The Traditions

of Mediterranean Humanism

and the Challenges of Our Times:

the Frontiers of HUMANITY

International Interdisciplinary
Doctoral Programme

2010–2015

INNOVATIVE ECONOMY
NATIONAL COHESION STRATEGY

FNP
Foundation for Polish Science

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

EUROPEAN UNION
EUROPEAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

Faculty of “Artes Liberales”
University of Warsaw

The Traditions of Mediterranean Humanism and the Challenges of Our Times: the Frontiers of Humanity

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Warsaw
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This work was prepared within the project „The Traditions of Mediterranean Humanism and the Challenges of Our Times: the Frontiers of Humanity" supported by the Foundation for Polish Science – International PhD Programme, co-financed by the European Union within the European Regional Development Fund.

Translation into English and proofreading
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Cover design
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Typesetting
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All photos printed on the back cover and inside kindly provided by the Participants or downloaded from the official website of the Programme (www.mpd.al.uw.edu.pl).

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Nowy Świat 69
00-046 Warszawa
www.al.uw.edu.pl

Printed and bound by
Zakład Graficzny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
00-927 Warszawa
No. 906/2015

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Introductory note

"The Traditions of Mediterranean Humanism and the Challenges of Our Times: the Frontiers of Humanity" is an international interdisciplinary doctoral programme within the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" at the University of Warsaw, generously supported by the Foundation for Polish Science.

The Programme began in the Spring of 2010 with the selection of thirteen Ph.D. students from among over 160 applicants who responded to a global call for applications. For eight semesters the students took part in a series of biweekly Programme Seminars together with thirteen professors and two post-doctoral fellows. This systematic and well-integrated teamwork brought together young researchers and senior scholars from a wide array of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences: anthropology, art history, Classics and Neo-Latin studies, gender studies, philosophy, comparative literature, linguistics, history, Balkan studies, Hellenic studies, Polish, Italian, Spanish and French.

The Programme Seminars took place at the University of Warsaw and were attended by the entire faculty and all the students on the Programme, either in person or through video conferencing. This technical arrangement allowed for full participation throughout the entire eight-semester period, despite the impressive mobility of the students, who were frequently away on research trips or presenting at prestigious international conferences (indeed, as of November 2014 they had presented papers at 48 conferences abroad and at 43 conferences in Poland). In addition, each of the students spent between 6 and 18 months in fellowships at different universities and research centers in Europe, Russia and the USA, where they had the opportunity to contribute significantly to the life and work of these institutions and collaborate with eminent scholars in their respective fields of specialization.

The doctoral studies in the Programme were based on intense collaboration between all participants, faculty and students alike. Research was conducted individually as well as in small teams. Each student's paper and presentation were evaluated by all the professors, as well as by other students, through various methods of peer evaluation, allowing all the students to receive ongoing, constructive feedback on their research. The graduate studies in this unique interdisciplinary Programme followed specific guidelines which were established at the outset and rigorously enforced throughout.

The bulk of the team work was organized around biweekly programme seminars which were conducted either in one plenary or two parallel sessions. The following are the topics of the seminars for each of the semesters of the Programme:

Fall 2010 and Spring 2011:	"My Search for the Frontiers of Humanity"
Fall 2011:	"The Costs and Benefits of Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries"
Spring 2012:	"Dissertation Projects"
Fall 2012:	"Where Do We Go from Here?"
Spring 2013:	"The Challenge of Interdisciplinarity"
Fall 2013:	"Pre-Defenses"

In the Spring of 2014, in place of the seminars, the Programme offered the students three specialized workshops aimed at preparing them to apply for academic positions and research grants: "How to apply for an academic job and go through the selection process," "How to write a grant application" and "How to build an interdisciplinary research team."

Throughout the duration of the Programme, each student was assisted by an individual Academic Advisor with whom he or she met individually at least 3 times per academic year and whom the student was free to choose from among the faculty of the Programme (although importantly the Ph.D. advisor could not also serve as the academic advisor of his or her advisee).

At the end of each semester the work of each student was graded independently on a scale from 1 to 6 by the student's Ph.D. advisor, his or her academic advisor and the programme coordinator. The average grade was communicated to the student along with constructive suggestions on how to improve. At the end of each academic year each student was also asked to write a thorough anonymous evaluation of the Programme. This feedback was used to improve the Programme in the following academic year.

Alongside individual research, the Fellowships abroad and the work in teams during the Programme Seminars, the students were offered two further opportunities for personal and academic enrichment.

Firstly, they could compete for the opportunity to conduct an undergraduate class at the University of Warsaw on a topic of their choosing. Such teaching experience was coupled with a programme of rigorous pedagogical training provided by a team of three senior professors and two experienced teaching assistants.

Secondly, students could also take part in the Competition for the Best Outreach Project. The aim of this was to make their personal research useful for a wider audience outside of academia. The competing projects were evaluated by a team of experts and business leaders from Poland and the USA.

The doctoral dissertations are of course the main outcome of the Programme. As of June 2015, the Ph.D. students have also published over 50 articles and conference papers as a direct result of their research in the Programme. Ten students have already successfully defended their dissertations and received diplomas (four of them *summa cum laude*). The remaining three defenses are scheduled in the months to come. Overall, they have proven to be not only very talented young scholars, but also excellent team players and very reliable colleagues.

Jerzy Axer
Coordinator of the Programme

Participants

Ines Ackermann

Photo. Friederike Fichtelmann

Born in 1982 in Munich, Germany. Graduated with honors from Humboldt University in Berlin (2009) in Polish Philology, Eastern European Cultures and German as a Foreign Language (with semesters spent abroad in Poland and Russia). Her main fields of academic interest are sociolinguistics and the development of the identities and cultures of Central and Eastern Europe. She has taught seminars on the "Anthropology of Postsocialism" (Winter 2012/13) and "Passivity and Opposition against Cultural Globalization: Poland and Germany" (2014/15). She cooperates with the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" at the University of Warsaw in the establishing of a Polish-German working group and also works occasionally as a freelance Polish-German interpreter and educator. She is employed as a coordinator of volunteers from all over the world at Neuendettelsau, Germany.

PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Borders of Language: Different self-descriptions of a 'Pole' in Belarus and Lithuania

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 7th of May, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Borders of Language: Different self-descriptions of a 'Pole' in Belarus and Lithuania*

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

It has been 70 years since World War II and in Lithuania and Belarus there are still people living who describe themselves as Poles and speak Polish, in spite of the fact that the territories on which they live no longer belong to Poland. The period during which these territories were part of Poland and were divided from the Lithuanian Republic and Belarus (Byelorussian SSR) was relatively short as it only included the interwar period. However, one cannot underestimate the scope of the changes that took place after World War I when, after 123 years without sovereignty, an independent Polish state was created.[1] The oldest people of Polish origin who are still alive were brought up in these territories exactly at that time. They attended Polish schools, they lived under Polish administration and they often spoke Polish at home. They have passed on their values and views to their children and grandchildren, and in this way the influence of the interwar period can be noticed even today.

In the thesis I present members of six families who live in different localities in Lithuania and Belarus and describe themselves as Poles. They are representatives of four generations. The oldest of my interviewees was born in 1922 and the youngest one, her great-granddaughter, was born in 1995. In the interviews with them not only were different living conditions described depending on the place of residence, but also depending on the time in which the interviewees lived.

I carried out my research in the eastern part of Lithuania (Vilnius County, Lithuanian: *Vilniaus apskritis*) and in western Belarus (Grodno Region, Belarusian: Гродзенская вобласць, as well as the western part of the Vitebsk Region). These are the territories that in the interwar period belonged to the Polish Republic. As a result of historical processes, the people who had lived there suddenly became a minority without changing their place of residence.

The analysis is based on case studies which consist of the interviews that I carried out during my fieldwork in 2011–2013 with the members of Polish communities in Belarus and Lithuania, each time with the representatives of different generations within one family (see the Methodology section).

The biographies and idiolects that I describe, on one hand, serve as proof of the local character and local identities (language identities, among others) undergoing change. On the other hand, they allow one to assume a specific perspective when looking at the sociocultural transformations in Europe today. Thus, my research reveals the processes that can be significant both in discussions taking place in different parts of Europe (especially in the context of educational policy and language policy), as well as in the context of intercultural education and the model of bilingual and multilingual education.

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* The original title of the Ph.D. dissertation: *Granice języka. Samookreślenie społeczności polskich na Białorusi i Litwie.*

[1] Also Lithuania became a sovereign state then, but without the territories that are discussed in this thesis.

The research problem, the aim of the thesis and the historical outline of the territories studied is presented in Chapter 1 of the thesis. In Chapter 2, which is devoted to the methodology, one can find information about the selection of material for the thesis and about the method of analyzing the interviews. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical foundations, describing the term *subjective vitality* and the models of factors that have effected the interviewees' ability to preserve the language and national identity. In this chapter I also consider the language and multilingualism on the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian borderlands as significant factors affecting the self-identification of my interviewees. The bulk of the thesis, namely Chapters 4–7, is devoted to an analysis of the interviews. Chapter 4 presents the idiolects of the interviewees from Belarus, while Chapter 5 covers the idiolects of the interviewees from Lithuania. In Chapter 6 I analyze the content of the interviews, especially the answers of my interlocutors to the question of in what situations in their everyday life they speak the particular languages. Chapter 7 covers identity issues, especially the statements of the interviewees about what in their opinion characterizes a Polish man or a Polish woman, and what their mother tongue and their native land is. At the end of each of the analytical chapters there is a summary of the key results. A general summary of the results can also be found in Chapter 8. The appendix to the thesis contains a systematic review of some information mentioned earlier in the thesis, such as a description of interviewees and an index of forms, constructions and words different from standard Polish ones that had been present in the interviewees' speech and were discussed in the text.

Aim of the thesis

The starting point for the analysis has been sociolinguistics in its form known from the work of William Labov (2006). In the thesis the mutual influences of language factors, social factors and individual factors were analyzed. The age, place of residence and social affiliation of the interviewees are important elements here. One of the aims of applying the method that has been chosen for this thesis is to cross the boundaries of disciplines. According to this approach, language is analyzed not as an isolated phenomenon but it is considered in relation to the speaker's biography, identification and cultural affiliation. For the qualitative analysis of the interviews I have used the MAXQDA11 computer program. Similar programs are used by researchers especially in the social sciences. This work is an attempt to use a program for sociolinguistic analysis and for combined analysis of the language and the content of the interviews.

The aim of the thesis is to establish what languages and idiolects are used by the interviewees, in what places, and in what situations, what causes language difficulties for them and what elements diverging from the rules of the standard Polish can be found in their idiolects. Also external factors affecting the choice of the language for everyday communication (especially in multi-ethnic families) were the subject of the interviews. The interviewees' language self-evaluation is also significant in relation to their language awareness and their attitude towards a particular language.

All conversations which served as the main source for the thesis were held in Polish. Some interviewees however found it difficult to speak Polish, and others spoke fluently, although they evaluated their own knowledge of the language as very low. Thus the sentence "I speak Polish" can have different meanings: it can refer to the actual level of the language, but it can also show one's attitude towards the Polish language.

An important element of this work is comparing the language of the representatives of different generations and determining to what extent they affect each other. Until now no intergenerational

studies have been conducted. Instead, people from one generation, usually the oldest, were taken into consideration. These people had learned to speak Polish in completely different conditions than the younger generations, which grew up in the Soviet era or in the independent states that had emerged after the fall of Communism.

Also the sentence "I am a Pole" can have many shades, just like the statement "I speak Polish." Thus, the second issue taken into consideration in this work is the question of the way the interviewees describe themselves and to what extent, in their opinion, the language is a determinant of cultural or national identity. Is it important to them to speak Polish correctly if they are Poles? I must add that I focus not on general conclusions concerning nationality issues, but on the voices of the interviewees and their own – not always scientific – way of self-identification.

Methodology

The thesis is based on analyzing case studies of 22 people living in Lithuania and Belarus, who belong to six different families. The total duration of the interviews which constitute the main corpus of the thesis is 12 hours. 11 interviews were carried out in Belarus and the other 11 were done in Lithuania. All the interviews in the main corpus were held in Polish. The question of whether the interviewees speak Polish also in their everyday life was subject to the analysis. These were not standardized interviews with narrative elements. Longer conversations allow identifying the individual train of thought and the interviewees' way of perceiving their environment, as well as the specific regional and local conditions in which they live.

There were three elements that constituted the content-related criteria of ascribing a particular interview to the main corpus: a spontaneous declaration by the interviewee that he is Polish (further analysis of conversations was supposed to then show what exactly this means), the fact that the interviewee comes from the Lithuanian–Belarusian border territories that belonged to Poland during the interwar period, and the fact that the interlocutor forms with the other interlocutors a group consisting of a minimum three people from the same family. The usual group of interlocutors consists of representatives of three generations within one family. This configuration enables analyzing the influence of the family on the interlocutor and noting how different the subjective points of view of members of one family can be.

The interviews which constitute the main corpus were taken in larger and smaller localities along the Belarusian–Lithuanian border. These were the following:

- the city of Grodno (Belarusian: Гродна), Belarus (families B1 and B2),
- the town of P.,[2] located along the border with Lithuania in the Pastavy Raion (Belarusian: Пастаўскі раён), Belarus (family B3),
- the city of Vilnius, Lithuania (family L1),
- the town of Adutiškis (located 12 kilometers northeast of the town of P. in Belarus), Vilnius County, Lithuania (family L2),
- the town of Adomaičiai, Lithuania (family L3).

The interviewees live either close to each other or far away, which enables comparing very different contexts. Presenting each time several people from one family allowed analyzing how interlocutors

[2] I do not write the full name of the town of P. in order to keep the interviewees anonymous.

who live in a constant and intimate relation with each other can influence each other. Therefore, instead of representability and a general presentation of the Lithuanian–Belorussian borderlands, the aim of the research is to show in greater detail the situation of selected families and individual fates of interlocutors.

The collected and transcribed material was analyzed using text encoding by means of the MAXQDA11 computer program. Text encoding facilitates text description, but it is also the first step to interpreting the material.

The methodological approach was inspired by the Grounded Theory method which, contrary to what its name might suggest, is not a theory but a method that supports creating a theory. It became known in the middle of the 1960s and is one of most commonly applied methods in qualitative social research. When writing the thesis I took my ideas from the different stages of development of that method, but I decided not to refer only to one particular school. Still, the approaches closest to mine are the most recent publications in this area, especially the work by Charmaz (2009). The method can be described as a specific style of conducting research which begins already at the stage of gathering material. According to this method, the process of data analysis begins immediately after holding the first interviews and not only after gathering all the material. Based on this, the researcher forms first questions concerning the collected material and formulates the hypotheses. Next, the decision is made where and when the next interviews will be held. New material is collected in order to constantly compare it with what has already been collected, and to find new features and dimensions of the theory that has been created during the research done so far (cf. Strübing 2008: 7, 31). Therefore, the method describes and systematizes the procedure of many researchers who work intuitively in this manner.

Apart from the main corpus I have developed an additional corpus, which includes interviews with about 140 other people (around 64 hours of recordings). This is also material recorded by me, which provides the context for case studies in the main corpus. The additional corpus also allows checking how individual the analyzed statements and the language of the interviewees are, or how comparable they are to what the other people who live in similar conditions say.

I analyzed the language of the transcribed interviews and their content. I present language elements which differ from the standard Polish language and I focus on the elements of morphology, syntax, code-switching and lexicon, but I do not take phonetics into account. I have described specific language elements that occurred either several times in one interviewee or also in other interviewees, and thus I presented the language features that are most typical for the interviewees, but I ignored slips of the tongue. The language of the interviewees contains many more peculiarities that are worth describing, but these exceed the scope of the present study.

The analysis of the content of the interviews with different persons from one family and locality allows comparing what is particularly important to individual interlocutors. One can see in what way each of them makes their decisions, what values they follow and what they consider prestigious.

In the analysis of the interviews I point out the influence of local conditions and of the family on the language and the behavior of the interviewees. For example, it is already difficult to find young Poles whose Polish language learned at their family homes has not been altered due to long stays in Poland (in older interviewees this additional factor is usually not present). But exactly these influences, e.g.whether Standard Polish represents the norm for the interviewed persons or not, show in which direction their Polish language will be developing in the future.

Results

Because I was able to compare the interviews with several people from different generations within each family, I could see what great influence the families have on the decisions and behaviors of the majority of the interviewed persons, and also how different the conditions were in which those interviewed persons born in a different time grew up and live now. The differences between the oldest generation and the younger interviewees turned out to be much more significant (both when it comes to their knowledge of Polish as well as their self-identifications, and attitudes toward different issues) than all the other differences between the interviewed persons (such as their place of residence and external influences). The oldest ones without hesitation consider Polish to be their mother tongue, which they speak differently depending on their education, most frequently in its regional variety. They grew up in the territory where they continue to live today, and when they think about Poland they think mainly about their territories during the interwar period. For their children and grandchildren the situation has become more complicated. In their case the attitude towards the language is more varied, and also the way they speak Polish is different. I met people who spoke a language that was close to the standard Polish language, while others spoke regional Polish, and others spoke Polish that they had learned as a foreign language. Also the self-identifications have been more varied among the younger interviewees. The analysis allowed me to see the representatives of different generations from a new perspective.

The older interviewees had no limits in describing themselves as Poles. Many of them connected that term with attachment to their homeland. Some younger interviewees were much more pragmatic when defining their nationality. They claimed that it is practical to be Polish or they admitted that they declare their nationality differently depending on the situation. In their opinion it is sometimes better to present yourself not as a Pole but as a Lithuanian or a Belarusian. I also noted how they clearly stressed their distinctiveness from Poles living in Poland. Many interviewees had chosen to describe themselves as "Poles from Belarus" or "Poles from Lithuania." There were also cases when some interviewees described their nationality not according to their own conviction but based on their documents or their citizenship,[3] while others completely rejected a classification based on nationality. Some interviewees from the additional corpus at some point in their lives had decided that they wanted to be Lithuanians, Belarusians or Russians, in spite of the fact that they had been brought up in their families as Poles.

As far as the importance of speaking Polish to being a Pole is concerned, there was a difference in opinion among the various interviewees. Some of them pointed out how different the possibilities of learning Polish were (both in Lithuania and Belarus). In their opinion, it would be unfair to apply the criterion of language fluency as a factor in deciding whether someone is Polish. For others, speaking Polish was an inherent trait of a Pole.

The analysis that was conducted revealed that in the case of all interviewees, the influence of their families on their national self-identification had been stronger then the external conditions such as, for example, opportunities to learn in Polish or access to Polish media. This is a common feature of all my interviewees, which nevertheless is not necessarily characteristic for all Poles in Lithuania and Belarus.

[3] It must be added that in 2011, 99.1% of inhabitants in Lithuania had Lithuanian citizenship, thus including the majority of people with Polish nationality (cf. Statistikos Departamentas 2012: 70).

In Lithuania, the Polish language in the majority of interviewed families is used by all generations in their everyday life and family life (main corpus and additional corpus). One family switched from Polish to Lithuanian when their first child started attending a Lithuanian school. Some of the interviewees spoke one language with their mother and another with their father. The interviews with families in Belarus have revealed a very clear generational difference in using Polish: only the oldest interviewees speak Polish at home, while their children and grandchildren use it only when speaking to them. I also often heard that Polish is spoken in the family only on special occasions (or very rarely).

The majority of language features not characteristic for Standard Polish that are present in the idiolects of my interviewees are the typical features of Polish language spoken in these territories. As one finds from an analysis of the idiolects, some interviewees did not manifest these features at all, while others demonstrated them frequently. This can be explained by an insufficient amount of analyzed language material (and thus it can be assumed that these features would have occurred during a longer conversation) or by the unusual (formal) situation which an interview is. Nevertheless, looking at the language of the interviewees in the context of their biographies, I came to the conclusion that the conditions of the interview had only a marginal effect on their Polish language during the conversation. The interviews show rather how individual the idiolect of each interviewee is. Especially in elderly people I noted numerous regional language features. The older interviewees from both countries were aware that they did not speak the standard language, but they also were not ashamed of their (regional or dialectal) language variety. They spoke the way they had spoken since their childhood.

It would be impossible to mention here all the language features described in the thesis. I will give only a very characteristic one as an example, namely the very developed function of the past participle in *-wszy* (e.g. [*on*] *w nocy przyjechawszy*, English '[he] having arrived at night'). This form is recognized as typical of the Polish language spoken in Lithuania and Belarus. As mentioned by J. Rieger, A. Stelmaczonek and B. Jasinowicz (2002), many interviewees try to avoid this form when being recorded, but researchers have heard it when the recording device was switched off (which in turn proves the language awareness of the interviewees). Among my interviewees, this linguistic feature was heard mainly from elderly people and in some cases it occurred regularly. Two out of six representatives of the oldest generation did not manifest that feature, however, despite the fact that the interviews with them were long and their Polish contained a number of other regional features. Therefore, I must exclude careful avoiding of this form during my interviews. In the case of younger interviewees, I did not note the usage of the participle ending with *-wszy* either in the recordings or when the recording device was switched off. There was one exception, however, as the form did occur in the speech of one interviewee. The majority of the youngest interviewees spoke carefully when being recorded, and also other regional features occurred rarely in the interviews with them. Do they speak Polish in the same way when they are not being recorded? The Polish language of the younger interviewees from Belarus sounds more like a language that has been learned as a foreign language, because they do not use it where they live in natural situations but only at language courses or when they are visited by guests from Poland. Therefore, it is possible that they always speak carefully. The younger interviewees from Belarus were often ashamed of the way they spoke Polish. They did not notice the difference between regional Polish on one hand, and on the other hand, according to their words, the incorrect language that has been influenced by the interference with Belarusian and Russian. The situation is different in the case of the interviewees from Lithuania. Although the majority of them have learned standard Polish at school, in most cases in their private life they speak regional Polish.

The attitude of the younger interviewees from Lithuania towards Polish was different from the attitude of the young interviewees in Belarus. The young Poles in Lithuania were aware of the difference between their Polish and the standard language, but for the majority of them the standard language sounded partly artificial to them. They highlighted that they would be able, for example, to pronounce the letter *ł* as the semivowel [w] as in Standard Polish, but they preferred rather the local pronunciation of *ł* (the so-called borderland *ł*). All interviewees in Lithuania expressed their pride in the fact that they were trilingual (Polish, Lithuanian and Russian).

The Polish language of all my younger interviewees from both countries had undergone changes compared to the language of their grandparents and the regional language features occur in their speech more and more rarely.

Between Lithuania and Belarus, between cities and villages, and between places located far from the Polish border and the ones close to the border, there is a significant difference in the range of possibilities to learn and use Polish. There are differences in the objective vitality of the Polish language in those places.

The unfavorable external conditions resulting from being located far from the Polish border as well as from larger cities was an important topic of the conversations. The differences between the Polish language spoken by the interviewees from Lithuania and Belarus actually turned out to be smaller than I had assumed before. It must be noted that it is much more difficult to find families where all generations can speak Polish in Belarus than in Lithuania. Apart from that, even when the interviewers from Belarus speak Polish, not all of them use it every day. The situation is different in Lithuania, where the majority of interviewees really do speak Polish.

During the interviews the interviewees talked about the effects of external influences on their use of Polish. The role of the language used at church and the influence of the Catholic Church in general was particularly highlighted by the interviewees from Belarus. Churches are for them places where they can use Polish, and for many of them they are the only such places. Not all of them had access to church services in Polish, however. The Catholic Church in Belarus is important not only for preserving the Polish language, but also in some cases it is also important for the self-identification of the interviewees. Some of the older interviewees when asked about their nationality answered that they were Catholic. The majority of the people to whom I spoke noted that in the past Catholicism was associated with Poles, while Orthodoxy was associated either with Belarusians or Russians. This division is no longer in place, but it remains commonly recognized (cf. also Golachowska 2012).

Education in Polish and the importance of Polish schools were often mentioned in the interviews in Lithuania, where the majority of the interviewees representing different generations and places of residence had had opportunities for Polish-language schooling. Also in Belarus education in Polish was an important topic, since there are very few schools in Belarus where pupils are taught in Polish. Thanks to language courses offered, for example, by Macierz Szkolna, as well as the opportunities created by Poland (e.g. scholarships), young people in some Belarusian cities can, despite the lack of Polish schools, learn Standard Polish, although this is not the case for every city. Even if they had such opportunities in the past, not all interviewees attended Polish schools. For some of them another school was closer or it had a better range of additional classes. Others were children of mixed marriages, so they had to decide if they would study in the language of their mother or of their father. No one from among my interviewees had attended the school using the official language (i.e. Lithuanian or Belarusian) because their parents expected that this school would provide them with better professional

opportunities, though for this reason some of them had been sent to Lithuanian kindergartens or to a music school where classes were taught in Lithuanian. Only two of my interviewees had had the opportunity of receiving higher education in Polish and this had happened in Soviet Lithuania.

The interviewees from Lithuania and Belarus also had the same opinions regarding Polish media. The older interviewees listen to the Polish Radio Maryja and they watch the mass on Polish TV channels, especially when they cannot go to church on their own any more. Closer to the border, young people listen to Polish radio stations; the regional Radio Znad Wilii is very popular in Vilnius and environs. Many interviewees said that they had learned or improved their Russian language (more rarely than Polish) from TV and movies. The residents of the northern part of Lithuania and Belarus regretted that they live too far from the Polish border and because of that they do not have any other possibilities of accessing Polish media than the internet and individual newspapers.

Neither in Lithuania nor in Belarus did the interviewees say that the existence of the Union of Poles influenced their knowledge of Polish language. Two interviewees in Belarus had been involved in the activity of the Union of Poles in Belarus, but they gave it up when the Soviet Union collapsed.

Also the Karta Polaka (Pole's Card) did not prove to interest the interviewers from the main corpus. Some of them had the card, but they had not prepared in particular for the exam in order to obtain it and they did not feel any large benefits from having it. It rather had a symbolic meaning for them. This was different in the case of the interviewees from the additional corpus who live in Belarus. Some of them had particularly studied basic Polish to obtain the card.

The language of communication with the neighbors for the youngest interviewees in Belarus was Russian or Belarusian and the older ones partially spoke to each other also in Polish. In Lithuania the situation was more varied: some interviewees spoke Polish to their neighbor, while others spoke Russian or Lithuanian. They often used different languages depending on their interlocutor. Several younger interviewees in Lithuania said that they had learned Russian from other children in the street. In this case the neighborhood had exerted a significant influence on one's knowledge of the language.

All interviewees from the main corpus thought that a knowledge of Polish was useful; even if they felt it was used rarely in their localities, it nevertheless can be used when traveling. Also at work knowing many languages proved to be useful for the interviewees. However, among the interviewees from the additional corpus there were also people who, while living in the same localities as the interviewees from the main corpus, claimed that learning Polish was not worthwhile. In their opinion, Poland is not an important job market and one could make better money knowing Russian.

The Polish language is in a much better situation in Lithuania than in Belarus. It is used by the majority of the interviewees at home and in many places it is the language of communication with neighbors. Therefore, its status and form do not depend on a single factor only. Nevertheless, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of Polish schools today and in the past. The interviewees living in Belarus were aware that they came from Polish families and they tried to preserve the language as best they could. They attended language courses and traveled to Poland. It is supposedly enough to not lose touch with the standard language completely. However, the interviews taken for the purposes of this work make one doubt if in Belarus also regional Polish could be preserved in the future.

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Negotiating the Minor and Canonical: Gilles Deleuze and Harold Bloom on Literary Creation

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TARGET DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: November 2016; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Negotiating the Minor and Canonical: Gilles Deleuze and Harold Bloom on Literary Creation

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The pre-disciplinary problem of the thesis described here is caused by the notion of artistic and literary creation. In this dissertation, I examine the question "how is it possible for something new to emerge in language and literary tradition?," investigating the conditions under which originality in literature is possible. My aim is to negotiate two theories that link literary creation to the creative force of life, namely that of Gilles Deleuze and that of Harold Bloom. While these two theorists seemingly form a rather unlikely duo – either because of their dissimilar philosophical lineages or divergent ontological views – they agree on two crucial points: firstly, on the intimate connection between literary creation and life, and secondly, on the diagnosis of reality being under a constant threat of the return of the mythic. What appears even more interesting is that Bloom and Deleuze share common inspirations, creatively misreading the same philosophical works of such authors as Michel Foucault, Sigmund Freud, or Franz Kafka.

The core of my thesis comprises the negotiation of the theory of canonical, strong writing elaborated by Harold Bloom and the concept of minor literature of Gilles Deleuze. The notions of the minor and the canonical represent two divergent conceptions of literature, and thus two radically different views on subject and life. What constitutes minor literature is the attempt to articulate the experience of the foreignness of language. Minor writers try to challenge language and the tradition of great national literatures from within. They are strangers within their own language and they emphasize this inadequacy by invading it with phrases and metaphors from outside of the great literature's tradition. New content requires a new form as the matter of minor literature dismantles the old, inadequate form of expression. Its political character lies in the disturbance of language, the intentionally improper use of language. Strong canonical writing results from the belatedness of those "who came too late." It is synonymous to the realized anxiety of influence, the struggle for the originality of enunciation and a challenge to the order of time. According to Bloom, writing is always based on the agonistic relation with the past, the attempt to disturb chronology. The literary tradition is formed into the concept of the literary canon understood as the Art of Memory. It haunts the writing of each successive writer and the only possibility for original literary creation is the misprision of the precursor's text. The canonical pieces are those that become fertile with this kind of strong misinterpretations, deliberate and willful deformations of the text, intentional errors, treasons of meaning. Belonging to the literary canon and refuting all definite readings, canonical works seem uncomfortably familiar and yet uncomfortably strange.

The theoretical framework of my dissertation is intersected by two rules. The horizontal rule consists of the four notions, respectively the political, the mythic, the tragic, and the literary. All notions serve as focal points for negotiating the link between literary creation and life in two variations, namely that of Bloom and that of Deleuze. The political is discussed through the respective stances of Bloom and Deleuze on the thought of Michel Foucault, particularly his idea of all-encompassing politicality.

The mythic along with the tragic is examined through Bloom's and Deleuze's reading of Sigmund Freud. The former is analysed through the revision of *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, which is seen as the modern reinvention of the myth-like reality governed by the sheer necessity of death. The latter is read through the figure of Oedipus. Making an attempt to swerve from the mythic fate, both thinkers confront Oedipus in order to depart from the tragic and, thus, liberate the creative force of life: Bloom goes beyond the tragic into the messianic, while Deleuze regresses into pre-mythic chaos. The last notion, the literary, is discussed through the Deleuzian and Bloomian readings of Kafka, where I negotiate the concept of minor writing and canonical literature. The notions belonging to the vertical rule are life, subject, and literary creation. The focus on these three notions allows me to investigate the vitalism of both conceptions by mapping their differences and similarities with regard to the writing subject and the process of writing. The understanding of the notion of life is radically different depending on the theory, i.e. whether it concerns the vitalism of Deleuze or Bloom. Accordingly, it refers either to "a life" or to "more than life." It is either an impersonal, chaotic, and creative element rich in potentiality or an individual swerve from the repetitive cycle of life and death. The notion of subject is defined through resistance of thought. It is the constant act of resistance that links subject to life. The notion of literary creation refers to the question of whether innovation is possible, or rather the question of rearranging and re-inventing reality. Creation establishes the relationship between man and life. It is understood in terms of negotiation of the impossible – evading repetition, striving for originality – and communicating the incommunicable, putting in question the limitations of the mind.

The main hypothesis of my dissertation is that both Harold Bloom and Gilles Deleuze construct their theory of creation as the form of resistance to the mythic totality. While Gilles Deleuze argues for a return to the pre-mythical and discards the notion of subject that restricts creation and mortifies life. Harold Bloom, on the other hand, opts for the inward turn, which allows going beyond the mythic toward the messianic, linking life to "triumphant solipsism." While the tragic is the point where their respective vitalisms converge, their views on literature – which result in two conceptions of writing, minor and canonical – are split due to their perception of metaphor. In order to examine the aforementioned claim, I divide my dissertation into three chapters. The first two chapters of my thesis serve as a philosophical outline of the conceptions of Gilles Deleuze and Harold Bloom. Presenting the main ideas and key terms of those theories, I widen my interpretation by introducing the philosophical context. The three aforementioned notions that are the focus of my attention – life, subjectivity, and creativity – form three groups of intertwined problems that are approached by Bloom and Deleuze in radically different ways. What I achieve in the first two parts of my thesis is a theoretical basis for the confrontation between the Deleuzian and Bloomian conceptions of literature.

In the first chapter (*Between Destruction and Unlimited Creation: Gilles Deleuze and the Concept of Minor Literature*) I present a rhizomic map of Deleuzian concepts with a special focus on his views on literature and creation. I start my chapter with the outline of Deleuzian ontology, focusing on his vitalism. Three elements are of utmost importance for this endeavour: Deleuze's notion of immanence, his concept of "a life," and his concentration on the genetic movement and hence creation. Further on, I discuss such notions as the actual, virtual, and becoming, which delineate the dynamics of Deleuzian ontology. I then proceed to the Deleuzian sociopolitical critique, strongly emphasizing his attempt to dismantle the subject. I present the notions of machines and especially revolutionary machines, molar and molecular, the notion of the body without organs, and the project of schizoanalysis. The third part of this chapter is devoted to the Deleuzian conception of literature and literary creation. I examine Deleuze's criticism of meaning and his rebellion against the signifier, his conception of

sense, expression, and minor literature, which is crucial for this work. I devote particular attention to analyzing the rhizomic conception of literature, literature as the effect of becoming-other, and the concept of the literary machine, in order to deliberate on the concept of becoming-literature and, finally, on the advantages of the Deleuzian machine working. The first chapter, then, presents the Deleuzian conceptualization of literary creation in close relation to his ontological views. Literature seems of significance for Deleuze's conception of philosophy, as it is particularly literature that puts a philosophical-machine into motion. Literature treated as a philosophical problem or a psychoanalytical diagnosis, forms an excellent example of deterritorialization of the philosophical machine that enables reconfiguring the connections between literature and philosophy. Life is perceived by the author of *Difference and Repetition* as preindividual chaos of simultaneous creation and destruction. Life, or *a life* to be precise, exceeds individuality as such, forming a flux, which operates on the level beyond and beneath what is subjective. The self is dissolved in this vital element, since each form is involved in the movement of becoming, in which what is destructive and what is inventive are joined in the one force of change. For Deleuze, life coincides with its dynamics. It is both complete destruction and unlimited creation; every creative activity is a manifestation of this twofold, creative and destructive, aspect of life.

In the second chapter of my dissertation (*The* Agon *with Death: Harold Bloom and the Notion of Literary Canon*) I focus on the concept of a literary canon and strong writing elaborated by Harold Bloom. My main concern is the ambiguous attitude toward tradition, which defines strong canonical writers. I examine the Bloomian theory of the process of literary creation and its philosophical inspirations, concentrating on his agonistic vitalism. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the complexity and eclecticism of the aforementioned conception of literature with special emphasis on the themes of life, subjectivity, and creation. I present Bloom's critical maps and the conceptual mechanism that governs its formation. Thus, I open Chapter 2 with the Bloom's concept of literature as a way of life and presentation of his vitalism. Literature, for the author of *The Anxiety of Influence*, is an attempt at individuation achieved by the misprision of the past, rebellion against the precursor's authority over one born later. Writing is an individualistic struggle against time and tradition; it is a fight for more time and more life. The desire for canonicity, the challenge to the order of time, is interrelated with an ambivalent attitude toward tradition and it manifests itself in the anxiety of influence. Bloom argues that writing is always based on the agonistic relation between the precursor and the later writer, and it has the power to reverse the relation of influence, thus disturbing chronology. This *agon* between the latter-day writer and the dead precursor occurs through six revisionary ratios, which are closely examined in the second part of the chapter. A struggle for one's own original self, for one's own individuation from the world of mortifying repetition, amounts to an inward turn that becomes an ultimate escape from the dominance of one's dead fathers. The son attempts to beget his own father and thus to become a canonical writer, a source of influence rather than the effect of such. It is the desire of being someone else, of being elsewhere that results in canonical writing. The distinctive trait of this kind of literature is that it lies beyond the reach of any interpretation. Belonging to the literary canon and refuting all definite readings, canonical works seem uncomfortably familiar and yet uncomfortably strange. The second chapter closes with remarks on Bloomian literary criticism as an example of strong misinterpretation and the struggle against tradition.

After drawing the outline of the two investigated theories, I proceed to an attempt to negotiate between the thought of Harold Bloom and Gilles Deleuze. The third chapter (*Of Life, Death and Creation – the Bloomian Messianic Vitalism against the Premythical Vitalism of Deleuze*) is a key part of my

dissertation, a juxtaposition of the theory of Bloom and the philosophy of Deleuze on the ground of four concepts: the political, the mythic, the tragic, and the literary. Hence, the focus of the third chapter is on the examination of what are two vitalisms and, consequently, two divergent conceptions of literary creation.

I start the negotiation between Bloomian and Deleuzian vitalisms from the examination of the political, which both authors refer to. Their views on the philosophy of Michel Foucault serve as a departure point for the analysis of the relation between the mythic and the political. For both thinkers, Foucault is a thinker who claims that power structures encompass all dimensions of human life, including writing. Everything has a collective value and is entangled in a network of complex social relations. Thus, Foucault introduces modes of interpretation that focus on elucidating the interdependency between knowledge and power. For Bloom, the philosophy of Foucault, which politicizes literature, is an attempt on the autonomy of the aesthetic and as such is unacceptable. For Deleuze, on the other hand, minor literature is political by its very definition. And while Bloom strongly disagrees with the claim that every human activity has a political character, criticizing particularly the attempt to link literature to the political, Deleuze seems to surpass Foucault, seeing each organization as politically saturated and literature as an anarchic power of liberation. What seems extremely interesting is that both thinkers criticize existing communities, existing modes of politicality, and they link literature with resistance toward the present. They spurn actual communities in favor of either the community of the past, of the dead fathers in the case of Bloom, or the community that is yet-to-come in the case of Deleuze.

The next concept I reflect on is the mythic represented by Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. I tackle the problem of repetition, the endless reproduction of what is given, which is crucial for Freudian theory as well as for the theories of Bloom and Deleuze. I argue that both Bloom and Deleuze recognize the present as a quasi-mythic reality, which hampers creativity and dominates cognition. The totality of myth is seen as a blocking tendency that results in "death-in-life." The author of *Agon* and the author of *Difference and Repetition* reject the mythical aspect of the present and concentrate on formulating the strategy against its totalizing power. While Bloom proposes overcoming myth with a swerve into the messianic strong self, Deleuze opts for a return to the pre-mythical anarchy. Nonetheless, despite the differences between the solutions that the two produced, their shared aim is to liberate life from the mortifying myth-like present. Seeking what makes it possible to escape the thanatic and uncreative aspect of the mythic totality, both Harold Bloom and Gilles Deleuze point to literary creation and its ability to transgress the sphere of myth and avoid direct repetition. What they intend to achieve is to conceptualize the swerve from the mythic either as retreating to the pre-mythical or transgressing toward the messianic.

After the political and the mythic, the third part aims at analyzing the notion of the tragic, which derives from the Freudian inspiration of both thinkers. While for Deleuze the tragic is understood as the ultimate mode of myth, Bloom sees it as a mediating element between the mythic and messianic. In both cases, the notion of the tragic serves as a turning point, in which myth reaches its culmination and is eventually rebuffed. What is necessary in order to breach repetition and reach the stage of creative resistance is the revision of the Oedipal model. I recapitulate the Bloomian and Deleuzian revisions of the Freudian Oedipus, focusing in both theories on the "father figure." On one hand, this illustrates and explains their attitude toward the Oedipus complex, Oedipality, and the tragic in general. On the other hand, it is a transposition of their respective views on the past and tradition.

Deleuze claims that the return of the father poses a threat to creativity and independent thinking and hence he opts for the decomposition of the paternal function. The author of *Anti-Oedipus* wants to transform patriarchal society in "a society of brothers," and thus to create a new man, deprived of the particularities that isolate him or her from forming new assemblages and establishing new connections. What deeply interests Deleuze is the restoration of equality, which might be the reason why he refutes the notion of "the life" – the individual life – and suggests replacing it with the notion of "a life," which abolishes individuality. "A life" belongs to all people and to no one in particular, fulfilling the paradoxical condition of simultaneous imperceptibility and multiplicity. For Bloom, poetic meaning emerges in the relation between the text of the *ephebe* and the "central poem" of his dead father. The struggle against repetition, the craving for originality and poetic strength manifests itself in the desire to beget a father of one's own, to reverse the father-son relationship. Thus, Oedipus is a key concept for the latter-day writer to construct a strong self. Oedipal anxiety and ambivalence toward the poetic father result in strong poetic creation, based on misprision and usurpation of meaning. Furthermore, Bloom reads Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and the Freudian Oedipus as considering the fundamental question of the nature of man. He emphasizes the significance of the answer to Sphinx's riddle, which enables Oedipus to fulfill the prophecy and wed his mother. Since what is the solution to Sphinx puzzle is "a man," the tragic hero represented by Oedipus becomes for Bloom a paradigm of both a man and a poet.

The fourth part comprises an attempt to negotiate the theory of Bloom and the philosophy of Deleuze on the literary example of Franz Kafka, as Kafka is one of the few writers who show in their writing the qualities of both minor and canonical literature. The investigation of his works enables me to examine the possibility of the shift from the new to well-known, but also from the well-known to the new. My deliberation revolves around the Freudian concept of the uncanny, and is inspired by Bloom's attempt to secure it on the ground of literature and relate it to the very origin of literary creation. Bearing in mind the Freudian remark that the uncanny is something once familiar and now estranged, I examine whether canonical work follows the opposite movement from *das Unheimliche* to *das Heimliche*, or whether it remains in continuous abeyance between the familiar and unfamiliar. The return of the repressed, the reversal of the architectural order of the psyche, in which what is hidden becomes exposed, seems crucial for literature to introduce change into the stiff structures of the world. The conceptions of writing I investigate converge on the notion of the uncanny. While Deleuze examines its disruptive potential, Bloom focuses on the morbid recurrence linked to the concept. Both define the uncanny as a distinctive quality that characterizes minor or canonical literature respectively. Both seem to use the disturbing power of the uncanny to resist the literary tradition and open it up to the possibility of the new. In this framework, literature becomes a revolutionary tool, which does not allow entirely destroying the present order, but which does allow making a subtle alteration.

I conclude my dissertation by reflecting further on the revolutionary element of literature. I concentrate on the relationship between the canonical and the minor, and particularly on the question of whether the canon disciplines the revolutionary or whether minor literature enters the canon and disrupts it from within. Strong, canonical writing is revolutionary, as it is a form of turning from repetition to originality, from continuity to the creative break. The turn plays an immensely significant role here, whether one is dealing with a trope, the strophe of a strong poet, a swerve from the precursor's influence, or a catastrophe of poetic incarnation. Canonical writing, and hence the canon as a whole, is built on the revolt against the completeness of the past, against the primacy and genius of the dead. As a result, it seems unreasonable to assume that the canon disciplines the revolutionary as canon

formation is itself a revolutionary process. Minor writing with its anarchic aspect either collapses into silence, or dismantles itself as a series of asignifying sounds, or – when it disrupts the language by introducing foreign elements into its tissue – easily enters the canon. The revolutionary element, this anarchic impulse to disrupt the tradition, to swerve, is essential for literature, particularly in its relation to life. The change that original writing entails, prevents us from being left with death-in-life, semi-automatic repetition of words and phrases.

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Self-identification of Slavic-speaking Elites from the Territory of Macedonia under Ottoman Rule (19th century)

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TARGET DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: November 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Self-identification of Slavic-speaking Elites from the Territory of Macedonia under Ottoman Rule (19th century)

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

Individual and collective identity, as well as the process of (self-)identification of an individual, including the identification of oneself with the group, is a topic that has probably been taken up by all fields within the humanities as well as social sciences, and it is therefore difficult to add something new to the knowledge of this extremely wide area by exploring an unknown and hitherto unstudied aspect.

My dissertation, entitled *Self-identification of Slavic-speaking Elites from the Territory of Macedonia under Ottoman Rule (19th century)*, can be perceived as a story about the Ottoman Empire seen from an internal perspective. In my work I do not focus primarily on presenting a sequence of historical events, or even on an interpretation in the form of historiography or political concepts. The identity affiliations observed among Slavic-speaking elites show how interpersonal relations formed and changed in this multi-ethnic empire, in the extremely important period in the history of the Balkans that the 19th century- with its political and social changes – was. Here I mean, first of all, the wars between empires, propaganda battles, but also the socioeconomic, cultural, and political changes of the era of Tanzimat. Examining these allowed me to take a closer look at identity not only as such, but also as to how it changed. In my dissertation I focused on the point of view and the narrative of a group that was doubly dominated (Christians subject to a Muslim ruling class, and at the same time Slavs, who were under the jurisdiction of the Greek Church because the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople had the right to represent all Christians before the Ottoman authorities), but was simultaneously also a dominating group (an elite). At the same time, I tried to present the stage of the gradual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire into separate groups and nation-states, and thus find answers to questions about identity not only on the local level (Macedonia, the Balkans, East-Central Europe or the Ottoman Empire), but also on the abstract level of all humanity, questions about the ways in which individuals and groups living in a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional society self-identify.

Identity is a virtual phenomenon and it cannot be empirically measured. However, its various meanings and dimensions, ranging from identical nature through flux to polyvalent identities, can be separated from the sources and objects of culture. My aim was to perform such an extraction. In order to achieve this, I focused on written Slavic sources by authors who originated from the territory of Macedonia and worked in the 19th century. Trying to distinguish the above-mentioned ways of self-identification, I focused on the analysis of sources written by people whom I have distinguished as local elites.

I follow Vilfredo Pareto, within the context of his theory of circulation of elites, in understanding the term "elites" as a group that has the biggest success in its activity. Therefore, this group included both wealthy merchants (Ǵurčin Kokale), as well as representatives of the clergy (Partenija Zografski) self-taught writers (Ǵorǵija Pulevski), and educators and collectors of folklore (brothers Miladinov, Kuzman Šapkarev). I focused on a very dynamic period and on individuals that worked or were born

in the first half of the 19th century in Macedonia, and this selection allowed me to show the course of the process of circulation of elites, and along with them- of ideas. I am talking about the process which Vilfredo Pareto writes about, recalling the tendency of an individual to transfer his or her inclinations, sentiments, and attitudes along with the transgression between separate socioeconomic groups. Due to this approach, I could show how the needs of a doubly dominated people were transferred onto a higher level of social audibility, revealing through the socio-political transformations within the empire.

Unlike the majority of researchers who study identity issues in the Balkans, I did not focus on finding, confirming, and negating the existence of national identity (although I managed to draw some conclusions on this subject during the analysis). I preferred to focus on various, often multi-layered aspects of identity and individual and group affiliations, as well as the changes they underwent, as long as these clearly resulted from the texts. The wide range of sources included textbooks, dictionaries, newspaper articles, autobiographies, letters, and poetry with political aims. The additional explanatory context was provided by an analysis of objects mentioned in the written sources: flags, paintings, clothes, and their symbolic meaning. I treated all sources as identity texts, i.e. as texts of culture, understood as objects, actions, and behaviors that reveal cultural meanings.

For the analytical framework I chose Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus, especially the notions of habitus, fields, fields of power, capital, and symbolic violence. Such analytical language allowed me to describe a multi-level system of (co)dependence between separate socioeconomic groups, as well as the liquidity of transgression between groups in the process of *becoming*. I have enriched the methodology by means of the concept of the linguistic image of the world introduced by Jerzy Bartmiński and the Lublin ethnolinguistic school. This choice resulted from seeing language as a factor, which as such can be regarded as habitus, field, capital, and symbolic violence. Furthermore, besides the categories of prestige, religion, ethnicity, and kinship, language is one of the identity markers which I used in analyzing the texts and then making generalizations.

I understood identity markers as determiners of identity or as discursive points, from the level of which an individual perceives and constructs himself or herself, and then acts and reacts with the outside world. At the same time, these points reflect the strategic position of "I" in the historical, political, social, cultural, class, or gender space. These markers were useful for me in distinguishing the ways in which elites self-identified (as in the title of the thesis). They also facilitated isolating the Self/Other images and comparing them. Since identity as such is an indicator of (the field of) power, through this multi-level analysis and synthesis I tried to reconstruct the network of liquid and interconnected relationships, rooted in the conceptual apparatus of Bourdieu.

The *Introduction* describes the research objectives, the main hypothesis, and the explanation of the theoretical and methodological assumptions, with special regard for explanations concerning conceptual choices, such as the choice of the representatives of the elites, the time range, or the definition of identity markers. The section on methodology also includes an explanation of the conceptual apparatus introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (habitus, field, capital, distinction) with regard to language, as well as of the concept of the linguistic image of the world according to the Lublin ethnolinguistic school in the scope corresponding to the subject of my dissertation.

The first chapter (*Relevant Theoretical Concepts*) focuses on outlining the theories and models concerning identity and the process of identification. For obvious reasons, such as the lack of space

for a full explanation of this exceptionally broad subject, this chapter is not aimed at an exhaustive discussion of the formation of individual and collective identity. It is rather a proposal for a broader approach to the subject and outlines the broad theoretical background embedded in the humanities: psychoanalysis, religion, science, national studies, anthropology, socio- and ethnolinguistics. The context thus presented is meant to constitute a reference frame for further analysis of the ways that the 19th-century elites from the territory of Macedonia self-identified, and to add additional, extra-local value to this work. In the center of my considerations lie theories concerning language, religion, and the opposition *friend/stranger*, *me/the other*, which assumes the construction of the analytical chapters. Here I make use of the conception of narcissism of a small difference, following Freud, and the conception of the shibboleth of language. I also briefly discuss the conceptions of bi-/multilingualism, issues concerning monotheism and its implications for group behaviors, as well as of territory perception (i.e. interpreting reality, ideas, truths, as competitive, and interpreting territory as something sanctified and immanently inscribed in every "God's people"). Finally, I present the ethnolinguistic conceptions of Joshua Fishman, inscribing in them the role of the elites in the formation of collective identity. In the end I discuss the importance of the conception of sacrifice and martyrdom for the formation of collective identity following the pattern *Golden Age – Fall – Rebirth* (after Dušan Kecmanović). All of these conceptions are deemed relevant for further material analysis.

Similarly, the second chapter (*Relevant Factual Background*) presents the historical outline and sets the following considerations in the sociopolitical context of the 19th-century Macedonia. In this chapter I try to define the borders of Macedonia in spatial terms, to outline its socioeconomic, linguistic and educational situation. The Tanzimat is especially important here as a framework for groups and individuals which determined the changes that took place in the 19th century, as well as the new boundaries for the reality and the functioning of the empire. In relation to this I also explain the socioeconomic situation based on religious divisions (the *ḏimmī*/*millet* system). After this I present the background of the functioning of separate groups of the elites within the Ottoman Empire in the period under discussion: phanariotes, hadžis, merchants, čorbadžis, and mukhtars.

At the end of the chapter I present biographies of people whom I have chosen as the representatives of the elites. These are grouped into two sections that correspond to two habituses that I highlighted during the analysis: the habitus of Debar/Reka and the habitus of Ohrid/Veles. This division is also reflected in the third and the fourth chapter, i.e. the analytical chapters.

This division has resulted from an observation that the representatives of the elites originated from one of the thus-defined habituses, each of which was characterized by a slightly different distribution of political, educational and social influences (or *the fields of power*, to use Bourdieu's terminology).

Of course, they were not separable, but this observation allowed me to trace some relationship in the area of identity affiliations and also of the evolution of these affiliations. I provided five representatives for each of the habituses, but the brothers Konstantin and Dimitar Miladinov ascribed to the Ohrid/Veles habitus were treated as an analytical unit.

During the analysis in the third chapter (*Debar/Reka Habitus: Markers of Identity and Fields of Power*) I discovered that the Debar/Reka habitus, which was connected with cultural centers now located in the northwest of the Republic of Macedonia, close to the border with Albania and Kosovo, was primarily under Serbian intellectual influence. At the same time these were the territories inhabited by the ethnic group of Mijaks, a community with a strong sense of independence and distinctness. Its status was confirmed by the decisions of the Ottomans to grant Mijak villages special rights: the

right to distinguish themselves by using their own flag and the right to carry weapons and ride a horse, which non-Muslims in the Empire were usually forbidden to do. Analyzing the affiliation categories such as prestige, system of extended kinship, religiousness and finally the image of *Self vs. The Other*, I showed that for this habitus the main identity categories were loyalty and independence resulting from high economic capital. At the same time, the multi-ethnicity and polyvalence of identity were treated as a value per se, and Muslims were not regarded as the unequivocally negative *Other*. The *Other* was rather characterized through the prism of religion and the most negatively characterized was the image of Judaism. At the same time, the analysis of the sources has revealed that the categories of familiarity, foreignness, proximity, and remoteness were determined first of all by one's lifestyle, therefore a Muslim shepherd was much closer to a Christian shepherd than an urban Greek, a Jew or an Aromanian.

In the fourth chapter (*Ohrid/Veles Habitus: Markers of Identity and Fields of Power*) I perform a similar analysis and show that for Ohrid/Veles (these are cities located in present south and central Macedonia),culturally and socioeconomically dominated by the Greek patriarchate and Greek education, the distinctive identity was Slavic, variously expressed (mainly through religion and language).

The identity of the representatives of the elites originating from this habitus in comparison with the Debar/Reka habitus did not include polyvalence and was rather characterized by a fluidity and mutability: from (phil-)Hellenic to anti-Hellenic and slavophile, expressed through such categories as Bulgariandom (belonging to the then-campaigned for and later existing Bulgarian Exarchate). What is significant here is the affiliation with the Slavia Orthodoxa circle, and with Russia as the defender of the Orthodox Slavs in the Ottoman Empire. Although pan-Slavic themes, together with the leading and active role of Russia in the popularization of this idea, were also present in the representatives of the Debar/Reka habitus, the Ohrid/Veles habitus expressed it far more explicitly. Also, the theme of *Golden Age – Fall – Rebirth* is much stronger here than in the habitus discussed in the third chapter.

In the chapter containing the summary and final conclusions I tried to make generalizations, showing that one can talk about a certain "primordiality" (although it is not chronologically linear but rather coexisting) of the Debar/Reka habitus in relation to the Ohrid/Veles habitus. This primordiality concerns the formation of identity from the local level to the level of extra-local collectivity, and from a pre-ethnic and pre-national level to the (proto)national one. Locality is therefore differently placed on the grid of co-dependent fields of power, which for the purposes of my work I have called the network of religion–(in)dependence–nationality. While the Debar/Reka habitus focuses on locality defined around pastoral values, including economic capital, the Ohrid/Veles habitus focuses on symbolic capital and raises the notion of extended family defined earlier on the community, ethnic, and religion level, to the level of a starting point for a further, proto-national form of self-expression of an individual and of a group.

At the same time, the concluding chapter summarizes the ways and categories of self-identification of individuals, pointing out the processes that are most important for the formation of collective identities expressed by the representatives of the elites, who have a function of *Kulturträgers*.

The dissertation also contains a bibliography divided into primary sources and adaptations, as well as an appendix consisting of four parts. Part A comprises my own graphic representation of affiliative fields of power in three authors from the Debar/Reka habitus, in whose case the polyvalence of identity played a significant role. Part B contains illustrations presenting Mijak dress from the Debar/Reka region, which was in itself a means of affiliation for the Mijaks. Part C includes facsimiles of selected

pages from two analyzed texts that are meant to show the polyvalence included in the writing systems. Finally, Part D includes translations and source texts that could not be fully included in the analysis but which constitute additional explicative context.

Ewa Róża Janion

Photo. Dominika Woźniak

Graduated from the University of Warsaw in Modern Greek Studies (BA), Italian Studies (BA), and Mediterranean Studies (MA). She studied at the University of Florence as an Erasmus student and completed a one-year internship at the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation in Athens. In the months to come she plans to run two digital projects dedicated to the reception of Modern Greek literature and art in 19th-century Europe, namely the reception of translations of Greek folk poetry and the philhellenic images of heroic suicides during the Greek Revolution (1829–1832). Both projects are closely linked to questions of national identity and gender representations which were also tackled in her doctoral thesis. Ewa Róża takes a keen interest in the critique of the political and economic discourse within the Greek state debt crisis. She is a Wikipedia editor and participates in several projects of the Polish Wikipedia. Her other interests involve biking, running and martial arts.

PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Imaging Suli. Interactions between Philhellenic Ideas and Greek Identity Discourse

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 14th of May, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Imaging Suli. Interactions between Philhellenic Ideas and Greek Identity Discourse

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

Suli

Today Suli is a municipality in the Epirus region of mountainous Thesprotia, one of Greece's administrative districts. This area is inhabited by about one hundred mostly elderly people who raise animals, mainly cows and goats. Only the remnants of numerous houses visible in the tall grass and the bronze busts of heroes recall the history of this place.

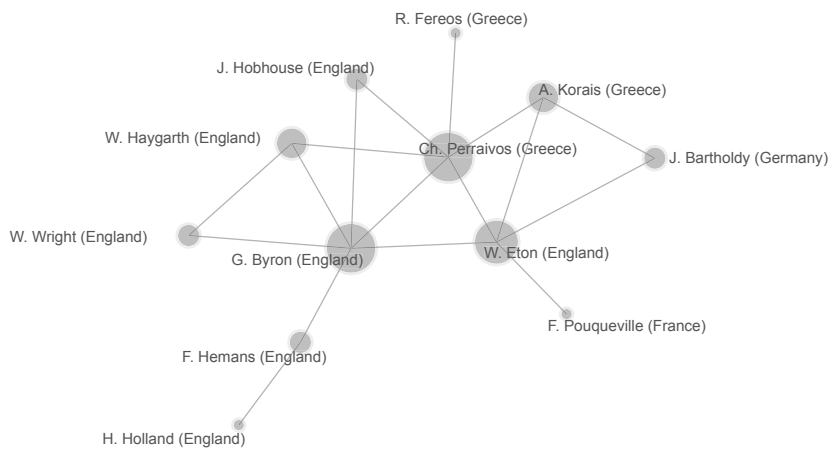
Slightly over two centuries ago, Suli had several thousand inhabitants, an Orthodox Christian population of Albanian origin. At the dawn of the 19th century the Suliotes spoke two languages, the local Albanian dialect and Greek, but they became hellenized with time. They were characterized by a patriarchal, clan-like social organization and they were mainly shepherds. The men worked as hired soldiers and during peacetime they pillaged the neighboring villages. Taking advantage of the fragmentation of authority in the region, the Suliotes entered various short-term alliances with other mountain peoples and this way they managed to stay independent from the pashas, who represented Ottoman authority. It was Ali Pasha of Tepelena, a clever and ambitious politician, who ultimately decided to end this nuisance in the area. In 1803 he conquered Suli and forced its inhabitants leave the mountains.

This is how the history of the Suliotes could be described by historians. The subject of the thesis that I would like to present is not historiography, but the image of Suli: the legendary image of a brave, courageous people, defending the Hellenic world and Christianity from the tyranny of the Turkish invader. Depending on the needs and the context, the Suliotes were presented as the reincarnation of ancient heroes, as revolutionaries in the name of freedom, equality and brotherhood, as republicans, democrats, lively klephts, Byronic heroes, martyrs for faith, sacrificial parents and sentimental lovers. This mythical image of Suli in the 19th century was constructed both by Greeks themselves, as well as by European philhellenes, who supported the cause of Greek independence and irredentism. I am interested especially in those aspects of this image which allow one to grasp the interactions of different visions; apart from the Greek point of view, I also include the image of Suli in English, French, Italian and Polish philhellenic works.

Theoretical assumptions

The thesis is based on the vision of philhellenism as of a field of intercultural interactions and transfer of ideas between Greece and Central Europe. Thus, the historical context of the reflections on the image of Suli is constituted by European philhellenism (fascination with Greek antiquity) of the late 18th and early 19th century, the presence of diplomats and travelers from Greece, the activity of the Hellenic diaspora in Europe, translations of Greek texts into European languages and of European texts into Greek, the culture of the Greek–Italian borderlands (the Ionian Islands) and the education

of Greek musicians and painters in Italy. As the example of Suli shows, Greeks often co-created the philhellenic image: it was based, to a large extent , on works by Hellenic historians, on what travelers had heard from educated Phanariotes (Greek elites in the administration of the Ottoman Empire), and on the Western perception of Greek popular tales. On the other hand, following the scholar Konstantinos Dimaras I recognize that Greek national discourse is philhellenic. I am also interested in the influence of philhellenism on the formation of Greek identity.

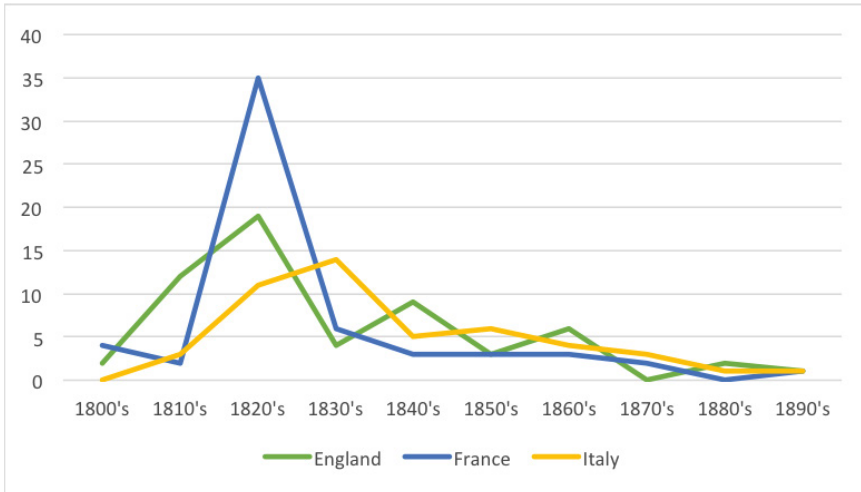


Network of relationships between the authors of texts about Suli and records on Suli before 1821 (the outbreak of the Greek Revolution). *The diagram includes intertextual references in the works of separate authors and their personal contacts. Greeks played an active part in the creation of the early image of Suli, although the largest number of authors were English. (For visualizing the data I have used the Palladio tool: http://palladio.designhumanities.org/).*

In my thesis I apply the wider interpretation of philhellenism, the duration of which includes the entire 19th century: from the emergence of the first political aspirations of the so-called literary Hellenism, through propaganda texts connected with the Greek Revolution of 1820–1829, to the long duration of the repertoire of philhellenic images, launched in national contexts (Risorgimento) or related to Greek irredentism (Megali Idea, Crete uprisings). From the perspective of my research, it appears that the limited view of philhellenism up to the 1820s, typical for early reflections on this phenomenon, was caused by researchers focusing on French texts. A wider understanding of philhellenism is brought by including Italian and Polish works and considering the interactions between philhellenism and Greek culture.

The concept of legend is crucial for my thesis. I include in it both images and stories about Suli. The legends of Suli combine such issues as the stereotype of a Suliote, the image of the Suli mountains in the literature, the history of heroes, legends about the wars with Ali Pasha and about the fall of Suli. Among the latter one theme in particular stands out, namely the bravery of the Suliote women and of their collective suicide, the so-called Dance of Zalongo. The dissertation considers all the sources that

could be helpful in describing of the legends: from historiography, diaries and stories from journeys to Greece, through works of literature and plays, to paintings and prints.



Mentions of Suli in subsequent decades of the 19th century in English, French and Italian literature. *The noticeable predominance of French works in the 1820s can be attributed to the numerous images of Suliotes (portraits). In English literature, due to people traveling to Epirus, descriptions of Suli appeared a bit earlier. The diagram shows also that Italian philhellenism developed after its French counterpart and was present for a longer time. Due to the small number of Polish texts about Suli, they were not included in the diagram.*

The emergence of a legend was favored by historical factors. Firstly, the Suliotes did not write history themselves, and the documentation on their relations with their neighbors was inaccessible to 19th-century travelers and historians. Furthermore, the European interest in Suli really took root after the death of Markos Botsaris in 1823, when Suli had already been abandoned for over 20 years and the oral accounts on which historians relied, became distorted and mythologized. It must be added that the travelers whose reports served to create legends, were not professional historians themselves, they usually did not speak Greek, and no one among them spoke Albanian. They often did not understand the Balkan reality and they adjusted their stories to the expectations of a Western (usually English) readership. As is shown in the chapter of my thesis on the landscape of Suli, the descriptions mostly contain conventions popular at that time such as Orientalism, Romanticism or Gothic fiction.

The aims of separate authors constituted another legend-forming factor: philhellenism had a propaganda meaning and was usually aimed at supporting the cause of an independent Greek state. The sad fate of the Hellenic highlanders was often meant to move the recipient. In politically dependent cultures such as Italy or Poland, the Suliotes were additionally presented as an example of bravery worthy of imitation.

The motivations of Greek authors were similar. The Greek enlightenment thinkers relied on the example of Suli to arouse pro-revolutionary sentiments in their compatriots. After the Kingdom of

Greece was created, a demand for patriotic texts resulted from Greek nationalism and the irredentism movement – Epirus was annexed to Greece only after the First Balkan War in 1913.

The Legend of Samuel

An excellent example of the process by which a legend of historiography is created, is the history of how the central event in the capitulation of Suli was presented: the suicidal blowing up of a gunpowder depot by a monk named Samuel, which supposedly took place in December 1803 on the Kougi hill. The first mentions of this event come from letters written by people traveling to Epirus. There is no doubt that something really happened. A Prussian diplomat, Jacob Salomon Bartholdy informs in 1805 that after Suli capitulated and was abandoned, the monk was supposed to hand over the gunpowder depot located in his house to four Albanian soldiers. During the procedure there was an explosion. Most likely, as the author suggests, Samuel lit the gunpowder himself to cause the explosion. Two subsequent travelers, Englishmen this time, John Hobhouse (1812) and Henry Holland (1815), did not devote much attention to this event and only repeated the information rendered by their predecessor. A French diplomat, François Pouqueville (1807) was hostile to the story of Samuel: in his view blowing up the gunpowder depot meant breaking the truce in force at the time and gave a pretext for further acts of violence from Ali Pasha's army. The first Greek historian of Suli, Christoforos Perraivos (1815), is also skeptical about this account.

Nevertheless, this information formed the basis for the philhellenic legend. After the uprising against the Turks broke out, Samuel's deed was presented as a heroic defense of Hellenism from the barbaric invader. The location of the event was no longer Samuel's house but a church located on the top of the hill or, in other versions, a monastery. The explosion kills not a few people but a crowd of enemies who were besieging the last bastion of Christianity. The monk is motivated not by fear of torture, as the Greek historian suggests, but by love for his homeland and the apotheosis of freedom. Heroic explosions became a philhellenic *topos* and the history of Suli came to the theater. The Italian lyrical opera *The Last Days of Suli* (1863) ends with a huge explosion: Samuel in a long monologue addresses God and lights the fuse in response to a divine voice.

Greek Romanticism draws religious motifs from this philhellenic legend. The Greek translation of a vision by the Italian philhellene Edoardo Fusco was published in Athens in 1850. Here we are dealing with an Old Testament stylization where Samuel goes from a monk to a prophet and the fall of Suli foreshadows the resurrection of Greece. In the vision by the romantic poet Aristotelis Valaoritis (1868) that carries on this kind of imagery, reality is pushed further into the background. The monk's motivation now is only to protect the church from the blasphemy which the presence of infidels inside would be. The monk serves the Eucharist to numerous defenders of the church, he raises his voice in prayer, and the explosion completes the ritual. The popular Greek vision of history to this day presents exactly this image. A yearly festival takes place in Suli during which a cardboard model of the supposed church is blown up. The actor that plays the role of Samuel speaks the language of Valaoritis.

Tracing the development of the legend also reveals that alternative versions of the event (e.g. the poem *Alipashiad* written at the court of Ali Pasha), although present in 19th-century Greek historiography, have not influenced the development of the legend. This is probably due to the effect of philhellenism upon Greek culture, and especially of the model of a desperate defense promoted by philhellenism.

Five studies on Suli

The thesis includes five studies, each of which concerns a different aspect of the image of Suli and works with different methodological assumptions. The first study (*First Historians and Travelers to Suli*) describes the beginnings of European historiography of this region, represented by texts written by three diplomats-cum-travelers, though none of these personally visited the mountains of Suli. I am especially interested in what way these narratives, both historical and travel, give birth to legends. The strategies of reading historical texts proposed by Hayden White and the post-structuralist critique of ethnography were helpful in answering this question. The historiography of Suli read from this perspective reveals the assumptions of the authors which were not expressed explicitly. The most influential proves to be the history of Suli presented by an Englishman, William Eton, in 1798. The victorious wars with Ali Pasha are seen here as the beginning of the rebirth of Greece, the emergence of which will end all injustice. After their victory, the Suliotes will march out of Epirus towards Athens and more Greeks will join them on the way. The culmination of this incredible vision would be the liberation of Constantinople by the Suliotes. This extreme and rather incredible idea was later used by Greek historians to legitimize the necessity of revolting against the Turks.

The Prussian traveler Jacob Bartholdy, who wished to make his trip seem extraordinary and to gain more readers, orientalized the Suliotes and presented them as an ethnographic enigma. In the case of the French diplomat François Pouqueville, we are dealing with a mystification. Pouqueville was not in Epirus at that time and he took his information about Suli from the press and from his fellow travelers. He thought up the image of Suli as a lost idyll where man lives in harmony with lush nature. He simply invented it out of whole cloth.

The second study (*Between Westernization and Orientalism: Byron's discovery of Suli*) is devoted to Byron. According to my information, Byron was the first traveler who undertook the effort of climbing the mountains of Suli. The comparison of the image of Suli from the second song of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* with two earlier mentions in English poetry shows a complete shift in the poetics of representation. Before the English poet and aristocrat wrote his poem, the image of Suli was dominated by classicism and idealism. The Suliotes appear as the resurrection of antique "Roman" virtues, such as stability, perseverance, modesty or moderation. Although Byron was aware of the texts written by his predecessors, he chose orientalism and the exotic. As he wrote about the mountains of Suli, "Here roams the wolf, [...], and wilder men appear..." The Byronic Suliote, though coarse, turns out to be more perfect than the Europeans. The inhabitants of Epirus realize an alternative anthropological vision, being a free people, loyal and uncontaminated by civilization.

Additional context for this is given by a short description of Suli by John Hobhouse, a friend of Byron and his traveling companion. Representing Eurocentrism and objectivity, the ethically-minded Hobhouse sees no interesting themes in Suli's history. In his opinion the Suliotes pursue only their own interest instead of fighting for some idea or just cause. In this light Byron's philosophy demonstrates skepticism and cynicism typical for the English Enlightenment. Byron refrains from making a moral evaluation of the Suliotes, but he presents their own voice and describes the incredible aesthetic impression that they made on the main character of the poem, Harold.

The study ends with a brief discussion of the influence of the Byronic portrait of the Suliotes on English literature. What is interesting is that in Greece it did not meet with a wide response: 19th-century Greeks wanted modernization, they claimed to be Europeans and the image proposed by the English poet and aristocrat did not harmonize with their aspirations.

The third study (*Genius Loci – Climbing in Suli and Romantic Experience*) concerns experiencing the image of Suli. I focus only on texts written by travelers who visited this region and published a account of their expedition in print. The library search carried out in Athens allowed me to collect a corpus of twelve such texts: one French text and eleven English texts. These are mostly chapters of longer narratives about trips to the Balkan Peninsula or expeditions in the Mediterranean Sea. In this study I show how the image of Suli is formed by the conventions of Romantic travel writing. An important role in this process is played by the aesthetic categories popular at that time: sublime and picturesqueness, the creations of a subject experiencing a bond with nature and visions of an evocative space. Many times Suli is described as an area marked with a tragic history, haunted by the ghosts of the murdered, where nature seeks revenge on the murderers. Conventional practices of travelers include admiring the mountainous landscape, experiencing melancholy among the ruins of Suliote houses and observing the tranquil night sky. The study is completed by an analysis of illustrations (prints) accompanying the accounts from Suli.

The starting point of the fourth study (*Suliote Women Fighters in Greek Folk Songs: the Diffusion of the Legend in Greece and in Philhellenic Europe*) is the Greek perspective. I discuss here villagers' songs from the collection of Claude Fauriel which describe the participation of women from Suli in the battles against Ali Pasha. The edition of the Parisian philologist was a source of translations into other languages: the study includes one English, two Italian, one French and two Polish translations. Comparative analysis of these translations allows establishing what manipulations the image of the fighting women was subjected to. More than poetic decisions, I am interested here in the political choices of the translators, since I have assumed that the subject of women reaching for weapons (and winning battles with men!) was not neutral in 19th-century Europe, which was then constructing national ideas and restoring the old order after the first attempts of women to gain access to the public sphere. If we compare Fauriel's text with its translations, we notice that in translations femininity is highlighted, especially the motherhood of the heroines. In addition, women's waging of war is presented as ancillary to the men's. Defensive fighting, especially in defense of honor, is rendered much more readily than offensive operations. At the same time the translators allegorize the images of women with weapons in their hands: a Suliote woman becomes Mother Greece, the symbol of a nation united in battle. Therefore, it is the national ideas that prove to be the best context for interpretations of songs about fighting women. The commentaries of the translators are also an area of interesting reflections on gender by the authors, e.g. an Italian translator decided to describe a suicidal heroine using the masculine gender in order to fully render her bravery.

The last study (*The Dance of Zalongo as a Theme of the Romantic Imagination*) concerns the Dance of Zalongo as a theme of Romantic imagination. Zalongo is a rock close to Suli, from which supposedly the Suliote women jumped when they heard that Ali Pasha's army was approaching. According to one of the versions of the legend, before this desperate step the heroines danced. This legend took root especially in Greece and it functions to this day in the collective historical consciousness.

The analysis of Greek and philhellenic visions of the Dance of Zalongo allows one to grasp the interactions between Greek and Western culture and decipher the meanings which 19th-century writers gave to this image. For some it was an act of religious significance that promised the future resurrection of Greece, to others the women's suicidal leap was an expression of attachment to patriotic values. The English poet Felicia Hemans created an entire catalog of the heroines, who take their life while singing. In this context the deed of the Suliote women was read as the only way of freeing themselves from

their female condition. Under the influence of English tradition, the Greek poet Dionisios Solomos sees in the female suicide a group of prophets overwhelmed by poetic frenzy, whereas Alphonse de Lamartine finds in this image a universal parable about the unity of love and death. Separate authors imagine the Dance of Zalongo in a different manner. The repertoire of images includes a dignified funeral *haute danse*, folk dances and round dances, highlighting the unity and agreement between the female suicides. According to some authors, however, the Suliote women danced savage, orgiastic dances that put them into a trance and helped them overcome the fear of death. The multitude of Romantic images of the Dance of Zalongo contradicts the 20th-century Greek narratives that reduce the potential meanings of the legend to one vision consistent with the Greek national ideology.

This chapter is complemented by an appendix – a poster in which I present in visual form the way in which different variants of this topic spread in Greece and in Europe.

Notes on the modern day

The thesis concludes with some notes on the function of the legends about Suli today. I discuss two aspects of this issue, namely the role of the image of Suli in Greek national mythology and the reenactments organized during state ceremonies.

According to what Anthony D. Smith claims, for building national awareness people use cultural resources which are assigned a function similar to that of religion. Contemporary myths reinforce the sense of national unity, build beliefs in common origins, territory, history, and a shared fate of a people's ancestors. For example, the poet Andreas Kalvos highlighted the ancient origins of the Suliotes, who supposedly were descendants of the tribe of the Selloi known from Homer's *Odyssey*, who lived in Epirus. The same ideological goal is realized by the vision of the Suliotes as a people chosen by God and carrying out the divine plan, as well as presenting this mountainous region as an object of the national nostalgia of Greeks. By means of the legend of the hero of the uprising Markos Botsaris, who was killed at Mesolongi, Suli fits into the pattern of sacrifice that brings national resurrection. Thus, narratives about Suli were formed according to the needs of the national idea and they created one of the founding myths of the Greek people. In this part of the thesis I also discuss the ways in which people celebrate in today's Greece two invented traditions connected with the mythologized memory of Suli: the historical (re)enactment of Samuel's suicidal detonation and the presentations of the Dance of Zalongo. The repetition of the collective "Suli reenactment" is an identity-building strategy: during state celebrations Greek women and girls dance the Dance of Zalongo while singing a popular song which begins with the words "Farewell, poor world, farewell, sweet life." During the performance the female dancers leave the stage one by one, which symbolizes the suicidal step into the abyss. By applying the notions from the field of gender studies, we can conclude that the Dance of Zalongo has the function of a performance that establishes the desirable national identity and gender identity. There is no doubt that in a situation of a military conflict Greek women are expected to behave the same as the Suliote women did. The song goes on, "Just like a fish cannot live on land and a flower on sand, a Suliote woman cannot live without freedom." The dancing girls personify therefore the normalizing discourse which shows that female suicide is necessary and natural in these circumstances.

In the conclusion I try to prove that the texts and traditions described in the thesis are present in Greek popular culture as well as in the country's political life, and that they influence the way in which Greeks cultivate their national identity today. In February 2015, after I had submitted the thesis for

review, the Greek Minister of National Defense, Panos Kamenos, announced that if the negotiations concerning the country's debt failed he would show Europe what Kougi means. The ridiculousness of this statement was commented on in Greece: did the minister suggest in this way that the Greeks, in a suicidal attack, would blow up the seat of the European Parliament? He rather meant an unyielding attitude during the negotiations. I hope that my work will help understand contemporary Greeks also in the context of their difficult relations with Europe.

Bibliography

The thesis is complimented by a bibliography of 19th-century Greek and philhellenic texts about Suli. The index of texts has been arranged according to the criterion of literary genre and type, as well as chronologically. Works which I did not present in the thesis are briefly described. To show the scope of the image of Suli, I have noted all translations and reprintings known to me. The bibliography is accompanied by a catalog of philhellenic visual works presenting Suli and the Suliotes, which have been arranged in alphabetical order according to the author's name. The index ends with a list of 19th-century maps in which Suli appears.

Julia Lewandowska

Photo. Roch Brzosko

Graduated in Comparative Literature (MA) from the Institute of Iberian and Latin American Studies at the University of Warsaw. Her intellectual interests revolve around early modern Spain and colonial Latin America, where women's cultural and intellectual history occupies the center of attention. Her Ph.D. project focuses on the female literary authority and authorship in the religious women's writings of the Spanish Golden Ages. During the International Interdisciplinary Doctoral Programme she spent seven months as a Visiting Scholar at the Centre Dona i Literatura at the University of Barcelona and six months at the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales at Consejo Superior de Investigación Científica (CSIC) in Madrid. She has published articles in scholarly journals and in collective volumes with such editorials as Cambridge Scholar Publishing, Icaria, Tirant Lo Blanch, and Renacimiento. Aside from her academic occupation she is an enthusiast of performing arts, especially improvisational theatre and flamenco dance.

PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Writing Nuns: Literary Authority and Authorship in Religious Women's Writings of the Spanish Golden Ages

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Writing Nuns: Literary Authority and Authorship in Religious Women's Writings of the Spanish Golden Ages*

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The general outline

The silence of women in the Spanish Golden Ages is, to a great extent, a result of the simplification that some researchers made when framing their social, literary or political studies of Spanish reality with a generalizing perspective, centered on dominant institutions and texts written by men. Such reduced readings consequently led to the extended perception that women were denied any kind of active participation in early modern culture. In many studies, the opinion that during the 16th and 17th centuries women were denied any kind of active role within society, or the possibility of individual expression, has been repeatedly voiced. However, more recent studies have suggested that women had more opportunities for active participation in culture than was previously thought. One of these opportunities took place within the space of feminine convents and monasteries, today considered a particularly advantageous and prolific environment for women's artistic creation and textual expression in the early modern period. During more than a year of research in the Spanish convent and national archives, I have discovered that in recent years hundreds of texts written by religious women have been recovered and that even more of these texts are still to be brought to light and examined. Although some of these writers have already been studied and appreciated, the vast majority remain unknown and, therefore, they constitute a challenge to our knowledge. For that reason, and taking into consideration the convent reality with its own historical and cultural dynamics, the present research project considers the revision and inclusion of this feminine perspective as essential to a profound understanding of this key period in Hispanic culture.

The research aims to investigate the literary authority and models of authorship in early modern female writings which emerged from the contexts of convents and monasteries during the so-called Golden Age of Spanish culture. It seeks to put on display the diversity of the models and specific modes of literary expression which the nun writers applied, so that they could achieve an authorial position that allowed them to intervene in the literary discourse within and beyond the convent walls. Some of the authors acted exclusively within the internal space, in its private or collective dimensions, while others linked it with their immediate physical and human environment, and still others directly participated in the pivotal literary movements of their time, acting as agents of unsuspected cultural transfers. Social relations and bounds, the infra and extramural dynamics, the new modalities of writings and the revision of the inherited traditions are analyzed in the study, which may be positioned at the intersection between gender studies, literary and cultural history and the religious history of the Iberian Peninsula of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the present approximation, and following Françoise Collin's concept of "innovation," early modern female literary creation is understood not as supplementary to a previous order of representation,

* The original title of the Ph.D. dissertation: *Escritoras monjas: autoridad y autoría en la escritura conventual femenina de los Siglos de Oro*.

neither as an alternative to it, but rather as innovative. Consequently, an attempt to establish a balanced reading of historical analysis, on the one hand, and a dialogic perspective on the feminist criticism on the other, guides the methodological premises of the research. The strength of this approach lies in taking into account the difficulties inherent in the application of different gender perspectives and feminist literary criticism to the study and analysis of texts written by and about women in the early modern era. The proposed perspective puts an especial emphasis on Barbara F. Weissberger's new historicism, which was developed from Joan Scott's theory of gender as a category of historical analysis, and Iris M. Zavala and Myriam Díaz-Diocaretz's dialogic feminism derived from Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism. The central focus of the approach is placed on observation of the creative strategies, and the directions of the discursive practices that the religious writers created and applied in order to (de)codify their own aesthetic marginality. At the same time, while approaching the religious women's writings the concept of "literature of female authorship" is applied, in order to re-think the key ideas of the discussed notions of *écriture féminine* and "women's writing" and to remain aware of the diversity and multiplicity of the discourses that influenced the textual creation of these authors.

In the initial chapter the theoretical approximation to the figure of the author as the institutional category is proposed in order to reflect on the development of the authorship and the notion of the author in early modern literary culture. Furthermore, the question of the constitutive concepts addressed by individuals in Renaissance and Baroque Spanish society is posed. The conflictive relation and the need for negotiation of the values of honor, lineage, class and sexual purity that the female authors had to undertake in order to intervene in the official discourse are situated at the core of the reflection.

The second chapter goes on to give an overview of the sociohistorical coordinates of Spanish feminine monasticism. The factors influencing its development and specific nature were the reform of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain initiated by the Catholic Monarchs, the response to the Protestant Reformation, the position of women in early modern society and, last but not least, the willingness of women to adopt the religious life. Using material from convent archives, aspects of the nuns' lives are explored with reference to their work, their relationship with the ecclesiastical authorities and their understanding of their agency and individuality. Examples of individuals and communities representative of these issues are cited for the purpose of highlighting the possibilities and barriers of literary practice in female religious life. A special emphasis is placed on the concepts constitutive for the development of the female literary tradition, which embrace such aspects as the following: the role of female creators and readers within national literary culture; the negotiation with the official model of a nun writer; the influence of female patrons/editors, the relationship between the authors and readers/receptors; the motivation and patterns of literary communication; and the reception and circulation of texts.

Subsequently, in the third chapter a close reading of a wide scope of discourses written by religious women of early modern Spain is undertaken in order to inquire into their authorial position, which is understood in a twofold way – a function of the discourse and an identity position of the concrete historical subjects – and to examine not only the nuns' active participation in the cultural and literary scene of their time but also their effective contribution to its transformation. The 17 nun authors studied here, of whom five constitute the core of the analysis and the remainder the crucial points of reference, embrace diverse religious rules, different orders (canons regulars, monastic and mendicants), a varied sociogeographical context, dissimilar opportunities, motivations and abilities in writing, distinct receptivity and aesthetic sensibility and, finally, dissimilar willingness for spiritual

compromise. Such a diverse and vast corpus of sources, mainly manuscripts and old printed books, that embraces literary texts (poetry, prose, and drama), autobiographical and mystical testimonies (primarily *Vidas*), paraliterary texts (such as letters, chronicles and *cuentas de conciencia*) and paratexts (principally forewords, dedications and prologues) grants us a comprehensive view of the literary authority and female authorship and its problematic historical visibility. Therefore, special emphasis is placed on the following elements: the significance of the discursive strategies applied by the authors in order to obtain recognition of their literary authority, the forms of agency of these authors in relation to their direct and indirect audience, and the construction of the particular authorial position(s) according to their personal parameters and the sociocultural coordinates of the moment.

In other words, the main objective of the analysis is not only to acknowledge the cultural production of the early modern nun writers but also to recognize the forms of subjectivity, constructed and applied by these authors, that were designed in the use of the literary genres and the present canons, but which nonetheless represented a significant alteration of the *doxa* of female intellectual inferiority.

As a starting point, the analysis takes into account the fact that the nun writers had to adapt to and act within the framework of the established literary conventions and the specific regulations of the ecclesiastic policy in force at the time. Therefore, of pivotal significance to this study are, on the one hand, the descriptive and interpretative analysis of the texts through close reading, and, on the other, the approach from the concept of *intentio auctoris* and not the literary quality of the source ("the new tools of valuation" proposed by Cristina Ruíz Guerrero).

At the same time, the modes and models of the nuns' writings in the light of the patterns of literary genres reveal the sociocultural conditions within which, either by adaptation or by negotiation, these authors participated in the wider literary culture. In order to define the literary practice of these writers, the rhetorical structures they choose (the rhetoric of irony, the rhetoric of humility, the rhetoric of allegory, the parody) are analyzed. Simultaneously, the modalities of constructing the message of the text through what is said and what is muted in the language, by the subversion/assimilation of the literary models, are addressed and point toward the key concept of the strategic consciousness of discourse and authorship. The proposed typology of female religious authorial models is presented in the subsequent manner:

1. *Argumentum ad verecundiam*: the Teresian tradition – first models of female literary authority and the nun historiographers of the Discalced Carmelites: Ana de San Bartolomé (O.C.D., varios, Almendral de Cañada–Ámberes, 1549–1626), María de San José (O.C.D., 1548–1603), Ana de Jesús Lobera (O.C.D., Medina del Campo–Bruselas, 1545–1621), María de la Cruz (O.C.D., Convento de San José en Ávila, Granada–Úbeda, 1563–1638)
2. *Argumentum ad feminam*: literary authority through the paratexts: Valentina Pinelo (O.A.R. San Leandro de Sevilla, 1616/24–c.1629), Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea (O. Cist., Santa María de la Villa de Casbas, Huesca, 1602–1685), María de Santa Isabel (O.I.C., Toledo–Toledo, ?–1647)
3. *Argumentum ad auditorem*: the intramural dramatic tradition: Marcela de San Félix (O.SS. T., San Ildefonso de Madrid, Toledo–Madrid, 1605–1687), Francisca de Santa Teresa (O.SS. T., San Ildefonso de Madrid, Madrid–Madrid, 1654–1709), María de San Alberto (O.C.D., Carmelitas Descalzas de la Concepción, Valladolid–Valladolid, 1568–1640)
4. *Argumentum ad experientiam*: the mystics' authority of and from the body: Teresa de Jesús María (O.C.D. Cuerva [Toledo]–Cuerva [Toledo], 1592–1642), Cecilia de Nacimiento

(O.C.D. Carmelitas Descalzas de la Concepción y varios, Valladolid–Calahorra, 1570–1646), Luisa Carvajal y Mendoza (beata, S.J., Jaraicejo (Cáceres)–Londres, 1566–1614), Ana de Jesús, la Pobre (O.SS.T. ?–Sevilla, 1560–1617)

5. *Argumentum ad divinam voluntatem*: female agency and political providentialism: María de Jesús de Ágreda (O.I.C de Ágreda, 1602–1665, Ágreda–Soria), Luisa de Ascensión (O.S.C de Carrión, Madrid–Valladolid (O.A.R), 1565–1648), Ana de San Bartolomé (O.C.D., varios, Almendral de Cañada–Ámberes, 1549–1626), María de la Visitación (O.D., Lisboa–Abrantes, 1515–16??)

In the analysis of selected writings of these authors, the guiding premise is that it is not enough to excavate the authors from the silence of the archives, since "to honor them retrospectively does not give them back their lives nor their place" (Françoise Collin), but that it is imperative to provoke a questioning of the approach. With this objective in mind, the project seeks to answer the question of whether the writings of women "devoted to God", which were born out of aesthetic or testimonial desire or else by religious inspiration, can be understood as a taking of an authorial position through the strategic function of the discourse. Likewise, it allows us to observe how this process is related to the specific social conditions (e.g. the propensity to write in particular religious orders) and how it is reflected in the rhetorical strategies and specific literary decisions (e.g. the prevalence of some literary or paraliterary genres). It is of paramount importance to observe how this wealth of writings offers access to the perspectives that these women had on life, spirituality, and "femininity" in the Spain of their time and how these perspectives encompass diverse backgrounds and differences in social class.

In the way it is designed, this project's aim is twofold. On the one hand, in analyzing the diverse strategies of literary authority and authorship it displays the diversity of the authorial position available to the nun writers and proposes a typology of female religious authorial models. Furthermore, by demonstrating how the particular authorial models are bound to one another it shows how they shape the wider frame of the convent reality as the environment of female writers in the early modern period. On the other hand, it seeks to contribute to women's studies, literary studies, history of literature and religion, being an impulse of a different reading of female religious writings, not only because it goes against the tide in raising new questions regarding some of the dominant approaches, but also mainly because it is a contribution to strengthening those approaches with a cautious outlook that underlines the close relation between gender and historical analysis.

In its broader aim, the study aspires to disseminate the female textual production from its religious milieu, shedding on it a new light, and bringing new perspectives, inquiries and hypotheses that would amplify its familiarity and comprehension, and that would finally bring these writings into the Hispanic cultural canon.

Ágnes Máté

Photo: Rumen István Csörsz

Born in 1983 in Szeged, Hungary. She holds two MA degrees from the University of Szeged in Italian language and literature (2006) and Hungarian language and literature (2007). Her fields of research are Neo-Latin literature and its connections to Old Hungarian culture. She is a member of *Hungaria Latina*, the Hungarian Neo-Latin Association. She has published articles on four different translations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini's love story *Historia de duobus amantibus* (1444). She works as a junior researcher in the Renaissance Department of the Institute of Literary Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Later on Ágnes Máté plans to apply for a postdoctoral fellowship at the Villa I Tatti in Florence. Apart from her academic interests Ágnes enjoys crime novels and science fiction. Her dream is to visit all the works of Sandro Botticelli, now scattered among public collections all around the world from Florence to New York and Los Angeles.

PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Italian Lovers in Hungarian Robes: The Fortunes of the Three Humanistic Love Stories in 16th-century Hungary

PH.D. DISSERTATION SUPERVISORS:

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 14th of May, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Italian Lovers in Hungarian Robes: The Fortunes of the Three Humanistic Love Stories in 16th-century Hungary*

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

This dissertation aims to discuss the reception of three humanistic short stories, originally written between the last third of the 14th and the last third of the 15th centuries, in 16th-century Hungary.

The subject of the thesis are: the story of Griselda, translated by Francis Petrarch from the original Italian version by Giovanni Boccaccio; the original short story entitled *Historia de duobus amantibus*, written in Latin by Enea Silvio Piccolomini; and finally the Latin version of the story of Guiscardo and Ghismonda, written in elegiac verse by Filippo Beroaldo the Elder.

My examinations treat the main stages of the transmission and reception of these three stories: 1) in the Apennine Peninsula both in Italian and Latin, 2) their initial penetration into Hungarian culture in Latin, and 3) their first translations into Hungarian, which were done within the framework of the literary genre of the so-called *széphistóriák* ("beautiful stories") during the second half of the 16th century.

The dissertation consists of five main chapters and a conclusion; which are supplemented with five appendices illustrating the subjects discussed in the main text.

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In the first, introductory chapter I discuss the definition of the "beautiful stories" and describe the 16th-century social and cultural context in which the Hungarian translations appeared. I focus on the generally-accepted vision of love and rules of matrimony as well as the consequences in cases where these rules were not observed. Firstly, I analyze some semi-legendary cases and gossip from Hungarian history which may have been familiar to the same public which became the readers of the "beautiful stories." Secondly, I turn to the Hungarian translation of the Griselda story as a special wedding gift with a political message, and put it in the context of the lives of three Hungarian queens, Beatrix of Aragon, Maria of Habsburg, and Isabella of Jagiello.

The latter section of my thesis is mentioned with enthusiasm in the review written by Prof. Amedeo Quondam. Prof. Quondam evaluated positively the way I demonstrated how the story of Griselda – originally a *historia ficta* written in 14th-century Italy – was given new functions and interpretations in such a politically different environment as 16th-century Hungary. Prof. Quondam seems particularly satisfied about the fact that the *Decameron* lost its character of an "*epopea mercantesca*" in the Hungarian environment, rightfully warning me that I did not stress enough this important change that Boccaccio's main work underwent during its spread through Europe.

The other reviewer, Prof. Andrzej Borowski, suggested including in the first part of the chapter also literary sources written by Poles in order to have a wider view of how Hungarians were considered

* The original title of the Ph.D. dissertation: *Amanti italiani in veste ungherese. La fortuna di tre storie d'amore umanistiche nel Cinquecento ungherese*.

"different" by a close neighboring nation of theirs. I thank him for the suggestion and I can report that in a new project, I am already working on the problem of wandering motifs and stereotypes related to Hungarians in Italian and Neo-Latin sources.

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In the second chapter of my thesis (*Different Worlds, Different Tastes, the Central European Public and the Centers of the Renaissance Humanist Culture in Central Europe*) I demonstrate that there were three cultural factors that hampered the reception of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, but at the same time facilitated the reception of Neo-Latin novellas in Hungary. These factors were the wide-spread illiteracy, the unfamiliarity with the Italian language, and the differences in social values between the two countries. Even the minority of the Hungarian *litterati* who knew Italian were prejudiced against the vernaculars and favored works written in Latin. Also in other Central European countries, Bohemia and Poland, the place of Latin in cultural life was prominent, but these cultures, unlike the Hungarian one, also received Italian love stories directly from Italian and from other vernaculars.

My discovery of the exact source edition for the Hungarian translation of Piccolomini's *Historia* supports the results of research devoted to book-collecting in early modern Hungary. On the other hand, it may suggest that the choice of the Latin source by the Hungarian translators may have been arbitrary and random.

Prof. Andrzej Borowski commented on two problems mentioned in this chapter. On one hand, Prof. Borowski rightfully warned that my usage of the expressions "humanism" and "the Renaissance" could have been more sophisticated. Prof. Borowski wanted me to stress more the inner need and initiative of the different Central European nations for the renewal of their own cultures in the spirit of the new philosophical tendencies coming from Italy, and speak more about the active participation of Polish, Bohemian, and Hungarian humanists at forming their "own national Renaissances." I obviously agree with Prof. Borowski that humanism and the Renaissance were built on the local traditions of scholasticism and Aristotelianism in the Central European countries (just as this happened, according to P. O. Kristeller, in Western Europe), and therefore the "penetration" of the new humanistic ideas in our part of Europe meant not only passive reception but also an active contribution from the part of the Polish, Hungarian, and Bohemian *litterati*.

Prof. Borowski also suggested for my future research to widen the geographical limits and include Croatia amongst the Central European cultures covered. Recent research by Hungarian colleagues such as István Lökős and Sándor Bene testifies that the trilingual (Croatian/Dalmatian, Latin, and Italian) literature created along the Croatian coast should be considered more the eastern border of the Italian literary tradition than the western border of the Central European one, and it was somehow separate from the central parts of Croatia. That is the reason why, at the moment, I cannot see the possibility to include such a different literary culture in my own, more concentrated examinations.

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In the third chapter (*The Fortunes of the Decameron Stories: from the Vernacular Literature to Neo-Latin Literature in Italy and Beyond*) I reconstruct the main lines of transmission of the Italian love stories stemming from and inspired by the *Decameron.* This was the process by which they became the "highbrow" Latin novellas which could gain access to Hungarian culture. I follow the chronological

order of the creation of the Italian stories and ponder their importance in the formation of the genre of the Neo-Latin novella. I analyze the changes in the stories introduced by their Latin translators in Petrarch's *Griselda* and in Leonardo Bruni's and Filippo Beroaldo's *Ghismonda*. I also touch upon the place of Matteo Bandello's *Titus et Gisippus* in this process. Finally, I examine the *Historia de duobus amantibus* by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. All these works are examined against the background of Italian popular versions (rhymed Decameronian *cantari novellistici* and translations of the Neo-Latin novellas). The concluding part of the chapter treats the transfer of the fictional characters of Piccolomini's Lucretia and Griselda into the realm of history. I investigate also the transfer in the opposite direction, using the example of historical Hungarian protagonists becoming literary figures in works by Matteo Bandello and Sebastiano Erizzo.

Apropos of this chapter, Prof. Quondam had two suggestions for developing the thesis. His first suggestion is related to the further analysis of problems of translation from and to Latin between the Medieval and early Modern eras. Prof. Quondam also suggested examining the dynamism of rewriting certain plots in different parts of Europe, and to make use of research conducted in the field of folklore studies.

What I think would also be needed here is a series of case studies touching upon the European spread of some popular literary works, analyzing all its translations. During my research I found it surprising that only a few works, like the story of Griselda, had a bibliography (edited by Raffaele Morabito) mentioning all its vernacular versions known to scholars. Peter Burke's *The Fortune of the Courtier* also could be a good starting point, but this book undertook "only" the task of enlisting the versions of the *Cortegiano* read in different parts of Europe, and did not analyze them in detail from the viewpoint of translation studies. I am now involved in a three-year project, the goal of which is to examine in a monograph all the vernacular versions of Piccolomini's *Historia* written until the end of the 16th century, exactly from the viewpoint of translation studies and textual transmission.

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The subject of the fourth chapter (*Social Control at all Cost and the Changes in the Concept of Love in Hungary: Including Love in Matrimony?*) is the image of love represented in the three Hungarian "beautiful stories" compared with the *Szép magyar komédia*, a comedy written by the "first" among Hungarian poets Bálint Balassi for his own wedding feast. Balassi's work follows the evolution of theory of love present in the Western Europe, but it was the "beautiful stories" that constituted the mainstream discourse about love in Hungary. Therefore, Balassi's comedy should not be considered the highest point of a linear development, but an exception. The main trend was set by very conservative idea expressed in *Griselda* that love in matrimony should be understood exclusively as a gift from God. The story of Lucretia starts the campaign for the legitimization of the sentiment of love as a *sine qua non* for matrimony. *Ghismonda* further supports the view expressed in Piccolomini's story with the theological argument borrowed from St. Paul (*Melior est nubere quam uri*). Balassi approaches the subject from a different angle, treating marriage out of love with affirmation. Moreover, he asserts that this love could arise due to the physical beauty of the woman. Sadly, this advanced theory of love lived only as a literary construct and was not accepted by the majority of Hungarian society. The main message of the Hungarian versions of the stories of Eurialus and Lucretia and Ghismonda and Guiscardo was that private sentiments should be subordinated to the well-being of the society. These two Hungarian "beautiful stories" are full of theological debates and were intended to provide moral

instruction to the readers and the audience. In case of the "Hungarian" Griselda, the interpretation remains more ambiguous.

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The fifth chapter (*Ubiquus Examples: Elements of Classical Culture and Erudition in the "Beautiful Stories" and 16th-century Hungarian Poetry*) focuses on the presence of classical culture and erudition before and after the work of the anonymous writer of Patak and György Enyedi. According to my examination of 340 poetical sources, both poem 30 by Balassi (*Mire most barátom*) and the two "beautiful stories" employ a unique set of classical references, used nowhere else in 16th-century Hungarian poetry. Considering the *topoi*, poem 30 by Balassi occupies a very important place. On one hand, it uses a wide repertoire of erudite classical references, which were to remain popular throughout the following two centuries. On the other hand, it is a witness to the domestication of the new heroines of "beautiful stories" in Hungarian poetry. They became rooted in the common imagery fast and firmly at the end of the 1570s. Together with the Trojan Helen, Dido, and Medea they became the figures of loyal love and a tragic fate. Griselda, on the contrary, does not appear in any work of which she is not a protagonist. In Hungary, she did not make it into the ranks of popular literary figures.

Prof. Borowski asks the question whether the versification of certain texts contributed to their popularity and if there was a typical rhyme and/or strophic structure in Hungarian poetry that led to their popularity. As a matter of fact, versification was almost a *sine qua non* for a story to enter the Hungarian culture during the 16th century. Until the last third of the century, there were almost no translations of biblical, historical or any kind of narratives translated into Hungarian other than in rhyme. In Hungary there was not only one special verse form as in Polish or French poetry (the eight-syllable), but instead old Hungarian poetry is characterizied by the so-called "iso-rule," that is, the typical old Hungarian poem was iso-rhymed, iso-metric, and iso-strophic.

Innovation in the work

The dissertation discussed a series of questions relevant to three main disciplines: Italian studies, Neo-Latin studies, and of course, Hungarian cultural history.

The tables in the Appendices summarize the first time that all the stories originated from the *Decameron* and were translated in three Central European countries, providing relevant information for Italian and Neo-Latin studies as well. Similarly, with the help of illustrative tables, the dissertation analyzes the continual presence of a series of classical and erudite elements in Hungarian culture in the 16–18th centuries, thus using creatively the database offered by the *Régi Magyar Költők Tára* series, initiated in the 1960s.

The aim of my thesis was to present the Hungarian versions of the Latin short stories as parts of a vaster bilingual Latin–Hungarian cultural process, which resulted in the formation of a Hungarian vernacular literature in the 16th century, but which, thanks to the continuous official role of Latin in Hungary until 1836 and the traditional Classics-based education, did not cease to influence the national culture until the end of World War I.

I certainly managed to demonstrate one thing with cogency: the famous Italian lovers who disguised themselves in the Hungarian robes were not committing an act of mischief as Eurialus did by dressing up as a porter in Piccolomini's love story. It was a carnival masquerade which helped the servants of Love to continue their triumphal advance north across the Alps into the maze of the vernacular

literatures. For now this special triumph of Love in Hungary is traceable as far as the 18th century, but I am sure that future publication of source materials will contribute to a better understanding of their fascinating story.

Paweł Miech

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Traumatophilic Subjects. Psychoanalytic Case Studies

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 19th of February, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Traumatophilic Subjects. Psychoanalytic Case Studies

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The case studies analyzed by Sigmund Freud talk about the emergence of a certain new type of subjectivity. This is how the main thought of the dissertation presented here could be roughly expressed. The notion of a traumatophilic subject taken from Walter Benjamin expresses significant features of the subjective constellation of Freud's patients. The subjects of Freud's analysis are traumatophilic subjects; their subjectivity forms as a result of traumatic confrontations. Moreover, Freudian case studies are an interesting illustration of the conception of the relationship between power, knowledge and subjectivity proposed by Michel Foucault. The dissertation is thus an attempt to read Freud's case studies from the perspective of Foucault's and Benjamin's theory, as well as an attempt at a deeper understanding of the place of psychoanalysis in the context of the sociocultural changes that took place in Europe at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

The case studies transmit the experience of traumatophilic subjects. Benjamin defines the traumatophilic subject in an essay on Charles Baudelaire. In that essay Benjamin draws on the famous text by Freud *Beyond The Pleasure Principle* and demonstrates that Baudelaire's poetry originated exactly from such experiences as described by Freud, i.e. a fixation on trauma and the desire to experience a shock. Benjamin proves that the features of a modern subject are connected with an atrophy of experience. The more sensations there are, the more shocking the experiences, the less there is real experience and the more apathetic, atrophic our perception of the world is.

I repeat again: the case studies presented in the dissertation are studies on the genesis of a certain type of subjectivity. This statement might seem surprising, taking into account the fact that discourse typical of psychoanalytical case studies goes back to the 19th-century psychiatry and neurology, and the aim of those disciplines at that time was an "objective" definition of personality and of patients' disorders. It is thought that psychoanalysis originates from the opposition to modern psychiatry; it is said that for psychiatry, for example for the pioneer of contemporary neurology Jean Martin Charcot, the "clinical approach" is crucial, while Freud rather listens to his patients, he lets them speak, becomes their partner, tries to establish a bond of communication with his patients. In short, he tries to break up with the tradition of treating symptoms as if they were objects. Nevertheless, the unconscious is described as the "id" (*das Es*, literally 'it') and therefore is perceived as a kind of object.

However, even in his aspiration for death it is an object full of unbridled life, a nonobjective object. It is enough to ask: what object would be able to seek the state of death? We could define death exactly as transforming into an object; in such a case the unconscious would be a thing trying to reify itself. On the other hand, however, the rough division into "strict," "objectifying," and "observing" psychiatry and "humanitarian," "hermeneutic," and "listening" psychoanalysis is misleading, not because psychoanalysis has had scientific ambitions from the beginning, but rather because the discourse concerning case studies surpasses those rather simplified categories.

The term "case study"

What is a case study then? How should we understand this term? The main assumption of case studies is the belief that particular behaviors or symptoms embody in themselves a hidden regularity. The general regularity is realized in the individuality of the body. The personality and the individuality of a patient are not significant in itself, but it is rather a vehicle of expression for the illness. This is exactly what, according to the precursors of this discourse, should distinguish case studies from an ordinary collection of scattered, accidental observations, lacking regularity, which according to the 19th-century theorists of medicine were the way in which medical studies were expressed during less enlightened eras, for example the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.

A case study assumes a certain classification, a case has meaning only in the context of the classification – it can illustrate a certain classification or spur one to revise it, but nevertheless the classification still remains the crucial reference point for any case study. Despite this apparent depreciation of individual existence, the development of case studies is related to the increase in the interest in the individual. Because of this, case studies should be understood in the same context as the birth of modern subjectivity with its characteristic features such as the sense of conflict between what is social and what is individual. It is worth remembering that clinical psychiatry with its special kind of approach towards the patient emerged more or less at the same time as the first carved signatures on trees and benches appeared in the parks of France, which is more or less in the 1830s. Those individual "acts of vandalism" are a form of expression typical of modern subjectivity. In order for a subject to carve his or her initials on a certain object, two conditions must be fulfilled: it has to be woven into certain symbolic order where writing plays a crucial role and the subject must have a strong sense of distinctness and individuality. Both these conditions are crucial for the formation of medical case studies.

On the other hand, from a plainly epistemological point of view, case studies are possible as a result of overcoming or abandoning the paradigm typical of Aristotelianism and the metaphysics initiated by Aristotle. These metaphysics were based on a belief that only general and universal rules of existence should be the subject of science. Individual, random information or observation, for Aristotle, could not be a source or basis for science. Positivism however declared that it is precisely individual observation that is the basis of science.

If we look at case studies from this perspective, we can discern in an interesting way not only the innovation in Freud, but also a certain conservatism in his thought. The origins of psychoanalysis are inseparably connected with the situation of psychiatry at the turn of the century. Freud was the disciple of the prominent neurologist Jean Martin Charcot, director of a clinic in Salpetriere. Regarded by many commentators as an outstanding scientist, Charcot was at the same time a controversial figure, causing an especial uneasiness by his transformation of science into a certain kind of performance and theater. Charcot organized lectures in the Salpetriere clinic, during which he demonstrated, among other things, the disorders of his female patients by making them enter hypnotic trances and inducing attacks of hysteria. At one point the public discovered that Charcot's performances were staged, which led to increased distrust towards this discipline. Therefore the name of Freud's teacher, of his predecessor in the field of redefining the modern traumatophilic subjectivity, designates a certain crisis in positivist ambitions of the case study.

On the other hand, historians agree that the end of 19th century is a period when various forms of neurosis really bloomed. The notion of a neurosis itself was formulated much earlier, in the 18th century, by William Cullen, but by the end of the 19th century it gained new meaning as a result of the

emergence of what could be defined as a certain "class of eccentric subjects" or "neurotic subjects." In the beginning the fashionable term of "neurasthenia" or "American nervousness" was created by Beard and was meant to describe the specific features of a modern personality: inability to focus, exhaustion, lack of energy, lack of motivation to work, the desire to stay in isolation. The birth of the new, very wide and very general nosological entity "neurosis" led to the emergence of a new type of subjectivity. The subjects began to "feel neurotic," a large group of patients appeared who perceived themselves through the prism of the definition introduced by psychologists and psychiatrists. In other words, the demand for neurotic subjectivity was created.

In this context Freud entered the arena of theory and practice. As he notes in his autobiography, the moment when psychoanalysis emerged was characterized by a crisis in neurological discourse (after Charcot's tricks were disclosed) and at the same time by a real explosion of nervous disorders understood as a certain social phenomenon. Therefore, psychoanalysis was born, on one hand, as a response to the emergence of a new type of subject, and on the other hand, psychoanalysis reinforced the process of emergence of those subjects. My aim in this dissertation was to describe and diagnose this type of subjectivity. I wanted to perform this diagnosis not by presenting a certain general theory – my aim was not to describe and interpret Freud's theory of subjects – but rather I wished to present certain dynamics, to describe the manifestations of this subjectivity regardless of how Freud described them. In short, my dissertation is an attempt to do justice to the logic of the concrete and an attempt to understand the truth incorporated in what is individual, and not Freud's truth about the neurotic subject.

Dora

The reflections on traumatophilic subjects begin with the interpretation of the case of Dora. The central event in Dora's story is her confrontation with Herr K.; this event is only a nodal point in which social, cultural and political problems of the period are concentrated. The main problem is the young woman's objection to the rules of social coexistence imposed upon her. Therefore, Dora's case inspires us to reflect on political aspects of knowledge stored in the unconscious and which are unrecognized, repressed or victimized by the social environment. On the other hand, a question arises about the "reactions of psychoanalysis" to the rebellious dimension of Dora's hysteria. Perhaps the unresolved psychological conflicts of Freud himself are the basic subject of this text? Such a reading is often applied by authors that look at the problem from a gender perspective. Dora's hysteria is perceived here as a silent revolt against male power over the female body. What is interesting and puzzling in Dora's story is also Freud's struggle with the Oedipus complex. The Oedipus complex is considered the most important achievement of psychoanalysis. Lacan says that there is no humanity without Oedipus, just as there is no neurosis without Oedipus. Freud himself built his comparisons with Darwin exactly on the belief that his theory of the Oedipus complex reveals principles that are universal and crucial for the development of every individual. Hysteria challenges the Oedipus complex because it is based on the phenomenon of overdetermination; symptoms are not determined by one series of cause and effect. They are rather nodal points, in which various psychological bonds and threads intertwine. Hysteria inspires Freud to formulate a new definition of the psychic apparatus as a certain weave of intersecting lines that lack a central point, a kind of net in which each knot plays the role of a "transition center."

Dora creates a problem for psychoanalysis exactly because of the dispersion and inconsistency of her symptoms. In this patient's case it is very difficult to indicate a single identification act which would

define her identity. Dora identifies with many persons from her environment. Also, her fantasies lack explicitness, which is required in a way by the theory of the Oedipus complex. The Oedipus complex theory assumes that in the center of all symptoms lies a fundamental and unequivocal fantasy about the Father, while in Dora's case there are many such fantasies and each of them expresses a slightly different aspect of the patient's relations with the environment; each of them becomes a pretext for a different interpretation.

It appears that it is exactly in the reflection on hysteria, and not in the theory of the Oedipus complex, that we could see the authentic contribution of Freud to the theory of interpretation. Perhaps based on Dora's case we could create theories of hysterical reading in which the act of reading a work would consist in tracing colliding, tangled lines that would then be connected to each other without the ambition of obtaining a uniform, arranged picture.

On the other hand, the multidimensionality and overdetermination of Dora's symptoms are perceived by Freud as a challenge to psychoanalysis. Freud tries in a special way to control his patient's unconscious and thus fits into Hegel's master–slave dialectic which takes place between the characters of Dora's family romance. Her father's friend who makes an advance at her and is referred to in the case study as "Herr K.," reduces her to the role of a servant, treats her as his property, which causes her strong objection. On the other hand, however, the patient agrees freely to play the role of a servant of her ill father. The girl feels resentful when she is deprived of this status by her mother. Freud also unconsciously tries to reduce Dora to the role of his servant. Like every patient, Dora is for Freud only a pretext for the further formulation of his own theory. Her private life and her individuality have no meaning as an "interesting subject per se," becoming an object of interest for the researcher as the embodiment of universal rules that he has discovered. In order to be capable of becoming a character in a case study, Dora must fit into the scenario of the Oedipus complex.

Rat Man

The subject of the third chapter is the case of "Rat Man." Freud's confrontation with his patient becomes a pretext for reflection on the issue of debt, that is, the relation between the libidinal economy, economy of desire and political economy, i.e. the economy of classes, which assumes a conflict between the dominated and the dominating. On the other hand, this story becomes a pretext for the discussion of disorders of capitalist ethics as well as Protestant ethics as the spirit of capitalism according to Max Weber. In this context I consider the hypothesis of Eli Zaretski, who suggests that psychoanalysis is the Calvinism of the second industrial revolution and as such constitutes a certain ethical paradigm of modernity.

In the center of the constellation of disorders of Freud's patient there is a debt and the disorders begin with obsessive attempts to pay off the inexistent debt. As Lacan says, the patient's neurosis is a "protest against a symbolic debt." By speaking of a "symbolic debt," Lacan means a debt towards the symbolic, in other words, we are talking about an obligation towards the Other, an obligation which enslaves Freud's patient. Rat Man's obsessive thoughts and behaviors appear here as expressions of the struggle with the symbolic order and they are a certain form of revolt against it.

In my interpretation, I aim at presenting Rat Man's neurosis as a form of relieving the model of social exchange. The patient's symptoms show how deep the unconscious is connected with the mechanisms of economic exchange. On the other hand, this case becomes a starting point for a reflection on the religiousness of modern man. Rat Man represents in an especially interesting way a kind of

fetishism, which can be concisely expressed as "I know very well, but..." Rat Man is aware that myths and religious rituals have no meaning, but he still constantly tries to reproduce them in his behavior. Consequently, we can see in Freud's patient's disorders a particular kind of parody of religiousness. This parody is most fully expressed in the obsessive thoughts about torture which the patient has. These obsessive thoughts about torture are induced by a story heard at a military mess hall which has its source in the novel by Octave Mirbeau, *The Torture Garden*. The obsession about torture becomes the source of *jouissance* – pleasure combined with suffering. What is interesting in the story of this patient is how superficial hedonism and cynicism blend with magical thinking. Rat Man appears to be a very rational individual who seemingly accepts the rules governing the capitalist society. On the other hand, his unconscious denies this image and destroys this arranged picture of a rational subject.

Schreber

In the fourth chapter I analyze Schreber's psychosis. Judge Schreber's schizophrenia has become an inspiration for countless commentaries and reflections. This must be attributed to the fact that Schreber's records describing his disorders present his worldview as unusually unconventional, fantastical even and mythological. Judge Schreber is subject to a complete disintegration of experience, a complete obliteration of the borders between the "ego" and the world.

For Freud, Schreber's case study is a pretext for reflection on homosexuality. The creator of psychoanalysis proves that Judge Schreber is a victim of repression of hidden homosexual tendencies and that suppression of homosexual love for his father leads to a certain dialectic of love. Simply put, repression is connected here with the statement "I do not love him." This thesis is negated and transformed subsequently into "He does not love me" and "He hates me and persecutes me." The Freudian theory of psychosis should of course be set in the cultural context of his time. The cause of the psychosis is not homosexuality as such, but strongly repressed homosexuality. Freud's interpretation became a starting point for numerous references and commentaries. One of the most interesting is the interpretation of Erica Santner, who argues that the schizophrenia of the judge is a response to the "decay of power." In other words, it is about the crisis of symbolic order itself.

In my interpretation of this case I develop Freud's thesis, setting it in the context of deliberations about social bond. In his text *Group Psychology and The Analysis of The Ego* Freud claims that it is exactly homosexual love that constitutes the base for social feelings; this love is of course subject to some sublimation, but it is based on the libido of those who are oriented towards homogenous people, i.e. people equal to each other. People deserve the same amount of the Father's love. They must however love each other, according to the commandment from the Book of Leviticus. The fundamental rule of this love is the aspiration to identify oneself with the Others by means of a charismatic figure of a leader. If we look at Schreber's disorders in this context, we can see in them a certain form of disintegration of social bond.

On the other hand, what is characteristic of Schreber's psychosis is the transformation of the Other into an object, and more precisely, into a machine. Schreber is constantly haunted by different machines: he is tormented by complicated machines that write down his thoughts; the tissues of other subjects are located in his body. In this case psychosis can be understood as a symptom of the increase in technological superiority, as a reaction to trans-technological world. These lines were first set out by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus*.

From my perspective however, we can present this approach a bit differently. We can see in Schreber's psychosis disorders of the bond with the Other, the disorders that result in a natural way from the progressive process of replacing the other person with a machine. Thus, psychosis appears as a logical response to the disappearance of the bond with another person, to replacing a relationship with another person by a relationship with a machine. Mechanization of consciousness, mechanic consciousness, constant surveillance of consciousness by observation devices – these are the main obsessions of the psychotic subject. In this mechanistic paradigm psychosis would be a reaction to the artificiality of others, a reaction to the superficiality of existence, a response to the "lightness of existence," capitalism without friction, and capitalism of machines of the second modernity. Psychosis appears here from this perspective as an attempt to react to the changed social reality, as a desperate attempt of establishing a relationship with another person who always remains something "artificial." I might slightly exaggerate by claiming that Schreber's obsession is not the love of the other person, but the love of a machine. "Love your machine as yourself" – this is what haunts Schreber.

Conclusions

What is traumatophilic subjectivity then? What connects the subjects of the analysis is what, paradoxically, distinguishes them. The common feature of the described case studies is exactly the division, the internal tear, the antagonism. Surely the subjects of the case studies are connected by a certain general direction of their antagonism. The core of Freud's patients' disorders is objection. We can therefore suggest that the unconscious is rebellious in principle, that it is a certain form of resistance. It would be much more difficult, however, to determine what exactly the subject of this resistance is. Cultural conventions, stereotypes, the rules of social coexistence established from above, the function of the Father? Perhaps traumatophilic subjectivity is born in the act of revolt against clichés, banalities, the shallowness of everyday relationships? Perhaps a fixation on shock would be a way of escaping from the meaningless triviality of ordinary existence?

In Freud's view the origins of the unconscious can be compared to smashing a crystal. As a result of a certain shock, a process of disintegration follows, but this takes place according to previously established lines. Undoubtedly, it is destruction and disintegration that are the subject of the discussed case studies. Does disintegration really happen according to previously determined lines? Is disintegration even regular and is it subject to the law of structure?

Perhaps the process of destruction and reconstruction of psychic apparatus cannot be reduced to one specified scheme. Perhaps the subjectivities of patients are so varied that it is impossible to draw coherent and internally consistent conclusions from them? The only certainty which we are provided by the presented study would be then a certainty about the diffused, foggy antagonism, devoid of a source, which is expressed in the fates of individuals and sets our existence in motion. Freud as the author of the text *Drives and Their Fates* might agree to such an interpretation. Perhaps the proper subject of my dissertation are not "traumatophilic subjects" as much as their complex, unpredictable fates, evading a clinical approach and full of dramatic twists. These traumatophilic subjects, once condemned by culture and society, today become banal and ordinary in our world; they become the prefiguration of our common, everyday, generalized subjectivity.

Karolina Mroziewicz

Photo. Krzysztof Miziolek

Graduated from the University of Warsaw in Classical Philology and Art History. She has undertaken research and studies at the Freie Universität Berlin (2007–2008), University of Oxford (2011–2012) and Central European University in Budapest (2012–2013, 2014). Currently she heads the research group "*Rex nunquam moritur.* Comparative Approaches to Political Theologies from the Middle Ages to the Present" working within the framework of the National Programme for the Development of Humanities (module 2.1. 2014–2016). From October 2015 she is due to start work as assistant professor in the Institute of Art History at the Jagiellonian University as part of the post-doctoral internship "Fuga" granted by the National Science Center of Poland for research on the project "*Icones regum*. Illustrated galleries of rulers in the national narratives of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic." Her current interests revolve around the literary and visual culture of the late Middle Ages and Early Modernity, the relationships between visual and literary representations, and illustrated books along with their role in identity discourses and cultural memory in Central Europe.

PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488–1700)

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 11th of June, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488–1700)

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The work on my thesis was accompanied by protests against limiting the autonomy of cultural institutions in Hungary and monopolizing of the discussion about Hungarian national identity. The events which I observed from the sidelines, *sine ira et studio*, convinced me that it is worth looking at the modern identity discourse from a perspective of a person from the outside (although still a close neighbor), one who perceives the Hungary of today through the events and artifacts of the 15th–17th centuries. Illustrated chronicles, printed portraits of sovereigns or galleries of ancestors, the production of which required significant political and financial capital, were a powerful tool that propagated and "imprinted" certain identity standards. They were used to modify the narratives concerning the common history and adjust them to the political and cultural needs of influential clients. The illustrated pages of early printed books were an area in which disputes over identity and polemics were carried out, which due to the figurative and Latin-language message engaged a wide circle of members of the multicultural and multilingual community of readers. The narratives of the late medieval and early modern illustrated prints allow embedding the present dispute in the long history of identity debate and reflection on the role of art in defining and consolidating of political and cultural communities. They enable a more complete understanding of cultural and identity-forming mechanisms, which have determined the social and cultural landscape of Central Europe.

Problems of the thesis and definitions

The main aim of the dissertation was to show the active role of figurative and literary historical narrations popularized by means of illustrated printed books in processes concerning identity. Using the example of Hungarian cultural artifacts, I showed that old illustrated books used to be (and still are) important tools of communicating, objects within which and by means of which individual and collective identity was expressed, strengthened and consolidated. The long-term effect of the graphic and literary message of analyzed books, which was possible thanks to the numerous editions, translations, adaptations and repetitions in various media, had a normative character. It gradually standardized the corpus of historical images, which became an important component of the national, cultural, social, religious and professional identifications of their recipients. Referring to the notion of "imprinting" allowed me to show how crucial the meaning of medieval narratives (mainly the chronicle tradition) was for the forming of the set of collective ideas on which the further identity discourse in Hungary is based.

The term "imprinting" used in ethology, psychology, and organizational theory, describes mechanisms of identifying, as well as fixing and copying models of behavior inculcated at early stages of an individual or an organization's development. I introduced the concept, popularized by Konrad Lorenz and his study of the behavior of ducks and geese, into my analysis of processes that formed

national identities in ages past and the present day, because this concept highlights the meaning of the grounding circumstances for further ways in which national communities function. Furthermore, "imprinting" means in English both recording in one's memory a thought, image or idea, as well as printing words or images. Therefore, the meaning of the notion as used in the title of the thesis refers both to identity-forming processes, and to activities connected with producing and copying illustrated printed books. Such a wide semantic range of the term used for describing an old book allows one to grasp the vital element of the book, its potency of life, as John Milton described it in 1644. The power of reviving the imagination and stimulating the reader to active reception is what changes the way of the reader's thinking, his perception of the world and of himself.

The interactive character of using the book and its active participation in the process of creating, receiving and transmitting cultural messages plays a key role in the emergence, negotiation and consolidation of identity models. The constructivist definition of identity proposed by Peter Burke and Jan Stets, which I follow in my work, clearly highlights this. It claims that "identity is a set of meanings which describe who a particular individual is and what their role is in the society and in a specific group; or it determines detailed features that define the uniqueness of a given person" (Peter J. Burke, Jan Stets, *Identity Theory*, Oxford 2009, 3). The narrative understanding of identity, which narrows the capacious definition by Burke and Stets, is as follows: "identity is created in the stories that we tell about ourselves; in the reality we are the 'storied selves'" (Bethan Benwell, Elizabeth Stokoe, *Discourse and Identity*, Edinburgh 2006, 9).

Therefore, I have carried out two-stage analysis of stories that were transmitted on the pages of illustrated books. The first stage consisted of an analysis of visual and literary narratives from the point of view of their content and their mutual connections, as well as in paying attention to the relationship, complementarity or antagonistic character of the visual and textual message. In this stage of research I first analyzed smaller visual and literary particles, and then I extended the area of analysis to larger visual and textual structures, and I determined their functions within the book. The second stage of my work consisted of a critical narrative analysis and it focused on exploring the interactional context, the social practices and communicative practices of which the analyzed narratives were a part.

Following Paul Ricoeur I defined the narratives as "semantic innovations," socially constructed realities activated by literary, visual and verbal signs (Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, translated by Kathleen McLaughlin, David Pellauer, Chicago 1984, vol. 1, IX–X). I was particularly interested in narratives concerning the past, in which the community was the subject or which were constructed in such a way that the presented story of an individual would reinforce the collective identity.

In my work I have adopted the culturological perspective which takes into account the perspective of a historian and a philologist (including a critical analysis of visual and literary narratives), the sociological approach to the history of books (the communication model proposed by Robert Darnton and expanded by Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker), as well as widely understood identity studies.

The scope of the analysis and the source base

The main subject of the analysis consisted of incunabula and printed books containing the history of the reigns of St. Stephen in Latin, accompanied by an extensive series of illustrations. The chronological and geographical boundaries of the work were determined by the dynamics and the specific features of the production of illustrated books in Hungary. The timeframes applied here focus on the

formative period in the history of printing, which was very important for illustrated printed books in the 18th and 19th centuries. The analysis begins from the publication of the *Chronica Hungarorum* by János Thuróczy (Brno, Augsburg 1488), and ends with the edition of the gallery of the ancestors of the Esterházy dynasty, titled *Trophaeum Estorasianae* (Vienna 1700). While the Hungarian chronicle is heir to the late medieval literary and art tradition and a frequently consulted source, the series of portraits of ancestors exhausts the possibilities of applying former literary and visual patterns, and its influence is visible almost exclusively in the circle of the Esterházy family. Apart from these two items, the source base for this dissertation included (in chronological order): *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* (Nuremberg, 1664), the life of St. Ladislaus *Rex admirabilis s. vita S. Ladislai* by István Tarnóczy (Vienna, 1681) and *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia* by Gábor Hevenesi (Trnava, 1692) together with their later editions and variants. I extended the corpus of analyzed sources, among others, with a series of graphic portraits (*Icones heroum Hungariae*, Vienna, 1652), seals, coins, book illuminations, loose graphics, sculptures and oil paintings, thanks to which it was possible to carry out a more extensive comparative analysis. In the dissertation I have also discussed the reception that the books analyzed received in later centuries and I demonstrated the long lifespan of the visual and literary narrations that were spread through them. Assuming the extended time perspective that stretches up to the present day allowed me to point out the most important semantic shifts within the analyzed narratives.

The geographical frames of the work included printing centers such as Vienna and Nuremberg, as well as local centers of smaller scale such as Brno and Trnava (Hungarian: Nagyszombat). I have not analyzed Transylvanian publications, however, because in the period in question they did not print any illustrated histories of Hungary in Latin.

Thanks to a survey of the changing borders of the Kingdom of Hungary I could trace the complex geography of the illustrated book in Hungary. The adopted chronology, which did not correspond to the various periodizations of Hungarian books used so far that had been proposed by Alexander Apponyi, Károly Szabó and Katalin S. Németh, allowed me to grasp the most dynamic period both in the history of illustrated books, as well as in the development of the Latin language in Hungary.

The first Hungarian illustrated chronicle – *Chronica Hungarorum* – was written in Latin as was typical for late medieval historiography. It was translated by Italian humanists at the court of Mattias Corvinus into the language of Livy and set in the world of images from classical antiquity. Thanks to that, the Hungarian national mythology received a Roman costume. Only the beginnings of the Reformation in Hungary awakened interest in the vernacular language. The number of publications in Hungarian increased to such an extent that by the end of the 16th century it surpassed the production of Latin publications. This proportion changed however in the 1640s when Counter-Reformation activists propagated the use of Latin as a language of effective and universal communication. At the same time, within the multi-ethnic and multilingual Kingdom of Hungary, Latin facilitated communication in the field of culture (especially historiography) and politics, and it also had a magyarizing function. Moreover, until 1844 it was the official language of Hungarian administration. This special role and status of Latin in Hungary, its important place in the identity discourse and its "export" function were the reason for which I decided to focus on books written in this language.

Dissertation layout

The dissertation consists of an introduction, five analytical chapters, summary, index of sources and literature on the subject, an index of illustrations and an appendix comprising a list of battle depictions

in the Augsburg edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* as well as of the graphics illustrating the life of St. Ladislaus and the *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia.*

In the first analytical chapter (*Historical Imagery*) I discuss the myths about the modern origins of the Hungarians, the introduction of Christianity, the long tradition of fighting against the un-Christian enemy as well as the contexts in which these images were set. The second chapter of the dissertation (*Patron Saints*) is devoted to religious issues and to the role of the patron saints of the Kingdom of Hungary: St. Stephen, St. Emeric, St. Ladislaus and the Virgin Mary, in the consolidation of collective identities. The next part of the dissertation (*Rulers of Hungary*) contains an analysis of depictions of kings and their function in building relations with their people. The images of rulers are also characterized as ideograms of values, important for preserving the cohesion of political community. Chapter 4 (*Nobility and Aristocracy*) focuses on portraits of the representatives of the higher social strata and on how they were and wanted to be seen. In this part of the dissertation I paid attention to, among other themes, the disjointed identity constructs resulting from conflicts of loyalty, which were particularly strong during the times of the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. In the last, fifth chapter (*Afterlife of Illustrated Books on Hungarian History*) I presented the main mechanisms and models of reception of illustrated books and the areas of their reception starting from the 15th century until the present. I have revealed different trajectories of reception of visual and literary narratives as well as the remarkable longevity of founding myths, the roots of which reach back to the oldest Hungarian chronicles and which thanks to printing have survived in the memory of Hungarians and have determined the character of the present Hungarian political community. The surveyed publications not only preserved and visualized founding myths, but they also adapted these myths to new historical realities and to the expectations of their recipients. The main conclusion of the analyses carried out is that if one wants to understand national identifications today, it is necessary to look at their late medieval and modern precursors.

Value of the dissertation

The dissertation is a voice in the present debate on the ways of studying identity in the Middle Ages and in the modern era. Its aim is to point to old illustrated books as an important and active participant of identity-forming processes. Researchers who were first to show the social effect of print (such as Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, among others), as well as the next generations of their pupils, omit the role of book illustration in the consolidation of collective images and identifications. Also the most recent works that take up the issue of the role of visual arts in the formation of national identities (cf. Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe, 1600–1850*, 2013) do not pay attention to this medium. Nevertheless, as I have shown in my work, the role of illustrated books is crucial for understanding the ways in which identity models in the 15th–17th centuries were constructed, propagated and modified.

The discussion that was initiated in the Anglo-Saxon and French milieu on the subject of the role of books in building cultural communities does not take Central Europe into account. Including material from Hungary and Poland in these studies, which have rarely been analyzed outside Hungarian and Polish science, brings a better understanding of identity-forming mechanisms taking place in multicultural, multi-ethnic and multilingual territories. Therefore, the aim of my doctorate was to propose an interpretation of the rich but little known achievements of Hungarian printing, which shows the complexity and distinctiveness of the Hungarian cultural environment. The adopted perspective and the conceptual apparatus allowed me, using the example of Hungarian illustrated books,

to discuss such universal issues as the relationship between visual and literary narratives, their effect on literary and visual culture and their involvement in identity-forming processes in ages past. Thus, the dissertation constitutes a valuable starting point for more detailed research on the active role of printed illustrated books in social and cultural mechanisms as well as for further comparative analysis.

Natalia Obukowicz

Photo. Salah Boudi

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Lamentation in Polemical Literature during the French Wars of Religion

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 11th of June, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Lamentation in Polemical Literature during the French Wars of Religion*

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The genesis of the research problem

> *Everyone can see that those tragedies lead to ruin, downfall and reversal of fortune in this miserable kingdom: the love of my country, the Christian piety and the pity that I feel seeing my fellow citizens and myself consumed by the flames of civil wars* [...] *motivated me to take my pen and respond to all those damnable writings out of fear that people may be convinced by them and oppose truth and justice* [...].[1]

We may read this passage with a certain astonishment. Isn't polemic always hateful? Ready to attack the adversary with the harshest insults and the cruelest accusations? The pitiful tone of this quote may seem incongruent with the mainstream vision of the early modern religious polemics associated mainly with hatred and verbal violence. In his classic definition of polemical discourse, Marc Angenot stresses the rational dimension of this kind of persuasive writing which is necessarily combined with aggression. My research on French polemics of the second half of the 16th century revealed the existence of polemical texts that were clearly situated beyond the existing theoretical framework. My MA thesis was devoted to the historical and literary analysis of a polemical text entitled *L'Irenophile discours de la paix* published in 1594 by Jacques d'Apchon to support Henry IV in his campaign for national unification. As a literary student confronted with what was considered a historical document, I found myself methodologically challenged in two ways. First, polemical writings had been mainly explored by historians of ideas (such as Vittorio de Caprariis). How could I approach a polemical text not as a source of information about a particular ideology or historical events but as a piece of literature? Second, historians saw the polemical discourse – accordingly to its etymology (Greek *polemikos* 'warlike, hostile') – as a prolongation of the military confrontation and as such "condemned" to express mainly hatred (Luc Racaut, Claude Postel). The text that I had in front of me was violent and offensive towards the king's opponents and towards Protestants, but at the same time it was making an appeal to the reader's pity. Can polemics work without adopting a tone of vituperation or invectiveness ?

These problematic issues called for further exploration that I could undertake several years later thanks to the Foundation for Polish Science that co-funded my doctoral research. I decided to study a broader corpus of polemical texts from a literary perspective and to analyze their ways of conveying a pathetic appeal. I eventually chose to limit my research on polemical *pathos* to the appeal to pity which – as I believed – played a very particular role in a time of violence. In my dissertation, I

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* The original title of Ph.D. dissertation: *Lamentation dans la littérature polémique aux temps des guerres de religion en France*.

[1] *Apologie catholique contre les libelles, declarations, advis, consultations faictes, escrites et publiees par les Liguez perturbateurs du repos du Royaume de France*, 1586, p. 9; transl. N. O.

examine lamentation in polemical literature during the Wars of Religion in France, a period of civil conflict between French Catholics and Protestants that started with the massacre of Huguenots in Vassy in 1562 and came to a close with the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The series of military operations was accompanied by the increase of polemical publications fostered by the invention of the printing press – an impassioned exchange of persuasive writings between Catholics and Protestants and later on also between royalists and their ultra-catholic opponents, designated usually by scholars as the "War of Words" (*guerre des mots*). I prefer to define polemical literature not by its content, tone or style, but as a voice that is intended to establish the truth against false opinions. My sources include around 130 polemical texts in verse and prose, but also other kinds of documents such as correspondence, religious and political treaties and discourses.

My research has evolved in an important way through the four years of my doctoral studies. I owe a lot to the feedback of my Ph.D. advisor, my reviewers, my colleagues, and sometimes to the serendipity that plays such an underestimated role in the digital humanities. At first, I planned to study the development of the so-called *lamentatio temporis* – the complaint over the present decline – that would appear, as I thought, at the beginning of the religious wars and which was successfully replaced by the discourse of consolation coming from the royalist party. I abandoned this deterministic narrative and I decided to concentrate instead on several case studies as I saw that each polemical text creates its own dynamics of complaint and consolation in which a particular crisis situation begins, develops, and comes to an end. While I was planning at first to describe the representations of the blissful past and the miserable present, it became clear to me that it is much more interesting to see how a polemical text compares the two in order to persuade the reader. I understood as well that it is more appropriate to consider lamentation as a more general mode of discourse that is rooted in Christian ethics of suffering and in the tradition of literary and rhetorical complaint and I decided to define it in a broader way, on one hand, as an expression of sorrow and on the other hand, as an appeal to pity.

Methodological challenges

We may see nowadays a renewed interest in polemical literature. French pamphlets have lately become one of the main preoccupations of various library institutions in Europe and in the USA that are digitizing and cataloging their collections. This is indeed a unique opportunity for a researcher, but it is also an equally important challenge. An increasingly complete body of polemical writings requires an increasingly holistic approach to the polemical culture, such as those adopted by Tatiana Debbagi Baranova or Antónia Szabari. Inspired by this approach, I decided to use lamentation as a conceptual tool for exploring the polemical production of that time.

One of the assumptions of my research that I share with certain historians (Denis Crouzet, Tatiana Debbagi Baranova) is as follows: the literary form of a polemical text does have a historical sense. This is why my research took on an interdisciplinary character as I was combining the poetic and rhetorical analysis with historical data in order to grasp the functioning of a particular text in given historical circumstances.

Since the 1980s, French polemical discourse has been frequently analyzed through the rhetorical framework (i.e. Nicole Cazauran, Marie-Madelaine Fragonard). These studies enabled an understanding of the sophisticated techniques of polemical persuasion but at the same time separated polemics from the literary production of their era and contributed to the maintenance of a false belief that polemics can be reduced to the aggressive subliterature that has nothing to offer to a literary scholar.

This somewhat reductive image of polemics is in fact inherited from Romanticism, which distinguished true literature from poorly written, ephemeral texts dealing with contemporary events. The early modern polemics belong, however, to the noble tradition of *bonae litterae* aimed at serving the common good and should be examined with literary tools as well.

Polemical exchange in the 16th century is often seen in terms of emergence as a proto-form of a discursive space and public debate (Martial Martin, Roger Chartier, Francis Higman). Through the analysis of polemical lamentation, I realized the need to make a shift of perspective and to see these polemics not only as a phenomenon preceding a political debate in a modern society but also as a multilayered mode of discourse that is nourished by the rich rhetorical and poetic tradition of the past.

Main thesis

My focus on lamentation is an attempt to challenge certain consecrated opinions concerning early modern polemics. The main conviction that I wish to contest is that polemic is always violent and that its only goal is to attack the adversary in a verbal battle with pen and paper. In my thesis, I argue that we should not limit the polemical *pathos* to indignation and violence. I accentuate the appeasing role of polemical literature, which may shed some new light on the polemical texts conceived by historians mainly as "hate speeches." As René Girard claims, religious violence is accepted only as a means of restoring peace and I am dealing with the militant literature as a means of pacification rather than purely a "verbal weapon."

As I already stressed in my dissertation, my work was not supposed to be polemical. I did not aim to deny the impact of hatred and verbal violence in early modern polemics that has been masterfully analyzed by so many researchers (e.g. Denis Crouzet and Jan Miernowski). My thesis is rather about broadening the perspective on polemical devices and polemical rhetorics of passions. My main goal was to find out how the lamentation could function as a polemical form. I tried to understand polemical mourning by exploring several aspects of polemical literature such as the *ethos* of the polemicist, the poetic *inventio*, the rhetoric of pity and, finally, the ontology of polemics.

Summary of argument

The ethos *of the polemicist*

In the time of crisis, good advice is of the highest importance. Who has the right and the sufficient authority to take part in deliberations on public issues? Who has enough power to be listened to and to be followed? Polemical authors address the audience through the use of a certain *persona.* They feel the need to define their own position and to legitimize their discourse. The *ethos* is crucial for understanding the polemical complaint and I discuss this question in the first chapter of my thesis. Dominique Brancher pointed to hatred and to the excess of black bile that make polemicists speak their hearts. The close reading of several publications proved that these observations needed to be nuanced and sometimes rectified, as far as the texts that I came across were concerned. Their authors were not moved by anger, but rather by melancholy and sorrow.

I managed to distinguish three main types of the lamenting *ethos*. The first example that I analyze in this chapter is the figure of a divinely inspired poet that I found in the polemical text written by François d'Amboise (*Odes lamentables*, 1568). In the opening passage, the poet sees the lonely and miserable France and drinks the "sad water" of her tears, which makes him compose poetry on her behalf. This image suggests that there is a parallel source of inspiration that would have the same effect

as the Hippocrene fountain and would enable the polemical author to attain the force of poetry and to take on the effect of divine inspiration (*furor divinus*). The second figure is a prophet – a mixture of Ronsard, Nostradamus and biblical Jerome or Jonas predicting imminent destruction. Finally, we may distinguish the most humble figure, namely that of a "good French nobleman," preoccupied with the national conflict and the future of his country. The divine inspiration is replaced in this case by the necessity of speaking aloud when others remain silent. The important conclusion of the first chapter is that the polemical author is not presenting himself as an orator, a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. He is rather putting forward an external force behind his discourse (such as poetic or prophetic furor) or an internal disposition (suffering, good intentions, sincerity).

The poetics of lamentation

The question of polemical *ethos* led me to explore the role of poetry as a polemical device. Poetry is a common language of a *vates*, a prophet and a nobleman, a mode of discourse in which they express their anxiety. How is the polemicist modeling his voice? Which lyrical genre does he imitate to formulate his own complaint? In the second chapter of my dissertation, I analyze poetic antecedents that have inspired polemical lamentation. In other words, I explore the literary genealogy of the polemical complaint. How does the veil of poetry transform the polemical message? How do different genres of *déploration* shape the polemical lamentation?

I distinguish five genres that became the gold mine of commonplaces of decline and regret. First of all, these are the pastoral literature and its reversal – the melancholic eclogue. While the bucolic genre celebrated the time of peace and prosperity that the new king would bring, the royalist and Catholic texts representing the peasants chased from their Arcadia, became a powerful vehicle of the irenic ideology. Secondly, I analyze the impact of late medieval allegorical complaints on Ronsard, several minor poets as well as Protestant authors who refer not only to the personifications of France created by Alain Chartier, Christine de Pizan or Eustache Deschamps but who also share their status as impartial advisors who speak in the name of truth. Thirdly, the *lamento storico*, a narrative poem well known during the Italian Wars (1494–1559) that deplores the destroyed cities, is analyzed as an important intertext for French plaintive songs. Written by and for soldiers, they became popular in a period of intense sieges of several Protestant cities (La Rochelle, Sancerre, La Charité, Anvers, Issoire) following the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Fourthly, I analyze the genre of tragedy that tries to legitimize the massacre by applying a literary strategy of representing the leader of the French Protestants as a tragic hero, an unrepentant sinner who deserved his deplorable end. The last genre I examine is called the *gélodacrye*, a compound referring to laughter and tears combined, which designates the paradoxical poetic style of Jacques Grévin. It was transformed into a polemical tool in a text by Leonard La Ville (*Dacrygelasie spirituelle,* 1572) who claims that the laments of those who remain faithful to the Catholic Church will one day be turned into joy.

In the first chapter of my thesis, I insisted that polemical authors presented the lamentation as the new poetry of the Iron Age, but the second chapter enables the reader to understand that these kinds of statements were only a part of the polemical *ethos*. In the second chapter, I tried indeed to demonstrate how deeply the polemical lamentation was inspired by the Western literary tradition of complaint. It is also important to understand that the use of different poetic genres and of the metaphorical language is not due to the aesthetic impossibility of representing the drama in an explicit and straightforward way. From the Renaissance perspective, poetic *inventio* enables one to grasp the very essence of events. Poetry does not hide the truth, but on the contrary, it makes it understandable.

The rhetorics of lamentation

In the third chapter of my thesis, I turn to rhetoric. Aristotle defines pity as a painful affect experienced in the face of unmerited suffering (*Rhetorics*, II, 83–92; *Poetics*, 1385b–1415). Cicero presents sixteen commonplaces that may rouse compassion through the rhetorical tropes of *conquestio*/*commiseratio* (*On Invention*, I, 7). Plato's *Republic* forbids lamentation and all kinds of pitiful sounds for it may trigger vengeful desires and endanger the stability of the *polis* (*Republic*, III, 398e–399e). Pity is considered by classical authors mainly in the context of poetics and court and it seems useless if not noxious in politics. This is clearly not the case in 16th-century France facing religious and political crisis. The third chapter of my dissertation has therefore a double aim. It is divided into three sections devoted to the rhetorical appeals to pity in different types of eloquence: royal eloquence, judicial rhetorics, and pulpit oratory that participate in the polemical culture of that period. Furthermore, I try to understand the role of lamentation and pity in the French kingdom torn apart by religious wars.

The royal discourse of suffering seems at first glance to be at odds with the dominating image of the Valois court as a monarchy aspiring to the Neo-Platonic ideal of harmony where the philosopher-king is seeking to restore the peaceful Golden Age. While reading documents related to the Valois royalty one is struck by the exuberant exhibition of personal suffering. In her correspondence, Catherine de' Medici expresses not only a motherly reticent devotion to her children but also an ardent lamentation over the destiny of her sons and the kingdom which may be interpreted as the complaint of the *mater dolorosa*, the Mother of Sorrow. Moreover, the rhetoric of her sons, Charles IX and Henry III, seems to follow the same path of suffering and sacrifice. In searching for an explanation of this phenomenon, I suggest that the royal rhetoric of lamentation is paradoxically meant to save the royal dignity in the harsh times of violent anti-royalist polemics. According to the Christian philosophy of suffering, the pain will eventually be rewarded. Thus, the suffering of Catherine makes her the mother of the whole nation who should be venerated. Charles IX represented as a persecuted victim proves his innocence in the face of all the accusations and Henry III as *Christus dolens* obtains moral victory over his enemies.

I discuss the relation between power and pity in the next part of the chapter, where I try to go beyond the common understanding of terms such as "concord" and "harmony" as well as that of "Piety and Justice" which form the motto of Charles IX coined by Michel de L'Hospital, the chancellor of France. In order to understand the chancellor's rhetorics of pity, one needs to look closer into his vision of state harmony inspired by the Neo-Platonic notion of justice and Christian *pietas* (with its double meaning of "piety" and "pity"). Michel de L'Hospital abundantly uses the rhetorical appeal to pity (*conquestio*) when speaking about the king – a poor orphan in debt – and about the situation in the kingdom, which led me to argue that he aims at creating a "community of pity" in the divided country in order to restore the lost unity.

In the third section, I claim that polemical texts using the rhetorics of lamentation seem to put the reader in the position of conversion. The discourse of the ultra-catholic movement, based on the call for repentance leading to internal transformation, proves the existence of the relationship between polemical persuasion and Christian psychagogy in which the lamentation of the penitent plays the most important role. I refer here as well to the polemics around the famous conversion of Henry IV, but also to his campaign that called the members of the Holy League to confess their political sins in order to join the community of the State.

The art of polemical lamentation

All of these questions concerning *ethos* and *pathos* of the polemical complaint led me finally to explore the very nature of polemics. The fourth and the last chapter of my thesis is an attempt to understand the role of the lamentation as a polemical instrument and to explore the contemporary perception of polemics. The concepts of truth and opinion are crucial for defining the ontology of polemics in early modern France. The truth that the polemical author defends is not a personal conviction expressed in the courageous act of *parrhesia* but an absolute, permanent and unitary truth. He can convince the reader of his message only if he convinces him first that he speaks the truth. In the Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, the opinion (*doxa*) is an imperfect, superficial, and approximate understanding of truth, but it is nevertheless a necessary stage in the quest for certainty (Plato, *Meno*, [97c]; Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, I, 33, [89a]). In polemical texts, truth is often personified as a persecuted victim or a refugee, while opinion becomes a monster like in the well-known *Discourse on the Miseries of this Time* by Ronsard where she represents misleading illusion inspired by excessive arrogance. In the second half of the 16th century, the divergence of opinions is a synonym of public illness. "Truth is lost when there are too many disputes," says Louis Dorléans. It is therefore believed that polemical texts disturb the national unity and that fallacious rhetoric ruins the social order.

What is then the specific nature of lamentation as a polemical instrument? While lamentation can be vehement and pity can attack and bite, polemical literature also has other functions than cultivating hatred and calling for war. According to Cicero and Quintilian, the two most powerful emotions are anger (*ira*) and pity (*misericordia*) (Cicero, *Oratore*, 28; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII, 10). In addition, in the Aristotelian or Ciceronian economy of passions, pity can counter violence and rage (Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, II [1378a]; Cicero, *ibidem*). In his *Exhortation* written in 1558, Ronsard calls the reader to "change anger into pity," which may prove that French polemical authors see lamentation as a means to appease one passion through another in order to end social disputes in a peaceful way.

In the appendix to my work, I present a transcription of six polemical texts crucial for my argument which are either relatively unknown to scholarship or hardly accessible.

Conclusive Remarks

Lamenting the time of the civil war and misery may seem so evident that the complex logic of the complaint and its polemical function becomes neglected. In my dissertation, I wanted to enable the reader to grasp the diversity of lamentation and to understand its functioning in polemical literature. I may conclude that lamentation is a polemical practice that is grounded in poetic and rhetorical tradition, a practice mainly aimed at neutralizing violence with pity, and as such, it can be seen as a powerful instrument of peace. Let me argue finally that the lamentation can not only be seen as an attempt to bring back the lost harmony. It may also be considered as an attempt to restore the lost power of the word itself at the time when things and words become more and more disconnected. I strongly believe that my work – while deeply rooted in the context of early modern France – may contribute as well to a better understanding of crisis-related discourse that invariably uses the classic metaphors of decline in order to find an appropriate framing for undesirable events and to facilitate problem-solving.

Krzysztof Skonieczny

Photo. Weronika Kosińska

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

The Animal and the Human. A Perspective of Immanence

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 20th of November, 2014; Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences

The Animal and the Human. A Perspective of Immanence

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The research that I conducted during my doctoral studies was inspired by surprise. The same surprise made Derrida shout, "Animal, what a word!" To put it more correctly, the surprise is caused not so much by the word "animal" itself, but by the comparison of animal and man, which most often takes the form of the contrast of man against animal, or the question of how man is different from an animal. It is not one or another answer to this question that is intriguing, but rather the assumption on which it is based: that man and animal can be compared at all, as if they were equivalent elements. Why? On one side there is a genus, while on the other side there is a species. The question of how different animals are from humans is the same kind of question as "How different is an animal from a dog or a horse?" That is, it simply seems nonsense. Nevertheless, this question is asked and it is answered exactly in this form, with the man on one side and the animal on the other, in addition most often written with a capital letter or in languages that allow it, preceded by a definite article: the animal or *l'animal*. Therefore, the grounds of the question turn out to be more important than the question itself, the reflection on how is it possible at all to make this kind of comparison and in what way one should think to acknowledge the existence of a radical boundary between Man and Animal. The central question of my thesis is therefore: "What are the grounds for such thinking which allows acknowledging a radical difference between Man and Animal?"

The entire remaining part of the dissertation is an account of the search for answers to this question. The first step in this is an analysis of Giorgio Agamben's *The Open*. Agamben seeks the place that the line between man and animal runs through and he finds it in the man himself. Man is not simply human, he is human and animal at the same time, as if he is split. This is seen for example in the 41st question from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*. According to him man shares with animal the animal part of the soul, but he himself also has a rational part and it is that part that is meant to live forever. Having a thinking soul is a necessary and sufficient condition of being human. Similarly, according to Descartes, for example in his *Meditations on First Philosophy*, although man consists of both soul and body, it is the soul that is the necessary and sufficient condition of being human. Such an interpretation causes us to change the way in which we read the traditional definitions of man, usually understood in the classical way using the closest genus (*genus proximum*) and the species difference (*differentia specifica*). Man is not, for example, an intelligent animal in the sense that he is the only species of the "animal" genus that has a mind and can speak. On the contrary, reason or speech differentiate man from animal as such; as long as a man has reason, he is not an animal, and he is an animal only without his reason. Man is not a reasoning animal as much as an animal and something with reason, something animal and human in one.

Determining the place where the line runs not so much between an animal and a man but inside man himself is an important discovery, as it allows acknowledging the importance of classical definitions of man, which are in a way evidence for this double nature of man. However, it is not enough to

answer the question of what type of thinking is behind creating the man–animal distinction which I have described before, and I do not find this answer in Agamben. Therefore, in the second chapter of my thesis I try to analyze if it is possible to discover it by analyzing different ways of treating the man–animal dividing line in the theories from within *animal studies*. I am aided here by the division applied by Matthew Calarco, according to which this line is treated in three basic ways: it is being generated, multiplied or complicated, and, finally, defined as a borderline area, which is full of undifferentiated points.

The first of these strategies is mainly applied by researchers from the Anglo-Saxon tradition, such as Donna Haraway or Paola Cavalieri, on whose text *The Death of the Animal* I focus. Making use of the research of, for example, biologists and evolutionary psychologists or primatologists, representatives of the strategy of negating the dividing line claim that the features traditionally regarded as human, based on which man is differentiated from animals and receives special treatment (for example, being made an object of ethics), are also present in other species such as apes and dolphins. They claim that it is impossible to point to any feature that would allow such a radical division between man and human as has been traditionally made. Such a way of proceeding, however, means not so much eliminating the separating line but moving it – the logic of division which that line determines, into creatures that speak and do not speak, into intelligent and unintelligent ones, etc., remains the same. Only the place of drawing the line changes; before it divided man from animals, now it divides man and some animals (for example, apes and dolphins) from other animals.

The representative of the other strategy, consisting in multiplying and complicating the line, is Jacques Derrida, who to the fullest extent displays this in the series of lectures *L'Animal que donc je suis*. According to Calarco's interpretation, Derrida claims that although the line separating man and animal is clearly defined, for example, due to being capable of a response and not just a simple reaction, or due to being able to distinguish a single lie from a double lie, in reality it is not possible to tell if we are dealing with a response or a reaction. Although I do not reject this interpretation, I try to problematize it a bit or complicate it. I note three ways in which Derrida talks about animals. First of all, he refers to an animal as to an *animot*, which is a combination of 'animal', and *mot*, which in French means 'word'. This term is coined to show that we are not dealing with a philosophical construct, a species or a genus, but with a certain "monstrous hybrid," "a live multitude of mortal creatures," non-reducible to simply "a creature that can not respond." Secondly – and this is the famous example of Derrida and his female cat – the animal appears as the Other, an individual representing a more primitive category than gender or species. Finally, the animal is referred to as a philosophical notion, differentiated from the notion of man by means of the above-mentioned reaction versus response criterion, which can in addition be applied only by one who has named himself man. It is worth noting that in the first two cases it is impossible to make a clear man–animal division, it can only be present on philosophical grounds. I also could not find in Derrida's work the answer to the fundamental question: what is the analyzed type of thinking based on, does any fundamental way of thinking exist that lies at the core of the multiplied division criteria?

The third strategy consists in treating the difference between animal and man as really existing and valid, and trying to search for borderline areas, where man and animal cannot be differentiated from one another. The leading representatives of this kind of approach are Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The presented strategy consists in determining a point of drawing the line, such as between creatures that have a "face" (i.e. humans) and ones that do not have it (animals), and then an attempt to find an

area between them. In the cited case it would be "disassembling" the face and making it look like the head of an animal, like it is done in the paintings by Francis Bacon, for example. This would aim at liberating the man from his enslaving or constraining subjectivity. Although I do give other examples of areas of non-differentiation, from a sorcerer to Kafka's Gregor Samsa and Melville's Ahab, on their own they do not enable answering the question about the ordering rule. It does not mean that such a rule cannot be found in the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari.

Although the general outcome of this search can be considered as negative, the analysis of the above-mentioned texts brings also some positive content: it is possible to say that the radical dividing line between man and animal is typical of philosophical thinking. Due to the relatively low effectiveness of the steps taken until now, I decide to change the strategy and begin by introducing a theory that would allow me to determine possible grounds for a radical man vs. animal differentiation which I have mentioned before.

I find this kind of theory in Deleuze and Guattari's book devoted directly to animals: *What is Philosophy?* In this book they introduce a type of thinking which allows us to move forward in the understanding of the leading question. It must be noted that this text is not a manifesto: it does not postulate a new kind of philosophy, rather it is an self-interpretation of both what Deleuze and Guattari had done before, as well as of what other philosophers tried to do before them, from the Pre-Socratics through Spinoza to the present day. Philosophy is the creation of concepts on the plane of immanence by conceptual personae. Each of these terms needs to be explained. A philosopher does not create concepts on his own, it is not a sovereign, divine act of creation, but rather in the course of philosophizing he becomes the "characters" of his own philosophy, like Plato "turned into" Socrates, and Descartes "turned into" the *ego cogito*. The easiest way to understand the concept of the plane of immanence is in opposition to its contrary, the plane of transcendence. The plane of transcendence is a vertical, theological way of thinking, which requires an external, absolute point of reference. The plane of immanence is a truly philosophical (although I must admit that this is an over-demanding definition of philosophy) plane, on which concepts are created without the need for this kind of reference. Finally, concepts are not abstract terms defined, for example, by their content and range, or by what they denote. They are multiplicities without reference, which have their parts and their history, and which are connected to other concepts. Among the three components of philosophy: concepts, conceptual personae and the plane of immanence, it is impossible to point out the primary and the secondary elements – they all determine and create each other.

However, philosophy has not always corresponded to this picture. Indeed in the opinion of Deleuze and Guattari only a very few philosophers (especially the Pre-Socratics and Spinoza) managed to get closer to that "ideal." Abandoning the real philosophy was caused first of all by the fact that an additional dimension was sneaking into the plane of immanence, due to which it was becoming not really a philosophical but more of a theological plane of transcendence. This means that concepts gained an additional dimension, an additional part that did not come from the plane of immanence but was located in a way "above," serving as an absolute point of reference.

What does this kind of perspective mean in relation to the leading question of this dissertation? It shows that the crucial concepts of man and animal can be based on the plane of transcendence or immanence. In other words, these concepts can include an additional, organizing, transcendental element or not.

Since I want to study the presence of this element, I analyze the four most traditional definitions of man, since it was earlier determined that it is exactly those definitions which best show the way in which the dividing line between man and animal functions. The question which I pose in this analysis is as follows: Can one see in the concept of man determined by these definitions, as one of the elements, the absolute point of reference proving that the concept is built on the plane of transcendence, or if there is no such point of reference, what would it mean that we are dealing here with a concept constructed on the plane of immanence? When analyzing the issue of language I show, following Heidegger, that the specific human way of being is based on the transcendence movement, which uses death as the absolute point of reference. The example of Kant allows one to conclude that the mind in its specifically human form is only possible if we assume the transcendental point of reference, i.e. God. We cannot say, however, whether this kind of reference point really exists – and actually we do not need to do that, as it is enough if we act "as if" it existed. This is true both for the theoretical mind and the practical one, that is, for ethics, which is another domain traditionally considered as typically human. Finally, the ability to refer to something absolute is needed for creating a political form of coexistence, which I show by using examples taken from Freud's works, such as *Totem and Taboo* or *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. All these examples lead to a conclusion that the concept of man always contains an element of referring to an absolute reference point and thus is constructed on the plane of transcendence. The animal is described as lacking reference so, seemingly, this concept could be recognized as one based on the plane of immanence.

However, it would only seem like that and I discuss this seemingness in Chapter 5, which is devoted to what I call "false immanence." Of course, every theory based on the plane of transcendence includes in it a theory of immanence, but the latter is always presented falsely and negatively, from the point of view of the earlier-assumed transcendence. The traditional understanding of the concept of animal is always based on a certain shortcoming compared with the transcendent or, to say more correctly, transcending or capable of transcendence, man. It is the man who is primary in this comparison, and the animal is created by an action of cutting off the transcendence. To show that such simple action is insufficient to create a plane of immanence, I analyze the disagreement of Feuerbach, Stirner and Nietzsche. This allows me to support the thesis put forth while analyzing Kant, according to which the actual existence of a transcendent reference point is not relevant for the thinking on the plane of transcendence. It is enough to think *as if* that reference point existed. This is exactly why simple atheism that consists only in negating the existence of God, does not have much in common with real immanence. Similarly, simply considering man an animal or "humanizing" animals like Singer or Cavalieri, is not enough to change the logic of thinking about man, animal and the dividing line between these two concepts.

In the last chapter, making use of the previous experience, I aim to ask how constructing a concept of animal would look like on the plane of immanence; in order to distance myself from the theories which I earlier described as "false," I call this type of immanence "radical" by analogy with Martin Hägglund's radical atheism. Just like his atheism remains without the "longing" or any other reference to God, radical immanence is meant to be devoid of any reference to transcendence, even an imaginary one. The analyses in this chapter focus on four key areas identified in Chapter 4: mind, ethics, politics and death.

During the analysis of the problem of thinking, I noticed that the first step towards the "animal" way of thinking is the separation of thinking from the mind. Thinking, instead of something the accuracy

of which is judged, should be understood as something that just happens, in a way as necessary and incidental as any other event, including physical ones. Basing myself on Spinoza, with the help of his interpreter Hasana Sharp, I tried to show that thinking is as natural and common in the world as physical events, and the belief in a singular, rational and conscious soul is based on the lack of ability to distinguish between reality and imagination. One can say about any body that it "has" a soul, and that thought takes place parallel to physical phenomena.

Developing animal ethics must begin with treating it as ethology. According to this postulate, ethics should be based on the analysis of bodies and their affects. Due to the fact that no body can be excluded from this kind of ethics (not like in the case of traditional ethics based on a large number of entities), it is universal. However, according to Deleuze's interpretation of Spinoza, we can never recognize all the affects of which a given body is capable, therefore we never know for sure in what way two bodies will behave if we compare them with each other. The animal, immanent ethics turns out to be an experiment, but not in the sense of controlled practice that is guaranteed to repeat in a situation where all the variables are controlled. It is rather closer to an artistic experiment consisting in launching a certain process which takes an immanent direction each time different, and each time unpredictable, because we do not know the effects that must be taken into account. An immanent, ethical animal is first of all an uncertain animal, and the first rule of ethics is precaution.

The concept of animal politics results from the same intuitions: instead of imagining a community based on reference to an abstract law or a sovereign, we should try to create a different one, based on community that does not require thinking on the plane of transcendence. I give two examples of this kind of theory. The first is based on the thought of Jean-Luc Nancy, presented in the book *La Communauté désœuvrée*. Nancy rejects all kinds of community based on an earlier-assumed "substance" or "aim," such as a nation based on a common myth or common blood ties, meaning those that – if we put it in the terms that I am using – are based on the plane of transcendence. Instead of that I propose a community that is based on the ability of its members to show themselves to each other in a way that underlines their finiteness. This finiteness, not only temporary, constitutes the universalizing element, one that is primary to any divisions, even those between different species.

The second thinker was Michel de Montaigne. In his texts one can find the theory of the body as an anarchic conglomerate of independent, sometimes revolting members, which stay together not by being subdued to a higher rule, for example the soul, but because they submit to the order of Nature, understood as an overwhelming force outside good or evil. We can imagine similar communities formed by larger entities, e.g. people and animals. Interspecies communication could take place, for example, based on movements and gestures of the body, rather than on language, which in Montaigne's interpretation pushes people away from each other more often than it brings them together. Montaigne's opinion was that animals do form such communities, because they excellently communicate between species.

The last part of the chapter is devoted to death. As I showed in Chapter 4, death is an absolute reference point of which animals are not capable. In this sense, for Heidegger "an animal does not die." This section describes an attempt to reject this type of exclusiveness of death, which does not mean a sentimental attempt to ease it, but rather placing it in a right ontological position as one of the forms of finiteness. Reading Spinoza again, I show that because we know ourselves only as much as we know what our body is capable of, death is an end to a certain means of self-knowledge. In this sense it always remains relative, and although it is a radical end to what we call our "ego," it is not much different

from other forms of destruction which other elements of the world undergo. Indeed, Spinoza's "free man," who is close to the "animal way of being" described here, thinks about death as little as possible, and his actions are determined not so much by the wish to postpone it, but to increase his own power. In this sense, if an animal cannot die, it does not cling to life either, and thus undermines the dividing line between life and death.

Let me end with a quick summary. I began my work from being surprised at the fact that the radical dividing line between man and animal persists so strongly in our thinking. I decided to study this division at a fundamental level, to ask myself the question of whether thinking in terms of it (and thus in terms of concepts that it divides or connects) is based on the plane of immanence or transcendence. Having proved that I am dealing with the latter, I posed another question: can one think the opposite way, thus creating the concept of animal on the plane of immanence? In my answer to that question, I have offered a draft proposal of how "animal" thinking, ethics, community and death would look.

The fact that I began my reflections from the animal led to solutions the scope of which included not only people and animals, but also much more basic entities that were described not only as thinking ones, but also as being the objects of ethics or potential members of communities. It led to solutions that at first glance, if we do not carry out reasoning that would lead to them, seem strange again. And we must not be surprised by this new surprise: it only shows how deeply the grounds of this illogical, seemingly long-rejected dividing line between man and animal is embedded in our thinking.

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Photo. Snežana Radović

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Collective Memory and the Sites of Memory in the Serbian Discourse on *Old Serbia*

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 12th of March, 2015; Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

Collective Memory and the Sites of Memory in the Serbian Discourse on *Old Serbia*

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

Main Hypothesis

Questions related to territory, language, identity and history have sparked enormous debates in the Balkans in the late 20th and early 21st century, usually accompanied with a negative connotation of political abuse. That is why it is important to stress the development of the ideas and powerful mental forces, such as the collective memories and identities, that have influenced the Balkans from the 19th century to the present day. The core of this thesis is the effort to show how the Serbian national identity has developed. This ambitious concept is split into more concrete questions and hypotheses. The main question is: how has discourse on Old Serbia evolved in the context of the "culture of memory" which influenced the development of the Serbian national identity in the 19th and early 20th century? In Serbian national discourse, the term *Old Serbia* describes the lands once part of the medieval Serbian state, in the south of the Principality of Serbia and under Ottoman rule from the 15th to the 19th centuries. These were mostly the territory of the Ottoman vilayet (province) Kosovo, extended to include parts of the Monastir (Bitola) and Selanik (Thessaloniki) vilayets.

Our hypothesis is that although the discursive foundation of Old Serbia can be traced in older histories (17th century and later), church texts (such as hagiographies) and epic poetry, as well as in the development of the geographical knowledge and cartographic practice about the Balkan region from the early 1800s, Old Serbia became an element of collective remembrance only through the ideological deconstruction of folk traditions, legends, and myths forming the image of medieval Serbian history in the second half of the 19th century. The political context of this process was the clarification of Serbia's strategic decision to expand towards the south after the Congress of Berlin. This strategic decision corresponded with the idea of Old Serbia, which provided the ideological context.

Terminology, objective, spatial and chronological scopes

The use of the term *Old Serbia* in the thesis corresponds with the notion defined by the geographer Jovan Cvijić in the beginning of the 20th century. For Cvijić, Old Serbia covered the area of the Ottoman vilayet of Kosovo and a large part of vilayet of Monastir, bordering the north of the province of Macedonia on the line roughly connecting the cities of Bitola and Strumica In our analysis we are dealing with the various writers who sometimes used the term Old Serbia exclusively, but sometimes in parallel with the term *Macedonia*. This vague notion of the term and the geography associated with it are based on the constructed tradition of Old Serbia in the 19th century. That is why the authors were also actively seeking an identity for that area that would be acceptable and understandable for a general audience. Therefore, the term Macedonia in the Serbian national discourse should not be identified with the widely-used historical or geographical meaning of it and, as we conclude in

Chapter 2, Macedonia could not substitute Old Serbia because of its narrower memory base and weaker symbolism in Serbian discourse.

The time-frame of this thesis corresponds with the European cultural and political elites' fascination with the medieval era and folklore, which created fertile ground for the creation and development of nationalism in the 19th century. For the nations that in the 19th century looked for political legitimacy and national territory, calling for historical legitimacy based on the medieval era bore the highest argument for the "historical foundation" of the nation itself, its state and territory. The discourse of Old Serbia acted prominently in this respect for the Serbian case, providing justification for the claims on the territories perceived as the "cradle" of the Serbian nation (its external function), on the one hand, and collective identification within the Serbian national identity (its internal function), on the other.

This thesis deals with the sites of memory important for understanding the discourse of Old Serbia, in the context of the collective memory of Old Serbia and the development of the Serbian national identity from the 1850s to 1918. In the second part of the 19th century (particularly after 1885) the discourse of Old Serbia was used to provide support for propaganda for the Serbian aspiration to national unification and state expansion to the south (Kosovo and Metohija, Macedonia), with the vision of reviving the empire of Stefan Dušan (1331–1355), which was opposed to the similar aspirations of Bulgaria and Greece. This state of affairs was known as the Macedonian Question, seen as constituent of the broader Eastern Question. The main aspect of this political turmoil in the Balkans was the future of the vilayets of Kosovo, Monastir and Selanik in the Ottoman Empire and their division among the neighboring states of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, who saw this region as a suitable territory for expansion (because of the impossibility of expanding toward Bosnia after the Congress of Berlin) and made territorial claims based on cultural, traditional, historical, linguistic or religious ties.

Theoretical Concept

The official policy of the Serbian government regarding the neighboring territories of the Ottoman Empire settled by Serbs, was the ultimate framework for the aforementioned development, but our analysis concentrates on its cultural manifestation (education, humanities, literature) and reception (in visual arts and poetry). The choice of culture and arts was based on the cultural memory model, while visual arts and poetry were chosen because of their potential impact and reception in the overwhelmingly illiterate society in Serbia before 1918. Assmann's model of cultural memory relies on the interplay of present and past in both social and cultural aspects, which is applicable for our thesis and its sociocultural and historical contexts within the Serbian society. Through the institutionalization of these material representations of remembrance, cultural memory develops its structure and durability. For this reason, our understanding of Old Serbia is based on its genesis in Serbia proper and among educated Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy/Austrian Empire, as we believe that the genealogy of Old Serbia provided in our analysis (Chapter 1) proves that it did not develop on its own, as an autochthonous, aboriginal notion of the common people, but as an active process imposed from the top down. Old Serbia as an ideology had two functions: internal (mobilization of the nation) and external (justification for the territory, the prime goal of all Balkan nationalisms). These statements, which are explained in greater detail in the analysis and conclusions of the thesis, contradict the majority of recent and contemporary scholarship about Old Serbia published in Serbian. Thus, our thesis differs from the prevailing traditions in Serbian scholarship about Old Serbia, because it sees memory as an active and ongoing cognitive process rather than simply a reaction to past experiences or a set of "facts" frozen in time. Our interest is to show the mechanism of how memory preserves the

past in the present, acknowledging at the same time that memory is inherently unstable and prone to fictionalizing, particularly under the pressure of ideology.

The thesis concentrates on the Serbian perspective on Balkan history, through the analysis of sites of memory observed as mythologems (consciousness ossification of mythical topics understandable to all members of the community), which separate "us" (Serbs and their history) from "them." This perspective is analyzed through its materialization in historical and literary texts, school textbooks and in works of art, published or created in the 19th and early 20th century. It provides a detailed insight into the dominant discourse of history in Serbia until World War I, in an effort to show how contemporary elites have used and misused historical knowledge and memory of the past, for very modern purposes. At the same time, our thesis introduces a comparative analysis of the sites of memory shared in Serbian and Bulgarian traditions, which are also part of Old Serbia's collective memory, as well as a comparison of textbooks in Serbia and Bulgaria based on the analysis of findings of contemporary scholars on this issue. Particular attention is devoted to the importance of collective memory in shaping collective identity, as well as identifying internal differentiation in understanding the national boundaries inside Serbian society. In that respect, the discourse of Old Serbia partly resembled the German idea of the *Heimat* ("homeland") after German unification in 1871, which managed to conceal various local peculiarities and differences in the process of forging one national identity.

Our thesis highlights the theoretical postulate of *lieu de mémoire* introduced by Pierre Nora in his *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984–1992), but here applied in the broader context of the term *sites of memory*, understood as a synthesis of memory areas, memory sites and memory objects. The sites of memory are understood not just as spatial and temporal fixations in collective remembrance – we also follow the course of the Polish sociologist Andrzej Szpociński, who introduced the notion of sites of memory (*miejsca pamięci*) in the context of events and figures of the past and cultural products. These events, figures and cultural products of the past communicate with the present in two dimensions: through values and community identity. This approach allows a wider understanding of the sites of memory, as not just historical places, memorials or mythical images, but also as figures of memory (important historical figures inherited from distant or recent history with whom certain places, objects, traditions, cultures, beliefs, national identities are related) or events which have shaped the collective memory of a nation and its modern identity. The national identity, therefore, shows its dependence on the shared sites of memory and their wide reception.

We observe the collective memory through the prism of far-reaching or long-lasting discourses of historical remembrance in Serbian culture, art, education and science, which had an influence on the political terminology and on the establishment of a corresponding ideology on the given premises. It is thus emphasized that there is no such thing as unique collective remembrance, but rather only one or more prevailing discourses of memory. We base this notion on the belief that collective memory does not exist as a static category, but rather as a process which can be accelerated, directed, or reversed as seen in our analysis. Likewise, our understanding of national identity follows the definition of Miroslav Hroch and his three stages in the creation of the nation, which shows a similarity with our notion of cultural memory on Old Serbia: the cultural level, the level of political execution, and the level of mass internalization of the nation.

We are interested in the influence of 19th-century politics, seen here as political messages in the context of their usage in social communication, on education or culture as a whole. In that sense we can discuss the mutual relationship between the cultural and political aspects of national identity,

especially because some of the most prominent Serbian figures in the cultural sphere were also major political figures.

Methodology

Our methodology incorporates several analyses, in an effort to successfully deal with the complex structure of various sources (literature, maps, textbooks, paintings) and research fields. The connecting method for all sources is content analysis, for the selection of themes and topics which identify the object of our analysis. At the core of our methodology stands discourse analysis, which aims to identify patterns of temporal, spatial, and contextual representation and interpretation in Old Serbia's discourse. We believe that discourse analysis allows a better understanding of the hermeneutics of Old Serbia, in the contextual domain of time and place we are dealing with. For the purpose of close reading of textual sources a textual analysis is applied, which for the needs of comparative investigation of the sources (e.g. in the case of Bulgarian and Serbian poetry and their reception of shared sites of memory) is paired with comparative analysis. The decision to group together works like monographs or studies (historical, geographical, linguistic books), textbooks, and memoirs was made with the expectation that we could approach them through the methodological application of textual and discourse analysis, as the connecting point between them all is an intention on the part of the authors to transfer certain facts, data, or opinions to a wider audience. The primary intention is to reveal the structure of the collective memory of Old Serbia: the term and its usage; identification with the tradition, as well as with the territory; the dominant narrative explaining the past; the symbolical connection between memory and contemporary developments; and the images of self and other. In order to reach this goal, the textual analysis were applied from the point of the influence of texts on memory implementation. In such a framework we see these sources as the "canon" on the given topic, that is, the actively circulated memory that keeps the past present through the texts intended to be re-read and repeated many times.

Sources and Literature

The analyses of sources is based on three main divisions: the first concentrates on authors writing about history in the context of Old Serbia; the second is dedicated to the institutionalization of sites of memory connected with Old Serbia (like textbooks); and the last division deals with the interpretation of the image or ideologem of Old Serbia (works of art, poetry, media). The core of dissertation is the analyses of the selected manuscripts, textbooks, memoirs, histories, and those literary texts which deal with the cultures and history of the Balkans from the perspective of sites of memory, as well as 19th-century Serbian literature and art inspired by the past or the national idea. That means that we keep our focus on the symbolic usage of the past for present-day purposes: for example, how authors used the history of medieval Serbia, especially of the empire created by Emperor Dušan, as an argument to justify Serbian claims in the south. Our analysis starts with the investigation of the older historical narratives and mythical legacies passed down from the previous centuries to the 19th century, important for the creation of the analyzed discourse on Old Serbia.

In the 19th century the notion of history was further developed among the Serbs and historiography advanced under the influence of the positivist method, but the strong presence of romanticized beliefs in historical writings remained until the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, this was also the time that educated historians, geographers, and linguists emerged who approached the idea of *Old Serbia* with their eyes on both state ideology and scientific credibility, in an effort to more or less reconcile

the national cause with objectivity. An interpretation of scientific knowledge was popularized in the writings of numerous authors, as well as among those travelers and Serbian diplomats in the Ottoman Empire who were first-hand witnesses of the region, thus providing fertile ground for a close reading of those texts. Another important group of authors were geographers and cartographers creating the visual image of Old Serbia in contemporary maps and books on the geography of the region.

Political programs and ideas were important strategic guidelines for the creation of Serbia's long-term policy towards the vilayets of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Serbs. In that respect the secret program *Načertanije* (Plan) was the most important text.

Structure of the Thesis

The Introduction of the thesis covers the main hypothesis, the structure of the thesis, an overview of used sources and literature, and a short presentation of the political and historical context of the discourse on Old Serbia in the 19th century. The Introduction is followed by Chapter 1 (*Old Serbia – Genesis of an Idea*) with an extensive investigation of the roots of ideological discourse of Old Serbia in the modern Serbian state. Here we analyze the foundation of this discourse in older histories, major works of scholarship before the 1850s, epic poetry, church texts (hagiographies of rulers and sermons), geographical maps, and political programs. This chapter provides, as far as we know, the first detailed discussion of the genesis of the Old Serbia discourse and the first detailed analysis of the history of ideas underlying collective memory that framed this discourse.

There follow two analytical chapters, which analyze the memory of Old Serbia in various sources (studies, travelogues, memoirs, and textbooks) and the reception of the ideology of Old Serbia, respectively. This distribution has more than a practical or organizational meaning – it is intimately connected with the desire to analyze the discourse surrounding collective memory on Old Serbia on two corresponding levels. The first of these two levels is more institutionalized and is represented in narratives about Old Serbia, while the other considers the reception of the idea. Both levels should be taken together in revealing the impact of the discourse of Old Serbia on the collective memory and identity.

The first of these two levels is explored in Chapter 2 (*Forging the Memory of Old Serbia*). This chapter deconstructs the development of Old Serbia's discourse among the authors and inside the textbooks (of history, geography, language and literature) printed in Serbia from the 1850s until World War I. This is also important for an analysis of the institutionalization of collective memory of Old Serbia through the compulsory educational system and textbooks. Among the authors analyzed here, the majority represent the social and political elite of their time, so our intention in this chapter is to provide a better understanding of the different concepts of what Old Serbia was to them, in its identification and representation through the most widely-used and applied sites of memory in Serbian culture until World War I.

The second analytical chapter, Chapter 3 (*The Reception of Old Serbia*) deals with the reception of the mythologem of Old Serbia in works of art and poetry in the period 1880–1918. It analyzes artistic production that is seen as both a recipient of an already established ideology and a creator of the images that lay out the foundation of collective memory. The selection of works of art such as paintings and poems was based on an assumption that these are easily comprehensible by the widest possible social layers in an illiterate society. Mass reproduction of paintings in public and private places, media, as well as the repetitive practice of poetry, transferred messages and ideas associated with the intended

code of national identification. These practices established the patterns of symbolical association between various sites of memory and the formation of a collective memory of Old Serbia. This chapter devotes one section to a comparative analysis of the reception of sites of memory shared by the Serbian and Bulgarian poetic traditions. Such comparative analysis shows how antagonistic nations that share events from the past have different approaches to conflicting traditions and ideologically resolve them in a manner that could be described as the establishment of sites of memory.

Finally, our analysis ends with the Conclusions, which elaborates on the results and provides an answer to the hypothesis, followed by a Bibliography of the primary and secondary sources used.

Kamil Wielecki

Photo. Konstantin Kholmachev

A social anthropologist and a philosopher. He has undertaken long-term ethnographic fieldwork research in Moldova, Kyrgyzstan and Russia. He has received scholarships at the Kyrgyz National University in Bishkek and the University of Vienna. He was also a Visiting Scholar at the National Research University – Higher School of Economics in Moscow and at the Central European University in Budapest. His areas of interest include postsocialist studies, the political economy of capitalism, globalization, and economic and philosophical anthropology. He works at the University of Warsaw and plans to develop a project about Polish entrepreneurship there. A book based on his dissertation will be published soon. In his free time he enjoys running.

PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

Coping with Uncertainty: Petty Traders in Post-Soviet Krasnoyarsk

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 10th of June, 2015; Faculty of History, University of Warsaw

Coping with Uncertainty: Petty Traders in Post-Soviet Krasnoyarsk

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

Nadya, a trader from Krasnoyarsk, told me: *As far as the state goes, well, it just abandoned us like a bunch of blind kittens. Nobody cared about us not receiving our salaries... Everything we produced in the [Soviet] Union – it all became useless and it all disappeared in an instant. And it was so difficult, you cannot imagine...*

This is how Nadia described the beginning or the 1990s when Russia as a newborn country faced a huge civilizational crisis after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The policy of shock therapy and attempts at developing the market economy in the country resulted in an economic collapse. Industry collapsed and inflation reached several thousand percent annually. Millions of people who had been dismissed from state enterprises now had to survive on their own. But the crisis reached far beyond the area of the economy. The state was not able to fulfill its basic social functions, life expectancy dramatically declined, and corruption was spreading and the crime rate was increasing.

My doctoral thesis invites the reader to examine the Russian systemic transformation from the eyes of petty traders working in city streets and markets. While the majority of authors who study the changes in post-socialist countries focus on political and macro-economic aspects, in the present dissertation I analyze the strategies which the underprivileged social classes developed to survive during those changes. I apply here the anthropological perspective, which assumes including individual biographies in the study of global social, economic and political processes. It is those everyday practices of individuals which contribute to the reality that we observe. I claim that by studying these practices, we can find inspiration to take a fresh look at the transformation in post-Soviet countries.

Petty traders can be included among the masses of victims of the change in the political system in Russia. In the course of these changes they lost their jobs, their property and social status. They were usually forced to engage in trading out of necessity: they had to survive in the extremely difficult conditions of the 1990s. Masses of people lost their sources of income. Those who were still working at state enterprises could go for months or even years without pay. It also happened that workers received their pay in merchandise produced by their factories, which forced them to exchange these products for other items. All these factors pushed people to taking up trading.

It was petty trade that allowed unprivileged classes in Russia survive the worst period after the collapse of the USSR. This kind of trading assumed different forms. The most popular one was international shuttle trading. Already by the end of 1991 masses of people began to travel abroad to buy goods and then resell them in their country. The most popular directions of these travels were Poland, Turkey and China. Those shuttle traders, the so-called *chelnoki*, also traveled to other neighboring countries or even to such countries as India or the United Arab Emirates. From Russia they brought jewelry, mainly gold, and also dishes, small electric appliances and household appliances. From abroad they would bring clothes, shoes, cosmetics, hygiene products and food. The numbers referring to these traders and the goods imported by them are enormous. According to various estimates, in Russia in

the mid 1990s between 18 and 30 million people were involved in international shuttle trading and related services. If the higher value corresponds to the reality, then about 35% of Russian working-age people were involved in petty trading in that period.

Research questions

My research questions originated from my astonishment at the mass character of petty trading in Russia. How did it happen that in a country where private trade and private entrepreneurship had been practically forbidden for over 60 years, such a large number of entrepreneurs emerged so quickly? What happened to the former proletariat and its class consciousness? How did traders and lower social classes cope in the face of the sudden social changes of the 1990s? And, more precisely, how did individual people cope with the economic difficulties which concerned everyone, such as hyperinflation, unemployment, poverty and a lack of basic consumer goods?

My questions did not concern only the past, however. Already during my visit to Russia I could observe what great evolution petty trade had undergone since the 1990s. On one hand, the development of supermarket chains, the emergence of large shopping malls and the introduction of restrictive legal regulations have led to the disappearance of the majority of markets. On the other hand, a large number of job immigrants come to Russia today from the former Soviet republics and China. They often find employment in petty trading, due to which Russians are now a minority at many markets that still function. So what are these petty traders of today like? What is their situation in modern Russia? What relations and bonds do they create with their customers and between themselves? What are their concerns, fears and hopes?

When analyzing the subject I wanted to do more than reconstruct the rules that govern petty trading, the dangers and benefits that it involves. I placed the analyzed phenomenon in a wider cultural context of attitudes and economic patterns taken from the Soviet era, as well as of the ideas about trade and work, and about the role that ethnic minorities play.

Methodology: about the place and the people

The empirical basis for this study comprises the material collected during ethnographic studies that I carried out among the people connected with trading in Krasnoyarsk, Central Siberia. I spent a total of 14 months in Russia. My first visit lasted from September 2011 to August 2012 and was connected to my internship at the National Research University – Higher School of Economics in Moscow. I lived in the Russian capital from September 2011 to January 2012. It was the preparatory stage of the research, which included getting acquainted with the literature of the subject, conversations with Russian researchers and observations made in the city streets.

The following months, from January to August 2012, I spent in Krasnoyarsk. I returned there to do the second stage of my research that lasted from August to September 2013. I had chosen Krasnoyarsk for my field of studies for several reasons. The information about Russia that we learn from our media concerns Moscow almost exclusively and focuses on federal-level activities. However, it is tempting for a researcher to take a look at Russia from the perspective of its provinces, especially those behind the Urals. *Siberia is a colony of Moscow* or *they send us governors from Europe* – these statements, not uncommon in Krasnoyarsk, show that the Asian part of Russia is quite different from the European one. In my case the research area had to be a city, as trade is usually an urban phenomenon.

Krasnoyarsk is special in its own way: in socialist era it was a large industrial center. The 1990s brought serious changes to the local employment market. The majority of factories were closed while others were restructured, which resulted in mass layoffs. As a result, as the locals say, *nothing is produced out here but everyone is trading.* Thus Krasnoyarsk is a good place for studying the fates of the former proletariat – the proletariat that, as the above citation shows, in the conditions of the Russian transformation has turned into a class of tradespeople. In addition, being the center of the region, the city attracts labor migrants from the former Soviet republics and from China. This provides an opportunity to observe the relations between the newcomers and the local population, and the complex character of these relations can be seen at city markets. Apart from that, these markets are a source of supplies for people from the Russian Far North, mainly Norilsk, as well as from the neighboring region of Khakassia and Tuva. Furthermore, Krasnoyarsk is also an anthropological *terra incognita*, as no ethnographic work has been ever written about this city.

My interlocutors were people who work at the markets or trade in the streets of Krasnoyarsk without permission, both Russians, as well as labor migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia. A separate group was formed by retired people, who usually sold what they managed to grow at their gardens and for whom trading was not a regular source of income. Nevertheless, in order to have a wider context for the analyzed phenomenon, I also talked to entrepreneurs from outside the small trade sector, namely wholesalers from which petty traders sourced their goods and entrepreneurs from other branches of industry. I wanted to understand the conditions of running a business in today's Russia.

With some people I talked only once, for as short a time as 5 minutes, while with others I met many times and our conversations took hours. I tried to get some key information about my interviewees: about their professional life, the details of their jobs, their family situation, and their relationships with other traders. In this way I managed to gather over 80 more or less complete life stories. Except for carrying out ethnographic in-depth interviews I also had hundreds of conversations with petty traders and other people who described their everyday life to me. Obviously, everyone has a household and does shopping. Their comments and remarks form important auxiliary material for my work.

People relatively rarely invited me to their homes. We usually talked at a market or in the street. The possibilities and conditions for an interview were conditioned in such circumstances by their place of work. On one hand, I had to adapt to a given situation, and consequently the conversations were often short and interrupted. On the other hand, I had the opportunity to watch the traders in their natural environment. I could experience in what conditions they worked (for example, standing with them in the freezing cold) and I could make observations on their relations with other traders or customers. I was interested in immersing myself as deep as possible in the reality of a Russian market and open-air trading in the conditions of the Siberian climate. According to the requirements of the ethnographic method, my observation at times became participant observation: I helped the traders with whom I managed to develop a good relationship with their work.

To describe the role of traders and in general of people from underprivileged social strata in the Russian political transformation, I supplemented the anthropological perspective with historical, economical and sociological analyses. This is what made my work interdisciplinary. I compared and verified my empirical material in the contest of existing literature of the subject. This allowed me to render the connection between processes in the macro and the micro scale, the top-down perspective and bottom-up perspective, individual and social. The aim of this method was to show the

relationships between the situation of the traders in Krasnoyarsk with all-Russian problems or even problems concerning other post-Soviet countries as well.

Hypotheses

It can be stated that the adherents of the shock therapy that had been applied in Russia believed that going through a transition is necessary for transformation. According to Jan Kieniewicz (2008), *transition* means the change of political and economic institutions, while *transformation* concerns the change in people's behaviors aimed at resisting or adapting to the new conditions in which the social system functions. In such a sense *transformation* is a wider term, since it is the individuals who form institutions and change their character. Thus it can be concluded that in the opinion of people who were for shock therapy, in order that *transformation* could take place, it was necessary to reform state institutions. In this way the founding of democratic institutions, for example, was meant to entail the emergence of civil society and introducing unrestricted free market institutions was to result in the formation of entrepreneurial attitudes in the society. The notion of *therapy* itself assumed that this society needed to be cured from all that was called the mentality of *homo sovieticus*, i.e. wrong, non-capitalist habits and the way of thinking formed during socialist times. This notion assumed also that people who had been brought up in socialism were characterized by passivity, thus specific behavior patterns had to be imposed upon them and they would have to adjust to them.

Contrary to this conception I claim that *transformation* can precede, affect and even cause *transition*. This is what happened in the case of Russia. I claim that Soviet citizens began to transform socialist institutions long before the change of the political system started. This transformation took place partly thanks to traders and other professions connected with the informal economy during socialist times. These people developed para-market patterns of activity in completely non-capitalist conditions.

Of course, processes of global change such as perestroika, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the financial crisis of 1998 were not caused by petty traders. Sole entrepreneurs as a whole, and petty traders in particular faced a *fait accompli* and had to cope with the consequences. Nevertheless, I claim that entrepreneurs constituted the driving force in the formation of both the *transition* and the *transformation* in Russia. It was they who developed their own strategies of behavior and were able to defend their own values. And thanks to their energy and resourcefulness, Russia survived the worst decade of the crisis after the dissolution of the USSR.

In my second, more general hypothesis, I claim that over the years of the Russian political transformation the life of petty traders and of the underprivileged social strata was generally characterized by uncertainty. This uncertainty covered and still covers various dimensions. It is characteristic of working in petty trade that merchants do not know how much they will sell and if the capital that they have invested in the merchandise will pay off. They know the costs, but they are not certain of their profits. In modern Russia they additionally face unpredictable market fluctuations, the effect of the economic crises, restrictive legal regulations, and competition connected with the inflow of labor migrants and the development of supermarket chains. Apart from that, in the 1990s, like all Russian citizens, petty traders could not be sure about their savings as they could be consumed by inflation or the bank in which they were deposited could go bust. Neither could they be sure of their retirement money and other social benefits, because the bankrupt state could withhold them. Nor could they rely on jobs at national enterprises, because the enterprises could be shut down as unprofitable. They could not trust the financial condition of their firms because they were running them in constant need of paying

protection money to criminals. They could not have the basic confidence that the country in which they lived would not fall apart and that a war would not break out somewhere where up till now it had been peaceful. Due to all these factors, in the case of the people under discussion, both Russians and labor migrants, we can talk about existential uncertainty, the uncertainty of what will happen to them and their families tomorrow. The entire Soviet world had collapsed and in trying to cope with this situation people had to find a new foundation of knowledge, certainty and trust. Although some of them managed to do that, the life of many others still lacks a basic stability.

Content of chapters

Chapter 1 has an introductory function and is meant to present in general terms the wide context of the analyzed phenomenon. I briefly review the evolution that petty trade has undergone in contemporary Russia. I present this evolution against the background of the course of the Russian political transformation. I also describe in this chapter the act "On retail markets and on introducing changes to the employment code of the Russian Federation", a law that was implemented in 2013 and which brought fundamental changes in the conditions of functioning of petty trade and contributed to shutting down markets all over Russia. In this chapter I also present my research questions and set forth the main hypotheses.

In the next chapter I focus on the operationalization of the notion *uncertainty*. Based on the existing literature on the subject, I aim to develop my own theory that would grasp the existential situation of traders and marginalized social classes in contemporary Russia. I also describe the relationships between uncertainty on one side and risk and entrepreneurship on the other. I also describe my position in a disciplinary framework, highlighting the perspective of economic anthropology and the research tradition that I follow within it. Further parts of this chapter concern methodological issues: I present the ways in which I tried to answer the research questions. I also describe there the conditions in which I carried out my research.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the eruption of entrepreneurship in Russia of the 1990s. I see the sources of this surprising phenomenon in the various informal economic practices that existed during the Soviet era. I show that in the everyday life of real socialism, individuals had to demonstrate the attributes by which usually entrepreneurs are characterized, such as taking risks, being persistent and innovative. Otherwise they would not be able to solve their basic life issues. In this aspect the chapter supports the thesis about the priority of *transformation* before the *transition* in the history of the Russian transformation. I make there an economic and historical reconstruction of the conditions in which petty trade and individual entrepreneurship functioned during perestroika. It is important to note here the connection of this entrepreneurship with illegal activities, which resulted in the emergence of many negative stereotypes regarding this entrepreneurship in the mass consciousness.

In Chapter 4 I focus on the 1990s, the crucial decade not only for petty trade, but also for understanding the social and political situation of contemporary Russia. I try to reconstruct the scale and describe different forms of the massive phenomenon that petty trade became during that time. The main question I confront in this chapter is: how do individuals cope in a situation of abrupt social change? This chapter begins with some astonishment at human energy and resourcefulness in the conditions of total economic collapse and civilizational crisis. I describe the ways in which Russians coped with their everyday problems, such as unemployment, the unstable ruble and the need to support their families. I paid a great deal of attention to *chelnoki* (shuttle traders) and their active

involvement in forming the course of the Russian transformation. I describe the evolution of petty trade that has been taking place from the 1990s until the present day.

In Chapter 5 I consider the factors which affect the economic activity of traders working at Russia's markets. I claim that this activity is embedded in non-economic factors, such as ethnicity, religious and magical beliefs, social ties, etc. In the spirit of economic anthropology I prove that the theoretical models of the free market and perfect competition do not exist in the reality of the traders' market because traders change them in their own ways. The economic activities of traders themselves are far from the classical model of the *homo economicus*, which was meant to describe the behavior of not only entrepreneurs but also people in general. In reality traders do not follow only a desire for profit and the clearly pragmatic rationality of economics connected with it. In practice they invest also their social capital and besides competing with other entrepreneurs, they often cooperate with them, too.

Conclusions

The conclusions coming from this work can be divided into three groups: 1) those connected with the evaluation of the contribution of petty traders into the course of the Russian transformation, 2) those that relate to political economy of contemporary Russia, and 3) those that are connected with the embedded economy, in the case of Russian street trading.

It can be said that the years that followed the dissolution of the Soviet Union were a tough school of entrepreneurship for the Russian society. The underprivileged social classes survived the worst years of crisis thanks to their energy and resourcefulness. In the conditions of the Russian transformation, people's survival strategies often involved engaging in petty trade. In such economic categories as the goods traded or the profits made, the activity of an individual trader is of a small scale. But thanks to the enormous number of people engaged in this activity, it was significantly reflected in macroeconomic indicators that concerned the whole country. In their masses they managed to have an effect on the shape of the Russian transformation. They contributed to the mitigation of the serious economic issues of the state: they supplied goods that were scarce, they created jobs and they invested the money they earned inside their country. From this perspective, the result of my work is tracing the mutual connection between the micro and the macro scales: the actions of individuals, their private costs and difficulties which they had to cope with on one hand, and the state of the economy and the state policy on the other.

By applying the perspective of petty trade the work also provides an insight into the political economy of contemporary Russia. The result of applying shock therapy here was the sudden introduction of neoliberal capitalism in its extreme form. The free market was introduced in a country whose structures were too weak. What is more, there had been no institutions before that would limit the activity of this market, no legislation that would ensure social protection, a proper judicial system, and the non-governmental sector that would defend citizens' rights. The capitalism which appeared as a consequence was defined as a *bandit, oligarch, nomeklantura* or *wild* one. Its main characteristic was the great social chasm between a narrow class of its beneficiaries, the so-called "new Russians" (*novye russkiye*), and a vast mass of losers, who in the former system had enjoyed a higher social status, better earnings and better social security. At present, in spite of the fact that the state structures have become much stronger, the political economy applied in Russia remains unchanged. The act *On retail markets...*, which to a serious degree has limited the possibilities for petty trade, is a significant symptom of that. It is still the classes that are connected with the authorities, corporations and

large industry who still lobby for the legislation meant to protect their vast privileges. In turn, the small enterprise sector receives only nominal support. The beneficiaries of the act *On retail markets...* are large market players such as supermarket chains, developers, multinationals and banks, whereas people who have lost out in the course of the transformation and have been forced to take up petty trading, are today losing once again. Probably the processes of an increase in the wealth of the higher classes on one hand, and the marginalization of the lower classes on the other will only continue in the short-term future.

When I was doing my research at the markets I could observe such phenomena as the monopolization by separate ethnic groups of particular branches of trade, price-fixing by traders and limited competition within particular ethnic groups. These phenomena prove that the prices at the markets are not a direct result of the forces of supply and demand and that the "invisible hand of the market" rules the markets of Krasnoyarsk only to a limited degree. In other words, the economic activity of traders is influenced by their social embeddedness. This activity is not only formed by a desire for maximizing profit: in their decisions traders do not follow only pragmatic calculations, but they also take into account their social bonds, their commitments to other traders, their religious and magical beliefs, etc. In practice, no trader can be an autonomous individual, he or she must create bonds of trust with their coworkers, suppliers, customers, and to some extent also with other people who work at the markets, i.e. their potential competitors. That is why, in spite of the competition, different kinds of communities are created at a market. These are primarily of an ethnic character. In such a case we can talk about the existence of trade minorities. However, there are also communities that comprise representatives of different ethnic groups and are based on cooperation, bonds of friendship and trust, as well as coping with the same life issues. This participation in communities, i.e. the social capital, helps traders to lower the level of uncertainty connected with their professional activity. Thus markets, as important places of intercultural contact, are places where not only different negative stereotypes are born, but also a place where these stereotypes can be shown to be false.

In summary, I would like to make an attempt at a prognosis and to pose further questions regarding petty traders and underprivileged social classes in Russia. At present, as a consequence of the annexation of Crimea and the armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine, Russia is facing new economic challenges. Undoubtedly, just like during the last global financial crisis, it is the lowest social classes who suffer the most due to market fluctuations. As a result of the drop in oil prices, the sanctions imposed by the European Union and the sanctions introduced as a response by Russia itself, the ruble has begun to drastically decline in value, while inflation has begun to rapidly increase. The price increase concerns in the first place consumables and has an adverse effect upon households; the poorer the household, the more they sense the difference in their budget. A question that comes to mind in this context is: how will Russian citizens deal with the newly emerging problems? If the economic crisis continues, then just like in the 1990s vast masses of people will be pushed into poverty and misery. This in turn will result in a new flourishing of informal economic practices and with all certainty will also lead to the development of petty trade. What forms will this trade assume? How will the attitude of Russians towards labor migrants evolve? Will marginalized social classes be able to influence government policy? A new crisis can bring mitigation of the law that regulates individual entrepreneurship, which in turn would herald change in the political economy in Russia.

Oksana Zakhutska

Photo. Ludmila Januszewska

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PH.D. DISSERTATION TITLE:

The Polish Language of the Petty Nobility Village of Siaberka in Volyn. Vocabulary

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DATE AND PLACE OF PH.D. DEFENSE: 2nd of December, 2014; Faculty of Polish Studies, University of Warsaw

The Polish Language of the Petty Nobility Village of Siaberka in Volyn. Vocabulary*

Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

The research that has been conducted until now on the Polish language of the former South-Eastern Borderlands has revealed that the language of the local Poles reflects their former estate origin: either peasantry or petty nobility. According to the observation by Vyacheslav Verenich, confirmed by later studies, the peasants that lived in dense agglomerations better preserved their Polish language brought from Polish ethnic territories, whereas the descendants of the petty nobility who lived dispersed assimilated more quickly to a foreign language environment. Peasant dialects in Ukraine have seen several monographs on their phonology and morphology as well as their vocabulary, but knowledge about the language of the petty nobility is still superficial and limited to disparate articles.

Subject and aims of the thesis

The subject of the present thesis is the vocabulary of the petty nobility village of Siaberka in Volyn, Zhytomyr region. The aim of the research was firstly to present differential vocabulary characteristic to Siaberka in the form of a *dictionary*.[1] By "differential vocabulary" I mean the layer of vocabulary that is different from Modern Standard Polish and consists of archaic vocabulary, dialectal or regional vocabulary, older borrowings and local innovations, as well as lexical items borrowed from Ukrainian or Russian. Secondly, the aim of the research is to show the functioning of different layers of the vocabulary (Standard Polish and differential, native and borrowed) *in text*, taking into consideration the diversity of idiolects and contexts of use. By "functioning of vocabulary" I mean tracing the coexistence of synonyms and semantic equivalents coming from different sources, especially differential word ~ standard Polish word, and also providing information about the frequency of occurrence in text of every lexeme in such synonymic series.

Description of the material

The material for the analysis consists of recordings taken in Siaberka in 2002 and 2012.[2]

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* The original title of the Ph.D. dissertation: *Polszczyzna drobnoszlacheckiej wsi Siaberka na Wołyniu. Słownictwo.*

[1] This is the first dictionary of a village inhabited by the descendants of the petty nobility. The informants from whom the material for Satanov's Dictionary was obtained, came only partially from the petty nobility: R. Modzelewska, J. Rieger, *Słownictwo gwary Satanowa nad Zbruczem*, in: *Słownictwo kresowe. Studia i materiały*, ed. J. Rieger, Warszawa 2008, pp. 270–366.

[2] In 2002 the research was carried out by A. Krawczyk-Wieczorek, M. Gugała and G. Tymbrowska within the KBN grant no. 2H01D 014 22 "The variety of Polish dialects in Ukraine," conducted by J. Rieger (affiliated with the Center for Studies on the Classical Tradition of the University of Warsaw). In 2012 the research was carried out by O. Zakhutska and L. Yanushevska.

The village of Siaberka (since 1946 Tseberka[3]) is located in Volyn, 65 kilometers west of Zhytomyr. It was founded in 1868 as a khutor,[4] and by the end of the 19th century it had 37 houses and 413 inhabitants.[5]

According to the situation as of July 20, 1927, Siaberka was inhabited by 1045 people, including 768 Poles, which accounted for 73.5% of the total number of inhabitants. [6] At that time a Polish village council functioned in Siaberka as well as a three-year Polish school (which, according to the informants, existed until 1932). The oldest respondent (HK18, born in 1918) had attended that school.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Siaberka was inhabited by 50 people.[7] At present, according to the estimations of the informants it has around 30 inhabitants, mainly from the older generation.

For the analysis 20 hours of recordings of elderly people were used. The material was collected using the method of direct interview/conversation with the inhabitants based on the *Questionnaire for research on borderline Polish* by J. Rieger (printout). Continuous texts describe the personal fates of the informants and their families, the traditions and customs, the functioning of the Polish, Ukrainian and Russian languages, as well as traditional farming, household tasks, etc.

Special attention was paid to different biographical facts of each respondent which might have influenced their language, e.g. the language used daily within the family in the past and today, the knowledge of Ukrainian and Russian, the order the languages were acquired in, education, visits away from the village, traveling for work, being sent to Kazakhstan and to eastern territories of Ukraine, visits to Poland, contact with the Polish literary language through reading books, newspapers, listening to the radio and watching TV.

Material classification principle and description method

The differential vocabulary of Siaberka has been divided into two main layers: the differential native layer consisting of words that existed in Old Polish or in today's dialects and regional Polish, and the differential borrowed layer.

The words that had been qualified in Polish dictionaries[8] as archaisms, dialectisms or regionalisms were treated as a whole, since together they stand in opposition to the standard language, and it is often impossible to classify separate lexemes as belonging only to one specific layer. Most of this vocabulary has parallels in Ukrainian and Russian, for example *fruktowy* 'fruity' –

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[3] Указ Президії ВР УРСР «Про збереження історичних найменувань та уточнення і впорядкування існуючих назв сільрад і населених пунктів Житомирської області» // Відомості ВР УРСР, 1946, № 5, с. 11.

[4] Польські поселення Житомирщини / Ред.-упор. Ю. Кондратюк, Житомир 2011, p. 164.

[5] *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. XV, part 2, Warszawa 1880–1914, p. 578 (entry: *Siaborka*).

[6] H. Stroński, *O władaniu mową ojczystą przez ludność polską na Ukrainie w połowie lat dwudziestych*, in: *Język polski dawnych Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 1, ed. J. Rieger, Warszawa 1996, pp. 175–200.

[7] All-Ukrainian Population Census from 2001: http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/estimated/.

[8] The material was compared first of all with large dictionaries: *Słownik języka polskiego* by S. B. Linde (SL), *Słownik języka polskiego* by A. Kryński, J. Karłowicz, W. Niedźwiedzki (the so-called Warsaw Dictionary – SW), *Słownik gwar polskich* by J. Karłowicz (SGPK), *Słownik języka polskiego* edited by W. Doroszewski (SJPD), *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* edited by M. Mayenowa (SPXVI) and *Słownik gwar polskich* IJP PAN (SGP PAN). The listed dictionaries include information about the scope of the occurrence of analyzed lexemes in the Standard Polish lexicon and their functional and stylistic classifications, as well as regional types by such qualifiers as outdated word, colloquial, literary, vulgar, humorous, terms that should be avoided, eastern, etc.

SL: from the 18th century, SW – without a qualifier, SJPD: old (compare with Ukrainian *фрукт|овий*, and Russian *фрукт|овый*); *swarzyć* 'to grumble, to scold' (SL: 18th century, SW: as a rarely used word, SGPK: from all over Poland, SJPD: old (compare with Ukrainian *свар|ити*). Also old borrowings from East Slavic languages were included in this group, since some of them were already present in the language of the colonists who moved to Ukraine from ethnic Poland. Examples are *czuchać się* 'to scratch oneself' (Ukrainian *ч|ухатися*), *kaban* 'wild boar' (Ukrainian/Russian *каб|ан*), *korowaj* 'ritual wedding dough' (Ukrainian/Russian *коров|ай*).[9] Also a few local dialect innovations have been included among the archaisms and dialectisms, such as *frybra* 'fever', *kiedyśniejszy* 'old, former', *marszałek* 'older best man at a wedding'.

Lexical borrowings have been presented according to the traditional formal criterion as formal-semantic borrowings, structural calques and semantic calques (borrowings). Within these groups the borrowings have been divided, based on their origin, into Ukrainianisms, e.g. *ludzina* 'person, man' (Ukrainian *люд|ина*), *trywożyć* 'to worry, to upset' (Ukrainian *трив|ожити*), Russianisms, e.g. *pj|anica* 'drunkard' (Russian *пь|яница*), *pomieszać się* 'to go insane' (Russian *помеш|аться*), and borrowings with possible Ukrainian and/or Russian origin, e.g. *kofta* 'pullover, sweater' (Ukrainian/Russian *к|офта*), *przebiwać się* 'to keep going, to make both ends meet' (Ukrainian *перебив|атися*, Russian *перебив|аться*). The latter included also Russianisms with Ukrainian phonetics, e.g. *horka* 'shouted by guests at a wedding to make the bride and groom kiss' (Russian *г|орько!*), *uczbowy* 'academic' (Ukrainian colloquial and dialectal *учб|овий* from Russian *уч|ебный*), which have entered Ukrainian as a result of long-term contact and a kind of "competition", and they are commonly present even now, especially in colloquial Ukrainian.

An additional division of formal-semantic loans was introduced based on the level of acquiring, namely a category of words non-adapted in terms of stress, phonology and morphology, e.g. *soroka* 'magpie' (Ukrainian *сор|ока*), *prij|ut* 'orphanage, children's home' (Russian *при|ют*), and a category of words that underwent adaptation, e.g. *poładzić* 'to repair' (Ukrainian *пол|адити*), *przysposobienie* 'device' (Russian *приспособл|ение*), *tołkiem* 'plainly, clearly' (Ukrainian/Russian *т|олком*). Among the non-adapted items there are also borrowings that do not require adaptation, i.e. the phonological and morphological form of these do not differ from the Polish system, e.g. *duże* 'very, a lot' (Ukrainian *д|уже*), *basznia* 'tower' (Russian *б|ашня*) and *bant* 'bow' (Ukrainian/ Russian *бант*).

To present the vocabulary of Siaberka in comparison with other Polish dialects in Ukraine and the literary Polish of Lviv, the Siaberka vocabulary was compared with existing south-borderland lexicographical works, such as *Polszczyzna Lwowa i kresów południowo-wschodnich do 1939 roku* by Z. Kurzowa, *Słownictwo gwary Oleszkowiec i Hreczan (Greczan) na Podolu* by I. Cechosz-Felczyk, the lexicographical work on several Polish dialects in Podolia and Volyn by L. Nepop (villages of Burtyn, Hrechany (Hreczany), Zelena (Zielona), Oleshkivtsi (Oleszkowce) and Chervoni Khatky (Czerwone Chatki)), the monograph *Zapożyczenia leksykalne w sytuacji wielojęzyczności. Ukrainizmy i rusycyzmy*

[9] The origin of such words is indicated by direct qualifiers, e.g. in the Warsaw Dictionary the symbols <ukr.>, <rus.>, <wsch.-słow.>; in SGPK – from Ukraine or from Lithuania; in SJPD – regional eastern; in SGP PAN – from the eastern territories and more precise locations, e.g. from Ternopil; also citations from works by borderline writers are important, e.g. J. Słowacki, J. Kraszewski and W. Syrokomla. The origin of some borrowings is indicated by their phonetic form, for example the consonant *h* in the words *hore* 'grief, sorrow', *hulka* 'loud party with libation', the polnoglosie in the word *korowaj*, the vowel *o* in *browy* 'eyebrows' and the untypical for Polish suffix *-uch-* in the word *świekrucha* 'mother-in-law'.

w gwarze Maćkowiec na Podolu by A. Krawczyk and the vocabulary of the Sataniv dialect by R. Modzelewska and J. Rieger. All of these works, except for the monograph by Z. Kurzowa, concern Polish dialects from Ukraine across the Zbruch river.

The functioning of differential and standard Polish vocabulary in *dictionary* and *text*.

The functional description of differential vocabulary is based on a thematic arrangement.[10] Five basic thematic areas were isolated and divided into thematic groups:

- Man: man and his descriptions; traits of character; family; parts of body and external features, the functions of the human body; diseases, their symptoms and treatment; activities and physical condition; human mind, memory, will and judgments connected with them; feelings, emotions and judgments connected with them.
- Everyday life: objects of daily use, house work and activities; clothes, shoes, accessories, fabrics; food and preparation of dishes; farming; describing time; describing numbers and measures; describing space and direction; others.
- Community life: social relations; culture and customs; religion; transport.
- State, administration, politics: state, administration, politics; work, vocations; industry, technology; public institutions and public places; the Soviet reality, World War II; educational system, knowledge.
- Nature: flora (trees, bushes, herbs, mushrooms); fauna (birds, wild animals, fish).

Differential lexemes within each group were classified based on their origin, and then the frequency of usage by each informant was taken into account, as well as their occurrence in other Polish Dialects in Ukraine. The words that stand in a synonymic relation to each other were underlined. Based on the source from which the synonyms are derived, series of synonyms can be formed by: 1) old word or dialect word, older borrowing ~ Polish equivalent; 2) borrowed word ~ standard Polish equivalent; 3) two borrowed words.

Below I present as an example a scheme of description in the thematic group "Family".

(The following abbreviations have been used: P/AG – Polish archaic words, dialect words, regional words and old borrowings; U – Ukrainianisms, R – Russianisms, U/R – words of possible Ukrainian and/or Russian origin.)

[**P/AG**] *człowiek* 'husband', *dziatki* 'children', *niewiastka* 'daughter-in-law', *ojce* 'parents', *świekrucha* 'mother-in-law, husband's mother', *wujko* (*wujaszko*) 'uncle'

[**U**] *diad'ko / diadio* 'uncle', *nieboha* 'niece', *rodzice* 'here: relatives', *semia* 'family', *świekor* 'father-in-law, husband's father', *teszcza* 'mother-in-law, wife's mother'

[**U/R**] *dwojurodzony* 'male/female cousin'

[10] When isolating the thematic areas I used the work by A. Markowski: *Leksyka wspólna różnym odmianom polszczyzny*, Wrocław 1990 and the work by H. Karaś: *Rusycyzmy słownikowe w polszczyźnie okresu zaborów*, Warszawa 1996, as well as the work by A. Krawczyk[-Wieczorek] *Zapożyczenia leksykalne w sytuacji wielojęzyczności. Ukrainizmy i rusycyzmy w gwarze Maćkowiec na Podolu*, Warszawa 2007. The two last works to some extent are based on A. Markowski's methodology and terminology, but they include also the authors' own propositions and methodological solutions.

Lexeme		Informants from Siaberka [number of confirmations]					Other Polish Dialects in Ukraine			
		HK18	ZT28	MR31	JG33	MG36	Olesz	Hrecz	Maćk	Sat
P/AG	*człowiek*	-	4	1	-	2	+	+	+	+
	dziatki	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	niewiastka	-	2	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
	ojce	-	2	-	3	11	-	-	-	+
	świekrucha	-	1	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
	wujko	2	1	1	-	-	+	+	-	+
U	*diadio*	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	diad'ko	-	-	1	-	-	+	+	-	-
	nieboha	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	rodzice	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	semia	-	6	2	-	3	-	-	-	-
	świekor	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	teszcza	-	3	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
U/R	*dwojurodzony*	-	2	-	-	1	+	+	+	+

Table 1. Family

In the group devoted to "Family" older borrowings and Ukrainianisms prevail. There are no Russianisms at all, what proves that the Ukrainian language is one of the primary languages in the everyday life of Siaberka's inhabitants. There are 8 lexemes which are common for Siaberka and other Polish dialects in Ukraine and these lexemes are widely known. 6 synonymic series have been recorded.

Group	Synonymic series	Informants				
		HK18	ZT28	MR31	JG33	MG36
Family	*człowiek ~ mąż*	-	4 ~ 51	1 ~ 3	-	2 ~ 6
	diadio, diad'ko ~ wujko ~ stryjaszek	0 ~ 2 ~ 1	2 ~ 1 ~ 1	1 ~ 1 ~ 0	-	1 ~ 0 ~ 0
	dwojurodzony ~ w drugim pokoleniu	-	2 ~ 0	-	-	1 ~ 2
	dziatki ~ dzieci	-	8 ~ 8	-	-	-
	ojce ~ rodzice	0 ~ 4	2 ~ 3	0 ~ 3	3 ~ 0	11 ~ 3
	semia ~ rodzina	-	6 ~ 15	2 ~ 1	-	2 ~ 2

Table 2. Synonymic series within the thematic area: "Man", part "Family"

The most developed synonymic series consists of the two Ukrainianisms *diadio* and *diad'ko*, the regionalism *wujko* or diminutive *wujaszko* and Standard Polish *stryjaszek*. The words from these three layers were confirmed only in ZT28, the informant HK18 uses the regionalism and the Standard Polish word as synonyms, MR31 uses a borrowed word and a regionalism, while the youngest, MG36, uses only the borrowing. One can also clearly see the limitations of such an analysis: it is difficult to draw

reliable conclusions based on a small number of confirmations of a lexeme in text, especially from a single informant.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of four chapters, a summary and selected bibliography. The first chapter (*Introduction*) presents the main theoretical and methodological problems, the literature of the subject, notes about the material and the characteristics of the idiolects, as well as information about the language situation in Siaberka. The second and third chapters present the analyzed material according to its origin. The second chapter discusses archaisms, dialectisms, regionalisms and older borrowings. The third chapter discusses more recent borrowings. The fourth chapter discusses the coexistence of differential and native vocabulary in analyzed texts including figures and the characteristics of lexical duplicates (synonymic pairs and series). The appendix contains fragments of texts from Siaberka in simplified transcription and an index of differential vocabulary, as well as an index of Standard Polish words discussed in the thesis.

Results

The share of differential vocabulary in the *dictionary* and *text*. In the *dictionary* of Siaberka 523 differential lexemes have been isolated, among which there are 108 native lexemes (including 71 present in old Polish or in present dialectal/regional, 30 old borrowings and 7 local innovations) and 415 more recent borrowings (177 Ukrainianisms, 82 Russianisms, 156 Ukrainianisms/Russianisms).

The 523 differential lexemes that had been recorded were confirmed in the statements of the informants (*text*) 1,845 times; table 3 presents the comparison of their occurrence in the *dictionary* and in the *text*.

Informants	Differential vocabulary					
	In dictionary	P/AG	ZL	***In text***	P/AG	ZL
HK18	**26**	10 = 38%	16 = 62%	**44**	22 = 50%	22 = 50%
ZT28	**179**	49 = 27%	130 = 73%	**587**	182 = 31%	405 = 69%
MR31	**90**	35 = 39%	55 = 61%	**156**	65 = 42%	91 = 58%
JG33	**81**	12 = 15%	69 = 85%	**228**	55 = 24%	173 = 76%
MG36	**259**	57 = 22%	202 = 78%	**830**	240 = 29%	590 = 71%
Total in Siaberka[†]	**523**	108 = 20%	415 = 80%	**1,845**	564 = 30%	1 281 = 70%

[†] The total number of differential words in Siaberka is not a total of words recorded from separate informants, since words repeat in the idiolects

Table 3. Differential vocabulary in *dictionary* and *text* from separate informants

(P/AG – Polish archaisms, dialectisms, regionalisms and old borrowings; ZL – lexical borrowings)

The percentage of differential vocabulary in the *dictionary* accounts for 20% and borrowings 80%, while in the *text* the share of the first group increases to 30%, and the second group decreases to 70%. In the case of separate informants, in the *dictionary* differential native vocabulary accounts for 15% in JG33 and up to 40% in HK18 and MR31, and borrowings from over 60% to 85%. In *text* the first group

accounts for 24% in JG33 and up to 50% in HK18, while the second group accounts for between 50% and 76%.

The share of standard Polish vocabulary and differential vocabulary in the *text*. The texts from Siaberka contain a total of 60,276 words. The longest texts come from the youngest informant, MG36 (over 6 hours), and the shortest ones come from the oldest one, HK18 (41 minutes). The share of Standard Polish vocabulary in all the texts accounts for **97%**, and of differential vocabulary **3%**. For separate informants these proportions vary, from almost 99% in the case of HK18 to over 95% in the case of ZT28 and from 1% to about 5% (table 4).

Informants	Vocabulary in ***text***				
	total	Standard Polish		differential	
		number	percentage	number	percentage
				[P/AG – ZL]	
HK18	**4,003**	3,959	**98.9%**	44	**1.1%**
				[22 – 22]	[0.55 – 0.55]
ZT28	**12,568**	11,981	**95.3%**	587	**4.7%**
				[182 – 405]	[1.5 – 3.2]
MR31	**4,953**	4,797	**96.9%**	156	**3.1%**
				[65 – 91]	[1.3 – 1.8]
JG33	**8,463**	8,235	**97.3%**	228	**2.7%**
				[55 – 173]	[0.7 – 2]
MG36	**30,289**	29,459	**97.3%**	830	**2.7%**
				[240 – 590]	[0.8 – 1.9]
Total from Siaberka	**60,276**	58,431	**97%**	1,845	**3%**
				[564 – 1,281]	[0.9 – 2.1]

Table 4. Occurrence of separate vocabulary layers in the texts

The largest percentage of Standard Polish vocabulary noted in the case of the informant HK18 (98.9%) can be explained by the fact that she belongs to the oldest generation, which had the opportunity to attend a Polish school and use Polish every day at home and outside of it, as well as by her great attachment to her own language.

In the case of the couple JG33 and MG36, almost identical percentages of confirmations of Standard Polish vocabulary were recorded (97.3%), although the texts of JG33 are three times shorter than the texts of MG36. This is quite unexpected result, as the Polish language of JG33 seems more correct, and the language of MG36 seems to be full of borrowings. JG33 often uses Standard Polish vocabulary which might not have been known before and which have been "brought" from visits to Poland, e.g. *przedsiębiorstwo* 'enterprise', *piętro* 'story', *obywatel* 'citizen', *samochód* 'car'. She also tries to avoid foreign words by using description constructions, e.g. *taki dom jest, dzie dzieci wychowujo sie, takie sieroty, sierocy dom pewnie* 'such a home where children are brought up, orphans, orphan's home probably' (instead of *intern|at* and *prij|ut* which others use). MG36 has never been to Poland and not many manifestations of language awareness have been noted in her case.

In the case of the informant MR31, the percentage of Standard Polish vocabulary is slightly lower (96.9%), and the percentage of archaisms/dialect words is greater. The informant demonstrates high language awareness, although she does not try to avoid differential vocabulary characteristic of Siaberka, and she even points it out, e.g. *na jołke to po pol'sku mówio choinka, ja wiem to, no u nas też jołka*; *przyjechali do nas podwody, wywiezli nas – ja nie wiem po pol'sku czy to furmanka czy to jak, a ja podwoda mówie* 'a fir tree (*yolka*) in Polish is *choinka*, I know that, but we also say *yolka*; a *podvoda* came for us and they took us away, I don't know in Polish, if it's a *furmanka* (cart) or what, so I say *podvoda*'.

The least confirmations for Standard Polish vocabulary (95.3%), and at the same time the most confirmations of differential native vocabulary (1.5%) and more recent borrowings (3.2%) were recorded in the case of ZT28. It can be suspected that the topics of interviews were of great importance here. For example, in the case of ZT28 there has been a large number of confirmations for medical vocabulary, which is characterized by a large number of Russianisms. The health service until recently used only Russian and the majority of commonly used medical terminology is Russian even now, e.g. *bolnica* 'hospital', *czesać się* 'to itch', *ukoły* 'shots'. It is obvious that Russian terms are used to describe the Soviet reality as well as new phenomena in social life, e.g. *sołd'at/sałd'at* 'soldier', *kolektyw* 'here: kolkhoz', *nałogi* 'taxes', etc.

A similar study of peasant vocabulary in the village of Matskivtsi (Maćkowce) in Podolia was carried out by A. Krawczyk-Wieczorek based on texts that amount to 138,687 words.[11] The ratio of Standard Polish vocabulary and differential vocabulary in this dialect is **88.2%** to **11.8%**. For different idiolects the percentage of Standard Polish vocabulary fluctuates between 81.1% and 92.3% and the percentage of differential vocabulary – between 7.7% and 18.9%.

Functioning of synonyms. From among 523 recorded differential words only 62 (almost 12%) have synonyms in Standard Polish. Old vocabulary and dialect vocabulary have the most parallels in Standard Polish: 23 words (= 21%), e.g. *kużdy ~ każdy, niedziela ~ tydzień, nachodzić ~ znaleźć*; these occurred only in the thematic areas "Man" and "Everyday life". Lexical borrowings have more than two times fewer Standard Polish parallels: 39 words (= 9%), e.g. Ukrainian *ludzina ~ człowiek, hilaczki ~ gałązki*, Russian *stroić ~ budować, wszystko równie ~ wszystko jedno*, Ukrainian/Russian *krągiem ~ wszędzie, tiurma ~ więzienie*. Furthermore, 16 synonymic series consist of differential vocabulary, e.g. *lochkie ~ letkie, rozkazać ~ rozpowiedzieć, dyw(')an ~ diw'an, poładzić ~ poczynić*.

Tracing the occurrence of the discussed synonyms in a wider context has allowed us to show also some mechanisms of their functioning, and determine whether particular items belong to the active or to the passive vocabulary of the speakers. There is a visible tendency of Standard Polish vocabulary (probably used before) being displaced by differential vocabulary, which is confirmed, among others, by their presence in the idiolect of the oldest informant HK18, e.g. *duże ~ bardzo, semia ~ rodzina*. We do not know how the usage of these lexemes will look in the future.

Differential vocabulary of Siaberka in comparison with other Polish dialects in Ukraine. 45% of differential vocabulary was confirmed in other Polish localities in Ukraine. Archaic/dialect vocabulary is also more widely known, as well as older borrowings. Some 66% consists of common words (70 against 108); there are fewer lexical borrowings – 40% (196 against 415). These proportions with insignificant fluctuations are reflected in different thematic areas (table 5).

[11] A. Wieczorek, *Słownictwo polskiej gwary kresowej na przykładzie Maćkowiec na Podolu. Charakterystyka funkcjonalna* [doctoral thesis – printout], Warszawa 2011, p. 150.

Thematic area	Number of words [P/AG – ZL]		% of common words
	Siaberka	Other Polish dialects in Ukraine	
Man	**160**	**78**	**50%**
	[44 – 116]	[27 – 51]	[61% – 44%]
Everyday life	**170**	**82**	**48%**
	[32 – 138]	[24 – 58]	[75% – 42%]
Community life	**39**	**17**	**44%**
	[16 – 23]	[9 – 8]	[57% – 35%]
Politics, administration, state	**117**	**47**	**40%**
	[6 – 111]	[4 – 43]	[67% – 39%]
Nature	**37**	**15**	**40%**
	[10 – 27]	[6 – 9]	[50% – 33%]
Total number of Words	**523**	**239**	**45%**
	[108 – 415]	[70 – 196]	[66% – 40%]

Table 5. Differential vocabulary in Siaberka and in other Polish villages in Ukraine

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The analysis carried out clearly proves the significant dominance of Standard Polish vocabulary in the Polish language of Siaberka. The percentage of differential vocabulary recorded in the *dictionary* and in the *text* is quite low. This percentage in the petty nobility of Siaberka is almost four times smaller than in the Mats'kivtsi village in Podolia, inhabited by the descendants of the peasantry. This confirms the hypothesis about the more conservative character of the Polish language of the petty nobility in terms of vocabulary compared to the Polish language of peasants, probably due to different conditions of usage.

The coexistence and competition of differential vocabulary with their standard Polish equivalents shows dynamic processes of development of the lexicon in which the borders between old and new, dialect and standard, native and borrowed gradually fade away. It is admirable that under such unfavorable historical and social conditions over the 20th century as well as in the complicated situation of long-lasting Polish-Ukrainian-Russian language contact, the Polish language in Siaberka is still existent and it is still developing.

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Project co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund under the Operational Programme Innovative Economy