, nobody ever doubted that these veterans were our nation’s true — and not imaginary — heroes”* (Ibid 182). For that single day when he was visiting the fortress, he was still a hero, a cornerstone in the cultural imagination of his nation. By going back every year, he insisted on re-experiencing something that had already

ceased to exist. Nostalgia also appears as a cultural trend and a political stand: “*There’s a new demand for everything Soviet. For the cult of Stalin. Half of the people between the ages of nineteen and thirty consider Stalin an “unrivalled political figure”* (Ibid 19). Preferring places, services or items branded “Soviet” or buying Soviet symbols, like medals and uniforms, show the person’s support for communism and longing for the Soviet regime; as well as in many cases a deep desire for its resurrection. These people are dissatisfied with the fact that Russia lost its world-status as a superpower and thus they are looking back to the past, ignoring the atrocities and the traumas that go with it: “*It’s a mess out there. We need a Stalin*” (Ibid 261).

The other significant category of non-resilience narratives is related to escapism. In contrast with temporary escapist behaviors, such as an occupation with art, reading literature or shopping, and a child’s imaginary doll companion, under non-resilience I subsume narratives of permanent escape from reality. The reason behind this distinction lies in the fact that these temporary escapist strategies are employed as a way to get by and to deal with life’s struggles, but still they do not represent a permanent refuge from reality. In other words, non-resilience translates to a strong and stable stance characterised by non-adaptability and imbalance. More specifically, the examples of escapism from the book are: migration, monastery life and suicide. In all three cases, someone decides to follow the relevant path aiming at exiting for good from the reality as it was in the post-Soviet era. Starting with migration, the first significant wave of peoples’ movement outside of Russia happens after the dissolution of USSR (“*I would like to leave this country or at least get my kids out of here. We’re going to leave. The axe will survive the master*”; Ibid 271). The social structure that supported them and guaranteed their living standards ceased to exist and people started looking for a better life. In most cases this was not because they refused to accept the new conditions, but because they couldn’t see a future for themselves in Russia any longer. Nevertheless, connecting migration with non-resilience covers only one of the multiple aspects of the phenomenon. Moreover, escaping from the adversities of new life through monasticism represented a very traditional way out in the Christian world. A monastery is a protected environment, self-sustained,

providing food and a ‘roof over the head’, which are no more guaranteed for anyone: “*Six months later, I got a letter from her: “I’m joining a monastery. I want to live. I will pray for everyone”* (Ibid 239–240). With its strict rules and boundaries, a monastery could be regarded as a metaphoric equivalent to the Soviet Union. The last case of escapism, suicide, appears mainly in three shattering stories: the story of a man whose life was meaningless after retirement (Ibid 80), the story of the Soviet veteran who eventually took his own life (Ibid 182–183) and the story of a mother who got tired of unbearable living conditions (Ibid 317). The only irreversibly and undeniably non-resilient escaping choice is suicide. The three suicides represent different dimensions of rejection of the new reality. For the first, his Soviet ethos meant that an idle life wasn’t worth living; for the second it was an eternal loneliness and the irreversible loss of social position as a veteran; for the third, the hardships exceeded the personal limits. If it is impossible for someone to adapt and is left with limited choices, suicide might be the only way out.

Conclusion

The post-Soviet and Russian collective memory with its ‘blank spots’ and discontinuities has resulted in an ambivalent and ‘melancholic’ stance towards the past and the Soviet legacy; exerting great influence on Russia’s political path and worldview. Resilience might not play a significant role anymore in the political agenda and official discourse, but for the carriers of Soviet heritage and the survivors of the transition to capitalism the notions of resilience and non-resilience are still relevant. This is because the traumas persist for them and affect their perception of self and place in the world. Svetlana Alexievich draws from both personal experiences and the collective post-Soviet cultural memory moments of truth and offers her readers a representative and comprehensive account of the unwritten history of human struggle and tragedy.

In sum, Alexievich’s choice of polyphonic novel or ‘novel in voices’ allows her on the one hand, given her focus on traumatic historic events and periods, to cover the whole resilience spectrum, including cases of non-resilience, while on the other, to challenge, reinforce and reconstitute on a literary level, a collective memory that embraces and

allows post-Soviet people to reconcile with the traumas of the past. When the official historiography fails to capture the diverse human experience, literature can effectively accommodate with respect and integrity the polyphonic memories of the witnesses. On a broader perspective, coming from a place of empathy and compassion Alexievich reflects on resilience as a philosophical standpoint towards the fluid, transient and ever-changing human condition. No one is in a position to judge or instruct others on how to cope with adversities and trauma, and no master narratives can nullify the personal accounts of the wounded.

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Translation: Chen Ruoxi's *The Grey-Eyed Black Cat*

Chen Ruoxi

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This is an old wives' tale in my village: 'a grey-eyed black cat is bad luck incarnated; death follows at its tail'.

1

Dear Qing,

I received your letter and the book you gave your friend to bring over. I like the book very much. Thank you.

¹ This is a translation of the Chinese text '陳若曦自選集', written by Chen Ruoxi. The original text is from *Chen Ruoxi's Self-Collection*. Taipei, TW: Linking Publishing, 1976.

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In the letter, you asked about Wen. But Qing, how can I tell you? Poor Wen! A fortuneteller foretold her short life by reading her face. Who would have thought she would really die at such a young age? I am afraid to think of her. I see her shadow everywhere all the time. Whenever I think of her, I can't help cursing the so-called fate and wonder how on earth no one seems to ever escape from its grasp? And if there is such a thing called fate, who's the master of it? I can't wait to be the first to mock him!

I remember it vividly. It was the evening of the Lantern Festival. Mother, Auntie and I were eating glutinous rice balls in the hall. Silence descended over the room; no one uttered a word. Many times, Mother put down her chopsticks, shaking her head and sighing. She must have been thinking of you. Suddenly, the door flew open and Da-Sheng burst into the room.

'It's Wen... She's... deeeaaad.' He cried out, stuttering. I was stunned by what he just said. 'No!' Auntie began to wail, thumping her fist on her chest. 'Wen! My poor daughter! Let me go with you!' Her cries were full of sorrow. Mother could only offer comfort, her own eyes filled with unshed tears. I looked at Da-Sheng with a blank stare. His lips turned blue and his face taut. Turning away abruptly, he ran towards the door. I dropped my chopsticks and ran after him, finally catching up at the threshing floor.

He didn't say a word. I just followed him in silence. The moon was hiding behind dark, dense clouds. Darkness enveloped us. The wind was howling as the wind chill seeped inside our clothes. As soon as we went through the woods, I heard some noises from a crowd and saw a few lanterns swinging back and forth in the distance like ghost lights. In the dark, we stumbled up the path leading to the precipice. Up there, it was packed. Some people lifted lanterns overhead as they looked down with frightened faces. The others surrounded a child, whose eyes were wide-open.

'The cat ran for its life and she chased it with all her might, all the way through to the mulberry woods... Later, I picked up some firewood and was about to head back. Just then I heard a scream; I thought it must have been someone falling off the cliff... so I rushed to get help...' The child spoke with fear and anxiety, hands gesturing in the air.

I followed Da-Sheng. We pushed through the crowd to the edge of the precipice. My eyes welled up with tears as soon as I looked down. Qing! I can barely hold my pen as I write these words. Who would have thought our dearest and most beautiful friend would end up like this tonight: facing skywards, she lay on her back on a bed of dead thorns. Half of her face was covered by strands of hair tainted by blood. One of her eyes remained terrifyingly wide open, reflecting lifelessly the shimmering lantern light.

The town chief finally arrived. He asked a young man to climb down the rock with Da-Sheng. They went down by vines and prepared ropes to pull up the body. When they moved the body, they found a black cat underneath. Da-Sheng took the liberty to bury it there and then.

I stood on the rock crying. Staring at the dark sky and the land, I called for Wen again and again. Yet darkness swallowed her, along with the black cat and my tears, as well as all my childhood memories.

The Zhu family really had no conscience. Instead of a heart, they had iron in its place. Why did Wen have to marry into the family? Is that bad karma from her past lives? The night Wen died, none of the Zhu family showed up. When her body was taken back to them, they had the nerve to say that a violent death should not come through the front gate, so her body was passed through a side door. Poor Wen, even in death she couldn't use the front gate!

Qing, sometimes I think it's better that she died, though I still feel sad whenever I think of how miserable her death was. Wen never had a good day after she got married. Her life was already over by the time she lost her mind. Recently, I have spent quite a lot of time in deep reflection. I see Wen in my mind all the time. Thinking of her tragedy, I couldn't help being skeptical about our traditions and customs. People in big cities would never have thought how powerful the remains of a feudal society could be in a rural village like ours!

As to Da-Sheng, you must wonder how he is doing, but I have no clue I'm afraid. After Wen died, I only saw him once at her grave. He seemed to have aged in a night. Some said they often saw him sitting alone on the precipice. He left before Qing Ming Festival. No one has ever heard from him since.

Auntie has been ill in bed since Wen died. Her heart disease struck again. These days she is barely conscious. Mother often shakes her head and sighs. I am afraid it will not be long before Auntie passes.

Mother again wants me to tell you to come home, Qing. We're looking forward to your reply and the date of your return.

—Di

2

Ten years ago, when I was a little girl with pigtail braids, Wen and I were best friends. Not just me, other children in this area also put her on a pedestal because she was gorgeous. Everyone liked her. Auntie doted on her so much, yet Uncle treated her like nothing. He thought raising daughters was indeed a waste of money. Sometimes, after a few drinks, he would repeatedly complain that Auntie was useless because she couldn't give him a son to continue the family name. Also, because both of our Chang families had no sons, Uncle had thought of taking a concubine. He often picked fights with Auntie over anything and everything. No matter what Uncle thought of Wen, we were all proud of her. She threw tantrums sometimes, but no one had the heart to blame her.

In my hometown, autumn was the season for children. Harvested rice paddies, fields of golden autumn foliage, mountain ridges and wild streams were all our world. Back then, we were all crazy about flying kites. We always competed to make the biggest and the most exquisite kite that flied the highest. The kites were shaped like various animals. At times, they were made out of coloured papers. At other times, they were made of satin. Wen's work was always the finest among us all thanks to her nimble hands and only Da-Sheng's kite could occasionally compete with hers. Da-Sheng was an orphan, adopted by my father's cousin and had farmed cattle for him since he was little. We had been close friends and always played together since then.

One afternoon that autumn, Wen, Di and I were in the hall, learning to sew. When we were stitching on the white cloths, suddenly the lilting sound of a flute drifted in. It was Da-Sheng calling. Wen dropped her needlework, fetched her newly made kite and ran outside. Di and I followed suit, with our pathetic works in hand, retrieved from the corner

of the house. We met Da-Sheng under a banyan tree, and all of us ran gleefully toward the fields. On the way, we met the twin brothers of the Hua family and some other kids in the village. Everyone held a kite in their hands. Led by Wen and Da-Sheng, we headed to the Zhu family's harvested rice paddies.

The Zhu family was the richest in our village. Their fields stretched out as far as you could see. After the harvest in autumn, the fields were flat and smooth and we liked to run around on them without a care in the world.

The Hua twin brothers were the most eager, releasing their kites as soon as they set foot in the field. They grabbed the string ends and started running against the wind. A while later and after a few tumbles, the elder brother's eagle finally lifted in the wind, gliding alluringly in the sky. His little brother's kite, on the other hand, struggled a bit before flopping down to the ground. Then Di also freed her little bird into the sky. Da-Sheng's old man smirked in the wind with his long beard floating in the air. Even the little Yang girl's swallow flew up into the sky. Only I, despite running and stumbling, still couldn't manage to launch the incense burner made by my mother. Wen noticed my dismay and came to my rescue. Before long, my incense burner joined the ranks among the others.

'Wen, why don't you fly your frog?' Da-Sheng shouted as he ran around with the string in his hands.

'Come on, Wen! Let's see if your frog can jump higher than my eagle!' the elder Hua brother confidently challenged her.

Wen pressed her lips together and looked at his eagle scornfully before releasing the string in a run.

'Look! Look!' she looked up and yelled as she kept running forward. Her frog, with a big belly and bulging eyes, flipped a couple of times in the mountain wind before soaring straight up to the sky. It peered down at everything beneath and hopped in the air.

'Wen wins again! The frog is the biggest and the highest-flying kite.'

Wen couldn't hide her smile. I also smiled proudly for her.

We played for a while, and eventually everyone gathered their kites to sit and rest on the edge of the field. The strong mountain winds soon dried the beads of sweat on our foreheads. Di noticed, in the distance, a

kitten by the road. She went up to fetch it. The kitten's fur was all black with a beautiful sheen. It was fluffy and soft. It didn't fidget when we held it in our hands. Everyone played with it and thought it was adorable.

'Ah! Grey eyes!' suddenly the little Yang girl cried out in horror. 'Mom said a black cat with grey eyes brings the worst luck. You see it and you die.'

'Die?' Wen said in disbelief. 'Is that true?'

'I don't buy it. Never heard of it.' Da-Sheng said.

'Well, I remember my granny said the same thing. A black cat with grey eyes brings you bad luck. It's the reincarnation of bad guys,' a girl told Wen, somberly.

'Now I remember,' Di went on, 'Auntie once said that she saw a grey-eyed black cat when she gave birth to Wen.'

'So what? Wen is still here.'

Then, a dozen or so small faces turned their gazes to the little black cat. It snuggled tamely in Di's arms. 'How adorable! It won't bring us bad luck.' Di whispered in a low voice as she gently patted the cat.

'Ah!' Wen suddenly exclaimed, and her dark black eyes glimmered like stars in the summer sky. 'Shall we let the kitten fly the kite?'

'Sounds great!' everyone agreed, clapping their hands in excitement and jumping to their feet. Again, Wen started to fly her frog kite and took the kitten from Di as her kite went high enough. With the Hua twin brothers' help they tied the string around the kitten's neck and let go of it. At the beginning, the kitten was frightened, meowing and dashing around the field. All of us, pleased by the amusing scene, were laughing and clapping our hands. The frog kite gradually went higher and pulled the kitten running with it. We ran after it, giggling.

The mountain wind grew stronger as the sun went down. Suddenly, the frog kite was blown by a gust of mountain wind. We saw the frog shaking its belly, and then it shot into the sky in a straight line, taking the kitten with it. Now we were all scared. Only the Hua twins were still clapping and cheering. My heart sank as Di grabbed firmly on one of my sleeves. We ran anxiously after the kite. On the ground, in fear, we chased the kite flying in the sky.

All of a sudden, an anguished wailing stabbed into our ears. Turning around, we saw an old woman wearing a black headdress around her forehead, stumbling into the field.

She waved her hand at the black cat being dragged by the kite. 'Oh my, who... who the hell are you? How dare you torture my kitten? Help please...' she cried out in agony as she ran, all huffing and puffing. My feet were as heavy as lead, running after Wen blankly.

The kite flew toward the mountain and the kitten had turned into a black ball and gradually, a dot. The farther it went, the smaller it was. When the kite flew close to the precipice, its string snapped, and the black dot fell to the ground like a shooting star, all in silence...

'No!' the old woman cried out and fell to the ground. Her face turned red and blue, and the wrinkles on her face twisted horrifyingly. Her deeply sunken eyes were set in two dark pits, a bright fire blazing as if they could swallow us. We stood still and stared at her in horror. No one dared speak.

'My poor cat, oh, my precious, my life!' She started crying aloud like a baby, her voice dry. 'You must haunt the killer! Ah, you little villains. Whoever killed my cat, I would curse you and your whole family to die miserably and bear no child!'

The old woman suddenly turned to point at us and rebuked us, 'May God bring justice. I curse you all, you bastards!'

She sat on the ground, spurring a litany of the most malicious curses, her face distorted with anger. We stood still as if rooted in front of her and stared at her in fear. Soon, she started her wretched crying again, and then struggled to get to her feet. She left with her hands covering her face. Now the black headdress slowly edged away, but her wailing still haunted the wind, hammering into our hearts.

For a very long while, we were lost for words. 'She's mad,' a girl broke the silence.

'I heard the same before,' someone agreed with her.

Wen looked ahead in a blank stare; her face was as pale as a sheet of white paper.

Suddenly, she started sobbing. Da-Sheng immediately escorted her to leave.

In the greying sky, the kite was nowhere to be seen.

3

When Wen was seventeen, she received many marriage proposals. Auntie was extremely picky, because Wen was her only child. Matchmakers' footfalls almost flattened the threshold of the house, but Wen still wasn't engaged. In our family, my Uncle had long been in charge because my father died early. My Uncle's words were law for the entire family. He had some education, but never made good use of it. At home, he always put on this arrogant face, as if we were to put him on a pedestal and to always follow his orders. Nothing he did outside, however, was worthy of our respect. That was not the worst. I hated him the most for being an alcoholic. I always thought Wen's life was ruined by the drinks in his hands.

One autumn night, we were chatting in the hall. Uncle came home completely drunk, falling flat on the threshold. Auntie got up to help him into his room. Wen's brow puckered slightly into a frown, yet she said nothing. Soon, we heard an argument breaking out, and then Auntie walked out alone in a rage.

'Sis, what happened? Why were you fighting?' Mother asked in concern.

'Uh, how can I not be angry just talking about it? I told him to reject that family, and there he goes, promising her to the Zhus!'

'The Zhu family?' Wen straightened herself in shock and looked at her mother incredulously.

'Can't blame it on me, Wen! That's what your father did when he was drunk.'

'The Zhus? I remember they sent a matchmaker the other day...'

Mother cocked her head when she recalled this.

'Yes, and I turned her down right away.' Auntie said, 'I know Mrs Zhu's temper very well. She always took advantage of me when we were young. We fought once, after which we didn't speak for a long time. If it wasn't her...' She stopped abruptly.

Later I learned that if it weren't for Mrs Zhu's plots, which drove a wedge between the family and Auntie, Auntie would have been the one marrying into the Zhu family.

The Zhus were rich indeed. The father kept two concubines. One of them was tortured to death by his wife. The concubine's mother could not

let it go, so she came to question her daughter's death but was thrown out by Mrs Zhu like rubbish. They didn't even give the concubine a proper coffin, treating her worse than they treated a servant. It was said that the son, Da-Nian Zhu, was barely literate. He got very uppity after a few trips to big cities. He was especially good at eating, drinking, gambling, and whoring. He was bad tempered, just like his mother, treating servants like animals. His eyes seemed very untrustworthy, and the girls around this area always cautiously avoided him.

Poor Wen. From then on, it would be hard to see her sweet smiles again. Day after day, she just worked lazily and silently on her wedding dress, and she did not say a word about her future husband. At first, Auntie was upset about this and often complained that her husband was a fool. Later, she changed her mind and enthusiastically prepared Wen's dowry. Uncle seemed to forget all about this. He carried on as usual, heading out after a meal, with his smoking pipe between his lips.

Before long, the Zhu family chose a good date to visit us with the bride price. The house was crammed with mounts of crystal sugar and wedding cakes. Greeting the guests, Uncle and Auntie were both beaming, looking all very happy and joyful. Only Wen sported a straight face. The Zhus thought she was shy.

Wen's wedding was set after the winter solstice. The wedding day was a fine sunny day. Right past eleven in the morning, the sedan chair from the Zhus, carried by eight men, arrived to pick up Wen. Wen prostrated herself before her parents as goodbye and was helped up onto the chair to leave. She was followed by twelve carts of dowries. Di and I were bridesmaids. We sat on sedan chairs, each carried by two men, following the dowries. We all entered the Zhu's house to the sounds of pipes and drums.

The groom was in a black changshan and a red magua, the traditional long robe and riding jacket. He came out, opened the door of the sedan chair and helped his bride out. Followed by the matchmaker and bridesmaids, they slowly walked into a hall decorated for the wedding ceremony. The red sheets with blessing inscriptions hung on the walls. Each side of the hall was packed with guests. Da-Nian Zhu's parents sat, all high and mighty, on palace chairs. Their faces looked stern and snobbish. The bride and the groom prostrated themselves before the

parents, touching their heads to the ground three times before getting back to their feet again. Mrs Zhu examined the bride closely, and then she removed a pair of emerald jade bangles from her wrists and gave them to Wen. Mrs Zhu then waved her hand, implying that the ceremony was over. The groom stayed outside to greet the guests while Di and I escorted Wen back to her room.

Though it was winter, it felt hot and humid that day. Wen asked me for a cup of tea when I got tired of sitting and waiting, so I gladly went to find tea for her. I had no idea where their kitchen was, so I wandered aimlessly in the corridor.

I made a turn past two chambers when I heard a woman's voice coming from a room. 'The bride is gorgeous indeed, but Mrs Zhu doesn't seem very happy about this marriage.'

'That's for sure. They wouldn't be married if the young Master didn't insist. Mrs Zhu wasn't really happy about this wedding. You know that she had a fight with Mrs Chang when they were young! I just heard her complaining to Mr Zhu that the bride didn't shed tears at all, and that's not very ladylike! Uh, why didn't Wen just cry a little?'

Cry a little? That didn't make sense at all. What was the point for a happy bride to pretend to burst into tears? Even if she's unhappy, the tears are useless anyway.

I pretended to run into them and asked for some tea politely. One of them ran to get it for me, and the other stood there staring at me blankly as if I was a freak. A while later, the other woman rapidly ran back to us with a cup of tea in her hands, while half of it had been spilled on the way. 'Ju, Ju, something happened in the hall. All the kitchen staff are heading over there. Come, hurry up!'

She shoved the cup at me, and grabbed Ju to run with her. I looked at the half cup of tea, immediately put it aside and ran after them. On the way to the hall, the noise gradually increased. When I was about to step over the threshold to the hall, Mrs Zhu emerged from a room in the opposite wing. She frowned and looked truly bewildered.

The hall was crowded. People stood around a big wardrobe, which was part of Wen's dowry. They were wagging their tongues and hands over something. 'Mrs Zhu's here!' someone said. Everyone got out of her way to let her pass. The chatter died down to a murmur. Mrs Zhu, holding her

head high, looked all confident as she stomped over. When she was half way through, suddenly her eyes went horribly wide and her jaw dropped unintentionally. She stood there, frozen as if her feet were rooted to the ground. Afire with curiosity, I elbowed my way through the crowd and was also stunned as I levelled my eyes at the open wardrobe.

One of the top drawers of the wardrobe was open. A cat was sitting on rolls of fancy lace. Its pure black fur was shimmering in the light. Its grey eyes were round as pearls from which radiated a grim, iron-grey light. It sat there calmly and at ease, as if it was mocking the crowd with a glare, staring fearlessly back at all the eyes staring at it.

The matchmaker stood helplessly in front of the crowd with keys in her hand. Her face turned white and her eyes shifted between the wardrobe and Mrs Zhu, whose face now looked terrifying.

'The bride's family... how can they be so careless to have left that thing in the wardrobe,' someone in the crowd muttered in a low voice.

'Right,' said another lowered voice, 'and this black one even has grey eyes. Everyone knows it's the most ominous thing...'

'Fu,' suddenly Mrs Zhu yelled in a stern voice. 'Get some men and send all these dowries back to the Changs. Ask Mr and Mrs Chang to come to see me!'

Her pale face turned blue, flames burning in her eyes. The hall was silent, and no one dared speak.

'Sheng, get the cat out of here and hang it!'

'I am afraid we can't, Mrs Zhu. If we kill it, it would bring bad karma.' An old man tried to stop her and shot a fearful glance at the wardrobe.

'Mrs Zhu, I'll say,' said another person strolling forward, 'please hire a Taoist priest to drive the evil spirits out of here. As to the bride...'

'Oh God, now the wedding has turned into a disaster.' Mrs Zhu said before turning around to her stunned son. 'Go, get a priest here!' she said.

As Da-Nian Zhu ran out, his father staggered in with an opium pipe in his hand and cloth shoes on his feet. Having no idea what had just transpired, he stared at them suspiciously and turned to look at his wife. 'What exactly is going on here?' he asked her.

'The black cat with grey eyes,' Mrs Zhu pointed at the wardrobe with a trembling hand.

Mr Zhu turned around, and at that moment, boom, the black cat jumped out and scared the poor old man. ‘Ah!’ Mr. Zhu shrieked and crumbled to the ground. Mrs Zhu threw herself at him, ‘Help!’ she cried out and everyone in the hall went into a great bustle.

The black cat fled the hall, vanishing like lightning.

4

Di and I stayed with Wen for the three days. As I recall, it was like a nightmare. There was a priest in a Taoist robe, his wild hair flying in the air. He swung a wooden sword in his hands, muttering words between his lips and pacing outside the newlyweds’ room. The chamber was filled with incense smoke. With windows shut firmly, the smoky air was so strong and thick as if it had turned solid. It was so stuffy and hot that we could barely breathe. A red wedding candle cast a gloomy light on Wen’s teary face. Staring ahead, her eyes were dull and glazed, her arms draped across her chest limply, her cheeks puffy, and she was biting on her pale bottom lip. She turned into a miserable portrait. Oh, poor Wen, Auntie would be so sad if she saw this!

Di and I felt obliged to stay with Wen, and we hadn’t seen daylight for three days. All the while, Da-Nian Zhu never showed up. Only servants brought us meals, and at times, the wild-haired Taoist priest came in to burn paper money. Sometimes the burnt ashes flew up into Wen’s hair, but she couldn’t even be bothered to pat them off. She just leaned against the bedposts, looking lost.

On the second night, Wen had a fever. She lay in bed, her cheeks burning red. She kept muttering that she wanted to go home. Di and I panicked and didn’t know what to do. We tried to open the door, but it was locked from the outside. No matter how hard we banged on it, no one answered. We could only take turns keeping vigil at her bedside, watching her unconscious face and listening to her occasional murmur in her dreams. Staring at the candle that almost burned out, I cursed the Zhu family angrily.

‘Wa... water...’ Wen’s voice was extremely weak. Di got to her feet immediately and walked to the dressing table. I heard her lift the cup’s lid. ‘Ah!’ she suddenly cried out, throwing away the cup and running into my arms, looking too frightened to breathe. I helped her sit down at the

bedside and turned to look at the dressing table. In the dim candle light, there was a vague, black shadow sitting on the dressing table; its eyes were two bright spots in the dark. Uh, the damn cat! Everything went wrong when it showed up. Where had it come from? I stood beside the bed with a pair of scissors in my hand as I fixed my gaze at the cat until dawn. Soon, an old female servant came to deliver the meal. By that point, I was exhausted. I told her the bride was sick and had her inform Mrs Zhu to get a doctor. And then I fell asleep in a chair.

When I woke, the smell of the incense in the room had become stronger. The priest was continually muttering something in his mouth and swinging a bell in his hand. At times, he dipped a willow stick in a glass of turbid water and then spread the drops on the bed. The little cat was still sitting on the dressing table, its tail straight up, its black fur standing, and its cold, sharp glare fixed on Wen, who was tossing and turning in bed.

That night, Di got sick too. She felt dizzy and threw up. I panicked, banging on the door and crying for help. An old female servant took a glance into the room, and fled in shock right away, as if she had seen a ghost. Helpless, I stayed with them and wished dawn would arrive soon. Fortunately, in the morning, my mother sent a sedan chair to pick up Di and me.

Knowing we were leaving, Wen's tears fell like waterfalls. 'Please don't let my mum know I'm sick,' she wept. I consoled her and helped Di walk out of that horrible place.

As we walked out, everyone we met had a stern face. From a distance, I saw Da-Nian Zhu in a mourning suit and the sound of crying drifted toward me. I was wondering who had died and was caught by the sight of a grand, black coffin as I walked out the hall. The coffin was surrounded by the Zhu family's relatives, who were weeping over it. Mrs Zhu, in her mourning suit, was crying with an overwhelming grief. 'No... how could you leave us? We can't live without you!' She stamped her foot, beat her chest and suddenly, desperately threw herself over the coffin. Scared by this, Da-Nian Zhu rushed forward without hesitation to hold her back. Some guests, one after another, also came to console her. At that moment, my hatred toward them, like snow caught by sunlight, melted.

That was the first time I saw the cruelty of death, and I couldn't help feeling deeply sorry for them.

Most people in the village blamed Mr Zhu's sudden death on the black cat. They exaggerated the black cat into something so scary that a three-year-old would cry when he heard of it. However, the Zhus blamed all this on Wen. She had been tormented from the moment she was married into the Zhu family. Everyone in the household, from the young to the elderly, from the servants to the master, all blamed and bullied her. They avoided her as if she were possessed by a demon. Only the little grey-eyed black cat followed her all the time. Wherever she went, the black cat followed. As soon as she stopped, the cat would sit on the floor and squint at her with its grey eyes. Whenever Wen tried to kick it, it cleverly got out of the way. This put her in great dismay. She tried everything to get rid of it and failed. No one would help her; no one dared. As Uncle heard of it all, he just said, 'We don't have a claim on a married daughter anymore.' He would then carry on casually smoking his pipe.

Next autumn, Wen gave birth to a baby boy. Di and I visited her with the traditional gift of four-coloured candies. Her appearance shocked me, and I couldn't help but sigh when I thought of it. She used to be beautiful and curvaceous; now she had become all skin and bones like dry tree trunks in deep winter. Di could not help crying, tears rolling down her cheeks. 'Does Da-Nian treat you well?' I asked Wen. She lowered her head with her eyes welling up, looking sad and pitiful. I should have known the answer when I saw her in this shape.

Before we left, she held on to my clothes, looked around and then turned to me, 'You know, they are taking away my son! I have to protect him. Can't let them take him. He's my baby. He's my life now!' she said in a low voice.

'Wen, that's not going to happen,' I comforted her without hesitation, 'It's your son. Who would dare take him away?'

She stared at me for a while, and then shook her head, tightening her hold on the baby in her arms.

When we walked out of the room, we met the old female servant who used to bring us meals. I pulled her aside because I couldn't help asking about Wen's life here. She looked around and said in a low voice, 'Everyone says she's a lunatic! Even Mrs Zhu says so... Often she screams

at night. I once clearly heard her muffled scream saying 'stop following me! kill that thing!' I guess she was talking in her dreams, but now not even the young Master will share the room with her. Mrs Zhu said she's worried about the baby. Once Wen finishes her postnatal care, they'll take the baby away and raise him somewhere else. Somehow, she knew this. These days she holds the baby all the time and doesn't let anyone get close to him, not even a bit. She doesn't have enough milk for the child, and the baby's always crying, poor kid.'

I believed Wen would not have gone delirious if they hadn't taken the baby away by force. Since then she had never been lucid and was always incoherent. She never combed her hair or washed her face. She would stare blankly with her sunken eyes and murmur nonsense. She grabbed everyone she saw and asked for her baby. She also became much angrier at the black cat. She would grab everything around her and throw it at the cat whenever she saw it. One night, she chased the cat all the way to a barn, and someone happened to walk by with a lit candle in his hand. She took the candlestick and threw it at the cat. The flame caught the straw that covered the paddy, setting it alight. Fortunately, they had enough people to put it out in time, or the barn would have burnt to the ground. This made the Zhus angrier than ever. Mrs Zhu sent someone to keep an eye on Wen. Wen was grounded. Yet, she still managed to sneak out, wandering around by the paddy fields.

Very often, I hoped she would wander back home, but she never did since she got married.

5

Six months later, Wen's baby boy died of illness. That was when she really lost her mind. Often, people saw her in the Zhu family's graveyard and heard her heart-wrenching wailing. She and the cat were the main topic for village gossip, and sometimes people felt sorry for them.

The Zhus sent another matchmaker to us, the Chang family, to propose another marriage. Uncle felt guilty because of Wen, so after a few words with the matchmaker, he agreed I should marry into the Zhu family as a concubine. My mother was too weak to protect me. Auntie dared not stand against her husband. Uncle, as if he felt nothing about Wen, sent them my birth chart, which was used to assess the

compatibility of a couple. He decided my future for me. I refused. I hated every single one of them in the Zhu family. On the eve of the wedding, I abandoned my family and ran far away to this metropolitan city. My life since has been tough, but I have never wanted to go back home. When I finally found a way to contact Di, it turned out that Uncle had died, of a disease caused by my escape, she said. For his death, I did not even shed a tear.

Wen is dead. I think it was for the better. Often, I think of her short and tragic life. I cannot figure out why she was treated like that. The ancient tale of the black cats always flashes into my mind. I am confused. Was Wen a victim of the bad luck brought on by a black cat, or was she sacrificed to the obsolete traditional family system? I don't know.

Di sent me a letter, asking me to go home. I hate to see or smell anything of that mountain village. I think I will get Di out of there one day when I am settled in the city. Let the young stay away from that desolate and suffocating village, where the old would perish with that rotten, ancient system, along with all the despicable sins it committed!

Book Reviews

Nostalgia and the Post-War Labour Party: Prisoners of the Past. Richard Jobson. Manchester University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-5261-1330-6, 232 pp.

The focus of Richard Jobson's book is 'nostalgia' and the impact that this term has had on the trajectory of the Labour Party since 1951). It considers the role of nostalgia in two competing wings of the Labour Party since 1951. On the one side is the Traditionalist wing (originally lead by Aneurin Bevan) that was wedded to Labour's traditional, industrial working class identity and socialist ideology. Whilst, the Revisionist wing (originally lead by Hugh Gaitskell) argued for the party to modernise by moving away from this traditional image toward one that acknowledged the role of British capitalism in the post-war period.

Jobson takes us through the history of the connotations of the term 'nostalgia', which is commonly understood as an emotional weakness. This conception arose following an assessment by Swiss doctors in the late seventeenth century who understood the painful feeling of longing, felt by those wanting to return home, as a mental affliction (4). The term is stereotypically associated with people who cannot let go of the past and who fight the 'tide of modernity' (5). It is most commonly paired with a memory of historically better times, a memory that erases the bad memories in favour of the good. Jobson, via several academics, asserts that our identity is tightly woven with our memories. He states that

‘Memory and identity are symbiotically reliant and neither could exist or gather emotional coherence without the other’ (6). In other words, what we remember is initially linked with our identity because what we perceive in the world around us is tied to who we are. One example Jobson gives is of idealised memories of Thatcher’s Britain that may be entwined with the identity of some in the Conservative Party, but that that identity would be essential to a nostalgic remembrance of her time in office. This symbiotic relationship is identified as ‘nostalgia-identity’ (5-7).

At the root of an instrumentalised nostalgia is the ability of power elites to manipulate the concept to achieve political goals (10). Nostalgia, Jobson argues, can be used to ‘persuade, placate, or influence an audience’ by speaking to and shaping the nostalgia-identity already held by a group (10). It is through the shaping of existing nostalgic sentiment that political elites can form fertile ground within which policies can be implemented. Jobson refers to this process as ‘instrumental nostalgic manipulation’ (10). So, how does Jobson apply this to the Labour Party?

He begins by outlining the uses of nostalgia in the competing wings. According to Jobson, beginning in the 1950s the Revisionists accused the Traditionalists of harking back to an age that was completely disjointed with the socio-economic landscape of the 1950s-60s. The main motivation for this was that public ownership and nationalisation were no longer as urgent in the 1950s as it was in the 1920s or 30s because capitalism had changed in that time (30). In *The Future of Socialism*, Anthony Crosland (a leading Revisionist thinker) argued that capitalism had morphed into a different system and, to remain relevant, so too should the Labour Party. In this way, nostalgia for a time gone by – of flat caps and coal covered miners – was evaluated as a negative thing; as a type of thinking that was holding the Labour Party back from modernising.

The Traditionalists wing, however, argued that Labour’s working-class past had created the Party and was at the heart of the movement’s ethos. This working-class identity, Jobson argues, was largely a male, industrial one that, for the Revisionists and the author, does not resonant outside of the Party itself. But, the substantive nature of the Traditionalist wing seems to be that a rejection of public ownership, particularly in the post-war years, would be to abandon the pioneers and

heroes of the movement who had worked so hard in the face of adversity to get Labour into power under Keir Hardie. It is an identification with this strength and solidarity of the early years of the Party that has formed Labour's identity and, Jobson argues, it was this nostalgia-identity 'that ensured that preservation and restoration, not modernisation' remained at the heart of Labour's Traditionalist wing (67).

To emphasise these elements, the book draws on speeches given at conferences over the years, motions and resolutions passed at Constituency Labour Party meetings, pamphlets, various socialist journals and mainstream media articles that all reference in some way nostalgia and nostalgic tendencies. The reader is taken through the Revisionists response to the Clause IV debate around common ownership, starting with Gaitskell's 1959 conference speech. The political climate in the Party following the end of the Harold Wilson government from 1970 onwards is then explored and contrasted with the rise of the Traditionalist-backed Labour's Alternative Economic Strategy (AES), which 'envisaged a widespread extension of public ownership' (85). The author continues his historical journey through to the New Labour era (1992-2010), which is positioned as a project to revitalise the Party that originated from 'a genuinely held belief that British society had changed and Labour had not' (3). A view that very much reflects the Revisionists of the 1950s and, as noted above, in particular Anthony Crosland. The final chapter moves on to the 2010 election defeat, the rise of Jeremy Corbyn as leader and the swing back towards Traditionalism.

The book concludes that, whilst nostalgia has 'provided the emotional adhesive' holding the Party together since the 1950s, it has also served to restrict 'Labour's ability to communicate effectively with the modern demands of British voters' (185). However, whichever wing of the Party that members and voters identify with, Jobson argues, nostalgia has been essential to Labour's shared understanding of the past and solidified its distinctive identity. An identity, Jobson warns, that has isolated the Party from 'external cultural' forces in British politics. To examine this warning more closely, perhaps too much energy (both within this book and in the Party itself) has been focused on internal battles over what the Party means and to whom, leading to a stifling of

Labour's ability to be a radical driver in the external culture that is British politics. However, if the negative and positive qualities of 'nostalgia-identity' unpacked by Jobson applies to the whole of the Labour Party, then the findings in his book could serve as a way of uniting the competing views explored here.

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Multilingualism: A Very Short Introduction by John C. Maher. Oxford University Press, 2017. ISBN: 9780198724995, 148 pp.

The 525th volume of Oxford University Press's popular *A Very Short Introduction* series, John C. Maher's *Multilingualism* examines the opportunities and challenges that linguistic diversity creates in the modern world. Divided into nine succinct chapters, each exploring a key topic within the field of multilingual studies, this pocket-sized guide offers a concise and readable overview of topics including the causes of linguistic diversity, multilingualism's role in politics, language endangerment, and the intersection between language and identity.

Although inevitably limited in scale by the *Very Short* format, Maher's work is nonetheless ambitious in its scope, considering multilingualism in both micro and macro contexts. In Chapter Five, for example, Maher zooms in on individual multilingualism, using case studies of linguistically-diverse families ('Jack speaks German to his children and Adile addresses them in Turkish') to explore how bilingualism is acquired and to introduce readers to characteristic features of bilingual individuals' speech, such as code-switching (67). In contrast, in Chapter Six, Maher switches to a much broader, societal perspective, using examples as diverse as the 'linguistic fallout of the French revolution' and language policies in the Philippines to explore the role that multilingualism plays in national politics (81; 87). Efficiently segueing from the micro to the macro and from individual to national multilingualism, this text – although *Very Short* – succeeds in conveying to readers a clear sense of the breadth of the topic that it introduces.

Enhancing this *Very Short Introduction's* scope and latitude is the author's commitment to using examples and case-studies drawn from a wide-range of contexts which showcase the way that multilingualism is 'a fact of life across all continents' (2). In Chapter Two, for example, Maher discusses the spread of multilingualism in relation to a global roster of languages, including Macanese Patuà, Estonian, the Ryukyuan languages, and 'aboriginal languages families such as Athapaskan, Tsimshian, Haida ... and Kutenai' (23). In the same chapter, Maher discusses the impact of both high and popular culture upon the spread of linguistic diversity by drawing an intriguing comparison between the cultural power of Milan's La Scala opera house and K-Pop. Maher's examinations of migration, religion, the economy, and 'transnational communities of knowledge' as propagators of multilingualism remain, due to limitations of space, fairly cursory (30). Nonetheless, the variety and originality of the examples that Maher uses to illustrate these arguments means that even seasoned linguists may glean fresh insights into modern-day linguistic diversity from his work (30).

That being said, this book is – as its title suggests – primarily intended as an introductory text for general readers and students new to the topic. Maher's appeal to that audience is evident in his creative use of 'myth-busting' as a structural device. In Chapter Three, for example, Maher quotes and subsequently busts six popular 'myths' about multilingualism, including polemical statements such as: 'English is the global standard. Why bother with anything else?' (38). The result is a highly-readable, accessible chapter that uses common (mis)conceptions about multilingualism as a springboard to introduce more nuanced discussions of the cultural, social, and economic advantages of linguistic diversity.

Maher's appeal to new and general readers is also evident in his commitment to offering limpid, jargon-free definitions of key vocabulary. Consider, for example, Maher's explanation of 'code-switching' in Chapter Five:

Code-switching goes like this. You are reading a newspaper in language A when the article switches to language B. You switch on the TV and watch an interviewer and interviewee, or a panel discussion switching between

languages A and B. In both cases there is an alternation between two languages in the same conversation or text (70).

Like myth-busting, this anecdotal approach to defining key terminology cleverly taps into general readers' pre-existing knowledge of multilingualism – a strategy which makes potentially unfamiliar terms comprehensible. Maher's decision to encourage readers to think about their own experiences of code-switching rather than quoting and analysing other sociolinguists' explanations of the phenomenon does, however, mean that students searching for research leads will find little inspiration for further reading on this and other subjects until they reach the bibliography at the end of book. Once found, however, that bibliography is comprehensive and helpfully divided into focused subsections relating to each of the nine chapters.

Offering a whistle-stop tour of linguistic diversity from the fall of the tower of Babel to the Premier League, *Multilingualism: A Very Short Introduction* is a lively, digestible primer to a complex subject. Whilst this text surveys rather than expands the field of multilingual studies, it nonetheless demonstrates that, more than just an academic subject, linguistic diversity is a topic which is of increasing interest to the general as well as the specialised reader. Balancing academic authority with accessibility and focusing on how multilingualism intersects with current topical issues, from 'globalization' to 'migration and transnational identities', this *Very Short Introduction* caters perfectly to a growing generalist audience (131).

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***Virgil and His Translators.* Susanna Braund and Zara Martirosova Torlone, editors.** Oxford University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-0-19-8810181-0, 544 pp.

Whilst there have been thousands of translations of Virgil, complete or selective, in dozens of languages since its creation, critical engagement with these translations has mostly fuelled discussions on Virgilian

reception. Susanna Braund and Zara Martirosova Torlone's volume seeks to prioritise the subject of Virgilian translation, providing a "landmark publication devoted to the complex role that translations of Virgil's poetry have played in world literature and culture from the early modern period to the present day" (3). The result is a complex, wide-ranging volume which discusses, broadly, the appropriation of Virgil to: shape an independent cultural identity (as in Brazil and Ireland); create a new literary canon (as in Esperanto); or reflect on similarities with contemporary society (as in Dryden's Restoration England).

The volume mostly focuses on European languages, but also branches into cultures with relatively recent Virgilian interaction (such as Turkish, Chinese and Norwegian). Virgil's three major works are all covered, though not equally (the *Aeneid* has the most significant presence, reflective of its majority share in Virgilian translation). Papers, by both translators and academics, range from overarching thematic discussions to case studies on a specific text, translator, or context; the two contrasting approaches are juxtaposed to show how they can complement each other. A wide range of perspectives is shown, both from contributors themselves and the translators or theorists they discuss. Furthermore, whilst Kallendorf's opening chapter suggests that no translation should be judged as purely a success or failure, Torlone uses the very word to describe translations of which she is very critical (in Chapter 22). Far from being read as contradictions, these deviating approaches and perspectives show the range of co-existing viewpoints which make this multifaceted area of study so fascinating.

Structuring such a volume was always going to be tremendously difficult, and I criticise it, regrettably, without offering a better solution. The papers are split into two: 'Part 1, Virgil Translation as Cultural and Ideological Capital', which examines translation's relationship to socio-political contexts; and Part 2, 'Poets as Translators of Virgil: Cultural Competition, Appropriation, and Identification', on poets who have turned to Virgil for inspiration or legitimization of national literary canons. This delineation seems fairly muddled, and there is significant cultural and theoretical overlap between the parts (some indicated in the introduction and by in-chapter footnotes). Even within the parts, certain papers feel oddly placed when more usefully linked to chapters other

than their neighbours. This is because the chapters are organised into a cross-cultural chronology, which leads towards global chronological conclusions rather than more meaningful linear cultural conclusions. The editors' helpful notes to indicate related chapters might have been fewer, I suggest, if they were organised geographically rather than chronologically.

Many chapters take a New Historicist approach (with many also using, implicitly or explicitly, Schleiermacher's paradigm of domestication and foreignization, furthered by Venuti), and the introduction declares that some others are under-explored, including the study of female translators. Indeed, there is a lot more work to do here, though effectively discussed are conflicts and dilemmas facing specific female writers and translators engaging with the classics (Cox, in Chapter 6). Balmer (Chapter 28) suggests comments made by Sarah Ruden (the first female translator of the complete *Aeneid*) are reminiscent of female translator reticence towards the alpha-male *Aeneid*. Balmer understands these feelings of anxiety and inadequacy, but also feels drawn to her texts because of it, seeing her task as one of transgression and disruption and suggesting that translators look to destabilize the *Aeneid*'s traditional masculinity.

Poetic translation is a key theme of the volume, since most of the translations covered are in verse, and many of them are by poets. In Chapter 2, Armstrong discusses how influence does not flow in one direction, but is a two-way process that reflects back on the translator's original poetry (for example, Dante's influence on Virgil). The question about whether being a successful translator necessitates being a successful poet is raised by Scafoglio in Chapter 20. De Vasconcellos shows a different stance on poetic retranslation in Chapter 23, where the national epithet in the translation's title 'The Brazilian Virgil' results in contentious authority and uneasy creative collaboration between the inextricably linked source author and target translator.

Translation equivalence is discussed through many guises. In Chapter 16, Thomas suggests that perhaps it is impossible to achieve sound equivalence in translation, and that poetic aesthetics may instead demand domestication. Liu discusses equivalence more generally in Chapter 15, exploring whether it is possible to translate Virgil's

significance into Chinese, where every aspect is alien to its audience. Most prominent in this volume is equivalence of meaning, in particular the use of the *Aeneid* to promote or subvert nationalism. In Chapter 10, Papaioannou discusses translations of the *Aeneid* which were used to support Catherine the Great's projection of Russia as a major military power. Opening the volume, Kallendorf shows how two translations of the *Aeneid* were used in France to support opposing political ideals. Moving to England, we read about Virgil as a vehicle for *translatio imperii*, the heroic transplanting of power from one civilisation to another (Braden, in Chapter 5), and Dryden's appropriation of the *Aeneid* to resonate with his contemporary political situation (Scully, in Chapter 18).

Within a more modern setting, Braund explores American translators using Virgil's attitude to empire in response to the Vietnam War (in Chapter 7). Contextual military appropriation is also discussed more philosophically by Rupp in Chapter 3, to contrast Virgil's war discourse with stoic ideals and changing concepts of heroism in early Spanish translations. Political significance circles back to the linguistic in discussions of the validity that translation can offer a language, for example to lend cultural capital to the recently invented Esperanto (Greatrex, in Chapter 8), or to show that Slovenian is a fully-fledged language of elite literature (Marinčič, in Chapter 11). Finally, the impact of the decision translators face between different language dialects is raised by Skoie in Chapter 13 (Norwegian) and by Eigler in Chapter 26 (Italian).

Readers need not be daunted by the volume's wide-ranging nature, nor by the number of languages covered. An interlinear English translation attempts, and broadly succeeds, to make each discussed language accessible. This method effectively conveys the word order and syntax used, also showing addition or omission of words. Whilst it enhances the reader's experience, it is not a perfect solution. Firstly, it introduces another, at least slightly subjective, element of translation. Secondly, without knowing the traditional syntax of a language, readers cannot derive from the interlinear translation whether the words have been arranged conventionally or unusually. I criticise here whilst treading carefully; it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to equip each reader

with the same understanding of each language analysis. Although any steps that can facilitate this are surely an achievement, without native language knowledge a reader will never fully understand subtle semantic or syntactical variations.

It is worth noting, particularly if the reader intends to consult just one or two chapters, that whilst some function well as independent arguments, others are more general and instead offer a series of interesting observations. These still contribute usefully to the volume overall, and indeed to the field, but might be less effective in isolation. This is a good reason to read the whole volume, as is the fact that readers are likely to come across some previously unexplored angles.

The volume invites interaction within the (few) areas that it doesn't discuss. Indeed, whilst it is timely, polished, and balanced, the volume itself acknowledges that it is the start of a conversation. Some chapters themselves, perhaps particularly those which focus on new areas of Virgilian translation study, admit that they raise more questions than they answer. This volume contributes to general discussions on reception and translation studies, but, beyond that, carves out an independent area of study and offers the limelight to discussion of Virgilian translation.

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Call for Translations

The Journal of Languages, Texts, and Society invite submissions of translations into English of open-access, peer-reviewed journal articles or conference proceedings. This is an ideal opportunity for postgraduate students to develop practical translation skills and publish a translation in a peer-reviewed journal.

Translation Guidelines

The translated text should relate to the topics that the journal focuses on, which can be found on our [webpage](#). Articles for translation can come from any journal, provided that it is open access, the original article was peer reviewed, and it relates to the themes of the LTS Journal.

Finding Articles and Languages Supported

You can use The Directory of Open Access Journals (<https://doaj.org/>) and Scopus (www.scopus.com) to search for open access articles and filter searches by subject area and/or language. Currently, to ensure that we can review the quality of the translations submitted, we accept translations from the languages listed below. **Please note** that these are only examples and are not the only places from which we accept translations.

- **French**
 - Cairn
 - Persée
- **German**
 - Zeitschrift für interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht
 - Skriptum
- **Spanish**
 - Revista Tradumàtica
 - Tonos Digital
- **Portuguese**
 - Cadernos de Literatura Comparada
 - Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades
 - Cadernos de Estudos Africanos

- **Russian**
 - Plural
 - International Journal of Russian Studies
 - Cuadernos de Rusística Española
 - Science Journal of Volgograd State University, Linguistics
- **Chinese**
 - 爱学术 (Ai xue shu) <http://www.ixueshu.com>
 - 道客巴巴 (Doc88) <http://www.doc88.com/>
 - 百度文库 (BaiduWenku) <https://wenku.baidu.com/>
 - 豆丁网 (Dou ding wang) <http://www.docin.com/>
 - 维普网 (Wei pu wang) <http://www.cqvip.com/>
 - China Academic Journal Full-Text Database <http://www.cnki.net/>

I've found an article I'd like to translate... what next?

1. Check that the article is suitable – make sure the topic is relevant, that it has been peer-reviewed, and that it has not already been translated into English. Contact LTS (pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk) to let us know you are starting this project.
2. Check that you are able to translate the article – contact the authors of the article, or the editors of the journal in which the original article was published, to obtain their permission.
3. Translate the article.
4. Submit your translation to the journal (pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk).
5. Following your submission, a reviewer will check the translation and you will receive feedback. You will then have the time to make any required changes. Once done, you can resubmit the revised translation ready for publication.

Please note, all deadlines for translations are the same as for articles and book reviews. Please see the general Call for Papers for these dates.

If you would like to translate something other than an academic article (e.g., a poem, short story, etc.), please contact the editors for guidance at the above-mentioned email address.

Call for Book Reviews

We are now inviting contributions to the Book Review section for Issue 4 of the LTS Journal, to be published in Spring 2020.

Submissions are invited from postgraduates (Master's and PhD students) working in any field that engages with languages, texts, and society. Reviews on any book dealing with the subject matter are welcome. The book can be academic or fictional (prose, poetry, and drama accepted) and should have been published within the past 3 years. Book reviews should be no more than 1,200 words.

Please contact the editors of the journal (pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk) to discuss potential books for review. As examples, the list below details recently published books that are relevant to the interests of LTS Journal.

Books for Review

4E Cognition and Eighteenth-Century Fiction: How the Novel Found its Feet. Karin Kukkonen. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780190913045, 264 pp.

Banned Emotions: How Metaphors Can Shape What People Feel. Laura Otis. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780190698904, 208 pp.

Complicit Sisters: Gender and Women's Issues across North-South Divides. Sara de Jong. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780190055882, 240 pp.

Conflict, Cooperation, and the Rhetoric of Coalition Government. Judi Atkins. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. ISBN 978-1-137-31796-4, 184 pp.

How Words Make Things Happen. David Bromwich. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780199672790, 144 pp.

Just Words: On Speech and Hidden Harm. Mary Kate McGowan. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780198829706, 224 pp.

Languages After Brexit: How the UK Speaks to the World. Michael Kelly, editor. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. ISBN: 978-3319651682, 271 pp.

Literature: Why It Matters. Robert Eaglestone. Polity, 2019. ISBN: 978-1-5095-32322, 160 pp.

- Looking Like a Language, Sounding Like a Race: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and the Learning of Latinidad.* Jonathan Rosa. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780190634735, 296 pp.
- The Making of Black Lives Matter: A Brief History of an Idea.* Christopher, J. LeBron. Oxford University Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-0190601348, 187 pp.
- A Multilingual Nation: Translation and Language Dynamic in India.* Rita Kothari. Oxford University Press, 2018. ISBN: 9780199478774, 352 pp.
- The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain.* Christopher Gerrard and Alejandra Gutierrez. Oxford University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-0198744719, 1104 pp.
- Representation and Reality in Wittgenstein's Tractatus.* José L. Zalabardo. Oxford University Press, 2019. ISBN: 978-0198822745, 272 pp.
- Taking Offense on Social Media: Conviviality and Communication on Facebook.* Caroline Tagg, Philip Seargeant, and Amy Aisha Brown. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. ISBN: 978-3-319-56717-4, 139 pp.
- US Narratives of Nuclear Terrorism Since 9/11.* David Seed. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. ISBN: 978-1-137-54328-8, 347 pp.
- What Makes Civilization? The Ancient Near East and the Future of the West.* David Wengrow. Oxford University Press, 2018. ISBN: 9780199699421, 240 pp.



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