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INVESTING IN YOUR FUTURE

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

The team of the Culture Crossroads authors, reviewers and editors are pleased to present the latest, 19th volume of the international peer-reviewed journal *Culture Crossroads,* which this time has an unusual breadth of scope and more than twice the usual number of papers. This abundance owes to the fact that the current edition of the *Culture Crossroads* looks back on a whole series of conferences that took place in 2020 and also includes non-conference related contributions, all selected to reflect the 30th anniversary of the Latvian Academy of Culture, the institution hosting both the aforementioned conferences and the journal *Culture Crossroads*.

Among those conferences, the International Forum "Modernism in Culture, Global and Local Succession Strategies and Approaches" (04.11.2020), as well as the Baltic Drama Forum "Theatre and New Technologies and Different Perspectives" (05.11.2020), and – last but not least, the conference "Culture Crossroads XIV" plenary (2.11.2020) and break-out sessions (06.11.2020).

As always, this volume of papers offers up-to-date commentary on the connections and impacts of cultural, artistic and creative processes in national and global economy, politics and social life. As is suitable for the 30th anniversary year, the volume of papers we are presenting there is more ambitious, richer and broader than ever.

The papers in the volume present a varied and heterogeneous body of work falling into five thematic strands:

1) papers on modernism, its development trends in the first half of the XX century, interplay with totalitarianism, as well as safeguarding and reinterpretation in a variety of domains (Ullrich Kockel; Rūta Muktupāvela and Janīna Kursīte; Dita Rietuma; Līga Ulberte; Jānis Krastiņš; Jānis Kudiņš);

2) papers on Baltic drama, reflecting on two periods of upheaval – the 1990s (Zane Kreicberga) and the current pandemic transition (Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča), as well as the unique stage history of a children's opera (Mstislav Pentkowsky);

3) papers on tangible and intangible cultural heritage, its discovery (Juris Urtāns), challenges (Zenta Broka-Lāce; Jana Reidla, Anu Kannike), and reinterpretation (Astra Spalvēna; Andris Kairišs, Irina Oļevska), as well as new linked data opportunities for analysis (Liene Kalviša, Ieva Kalniņa);

4) papers on specific facets of the functioning of creative industries, namely the role of senses and emotions (Žanete Eglīte) and the transcultural history of Italian fashion and design (Dagmar Reichardt);

5) papers on intercultural communication, cross-cultural communication, and the roles of language in culture, reflected in papers on social recognition of immigrants (Nafisa Yeasmin, Waliul Hasanat & Frank Ojwang), the challenges of maintaining hybrid identities (Māra Simons), as well as two papers on linguistics – on the stylistic pattern of allusion (Anita Naciscione) and multi-modal expressions of figurative thought (Elīna Veinberga).

Taken in their entirety, these papers present a wide-ranging prospect of cultural and artistic processes, each aspect highlighting a significant facet of human creativity in the sphere of culture. The Latvian Academy of Culture extends sincere gratitude to all the authors and reviewers who have worked to make this volume a success.

We hope that each of the papers will find their dedicated and keen readers, and serve as inspiration for further research on the diverse issues presented in the volume.

Ilona Kunda,
Deputy Editor-in-chief

ADAPTIVE MODERNISM AND BEYOND: TOWARDS A POETICS OF A NEW SCOTLAND

PhD **Ullrich Kockel**
University of the Highlands and Islands, Scotland,
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

The idea of a 'New Scotland', and the role of 'New Scots' in it, is being debated critically. This essay contextualises this debate with reference to historical antecedents contemporary protagonists draw on, sometimes extensively. It introduces the Scottish Renaissance, which can be regarded as an expression of 'adaptive' modernism. The Scottish Folk Revival after the Second World War, as a form of 'adaptive' modernism, shares the key concerns of that Renaissance, connecting with it through the *Carrying Stream* (Hamish Henderson). The two movements share more than their ethnological foundations, a focus on language and identity, and a generalist interest in civic improvement. Reflecting on the significance of heritages, authenticity, resources, and sustainability in this context, the discussion concludes with an appraisal of the (anti-)modern/post-modern ethnopoesis at work in contemporary Scotland.

Keywords: *Scotland, modernism, ethnopoesis, Carrying Stream.*

Introduction

In Scotland over the last decade or so, in the run-up to, and aftermath of, two referenda that are widely regarded by Scots of all descriptions as major turning points for the country of their imagined community, there has been a lot of talk – in the media, popular and political culture, and academia – about a 'New Scotland',

and the place of the 'New Scots' in it. In this essay, I want to shine a light on these developments, contextualising them with reference to their historical antecedents contemporary protagonists draw on, sometimes extensively.

Following a brief sketch of the New Scots and the New Scotland, I introduce the Scottish Renaissance, which can be regarded as an expression of 'adaptive' modernism. The Scottish Folk Revival after the Second World War, as a form of 'adaptive' modernism, shares the key concerns of the Renaissance, connecting with it through the *Carrying Stream* (Henderson). The two movements share more than their ethnological foundations, a focus on language and identity, and a generalist interest in civic improvement, especially town and country planning. Reflecting on the significance of heritages, authenticity, resources and sustainability in this context, I conclude with an appraisal of the (anti-)modern/post-modern ethnopoesis at work in contemporary Scotland.

The New Scots and the New Scotland

The term "New Scots" was initially applied to the immigrants who came in the 1960s, mostly from former Commonwealth countries, and is nowadays extended to contemporary migrants from other origins, including EU-nationals, and refugees from Africa and the Middle East. However, people have been coming to Scotland[1] for a long time, from the *Scoti* themselves – arriving during the Dark Ages and, by the Carolingian dawn of the Middle Ages, displacing the Picts as the dominant ethnicity – to Lithuanian miners in the early 20th century. Hybrid cultural expressions of this migrant experience range from culinary delights like Haggis Pizza to the playful combination of symbols for ritual and other performative purposes, such as wearing a Lion's Head mask over a Bonnie Prince Charlie kilt outfit for Chinese New Year. The idea that contemporary Scotland is an inter- and transcultural society developing an inclusive way of nation-building is a key trope in politico-cultural debate here. This form of 'being a nation' integrates the 'New Scots' into a complex shared cultural identity with an associated heritage and future, rather than through 'shallow essentialist' identity markers [Kockel 2012a, 2017].

Since 2012, when arrangements for the first independence referendum were set in train, we have witnessed the growth of a vibrant social movement from self-conscious counter-culture to increasingly self-confident, constructively self-critical proto-mainstream – the resurgence of a European small-state political nationalism

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[1] There actually was no 'Scotland' until the arrival of the Scoti on the west coast, and the name is therefore a colonial label [White 1998]. In the Highlands and Islands, Viking incursions and later Norse settlements complicated the identity picture, creating what Cait McCullagh [pers. comm.] describes as *a whole constituency of folk who don't even consider themselves 'Auld Scots', let alone contemplating new ones.*

rooted in a cultural renaissance. By September 2014, support for independence had grown from less than 30% at the start of the referendum campaign to 45%; by early 2021, some twenty consecutive polls had put this support at well above 50% (averaging 55%+ at the time of writing) and, for the first time in polling history, in the majority across all demographic groups.

There is tentative evidence that many New Scots, especially EU-citizens, most of whom had said 'No' to independence in 2014 – having been told by the *Better Together* campaign that leaving the UK would mean having to leave the EU also – have since the 2016 Brexit referendum, which has forced Scotland to do just that against its democratic will, changed their voting intention to 'Yes'. In the run-up to the 2014 independence referendum, there had been a growing sense that, given the country's cultural and political heritage, the traditional arts had a duty to contribute to the debate on the future of the nation. However, with political tensions rising, organisations and networks involved in traditional arts avoided expressing a political position. That initiative had to come from individual activists and independent circles, such as the non-party creative cultural campaign National Collective [McFadyen 2018].

The alignment of the traditional arts community with support for Scottish independence is noteworthy because this community had not been so politically active since the Scottish Folk Revival of the 1960s; now it was continuing an engagement that had its roots in the Scottish Renaissance of a century earlier.

The Scottish Renaissance

The term 'Scottish Renaissance' first appeared in the work of Patrick Geddes [1895] towards the end of the 19th century, but only gained wider currency following a 1922 book review for the *Scottish Chapbook* by Christopher Murray Grieve (aka Hugh MacDiarmid). Meanwhile, Geddes continued his innovative work in town and regional planning, introducing the triad *Place–Work–Folk* as one of what he called his 'thinking machines': matrices supporting new ways of thinking about the interrelationships of people with their localities – themes that deeply infuse the New Scotland of today.

Recognised internationally as a modernist movement, the cultural 'rebirth' of Scotland in that period affected all areas of the arts. For example, in art and architecture, Charles Rennie Mackintosh is the most widely known exponent of a distinctive 'Glasgow style', although his English-born wife Margaret MacDonald is now acknowledged as key creative force behind his work.

A distinctive Scottish modern art was postulated in the inter-war period by such as the Orcadian artist Stanley Cursiter, whose art was shaped by the Celtic Revival in Ireland; while working with Patrick Geddes, he experimented with Futurism

and explored other modernist ideas [Macdonald 2020: 125]. Cursiter later became director of the National Gallery of Scotland, and initiated the National Gallery of Modern Art.

In music the Scottish Renaissance was championed by Francis George Scott, who set to music several of MacDiarmid's poetic works. English-born Ronald Stevenson adapted works by poets of the Scottish Renaissance and created novel settings for Scottish folk songs.

However, it was Hugh MacDiarmid's literary work that gave the Scottish Renaissance its strongest impulse. In 1920, while still writing as C. M. Grieve, MacDiarmid initiated a series of anthologies that established him as the key thinker of this movement. By the middle of the decade, he had begun to write poetry in 'Lallans', a patois formed from regional dialects of Scots infused with conjured-up expressions, often embedded in English grammar. Others who followed his example included Alexander Gray, mainly known for translating ballads from the German and Danish traditions into Scots [Gray 1932, 1954]. However, the prime genre of the Scottish Renaissance was the novel, increasingly so after the novelist Neil Gunn became one of its key exponents in the 1930s. Other well-known writers associated with the movement included Lewis Grassic Gibbon (James Leslie Mitchell), whose trilogy *A Scots Quair*[1] has come to be regarded as being one of the most significant expressions of the thinking that underpinned the Scottish Renaissance.

The movement included several female authors, such as Willa Muir and Nan Shepherd; the latter recently became the first ever woman portrayed on a Scottish bank note. In their common exploration of Scottish identity, they rejected nostalgic and parochial perspectives in favour of critical engagement with politics and society. Unlike other writers in the movement, Shepherd lived all her life in a rural village in the Highlands. But while, throughout her work, this regional landscape features prominently, her writing could be understood as 'parochial' only in that most expansive sense in which, for the Irish poet Patrick Kavanagh, *the parish was not a perimeter, but an aperture: a space through which the world could be seen* [Macfarlane 2016: 62].

This global – one might even call it: 'cosmic' – perspective, grounded in the local, was an intuition shared by the parallel revival of Gaelic poetry, led by the Skye-born Sorley Maclean (Somhairle MacGill-Eain), whose *nua bhàrdachd* (new poetry) enthused a new generation of Gaelic-language poets, including George Campbell Hay (Deòrsa Mac Iain Dheòrsa) and Iain Crichton Smith (Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn).

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[1] The Scots term 'quair' means 'book'.

The writers of the Scottish Renaissance challenged established ways of seeing the world, uncovering the hidden ideological nature of dominant discourses constructing representations of Scottish life and its environment. Just as the Scottish Renaissance inspired the revival of both Scots and Gaelic writing, it also profoundly shaped the nascent Scottish independence movement. Today's Scottish National Party (SNP) can be regarded as having been at least partly stimulated by it. Although many of the protagonists in the Scottish Renaissance lived well into the final decades of the 20th century, and its impact can be traced into the present, not least in Scottish literature [McCulloch 2012], the movement's revolutionary impetus was widely regarded as exhausted by the 1960s – but was it really?

Adaptive Modernism

In the Scottish context, Modernism happened rather asynchronously and, especially in the field of literature, followed its own distinctive path, which Price [2010] describes as being *a variety of Adaptive Modernism*, arguing that *[l]ike the Modernists … Adaptive Modernism is … in debt to the literature of the second half of the 19th century (perhaps for Gunn, Hardy; perhaps for MacDiarmid, Dostoevsky)*. Importantly, this Adaptive Modernism is not an iconoclastic pursuit of 'modernity for modernity's sake'; rather, it draws extensively and intensively on the past – *there is no past-denying Scottish futurism*.

Scott Lyall [2014: 73] argues that the Scottish Renaissance, not unlike the Irish Revival, was *a counter-Renaissance against the anti-national ideals of the Renaissance*, but, paradoxically, also *a lament and a replacement for the Renaissance that Scotland supposedly did not have in the early modern period*. While Hugh MacDiarmid and Edwin Muir, two of the Scottish Renaissance's main exponents, had vastly divergent visions concerning the future direction of Scottish literature, both saw the Early Modern period as the Golden Age of that literature. As many other protagonists of the Scottish Renaissance, they viewed the Protestant Reformation as an unmitigated disaster for Scottish creativity. MacDiarmid [1992: 71] suggested *breaking English Ascendancy* by *getting back behind the Renaissance*.

Seen in those terms, the Scottish Renaissance may appear nothing but a kind of Romantic nationalism, a movement Tom Nairn [1977] diagnosed as having been absent from Scotland in the 19th century, when the nation participated instead in building up and running the British Empire. However, the term 'Renaissance' in this context refers to re-birth of the nation after the end of Empire, heralded by the First World War that ended with the first break-up of the United Kingdom – the secession of Ireland, which began in 1921 and, after several stages of disentanglement, provisionally concluded with Brexit a hundred years later [Higgins 2021; O'Toole 2019]. MacDiarmid [1996: 13] saw *the cultural exhaustion*

of English as an instance of the *decline of the Occident* [Spengler 1923] and thus the ideal context in which a Scottish Renaissance could blossom. [1] However, this is really an anti-Renaissance [MacDiarmid 1996: 9]:

> *The future of the Scots spirit may depend upon the issue of the great struggle going on in all the arts between the dying spirit of the Renaissance and the rediscovered spirit of nationality. Today there is a general reaction against the Renaissance. Observe the huge extent to which dialect is entering into the stuff of modern literature in every country. Dialect is the language of the common people; in literature it denotes an almost overweening attempt to express the here-and-now. That, in its principle, is anti-Renaissance.*

Many writers of the Scottish Renaissance identified industrialisation, urbanisation and Anglicisation as forces of cultural destruction, yet they saw the main 'spiritual sickness' affecting modern Scotland as originating with the Protestant Reformation. Edwin Muir believed that the Protestant theologian John Knox's popular influence *did ... rob Scotland of all the benefits of the Renaissance* [Muir 1930: 309]. The Scottish Renaissance, in that sense, was *a cultural Counter-Reformation* – the Renaissance Scotland never had – and, as a specifically **Scottish** movement, an anti-Renaissance rejecting the universalism of the Renaissance from a national perspective [Lyall 2006: 39]. This rejection was, however, not directed at universalism per se, nor against the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment, to which Scotland significantly contributed [McFadyen and Nic Craith 2019], but rather belongs with anti-, post- and decolonial movements, as did the earlier Irish Revival [Said 1988].

This tension between a European Renaissance as the aesthetic and political rebirth of an (ultimately imagined) Classical culture that unified different 'civilised' nations on the one hand, and a specifically Scottish Renaissance on the other, looking deliberately towards the vernacular, in many ways resembles the tension between the universalising aspirations of the Enlightenment and the celebration of diversity by the Romantic movement. In the Scottish case, this tension is often referred to as *antisyzygy*[2] – a characteristically Scottish ability, exemplified by many protagonists of the Scottish Renaissance, not least Patrick Geddes, to hold together seemingly

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[1] Thomson [2013: 253] notes that the insistence by MacDiarmid and others in the movement on *national renewal premised on a stronger sense of national belonging ... [led] ... to an uneasy relationship with Continental fascism.*

[2] The concept of a *Caledonian antisyzygy* was introduced by Smith [1919], worked out within a generalist approach that was at once philosophical, scientific, humanistic, and democratic [Davie 1961].

contradictory traditions in creative confluence.[1] Confluences are where waterways springing from two or more different sources flow into one another. Rivers often mark boundaries, and so confluences may mark the coming together of three or more territories from which they not only carry drifting matter and sediment downstream, but also facilitate multidirectional transportation, and translation from one embankment to the other.

The Carrying Stream

The river as metaphor appears early in the Scottish Renaissance before it is picked up and transformed into a powerful symbol some two decades later. In *Highland River*, Neil Gunn [1994: 114] writes: *It's a far cry to the golden age, to the blue smoke of the heath fire and the scent of the primrose! Our river took a wrong turning somewhere! But we haven't forgotten the source*. A similarly *diffusionist-inspired pre-civilisation golden age* [Lyall 2012] infuses the work of Lewis Grassic Gibbon.

Gunn's metaphorical reference to a river of tradition would be taken up in the 1950s by Hamish Henderson, whose internationalist nationalism would critically shape Scottish ethnology [Kockel and McFadyen 2019]. In response to *the familiar and contentious question of the extent to which the Reformation, the Union, the Enlightenment, or all three as essential aspects of the same process*, had disrupted the vitality of cultural tradition, Henderson argued for *the continuity of a distinctive Scottish tradition*, placing it *in a wider European cultural setting, with Scotland absorbing and assimilating ideas and practices from the latter context in its own specific and peculiar way* [Burnett 2015: 224]. A polyglot who held internationalist socialism and Scottish nationalism in 'creative confluence' and had strong intellectual and personal connections with Germany and Italy, Henderson was a folklore collector, revivalist, political activist and public intellectual who wrote songs and poetry, and translated Gramsci's *Prison Letters* into English. Christopher Harvie's history of Scotland in the twentieth century, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes* [Harvie 2016] took its title from a line in one of Hamish Henderson's poems [Henderson 1948: 19].

Gibson [2015: 1f.] suggests Henderson *envisaged the role of the artist in society as one caught between an absolute submission to the collective tide of human experience* and *the need to absorb and recreate this collective force according to an individual or personal credo* – a creative tension embodied in the spirited exchange between Henderson and MacDiarmid in the letters pages of *The Scotsman* daily newspaper. According

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[1] The notion of a *creative confluence* holding *the traditional oppositions of classical reason together* has been applied in a decolonial analysis of the Irish context [Kearney 1985: 9]. Thinking about the phenomenon in terms of *creative confluence* softens the polarity often associated with the *antisyzygy*. The concept of *confluence* is beautifully expressed in the folk-oratorio *Rivers of Our Being* [Muktupāvels 2019], which culminates in a hymn to Henderson's Carrying Stream.

to Ross [2015: 146], the key word in this exchange *is not 'nationalism', which is actually secondary in the (in)famous flyting ..., but ... 'vision'. If they both agreed that without a vision the people perish, does that mean that they both shared a single 'vision' of things Scottish?* They clearly did not. Hugh MacDiarmid was part of a literary elite associated with *The Abbotsford*, a pub in Edinburgh New Town's Rose Street, whereas Hamish Henderson, with his informal 'office' in the Old Town's *Sandy Bell's*, was an active participant in the very 'folk process' he sought to comprehend, introducing the metaphor of the *Carrying Stream* [Bort 2010] into cultural consciousness, and writing songs in Scots, such as the political anthem *Freedom Come All Ye*, connecting socio-cultural struggles in Scotland with international issues and events [McFadyen and Nic Craith 2019]. Jointly with Calum MacLean, brother of the poet Sorley MacLean, Hamish Henderson was one of the first fieldworkers for the University of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies, which soon became the national centre for the study of Scottish ethnology.

Ethnology and the Nation

A cosmopolitan and international dimension to modernism was, paradoxically, often linked with a critical concern for local and national cultures [Robichaud 2005: 135]. Engagement with issues of nation and identity forms a key element of modernism, especially for colonised nations like Ireland. This also applies to Scotland, a junior partner in the United Kingdom for several centuries, where the absence of institutions of national self-determination was increasingly perceived to be a cultural problem. Synchronously with the rise of nationalism in early 20th century Scotland, a modernism shaped by Frazer's *Golden Bough* had emerged internationally; modern Scottish writers and poets considering their nation applied a similar anthropological perspective [Robichaud 2005: 136]:

> *From the Enlightenment onward, anthropology in Scotland plays an unusually prominent role in constructing the nation's cultural identity ... Writers as diverse as James Macpherson, Robert Burns, and Sir Walter Scott approach Scottish society as a proto-anthropological site rich in endangered cultural practices, to be textually preserved and passed down as part of a continuous Scottish identity.*

Works like Macpherson's *Ossian*, Scott's *Waverley*, and Frazer's aforementioned *Golden Bough* are united by a common theme – the perseverance of the 'primitive' in the face of the incessant progress of modernisation. While arguably connected to the Enlightenment concept of societies progressing *out of barbarism into refinement* [Nairn 1981: 111], 'primitivism' as a perspective is a common feature of modernism, associated with a 'back-to-the-roots' nationalism in contrast to the trade-and-industry nationalism that underpinned empire. Such ethnologically infused visions

of Scotland are, however, not 'nationalist' as the term is commonly understood. Two years before the National Party of Scotland (the precursor of today's SNP) was established, MacDiarmid's *epic poem of modern Scottish nationalism* [Nairn 1981: 95] – *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* – had appeared in print. The Scottish Renaissance was *an interwar movement in all of the arts, with literature as its focal point* [Lyall 2019: 214], with its local and vernacular inclinations expressing a *provincial Modernism* [Crawford 1992] critically at odds with traditional views of a canonical modernism largely based in metropolitan areas [Dymock and Palmer 2011]. T. S. Eliot [1919], concerned about assertions of cultural diversity within the United Kingdom potentially undermining English dominance in Europe, questioned the very existence of a distinct Scottish literature, arguing that a literature is based on a singular language. Against such a myopic perspective, Smith [1919] argued that linguistic diversity and the combination of contrasts and opposites – the *Caledonian antisyzygy* – are the very foundation of Scottish literature.

Language and Identity

Conversely, Scottish modernism, expressed in a variety of languages – Gaelic and Scots as well as English – and notably inspired by translations of European writing, can be viewed as connected with a proliferation of similar movements elsewhere [Lyall 2019].[1] Lewis Grassic Gibbon, for example, before writing his *Sunset Song* [1932], had read Delmer's translation into English of Gustav Frenssen's 1901 *Jörn Uhl*, a bestselling *Heimat-Roman* (homeland-novel) set in rural north Germany. In that translation, Scots was used to convey regional resonances; taking Delmer's textual translation as inspiration for a broad cultural translation, *Sunset Song* illustrates the intertextual and international aspects of modernism, as well as a realisation of translation as a way of highlighting human experiences shared across national and cultural boundaries [Lyall 2019: 213].[2]

This association of cultural revival with linguistic diversity infused the collection of oral tradition materials by the School of Scottish Studies, where in the 1950s Calum MacLean led the work with Gaelic tradition-bearers while Hamish Henderson's focus was on their Scots language counterparts, including in particular

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[1] The cultural interchange with European cultures in particular continued to be a defining feature of Scottish modernism, with the direction of flow somewhat reversed during the 1960s and 1970s, when the Irish and Scottish folk revivals prompted similar movements, including dialect revivals, in several European countries.

[2] Frenssen's later work became highly ideologised, and he strongly supported Nazi policies. The 1970 translation of *A Scots Quair* into German, appearing only in the German Democratic Republic and under the author's original name, James Leslie Mitchell, used a rurally inflected High German; in 2018, a new translation by Esther Kinsky was published, using Low German vocabulary.

the Travellers. While this collecting activity was in part also motivated by the same concerns as the 'salvage ethnology' that had arisen across Europe in the light of accelerating industrialisation and the increasing urbanisation of life-worlds, it was also inspired by a Gramscian concern with liberation of the subaltern [Gibson 2010], and thus the collectors were, as Henderson [1991: 11] noted, *engaged willy-nilly in a political act.*

For Gramsci, 'folklore' – understood as a world-view – was necessarily *a counterpoint of perpetual resistance, due to its very existence* [Gibson 2010: 244]. Moreover, according to Gramsci, we are all philosophers, engaging in everyday *spontaneous philosophy*, expressed through the very language we speak, through our common sense and through our beliefs, ways of seeing things and acting – that is, our folklore [Gibson 2010: 245]. In that spirit, Henderson emphasised the language we speak as foundational for identity, which, contrary to the stark individualism prevailing in Anglophone hegemonic culture, is always relational, not just at a societal level, but in the wider ecological sense of connecting to the world around us, which he found aptly expressed in Gramsci's letter to his sister Teresina, imploring her to support her son learning to speak Sardinian, the language of his native island [Henderson 1991: 15].

In some sense, the collectors at the School of Scottish Studies, led by Henderson and MacLean, followed in the footsteps of Alexander Carmichael who, in the second half of the 19th century, collected and translated folklore in the Gaelic-speaking highlands and islands. Very much a cultural document of its time, his *Carmina Gadelica* presents orally collected material in translation, and his editing has attracted some controversy, although the linguistic quality of the text has ensured its continued significance. Carmichael's work correlates with the modernist Gaelic poets, such as Sorley MacLean, in a way similar to how Geddes's *Scots Renascence* connects with Hugh MacDiarmid's Scottish literary renaissance of a generation later. Murdo Macdonald argues that *Carmina Gadelica* is *an act of linguistic conservation and renewal ... comparable ... with Geddes's interventions in the Old Town of Edinburgh. In both cases much was preserved that otherwise would have been lost and a new cultural dynamic was made possible* [Macdonald 2020: 81].

Town and Country Planning

The work of Patrick Geddes has been influential in a wide range of academic disciplines and has shaped professional practice. His triadic 'thinking machines' [Meller 1990: 45–52], for example the famous *Place–Work–Folk*, are being applied by ethnologists, geographers and planners to explore the connections between culture and nature through the prism of 'place' [e. g., Kockel 2008]. As these 'thinking machines' exemplify his integrated cosmovision, his three-dimensional 'Notation

of Life' reflects the dynamic relationship between people and their environment, representing a call to action as well as a methodology. Patrick Geddes was thinking from a culturally grounded perspective, drawing on history and tradition to improve his contemporary lifeworld. Based on his belief that art, as a manifestation of place drawing on folklore and tradition, creatively expresses the collective memory of a society, his cultural ecological imagination is perhaps best epitomised by his magazine *The Evergreen,* which brought together artists, writers and thinkers sharing a belief in Scotland as a creative nation with its own vision of a collective that is based on creativity, place, and community action. The Romantic idea of rootedness in a specific locality as vital for a truly international, global vision – expressed in his famous dictum 'think global, act local' – was the very foundation of Geddes' thinking.

In the 1920s, the Scottish writers Edwin and Willa Muir spent time at Hellerau, a new town on the edge of Dresden, where fellow Scot A. S. Neill, a radical educationalist, had helped set up an international school [Lyall 2019: 217]. Established in 1909, Germany's first 'garden city' was built following Ebenezer Howard's ideas of community planning, which were deeply influenced by Patrick Geddes [Odom 2016]. In his autobiography, Neill [1973] says about his time in Hellerau that it gave him *a Weltanschauung* (..) *and in a way it killed any tendency* [he] *had towards nationalism.* Fifty years earlier, in his semi-fictional *A Dominie Abroad*, he had written: *We cannot be international unless we are first national. Why, I am much more of a Scot in Dresden than I am in Edinburgh, and for the first time in my life I think seriously of wearing a kilt* [Neill 1923: 67]. For Neill, who discovered a personal sense of Scottishness while in Germany, there was no contradiction in being both an internationalist and a nationalist; both perspectives were complementary foundations for a broad-minded worldview [Neill 1923: 69]. Edwin and Willa Muir's sense of belonging in Hellerau during 1922–23 was later described by Willa [Muir 1968: 74f.]:

> *The atmosphere was genuinely international. No racial, political or national prejudices interfered with the many new friendships now formed.* (..) *No one country had a preponderance in numbers and each young student was met and treated as an individual person, not as a Finn or a Czech or a Belgian.*

Like Geddes and others associated with 'adaptive', 'provincial' modernist movements, the Muirs saw nationalism as a means of re-creating cultural pluralism, rather than a device for insisting on cultural homogeneity: *Wherever they originated, these early twentieth-century thinkers shared an intellectual project of cultural nationalism as a basis for international co-operation* [Macdonald 2020: 108; see also Macdonald 2002].

Heritages and Authenticity, Resources and Sustainability

As a founder of town planning and human ecology, Geddes was, in one sense, thoroughly modernist; yet he was also, and comprehensively, a cultural revivalist. There is no conflict in this because for Geddes, according to Macdonald [2020: 146],

> *a sustainable future required an understanding of the past ... and his modernism did not simply learn from the past, it depended on it; thus, cultural revivalism and modernism are so profoundly intertwined that one can see them as two sides of the same early twentieth-century coin.*

Macdonald here compares this vision to that of Charles Rennie Mackintosh, recalling Patrick Geddes commenting on Mackintosh's Glasgow School of Art building that *never was concrete more concrete, steel more steely*, and pointing out that *at the same time never was architecture more informed by history*.

Writing during the first term of the re-constituted Scottish Parliament, social philosopher Tariq Modood [2001] noted that, even before devolution, the ethnic label 'British' had increasingly been replaced by 'Scottish', to the point where it was almost easier to be British and Pakistani than to be British and Scottish.[1] This may have been an early signal of a trend that has since led to the result of the 2014 independence referendum being much tighter than either side had anticipated. However, it also reveals a peculiar turn in the political discourse on identity and belonging in Scotland. Because of its apparent internal contradictions, this turn remains difficult to grasp analytically: A strong emphasis on 'land' and 'place' is normally associated with exclusion, but in Scotland it appears to signify a way of inclusion – not just rhetorically, but in everyday practice. The ongoing debate about land reform – whose land this Scotland is and should be – is critically connected with a simultaneous debate about who is or is not 'Scottish', and what that designation actually indicates. Key themes of the land reform debate include absentee landlordism, the persisting inequalities in Scottish society, and care for the environment as a global issue with specific Scottish aspects. For many centuries, migration out of and into as well as within Scotland has been a significant social issue; the persisting historical problem of rural depopulation, together with contemporary immigration, is bringing this issue very much into focus again. The connections between these themes were captured eloquently in John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black Black Oil*, a play firmly rooted in the cultural movement discussed here, which was first produced in 1973 by agitprop theatre group *7:84* – a name referring to the fact that in the 1960s some 7% of the population owned 84% of the wealth. The first production of the play *was the moment when all the questions as to "What kind of Scotland?"*

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[1] This paragraph is based on Kockel [2017].

began to find answers [Burnett 2015: 232f.]. The play was re-staged with significant popular success during the referendum campaign and has since had further sell-out runs across the country, which suggests the issues addressed have lost little of their relevance.

With its reference to natural resources, and oil in particular, the play highlights what has more recently been theorised as Scottish modernism's turn towards 'lithic agency'. In *A Scots Quair*, the pivotal character, Chris, returns time and again to the stone war monument and the ancient standing stones to reaffirm her temporal perspective, and her son's commitment to communism is likened to 'grey granite', the title of the last novel in the trilogy. Similarly, a cultural 'lithoscape' is portrayed by Nan Shepherd, whose Grampian novels are turned into a quartet by her later meditation on *The Living Mountain*, which understands the mountain as *an organic, inorganic, and atmospheric body* [Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1045]. These lithic perspectives offer *an intervention into Scotland's 'problem of a suspended history'* [Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1046, citing Craig 1996 and Gray 1981]. Gardiner and Stones also refer in this context to Edwin Morgan's *Sonnets from Scotland*. Morgan was Scotland's first official Makar (poet laureate) in modern times, and his poetry *both acted as a conduit for a vast range of European modernisms, and was associated with ... independence issues* [Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1048]. A stanza from his poem [Morgan 2004] commissioned for, and performed at the reconstitution of the Scottish Parliament illustrates this lithic perspective; the building itself, located across the road from the Royal Palace of Holyrood House, is an eloquent statement of that perspective, with its architecture referencing Scotland's land, sea, natural resources, and cultural heritages:

> *But bring together slate and stainless steel, black granite*
> *and grey granite, seasoned oak and sycamore, concrete*
> *blond and smooth as silk – the mix is almost alive – it*
> *breathes and beckons – imperial marble it is not!*

The poem's perspective is not unlike Hamish Henderson's who, in his *Elegies* [Henderson 1948, cited in Neat 2002], wrote:

> *Let my words knit what now we lack*
> *The demon and the heritage*
> *And fancy strapped to logic's rock.*
> *A chastened wantonness, a bit*
> *That sets on song a discipline,*
> *A sensuous austerity.*

As Timothy Neat observed in his *Guardian* obituary to Henderson, this is *the kind of vision that Charles Rennie Mackintosh expressed in stone and wood and glass* [Neat 2002]. The new building of the Museum of Scotland, opened in 1998, begins its narrative of the nation's story with its geology [Cohen 2015, cited in Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1048], building layer upon layer of historical sediment until the story culminates on the top floor in a present that maps the 20th century.

Gardiner and Stones analyse the emphasis on what they call *lithic agency* as a shift from a subject-centred worldview that they call *Hanoverian*[1] – a perspective based on 'natural law' that can see society only as organically evolving association of individuals owning property, and therefore requires ontological distance from material objects – and argue that this *lithic agency*, already a concern of the Scottish modernists, *can be traced forward to anxieties over the 'totalising' or 'time-fixing' qualities of nuclear weapons* [Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1041].[2] They note that the issue of nuclear energy, and especially nuclear weapons, formed *one of the key fissures behind the 2014 Scottish independence referendum,* arguing that *the **materiality** of nuclear war in post-1979 culture is thematically bound up with a 'stony' consciousness that ... continues Scottish modernism's lithic yearnings* [Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1054, original emphasis].

Their conclusion points towards the land issue as a fundamental cultural divide ultimately separating Scotland from the Union born out of the conjunction of Protestant Reformation and European Enlightenment, and based on a 'natural law' perspective on property, *able to spread capitalist principles of accumulation throughout the empire*; but, arising out of an *unexpectedly long history of lithic encounters*, the authors see a way towards a society *less slavishly bound to ownership* [Gardiner and Stones 2020: 1055]. Such a society, connected with place other than by legal-commercial title, and more deeply, would be better capable of tackling the issues of sustainability its constituent communities are facing.

'Poetry Becomes People' – The New Scots in the New Scotland

Belonging in 21st century Scotland has become largely a matter of inclusion – if you live here and you want to be, you can be Scottish. But this does not amount to a postmodernist nirvana, a shallow-essentialist identikit of tartan and bagpipes you can swap as you please. Evident already during the independence campaign, that has

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[1] One might take issue with this characterisation, as the worldview they are describing is culturally English rather than in any historical sense continental European; but that is a topic for another time.

[2] It is worth noting that the European folk revivals from the 1960s onwards (see Note 1 on p. 16) have been closely aligned with the antinuclear and peace movements, and in many regions continue to be so; for a vignette of the *Free Republic of Wendland*, see Kockel [2012b].

become even clearer since. The scene in Scotland is markedly different from both 'blood-and-soil' type ethnic nationalisms and civic – or constitutional (Habermas) – forms of nationalism. It may not even be 'nationalism' in the common modern sense of the term. Whereas the resurgence of English nationalism since the 'Brexit'-vote is widely perceived as an outburst of xenophobia in a population that sees itself as ethnically English and constitutionally British, both defined with reference to the context of an Empire that no longer exists, the Scottish identity that has been emerging is built not so much on a (Romantic) ethnic or (Enlightened) civic nation, but rather on what one might call a 'community of spirit' sharing particular political concerns, combined with a commitment to stewardship of place in all its facets.

Most, if perhaps not all protagonists of the Scottish Renaissance were, like MacDiarmid, nationalists who believed that a national resurgence would need cultural influences from other nations. The same conviction today underpins the vision of a New Scotland embracing the New Scots. In the 1950s, the public confrontations ('flytings') between MacDiarmid and Henderson, especially concerning the literary value of the folk tradition, shaped Scotland's cultural agenda to the extent that Hamish Henderson's biographer, Timothy Neat [2002], called the two poets *the twin piers of 'revolutionary thought' in modern Scotland, archetypal representatives of Apollonian and Dionysian energy*. Growing up in this intellectual climate was another poet who has taken Scotland's adaptive modernism to a new 'lithic' dimension: Kenneth White, whose *geopoetics* [White 2003] is inspiring contemporary protagonists of a *creative ethnology* to follow the Carrying Stream 'into the mountain' [Kockel and McFadyen 2019]. Henderson's famous dictum that 'poetry becomes people', implying poetry generates and changes nations, has become a basic tenet of the ethnopoesis that we can see at work in today's Scotland [Kockel 2017].[1]

Scottish adaptive modernism did not run its course by the 1960s. The movement towards national self-determination that began in the heyday of the Scottish Renaissance carried the baton slowly but steadily, through victory in a 1967 Westminster by-election and the failed referendum of 1979, to an absolute majority in the Scottish Parliament elections of 2011. Leading up to the independence referendum that followed in 2014, groups like National Collective championed a continued and reinvigorated Scottish Renaissance, drawing their inspiration from

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[1] As an accidental participant-observer, I have found contemporary Scotland a most stimulating place, not only for its natural beauty and cultural heritages. Over the last decade or so, one of my projects has been the theoretical development of a critical topography informing a topology leading to deep toposophical understanding of human ecological relations in place [Kockel 2009]. Such an engagement requires grappling with issues around 'land' and 'belonging' that are as uncomfortable now as they were for protagonists of the Scottish Renaissance (see Note 1 on p. 13).

the well of their own tradition. Many of its protagonists have been inspired by Hamish Henderson's work and his metaphor of the Carrying Stream, and the Geddesian vision of sustainable communities. In between and from these two extends the internationalist heritage of the Scottish Renaissance, offering the New Scots vistas of authentic ways of being-in-the-New-Scotland they share by continuous co-creation.

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THE CONCEPT OF "MY FATHER'S HOME" AS AN ANCHOR FOR LATVIAN "SOLID IDENTITY" CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE ERA OF "LIQUID MODERNITY"

PhD **Rūta Muktupāvela**
Latvian Academy of Culture , Latvia

Dr.philol. **Janīna Kursīte**
University of Latvia, Latvia

Abstract

Liquid modernity is a concept proposed by Zygmunt Bauman that denotes modern tendencies in the development of the global capitalism economy. One of the main processes characterizing liquid modernity is human mobility, which in its turn results in a fragmented and indefinite identity and in the marginalization of local belonging. Mobility, especially in the form of long-term emigration, has become one of the major demographic problems Latvia has experienced. To provide solutions to the problems caused by emigration, in 2013 the Government of Latvia adopted an action plan to support re-emigration. The main idea of the plan refers basically to economic aspects. Obviously, it is not only economic factors that stimulate expatriates to return back home; psychological, emotional and symbolic aspects are no less significant. One of the most powerful symbols of re-emigration is home. The concept of home occupies one of the most important places in the process of self-categorization. It helps to organize self-knowledge and to recognize one's own place in the surrounding environment (spatial and social, as well as mental) of emotions and memories.

What is home in the era of liquid modernity? The observations made during the fieldworks in Riga, Valka and in the Svētupe region (2013–2016) showed that home is one of the most stable concepts in the construction of Latvian identity and the concept "my father's home" still exists in Latvian worldview as a mytheme and as a symbolic equivalent of the beginning, of harmonic existence and "source of happiness and strength".

Keywords: *liquid modernity, emigration/re-emigration, countryside, local identity*.

"Liquid modernity" is a concept developed by Zygmunt Bauman and used in sociology and culture theory to denote the processes in the global economy and the formation of social and individual identity that have currently gained special relevance. Z. Bauman compares the modern changeable reality to a liquid, "The world I call "liquid", because, like all liquids, it cannot stand still and keep its shape for long. Everything or almost everything in this world of ours keeps changing: fashions we follow and the object of our attention, things we dream of and things we fear, things we desire and things we loathe, reasons to be hopeful and reasons to be apprehensive" [Bauman 2010: 3]. While explaining and illustrating his concept of "liquid modernity", Z. Bauman metaphorically separates the temporal and spatial dimensions, considering place a relatively stable or "solid" dimension and time a fluid or "liquid" dimension; furthermore, he would relate the "solid" state to era of modernity, while the category "liquid" relates to "nowadays," which Bauman calls "late modernity". Z. Bauman figuratively depicts the categories "solid" and "liquid," using Henry Ford as a "durable" image and Bill Gates as a "transient" image. He characterizes the first as follows, "Heavy capitalism was obsessed with bulk and size, and, for that reason, also with boundaries, with making them tight and impenetrable. The genius of Henry Ford was to discover the way of keeping all the defenders of his industrial fortress inside the walls – to ward off the temptation to defect or change sides" [Bauman 2000: 14]. While of the latter he writes, "Bill Gates however, appeared to be a player who "flourishes in the midst of dislocation"" [Bauman 2000: 124]. [He feels] no regret when parting with possessions in which he took pride yesterday; it is the mind-boggling speed of circulation, of recycling, ageing, dumping and replacement which brings profit today – not the durability and lasting reliability of the product" [Bauman 2000: 14]. According to Bauman's dyad – *solid versus liquid* – liquidity, fluidity and mobility are to be perceived as positive and progressive, "Who accelerates, wins, who stays put, loses" [Bauman, Tester 2001: 95].

One of the most important of the processes characterizing "liquid modernity" is human mobility that, in its turn, leads to the marginalisation of local belonging and a fragmented, indefinite identity [Bauman 2002]. Identity is the particularity, self-perception and selfhood that constitute every individual and begin to form in the process of inculturation, which consequently stimulates the development of a value system and normative and behavioural models helping individuals to fully exist and integrate themselves into the surrounding environment with a more or less pronounced self-awareness rooted in a specific culture. In this respect, one of the most relevant aspects of identity is belonging to a particular place by birth, location or residence, which in everyday communication is usually described as "home." The etymological data testify to the close relationship between the notions "home" and "place," for the word *home* usually denotes a place where a person resides permanently.

The linguistic data demonstrate that the semantic field of the word *home* combines such concepts as home and the family, and in this respect draws closer to each other even relatively distant languages, for example, the Germanic and Baltic languages. Namely, the word *home* is etymologically related to the Gothic *haims*, the Germanic **haima-,* which correspond to the word šeima in Lithuanian and the word *saime* in Latvian. A similar correspondence exists also between the word *ciems* in Latvian and the word *heim* in Old High German, meaning "homeland" [Buck 1988: 459; Karulis 1992b: 142]. The Latvian word *māja* derives from the Finno-Ugric languages and etymologically relates to a place where people live, gather, or stay [Karulis 1992a: 561].

The concept of home occupies one of the most important places in the process of individual self-categorization, hence also in the process of identity construction. It helps to organize self-knowledge and to recognize one's own place in the surrounding environment (spatial and social, as well as mental) of emotions and memories. The childhood experience obtained at home influences also the adult attitude to the world, most often idealizing it. This concept is especially relevant in the traditional peasant culture inherited by the greater part of the population of contemporary Latvia. The historian of religion Mircea Eliade notes, "Habitations are not lightly changed, for it is not easy to abandon one's world. The house is not an object, a "machine to live in"; it is the universe that man constructs for himself by imitating the paradigmatic creation of the gods, the cosmogony. Every construction and every inauguration of a new dwelling are in some measure equivalent to a new beginning, a new life" [Eliade 1959: 56–57]. Perhaps for this reason one of the very first things that we ask upon meeting somebody is "Where is your home?" because identity is unthinkable without a relationship to places or things [Graumann 1983], which acquires various real and imaginary meanings [Castells 1997] for us and others who might be interested in these places and things. However, it should be recognised that our dynamic age of becoming rather than being is transforming the reactions and attitudes to atopical cultures and "homeless and placeless" individuals. A tramp or a homeless person encountered on public transport or in an underpass, who does not have any legitimatising social relationships either, provokes noticeable dislike if not fear. These are marginal persons in the social hierarchy, having a limited access to the minimal resources for subsisting, as it is indicated in the designation "a homeless person", somebody without a roof over their head, somebody without a home. These beings are usually identified with smells, dirtiness, diseases, in other words, with the intermediary condition of "human animals" rather than human beings. However, nowadays there are spreading completely different, positively evaluated forms of the culture of "placelessness" or "independent locality" that are being created by the elite social classes: well-paid information specialists, scientists, software

engineers, architects, photographers, designers, etc., who are in demand in a society of information technologies and knowledge, as their main resource is knowledge, information and creativity. Combining the career opportunities with the freedom of movement, these professionals form the lifestyle and culture of the so-called "digital nomads" [Russell 2013] designated by the neologism mobo, an abbreviation of the phrase "mobile bohemian." Their lifestyle poignantly corresponds to the concept that home is both everywhere and nowhere put forward by "liquid modernity", "I am everywhere at home, though (or because) that somewhere I'd call my home is nowhere. All in all, it is no longer one (refined) taste against another (vulgar) one (..) We need to be flexible" [Bauman 2010: 72].

It can be said that to some extent the contemporary Latvians also seek home in any place where there is a better job, warmer climate, or nicer, more attractive scenery, and perhaps it means that the true or only home no longer exists.

And yet what is home in the era of "liquid modernity"? Which concepts of home dominate in Latvia, a full-fledged European country? Is the home of "liquid modernity" a universal concept referring to the whole European world?

Latvia, one of the three Baltic States, has experienced the situation where its economic, political and social development as a welfare state, after the Second World War was actually paralyzed by the Soviet occupation for half a century. Like other Baltic States Latvia for fifty years was dominated by planned economy and communist ideology and, of course, remained closed to the way of life of the Western world. Democracy was supplanted by totalitarianism and private ownership by universal collectivization and nationalization, which were accompanied by mass deportations and russification. The Communist Party imposed upon the authentic Latvian art and culture Social Realism and internationalism with the ideological goal to create a new race of superhumans, so called *homo sovieticus*. It is self-evident that the discourse of national identity was also suppressed, even oppressed; therefore, the idea of renewal of national state as a political system became the leading motive in the Latvian struggle for independence at the end of the 20th century, while the well-being of Latvian people in public discourse has not been promoted as the main objective at that time. That idea prevails also in the popular saying from the period of the National Awakening "Though poor, but in a free Latvia." ("*Kaut pastalās, bet brīvā Latvijā.*")

After 1991, when the Baltic States regained independence and could return on the political map of the world as full-fledged states, Latvia desperately tried to make up for lost time and single-mindedly moved back towards the Western European lifestyle. For example, the visionary document entitled *The National Development Plan of Latvia for 2014–2020* states, "In 2020, Latvia will be a country that is Latvian in character and self-confident, secure and resident-friendly, green and well-tended,

prosperous, effective and competitive – and a home to industrious, well-educated, creative, healthy and happy people. Through joint efforts we, all the residents of Latvia, can make this goal a reality" [Cross-Sectoral Coordination Centre 2012: 4].

It is a beautiful vision; yet, it cannot be achieved without being open to the world and human mobility. After regaining independence, post-Soviet Latvia faced serious economic problems; it had to re-enter market economy and establish an independent monetary policy that led to a crisis and problems in the banking sector. These developments consequently had an impact on the demographic processes.

Despite the emotional elation and patriotic feelings, as early as the beginning of the 1990s thousands of the residents of Latvia went to the Western countries to seek a better life. As a result, after the downfall of the Soviet system, the population of Latvia decreased dramatically. Especially painful were the initial stages of the economic transformation (1992–1993), when more than 3 percent of the population left the country. The second wave of emigration was caused by the last economic crises; in 2008–2011, more than 5 percent of the population left Latvia. At present the population of Latvia is 1.95 million [Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2017a: 8], and the statistics show that, since regaining independence in 1991, Latvia has lost 18.85 percent of the population because of the long-term emigration [Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2017a: 16–17]. Hence population mobility has become one of the greatest challenges Latvia has ever faced.

Long-term emigration is not tourism, although many might think so. Losers can be on both sides – emigration weakens their mother country, because it loses economically active people, labour and taxpayers. Emigration can also have a negative psychological impact on individuals preventing them from living fulfilled lives; emigrants sometimes complain of unease, the symptoms of depression, apathy and disorientation [Jablonskaitė 2014]. The loss of the familiar environment, home and fatherland also causes identity problems. To solve the issues related to emigration, as early as in 1995 the Government of Latvia passed the Repatriation Law, whose goal was to establish the main conditions and guarantees for the permanent resettlement of the persons of Latvian and Livonian (which is one of the native ethnoses in Latvia) extraction to Latvia [Latvijas Republikas Saeima 2016]. However, the law did not yield the expected results and the emigration from Latvia even increased, especially in the years of the economic recession as it was mentioned above. In 2013, reacting to this situation, the Cabinet prepared a plan for re-emigration support measures for 2013–2016 that focused on maintaining ties with the Latvian diaspora and providing mostly informative support functions to the expatriates who are considering the possibility or have already decided to return to Latvia and work there, as well as to those who wish to found a company or to develop business contacts with Latvia [Latvijas Republikas Ministru kabinets 2013].

In 2017, the Ministry of Economics carried out the assessment of this plan and concluded that it had not produced the intended results, as one of the main factors that could efficiently contribute to the process of re-emigration, is economic growth, jobs and significant increase of salaries. Unfortunately, in these areas Latvia is still not in the best condition at all. According to the assessment authors' opinion, the effectiveness of the plan cannot be measured by the number of re-emigrants, because there is a free movement of labour within the European Union, and both emigrants and re-emigrants do not intend to declare their places of residence immediately. Thus, they concluded, this re-emigration plan is more likely to be seen as a message to the diaspora that the authorities are eager to support those emigrants, who hope or have already decided to return to Latvia. Therefore, the main benefit of this plan is the identification of the diaspora's potential in cultural, economic, scientific and other fields [Latvijas Republikas Ekonomikas ministrija 2017].

One can think, that the government, highlighting the economic aspects, is doing its best to get emigrants back, nevertheless, it is clear that the desire to return home is encouraged or inhibited not only by the business environment and economic factors; no less important are the psychological, emotional and symbolic aspects. Regarding those aspects, it is clear, that idea of re-emigration is hardly imaginable without the symbol of home. For instance, in 2016 the Latvian Institute, which is the main governmental body for the promotion of Latvia's positive image, has very clearly articulated symbolic meaning of home in the context of its social initiative *#GribuTeviAtpakaļ* (I want you back): "We invite residents of Latvia to address their exiled family and friends with a personal and emotional message: you are important to us, and Latvia will always be your home" [Latvijas institūts 2016].

Home is one of the strongest impulses and symbols of re-emigration, which integrates thoughts, memories and dreams [Bachelard 1994: 7]. An old Latvian proverb states, "A dry crust of bread in your father's home tastes better than a roast abroad" ("*Tēva mājās garoza gardāka nekā svešās mājās cepetis*"). In constructing the national and local Latvian identity the concept of home or "my father's home" is a very stable element. So, what is the Latvian "my father's home" like?

Historically, the density of population in Latvia has always been relatively low, at present about 33 people per square kilometre, in the interwar period 30 people per square kilometre [Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2016]. Perhaps this is the reason why Latvians have traditionally lived in separate farmsteads, which still occupy a very important place among the concepts of the Latvian home [Ločmele 2011]. The farmstead is a separate dwelling or several separate dwellings and outbuildings functionally related to this dwelling or these dwellings located in a territory which

is primarily used for agriculture or forestry [Latvijas Republikas Saeima 2015]. The traditional Latvian farmstead is included in the Latvian Cultural Canon, a list of the most excellent and outstanding Latvian works of art and cultural values, initiated by the Ministry of Culture, altogether 99 cultural values of Latvia. The symbolic relevance of the Latvian farmstead was attested to by its depiction on the twenty-Lat bill of the now historical national currency.

The traditional country house in Latvia has been corner-jointed log buildings with gabled roofs made of wooden shingles, straw, reeds, or tiles. But, of course, a sense of home and belonging was created not only by buildings, but also by their content and surroundings, such as self-made objects, tools, the trees planted around the house, flower-beds, front yard and orchards; as remembered by one of the informants: "Our house stood on the bank of a river stream. When summer came, there were irises blooming in a round flower-bed. Oaks grew along the bank, there was a large apple orchard next to the house, on the other side there was a small coppice" [Margarita Kaltigina, Rīga, 2014].

On the whole, Latvians were rather conservative in their choice of a dwelling and gave preference to wooden buildings. Wooden architecture dominates in the cultural landscape of the Latvian countryside and has formed the concept of "Latvianness." It is based on the striving for the natural: buildings are made of wood; clothes are sewn of linen and wool; living dialects and folklore are used in speech; the houses are painted in warm, unpretentious and calming hues; the feeling for the seasonal cycles and a considerate attitude to nature and domestic animals prevail in agriculture. And the most important thing is that the house and other buildings should be filled with people, domestic animals and the goods harvested from the tilled land. Traditionally, Latvians have had a rather broad concept of home including not only the house in it, but also outbuildings and even small structures such as beehives, artificial bird nests and dog kennels. Every being from humans to domestic animals, insects (bees) and birds had their own place in this well-organized environment. This idea, that has been formed over centuries, of orderly environment in which each subject has its own place, still prevails in the concept of archetypal Latvian "father's home".

Historically, the idiom "my father's home" or "my father's farmstead", as Latvians sing in their folksongs, is still strongly associated with the economic growth of interwar period, and is attributed to President Kārlis Ulmanis. This period was one of the most important cognitive anchors for the National Awakening at the end of the 20th century and still, especially in the memories of older people, performs the function of mythical "Golden Age". Therefore, the ideology of regaining national independence was based on the ambition to reconstruct the idealized Latvia of the interwar period, when the economy and social relationships were built on the basis of traditional rural culture. This may be the reason why at the beginning of independence there was a

growth in the number of farmers despite the difficulties and risks of the economic reform while making transition from collective farming to individual farming and market economy. Some people were motivated to move to the countryside and revert to the lifestyle of their ancestors. As a result of denationalization, they regained the landed estates of their parents and grandparents and started farming [Ločmele 2011: 33]. Consequently, agriculture and countryside continued to be ideological cornerstones of national identity: "In the 1980s, I decided to move from Riga to the countryside. I bought a house and 4 hectares of land in the vicinity of Svētciems. I liked to work the land; I planted potatoes, kept rabbits, hens. Still I have very nice memories of this time. It felt good. I don't know whether you can call it happiness, because there are different shades and degrees of happiness. Most probably the years spent at the house in Svētciems were happy, because I could do with my life whatever I liked" [Vilis Radziņš, Korģene, 2014].

However, as the economy developed, especially after Latvia became a member state of the European Union, agriculture lost its privileged status as the historical mode of living and was placed on an equal footing with other areas of the national economy, the government declaring agriculture a business [Ločmele 2011: 35]. Hence, the traditional Latvian farmstead had to start performing the alien function of a tourist attraction [Ločmele 2011: 34] as a place where city-dwellers and foreigners could enjoy "peace, beauty, pristine nature, a little bit of heaven on earth" [Ločmele 2011: 42]. Soon the farmstead took on another important function: the production of ecological food. And nowadays the countryside can also offer rather exotic occupations that by no means associate with the peaceful Latvian farmstead; for example, there are places where exotic animals, such as ostriches, are raised or Zimbabwean crocodile fillets are imported from afar and prepared [Ločmele 2011: 38]. These are activities that do not really fit in the picture of the idealized archetypal Latvian "father's home".

In modern Latvia, the concept of home and its place in the hierarchy of values are certainly influenced by several factors: the development of technologies (access to the Internet), the prevalence of scientific knowledge, human mobility and the level of welfare in comparison to the so-called First World Countries. The traditional rural or peasant culture has also lost its former significance and becomes marginal. At the same time, archetypal thinking changes very slowly, and it is to be expected that even nowadays symbol of "my father's home" would appear as one of the most stable anchors of local identity. The experience gained in "father's home" becomes the point of reference for the later experiences, including re-emigration: "I don't want to take out loans, because it is the same thing as buying a ticket to London. I'm trying to develop a microenterprise on my own. I'm staying here at my father's home, all will be well!" says Sintija Pickēna (27) from Liepāja in the west of Latvia. Sintija's

sister has lived and worked in England since 2006, "Financially it is much easier, but my heart still is full of Latvia and home, the winds and the sea at Liepāja, which are calling me back. Nature there is beautiful. You understand it only after you have left" [Goldbergs 2014].

Informant Laila Ozoliņa, who lives in the provincial town of Valka in northern Latvia, has a similar opinion. She is sure that it was the place, and only the place where she had spent her childhood, where all the paths were known to her and where she had listened to her grandmother's stories and advice, that affected her decision not to stay abroad, though she thought about it and it seemed possible. It is because of emigration that "parents turn into cash machines for their children who have been left behind" [Laila Ozoliņa, Valka, 2013]. When Laila emigrated, her son, who was only 8 at the time, was left with his grandmother. Laila had plans to stay in England for a longer time, because the employers offered her a higher position and career possibilities. She called her mother to ask if she should stay or come back home. "Everything is alright, stay there! And your son is OK," mother told her. There was only one thing: her son was drawing a thick black cross across each calendar day spent without mommy. Laila came back home the next day. Now she is sure that a country house is a vital necessity for each Latvian family. Her son now is a grown-up, and he has decided to have such a house as his great grandparents had – a farmstead. He has decided to earn money abroad, so that he might build a house in the countryside of Latvia.

Abundant data about Latvian concept of home were obtained in the course of fieldwork carried out in rural areas of Latvia, in the Svētupe region in Vidzeme, within the framework of the project "The Svētupe River of Vidzeme in Mythic and Real Cultural Space", financed by the Latvian Council of Science. The project was run by the Research Centre of the Latvian Academy of Culture from 2013 to 2016 with the purpose of providing an in-depth study of the cultural-historical territories and local identity of the people living on both sides of the Svētupe River.

The Svētupe river of Vidzeme is a 48 km long river in the west of Latvia. Many objects of cultural heritage, such as the Livs' sacrificial caves, the Jaunupe dam, the lamprey weirs at Svētciems, watermills, manors, etc. are located on its banks. The Svētupe is remarkable for the fact that it flows through a cultural space created by Livonians, an autochthonous Finno-Ugric people of Latvia, who have dwelt on its banks since ancient times. To explore the river, its vicinity, and the culture of people living there – their houses, belongings and the cultural landscape – researchers resorted to archive materials (dating from the 17th century) and photographs (dating from the late 19th century to the present day), as well as the data about the Svētupe region obtained during the fieldwork.

During the implementation of the project, the living space of the Svētupe inhabitants, the demographic situation, everyday occupation, the peculiarity of

mentality, etc. were identified, based on the study of historical sources and archival materials to the findings obtained *in situ*. For the collection of empirical data, mainly qualitative data acquisition methods were used, such as observation and participant observation, interviewing informants in their natural location to determine culturally significant elements (in-depth interviews), visual and audio-visual fixation of places, cases and events, collection of artifacts, including photos, and processing them through visual research methods. One of the most significant aspects of the study was the identification of inhabited houses with detailed histories of the Svētupe vicinity kins, setting the time-frame from the first references in parish registers to modern testimonies of where on the planet this or that descendant of the Vidzeme Liv families, who were once living on the shores of the Svētupe, is residing at the moment, or whose houses have experienced irreparable destruction. In the course of the research, a detailed study of 45 farmsteads was carried out, the history of the past and present farmsteads was researched and the testimonies and life stories of the present-day residents were collected [see more in Muktupāvela 2015; Kursīte, Noriņa 2016].

The unique nature of the cultural space along the Svētupe river of Vidzeme lies in the interaction between two different native ethnies of Latvia over the centuries. The last Livs of Vidzeme, who spoke their own language until the middle of the 19th century, once lived on its banks. Livs are one of the Baltic Finnish ethnic groups; their historical location is in the north-western part of Kurzeme and Vidzeme regions in Latvia. According to the 2011 census, 250 individuals in Latvia defined themselves as Livs [Muktupāvela, Treimane 2016]. Linguistically, Livs are Finno-Ugrians and therefore differ from Latvians, who represent the Indo-European family of languages. The relicts of the Livonian language survive in the names of farmsteads in the Svētupe region that have been registered since the 17th century. One might suppose that, because of different mentality, the houses and other structures they built would differ, as it happens, for example, in Latgale, the eastern region of Latvia, with Latvian and Russian houses. Perhaps once it was so, but, judging by the photographs and interview evidence, in the 20th century it was no longer true. None of the people interviewed nowadays could name any differences, "In my time, Livs and Latvians had mixed so much that no one mentioned Livs or spoke of them aloud. It could be felt a little in the local speech, though" [Anita Emse 2013].

Within the project, the concept of home was investigated in close connection to the life histories' approach, that is because houses become *something* only together with the people living in them, because they fill houses with life and give them shape and content. One can even say that the house is an extension of human body, and it is not accidental that people sometimes draw parallels between houses and human bodies (for example, speaking about a heavily-built man), or liken the human head or

mind to a house roof. For instance, in Latvian culture a woman without a husband is sometimes compared to a house without a roof. But humans also, especially in the rural areas, became *something* only if they had a house. Working in the archives of the local history museum and questioning the informants, we became convinced that each house had its own biography or life history, usually spanning over several generations. In the course of the research, the farmsteads with the longest histories were selected, for they had been stable points of reference to several generations. As long as there is continuity, people would put time and effort into maintaining the places created by themselves or their ancestors. Symbolically, houses can reflect two different types of thinking and acting; some people can build a house for themselves, their children and grandchildren, becoming the hosts and owners and, thereby, creating a socially prosperous and stable social stratum. This aspect is still perceived as an important feature of Latvian identity. Another possibility is to live in or become a resident in a house built by somebody else. Nowadays it means simply renting or buying a flat, but in the 19th and the first part of the 20th century Latvia it meant becoming a farm-hand or a tenant, which is a rather unfavourable outcome for the Latvian traditional mentality. For instance, the owner of the farmstead *Unguriņi* on the bank of the Svētupe river in Viļķene municipality describes the days he has to spend in Riga city in his flat in a multi-storey house as follows, "To me living in Riga feels like to a cat wading through water – one day is fine, two days are too much, on the third day I'm fed up with it" [Zigfrīds Podiņš, Viļķene, 2015].

Significant changes have occurred in the vicinity of the Svētupe river, just like in the whole country since the 1990s, i. e., since the restoration of national independence, these changes have affected both the demographic situation and the outer appearance and interior of houses, as well as the surroundings. The inhabitants of the Svētupe area, just as it has happened to other regions of Latvia, were affected by the economical emigration, not only external, but also internal. The idealization of rural way of life, which was a topical idea at the beginning of National Awakening period, decreased fairly quickly due to economic difficulties. During the last years, a part of the former Svētupe inhabitants, especially the young ones, have moved to cities and towns – to Riga, Limbaži, Salacgrīva and others. Thus, the abandoned, empty houses, unless they are bought by some prosperous people from other parts of Latvia, become subject to gradual destruction. And also nowadays, two simultaneous processes take place, on the one hand, rural inhabitants migrate away from the Svētupe feeling no longer attached to their "father's home", to the river and its vicinity; on the other hand, their place is occupied by urban dwellers, who are still longing for a secluded place in nature, where to spend their weekends and summer holidays. Unfortunately, the newcomers do not always appreciate the previous traditional way of life and the state of matters. They usually have no sentiments to the place as the "father's home",

therefore they display little effort to preserve the previous appearance and situation of buildings and of adjacent territory. Of course, this is not always possible for purely utilitarian reasons, as many household buildings such as cowshed or barn have no practical application today, as it used to be in the olden days, when the rural way of life was unimaginable without agricultural activities. In modern situation these buildings are transformed into garage or warehouse, guesthouse or even into artist's workshop.

As it was said before, in the very beginning of the 1990s in the vicinity of Svētupe many owners re-established their ancestors' ownership of land and houses, which had been confiscated by the Soviet power, and their owners deported to Siberia. In most cases these houses, having forcibly become the collective property of Soviet kolkhozes, were gradually ruined as no-one's property. The legal heirs, having regained the property in the early 1990s, had either to invest huge amounts of money to restore it or to build everything anew. Not always the building or restoration of houses was done with respect to Latvian wooden architecture traditions. However, it should be noted that field work research indicates a positive tendency: slowly, but purposefully, slate roofs, so characteristic for the Soviet-time rural architecture, have been replaced by environment-friendly materials, plastic window frames have been replaced by wooden frames. Probably, persons, having regained their ancestors' property, are also paying certain effort to restore its symbolic meaning as their father's home. Therefore, they are doing their best to clean up the territory around the house and to make it nice. Thus, in the vicinity of the Svētupe, in some way, degradation caused by emigration coexists with the efforts to restore and preserve harmonious environment.

While doing interviews and watching local economic, social and cultural activities, it became clear that this is a critical transition period for the people living in the Svētupe vicinity. To make a certain place to prosper economically, it is necessary that the local inhabitants have their local consciousness, their attachment to the place. The Soviet power in fifty years managed to swap the consciousness of many people from "this is my father's home, this is our place therefore it should be preserved and put in order" to "this is not my business". It is possible to say that the Svētupe and its people in respect to the concrete living place can be considered as Latvia and its people in miniature. The sociocultural orientation is certainly towards the West, but it has been interrupted by collective traumas and inferiority complexes from the years of the Soviet rule. Yet the inferiority complexes and neglecting attitudes towards the Svētupe are not dominating in the local consciousness. The dominant determination of the Svētupe inhabitants, not always clearly articulated, is to put in order their living place, while keeping in esteem the feeling of the native or the "father's home". For example, Gunta Lūse, who was born and grew up at the

Svētupe and who has been working for 42 years as the head of local municipality, has commented with pride: "My father was, after all, an extraordinary honest man, and extraordinary hardworking, too. And he had cattle-shed with all automatic watering appliances in those times (..) And he always said, if not the Soviet times, his house would be for all tourists to admire! It was built differently at all. All country houses are usually similar, – a room behind kitchen and two more rooms. All toilets are outside around the corner, but our father had a toilet built inside" [Gunta Lūse, Pāle, 2013]. It is worth mentioning that Gunta Lūse's daughter Inga Brieze, a hostess of the *Lāči* farm in Pāle parish, has been living for some time in emigration, in England, and her comparison of houses here and there is as follows: "It was the Latvian silence in rural houses and spaciousness of fields, what I was missing in England. I and my husband were young, we wanted to kiss, but there was no place without the ever-present somebody with his or her "hello!". Having returned to Latvia and living in the countryside, we are happy" [Inga Brieze, Pāle, 2015].

It is worthwhile to mention, that people, who care about their homes, usually take the responsibility to care about the whole vicinity. For example, the aforementioned Gunta Lūse together with some other local inhabitants founded an association "Svētupe", whose aim was to clean the river, to make it suitable for canoeing and to tidy its banks. Unfortunately, for some bureaucratic limitations the association could not realize these lofty ideas. Yet it continued its existence, and its members in 2009 put in order the vicinity of a cultural object, well-known in Latvia – Livonian sacred cave, they made pathways, staircases, erected information stands, and set the site for the popular science and music project "Nature concert-hall" in Kuiķule [Tiesnese 2009]. The local belonging first of all means responsibility for the living place [Inglis 2009]. The aforementioned initiative is an excellent illustration to the positive correlation between high level awareness of local identity and the readiness to take care of, to look after and to keep in order the factors forming local identity such as cultural landscape, traditions, language and social ties, which, in their turn, enrich national culture in general [Bonaiuto et al. 1996].

Finally, we can say that there are many places in Latvia, which hold imprints of history and are attractive both to local inhabitants and to tourists and researchers. We cannot (except with the help of archaeology and, in some cases, of folklore and chronicles) have an insight into the history of our living places more than, conditionally, for some three to five hundred years. Thus, a question rises naturally: "What is left over from certain place after some 300 or 500 years?" The inhabitants of one or another place have changed countless times – they have moved elsewhere, have died, new ones are born, have intermarried and divorced. This is like a three hundred years old anthill, where nothing can be really discovered without in-depth family tree studies. Living houses in normal conditions have a longer existence than

humans, anyway, they also wear down in a couple of hundred years, they fall apart, burn down or are burnt down, get modernized, thus preserving the only link with the past – the name of the house (it is a tradition in rural Latvian to identify houses by name). Nowadays the practical need for some buildings (kiln-house, threshing-floor, bath-house, granary), necessary in the olden days' farming, has been lost, therefore they are seldom preserved properly.

In the context of the research, a rhetoric question has arisen: "What will happen to this strong local identity mytheme "my father's home" in future? Will it continue to exist in Latvian consciousness or, in the situation of the liquid modernity, will it become only a meaningless idiom?

It may seem that modern Latvians have their homes everywhere, and this might be a conclusion that the true or the only home does not exist at all. At the same time, this statement might be, more likely, an exaggeration, as almost everybody in Latvia is subconsciously inclined to their own constant place, that is, if not for generations inherited father's house, then at least a private house or apartment. Both among older rural inhabitants and younger urban dwellers there are many, who would say: "Every Latvian has his roots in the countryside house" [Edgars Efeja, Rīga, 2013].

Conclusion

In the conditions of Bauman's "liquid modernity" and in the situation of indefinite place identity it is just the local belonging, having the concept "my father's house" as its figurative equivalent in Latvian, that can provide a feeling of stability.

The field research, carried out in the vicinity of the Svētupe river, shows that the inhabitants of Latvian province cannot be unambiguously treated as a product of "liquid modernity". In spite of real emigration tendencies in the state, their common practices and identity in general bear witness to explicit "solidity". Country people know very clearly, who they are and where is their home, as well as home of their parents and their children, what natural and cultural values are in their vicinity. The more people link themselves to a certain place and the more explicit are marks of their local identity, the less they emphasize and then also pay notice to the negative sides and shortcomings of their living space.

One can agree, that the liquid modernity pertains to a significant part of the Western society, but the question is, how far one can go in attributing it to such a Western country as Latvia?

A third of Latvian population live in the countryside [Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2017b]. According to Latvian normative demographic documents, a town is defined as an inhabited place with no less than two thousand permanent residents, and it may happen that some historically defined towns have less than two thousand inhabitants [Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2017b] – this can still be regarded as rural

environment in Western European or Asian contexts. Technically it means that about two thirds of all Latvian inhabitants, except those 700 thousand living in the capital Riga, can be considered as peasants who still live with the sense of solid, not liquid modernity, and they have a clear and explicit sense of local belonging or local identity, and are keeping the related identity narrative, and they usually know very well what is their home and their "father's home".

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MODERNIST INFLUENCES IN ROLANDS KALNIŅŠ' FILM "FOUR WHITE SHIRTS" (*ČETRI BALTI KREKLI*, 1967)

Dr.art. **Dita Rietuma**
Riga Stradiņš University, Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

The 1950s and 60s in European film history is considered to be modernist period that was most explicitly manifested in the cinema of West European countries (France, Italy and others). Fragmentation of the narrative, loosening of linkage between events, innovative approaches in editing, foregrounding of subjectivity are only some of formal techniques characterizing the modernist aesthetics in cinema. In the soviet period of Latvian film history there are merely a few films in which one can identify modernist features. Basically, those are films by Rolands Kalniņš and in particular his feature film "Four White Shirts" (1967). By its form this film is very unusual in the context of Latvian film history and it resonated with the dominant trends in West European cinema in the 1950s and 60s. "Four White Shirts", as well as several other films by Rolands Kalniņš, like "Stone and Flinders" (*Akmens un šķembas*, 1966), and "Maritime Climate" (*Piejūras klimats*, 1974) were banned by censorship and never got to cinema screens and were practically "erased", eliminated from the Latvian cinema processes. The present research will be an analysis of the aesthetics of Rolands Kalniņš' film "Four White Shirts" (1967) focusing on those elements in the film that are typical for European modernist cinema. The return of the film "Four White Shirts" to the world cinema context took place half a century after it was made – its restored print was included in Cannes Film Festival programme *Cannes Classics* in 2018. The international premier of the film in 2018 enabled it to become the most renowned Latvian fiction film in Western Europe by revealing the internationally practically unknown modernist period of Latvian cinema in the 1960s that culminated in Rolands Kalniņš' film "Four White Shirts". The destiny of this film, the ban to screen it publicly affirms the fact that modernist aesthetics was considered to be unacceptable within the context of the soviet culture.

Keywords: *Latvian film, modernism, art cinema, new wave, Rolands Kalniņš, Rolands Kalnins, Four White Shirts.*

The turn of the 1950s and 60s and the ensuing decade was a time of intensive search for new creative approaches in European cinema – this process took place mainly in Western European cinema, but the echoes of modernism also affected ideologically controlled Soviet cinema including Latvian film culture. So far, the effects of modernism in the history of Latvian cinema have been rarely studied. Until now, the most significant research dedicated to modernism in the experience of Latvian cinema is the collection of essays by Inga Pērkone. *Tu, lielā vakara saule! Esejas par modernismu Latvijas filmās* (*Essays on Modernism in Latvian Films*, 2013). However, fiction films made by the Latvian film director Rolands Kalniņš (1922) have not been analyzed in this study. Traditionally, modernist tendencies in Latvian cinema are associated with documentary cinema. As Inga Pērkone notes:

> "*In Latvia modernism found its way in the documentary cinema in the 1960s. The political censure was not interested in the documentaries, since they were in a way made for the local public, and were also not expected to bring much profit. That is why the 1960s became the era of expressive poetic films in Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Estonia and other countries, but the documentary films made in the 1960s made in Latvia launched a new school known as "Riga style Riga poetic documentary", the influences of which are still felt in the modern filmmaking of Latvia"* [Pērkone 2013: 128].

However, several fiction films by the Latvian director Rolands Kalniņš can be perceived as part of the radical searches characteristic of modernist aesthetics. Most strikingly these pursuits are manifested in his film "Four White Shirts" (1967). Modernist features can be identified also in the director's several other films, for example, in "Stone and Flinders" (*Akmens un šķembas*, 1966) and in "Maritime Climate" (*Piejūras klimats*, 1974) – all these films by Kalniņš were banned by censorship, besides, his film "Maritime Climate" was destroyed – only 40-minute-long footage has been preserved till nowadays. In this context it would be important to highlight:

> "*Modernist art in Eastern Europe showed characteristics of peculiar national resistance and it was also characteristics of isolated works of Latvian cinema in the 1960–70s, which in their essence conveyed their sense of belonging to the Latvian culture, and not to the unified and russified Soviet culture*" [Pērkone 2013: 128].

Given the specific social and political conditions of the time and the realities of Soviet Latvia – ideological surveillance and socialist realist cannon that everyone working in film industry had to comply with, Rolands Kalniņš' creative work and his film "Four White Shirts" was a unique phenomenon that has no other equivalent in the film history of Latvia. After the film was finished in 1967 it was put away "on a

shelf" till the years of Awakening movement began in 1986 and when the film was screened for filmmakers in Riga Film Club. The real comeback of the film "Four White Shirts" to the culture of Latvia happened only in 2018 when after its restoring it had an international premier at Cannes Film Festival programme *Cannes Classics*. This special event made the film noticed also in the international context[1]. After the comeback of the film a book (collection of articles) "*Rolanda Kalniņa telpa*" ("Space of Rolands Kalniņš", 2018) was published (in Latvian). This was the first effort to analyze the director's work in more detail, including in the context of modernism.

Theorists have accepted the notion of "Classical Hollywood style" and have demonstrated that the mode of filmmaking by the world's dominating film industry – the USA, Hollywood has not essentially changed since the 1920s. The classical Hollywood style both by its principles of structuring narrative and also the features of film language (editing, use of specific shots and so on) is a film language ABC with the help of which it is possible to tell the story logically and understandably, stressing the causality of events and thus addressing as large an audience as possible [Bordwell, Thomson, Staiger 1985].

The socialist realist cannon accepted in the Soviet Union, in its deepest essence was an ideologized analogue of the classical Hollywood style that did not permit any deviations from the rules of the film narrative or the use of the established film language. It did not allow any deviations from the soviet ideology standards either.

There have been several periods in the world cinema history when the classical paradigm of style has been contested, those were the 1920s and 1960s. In the 1920s expressionism, surrealism, futurism, dadaism and other trends that focused on the creative search and innovative approaches to form and experience in other arts – painting, literature triumphed in European cinema. The modernist period in cinema in the 1960s is marked by denial of the classical film language, search for new forms and explicit authorship. This period of modernism is characterized by flourishing of *auteur cinema* in Western Europe – primarily in France and Italy – but the influence of this trend left an impact also on East European cinemas despite the ideological control.

The turn of the 1950s and 60s was the beginning of the French *New Wave* in Western Europe – a generation of directors appeared in French cinema who had

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[1] Since 2018 the film "Four White Shirts" has been screened in different festivals around the world. In 2021 the film "Four White Shirts" was included in the program *Baltic Modernist Cinema: Between Imaginary and Real* organised by Anthology Film Archives in New York [Anthology Film Archives 2021]. Since 2020 "Four White Shirts" is available to watch on-line worldwide at www.filmas.lv as part of the collection of the Latvian film classics offered by National film centre of Latvia.

formed their theoretical stance and stood in opposition to the classical cinema, after expressing their theories in the magazine *Cahiers du cinéma*. Jean Luc Godard, François Truffaut, Jacques Rivette, Éric Rohmer formed the nucleus of the *New Wave*. With their emergence in cinema, authorship concept and *auteur* theory flourished – the originality of the directorial position, the authorial means of expression, non-compliance to the cannons of classical style triumphed. Flourishing of *auteur cinema* characterized also the Italian cinema of the 1950s and 60s when Federico Fellini, Michelangelo Antonioni and others made their films. New filmmakers entered the scene also in several East European cinemas with their own deeply personal vision of the world and non-compliance to dogmas either of film language or themes of their films. Modernist films in Western Europe contested the classical film narrative mode while under their influence in the Soviet Union the most courageous authors questioned not only the classical narrative forms but also the socialist realist principles and criticized the ruling ideology.

Before the analysis of the film "Four White Shirts" one should briefly deal with the question whether and to what extent a young director working in Riga Film studios could possibly be influenced by the most topical trends of the world cinema. (Rolands Kalniņš learned film direction hands-on by doing various jobs in Riga Film studios before he became a film director (his directorial debut is the film *Ilze*, 1959)).

Were the films by Kalniņš made under the impact of the most prominent innovative foreign examples – the works by West European film directors who were his own age? (As a matter of fact, Rolands Kalniņš (1922), Jean Luc Godard (1930), Federico Fellini (1920–1993) were of the same generation and worked in cinema at the same time only separated by the ideological and political "iron curtain".)

Professionals of those times had limited possibilities to watch films by foreign directors. After World War II the soviet film distribution had a very tiny proportion of foreign films. Italian neo-realist films were screened because the themes (dramatic human destinies under capitalism and so on) did not conflict with the soviet mythology. For instance, one of the first neo-realist films *Roma, città aperta* (Roberto Rosselini, 1945) was screened in Riga film theatres even several times – in 1947 and 1952. In 1950 for about a month it was possible to watch in cinema Vittorio de Sica's *Ladri di biciclette* (1948). Only after the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 the process of liberalization started, more foreign films were screened, French and American films appeared, and Italian films were also still comparatively available. In 1957 (six years after it was made) cinemas in Latvia screened Visconti's film *Bellissima* (1951). At the end of 1959 Federico Felini's *Le notti di Cabiria* (1957) was shown. After a considerable lapse of time – only in 1965 Ingmar Bergman's film *Smultronstället* (1957) was screened, as well as Vittorio de Sica's *Umberto D.* (1952), Federico Fellini's *La Strada* (1954) and *La dolce vita* (1960), Michelangelo Antonioni's

Il grido (1957). In 1960 one of the first French New Wave films François Truffaut's *Les quatre cents coups* (1959) was shown [Vītola 2011: 289–296].

"*The films that Rolands Kalniņš watched, I saw as well, and I do not remember that the French cinema dominated. It was rather post-war Italian films*," remembers the cameraman of "Four White Shirts" Miks Zvirbulis. Rolands Kalniņš mentions as his major sources of inspiration films by the Polish director Andrzej Wajda" [Rietuma 2017].

> "*If in the Western scene we see a move away from neorealism in order to reach a modern form, in the Soviet Union and Poland we find tendencies toward neorealism as a form of modernization. The new auteur's main goal was to move away from the dominant ideology and the heroic style of social realisms*" [Kovács 2007: 282].

Modernist tendencies resonated also in cinemas of several socialist countries – most explicitly in Czechoslovakian and Polish cinema. Its features were also identifiable in films made in some USSR film studios but the majority of them were also put away "on a shelf" up to mid 1980s, similarly to Rolands Kalniņš' film "Four White Shirts". (For example, Marlen Khutsiev's film "July Rain" / *Июльский дождь* (1966), Kira Muratova's films "Brief encounters" / *Короткие встречи* (1967), "The Long Farewell" / *Долгие проводы* (1971) and others) – the authors of these films dared to step away from the socialist realist cannon – the soviet version of the classical Hollywood style. It is notable that the film theorist Peter Wollen in his study *Godard and Counter Cinema: Vent D'Est, Film Theory and Criticism,* draws direct parallels between the films produced by Hollywood and the leading soviet film studio *Mosfilm* [Wollen 1999: 499].

Despite restrictions created by the "iron curtain" to follow meticulously the processes of the world cinema, Kalniņš' films (especially "Four White Shirts", as well as "Stone and Flinders", and "Maritime Climate") mark the modernist development trend that was characteristic in East European countries in the 1960s and 1970s. Kovács considers that tendencies of mature modernism in Eastern Europe appeared later than in Western Europe, it happened no sooner than in 1962. He associates them with the start of the career of Andrey Tarkovsky, Roman Polanski and Miklós Jancsó, and the end of this period is marked by mid 1970s [Kovács 2007: 282].

"*It may seem perverse to propose that films produced in such various cultural contexts might share fundamentally similar features,*" David Bordwell writes. The scholar asks the question what connects the films *La Strada* (1954), *8½* (1963), *Smultronstället* (1957), *Det sjunde inseglet* (1957), *Persona* (1966), *A Popiół i diament* (1958), *Jules et Jim* (1962), *Nóż w wodzie* (1962), *Vivre La Vie* (1962), *Muriel* (1963) – films by Federico Fellini, Ingmar Bergman, Andrzej Wajda, François Truffaut, Roman Polanski, Jean Luc Godard, Alain Resnais. These films are examples of the art cinema

and are linked both by the time they were shot, – in the 1950s and 60s, as well as by innovative film language and the authorial point of view. "*The art cinema motivates its narratives by two principles: realism and authorial expressivity*" [Bordwell 1999]. Kalniņš' film "Four White Shirts" can be listed along with the films mentioned by Bordwell.

The Polish film critic Konrad Eberhardt wrote about Kalniņš' "Four White Shirts" in 1968 magazine *Ekran*, he had managed to see the film, stressing its affinity to the European *new wave* films:

> "*It is "an ideal new wave film (..) – it has a simple theme, a straightforward climax, loose composition – rehearsals of a band, walks in Riga, mundane scenes... All these elements create a type of a film distinctly different from the expensive productions representing predictable stories about modern youth. (..) all kinds of "new wave directors" could be proud if they would be able to create such a film. Firstly, because in particular in the West the theme about youth has been mythologized and it is very difficult to break away from established patterns and clichés. We have sufficiently many unsuccessful examples in Poland too. But Rolands Kalnins has managed to film entirely authentic young people who are carried away by their noble hobby – music and songs. (..) This film has no trace of demagogy. It even does not proceed from it that the truth lies indisputably on the side of the spiteful main character*" [Eberhardt 1966].

Theme, characters

If we take the plot of the film, "Four White Shirts" tells us a story about Cēzars Kalniņš, a young and creative telephone assembler, the author of song lyrics and his confrontation with censorship system. This censoring system is personified by a middle-aged cultural worker Anita Sondore (Dina Kuple) who believes that several songs by Cēzars Kalniņš (Uldis Pūcītis) are obscene. Her destructive reviews about Cēzars Kalniņš' songs performed by the band called "The Optimists" launch repressive mechanisms of the responsible authorities. Cēzars' songs are reviewed at a meeting of a special Youth aesthetic upbringing committee that becomes a catalyst for a creative person's conformism or non-conformism.

Cēzars Kalniņš can be considered to be spiritually akin to the characters of the French New Wave – the outsiders, personalities conflicting with the society norms. (For example, with characters from F. Truffault's *Les 400 Coups* (1959), Jean Luc Godard's *À bout de souffle* (1960) and *Pierrot le Fou* (1965).)

The leitmotif of the "Four White Shirts" (creative process) has a remote affinity with one of the themes favoured by *auteur cinema* – the *fundamentals* of the creative process, crisis of an individual. (An example is Fellini's *8 ½* whose main character film director Guido faces a crisis of personal and creative life.) Cēzars Kalniņš is forced to

fight both with his own personality crisis and also confront the external conditions interfering with his life and yet elaborate study of the creative process in the film is close to the West European film directors of the 1960s.

Looseness of narrative and subjectivization

Films made during modernist period display an unequivocal resistance to the classical narration. *The art cinema defines itself explicitly against the classical narrative mode, and especially against the cause-effect linkage of events.* The linkage become looser, more tenuous [Bordwell 1999]. Narrative looseness, and fragmentation are characteristic also of "Four White Shirts". Kalniņš deliberately avoided intensity of events, he also used music – songs by Imants Kalniņš with a purpose of adapting the editing of the film to the music rhythm.

For instance, in the grotesque scene of the council meeting during which the works by Cēzars are *being judged*, scenes from Riga townscape are edited into the episode. Such an approach loosens up the chain of events, breaks the cause-effect linkage and the unity of space that are the basic principles of the classical film narrative. The structuring of the episode by the director can be explained with subjectivization of the narrative, enabling the spectator to empathize with Cēzars' feelings, to follow his stream of consciousness when he dissociates himself from the closed space of the meeting room and the absurd speeches of the functionaries and wanders off in his thoughts into "another space".

Narrative subjectivization is one of the favoured techniques by Western European modernists. (See, for example Fellini's *8 1/2*, in which the subjective point of view of the main character who is a film director in a state of crisis, is emphasized – his dreams, stream of consciousness.) There are several episodes in "Four White Shirts" when elements of subjectivization are used.

Parallels with films by Antonioni and Godard

The similarity of "Four White Shirts" with Western cinematic examples, was stressed as its drawback by the authority of the film criticism of those times Rostislav Yurenev who after reviewing the script of "Four White Shirts" saw its similarity to Michelangelo Antonioni's films. In his critical review he suggested that the film script should be rewritten by elaborating the characters of the film and improving its dramaturgy:

> "*One should not watch so many boring films by Antonioni in which nothing happens. The form characteristic of his films perhaps can reveal the emptiness of West European bourgeois characters and morals but not the essential features of a telephone assembler from Riga who composes lyrical songs. There is one song in the script. It has the following lines: "…You cannot demand that everybody knows what*

the naive sound of "cuckoo" means! I disagree with that. I want everything, even the naïve scripts and their meaning to be clear to everyone" [Yurenev 1966].

"Four White Shirts" itself creates stylistic associations with films by Antonioni. Antonioni who places and dramatizes his film characters as tragic and alienated individuals within the aesthetic landscapes of his own epoch and space, is one of favourite film directors of Rolands Kalniņš although his acquaintance with the films by the Italian film director was very scarce in the 1960s. "*Yes, I have certainly watched films by Antonioni and I perceive him as a master of observation. But I got to know his work later. I have never tried to copy anything – never,*" says Rolands Kalniņš [Rietuma 2017].

Similarity to Antonioni's films is manifested by the use of white background characteristic of Antonioni's films (for example, in *Blow-Up*, 1966), and also by the principles of framing that defy the classical rules of composition. The film "Four White Shirts" has an episode with mimes that resonates with the final scene from Antonioni's *Blow-Up* (1966) in which the mimes are playing tennis without a ball.

It is worthwhile to analyse the unusually constructed opening episode in "Four White Shirts" – it is a band rehearsal scene in which the soloist (Pauls Butkēvičs), Bella (Līga Liepiņa) and Cēzars (Uldis Pūcītis) introduce the audience to the band called "The Optimists".

The episode has been filmed as one long single shot, camera is panning from right to left and back. Medium shots are used and with the help of camera movement and framing parts of the body of the band members *are visually cut off* focusing on the background featuring Bella and Cēzars.

The episode has affinity with the concert scene from Jean Luc Godard's film *Le mépris* (1963) that has been filmed as one long shot using the camera panning from right to left and back. The theme of *Le mépris* is also the essence of creativity – it depicts the process of filmmaking.

City

An essential element of the film "Four White Shirts" are scenes from the city of Riga the use of which is reminiscent of the French New Wave films. Beginning from the very first New Wave films *Les 400 coups* (1959) and *À bout de souffle* (1960) the streets of Paris create a special atmosphere and realistic texture, a documentary character of the events.

Although "Four White Shirts" was not filmed only in real locations, it was partly made in Riga Film studio pavilions, the portrayal of Riga has been granted special attention. The city scenes in the film possess contingency, spontaneity – there are details that have been captured creating a sense of documentary character when shooting Riga cityscape. Documentary character of several episodes in "Four White Shirts" evokes

affinity with the greatest achievements of Riga poetic documentary film (for example, Ivars Kraulītis, Uldis Brauns and Herz Frank's film "The White Bells" (1961)).

In the 1960s lighter and more mobile cameras appeared that were used by the authors of documentary and fiction films. The use of hand-held cameras emphasized the documentary character also in the films by the French New Wave directors.

City scenes in the films of classical style fulfil the functions of constructing the space, their purpose is to specify the setting of the action. In "Four White Shirts" the scenes from Riga city do not function as the traditional establishing shots. They are used as essayistic inserts, as in the episode of the council meeting during which the subversive impact of the songs by Cēzars is discussed. The eloquent speeches of functionaries sitting around a long meeting table are "interrupted" by editing into the sequence scenes from Riga city.

Alienation effect

In his "Four White Shirts" Rolands Kalniņš uses also the New Wave directors' frequently used principle of *eliminating* the fourth wall, creating an estrangement effect by making the actors speak looking straight into the camera. In Kalniņš' film this principle can be observed in the episodes when Bella introduces the spectators with the members of the band "The Optimists". The same technique is used by Godard in his film *À bout de souffle* making the character of Belmondo look on several occasions straight at the spectator.

Cameo

The film "Four White Shirts" has acquired also the value of a document – cultural personalities of the 1960s Latvia have been filmed in it. Stage director and actor Arnolds Liniņš, director Oļģerts Kroders, script-writer and critic Armīns Lejiņš, composer Imants Kalniņš and his brother, the writer Viks (Viktors Kalniņš), as well as the manager of *Riga pantomime* Roberts Ligers and his mimes and others.

The desire to film actual cultural personalities was characteristic also for the directors of the French New wave, for example, Jacques Rivette's film *Paris nous appartient* (1961) has brief appearances of his colleagues, film directors, including Jean Luc Godard. Godard in two of his 1960s films has filmed cinema classics – the German expressionist working in Hollywood Fritz Lang (in *Le mépris* (1963)) and the American genre film director Samuel Fuller (in *Pierrot le Fou* (1965)).

Socialist absurdity

"Four White Shirts" can be compared not only to films by West European authors but also to the films that were made in the countries whose daily realities were closer to those of the Latvian SSR, for instance, with films of the Czech New wave. The affinity between the films by Kalniņš and Czech New wave authors is defined

Figure 1. Poster of the film "Four White Shirts" created in 2018 for the film's international premiere in Cannes Film Festival more than 50 years after the film was made.

by the grotesque, socially critical element, the ability to bring the daily events to absurdity. An explicit example is Miloš Forman's *Hoři, má panenko* (1967) in which a fire brigade's ball is transformed into absurd and chaotic mess. Both Kalniņš, as well as Forman use elements of grotesque and absurdity, filming vivid characters who have a peculiar manner of speaking.

The culmination of the absurdity is the meeting scene in "Four White Shirts". To create the impression of absurdity, a specific filming technique is used – the functionaries are filmed from low, non-complementary angles, creating the sense of distortion that is in particular contrast to the officious portrait of Lenin on the wall and his slogan: "Art belongs to people."

The open ending

An essential feature of modernist cinema is an open ending. Classical examples when the plot remains open permitting several different further alternatives is, for example, Truffault's *400 Les 400 coups* (1959), Antonioni's *L'eclisse* (1962) and others. It is used also by Rolands Kalniņš in "Four White Shirts" – in the final scene set against white background we see a microphone on the left side of the frame, Bella goes up to it in order to announce the band and leaves the frame. The credit "The End of Film" follows. Whether Cēzars and his band played at the concert or it was banned remains an unanswered question – the ending of the film is open.

Summing it all up – Rolands Kalniņš' film "Four White Shirts" has many typical features that link it to the work of essential Western and East European modernist film directors. Unfortunately, the director's creative freedom and intuitive affiliation to the most essential modernist trends of the 1960s turned out to be a too radical

challenge for the functionaries who watched over the soviet cinema life. Because of this reason the fate of "Four White Shirts" was complicated but the use of modernist techniques in cinema under conditions of Soviet Latvia was deemed to be unacceptable precedent that was to be banned.

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CHILDREN'S OPERA *BRUNDIBÁR* BY HANS KRÁSA – UNIQUE STAGE HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE

Mg.art. **Mstislav Pentkowsky**
Latvian Academy of Culture, University of Daugavpils, Latvia

Abstract

Brundibár, an opera written by the Czech composer Hans Krása in 1938, has gained worldwide fame since the end of World War II and has become a representation of the global resistance to genocide and crimes against humanity.

Brundibár was performed fifty-five times by the young Jewish inmates of the Theresienstadt concentration camp (Czechoslovakia) during 1943–1944. Depicting the victory of the helpless children over the tyrannical organ grinder Brundibár ("bumble-bee" in Czech), this opera symbolized the triumph of the good over the evil. It provided the prisoners of the camp with the hope for the liberation. In the autumn of 1944, composer Hans Krása, conductor Rafael Schächter, stage designer František Zelenka, and 150 young actors and members of the orchestra were deported in the cattle wagons to Auschwitz and other concentration camps. After the deportation of the artists, the most popular theatre production at Theresienstadt was silenced only to be revived after the end of Word War II.

This paper aims to demonstrate that the role of *Brundibár* goes far beyond a common opera production. *Brundibár* has a great significance and a very special meaning when performed in the countries with the authoritarian regimes in the past, e. g. in Latvia, who faced mass deportations of the Latvians in 1941–1949 and lost the majority of its Jewish population during the Holocaust.

The paper talks about the importance of the art pieces about the genocide in the 20th century that should be presented to a wide audience to keep the traumatic memory of the past alive in the memory of the today's society.

Keywords: *children's opera* Brundibár*, Hans Krása, Theresienstadt, genocide.*

Introduction

October 2021 marks the 80th anniversary of the instituting of the Theresienstadt Nazi concentration camp. Despite the terrible living conditions, Theresienstadt had

a highly developed cultural life including first performances of children's opera *Brundibár by* Hans Krása. Hans Krása (1899–1944) was one of many composers imprisoned and actively composing at the Theresienstadt concentration camp during World War II. Although he is best known for the opera *Brundibár*, Krása created in almost all genres: orchestral music, solo instrumental and chamber music, solo vocal and choral music. Many of his works composed during imprisonment at Theresienstadt were kept by Krása's friends after he was deported to Auschwitz and published after his death. Even though, Krása's music has received many performances and attracted significant scholarship in recent decades, *Brundibár* and the circumstances of its performances at Theresienstadt have not been the subject of significant prior analysis and little is known about it.

The author analyses the circumstances and the history of the children's opera *Brundibár* creation and production. The unique stage history of the opera turned it into a symbol of the global resistance to genocide and authoritarian regimes. After the thorough examination of the evidence presented in the literature and in the memoires of World War II survivors the author concludes that this musical piece has an exceptional role in the education of the society. The author highlights the active role of the art in the promotion and protection of human and civil rights.

Discussion

On 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed the Chancellor of Germany and within seven months the Nazi party was declared the only legal party in Germany. During the first years of Hitler's dictatorship, the Nazi state quickly became a regime in which citizens were not guaranteed basic civil and human rights. In his new position as Reich Chancellor, Hitler possessed the total control over the political system of Germany. Extensive propaganda was used to spread the Nazi party's racist goals and ideals. With the help of the Nazis, Hitler initiated the segregation of Jews and everyone else who did not fit his description of "Aryan," removing them from all society life aspects.

For genocide and crimes against humanity to occur, the dehumanization of the potential victims must happen first. The perpetrators of such crimes often use art as a tool helping them in accomplishing their goals. Undoubtedly, Hitler's and Nazi party's genocidal intentions could not be realized without intense propagandistic efforts of the National Socialists to demonize Jews, Africans, Roma, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others whom they deemed "undesirable". As historian David Welch suggests, Nazi propaganda was used to convince those who were not yet persuaded of the importance of the Hitler's racial policies and to inspire those who already adhered to his views [Welch 1993: 84].

One of the first items Hitler addressed in his new position was music. Professional composers and performers were further encouraged to achieve, promote, and consolidate a sense of national identity. The Nazi regime initiated a politico-socio-musical system which they considered to be a vehicle for "*strengthening the nation and the race, recognizing its ceremonial, educational, and disciplinary value*" [Potter 1998: 17]. According to Hitler and Goebbels, the three master composers that represented good and acceptable German music were Ludwig van Beethoven, Richard Wagner, and Anton Bruckner. Evidently, this policy did not start with Hitler. In 1929 Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi theorist and ideologue, founded so called *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Fighting League for German Culture). The purpose of the *Kampfbund* was to attack artistic modernism and to preserve purely German values. Rosenberg asserted that this organization would "*inform the German people about the interconnection between art, race, knowledge, and moral values and give whole hearted support for genuine expression of German culture*" [Levi 1994: 9]. The *Kampfbund* facilitated the promotion of German music with the strong political support of the Nazi party.

The Nazi regime used music and other arts as a political tool to unify and indoctrinate the German nation [Shelton 2005: 713]. *Entartete Musik* was the name given by the Nazis to a wide variety of composers and musical genres as part of their propaganda machine. *Entartete* (*degenerate*, a term connoting psychologically abnormal behaviour) signified something aberrant about the art, thus perceived as a threat to German society. Modern music was generally met with hostility. Many among German public disliked the new atonal, futurist and jazz trends that were increasingly present on the world stage. Hitler himself viewed modernists and internationalists with disgust and considered that this was "*symptomatic of a sick society*" [Meyer 1991: 267]. Nazi propaganda promoted the idea of German superiority in the art of composition and the inferiority of any music touched by Jews. The public was "protected" from cultural pollution by a ban on the performance, recording, and publication of this music. The policy *Entartete Kunst* (degenerate art) was initially introduced at an exhibit of visual arts displayed in Munich in 1937. The following year, in Dusseldorf, music received similar perception at the *Entartete Musik* exhibition.

In accordance with the Nazi Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service of 7 April 1933, German Jews involved with the arts were dismissed from their positions, as were all Jewish employees in the public sphere. The Nazis had excluded Jews from participating in public cultural life, forbidding their participation in orchestras, music schools, theatres, and dance halls to "protect" Aryan culture from Jewish influence.

Even though Jews had a history of being particularly influential in musical culture, the Nazi state prohibited the performance of music by Jewish composers

as well as the performance of German music by Jewish musicians. Nazi ideology viewed Jewish and German music as contradictory to each other. Joseph Goebbels stated: "*Jewry and German music are opposites; by their very nature they exist in gross contradistinction to each other*" [Kater 1997: 76]. The Nazis religiously followed Goebbels's orders, going to great lengths ostracizing Jews. For example, the Nazis were extremely troubled by the firmly established music of Felix Mendelssohn in German national culture. Elaborate efforts were made to discredit him, Mendelssohn was portrayed as an artist who had struggled to become "German", but failed. On 15 November 1936, three years after Adolf Hitler came to power, the *New York Times* reported that the bronze statue of Mendelssohn outside the Gewandhaus in Leipzig had been removed and destroyed. This violent action clearly signalled that music by composers of the Jewish faith or tradition would no longer be performed in opera houses and concert halls. Whether they were deported to a concentration camp or were able to escape the Nazis, these composers' lives and social circles had been completely changed, and their music was not given a chance to be widely heard.

On 10 October 1941, the Nazis established the Theresienstadt transit concentration camp in the fortress city of Terezín (Czechoslovakia), Jews from all Central Europe were held in this transit concentration camp and then sent to the extermination camps in the East. During the three and a half years of its existence, around 160,000 people were brought to Theresienstadt from the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, Slovakia, and other countries. For most of them, it served as a way station to the extermination camps and other killing sites. The total number of survivors was around 23,000, including 4,000 of the deportees who survived [Ludwig 2005: 713].

Theresienstadt functioned not only as a transit camp to the death camps, but also as a propaganda vehicle designed to deceive the world community about the true nature of the *Final Solution*. The Nazis tried to conceal Theresienstadt's function as a way station on the road to death from the eyes of the international public and presented it as an idyllic place to live. Theresienstadt was publicized as a "model camp" for Red Cross representatives and foreign dignitaries. The Nazis SS command implemented extensive propaganda efforts to demonstrate the camp's organization and humanity, which involved fostering the creation of cultural programmes for the Jewish inmates. Outstanding Jewish writers, professors, musicians, and actors gave lectures, concerts, and theatre performances. This active cultural community included many of Europe's most gifted performers, conductors and composers. Many of the musicians imprisoned at Theresienstadt had been part of active musical life in Prague, Brno and elsewhere in Europe in their pre-war lives. As performers and composers, they contributed to the German Neues Deutsches Theater and the Czech Národní Divadlo [Shelton 2005: 714]. Evidences showed that, despite hopeless

circumstances, composers imprisoned at Theresienstadt strived to convey messages of hope through their music. Many composers did not survive the Holocaust, but fortunately, their music did.

Composers Gideon Klein, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása and Viktor Ullmann were among the central creative forces in this extraordinarily rich cultural community. Before their imprisonment, these musicians were active participants in the principal trends of European culture and were among the gifted students and musical successors of Arnold Schoenberg, Alois Hába and Leoš Janáček. Their works were performed under the direction of such notable conductors as Leopold Stokowski, William Steinberg, George Szell, and Serge Koussevitzky. Deported to Theresienstadt, they were important figures in the *Freizeitgestaltung* (Administration for free time activities).

Freizeitgestaltung, a Jewish-run organization instituted by the Nazis, was responsible for a wide range of cultural activities for prisoners. Amateur and professional musicians formed a variety of ensembles. Egon Ledec, a former associate concertmaster of the Czech Philharmonic, formed the Ledec Quartet, one of several string quartets and ensembles at Theresienstadt. Kurt Gerron, who was the original "Tiger Brown" in Kurt Weill's *Three Penny Opera* and co-starred with actress Marlene Dietrich in *Der Blaue Engel* ("The Blue Angel"), produced cabaret performances. In the sphere of jazz and popular music, Martin Roman led the Ghetto Swingers. Czech choirmaster Raphael Schächter directed the performances of Giuseppe Verdi's *Requiem*. Between 1943 and 1944, he and over 150 fellow prisoners rehearsed and performed *Requiem* 15 times for inmates and for the Nazi elite. The chorus was reduced twice by transportation to Auschwitz. Operas performed at Theresienstadt included Puccini's *Tosca* and *La Boheme*, Verdi's *Aida* and *Rigoletto*, Bizet's *Carmen,* Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona* and Strauss's *Die Fledermaus,* some in a concert version with piano and some fully staged with orchestra. Two operas by Czech composers, Bedřich Smetana's *Prodaná Nevěsta* and the children's opera *Brundibár* by Hans Krása, were the favourites of the Czechs and also the large majority of the camp's prisoners. The most infamously associated with Terezín opera is Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis,* the only opera that is known to have been composed entirely in the camp [Levi 1994: 57].

While performances by orchestras, chamber ensembles, jazz bands, and choirs as well as recitals and opera performances characterized life at Theresienstadt, it remained a concentration camp, where prisoners lived in insufferable conditions. The inmates were exposed to all the hardships of camp life: malnutrition, starvation, poor hygienic conditions, infections, and tragic lack of medicine. To create a protective atmosphere, the adults tried to create a separate world for the children, where art,

music, and theatre would help them to escape the terrible reality of the camp. Drawing and theatre lessons had an invaluable therapeutic effect and significantly helped the children to bear oppressive reality around them [Makarova 2004: 268]. These activities helped the children express themselves, release fantasies and emotions. The children constantly communicated in their drawings and theatre performances the hope of their happy return home. Only a small part of the children who passed through Theresienstadt saw this hope fulfilled. Most of them were transported further east and virtually all perished in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Of 15,000 children who passed through Terezín, only 150 children (1 percent) survived the war [Ludwig 2005: 713].

Figure 1. A propaganda photograph taken by the Nazis of the *Brundibár* cast
at Theresienstadt concentration camp (National Film Archive, Prague).

The children's opera *Brundibár* ("bumble-bee" in Czech) by Hans Krása with lyrics by Adolf Hoffmeister became the most famous theatre production of Theresienstadt. Krása and Hoffmeister wrote *Brundibár* for the Czech State Opera in 1938. *Brundibár* is a relatively short opera performed by a baritone, children's choir, and orchestra. Because of the complete occupation of the country by the Nazis in March 1939, the rehearsals of the opera were postponed. They started only in 1941 at the Prague's Jewish orphanage which served as a temporary educational facility for children separated from their parents by the war. The first rehearsals with the children

were carried out under the joint supervision of the conductor Rafael Schächter and the teacher Rudi Freudenfeld. František Zelenka, an architect and stage designer of the National Theatre and Liberated Theatre, created a simple set of three large fences made up of several boards with three posters stuck on them. The posters had a sparrow, cat and dog presented. The animal characters would stick their heads through the poster when they first appeared in the action. The opera was performed twice in October of 1942. It was performed in secret, as Jewish cultural activities were already forbidden by that time.

By July 1943, nearly all the children of the original chorus and the composer Hans Krása were transported to Terezín. Only the librettist Adolf Hoffmeister managed to escape. Rudi Freudenfeld smuggled the piano score of *Brundibár* into Terezín in his allotted 50 kg of luggage. At Theresienstadt, Krása reconstructed the full score of the opera, adapting it to suit the musical instruments available in the camp: flute, clarinet, guitar, accordion, piano, percussion, four violins, a cello, and a double bass. To Krása's great surprise, Rafael Schächter, who was too busy with other musical projects at the time, gave Rudi Freudenfeld the task of conducting this production. A set was again designed by František Zelenka: several flats were painted as a background, in the foreground there was a fence with drawings of the cat, dog and sparrow and holes for the singers to insert their heads.

After Krása reorchestrated *Brundibár* in accordance with the available instruments, rehearsals began at the so called "Dresden barracks." Rehearsals were constantly disrupted by the deportation of young actors to the East concentration camps and their replacement by newly arrived children. Two of the principals had already played singing roles in a performance of *Prodaná Nevěsta* and other operatic productions. Schächter selected them immediately for the main roles: Pintá Mühlstein (Pepíček) and Greta Hoffmeister (Aninka). Ela Steinova played the Cat, Stefan (later Rafi) Herz-Sommer played the Sparrow, and Zdeněk Ornest played the Dog. Honza Treichlinger played Brundibár in every performance. The production was directed by František Zelenka with assistance of Kamila Rosenbaum, a choreographer from Vienna. After more than two months of rehearsals, the Terezín premiere of *Brundibár* took place on 23 September 1943. On average, the opera was performed once a week on Saturdays.

The opera tells the story of Aninka and Pepíček, a fatherless sister and brother. Their mother is ill and needs milk to recover, but they have no money. Aninka and Pepíček decide to sing in the marketplace to raise money, but the evil organ grinder Brundibár chases them away. However, with the help of a fearless sparrow, keen cat, wise dog, and the children of the town, they can defeat Brundibár.

Multiple sources cite the use of allegory in Theresienstadt's productions of *Brundibár*. Existing photos from Theresienstadt's production show the boy (Honza

Figure 2. The original poster
for *Brundibár*
(Jewish Museum, Prague).

Treichlinger) in the role of Brundibár wearing Hitler's moustache. Alvin Goldfarb asserts that *Brundibár* served as an "*allegorical attack on Hitler's Europe*" [Goldfarb 1976: 10]. Tony Kushner and Maurice Sendak clearly depict Brundibár as Hitler in their children's book [Kushner and Sendak 2003]. The simple story of the struggle against the mean and rude street musician was used to symbolize the victory of good over evil. An opera about the triumph of the helpless children over the tyrannical organ grinder was a great success among the inmates of the camp, served as a form of resistance and even gave them hope for liberation [Karas 1995: 120].

Though Adolf Hoffmeister wrote the libretto before Hitler's invasion, certain phrases served as an appeal to fight evil and sounded clearly anti-Nazi to the audience. At the end, children and animals overpower Brundibár and sing: "*Brundibár is beaten, he runs into the distance, strike up the drum, the war has been won.*" Joža Karas, a former inmate of Theresienstadt and a conductor of the first post-war production of Brundibár in 1975, declares that the "*opera acquired a political connotation aided by a textual alteration to emphasize the anti-Nazi message*". He indicates that "*the poet Emil Saudek altered the very last few lines of the opera to express the universal feeling of resistance and the ultimate belief in justice*" [Karas 1995: 120]. While the original said: "*He, who loves so much his mother and father and his native land, is our friend and he can play with us*", Saudek's version reads: "*He, who loves justice and will abide by it and who is not afraid, is our friend and can play with us.*" The opera was performed

in Czech, and the camp authorities did not understand the anti-Nazi message of the production.

Hanellore Brenner wrote that "*Brundibár represents the evil that has brought misery into the lives of the children, because they see him as Hitler, as his Nazis, and as all supporters of his dictatorial regime... The wellspring of sudden energy that fuels their common cause against Brundibár seems inexhaustible. It is an energy that flows from all sides – from the audience, from the musicians in the orchestra, from the very streets and barracks of Theresienstadt, and, of course, from the hearts of the performing children... "Brundibár poražen!" ("We have defeated Brundibár!") cry one and all. Good has triumphed over evil. It was like a fairy tale, yet for the moment this was reality. It was a vision of the future transported to the stage, borne up by the principle of hope and belief in the victory over Hitler*" [Brenner 2009: 186–187]. Handa Drori, a living Theresienstadt survivor, recalled, "*When at the end we all sang "Brundibár poražen", we firmly believed in ourselves and in our victory... At that moment we looked optimistically into the future*" [Brenner 2009: 187].

Following *Brundibár's* successful premiere, Dr. Kurt Singer, a musicologist from Berlin and inmate of Theresienstadt, stated, "*Brundibár shows how a short opera of today should look and sound, how it can unite the highest in artistic taste with originality of concept, and modern character with viable tunes... We have also a Czech national coloration (at which Krása is a master), a clever balance of scenic effects between the orchestra pit and the stage, an orchestra used with taste and economy and a singing line which is never obscured or smothered by the instruments... Whether it be cast in a large or small form, whether it be a song or symphony, chorus or opera, there can be no higher praise for a work of art*" [Karas 1999: 195].

Realizing the propagandistic potential of this enormously popular production, the Nazis arranged a special performance of *Brundibár* for the representatives of the International Red Cross, who, in response to the growing concerns over the extermination of Jews, came to inspect living conditions at the camp. The Nazis deported 7500 inmates to Auschwitz before the visit of the Red Cross representatives trying to hide the overcrowding at Theresienstadt.

On 23 June 1944, the Red Cross delegation visited Theresienstadt's school, theatre, hospital, cafes, and kindergarten and attended *Brundibár* performance. For the visit, the production of *Brundibár* was moved to the large Sokol Hall outside the ghetto. The performers were given resources for the set and costumes improvement. The opera's final scene was later captured in the Nazi propaganda film *Theresienstadt*, better known under the deceptive title *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt /*The Führer Gives the Jews a City.

This was the last of the fifty-five performances in the Terezín ghetto. In the autumn of 1944, as soon as filming was finished, composer Hans Krása, orchestra

members, conductor Rafael Schächter, director and stage designer František Zelenka, and 150 young actors as well as most of Theresienstadt's cultural establishment were shipped in cattle wagons to Auschwitz. The deportation of the artists silenced the most popular theatre production in Terezín.

Since the end of the war, *Brundibár* has gained worldwide fame, becoming a symbol of global resistance to genocide and authoritarian regimes. *Brundibár* was introduced to the English-speaking world in 1975. German premiere took place in 1985. After the Opera de Paris production in 1997, *Brundibár* has been widely performed in France. Since *Brundibár* became a popular pedagogical tool, performances of the opera emerged all over Europe and USA. Sofia Pantouvaki noted that "*the frequency of repetition of contemporary Brundibár performances is so high, that one could go around the world by attending one performance after another*" [Pantouvaki: 4]. Only in 1999, one hundred and thirty performances of *Brundibár* were produced in Germany. Rebecca Rovit called this phenomenon "*a national obsession*" [Rovit 2000: 112].

The popularity of *Brundibár* continues today worldwide. Recently, this opera was premiered at the Teatro Regio (Turin, Italy), Teatro Real (Madrid, Spain), Opera de Lyon (Lyon, France), Theatre de la Capitole de Toulouse (Toulouse, France) and Mariinsky Theatre (Saint-Petersburg, Russia). By now, the libretto by Adolf Hoffmeister has been translated into many languages, including English, German, French, Italian, Hebrew, Russian, Norwegian, Spanish, and others. The Latvian translation was made by the famous poet Jānis Elsbergs for the Latvian premiere of the opera.

Today, *Brundibár* goes far beyond a common opera production. *Brundibár* is a deeply impressive music work about the subject that has not lost its actuality and impact until now. The circumstances of *Brundibár's* first performances possess special power and significance. Listening to the piece today, one still feels those tragic events woven into its very fabric. It is of a great importance to preserve the memories and understanding of the horrors of the Holocaust, as well as of the violations of the human and civil rights in the 20th century. The message should be conveyed to the younger generations which should know about these atrocities, but never be witnesses of their recurrence.

Modern society needs more initiatives that would play an active role in the promotion and the protection of human and civil rights. Providing information about the authoritarian regimes of the past still remains essential in promoting democratic values and preventing violations of the human rights. *Brundibár* has a great significance and a very special meaning to the countries with the authoritarian regimes in the past, particularly to Latvia as the country that faced mass deportations

of the Latvians in 1941–1949 and lost the majority of its Jewish population in the Holocaust. The first production of *Brundibár* in Latvian is scheduled for summer 2022 to commemorate the 81st anniversary of the Communist and Nazi genocide in Latvia.

No doubt, pieces about genocide in the 20th century should be presented to a wide audience to keep the traumatic memory of the past. On the opera stage, there are few pieces that remember the heroes of resistance. *Valentīna* by Arturs Maskats, *The Diary of Anne Frank* by Grigory Frid and *Brundibár* by Hans Krása are among them.

Arturs Maskats' opera *Valentīna* focuses on the central motives of biography of the legendary Latvian theatre and film historian Valentīna Freimane (1922–2018). The opera revisits a dramatic period in the history of Latvia – 1939 to 1945 – a chapter that was crucial not only for the country's culture and political future, but also for the coexistence of Latvia's different ethnic groups. Freimane's parents and husband were murdered in the Holocaust, Freimane herself survived the war in hiding. The opera heroine is depicted as a personality who remains true to herself and the people she loved, as a force which must survive and continue to live. The character of Valentīna encompasses her entire era and reflects people who lived beside her and who helped her to survive. The opera *Valentīna* was staged at the Latvian National Opera in 2014.

The Diary of Anne Frank, the memoir that has touched the hearts of millions, was given an extra dimension by the 20th century composer Grigory Frid. In his opera, Frid selected passages from the diary of a 13 years old Jewish girl, Anne Frank, who was hiding with her family in a house in Amsterdam from 1942 until their arrest by the Nazi police in August 1944. Grigory Frid's opera is the only music version of the book translated into 65 languages. The composer came across Anne Frank's diary in 1969 and immediately conceived the idea of a musical staging. Vivid and memorable, this dramatic opera recreates the world of Anne Frank in living in hope for freedom and peace. In the 60-minute performance, Anne reveals her emotional pressure, profound thoughts, moral power, reflections on the first romantic feelings and unbending will to live. Her different moods and emotions, her pleasures and fears – all find moving and expression in the Frid's score for solo soprano and an instrumental group of nine. The opera was first performed with piano accompaniment in Moscow in May 1972, but it was worldwide acknowledged only after the European and American productions in orchestral version which took place at the very end of the 20th century in German and English. In summer 2012, *Operabase* listed it as the most frequently staged lyric work by a living composer over the previous five years.

The productions of *Brundibár* at the leading music theatres in Europe and the USA emphasized an exceptional place for *Brundibár* in the musical repertoire.

It is intended for a wide audience, while at the same time revealing the historical truth to the young generation. *Brundibár* could be considered as a remembrance and commemoration of the facts of genocide teaching children about these events. Learning, understanding, and perceiving cultural history is essential in order to establish democratic values of life [Pantouvaki: 7]. Thus, *Brundibár* serves as an accessible history lesson. *Brundibár* touches everyone, causes empathy, raises awareness about human rights and promotes alternatives to xenophobia, militarization, totalitarian thinking, warns against authoritarian regimes. It seems emblematic that the *Brundibár* opera was named after the mean character. That represents the idea that the evil hides away and is not totally defeated, it may be back at any time. At the end of the performance in Tony Kushner's English version of *Brundibár* the *evil* character appears once again and threatens to return. The reappearance and the threat of Brundibár's return have often been referred to as a conception of the evil always lurking in our everyday lives. Today, *Brundibár* is intended as a warning that *"tyrants of all times, in every generation, can be and must be resisted"*:

> *They believe they've won the fight,*
> *They believe I'm gone – not quite!*
> *Nothing ever works out neatly –*
> *Bullies don't give up completely.*
> *One departs, the next appears,*
> *And we shall meet again, my dears!*
> *Though I go, I won't go far...*
> *I'll be back. Love, Brundibar!* [Kushner 2003: 9]

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THE UNKNOWN HISTORY: BERNHARD REICH'S MANUSCRIPT ABOUT VALMIERA THEATRE

Dr.art. **Līga Ulberte**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

Latvian theatre director Anna (Asja) Lācis and her life partner, German theatre director and theoretician Bernhard Reich, began their professional careers in Latvia and Germany in the 1920s during the period of European modernism. During the second half of the 20th century, the paths of both their private and professional relationships lead them to the Soviet Union – a place whose ideological system and theatre they remained intertwined with for the rest of their lives. Both artists were then directly affected by Stalinist repressions. In 1948, Anna Lācis returned to Latvia and began working at Valmiera Drama Theatre. In 1951, Bernhard Reich also moved to Latvia, which remained his place of residence until his death. Both internationally recognized artists were buried at the Rainis Cemetery in Riga. This article provides insight into Bernhard Reich's unpublished manuscript titled *Valmieras teātris* (Valmiera Theatre), which reveals the left-leaning western artist's perspective of the history of Valmiera Theatre in the 1950s and the 1960s as well as the art of Socialist Realism that was both surprising and, at the time, unheard of in the history of Latvian theatre.

Keywords: *Bernhard Reich, Anna (Asja) Lācis, Valmiera theatre, theatre history.*

Anna (Asja) Lācis (1891–1979) and her life partner Bernhard Reich (1894–1972) were born in the late 19th century and began their professional careers right after the World War I, during the period of European modernism in Germany and Latvia. For a short period of time in the early 20th century, director Anna Lācis experimented with Expressionist and Constructivist theatre. Meanwhile, Austrian-Jewish director and theatre theoretician Bernhard Reich had already established himself as one of the most important figures of the 1920s German-speaking world, having worked alongside such brilliant German directors as Max Reinhardt, Erwin

Piscator, and Bertolt Brecht and having produced plays in cities such as Vienna, Berlin, and Munich. Reich initially met Anna Lācis in Berlin in 1922, where the young Latvian director had been visiting with the goal of learning about German theatres, and Reich was happy to accommodate her. Anna Lācis subsequently spent three years in Germany and returned to Latvia for a short period of time, only to be reunited with Reich again, but this time in the Soviet Union – a place whose ideological system and theatre life they remained intertwined with until their deaths in the 1970s. Both artists, however, were also affected by Stalinist repressions: from February 1938 till January 1948, Anna Lācis was imprisoned at the Karaganda Corrective Labour Camp, also known as the Karlag, while from March 1943 till January 1951, Bernhard Reich was incarcerated at a camp in the Aktyubinsk region of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. After their release, both of them ended up in Soviet Latvia – Lācis returned back to her homeland first, and Reich reunited with his loved one a few years later in a land that was completely foreign to him. They spent the remainder of their lives there and were buried at the Rainis Cemetery in Riga.

The distinct personality and work of Anna Lācis have been periodically brought up in various studies in the context of the history of Russian and German Marxist theatre movements of the 1920s and the 1930s, which was when she and Bernhard Reich developed personal and professional relationships with the most influential contemporary European artists and thinkers. Asja's work at Valmiera Theatre after the World War II has also been documented[1]. A lot less, however, is known about Bernhard Reich, who from 1926 up until the World War II lived in Moscow, published his work both in German and Russian press, became one of the leading professors in the Faculty of Directing at the Moscow Institute of Theatre Arts in the 1930s, gave lectures on German and world theatre history, was a member of the Writers' Union of the USSR, the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, and the Young Directors Association, and was also one of the leaders of the Association of International Workers' Theatres. Reich moved to Latvia at the beginning of 1951 after his release from the camp. From that point onward, he lived together with Asja in Riga and Valmiera and, during the summertime, also in their summer house in Murjāņi. However, after Stalin's death and his own official rehabilitation in 1956, Reich spent a lot of his time in Moscow where he wrote books, worked at the dramaturgy chapter of the Writers' Union of the USSR, and, at the request of his childhood friend Bertolt Brecht, was responsible for editing the first Russian translation of a selection of Brecht's plays.

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[1] Refer to Pērkone-Redoviča, I. (ed.) (2015) *Kultūras krustpunkti 8*, Rīga: LKA; Ingram, S. (ed.) (2018) *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée: Critical Latvian Perspectives on Anna (Asja) Lacis*, Vol. 45.1.

A large portion of Reich's publicly known work comprises articles about theatre and dramaturgy, which were written before and after the World War II both in Russian and German, as well as three books: a monograph about Bertolt Brecht, written in Russian and titled *Brecht* (*Брехт*, 1960), a memoir titled *A Race against Time: Memories of Five Decades of German Theatre* (*Im Wettlauf mit der Zeit,* 1970*),* written in German, and its edited Russian translation titled *Vienna – Berlin – Moscow – Berlin* (Вена – Берлин – Москва – Берлин, 1972). However, a lot more extensive and publicly unknown is Reich's unpublished literary heritage. For the most part, it consists of his correspondence with Asja[1] and a number of, at the time, influential Russian and German cultural workers, as well as stage play script drafts and theoretical articles on questions related to dramaturgy.

Portions of Reich's private archive are kept in museums in Riga, Berlin, and Moscow. Among the written material that can be found in Riga, specifically at Valmiera Theatre Foundation of the Museum of Literature, Theatre and Music, two examples of a typewritten manuscript titled *Bernhards Reihs Valmieras teātris* ("Bernhard Reich Valmiera Theatre", one in Russian and one in Latvian) are particularly notable. Both manuscripts differ slightly in terms of page count (the Latvian version is 157 pages long, and the Russian version has 170 pages) but have the same content, differing only in terms of the specific nature of each language. Bernhard Reich did not know the Latvian language; his mother tongue was German, and after the World War II, he used Russian in his daily life. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the Russian version of the manuscript was originally written by Reich and the Latvian version was translated by an unknown author, most likely with the intention of releasing a book. The manuscript itself is unfinished. There is no date mentioned, however, the way the text cuts short suggests that it may have been left unfinished due to the author's death in 1972. Nevertheless, the intention is clear – the book is about Valmiera Theatre from the year 1948 up until 1957, when the head director of the theatre was Anna Lācis, but, in a broader sense, it is a subjective look at a period of time and theatre of which Reich himself was only a partial witness. It must be emphasized though that Reich only partially experienced the described events because, first of all, he arrived in Valmiera only in 1951 and, after 1956, spent long periods of time in Moscow, and, secondly, he did not know the Latvian language and was not directly involved with the internal affairs of Valmiera Theatre, hence most of his impressions were formed by Asja's stories and the plays he saw himself.

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[1] For further information about Reich and Asja's correspondence from 1949 to 1951, refer to Ulberte, L. (2020). Annas Lācis un Bernharda Reiha korespondence: meklējumi un atradumi. In: I. Saleniece (ed.) *Vēsture: avoti un cilvēki*. XXIII. Daugavpils: DU akadēmiskais apgāds, pp. 289–294.

Nevertheless, the manuscript is a particularly interesting research subject, as it is a completely unknown account of Valmiera Theatre and Bernhard Reich himself. The rest of the paper outlines the main aspects of the manuscript's content, illustrating them with textual excerpts, which have been published for the first time.

- An important part of the manuscript is the paragraph that describes the feelings of its author – a repressed immigrant and an endangered foreigner – upon leaving exile through Moscow to Riga and then to Valmiera. It must be taken into account that Reich is travelling to a place that is completely foreign to him to meet a woman he has not seen in thirteen years. The following is an excerpt illustrating the meeting with Anna Lācis in Riga[1].

I had arrived in Riga. Asja's letter contained Daga's[2] address and detailed directions of how to get from the station to Lakstīgalu street. There was a small alleyway. I rather quickly managed to find the house, which was located behind a great cemetery. The apartment was bigger than most in Moscow at the time – three rooms. The two facing the cemetery were gloomy and dank. Stove heating. Both of Daga's daughters were home – the name of the eldest daughter was Gunta, and the youngest was called Māra. Māra immediately started goofing around and hugged me. When the older and more reserved Gunta noticed that I was happily allowing it, she also started fooling around. Both of them then asked me something in Latvian, but I couldn't understand a word. Finally, they managed to communicate to me that they wanted to play Hunter and Wolf. Both of them, of course, wanted to play the hunter, and I had to be the grey wolf – I already had the grey hair, so... We were playing, and the girls were cheering. Then Daga came back for dinner. She told me that Asja was on her way from Valmiera to Riga and that I had to wait. I waited... Asja arrived. We were reuniting after thirteen years of forced separation, each of us having lived several lifetimes during these years. The moment was so intensely saturated with internal drama that it seemed like the air around us would explode... Nonetheless, the meeting blended with the usual pace of our daily lives, maybe because both of us had changed so much.

Asja was wearing a checked coarse wool jacket and a funny-looking student hat. Her complexion looked healthy, her body looked stronger, and her facial features no longer had the softness they used to. I had grey hair, deep wrinkles on my forehead, and sharp lines around my mouth. I couldn't read without my glasses. In my mouth, there was a set of metal teeth. The two people who were saying their greetings by extending their hands towards each other were strangers. It would take time to recognize the familiar in the unfamiliar again. (..) It was an anxious time period. Checks were being made at

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[1] For quotation purposes, translations of the Latvian version of the manuscript are henceforth used.

[2] Dagmāra Ķimele is Anna Lācis' daughter from her first marriage.

people's homes, and I was advised not to stay in Riga. Early next morning, I had to go to Valmiera alone. Asja described to me in detail the route from the station all the way to the stop that I had to get off at [Reihs n.d.: 2–3].

- An unrelenting sense of danger permeates the text when Reich recounts his initial years in Valmiera, specifically up until Stalin's death and the formal conclusion of the so-called Doctors' plot. The powerful and palpable fear of being deported again leaves neither Reich nor Asja.

The ones who had been released from the camps felt fear and unease – they had been free for only a few months, yet it became more and more common for their comrades in misfortune to receive orders to leave for exile in Siberia. Anna Lācis reckoned with that. It was probably the fame of her success and the high esteem that Andrejs Upīts held her in that saved her. My showing up complicated her situation. Even so, she had invited me to live with her and had used her authority to acquire a residence permit for me. (..)

It was most likely a Saturday because I had just returned home from a sauna, bringing back with me a small package. Across the town, radio loudspeakers were playing. I had grown accustomed to not listening to the venomous formulations we were being fed, when all of a sudden, a message caught my initially incredulous ear: The accusations made against the doctors are false and unsubstantiated... The doctors who were apprehended have been released... This news brought me joy. The Doctor's plot had caused a wave of antisemitism to roll over society. People looked with suspicion upon doctors of Jewish descent and refused to see them. Rumours had spread that all Jews would be deported to the Far East and that a decision had been made, which would be announced the next day or the day after that. Therefore, if the charges against the doctors had been dropped, deportation would also be out of the question. I rushed home to inform Asja of this development. She had already heard and hugged me. Admittedly, we had not discussed these horrors, but we were both aware of the grave danger that I had been in. The heavy load we had been carrying in our lives was lifted [Reihs n. d.: 47–48, 69–70].

- Reich saw Valmiera as a peripheral province *to which a train would take four hours to get* [Reihs n.d.: 3] and since childhood had known the town's German name: *As a young boy, I had read The History of the Thirty Years' War by Schiller diligently. How the small town of Wolmar, at which the battle between the Swedish and the Catholic armies took place, had managed to stay on my mind, I don't know. Believers in a higher power would see this as a sign of fate* [Reihs n. d.: 4]. Reich also makes frequent observations about the town, its residents, and its environment from an inherently urbanite point of view of a person who has lived in Vienna, Berlin, and Moscow. For example, he

marvelled at the little garden allotments that stood in front of every home. He also makes an interesting comparison between the buildings of Valmiera Theatre and St. Simon's Church, which historically have stood facing one another.

From the outside, the theatre resembled an elongated horse stable. Very unappealing. If by chance you were to enter, you would arrive at a pleasant lobby and an auditorium with the capacity to seat 400–500 people. The stage was spacious and suitable for crowded productions. The head director's office, however, was a narrow and comfortless room with dank walls resembling those of a prison cell.

The church stood on one side and the theatre on the other, like two enemies fighting for the souls of the residents. Since long ago, the church (and it was a beautiful church) has had an advantage due to there being no industrial enterprise in town, allowing the townsfolk to remain unaffected by industrial processes. There were a significant number of old women dressed in black roaming the streets, while in the big cities, they rarely leave their homes and, in a way, do not belong to the present. These women were aggressively disposed and knew how to keep their kids obedient. They, too, went to church [Reihs n. d.: 7–8].

- Reich had limited knowledge as well as pro-Soviet Union views regarding the history of Latvia as a free state, and it can be safely said that these views were his own and not just something he wrote, bearing in mind that his upcoming book could be censored. The dominant scepticism about the Soviet power among citizens, post-war confusion, and groups of national partisans who were hiding out in forests – this is the background that Reich sees as a challenge to Asja as head of Valmiera Theatre.

This unfortunate morally political situation was convenient for Asja. Her typical question "Who are you working for?" had acquired a firm and relevant meaning. She told me that I had to work for the good of the Soviet power so that these people, who were politically knowledgeable, would learn how to think politically and involve themselves in restoring the war-torn Soviet Latvia [Reihs n. d.: 7–8].

- In a similar way, Reich describes the specific character of Valmiera Theatre and its first post-war ensemble. A sense of arrogance can be detected in Reich's text, which probably has to do with what Asja had relayed to him about the goings-on at the theatre.

Parasitical elements prevailed (at the theatre)*; aesthetically they expressed themselves by rejecting political plays and longing to do plays about "the good old times". In keeping with the low level, there was a longing for fake pearls, plays that would make*

them cry, rude jokes that would make them laugh their heads off… In short, a provincial public asked for provincial theatre. With regards to the actors, I currently do not feel like commenting on their professional capabilities, but I do want to comment on their character as people. For the most part, they were suspicious, compromised deportees. Priedītis used to be an incorrigible alcoholic, emphasis on "used to". Martinsons and Muraška were legionnaires. Ferģis, who joined the troupe later, had been in exile. Some others – Vīnkalns, Salduma – had worked in Valmiera before. Now, younger people were joining the core troupe, as well – Skudra, Adamova, Birgere, Cvetkovs, Misiņš… A very motley group. The actors characteristically knew little, read little, and had little desire to read. At the theatre, many of them only sought to find themselves as well as opportunities to express their interests, meaning they only wanted to play flattering roles in which they could show their "feelings" and utilize typical means that would make the audience nod in agreement: "Yes, now this is theatre" [Reihs n. d.: 16–17].

Reich particularly emphasizes the difficult post-war situation that Valmiera Theatre was experiencing as a partially travelling theatre, having to endure gruelling tours and insane work schedules.

Back in those days, community centres more closely resembled community fortresses. Unfortunately, in some places, they didn't meet the basic standards. The rooms were comfortless and unheated, and wind blew through the smashed windows. The actors despaired whenever they had to tremble in the cold, wearing light clothing, while performing in plays that were set during the summertime. It was difficult to assemble a cast of performers because they simultaneously were staging two plays, and they needed to be separated accordingly. Thus, during rehearsals, one group would be on stage, while the other – in the lobby or a pitifully looking rehearsal hall. It was inconvenient, but not the main problem. However, the fact that the ensemble would perform plays out of town and then return back to Valmiera for only a few days was a waste of everyone's acting energy. The days when the ensemble was back home had to be used to their full potential, therefore they were doing two rehearsals a day for eight hours. (..) Doing two rehearsals a day is very taxing for a director. Overexertion takes its toll, the nervous system becomes drained and cannot be refuelled… Besides that, the director has to systematically lead the workshops, analyse and lead the rehearsals, and develop new solutions. Basically, an eight-hour day turns into a sixteen-hour workday. The budget for this kind of travelling theatre was very limited. A particularly small amount of resources was allocated for costumes and decorations. There were enough of those for regular plays that took place in interior settings. (..) during the first years of operation, when the Soviet Union was busy undoing the consequences of war, there was a shortage of even the simplest thing, such as nails… [Reihs n. d..: 21–22].

- A large portion of the manuscript deals with the analyses of the plays Anna Lācis had staged in Valmiera. Reich also did this while in exile. Due to the fact that Asja was released sooner and started working in Valmiera in 1948, she started sending many of her Soviet plays to Reich, who was imprisoned at the Aktyubinsk camp, and he replied with extensive analyses of the plays. This portion of the text is of the least importance because it is devoted to ideological interpretations of works that are of low artistic value.

- Although the primary goal of the manuscript has to do with the analysis of the processes that took place at the theatre, inevitably a portrayal of the individual facets of his beloved Asja's personality appears in the text. For example, without any romanticization, Reich describes the harsh reality of Asja's daily life.

She returned back from the rehearsal very late – the difficulties of the tense morning rehearsal had long been forgotten – tired to death and without taking her clothes off, she fell into the bed and, not being able to sleep, told me about the small progress, but progress nonetheless, that she had made at the rehearsal, the tiny steps towards success. In a way, she was happy, yet at the same time she was exhausted, like the accused standing in front of a judge, staring at a bright light, eyes and nerves aching unbearably [Reihs n. d.: 24].

Reich also frequently points out the contradictions in Asja's character, for example, by outlining her relationship with her granddaughter, the up-and-coming theatre director Māra Ķimele.

Sometimes she (Asja) *blames me for walking in straight lines too often and for being too uncompromising, in other words for not being an opportunist. By the way, here we encounter one of her characteristic contradictions. She "teaches" her granddaughter to be "smart" and not to express her personal opinions and sometimes even to act against her conscience as an artist if it contradicts the guidance of the Ministry of Culture too much (which isn't even remotely the Party). Māra responded, "So, at first, I have to lie just a little bit about small things. Then I will get used to the small lies and in time will graduate to bigger lies which I will not be able to shake off. Is that what you want?" Asja pensively made no reply* [Reihs n. d.: 24].

- A large portion of the manuscript consists of analyses of individual aesthetic problems regarding dramaturgy and theatre, which was thematically motivated by a particular event that took place at Valmiera Theatre. Reich extensively describes the implementation of the Stanislavski method in Soviet theatre, addresses satire as a means of expression, which only appeared in

Soviet art after the condemnation of the cult of personality, analyses Spanish dramaturgy, which had unexpectedly gained popularity, and characterizes the works of specific playwrights and directors, etc. At some points in the text, there appear to be references to people who shared the same views as Reich during his younger years, of whom there has been little or no mention in the Soviet public sphere. For example, while reflecting on political theatre and the purpose of political art, Reich mentions both Walter Benjamin and Bertolt Brecht.

Political theatre also has a moral and aesthetic component. The relationship between these elements can be very different. There are situations where the political directly contradicts the moral and the aesthetic, and there are situations when the moral and the aesthetic seem to be completely suppressed. However, there are also situations where the moral and the aesthetic are expressed clearly, and they form a distinct whole together with the political. In practice, that means that there are works or theatre productions that are very politically expressive, yet the aesthetic component is primitively rudimental; they have been made by untalented and unartistic people (..) In his essay "The Author as Producer"[1], Walter Benjamin reasoned that it is pointless to debate whether or not a political play has to be of good quality and discussed how to determine whether or not it follows the correct political trend. This can either be an active political trend or just a mask. Therefore, a politically engaged writer needs to actively participate in the revolutionary movement. Benjamin definitely did not appreciate the hardships of such a development; however, it is forgivable because he would meet a fortunate specimen who is considered to be an exception, namely Brecht. In this regard, Brecht still to this day is an unattainable example [Reihs n. d.: 8–9].

Overall, Bernhard Reich's manuscript *Valmiera Theatre* surprises with its paradoxicality. On the one hand, the text is very honest and contains diagnoses of discrepancies between the real life and the official slogans as well as criticism of Stalin and his associates, which the ideological censors wouldn't have allowed to get published in the 1970s. On the other hand, a very ideological understanding of art governs text. Theatre and cinema researcher Valentīna Freimane (1922–2018), who shared a professional friendship with Lācis and Reich from the 1960s till the 1970s, told in an interview: *Reich was a nice person, but he was also an incorrigible maximalist and a dogmatist. He didn't understand art that had nothing to do with the Soviet Reality. His growth had sort of halted: he was still the same leftist youth who was born to intelligent and rich parents and who had believed in the revolution.* (..)

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[1] The essay of the cultural philosopher Walter Benjamin (1892–1949) was written in 1934 and is dedicated to the phenomenon of proletarian culture.

Reich was insecure about his bourgeois roots. He thought that having been born to a bourgeois family was a genetic immorality. (..) I actually fought a lot with them during our final meetings. Reich and Lācis believed in a revival of the "Blue Shirts" and the revolutionary choirs – everything that was so interesting in the 1920s Germany. They kept trying to revive the revolutionary theatre, and in very direct ways at that. I told them, "Think about it. You'll only be serving the Party's slogans." They told me that it wasn't true and accused me of "suspiciousness and subversion". It seemed to me that Reich understood what was happening and was troubled by it but didn't want to admit it to himself [Альчук 2008: 172–173].

This then remains one of the most important questions in the context of researching the lives and art of Anna Lācis and Bernhard Reich – how one can explain the adamant loyalty they had to an ideology and a system, the inflicted repressions of which caused them both moral and physical suffering.

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LATVIAN THEATRE IN TRANSITION. THE ROOTS IN THE 1990s

Mg.art. **Zane Kreicberga**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

This paper focuses on the emergence and evolution of the so-called independent theatre scene in Latvia in the radically changing socio-political and institutional context of the 1990s. The analysis concerns the question why in Latvia the independent theatres did not become a significant alternative from the inherited institutional repertory theatre system until the second decade of the new century. Examples of the independent theatres *Kabata*, *Skatuve* and *Mūris* help to illustrate the general tendencies showing that a lack of a strong artistic vision and managerial strategy in difficult economic circumstances lead to the underdevelopment of a diversity of production models in performing arts in Latvia. In addition, after a short loss of direction, institutional theatres in the mid-90s started to attract nearly all artistically interesting new initiatives, especially if it already had proved itself within the independent scene. The New Riga Theatre and The Atelier of Unbearable Theatre characterize these processes, moreover indicating that the avant-garde directors of the time – Alvis Hermanis, Dž. Dž. Džilindžers, Viesturs Kairišs, Gatis Šmits and Regnārs Vaivars – were interested in a radical break with the past in terms of aesthetics of theatre, but they were not interested in politics. The comparison with the independent theatre scene in Estonia and Lithuania shows that the similar initial circumstances may lead to different outcomes.

Keywords: *Latvian theatre, 1990s, independent theatre, production models, avant-garde, New Riga Theatre, Alvis Hermanis, Pēteris Krilovs.*

This paper reflects part of my research about the Latvian theatre during the transition period of the late 80s and 90s of the 20th century. The aim is to reconsider the recent history of the Latvian theatre looking at how the radical socio-political changes of the late 1980s and 1990s affected the theatre both aesthetically and structurally and how deliberate or incidental artistic choices underpin the practice

and perception of Latvian theatre today. As British theatre researcher Mark Fortier has put it: "(..) *of course theatre happens in a larger context. Indeed, with its need for a public place, for physical resources, workers and an audience, theatre is more complexly and intimately intertwined with the outside world than many literary and other artistic activities. Moreover, changes in the world are bound to produce changes in theatrical production. Any well-rounded theory of the theatre, therefore, must take account of how theatre relates to the forces of the outside world*" [Fortier 2002: 102]. This paper will focus on the emergence and evolution of the so-called independent theatre scene in Latvia in the socio-political and institutional context of the time.

The Context

At the beginning of the 1990s, within a short period, major political, economic, social and ideological changes took place in Latvia. Many Baltic theatre scholars remark that theatre lost its role and significance for a while, as well its audience because, as the Latvian theatre scholar Valda Čakare defined in 2007, "(..) *the 'theatre of life' had become more interesting and exciting than the performing arts*" [Johnson 2007: 15]. In his article of 1998, the Estonian theatre critic Jaak Rähesoo explains: "*Theatre as a public art (..) had to re–think its role: for years a channel for expressing (..) opposition to Soviet rule, it now had to obtain a new function*" [Rähesoo 1999: 71]. In her overview of the period 1990–2000 in Lithuanian theatre, the researcher Rasa Vasinauskaite notices the paradox that "*the transformations of the independent Lithuania have brought to the theatre more confusion instead of a variety of expression and freedom of speech*" [Vasinauskaite 2006: 527]. The introduction of a market economy turned theatre institutions into business enterprises and spectators into consumers. These processes were similar in all three Baltic countries.

In his remarkable book *Resetting the Stage*, theatre researcher Dragan Klaić precisely describes the context in former communist countries, where new independent initiatives started to appear around 1987–1989:

"*Repertory companies were practically the sole model of professional performing arts in the communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe before 1989. (..) After the collapse of communism, the theatre system changed little but the subsidy flow was sharply reduced. The repertory theatres sought to work in the old manner, now happily free of censorship interference, and to survive with much less public funding, so increasingly they relied on extra money earned by subletting space and with more commercial elements in their offer (..). That this inefficient, oversized and by and large dysfunctional system of repertory companies has continued to stagger*

along indicates the strong failure of political will in the new democracies to innovate their cultural policies and tackle the inherited performing arts system. Instead, they have accepted dispensing public subsidies, much reduced by inflation and budgetary and monetary reforms, to the regular recipients, on the basis of habit and routine or historical record, and without any re-assessment. Much of the public money available is inevitably wasted on moribund institutions instead of supporting new, promising initiatives and organisations" [Klaić 2012: 40–41].

In Latvia, two government-run repertory theatres were closed down in the early 90s – the State Youth Theatre in 1992 and the Operetta Theatre in 1995. On the other hand, "(..) *at the beginning of the 90s Latvian theatre had to solve problems linked to issues of survival rather than to aesthetic discoveries. At the end of the 80s, the enthusiasm caused by political change encouraged the foundation of several theatres. In 1988 Daugavpils Theatre was restored by the decision of the Council of Ministers, and in Riga, after the dramatic closing of the Youth Theatre in 1992, the New Riga Theatre was founded at the same venue on Lāčplēša street 25*" [Čakare 2007: 8]. Both *newcomers* – Daugavpils Theatre and the New Riga Theatre – played a very important role in the further development of Latvian theatre to the present day.

Between 1988 and 1993 two groups of acting students were educated by the film and theatre director Pēteris Krilovs and the theatre director Anna Eižvertiņa, in collaboration with other teaching staff, for the purposes of Daugavpils Theatre[1]. As a result, two groups of professionally strong and devoted actors formed the Latvian ensemble of Daugavpils Theatre for a very short period, and then, in 1996, almost all of them left the theatre and followed the artistic director Pēteris Krilovs to Riga. This was an especially important *initiation period* for one of the key figures in theatre and film education in Latvia – Pēteris Krilovs. He also founded the International Festival of Contemporary Theatre *Homo Novus* with its first edition in 1995 in Daugavpils. Part of his students became the leading younger generation of actors during the 90s, joining the newly established New Riga Theatre (NRT), some of the repertory theatres and the independent scene.

NRT was established in 1992 by the decision of the Ministry of Culture after the *reorganisation*, de facto an elimination, of the famous Youth Theatre led by the theatre director Adolf Shapiro whose dismissal was caused by the internal conflict

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[1] Daugavpils is the second largest city in Latvia with a huge Russian population (almost 50% in 2019). It was a political decision to re-establish theatre there as a means of strengthening the national identity in Daugavpils and the Eastern part of Latvia during the Latvian National Awakening in the late 1980s. Previously, a professional theatre had existed in Daugavpils until 1965.

in the theatre.[1] Actually, this conflict was based on more general issues faced by almost all theatres in Latvia – firstly, the artistic crisis, and, secondly, the economic tension created by the need for a new production model in terms of financing. Between 1992–1997, NRT operated as a mixed model of a repertory theatre and a production house, becoming a significant platform for artistic experiments. However, this was not a deliberate choice of its artistic director Juris Rijnieks; rather, it was a desperate reaction to the chaos of the economic and social situation of the 90s [Kreicberga 2016]. Rijnieks invited Alvis Hermanis and Māra Ķimele as in-house directors to form the core artistic team of the new theatre. Hermanis was an actor who had just returned to Latvia after a couple of years spent in the United States and who wanted to start his theatre directing career. Ķimele was an established theatre director well known for her deep psychological studies of characters combined with an experimental approach in her performances. Between 1993 and 1997 Hermanis produced eight performances at NRT, thereby training himself as a self-taught practitioner by trying out different aesthetic approaches. In 1997, after four seasons of this experimental phase, the Ministry of Culture invited the young and promising theatre director Alvis Hermanis to run this theatre. He formed a new company and returned to the accustomed model of a state repertory theatre. This was the beginning of the nowadays internationally recognized New Riga Theatre.

Independent Scene as a Start-up Platform

Meanwhile, Latvia's regained freedom encouraged the emergence of an independent theatre scene, which was expected to introduce alternative modes of production and new styles of work to Latvian theatre. However, the so-called independent theatres[2] did not become a significant alternative for the inherited institutional repertory theatre system until the second decade of the 21st century. Even 30 years after regaining independence, we can still observe the stark dominance of institutional repertory theatres in Latvia, while other production forms and structures develop comparatively slowly and inconsistently. Only towards the end of the second decade of the 21st century does Latvia finally face a crisis of the

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[1] The Youth Theatre was the most prominent Latvian theatre in the late 1970s and 1980s. However, already in the late 1980s when political change was in the air it faced an artistic and organisational crisis, deepened by the radical economic changes of the early 1990s. The main reason behind the decision of the Ministry of Culture to terminate the contract with Adolf Shapiro in 1992 was the internal conflict in the theatre – actors were complaining about the lack of an artistic and employment strategy on the part of the director and asked the Ministry of Culture to dismiss him.

[2] The notion of an independent theatre in this article is used to denote all theatres of any organisational form or aesthetic attempt that appear as private initiatives alongside the national or municipal theatre institutions.

institutional theatres, which are now starting to reconsider their production models. On the other hand, during the last decade, the independent theatre scene has become much more established and recognized in Latvia.

The roots of the current situation can be found in the transformation processes of the 90s. Here some examples may help to illustrate the general tendencies. One of the first independent theatres *Kabata* ("Pocket") was founded in 1987 in a small cellar in the Old Town of Riga by a group of young theatre directors who could not find jobs in the existing state theatres. It was possible because due to Perestroika some alternative models of economic activity were allowed and introduced. For a few years it became a truly experimental zone, hosting performances not only directed by its founders, but also by some established theatre directors (for instance, Māra Ķimele, Oļģerts Kroders, and Fēlikss Deičs), Theatre Studio No. 8 (which would have developed as an alternative theatre had it continued), and the first performance staged in Latvia by the diasporic Latvian-Canadian Baņuta Rubess, among others. A great part of performances staged in *Kabata* during the first seasons were stylistic experiments confirming the regained artistic freedom of theatre-makers. In 1992 *Kabata* moved to another venue in the Old Town, mingling with a music club, and this already marked its artistic decline signaling an inevitable, and in some sense prophetic, commercialization trend.

> "*Big theatres gradually started to recover from the confusion caused by the transition period and the audience interested in serious theatre returned to the high-quality performances on the small stages of these theatres.* Kabata *did not offer any contemporary approaches in style, acting or directing anymore* (..)*, there was a lack of fresh ideas, creativity and experimentation. Obviously, all their energy was spent on fighting for existence*" [Akots 2007: 573].

Later theatre-makers associated with *Kabata* developed a children's theatre, drawing its audience from a direct collaboration with schools. In 2001 another group of artists established the theatre club *Austrumu robeža* ("The Eastern Border") focusing on commercial theatre forms – cabaret, comedy, stand-up.

In 1991 theatre director Anna Eižvertiņa and some of her like-minded peers established the independent theatre *Skatuve* ("The Stage") in a former cinema located in a remote and rundown area of Riga. The main focus of this theatre was "*to stage works of world literature and drama never brought to the Latvian theatre*" [Akots 1997: 580] with the operating principle of gathering a new team for every single project. Notably, many great classical and contemporary playwrights were introduced to the Latvian audience for the first time. However, as Eižvertiņa's

productions took a rather conventional approach and were carried out with very poor resources, the interest and number of audiences were very limited. Thanks to her position as an acting professor at the Latvian Academy of Culture since the mid-90s, *Skatuve* became a platform for the first performances of younger generations of theatre directors and actors. For instance, in 1995 Dž. Dž. Džilindžers made his first production here, called *Emma Bovary*. A year later, he became one of the founding members of the young theatre directors' alliance *Nepanesamā teātra artelis* ("Atelier of Unbearable Theatre"), but from 1997, he worked at the Daile state repertory theatre where he rose to the position of the artistic director in 2012–2019. Another important figure who started his professional career in *Skatuve* is the director and actor Regnārs Vaivars. In 1996 he made two provocative performances there – "White Wedding" by Tadeusz Różewicz and "Alice" after works and letters of Lewis Carroll – later continuing his career as an independent director and working in different Latvian theatres. *Skatuve* hosted a significant number of diploma performances of acting and directing students of the Latvian Academy of Culture [Jonīte and Tišheizere 2021: 177–181], as well as became the basis of regular acting courses for young people. Later the next generation of independent theatres founded around 2009–2010 took over the role of a start-up platform, providing better circumstances and management to the young theatre-makers. Gradually *Skatuve* lost its followers and supporters and was able to survive only thanks to Eižvertiņa's almost fanatical enthusiasm. As of 2020, the independent theatre *Skatuve* is closed.

In 1996 two actors of Liepāja Theatre who were unsatisfied with their jobs at the institutional theatre founded an independent theatre called *Mūris* ("The Wall") in Liepāja. One of them – Mārtiņš Vilsons – had left the theatre, but another one – Leons Leščisnskis – combined his work in both milieus. Vilsons was inspired by a workshop on socially inclusive theatre for young audiences that he had attended in Denmark in the mid-90s and decided to create a travelling theatre company, which would deliver workshops and performances for children and young audiences. The theatre struck a relatively good rental deal with private owners on a venue close to the very centre of the city. To secure the running of the theatre Vilsons opened a restaurant; however, this business model soon appeared to be too exhausting for an actor whose true intentions were to make a good theatre. *Mūris* was one of several examples of establishing an independent theatre or company as an alternative to the institutional system that did not last long due to lack of a strong artistic vision and managerial strategy in difficult economic circumstances. Most of the independent theatres were not remarkable or consistent in terms of innovation in the context of

the Latvian theatre. There were few aesthetically truly alternative companies founded in the late 80s – Theatre Studio No. 8[1] and *Apsēstā māja* ("The Obsessed House")[2] –, as well as Ansis Rūtentāls' Movement Theatre (ARMT), which was established already in the late the 70s and still exists today. However, the first two existed only for a few years, and their activities and traces in the Latvian theatre still require in-depth research. The ARMT, its artistic leader Ansis Rūtentāls (1949–2000) and his followers represent a unique and separate aesthetic direction in Latvian theatre that at some points intersects with a contemporary dance, and also requires further attention from researchers. In the mid-90s after a short confusion, institutional theatres started to attract almost any artistically interesting initiative, especially if it already had proved itself within the independent scene.

New Aesthetics in Old Frameworks

The new aesthetics in the Latvian theatre that were soon labelled by the dominant critical discourse as *postmodern* appeared in the 90s mainly due to the work of the younger generation of theatre directors who started their careers in 1993 (Alvis Hermanis) and 1996 (The Atelier of Unbearable Theatre). In his first productions at NRT Hermanis "*affirmed his disregard of the traditional theatre, labelling it as philistine, and trying to create a different, multifunctional theatre model where performances do not become repetitive*" [Zeltiņa 2007: 223]. Hermanis debuted with the staging of Steven Soderbergh's film script "Sex, Lies, and Videotape" (1989) under the title "Returning is Like a Slow and Peaceful River" (1993).

> "*It was a new voice, a new approach to a theatre. A director appeared who tackled intriguingly the problems he and the audience, especially younger spectators, were interested in, and he did it in a modern, fresh theatre language where metaphoric imagery and ambiguity (ice, pigeons, ropes, lemons) organically fused with the basic postulates of the minimized psychological theatre*" [Zeltiņa 2007: 225].

In each of his following productions – be it Yukio Mishima's *Madame de Sade*, Marguerite Duras's "The Malady of Death" under the title "Secret Pictures", Oscar

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[1] The establishment of the Theatre Studio No. 8 was approved by the Riga City Committee of Lenin's Communist Youth Union of Latvia in 1987. At the Perestroika time, it was the only way to establish an independent theatre according to the newly adopted "Regulations on the studio theatre on a collective (brigade) contract" in Moscow in 1987. The names associated with this company are Modris Tenisons, Lauris Gundars, Romāns Baumanis, Jānis Deinats, Jānis Polis, Imants Vekmanis, Ivars Puga.

[2] The Obsessed House was a company that grew out of the amateur theatre group led by theatre director Ilmārs Ēlerts.

Wilde's "The Picture of Dorian Gray", Antonio Buero Vallejo's "In the Burning Darkness", or Anton Chekhov's "The Seagull" – Hermanis tried out a different aesthetic approach refreshing the whole idea of a theatre in Latvia. He became almost the only directing authority for the younger generation of theatre-makers.

In 1996, while still studying at the Latvian Academy of Culture, three young theatre directors – Dž. Dž. Džilindžers, Viesturs Kairišs and Gatis Šmits – announced the foundation of The Atelier of Unbearable Theatre (The Atelier). This was the first generation of theatre directors educated in independent Latvia. Between 1996 and 1997, they produced seven performances at the Daile Theatre Chamber Hall based on the works of Alexander Pushkin, Samuel Beckett, William Shakespeare, Ernesto Sabato, and their own texts. One more remarkable avant-gardist of this generation – Regnārs Vaivars – staged his first productions at the independent theatre *Skatuve* and participated as an actor in the performances of The Atelier. With these performances, the young directors introduced themselves to the Latvian theatre scene offering a principally different (but not mutually united) theatre language compared to the mainstream. In an interview in 2003, Dž. Dž. Džilindžers characterizes the position of The Atelier: "*The overall situation in the Latvian theatre seemed to us quite boring, except Alvis Hermanis, who was the only interesting director. We had an internal need to create something of our own, to make the theatre scene in Latvia different, because otherwise people were used to such a uniform theatre*" [Kreicberga 2003: 6]. In their first works, they played out "*the radical break with history [that] is typically identified with the experimental performative practices of the Western avant-garde*" [Harding and Rouse 2006: 10]. They did their best not to follow the kind of theatre that existed before them, namely the so-called psychological realism of the Stanislavsky system that was almost the only and certainly the dominant theatre method during the Soviet era. Together with Alvis Hermanis, they were driven by a certain wish to break with the past. However, this applied exclusively to their artistic strategies, since they were not interested in politics.

The young directors worked with a variety of materials – they produced texts by contemporary foreign authors, interpreted and deconstructed classics, and composed their own texts. Critics and spectators were surprised and puzzled by the fact that they mostly did it in a completely new way, without the usual psychological analysis of the text, talking frankly about topics that had little or no presence in the theatre so far (such as sexuality, for instance). Strategies of fragmentation and visuality, emphasis on the intimacy of the text and psychoanalytic approach showed that they were not interested in the story itself and did not care if the audience would understand it. They were not interested in social or political issues. Instead, they were interested in the hidden potential of the narrative that would encourage them to use non-verbal means. The young directors also avoided

traditional psychological realism in acting, as if they had forgotten what they had learned during their studies, and made their actors forget it as well. They were often blamed for being *unprofessional* while working with actors. Theatre critic Silvija Radzobe wrote, not without irony:

> "*It seems that our postmodernists of the younger generation of theatre directors made a mistake in logic. They have reduced the psychological realism dominating in the Latvian theatre to socialist realism and rushed to overcome it. Their claims that they do not need to master the method of psychological theatre because their theatre will be radically different are absurd*" [Radzobe 2004: 151–152].

From today's perspective, it is clear that these directors deliberately refrained from using well-known and accustomed acting techniques in a serious search for a contemporary acting style and the presence of the actor on stage. They introduced and developed such approaches as an actor-sign (in the work of Vaivars, Kairišs and in several shows by Hermanis); or an actor physically embodying the atmosphere of the performance (in Gatis Šmits' performances); or an actor who appropriates the intimacy of the text to such an extent that it becomes almost documentary (in Hermanis' early performances). Later on, all of them proved being able to practice psychological theatre as well and mix different approaches and styles even in one performance.

Although in the 1990s, due to socio-economic changes, a situation arose for the potential introduction of new forms of theatre organization, the most talented and aesthetically strong directors chose to work in comparatively safer structures – institutional repertory theatres. After five years of the spontaneously and intuitively managed laboratory environment at NRT, its artistic director Juris Rijnieks resigned, and in 1997 the Ministry of Culture appointed the young and promising director Alvis Hermanis as the artistic director of this theatre. This was a unique situation in the Latvian theatre history when the new artistic director of a state theatre was able to choose the actors for his company; moreover, potentially he could choose a different operating model. Hermanis created an ensemble of the most talented actors of the younger generation and made a rational decision to return to the classic and usual model of a repertory theatre. The Atelier, which had raised hopes for a new and strong independent theatre company on the scene, appeared to be a marketing trick, as its creators later admitted. After gaining the attention of theatre professionals and the public the directors integrated into repertory theatres – Hermanis invited Viesturs Kairišs and Gatis Šmits as in-house directors of NRT, and Džilindžers was regularly working at the Daile Theatre, later becoming its artistic director. Regnārs Vaivars initially played the role of an independent on the margins, and he continues to stage

performances in various Latvian theatres to this day. In other words, these directors began their work in the Latvian theatre in potentially alternative structures and they could have become an avant-garde in this respect as well, but the experimental phase ended with a return to more stable and entirely traditional structures. This has significantly affected the underdevelopment of the diversity of the production models in the Latvian theatre.

Instead of a Conclusion

In comparison with its closest neighbours – Estonia and Lithuania – where the initial context at the beginning of the 90s was similar, we can see that in Latvia there is the smallest number of independent theatres (about 15 in 2020). Their number has increased only during the last decade and only few of them have managed to define their specific style and to produce continuously, successfully, and internationally. Statistics gathered by the Estonian Theatre Agency show that in Estonia, in 2018, there were 36 privately owned theatres [*Eesti Teatri Agentuur* 2020], and part of them get regular subsidies from the Estonian Ministry of Culture. In Lithuania, there were 37 non-governmental theatres in 2018 according to the statistics gathered by the Lithuanian Statistics Department [*Lietuvos statistika* 2020]. In Latvia, there are no statistics regarding the independent or non-governmental theatres, and this fact also proves their unclear status. The number of independent theatres is not an end in itself. However, these remarkable differences in comparison to neighbouring countries clearly demonstrate that under initially more or less the same conditions in each country theatre has developed in different direction depending on individually and collectively made decisions by artists and policy makers that are shaped by tradition, education, experience and ideology. In the 1990s in Latvia the potential of the aesthetic avant-garde very quickly moved from the independent scene to institutional theatres which could provide comparatively safer production conditions. In 2012, Dragan Klaić anticipated that "*groups, short-term initiatives, programmed venues and production houses, festivals, studios and research facilities complete the public theatre landscape. All these production and distribution models have a functional merit and deserve equal access to public subsidy, determined by recent achievements and plans for the future, not by tradition, prestige and historically established privileges*" [Klaić 2012: 175]. In 2020 in Latvia, there is still a lack of diversity of production models and artistic methods relevant to the current context. However, the younger generation of theatre makers questions the dominance of institutional theatres more often deliberately choosing to work outside the conventional structures.

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LATVIAN THEATRE IN PANDEMIC TRANSITION: EXPERIENCE OF BALTIC DRAMA FORUM 2020

Dr.art. **Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča**
Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music,
Latvian Theatre Labour Association, Latvia

Abstract

The breakout of Covid-19 pandemic and the related social distancing require-ments closed all theatres and forced everyone to move to digital platforms and look for alternative presence solutions in public events. It also made us reconsider the term *liveness* in the context of screen-mediated theatrical experience and brought to hybrid solutions that would have not been accepted previously. The article tackles the development of theatre processes during the first period of emergency state in Latvia (March – June, 2020) and aims to document the experience of theatre forum organized at the beginning of November 2020 literally on the threshold of the second-wave related lockdown in culture. It aims to address to immediate impacts of Covid-19 to theatre ecosystem in Latvia and illustrate the ongoing way to inevitable changes in culture industry.

Keywords: *pandemic, theatre, online, transition, mediatization, Baltic Drama Forum.*

The year 2020 is a memorable year in the world of the performing arts, and we probably cannot predict the long-term consequences yet. The breakout of Covid-19 pandemic and the related social distancing requirements closed all theatres and forced everyone to move, at least partially, to digital platforms and look for alternative presence solutions in public events. It also made us reconsider the term "liveness" in the context of screen-mediated theatrical experience and brought to hybrid solutions that would have not been accepted previously. While still discussing the definition and status of e-theatre on today's Latvian scene, the current ecosystem of Latvian theatre step by step adapts to new normality of online presence of the audience in daily meetings, conferences, showcases and festivals.

In March 2020, like many other European countries, Latvia went for the first emergency state caused by the spreading virus. It resulted in interrupted theatre season and first attempts of online theatre, exploring the interaction between actors and technologies, virtual presence and experimental hybridization of theatre and film techniques in terms of camera use, combination of pre-recorded and live acting and new policies of access to the performing arts. In Latvia, theatre is (or, at least, was before the pandemic) an important part of cultural and social life; therefore all involved parties looked for alternative ways to keep theatre alive during the lockdown – online readings performed by actors (i. e. Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* recorded by Gundars Āboliņš, the actor of New Riga Theatre and, independently, by theatre company KVADRIFRONS at the same time), remote rehearsals on *Skype* or *Zoom*, first ideas of e-theatre projects, while audience immersed in the abundant free online streaming offer of theatre recordings suddenly made available from the entire world. Friedrich Krotz states that media modifies communication: "*Media operate simultaneously on four different levels: as a technology, as social institution, as organizational machine, a way of setting content in a scene, and a space of experience of the recipient*" [Krotz 2009: 23]. Pandemic justified the use of media in theatre, producing direct impact to all levels defined by Krotz, and for now, we can only guess whether the communication between theatre makers and audience will remain to a certain degree irreversibly modified.

At the end of March 2020, first live online performances were announced, giving the floor to new experience of small or mid-scale productions adapted for watching on screens: people bought tickets online and joined live online performances at 7 PM virtually. The first successful attempt at online theatre in Latvia was "Ice Fishing" (*Bļitka*, 2016, dir. by Dž. Dž. Džilindžers), a dialogue performed by actors Egons Dombrovskis and Kaspars Gods produced by *Goda Teātris*, an independent theatre in Liepāja and performed through cameras on March 26 in an empty club-café *Wiktorija*. On April 4, another independent theatre, Ģertrūdes Street Theatre followed suit in more advanced form, adapting its production of "Tanya's Birthday" to a web version performed live on *Zoom*. Originally, the performance imitates a birthday gathering around a big table, with the audience and actors sharing the birthday meal, singing songs and joining in conversations and the party. In the web version, the interaction and engagement are different due to the changed space conditions. American theatre scholar Bruce McConachie writes: "(..) *theatre usually has more in common with face-to-face conversation than do other mediated events, such as viewing films and websites*" [McConachie 2008: 1]. The engagement happening in virtual space shared by remotely assisting audience member will be definitely the issue for further research in the context of theatre not only during pandemic, but also in post-pandemic

circumstances. Nevertheless, the production "Tanya's birthday" similarly to ĢIT's advertising of the performance states: "if the audience does not come to the theatre, the theatre goes to the audience", inviting everybody to dress up, prepare a meal and join in virtually to celebrate Tanya's birthday on *Zoom*.

While screen-adapted theatre productions covered the need for relatively immediate solutions of theatre's existence during the pandemic and related self-isolation of people, the first purposefully made online performances launched a new type of theatre *pro forma* inevitably pointing at the fact that on-screen theatre probably will not be as temporary as theatre community might wish. Viesturs Kairišs, the artistic director of Daile Theatre purposefully took the challenge of staging the first online theatre series based on the play "The Enthusiasts" (*Die Schwärmer*/ *Jūsmotāji*, 2020) by Austrian playwright Robert Musil, staged remotely with seven actors using *Skype* in rehearsing process, making recordings of semi-played readings and dividing the production into 15- to 20-minute series posted online in sequence. On May 8–9, "Iran Conference" by Ivan Vyrypaev staged remotely in *Zoom* platform by Elmārs Seņkovs continued the Latvian e-theatre in new quality, taking the advantage of the pandemic intermission in theatre and engaging eleven actors from different theatre companies to join in a brand-new production that demonstrated the pandemic transition in theatre and subsequently triumphed in the *Performers' Night*, the annual Latvian Theatre Award, in the special nomination "Event of the year in digital environment". The jury opted for such a nomination to articulate the presence of e-theatre still hesitating to include it in the general picture of Latvian theatre. "Iran Conference" was an embodied example of media changing the communication according to previously quoted Friedrich Krotz in the context of theatre – the production proved *Zoom* serve as technology, organizational machine and a way of conducting content to the experience of recipient avoiding form dominating over artistic qualities of the production in terms of immersion. In a way, Latvian theatre environment proved to be adaptive and able to react rather fast to the unprecedented circumstances, engaging partners in technologies for new experiments as in case of e-theatre project "White Cube" (*Baltais Kubs*, 2020) by Latvian National Theatre consisting of several small-scale digital theatre productions followed by *Zoom* conversation sessions between the audience and the creative team. Live or recorded, during the emergency state caused by Covid-19, theatre in Latvia moved to screens. At the time it seemed a temporary shift, since the summer gave back the usual presence theatre, at least partially: in open-air festivals or semi-filled theatre halls as prescribed by gathering restrictions and distancing requirements. Covid-19 behaviour protocol has left imprints on theatre repertory as well, making small-scale chamber productions involving one or few actors prevail. Unfortunately,

this *survival kit* cannot be applied to all genres. Opera, for instance, is one of the best examples proving the impact and consequences of this hectic season in terms of losses.

Keeping all aforementioned in mind, let us turn to the experience of Baltic Drama Forum – a relatively small-scale theatre festival including academic conference, a showcase of current Latvian theatre productions and other activities. Baltic Drama Forum is the event that every third year gathers in Riga theatre critics, researchers, producers, journalists and theatre makers from the Baltic States and other countries. The forum aims to discuss the topical issues in performing arts and theatre particularly, uncover latest trends in national drama scene, show the selected productions and nominees for the Performers' Night – Latvian National theatre award and to share the impressions on current state of affairs in theatre field in Latvia and in the region. The experience of 2017 gathering in Riga around fifty professionals from Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Belgium and Russia as well as established contacts through international theatre festivals and academic conferences worldwide, initially allowed to dream about extended scope of the event in 2020. However, 2020 brought many challenges to people accustomed to free travelling and forced to change plans. The lockdown in many European countries and general far stopped the circulation of people outside the so called "Baltic bubble", where the virus rate was relatively lower than in other European countries until the autumn. In September, Latvian Theatre Labour Association started the coordination work for Baltic delegations of theatre people to come to Riga. At the time, the remote presence and digital showcase did not seem appropriate for the planned forum due to the lack of additional funding for technical solutions and enough digitally adapted contents to be offered for foreign audiences, although the closest ones from the neighbouring countries. Baltic Drama Forum 2020 planned to host the following events: the international conference *Theatre &new technologies and different watching experiences* to share the newest research results and present recent experiences including, but not limited to following themes: mediatization, digitalization, distance communication and tech-based artistic strategies developing in Baltic theatre[1]; the experts' panel discussion *Theatre and the audience in next hundred years*[2] covering the communicative dimension of performing arts; the presentation of the printed and electronically available compendium of theatre-related articles "Contemporary Latvian Theatre 2010-2020. A Decade Bookazine" in English; and the showcase of selected eleven recent Latvian

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[1] Conference recording available: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=372044050 885380&ref=search

[2] Discussion video available: https://www.facebook.com/LKAkademija/videos/270038147 3537659

theatre productions[1] followed by the public discussion[2] of relevant theatre critics and experts from the Baltic States. In partnership with Latvian Academy of Culture, the academic activities of the forum were included in the conference series *Culture Crossroads* held during the first week of November 2020.

In autumn, the "Baltic bubble" maintained from May to September burst, starting from sharply increasing breakout of Covid-19 in Lithuania followed by self-isolation restrictions in Latvia for travellers unless special measures applied through the procedure of the Ministry of Culture basing on temporary work relationship in culture and arts field. For organizers of Baltic Drama Forum, it meant the mandatory hybridization of organizing model in terms of accepting the participation of Lithuanian conference speakers remotely. As for the showcase, due to the above-mentioned reasons only few productions were available for broadcasting online. Estonians, in their turn, followed the daily news updates and, despite the number of people planning to travel to Riga reduced by half, eagerly looked forward to their trip to probably the only foreign theatre forum they could attend in presence in 2020. On November 4, with seven Estonian theatre professionals – critics, researchers and makers – present instead of 40–60 foreign guests, the Baltic Drama Forum 2020 was opened in Theatre House of Latvian Academy of Culture *Zirgu pasts* with *Facebook* live video broadcasting reaching the audience of the conference and discussions in different geographical locations in Latvia, the Baltic states and worldwide. The forum proved quality overcoming quantity with enriching papers presented in the conference "*Theatre & new technologies and different perspectives*" – one of the most important forum events that allowed sharing experience, the results of the latest research in theatre research and practice, and exchange the information, which is one of the most valuable assets regarding the ongoing processes in performing arts during the pandemic. The discussion *Theatre and the audience in next hundred years*

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[1] Programme of the Baltic Drama Forum Showcase 2020: S. Ukhanov "A Draft" (*Melnraksts/Chernovik*, online performance dir. by Vladislavs Nastavševs, Mikhail Chekhov Riga Russian Theatre, 2020); D. McMillan "Lungs" (*Elpa* dir. by Dmitrijs Petrenko, Daile Theatre, 2020); *LV vs RU* (dir. by Reinis Boters, KVADRIFRONS, 2019); R. Bugavičute-Pēce "The boy who saw in the dark" (*Puika, kas redzēja tumsā*, dir. by Valters Sīlis, Latvian National Theatre, 2019); V. Belševica "The White Lady" (*Baltā sieva*, virtual performance of 23 min, dir. by Valters Sīlis, Latvian National Theatre, 2020); R. Askins "Hand to God" (*Nelabā roka*, dir. by Kārlis Krūmiņš, Ģertrūdes Street Theatre, 2019); "The country of grandmothers" (*Vecmāmiņu valsts*, dir. by Paula Pļavniece, KVADRIFRONS, 2019, video recording); G. Garcia-Lorca "The Empty Flower/Yerma" (*Tukšais zieds/Jerma*, dir. by Ināra Slucka, Latvian National Theatre, 2020); M. Zālīte "Margarete" (*Margarēta*, presence and digital production dir. by Reinis Suhanovs, Latvian National Theatre, 2020); J. Jokela "Finlandization" (dir. by Valters Sīlis, Latvian National Theatre, 2020); "The Depraved Ones" (dir. by Krista Burāne, Dirty Deal Teatro, 2019).

[2] Discussion video available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awTiE_Vbwfc

participating Latvian stage director Valters Sīlis, producer Maija Pavlova and theatre and film critic Dārta Ceriņa as well as theatre researcher Anneli Saro, artistic director of festival DRAAMA Hedi-Liis Toome and theatre maker Paul Piik from Estonia. The participants of the discussion questioned possible twists and turns in relationship between the theatre and audience in the next hundred years, touching the social aspects brought in the spotlight by the pandemics, such as free access culture, status of freelancers, interaction with digital environment and other contexts shaping the nearest future of theatre. Thanks to the online broadcasting on *Facebook* the Baltic Drama Forum events reached several thousands of people.

The pandemic has taught us to take last minute decisions and be ready for pop-up solutions. It has closed the usual door for a while, but opened different opportunities through technologies that form integral part of today's communication process, and theatre is part of communication in art. 2020 is the year everybody is wearing masks, literally, and facing unprecedented challenges. One the one hand, theatre has increased its social engagement and participation in activism, teaching on biodiversity or minorities' rights, on the other – it stands on the edge of technological and virtual communication abyss. Baltic Drama Forum was an attempt to adapt to the inevitable transition leading to new and unknown normality paved by doubt and fear of dissolution on virtual space and digital jungle. In terms of showcase, Latvian theatre in 2020 was not ready for full digital showcase. Most performances included in the programme took place in rather traditional theatre spaces, when audience is physically present under the same roof as the performers. Two examples of e-theatre, "A Draft" by Vladislavs Nastavševs and the original ghost story, actually a solo performance by the actress Madara Botmane, "The White Lady" by Valters Sīlis represented the experimental part of pandemic theatre in aesthetically flirting with Internet platforms and social network tools. Besides, from the organizer's point of view, it seemed wrong to offer our Estonian guests the screen instead of live performance in theatre, that would probably be considered standard on the day this article is published. The only exception was the production "The Country of Grandmothers" that was shown as a video recording due to the direct impact of pandemic to the theatre process. This story is worth a few lines. "The Country of Grandmothers" is a project initiated by the theatre company KVADRIFRONS involving local communities of different cities of Latvia (Valmiera, Liepāja, Cēsis, Tukums) through the participation of local amateur choirs in the production. The showcase week included a scheduled performance in Tukums. However, the governmental restrictions of gathering including the suspended rehearsals of amateur choirs impeded the rehearsing with the local amateur choir and subsequently forced to cancel the performance. Therefore, a video recording of the project performed in Cēsis was submitted for the showcase, opening a new field of experience also for the

audience. Estonian playwright and director Paul Piik said: "*Despite we saw the video recording of the performance, I even saw some advantages in this form. Firstly, all of us were together in the dark hall and we could identify with the cameraman, who shot the performance. Secondly, we felt and heard the immersion of the audience present in Cēsis. Actually, I liked the video was filmed using a single camera, it provided some authenticity of presence*" [interview to the author, https://www.kroders.lv/runa/1529].

The effect of video recording shown in an empty hall with only a few spectators present despite the low-tech emergency solution created unique circumstances for the reception of the particular show and brought in new concept of liveness provided by the perspective of camera man sitting in the audience in Cēsis. After-show meeting with Reinis Boters, the actor of KVADRIFRONS, turned into sparkling session of questions and answers about different ethic and artistic perspectives of the show portraying the world of grandmothers in today's Latvia represented by sentimental songs of their youth, TV shows and ads, low pensions and other social contexts played by young actors. Along with "The Boy who saw in the dark" – the production portraying the story of a boy born to visually impaired parents and grown up as the only seeing person in a visually impaired community, the video recording of "The country of grandmothers" brought in light the social theatre in a truly antisocial theatre season.

Maybe in a few years we will discuss the use of biorobots or artificial intelligence on stage, all festivals and showcases will be just a few clicks away and VR extension to the show will be as natural as a sauce to barbecue. For now, the Baltic Drama Forum experience in 2020 proves that the use of information and communication technologies can grow into new co-working and virtual presence platforms overnight and potentially turn into a new arsenal of means of expression in performing arts. In 2020 we have been technologically vulnerable and dependant on our individual digital skills on and behind the scenes. The paradoxical question that can be raised in terms of theatre development – does the improvement of digital and technological skills bring benefits to theatre apart from smart technical solutions in new contexts of long-term of social distancing and culture lockdown? Most probably, only a few people working in theatre field had heard of *Zoom*, the application of videoconferencing, before the pandemic. What made *Zoom* an interest for the investors was the video-first mentality as *Zoom* was focusing on videoconferencing from the first day in comparison with *Skype*, that started with audio connection. Today, in 2021, *Zooming* is a standard form of communication for hundreds of million people around the globe. And theatre community is not an exception.

In Latvia as in many other countries pandemic transition brought nearly everything we consider public culture to virtual space and online mode that it has never happened before. The production of "Iran Conference" by Elmārs Seņkovs in form

represents the new type of communication that has become a regular practice during the last twelve months. The director captured the right moment in all possible meanings, since this project would not happen in n*ormal circumstance*s, all the involved actors being constantly busy in their theatre companies. In case Latvia goes for conceptually virtual showcase one day, "Iran Conference" would be the first production on the list for theatre artistry and liveness achieved virtually without emphasizing *Zoom* as a tool or environment *per se* as, for instance, it is used in "Margarete" directed by Reinis Suhanovs literally serving as *Zoom* in communication between the Lawyer and Margarete and *Zoom* as the platform for attending audience.

`American writer Kevin Kelly in his bestseller "The Inevitable" describes twelve technological forces that will shape our future in the next 30 years starting from 2016. He argues that the best strategy is to understand and embrace the inevitable development of technologies that takes over the world. We have to accept, for instance, the state of continuous beginning, continuous innovations and our state of continuous *newbies* that need to upgrade constantly in order to go on. And we have to deal both with terminology and the phenomena the terms represent in performing arts, such as cognifying, flowing, screening, accessing, sharing, filtering, remixing, interacting, tracking, questioning and other [see Kelly 2016]. The interaction of technologies brings in questions of proportion of live and mediatized theatre in future. Alvis Hermanis, the well-known Latvian stage director said: "*It seems that in the future theatre, the physical presence will become even more important than it has been until now, and, for example, the utilization of video in the theatre plays will be regarded as tasteless, to say the least, or even as tactless. Theatre will be like a zoo, where the public will come to take a look at live real human beings*" [Mellēna-Bartkeviča 2020a: 1888].

Epilogue

On 9 November 2020, the government of Latvia declared the emergency state anew, keeping all theatres closed at least until April 6, but most probably, until the summer. Most theatre festivals over the world build digital platforms to provide the international showcases in virtual space. There are more than a dozen theatre productions ready to show since autumn. Latvian theatre critics have started a project of *fakeviews* – publishing essays in a form of reviews about the performances they haven't seen yet. New normality of theatre processes will be an issue to question for at least the next decade.

Conclusions

- The pandemic transition brought nearly everything we consider public culture to virtual space and online mode that has never happened before.

Theatre and music are the most affected areas requiring post-pandemic recovery strategies.

- First purposefully made online theatre performances in Latvia launched a new type of theatre *pro forma* inevitably pointing at the fact that on-screen theatre probably will not be *just temporary*. The emerging phenomenon opens the discussion of new theatre terminology – do such notions as *digital theatre, virtual theatre, e-theatre, online theatre* represent the same thing or not, and what are the differences (in this article the distinction is not made on purpose, in order to keep the mood of transition).

- Baltic Drama Forum experience in 2020 proves that the use of information and communication technologies can grow into new co-working and virtual presence platforms overnight and potentially turn into a new arsenal of means of expression in performing arts. Yet, the purposes and the extent of use of technologies in theatre have to be questioned in order to keep the uniqueness of non-mediated theatre experience as a value in today's over-mediatized reality.

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NEOECLECTICISM – OTHER MODERNISM OF THE 1930s

Dr.habil.arch. **Jānis Krastiņš**
Riga Tehnical University, Latvia

Abstract

Neoeclecticism was one of the stylistic trends of the interwar architecture. It was based on the classical architectural language and especially flourished in the 1930s parallel with the then dominant Modern movement. Roots and development of this stylistics in different countries and in Latvia are studied in the article, and its innovative nature in the context of Modern movement is analysed. Historical place of Neoeclecticism and its value in the cultural heritage is identified.

All figures in the text are photographs by the author, unless stated otherwise.

Keywords: *Neoeclecticism, Modern movement, Architecture of 20th century.*

Introduction

The whole of the 20th century visual art, including the development of architecture, is saturated by the concept of modernism, conceiving that as art trends seeking new means and forms of expression. The root of the word "modern" means everything that is contemporary or in accordance with the requirements of its time and the latest achievements. Requirements and achievements can be different and do not have an unambiguous definition, so at the same time art works with quite different formal expression can be considered modern.

Since the Renaissance, interpretations of elements of antique orders have been one of the main proofs of contemporaneity in architecture. Baroque and especially early 19th century Classicism were based on the classical language of architecture. It also survived in most of the eclectic neostyles of the second half of the 19th century, but around 1910 flourished in neoclassical format. The early 20th century Neoclassicism was a kind of contrast to the Art Nouveau, but soon merged with it in a uniform artistic expression.

The twenties of the 20th century were dominated by formally stylistic diversity, in which even contemporaries were not always able to navigate [Laube 1928,

Rutmanis 1934: 257, Ārends 1938: 89]. Then both Art Deco and Functionalism or the Modern movement were born, but one of the various expressions of historicism at that time was the use of classical means of architectural language. For the most part, it was a successive continuation of pre-war neoclassicism, moreover often in a rather orthodox form, but often with the addition of a lot of details rooted in Art Deco aesthetics. Classic examples are the *Konserthuset* in Stockholm (1920–1926, architect Ivar Tengbom, Figure 1) and the Finnish Parliament building in Helsinki (1930–1931, architect Johan Sigfrid Sirén, Figure 2). Both buildings are dominated by large-scale porticoes with exaggerated slender columns. Art Deco is more noticeable in the architecture of the concert hall, but the Parliament building has earned the honour of "the most eminent building of independent Finland" [Krūmiņš 1939–1940: 39833].

Figure 1. Stockholm, Sweden. Concert hall. 1920–1926. Ivar Tengbom.
Figure 2. Helsinki, Finland. Parliament building. 1930–1931. Johan Sigfrid Sirén.

Neoeclecticism

In the 1930s, and especially in the second half of the twentieth century, when the Modern movement reached maturity, the parallel architecture of classical forms acquired a generally monumental and heavy expression, which quite noticeably differs from the neoclassicism of the turn of the century. The ideological background of the architectural vocabulary was also quite different. It was a worldwide, conscious choice of classical language as eternal and enduring artistic values for solving modern architectural tasks. This trend, using a conceptual and terminological analogy, can be called Neoeclecticism: the choice of stylistic forms was also the basis of the artistically creative method of the 19th century style of eclecticism.

The term "Neoeclecticism" was first introduced in the book "*Latvijas Republikas būvmāksla*" ("Construction Art of the Republic of Latvia"), published in 1992 in Riga by "Zinātne" (239 pages), and since then, has been used in all publications of the author. It was also used by Jānis Lejnieks in his doctoral thesis "Functionalism and Neoeclecticism in 20th Century Latvian Architecture", defended at Riga

Technical University in 1994. True, the art historian Eduards Kļaviņš later called this term a "less clear designation", which, in his opinion, "refers to the buildings of the Neoclassicism of that time" [Kļaviņš 2016: 25]. However, there is no reason to attribute stylistics of the 1930s directly to the architecture of the early 20ᵗʰ century.

The orientation on classical language of architecture of the 1930s is sometimes called Authoritarian architecture, Totalitarian architecture, or Fascist architecture, as it was quite popular with Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, and other dictatorial regimes. The ideology of these regimes really sought to promote an imposing, monumental and large-scale construction that should express grandeur and virility, not only as a symbol of the strength of the existing political power, but also as a symbol of the unity and ability of each nation. It was officially proclaimed that the "new task of architecture was to serve not only certain sections of society, but the entire nation" [Krūmiņš 1942: 562], and that the buildings "must symbolize the nation and its era" and "find a special form with its content" [Neue deutsche Baukunst 1941: 9].

Each ideology had its own arguments, but the diversity of the choice of arguments did not in itself determine a different artistic output. To the same extent, a similar ideology could be symbolically realized in a different artistic expression. Political forces could not and did not determine the style of art, they only adapted to the general global fashion, in which Neoeclecticism had a broad and stable place.

There are also various other designations of this stylistic – "Stripped Classicism", "Starved Classicism", etc., thus trying to put into words the formal features of the trend. True, these labels do not always have a precise chronological framework.

In the history of modern architecture, Neoeclecticism has traditionally been considered something retrospective, time-lagging, or the like. However, in the context of its time, it was as innovative as the Modern movement and, in the sense of "modern", an absolutely contemporary phenomenon. In the sense of the time, "obeying one style throughout and denying others the right to exist would mean working against the spirit of time" [Laube 1928].

Neoeclecticism in authoritarian countries

It is regularity, not a paradox that the Fascist House (*Casa del Fascio*) in Como, Italy (Figure 3), built between 1932 and 1936 to the project by the architect Giuseppe Terragni, is a real nugget of Modern movement architecture, although the general tone of architecture at that time sought to dictate B. Mussolini's fascist regime. In turn, the headquarters of Hitler's National Socialist Party Central Committee in Munich (Figure 4) is a typical example of Neoeclecticism. The building was built in 1938–1939 to the project by Paul Ludwig Troost (1879–1934), an architect who had then already passed away. The building now houses the State Academy of Arts.

The most visible determinant of the tone of architecture in Germany was Albert Speer (1905–1981), who became one of Hitler's closest confreres. Almost all of his architectural works were destroyed during the war or remained unrealized, including grandiose alterations of central Berlin with the monstrous "People's Hall" (*Volkshalle*) – a hall for 180,000 visitors with a ceiling dome diameter of 250 m! One of the most characteristic architectural monuments of Neoeclecticism in Berlin at that time is the Ministry of Aviation building (1934, Figure 5) designed by the architect Ernst Sagebiel (1892–1970). The building has been renovated and now houses the German Ministry of Finance.

Figure 3. Como, Italy. Fascist House (*Casa del fascio*). 1932–1936. Giuseppe Terragni.
Figure 4. Munich, Germany. Central Committee of the National Socialist Party. 1938–1939. Paul Ludwig Troost.
Figure 5. Berlin, Germany. Ministry of Aviation. 1934. Ernst Sagebiel.

In Italy, a number of large-scale urban development projects took place in the 1930s. In 1934–1935, 90 km southeast of Rome, a new city Sabaudia was built in course of 253 days. It is often described as "one of the biggest acts of propaganda of the fascist regime" [Sabaudia, Italy]. Although the architecture of the main public buildings in the city centre (Figure 6) clearly reflects the language of Neoeclecticism, several buildings in Sabaudia, mainly residential ones, are today included in list of the Italian Modern movement top monuments. The theoretical basis of the Modern movement in Italy was laid by Gruppo 7, founded in 1926 by seven architects at the Polytechnic of Milan, publishing the Manifesto of Rationalism. The rationalists were influenced by both Le Corbusier and Russian constructivists, but their idea was also to preserve traditions. James Stevens Curl has called Italian Rationalism curiosity [Curl 2005: 539]. However, "Sabaudia was conceived as a model city intended to showcase Italy's Rational Architecture, and it ultimately solidified architectonically into a Fascist utopia caught between Classicism and Modernism" [Sabaudia].

At the end of the 1930s, the construction of the *EUR* (*Esposizione Universale Roma*) began to the southwest of Rome, in the area where the World's Fair was to be held in 1942. Due to the war, this did not happen, and later this place was developed into a business district. The design was led by Marcello Piacentini (1881–

1960). Central parts of Turin and Genoa also were completely transformed to his projects. In Turin, an ambitious intervention was carried out in the historic centre, introducing a new city artery, the Via Roma, which connects several historic squares and includes the newly created Piazza C.L.N. (Figure 7). The ensemble includes heavily monumental commercial, administrative and residential buildings. The architecture of the typical facades of these buildings is a contemporary interpretation of the language of generalized classical architecture, and is also commonly referred to in Italy as Rationalism (*Stile razionalista*).

The tallest skyscraper in Europe at that time, now named after the architect Torre Piacentini (Figure 8) was constructed during similar urban alterations in Genoa, at Piazza Dante in 1935–1940. Architecture of the building displays interpretations

Figure 6. Sabaudia, Italy. Town hall. 1933. Gino Canceloti, Eugenio Montuori,
Luigi Piccinato, Alfredo Scalpelli.
Figure 7. Turin, Italy. Piazza C.L.N. 1935–1938. Marcello Piacentini.
Figure 8. Genoa, Italy. Torre Piacentini, Piazza Dante. 1935–1940. Marcello Piacentini.
Postcard of early 1940s.

Figure 9. Milan, Italy. Courthouse. (*Palazzo di Giustizia*). 1932–1940. Marcello Piacentini.
Figure 10. São Paulo, Brazil. Banespa office building. 1938–1939. Marcello Piacentini.
Figure 11. Palermo, Italy. Post (*Palazzo delle Poste*). 1928–1934. Angiolo Mazzoni.

of classical forms merged with Art Deco motifs, which are most likely borrowed from American high-rises. In many buildings by Piacentini, the language of classical architecture often manifests itself indirectly, mainly as monumentally symmetrical compositions and even without the direct presence of order elements (Figures 9 and 10). On the other hand, the expression characteristic of the architecture of that time can be clearly read in the works of many other architects, in which the classical elements of ancient architecture have been reproduced quite directly. For example, the central, entrance section of the Palermo Post office building facade is emphasized by a stylized Tuscan order portico, but the seemingly classical window surround and surface articulation of the side wings do not contain any detail taken directly from the classical vocabulary (Figure 11). The building was built in 1928–1934 to the design by Angiolo Mazzoni (1894–1979), an architect of the Italian Ministry of Transport. He has been called "one of the most brilliant and prolific Italian architects of the 1920s and 1930s" [Angiolo Mazzoni].

Neoeclecticism in other countries

Formal manifestations of Neoeclecticism in many countries were often even more monumental and weighty than in Germany, Italy, or Soviet Russia. A typical example is the National Museum in Krakow, Poland, which began to be built in 1934 by architects Bolesław Szmidt, Czesław Boratyński and Edward Kreisler (Figure 12). It is true that Poland was ruled by the authoritarian regime of Józef Piłsudski at the time, but the country had then recently regained its independence after a long time. The construction of the museum was completed only after the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1992.

Countless similar buildings were built in many parts of the world and in countries that even positioned themselves as citadels of democracy. For example, St. Andrews House, which housed the Scottish Government's premises, was built in 1934–1939 in Edinburgh (Figure 13). The architect of the building, Thomas Tait (1882–1954), is most often described as a prominent Scottish modernist architect, whereas St. Andrews House architecture – as "Beaux-Arts unified modern concept, which Tate himself described as sculptural" [Thomas Smith Tait]. The descriptions state that "St. Andrews House much influenced by the RIBA Headquarters, 1934, in London" [McKean 1992: 100]. This building, the seat of the British Royal Institute of Architects in London, at 66 Portland Place (architect Gray Wornum), is an iconic example of Neoeclecticism, although various publications attribute it to Art Deco, "Late Neoclassicism" or "Imperial Neoclassicism". However, in the information that the building was classified as a "Grade II building of architectural and historic importance" in 1970 was always emphasized that it was "one of the very first examples of modern architecture to be so recognized" [RIBA].

In the United States, neo-eclecticism was almost the benchmark in the architecture of almost all post offices, schools, and train stations built in the 1930s. So was also the New York City building at the 1939 World's Fair in New York (now the Queens Museum), designed by architect Aymar Embury II.

A typical example in the context of the understanding of modernism in the interwar period is the history of the construction of the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva. It is best known for the results of the 1926 design competition. To this day, more and more new publications are appearing, in which the jury of the competition is accused of falling into seemingly traditionalism, rejecting the project developed by Le Corbusier, which was supposed to be the most innovative and the best. An international team of architects was set up after the competition, and a huge building was built to the project by this team (Figure 14). The building is shaped in noble, representative, modernized classic forms – as a temple for the cooperation and unity of the nations of the world. There is no reason to record a deliberate backwardness for this building. Neoeclecticism at that time was one of the most modern expressions of art.

Figure 12. Krakow, Poland. National Museum. 1934–1992. Bolesław Szmidt,
Czesław Boratyński, Edward Kreisler.
Figure 13. Edinburgh, Scotland. St. Andrews House. 1934–1939. Thomas Tait.
Figure 14. Geneva, Switzerland. Palace of Nations. 1929–1938. Carlo Broggi,
Julien Flegenheimer, Camille Lefèvre, Henri-Paul Nénot, Joseph Vago.

Neoeclecticism in Latvia

Latvia and its economy were badly damaged during the First World War. Construction only began to come to life in the mid-1920s. Until then, architecture reflected different interpretations of pre-war artistic trends. It was historicism in the broadest sense of the word. Important public buildings were usually shaped in classical forms, mainly in the early 19th century Empire style, often supplemented by some Art Deco elements. The most typical buildings of this type are Folk House (now Valka City Culture House) in Valka, Emīla Dārziņa iela 8 (1924–1927, architect Augusts Raisters, Figure 15), Gulbene State Commercial and Vocational School

(now Gulbene County State Gymnasium) in Gulbene, Skolas iela 10 (1927–1928, architect Indriķis Blankenburgs, Figure 16) and French Lyceum (now the building of the Faculty of Chemistry of the University of Latvia) in Riga, Krišjāņa Valdemāra iela 48 (1929–1930, I. Blankenburgs, Figure 17). Several other educational institutions, folk houses, state bank branch buildings, railway stations and other buildings have been built in similar stylistic.

Figure 15. Valka. People's House at Emīla Dārziņa iela 8. 1924–1927. Augusts Raisters.
Figure 16. Gulbene. State Commercial and Vocational School at Skolas iela 10. 1927–1928. Indriķis Blankenburgs.
Figure 17. Riga. French lyceum at Krišjāņa Valdemāra iela 48. 1929–1930. Indriķis Blankenburgs.

In the second half of the 1920s, the Modern movement or Functionalism quite definitely introduced itself in Latvia, but at the same time the opinion that classical architectural language is an inexhaustible value, and also "most national efforts in architecture have been and will continue to be founded in the world of classical forms" [Birzenieks 1940: 118] became more and more established. The main defender and populariser of classical means of expression was Eižens Laube – an architect who had always been able to react sensitively to current events and the latest trends in art, finding the most appropriate solutions for his views and professional beliefs.

In the 1930s, Neoeclecticism became already a clearly definable trend in fashion. It also left certain traces on almost every building of Modern movement. It was usually a certain addition of elements from classical vocabulary, without avoiding crowning the facades with cornices or hiding the roofs behind the parapets typical for Modern movement. In 1929–1931 in Riga, at Brīvības iela 39, a very modern apartment building with offices of doctor Pēteris Sniķeris was built to the project by E. Laube (Figure 18). Widely glazed facade of the building is crowned with a classic dentil, an ionic frieze and a cornice supported by modillions. Attic crowned with classic balustrade rises above the cornice. In 1999, the building was remodelled, trying to install a trading house and constructing another floor above the balustrade.

One of the most impressive examples of the creative work of E. Laube and also of the entire interwar architectural heritage of Latvia is the State Ķemeri Hotel in Ķemeri, at Emīla Dārziņa iela 28 (Figure 19), built in 1933–1936. In terms of scope and architectural qualities, it has been equated with the palaces of the Dukes of Courland in Jelgava and Rundāle [Ārends 1939: 124]. The dynamic massing of the building corresponds to the compositional principles of the Modern movement, but it is organically fused with a relatively rich range of architectural details rooted in the classical language. However, it does not contain any of the frozen compositions of Empire style, in which the portico crowned with a triangular pediment is characteristic. In terms of artistic expression, the building leaves no one indifferent. In the context of the accumulation of world cultural heritage, it seems to be awaiting its revelation.

Figure 18. Riga. Apartment building with shops and offices at Brīvības iela 39. 1929–1931. Eižens Laube.
Figure 19. Ķemeri. Hotel at Emīla Dārziņa iela 28. 1933–1936. Eižens Laube.
Figure 20. Daugavpils. Unity House at Rīgas iela 22A. 1936–1937. Verners Vitands.

A strong touch of Neoeclecticism can be clearly perceived in the main facade of Daugavpils *Vienības nams* (Unity House, Figure 20). This huge public building designed by architect Verners Vitands was constructed in an extremely short time: the foundation stone was laid on 15 May 1936, but it was consecrated on December 19 the following year [Latvian State Historical Archives]. It is a multifunctional building housing premises of Latvian Association, various offices and clubs, a supermarket, a theatre and even a swimming pool. The diversity of the spatial structure can also be read in the relatively complex massing. The facade architecture also displays formal elements of the Modern movement, including ribbon fenestration, and vertical glazing of stairwells. The main façade is dominated by a classic entrance portico with slender columns. Indoors, including the theatre hall covered with modern reinforced concrete shells, an Art Deco atmosphere is present as well.

The language of classical forms was also considered as one of the possibilities to obtain national architecture: "Latvian beauty is manifested in modern buildings both in simple, restrained shapes, as well as in more complex forms of European classics" [Laube 1939: 47]. One of the methods of obtaining such an understanding of Latvianness was porticos with emphasized slender columns of the great order – similar to Daugavpils Unity House. Such columns are associated with a prototype of a Doric order in a wooden version, the image of which has been found on a Greek vase and reproduced in many textbooks of architectural history, but wood has always been the main building material in Latvian vernacular construction. Such porticoes are, for example, in a single-family house in Riga, Poruka iela 14 (1931, architect Haralds Kundziņš, Figure 21), Ikšķile Evangelical Lutheran Church (1933, architect Pauls Kundziņš), several pavilions in Zemgale province exhibition in Jelgava, of which Latvian bank pavilion (1937, P. Kundziņš) has been preserved partially rebuilt and extended (now the culture house "Rota" at Garozas iela 15, Figure 22), Dzintari Concert Hall in Jūrmala, Turaidas iela 1 (1936, architect Viktors Mellenbergs, Figure 23), and other buildings. These slender columns sometimes resembled posts of vernacular buildings, sometimes were bricked in expressively broken Art Deco shapes.

Figure 21. Riga. Single-family house at Poruka iela 14. 1931. Haralds Kundziņš.
Figure 22. Jelgava. The former pavilion of Latvian bank at the exhibition of Zemgale province. 1937. Pauls Kundziņš.
Figure 23. Jūrmala. Dzintari Concert Hall at Turaidas iela 1. 1936. Viktors Mellenbergs.

In the second half of the 1930s, Neoeclecticism, developing in parallel with the Modern movement, became something like official architecture. Almost all most significant public buildings were shaped in this style. Architect Jānis Rutmanis aptly described the situation at that time: "In recent years, we have two architectures – new – official, with a tendency to accentuate, decoratively dress, and applied – in balanced expression of constructivism" [Rutmanis 1939: 168]. The term "expression of constructivism" refers to the Modern movement or functionalism, and J. Rutmanis called it "healthier and safer".

Most of the Neoeclectic buildings were built in the capital of the country, Riga. The most monumental and "classical" in terms of stylistics was the Courthouse at Brīvības bulvāris 36 (1936–1938, architect Frīdrihs Skujiņš, Figure 24). The heavily representative image of the building is emphasized by the entrance portico, whose Doric columns are made of Swedish granite. Other noble materials used in the finish of facades are of local origin. The building now houses the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia.

The architectural image of the Neoeclectic trading house "*Galerija Centrs*" at Audēju iela 16 (1936–1940, architect Artūrs Galindoms, Figure 25) is determined by the rhythm of the Corinthian pilasters and a solidly classic cornice. The building was built as the Latvian Army Economic Store replacing several antique buildings on the site. It was structurally innovative skeleton building on a cast-in-situ reinforced concrete slab. Radiant heating system was installed in it, and the first escalator in Riga (demolished in the sixties) connected ground floor with the upper one. In 1997–1998, the interior was completely rebuilt, but in 2005–2006, the building was incorporated in the significantly larger shopping centre, which covers seven plots.

One of the largest Neoeclectic public buildings in Riga was the Ministry of Finance at Smilšu iela 1 (1937–1939, architect Aleksandrs Klinklāvs, Figure 26). The huge building merges three older quarters between Smilšu and Zirgu streets. Only four buildings have been preserved and incorporated in the new structure. Facades of it are coated in local dolomite sandstone from Rembate County in Ogre district. From this material are made also fluted pilasters crowned with Corinthian capitals, which accentuate the rhythmically arranged entrances in the very long facade facing Zirgu iela, and are arranged in a dense rhythm in the facades facing Meistaru iela and Smilšu iela.

Figure 24. Riga. The Courthouse at Brīvības iela 36. 1936–1938. Frīdrihs Skujiņš.
Figure 25. Riga. Army Economic Store at Audēju iela 16. 1936–1940. Artūrs Galindoms.
Figure 26. Riga. Ministry of Finance at Smilšu iela 1. 1937–1938. Aleksandrs Klinklāvs.

Conclusion

Neoeclecticism in architecture was a formal trend based on a creative interpretation of the language of classical forms. Use of classical vocabulary has periodically been repeated several times in history. Neoeclecticism developed in parallel with the Modern movement, Art Deco and other stylistics. These trends interacted and often merged.

Soviet and German occupations during the World War II almost completely stopped construction. During the reoccupation by the Soviet Union after the war, Latvian architecture was pulled out from the mainstream of the world development, interrupting the natural continuity of architectural styles. However, pre-war Neoeclecticism was the actual basis of Soviet "Socialist realism", which lasted until the late 1950s. Difference was in ideological background and directive promotion of a superficially decorative manner of architecture.

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CULTURE CROSSROADS

FRAGMENTARY AND MODERATE MODERNISM IN LATVIAN MUSIC HISTORY. SOME LOCAL FEATURES AND PECULIARITIES

Dr.art. **Jānis Kudiņš**

Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music, Latvia

Abstract

The question of 20th century modernism in the history of Latvian academic genres music is still topical. The prevailing opinion in musicological research (literature) is that representation of modernism in the history of Latvian music has been fragmentary. In various decades of the 20th century (the first and second half of the century), Latvian composers have rarely turned to the most radical expression of modernism, the avant-garde. Much more often possible identified stylistically moderate manifestations of modernism. However, these issues have still been little researched. This article offers a focused (panoramic) characterisation, looking at local peculiarities of adaptation and representation of modernism in Latvian music history in the 20th century.

Keywords: *Latvian music history, 20th century, modernism, avant-garde, experience of adaptation, local peculiarities.*

Introduction

This paper aims at characterizing the 20th century modernism adaptation and manifestation process in Latvian academic music history in the first and second half of the 20th century. The question of modernism in the history of Latvian academic music is still topical. In addition, this theme is related to the understanding of modernism in common European music history.

In academic music genres sphere, as well as in other kinds of art, modernism in Europe is characterised as a period in the first half of the 20th century, with an accented opposition to the stylistics of classical-romantic music. The characteristic innovations of the period of modernism reflect the co-existence of varied stylistic tendencies. For instance, impressionism, expressionism, the cultivation of dissonance and

new rhythmic principles, that actualized archaic folklore music of certain regions (European and Non-European nations) with modernist musical language (the so-called *primitivism*, *neobarbarism*) and, finally, avant-garde, as the most radical, uncompromising approach to the artistic manifestation of the characteristic ideas of the period of modernism [Albright 2004; Botstein 2001; Danuser 1992; Metzer 2009; Salzman 2002].

To a great degree, it is the avant-garde that became the characteristic symbol of the period of modernism, bringing forth the new, different and progressive. In academic music, it reflected a complete rupture with the tonal music foundation formed in the previous centuries in European music history. Modernism reflected an alternative to tonal (classical) musical language and expression, and brought to the fore such novelties of *New Music* (avant-garde), as dodecaphony, serial music and serialism [Griffiths 1981; Morgan 1991; Samson 2001].

Overall, 20th century modernism, particularly the aesthetic and stylistic approaches of avant-garde and their socio-political resonance, has confirmed a characteristic methodological approach. Accordingly, when writing of musical history, the most significance is given to those musical works, which are convincingly able to manifest the key innovations in the artistic ideas (aesthetics) and music stylistic (lexical) level [Dahlhaus 1983]. In that way, avant-garde has become a kind of *nucleus* of the 20th century modernism. Through research literature, over time, around this *nucleus* rotate the developed system of concepts and postulates, characterized by varied music phenomena and trend characterization with references to varied social, political and cultural context processes in the time between the two world wars and in the 1950s. At the same time, with avant-garde coming into the foreground, or, into the centre of the idea of the 20th century modernism, this created many problematic situations in the research of academic music history, in its global and local aspects [Bürger 1984; Williams 1993].

From one part, modernism as a period and the set of aesthetic ideas cannot be imagined without the presence of avant-garde and its manifestations in the creative process of music. From another, this kind of approach results in a disunity with the varied, not just central, but also peripheral (local) manifestations of the music creation process.

For instance, in the 20th century Latvian academic music history, the representation of modernism has always encountered a few problematic research questions. Up until now, in literature, it has regularly been expressed that modernism (in the representation of its various stylistic tendencies in Latvian music history both in the first half of the 20th century, as well as in the first decades after the World War II), due to the influence of varied circumstances, has been fragmentarily represented [Jonāne 2015; Zandberga 2015; Klotiņš 2018a: 526; Kudiņš 2015b; Šarkovska-

Liepiņa 2014a; Torgāns 2010: 257–261]. There are very few cases where avant-garde manifestations, in stylistically *pure* (serial techniques, serialism) methods, can be confirmed in Latvian academic genres music. The creative process in academic music sphere in Latvia in the 20th century forms a clear retreat from the theoretical concept of the modernism period in Europe. Should Latvian 20th century academic music history be explained outside the theoretical concepts of modernism?

In recent decades in musicology there has been a broad representation of the concept of *moderate modernism*. It explains the later confluence (diffusion) of the stylistic of late romantic music with characteristic elements of varied trends of the musical language of modernism [Hakobian 1998; Medić 2007; Taruskin 2005; Whittall 2004]. The results of the creative work of a broad number of composers from almost all European states reflect, in certain individualised stylistic versions, a realised concept of moderate modernism It has also become its own kind of saviour, to research and characterize the various local manifestations and peculiarities of modernism.

Has the musical heritage of Latvian academic music in the 20th century developed a sufficiently broadly represented moderate modernism layer? Does the local representation of moderate modernism compensate for the regular absence of avant-garde? Attempting to answer these questions is the focus of this article. It should be noted that detailed and exhaustive answers to all aspects of these questions are not possible. An extended study on the adaptation of modernism in Latvian academic music history has not been prepared yet. However, some studies already done allow outlining several points, which form a panoramic view and provide possible directions for further research on the adaptation of modernism in the Latvian music culture and its historical experience.

The first half of the 20th century – nearly without modernism in the shadow of the aesthetic of national romanticism

At the beginning of the 20th century many new aesthetic concepts and style tendencies flourished in certain Western European states. It indicated the start of the modernist period. At the same time, in Latvia, the first professional composers of Latvian origin continued stylistically cultivated 19th century romanticism. For example, the outstanding Latvian composer Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) represented academic romanticism. The first national opera composers Alfrēds Kalniņš (1879–1951) and Jānis Mediņš (1890–1966) manifested individualized versions of late romanticism. Later, in the time between the world wars, during the first period of Latvia's independence (1918–1940), academic music was dominated by the co-existence of varied stylistic trends of romanticism. New turn towards a clear romantic lyric and epic manifestation and idealization in the creative work of

Latvian composers had particularly notable growth and cultivated in the 1930s [Klotiņš 2018a; Kudiņš 2011, Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 36; Torgāns 2010: 260–261]. In that way, the overall panorama view of the leading aesthetic and stylistic trends in Latvian academic music in the first half of the 20th century reflected, in a local context, varied specific feature developments, which can be concisely outlined in such way.

1) In the last third of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, similar to literature and visual art, the attempts by Latvian composers were rooted in the stylistic concept of romanticism. Such approach offered the opportunity for democratic musical communication, which, objectively, most successfully was realized in choir music. That genre was the most significant promulgator of the spirit of the national cultural awakening. It also manifested the birth of the Latvian Song Festival tradition (the First festival in Riga took place in 1873) and its long-term development. Additionally, there is a basis to consider that this situation was facilitated by certain particular socio-political circumstances that existed in Latvia during the initial period of the formation of national culture and an independent nation [Grauzdiņa, Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2018].

Overall, in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century the first classical Latvian original composers and their followers created music with a mainly national romantic and lyric psychological expression channelled in choir music, is truly broad in its scope and of a very high artistic quality. Still, at the same time, it must be noted that involvement in the choir and overall vocal music genre objectively stole their opportunity to express themselves more often and in stylistically more diverse ways in the field of instrumental music. In addition, for a long time, the growth of this field lacked an elementary, stable professional base, which could have been validated by a symphonic orchestra and opera with a long history, having earned the attention of varied levels of Latvian society.

2) For a long time, this process, which reflected the topicality of the 19th century romanticism in Latvian music, also was affected by St. Petersburg Conservatory, directed by outstanding Russian composer and music theoretician Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908). He represented the New Russian Compositional School, which cultivated academic romanticism and paid special attention to the themes of folklore and the native land. Many Latvian composers and musicians studied at St. Petersburg Conservatory, among them, for instance, Jāzeps Vītols. After graduating, for many years Vītols worked at St. Petersburg Conservatory. In 1918 Vītols returned to Latvia and founded Latvian Conservatory. As rector, Vītols managed the Conservatory for many years (1919–1944). He was also head of the Latvian Song Festival Committee and other organizations. Undoubtedly, this aspect also had

a great impact on several new generations of Latvian composers at that time [Klotiņš 2013, Kudiņš 2018a; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 36].

Of course, different echoes of the aesthetics of modernism and its varied stylistic characteristics fragmentarily expressed themselves in separate works of diverse genres of composers of this period. For example, adaptation of impressionistic stylistic features in the choir songs *a capella* and expressionistic aspects in vocal chamber music (solo songs) of Jānis Zālītis (1884–1943) [Jonāne 2015], some elements of modernistic (in harmony, rhythmical and textural layers) in the piano music of Lūcija Garūta (1902–1977) and Volfgangs Dārziņš (1906–1962) and Arvīds Žilinskis (1905–1993) [Zandberga 2015], and in the symphonic music of Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983) [Kudiņš 2015a]. Still, these echoes contain only separate elements of musical expression (for example, harmonies, textures, compositional form), as opposed to the confirmation of a conceptual turn towards those style tendencies of modernism, flourished in the other European states at that time (for instance, in Germany, France, Italy, Russia).

It must be pointed out that, in Latvian literature and visual art, as has been confirmed by research, the situation was principally different. In the first half of the 20th century, in literature and visual art, the aesthetics and stylistics of both romanticism and modernism was equally intensively represented. It has been thoroughly investigated, for example, in the research of Latvian literature [Tabūns 2003] and visual arts [Pelše 2007].

In turn, such significant work of local music culture like Jānis Kalniņš' (1904–2000) opera *Hamlet*, completed in 1936, can be considered as one of the rare exceptions in Latvian music history. The music of the opera *Hamlet* reflects stylistic lines of the modernism period of the 1930s, which synthesizes classical-romantic musical language with elements of rhythmic freedom, the highlighting of expressionistic dissonance and the aesthetic of popular dance music of that era. It is notable that the first performance of the opera *Hamlet*, generated great public interest and promoted a public discourse on modernism in local cultural space [Kudiņš 2015b].

The opera *Hamlet* was created shortly before the Soviet occupation and the dramatic events of the World War II in Latvia. However, this opera along with a few other Latvian composers' musical works in varied academic music genres that represented the aesthetic and stylistic characteristics of the modernism of the first half of the 20th century formed fragmentary adaptation and manifestation of the new trends and aesthetics (see references to studies on this above). In turn, long-time rector and head of the Latvian Conservatory's composition class, Jāzeps Vītols, expressed reserved opinion of modernism, and, in his way, promoted that no Latvian composers' organization of that time enrolled in the newly founded International

Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) [Klotiņš 2018a: 528]. In fact, during Latvia's first period of independence, no local Latvian composer studied in any Western European music academy, where they could have encountered the stylistic innovations of modernism. However, in public discussion (in Riga press) there was active exchange of ideas by the composers themselves regarding the varied topical problematic questions of the aesthetics and stylistics of European modernism. However, this aspect has not yet gained wide coverage in the research of Latvian music history.

Altogether, in the time up to the World War II, the academic music creative process in Latvia could not create a powerful and stable local alternative to the dominance of romanticism. And there were long-ranging consequences. The absence of an intensive and stable experience of an introduction of modernism left a significant impression on the creative process in music in the second half of the 20th century.

The second half of the 20th century – fragmentary modernism, its moderate and radical stylistic manifestations in the local space

A generally new period in the development of professional music culture in Latvia started in 1940 and lasted until the end of the 1980s. For a long time (1940–1941, 1944–1991), Latvian territory was under occupation by the Soviet Union (in turn, during World War II (1941–1944), Latvia was occupied by Germany) [Bleiere 2006]. In the environment of Soviet totalitarianism, free-thinking and diversity were no longer possible. Stressing that the field of culture is one of the most important tools in the upbringing of an obedient Soviet person, relentless attempts to include the political ideology and control were realised in all spheres of culture, including music, widely using methods of political censorship to prevent the further process of adaptation of modernism [Klotiņš 2018b; Kudiņš 2018b].

Political censorship in the field of art (music included) under the Soviet regime in Latvia after the World War II resulted in extremely limited possibilities to gain the similar experience that was acquired by avant-garde and post-avant-garde composers living in Western Europe. In the 1940s and 1950s, almost all composers living in Latvia had to engage in self-censorship of aesthetics and stylistics, artificially limiting their creative attempts, so as not to receive new sanctions. That was also the main reason why so many stylistically colourless or contradictorily perceptible works were produced. In the 1940s and 1950s, in terms of stylistic tendencies, the creative work of Latvian composers is, in fact, difficult to generalise. The main orientation proved to be the classical-romantic music language, which, in terms of expression, is very distant from the emotionally elevated and sharpened expression characteristic of

the 19th century romanticism. This situation endured in the musical creative process till the end of the 1950s, when the socio-political background in the Soviet Union changed slightly [Kudiņš 2018b].

A slight weakening of ideological control took place in the time when Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) led the Soviet Union (1956–1964). From this period (until the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s) the Soviet authorities allowed artists to become familiar with the experience of modernism, which had already spread all over Western Europe. However, this small aesthetic and stylistic pluralism in the Soviet Union was only officially allowed in the two cultural centres of the superpower – Moscow and St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time). Attempts to let the ideas of modernism into other nations of the Soviet Union, including Latvia, were strictly controlled. However, this also depended on the composers, musicians and the subjective opinions of the local authorities [Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 36–37, Kudiņš 2018b].

In this situation, the 1960s were the time when, in varied individual stylistic versions, certain Latvian composers developed the moderate modernism aesthetic. Among these composers is Jānis Ivanovs – a musician who, in the field of symphonic music (Ivanovs is the author of twenty-one symphonies, composed between 1933 and 1983), has represented a synthesis of classical traditions and modernism and whose own artistic brightness is comparable to the music of such composers as, for example, Arthur Honegger (1892–1955) and Dmitry Shostakovich (1906–1975).

After the Communist party decision "On Vano Muradeli opera "The Great Friendship"" (Moscow, 1948), Jānis Ivanovs, after the impressionistic and, at the same time, expressionistic 4th symphony (1941) and the 5th symphony (1945) that represented a dramatic exacerbation of expression, consciously extinguished his interest in the varied stylistic innovations of modernism. Ivanovs spent the 1950s influenced by Stalin's battles with *formalism* (modernism), and mainly cultivated romanticism and 20th century neoclassical tonal music stylistics. Only at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s did the distinguished Latvian symphonic music composer return to more intensive modernism adaptations in his creative process. Ivanovs' symphonic music became more dissonant and expressionistic. The composer confidently included dodecaphony and serial composition principles in his scores [Kudiņš 2015a]. Still, it is interesting that, while continuing to observe the taboo placed on the word "modernism" by the totalitarian regime, music criticism and research found other synonyms to clarify and analyse this new stylistic turn. It was denominated as "the harsh style" (in Latvian *skarbais stils*), borrowing this terminology from analogous trends in Latvian visual art [Torgāns 2010: 262; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 37].

Still, though the differences in Jānis Ivanovs' symphonies between the pre-war late romanticism and the new harsh style of the 1960s were significant, it cannot be denied that the composer's own individual version of moderate modernism was still based on the classical-romantic music language. Overall, though this music was more modernistic, Ivanovs preserved the characteristic fundamentals of the romanticism style. His contemporaries acted in a similar way. For example, Ādolfs Skulte (1909–2000), supported by romanticism and impressionism stylistic, also displayed certain varied trends of modernism in his music in the 1960s and 1970s [Šuriņš 2009]. Marģeris Zariņš (1910–1993) developed his own unique approach in the 1960s, becoming the first polystylist in Latvian academic music history [Jaunslaviete 2018; Kudiņš 2018b: 107–132]. More composers could be mentioned who began their work in the field of academic music and who, in various individual ways, synthesized the stylistics of classical romanticism and 20th century modernistic music in their creative work. To a certain degree, the totalitarian regime accepted this, and this indicated the arrival of a *progressive modernity* in musical life, but, at the same time, the regime attempted to control this in various ways. However, when the musical creative process exceeded certain borders, the totalitarian regime acted consistently.

A typical example of this situation in Latvia is the creative biography of another generation's composer – Arturs Grīnups (1931–1989). As opposed to the majority of other Latvian composers, Grīnups rarely ever composed for the principal genres of vocal music – choir and solo voice. The dominating genre in his work in all his creative periods has been the symphony (altogether nine symphonies, as well as a symphony for string orchestra and the work *Quasi una sinfonia*), along with other symphonic and instrumental chamber music works. The secret of the uniqueness of the composer's musical handwriting is found in the gradually developed ability to combine the brilliant late romanticism musical expression of the composers of the last third of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as well as its characteristic range of expression and magnificent impressionistic orchestra sound potential with the varied topicality of musical recording of the era, which was inclined to transform all the previous experiences to a new, previously non-existing model. In those searches Grīnups always gave preference to not just intonatively satisfactory concrete, easily understood and decipherable composition of music, but also an expression that metaphorically at many angles was able to reflect the secretive process of psychological understanding of personal experiences. Grīnups was well known to his contemporaries with his sharp tongue and difficult disposition. The consequence was that none of the symphonic works of Grīnups were released until recently; the scores were kept in the Latvian National Library in the music division material fund archive [Kudiņš 2018b: 105–106].

Another example that demonstrates a modernist aesthetic representation and the peculiarities of the local socio-cultural context is Latvian composer Romualds Grīnblats' (1930–1995) creative activities during this period. Born in Russia (in Tver), after the World War II Grīnblats came to live in Latvia, Riga. The composer's activities in the 1960s were characterized by interest in the avant-garde musical language and aesthetics. In 1970, Soviet censorship banned Grīnblats' Concerto for flute and orchestra. The reason for this was the fact that, in his Concerto, the composer used serial composition principles. This case was one of the reasons why, in the first half of the 1970s, Grīnblats left Latvia and moved to St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time) [Kudiņš 2018b: 106].

The noted case with Grīnblats confirms that, during the Soviet occupation, there were still certain boundaries in academic music, which could not be crossed. That is why, though there was a fragmentary, but still visible representation of moderate modernism, the most radical stylistic manifestations of avant-garde in the creative work of Latvian composers were, in fact, banned. Along with moderate modernism, also in the following decades, in the 1970s and 80s, there are very few avant-garde compositional techniques (serial technique, serialism) to be found in the music of Latvian composers. And throughout this time, these stylistic trends were in a kind of marginal *grey zone* in music – they were factually known, however, publicly, they achieved minimal or no resonance. Additionally, beginning in the 1970s, after the modernistic *harsh style* of the previous decade, Latvian composers more often began to turn to a cultivation of a postmodern neoromanticism stylistic and the fragmentary manifestations of modernism in the last decades of the 20th century became even more marginal [Kudiņš 2018b; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a].

Fragmentary modernism – a unique local peculiarity? Some concluding remarks

What is the situation in the academic music field in Latvia after the fragmentary and stylistically moderate previous experience of modernism? From the late 1980s up to nowadays, such a situation can be stated (in an overall *panoramic view*).

Many composers of different generations, among them, for instance, Romualds Jermaks (1931), Agris Engelmanis (1936–2010), Romualds Kalsons (1936), Leons Amoliņš (1937), Maija Einfelde (1939), Imants Kalniņš (1941), Pēteris Butāns (1942–2020), Vilnis Šmīdbergs (1944), Pēteris Vasks (1946), Pēteris Plakidis (1947–2017), Georgs Pelēcis (1947), Juris Karlsons (1948), Alvils Altmanis (1950), Aivars Kalējs (1951), Andris Riekstiņš (1951), Selga Mence (1953), Arturs Maskats (1957), Ilona Breģe (1959), Rihards Dubra (1964), Indra Riše (1961), Andris Vecumnieks (1964), Anitra Tumševica (1971), Ēriks Ešenvalds (1977), and others

in their music present classical tonal language, organically synthesising it, not too radically, with features of the modernism of the first half of the 20th century in diverse individual versions. Postmodern neoromanticism is one of the most broadly represented tendencies in the music of the above-mentioned Latvian composers in various classical genres [Kudiņš 2018b; Kudiņš 2020; Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014b; Torgāns 2010].

The music of these composers substantially differs from the one part of Latvian middle and younger generation composers (for example, Rolands Kronlaks (1973), Mārtiņš Viļums (1974), Gundega Šmite (1977), Santa Ratniece (1977), Andris Dzenītis (1977), Jānis Petraškevičs (1978), Kristaps Pētersons (1982), Platons Buravickis (1989), and others). Their creative searches from the end of the nineties of 20th century are regularly notable for a more radical approach to the manifestations of avant-garde musical stylistics [Petraškevičs 2004, Šarkovska-Liepiņa 2014a: 38–39]. Thus, it is only at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st that can identify the almost three decades long representation of radical modernism (avant-garde) in Latvian academic music. Does that make the situation in Latvian music history unique? Is the heritage of 20th century Latvian music, therefore, an exception in the context of European music history? Here it is interesting to mention one episode in the newest period of the Latvian academic genres in music history.

Near the end of the Soviet occupation era, in 1986, there was an unprecedented event in Latvian academic music. The Soviet Latvia Music Festival was organized in Riga, and attendees (representatives of music publishing houses) were both from the former Socialist bloc Eastern European countries and Western European states. This event symbolically marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet occupation in Latvian music culture. Just a few years later, the historic change process began, the Third Awakening, and, as a result, in 1991, Latvian independence was renewed [Blūzma 2008]. It marked the continuation of the postmodern period in the Latvian academic music field at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. It is interesting that 1986 music festival, guests from different European states, after becoming familiar with contemporary Latvian composers' musical works spoke of detecting a unique local tradition. Examples:

Armin Köhler (1952–2014, former German Democratic Republic, *Edition Peters*) [Vanka, Jakubone, Puķudruva, Lūsiņa 1986]:

We encounter more neoromantic and minimalism trends, but not postmodernism. <u>Postmodernism is, of course, typical in those nations where a significant period of avant-garde music was experienced, but I do not think in Latvia it is particularly pronounced.</u> That is not necessarily a criticism, since nowhere are there any such clear North Stars that would indicate exactly how music should develop. There are many possible paths.

Armando Gentilucci (1939–1989, Italy, *Ricordi*) [Vanka, Jakubone, Puķudruva, Lūsiņa 1986]:

Characterising Latvian music, many Western musicology terms were used: minimalism, postmodernism, neoromanticism. I doubt that those can be applied to the music heard here. (..) Your composers do not blindly follow modern music trends, but are supported by your own, traditional, national music, and that is great. <u>It could be said that a completely independent modern Latvian music exists (on its own)</u>.

Of course, such opinions more than thirty years ago were expressed not by music researchers, but by representatives of the music industry. Still, it is worth listening to their comments when searching for answers to the question of how the Latvian academic music historical experience fits into the paradigm of the 20th century European modernism.

It is possible that the absence of a public manifestation of stable modernism stylistic trends in the first and second halves of the 20th century can result in a notion of a unique local situation in Latvian academic music. However, this situation – little radical modernism (avant-garde) and more moderate modernism stylistic manifestation – was a typical feature also in the musical culture of other European *small nations* (such as Estonia, Lithuania, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, and others). In addition, in each of these countries, in musical culture, the adaptation and flourish of modernism took place with different local peculiarities [Bruveris 2016; Humal 2015; Kolarovska-Gmirja 2018; Medić 2007; Pompe 2016; Stefanija 2006].

Previous research allows to conclude that there are potentially many interesting examples (musical works) in the history of Latvian music, which reflect artistically interesting and vivid manifestations of the aesthetics and stylistics of modernism. These examples also highlight the fragmentary and mostly stylistically moderate adaptation process of modernism in Latvian music history. In turn, the more detailed analysis of modernism adaptation in the research of Latvian music history is still a task to be realised further.

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THE LINKED DATA COLLECTION "RAINIS UN ASPAZIJA" (*RunA*): NEW RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES (EXAMPLE – CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN RAINIS AND ASPAZIJA DURING HIS TIME IN PANEVĖŽYS PRISON)

Dr.philol. **Liene Kalviša**
National Library of Latvia, Latvia

Dr.philol. **Ieva Kalniņa**
University of Latvia, Latvia

Abstract

The research aims at examining the epistolary exchange between Latvian writers Rainis and Aspazija available in the *Rainis un Aspazija* (*RunA*) linked open data collection and dating back to the period Rainis was in Panevėžys Prison (1897); and at exploring the opportunities the collection offers in revealing links between objects, persons, events, and thus, at gaining a broader perspective on the historical context of the time. The collection, as a visual and content resource, thanks to the linked data environment created therein, reveals a wide range of cultural and historical material about both writers, and marks out the context of the time, the most important events, people, places, etc. The collection, with the help of linked data, publishes open, structured data regarding its objects, entities and respective links between the same. The article also analyses the issue of how important a role the interpretation of this type of structured data has in literary research and how it helps contemporary researchers in analysing a literary work or any literary research material (letters, working notes, documents, etc.).

Keywords: *Rainis, Aspazija, Panevėžys, letters, linked data.*

The *Rainis un Aspazija* (*RunA*) linked open data collection enters the Latvian literary research environment inviting a new and different view of a literary work and its author, namely, by encouraging a new interpretation of interlinked information. This is the first collection of its kind in the Latvian memory-institution environment that discovers values from memory institutions and private repositories as an

interlinked web collection. Earlier studies on the *RunA* collection and linked data have focused on the structured framework of the collection from the viewpoint of computer-science and library-science specialists. This article inspects the collection from the perspective of literary scholars and collection users. The article mainly aims at showcasing the role of linked open data in the analysis of a literary text and at determining how the modern reader can shape their own reading paradigms and directions.

The *RunA* collection exposes the literary heritage of Rainis and Aspazija and its diversity. It includes first editions of all Rainis' and Aspazija's works and their annotations, correspondence of both writers with scholarly commentaries, archival documents, photographs, posters, cartoons, video and other materials. Letters can be viewed in their original form, as well as in translation and with scholarly commentaries. Representatives of a number of institutions have contributed to the creation of the collection – the National Library of Latvia (NLL), National Archive of Latvia, Association of Memorial Museums, Literature and Music Museum, the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia.

The collection can be used by researchers and students of humanities, as well as all admirers of Rainis' and Aspazija's works. The platform that stores the collection links the poets' legacy with scholarly commentaries, thus contextualising the people, events, places, etc. mentioned in the documents. *It offers possibilities that have not been used in Latvia before to discover and to expose values from memory institutions and private repositories as an interlinked web collection. The collection was created with three main aims in mind. The first is to develop a novel resource for digital humanities to include as many types of digital objects as possible. The second one is to test in practice co-operation capabilities with other memory institutions the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia, the and the Literature and Music Museum. The third one is to publish corresponding NLL bibliographic, authority and other metadata on the Web as Linked Data* [Goldberga, Kreislere, Rašmane, Stūrmane, Salna 2018].

The National Library of Latvia, in partnership with the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Latvia, is implementing the *Rainis and Aspazija Collection* (*RunA*) section of the project "Latvian Memory Institution Data in the Digital Space: Connecting Cultural Heritage" ("Latvijas atmiņas institūciju dati digitālajā telpā: vienojot kultūras mantojumu", Nr. lzp-2019/1-0365). Based on the experience and knowledge gained in previous projects and using controlled vocabularies and other structured data sets created by the NLL, the project explores the opportunities for semantic cooperation among Latvian memory institutions in the field of cultural heritage, with the aim of improving the quality of digital services. The project is currently implemented by the teaching staff of the Department of Latvian and Baltic Studies of the UL Faculty of Humanities and the students of the master's study

programme in Baltic Philology. The students contribute by annotating letters using a special annotation tool, thus adding new, explanatory information to the collection and expanding the linked data environment.

One of the keywords characterising the collection and its most important structural element is Linked Data. *Linked Data is simply about using the Web to create typed links between data from different sources. Technically, Linked Data refers to data published on the Web in such a way that it is machine-readable, its meaning is explicitly defined, it is linked to other external data sets, and can in turn be linked to and from external data sets* [Bizer, Heath, Berners-Lee 2009]. Data can be fed into the Web in a variety of ways, such as a document (e. g., in *pdf* format), a spreadsheet or a presentation, etc. However, such forms of data publishing make the entries static and cut off. It is difficult to see links to other documents or presentations, because each such document is like a separate data set. Linked data is the application of web-based principles to data sharing. With the help of linked data, it is possible to 'construct' transitions within one document to other documents, images, websites, diagrams, that is, to unlimited amounts and types of data, which will help reveal more information about the specific document the user is working with. Linked data is a way of publishing structured, computer-readable information about objects, their properties and their interrelationships on the Web.

We will examine the structure of the *RunA* collection and the opportunities it offers. In addition to the works and materials of both authors already mentioned (letters, photographs, documents, videos, etc.), the collection also includes a **map** showing the countries that Rainis and Aspazija visited and lived in, individually or together. The search engine allows users to specify the period of interest, and depending on this, the countries where the authors spent time are selected. The ***Darbi un notikumi*** (Works and Events) section displays the works written by both writers on a timeline and sorts biographical events in the writers' lives. Another section is the ***laika joslas rīks*** (time zone tool) which, depending on the time period selected, displays the people who were in contact with the writers during the specified period, places visited and works created, or the periodicals in which they were published. In turn, each of these objects includes more extensive information about the specific person, place or work. For example, biographical information about the person Dora Stučka (Rainis' sister) can be found: spelling forms for her name in other languages and links where more information about her can be found (VIAF, *Wikipedia*, literatura.lv, etc.). Other types of reference to Dora Stučka in the collection have also been listed. It is the same with expanded information about places and works, links to other websites and references have been specified. In this way, a collection user can easily and quickly obtain additional information about the specific object – both general information and all references to mentions in the collection itself.

Keyword searching in the collection is based on two principles – a specific name can be searched as an object or as an entity. If the sought-for word is selected as an object, all documents with the specified word in the title are displayed. *An entity is something that exists apart from other things, having its own independent existence* [Cambridge Dictionary 2021]. An entity can be anything (object, being, phenomenon or concept) that can be independently named and identified; it can be concrete or abstract, real or imagined. *The entities are the key objects of interest to users in a particular domain. Each entity can be described by its primary characteristics, called attributes. The attributes of the entity serve also as the means by which users formulate queries and interpret responses when seeking information about a particular entity. The relationships explain the connections between and among entities* [Galeffi 2016]. All the texts included in the collection (biographies of Rainis and Aspazija, descriptions of the works of both poets, published letters) are annotated, marking the entities, identifying and classifying them. The entities possess attributes that allow them to be divided into classes. The *RunA* collection uses such entity classes as: Person, Institution, Place, Time, Concept, Job, Event, Buildings and Edifices. If a case of entity-based search, the word is displayed as belonging to a specific entity class – institution, job, person, etc. A separate page is created for each entity, where the forms of various names of the entity are saved in a structured manner, including its names in different languages, as well as links to external information sources, such as the Latvian National Encyclopaedia, *Wikidata*, *Wikipedia*.

The collection's functionality and development is directly related to the document annotation process. All the texts included in the collection (biographies of Rainis and Aspazija, descriptions of the works of both poets, published letters (1894 to 1897)) have been annotated, indicating the entities, identifying and classifying them. The annotations form a data set that allows both *RunA* collection objects and entities, as well as the entities mentioned in the text, to be linked with data located in external Web information sources [Goldberga 2020]. As can be seen, the texts of annotations and letters in many places are coloured and there is a listing of coloured objects at the side. Moving the cursor over these objects offers a more comprehensive insight, links to other resources, references in other texts, reference forms, thus enabling users to see what other objects (people, places, works, etc.) this particular object is linked to in the data network. During the annotation process, specific text objects or entities – date, place, work, person, concept – are explained and identified. This helps create a system that combines several classes of entities (person, place, institution, time, event, work, etc.), which in turn includes entities corresponding to a specific class. This enables arranging the persons mentioned in the letters – who are not always referred to by a name or a family name, rather by particular forms of endearment or family relationship – by linking them to a specific entity, where

all possible mentions of that person are stored. Thus, annotation is an additional text objects research task, which allows gaining both a more comprehensive understanding of the people, places and works mentioned in the text, and a broader view of their links with other objects. Two levels of data storing – annotations and entities – provide researchers with diversified means of data mapping from text marking to entity identification [Rašmane, Goldberga 2020].

As mentioned above, the data network established by the collection is an important representation of the data's mutual links. The data network visually depicts the interlinking between the collection's objects and entities. This is the means by which a collection user can identify the link of an object or entity of interest to other objects or entities.

The collection has two types of networking – a network of objects and a network of entities. The object data network is only for annotated text files, i. e. its destinations are text documents (objects) and the links are the entities they have in common. The entity data network displays entities as node points, while the links between them represent text documents (objects), where trunked entities are mentioned. By clicking on the link, the system immediately finds all the documents where both entities are mentioned.

The article further on demonstrates what information the study of a short period Rainis and Aspazija spent in Panevēžys (the city is located in Lithuania, near the Latvian border) may yield.

The review of the life and works of Rainis and Aspazija can be started by getting acquainted with their biographies in Latvian and English. The collection includes Rainis' biography by Gundega Grīnuma and Aspazija's biography by Ausma Cimdiņa, whose texts are colour-coded for the purposes of annotation, thus indicating various aspects of each poet's life and work.
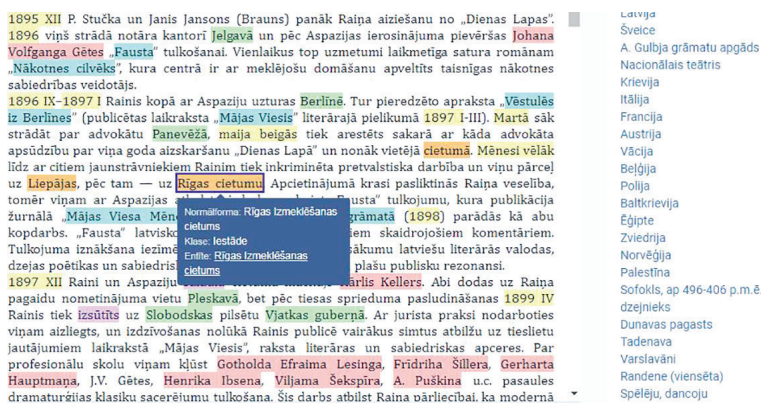

Figure 1. Biography of Rainis. Available: https://runa.lnb.lv/objects/779211/

From the biographies, it is possible to move to the data network, where Rainis' biography, being centred, branches out in all directions. Currently, it is not possible to get directly from the network to an entity, nevertheless, the network clearly and aesthetically displays how multifaceted Rainis' life and work are. Correspondingly, the objects referenced in the data collection are displayed on the right side of the text of Rainis' biography. The list includes a reference to *Panevėžys*. Gundega Grīnuma writes: "In March, (coloured yellow, clicking on the word 'March', we see the standard form – *March 1897*, class – *Date*, the entity *March 1897*), he starts working as a lawyer in Panevėžys (coloured light green, clicking on it displays the standard form *in Panevėžys*, class – *City/Town*, entity – *Panevėžys*), at the end of May, (coloured yellow, 1897) is arrested on charges of defaming a lawyer in *Dienas Lapa* ("Daily News") and finds himself in the local prison (coloured brown, standard form *Panevėžys Prison*, class – *Institution*, entity *Panevėžys Prison*). A month later (coloured green, standard form *June 1897*) Rainis, along with other *jaunstrāvnieki* (New Wave, a pre-independence national movement), is accused of anti-state activities and transferred to Liepāja Prison (coloured brown, standard form *Liepāja Prison*), then to Rīga Prison (coloured brown, *Rīga Remand Prison*)." It can be seen that dates and names are mentioned, as well as indicators as to the class to which the object belongs and the official name of the entity. This saves the volume of the text, specifies the dates, places, and names, for instance, the entities of the Panevėžys time mentioned here are – March 1897, Panevėžys, Panevėžys Prison, June 1897.
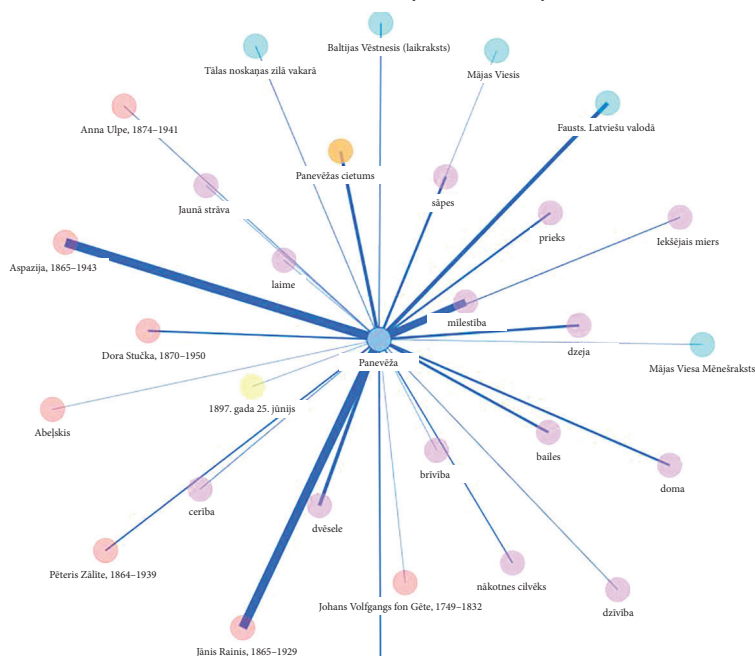

Figure 2. Data network for Panevėžys. Available: https://runa.lnb.lv/entities/1435/network/

Aspazija's biography does not mention the Panevėžys period in the life of both writers, but her letters to Rainis in Panevėžys Prison appear in the data network. A challenge for the future will be to synchronise the biographical data and entities in both texts.

When searching by the word *Panevėžys* in the object section, two types of documents appear, one of which is a photograph – Rainis' residence in Panevėžys. There is a description of the object: "Exterior of the building in Panevėžys, where the poet and playwright Rainis (real name Jānis Pliekšāns) lived in the spring of 1897, working as a lawyer in the Panevėžys County Court. Rainis rented an apartment in the market square, on the second level of the Abeļskis building". The date of the photograph has been specified as being between 1897 and 1930, the original is in the Latvian National Archives and the Latvian State Archive of Audiovisual Documents. The link http://dom.lndb.lv/data/obj/729092 provides metadata – more detailed information about the photograph, for example, that it is not protected by copyright. However, it must be acknowledged that the building in Panevėžys has survived and has a memorial plaque, photographs of which should have been obtained and included in the list of objects.

The second group consists of a set of letters and notes that Rainis and Aspazija exchanged during his time in prison. Rainis planned to work as a lawyer in Panevėžys and Aspazija accompanied him. Aspazija (Johanna Emilija Lizete Rozenberga) divorced her first husband Vilhelms Maksis Valters on 12 February 1897. They married in 1886, but after bringing his wife's family home to ruin, Valters emigrated to the USA in 1892 and as his wife did not accompany him, they never met again. She first used the pseudonym *Aspazija* in 1887 when publishing a poem. She met Rainis (real name Jānis Pliekšāns) in 1894. Rainis and Aspazija were married on 21 December 1897. As a result of his political activities, Rainis was exiled to Slobodsky in central Russia, but Aspazija accompanied him. In Panevėžys, they lived as an unmarried couple, she could only visit Rainis in prison on Sundays and communication between the two was based on official and unofficial correspondence in German (so that prison staff could read the texts).

The largest set of objects in the *Panevėžys* section comprises letters. Handwritten letters, transcripts of German text and translations into Latvian are published here. The researcher thus has an opportunity to check the handwritten text and the accuracy of its transcription. The letters have been translated by Beata Paškēviča, and the author of the comments is Jānis Zālītis. This information is important, because it is critical for researchers to know how much they can rely on translators or authors of comments. In this case, Jānis Zālītis is one of today's foremost authorities on Rainis, and Beata Paškēviča is a well-known translator. The name and surname of

the editor – Sandra Zobena – are also mentioned. This is followed by a description of the letter and an indication of the original's location – the Association of Memorial Museums, where most of Rainis' and Aspazija's letters are held. A link to the object is displayed. The Panevėžys-period letters of Aspazija and Rainis have been fortunately commented on within the framework of one of the Association of Memorial Museums projects and can also be found on their website. The comments indicate problems in deciphering the text, for example, in Aspazija's letter of 13 June (25 June) 1897, the word *zemenītes* (little strawberries) is commented on: In the original letter, the word is illegible (*Erchens*) and could also be translated as *zirnīši* (*Erbsen* – little peas)". Consistent with the Baltic climate, strawberries are more likely to be cooked in June than garden peas. Aspazija took food to Rainis in prison every day.

The comments to the letters take notice of various events, persons, and proposed literary works. For example, in the aforementioned Aspazija's letter, the word 'sister' is commented on: "On 12 (24) June, Aspazija, Rainis' mother and sister Dora were unexpectedly granted permission to meet with the arrested person." The main issues covered in the letters include the translation of Goethe's tragedy *Faust* (Rainis continues this work in prison, Aspazija reads through the manuscripts, texts are exchanged back and forth), Henrik Ibsen's play *Peer Gynt* (Rainis is reading it), the planned novel/publicistic essay *Nākotnes cilvēks* ("Future Man") and Rainis' family. This can also be seen in the comments. Aspazija writes: "I have enclosed some notes for you with my thoughts about Future man", comment: "*Future Man* – Rainis' notes on the proposed (initially – in collaboration with Aspazija) novel (long poem, psychological essay, extended diary, etc.) on new age ideas, morality, art media, in terms of the concept of a new type of personality 'a contemporary Faust'. (For more detail, see Rainis' notes, RKR, 24; Viese S. *Jaunais Rainis* ("The Young Rainis"), 1982, pp. 97–230; Samsons V. *Dzejas Olimpā un... uz barikādēm*, ("Poetry on Olympus and... on the barricades"), 1985, pp. 100–140)."

Another example from Rainis is around June 5, 1797. Rainis reads H. Ibsen's play (*I am also half through with "Peer Gynt"*), comment: "Rainis talks about H. Ibsen's play "Peer Gynt" and its evaluation in the book by the German literary scholar and writer L. Andreas-Salome "*Henrik Ibsen's Frauen-Gestalten noch seinen sechs Familien-Dramen*" (Berlin,1892); a book with the poet's notes and underlines is kept in his personal library; 77419. He also mentioned *"Peer Gynt" in the notes of the diary of that time (RKR, 24, p. 188). Later, after 1905, working on the materials of the historical epic, Rainis especially noted H. Ibsen's symbolic depiction of "Peer Gynt" as corresponding to the depiction of the people's terrible suffering.* " (https://runa.lnb.lv/objects/62683/)

To the right of each letter, there are objects that contain references, such as, in this letter (from Rainis to Aspazija during his time in Panevėžys prison around 5 (17) June 1897):

Aspazija, 1865–1943; Jānis Rainis, 1865–1929; Faust. In Latvian; Panevėžys; love; June 5, 1897 (v.s.); Peer Gynt; Henrik Ibsen, 1828–1906; inner peace; joy.

Figure 3. Letter from Rainis to Aspazija during his time
in Panevėžys prison around 5 (17) June 1897.
Available: https://runa.lnb.lv/objects/62683/

Clicking on the name *Aspazija*, one can see her photograph, find out the spelling of her real name, surname and pseudonym in Latvian, as well as in Russian, English, German; there is a short reference to *Vikipēdija* (Latvian Wikipedia) as to who she is (why not to Ausma Cimdiņa's biography, which can be found in the data set?), one finds 205 references to her name in the data set, as well as a link to the portal *literatura.lv* with the description of Aspazija's biography and works, as well as other links: ISNI, VIAF, ALEPH AUT, LV Wikipedia, EN Wikipedia, Wikidata, Wikimedia Commons, *Zudusī Latvija*, *Nekropole*, RU Wikipedia, DE Wikipedia.

Another word is *prieks* (joy); it can be found in Rainis' and Aspazija's letters alongside its Latvian synonym *līksme*, and its translations into other languages – Eng., – *joy*, Ger. – *Freude*, Rus. Радость, Eng. *happiness*. The available photograph is not related to Rainis and Aspazija, search links and mentions of *prieks* displayed in the data set of the Panevėžys period, feature *prieks* nine times, but twice in Grīnuma's biography, in Latvian and English. The references to the concept's source are followed by a timeline which displays the number of mentions. Here the project's potential for researchers can be seen, it will be possible to locate specific concepts, people or literary works, etc. within the entire data set, to understand in which time periods particular issues were of interest to Rainis and Aspazija. The researcher will no longer have to read the 30 volumes of Rainis' Collected Works to discover when he mentioned *Ibsen* or *love*; thus, research opportunities will be enhanced.

On the other hand, searching for data by the entity *Panevėžys*, reveals that the prison is an institution and, that using the term *Panevėžys Prison* correctly in Latvian, Lithuanian and English, the site of the prison can be viewed on *Google Maps*. The data network shows that in Rainis' life, Panevėžys Prison is related to Panevėžys, Liepāja Prison (Rainis was transferred there), two works – the *Mājas Viesa Mēnešraksts* ("House Guest Monthly") magazine (Rainis participated in a discussion on Goethe's tragedy *Faust*) and the Latvian translation of *Faust*, six concepts (love, joy, Future Man, soul, poetry, pain) and six persons (it is not clear though, why all the persons mentioned in the letters are not displayed, for example, Goethe is in the network, but Ibsen is not). All the letters, where Panevėžys Prison or one of its forms is mentioned, are indicated (for example, *cietumiņš* (diminutive form of prison), *there, here, I came through the gate*, etc.).

In the further development of the dataset, up-to-date information and references to more recent research on Rainis' and Aspazija's life and works should be added to the data sources; e. g., in the annotation *Goethe. Faust: a tragedy (1898)* ("Gēte. Fausts: traģēdija" (1898)) by Astrīda Cīrule it is emphasized: *His [Rainis'] translation of Faust is still alive today. Indicative of that is the international conference devoted to the centenary of the translation*. The conference took place in 1997, but while in 1999, the conference proceedings "Rainis and Goethe: centenary of translation" (*Rainis un Gēte: tulkojuma simtgade*) were published, they are not referred to in the dataset.

Panevėžys is also connected with another entity – *Panevėžys, Brīvības laukums 1*, which is the present-day address of Rainis' and Aspazija's residence. The *laukums* (square) can be seen on *Google Maps*, its name in Lithuanian, at present and in the Soviet period (why is its 19th century name not mentioned?) – *Laisvės aikštė 1; Elektros gatvė 1*. We discover that the address is only mentioned in Jānis Zālītis' comment to Rainis' letter of 31 May (12 June) 1897, it is the first letter Rainis wrote to Aspazija, because it is the day he was arrested, and there are extensive comments here, including on Rainis' place of residence: "As early as on 5 (17) February, having paid the state fee of 40 roubles, he received a certificate on the right to "conduct private lawsuits in the district of the Panevėžys County Court". On the same day, a five-room apartment was rented at the market square, on the second level of the Abeļskis building, and on 20 March (1 April) 1897, Rainis and Aspazija travelled to Panevėžys." Another entity is the Panevėžys Magistrate's Court precinct, which is also mentioned in the comments to Rainis' first letter. Neither address has a data network, even though both Aspazija and Rainis stayed in the apartment, as well as did Rainis' mother and sister when they visited.

The Panevėžys period can be searched for with the help of two other tools: *Darbi un notikumi* (Works and Events) and *Laika josla* (Time Zone). The *Events* mention that Rainis was a lawyer in Panevėžys in 1897 and was arrested for belonging to the

jaunstrāvnieki (New Wave, a socio-political movement with a social democratic leaning), whereas the fact that Aspazija was in Panevėžys is not mentioned; but in the Time Zone tool, Aspazija's places of residence are detailed, whereas Rainis was not present at that time in Lithuania or Panevėžys, but translated Goethe's *Faust*. Evidently both tools are still under construction.

The developers of the *RunA* collection have to focus more on the collection user. The project is aimed at a broad spectrum of readers – web users who enjoy browsing the Internet. Though the reliability of sources does not concern many groups of the NLL readers, the dataset can also be used by pupils and students to get to know Rainis and Aspazija as persons and as writers, and thus, besides the wikilinks, the references to other, scholarly sources should be provided in the collection, since schools and universities do not consider *Wikipedia* to be a representative and scientific source. The dataset has a great potential as a supporter of researchers and facilitator of new research given that researchers are mostly the ones interested in the works, documents and images of Rainis and Aspazija as well as the use of semantic relations of entities and networks in research.

Photographs, visualisations of links and networks are a significant part of the dataset. The use and analysis of images poses different questions: *How does the visual genre used affect the research? In other words, how does the medium shape the inquiry and the message? What kinds of stories can images tell? When does image-ing become theorizing? What relationships are possible between visual images and words?* [Weber 2007: 51]. Data visualisations are well-developed but images of entity objects are left isolated; they lack a clear narrative as to why an image has been added or what message a text or an image is meant to convey.

Thinking about the development of this collection and other similar digital datasets in the future, cooperation between experts (in terms of content and technical development) is important in order to make such kind of linked data collections more purposeful and practical for a variety of users – the general public and academic researchers.

As can be seen, the *RunA* offers an extensive collection of data regarding Rainis' and Aspazija's life, works, immediate contemporaries, and provides references to the concepts mentioned in the correspondence and works of both writers. While the amount of information is extensive and useful for students, researchers, and other interested parties, it is important to determine the role of linked data in the field of research, such as the analysis of a writer's creative heritage or a specific literary work. Undeniably, the linked data helps to spotlight the key points relevant for the analysis faster – persons, places, organizations, etc., but it is only the first step in the research. As political scientist Henrik Skaug Sætra points out in his study of the relationship between science and data, science is an art form – it is not only

technical, but also creative, and it requires creativity and ingenuity that only man can provide. Though the scholar does not reject the role of data in research, he claims that the interpretation of information and causal relationships cannot be explained by data [Sætra 2018: 520]. A research professor of cognitive science Margaret Boden, analysing the concept of creativity, suggests that *there are three types of creativity, in that it either consist of – combining known concepts in unknown ways, exploring the adjustment of the constellation of existing structures or transforming the space in which known structures exist* [Boden 1998: 348]. It follows that creativity is based on knowledge and structures, without which transformation or experimentation would not be possible. The data set is important for the development of new and creative interpretations and new directions of research, which are an integral part of the research process.

The *Rainis un Aspazija* data collection is still at an early stage since the vision for it is diverse and multifaceted. Digital humanist Anda Baklāne emphasizes: *If a traditional text is rigid, linear and limited, it has a defined point of beginning and ending, then on the Web we are dealing with a network where we are free to choose the direction to head to further* [Baklāne 2020: 185–186]. The reader can choose whether to explore the biography of Rainis and Aspazija or to pursue a deeper study of works of both authors but either path can lead to learning about some other person, geographic location, concept or author. Thus, the reader himself becomes the story's creator. The aforementioned examples reveal what and how a modern reader can learn by reading a literary text and using the opportunities offered by linked open data, which allows to determine the connection between objects, persons, events, etc. with the help of various tools, and thus build a pathway from a literary work, letters, diaries, etc. to other related objects, events, places, etc. Hence, the modern reader forms his own reading paradigm and directions.

The work invested in creating the *RunA* collection is a major contribution to the Latvian literary research. Such new approach to research of writers and their works helps to bridge the traditional and modern and amplifies the opportunities for text analysis, reader's participation as well as expands the scope of potential directions searches.

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MULTIVOCALITY IN NEW REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SOVIET PERIOD: THE CASES OF LATVIAN AND ESTONIAN MUSEUMS

PhD **Jana Reidla**
University of Tartu, Estonia

PhD **Anu Kannike**
Estonian National Museum, Estonia

Abstract

The article examines new representations of the Soviet period in central museums of Estonia and Latvia, focusing on the challenges and opportunities of applying the principle of multivocality on the conceptual and organizational levels. Multivocality is achieved by making use of the biographical method and including the experiences of diverse national and social groups as well as applying interactive exhibition methods. Both cases demonstrated that in order to balance the curators' voices, efficient teamwork, clear viewpoints of the leading curators, and broad-based collaboration are needed.

Keywords: *museums, multivocality, Soviet period, Latvia, Estonia.*

Introduction

This article is concerned with recent exhibitions at the National History Museum of Latvia and the Estonian History Museum. The possibility for such research is unique as the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of two neighbouring countries created suitable conditions for comparing representative exhibitions dedicated to the same period in history, staged close in time. The permanent exhibition *My Free Country*, which opened at the Estonian History Museum (EHM) in Tallinn in February 2018, is dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Estonia. The National History Museum of Latvia (NHML) opened the exhibition *Latvia's Century*, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Latvia, in May 2018.

These exhibitions serve as cases to compare two major comprehensive endeavours to mediate the Soviet period.[1] Since the exhibitions *Latvia's Century* and *My Free State* were staged by the central history museums of both countries, they presumably reflect the current situation of recent history representation in Latvia and Estonia. These exhibitions were created in the spirit of contemporary museology, including interactivity and engagement, presenting the perspective of different groups in society. Therefore, an essential analytical concept from which we proceed is multivocality. We use it for examining the different views resulting from the exhibition team's versatility as well as the attempt of the contemporary museum to give voice to the representatives of different groups, which could be considered as a shared authority. By comparing the two exhibitions we aim at revealing the overall picture created by presenting the same period of history.

The Soviet period is a topical and contested issue in research in post-socialist societies, yet in museum exhibitions studied incomprehensively and mainly from the aspect of political history and consumption [see Badica 2010; Sarkisova and Apor 2008]. Our main research question is, what are the opportunities and challenges of representing different communities through multivocality? Is it a useful tool for analysing and communicating the complicated heritage of the Soviet time?

In this article we understand multivocality as providing a platform for "voices" of diverse groups of people in the exhibition, which is designed to challenge dominant interpretive narratives, favouring the coexistence of potentially conflicting approaches. Respecting and enhancing the inherent value of multiple perspectives and experiences simultaneously complicates one point of view [Barnabas 2016: 691; Pegno and Brindza 2021: 346]. Such an approach in exhibitions (and collections) policies shows a desire to alleviate the authoritative voice of the museum – for indigenous peoples, for different segments of society and for visitors in general [Maranda 2015; Barnabas 2016; Harris 2018]. Museums are increasingly recognizing the need to serve all the diverse audiences in their community, thereby looking for approaches that can be used to introduce minority or previously ignored segments of society in a non-offensive way.

Nevertheless, there is ongoing debate in the 21st century museum landscape on museums trying to maintain their "authoritative voice" versus adapting the idea that "there are multiple voices that need to be heard" [Maranda 2015: 59, see also Longair 2015, Wood 2019]. If a couple of decades ago the situation in which only the "curator's voice" was heard in exhibitions was criticized [Hooper-Greenhill

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[1] Although the National History Museum of Latvia presents the Soviet period at their permanent exhibition too, we based our comparison on the newer special exhibition *Latvia's Century*. The Latvian permanent exhibition has a much wider time frame, and it has been set up years earlier than the comparable Estonian permanent exhibition.

2000], today practice has also shown that, if the curator withdraws, the designer's and project leader's voice can likewise become one-sided [Viau-Courville 2017; Reidla 2020]. Museologist Graham Black [2012: 275] raises the issue of shared authority which must be "underpinned by the understanding that with such authority comes trust – the trust of museum users in the content provided." Thus, Black suggests addressing the issue of maintaining control over content delivery at the beginning of any potential partnership. He emphasizes that reflecting multiple perspectives does not necessarily lead to harmony due to competing versions of history, and previously excluded communities do not always want to be involved but prefer to create a separate museum [ibid.].

The approach of multivocality is complicated by the aspect that while museums have to abandon their colonial and other stereotypical views, they also have to challenge notions that only previously marginalized groups can provide authentic information about themselves [Zimmermann 2010: 33]. Thus, there is the risk that the current stereotypes will be replaced by new ones, even though they are created by previously excluded groups [Black 2012: 275; Zimmermann 2010: 33]. An important question in the context of this article is, how multivocality practiced in the museum space can accomplish some unity in such diversity? In the context of contemporary Estonia and Latvia we also ask, whether and how do museums succeed in communicating a more analytical and nuanced approach to this period than popular culture and the media, at the same time addressing different social groups?

For our study we applied qualitative methods including content analysis of the exhibitions and the printed and web texts related to them. We conducted fieldwork in both museums in the years 2017–2020 by repeatedly visiting the exhibitions, by recording and mapping the exhibited materials. We talked and conducted altogether five interviews with the curators.[1] In addition to this, we used interviews with curators published in the press, popular and research articles published by curators, and materials from the exhibitions' catalogues and websites of museums. We chose the two cases from Estonia and Latvia since they offered a unique opportunity for comparison due to the similar cultural-political background and parallel tendencies in the development of museological methods and practices. Instead of classical studies of museum collections, we focused on critical analysis of exhibits and museum cultures as this type of research is best suited to questions about the role of museums in society, their relationship with various constituencies and how museums create knowledge [Tucker 2014: 342].

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[1] They all remain anonymous in the article as requested; the notes and recordings of interviews are in possession of the authors.

Tuning: Starting points for exhibition projects

The exhibition dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Estonia at the Estonian History Museum was staged after a thorough renovation of the historical castle, to replace the former one dedicated to the 90th anniversary of Estonia. The project was led by a project leader together with two chief curators from the museum administration. The team involved both researchers from the museum and scholars from other museums and universities.[1] By the time the working group assembled, the chief curators had already drawn up the main structure of the concept as well as topic divisions. First the team worked together; in the final stage the topic curators met separately with artists, film makers, and chief curators. The leading group seized initiative also at meetings with designers. On the other hand, designers played an essential role in creating the architecture of the exhibition, making decisions about the walking space and the space for displaying exhibits, the colour solutions and structural division of the rooms, as well as sculptural accents. So, the volumes of text and exhibits largely proceeded from the design. A significant role in editing the text was played by the research director and a copywriter hired from outside the museum, whose style aroused resentment among the curators. The interviewed curators[2] found that the copywriter had oversimplified their text and thereby distorted their ideas. However, the text that was finally displayed in the exhibition hall was a compromise.

The purpose of the permanent exhibition at the EHM was to mediate history through "the stories of our people" – the people in Estonia.[3] In the concept the museum promised to "jointly discuss whether a hundred years is little or much for a country, how the contemporaries reacted to ground-breaking events and what they thought about the then life and leading figures"; it says that "the exhibition is interactive and playful, yet it also displays unique artefacts" [Paatsi 2018].

The concept of the EHM focused on Estonians and Estonia as a territorial and state unit. According to the chief curator, the new exhibition was supposed to differ from the former ones by the "attempt to introduce the individual's level" and "how one or another person acted or what they thought while facing a choice in reality". The concept also deemed essential – based on an earlier visitor study – to display so-called symbolic items of the era and artefacts with a special or longer biography. The expression of the concept was largely based on the collections. A clear conceptual standpoint was expressed in the chief curator's words: "...big victories and harsh sufferings will always be part of a small nation's history narrative" [Maarits 2018].

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[1] *My Free Country*, EHM's permanent exhibition website. https://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/exhibitions/permanent-exhibitions/minu-vaba-riik (viewed 23.01.2021).

[2] Two curators interviewed by authors, digital recording, 30 and 31 October 2017, Tallinn.

[3] *A Hundred Years of the Republic of Estonia* website. https://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/exhibitions/permanent-exhibitions/minu-vaba-riik (viewed 23.01.2021).

The exhibition *Latvia's Century* was a joint project of 68 Latvian museums, coordinated by the National History Museum of Latvia. The general leader of the project was the research director of the NHML. The ten-member leading group involved, in addition to the researchers and the educator of the NHML, experts responsible for different topic areas from the seven Latvian museums.[1] The initial concept was formulated, on the basis of joint discussions, by a head of department of the NHML, who also curated five topics out of ten and who was supposed to observe the continuity of the concept and final editing of texts.[2] After the concept had been introduced to a wider circle (all Latvian museums and certain people from outside the museums), some changes were made in it.

In formulating the concept, no existing exhibits were taken into consideration, but rather what aspects to emphasize and what to bring to the fore.[3] Later on additional artefacts were collected and more interviews were conducted for biographies. The joint work of museums involved an advantage for the curators – extensive material diminishes the danger of the shortage of exhibits for a topic – but also a disadvantage, as these choices had to be more thoroughly substantiated. The biographies displayed were chosen from different regions of Latvia, various nationalities are represented, and exhibits originate from different museums.

The exhibition concentrates on the identity-based history concept: "Our understanding of history is linked to our identity, both collective and individual, and this creates an inseparable connection to the present...". The museum presents alternative visions of Latvian identity and future from the nineteenth century up to today. According to the curators' concept, the diversity of individual experience demonstrates the complexity and difference of history periods, as well as the continuity of experience of Latvianness, certain values and ideas [Latvia's Century 2018: 20]. This approach was chosen as, according to then research director,[4] the mission of the NHML is, by speaking about history, to help the citizens understand their country and state: "Why am I as I am and where do I belong in this state?" She also stressed that the national museum cannot experiment or follow trends but has to proceed from scientific research.

When we compare how working groups operated, at the NHML the main right to decide was conferred on museum professionals. Experienced museum researchers jointly discussed all the essential issues, but one of them participated in all the meetings dedicated to sub-topics (for example, with designers), in order to keep focus on the initial concept, and also edited texts for the exhibition. Collaboration

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[1] *Latvia's Century* website. http://latvijasgadsimts.lv/?lng=en (viewed 23.01.2021).
[2] Curator interviewed by authors, digital recording, 5 December 2018, Riga.
[3] Curator interviewed by authors, 5 December 2018.
[4] Curator interviewed by authors, digital recording, 7 November 2017, Riga.

of museums in offering exhibits and sharing the concept to get opinions can be regarded as an example of an inclusive museum, which resulted in multivocality. The EHM applied a stronger top-down leadership, which freed the curators from direct communication with the designers, yet also decreased their overview of the ways that material was presented.

Multivocal Soviet period and curator's position

Below we analyze which topics the museums have highlighted from the Soviet period and what means they have used to do it. How have the curators expressed their concepts through artefacts, digital means, accompanying texts? To what extent has multivocality been expressed and how does it work?

So far, the presentation of the Soviet period at Estonian and Latvian museums has been limited to illustrative rather than analytical overviews. In the 1990s, the Soviet period was of little interest in the museum landscape of the Baltic countries, and the few exhibitions preferred topics from the traumatic past, for example, Stalinist repressions. The beginning of the twenty-first century saw the first exhibitions that focused on the aspects related to everyday life of the Soviet period – design, food, and youth culture [see in detail Jõesalu, Nugin 2012]. In comparison with other post-Soviet countries, Estonia and Latvia manifest little Soviet-period nostalgia. On the other hand, the remembrance and representation of the topic have generated active public discussion since the beginning of the 1990s [Jõesalu, Kõresaar 2013; Kõresaar, Jõesalu 2016; Kõresaar 2016]. Popular culture and the media disseminate a simplified approach to the Soviet period, which mainly brings everyday mythology and symbols to the fore. Therefore, especially the younger generation lacks a deeper understanding of the operating mechanisms of the Soviet society and the real challenges that people had to face. Against this background, the new museums had a major role and responsibility in displaying the Soviet time.

Modern memory studies emphasize the dynamics of memory in time and its role "as a platform for negotiating different versions of the past" [Misztal 2003]. In the studies of the period of socialism, the perspective of the individual and biography take up an important position both in history and in social sciences. These approaches are in line with the principles of multivocality and dialogism emphasized by the museums.

National History Museum of Latvia

At the Latvian permanent exhibition, the Soviet period has been chronologically divided into four parts, whereas each period in turn has a thematic focus: I resistance and migration; II ideological pressure and kolkhozes; III home and nature; IV memory recovery and national symbols. Each part mediates a certain aspect

of collective experience: managing poverty and political pressure, life in the countryside, expression of the feeling of homeland (Latvia), and awakening of the civil society. The curators have managed to open up the dynamics and diversity of the Soviet period as well as the necessity to constantly adapt oneself to the circumstances.

Similar to the growing interest in material culture in anthropology [Greene 2015], artefacts have once again occupied the place of honour in museum exhibitions. Mario Schulze has shown, on the example of German museums, how during the past fifty years the role of artefacts has changed from "authentic portrayals of yesterdays" to "mediators and agents of the topic displayed [2014: 51]. The social life of the artefacts displayed in the Latvian exhibition has been as dramatic as was people's life during that period. Artefacts operate as bridges connecting periods of time, by means of which the curator directs the visitor to think back and forth in time. The curator's text is important; for example, an elegant chest of drawers from the 1920s–30s, holding a porcelain coffee set, glass carafes, vases, photographs, and clocks, is not just a stylish embellishment as the curator's text tells us how after the Second World War, "going through old keepsakes from peacetime, one could sense the living standard of the past". By means of recycled items, for example, a handbag made from document folders and covered with a towel, or rubber galoshes made from tyres in forced exile in the 1940s, the curator shows people fighting hardships as active agents, not as victims of the system. In addition to objects as carriers of memory, the exhibition also highlights landscapes, physical (home) and spiritual spaces (literature, music) as anchors of the continuity of Latvian identity. In comparison with the EHM, the Latvian exhibition uses more visual arts and design, as well as excerpts from literature and music to illustrate emotions and the spirit of the era – this successful synthesis is probably a result of the museums' collaboration.

Biographies occupy a crucial role in the Latvian exhibition. Here, curators' choices are intertwined with the subject's own voice: letters, diaries, reminiscences of the family and friends are displayed, and, if possible, also flashbacks in the form of text or film clips. The clear structure of presenting biographies throughout the exhibition makes it easier to embrace multivocal information. Biographies mediate the intertwinement of eras, parallel and similar developments. They open up the subjective and emotional side of history.

The approach to totalitarian ideologies of the years 1940–45 proceeds from the viewpoint of Latvia and Latvians; therefore, Soviet and Nazi propaganda are displayed side by side, as well as materials from prison and concentration camps. In the display of the Stalinist period the topic of kolkhozes has been presented reasonably in detail, as it was in the countryside that the upheaval in everyday life and changes in the landscape were the most radical and the consequences are most palpable today. The voice of the curator speaks about country people's obligations

and the pressure, and the essence of the era is well expressed in the selected symbols – the writing desk of the head of the collective farm, and behind his back a window with bars in the shape of sunrays.

The dilemmas of the era are opened from the aspect of the average person also in the treatments of the periods of thaw and 'mature' socialism of the years 1953–85. Curators focus on the relationship between the public and the private, which also occupies an important position in academic approaches to the socialist era [Bren, Neuburger 2012; Siegelbaum 2006]. From the point of view of private life, the concept of 'normalizing' Soviet power is disputed. Although in private life people did not suffer from so severe repression and hardships anymore, "personal Latvia included independence lost after occupation, families on the other side of the Iron Curtain, concealed cultural heritage, memories of repressions, and fears of Russification" [Latvia's Century 2018: 170]. Along with this, groups supporting public rituals and social control are introduced, such as pioneers, veterans, and work heroes.

The deeper meaning of everyday life and the domestic world of things are illustrated by an expressive sub-heading *Latvia as a Personal Space*. The privacy of family life and participation in cultural life helped to preserve Latvianness and distinguish it from the Soviet reality. In the private sphere an alternative experience of history and culture existed. The content of the unit furniture in the living-room is fascinating for the visitor, yet it is not a mere curiosity. The curator's text reveals the essence of the system – shortage economy made people to stockpile fabrics, cleansers, and alcohol. The cupboards also held goods brought from abroad or sent by relatives, as well as those obtained from the black market. This way the cupboard symbolizes well the half-closed world, which was still permeated by alternative materiality and spirituality. The displaying of the domestic interior, literature, and art distinguishes the Latvian exhibition from that in Estonia, where interiors are not so impressively represented.

Both in Estonia and Latvia, important sources of national identity during the Soviet occupation were emotional contacts with nature and folk traditions. Latvian curators have extended the metaphor of home also to environment – Latvia was perceived as the homeland, not as a Soviet republic. Despite the binary structure of the exhibition, the design solutions, exhibits, and relationships between them rather talk about the intertwinement of the public and private spheres in the Soviet everyday life, as has also been highlighted by cultural-theoretical research [Crowley, Reid 2002; Kurg 2014; Yurchak 2005]. In the mediation of this period, the topic of cultural continuity has also been considered as essential, by showing how poetic language could express more than other texts. Freedom could be retained through culture creation, yet the EHM exhibition overlooks it.

The Latvian exhibition has brought the last years of the Soviet period (1986–1991) into focus as a social movement towards independence. The curators have taken the position that political freedom was not a lucky chance but a result of the nation's mission-oriented fight and the continuity of memory, which involved opposition and dramatic choices.

So, the Latvian exhibition focuses on the evolution of the national idea through multinational actors. Social, ethnic, and geographic diversities are expressed in biographies. The items related to families highlight dramatism in history and the personal dimension of events. The museum has managed well to accomplish some unity in the multivocality method as the curatorial text provides comprehensive information. So, the curatorial voice is analytical rather than neutrally charged, asking questions and making one contemplate. The texts are visitor-friendly and short, informative, and in one style throughout the exhibition, describing collective experience as a chronological line at the bottom of the exhibition panels. The foreground is occupied by people as active shapers of history, interpreters of processes, who deal with problems and choices in different ways.

Estonian History Museum

The EHM presents the Soviet period in two subdivisions out of nine, whereas the different stages of the period are not distinguished. Thematically, it is divided into two parts: World *War II and the end of independence* and *Life in the Soviet Union*. In terms of proportions, it means that nearly half of the hundred years is displayed on a quarter of the exhibition space. In this compressed volume, such topics as the paraphernalia of communist ideology, collectivization of agriculture, atmosphere of terror in the totalitarian regime, and the dissonance of ideology and reality are highlighted. As a result of compactness, the real differences between the decades of the Soviet period are not as clearly outlined as at the NHML. Pictures of Lenin inherent in this era are numerously displayed both in Estonian and Latvian history museums: the EHM has displayed large vases which belonged to the nomenclature of presents, while the NHML displays wooden intarsia wall plates. While in the Latvian exhibition these serve, along with the substantial narrative, as a detail of political aesthetics of the era, at the EHM they occupy the central place and constitute, together with the trumpet-playing pioneer and pervading red showcases a symbolic dominant.

Gas masks remind us of the atmosphere of terror during the occupation, yet there is an interactive panel that mediates the diversity of social terror tactics even more deeply. The topic of the national armed resistance in Estonian and Latvian history in the 1940s–50s is presented rather similarly to the NHML, and it remains illustrative. On the other hand, within the educational programme, one can pack a

forest brother's[1] rucksack and, with the help of the educator, realize the dramatic meaning of such a choice.

As everyday aspects, some of the most popular commodities produced in Estonia are displayed, some of which, as, for example, toys, arouse nostalgic joy of recognition in today's adults, and some, on the other hand (non-attractive underwear), melancholic-comic memories. The visitor is presented, from an interesting aspect, the context of the era in a montage of the propaganda shots from the Soviet Union of the 1960s–70s, side by side with photographs showing real life, accompanied by the curator's text. This reveals the hypocrisy of the Soviet system: valuation of historical heritage versus letting it dilapidate; the illusion of free travelling versus the border zone; thriving economy versus queues at shops; recognition of national idiosyncrasies versus Russification and migration; importance of natural resources versus pollution of the environment.

The theme of home is relatively overshadowed at the EHM, although the exhibition starts with dollhouse-format models of flats from different eras, among which is one from a block of flats built by standard design. This part of the exhibition demonstrates the peculiarity of the Soviet-period home in comparison with earlier and later ones. The curator's text describes the Soviet-period shortage of dwelling units, lack of space, and the resulting rather standard furnishings. The analogue of the Latvian unit furniture at the EHM is the home larder – a similar place for stockpiling all kinds of supplies, which in the situation of chronic shortage presented a cross-section of different eras and therefore a repository of family history. The displayed commodities help to open up the Soviet Union as a closed information and economic space, where the supplies preserved in cupboards and larders offered people a certain sense of security. In view of the modern museum's aspiration to make its visitors think and contemplate, the Latvian exhibition presents a detailed list of the displayed items with their names, manufacturers, and years of production. At the EHM, on the other hand, the visitor is allowed to touch the items on the larder shelves; they are offered sensory, not data-based information. Thus, the two exhibitions complement each other in an interesting manner.

This exhibition seems to focus more on the interactive involvement of the visitor. Interactivity in a modern museum does not have to be expressed only through technological solutions; it is as important to offer new experiential knowledge or discovery options by means of hands-on approach and sensory design elements [Dudley 2012]. The EHM has consciously invested in offering hands-on activities, yet this shows, above all, in the group work led by an educator. The visitor is offered a possibility to put themselves in the shoes of the former generations, to weigh the available options set as concrete examples from history by the curator. The design of

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[1] Partisans who hid in the forest and waged a guerrilla war against the Soviet rule.

the EHM exhibition is pervaded by questions and examples of choices – moments in history when people were compelled to make decisions about places of residence, turn in the career, or political mentality. Probably the voices of choices are better heard in group visits, when people can discuss things between themselves. The potential for involvement exists, yet it may not be realized for each visitor.

The subtopics feature different examples of the individual experiences of historical events through object narratives or biographical elements. In comparison with the *Latvia's Century* exhibition, this one has the longer and 'newspaper-style' illustrated wall texts. The design concept is strong, and the content has been adapted to form, not vice versa. The curators of the EHM have preferred the format of classical narrative, diversifying it with film language, stories accompanying artefacts, and sensory experience. Although the concept of the EHM does not emphasize multivocality, it is represented by individual memories used to illustrate history. Yet, the dimension of national, social, age, gender, etc. diversity remains marginal. This is partly inevitable due to the lack of space and may be developed further by means of educational programmes, catalogues, etc.

Conclusion

The fact that both Estonian and Latvian museums have simultaneously staged exhibitions that deal with recent history, thereby complementing each other, is a unique possibility for visitors as well as from the aspect of museological analysis. The treatment of the Soviet period at these museums leans on extensive collection work and research as well as contemporary academic discourses. The curators have faced a great challenge to address different social groups, to meet the expectations held by their own people, to offer comprehensive information to foreign guests and programmes for schools.

While usually the idea of multivocality is used by museums in the context of postcolonialism, the Estonian and Latvian museums demonstrate that it can also be used to interpret the experience of the Soviet occupation. Both new exhibitions make use of the biographical method that also contributes to multivocality and thus to a broader, yet also to a more nuanced and individualized representations of the Soviet time. Exhibiting individual history experience demonstrates the democratization of museums – they have brought to the fore not the biographies of historical figures but, above all, the changes that occurred in ordinary people's everyday life. In the case of the NHML, the principle of democracy was also expressed in the involvement of the extensive network of local museums, due to which the cultural and memory heritage of all Latvian regions was represented. Multivocality is also represented through the experience of national minorities and diaspora communities at the exhibition of the NHML whereas the EHM focuses mainly on Estonians and Estonia as a territorial and national unit.

The key elements of contemporary exhibiting trends used like interactivity and sensory experience contribute to the presentation of multivocality and appear in both cases studied. The case of the EHM revealed that interactivity does not have to be expressed solely through technological solutions. At the same time, this exhibition seems to need more "live" guidance compared to the Latvian one.

Our analysis demonstrated that in the two museums the harmonization of the voices of the exhibition teams has been carried out on different levels. In the case of the EHM, the design solutions had a greater role in shaping the messages of the curators. Consequently, the general impression/visual effects highlighted the contrasts between the historical periods and added dramatic tension to the important turning points, but the overall impression remained more fragmentary. At the Latvian exhibition, the voice of the leading curators was dominant resulting in a coherent and comprehensive picture of the Soviet period, emphasizing continuity of the idea of national and cultural independence.

Both cases demonstrated that in order to balance the curators' voices, efficient teamwork, clear viewpoints of the leading curators, and the cross-museums collaboration are needed. The inclusion of a wide circle of curators and different institutions is justified, if the museum wants to offer the visitor rewarding multivocality. Despite the challenges on both organizational and content level, the two exhibitions provide an innovative and complementary picture of the recent past in the Baltic countries.

Acknowledgments

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DEVELOPMENT ASPECTS OF MANORS AS A PART OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN LATVIA

Bc.iur., Mg.sc.soc. **Andris Kairišs**
Riga Technical University, Latvia

LL.M **Irina Oļevska**
ArtLaw.club, Latvia

Abstract

Both movable and immovable cultural monuments provide opportunities to meet interests of many stakeholders – their owners and managers, local community, researchers, tourists, businesses, mass media, heritage institutions, etc., as well as society as a whole. Along with aesthetic, symbolic, educational, research, etc., interests, no less important are the economic ones induced by these monuments' development potential.

It is nevertheless widely acknowledged that investment in cultural heritage sites (including conservation, restoration, maintenance, marketing, etc.) may outweigh their direct economic benefits due to inevitable payments and obligations. Thus, the question arises: what are those factors that restrict and those that facilitate socio-economic development of the immovable cultural monument?

Immovable monuments are divided into several typological groups, and the most numerous in Latvia are architectural monuments. Assuming that the effectiveness of development may depend on the type of the monument within one group, this article focuses primarily on manors as relatively numerous architectural monuments characteristic for Latvian regions (parishes) and valuable cultural-historical objects, representing large tourism potential.

The article, analyzing the situation in Latvia and making international comparisons, uses integrated socio-economic and legal approach to the researched issue. It provides both theoretical and practical insight into the actualities of manors' development potential and possible solutions thereto.

Keywords: *cultural heritage, immovable cultural monuments, manors, real estate, socio-economic development.*

Introduction

Immovable cultural objects[1] satisfy a variety of interests of different stake-holders. While e. g., local communities stand up for preserving indigenous sites and traditions, municipalities focus on improvement of quality of life and creating positive image of the area, tourists enjoy the aesthetics of the objects and get to know cultural-historical information [Brodie 2010: 261]. In a larger context these objects are used to affirm national identity, promote solidarity and social inclusion [Greffe 2004: 301; Krishnamurthy et al. 2020: 4]. Thus, conviction of the need to preserve and restore cultural objects reaches far beyond the issue of concern uniquely of the immediate owners.

Along with symbolic, educational, historical and other non-material interests, economic interests massively underlie full-scale use of the benefits ensured by cultural objects [Heritage Europe 2019]. While absence of regular proper maintenance reduces healthy state of a site, its aesthetic appeal, as well as inevitably negatively affects its economic profitability [Interviews 4, 7], the object itself nevertheless remains a subject of taxation, special treatment of heritage authorities and attention of the society.

While vast variety of stakeholders has economic interests in the prosperity of cultural sites [Nijkamp, Riganti 2004: 4; Kairiss, Olevska 2020: 51–54], the first to be under the legal obligation of proper maintenance of and respective investment therein is the owner. The owner is also solely financially responsible for conservation, maintenance, renovation and restoration of a cultural monument.[2]

This paper reviews several administrative, legal and economy-related aspects related to immovable cultural monuments, obligations and limitations of their owners to use the objects in economic activity as well as issues that restrict or help the owners in developing socio-economic potential of the cultural property. The research specifically addresses manors[3] as far as they:

- form a significant part (more than 7.5%) of architectural heritage which is the most numerous in Latvia;[4]

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[1] Cultural objects include *inter alia* cultural monuments within the meaning of Protection Law.

[2] Sec. 24, Protection Law.

[3] For the purposes of this article, a manor is an administration building or a complex of buildings on a land ownership. It usually includes a manor house or a castle/palace, a land steward's house, buildings for collecting payments, storing products, etc. [AkadTerm].

[4] According to the data of Monuments' Register as of 06.05.2021, there were 3507 architecture objects. The number and proportion of manors is determined by the authors performing analysis in the public section of the Monuments' Register (data selection by object type, e. g. "manor", in the register is not possible, therefore the selection was made using keyword search).

- have significant cultural and historical implication (at least 264 manors are cultural monuments[1]);
- form an integral part of Latvia's cultural history and cultural landscape (in the past serving also as parish centers), being significantly involved in economic activities [Interviews 4, 5; LACPM website] and having tourism potential [Latvia Travel 2021].

The paper focuses on cultural monuments in private (either physical or legal persons) and municipal property, as far as municipalities take on the role of the owner in relationship with the state authorities. The paper looks at Latvian situation compared to the practice of the neighbouring countries and explores factors the effective use of the cultural object owner's opportunities depend on.

The above findings then shape an answer whether in the current situation the cultural monument's status of the manor facilitates or restricts the owner in unlocking socio-economic potential of his/her property in Latvia.

This article is not the first attempt to answer the above questions in the Latvian context. In 2002, a study by the Institute of Economics of the Latvian Academy of Sciences [IELAS; Karnīte 2002] was published, which addressed similar issues in the wider context of cultural heritage. This study concluded, *inter alia*, [Karnīte 2002: 57–58] that due to restrictions imposed on the economic activities, opportunities for property modernization, decision-making on one's property, as well as reasons related to bureaucracy, corruption and other negative phenomena, there are limited opportunities to earn income from the owned cultural monument and lower profitability. It was pointed out that the surveyed owners considered that the benefits granted by the state were insignificant and did not cover the additional costs arising from the status of the property – a cultural monument.

For the purposes of the present research, the authors have studied scientific literature, governmental and news feed information, analysed the existing statutory requirements in Latvia and abroad providing for rights and obligations of the owners of cultural objects, reviewed statistical information and reports of supervisory authorities, municipalities et al. organizations, as well as:

- conducted ten expert interviews with and received additional information from heads of Latvian and Estonian manors' associations (LACPM – 96 manors, 89% – cultural monuments[2], about 30% are privately owned; EMA – 106 manors[3], 98% – cultural monuments, only private owners[4]),

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[1] According to the analysis performed in the Monuments' Register by the authors of the article.

[2] LAPCM strategy, p. 11.

[3] EMA website.

[4] Interview 3.

administration of the LAPHH (10 manors, at least 50% – cultural monuments, only private owners[1]), chairman of the Board of the Riga Historical House Association, representatives of the NCHB and municipalities, private manors owners and researchers;

- received written answers of the head of Lithuanian manors' association (64 manors in association, 9% – cultural monuments, about 50% – privately owned[2]);
- received five survey responses of private owners – members of the LAPHH.

General description of the situation

According to the available data, there are about 2000 manors and their remains in Latvia, about 1200 of which are being included in the encyclopedic edition[3] [Delfi 2021/1; Interview 2]. A significant part of the manors has the status of a cultural monument (see above).

In Latvia, cultural objects may be owned by the State, local governments, other public persons as well as private individuals[4]. Although precise statistical information on the ownership of cultural monuments is not available,[5] information from various sources makes it possible to assume that most cultural monuments, including manors [LACPM strategy: 65], are privately owned [Cultural policy guidelines: 5;[6] Karnīte 2002: 55]. Besides there is a gradual process that publicly owned manors are transferred to private hands [Interview 4].

According to various sources, from about 50 [Interview 2] to a few hundred manors in Latvia are in usable condition [LACPM strategy: 7]. Some owners have invested in the renovation of buildings and use manors for economic activities, others renovate the buildings in parts by little, while others have not been able to

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[1] LAPHH website.

[2] Interview 7.

[3] Masnovskis 2018; Masnovskis 2019; Masnovskis 2020: The 3 volumes of the encyclopedia already contain information about 366 manors.

[4] Section 7, Protection Law.

[5] NCHB Information – Information on the ownership of the manors – cultural monuments is not available because the information system "Cultural Monuments Information Management System "*Mantojums*"" is not yet interconnected with the other state information systems that maintain information on real estate owners (according to information available to the authors, corresponding content-related and technical work has been started to improve the information system). Another aspect is related to the fact that cultural monuments could represent complex objects (e. g., group of constructions related to manor) consisting of a large number of real estate objects, which have different owners and thus, different parts of one and the same monument can be owned by the state, municipality, physical persons and legal entities at the same time.

[6] As of the end of 2014, 40% of cultural monuments belonged to privae persons, 24.5% – to the public sector.

renovate or preserve the buildings, so the buildings gradually fall to decay [LACPM strategy: 7].

Privately owned manors, in case their condition allow, are mostly used for economic activities [Interviews 4, 5]. Among other things, it helps to cover part of the expenses for the maintenance of the manor [Interview 1]. Only in rare cases the owner of the manor, living in the manor himself/herself, does not use it for economic activities [Interviews 3, 4, 5, 7].

According to several experts and manors owners [Interviews 4, 5; LAPHH answers], investments in the restoration and maintenance of manors are very significant and the investments made are unlikely to pay off even in the long run, so for private owners of many developed manors, the use of manors in economic activities is not their main occupation. An important guiding principle is that owners are interested in cultural history, they want to do something to preserve cultural heritage and to contribute to it. Similar situation is in Lithuania and Estonia [Interviews 3, 7].

Private owners of the manors and castles in three Baltic states are predominantly local citizens [Interviews 3, 4, 7]. This might be caused by certain limitations to purchase (agricultural) land in rural areas placed on foreigners,[1] on the other hand these objects might be mostly evaluated by the local stakeholders who highly rate cultural and historic values these objects carry along with perceiving economic potential in their development.[2]

The development of the manor is also a matter of prestige. Many owners are young entrepreneurs who want to do something useful for the society. In Latvia, there is a positive shift in mentality among entrepreneurs: while in the past they wanted to buy expensive cars, now they aim at developing manors [Interview 5]. This suggests that if the owner wants to develop the manor and use it in economic activities, he/she should be relatively wealthy in order to make significant investments and be able to operate at a loss. V. Masnovskis, for example, notes [Interview 2] that in case the manor's owner is not wealthy, then it is difficult for him/her to cope with the necessary expenses and even small crises (e. g., heating boiler accident) can cause great financial pressure if not a collapse.

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[1] For example, p. 5, part 1, Sec. 29 of Land Privatization Law provides that persons other than Latvian, EU, EEA, the Swiss Confederation or the Member States' of the OECD citizens are unable to acquire agricultural and forest land, except for sections in which construction is intended in conformity with the territorial planning of local government.

[2] As pointed out by Madliena parish administration, majority of foreign owners were unable to tidy up their cultural property in the parish, which damaged the aesthetic environment. Part of the objects was sold. Thus, in summer 2020 private owner – foreign entrepreneur – was selling a manor (architectural monument of local significance) for 1 EUR with the obligation of a potential purchaser to invest in reconstruction works [LSM 2020].

The structure of manor expenses can be conditionally classified into two parts – initial (renovation) and maintenance expenses (authors' analysis and Interviews 4, 5). Certain expenses may be relevant during both the renovation and the maintenance phases (see Appendix 1).

The analysis performed by the authors and manor associations' presidents' survey [Interviews 3, 4, 7] shows that the most significant types of income from privately owned manors in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania[1] are mainly related to[2]:

- visiting of a cultural and historical object (visiting of buildings, interiors, parks, gardens, etc., incl. accompanied by a guide);
- organization of short-term events (e. g. weddings, anniversaries, photo sessions, corporate events, conferences, seminars, etc.);
- accommodation services, catering services (incl. sale of food / beverages in the course of public/ private events) and tastings, health improvement services (e. g., SPA, saunas etc.).

The opinion of experts and manors owners on the advantages and limitations of the status of a cultural monument is ambiguous. The mentioned key benefits are:

- the status of a cultural monument denotes authenticity and cultural-historical significance of a cultural object, which, among other things, has a positive effect on attracting visitors interested in history and culture (including a dmirers of original (authentic) values) [Interviews 1, 3, 4, 5; LAPHH answers]. The status of a cultural monument is also a matter of prestige [LAPHH answers];
- only those cultural objects that have the status of a cultural monument can participate in the most relevant competitions to obtain funding for their restoration/conservation [Interviews 1, 4, 5; LAPHH answers].

Key limitations are:

- cultural monument status limits the possibilities to re-plan the premises, increase the building volume, install modern heating, etc. systems. Comfort is important for many visitors, but in many cases it cannot be provided at the appropriate level, taking into account the requirements raised for a cultural monument [Interview 5; LAPHH answers];
- sometimes the requirements raised for a cultural monument involve significant financial investment [Interviews 2, 3; LAPHH answers]. For the list of main legal restrictions applicable to manors as cultural monuments see Appendix 2.

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[1] The full table "The use of manors in economic activities in the Baltic States" is attached in Appendix 3.

[2] LAPHH members informed that all of them provide accommodation service; frequently provided are also object's visiting, catering services, organizing public and short-term events, and related services, e. g. equipment rental and organizing events [LAPHH answers].

Development factors

The analysis of various information sources allowed to identify a number of factors that, as national and international practice shows, influence the development opportunities of the socio-economic potential of manors. Although financial factors have a significant impact, not all factors are related solely to the availability of financing.

Development vision and strategy

It is generally accepted that in order to unlock socio-economic potential of the cultural monument there should be a clear vision of its possible development [Interviews 1, 3, 4, 5]. The absence of such vision results in inability to formulate the main business area, causing inappropriate allocation of resources and respective losses in terms of invested money, time and work effort. Development vision and strategic approach are important for the development of both privately and publicly (e. g., municipally) owned cultural objects [Interview 9; Kuldīga 2021/1; Engure 2016]. Besides, renovation and adaptation of a cultural monument to the updated functioning requests approval of the supervising authorities and mutual coordinated efforts. Showing a reasoned strategy can increase mutual understanding between the owner and the public authority that is to approve or support the budget or the project (thus, e. g., relatively detailed information on the restoration plans has been requested from the owner of the object in order to receive co-financing for the renovation/restoration purposes announced, e. g., by Tukums City Council [Tukums 2021; Tukums regulations 2021].

Therefore, clear concept and well-established strategy are vital for successful development of cultural object's potential, where motivation (making the business possible) and particular niche (sharpening the business) form the basic elements. It is important that the clear development concept is prepared **before** the purchase, otherwise, as practice shows, its absence, taking into account the amount of work and significant investments, causes confusion for the owner and influences reckless use of funding.

The particular niche (or key business area) might be subject to exceptional monument's memory elements that constitute a reference (e. g., well-known historical place), or specific skills or hobbies of the owner, being it, e. g., gastronomy (the object can become famous for its restaurant), wine/beer making, collecting (e. g., creating a museum), etc.

The absence of development strategy and motivation leads the object to a downturn, decreasing interest of potential investors. One of the recent examples of such deterioration of the site is Bērvircavas manor, architectural monument of local significance.[1] Due to lack of financial capacity and clear vision the municipality cannot

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[1] Monuments' Register, https://is.mantojums.lv/5242

determine the potential function of the building, find investment opportunities or the owner that would be interested in full concept development and renovation of the building [Delfi 2021/2]. While there are few solutions available, without vision and motivation the manor is currently falling to decay.

On the contrary, Kuldīga municipality is one of the examples approving positive effect of long-term development vision and stated strategic objectives. Thus, having clear and well-designed documentation and a plan of action, the municipality was successful in drafting and submission in January 2021 the nomination for inscription of Kuldīga Old Town on the UNESCO World Heritage List [UNESCO Nomination 2021; Kuldīga 2021/2].

Financial factors

All the experts and manors owners pointed out that manors require significant investments, there are difficulties in recovering investments even in the long run and the owners should be ready to work at a loss [Interviews 1, 3, 4, 5, 7; LAPHH answers].[1] The owners (especially the young ones) sometimes do not assess their financial possibilities and cannot cope with the restoration, maintenance, etc. expenses. Despite the fact that the owner must have sufficient equity,[2] financial support (including state and municipal support), especially taking into account that the development of manors contributes to the development of the county as a whole,[3] facilitates the owners' motivation to restore and develop their property. Financial support may take a form of tax reliefs for the heritage owners or direct subsidies to preserve the cultural object. Tax issues are discussed in greater detail below.

Tax regime

There are no special tax reliefs applicable to owners of cultural monuments in Latvia[4] except for real estate tax discounts [Real Estate Tax Law]. Thus, generally,

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[1] In this respect the situation has not substantially improved over the last 20 years. According to IELAS [Karnīte 2002: 37], the largest financial liabilities were for the maintenance and restoration of cultural monuments. According to the research, this caused difficulties, because there was no policy on cultural monuments linked to an economic mechanism to reimburse owners for the costs associated with respect for the public interest.

[2] Many owners earn income in non-manor business [Interviews 4, 5].

[3] For example, in the field of tourism [LAPHH answers; Interviews 3, 7].

[4] In other European countries, however, income tax deductions and other financial assistance to owners of old buildings are quite common. Thus, e. g., Germany provides for deduction of the costs of refurbishment at 9% per annum for eight years and 7% per annum for an additional four years [Sec. 7i, Income Tax Act DE]. In the Netherlands, up to 1 January 2019, 80% of the costs of maintenance of the building listed as national monument were in general tax deductible. From 2019 tax deductions are no more applicable, but a subsidy can be requested to cover costs of renovating monumental buildings [Netherlands 2020]. In France, as a general rule, the assistance

cultural monuments are exempt from real estate tax, except from residential houses and land for their maintenance, objects used in economic activity (except cultural functions) and monuments that are not properly maintained/preserved in accordance with the requirements for the protection of cultural monuments (hereinafter – properly preserved).[1]

The above exemptions are covered by the real estate tax rate[2] determined by municipalities in their binding regulations. The Law does not provide for a common approach to tax reliefs granted to cultural objects by the local governments, therefore there are different amounts of discounts and different preconditions that should be met in order to be eligible for such a discount. Thus, in Riga, e. g., the owner of a cultural monument can receive 25% discount from real estate tax if the object is properly preserved as well as 50% to 90% based on full restoration of certain parts of the monument [Riga regulations 2019]. This discount is applicable to buildings only.[3] Other Latvian municipalities (e. g., Liepāja, Jelgava, Talsi, Kuldīga)[4] provide for different real estate tax discounts (generally from 25% to 90%) depending on certain preconditions, the most common of which are category of monument protection (Jelgava, Talsi, Kuldīga), proper preservation (Jelgava, Talsi), restoration works and public access (Jelgava, Kuldīga).

In the opinion of the authors such uneven allotment of tax reliefs places owners of cultural sites in unequal situations and differenciates the excellency of the monuments based on their location rather than on their cultural significance (while according to the Protection Law and basic principles of heritage protection, the monuments of equal cultural significance should enjoy the same treatment and level of protection).[5] Moreover, according to the Real Estate Tax Law, Sec. 3, the

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is in the form of tax relief up to 50% of costs is the building is close and 100% if the building is open to the public [Heritage Europe]. Besides, CE Recommendation 1991, inter alia, provides for a range of tax reliefs related to conversion and restoration of historic monuments classified as having a cultural function and belonging to private owners, e. g., deduction from taxable income of all maintenance and restoration costs of listed heritage buildings

[1] Sec. 1, Real Estate Tax Law.

[2] The real estate tax rate can be from 0.2 to 3% from the cadastral value of the object [Sec. 3, Real Estate Tax Law].

[3] The tax relief rate for cultural monuments appropriately preserved is decreasing over time. Thus, according to Riga regulations 2012 (were in force till 30.01.2020) the discount for buildings corresponding to the same criteria was 50%.

[4] Liepāja regulations 2017, Jelgava regulations 2015, Talsi regulations 2018, Kuldīga regulations 2017.

[5] It should be noted that at the time of writing of the article the draft of the new Cabinet regulations "Rules for the registration, protection, use and restoration of cultural monuments" is being reviewed, which annotation, inter alia, provides for delegation to the Cabinet to determine criteria and characteristics of cultural monuments, according to which real estate tax reliefs or exemptions are to be applied [Draft of the Cabinet regulations].

municipality is to publish the respective regulations by 1 November of the pre-taxation year, thus the tax discount may be comparatively easily changed once a year.

It should be noted that private manor owners [LAPHH answers] either do not consider the Latvian legal norms related to tax conditions (incl. corporate income tax, VAT, real estate tax) in the field of manors to be motivating or it is difficult for them to give an unambiguous answer. Opinions were expressed that no discounts are applied to certain manors, and it would be necessary to balance the taxes of privately owned manors with those owned by the state and local governments in order not to distort the market.

Correlation of cadastral value with the status of cultural monument and real estate tax

According to the law, cadastral value is the value of a cadastre object[1] in monetary terms, which is specified in accordance with single principles of mass appraisal on a certain date according to the cadastre data.[2] Cabinet regulations provide for unified reduction of 35% from the cadastral value of buildings registered as cultural monuments of State or local significance, if their physical depreciation exceeds 35%. This discount is based on the level of restrictions of rights or limitations on economic activities, evaluating the difference in market price of a building with and without usage restrictions.[3] Thus, it has been statutorily approved that the object with preservation of less than 65% being a cultural monument imposes limitations of the rights and restrictions on performance of economic activities, negatively effecting the market price that is reflected in the amount of cadastral value.[4]

Cadastral value is used for different statutory purposes,[5] including for the purposes of the administration of the real estate tax.[6] Respectively, the higher is the cadastral value of the object, the higher is tax payment of the owner. This approach in the opinion of the authors may lead to adverse effect on the owner of the cultural monument expressed in:

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[1] Cadastre object is an immovable property registered in the State Immovable Property Cadastre Information System as a set of property objects, as well as a land parcel, structure, building unit and a section of a land parcel (Part 6, Sec. 1, Cadastre Law).

[2] Part 9, Sec. 1, Cadastre Law.

[3] Par. 72, Cadastral Assessment Regulations 2020.

[4] Cadastral Assessment Regulations 2006 (in force 11.05.2006–21.02.2020) provided for a reduction of cadastral value of the building by 45%, if the building was registered as a cultural monument of State significance, or by 35% if the building was registered as a cultural monument of local significance (par. 112), independently of level of depreciation. From 01.01.2017, the discount became applicable only to the buildings with physical depreciation of more than 30%.

[5] Sec. 66, Cadastre Law.

[6] Part 2, Sec. 73, Cadastre Law.

- the perception of the cultural object as a burden, not a privilege (since the status of a cultural monument and physical depreciation of the object decreases the (cadastral) value thereof);
- the realization that investment into the proper management and timely renovation of the cultural object is not rewarded by public authorites, but on the contrary, causes increase in tax payments. Some respondents mentioned that constant increase in cadastral value, leading to the increase in the real estate tax, demotivates the owners of manors [Interview 1].

As mentioned before, municipalities try to diffuse the impact of taxation load by introducing real estate tax deductions for the cultural objects located in their territory. Several experts [Interviews 5, 6] mentioned though that cadastrial value and the respective real estate tax reliefs are essential development factors for Riga (since cadastral value is high there), while in the rural area, where land/real estate is much cheaper (and the cadastral value much lower), the respective correlation of cadastral value v. real estate tax v. tax reliefs probably is not that substantial for manors owners.

Cooperation with public sector

It is widely acknowledged that development of cultural objects, including manors, is a socially useful activity. The public sector does not have sufficient resources to effectively manage all cultural heritage objects, therefore, cooperation between manor developers and public institutions is important both in terms of preservation and development of manors' potential.

There is quite strong cooperation of manors owners with NHCB and local governments – experts and manors owners mostly describe their mutual cooperation positively [Interviews 4, 5, 8, 9, 10; LAPHH answers]. The identified negative aspects refer to the lack of interest of some municipal employees in solving issues, unwillingness or inability to understand aspects of cultural heritage development (possibly related to insufficient staff qualifications) [Interviews 1, 4, 5], bureaucratic obstacles (e. g., in cooperation with some construction boards) [Interview 5], some distrust on the part of the business and unpredictability of the situation due to lack of confidence that the municipal heritage development policy will not change when there is a change in municipal administration [Interviews 3, 5]. One of the issues to be addressed, which to some extent affects mutual cooperation and project implementation, is the clarity regarding the possibility of violating the norms of the Squandering Prevention Law,[1] if the value of private property is (potentially) increased. An important aspect is that in Latvia there is an institution responsible for the preservation of cultural

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[1] For example, Part 1, Part 3, Sec. 10 of the Squandering Prevention Law.

heritage (NCHB), but there is no institution responsible for the development of cultural heritage potential, while conservation and development activities are closely related [Interview 1]. In general, the interviewed experts, representatives of the municipalities and the NCHB indicated that co-operation (e. g., over the last 10–20 years) has improved. Several experts have mentioned that the general trend is that NCHB becomes more flexible and helping – often NCHB inspectors help owners in finding appropriate solutions [Interviews 1, 4].

There is also a stable cooperation between municipalities and the NCHB as well as between municipalities and NGOs [Interviews 8, 10]. Several identified aspects of the cooperation are discussed below.

Private sector involvement in the management of public property

The maintenance and development of public property, including cultural objects, requires significant resources, which rarely are at the disposal of public institutions. Thus, public-private partnership projects are important, attracting private capital for the performance of relevant activities and provision of services and sharing between the public and private partners the risks, investments and benefits related to the implementation of the project. Although Latvia has a regulatory framework for public-private partnerships,[1] PPP projects in the country are not yet sufficiently developed, e. g., in the period from 2015 to March 2021, only 10 project financial and economic calculation decisions have been made (all of them relating to infrastructure projects and not to the cultural field).[2] Also in Lithuania there are no PPP projects in the field of cultural heritage [Interview 7]. However, the available information shows that there is interest in PPP projects in Latvia (both at the state and municipal level), including development of cultural objects [Brencis 2020]. Interviewed municipal experts [Interviews 8, 10] mentioned that PPP projects may be relevant, but there are some risks in their implementation, including not always constructive approach of the controlling authorities. The development of PPP projects in Latvia is also hindered by a certain level of unpredictability in the relations between entrepreneurs and local governments – cooperation can be successfully started, but after the change of local government administration it may worsen [Interviews 5, 6]. In Estonia, co-operation between manors owners and municipalities is developing and improving, although sometimes similar unpredictability problems as in Latvia are observed [Interview 3].

According to the information of European Investment Bank, from 1990 to 2021 there have been 87 European PPP projects in the "recreation and culture" sector with

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[1] See, e. g., PPP Legal framework.
[2] Decisions CFCA.

total value of EUR 7.3 B.[1] The overwhelming majority of projects have been realized by the UK (28 projects) and France (33 projects).[2]

It is quite common for many countries that private sector is granted the right to operate and manage the tourism asset and the ownership of the asset remains in public hands. One of the examples is the Schonbrunn Palace in Vienna, where concessionaire is responsible for restoring, investing and financing the castle, while eligible to retain operating revenue from about 3 million tourists per year [Medda 2013: 14–15]. Similar programme is applied by a few leading municipalities of Russian Federation, which have introduced a special rent programme for cultural heritage objects. Thus, Saint-Petersburg municipality provides an option to buy rental rights of the heritage object from the city for the period up to 49 years. The buyer pays market price for the rights to rent (at the auction) and market rent price till the end of renovation process, after which he/she is entitled to almost no rent (1 RUR/m² per year) for the remaining period of the rent with possibility to perform commercial activity in the object. While the interests of potential buyer are obvious, the municipality gets restored heritage objects without loosing property rights [Rent Law of St.-Petersburg[3]].

Aspects of infrastructure and marketing

Manors are especially characteristic of rural areas, so the issues of the surrounding amenities are important. The most popular manors in Latvia are located about 100 km around Riga, which can be explained directly by the more developed access routes and other infrastructure [Interview 4]. First of all, as noted by the experts and private owners of manors [Interviews 1, 3, 4, 5; LAPHH answers], this applies to access communication. If someone wants to visit the manor, then it must be possible to drive to it (moreover, the manors are often located in places where it is difficult to get by public transport) – so an orderly road infrastructure is needed. Roads must not only be constructed but also properly maintained and cleaned. The latter would largely be a matter of local government competence. Respectively, it is important that the manor is developed, thus giving a signal that the municipality is worth investing resources in the driveway, because the possibilities of the public budget are limited [Interview 3]. Other investments that municipalities can make in infrastructure development are related to walking, cycling, horseback riding, etc. installation in the territory of the municipality [Interview 5], as these services are also used by the guests of the manors.

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[1] EPEC data portal.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Similar programmes with certain distinctions are in force in Moscow [TASS 2018], Leningrad region [Kommersant 2021], Permj [Rewizor 2021].

The socio-economic development of manors is significantly related to advertising activities, so that domestic and foreign visitors get information about them. Insufficient tourist flows, for example, can be explained by a lack of advertising or an incorrect advertising strategy [Interview 4]. Experts and private owners of manors [Interview 1, 3, 4, 5; LAPHH answers] believe that the state and local governments can provide support[1] in marketing activities. As the practice of several municipalities shows, information about manors and the services they offer is regularly included in tourism guides and other information materials of the counties free of charge. Guides, maps, etc. production and distribution are good support for business on the part of municipalities [Interview 5]. Dissemination of such information benefits the counties themselves, increasing their attractiveness to visitors and promoting business development. An important issue for public institutions is the promotion of Latvian manors abroad (e. g., inclusion in foreign guides) and the promotion of Latvia as a tourist destination [Interview 2; LAPHH answers].

Informational support

For owners of cultural monuments, not only financial support is often important, but also different kind of informational support.[2] The main types of informational support include:

- consultations regarding renovation, restoration, etc. of a cultural monument[3] [Interview 3, 4, 5; LAPHH answers]. Work in this direction is being done both by the NCHB and by several municipalities (the involvement of the Latvian Society of Restorers would also be desirable – [Interview 4],[4] however, it depends on the capacity of the relevant institutions – it would be desirable to intensify the relevant activities;

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[1] In many cases local governments do provide such support [for example, Interviews 8, 10].

[2] Representatives of NCHB confirm the importance of understanding of the owners in proper preservation of cultural heritage objects [LA 2020].

[3] According to the law, the new owner of the cultural monument is to receive instructions from the NCHB for the use and preservation of the cultural monument, and explanations thereof [Part 3, Sec. 8, Protection Law]. Failure to follow these instructions may result in administrative [Secs 32 and 33, Protection Law] and even criminal liability [Part 2, Sec. 229, Criminal Law]. Representatives of NCHB confirm the importance of understanding of the owners in proper preservation of cultural heritage objects [LA 2020].

[4] NCHB specialists, within their capacity, provide relevant consultations free of charge, including by inspecting the object on site, developing and distributing methodological materials [Interview 9]. Assistance, including in cooperation with NCHB, is also provided by municipalities [Interview 10], e. g. Kuldīga municipality has established a restoration centre where residents can receive consultations [LV Portāls 2014; Interview 8]. From time to time, seminars are organized (including for private owners) on the issues of restoration and preservation of cultural monuments. NCHB specialists also provide assistance in drafting project applications [Interview 9].

- raising awareness about funding opportunities (e. g., 4 out of 5 manors owners – LAPHH members indicated that their awareness of funding opportunities is at a medium level, 1 – that they are bad [LAPHH answers]). Municipalities and NCHB do inform about funding opportunities on their respective websites, but there is no single source of information on funding opportunities (including EU/foreign funding);
- consultations and awareness raising in legal, tax and other issues. Appropriate consultations are provided upon request, but according to the information provided by the private owners of manors [LAPHH answers] there are questions (especially in the field of construction), in which even construction boards are not always well-versed (e. g., coordination of construction in monument protection zones with monument owners). Greater clarity on, for example, the provisions of the Construction Law (or amendments thereto) would be desirable, so that both public authorities and businesses can clearly understand when an architect is needed and when they can outline the work to be carried out themselves.

Diverse and collaborative services

The development of the socio-economic potential of manors and the attraction of visitors is significantly related to the developed local cooperation in the provision of various services and goods – thus the development opportunities of other businesses not directly related to the manor are also promoted. If the owner of the manor provides accommodation, etc. services, but his neighbour – a workshop related to some kind of craft, such as ceramics, or offers wine tasting, etc., then both service providers and, most importantly, guests win [Interview 4]. If catering services are provided in the manor, then good cooperation with local (high quality) food and beverage producers/suppliers is important; there are cases when guests spend the night in one manor, but are fed in another [Interview 1].

The added value is provided by the combination of manors' offered services with rural tourism services (for example, a large part of LACPM manor owners are also members of the rural tourism association "*Lauku Ceļotājs*" – Interview 4).

Public attitude

The attitude of the society towards the cultural heritage, understanding of it, the desire to know and protect it – these are the key factors in ensuring the development of the socio-economic potential of not only the manors, but the entire cultural heritage. If the public knows about and respects cultural heritage, it will not only increase the rate of manors visiting, but more funding will be available for the preservation and development of cultural heritage.

In Latvia, the intellectual society is to be developed, education in the field of cultural heritage (already from school) should be ensured, and professionals who know how to provoke interest must be involved in the education process – this would be a state task in the first place [Interview 2]. It should be noted that activities in this area are carried out by both municipalities[1] and NGOs. Thus, e. g., LAPHH organizes competitions for young people every year where teams travel through historical properties and prepare something similar to a development business plan; LAPHH management emphasizes that it is very important that young people are aware of the importance of Latvia's cultural history and the place and role of manors in the heritage [Interview 5].

Public attitude should also change to understand that a quality service cannot be obtained for free – this applies to both the development of manors and cultural heritage in general [Interview 4; LAPHH answers].

In this context, the work of many private manors owners in the development of manors, which, despite the economic disadvantages, is aimed *inter alia* at the protection of public interests, is to be welcome. The researcher of Latvian manors V. Masnovskis pointed out that Latvian manors can be saved by enthusiasts with financial means [Interview 2]. The owners of the manors themselves, *inter alia*, indicated (LAPHH answers, 3 out of 5 respondents) that they develop manors (despite the fact that the financial benefits that can be obtained from the commercial use of manors in Latvia do not allow to hope for recovery or recovery within a reasonable time) because it is important for them to take care of the cultural heritage and do something useful for the society. This is compliant with the general opinion, that the more highly people value things for cultural reasons, the more they will be willing to pay for them [Throsby 2012: 57].

Development of manors and tourism

Several interviewed experts [Interviews 1, 4, 5, 8, 10] have noted that in Latvia there is a significant potential for the development of the socio-economic potential of manors. The development of the aforementioned potential is directly related to manors' visitation by interested parties, incl. by domestic and international tourists. Over the last 20 years there have been significant positive changes in rural, cultural and other areas of tourism, development of both medium and high-class services, adoption of the best foreign practices, more personal treatment of guests [Interviews 5, 8, 10]. Public awareness of the importance of manors and relevant recreational opportunities is gradually increasing [Interview 4], this is also shown by research,[2]

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[1] See Tukuma muzejs 2021.
[2] E.g., Travel Habits LV [2019: 7–8] – the second most visited by nature territories are cultural and historical places, including manors.

as well as (possibly due to COVID-19 related international tourism restrictions) increased demand for qualified service in rural Latvian regions in 2020 [Interview 5]. According to experts [Interviews 1, 4, 8, 10], Latvia is still a lesser-known land for foreign tourists, and important advantages are natural objects, good and affordable service, diverse offer, well-preserved local traditions and developed cultural life, short distances, convenient location in Europe, etc. This allows assuming that the development of manors in Latvia has good opportunities in the context of tourism development.

Conclusions

Performing analysis of the received information, the authors have come to the conclusion that the cultural monument status of a manor can be both a facilitating and a restricting factor of its development. The benefits of this status, such as greater value in the eyes of authenticity admirers and greater eligibility for grants, are significantly reduced by additional obligations, site modification restrictions and financial investments resulting from the requirements applicable to cultural monuments. The key moment is to preserve the authenticity of the manor in case of its modification – so that the cultural and historical value of the object does not decrease as a result of the performed modifications. The precise definition of the purpose of the use of the manor and the main audience of visitors, on which the economic use of the manor is focused, are crucial. In any case, the caring and professional restoration and maintenance of the manor are important, because restored and well-kept cultural objects, even without the status of a cultural monument, have cultural and historical value, are attractive to visitors and can be used effectively for economic activities.

It is important to note that the number of manors as cultural objects does not increase, but their value, if properly cared for and managed, increases. The status of a cultural monument in certain circumstances can be decisive within the development potential of the manor (e. g., if the owner wants to expand the scope of the premises), but the development opportunities are mostly influenced by other factors.

The most important factors in the development of the socio-economic potential of manors are related to a clear development vision and original approach (to attract guests and stand out from similar service providers), availability of sufficient financial resources (various financial programmes and grants can help) and readiness not to recover investments even in the long run. It should be noted that the preservation and development of manors in Latvia is mostly based on wealthy private owners – enthusiasts who have creative thinking.

Development restricting factors:
- the need for significant financial investment;
- the number of benefits granted by the state and local governments (if the

manor has the status of a cultural monument) is disproportionately small in comparison with the restoration and maintenance expenses of the manors (often revenues from economic use of the manor cover only maintenance expenses) and legal obligations imposed on manors owners;

- lack of PPP projects in the field of cultural heritage, including in the field of manors development, in Latvia. The most likely reasons for this are unpredictability in cooperation between the private sector and local government, some mutual distrust, local government's anxiety to violate Squandering Prevention Law. As a result, many manors do not have a real owner, they are not restored and used in economic activities, and thus gradually fall to decay;

- insufficient public awareness of cultural heritage, as well as the misconception that a quality cultural service can be provided for free.

Development facilitating factors:

- in the last 20 years, the tourism infrastructure and service in Latvia have significantly improved, which in turn has a positive impact on the development opportunities of manors;

- cooperation between manor owners and the public sector (first of all – NCHB and local government) has been gradually improving over the last 10–20 years. Cooperation is hampered by the fragmentation of manor ownership (e. g., owners cannot agree on activities, costs, etc.), lack of public policy in the field of manors preservation and development, as well as unprofessionalism of some municipal employees. In Latvia, co-operation in the field of cultural heritage protection is developing between the NCHB and local governments, as well as between local governments and NGOs. Several local governments, based on the developed strategic documents, systematically implement measures for the protection and development of cultural heritage, thus promoting co-operation, *inter alia* with private owners of manors;

- cooperation with other manors / service providers to combine various services in the complex offer, cooperation with local suppliers (e. g., to provide good quality local food, etc.);

- motivation, diligence and increasing professionalism of manors owners. Many owners develop manors despite economic losses, because often their motive is not purely economic, but is related to the desire to do something for the benefit of the society, preserve cultural heritage.

Comparing the obtained results with the IELAS 2002 study [Karnīte 2002], it should be noted that the surveyed presidents of manor associations and private owners of manors still believe that the amount of tax relief granted is not motivating

and does not offset the relevant costs of restoration and maintenance. On the positive side, however, the development opportunities of manors increased due to the development of tourism and better cooperation both among entrepreneurs and with the public sector.

Recommendations

Manors are a characteristic, immediately visible part of Latvia's cultural heritage, which addresses people at once. The development of the socio-economic potential of manors not only provides income to their owners, but, for example, through ancillary spending, promotes entrepreneurship and the well-being of the population in the counties. Thus, according to the authors, the development of manors requires special attention from the involved institutions and the society. Realizing that the primary concern for privately owned manors lies with their owners, but recognizing that the preservation and development of cultural heritage is a socially useful activity, it would be inappropriate not to provide support to manor owners (regardless of their financial situation) from the state and municipalities (provision of support is also an important motivating factor). The state and local governments cannot take care of the renovation and maintenance of all the manors; therefore, the primary solution is the development of cooperation with manor owners from the non-public sector.

In view of the above and based on the research results, the authors offer the following recommendations (all of them relate to manors, but can relate also to other cultural heritage objects):

- to develop a policy for the conservation and development of manors, taking into account information provided by stakeholders and certain identified needs;
- to introduce a uniform procedure for the application of real estate tax by local governments (e. g., by setting a minimum tax relief threshold for cultural monuments, which local governments can increase based on their financial capabilities) in order to exclude unequal treatment of cultural monuments owners in different regions of Latvia;
- to detach the cadastral value size from the cultural monument's depreciation rate and introduce positive dependence of cadastral value on the restoration of the object (the better condition of the monument, the higher cadastral value), thus making a clear perception of a cultural monument as a privilege, instead of a burden. Simultaneously, it is recommended to develop a complete tax policy, letting the owners of restored and well-maintained cultural monuments to enjoy major tax discounts (e. g., real estate, VAT, income tax). These changes adopted jointly would motivate the owners to invest into and justify restoration and preservation of their cultural property;

- taking into account the positive effect of the development of manors on business development and increase of well-being of the population in the region, to provide support to manors owners in the field of improvement/ maintenance of public infrastructure (primarily – road infrastructure);
- since safeguarding of cultural heritage is socially beneficial, it is recommended to introduce discounts to monuments owners on inspections/checks targeted at preservation of cultural monuments;
- to create a single website (a section on one of the existing websites of the institutions), which would contain information on the most important/ larger consultations, seminars, etc. services (e. g., in connection with restoration, legal aspects, etc.), as well as methodological materials for the owners of cultural monuments, as well as opportunities to attract financing for restoration and other construction/maintenance works of cultural monuments and objects of cultural and historical significance;
- to continue advertising activities of privately-owned cultural objects at the municipal and state level, paying special attention to advertising activities in materials and media available to foreign interested parties;
- to pay increased attention to the development opportunities of PPP projects in the field of cultural heritage by collecting and analyzing information on obstacles to cooperation and, if necessary, developing recommendations for the development of the corresponding PPP projects;
- to identify cultural monuments divided in terms of property rights as soon as possible and to draw up a plan of measures to ensure their protection and preservation;
- in cooperation with specialists in the field of culture and education, to develop and implement (starting from the basic education level) studies in the field of cultural history in order to instil respect for and admiration of Latvian and world cultural heritage.

Research limitations and future research directions

The main limitations of the study relate to the lack of accurate information about manors – both with and without the status of a cultural monument. In the first case, it is related to the ongoing content and technical improvement of the Monuments' Register information system, in the second – to the fact that information about all Latvian manors has not yet been collected. Despite the fact that information was analyzed in the course of the study, including on the development of the socio-economic potential of manors in Lithuania and Estonia, the extrapolation of the results to these countries should be subject to significant additional research.

The other major limitations relate to the admissible size of the article, thus the authors had to back out of detailed reflecting several aspects, e. g., financial (incl. availability and scope of direct subsidies available to the manors owners) and administrative (incl. problematics of recording/registration of manors, value groups of property objects within one cultural monument, mixed ownership of manors' complexes).

This article is the first in a series of articles intended by the authors on the development opportunities of socio-economic potential of Latvian cultural heritage objects. Given the fact that both economic constraints and socio-economic development opportunities may relate differently to different types of cultural heritage, further research will focus on other heritage objects.

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Appendix 1

The structure of manor expenses

Renovation costs more often include:	Maintenance costs typically include:
architectural and artistic research	utilities' / management costs
archaeological research	outdoor area maintenance and cleaning
engineering inspection / expertise	arrangement of the exposition
development and coordination of construction documentation	extraction / restoration of objects, e. g., for exhibition purposes
performance of construction works on the site	remuneration of employees and involved specialists
outdoor area design, renovation, improvement	insurance
	costs of advertising / marketing services
	taxes / fees / permit costs

Appendix 2

Restrictions on the rights of the owners of cultural monuments

The main restrictions and obligations related to manors as specially protected real estate objects are:

- **State preemptive rights**

The owner of a cultural monument of State significance has the right to alienate the whole monument according to the terms and conditions he/she thinks fit, but the State has the right of first refusal in the potential deal.[1] No such rights are applicable in case of alienation of the monument of local or regional significance.

- **Division and alienation of a cultural monument**

The owner is not allowed to alienate separate parts of one cultural monument or a complex of monuments, and also to divide or join land if, as a result, preservation of a cultural monument is endangered.[2] Prior to alienation of a cultural monument the owner is to inform NCHB.[3] There are also certain preconditions to be fulfilled before realization of the ownership transfer (e. g., inspection of the monument, if necessary, and receiving of instructions issued by NCHB addressed to the new owner regarding the use and preservation of the cultural monument).[4]

- **Limited possibilities for modification of a cultural monument**

Cultural monuments protection system provides for strict limitations on reconstruction works, which are prescribed by law,[5] cabinet or municipal regulations, and instructions issued by NCHB to the new owners of the cultural monuments.[6] Modification of a cultural monument or replacement of the original parts thereof with new parts shall be permitted only if it is the best way to preserve the monument, or if the cultural and historical value of the monument does not decrease as a result of the modification.[7] Restoration of a cultural monument, thus, requires higher quality and more professional work than an ordinary building [Karnīte 2002: 24–25]. Difficulties are also often related to the fact that modern standards are not adapted to cultural and historical objects, so, for example, it is important to find a balance between preserving authenticity and ensuring the energy efficiency of the object [Interview 8].

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[1] Section 8, Protection Law.

[2] Part 2, Section 8, Protection Law.

[3] Part 3, Section 8, Protection Law.

[4] Ibid.

[5] For example, Section 3, Protection Law provides for mandatory permission of the NCHB for any modification of the cultural monuments. General construction regulations 2014 (par.105, 120) provide for mandatory author's supervision and supervision of the construction work.

[6] Section 20, Protection Law.

[7] Section 3, Protection Law.

There are also certain obligations on informing the NCHB before any construction works begin[1], ensuring surveying of cultural values in the area of intended activity[2], etc.

Separate regulations are sometimes adopted with regard to particular monuments or complexes thereof. Thus, for instance, Protection of Historic Riga Regulations 2004[3] provide that upon performing the maintenance (repair), conservation, and restoration of culturally and historically unique, very valuable, and valuable buildings, the volume of the building, the form of its roof, the finish of its facades, its historically original windows and doors, its construction system and planning, as well as its culturally and historically valuable interiors and furnishings shall be preserved.[4]

- **Inspections and controls**

Real estate objects are subject to a range of protection (e. g., fire prevention system) and inspection (e. g., chimneys, ventilation, electroinstallation)[5] requirements. Cultural monuments, as more vulnerable (due to age, construction, materials and additional cultural historical values) and specially protected objects, are subjects to more detailed protection recommendations. Thus, NCHB has issued "Advice to owners of cultural monuments: fire safety in cultural historical buildings",[6] where it recommends to build fire barriers, perform fire treatment of wooden surfaces, install technical fire safety devices, etc.

Besides, certain types of economic activities (e. g., catering) require licenses and annual, biannual or even more frequent inspections (e. g., food surveillance).[7] Predominantly, obtaining of licenses and periodical inspections (for instance, electroinstallation checks or annual validations of fire extinguishers) are to be paid by the owner, and, as mentioned by the owners of the manors [Interview 1], these expenses are comparatively high.

- **Restrictions on economic activities**

There are no general statutory restrictions in Latvia on the use of cultural monuments in economic activity, as long as it does not harm the monument or diminish its historical, scientific and artistic value.[8]

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[1] Section 11, Protection Law.

[2] Section 22, Protection Law.

[3] Protection of Historic Riga Regulations 2004.

[4] Par. 4, Protection of Historic Riga Regulations 2004.

[5] Fire safety regulations 2016.

[6] NCHB Fire protection.

[7] Rules of food surveillance.

[8] Section 19, Protection Law.

Appendix 3

The use of manors in economic activities in the Baltic States
(the same object can be used for several activities at the same time)

Activity	Example	Type of income	Very significant type of income			Moderately significant type of income			Less significant type of income			Total
			LVA	LTU	EST	LVA	LTU	EST	LVA	LTU	EST	
Visiting of a cultural and historical object	Visiting of buildings, interiors, parks, gardens, etc., incl. accompanied by a guide (can be combined with a museum / exposition tour)	Entrance fee, service fee		3	3	2						**8**
Organization of short-term events (organizational support)	Weddings, anniversaries, photo sessions, corporate events, conferences, seminars, etc. (incl. provision of related services: decoration services, furnishing of premises, etc.). Renting / leasing of certain objects (e. g., tea house, etc.)	Rent, service fee			3	2	2					**7**
Accommodation services	Hotel furnishing, Airbnb, tent places for rent	Service fee			3	2				1		**6**
Catering services, tastings	Arranging of pubs, etc. Cooking according to historical recipes. Beverage / food tastings. Sale of food / beverages in the course of public / private events	Service fee			3	2				1		**6**
Medical and health improvement services	SPA, functioning of specialized care centres, sauna, etc. services	Service fee			3	2			1			**6**
Organization of public events (organizational support)	Festivals, concerts, performances, movie evenings, public celebrations, etc. (incl. provision of related services or support for their provision in the course of events)	Rent, service fee				2	2				1	**5**
Arranging of museums / expositions	Physical or virtual exhibitions, related (e. g., guide) services	Entrance fee, service fee				2		2				**4**
Manufacture and sale of related products	Production of local / thematic souvenirs, production of local (traditional) food products (e.g., bread, cheese, beer, etc.), publication of guides, booklets, storybooks, etc., issuing gift cards, etc.	Payments for goods						2	1			**3**

Category	Description	Fee												Total
Seasonal rent (long-term rent)	Children, sports, arts, etc. thematic camps, etc. (incl. provision of related services or support for their provision in the course of events)	Rent fee					2							2
Educational events, workshops	Crafts, singing, dancing (e.g., in historical / ethnographic context), traditional way of life, etc. related classes, workshops, etc. events	Service fee						2						2
Support for the movie industry	Rent of premises / territory for making fictional / documentary movies	Rent fee								1				1
Sports activities and opportunities for active recreation in the cultural-historical context	Archery / crossbow shooting, axe throwing, knight fights, tournaments, horseback riding, carriage / sleigh rides, historic boats, etc.	Service fee								1				1
Creating attractive / exploratory constructions	Installation of watch towers, labyrinths, etc.	Entrance fee								1				1
Imitation of reality	Staying in guardroom, etc.	Entrance fee										1		1
Related services	Rent of fishing, boats, bicycles, other inventory and equipment, etc., hunting organization, etc. services	Rent, service fee												0

LVA – information provided by the president of Latvian Association of Castles, Palaces and Manors, Mr. Jānis Lazdāns

LTU – information provided by the president of Lithuanian Association of Castles and Manors, Mr. Gintaras Karosas

EST – information provided by the president of Estonian Manor Association, Mr. Andrej Dvorjaninov

The following answers were received from the head of Latvian Association of Private Historic Houses (only distinct from the ones mentioned in the table are reflected below):

Accommodation services	Very significant type of income (3)
Organization of short-term events (organizational support)	Very significant type of income (3)
Catering services, tastings	Less significant type of income (1)
Related services	Less significant type of income (1)

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Mg.hist. **Zenta Broka-Lāce**
Institute of Latvian History at the University of Latvia,
Department of Archaeology, Latvia

Abstract

This article is an attempt to understand the ongoing processes of global archaeology during the last two decades. The aim of this article is to identify the most talked-about concepts of the recent period. The article is intended as a retrospective, subjective reflection from the viewpoint of Latvian archaeologist on the latest period of global historiography, seeking to answer the following question: What key concepts are trending in the global archaeological thought, and do they resonate in Latvian archaeology?

The author offers a critical view suggesting that the contemporary archaeological thought differs from the previous periods with pluralism, deep specialization and diversity of ideas as well as pronounced discursive radicalization in the form of unexpected criticism of capitalism in the Western intellectual world. The attempts to politicize the discipline is problematized.

In the end, it is concluded that the theoretical framework of Latvian archaeology is more conservative than contemporary global archaeology. Even if some new ideas are adapted, it is still not possible to talk about Latvian archaeologist as a public figure, a social or political activist.

Keywords: *Latvian and world archaeology, archaeological thought, current theoretical discussions, political activism, new challenges.*

Introduction

The 21ˢᵗ century officially began on 1 January 2001, and the 2020 can be considered as a milestone when we have spent two full decades in this century. This is a good point of reference, which allows some reflection on what is happening today. So far globally this century has been marked by significant economic growth, expanding consumer culture, technological development and the Fourth Industrial Revolution, a severe financial crisis, military conflicts, a migrant crisis and terrorism, mistrust of governments and traditional media, as well as the UK's withdrawal from the European Union and a global pandemic. The hottest debate in recent years has been the climate crisis, fuelled by global warming. At the same time, the 21ˢᵗ century is marked by a heightened attention to human rights in the public sphere, including issues related to gender and sexual minorities. These and many other challenges also play an important role in the development of scientific discourse.

In the global archaeological community, there are increasing calls for political activism and determined efforts to change paradigms and redefine the ontological foundations of archaeology. Such prominent communities as the World Archaeological Congress (WAC), European Association of Archaeologists (EEA) and the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) are increasingly highlighting the threats and challenges of today's world.

Here a small chronicle is outlined, indicating just some of the biggest events in politics, economics, and science on a global scale:

2001 – 9/11 – September 11 terrorist attacks;

2002 – introduction of the euro;

2003 – complete sequencing of the human genome;

2004 – Sumatra-Andaman earthquake – the strongest earthquake in our century;

2005 – a major milestone in the fight against global warming, the Kyoto Protocol was enacted;

2006 – *Twitter* launched;

2007 – the first *iPhones* released;

2008 – the global financial crisis (GFC) and recession;

2009 – the first African-American president of the United States – Barack Obama (1961) – was inaugurated;

2010 – Large Hadron Collider (LHC) achieved first results; the demonstrations and revolts called 'The Arab Spring' began;

2011 – emergence of digital cryptocurrencies such as *Bitcoin* and others;

2012 – discovery of Higgs boson;

2013 – *Euromaidan* demonstrations in Ukraine;

2014 – the largest Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) outbreak ever recorded;

2015 – peak of the European migrant crisis;

2016 – major terrorist attacks around the globe;

2017 – beginning of *Brexit* negotiations between the United Kingdom and the European Union;

2018 – the first private company – Space Exploration Technologies Corporation (*SpaceX*) launched an object into orbit around the Sun;

2019 – a series of international youth strikes and protests to demand immediate action on climate change – 'Global Week for Future';

2020 – worldwide COVID-19 pandemic.

It may seem to us that all this has nothing to do with archaeology or the research of prehistory, but it must be said that the archaeological community, especially in Europe, is actively following everything that is happening around the globe. All of these processes also have an impact on archaeological research.

Can archaeologists change the world?

What we see in recent conferences and publications of WAC, EAA and TAG is a clear desire to be active, involved and, most interestingly, to attribute moral responsibility to the archaeological profession. In the call for EAA 2019 Annual Meeting in Bern, with the motto *Beyond Paradigms*, the President of the European Association of Archaeologists Felipe Criado-Boado (1960), mentioned that the active participation "(..) *is the most effective way we can keep Archaeology alive, socially relevant, culturally engaged and ready to contribute to the welfare of our societies* (..)" [Criado-Boado 2018b]. Thus, an archaeologist as a scientist is expected to be willing to contribute to the well-being of society not only to serve abstract scientific purposes.

Theoretical underpinnings of 21st century archaeology seems a bit confused about the various global challenges the world is facing. If the end of the 20th century is associated with the postmodern theory, the gloomy prospects of the future, the threat of relativism and the possible loss of archaeology in the crossfire between various political goals; then for a longer time now, as in other humanities, theorists are trying to find a new term to describe the current status quo. Many researchers consider postmodernism to be over. One of the most significant turning points in the Western world is certainly the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, which sparked a debate over the 'death of the theory' [Bintliff, Pearce 2011]. Some call this time 'post-postmodern' [Truong 2015].

Since 2008, archaeological milieu has begun to talk about an ontological turn towards post-humanist materialism. However, others would say that postmodernism is exactly what we are experiencing now – objective knowledge and truths are not expected from science, while diversity, pluralism, fragmentation of thought is being celebrated. There are researchers who do not see a new era, but a continuation of

modernity as late-, hyper- or super-modernity, late- or hyper- capitalism, post-industrialism, the information age or simply neo-modernism. Most acknowledge the sense of insecurity during this time, which is reflected in the inability to clearly define change. Something is changing, but no one really understands what exactly and what will be the result of it [Fahlander 2012].

Kristian Kristiansen has proposed that changes in archaeological thought should be seen as a paradigm shift influenced by the third scientific revolution – a significant increase in the Big Data and especially the DNA research offered by the STEM disciplines [Kristiansen 2014]. In the case of Latvian archaeology, the contribution of natural sciences has indeed been significant in light of the recent discoveries [e. g., Legzdiņa, Vasks et al. 2020]. Of course, we could argue with Kristiansen that this is not a revolution, but in fact a consistent, protracted and difficult path of research. This is not something that happened in one day, but more likely was attained gradually. Theoretically this approach is also grounded in the same old positivism and scientific optimism – the idea that simple accumulation of scientific data at some point in the foreseeable future will yield answers to some of the pre-selected 'big questions'.

A common characteristic of our age is the growing prevalence of such questions as: *Can archaeologist contribute to the modern society and be an active agent in solving global problems? Can archaeologists help individuals and communities? Can archaeologists change the world?* This envisions a range of problems that 'archaeological activism' or 'activist archaeology' is concerned about. Their thesis is that with our professional knowledge we can make a significant contribution to society. However, it is not only about knowledge; economic benefits are also advertised, with archaeologists being able to attract money to communities by participating in development projects seeking to promote the local cultural heritage as a touristic asset [Gould 2018; McGuire 2008; Stottman 2010].

If we look deeper, the classical ideas of political Left permeate contemporary research quite noticeably. Criticism of capitalism and various variants of Marxism is playing an increasingly important role in academic society. It is weird how capitalism has become one of the main scapegoats to blame for problems in archaeology. From the Marxist point of view, the current archaeological practices are in many ways unethical [Hamilakis, Duke 2007].

This is a call to 9th World Archaeological Congress in Prague 2020 (due to pandemic postponed to 2022): "(..) *in reaction to the relentless expansion of hyper-capitalist economy-led globalization and the exacerbation of postcolonial problems, Archaeology with Capital A has been reorganizing itself by proactively 'localizing' itself into an increasing number of 'archaeologies' differentiated along issues concerning inequality, discrimination, injustices, destruction of cultural heritage and identities, and infringement of basic human rights generated by the deepening crisis* (..)" [Mizoguchi

2020]. Address by Congress President Koji Mizoguchi (1963) emphasizes the global crisis, by using an unusual phrase of Marxist Newspeak – globalization caused by the 'hyper-capitalist' economy, which is blamed for all the world's problems and injustices.

The following was an invitation from the President of the EAA to the 2018 Congress in Barcelona: "(..) [Annual Meeting] *occurs at a time of worrying political developments in many European countries (..). When we celebrate the two hundredth birthday of Marx, it seems that many solid pillars melt into air. (..) I used to say that Archaeology is all about the future, because Archaeology is about the capacity to reflect on how the future came into existence. (..) Thus, when EAA faces its 25th anniversary, the big question to be asked is: What Archaeology will do to mobilize a transformative understanding of our societies in times as complicated as these? (..)*" [Criado-Boado 2018a].

What are the conclusions? Allegedly, the whole discipline is celebrating Marx's birthday and archaeology should be a visible socially significant force for changing the future. Surprisingly, Marx's 200th birthday confirmed the big difference in historical experience among EU member states, indicating how diametrically opposed attitudes towards one person can be and how the suffering of one can be a celebration for others. Indeed, President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker (1954) participated in celebrations along with the leader of communist China [Churm 2018]. Some EU members, questioning whether a person of such a rank as Juncker, representing all the member states, should have taken such a controversial decision [Tomašić 2018], however, harshly criticized this reverence to one of the founding fathers of a bygone totalitarian ideology.

The Estonian Institute of Historical Memory declared that "(..) *by participating in the festivities in Trier, Germany, celebrating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founding father of communism, the President of the European Commission is ignoring the fate of millions of victims of communism. The Communist Manifesto (..) became the political programme of the communist movement, prescribed violent class struggle and the subjection of all relations in society to total control. (..) We have no alternative but to see Karl Marx as bearing joint responsibility for the consequences of the ideology that he initiated, and not merely as a utopian philosopher. The participation of the President of the European Commission in Marx's bicentenary festivities does not support a deeper mutual understanding among European peoples with differing historical experiences. This is a moral conflict (..)*" [Estonian Institute of Historical Memory 2018].

The fact is that if archaeologists want to get involved in politics, they must also take into account political opponents and diversity of opinion. The old misunderstanding that communism brings friendship, peace and harmony between

peoples unfortunately does not convince those whose empirical experience shows otherwise.

The case of *Brexit* was an interesting example of how politically active modern archaeology is trying to be. An emergency session was even convened during the EAA Annual Meeting in Vilnius in 2016 [Criado-Boado 2016], and all future archaeological congresses and conferences by now are already discussing the prehistoric contexts of *Brexit* [Gardner, Harrison 2017]. Archaeologists are actively involved in blaming ethno- and neo- nationalism, the post-truth era, demonizing certain unreliable or less educated groups in society with whom scientists no longer want anything in common. Often this kind of theoretical approach to archaeology and history leads to the same style *argumentum ad passiones* or even *ad hominem* as it was initially supposed to condemn. It must be said, however, that such uncritical tossing of neologisms as insults leads to an unnecessary polarization of society. If there is a post-truth age now, then it must be admitted that there once was an age of truth [Golubevs 2019]. If some pieces of news are fake, then others can never be wrong. If someone has obtained the title of scientist, the person is free from biases and so on.

Although there are calls for political engagement and civic participation, such initiatives create a closed bubble. The so called 'mainstream' media are so afraid of liars, populists, racists and chauvinists that to avoid misconceptions we pretend they do not exist at all, sacrificing a balanced diversity of views in the name of truth [Volka 2016]. The same pattern evolves in archaeological community. Theoretical discussions tend to ignore the thoughts and needs of the 'uneducated' majority of society, thus avoiding the social reality. By moving away from the public which shares nationalist, conservative, or even centrist political sentiments, archaeologists run the risk of becoming irrelevant to a very large section of society, all of which are uncritically classified as populists.

The key concepts

Historiographical survey shows that the period considered in this article in general can be distinguished by the radicalization of opinions and criticism of capitalism conducted by the Western intelligentsia. Under the influence of young left-wing scholars, academia calls for a revolution in thought, thus usurping the role of guardians of morality and truth. Archaeology as a science that works with material evidence of history is very suitable for playing out such narratives.

Relatively recently, such an interesting idea as '**anarchist**' archaeology has entered the academic environment. With claims that archaeology itself uses patriarchal, hierarchic praxis and promotes alienation of labour, many scholars call for a radical reorganization of the discipline, abandonment of authorities, as well as fighting the

Nazis [Borck, Sanger 2017; Eddisford, Morgan 2018; Morgan 2019]. However, their ideas are not clear yet; neither has it been comprehensible who those Nazis are.

So far, such ideas have not been found in Latvia. Some research shows that the Latvian archaeological system is very stable and highly academic, as well as equal in terms of gender structure [Šnē, Vijups, Mintaurs 2014: 14; 29]. Although some researchers have recently increased their public engagement, the authority of the archaeologists is not in doubt.

Modern archaeological thought is a visible witness of its time. The **global economic crisis** did hit hard archaeology as a discipline, so the theme of crisis entered academic discussions as well. For example – *Archaeology and the Global Economic Crisis: multiple impacts, possible solution* [Schlanger, Aitchison 2010] and many others [see, for example, Driessen, Cunningham 2017; van der Wilt, Martínez Jiménez, Petruccioli 2013].

Although Latvian archaeologists did experience the effects of the crisis in their daily lives, this was not reflected in the research, but instead they felt a heightened moral responsibility for their work, and in 2009 the Latvian Society of Archaeologists (*Latvijas Arheologu biedrība*) was founded, which also helped to solve some financial problems [Urtāns, Virse 2010: 6].

One of the biggest topics of the 21st century in public sphere and archaeology is **climate change**, global warming and related issues. Many researchers are raising awareness about endangered heritage, especially along coastlines where rising water levels impact archaeological monuments [Dawson, Nimura, López-Romero, Daire 2017]. There are researchers who do see a path for archaeology here to become actually relevant by helping modern communities to build the resilience against the effects of climate change [van de Noort 2013]. To put it simply – archaeology can provide stories relating experiences of the past, which gives an opportunity to learn from mistakes and success of our predecessors. "(..) *In archaeology, sustainability has traditionally connoted people living sustainably in the past. While adaptive and resilient groups lived sustainably within the carrying capacity of their environments, unsustainable groups, less adaptive and with lower resilience, exceeded their environmental capacities* (..)" [Hutchings, La Salle 2019: 1653].

Such recurring buzzwords as '**sustainability**' and '**resilience**' have become a must-have almost in every archaeological project. In addition, many authors try to exploit these terms as much as possible. In archaeology, it seems to be limited to instructions on how to accept and overcome the loss – by building the resilience [Chiu, Tsang 2013; Hutchings, La Salle 2019].

However, recently there have been noticeable attempts to make a better use of this word. For instance, Guttmann-Bond [2019] has tried to look harder for those positive experiences of the past and make us believe that perhaps archaeology can

really save the planet by reinventing ingeniously simple but long-lost ideas. Of course, another question is how much influence archaeologists do really have on global politics. Are our ideas heard? Do our big budget projects still rather not limit themselves with empty phrases that conform to some prevailing mood?

One of the strangest terms we find in modern archaeology is 'anthropocene'. Numerous publications, reports, research groups that have exploited this term are continuously produced [Meharry, Haboucha, Comer 2017; McCorriston, Field 2019; Resilience in East African Landscapes 2019].

However, if we delve deeper, we discover that the use of such a word is not scientifically justified. The fact that the media and social networks talk about something does not make it a scientific concept. The Anthropocene chronology also varies from the 50s of 20th century up to the time of hominids as a reference point. If this term refers to a stratigraphic layer, then in theory we should rename the cultural layer as such to "Anthropocene". Some archaeologists have already pointed to the unjustified use of the term, but there are many who use it uncritically in varying contexts [Woodfill 2019].

Currently there is very little research related to prehistoric climate and ecology in Latvia. In-depth research on these topics has been carried out by members of other disciplines, but not by archaeologists themselves [e. g., Steinberga, Stivrins 2021; Zunde 2016).

Problems of the 21st century also extend to areas such as archaeological research on violence. Research on conflict and military violence coincide with current manifestations of armed violence around the world [see, for example, Ralph 2013; González-Ruibal, Moshenska 2015; Fernández-Götz, Roymans 2017]. Conflict and violence permeate human history, but the highlighting of specific topics in particular historical circumstances marks a certain pattern. This reveals to us the therapeutic endeavours of archaeological research. Researchers are witnesses of their time and, unable to come to terms with what is happening around them, look for answers in the past.

Interestingly, with the wider use of the term 'globalization' in our century, what was at the beginning related to more economic strategies [Moody-Stuart 2002], a 'prehistoric globalization' also appeared [Vandkilde 2007; Jennings 2011; Hodos 2017].

However, obviously linked to the migrant crisis, past migration is now being studied very extensively. There are calls to abandon the myths created by nation states about the continuous population and borders of the territory. Instead, various influential institutions choose the theory of constant migration and cultural openness as the main research direction [Sanchez-Mazas, Blench, Ross, Peiros, Lin 2008; de Ligt, Tacoma 2016; Naum, Ekengren 2018; Gatto, Mattingly, Ray, Sterry 2019].

Responding to the timeliness of the subject, Latvian researchers in 2019 also published an interdisciplinary study on cultural migrations in the territory of Latvia

in various historical periods and contexts [Rožkalne 2019]. The study emphasizes the multi-ethnic composition of the Latvian population and intensive processes of cultural migration. At the same time, the editor does not hide that the international, political trendiness of migration research is related to the 2014–2015 migrant crisis [Kūlis 2019: 12]. The chapters related to archaeology highlight the tangible friction between the 'nationalistic' view of monolithic Latvian collective identity and Latvians as the main subject of research, as opposed to the idea of this area as a crossroads [Zemītis 2019: 352–353]. The chapter on demographic processes in the Stone Age [Zariņa 2019] generally deals only very conditionally with the topic of migration. Andrejs Vasks' article on migration in Latvia's prehistory also does not offer any revolutionary perspective on this issue, emphasizing the hypothetical nature of various theories about ethnic processes and the origin of ethno-cultural groups in this area [Vasks 2019]. Overall, this multidisciplinary monograph lacks authenticity, leaving an impression of vague and stilted attempt to 'sign up' under a foreign imposed narrative.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, archaeologists cannot find a unified conceptual language in relation to migrationism or diffusionism as causes for cultural change. Kristiansen today is sure that even though some processualists for a while had tried to deny prehistoric mobility, migrations are the real historical fact, "(..) *We knew that already without hard sciences* (..)" [Kristiansen 2014: 42]. He says that, "(..) *mobility paradigm is very much in tune with both the ideology of global capitalism and the lives of cosmopolitan academics. There is nothing strange, therefore, in archaeologists finding mobility in Prehistory today. In fact, they found it before* (..)" [Kristiansen 2014: 43]. However, can something really be a hard fact in our field, if each subsequent ideology and even the subjective experience of the researcher is able to change it in the direction of a radically opposite explanation?

The archaeological thought of the 21st century so far is characterized by pluralism, deep specialization and diversity. In addition, such grand theories as processualism or post-processualism and the polarization between academics seems to be forgotten. More and more we borrow ideas and approaches from social sciences, anthropology and other disciplines [Lucas 2015]. At the same time, history of science and source criticism indicate that many studies of contemporary theoretical archaeology can be criticized for a distinctly anachronistic approach, possibly even unscientific and unreasonably emotional engagement with popular topics. The role of the new, digital individualism, self-centeredness, is certainly still completely incomprehensible in the theory of archaeology. An essential feature of this era is the fact that contemporary problems and the study of one's personal political or social views seem to scholars more relevant than attempts to approach the objective truth of the past.

"(..) *Perspectives that argue that we should use the empirical evidence to develop new theories implicitly assume that our aim as archaeologists is to uncover the past, when it seems to me that the whole point of the discipline is to provide us with ways of thinking through troublesome issues in the present – whether those are climatic change, temporality, or gendered identity* (..)" [Brück 2015: 34].

Today few are interested in belonging to processualist or post-processualist school, much more focusing on specific topics – the environment, postcolonialism, gender, feminism etc. [see Bacus 1993; Linduff, Sun 2004; Koch, Kirleis 2019]. We can ask a provocative question along the lines of scientific ethics regarding a conflict of interest. How objective will the study be if a female scientist chooses feministic research approach? Does the desire to romanticize some oppressed societal groups, such as slaves, provide a true account of history? It still cannot be excluded that the researcher might select and highlight the facts he or she likes, concealing ideological inconveniences.

Conclusions

We can conclude that significant new ideas in archaeology have not appeared during these last two decades. At some point, everything has been already discussed during the 20th century. In any case, we are seeing constant efforts of archaeology to keep up with the times and to sacrifice a certain amount of scientific credibility to discuss ideological problems.

Archaeologist is now expected to become a publicly engaged figure. Kristiansen declares that he "(..) *do not recommend a return to a Romantic past where the polymath and antiquarian was a central figure* (..) *we need to find new forms of such engagements, from blogging to online histories that are revised and expanded on a daily basis. It can take the form of national histories, European histories or gender histories, immigration histories etc. The sky is the limit. But this would also demand a revision of the role of the historian/archaeologist/intellectual as a publicly engaged figure, and a redirection of funding towards new forms of public engagements* (..) *we need to explore in a scientific way the many new possibilities of engaging with the past in the present* (..)" [Kristiansen 2014: 27].

As for Latvian archaeology, it seems that these 20 years have passed in a different mood. Looking back at what was written during the 2000s, there still is a very slow transition from the Soviet system and ideas about how to do archaeology. Comparing the national discourse of Latvian history and archaeology with the tendencies of European archaeology, a feeling of disconnection sometimes arises. Perhaps they are not just separate lines of thought; perhaps the scientific schools we represent are different already at the basic level of values and ideals, although EAA president has written: "(..) *Having experienced the changing notion of what it is to be 'European'*

through the 25 years of the EAA, it is perhaps the moment to remember that Europe represents, first and last, an inclusive conciliation of individual liberal ideals and solidarity in terms of community values, something that exemplifies well the North and South, the East and West traditions (..) placed somewhere within the Far East and the Far West, this is the best contribution that Europe can offer to the World (..)" [Criado-Boado 2019].

Nevertheless, so far with few exceptions, the activities of our scientists are more related to pragmatic research, scientific processing and classification of archaeological material accumulated in archives over many years. The most significant breakthrough is the tendency to look for an interdisciplinary approach and new methods, such as the application of geospatial information analysis; also, the situation in Radiocarbon dating slowly starts to improve.

Many young researchers are looking towards archaeometry. However, the so-called Big Data is only gradually entering our research. This will, of course, lead to thinking about archiving and interpretation methods, the capacity of human resources and institutions to store and process the information collected. In the field of theory, Latvian archaeology is definitely conservative. There is no comparative material, no monographs in relation to global trending topics. Even if some current ideas are adapted, then by no means can we talk about archaeologist as a public figure, social or political activist. We do not really have such a tradition. The community of archaeologists and the professional Latvian Society of Archaeologists are not in a hurry to get involved in any political discussions and declarative statements, as we see in many other parts of the world. A positivist and empirical approach to science can be seen in most current Latvian research. Does this mean that we have not yet reached the self-reflective stage of science? Do we, perhaps still have our own alternative view about the meaning of archaeological practice? In the long run, however, it cannot be ruled out that the trends we see in the world will reach us as well, because there will simply be issues that supranational institutions will lobby through projects via the flow of funding. Let us hope that this will not be an obstacle to maintaining high scientific standards, national academic traditions and critical thinking.

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KOKNESE FRONT FORTIFICATIONS. TOO BIG TO BE SEEN

Dr.hist., Dr.habil.art. **Juris Urtāns**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

The article is focused on the history of Koknese Fortress Front fortifications which were built from September 1700 to May 1701 in order to enhance the defence power of Koknese Fortress. The total length of the defence line exceeded 4 km. The line contained 25 redoubts.

After the loss of Spilve battle close to Riga, the Saxon troops retreated from Koknese, on 25 July 1701 Koknese Fortress was blown up and after that was not used for military purposes anymore. The outer defence line of Koknese Fortress never faced military attacks and after 1701 was abandoned, partially levelled by agriculture work, destroyed by activities of the First and the Second World Wars, building of houses, roads and motorway, establishing a cemetery on one of the earthworks, flooding by Pļaviņas hydroelectric power station, etc.

At present the front defence system of Koknese Fortress has partially survived, but until the last years the particular system of defence line had not been clearly identified. Now it has been done comparing an image of Koknese from 1701 with the results of aerial and traditional reconnaissance.

Koknese front fortification line is a unique monument under circumstances of Latvia.

Keywords: *Northern War, front defence system, redoubt.*

Koknese is situated at the Daugava River in present day Latvia. Stone castle in Koknese was built by Riga archbishop after 1209. In the run of time, Koknese Castle many times changed its rulers. In September 1700, during the Northern War, the fortress was occupied by Russian and Saxon troops. To enhance the defence power of Koknese Fortress and following the military doctrine not to allow attackers with their cannons approach the fortress, about 10–12,000 soldiers from September 1700 up to May 1701 built Koknese Fortress front fortifications. The total length of the defence line exceeded 4 km. The line contained 25 redoubts.

After the loss of Spilve battle close to Riga, the Saxon troops retreated from Koknese, Koknese Fortress on 25 July 1701 was blown up and after that was not used for military purposes anymore. The outer defence line of Koknese Fortress never faced military attacks and after 1701 was abandoned, partially levelled by agriculture work, destroyed by activities of the First and the Second World Wars, building of houses, roads and motorway, establishing a cemetery on one of the earthworks, flooding by Pļaviņas hydroelectric power station, etc.

At present the front defence system of Koknese Fortress has partially survived, but until the last years the particular system of defence line had not been clearly identified. Now it has been done comparing an image of Koknese from 1701 with the results of aerial and traditional reconnaissance.

Koknese front fortification line is a unique monument under circumstances of Latvia and not only Latvia, because elsewhere, cities developing, fortifications of this kind have disappeared, but Koknese as a city wasting away, the front fortification line has largely retained its integrity.

Koknese Hillfort, stone castle with a forecourt, ancient city, their fortifications, respective ancient burial sites, cemeteries and other features are intertwined cultural values significant for Latvia and the whole Baltics as well, which is of archaeological, architectonic, historical, scenic and other importance. Koknese complex has been and is extensively studied, but still there is no uniform, summarizing monographic research of Koknese yet. Koknese as a fortress, which was situated on strategically important site at the main waterway, the Daugava, was incessantly improved according to military ideas of its time. Further transformations changed or even wiped out the military structures of bygone times. This especially refers to the final stage of the existence of Koknese Fortress in the 16th–17th cent. and the beginning of the 18th cent., when former fortifications were replaced with earth fortifications. The end of Koknese as fortress is associated with the Great Northern War, which, especially in its initial stage, took place on the territory of today's Latvia [for more detail, see: Dunsdorfs 1962].

On 7 November 1700, Koknese Fortress was reconquered from Swedes by Saxon army.[1] Following military idea of the time, in order to push off the attacking enemy and their artillery [Bürger 2014], in late autumn of 1700 and in the spring of 1701, when garrison under command of Saxon colonel Adam Heinrich Bose was in Koknese, more than 4 km long semi-circular front fortification line was built

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[1] The aim of the article is not to give a broader generalization of Koknese history, but only to describe the front fortification line of Koknese Fortress in its present condition. Here and henceforth historical reference concerning the last period of the existence of Koknese Fortress and building of front fortifications, has been drawn mainly from studies by R. Malvess and J. Blese [Malvess 1968; Blese 1998].

around Koknese main fortress at a certain distance from it. The line consisted of 25 larger and smaller redoubts interconnected by ditches. Similar fortifications were built also round other important 17th–18th cent. fortifications. The task of these front fortifications was not to allow the enemy approach close to the main fortification, so that they could be efficiently fired at by the artillery. However, military praxis showed that such extended fortifications could be successfully defended only when the defenders had a large garrison at their disposal; otherwise, the long fortification line was quite easily passed by the enemy.

Koknese garrison (troops were deployed also in neighbouring manors) contained one battalion; later they were joined by another battalion, manned mainly by Russian and Lithuanian soldiers, who probably must have done the main work in building Koknese front fortification line. Living force of the garrison is estimated to have been approximately 10–12,000 men. Besides the front fortification line, in 1700/1701 fortifications of Koknese Fortress were improved and rebuilt, a closed road was fixed between the Fortress and the Daugava, which ensured undisturbed retreat of the army to the opposite bank of the Daugava.

Koknese front fortifications did not witness direct military activities. Greater part of Koknese Saxon garrison at the beginning of the summer of 1701, went to Riga, where on 9 July they suffered a heavy defeat in Spilve meadows. On 24 July 1701, A. H. Bose, commander of Koknese garrison, fearing attack by the Swedes and realizing that he would not be able to defend Koknese with their own forces, retreated across the Daugava to Courland along a previously built raft bridge. On the next day, Koknese Castle was blown up when a fuse lighted up by the Saxons reached the explosives. After that the Fortress was not maintained anymore; front fortification also lost their significance.

It should be assumed that Koknese Fortress had been earlier encircled by earth fortifications built either by defenders of the Castle or assailants, because in the 17th cent. Koknese Castle was several times captured and reconquered in mutual Swedish – Polish – Russian wars.

A lithograph depicting blowing up Koknese Fortress in 1701 is essential in understanding and investigating Koknese front fortification line, which has been accurately displayed in the lithograph (Figure 1). Author of the lithograph is not known with certainty; it is possible that the author was Swedish engineer Johan Liten [Malvess 1968a: 43–44]. J. C. Brotze wrote that this copper engraving was wrong in many ways, and J. C. Brotze's commentators agree with him [Broce 2002: 259], but R. Malvess asked them to be critical about such statement [Malvess 1968a: 43–44]. Possibly depiction of blowing up the fortress and movement of the troops might be treated more critically, but depiction of redoubts of the front fortification line at least on the right bank of the Pērse at Koknese church seems quite feasible.
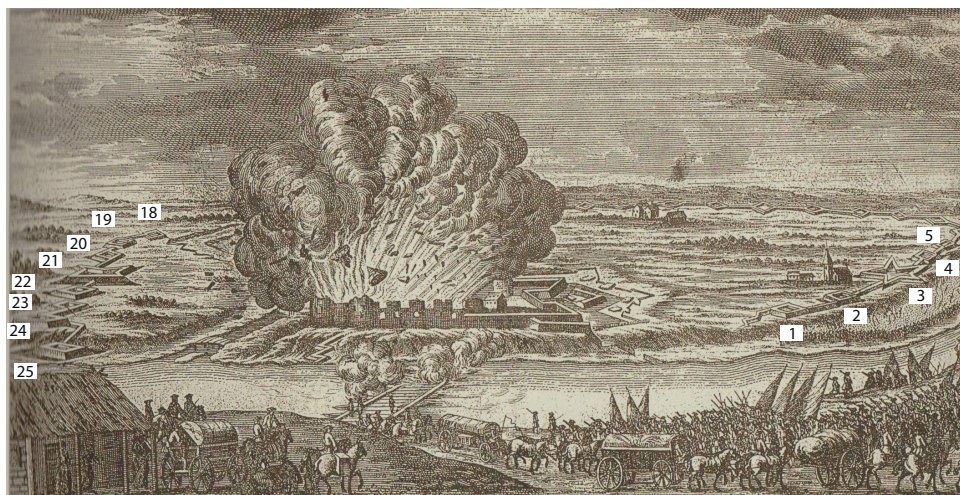
Figure 1. Koknese Fortress with front fortification line in 1701 (in: Broce, 2002, 259), with the present numbering of localized and matched redoubts. Prepared by J. Urtāns, drawn by R. Delvers.

Comparing the location of redoubts of the right bank of the Pērse with the redoubts shown in the lithograph, it can be stated that type of redoubts and their layout both in the depiction and *in situ* is appropriate. In the lithograph, the central four-pointed redoubt has been shown as the largest, as it is also *in situ*. However, in NE part of the front fortification system in the lithograph, more redoubts have been shown than exist in reality.

On the whole, Koknese front fortifications have not attracted greater researchers' interest, because this interest has always been connected rather with Koknese Castle itself, castle forecourt and site of the city. Evidence of more recent condition of Koknese front fortification has been provided in work by student of local history J. Blese. He noted that in the most artificially built front fortification – corner fortification at Koknese church – in 1896, graveyard of Löwenstern family, owners of Koknese manor, was fixed, later – churchyard and Koknese village cemetery [Blese 1998: 63]. J. Blese wrote also about fortification line and its condition in N Koknese and on the right bank of the Pērse [Blese 1998: 63–64, 116]. For the time being, results of Koknese front fortification research have been published only in short thesis articles [Urtans 2010; Urtāns 2020]. Military fortifications of the beginning of Early Modern Times in Latvia have not been much studied in a broader sense either [Brežgo 1936; Stubavs 1974; Ose 2007; Ose 2008].

Koknese front fortification line – redoubts and moats connecting them – had been built in very short time in order to push off possible attackers – Swedes – from opportunity to get nearer Koknese Fortress defended by the Saxons and to fire at

Figure 2. Koknese front fortification line in aerial laser scanning with the present
numeration of redoubts. Prepared by J. Urtāns, drawn by R. Delvers.

them directly. Redoubts had been shaped in such a way that from each redoubt
they could flank and fire at approach to neighbouring redoubt and so not to allow
approaching of enemy. The line of redoubts to E from Koknese Fortress behind
the valley of the Pērse River in direct line is situated approximately 0.8 km from
the Fortress, on N – at a distance of about 1.1–1.2 km, but on NE side the line is
farther from the Fortress, about 1.3–1.4 km. All the redoubts had been connected
by a fortification ditch (Figures 2, 3); earth dug out from the ditch seems to have
been thrown on the inner side of the ditch throughout the whole system, making
a parapet. The present width of the ditch is about 5–6 m, width of the parapet is
about 8–9 m. Redoubts generally are all alike according to their shape and size. In the
plan they are square-shaped, although the square is not always geometrically precise,
one glacis is approximately 40 m long (Figure 4). The redoubt was encircled by a
ditch on all four sides (Figures 5, 6), but inside the redoubt there had been a parapet
which has hardly ever survived. The redoubts are interconnected by ditch which
normally begins from a corner of the redoubt. Distances between redoubts are not
equal; they vary from about 90 to about 150 m (where distance can be detected).
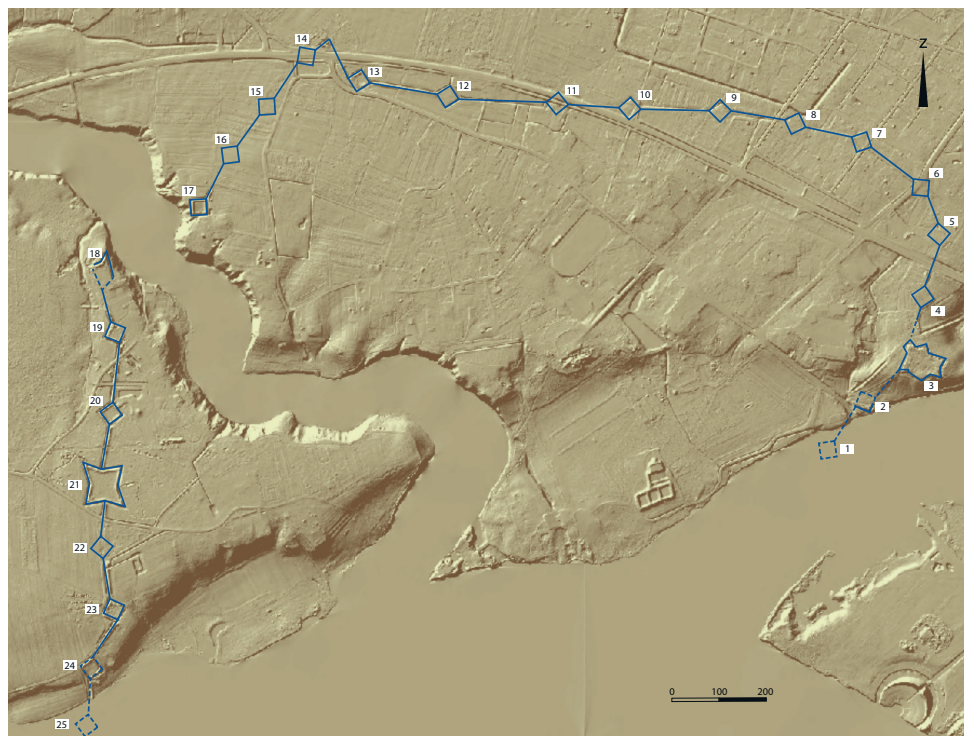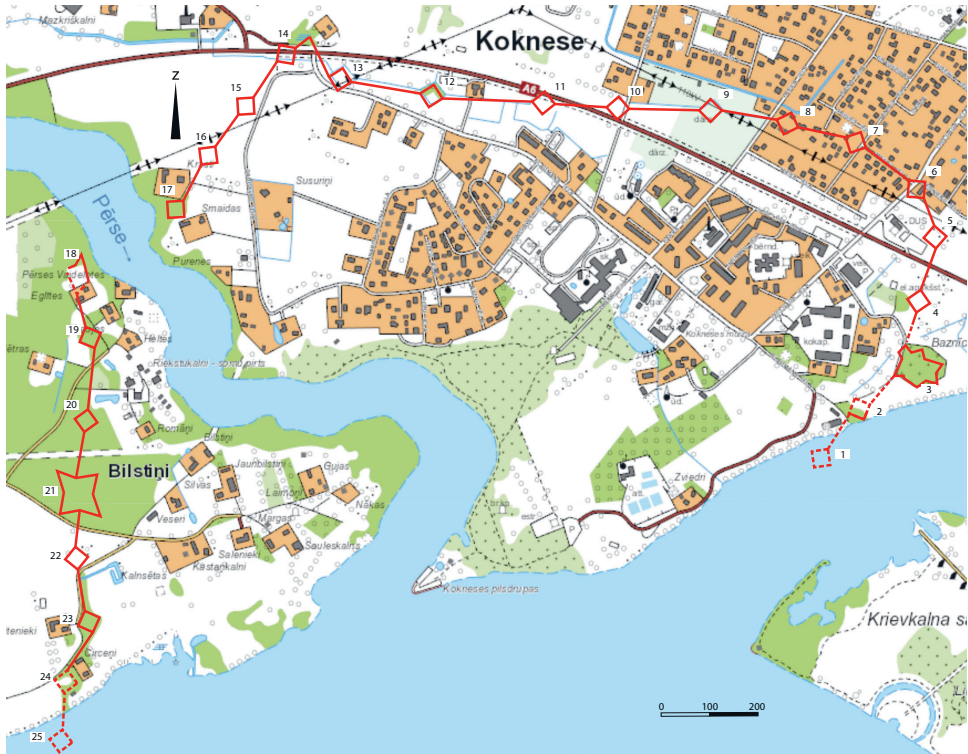
Figure 3. Koknese front fortification line on contemporary map with the present numeration of redoubts. Prepared by J. Urtāns, drawn by R. Delvers.
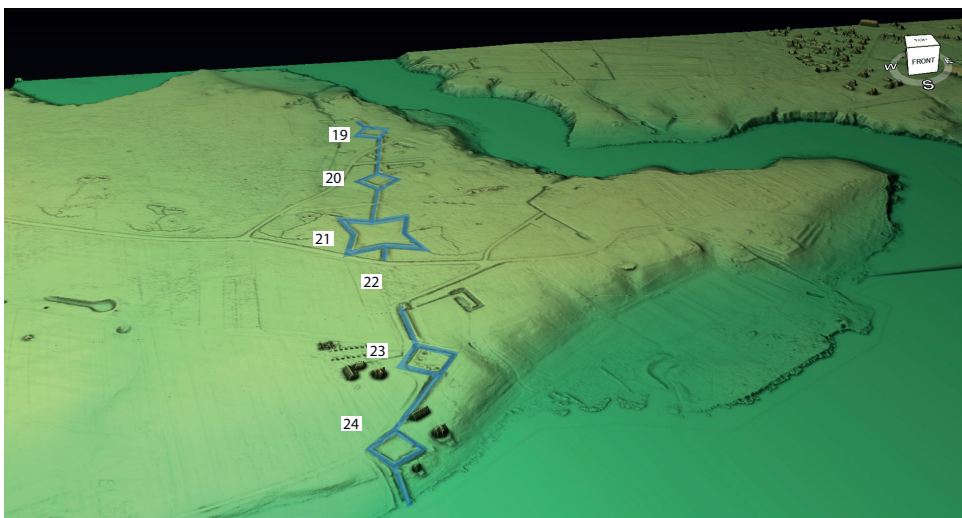

Figure 4. Redoubts 19–24. 3D model. Developed by G. Kalniņš.

Figure 5. East fortification ditch of redoubt 3, with a breach and today's cemetery. Photo by J. Urtāns.

Figure 6. North glacis of redoubt 17 and ditch. Photo by J. Urtāns.

Two redoubts in E and W parts of the fortification line (redoubts 3 and 21) were larger and shaped differently; they had significance of a more central fortification (Figures 4, 5). Koknese front fortification line has not been shaped with geometric accuracy.

In order to understand the fortification system easier, each redoubt localized *in situ* has been given a consecutive number; this redoubt, if its conformity is grounded, has been allotted the same number in the lithograph as well. Concordance of redoubts 5–17 cannot be stated with certainty, that is why they have not been numbered in the lithograph. In the lithograph, part of the front fortification line is covered up by the smoke column rising from the blown-up Koknese Fortress. The redoubts have been numbered from the bank of the Daugava above the Fortress, then consecutively along a large semicircle through today's Koknese to the Pērse River, across the river and then as far as the Daugava below Koknese Fortress (Figures 1–3). Description of each redoubt is followed by characterisation of the fortification ditch leading to the next redoubt. In localization of the redoubts, aerial laser scanning data and aerial photograph taken for needs of reconnaissance during the Second World War (hereinafter – aerial photograph), have been used.

Redoubt 1. In the lithograph, the four-cornered redoubt on the high bank of the Daugava to NW from Koknese Lutheran church was depicted as the extreme one in the fortification line. This redoubt seems to have been levelled in later times – its outline cannot be seen on maps before flooding, now probable remains of the redoubt are covered by Pļaviņas water-reservoir.

Remains of **Redoubt 2** had not been previously noticed. It is located to SE from Koknese Lutheran church. In the lithograph the redoubt has been depicted four-cornered. *In situ* the redoubt is marked by one corner with glacis[1], directed towards the Daugava; SE glacis and the ditch have been partly preserved. Both glacis of the redoubt connect at the corner towards the Daugava. Ditch that should lead to redoubts 1 and 3 along the slope of the Daugava Valley, has not survived. Redoubt 2 had been situated where relief of the earth has been considerably transformed in later times.

Redoubt 3 in the lithograph has been depicted as a fortification in the shape of a five-pointed star, where each point of the star could be regarded as a separate bastion. Site of the redoubt was later adjusted to fixing up a cemetery, therefore the common shape of the redoubt as a five-pointed star, separate glacis and ditches cannot be discerned with certainty anymore. Outer shape of the redoubt has been best preserved in the direction towards the Daugava, where a bastion and its glacis on NE (Figure 5) and SW sides has been fairly well preserved, as well as a ditch to NE

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[1] Hereinafter glacis – a levelled slope of redoubt.

and SW from the bastion. To S the ditch of the redoubt turns, possibly, pointing at S bastion, but it has been largely levelled and transformed because of the cemetery. It is possible that half of SW bastion has survived. Inside of the redoubt and all the corner bastions is occupied by graves. The fortification ditch in the direction to redoubt 4 is not visible. Redoubt 3 has been one of the two main redoubts of the fortification line, the most important one on E side of the fortification system, it is estimated to have been 130 m across. Redoubt 3 was situated on a high bank of the Daugava; it had a good command of vast surroundings.

Redoubt 4 had been situated between redoubt 3 and the present Rīga – Daugavpils motorway. On site of the redoubt, relief has been transformed; now there is a field there and the redoubt cannot be seen. Its outline is fairly well visible in aerial photograph and aerial laser scanning, by which it can be judged that the redoubt had been four-cornered. The same can be seen in the lithograph.

Redoubt 5 – its site can be only suspected; it does not appear in aerial laser scanning either, but it can be identified in aerial photograph. On its probable site there is a wavy field with several ditches, but their association with redoubt 5 cannot be detected. It is possible that next to the motorway on the Daugava side, some features of fortification ditch have been preserved; on the other side of the motorway the ditch is not visible. It is possible that between redoubts 5 and 6, there had been one more redoubt, but the relief there is so much transformed that for the time being it cannot be verified.

Redoubt 6 and the appropriate fortification ditches have not been preserved and cannot be discerned *in situ*. Judging by the aerial photograph where the place of redoubt can be suspected, it had been situated on the intersection of *1905. gada*, *Mednieku* and *Māras* streets, in place where *1905. gada* street makes a small S-shaped bend. The redoubt had been built in the place where the fortification line turns to W. The ditch between redoubts 6 and 7 has been partly preserved, visually distinguishable, parallel to *Māras* street.

Redoubt 7 had been located in territory covered with private houses, in the vicinity of *Saules* and *Hanzas* street crossing, has not survived, but in aerial photograph and aerial laser scanning its outline can be discerned.

Redoubt 8 has not survived, its outline can be traced in aerial photograph, on the site of the redoubt, next to *Poruka* street, now private houses are situated. In aerial laser scanning the ditch between redoubts 7 and 8 can be traced, as well as between redoubts 8 and 9; *in situ* this ditch cannot be perceived.

Redoubt 9 is situated in territory of allotments (Figure 7). The redoubt is well marked by the corner directed to N with ditches and glacis on both sides. The redoubt had been quadrangular, its S side has been levelled and cannot be discerned. The fortification ditch from redoubt 9 against redoubt 8 fairly well marks itself only

Figure 7. Remains of redoubt 9 and fortification ditches from bird's eye view.
Photo by J. Urtāns.

as far as *Poruka* street; beyond *Poruka* street, where redoubt 9 must have been, the ditch does not mark itself anymore.

Redoubt 10 had been situated near the crossroads of *Zemeņu* street and Daugavpils motorway; *Zemeņu* street crosses the redoubt levelling its E edge. N part of the redoubt has been preserved, which also has been levelled out, but the corner and both glacis of the redoubt can be distinguished. The ditch between redoubts 10 and 11 can be seen well, it is a border between allotments in N and vacant territory in S.

Redoubt 11 had been situated exactly on the site of Rīga – Daugavpils motorway, it was destroyed by construction of the motorway. Probably some remains of the redoubt can be observed next to the motorway, on its S side. In more recent times, a footpath above the place of possible remains of the redoubt was built. The ditch between redoubts 10 and 11 had been in the place of the motorway or next to it, and has not been preserved.

Redoubt 12 is situated on S side of Daugavpils motorway, to E from Ragāļu inn. The redoubt has been well preserved, all four ditches and glacis of the redoubt are distinguishable, as well as ditch between redoubts 11 and 12. The redoubt is likely to have been levelled out in more recent times. Ditches of N corner of the redoubt have been joined by amelioration ditch, dug in more recent times.

Figure 8. Redoubt 13 and fortification ditches from bird's eye view. Photo by J. Urtāns.

Redoubt 13 is situated between the old and the new Rīga – Daugavpils motorway (Figure 8). The redoubt, like the fortification ditch between redoubts 12 and 13, can be well distinguished. It is not quite clear how the fortification ditch joins the W corner of the redoubt. There is a ditch, dug in more recent times, which at N corner of the redoubt is connected with amelioration ditch, which as a culvert runs below the new Rīga – Daugavpils motorway. If it is assumed that this ditch had been built in the place of the old fortification ditch, it might direct to redoubt 14. This ditch can be suspected also in the aerial photograph.

Redoubt 14 and its vicinity in the lithograph is covered by smoke and fire column of the blown-up Koknese Fortress, that is why situation of the redoubt in this area cannot be detected in the lithograph. Aerial laser scanning as if shows triangle-shaped dug-up ground on N side of the motorway at the garden edge of a house, but this ditch has been shaped in a different manner and cannot be associated with the old fortification system. Looking at the aerial laser scanning, on site of redoubt 15, the ditch from its N corner is directed towards redoubt 14. Outline of the redoubt can be discerned in aerial photograph; a road ran across the place of the redoubt at that time. Nowadays Rīga – Daugavpils motorway goes across redoubt 14, completely destroying it.
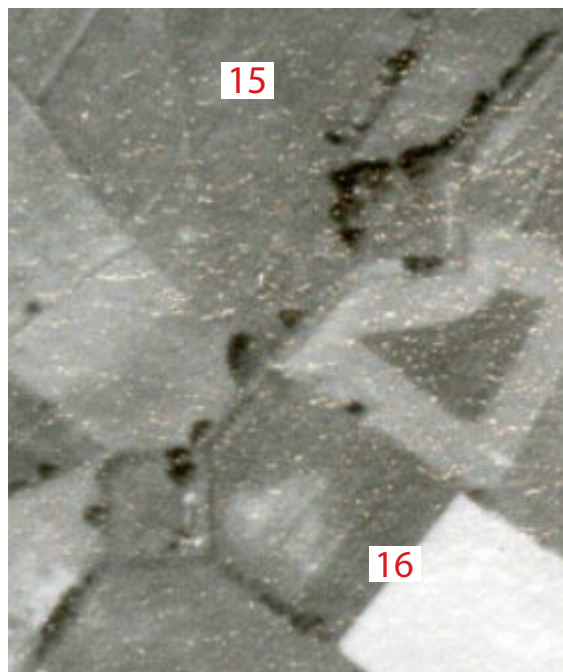
Figure 9. Redoubts 15 and 16, and connecting ditches,
not levelled yet. Aerial photograph of the Second World War.

Redoubt 15 and its ditches have been completely levelled, it has no outer visual signs, but in the aerial photograph, aerial laser scanning and modern aerial fixation, the four-cornered redoubt and its N side ditch can be unmistakably distinguished. On the site of the redoubt, which is situated next to *Daugavas* street, there is a field and a small protrusion in relief. The ditch connecting redoubts 15 and 16 cannot be distinguished in aerial laser scanning; it is well visible in aerial photograph. It is likely to have been destroyed by construction of *Daugavas* and *Blaumaņa* streets, because the probable route of the ditch should lead exactly along these streets.

Redoubt 16 has been totally levelled, now in its place there is a small protrusion in relief and a field. Outline of the redoubt can be noticed in aerial laser scanning; it can be seen also in aerial photograph (Figure 9).

Redoubt 17 is situated on the left bank in the former Valley of the Pērse River between *Krasti* and *Smaidas* homesteads. Four-cornered redoubt has retained all four glacis and a ditch (Figure 6), only N glacis and the ditch have been disturbed by some older dug-ups. The ditch encircles the whole redoubt, but opposite the steep bank of the Pērse, where it was of less importance, the ditch is shallower. Inside the redoubt, a parapet has been preserved at 1–1.5 m height, which might have been its initial height. In direction towards redoubt 16, at NE corner of redoubt 17, a ditch

begins, which ends at the driveway to *Krasti* homestead, but this ditch seems to have been dug in more modern times. Redoubt 17 is the last one on the left bank of the Pērse River. It is not visible in the lithograph, because it is screened by the smoke column of the explosion. Redoubt 17 has been best preserved of all the redoubts of the line.

Redoubt 18 is the first one on the right bank of the Pērse River. Of this redoubt a triangular projection on N side, enclosed by a ditch, and a ditch on E side opposite the Pērse, have been preserved. W part of the redoubt has been dug off, its inner and S part have been levelled; now there is a homestead yard here. Formations cannot be surely associated with the old fortification, because the ditch opposite the Pērse is too long to be one glacis of the redoubt, but only two key redoubts have the large triangular projection; however, redoubt 18 in the lithograph has been depicted as a simple four-cornered fortification (Figure 1). It can be assumed that there is a mistake in the lithograph, and redoubt 18 also had been one of key sites of the fortification line. Ditch to redoubt 19 is not visible *in situ*, but it as if marks itself in aerial laser scanning; closer to redoubt 19, the ditch marks itself better.

Redoubt 19 has well-preserved W part with corner protuberance, ditches and edge embankment, but in E part, approximately 1/3 of the redoubt has been dug up and levelled out; a homestead road leads past the redoubt here. S corner of the redoubt marks itself, too. Ditch from redoubt 19 to redoubt 20 is well marked, a parapet has been preserved on E side. The ditch is crossed by homestead roads in two places. It seems that between these two roads now in use, there had been an older road, where the ditch has become shallow. The road in S part has been built in more recent times, in order to make direct access to recreation home.

In the spring of 2004, a profile of the ditch and parapet was filed in digging over this road in the course of archaeological supervision (Figure 10). It turned out that the rampart at its base was approximately 8–9 m wide, but fortification ditch – 5.5 m wide. The depth of the fortification ditch from surface level of water at the moment of fixation exceeded one metre, however, it must be taken into account that the ditch might have become shallow in more modern times. Height of the rampart above the former soil level is 1.8 m. Judging by the profile of section, the process of building the rampart might have been as follows: at the beginning turf was dug off the surface of the ditch to-be, and was thrown where the rampart would be, close to the ditch on undisturbed layer of turf (dug-off layer of turf is slightly thicker where it is closer to the ditch); then the loamy soil dug out of the ditch was put on the black layer of turf and filled the nucleus of the rampart to-be. It is possible that there had been some kind of fencing (fascine ?), which kept together the soil thrown out of the ditch. This delimiting enclosure is probably indicated by a steep abrupt edge or step in the section of rampart. Defenders of the fortification could move along it. When

Figure 10. Section of rampart between redoubts 19 and 20. Photo by J. Urtāns.

the upper part of the fortification rampart was built, sand was poured there, which had been transported from some other place, because there is no light sand in the proximity of rampart section. The rampart had been built in such a way that it was steeper against the ditch, but gently sloping on the opposite side. It is possible that the sand had not been heaped up simultaneously with construction of the lower part of the rampart, i. e., sand had not been put immediately on the black and loamy soil dug out of the ditch, but sometime a bit later. Perhaps this could be explained by building of the rampart in two stages – in the autumn of 1700 and then in the spring and the beginning of summer of 1701. The heaped-up rampart started to subside in the course of time, filling up and covering the step. On checking both dug-up edges and section site with metal detector, no metal objects were found that might be associated with the time of building the fortification line.

Redoubt 20 has been well preserved. All four glacis and ditches are clearly outlined (Figure 4). In more recent times soil has been shoved on its NE glacis and the ditch from outside. Inside the redoubt, a parapet up to one metre high has been preserved. The ditch to S of the redoubt has also been well preserved. It runs against the breach of the central part of redoubt 21, not the corner as in other redoubts. The ditch between both the redoubts has been ravaged by a road, once used, which is now overgrown, possibly associated with the First World War.

Redoubt 21 should be considered to be one of the two key redoubts, it is large and differently shaped from other redoubts (Figure 4). Possibly, by importance on W side of the fortification line, it has been similar to redoubt 3 on E side of the fortification line. Redoubt 21 has been preserved relatively well. It had been four-cornered, but each glacis had a breach in the central part. Therefore, the four corners of the redoubt resemble bastions. Inner parapet has survived in places inside the redoubt. NW corner has been damaged by dug-up ground which has been connected to, possibly, trenches of the First World War. Similarly, but to less extent, E glacis and SE and SW corners of the redoubt have been damaged. The redoubt is larger than other redoubts by its dimensions (approximately 130 and 140 m between opposite corners), but the height and sizes of the ditches are roughly the same as other redoubts. From the breach point of S glacis of the redoubt, a ditch splits off towards redoubt 22, which ends at the road that leads to Bilstiņi. On the other side of the road there is a field where the ditch is not visible anymore.

Redoubt 22 has not been preserved; there is a field in its place, but the redoubt can be seen well in aerial photograph; remains of the redoubt mark themselves in aerial laser scanning. Existence of the redoubt on this site is also confirmed by the lithograph. S corner of the redoubt had been in the place where there is a sharp bend of the road to homestead. Here parallel to the homestead road, on its e side, a ditch begins with a parapet on E side, which further joins redoubt 23. Ditch at the N corner of redoubt 23 has been filled up and levelled.

Redoubt 23 is marked by breach fortification system; here the fortification line turns more to the W. Fortification ditches and glacis of the redoubt are well outlined (Figure 4). Inside the redoubt, in its NW and SW there are pits of more recent dug-ups. From NW and SW right past the redoubt, partly levelling the fortification ditch, leads the homestead road, which is further parallel to the ditch with a parapet between redoubts 23 and 24. In the place where the ditch is connected with redoubt 24, it has been filled up, building the driveway into the yard of *Circeņi* homestead.

Redoubt 24 is situated next to *Circeņi* homestead, to W from the latter and joins in the household. Well outlined redoubt (Figure 4) has become a peculiar yard enclosed by the rampart with several dug-up places. NE glacis of the redoubt had been levelled lower in earlier times. There is a dug-up of the rampart at SE corner of the redoubt, which allows entrance inside the redoubt. Inner parapet in SE part on the top has been dug over with war-time trenches. A bigger dug-up is also in SW glacis of the redoubt. To S from the corner of the redoubt, unmistakable fortification ditch with a parapet on E side stretches as far as the edge of the Daugava water-reservoir.

Existence of **Redoubt 25** is confirmed by lithograph. The existence of redoubt 25 is indirectly testified also by a ditch that had been dug to S from redoubt 24 (Figure 4). The outline of the redoubt is probably shown in aerial photograph.

Figure 11. View of probable redoubt 25 and fortifications on the slope
of the Daugava Valley. Postcard. 1930s. J. Urtāns' collection.

A protuberance in probable place of redoubt 25 is seen also in an old postcard
(Figure 11). This place has been flooded, but it is not unlikely that the redoubt has
been preserved under the water.

In Koknese front fortification line seven (12–13, 17, 20–21, 23–24) redoubts
with appropriate ditches and inner formation have been well preserved, five (2–3,
9–10, 18) redoubts have been partly preserved, in aerial laser scanning materials sites
of six redoubts (5–8, 11, 15–16, 22) can be suspected, there is lack of convincing
information concerning two (1 and 25) redoubts, because the sites have been flooded
by waters of the Daugava water-reservoir (Figures 2, 3).

Koknese front fortification as a historical monument has been included in
lists of cultural monuments protected by the State, which were published in 1959
[*Kultūras pieminekļu saraksts Latvijas PSR teritorijā* 1959: 153, Nr. 13] and 1969
[*Latvijas PSR kultūras pieminekļu saraksts* 1969: 188, Nr. 1052]; in further lists of
cultural monuments under state protection, this monument has not been included
anymore. Judging by the first two lists of the monuments, it was not the whole
Koknese front fortification system that was protected, but the redoubt in which

later Koknese cemetery was fixed up. Koknese front fortifications have never been protected by the state as a uniform complex; now this complex has altogether fallen out of the protection system of cultural monuments. Nowadays according to data of aerial laser scanning and other surface-based technologies, it is possible to specify the condition of Koknese front fortifications, thus preparing material for possible state protection of Koknese front fortifications as a cultural monument. If decision were made concerning partial protection of the fortification line as a cultural monument, then better-preserved parts of the line should be more likely put under protection; the lost parts of the system might be marked. Existence and condition of preservation of the fortification system in the Daugava river-bed should be verified if there such opportunity arose.

Protection of Koknese front fortification line as a probable cultural monument is hindered by different degrees of preservation of the line elements, lack of information and certain ignorance among the local community, inexistent opportunity to perceive the whole line as entirety, the vast dimensions of the line, fragmentized ownership of land, different ways of land usage, development of Koknese as a populated place, and other factors.

Koknese front fortification line can be traced in the whole length, more than 4 km, this is a unique monument under circumstances of Latvia and not only Latvia, because, for example, Rīga front fortifications have completely disappeared in the course of the city development, but while Koknese as a city was falling into decay, the fortification line has largely retained its integrity. Koknese front fortifications are grand by their size and as a whole can be perceived only with the help of modern technologies, because otherwise the observer sees only a couple of fortification redoubts.

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NEW COOKBOOKS FOR THE NEW COUNTRY: LATVIAN NATIONAL CUISINE IN THE MAKING

Dr.art. **Astra Spalvēna**
University of Latvia, Latvia

Abstract

The concept of national cuisine is inextricably linked to national consciousness and the formation of national states. While there are many ways in which national cuisine can be represented in culture, the written depiction in cookbooks will be studied in this article. A specific period in Latvian history has been chosen for this purpose: the interwar period following the establishment of the Latvian State. The example of Latvia demonstrates that national cuisine is a set of defined and standardized principles that reflect distinct socioeconomic circumstances as well as State's views and interests.

Keywords: *national cuisine, Latvian cuisine, history of cookbooks.*

"We need to view cookbooks in the contemporary world as revealing artifacts of culture in the making." states Arjun Appadurai in his remarkable article "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India" [Appadurai 1988: 22]. Cookbooks explain the social and cultural history, document and even encourage changes in ideas and values since their authors want to persuade readers to do appropriate actions, and readers want to know what is expected of them. Cookbooks as instruction manuals are a component of the culture-making process, which should not be seen as haphazard or free-standing, but rather as purposeful and representative of social groups' interests. National cuisine is a prominent example of cookbooks' potential to impact contemporary thought since it is an intentional process of developing new culinary culture rather than just textual documentation of always-existing local recipes.

In this paper, I examine Latvian cookbooks from independence in 1918 to the Second World War, when national cuisine is most likely to emerge. I suggest that new types of cookbooks were created during this time to build written cuisine rooted in local conditions and ideas, distinguishing it from previous colonial contexts.

Introduction

Latvian cookbooks have their origins in printed recipe compilations aimed at the Baltic German ruling class. In the 18th century, Baltic nobility enjoyed European cuisine, and German cookbooks printed in Europe were used in many households to set the table according to their social status and ambitions [Dumpe 1999]. The necessity to translate cookbooks into Latvian arose since most cooks in Baltic German manors were Latvians who could read but not in German. It improved cooks' education because, at the time, cuisine had gotten increasingly intricate, making memorizing recipes and cooking processes difficult [Proveja 2012]. In 1795, the first Latvian cookbook was printed. This cookbook and subsequent Latvian cookbooks published during the 19th century mostly consisted of Western European recipes since the social elite was not interested in local traditions [Daija 2018]. The Latvian upper and middle class was more interested in imitating the elite. As a result, local cuisine was rarely documented in Latvian cookbooks until the turn of the twentieth century.

Traditional Latvian cuisine was first chronicled in 1893 in the periodical "Dienas Lapa" and afterward in ethnographic works. During the 1920s and 1930s, traditional customs and practices were extensively chronicled and published. However, when ethnographic recipes are compared to recipes in cookbooks from the same time, it becomes apparent that peasant and manor cuisines exist separately. Furthermore, upper-class Latvians wanted to replicate the Baltic German elite's practices to gain social respect and abandon peasant customs.

However, the social power relations changed after the First World War when an independent state of Latvia was established in 1918. The Baltic Germans were not the ruling elite anymore, although they kept some economic power still. National ideology, particularly after introducing the authoritative regime in 1934, gained approval in the newly established country. Consequently, in many areas of everyday life, such as clothing, interior, and housing, national motifs were highlighted, and cuisine was no exception. As shown in several studies [see Cusack 2000; Appadurai 1988], the making of national cuisine is integrated with nation-building and the construction of national identity. Latvian national awareness was present in public discourse already before the idea of the national State. The use of myths and symbols in cultural and everyday contexts reinforced the national idea [Zelče 2020]. National symbols were used in everyday situations – advertising, media, handicraft, decorating, and art – in the 1920s and 1930s, influencing aesthetic philosophy [Bīne 1938]. Consequently, it is worth investigating whether the national concept also appeared in cookbooks and what features were obvious in the creation of national cuisine.

National cuisine in the making

The formation of national cuisine in various countries of the world is linked to nationalism and the struggle for national independence. Many vivid examples of national cuisines are found in the imperialist Europe of the 19th century, when powerful nations such as British, French [Trubek 2000], Italians, Spanish [Anderson 2009], and Danish [Gold 2007], formulated their national cuisines to separate themselves from rivals and strengthen the people's sense of belonging to the nation. Elsewhere in the world, in the context of post-colonialism, the process took place later. For example, Indian regional cuisines were merged into a single national cuisine and recorded in cookbooks only in the 1980s [Appadurai 1988], whereas various African cuisines were represented as national and were fixed in writing in the 1990s [Cusack 2000]. An interesting case study in Belize is documented by Wilk, where he demonstrates how national cuisine relates to national consciousness, strengthens the sense of belonging, and fulfils with content the nation's political framework [Wilk 1999].

From political science, Ichijo and Ranta [2015] conclude that the national cuisine is construed not only on the unofficial/bottom-up level, but also on official/top-down level. In particular, authoritarian and totalitarian regimes tend to form a controlled national cuisine and distinguish it from others by using opposition 'our' and 'non-our', especially in economic and political interests, which manifests as propaganda for local products and producers. Based on case analysis carried out in different countries covering different periods, Ichijo and Ranta claim that "what is often referred to and considered as national cuisine is more often than not a top-down construction based on the needs of the state" [Ichijo, Ranta 2015: 106]. The formation of national cuisine is not always explicit; more often, the transformations are reasoned with science or modernization. The State has institutions and instruments that enable principles of national cuisine to be successfully implemented, such as the army or schools, and the media – cookbooks, and magazines addressed to women, which promote and disseminate ideas on people's diet. Therefore, creating a national cuisine does not mean recording the existing dietary habits but selecting recipes from an existing set to pursue the interests of the group in power.

Traditional cuisines are based in a certain location and, as a result, contain items grown there. On the other hand, modern cuisines are by definition modern, and they are open to culinary imports [see Ferguson 2010]. It indicates that, while local goods are an important aspect of national cuisine, they are not required. The inclusion of local items in cookbooks serves a purpose. Local items are frequently considered when nationalism is expressed in European cookbooks in the 1920s and 1930s. Governments encouraged citizens to use less imported goods and more domestic products during this global economic crisis. The health and nutritional aspects of national food are also highlighted as being beneficial to residents.

Culinary nationalization is, by nature, a textual phenomenon. In contrast to traditional cuisines, whose recipes were passed from generation to generation, for cuisine to become a symbol of a nation, it had to become widely known, provided by written records, and disseminating these texts. Therefore, through the publications of recipes and cookbooks, it was possible to form a nation as a community whose representatives shared culinary values and tastes.

It should be noted that the role of cookbooks in forming a national cuisine is twofold. First, as a compilation of printed texts, they formalize the national cuisine by recording a certain repertoire of recipes. Second, cookbooks also have a didactic and inspiring function [Ferguson 2010]. They show the lifestyle of upper social classes and encourage readers to imitate them to create an idea of higher social status. Therefore, cookbooks can be used to disseminate ideas: what they describe gives rise to a desire to adopt this as a good example, which might have a direct impact on the life of the reader. Thus, cookbooks have become an indispensable tool in creating national cuisine because they record certain standards and motivate people to live by them.

Cookbooks have consolidating power; they dissolve social boundaries, promote social mobility, and integrate regional cuisines to create a united national cuisine [Appadurai 1988]. Appadurai uses contemporary Indian cuisine as an example to examine the mechanism of constructing national identity with the help of cookbooks. Firstly, the historical culinary tradition is chosen as a metonym for all national cuisine, for example, spices as the building block of Indian cuisine. The use of the metonym helps to bound together regional recipes and present them as different sides of common culinary tradition. Secondly, to ensure the viability of the traditional recipes in the contemporary context, they are modernized by integrating new technologies and nutritional information. Finally, a standardized repertoire is developed through repeating recipes in cookbooks, and regional and even social disparities are merged in one common concept of local food. Inner differences are levelled in this way, and the food is presented as distinct from other cuisines [Appadurai 1988: 18–21].

Cookbook authors represent a specific social group, and as a result, the cookbook's content is shaped to reflect the group's interests. Notaker looked at cookbooks from many countries in the 19th century. He noticed that the recipes were frequently from the dominant culture of earlier rulers or modern industrialized countries in Western Europe, because the authors represented the elite and were unconcerned about the plain, public diet [Notaker 2017]. For example, in the 19th century, when Mexico gained independence from Spanish rule, the political elite saw European culture as grounds on which Native Americans and the former Spanish ruling class could form a united Mexican identity. Therefore, in cookbooks, continental dishes were

emphasized while indigenous – ignored. Only 20th-century cookbooks recognized indigenous dishes as part of the national cuisine, and the authenticity of local food was more and more discussed. Despite the simplicity of indigenous dishes, they "demonstrate a nation's cultural autonomy, and this distinctiveness, in turn, justifies its claims to political sovereignty" [Pilcher 1996: 2016].

To examine whether in comparable conditions – when an independent state is founded, and national concepts are common – in Latvian cookbooks, the making of national cuisine might be observed, in this paper, three aims are addressed: 1) to analyse the joint characterization of the cookbooks of the period; 2) to examine interwar cookbooks to identify how they relate to the cookbooks of the previous periods, whether there are any similarities or salient differences; 3) to study whether any features of national cuisine are included.

Materials and methods

Thirty cookbooks issued between 1795 and 1940 were reviewed[1] and three distinct periods with common characteristics established: cookbooks for the Baltic German manors, cookbooks for aspiring Latvian upper middle class, and cookbooks of national cuisine (see Table 1). According to the aims of this article, I will not delve into previous periods and use the information only for context.

Additionally, it became noticeable that the cookbooks of the 1930s were different from the cookbooks published in the 1920s, when most of the cookbooks were reprints of pre-war issues or booklets reflecting post-war shortages.

Table 1

Period	1795–1914	1918–1929	1930–1940
Cookbooks published	23	18	60

Therefore, only cookbooks from the 1930s were chosen for further analysis as they focused on the interwar period's current reality. For further study, nine cookbooks from the 1930s were chosen (see Sources). From the selection the cookbooks devoted to specific topics were excluded and several editions of the title or multiple books by the same author were considered important factors for the selection. To analyse the material, I chose to combine methodology. The purpose of content analysis was to give more focus to the ingredients and dish names. The approach to the book illustrations was based on visual semiotics. A close reading of introductions of the cookbooks helped to understand the author's views, intentions, and attitude towards the audience.

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[1] I assessed the corpus of published cookbooks using the digital database of the Latvian National Library's collection.

Characteristics of the cookbooks of the 1930s

The selected cookbooks share similar characteristics. The most defining aspects of the cookbooks have been studied, with special attention paid to the titles and authors of the publications, the illustrations and overall content, and the included recipes in particular.

The adjectives *new*, *modern*, and *reformed* appear in the titles of the cookbooks. Such titles reveal the authors' ambition to create a new type of cuisine while also invalidate prior gourmet traditions. This claim is backed up by cookbook introductions, such as this one: "*The immediate responsibility of every housewife is to audit and reform the basics of their current culinary art and ways of action in the kitchen as soon as possible, keeping only recipes that are appropriate for the new dietetics requirements*" [Āriņa 1935]. It is also worth noting how the titles all refer to local cuisine in a certain respect. While the term *national* is not used, other terms such as *Latvian*, *local*, and *folk* are used to emphasize the cuisine of indigenous people rather than Baltic German or Western European cuisines.

The cookbooks contain basic information on the writers. The major facts could be gathered from the author-written introductions in all of the books studied. Data from other published sources were added to this. Most of the authors have one commonality: they were all home economics educators by diploma or practice. Marija Feldmane, for example, has run a home economics school since 1929 and self-published the majority of her books. She wrote eight cookbooks in the 1930s, some of which were reissued, devoted to vegetarian food, celebratory meals, desserts, and preserves. Her cookbooks were used as teaching aids for her students as well as promotional materials for the institution.

A substantial percentage of cookbook authors of the time were graduates of the Kaucminde Home Economics Seminary (1923–1943), which was the only school in Latvia where the highest level of home economics education could be obtained, and which qualified graduates to teach home economics, with nearly 40 percent choosing this profession [Ozoliņa-Ķeņģe, Auziņa-Smith 1989]. They founded the Alumni Association, and their work was meticulously documented, including a bibliography. Standardized Latvian cuisine emerged as a result of their efforts, particularly individually and collaboratively published cookbooks.

The writing style, structural concepts, consistent vocabulary, and precisely structured and accurate recipes were all comparable in their cookbooks. Also, the recipe selection was comparable; the same dishes are frequently found in multiple volumes. Standardization, as well as a common understanding of contemporary gastronomy, are crucial components of national cuisine. The ideological component of home economics education in the 1930s is also worth emphasizing. Since the government funded it, Kaucminde Home Economics Seminary, like many other home economic institutions, was under contract with the government. After the

authoritarian regime was formed in 1934, classes on national ideology and patriotic education were added to the curriculum. In addition, more lessons were devoted to folk art and culture. At the same time, culinary classes focused on traditional Latvian cuisine and the use of local products [see Vilcāne 2016; Ozoliņa-Ķeņģe, Auziņa-Smith 1989]. As a result, the importance of the Kaucminde Home Economics Seminary in the development of Latvian national cuisine should not be underestimated.

Other aspects of the cuisine-making process could be derived from the author's educational background. To begin with, the instructional tone, which differed from prior cookbooks' collegial tone, was intended for fellow cooks. Second, the content was organized methodically, making it easier to find recipes in the book. Third, recipes were written in a more precise language. The words *make it till it is ready* were commonly used in the previous period, but in the 1930s cookbooks, descriptions of cooking temperature and time are given, ingredients are listed separately from cooking processes, and explanations are presented in a step-by-step method. Therefore, because the authors were home economics educators, the cookbooks of the 1930s were accessible to a wider audience, and they were useful not just for professional cooks but also for beginners.

In the 1930s, cookbooks became increasingly encyclopaedic, and their content expanded to include nutrition, kitchen design, tableware suggestions, and hygiene and safety instructions. At the time, nutritional data was also used as a justification for revising the cuisine. Basic explanations of the direct impact of food consumption on human health and work performance were provided. More thorough information on metabolic processes, tables of complex calculations for balanced dietary planning, and even detailed food chemistry data with charts. The term *healthy diet* was coined as people became more aware of the importance of vitamins.

The new cookbooks demonstrate that the former spirit of gourmet food and its consumption has disappeared, and rational considerations, such as how food affects the body have taken priority. As cited in one cookbook of the 1930s:

> *The nation begins to pay more attention to good nutrition preparation as it strives to become more cultured. By proper nutrition preparation, the vast majority understands simply the preparation methods that make the nourishment seem appealing and taste delicious. These are unquestionably good needs, but others are more significant, such as the number of nutrients and their benefits, the method of food preparation and how much time it requires, and the benefits of plant and animal nutrients* [Suta 1930].

While more emphasis is given to cuisine's rational and practical aspects, attitudes toward food presentation and decoration shifted. As a result, the authors of cookbooks question the customs of prior eras, urging them to be reconsidered:

When it comes to plate decoration, keep in mind that the goal is to increase the spectators' appetites, so only edible items should be used. We are presenting bad evidence about the level of civilization of our guests by putting fried bird feathers stuck into the bread crust and adding the stuffed head of the bird because we believe that the sight of a live bird, as in the Middle Ages, could stimulate appetite and encourage the desire to taste such an arrangement. We have long since gotten away from such a rudimentary understanding of nutrition because we are not persuaded to eat a chicken or a hen as soon as they cross the yard [Ķeņģe, Vīksne 1930].

In the modern period, it was generally recommended only to decorate food with edible materials. The goal of the decoration was not only aesthetic but rational: to stimulate appetite and thus ensure better food digestion. However, some authors were adamantly opposed to the aesthetic standards of the past. Overall, compared to earlier cookbooks, these new cookbooks highlighted a more economical, simple, and everyday cuisine, as they were directed at women who prepared without the assistance of skilled employees. The content also demonstrates a shift in attitude: exotic ingredients were replaced with more widely accessible local alternatives, and cooking processes became less time-consuming because of simplified technologies. This impacted the recipe repertoire, as many dishes from the previous cookbooks were no longer appropriate, and new recipes were created, many of which included remnants of Latvian peasant food.

Simple indigenous food recipes have been passed down through the generations in oral form, and cookbooks did not appear until the early twentieth century. Because the recipes were documented in ethnographic materials in regional variations with regional names, often in dialect, some of the peasant dishes may not be identified at first glance by checking merely the titles of recipes. As a result, these dishes were given descriptive names in cookbooks, and the regional distinctiveness was lost.

Furthermore, traditional peasant recipes were frequently given their section in cookbooks. The fact that they were not grouped in the cookbook structure, which represented the menu sequence, could indicate both the special representative function of these dishes and the authors' uncertainty about whether these simple dishes could be incorporated into modern menus. It is advised that peasant dishes be served on special occasions, and it is encouraged to offer them specially – in traditional Latvian pottery or wicker baskets, with a linen tablecloth. Such a distinctively framed reference addresses the nation's shared past to peasant life. Furthermore, because rituals are common for festive celebrations and these actions are repeated year after year, the table of special occasions has a unique role in strengthening particular culinary traditions.

Propaganda cookbooks also contribute to the establishment of Latvian cuisine's repertory. They are frequently devoted to specific products, such as milk, sugar,

and sea fish. In contrast to previous more sophisticated cookbooks, they primarily comprised simple, local recipes such as soups, stews, porridges, and simple bakes. The widespread promotion of local beet sugar prompted an increase in the number of dessert recipes, with special dessert cookbooks being developed as a consequence.

To summarize, the period's new products and, consequently, new dishes represented a simpler and more accessible cuisine, with attempts to use indigenous foods as inspiration for local cuisine or to include peasant dishes in festive menus. Overall, these cookbooks were not aimed at the wealthy elite but rather at the general public, with easy to prepare recipes.

By explaining of borrowed culinary terms for culinary procedures and dishes, cookbooks from the 1930s played a key contribution in developing standardized Latvian culinary vocabulary. However, the tendency to localize cuisine does not stop with explanations; many dish names have been changed and localized. Prior to WWI, the titles of recipes implied a wide range of international influences, and French culinary language and dish names became widely used. The proportion of names in foreign languages reduces noticeably in the 1930s cookbooks. Many well-known dish names have been changed: they have been directly translated or described, for example, *Béchamel Sauce* became *White Sauce* (*baltā mērce*), and *Crème brûlée – Cream with Caramelized Sugar* (*Dedzināta cukura krēms).*

In comparison to prior times, the 1930s cookbooks have many illustrations. Pictures in cookbooks used to be mostly decorative, depicting elaborately arranged tables and richly decorated plates with food. With time, pictures became more practical, demonstrating culinary procedures and displaying objects and goods that readers might not be familiar with, such as new kitchen gadgets or lesser-known vegetables. In the 1930s, cookbooks still featured beautiful dishes that were ready to serve, but about the same number of photos illustrated the cooking process and demystified complicated culinary operations. Illustrations showing examples of table settings for various occasions were a novelty at the time.

Cookbooks established the aesthetic standard of the time and taught the developing Latvian urban middle class not only to imitate the practices of the Baltic German elite, but also and build their own standards. Cookbooks' illustrations contributed to a unified narrative of local and national patriotism. The dishes' decorations are distinctive: many images include a geometric decorating, in contrast to earlier three-dimensional, sculptural decorations and Latvian folk symbols incorporated into the decorations. The pictures that explain how to set the table in Latvian style, resembling peasant cuisine, are the most eloquent. This table setting is advisable for festive occasions, such as holiday feasts (Figure 1). These images elevate the status of traditional Latvian dishes and confirm their place in Latvian cuisine.

Figure 1. Table set for a traditional Christmas meal [Birziņa 1936].

To summarize, a new type of cookbook appeared in the 1930s that criticized the culinary nature of the previous era and demonstrated that the culinary culture of the Baltic German elite appeared outdated in light of new technological and nutritional science discoveries. They encouraged the development of active new habits and a shift in culinary culture, with the new cuisine recognizing Latvian peasant foods and emphasizing the use of local ingredients. Because many cookbook authors had a background in home economics, it contributed to the evolution of a clear and succinct content, standardized structure of recipes, and unified culinary terminology in Latvian. These new cooking manuals emphasized more affordable, simple, and everyday cooking.

Conclusion

The notion of national cuisine first appeared in cookbooks in Latvia in the 1930s, when nationalism was the prevailing ideology, and the use of local products was promoted as a patriotic duty. The number of cookbooks published in this decade demonstrates a strong desire to establish and consolidate a new culinary culture. The writing and illustration styles and the overall content, recipe selection, and understanding of food and diet are all shared by the majority of these cookbooks.

The concept of national cuisine is established with the active participation of the State, particularly in terms of dissemination through propaganda campaigns and education. National cuisine serves as an aid in nation-building. The nation is composed of different groups of society, and it is necessary to find common symbols, traditions, and rituals to demonstrate the belonging, including the high and the low

cuisines, urban and rural foods, modern and traditional, local and borrowed dishes. It will then be able to serve as a catalyst for consolidating a nation and the formation of a shared identity. The choice of food also represents the acknowledgment of patriotism. On the one hand, traditional foods have taken on a symbolic significance in cookbooks as celebratory and thus ritual. The usage of local products, on the other hand, was rationally reasoned with the strengthening of the national economy.

National cuisine is a collection of formalized and standardized principles that represent specific socioeconomic realities and the beliefs and interests of a particular community, as the example of Latvia demonstrates. Therefore, national cuisine is not a closed historical process that can only be appraised as a past phenomenon, but rather an active process in the making, with each passing period has an impact and requires further exploration.

Acknowledgments

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THE ROLE OF SENSES, EMOTIONS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EXPERIENCE ECONOMY IN THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

Mg.art. **Žanete Eglīte**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

Sensory features of products and services affect emotions, memories, perception, choices and consumption. The creation of new emotions or emphasising of existing ones can increase the appeal of the product or service. Furthermore, it is important for the creative industries to create products and services that inspire, include and reflect consumer values.

The creative industries – which include advertising, architecture, arts and crafts, design, fashion, film production, video, photography, music, the performing arts, publishing, research and development, software and computer game development, and electronic publishing, as well as TV and radio – are elements of the creative economy. Creativity is also one of the drivers of the experience economy. According to theorists of experience economics Joseph Pine and James Gilmore, the most prolific experiences are authentic, remain in the memory and change human notions by stimulating all five senses (vision, hearing, smell, taste and touch), provoking emotions and feelings, and allowing people to participate and be involved.

The research question of this paper is as follows: how are senses and emotions linked with experiences, when they are used in the development of creative products and services?

Therefore, this paper proposes a theoretical review of how to incorporate senses and sensory design into a more comprehensive understanding within the creative economy, as well as the experience economy.

Keywords: *creative industries, creativity, senses, emotions, feelings, sensory marketing, experience, experience economy, experiential design.*

Introduction

With the recent development of the creative industries, the aspects of added value and the experience provided to the consumer have become even more important than the product and service themselves; furthermore, the understanding of design has transformed from a problem-solving method into a way of creating meaningful experiences. According to Pine and Gilmore, businesses must orchestrate memorable events for their customers, and that memory itself becomes the product: the "experience" [Pine & Gilmore 1998].

The research question of the paper is: how are senses and emotions linked with experiences, when they are used in the development of creative products and services?

Sensory experience, which combines all five senses – sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch – creates intense and special effects. Products and services of creative industries can also be developed using related creative industry products which are sensory – for example, storytelling, design, gastronomy, art or crafts – thus creating a special atmosphere and emotions.

The process which includes these actions and strategies is called sensory marketing. Sensory marketing tends to focus on building a temporary or permanent environment specifically for conveying a message, establishing a brand, or arousing feelings and engaging the senses [Buford 2017]. Bernd Schmitt presents five types of sensory marketing approaches, referred to as "strategic experiential modules": "sense," "feel," "think," "act" and "relate." [Schmitt 2010]. According to Schmitt, the first stage, "sense," appeals to consumers' senses (sight, sound, touch, taste and smell); "feel" relates to inner feelings, moods and emotions; "think" appeals to the intellect and cognitive experiences; "act" targets physical behaviour, lifestyle and interactions; and "relate" creates experiences and involves desires.

The first stage – sense – is often neglected with several messages, visual triggers and information overload. Sensory aspects also lack a systematic approach and place into the disciplines of experience economy and creative economy. The next stage – feel – is crucial for creating experiences. Emotions are subjective and affective; they are states of mind, and are created by certain events and stimuli. The manifestation of emotions is related to the fulfilment of individuals' expectations and needs. This means that emotions define levels of satisfaction and the process of decision making.

The contents of the paper are structured as two sections. The first section is dedicated to the relation between emotions and experiences, thus providing a conceptual background. Then follows the second section, which addresses aspects of senses and emotions and their importance in the development of creative products and services.

1. Senses, emotions and experiences

As mentioned in the introduction, emotions are subjective and affective. Emotional experiences can express themselves as joy, happiness, arousal, anger, grief or fear, among others; they can lead to feelings of satisfaction, relaxation, peace, excitement, etc. Emotions are links between experiences and individuals' decision making.

Senses and emotions are strongly interrelated with experiences. The most prolific experiences are authentic, remain in the memory and change human notions by stimulating all five senses (vision, hearing, smell, taste and touch), provoking emotions and feelings, and allowing people to participate and be involved [Pine & Gilmore 1998]. Therefore, experience helps to develop products and services in a more meaningful and memorable way and to affect consumer emotions and feelings.

Goody states that all experience of the outside world is mediated by the senses, including aesthetic experiences in the arts and beyond. The senses are the means of communication, operating at both a physiological and at a cultural level [Goody 2002]. Traditionally, experience has been defined as a personal occurrence with highly emotional significance obtained from the consumption of products and services [Holbrook & Hirschman 1982] and emotions that are translated into senses. The senses are at the core of how the human body collects information and uses it as a foundation for understanding or developing meanings, by which "our bodily states, situated actions, and mental simulations are used to generate our cognitive activity" such as attitude, behaviour, and memory [Krishna 2012].

Emotions are memorable, and so are experiences. They can be activated by events, words, smells and other stimuli. For example, in the French writer Marcel Proust's work "In Search of Lost Time" ("*À la recherche du temps perdu*") he describes how eating a madeleine (a small, shell-shaped sponge cake) and smelling linden tea brings him back to his childhood and lets him experience vivid emotions related to these memories. In literature, this is also called the Proust phenomenon – the sudden, involuntary evocation of an autobiographical memory, including a range of related sensory and emotional expressions [Krishna 2011]. Similarly, everyone has their own set of memories, which create emotions, and this phenomenon can be used in creating new experiences as well.

Thus, in economical terms the "product" is experience, memories and transformation. Experiences help to increase the added value of products and services, therefore providing competitive advantages in business. Experience impacts feelings, creates fantasies, pleasures and dreams, remains in the memory for a long time, and influences behaviour accordingly.

According to Hirschmann and Holbrook, the meaning of a product or service is more important than its price or function – this is the concept of hedonic consumption. Hirschmann and Holbrook list the elements as follows: meaning is the most important, followed by status/identity. A lower level of hedonic consumption is related to emotions, and only then, as the lowest priority, is the price and function of the product or service [Hirschmann and Holbrook 1982].

Experience is created through all the senses simultaneously, and the contribution of each sense is essential in building a common structure and understanding of experience. The sensory aspects of products and services (touch, taste, smell, hearing and vision) affect individuals' memories, perception and attitude, and emphasising senses, as well as highlighting feelings, can increase the attractiveness of a product or service [Schmitt 2007]. Using specific colours, emphasising tastes, adding aromas, altering shapes or even adding weight can lead to certain emotions and then create experiences. For example, fashion as a creative industry is not only about garments and fashion as a concept; it's also about the ambience of the trading room, characteristic aromas, packaging designs selected for garments and background music.

Research on the human senses has shown that sensory cues of sight, sound, smell, taste and touch can all affect preferences, memories and choices [Krishna 2010], where they play a crucial part in the creation of an emotional connection and experience of the process of purchase [Holbrook & Hirschman 1982; Schmitt 2003; Krishna 2010]. Consumers also undoubtedly perceive the world as multisensory [Spence et al. 2014]. In terms of marketing, the "Unique Selling Proposition" (USP) has given way to the "Multisensory Stimulation Proposition" (MSP) [Howes 2007].

All the earlier economic stages remain away from and outside the buyer, outside the buyer, but experiences are inherently personal. They actually occur within any individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level [Pine & Gilmore 2011]. The previous example with fashion demonstrates this – it's a mix of elements, which affect senses and emotions, can be perceived differently among different individuals, but still creates a single integrated message and a unique multisensory proposition. Moreover, cognitive science theorists Schmidt and Rogers point out that the human mind has a modular structure – individuals appreciate and respond to sensory, emotional, intellectual, pragmatic and social experiences [Schmitt & Rogers 2009]. Everyone is driven by experiences, both good and bad, and how we relate to these experiences determines where people work, live, shop and make choices. Consequently, companies must be able to provide full experience and insight into detail in all aspects, not just strategies or brand development. The most successful brands are the ones whose creators have

a broad vision and the ability to create comprehensive experiences, not just a variety of messages or works that do not match companies' values.

The experience must be holistic, not fragmented; all the elements must be integrated around one story or around the main message. LaSalle and Britton define the starting point of a holistic experience as its involvement of a person, as opposed to a customer – at different levels and in every interaction between such person and a company, or a company's offer [LaSalle & Britton 2003]. Furthermore, Gentile states that experience is strictly personal and implies involvement at different levels (rational, emotional, sensorial, physical and spiritual). Experience originates from a set of interactions between a person and a product, a company, or part of a company's structure, which provoke a reaction. [Gentile et al. 2017]. Schmitt lists three aspects of a great customer experience:

1) each of the touchpoints delivers a great experience (product, communication, packaging, etc.);
2) integration – speaking with the same voice or offering a unified experience;
3) innovation – customers' preferences are changing all the time [Schmitt 2019].

Experiences may be evoked by products, packaging, communications, in-store interactions, sales relationships, events and the like. They may occur as a result of online or offline activities [Schmitt 2010].

The elements of customer experience are as follows:

1) sensorial – experiences whose stimulation affects the senses;
2) emotional – experiences which generate moods, feelings, emotions;
3) cognitive – thinking, problem-solving;
4) pragmatic – the practical act of doing something, usability;
5) lifestyle – values and beliefs, lifestyle and behaviour;
6) relational – social context, relationship, ideal self, social identity [adapted from Gentile et al. 2007].

All these dimensions must be considered from the company's perspective when creating a value proposition, as well as the consumer's perception.

Hultén defines the concept of "emotional communications" as including sensory marketing, branding, design and ambience to produce entertaining and sensory experiences which create an emotional connection [Hultén 2011]. For example, Kapferer states that luxury likes to be associated with art, because both aim to be perceived as imperial and timeless and share a love for creativity, craftsmanship, rare materials and exclusivity. It can be seen as an object of art, communicating sophistication and intrinsic value [Kapferer 2015, as cited in Jelinek 2018].

Therefore, the next question is: how to manage and direct experiences through senses and emotions within the development of creative products and services?

2. Senses and emotions, and their role in the development of creative products and services

The work and development of the creative industries are interrelated between various fields. For example, designers seek inspiration in museums or movies, video game creators collaborate with illustrators and storytellers to develop their products, architects are inspired by cultural heritage, etc. These examples are important, when experiences are created – to create products and services that inspire, include and reflect added value. Value can also be symbolic. For example, M. Peris-Ortiz and colleagues state that there are several cultural and creative industries based on handicrafts or on the degree of knowledge and capital, for example, production of wine or architecture, which must necessarily compete, combining the efficiency of their production with the symbolic nature of their products [Peris-Ortiz et al. 2019]. The meaning or the symbolic nature which the consumer attributes to the good means that the last link in the value chain – which connects the good to the market – has extraordinary importance [Lawrence & Phillips 2002].

The main difference between an experience and a sensory experience is a brand's ability to reach the inner core of customers [Kumar 2014].

The sensory features of products and services influence emotions, memories, perception, choices and consumption. The creation of new emotions or emphasis of existing ones can increase the attractiveness of a product or service. Thus, the main challenge is: how to influence clients in new, provocative and imaginative ways?

Sensory experiences, which include all five of the senses, can attract customers, and create strong, positive and special impressions by using the products and services of creative industries, for example, storytelling, design, gastronomy, craft or creation a special atmosphere.

Similar to the experience economy, where the main aim is to create added value, the creative economy, with its manifestation of humanity's capacity to think, create, innovate and design, also generates value. Supporting elements for the development of experience include art, storytelling, photo, video, design, copywriting, architecture etc., as well as science, cultural heritage, technological and creative innovations, and digital media.

They help create unique experiences for customers. Consequently, experience is developed by linking together a number of creative industries, which results in high added value.

In his book *Sensehacking*, Charles Spence states that our senses connect far more than we ever imagined. In practice, this means it is possible to change what we hear simply by altering what we see, while manipulating the way something sounds can affect what it feels like [Spence 2021]. While there is existing research on the human senses in the field of consumer behaviour, there is a need to consider how

multi-sensory interactions can affect consumers' consumption behaviour [Peck and Childers 2008].

A multisensory approach can help to develop more immersive and attractive offers in the creative industries. According to Martin Lindstrom, in our lives, events, moods, feelings, and even products are continuously imprinted on our five-track sensory recorder from the second we wake to the moment we go to sleep, and the most effective brand-building strategies recognise this fact, leveraging each of the senses to establish a true sensory brand experience [Lindstrom 2005]. Moreover, research shows that adding several senses into an offering leads to more sensory information for perception [Marks 2014], and results in stronger experiences and better evaluations, thus it is important for managers to consider the interplay of sensory cues in branding, product design and design of servicescapes [Helmefalk and Hultén 2017; Krishna 2013; Spangenberg et al. 2006]. For example, in museums it is possible to combine mixed reality technology, gaming and sensory design in the development of exhibitions. One example is the exhibition *Sensorium* at the Tate Modern in 2015, which displayed four paintings from the Tate collection. It was possible to experience sounds, smells and tastes inspired by the artworks. For instance, Francis Bacon's "Figure in a Landscape" was combined with tastes, smells and sounds – it was possible to taste charcoal, sea salt and cocoa in order to emphasise the dark nature of the painting; and the setting, Hyde Park, was evoked by the smells of grass, soil and animal scents. There was an audio background, with mechanised, industrial sounds as well. This exhibition was extremely popular, and also won several awards. This approach – adding multisensory features, can be also used in other exhibitions and museums.

The products and services of the creative industries are widely used in commerce. When a customer enters a store they do not experience the music in isolation; they do not smell the scent without seeing the colours as well; they do not walk on the floor covering without feeling the ambient temperature. The typical customer experiences gradations of all these and other stimuli as an ongoing, collective experience [Ballantine et al. 2010]. Our perception and behaviour are controlled by the activity of many millions of multisensory neurons connecting the five main senses of sight, sound, smell, touch and taste. The key question is what rules the brain actually uses to combine the inputs from the different senses [Spence 2021]. Moreover, Spence states that sensory interplay occurs when two or more senses simultaneously interact [Spence et al. 2014].

Smell enhances the ability to remember product descriptions and affects product evaluation. Music in advertising affects attention and increases ad persuasiveness [Krishna et al 2016]. Touch is the first sense to develop in the womb and the last sense one loses with age [Krishna 2011].

Hultén et al. provide a model of sensorial strategies, dividing sensors from sensations. Keeping in mind that human perception is modular, each experience is subjective, and each set of senses is individual (as mentioned and cited earlier in the paper), a holistic multi-sensory experience is created, ensuring the customer receives the experience the company intended.
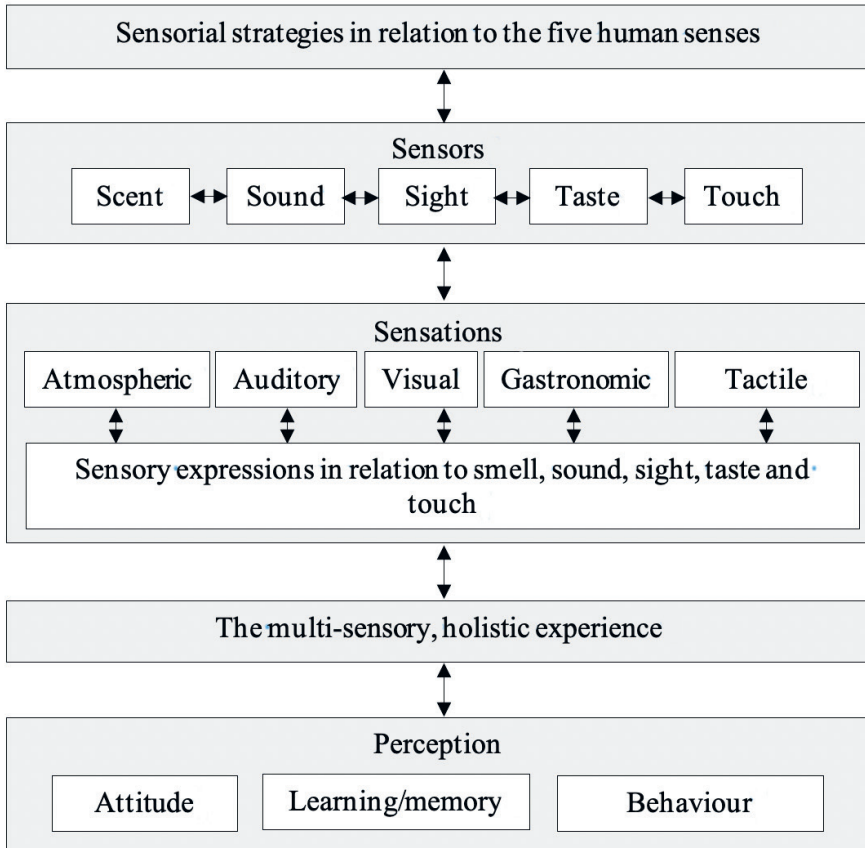
Figure 1. Multi-sensory experience and perception model
[adapted by the author from Krishna 2011; Hultén 2011].

The model can be combined with Krishna's conceptual framework for sensory marketing; it has an emphasis on perception, and also defines outcomes in more detail than the model by Hultén – adding attitude, learning/memory and behaviour [adapted from Krishna 2011]. It is also important that sensorial strategies receive feedback, therefore, the models of Krishna and Hultén have been combined, and the aspect of perception added.

Therefore, the conclusion of sensory features is as follows:

Table 1. Senses and sensations, and their manifestations [Hultén 2011]

Senses	Sensations	Manifestations
Smell	Atmospheric	Intensity of products, congruence Atmosphere, theme, attitude Signature aromas
Hearing	Audial	Voices, music, jingles Characteristic sounds, especially compositions
Vision	Visual	Design, packaging, style Colour, light, theme Graphic, exterior, interior
Taste	Gastronomical	Synergy Presentation, environment Knowledge, pleasure, lifestyle
Touch	Tactile	Materials and surfaces Temperature and weight Forms and stability

All these elements must be considered when designing experiences.

Smell enhances the ability to remember product descriptions and affects product evaluations. As mentioned before, smell can provoke emotions and memories, thereby accentuating experience. However, it is important not to exaggerate smell, as it is a sense which an individual cannot get away from or "turn off".

Hearing – music, jingles, sounds, audio-branding, and especially compositions are direct products of the creative industries. For example, music in advertising affects attention and increases the persuasiveness of ads [Krishna et al. 2016]. Music in ads also has a referential meaning, which is contextually dependent and reflects a listener's personal associations. With respect to the context, results generally show that music can improve message processing, brand recall, and brand attitude only when it fits (is congruent) with features of the ad and brand [Krishna et al. 2016].

Vision is the most used sense. In the context of the creative industries, it refers to literally everything – design, style, colours, lights, graphic design, architecture and interiors – and is used in gaming, art, photography, publishing and other fields. However, our over-reliance on technology has skewed our sensory balance – something Oxford professor Charles Spence, a renowned sensory psychologist, knows all about. "There is a real danger that modern technology prioritises vision and sound over all the other senses," he says. It is not without reason, then, that people talk of a sensory imbalance. "The notion that the 'higher' rational senses of

vision and hearing are exposed to ever more information while the more emotional – what used to be called 'lower' senses – of touch, smell, and taste are neglected. Hence the imbalance" [Spence 2021].

Taste and its relation to the creative industries is more related to the field of gastronomy. Various scholars agree that gastronomy is also a creative industry [Dewandaru & Purnamaningsih 2016; Pedersen 2012; Martins 2016], especially *haute cuisine*, as it requires high level skills, is related to the creation of added value, and also has a cultural context.

The sense of touch is very personal, and it deepens and clarifies the interaction between a brand, organisation and its customers at a personal level. Krishna states that it is only the sense of touch which allows people to feel things to come into contact with them [Krishna 2012]. With touch, it is possible to perceive a product and its quality. Touch allows feeling texture, stability and temperature. It can also affect evaluation of quality.

Furthermore, these senses can be mixed. Each individual can perceive them differently and create his or her own experience. There is the concept of synaesthesia – involuntary cross-modal sensory associations [Merter 2018]. This is associated with perception, creativity and imagination. Synaesthesia has been linked with the arts – e. g. literature, painting, poetry, and music – in that artistic outcomes are often the embodiment of a synaesthetic experience of some kind. For example, individuals can visualise sounds, smell words, taste colours or touch tastes. Synaesthesia is a neurological condition, in which one sensory stimulus causes different sensory physical experiences as a result of perceiving one or more different senses by cross-modal association, which is automatic, involuntary and irrepressible [Harrison & Baron-Cohen 1996; Cytowic 2002].

Conclusions

This paper gives an insight into role of senses and emotions, and the principles of the experience economy in the creative industries. It is important, as experiences help to increase the added value of products and services, thereby providing competitive advantages in business. Furthermore, paying attention to senses, emotions and experiences helps to solve problems related to information overload, several messages and visual triggers – a structured and multisensory approach in the creative industries can help companies to stand out, to create more humanistic products and services, and to add value.

The main findings and answers to the research question of the paper – how senses and emotions are linked with experiences, when used in the development of creative products and services – are related to memorable events, multisensory experiences and high added value.

Emotions are links between experiences and individuals' decision-making, as are senses. The most prolific experiences are created with stimulation of all five senses (vision, hearing, smell, taste, touch); this provokes emotions and feelings, allowing people to participate and be involved. Moreover, emotions are memorable – they can be activated by events, words, smells and other stimuli. Experience impacts feelings, and creates fantasies, pleasure and dreams; it remains in the memory for a long time, and influences behaviour accordingly.

Research on the human senses has shown that sensory cues of sight, sound, smell, taste and touch can affect preferences, memories and choices; thus, they play a crucial part in the creation of an emotional connection and experiences of the process of purchasing.

Various fields are interrelated in the work and development of the creative industries. For example, designers seek inspiration from museums or movies, video game creators collaborate with illustrators and storytellers to develop their products, and architects are inspired by cultural heritage, etc. These examples are important when experiences are created – to create products and services that inspire, include and reflect added value. Sensory experiences which include all five senses can attract customers, create strong, positive and special impressions by using products and services of the creative industries – for example, storytelling, design, gastronomy, crafts, or the creation of a special atmosphere.

To create high added value, creative industries should be interrelated – for example, linking several creative industries, such as architecture with cultural heritage, game development with design, and online publishing, etc. This leads to more sophisticated and multisensory experience, which in turn triggers more emotions and senses. Research also shows that adding several senses into an offering leads to more sensory information for perception, resulting in stronger experiences and better evaluations. For example, in museums it is possible to mix together reality technology, gaming, sensory design and performing arts. The factor connecting experiences and the creative industries is also creativity itself, as it manifests humanity's capacity to think, create, innovate and design, thus generating value.

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UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL JUSTICE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS: FINNISH PERSPECTIVE

Dr.sc.soc. **Nafisa Yeasmin**
University of Lapland, Finland

Dr.Laws **Waliul Hasanat**
Khulna University, Bangladesh

MBA **Frank Ojwang**
University of Lapland, Finland

Abstract

Historical analysis confirms that immigrants are poorly-rated in most societies. Their position in Finland does not seem to be any different compared to other countries, although Finland is ranked globally as the happiest country. Finnish statutory law ensures the legal rights of citizens regardless of their origin; however, immigrants must face a number of challenges caused by a lack of societal recognition from native Finns. The study explains 'social justice' from a theoretical point of view, applying the concept of experiences provided by Renault. Additionally, the study determines the key obstacles faced by immigrants in Finland and searches for suitable practical approaches to improve their status in the society. We argue that the historical consequences of the real facts on migration in Finland are that immigrants are struggling to establish their identities, which then leads to a complex phenomenon of understating their social status. We have applied the Renault concept of experiences of injustice to understand immigrants' social position and its influences on their settlement in Finland.

The principles of this research can equally create sense and trust in public and private-public institutions, as well as promote transparency and conscious equitable treatment towards immigrants alongside other minority groups.

Keywords: *justice, immigrants, policies, injustice, social recognition.*

Introduction

Every year, thousands of people from the Global South migrate to the High North with aspirations for a better life characterised by dignity, equality and justice. International migration decisions are irrefutably dynamic, complex, repetitive and ever-evolving processes, based on the fluidity of migrant categories. Information, economics, emotion, identity, and status are only part of the key social, economic, cultural and political factors that combine uniquely to influence each migration decision. More often than not, reality is in contrast to their expectations, especially in the perception and attitudes of authorities and their representatives.

Immigrants from the Global South face myriad challenges in the High North. These include, among others, lowly-perceived job opportunities, language challenges, different weather conditions from what they are accustomed to, differences in governance and the legal system, technology utilisation, economic challenges and social differences. In Finland, immigrants do not attain commensurate level in terms of opportunities across the various sectors and spheres of life. Challenges such as housing, employment, socio-cultural norms, the language barrier and other integration-led initiatives have not satisfactorily addressed the needs of immigrants. These challenges and corresponding treatment by the authorities and other agencies have resulted in a perception among the immigrant population from the Global South that they are second-class human beings.

Finland, similar to other western countries, has been perceived to offer the dream life. Immigrants, especially disadvantaged and vulnerable immigrants usually from developing countries, spare no effort, however risky and costly, to achieve the dream associated with migrating to the west. Finland has been rated as the happiest country in the world [UN 2019], with the education system also ranked at first position [World Top 20 Project 2019]. In addition, the fourth annual 'good country index' [Anholt 2020] has placed Finland as the number one country in the world for making "a positive contribution to humanity", based on a number of metrics such as prosperity, scientific achievement, and contributions to global stability [World Economic Forum 2018]. The World Economic Forum also reported that Finland was the safest country in the world in 2019.

Finland is a world leader in so many fronts. According to the Fragile States Index [Fund for Peace 2018], Finland is the most stable country in the world. The Legatum Institute [2018] also reported that Finland had the best governance in the world. Among the world's richest countries, Finland is the third-most dedicated to policies that benefit people living in poorer nations [Center for Global Development 2018]. The World Justice Project [2018] also reported that Finland was the best country in protecting fundamental human rights. Finland is the third-most gender equal country in the world [WEF 2018]. In addition, Finland has the second-lowest

inequality among children in the world [UNICEF 2016]. According to Save the Children [2018], mothers' and children's well-being is the second-best in the world.

Whereas on the global stage, Finland's contribution may be outstanding, a different picture has been painted by other rankings for foreigners in Finland. According to the Expert Insider Report [2017], the 'Ease of Settling in Index', which ranks how expats adapt to their adoptive countries, ranked Finland close to last in the "ease of making friends" category. New arrivals have consistently ranked Finland as one of the worst countries in the world for socialising and making friends with the local population, with thousands of surveyed expats ranking Finns as the most "rational and distant" people in Europe. Research shows that different authority groups have associated different threats with various categories of immigrants such as Muslims with security, and Asians and Eastern Europeans with economic concerns [Hellwig & Sinno 2015].

Regarding attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, a survey targeting Finnish police officers, border guards, social workers, employment agency personnel and teachers in their work with people of a foreign background, the results showed that the attitudes of the authorities were, above all, related to their specific type of work and to the experiences they had had with immigrants as clients, which varied according to the occupation of these authorities. The experiences of teachers, social workers and employment agency personnel were mainly positive, whereas the majority of police officers and border guards estimated their experiences to be negative (or neutral). The most negative views were expressed by police officers and border guards and the most positive by social workers and Swedish-speaking teachers [Pitkänen & Kouki 2010].

Immigrants continue to face various obstacles in employment, including issues with the recognition of educational degrees, lack of language skills, poor professional connections or networks, and regulations that prevent them from working legally. These obstacles are not generally accounted for in the integration process. Furthermore, as these obstacles generally diminish during an immigrant's stay in Finland, further research still remains essential to evaluate how these variables affect employment and wage assimilation over time [Kerr & Kerr 2011].

According to a foreigner.fi [2020] article on the Covid-19 pandemic, members of minority-language communities were taken into consideration owing to the gravity of the pandemic, a unique action taken under the unprecedented life-threatening circumstances. This outlines the challenges that the immigrant population faces when accessing healthcare services even under regular circumstances and in the absence of a pandemic and unique situation. A reported increase in the infection rate among one particular immigrant community resulted in the production of multilingual instruction videos by the Helsinki-Uuismaa hospital district (HUS). The Helsinki

mayor remarked while expressing his concerns that the specified immigrant group 'members may sometimes have a harder time meeting safety guidelines'. This generalised remark directed at one group of immigrants may reflect the subtle condescending perception of the authorities on various groups of immigrants.

The study examines Finnish publications from 1990 to 2020 relating to the experiences of immigrants, including such factors as discrimination, awareness of rights, and fair treatment that can either ease or hinder integration patterns. These factors can also affect an individual's integration path in every sector, likewise in socio-cultural, political and economic institutions. The study is based on a literature review and the theory of justice. Despite having a welfare state, there are differences between social groups in terms of practising equitable solidarity in Finland. Even though the positive discrimination concept has been applied in several different policies, it still demands a wide discussion on solidarity and justice in order to have equal and equitable recognition of all social groups. We argue that the historical consequences of the real facts on migration in Finland are that immigrants are struggling to establish their identities, which then leads to a complex phenomenon of understating their social status. We have applied the Renault concept of experiences of injustice to understand immigrants' social position and its influences on their settlement in Finland.

The principles of this research can equally create sense and trust in public and private-public institutions, as well as promote transparency and conscious equitable treatment towards immigrants alongside other minority groups.

Contingency between theory and practice
1. Immigration contexts

Finland does not have a long history of receiving immigrants. In 1990, the percentage of immigrants in Finland was 1% of the total population, and after this time Finland started receiving higher numbers of immigrants, resulting in the percentage of immigrants being 4.8% in 2019 [Stat Finland 2019]. Despite predictions of increasing immigration, the number of immigrants still remains relatively small in Finland.

The Immigration Act of Finland, implemented in 1999, is the basic platform on which the Finnish integration system is built. Based on this integration system, local employment offices are authorised to make an individual integration plan for each immigrant. The target of this plan is to make a tailored integration pathway to ensure the immigrants' integration in Finnish society by providing diverse measures of training and programs to identify and expand their skills and experience, plus increase their efficiency so as to make their integration faster [OECD 2018]. The overall integration plan's aim is to support immigrants in civic and labour market

orientation. The integration program includes language training, since the local language is the key to interacting with society and accessing the labour market [Yeasmin 2018; Heikkilä & Yeasmin 2020]. In order to support unemployed immigrants, the government offers subsidised wage support to some extent. The government also provides apprenticeship services for immigrants to become acquainted with Finnish working culture as well as societal norms and customs [OECD 2018].

The overall target of the integration policy and program is to ensure the holistic inclusion of immigrants into Finnish society. At the national level, the responsibility for integration lies with the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment; however, all the ministries work together for the better implementation of the integration policies. The responsibilities of different authorities are defined by the Integration Act [Seppelin 2010]. Succinctly, municipalities are responsible for developing and monitoring the integration program, which means local integration measures, services and co-operation [Ibid. 2010]. The Integration Act gives immigrants the right to be a part of the integration plan for three years, but it can be prolonged by a maximum of two years as needed.

Besides integration, immigrants are protected temporarily under the Aliens Act "...until they have been granted a continuous residence permit or have left the country" (Finlex: 649/2004). "The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for the general development, planning, steering, monitoring and co-ordination of the integration of immigrants, the provision of temporary protection to asylum seekers and also for the provision of assistance to victims of trafficking. Reception and organising centres may be set up under the Ministry of the Interior" (Finlex: 927/2007). Additionally, immigrants are secured by the Unemployment Security Act and the Act on Social Assistances (Finlex: 1292/2002). The Integration Program (1215/2005) "covers the promotion of ethnic equality and good ethnic relations, and the prevention of discrimination." Promoting equal treatment along with good ethnic relations is a part of this integration act. All necessary measures and services are to be taken to promote equality in all its forms (Section 7: 1215/2005).

2. Implementation approaches: policy and practice

Despite having an integration act and good progress in mapping a flexible integration system, some of the drawbacks make integration challenging. As municipalities are decentralised and covered by bureaucratic procedures, not all the policies reach or support migrants [OECD 2018]. Mainly, immigrant women, children and youth are the most vulnerable groups that require additional support measures and continuous services to help them integrate better. Also, there are few financial schemes to provide support after the integration path of three years. These vulnerable immigrants lack opportunities for real-world learning [OECD 2018],

social interactions as well as sufficient support for job opportunities because of the premature cessation of governmental services [OECD 2018]. Researchers have demonstrated that once immigrants are located in different municipalities, the level of integration co-ordination reduces to a fair extent. Municipalities are heterogenous – some municipalities have 21 years of experience whilst others are new in receiving immigrants and can neither focus on integration work in the initial phase of integration nor respond to the real problems that immigrants face.

Although there are individual integration plans, it is known that individual needs are so heterogenous that municipal service providers cannot tailor services based on each and every immigrant's needs. This creates a gap that translates to services not always reaching all immigrants. There are many services offered for immigrants, but not all services are tailored to meet the complex needs of all target groups [Kotouttaminen 2020]. Many immigrants remain outside the labour force, and those who are in the labour force and seeking jobs are in a challenging situation and are at risk of unemployment and underemployment. As the latest report states [Ibid. 2020], the municipalities and ministries need more co-ordination, monitoring and updating of integration plans. At the municipal level, active guidance and co-operation between local actors and sectors should be examined so as to disseminate the right information to the right groups of immigrants [Kotouttaminen 2020]. Despite having several different policies and acts to ensure equal opportunities, there are migrant – native employment gaps, earning gaps between men and women with immigrant backgrounds, and employment disparities among immigrant women, which makes the integration pathway a long one [OECD 2018]. There is a hidden social gap of working experience between native-born and immigrants in the Finnish labour market. This indeed hinders the integration of immigrants [Ibid. 2020]. The language and literacy gap between natives and immigrants also features as one of the causes that hinders the access of immigrants to the labour market, and there is a need for new policies to integrate Finns and local Finnish employers by providing knowledge on immigration [Heikkilä 2015]. "… the gap between the language level provided under integration training and the level required in education or the labour market have led other private and NGO providers to step in to fill these gaps – often through project-based interventions" [OECD 2018: 111]. Many previous studies indeed state that immigrants are excluded from Finnish society despite Finland ranking highly at taking care of immigrants through laws and policies. So, the question is, why aren't the policies ensuring proper integration?

Immigrant children and youth are at risk of marginalisation [Yeasmin, Uusiautti 2018]. There is a large attainment gap between native-born and foreign-born children, demonstrated by the PISA test results. Young migrants and native-born children of foreign parents face particular challenges in Finnish schools and in the

community in terms of integration (references). For many of them, it is difficult to qualify for further education [OECD 2018], which can cause them to abandon their studies to some extent [Yeasmin, Uusiautti 2018].

3. Historical injustices and impediments

3.1. The theory of justice based on the experiences of injustice

Based on Renault's concept of an experience of injustice, people expect that their rights, instincts and attributes as an individual should be respected by others, and these are valid claims that give them a sense of protection in a particular society or under a particular institution. However, when that particular institution or society fails to meet their expectation of security, they experience injustices [Renault 2019]. Many philosophers have also addressed non-recognition of identities of certain groups as an issue of injustice [Fraser 2000; Manne 2017]. Individuals can claim their experiences of injustice when justice is limited from the basic structure and they face disagreement, their opportunities are narrower [Ibid.; Renault 2019], comparatively they are not in their original position based on their skills, and their conditions have been interpreted as non-ideal compared to other social beings [Ibid.]. They may experience social suffering due to being unemployed, homeless, undocumented or somehow deprived in a certain social context [Ibid.], e. g. social transformation. Social exclusion has, to some extent, been the result of social suffering, according to Renault [Renault 2017]. On the other hand, Honneth states in the theory of recognition that denying recognition hurts not only people's freedom of action but also hurts their positive understanding, which can then lead to social suffering [Alexander & Lara 1996]. Honneth also states that the denial of rights and recognition cannot lead to a good life. Disruption, everyday troubles with an individual's identity, experiences of injustice, and social suffering could be developmental impediments to a successful life [Honneth 1996; Honneth 1997]. Recognition of the equal rights and needs of a particular group of people is one of the familiar basics of justice and societal legitimacy. Taylor argues that the recognition of the identity and dignity of a human being is part of the protection of an individual's basic rights, and it is indeed an acknowledgment of their particular needs ([Taylor 1992], as he argues social and political institutions should give recognition to identities [Ibid.] – denying such types of recognition (of individual or group identities) is cultural injustice [Ibid.]. Markell's claim also supports Honneth's theory by saying that injustice is nothing but a failure of recognition of certain qualities of others [Markell 2007].

The concept of injustice has been discussed with reference to the scope and limits of justice that may be affected by one's ethnic background. Both political and ethical conceptions of justice refer to the equal and fair treatment of everyone for the realization of a good and happy life [Rawls 1993]. Some philosophers indicate

collective agency – wherever people live, they have to feel they are "at home", with equal freedoms and opportunities as the native-born members of the community [Tully 1994; Mason 1999; Hardimon 1994]. A perceived injustice is argued to be not having enough opportunities to feel equally happy in a society or, similarly, rights to primary goods are somehow innocently or mistakenly distributed impartially, all of which is the cause of suffering of a particular group of people in the society [Duncan 2000]. Historical injustice still impacts contemporary debates on addressing the injustices of disadvantaged groups [Simmons 1995; Offe 1998; O'Neill 1989].

This study is based on a literature review, and we noted in our research that immigrants in Finland are socially excluded and also that this is not a new phenomenon. Many previous studies indeed argued and addressed injustices among immigrants in Finland with and without equal and fair treatment in different spheres of society. They are excluded from economic, social and political institutions because of their ethnicity, religion, or class. The claims of experiences of injustices within the framework of immigration, both in Finland and globally, have remained remarkably consistent over time. Feeling the principles of justice are unique and subjective yet it exists in every society and every history. However, subjective experiences of injustice or experiences of non-recognition are varied and fragmented but are interpreted or formulated by previous social scientists as an insecure condition of immigrants [Freedman 2004; Linton et al. 2017; Candelo & Croson 2017; Mäkinen 2017; Yeasmin et al. 2020; Varjonen et al. 2018]. The socio-cultural, economic and political opportunities are too narrow for some groups of immigrants, which then leads to socio-cultural, economic and political suffering. Distinct socio-cultural groups, likely immigrants who are unable to find opportunity structures in Finnish society, experience injustices and are struggling to be recognised.

The diverse nature of immigrants hinders their access to resources, participation and opportunities, which in turn limits their chance of a good and happy life [UN 2016]. Across history, immigrants have been socially excluded by the absence of rationality, freedom and justice. Resolving these problems of injustice can be counted as a rational and legitimate demand by immigrants when considering factors that would facilitate the expansion of social forms of recognition [Honneth 2001]. Previous studies demonstrate the need to discontinue the historical practice of injustice [Göksel 2014]. The impediments that cause social exclusion can only be deconstructed with reference to the normative principles of justice [Göksel 2014].

3.2. Historical injustices

Based on theory, we can call a group disadvantaged when they are politically, economically and socio-culturally excluded from the mainstream society [Social Exclusion Unit 1998]. Disadvantaged people feel that they are being restricted in

terms of a lack of access to basic and valuable opportunities in the first place. The history of immigration expands our understanding of the contemporary situation. Exploring the history of immigration and examining various aspects of legacies of the past integration of immigrants in the host society is always a matter of diverse perceptions [FRA 2017; Tievainen 2017]. Immigration debates are an ongoing process that has "...simultaneously fostered anxiety among the public and governments" [Ahmed 2005: 8; Jaakkola 1999; Ahmad 2020; Saukkonen 2017]. Xenophobia, racism and intolerance remain at consistent rates globally, and Finland is no exception. The Director of the EU Agency of Fundamental Rights states that existing laws and policies seem inadequate to protect individuals who are discriminated against and are at risk of marginalisation [FRA 2017]. If we need to have an effective pattern of integration, a historical recollection of injustice is significantly important to recognise identity and contingency [Waldron 1992]. By neglecting to analyse historical injustices, we fail to recognise the principles of injustice and therefore also fail to establish justice for the future [Ibid.]. Immigration history can hold the key to understanding the unfavourable paradoxes of injustices from the notion of experiences of injustice and impediments.

3.3. Impediments

The factors that contribute to the impediments encountered by the immigrant population both intersect and are unique across the regions and municipalities of Finland [Kotouttaminen 2020].

Socio-cultural impediments

The challenge of language is a key impediment that immigrants face in their integration in Finland [OECD 2017]. The integration program for immigrants offers Finnish language courses as a useful tool for settling in Finland [Koivukangas 2002]. Finnish and Swedish are the primary languages for transmitting information, including news, guidelines and regulations [Institute for the Languages of Finland 2020]. Even though Swedish is the second official language in Finland, knowledge of Finnish is key for increasing the economic opportunities for the immigrant population [Mwai & Ghaffar 2014]. The majority of useful information is provided in detail in Finnish and Swedish, and in some cases, the English version provides a summary. Most of the economic opportunities available for the immigrant population is accessible to immigrants with a better grasp of the Finnish language. In recent years, English has been touted and considered as the third business language in some municipalities. However, the practical application of the English language remains a mirage. The continued challenge of language stamps immigrants as lifelong second-class citizens. In addition, immigrants, especially first-generation immigrants,

feel discriminated against because of their skin colour (46%) and religion (40%) in Finland [EU MIDIS 2017].

Table 1. Perceived insecurity by area, origin, background country (only persons of foreign origin, born abroad), year, information, sex and age

	2018								
	Perceived insecurity								
	Total			**Males**			**Females**		
	Total	- 39	40 -	Total	- 39	40 -	Total	- 39	40 -
Background country, total	29.0	29.7	28.0	25.5	26.0	24.8	32.8	33.7	31.5
Russia	31.5	34.0	28.0	26.1	30.4	20.6	36.7	37.8	34.2
Estonia	42.7	46.3	38.2	35.4	38.1	32.3	49.7	54.1	44.0
Middle East and North Africa	26.4	27.0	27.2	23.5	23.8	24.4	29.7	30.5	30.0
Africa	23.7	28.5	14.6	19.3	19.6	19.7	28.9	40.1	...
India, Vietnam, Thailand, China and Asia	28.1	29.5	26.9	33.5	34.6	33.0	25.8	27.0	24.9
EU, EEC, North America	20.2	17.9	22.2	18.5	15.2	20.0	21.7	20.8	24.1
Latin America and others	22.8	20.0	26.9	20.8	17.3	27.3	24.6	23.2	26.1

Data: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland.

Systemic disadvantages and low knowledge and awareness of the Finnish legal, and economic and socio-cultural modus operandi create a stumbling block for immigrants trying to settle and earn a decent living in Finland [OECD 2017]. It takes a considerable amount of time for immigrants to gain a fair understanding of the sources of information for various issues, including but not limited to legal issues, education issues for their children, the requirements to start and operate a business, and taxation matters [Elo 2015]. As most of this information is not offered during the integration program [Kotouttaminen 2020], it takes extra effort, time and resources to find the information, understand it and apply it in a compliant manner. The systemic disadvantages [Bontenbal, Pekkarinen & Lillie 2019] generate a culture of second-class feeling which lead to a perceived insecurity (see Table 1) and discrimination (see Table 2) as the immigrants continually grapple with news that is ordinarily not missed by a citizen. It has also been studied that native children are higher academic achievers compared to immigrant children in Finnish schools [OECD 2018; van de Werfhorst & Heath 2019]. One of the main factors that can

hinder an immigrant child's academic achievement is the socio-economic status of his parents [Yeasmin & Uusiautti 2018, 2019].

**Table 2. Perceived discrimination by origin, background country
(only persons of foreign origin, born abroad), year, information, sex and age**

	2018								
	Perceived discrimination								
	Total			**Males**			**Females**		
	Total	**- 39**	**40 -**	**Total**	**- 39**	**40 -**	**Total**	**- 39**	**40 -**
Foreign background, born abroad									
Background country, total	30.6	31.6	29.1	32.6	34.6	29.7	28.4	28.5	28.4
Russia	28.5	27.4	28.8	29.0	29.5	27.4	27.7	25.2	29.2
Estonia	24.2	23.4	23.9	20.3	23.4	16.9	26.5	22.9	28.4
Middle East & North Africa	28.1	27.7	29.0	30.5	29.1	33.4	25.3	26.5	19.0
Africa	36.3	40.0	31.4	39.0	42.0	35.9	33.0	38.0	...
India, Vietnam, Thailand, china and Asia	35.2	36.1	33.7	44.4	45.3	40.2	28.3	28.9	28.7
EU- and EEC-countries, North America	32.4	36.3	29.2	30.9	34.5	28.9	35.6	37.9	33.1
Latin America and others	32.0	31.8	32.6	39.1	39.4	37.5	21.6	19.0	26.4

Data: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland.

Political impediments

An extension of the systemic disadvantage [Bontenbal, Pekkarinen & Lillie 2019] is experienced in the recognition of migrant certifications, qualifications and skills. Finland does not recognise a number of foreign qualifications from the Global South. This forces the immigrants to take refresher courses or new courses to attain the level of recognisable qualifications necessary for the job market. Professions in the medical and financial fields are just an example of sectors that need Finnish-tailored courses to enable an immigrant to be eligible for employment. Interestingly, even with the additional qualification, it is still an uphill climb for an immigrant to secure employment in Finland in formal, white-collar jobs. This strengthens immigrants' perception that they receive second-class treatment and are left to choose from that which Finnish citizens reject.
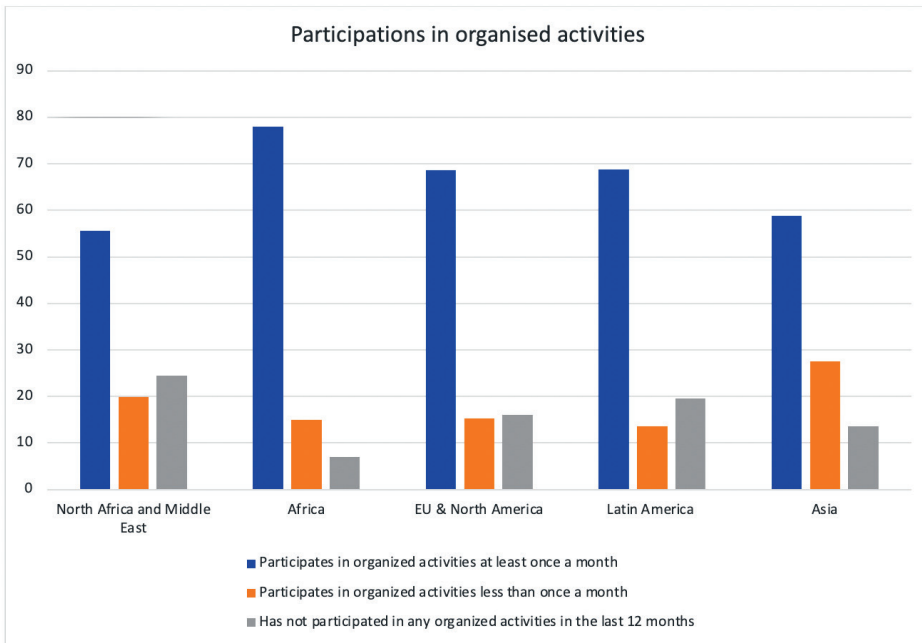
Figure 1. Immigrants' participation rate (%) in organised activities in Finland (2018).
Data: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland.

The legal framework for Finland is designed in a subtle Finn-first model. Immigrants face challenges in reporting Finnish citizens to the authorities, as Finnish citizens benefit from a perceived preferential treatment by the state authorities [Bontenbal, Pekkarinen & Lillie 2019]. According to the SIRIUS project, it is common to overhear immigrants argue that 'authorities turn to their language – Finnish' and favour the culprit if he/she is a Finnish citizen. This contributes to the opinion held by the immigrants that they receive second-class treatment which demotivates then to take part in even social activities (see Table 3), as justice authorities are perceived to be partisan and treat legal cases differently depending on the nationality of the accused [Egharevba & Crentsil 2013] which hinders and enable their social participations (see Figure 1) which is imperative to increase among immigrants for ensuring their sociopolitical integration.

Economic impediments

Immigrants are faced with economic disadvantages because of the nature of the opportunities that are available to them. This challenge is reflected in the high cost of living reported by immigrants. In Finland, the wages, taxes and cost of living are slightly higher than the EU average [City of Helsinki 2020]. Even though the taxes are well

utilised and other services efficient, immigrants bear the brunt of the higher cost of living as they earn meagre wages and salaries due to the nature of jobs that they secure [Bontenbal, Pekkarinen & Lillie 2019]. This puts immigrants in a disadvantaged position compared to Finnish citizens with similar or lower qualifications, as Finnish citizens have more employment opportunities in the decent job market. This disadvantage exacerbates the feeling of being second-class citizens among the immigrants. They are disadvantaged in the labour market [Forsander 2002; Yeasmin & Koivurova 2019], in many cases they are unemployed or underemployed or even in jobs disproportionately based on their ethnicity and their qualifications [Myrskylä & Pyykkönen 2014] and are cornered into self-employment [Yeasmin 2016; Hasan 2020]. Immigrant entrepreneurs face many challenges [Joronen 2002; Altonen & Akola 2012] in establishing and developing a business in Finland. Entrepreneurship is encouraged for immigrants; however, systematic support measures are inadequate to back up their business progress. Obtaining information on entrepreneurship policies and practice is challenging, and therefore hinders immigrants' opportunities in terms of business progress. According to both older and more recent studies [Valtonen 1998; Yeasmin & Koivurova 2019], there are many significant factors that need to be considered for the further planning of the economic integration of these groups that have been unstable from 1990 until the present. Devaluing their foreign credentials as well as their labour and skills results in dissatisfaction, which equally inhibits their economic integration. As justice, they desire fair employment opportunities.

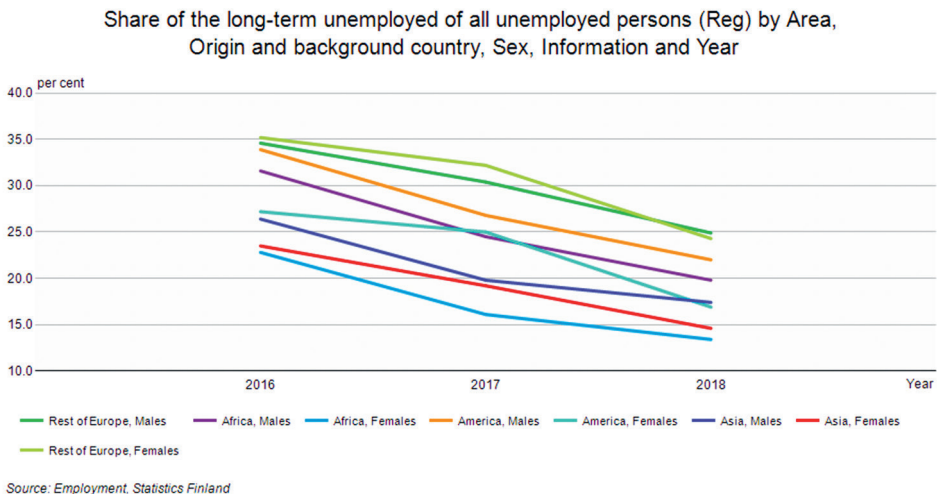Figure 2. Long-term unemployed immigrants by country and gender in Finland year 2016–2018. Data: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland.

Racism is a historic profiler [Vanttinen 2020] that paints the immigrant population as second-class human beings, especially among non-white immigrants. Immigrants face the subtle caste system in securing employment, housing and other opportunities to raise the status of immigrants to a near-equal or equitable level. The perception and attitudes that state authorities and employers exhibit can inadvertently create an unfair playing field in the job market. A study revealed that the Finnish job market preferred applicants with Finnish names compared to applicants with non-Finnish names, even when the non-Finnish applicants had the same exact qualifications or better [Ahmad 2019]. Finland also rates the highest in the EU as the country with the most widespread racism against black immigrants [Helsinki Times 2018].

4. Discussion

Elements of Justice are described by the David Schmidtz are divided into 4 notions: 1) desert, 2) reciprocity, 3) equality, and 4) need.

The concept of desert or merit shapes from the thesis that people receive the treatment like honours, rewards or praise that they deserve [Miller 1998]. There are different impediments encountered by immigrants in institutional, social and economic levels need an interactional setting to find equal opportunities from the Finnish society. Human needs to secure their lives in certain aspects and recognition based on their performances in a particular society where they live. Immigrants desire that host society conform their integration by recognizing their logical priorities of qualities of life and provide equal justices among all members of the society to make them enable to be defended with logic and justification. But the dark and true side is immigrants lack the reciprocity between them and larger society or institutions, since their social values are different and they cannot represent themselves in such ways that host societal structure need some changes to establish elements of justice by securing opportunities for all, on the basis of their performances, not on the basis of races, beliefs and cultural values.

Element of Justice	Opportunity	Security	Recognition	Policy intervention
Desert	– institutional, socio-cultural artifacts are standardized based on utilitarianism	– job security – racism – prejudice	– skills, degrees and experiences are not recognized	– empowerment – interevent right ways of rewarding
Reciprocity	– reciprocal acts – entitlement and obligation	– equity – fairness – balance	– social customs – religion – culture	– repairing relationship between immigrants and host – two-way integration measures

Element of Justice	Opportunity	Security	Recognition	Policy intervention
Equality	– Social sector – Economic sector – political sector	– Systematic advantages – more knowledge and awareness	– extra effort, time and resources to find the information, – understand "immigration paradoxes" in a compliant manner	– positive discrimination measures – Fast track recognition measures for foreign credentials – information available in different majority languages
Need	– meeting basic and functional needs	– Standard of living – health & well-being	– hope – satisfaction – happiness	– support measures to strengthen manners of egalitarianism

Reciprocity demands equity, balance and fairness in human relationships within a particular set of scales. Justice necessitates to balance entitlements and obligation. Immigrants have certain rights and responsibilities towards the host society and vis a vis. Everybody can be benefitted by a successful integration. Recognizing of both parties can secure equity and fairness by paying attention to the social existences of minority culture, religion and social values. Understanding immigration paradoxes requires adopting a pluralistic perspective that can extend equal concerns to encompass the principles of justice in socio-economic and political level to remove impediments from the system. As a resident of a country, all individuals need to be specified. Understanding the needs related to justice could play a sustainable role for ensuring equal justice for all residents. Immigrants have their hope on their life satisfactions and happiness like all other people in the society. Basic and functional needs of all human being are related to the welfare components of the country. Welfare of the country very much depends on citizens' satisfaction, concepts of justice emphasized importance of human rights for the ultimate fulfilment of the good lives of human beings. Security, opportunity and recognitions are the preconditions for the satisfaction of life.

5. Conclusion

According to this theoretical part of the study, there are different aspects that somehow damage the structure of the social recognition of immigration, which leads to incomprehensive integration patterns. Injustice and the symbolic denial of social recognition and social sufferings make immigrants feel disadvantaged and struggling in Finnish society, which dampens their positive feelings and ability to ensure a successful life for themselves. Every human being expects equal and

fair treatment. When an individual's experiences of injustice become a shared or collective experience, the need for justice can incite moral indignation. The socio-economic, cultural and political recognition of immigrants is connected to their achievements, and satisfaction can lead them to a moral understanding of societal inclusion. The disadvantages faced by immigrants in Finland are interconnected in more ways than one. One cannot remove one impediment from another totally, and the impediments propel one another to jointly classify immigrants as second-class citizens, in a very skilfully orchestrated fashion.

These historical experiences of justice or injustice broaden our knowledge and understanding that each type of recognition or non-recognition in every sphere of the social structure is either a step forward for immigrants towards social inclusion or a step back towards exclusion. The paradoxes of the historical impediments and experiences of injustice give us a vibrant understanding of the present challenges facing immigrants in establishing their social status in Finland. Identifying the pain points that hinder the structural pattern of immigrant integration in Finland requires a broader understanding of the concept of justice. We advocate that structural injustice critically reflect on the immigration phenomenon more in Finland rather than procedural injustices. Nevertheless, any satisfactory results depend on both the structural and procedural principles of justice. Liberal equality demands both the moral and political values be considered when pursuing an effective model for integration. There are many strategies, from policies to practices, to handle immigration, and there are many edicts to follow in order to be fair and equal, which requires encompassing the principles of justice in practice. A fair recognition process might lessen both the structural and procedural imbalance. If we are unable to explain those imbalances then it would be challenging to control the social suffering of immigrants and contextual inequality. As a consequence of experiencing injustice, it would not be possible to subjugate others' freedom or to change the social status of disadvantaged groups of people. Until then, the situation will remain unstable and immigrants will remain in the place of second-class citizens. A motivational approach may be seen as a useful tool – the government may motivate native Finns by creating awareness of immigrants' contributions to the national economy and social wellbeing.

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INNER CONFLICTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF HYBRID IDENTITIES IN DIASPORA: A CASE STUDY OF LATVIA'S DIASPORA IN SWEDEN

Mg.art. **Māra Simons**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

Hybrid identity seems to be a nowadays phenomenon, even though it has always been present within diasporic communities in different historical times. It has been in a spotlight more recently because of the growing numbers of transnational and diasporic communities around the world, which leaves the impact on the formation of people's identities. This research looks into the theoretical grounds of diasporic identities, recognizing hybrid and fluid aspects within and inner conflicts which are brought along while finding the stable ground for one's identity. There is a broad empirical part, where Latvia's diaspora in Sweden is studied, searching for answers about changes in their identities and belonging issues when living abroad. This study found that formation of the diasporic identity is an on-going process with different and individual stages of being and attitudes towards own identity, home and belonging. The complexity of individual adjustment to diasporic identity is observed, which often can be characterized as a hybrid *in-betweenness* – the state between two or more identities.

Keywords: *Diaspora, identity, hybridity, Latvia, Sweden.*

Introduction

Experience of living abroad takes and gives; one encounters personal losses and gains [Cho 2018]. It is retrospective as one is somewhat forced sooner or later to investigate oneself and find new grounds for existence. There are struggles outside, adjusting to the different surroundings and inside, searching for ways to fit in and make sense of the outer world. There are realizations and searches for belonging, inner and outer peace. The research regarding shifts in diasporic identities has been topical as many people in the world live transnationally, often belonging to one of

the diaspora communities, which in turn raises questions for researchers about the specifics of constructing these people's identities.

This article is looking into the development of discourse of diaspora, identity, and hybridity, tying it together with experience of different personal accounts from the most recent of Latvia's diaspora community in Sweden. The recent or modern diaspora is considered to be the one, which has formed after regaining the independence of Latvia in 1991. Latvia's population has decreased drastically by nearly 10% between 2010 and 2019 [United Nations 2019]. In the light of the creation of different diasporic communities abroad and emigration patterns from Latvia, it is crucial to continue to explore diasporas, their formation, and diasporic identities. The main focus in this research is to explore personal and sometimes deeply intimate experiences in Latvia's diaspora in Sweden and to observe dynamics of creation of a diasporic identity as it could be the indicator for future research on Latvia's diaspora in general, which is specific because of its diversity[1].

The research questions to discover complexity of diasporic identities are the following: do members of Latvia's diasporic community in Sweden form hybrid or fluid identities; do they adjust their identities to the host country or remain with an untouched core identity; what kind of factors influence inner conflicts in diasporic identities; does this agree or contradict with the current state of the art in academic knowledge? In order to answer these research questions, the article has a theoretical frame in the section *Conceptual problems defining diaspora, identity and hybridity*, looking into works of such authors as Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, Marwan Kraidy, Martin Ehala, Dibyesh Anand and others to create the overview on discourse about identity issues in general and diasporic identity together with hybrid identities. There is a section of the methodology, explaining the design of the empirical part, which follows afterwards with the title *Belonging and home in Latvia's diasporic community in Sweden*. In the section *Discussion* analysis of the empirical data in relation to the existing diaspora studies scholarship is presented and research questions are answered. The last section is the *Conclusions*.

Conceptual problems defining diaspora, identity and hybridity

There is a lot of uncertainty in a post-modern world view which represents itself in a crisis of the previously created scientific frameworks. Fluidity and inability to agree upon definitions of different terms is just one of the examples of the contemporary agenda of social and cultural studies.

The term *diaspora* initially derives from Greek, meaning dispersal or scattering of seeds [Carment, Sadjed 2017: 2], and referring to Jewish experience. *Diaspora* as an

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[1] Latvia's diaspora is not homogenous; there is a division between people who come from the ethnic Latvian and Russian speaking communities.

old Greek word was rarely used in other languages before the 19th century. The term developed drastically in the second part of the 20th century. Until the 1950s *diaspora* had no possible meaning except religious, and until the 1960s *diaspora* as concept was almost absent from the social sciences lexicon [Dufoix 2003: 15–16, 19]. Now the term *diaspora* itself has been somewhat *scattered* due to multiple definitions and fluid nature. Robert Cohen thinks that term *diaspora* has become contested because of its popularity:

> *For Soysal, term has become 'venerated', for Anthias it has become a 'mantra', for Chariandy it is 'fashionable' and 'highly-favoured', for Sökefeld the term is 'hip' and 'in'. One scholar, Donald Akeson, is so annoyed at its popularity that he complains that 'diaspora' has become a 'massive linguistic weed'* [Cohen 2018: 18].

Fluidity has affected the term *identity* as well. Martin Ehala puts it in this way:

> *Research on identity is like a tale of the five blind men describing an elephant: from one perspective it seems like pillar, from another perspective a rug, and from another perspective like a basket. Even worse, the five men describing this identity don't even listen much to each other* [Ehala 2018: 2].

The ambiguity of identity has led some scholars to reject the term altogether as too imprecise for scholarly analysis [Ehala 2018: 2]. Some post-modern authors celebrate the crush of certainty and with them the cultural base of identities, allowing self-identification to occur. Ehala thinks that, as beautiful as this may sound, this principle of self-identification is in contradiction with the very basics of how collective identities function. To claim an identity, or to have an identity, one has to have a valid authenticity relationship to the sign of the identity [Ehala 2018: 115]. Ehala has some doubts about an ability to perform authentically in two or more identities. He suggests that one can have strong attachment to the particular identity, but it does not automatically mean that the person can perform authentically in it and be fully accepted as a group member by others in the group. At the same time Ehala admits that there are thousands of collective identities in any society at any time, and every person belongs to many overlapping in-groups simultaneously [Ehala 2018: 159]. Johan Fornäs formulates identities as *meanings attached to human individuals or collectives, in interaction among themselves and with surrounding others* and formed by *signification process* [Fornäs 2012: 43]. The process includes defining oneself or the group in relation to outsiders or *others*. Thomas Hylland Eriksen [1995] suggests that the compass of the group with which they identify is the subject to the potential change. He talks about *we-hood* and *us-hood* as two modes of social identification – *we-as-subject* and *we-as-object* or *us-hood*. *We-hood* is characterized by interdependence and internal cohesion. *Us-hood* is brought alive where the *other* is imagined as a threat [Eriksen 1995: 427].

Stuart Hall's research leads into uncertain ground. He talks [1994] about *de-centred* identities or *postmodern subject*, which lacks fixed, essential or permanent identity. It is being formed and transformed continuously in relations to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. It is historically, not biologically, defined, suggests Hall [1994]. The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent *self*. Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about. Hall writes that if we feel we have a united identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or *narrative* of the self about ourselves, because fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy [Hall 1994: 277].

From the discourse about fluid identities arises a new term – *hybridity*. Hybridity particularly is one of the most dynamic concepts to have emerged within post-colonial and diaspora studies as post-structuralist was used to reformulate and reconceptualize the term [Stierstorfer, Wilson 2018: 126]. Hybridity, as it is put by Marwan M. Kraidy [2005], is one of the emblematic notions of our era. It captures the spirit of the times with its obligatory celebration of cultural difference and fusion. At more prosaic level, its initial use in Latin was describe the offspring of *a tame sow and wild boar*. Hybridity has proven a useful concept to describe multipurpose electronic gadgets, designer agricultural seeds, environment-friendly cars with dual combustion and electrical engines, companies that blend American and Japanese management practices, multiracial people, dual citizens and postcolonial cultures [Kraidy 2005: 1]. Like other nowadays concepts, hybridity is a risky notion. Kraidy writes, that rather than a single idea or unitary concept, hybridity is an association of ideas, concepts, and themes that simultaneously reinforce and contradict each other. Still, Kraidy thinks, even though having a *foggy* boundaries and semantic openness, hybridity remains an appealing concept [Kraidy 2005: 65–66].

Hybridity, being a relatively new term academically, is not new as a concept at all, and as claimed by some authors, it has been present always. Edward Said [1994] says, for example, that all cultures are involved in one another, none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogenous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic. Jerry Bentley [1993] points out that cross-cultural encounters are historically pervasive. Encounters between cultures have been always prevalent. He claims that cultural hybridity is a historical reality in many historical case studies that range from South America to China. For instance, Islam spread rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa because local elites converted voluntarily to enhance trade with Muslim merchants and because Islam was the dominant mode of sociopolitical organization of the world that surrounded sub-Saharan Africa. Bentley thinks that self-enclosed culture is in

fact a historical aberration [Bentley 1993]. Jay L. Lemke suggests that multiplicity and hybridity of postmodern identities is not new or exceptional, but it is rather the contemporary realization of the more general principle that in identity development, we learn how to perform diverse relational identities in interaction with diverse others [Lemke 2008: 18].

Dibyesh Anand [2018] ties together diaspora experience with a hybridity. He thinks that diaspora is an entity whose very existence is a product of interaction across cultures. There is also a constant reminder that there is always more than one culture. At the very least – there are two cultures – one in the host country and another in the home country. Anand puts forward culture as a site of debate and contestation as culture is about contestations and conversations within it. He agrees that there are subjects who would not act open-minded towards those not belonging to their culture. They would see such an inter-cultural dialogue or inter-mixing as an impurity and an attack on culture [Anand 2018: 115–117].

Anand is proposing that those people who have lost emotional connections with their homeland, but have only ethnic ties left, are not diasporic anymore. From another hand, if somebody lives in the hosting land, but have complete loyalty to their homeland, they are not diasporic either but temporary migrants [Anand 2018: 114]. Lily Cho [2018] gives another perspective. She thinks that there is a vital difference between the transnational and the diasporic, even though many discussions of diaspora emphasize the ways in which diasporas challenge national borders and national identities. Cho does not think that diasporas are constituted by transnational movement. To be diasporic is to be marked by loss, according to Cho. The difference between the transnational and the diasporic lies in the difference between those whose subjectivities emerge out of the security of moving through the world with the knowledge of a return and those whose subjectivities are conditioned by the knowledge of loss [Cho 2018: 112].

To be diasporic does not always mean to feel comfortable about one's identity. Some in diaspora find it hard to reconcile their *original* beliefs and values in a different context. *Original* is often a product of nostalgic imagination and mythmaking [Anand 2018: 116]. Kraidy thinks that hybrid identity might be in effect a refusal, or perhaps an inability, to make definitive identity choices. Hybridity is not a negation of identity; rather, it is an inevitable condition [Kraidy 2005: 146–147]. Homi K. Bhabha puts it in this way from his personal experience:

> *I never imagined that I would live elsewhere. Years later, I ask myself what it would be like to live without the unresolved tensions between cultures and countries that have become the narrative of my life, and the defining characteristic of my work* [Bhabha 2007: x].

Bhabha [2007] characterizes this state of being as a *third space*, a somewhat hybrid and borderline state of being. It is not the identity itself, but the continuous and fluid process of identification, as Bhabha puts it himself when being interviewed in 1990 [Rutherford 2018]. He speaks as well about *unhomely* experience and being *beyond*, which is neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind of the past:

> *We find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion. For there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the 'beyond': and exploratory, restless movement caught so well in the French rendition of the words au-delá – here and there, on all sides* [Bhabha 2007: 1–2].

Cho is agreeing with Bhabha, saying that *unhoming* or to be *unhomely* and feeling of a loss, is a state of diasporic consciousness and it always remains that way if one is diasporic [Cho 2018: 112].

There are some critical voices about hybridity as well. Lemke [2008] thinks that we often celebrate *hybridity* as an opportunity for people to escape from the prescribed role identities of particular cultures or institutions, though we should also recognize that hybridity represents a compromise by the individual among the pressures and forces of multiple cultures and institutions which are seeking to control our identities. He adds that increasingly in the modern world, people are under pressure to conform to the identity stereotypes of more than one traditional community, ethnic or national culture. Lemke suggests that we hybridize merely to reconcile the conflicting pressures [Lemke 2008: 19–20; 32–33]. As well Bhabha has been pointing out some negative aspects of the notion of hybridity. In the interview Bhabha [Rutherford 2018] says that commitment to *cultural diversity* is not necessarily positive since it can be located within the grid of the dominant culture. Bhabha thinks that the difference of cultures cannot be something that can be accommodated within a universalist framework as it is nearly impossible and counterproductive, to try and fit together different forms of culture and to pretend that they can easily coexist. Lemke [2008], from another hand, addresses the issue of the diversity in a personality, claiming that many people appear to be *ideal-types* of one or another culture, but it is never possible in all the aspects, and appearance can be misleading as it can be the projected identity, which one wishes to seem to be to others. Our identities are product of life in a community, and we learn how to interact with many sorts of people very different from ourselves, in this process building up a cumulative repertoire of roles we can play, and with them identities we can assume [Lemke 2008: 20].

Performing in a hybrid identity can reveal the absence of the identity, suggests Kraidy [2005]. He mentions Jean Baudrillard and his theory of simulations. Baudrillard [1983] writes that to simulate is to feign to have what one has not, and

the simulation means concealment of the nonexistence of something. Kraidy [2005] describes young Maronites in Lebanon, who simultaneously identify with Western and Arab cultures and reject parts of both of them. In this way younger generation of Maronites in Lebanon embody hybridity in that they live simultaneously on two sides of a symbolic fault line without full allegiance to either. One of the interview subjects Anton, who criticized young Maronites in the interview told that *they pretend to be what they are not. They look Western, but they have the same old archaic mentality. They imitate rather than live their freedom*. In other words, this is a phenomenon of simulation, concludes Kraidy. Young Maronite's adoption of simulative tactics reflects a lack in their cultural identity wherein simulated action masks the absence of a clearly defined, organic identity [Kraidy 2005: 138].

Hybridity might lead to the fluidity towards attitudes. Nagel and Staeheli [2004] contend that diasporic identity develops ways to balance identity and membership that do not require a choice between homeland and host nation. Carment and Sadjed [2017: 4] suggest that even though people in diasporas develop transnational and flexible identities, they have not completely left their homeland but serve as a bridge between homeland and their host state. The link to the *homeland* does not only have to physical but also includes imagined representation of a time and space, to which an actual return might not be possible. Olivia Sheringham [2017] goes even further with the idea of Carmen and Sadjed [2017] about diasporic identity as a bridge between two places as she is sure that hybrid identities not only co-exist but are more complementary than contradictory. She admits that markers of identity can be conflicting at the first sight, but they seem to coexist in a harmonious way in the diversity [Sheringham 2017: 125].

Methodology of the empirical data

The data gathered from the interviews is built on framework of Schutz's [1967] social phenomenology. That is *descriptive and interpretive theory of social actions that explores subjective experience within the taken-for-granted, "common sense" world of the individuals* [Fereday, Muir-Cochrane 2006: 81]. The empirical part is built on qualitative, semi structured, deep interviews with 14 people from Latvia residing in Sweden shorter or longer term – starting from three years up to 25 years. Two of the subjects are from the Russian speaking community[1] in Latvia. Eight are female and six – male interviewees. There are different age groups represented – from

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[1] There is a big Russian speaker community in Latvia – around 30% of inhabitants of Latvia, consisting of Russians and other nationalities from the former Soviet republics. Many members of this community have been living in the separate information space since the renewal of Latvia's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. To a large extent it is due to the slow integration process in the society.

27 as the youngest subject up to 58 years old as the oldest. Subjects represent different professions and education levels. Interviews were conducted in Latvian, except one interview, which was conducted in both Latvian and English. Interviewing occurred mostly online in December 2020 and in the beginning of January 2021, using different Internet platforms, due to the Covid-19 situation. Two interviews were conducted in the real-life meetings face to face. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. All names of interviewees have been changed. Latvian or, as it put sometimes because of the Russian speaking community, Latvia's diaspora has been chosen as a reference group to see possible differences or similarities between one group members in the Latvia's diasporic community in Sweden.

Belonging and home in Latvia's diasporic community in Sweden
Who am I?

There is not always a clear answer when one needs do define the identity. Some people immediately make associations with the national identity, language and all cultural aspects together with it. Some interviewees like to think outside of the frame of socialized and learned roles and see themselves as human beings, who are transforming in a different stage of their life. It resonates with Hall's [1994] description of an identity which is always in the process of change. At the same time all interviewees admit their ties with Latvia, either culturally or as being Latvians by their nationality, and one can see that the collective or social identity is playing an important role in constructions of the personal identity. Kārlis, 36 years old, working with chemical injections on concrete structures, has been in Sweden for 10 years, says that he is Latvian in Sweden and always will remain one:

> *I felt at the beginning that I wanted to be one of them* [Swede – M.S.]*, but it is some kind of sell-out, it is not worth that. You have to be who you are. You cannot expect to have many friends either after you learn to speak Swedish. They* [Swedes – M.S.] *are even more reserved than us Latvians.*

Māris, 27 years old construction worker, former policeman in Latvia, has been eight years in Sweden, says that he became more *Latvian* while living in Sweden. He is a participant of Latvian folkdance group *Zibenītis*. Māris never danced before and never felt he would be doing that in the future. Now he thinks that the decision to dance has kept him in Sweden, as he gained friends and social circle. *I cannot trust Swedish friend in the same way I trust Latvian,* says Māris. He mentions problems in communication with Swedish women as well:

> *I do not feel accepted by them* [Swedish women – M.S.]. *There is another side too and it is about me. I do not feel connected to Swedish girls as they are too different.*

Māris feels at home in Sweden, but sometimes considers moving back to Latvia as he thinks it would be easier to find a partner to have a family together.

Oksana, 45 years old project coordinator at university, has been living in Sweden for 23 years, shares her experience as Russian speaker from Latvia:

> *I have been growing up in the Russian-speaking home. My Mum is Russian from Russia, Dad – Jewish from Ukraine. I am married to Swedish man. If somebody in Sweden asks me where I come from, I answer – from Latvia. If I am abroad, the answer is that I am from Sweden. Latvia is the heart, because I was born there. Russia is the head because of my intellectual connection to the language, and Sweden is the bottom as one sits with it and feels comfortable as I feel in Sweden* [laughs – M.S.].

Oksana established contacts with Latvians while studying in Latvia and her study language was Latvian. Before that she was studying in Russian and admits that it was not easy to start to study in Latvian. She had a new experience as Russian speaker from Latvia being between Latvians:

> *I found myself in another world. I got the feeling that I belong. Not that I was a foreigner before, but now it was a feeling that this is my homeland, that I am part of Latvia's culture, language and people. It was interesting.*

Ludmila, another Russian speaker from Latvia, 46 years old nurse, who has been living in Sweden for 3 years, has another background. Her Mum is Russian, but Stepdad was Latvian. She cannot remember how she learned Latvian; it was parallelly around her. Ludmila identifies herself as Russian when in Latvia, even though admits that her mentality is not Russian as she is not an *impulsive person* as she puts it. Her feelings about her identity and belonging changes when in Sweden:

> *When I am in Sweden, I feel like Latvian, when I am in Latvia, I have this fifty-fifty feeling as it is difficult to understand which side I am on – Latvian or Russian. I was trying to communicate with Russian-speaking society here in Sweden, but it did not work out. They are different. We do not have anything in common.*

Ludmila feels she fits better with Latvian community in Sweden and she finds it easy to adjust to the life in Sweden as it reminds her of Latvia. Her son's first language was Latvian, as she knew he would pick up Russian later on.

In the case of Ludmila one can see hybrid identity's development already while growing up in Latvia and adjusting to both Russian and Latvian communities and feeling solidarity with both. When in Sweden it is more apparent that Ludmila identifies her more with Latvian part of herself, even though not being Latvian by birth. The fact that she spoke Latvian to her child since his birth in Latvia, indicates strong attachment to this identity.

Iveta, 49, teacher, who has been away from Latvia for 22 years, first living in Finland, and now for seven years in Sweden, says that she is Latvian and always will be even though accepting a few things from the host country's characteristics:

> *It is something deep inside. Even if I would not take care of it, it still would be there. But I have a little bit of the Scandinavian identity as well. It manifests, for example, in the way I decorate my house.*

Diāna, 45 years old, studying to become a biomedical analytic, has lived in Sweden for 18 years, says her identity is Latvian, even though she is not planning to return back to Latvia. At the same time Diāna feels she belongs more to Sweden as to the state comparing to Latvia. Diāna is a very active member of the Latvian community in Sweden, playing in the folk music group, singing in the Latvian choir. As she puts it herself, *those who are active in the diaspora community, work as Latvians.* She thinks it is related to the inner need, not just a duty, even though it can be quite tiring to be active in different groups. It is still comforting and necessary for each person who *work as Latvian,* to be with likeminded people, to speak Latvian, and to practise the culture of your homeland.

Valdis, 33 years old, tech business owner, has been growing up in Sweden since he was 6 years old, says that he always, even as a child and teenager, has been proud to be Latvian. He acknowledges the Swedish influence in his personality:

> *I am feeling as Latvian in Sweden, but when I am in Latvia, people do not consider me as 100% Latvian. Then I feel somewhat more Swedish. People's mentality is different in Latvia, which makes me feel mixed.*

Valdis tells that in Sweden he looks and speaks as a Swede, so, from outside people do not doubt his *Swedishness*. It is him himself who says that he does not feel 100% Swedish inside. Valdis' story resonates with Ehala's [2018] theory about difficulty to be authentic in a few identities in the equal level as according to Valdis' story he is having a strong attachment to Latvia, but not being able to perform in the *role of a Latvian* authentically enough to be seen as fitting this identity fully by Latvians.

Where is home: home away from home?

Diasporic experience as mentioned earlier is characterized by *unhoming* or to be *unhomely* [Bhabha 2007; Cho 2018]. In interviews and in the autoethnographic research of the author one can clearly see the eagerness to build a microcosmos, an *inner state* in the host country to call home. Even if temporarily, even if believing the home is not just in one place.

Home is where I am living and creating my physical space. It is about people as well with whom I feel at home, says Iveta, 49. Agnese, 35, teacher, has been in Sweden for 13 years, when asked, where she thinks is her home, says:

First answer – Latvia. My heart is there. We are playing with an idea to live in Latvia. Now it is like that: when we go to Latvia, I say that we go home and other way around, when coming back to Sweden. So home is in both places now.

Agnese points out that she started to feel at home in Sweden approximately two years ago or after 11 years in Sweden. She explains that it is related with respect and appreciation she gets at her work now after being a student and starting her work as a teacher:

The most horrible thing for me would be to be considered as non-intelligent person. When I moved to Sweden, I was a girl from Eastern Europe, without roots and contacts here, except my husband. Now when I talk to intellectual Swedish people, I feel that they see me as an equal and intellectual person, not as a girl from Eastern Europe who looks for a better life here.

Some interviewers consider that even though their identity will always remain solely Latvian, their home now is only in Sweden. Kārlis, 36, started to feel as home in Sweden after four years, thinks that there is no point to consider to be a home the place where one does not live anymore:

I find it weird when some of my colleagues call Latvia home being away from it for 12 years and spending there maybe one month per year. My home is where my family is.

Aina, 58 years old, nurse assistant, has been in Sweden for 25 years, says that her home is still in Latvia too. Aina's family has recently bought a house in Latvia. Another interviewee, Didzis, 45 years old construction worker, has lived in Sweden for 11 years, has recently bought a weekend house, still thinks that his home is only in Latvia. He thinks that the purchase might support his children in the future, in case they decide to live in Sweden. His children have been growing up in Latvia with their mother. He is happy for that as he considers himself to be a patriot:

I am a very nationalistically minded person. I just do not see it as an option to live in Latvia now because of the work situation there. I do not want my children to feel responsible in the future and support me financially when I am a pensioner. So, I am an economic refugee.

Edgars, 41 years old, fireman, has been in Sweden for 21 year, says that the feeling of being at home came just after 15 years of his life in Sweden, after he gained

Swedish citizenship. Valdis, 33, who grew up in Sweden, still thinks that his home is not just in Sweden but in Latvia too and it is to a big extent because of the *patriotic minded home* he grew up in.

Facing inner conflicts

Besides identity questions and finding the place to call home, members of diaspora deal with many other issues in their daily life. The dissonance of imagined and expected between the lived and experienced leaves one with a lot of inner conflicts to handle. As mentioned by Anand [2018] the dissatisfaction may arise as one tries to fit the *original* beliefs and values in the new context. Inga, 50 years old artist, has been in Sweden for 14 years, says that she is not having inner conflicts, no matter of difficulties she has been through and rejections regarding her artwork. Seeing a lot of gains as a personality because of her life abroad Inga is repeatedly resentful in the interview about the way she has been treated in the Swedish society in general, and more specifically in the local artist circle. She compares it with Latvia and evaluates the Swedish local artist circle highly negatively. That demonstrates somewhat a dissonance regarding claim that she does not have any inner conflicts. Another case, when an interviewee feels as free of inner conflicts, but they manifest when talking is Didzis, 45, who says he is a patriot and 100% Latvian, but still does not see the chance to return back to live in Latvia. He admits though that *Swedishness* has entered his life, and his social circle consists mostly of Swedish people now. So, there can be some features of the denial observed when one thinks about one's present life situation and identity, which, according to Didzis does not change at all.

Oksana, 45, says that she feels quite well in her different surroundings and is belonging to different cultures and countries, even though she admits she does not like Russian identity in general, but understands it well. In Oksana's case one can observe a possible trial to refuse from an aspect of one's identity. Another interesting remark Oksana makes about her wishes to acquire a folk costume, but here she gets confused and fights inside with the *impossible* choice:

> *What to choose? Grandpa is from St. Petersburg, grandma from village in Urals, father – Jewish from Ukraine, so Ashkenazi Jew.*

Asked why she would not choose one from Latvia, Oksana is saying that it would not be appropriate towards some people's feelings:

> *I am thinking about the cultural appropriations. It is not in my blood; it would not be right. But then again – nothing is right for me.*

Many interviewees witness inner conflicts while visiting Latvia. Iveta, 49, says that it happens that she does not feel as she belongs there 100% anymore. And the belonging is not 100% somewhere else either:

> *Sometimes we discuss politics with my relatives. And then I come across the feeling that my Scandinavian thinking is different from Latvians. If I express my opinion, it sometimes offends them, and they feel like defending. I think that sometimes they assume I try to teach them and show off as being cleverer if I disagree. So, I better choose not to start such discussions anymore to avoid conflicts.*

Agnese, 35, from another side, does not like that people in Sweden are afraid of conflicts and therefore do not always say things directly, using appropriate words for the situation:

> *I am not afraid of authorities, so I dare to say more than my Swedish colleagues. I like direct talk. I do not know if this is something Latvian or not.*

Diāna, 45, still after 18 years in Sweden, admits that she in general has difficulties to fit in Swedish way of life and thinking:

> *I can rarely understand what is going on. Reference points are different, for example, films we have seen. I do not get the Swedish sense of humour. I do not have conflicts openly but feel as a black sheep sometimes. I am in the room full of people, but we do not have what to talk about because we are talking and not getting each other.*

At the same time when Diāna speaks about her children, she does not feel that one needs to force Latvian identity on them. Her children consider themselves to be Swedish:

> *I do not want to push as it leaves them feeling more negative. They do not like when I try to involve them in Latvian society activities. I talk to them in Latvian, we go to the Latvian school; it might be enough if they do not want more. They have their own paths to take.*

Edgars, 41, is openly aware that there are a lot of inner conflicts when it comes to his identity issues. He says that he is both – Latvian and Swedish, even though Swedish way of thinking prevails at the moment. He spends most of the time in Swedish surroundings and has not time because of the shift work for folk dances in *Zibenītis* or Latvian school where he was teaching earlier on. He admits the pain he feels when in Latvia or when spending time together with Latvians intensively:

> *There are a lot of emotions and it takes a lot of my energy to handle it. Transition is difficult, when I travel to Latvia and when I return to Sweden. It is a heavy load for me to handle emotionally.*

Edgars admits that he finds it easier to communicate with Swedish people as he understands them better now and has fewer inner conflicts to deal with when

communicating. He censors himself when speaking with Latvians as it feels that it is impossible to take up all subjects like he feels it is possible with Swedes.

Manifestation of a hybrid identity

Hybridity can be seen either as contradictory identities, pulling in different directions [Hall 1994], product of interaction across cultures [Anand 2018] or an inability, to make definitive identity choices [Kraidy 2005]. Almost all interviewees fit the description of the hybrid identity in one way or another. Oksana, 45, for example, acknowledges herself openly as one having a hybrid identity. She calls her and her family cosmopolitan:

> *I could belong anywhere. Nationality is a social construct that some people came up with.*

At the same time Oksana admits that she has an interest related to the culture and history of Latvia. As well she always somewhat has been involved in the topic about Jewish history and holocaust:

> *Just first time in Sweden I could finally feel that I can freely say that I am half Jewish, and people accept it as an ordinary fact. It used to be problematic to admit it to Russians in Latvia, for example.*

Agnese, 35, thinks that her core being is always going to be the same and she is not going to have a Swedish identity. She admits though that she has learned and taken some values from Sweden, for example, how one sees a person, openness towards different. Agnese mentions though that it might be not something specifically Swedish, just different views which enter in our lives:

> *Friends who are the same age as I, in Latvia have the same view as I do. So, it is not about the country, but about the time we live in. The difference maybe is that those changes started earlier in Sweden.*

Hybrid identity and fluidity manifests directly in the interview with Elita, 31 years old artist and photographer, who lives in Sweden for seven years, but earlier six years spent in the United Kingdom for her studies. Elita says, she is Latvian by her nationality but does not feel as a *real Latvian:*

> *My life experience has changed me. I have become more Swedish, especially, when it comes to relationship. I felt it when I split up with my Swedish boyfriend and soon after met my Latvian boyfriend. Then I felt that I have become a Swedish feminist.*

She says it is about things one expects in relationship. Elita's Latvian boyfriend, who moved to Sweden just couple of years ago, has his own idea about roles assigned

to men and women. Elita finds those views to be too traditional and they remind her of her family she grew up in.

A few interviewees fit Bhabha's [2007] definition of being in the *third space* while identification process is still on-going or, as according to Kraidy [2005], has not made definite identity choices yet. Inga, 50, says that she feels in-between when it comes to her identity:

> *I am not 100% Latvian anymore. I feel it when I am in Latvia. I feel that people perceive me differently. The code of behaviour changes, and I do not recognize that new code of behaviour that is valid now in Latvia. I think I do everything correctly but get involved into conflicts out of blue.*

Inga thinks that in Sweden she belongs better with foreigners as they are at the same *place* as she is. Here it is possible to see the theme about *the third space* emerging as a possible alternative for the safe space while one is in-between state. Inga says that she now understands Russian speakers in Latvia very well, who make this parallel space to live in. Inga feels that Swedish society does not accept her even with her good knowledge of the language. No matter of feeling not quite Latvian anymore, she is certain about her future return back to Latvia:

> *It takes time to get to know people and how things work in one or another country, but nothing gives me as much strength as Latvia's nature. No other landscape resonates with me like nature in Latvia.*

Elita, 31, is finding most friends within foreigners as well, and she admits it is not easy to find Swedish friends, with a difference from those Swedes, who have an experience of living abroad and have more openness towards foreigners. Another case is a Swedish person who is married to a foreigner, and that contributes to more open attitude towards people from other countries.

Jānis, 29 years old PhD student, ornithologist, has been away from Latvia for six years, admits finding himself in the *third space* as well. His circle of friends consists of foreigners, he does not speak Swedish yet, even though considers to study it if he settles down for good in Sweden which might be happening as he feels at home here now and has met a woman, who is not Swedish, he wants to build a family together with. Jānis defines himself as Latvian, but at the same time does not think it matters. He is not planning to talk in Latvian to his future children as they might not need the language in the future anyway. He admits that his Mum in Latvia does not speak English and it will be not possible for her to communicate with a future grandchild. He says that he is having a good relationship with his Mum but asked about problems in communication in the future if his children will not speak Latvian, answers: *There are more important things than to chat with grandparents.* Jānis says that identity does

not matter, even though admits that the first 15 to 20 years in person's life form one as a personality. He is critical about Swedish mentality, saying that he is not clicking with Swedes well:

> *They are odd, I do not quite like them. They lack communicative and cooperative skills. Life has been too good for them and they do not need help from others.*

Loss and gain

Diasporic experience is characterized by loss [Cho 2018], but according to some authors, it can be giving no matter of contradictions seen from the surface [Sheringham 2017].

Both loss and gain are observed in interviews.

Iveta, 49, thinks that she would have had more possibilities for her career in Latvia than in Sweden. She was a principal in a Christian school in Finland, but she does not see possibilities for much growth in Sweden as a possible reason mentioning that it is a big country and more competition, especially in bigger cities:

> *I would most likely be a minister of the government or at least a school principal in Latvia. Specially with the experience I have acquired now in Finland and Sweden.*

At the moment Iveta does not see herself moving back to Latvia as she is used to *orderly life* as she puts it.

Agnese, 35, mentions that she has gained self-confidence in Sweden. She is happy about the possibility to achieve things by herself without support from her Latvian family. Then, she feels, achievements would not feel the same way good as now, when she has done it all by herself. As a loss for a life in Sweden Agnese mentions her longing for Latvia and her family there, which is emotionally painful.

Aina, 58, thinks that gains for her family moving to Sweden are exceeding the loss. She mentions her children and opportunities they had here. She herself has lost her nurse certificate from Latvia when moving here, that is one of the disadvantages she can think of besides losing friendships and not being able to be close to the family.

Elita, 31, thinks that she has gained more freedom and meets more openness when living abroad. People develop their personalities and become more self-sufficient. She mentions negative aspects as well, such as constant struggle to achieve something. It would have been easier in the home country as there is a possibility to receive a support from the family and friends.

Valdis, 33, says that he feels his Latvian share in him as a strength and wants to forward it to his children. He is taking his oldest child, three years old, to the Latvian school, and mentions that he needs to learn to fit in there and to understand how to

behave there as things has changed since he was a child, when it was a community of so-called old diaspora with other ways of doing things and slightly different traditions. Nowadays there are majority of a new, modern diaspora, and they are transferring traditions and way of being directly from Latvia.

Discussion

As has been revealed in the empirical part, members of Latvia's diaspora in Sweden form hybrid and fluid identities. They are not homogeneous. There are subjects with unresolved tensions [Bhabha 2007], inability to make definite identity choices [Kraidy 2005] or residing in-between or in the *third space* [Bhabha 2007]. There are other subjects where difficulties to make a choice between homeland and host country is observed, but still finding ways to create harmonious attitude towards both [Nagel and Staeheli 2004]. In some cases, the balance between homeland and host nation is created in that does not require the choice to be made, so that identities can coexist and be complementary [Sheringham 2018].

Regarding changes in interviewees' identities, it is possible to draw a conclusion that they are adjusted and, in some cases, changed. Some interviewees more than other tend to hold tight to their core identity even with some changes in their identities. It might depend on the upbringing and personal activity to *practise* culture (in a form of choir, folk dance, theatre, for example) and take care of the native language by reading in it, for example. There are still diasporic conciseness present, with strong ties to homeland and at the same time adapted life to host land. They are truly diasporic identities where ties are almost equally strong to both places [Anand 2018]. Just in two cases out of 14 (interview with Jānis, 29, and Elita, 31) it was observed that being in the *third place* creates somewhat indifference towards the core identity. It corelates with an earlier mentioned phenomenon of simulation, when young Maronite's in Lebanon adopted simulative tactics, which, possibly, masks the absence of a clearly defined, organic identity [Kraidy 2005]. Similar act was observed in the earlier mentioned cases with Jānis and Elita.

Inner conflicts emerge clearly in diasporic identities, manifesting in various ways, and the findings in the research agree with the current state of the art in academic knowledge and research. Diasporic identities can find it difficult to fit one's *original* worldview in the new context [Anand 2018] and a difficulty to transfer one's belonging or *signification* from one group in the homeland to another one in the host country [Fornäs 2012], what might create an imagined opposition of the *others* as a hostile force [Eriksen 1995]. The answers acquired in this research do not provide one certain answer how to deal with emerging inner conflicts in diasporic identities as coping mechanisms are different for different interviewees. Some find it essential to be involved in the activities of the Latvian community. Diāna, 45, thinks that is

personally essential, even though one is labelled as somebody whose *job* is to be a Latvian. She means that their serving Latvian community can be sometimes at the expense of their own wishes and people end up doing things they would not be doing if living in Latvia. Some interviewees do not engage in an active participation in the Latvian community and do not feel the necessity to do so, but find it important to take care of their language and transfer it further to their kids.

There are interviewees who are residing in Bhabha's [2007] *third space* as a possible escape place from both – their homeland and host country – building their microcosms consisting of people who are in the same situation. Some interviewees face the problem, described by Ehala [2018], about difficulties to perform authentic in more than one identity. Research done in empirical part of the article inclines that hybrid personalities, first of all, do not feel completely authentic themselves in their homeland anymore, and secondly, they feel that they are not accepted as such by the locals. Another side of the issue is that most of the interviewees understand that they cannot become Swedish either, even though sometimes considered to be Swedish by others, but not feeling Swedish enough by themselves like in the case of Valdis, 33, who grew up in Sweden. One can conclude that diasporic identities, acquiring hybrid identities, lose some authenticity in their initial identity, which can be a painful process of realization, like in the case of Edgars, 41, but there are interviewees who seem to be finding balance and to be content with their hybridity, like in the case of Oksana, 45, and Iveta, 49.

Conclusions

Diasporic experience and hybrid identity, no matter the different definitions, indeed goes hand in hand as it is discovered in this research. It is shown that there is multitude of ways how one adjusts and copes with the new situation in the host country, this is why one can assume that diasporic experience is a very personal and individual one and there is no 'unifying diaspora consciousness' as diversity is an integral feature of a diaspora [Bucholtz, Sūna 2019]. As the recent research on diaspora demonstrates, diasporic identities are not expected to be totally loyal only to their host country, in fact to be diasporic means to be in the constant state of in-between two or more places, in-between two or more identities. There are definite psychological and background reasons why some people would adjust to this *in-betweenness* better than others, like the reasons they left their home country, possibilities to find job etc. The research demonstrates that the diasporic and hybrid identity brings feelings of loss and gain at the same time. There are indications that participation in the social and cultural activities of the diasporic communities helps maintain the core identity, but some individuals feel strongly attached to their homeland even without being a part of a certain social circle. That confirms the point

that diasporic experience is very individual and there are no certain prescriptions and recommendations how to maintain and support one's core identity. The main issue dealt with in diaspora on the individual level is how to maintain the balance between different hybrid identities obtained while living abroad. As it was described in the section Discussion, there are different and individual ways how people deal with this issue, obtaining personally satisfying balance.

Research on Latvian diasporic hybrid identities in Sweden is still on-going as there might be other aspects appearing of construction of diasporic identity and dealing with harmonization of hybrid identities when more people are interviewed. New findings might emerge when looking more into the Russian speaking Latvia's diasporic community in Sweden as well, which has been less explored so far.

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PUT IT ON OR: *USE IT AND ENJOY*!
THE TRANSCULTURAL AND SYNERGIZING HISTORY OF ITALIAN FASHION AND INDUSTRIAL DESIGN

Dr.phil. **Dagmar Reichardt**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

Among the three international fashion hubs Paris, Milan, and New York that have dominated fashion production since the 20th century, Italian fashion stands out through its transcultural Italophony. Since the historic beginnings of the West, the development of fashion, taste and etiquette in modern Italy plays both culturally and historically a key role in European politics, economics, literature, fine arts, music and theatre. This applies also to Italian design, which is – like fashion – a powerful nonverbal language in cultural, aesthetical and economic terms, expressing a unique and life-affirming sociological habitus.

This essay intends to pinpoint the outstanding impact of taste, fashion and design originating from Italy and perceivable all over the world on a transcultural and transdisciplinary level. Starting with antiquity and Renaissance, both disciplines enter a period of prosperity and success during the golden 1950s and 1960s, supported by the rise of Cinecittà, family business structures and crafts enterprises. In early postmodernity, a shift takes place from *Alta Moda* to *Pronto Moda*, from fashion as art to popular, serial industrial *ready-to-wear*, and a complex reciprocal synergetic effect builds up between the fashion and design brands. Both sectors are equal in terms of international influence and versatility, both are associated complementary to each other, and both disseminate a new standard of shapeliness, elegance and peachiness in the whole country as well as on a transnational scale.

Keywords: *Made in Italy, fashion and apparel manufacture, industrial design, transculturality, transdisciplinarity.*

Italy's history of fashion and its USPs

Among the three international fashion hubs Paris, Milan, and New York that have dominated fashion production since the 20th century, Italian fashion stands out through its transcultural Italophony (i. e. the transcultural radiation of a presumed *italianità*, meaning a supposed 'Italianity', 'Italian' style or italianized way of life). Since the historic beginnings of the West, the development of fashion, taste, and etiquette in the modern boot state plays both culturally and historically a key role in European politics, economics, literature, fine arts, music and theatre. Just think of the *melodramma* originating from Italy or the hybrid musical genre of the opera that oscillates between literature (e. g. in form of a *libretto*), performance (acting on stage), music (orchestra and singing) and theatricality (stage design, stage properties, outfits, costumes etc.).

As the long-standing chief editor of *Vogue Italia* Franca Sozzani (1950–2016) highlights – who in the postmodern history of international fashion photography set trendy and non-conformist accents with her socially critical special *Vogue* editions on topics like plastic surgery (*Makeover Madness*, 2005), black women (*Black Issue*, 2008) or domestic abuse (*Horror Movie*, 2014) – even in the 21st century we can still speak of an 'Italian' fashion, because until today almost all established fashion labels in Italy are in the hands of Italian designers or family dynasties [cf. Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 117].

The fact that in the 3rd millennium Italian fashion boutiques can be found in high density all across the globe is also an economically unique feature – or USP (Unique Selling Point) – of the Italian *Alta Moda* (literally: 'high' fashion). It proofs a successful *country-of-origin* marketing and *nation-branding* strategy that manage to transform sustainably and soundly the *Made in Italy* label into a high-quality product [cf. Grünwald 2009: 8 f]. Today's Italy – building on a modern, educated and continuously growing class of citizens since the Middle Ages [cf. Paulicelli 2001] – has well succeeded in opening itself to the globalized transculturation in the sense of Wolfgang Welsch [Welsch 1999], both at the sales level and in terms of cross-border lifestyle trends. This happened in such a way that Italian fashion may be considered – according to Roland Barthes' (*Système de la mode*, 1967) definition – as a semiotic *ergo* systematic aesthetic language, which in an incomparably direct manner carries the Italian way, view and quality of life explicitly and consistently into the world. Today, customers of all nationalities combine exquisite quality, outstanding craftsmanship and a high, nonchalant, cultivated fashion style with names such as *Valentino*, *Versace*, *Armani*, *Prada*, *Gucci*, *Fendi*, *Cavallo*, *Zegna*, *Pucci*, *Moschino*, *Dolce & Gabbana*, *Bottega Veneta*, *Ferragamo*, *Furla*, *Sergio* and *Gianvito Rossi*, *Brunate*, *Trussardi*, *Etro*, *Brioni*, *Loro Piana*, *Fabiana Filippi*, *Brunello Cucinelli* and much more.

Antiquity and Renaissance

Already in the Greek-Roman period garments were modelled on Egyptian culture such as the chiton, himation, toga, tunica, palla or sandals as well as accessories such as pins, amulets, jewellery and hair ornaments, diadems or *coronae*. Still today, these suggestive patterns shape the basis of our classic aesthetics, that are taken up, among others, by the couturier Valentino Garavani (named Valentino, born in 1932) from the 1960s onwards. Valentino rediscovered their timeless elegance for his evening robes – in the sense of Anne Hollander's garment theory (*Seeing Through Clothes*, 1975) – and decoded them symbolically by giving distinction to a specifically harmonized colour nuance in bright red, the typical so-called *Rosso Valentino* [cf. Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 85–87].

While fashion in the Middle Ages appears less country-specific and thus more static in the European comparison, the Italian dress code in the Renaissance clearly emerges in its style-defining courtyard culture. The latter is reflected in the clothing etiquette suggested to the courtier and lady of the court in Baldassarre Castiglione's "The Book of the Courtier" (*Il Cortegiano*, 1528), in which Castiglione also recommends an effortlessly displayed maxim of ubiquitous stylistic *nonchalance*, studied carelessness, easiness, trendiness or 'coolness' to quote a modern buzzword: Castiglione coins it *sprezzatura*. Around 1600, Maria de' Medici brought the Italian fashion of wearing underpants to the French court [cf. Loschek 2011: 499 f], and from the Baroque era on, a standard dress code rules in Italy, based on the French style, oriented from now on at reflecting the appearance of aristocrats, monarchs and the bourgeoisie. With some striking exceptions, such as politically revolutionary-connoted textile identifiers – one thinks of the red shirts (*camicie rosse*) of the Garibaldi followers in the Risorgimento, or later of Benito Mussolini's notorious black shirts (*camicie nere*) – Italy is beginning to move gradually away from Paris only in the mid-nineteenth century, becoming increasingly independent in its fashion direction [cf. Paulicelli 2001: 287–289]. With the intention of promoting Italian fashion and fabrics and imposing an *italianità* in the sense of propaganda of the fascist regime, Queen Elena of Italy (also: Elena of Montenegro, 1873–1952) inaugurated in Turin, Italy's first former capital from 1861, in April of 1933 a first national fashion exhibition. Turin then became the official fashion capital – the country's first *capitale della moda*.

The golden 1950s and 1960s

After the Second World War, a new era dawned in Italy with the golden years of fashion's rise. In the 1950s the fashion scene shifted from Turin to Florence, where in 1951 the wealthy Florentine aristocrat and businessman Giovanni Battista Giorgini (1898–1971) organized the first Italian Fashion show worldwide in context of the

new, international post-war fashion system in his Villa Torrigiani. Giorgini repeated the event in the following year in Florence in the impressive and representative, historic *Sala Bianca* of Palazzo Pitti, inviting journalists and buyers from the USA. The event achieved such a resounding economic and media success in Italy as well as overseas, that since 1954, transcultural fashion events have been taking place in and around the Palazzo Pitti organized by the *Centro di Firenze per la moda italiana* (renamed *Pitti Immagine* since 1988).

This significant concentration of fashionable discourse impulses on (and from) Italy that oscillate between a gradual increase in globalization and traditional transculturality [cf. Allerstorfer, Schrödl 2019: 287–289; Barnard [2]2020: 743–756], is accompanied and initiated from 1945 onwards from three historically significant, partially correlated factors:

1) The 1943 landing of the US allies in Italy and their subsequent presence in the country until the end of the war led to a "reciprocal attraction" [Paulicelli 2001: 288] between Italy and the USA, which resulted from the first large wave of Italian emigration to North America in the 19th and 20th centuries (1861 until around 1960) and from the ensuing Italophone diasporas in the USA, now being consolidated and at the same time radically renewed.

2) The rise of Cinecittà in the international film industry, already strongly supported by Mussolini, is the historical starting point for the success of Italian fashion trends in the 1950s in the post-war period, not least through the participation of Hollywood, which is still evident today in its iconographic aftereffects and media impact.

3) Italian craft and family businesses – which had grown since the Middle Ages, traditionally specializing in the production and processing of leather, wool and fabrics such as silk, linen, cotton, and from the 1970s on, also of mixed and synthetic fabrics – enjoyed a high prestige since the Renaissance thanks to the trade links of former maritime republics such as Venice or Genoa around the globe. Due to centuries of transgenerational cultural transfer, Italy, thus, possessed the necessary technical know-how, so that the textile production from Italy (such as the *Marzotto Group* founded in 1836) continues to play a major role in the fashion world market to date.

In the course of the 1950s, several fashion designers like the sisters Fontana, Emilio Pucci (1914–1992), the Fendi family, Germana Marucelli (1905–1983) and Valentino increasingly started to produce their designs and goods in a limited number of factories and in small boutiques. Among them, the Gucci family played a pioneering role in the heyday of the Italian fashion system. In 1921, the business-minded and imaginative saddle master Guccio Gucci (1881–1953) – whose initials still display the interlocking company logo as two intricate letters G – founded a simple workshop for leather goods, riding accessories and travel goods in his home

city of Florence. Guccio Gucci's design was inspired by equestrian sports, and because of a lack of resources due to war, after 1945 he first produced leather goods like belts, bags, gloves, and shoes, combining them with more cost-effective materials such as linen, hemp, jute, and bamboo. Decorated with a typically Italian or Florentine green-red-green ribbon, these accessories were sought after by Americans returning in their country from overseas in the 1940s as sophisticated, imaginative and fanciful souvenirs and laid the foundations for the brand's entrepreneurial expansion and international success.

If already this company's history may be seen as symptomatic of the *Alta Moda*'s exemplary 20th century economic victory, then the 1950s and 1960s can be described all the more as the golden days of the Italian fashion industry on a sociocultural level. In these two decades, Florence and the capital Rome – where since 1964 an academy of fashion (*Accademia di costume e di moda*) offers the first Italian state vocational training centre for the various areas of fashion design – compete as an Italian fashion and film capital. In fact, in the 1950s, attracted by the emerging Italian cinema industry and the low-cost production conditions in Cinecittà's Roman film studios, many Hollywood and world stars flooded into Italy and in the spotlights of the capital Rome for filming. Among them were both American divas like Jackie Kennedy, Liz Taylor or Audrey Hepburn and their European colleagues Maria Callas, Anita Ekberg or Ingrid Bergman, as well as internationally renowned stars like Alfred Hitchcock, Burt Lancaster, Richard Burton or Marlon Brando, to name just a few who were active in the show business at that time. The synergies between film and fashion became manifest also in glamorous custom-made products that were meant to turn into classics of fashion history, as happened with, for example, the iconic *Flora* scarf created by Gucci in 1966 for Grace Kelly.

During those years, the efforts of the costume directors on the movie set promoted Italian stage designers, tailor's shops, industrial designers and fashion labels worldwide, leading them to international fame in cinema history and making them global market leaders. Such known productions were e. g. the sword-and-sandal epic film – a so-called *peplum* – entitled *Quo vadis?* (1951) directed by Mervyn LeRoy and shot in Cinecittà, or the romantic comedy "Roman Holiday" (*Vacanze romane*, 1953) by William Wyler, starring Gregory Peck and Audrey Hepburn cruising around Rome on a highly up-to-date Italian *Vespa* scooter, or – finally – the epic period drama film "The Leopard" (*Il Gattopardo*, 1963) directed by Luchino Visconti (1906–1976) with period costumes meticulously designed for the actors by the prolific stylist Piero Tosi (1927–2019).

In this cosmopolitan Roman environment, the idea was born of transforming the red carpet, that was rolled out on the arrival of the famous actors and actresses on the street – either in front of a hotel or a public entrance, or at the airport etc. – into

a fashion walkway or catwalk (*passerella*) and of picturing its staged performance. In *La dolce vita* (1960) by Federico Fellini (1920–1993), script writer Ennio Flaiano (1910–1972) had given an intrusive photographer the last name *Paparazzo*, which then became the international equivalent of every scandal or boulevard photographer. The combination of the so-called *Red Carpet Effect*, paired with the impact of the world press and of the jet set, promotes the fact – which is profitable for the golden years – that these innovative communication channels are systematically used not only to popularize new robes and fashion concepts from Italy among the stars, but also to bring them to as many customers in Italy and abroad as possible directly for advertising and thus to increase media coverage.

Pronto Moda versus fashion as art

In the 1960s and 1970s, the trend of *prêt-à-porter* or *ready-to-wear* – Italian: *Pronto Moda* – begins to establish itself as a cheaper alternative to the *Alta Moda*, which stylistically merged into the *Alta Moda Pronta*. In Italy, the phenomenon of designer personalities is developing, and here we might think of the Florentine nobleman Emilio Pucci, also known as the *Prince of Prints*, famous for his silk print, or of the knitting in the zigzag look of Ottavio Missoni (1921–2013), of the business outfits tailored by Max Mara (a firm name that derived from its founder Achille Maramotti, 1927–2005), or Elio Fiorucci (1935–2015), popular for his jeans and t-shirt production, as well as of Giorgio Armani in the 1980s (b. 1934), who reinterprets the men's suit and introduces the women's suit in a characteristic triangular silhouette [cf. Hollander 2016: 45–84], of Gianni Versace (1946–1997) and Franco Moschino (1950–1994). In 1967, after that the first men's fashion fair had taken place in Palazzo Pitti in Florence in 1963 – where twenty years later Italy's first large fashion museum (*Museo della moda e del costume*) would open in 1983 – the Roman fashion artists decided to use the *Pronto Moda* wave more target-oriented to present fashion more visibly in Rome, too. At the same time, as from the 1970s, due to the advantages of infrastructure and industrial location, the city of Milan is in the forefront and – thanks to the *prêt-à-porter* – is finally becoming Italy's definitive fashion centre [cf. Paulicelli 2001: 287–289]. Thus, the glocal de-centrality of fashion *Made in Italy* (i. e., its omnipresence on both a local and a global level) caused an effect of ubiquity already within the country's own borders – and will soon expand from here all over the planet.

Already during Mussolini's fascistic regime, department stores with millinery such as *Upim* or *La Rinascente* were selling fashion goods from the rack to the people [cf. Paulicelli 2001: 287]. Now, from the mid-1960s onwards, fashion shows for the so-called *Alta Moda Pronta* were held regularly, which in the 1970s offered merchandise suitable for the mass-market enabling small family-owned enterprises

to ascend toward multinational companies – often remaining under the control of the founding family: starting with *Trussardi* (founded in 1911), *Brioni* (since 1945) or *Benetton* (since 1965), and spanning from *Laura Biagiotti* (1943–2017) known through her cashmere collections, and the famous knitwear by *Luisa Spagnoli* (1877–1935), which the Italians called *oro nero italiano* (in English: 'black gold from Italy') [Zentko 2020 16: 129], to *Krizia* (derived from Maria Mandelli, 1925–2015) or to the fashion creations of a Gianfranco Ferré (1944–2007), Gianni Versace and Romeo Gigli (b. 1949). They all contribute to the international reputation of the Italian designers and offer, following the British sales model through boutiques and department stores (e. g. *Mary Quant* or *Laura Ashley*), mostly youthful and avant-garde fashion.

The introduction of industrial mass production and synthetic fibre use is a revolutionary cost reduction and democratization of fashion, so that the inclusive *Pronto Moda* spreads a new kind of Italian mother tongue and allows everyone to personally express him- or herself *qua* clothing. This trend is condensed and reflected in the Milan youth and fashion movement of the so-called *Paninari* [cf. Paulicelli, 2001: 289; Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 75–84], who celebrate not only postmodern brand awareness in the 1980s. But they also demonstrate socially that since the *Dolce vita* in the 1950s, the fashion catwalk has moved beyond the liberated hedonism of the 1970s [cf. Zentko 2016] into the 1980s, which mark the age of emergent globalization and intensive mass production. As a matter of fact, the runway has shifted finally from the elitist fashion studio (*ergo* from a bottom-down-strategy) – with the potential of a counter-culture – to the downtown streets and hipster districts of major cities (*ergo* to a bottom-up-strategy).

If these trends, taken as a whole, form part of a fashion to be described as Western – mainly due to French and American style developments – then the globalized postmodernism confirms that instead of the historically and aesthetically traditional *abito* or 'garment', designed for a gentleman or a lady, now the *habitus* (the same term in the French original) as Pierre Bourdieu (*Questions de sociologie*, 1980) called the people's mindset and stylistic attitude, is becoming more and more important. That the *habitus* becomes a crucial factor means nothing else than that today, sociologically coined and media-related lifestyles and discourses have a decisive influence on fashion as a third force, besides artistic and economic factors [cf. Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 15 f].

This is true of both the *Pronto Moda* and the *Alta Moda*, where the latter – other than the *easy-to-wear* fashion-styles – has so successfully expanded its role in Italy as a variation of modern art [cf. Pape 2008] that nowadays, all the major Italian fashion brands have their own museums or foundations and that since the New York *Armani* exhibition (*Art in Fashion*) took place in 2000 in the Guggenheim Museum,

Figure 1. Moschino fall 2014 ready-to-wear *Camp: Notes on Fashion* exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Photo: © Rhododendrites. Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. Source: Wikipedia.

Italian fashion is omnipresent in the international arts scene throughout the world [cf. Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 16].

The cognition of fashion as art goes back to the *fin de siècle*, when the poet and fashion designer Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938) was the first to equate fashion with art [cf. Sorge 2015: 10], regarding both categories as indispensable to life. Since then, figures of art such as Elsa Schiaparelli (1890–1973), to Capucci (b. 1930) or Roberto Cavalli (b. 1940), have repeatedly demonstrated the proximity of both areas (fashion and art) through their life's work, firmly enhancing their strong affinity to the spheres of performing arts as well as visual arts [cf. *inter alia* Lehnert 2008: 57–59; Lehnert et al. 2014: 151–164].

Italian industrial design: an international success story

Industrial design is like fashion – but also like architecture, fine arts, film, play-acting, music, dance, photography, cuisine, perfumes, sports and much more – a nonverbal language of culture, whose historical development allows modern product design to be comprehensible [cf. Bürdeck 2015]. With this, Italian design as well as Italian fashion can be read like a transcultural Italophone language of art – in the sense of Nelson Goodman (*Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, [2]1976/1968) – that stands in the service of both communication and opposition [cf. Barnard 2014: 73–108]. Even if the term 'design' etymologically derives from the Italian lexeme *disegno* (verbatim in English: 'drawing'), meaning an experimental procedure, while *moda* (i. e. 'fashion') comes from the more regulative and controlling

Latin noun *modus* (in English: the 'making', 'modality' or 'measure') and 'fashion' from the realistic, proactive Latin verb *facere* (i. e. 'to do', 'to make', 'to produce'), the history of the design *Made in Italy* is in no way inferior to that of fashion in terms of international influence and versatility [cf. Bertola, Manzini 2006; Grünwald 2009: 7 f.; Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 15–20]. It is rather complimentary associated with it.

However, Italian design looks back on its own history of ideas since 1945 and on areas of application that are separate from fashion, even if the input of both innovation fields originating from Italy plays a key role in Western history of aesthetics, culture and civilization. Already in the pre-industrial era, in 16th century Italy, there emerged not only groups of more specialized craftsmen who shared training and techniques, competing with and inspiring each other, but – doing so – they also began using common forms and duplicating models repetitively. In this exciting surrounding, certain styles and trends arose, documented by technical pattern books (in Italian called *libri di architettura*, i. e. 'architectural books', or *trattati*, i. e. 'treaties'). They implemented and rediscovered ancient decorative forms and timeless motifs that could be applied to various products and/or transferred to works mostly designed by architects. Indeed, namely architects and shipwrights started to draft detailed plans and competitive patterns on paper, before they would materialize them in stone, wood, metal etc. They developed sophisticated production processes by reverting to the technique of drawing, first, in order to fix – in advance – the procedure of how to construct a building or a ship according to their visions and instructions. Therefore, the Italian Renaissance played a significant role by providing to the afterworld some standard aesthetic stimuli and an empirical basis for the industrial design – leaving a concrete and hands-on code of practice as well as a theoretical toolbox to future generations of entrepreneurs, ready to be used and stylistically applied when creating industrial products, machines or technical equipment three centuries later.

Next, the history of production related to certain design factories and offices marks the accomplishments of the success story that we associate with *Design Made in Italy* coming up with the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. Its main sectors belonged to:

1) the Italian textile industry, like the historic brand for linen goods *Bassetti*, that was founded in 1830 and was combined with the *Zucchi Group* in 2006;

2) furniture, household, and office items – like the coffee press that originated in France, respectively the French press, that the Italian Attilio Calimani patented and optimized in 1929, the kitchen utensils of 1921 from the metal lathe operator Giovanni Alessi, manufactured in the homonymous design factory founded for household items called *Alessi*, as well as the typewriter *Olivetti Valentine* designed

Figure 2. Delta + Alessi, 2016. Source and ©: Delta News Hub.
Available: https://flickr.com/photos/142938205@N05/33040819480

by Ettore Sottsass Jr. (1917–2007) in 1969, which was fabricated by the Italian office machine manufacturer *Olivetti* from 1969–2000 and is today a design classic; and, finally,

3) the auto industry and amusement rides.

The third – and latter – division includes the Milan-based development and design company *Zagato*, one of the oldest leading body designers in Italy, which Udo Zagato founded in 1919 and which soon collaborated with all major Italian and international car brands. Almost simultaneously, Italian motorcycles and scooters such as the *Moto Guzzi* (since 1921) or the *Vespa* (since 1946) and the *Isetta* (1953–1955) developed by Iso Rivolta came onto the market. From 1977 to 1998, the Turin design studio *Open Design* has shaped and modelled car bodies and car interiors, as has the *Pininfarina* design company, founded by Giovanni Battista Farina (1893–1966) in Turin in 1930, which alone would create over 100 Ferrari models in 65 years, planning and constructing, at the same time, also car bodies for Fiat and Lancia. *Pininfarina* formed also the design for the high-speed trains for the Danish train company *Danske Statbaner* (DSB) in cooperation with the DSB-designer team, specializing in Scandinavian design tradition, but finally assembling, building and producing them with the help of the Neapolitan company Ansaldo Breda (2001–2015) in Southern Italy – a truly European trans-border liaison.

Within the sector of fairground rides, Antonio Zamperla (1923–1994) founded the design and production company of the same name – (*Antonio*) *Zamperla S.p.A.* – in 1966, through which the firm (today in its 3rd generation) still supplies the world's

largest amusement parks with carousels, bumper cars and roller coasters, especially in North America. The best-known Italian product designers include Carlo Bugatti (1856–1940) from Milan, who also worked as a decorator and architect, and the son of an architect Ettore Sottsass Jr., who was born in Innsbruck, Austria, as well as his younger business partner Michele De Lucchi (b. 1951) from Ferrara, the Milanese designer for furniture and fittings Rodolfo Dordoni (b. 1954) or the product designer Giulio Iacchetti (b. 1966) originating from the Northern Italian province of Cremona.

The most famous and successful among all these ingenious and brilliant brains was – already in life – Ettore Sottsass Jr., who in his role of an architect and designer of home furnishings was significantly involved in coining the stylistic movement of the so-called *Anti-Design* by founding the Milanese Memphis Group in 1980. De Lucchi joined, among others, this association of designers of furniture, textile and ceramics, and so did Matteo Thun (b. 1952) from South Tyrol, a creative and award-winning product designer who has studied architecture like Sottsass. The Memphis Group was active until 1988 and turned definitely away from the minimalistic and functionalistic *International Style* of the 1920s and 1930s and its – meanwhile outdated – principle of design compressed into the common formula of *form follows function*. After the legendary design show *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* in 1972 and the experimental, cross-country, visionary movement of the *Architettura radicale* (English: 'Radical Architecture', active from 1960 until around 1975), the Memphis Group sympathized with the *Postradicalismo* (English: 'Post-Radicalism'). The group invented a postmodern, anti-functionalist, fresh, emotional, colourful, fancy, funny and entertaining *Nuovo Design Italiano* (literally in English: 'New Italian Design'), which went around the world as *The New International Style* [cf. Czemper 1987].

If fashion, apparel and garments seem to encourage a spectator or client to simply 'Put it on!', then the design products of the postmodern *New International Style* launch to us the invitation to 'Use them – and enjoy!', thus transmitting to every single individual the transcultural message of a genuine, positive, smart, cheerful, vivacious, happy-go-lucky and easy-going, yet sophisticated and artistically elaborated 'Italian' lifestyle, full of zest for life, self-love and love for others, expressed by means of a topical aesthetic language. Employing deliberately a vivid but sensibly aligned range of colours from pastels to shock colours, the Memphis designers reinterpreted everyday forms in a new, sensual, playful and imaginative manner. They followed the intention to integrate as much as international cultural influences as possible in their design, in order to let their products find global sales opportunities on a transcultural scale. The objects patterned by Sottsass – who also designed and realized a widely noticed bus stop in Hannover, Germany, in 1994 (*Königsworther Platz*) and whose life work was repeatedly shown in international museums from

1974 onwards – are on exhibition in almost all the important design collections today, as they set new standards and are considered as milestones in the history of Industrial Design.

Transcultural intersectionality with arts and economics

The fashion as well as the design sector influence altogether today's artistic consciousness and the "Lifestyle" feeling [Barnard ²2020: 765/766] that we associate worldwide with the Italian culture and arts. In addition, both transcultural discourses border or overlap with the economic sector, or are integrated into it to such an extent that – in analytical terms – culture and the economy form an almost indistinguishable hybrid due to multiple mutual references and transdisciplinary interferences, often merging into one entity. So, fashion and design highly synergize with one another and intersect – be it with each other, be it with the arts and/or with economic sectors – thus amplifying their radius and spheres of interaction.

In both cases, it is striking that neither Italian Studies nor linguistics or cultural studies have so far been systematically involved in Italian-related fashion and design parameters, even though they highlight key issues in Italian and European history and are repeatedly taken up on specific points from the perspective of many other basic disciplines (such as: economics, business management, creative industries, sociology, media and/or communication studies, film studies, theatre studies, art history, cultural studies, historical science, anthropology, etc.). In addition, the two topics offer a wide range of significant didactic uses in academies, schools and universities as both a discourse and a narrative [cf. Reichardt, D'Angelo 2016: 117–208], which are so far only reluctant to enter the education system in the West and – taken as a whole – usually maintain a low profile in the artistic and sociocultural curricula of all universities in the industrialized countries on both hemispheres.

No doubt that affirmative relief and remedial measures should be strongly encouraged from a multidisciplinary point of view and – not least – in the interest of a continuous transcultural enrichment and social cohesion, as well as of educational, economic and life-related practical progress.

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THE STYLISTIC PATTERN OF ALLUSION:
A COGNITIVE APPROACH

PhD **Anita Naciscione**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore the benefits of a cognitive stylistic approach to the study of the stylistic pattern of allusion, and examine its essential features in creative instantiations.

The empirical material for this research has been chosen from a self-composed corpus of actual cases of creative use of allusion in the media, drawn from analytical articles, political speeches in the House of Commons, debates in the EU, BBC news, and cartoons.

The theoretical points are illustrated by case studies of the creative use of allusion in verbal and visual discourse, seeking an understanding of each specific case within a particular context. Semantic and stylistic analyses along with in-depth investigation of the empirical material allow me to draw conclusions about the creative use of allusion. Identifying allusion not only calls for insights into cognitive stylistics but also cognitive psychology, namely, understanding of the role of cognitive faculties of the mind: perception, recognition, comprehension, imagination, long-term memory and associative thinking, which are central to drawing inferences.

Cognitive stylistic studies of the material reveal that allusion is not merely an implied reference to historical, mythological, cultural, social and political phenomena and events. First and foremost, allusion proves to be a stylistic pattern of both thought and language. Its creative use in discourse results in novel expression of thought.

Keywords: *cognitive stylistics*, *stylistic pattern*, *allusion*, *cognitive faculties*, *verbal and visual discourse*.

Introduction

In this paper, the stylistic pattern[1] of allusion is studied within the cognitive stylistic framework. The advancement of cognitive stylistics has been an endeavour to bring together two distinct interdisciplinary fields of study, namely, cognitive linguistics and stylistics. Hence, cognitive stylistics is inherently interdisciplinary.

Cognitive linguistics seeks to provide explanatory theoretical foundations for conceptual systems in the study of the brain, the mind and language [Lakoff and Johnson (1980) 2003: 270; Gibbs (1994) 2002] and to substantiate a crucially important premise, which underlies all cognitive linguistic thinking, "Metaphor resides in thought, not just words" [Lakoff and Turner 1989: 2]. Major advances have taken place in further cognitive research, exploring the diversity of expression of metaphorical thought, including the relationship between language, culture and cognition from the theoretical standpoint of cognitive linguistics [Kövecses 2005].

Traditionally, stylistics is concerned with the study of creativity in the use of language [Simpson 2004: 3], while cognitive stylistics forms an integral part of cognitive linguistics, exploring figurative language and the construction of figurative meaning in discourse. Cognitive stylistics, in comparison to conventional stylistics, views stylistic techniques (metaphor, metonymy, pun, allusion, personification, instantial replacement and others) not only as patterns of language but first and foremost as patterns of thought. In the cognitive stylistic framework, a stylistic technique is regarded as a structure of thought and a cognitive inference tool, applicable in creative figurative thought instantiations [Naciscione 2014, 2020: 274].

In this paper, theoretical conclusions are drawn, applying the key tenets of both cognitive linguistics about the significance of the inextricable interrelation between thought and language, on the one hand and, on the other, insights from a cognitive stylistic perspective.

When dealing with the empirical material, I have relied on the method of identifying figurative meaning in discourse [Naciscione 2001: 33–46, 2010: 43–55], which is a procedure for identifying novel thought in stylistic use. In identification, the stages – recognition > verification > comprehension > interpretation – form integral parts of a unified cognitive process. The procedures enable me not only to identify empirical material for research but also to select and analyse stylistic use of

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[1] A stylistic pattern is a structure of thought and language that may be reproduced in diverse new stylistic contexts. Stylistic patterns form part of the mental lexicon of the language user, held in long-term memory. Pattern, whether metaphor, metonymy, pun, hyperbole, personification, or allusion, operates as a cognitive mechanism and a mental stylistic technique, applicable in new figurative thought representations. Patterns are used to construct meaning [Naciscione 2010, 2020].

allusion in discourse. I have used the research method of interpretative case studies to cope with more intricate textual and visual representations.

I have also relied on the method of critical metaphor analysis [Charteris-Black 2004, 2014], which focuses on levels of metaphor analysis. Importantly, the method underscores the role of social cognition [Charteris-Black 2014: 153–157] and the need for analysis of the broader social context. Thus, the method is concerned with increasing our awareness of the social aspects in language use. I fully agree that the study of social factors is essential in discourse analysis; however, historical, political and cultural aspects may also prove to be fundamental to analysis of a novel form and meaning of expression.

I believe that one method cannot meet the stylistic and cognitive challenges that emerge when exploring multifaceted verbal and visual discourses. In cognitive stylistics, one of the main research methods remains meticulous semantic and stylistic analysis of actual cases of instantiation[1] of allusion in discourses, and their stylistic effects in creating novel meanings.

The stylistic pattern of allusion

The stylistic pattern of allusion can boast a great diversity of expression in actual use. Moreover, the empirical material reveals not only variety but also complexity of verbal and visual instantiations of this pattern.

Allusion is a broad notion with a long history. It is not a novel stylistic pattern. In Ancient Greece, allusion was seen as a rhetorical device, serving to convey an indirect reference in literature, especially poetry, or the art of oratory.

The English language has preserved innumerable allusions going back to the Bible as part of its word stock. For instance, in the Old Testament, *The Garden of Eden* is the biblical earthly paradise created by God to be inhabited by His first human creations – Adam and Eve. As a case of allusion, *The Garden of Eden* is a phraseological unit that has acquired stability and a generalised, metaphorical meaning. In use, e.g., *Truly, this place feels like the Garden of Eden,* the unit signifies a perfect paradise. Some more examples: *Noah's ark*, *thirty pieces of silver*, *Judas' kiss*, *to kill the fatted calf* and many others.

Another ample source of allusions has been Greek mythology and Ancient Greek literature across centuries. For instance, the meaning of *Achilles' heel* is a fatal weakness, a vulnerable area or a point of vulnerability. It is an allusion to the Greek legend about the heroic warrior Achilles whose mother tried to make him immortal by holding the infant by his heel and dipping him into the River Styx. In modern

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[1] Instantiation is a stylistic realisation in discourse; it is a particular instance of a unique stylistic application of a lexical or a phraseological unit in discourse resulting in significant changes in its form and meaning, determined by the thought and the context [Naciscione 2010, 2020].

use, the unit is employed in a metaphorical meaning, e. g., *This division, which is rarely profitable, is the company's Achilles' heel.* Some more examples: *the Trojan horse*, *Sisyphus labour*, *Pandora's box*, *between Scylla and Charybdis* and many others.

Thus, allusion has traditionally been viewed as an implied reference to something or somebody. Over the centuries, the scope of use has expanded to allude to historical, mythological, folklore, cultural, social and political phenomena, events and facts.

Let me turn to some cases of allusion, which will reveal the semantic and stylistic subtleties of instantiation and the need to identify its message.

Allusion to facts

In verbal and visual discourse, analysis of what is implied discloses that there is much more to it than meets the eye. It is not that simple, nor is it as straightforward as it might seem. The given case of allusion (see Figure 1) conveys an implicit reference, which calls for more detailed recall and identification of background knowledge of facts, social and political information.

Figure 1. Cartoon, *Weekend with Eccles*, published on August 7, 1976.

Background information is essential for an understanding of both verbal and visual discourse. Identification seeks to uncover missing factual and semantic information to disambiguate the instance. Here the scene is set by Big Ben, a British cultural icon and a prominent symbol of parliamentary democracy. Visual perception works together with the textual message, which is impossible to interpret without a reference to historical facts. A search leads us to some facts, which bear a semantic connection with the political and social implications, hinted at in the cartoon. The year 1975 was not a good year for the British government as it had to face a strike by

miners and a lengthy strike by garbage transport workers. Furthermore, on August 5, 1976 London witnessed the first major breakdown of the chiming system of Big Ben, which was still using the original Victorian mechanism. Big Ben fell silent and stopped striking the hours.

Big Ben provides a direct associative relationship with the British Parliament as Big Ben is part of the Houses of Parliament. Recognition is facilitated by the briefcase with the acronym *MP* on it, serving as a metonymic link to the House of Commons. In this way we learn that the two members of parliament are leaving the parliamentary building. One of them is saying:

> *It's been a good year, even Big Ben <u>isn't striking</u>!*

Interpretation of the phrase *isn't striking* calls for a study of the semantic structure of *to strike.* A close look at a dictionary entry of the verb *to strike* reveals that this phrase is based on the interrelationship between two metaphorical meanings of this verb, creating a pun. In stylistics, pun is a stylistic pattern, involving a play on words, which usually forms a semantic link between the literal meaning of the word and one of its metaphorical meanings. The literal meaning of the verb *to strike* is "to hit"; however, it does not surface in this text at all. This instantiation is a rare case of a pun, acquiring a discourse dimension: the pun is formed by two metaphorical meanings of the same polysemous word *to strike* in one context: *to protest by not working* and *to make a sound like a bell (about a clock*) [*Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* 2006: 1420–1421]. The first meaning is alluded to while the second emerges in the caption of the cartoon.

Thus, analysis of the empirical material shows that allusion works together with other stylistic patterns, in this case, metonymy and pun, in creating a novel instantiation in verbal and visual discourse. Allusion functions as an implicit mental reference that works by force of associative thinking.

Allusions to literary works

As a stylistic technique, allusion helps to contextualise a message by referencing a well-known literary work. Literary allusions are common. Implied references to literary works, their characters and authors abound in language use. For instance,

> *You don't have to be <u>William Shakespeare</u> to write poetry.*
> *Don't act like <u>a Romeo</u> in front of her.*

A literary allusion refers to a specific writer or literary work. The pattern of allusion allows the author to compress a great deal of significance into a phrase or sentence. The brevity of expression and the implicit reference underscore the significance of the message. To recognise and comprehend the implied reference, we

need to rely on long-term associations, leading to our knowledge store. "Long-term memory is memory for information that has been well processed and integrated into one's general knowledge store" [Reber 1995: 448]. Cognitive access to our memory store[1] is central to perceiving, identifying and interpreting the semantic and stylistic subtleties of allusion.

Let me turn to a case of creative use of allusion in the media, based on a literary work. Allusion is a favourable stylistic pattern among media journalists. It emphasises their point, lends a certain persuasive tone to the text and makes it emotionally expressive. For instance,

> At present there is <u>winter</u> in America, <u>can spring be far behind</u>?
> *BBC World TV*, 07.11.2020.

This case is an implicit reference to the poem *Ode to the West Wind* by Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1820). The last two lines of this famous poem read as follows:

> *O Wind, if <u>Winter</u> comes,*
> <u>*Can Spring be far behind*</u>?

Shelley is one of the key figures of the Romantic Movement in English literature. Like all Romantic poets, Shelley makes ample use of personification, ascribing human traits to nature, in this case, to seasons of the year. Interestingly, the last phrase of the poem *Can spring be far behind*? is a rhetorical question, which helps the audience understand, sympathise with the message, and react emotionally. This rhetorical question serves to involve the audience personally and to create a dramatic effect.

In general, comprehension involves making use of any relevant general knowledge that we may possess. However, each particular case is a new challenge. This case of allusion calls for a good knowledge of English Romanticism and Shelley's poetry. Shelley perceives winter as something foreboding and uses it as a metaphoric personification of the darkest times in people's lives, while spring is a time of hope, signifying light and development. Winter aptly portrays the political situation in the USA in November 2020. *Winter in America* is a metaphor for Donald Trump's rule.

The BBC broadcast is dated 07.11.2020, that is, a few days after the American Presidential Election 2020 on 03.11.2020, when Biden's victory was confirmed, despite Trump's continued refusal to formally concede, saying that the election was rigged, which was fake news, to use his own terminology. Many American voters could not accept Trump's offensive manner of presidency, his aggressiveness, use of racist language and his numerous boasts. His presidency was too unpresidential.

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[1] For more on the functioning of human memory and its role in the cognitive processes, see Eysenck [1996: 68–75].

People were looking forward to a change for the better; they were looking forward to Spring. The rhetorical question *Can Spring be far behind*? signifies light and hope.

This case study shows that identification of the allusion presupposes a good knowledge of Shelley's poetry. It calls for additional cognitive endeavour to enable retrieval of the item from storage in long-term memory. It also requires thorough background knowledge of the political scene in the USA at the end of the 20th century. However, if the reader does not possess knowledge on the subject, the allusion remains unresolved.

Allusion to quotations

When we quote a part of a text verbatim, we need to put it in quotation marks and specify the origin (the author, the year and the source), which indicates strict adherence to the original text. However, here I am concerned with creative use of quotations, which, if applied effectively, will convey a novel meaning along with semantic and/or structural changes, signalling an unusual stylistic instantiation.

A recurrent type of implicit reference is allusion to a well-known quotation, being part of a speech delivered by a famous or prominent person and which has later become a popular quotation, used in both verbal and visual discourse, including cartoons and caricatures.

Figure 2 presents a cartoon by the well-known American graphic artist John Morris (1906–1994) who focussed on creating intelligent and distinctive visual communications for publications and businesses.

Figure 2. John Morris (1906–1994), *Advertising Agency*,
uploaded by Cartoonstock on 13/08/2001:
https://www.cartoonstock.com/cartoonview.asp?catref=jmo0258

In Figure 2, the caption requires a cultural reference and a resolution of the allusion. Without it, the text would not make any sense. In visual discourse, "vision is an active grasp", since seeing means grasping some outstanding features with the aim of grasping the essentials [Arnheim (1954) 1974: 43]. In cognitive linguistic terms, SEEING IS UNDERSTANDING.

When we cast a look at a visual representation, we realise that much is not explicitly stated in the discourse; it is only alluded to. Psycholinguistics has established that we constantly draw inferences, that is, extract from the underlying discourse pieces of meaning, which are crucial to our understanding [Kess 1992: 189].

The man sitting at the table is the Advertising Director of the company. When the cartoonist is presenting his work for approval, the Advertising Director is obviously satisfied with the result. He utters a sigh of relief: "Phew!" It is relief from the ever-ending pressure to go on "fooling some of the people all the time". "Damn hard work" is evident in his facial gestures. The worried expression on his face and his unshaven appearance suggest the unrelenting pressure of his job.

The caption contains the first part of a famous quotation that acts like a recall cue, evoking associations of contiguity, which help to retrieve the full quotation from long-term memory, going back to the knowledge store, once acquired. The pattern of the conceptual metonymy PART FOR WHOLE comes into play, aiding recall of the name of the author of these lines:

> *You can <u>fool some of the people all of the time</u>, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.*
>
> Abraham Lincoln, 1858

Historians believe that Abraham Lincoln pronounced these famous lines in his speech at the Lincoln – Douglas debates in Clinton, Illinois, 1858.

Abraham Lincoln gained his place in history by taking action to end slavery and win the Civil War between the North and the South (1861–1865). Although a
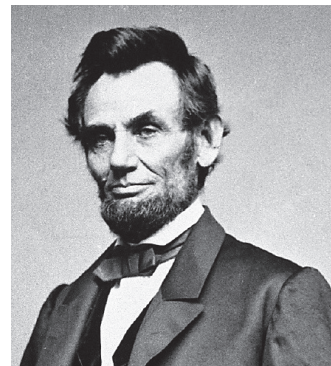

Figure 3. Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865),
the 16th President of the United States (1861–1865),
laphamsquarterly.org

Republican, he was famous for speeches, which disclosed his democratic values and his commitment to the people: he was a democratic leader at heart. He will also be remembered for his style of saying and writing honest truths. The given quotation is part of Abraham Lincoln's legacy in American culture and in political debate.

Identifying allusion in discourse

Identification and analysis of creative instantiations of allusion in discourse largely rely on people's essential cognitive abilities. Language comprehension requires us to go beyond the literal meanings of the words we see or hear. Much of the information needed is frequently implicit. Hence we need to draw inferences to understand the whole context and the message that is conveyed.

The human mind possesses numerous cognitive faculties, such as figurative thinking and imagination. The skills of perception, recognition and comprehension are essential in the process of interpretation of creative use of language [Naciscione 2010: 45–55, 2020: 273]. In identifying allusion, cognitive abilities play an essential part in retrieving essential items, which leads to disambiguation of the instantiation.

Psycholinguists confirm that people remember because they have the mental faculty of memory, which is crucial to language use in all aspects and at all levels [Garman 1990: 309]. It is also of vital importance in identifying creative use in discourse, allusion included. The role of memory lies not only in retrieving implicit items from long-term memory but, importantly, also in processing information and associatively related items.

Memory operates with the help of associations, which aid memory to retrieve essential information from long-term memory. Memory is associative *per se*. Associations also facilitate comprehension since they form a connection or a relationship between two items (ideas, concepts, feelings, events, experiences). In this way, "experiencing the first item activates a representation of the second" [VandenBos 2007]. Thus, the associative abilities of the human mind form part of the human cognitive faculties. Associations are fundamental to identification and analysis of creative use of allusion and other stylistic techniques.

Conclusion

It has been a long-established practice to regard allusion as an indirect reference to historical, mythological, cultural, social and political phenomena and events. In the cognitive stylistic framework, allusion operates as a pattern of creative use of language in discourse, resulting in novel expression of thought. Allusion is an implicit mental verbal and/or visual reference, which is represented in discourse by one or more explicit elements, performing a metonymic function and providing associative links by acting as a recall cue. Allusion is a stylistic pattern in both thought

and language. In discourse, allusion works together with other stylistic patterns, which are part of the instantiation, contributing to the stylistic effect and meaning: metaphor, metonymy, pun, personification and others.

A cognitive perspective means recognising and understanding the cognitive faculties of the human mind, such as figurative thinking and imagination, the skills of perception, recognition, comprehension and interpretation of creative use of language. In identifying allusion, cognitive abilities play an essential part in retrieving essential items, which in turn leads to disambiguating the instantiation. The role of memory lies not only in retrieving implicit items from long-term memory but, importantly, also in processing information and associatively related items. Allusion functions as an implicit mental reference since it works by force of associative thinking.

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MULTIMODAL EXPRESSIONS OF FIGURATIVE THOUGHT: A STUDY OF THE SOVIET OCCUPATION (1940–1964) POSTERS

Dr.art. **Elīna Veinberga**
Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia

Abstract

The aim of the article is to analyse figurative language in use. According to the core writings in cognitive linguistics, figurative language is representative of figurative thought. Human beings express themselves figuratively because their thinking is primarily figurative. Similar ideas have been advanced since the writings of Max Black, Charles K. Ogden, I. A. Richards, and Paul Ricoeur; however, these ideas gained a wider recognition at the end of the 1980s, when George Lakoff and Mark Johnson published their seminal work "Metaphors We Live By", thus propelling the development of cognitive linguistics and cognitive stylistics.

The properties of figurative thought are excellently demonstrated via those examples where interaction of the verbal and visual discourse occurs. The poster collection of the National Library of Latvia is well-suited for this purpose. The posters created during the Soviet occupation (1940–1991) abound in propaganda; nevertheless, they present a remarkable source for research. Seven posters from 1940 to 1964 are analysed in this article.

The eventual results demonstrate the pervasive use of metonymies and their interaction with other figurative patterns to shape multimodal discourse.

Keywords: *cognitive stylistics, figurative pattern, metaphor, metonymy, multimodal discourse.*

Theoretical framework and research material

The purpose of this article is to analyse figurative language as a reflection of figurative thought. Cognitively, a figurative way of expression testifies to figurative thinking, which depends on inherent figurative concepts, enabling thoughts. The main research question aims at examining the properties of figurative thought by studying posters where the interaction of the verbal and visual representations and the interplay of different *figurative patterns*[1] gives rise to multimodal meaning.

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[1] I use the term *figurative pattern* to denote metaphors, metonymies, etc. *Figurative pattern* means thought pattern indicating the fact that thought is primary.

My research questions are connected with the analysis of figurative language as representative of figurative thought in multimodal discourse. The aim of the article is to examine the interaction of metonymies and metaphors, and to establish whether there are any other regular patterns of interaction in multimodal discourse, for instance, that of hyperboles and puns.

The theoretical framework of the article is based on the findings of **cognitive linguistics** and **cognitive stylistics** [Lakoff and Johnson (1980) 2003; Gibbs (1994) 2002; Barcelona 2003; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009; Naciscione 2010]. Human thinking is primarily figurative since the concepts, which are essential for making thought processes possible, are also figurative as the writer and linguist Charles Kay Ogden, critic, poet, and teacher Ivor Armstrong Richards, philosophers Max Black and Paul Ricoeur, cognitive linguist and philosopher George Lakoff and philosopher Mark Johnson have demonstrated [Black 1962; Lakoff and Johnson (1980) 2003; Ogden and Richards 1946; Ricoeur (1975) 2008].

Many scholars in different disciplines tend to agree that **concepts** are described as the building blocks of thoughts and are essential to such processes as inference, memory, learning, decision making and categorization [Margolis and Laurence 1999; Margolis and Laurence 2015]. *Concepts are the most fundamental constructs in theories of the mind. Given their importance to all aspects of cognition, it's no surprise that concepts raise so many controversies in philosophy and cognitive science* [Margolis and Laurence 1999: 3]; and *concepts are mental representations* [Margolis and Laurence 1999: 77].

Development of cognitive linguistics and cognitive stylistics is ongoing, and increasing amounts of data are analysed every year. The properties of figurative thought, especially, interaction of the verbal and visual discourse is a proliferous area of research.

The **research method** applied is manual qualitative data analysis to select the most significant and stylistically salient examples. Research methods are manual for two reasons: the material is visual, and Latvian and Russian are synthetic languages where at least ten different forms exist per every noun and verb. I follow the method of four stages developed by Anita Naciscione [Naciscione 2010: 43–55]. The first stage is **recognition** at which every poster in the chosen CD poster collection[1] is observed, the presence of figurative meaning is detected, and a figurative pattern is identified. The second stage is **verification**, and at this stage the figurative pattern is confirmed to be either a metonymy, metaphor, hyperbole, pun, etc. The third stage is **comprehension**, and at this stage the figurative mean-

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[1] See **Research material and case studies**.

ing construction and interaction of different figurative patterns in discoursal use[1] are analysed. It also includes the analysis of interaction of the verbal and visual aspects, and multimodal meaning construction. The fourth stage is **interpretation**, and the political, social and cultural context of every poster is taken into consideration.

I have also applied Critical Metaphor Analysis that has been developed by the linguist Jonathan Charteris-Black *an approach that explores how metaphors are used to create rival, contested views of the world, ideologies* [Charteris-Black 2019: 12]. Charteris-Black claims *that metaphor is* (..) *central to critical discourse analysis since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality. Critical analysis of the contexts of metaphors in large corpora may reveal the underlying intentions of the text producer and therefore serves to identify the nature of particular ideologies* [Charteris-Black 2004: 28]. I would argue that in visual representation several posters are enough to identify a particular ideology that attempted to form the Soviet reality. It is important to analyse how concepts interact with discourse and socio-cultural context. As Charteris-Black states *the social influence of ideology, culture and history may provide a more convincing account of why particular metaphors are chosen in specific discourse contexts* [Charteris-Black 2004: 243].

As a modern term **multimodality** appeared in the 1990s with the book "Visual English" edited by Sharon Goodman and David Graddol. At least two semiotic modes, namely, verbal and visual, have to be employed simultaneously to constitute a multimodal discourse [Goodman 1996]. The semiotician Gunther Kress and the linguist and social semiotician Theo Van Leeuwen maintain that Western culture treasured monomodal communication in the past, thus it dominated; however, over the last decades, multimodal form of representation is rising in necessity and predilection [Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001]. The linguist and semiotician Hartmut Stöckl reminds us that multimodality is a late discovery of the obvious since human communication has been multimodal since time immemorial [Stöckl 2004]. The linguist and multimodality scholar Charles Forceville champions a multimodal approach to researching metaphor discussing five senses: vision, hearing, touch, smell, and the ability to taste, and different semiotic modes: pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, tastes

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[1] Used in discourse. *So abundant are definitions of discourse that many linguistics books on the subject now open with a survey of definitions.* (..) *They all, however, fall into the three main categories* (..): *(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language* [Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2001) 2010: 1].

and touch. For Forceville a metaphor is multimodal if its *conceptual* target *domain*[1] is expressed in one semiotic mode, but its source domain is expressed in another semiotic mode [Forceville 2009].

Research material and case studies

Empirical research material for this article has been excerpted from the poster collection of the National Library of Latvia, specifically, the Soviet posters (1940–1991). A two CD set has been examined; it contains CD 1 *Poster in Latvia 1899–1945* (244 posters) and CD 2 *Poster in Latvia 1945–2000* (320 posters), 564 posters altogether [The National Library of Latvia 1899–1945]. Seven posters from the time of Soviet occupation with stylistically salient examples have been selected for a closer analysis.

The first poster that has been chosen for a detailed *stylistic analysis*[2] of figurative patterns illustrates a set of metonymies (Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Exhibition of consumer goods for the LSSR local district industries.* The National Library of Latvia, 1940. CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1899–1945. Not signed. Niklāvs Strunke. Riga: VAPP.

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[1] *Conceptual domain* is a relatively complex knowledge structure of coherent aspects of experience [Evans 2007: 61–62]. It is *a segment of our memory for preserving certain types of experience, e. g., education, journey, knowledge, light, love, life, work, etc. If we imagined that all our memories are stored in a cabinet, one conceptual domain would be one shelf in this cabinet* [Veinberga 2020: 18], e. g., a love shelf or an education shelf.

[2] I use the term *stylistic analysis* to describe the study conducted in this article which is based on cognitive stylistics.

Metonymy is a figurative pattern that operates within one conceptual domain. In metonymy a part of something or someone stands for the whole or vice versa, or a part stands for a part [Gibbs (1994) 2002; Kövecses 2002; Krasovska 2013]. Thus, metonymy can be defined as a *stand for* figurative pattern the operation of which can be reflected in the following formulas: **A** stands for A_1; A_1 stands for **A**; or A_1 stands for A_2 [Krasovska 2013; Veinberga 2014], where **A** is the whole, and A_1 and A_2 are parts. All metonymic relationships are based on associations of contiguity or closeness.

The verbal text of this poster is not figurative, only the visual images are figurative. *LPSR* means LSSR (Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic). This fact begs a question whether multimodality is applicable. I would argue that this poster[1] is multimodal because the nonfigurative text interacts with the figurative visual images, for instance, the word "exhibition" is translated into the visual mode via a number of metonymies that illustrate different industries represented at the local district exhibition, and this interaction might also be treated as pun-like[2] (Table 1).

Table 1. Metonymies of Figure 1 "Exhibition of consumer goods for the LSSR local district industries"

Visual metonymies	Occupation	Industry
a man a woman	working members of society	–
a hammer	a manual worker	industry
a trowel	a builder	building
an anvil	a blacksmith	metalworking
a pair of compasses a ruler	an engineer	technology
a wood planer	a carpenter	carpentry

It must be pointed out that the tools may also represent slightly different occupations and industries than indicated in the table, e. g., a pair of compasses can also be the tool of an architect or a carpenter, etc.

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[1] It also refers to Figure 2, Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6.

[2] A *pun* is usually regarded as a word play or lexical ambiguity: a *foregrounded lexical ambiguity, which may have its origin either in homonymy or polysemy* [Leech (1969) 1991: 209]. However, when a text is translated into a picture, it automatically creates a pun as the image, unless it is a photograph, is metaphorical *per se*.

The other set of metonymies is related to the Soviet symbols: flag → [1] the Soviet Republic of Latvia → a part of the USSR. The hammer and sickle are also the Soviet symbols. The flag of the Soviet Republic of Latvia was only red before 17 January 1953 when a different flag with blue sea waves at the bottom of the flag was adopted. This poster is not a propaganda poster *per se*, it only contains the Soviet symbols representing the Soviet power.

The second poster advertises physical education (Figure 2). On the one hand, it can be viewed as a positive reinforcement of exercise as everyone knows that physical training is healthy and helps people to stay fit. On the other hand, the underlying reason for the Soviet enthusiasm was more sinister as a healthy and strong individual would make a good soldier in the Soviet army and defend the Soviet Union. On the top right corner of the poster there is the USSR emblem with a slogan Готов к труду и обороне which means "Ready for work and defence".

Figure 2. *Exercise: The basis of physical education.* The National Library of Latvia, 1941. CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1899–1945. Signed: R. Bērziņš / Roberts Bērziņš. Riga: VAPP.

Also in this poster the verbal text is not figurative; however, the visual images are figurative. There is the same metonymy as in the previous poster: the LSSR flag that stands for the Soviet Republic of Latvia which is a part of the USSR.

A *hyperbole* is employed in this poster. Hyperbole is *popularly known as exaggeration or overstatement* (..). *In drama, hyperbole is often used for emphasis as a sign of great emotion or passion.* (..) *In pragmatic terms hyperbole superficially violates*

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[1] Stands for.

Grice's maxims[1] of quality and quantity, since it distorts the truth by saying too much. But hyperbole is not the same as telling lies: there is normally no intent to deceive one's listeners, who will no doubt infer the true state of affairs anyway [WDS (1990) 2011: 202–203].

There is a hyperbolised figure of a woman in the foreground that is a metonymy for a physically active member of society; and there are *metonyms[2]* for every active member of society in the background. On the issue of hyperbole, it should be noted that all of the analysed posters show hyperbolised human figures, which is an unavoidable feature of the poster genre.

The third poster features both figurative verbal text and visual images (Figure 3).

Figure 3. *Long live the mighty Soviet aviation. Long live the Soviet pilots – the proud eagles of our homeland.* The National Library of Latvia, 1941. CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1899–1945. Not signed. Riga: VAPP.

There are two cases of metonymies with flags: (1) the flag of the LSSR that stands for the Soviet Republic of Latvia as a part of the USSR, and (2) the flag of the Soviet aviation (a star and an eagle) stands for aviation in general.

From the text "Long live the Soviet pilots – the proud eagles of our homeland" a verbal conceptual metaphor PILOTS ARE EAGLES[3] can be derived. *Conceptual*

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[1] The British philosopher Paul Grice (1913–1988), probably influenced by Immanuel Kant, formulated four conversational maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner. The maxim of quality is related to truthfulness; and the maxim of quantity is related to the degree of information normally demanded [WDS (1990) 2011: 351–352].

[2] A *metonym* is a specific use of metonymy.

[3] Conceptual metaphors are commonly highlighted by the use of capital letters.

metaphor is a figurative pattern which operates within two conceptual domains that are related by similarity; usually one domain is more concrete whereas the other one is more abstract. Conceptual metaphors often help people to make sense of different abstract phenomena [Lakoff and Johnson (1980) 2003; Gibbs (1994) 2002; Kövecses 2002]. Conceptual metaphor can be expressed via formula: **A** is **B**; **A** is the target domain for the abstract concept, and **B** is the source domain for the more concrete concept. In the case of PILOTS ARE EAGLES we can conceptualise a pilot as an abstract occupation and an eagle a concrete bird that is native to flying.

There is a visual hyperbole: hyperbolised figures of pilots in the foreground, and a metonymy: metonyms of planes in a V-formation in the background that interact with the verbal text, and thus stand for aviation. The text "Long live the mighty Soviet aviation. Long live the Soviet pilots – the proud eagles of our homeland" is a propaganda text. As not everyone was happy in a country of totalitarian regime, especially in Latvia in 1941, shortly after the Soviet occupation, the government had to constantly reiterate the fact that the Soviet Union was a mighty country, and its military power, including aviation, was the best.

The fourth analysed poster once again presents a case of verbal text that is not figurative and a number of figurative visual images. It also includes a visual hyperbole: hyperbolised figures of a man and a woman in the foreground (Figure 4).

Figure 4. *1941 January 12: Everyone to the elections. Let's elect the best representatives of the working people in the Supreme Soviet who are fully loyal to the Lenin-Stalin course!* The National Library of Latvia, 1941. CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1899–1945. Signed: O. Norits / Oskars Norītis. Riga: VAPP.

There are several visual metonymies: a man and a woman stand for the working members of society who can vote in the upcoming elections. The meaning of work is metonymically reinforced by the hammer in the man's hand: the hammer stands for a worker and working people of the Soviet Union. The woman has a ballot paper in her hand that stands for elections; the red flags represent Soviet power; and the red people in the background are patriotic Soviet citizens.

Table 2. Metonymies of Figure 4 "1941 January 12: Everyone to the elections. Let's elect the best representatives of the working people in the Supreme Soviet who are fully loyal to the Lenin-Stalin course!"

Visual metonymies	Meaning
a man a woman	working members of society
a hammer	a worker working people
a ballot paper	elections
red flags	Soviet power
small red people in the background	patriotic Soviet citizens

Theoretically there was universal suffrage in the USSR; however, in practical terms the elections were a theatre performance as there was no choice; and the only party voters can vote for was the Communist Party. Nevertheless, everyone had to participate, and that was the duty of the citizen. People could be punished for not participating: being apolitical was a deviation.

The fifth poster is similar to the fourth one in two aspects: (1) its verbal text is not figurative whereas the visual images are figurative, and (2) it propagates an event that a Soviet citizen is forced to attend. May the 1st demonstrations were compulsory (Figure 5).

The Soviet power metonymies include the Soviet star, the hammer and sickle and the red flags. It is notable that the symbol of hammer and sickle is metonymic from its very beginning as it stands for proletarian solidarity, uniting the working-class and the peasants. The hammer stands for the workers and the sickle stands for the peasants. It was first adopted in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. *The hammer and sickle represented physical labour in factory or field; there was*

Figure 5. *May the 1ˢᵗ – International Proletarian Solidarity Day!* The National Library of Latvia, 1941. CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1899–1945. Signed: R. Strops / Eduards Roberts Strops. Riga: VAPP.

no symbol for the scientist, the statesman, or the scholar [Barzun 2021]. Hammer and sickle are often used as a revolution symbol for communists.

Other metonymies are related to the image of the globe that stands for the world inhabited by international proletarians. There are hyperbolised figures in the middle ground and metonyms for every active member of society in the foreground (Table 3).

Table 3. Figurative patterns of Figure 5 "May the 1ˢᵗ – International Proletarian Solidarity Day!"

Figurative pattern	Image	Meaning
visual hyperbole	large figures in the middle ground	strong proletarians, leaders
visual metonymies	Soviet star	Soviet power
	hammer and sickle	
	red flags	the USSR
	small figures in the foreground	every active member of society
	the image of the globe	the world inhabited by international proletarians

The sixth poster depicts Joseph Stalin. The year of printing has not been indicated on the poster; nevertheless, it can be inferred that the poster was printed between 1945 and 1952 because (1) it is from the *CD collection: 1945–2000* and (2) Stalin's rule lasted from April 3 1922 until his death on 16 October 1952. Stalin

was notorious for his personality cult and was acclaimed as a universal genius, a "shining sun," a "great teacher and friend" and almost religiously as "our father". The poster is a typical illustration of Stalin's personality cult (Figure 6).

Figure 6. *Long live the leader of the Soviet people – the great Stalin!* The National Library of Latvia. S.a.[1] CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1945–2000. Not signed. Arveds Segliņš. Riga: LVI..

The verbal text is not figurative, although it is a propaganda text praising the leader of the USSR. The visual images are figurative containing hyperbole, allusion and a number of metonymies (Table 4).

Table 4. Figurative patterns of Figure 6 "Long live the leader of the Soviet people – the great Stalin!"

Figurative pattern	Image	Meaning
visual hyperbole	a large figure in the in the foreground	the leader of the USSR
visual allusion	red flags around Stalin form a kind of throne	iconic image of a symbol of power
visual metonymies	red flags	the Soviet power / the USSR
	small figures with red flags in the background	the common Soviet people
	an image of Lenin	the communist ideology / the first leader of the Soviet Union

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[1] *S.a.* – Latin *sine anno* (without a year).

Soviet power forcefully remonstrated against religion. A pro-work and anti-religion poster vividly illustrates this attitude (Figure 7).

Figure 7. *Human reason will be done on earth as in heaven!* The National Library of Latvia. 1964. CD Collection: *Poster in Latvia*, 1945–2000. Signed: L. Bērziņš 64. / Ludis Bērziņš. Riga: LVI.

Stylistically, it is a creative instantiation of both the visual and the verbal modes. The foreground of the poster presents a well-lighted hyperbolic figure of a young man, holding a sheaf of wheat and a book in one hand, while a plane is taking off his other hand. The background features a dark figure of an elderly woman kneeling in front of the Bible, on which a dark grey text in what appears to be Black letter or

Table 5. Figurative patterns of Figure 7 "Human reason will be done on earth as in heaven!"

Figurative pattern	Image or text	Meaning
verbal allusion	Human reason will be done on earth as in heaven	the Lord's Prayer: Thy (=Your) will be done, on earth as it is in heaven
visual hyperbole / metaphor	a large figure of a man in the foreground	the power of the human being
Metaphor	a dark figure of an elderly woman in the background kneeling in front of the Bible	old ways
visual metonymies	a sheaf of wheat	crops
	a book	knowledge
	a plane	power of engineering

Gothic script reads "God's will be done", thus metaphorically hinting at, what the Soviets called, the old beliefs. The caption of the poster is a white text proclaiming in block capitals "Human reason will be done on earth as in heaven", which is an allusion to the Lord's Prayer (Table 5).

Conclusion

The most commonly used figurative pattern of the analysed political posters is visual metonymy: 33 cases[1]. There are seven cases of visual hyperbole, three cases of metaphor (one verbal and two visual cases) and two cases of allusion (one visual and one verbal). No puns were identified in the analysed examples, apart from the obvious pun-like effect when the verbal texts are represented visually. The examined material offers a probable answer why metonymy prevails in these posters: the reason is often straightforward as the choice of tools to stand for certain professions or the flag to stand for the country is easier to depict visually.

Multimodal meaning is created both via interaction of the verbal and visual modes, and via text and image interaction, and also via interaction of different figurative patterns.

The reason for the lack of figurativeness in the captions of the posters is most likely related to the Soviet ideology as it was essential to precisely reiterate their slogans.

The pervasive use of figurative patterns confirms that our thinking is naturally figurative regardless of ideology. Moreover, ideology is targeted at large masses of people, thus it is designed to have a strong, clear and persuasive impact.

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[1] The features of a figurative pattern are counted in every poster, as there might be many different figurative patterns in one poster.

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