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Editor's Note

It is with great honor and academic enthusiasm that we present the second issue of *Alma Mater – Journal of Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies (JICS)*. Since its inception, *JICS* has been committed to fostering interdisciplinary dialogue, providing a platform for rigorous academic inquiry that transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries. The publication of our inaugural issue in September 2024, featuring seven research articles, marked an important milestone in establishing our journal's place in the academic landscape. We are particularly encouraged by the significant increase in submissions for this issue, which reflects the growing recognition and engagement with *JICS*. Thanks to the dedication and expertise of our newly established section editors, as well as the meticulous efforts of our peer reviewers, we are proud to present an expanded second issue, featuring 18 research articles and one book review.

As *JICS* continues to develop, it is imperative to recognize the invaluable contributions of our section editors, who have played an integral role in shaping the academic and editorial direction of the journal. In the field of German Studies, our editorial board is strengthened by the contributions of Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Irem Atasoy** (Istanbul University) and Asst. Prof. Dr. **Derya Koray Düşünceli** (Ege University), both of whom bring a dynamic and contemporary perspective to German literary and cultural studies. Additionally, Prof. Dr. **Michael Hofmann** (Paderborn University), Prof. Dr. **Levan Tsagareli** (Ilia State University, Georgia), and Prof. Dr. **Erika Hammer** (Pecs University) contribute their extensive research experience to the field. We are also honored to have the support of em. Prof. Dr. **Michael Dallapiazza** (Bologna University), whose long-standing scholarly contributions continue to influence German philology, as well as Prof. Dr. **Renate Schellenberg** (Mount Allison University) whose interdisciplinary work enriches our editorial perspective.

In English Studies, we are privileged to have Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Berna Köseoğlu** (Kocaeli University), whose expertise in literary analysis and cultural studies provides valuable insight into the evolving field of English scholarship. Similarly, the field of Turkish Studies is well represented by Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Didem Akyıldız Ay** (M.A.E. University), whose contributions deepen our understanding of Turkish Literary and Linguistic traditions.

Dr. **Aslı Damar Çakmak** (Istanbul University) leads our engagement with Greek Studies, offering a comprehensive approach to classical and modern Greek literature and culture. In Japanese Studies, Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Maria Mihaela Grajdian** (Hiroshima University) brings an understanding of Japanese culture and media, bridging Eastern and Western perspectives in interdisciplinary research. Meanwhile, Dr. **Ksenia Kuzminykh** (Georg August Universität Göttingen) lends her expertise to Slavic Studies, facilitating scholarly discourse on the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Slavic world.

Geographical studies are enriched by Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Fatih Adıgüzel** (Bitlis Eren University) and Dr. **Firuze Caferova** (Azərbaycan Dövlət İqtisad Universiteti - UNEC), whose research explores spatial and cultural dynamics across different regions. In Linguistics, Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Melike Somuncu** (Kahramanmaraş Istiklal University) contributes her in-depth knowledge of language structures and their intersections with cultural identity.

History as a discipline is well represented by Asst. Prof. Dr. **Engin Çetin** (Marmara University), Dr. **Semih Sefer** (Istanbul University), Asst. Prof. Dr. **Eric Grube** (Boston College), and Asst. Prof. Dr. **Emily Cole** (Boston College). Their combined expertise covers a wide range of historical periods and themes, ensuring a nuanced and comprehensive approach to historical studies. Art History benefits from the scholarly input of Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Elif Kök** (Marmara University) and em. Prof. Dr. **Irma Trattner** (Linz University of Arts), both of whom offer critical perspectives on visual culture and artistic movements.

Philosophical inquiries in *JICS* are guided by Asst. Prof. Dr. **Süleyman Ertan Tağman** (M.A.E. University), whose work engages with fundamental questions of ethics, metaphysics, and knowledge.

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In Psychology, Asst. Prof. Dr. **Sena Sezgin (**Marmara University) brings valuable insight into human cognition, behavior, and social interaction. Sociology, with its focus on societal structures and transformations, is represented by Asst. Prof. Dr. **Ahmet Özpınar** (Karamanoğlu Mehmetbey University), who contributes a critical perspective on contemporary social issues.

The study of ancient and material cultures is advanced by Asst. Prof. Dr. **Salih Soslu** (M.A.E. University), whose work in Archeology offers an interdisciplinary lens on historical artifacts and cultural heritage. Folklore studies, an essential component of cultural research, are enriched by the expertise of Dr. **Ahmet Şükrü Somuncu**, whose contributions highlight the significance of oral traditions and mythologies.

In the broader field of Cultural Studies, Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Sine Demirkıvıran** (Marmara University) plays a vital role in shaping interdisciplinary dialogues on contemporary cultural phenomena. Asst. Prof. Dr. **Fayıka Göktepe** (Marmara University) specializes in Cultural Transfer and Translation, exploring how ideas and narratives move across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Holocaust Studies, a critical area of historical and ethical inquiry, is represented by Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Habib Tekin** (Marmara University), whose work addresses the lasting impact of the Holocaust on memory and identity.

Education Studies is represented by Dr. **Betül Karakoç-Kafkas** (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University) and Dr. **Iva Hradská** (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University), who bring expertise in pedagogical theory and educational methodologies. Finally, Religious Studies is enriched by the contributions of Prof. Dr. **Egdunas Račius** (Vytautas Magnus University) and Prof. Dr. **Gerd Marie Ådna** (VID Specialized University), whose research spans diverse religious traditions and their societal implications.

We extend our deepest appreciation to our section editors for their (future) commitment and invaluable contributions. Their expertise and dedication have not only strengthened the academic rigor of our publication but have also significantly enhanced the journal's interdisciplinary character. This issue of *JICS* continues to uphold the journal's fundamental mission by offering a wide range of scholarly perspectives across cultural studies. Covering disciplines from geography to sociology, linguistics to literature, and philosophy to history, the articles presented here reflect the richness and diversity of contemporary interdisciplinary research. We are confident that this issue will provide valuable insights and stimulate further academic discussion. We invite you to explore the engaging and thought-provoking research within these pages and look forward to continuing this scholarly dialogue in future editions.

With our sincere gratitude and best wishes,

Editors-in-Chief

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlker Yiğit
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Emrah Siyavuş
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Habib Tekin

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Vom Sinn der Pfeile: Lektüren der Unverhältnismäßigkeit zu Marc-Antoine Mathieus Graphic Novel *Sens*

Anne Peiter[1]

Abstract

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die bewusste Verweigerung einer konventionellen Erzählweise in Marc-Antoine Mathieus Graphic Novel *Sens*. Durch eine minimalistische Darstellung, die sich auf das wiederkehrende Motiv eines Pfeils konzentriert, fordert das Werk die Leser:innen auf, aktiv an der Konstruktion von „Sinn" und „Richtung" des Leseprozesses teilzunehmen. Mithilfe der Methode der „Lektüre der Unverhältnismäßigkeit" wird gezeigt, wie kleinste Details zu einem tieferen Verständnis der Gesamtkomposition führen können. Dabei wird der Leseprozess radikal verlangsamt, sodass die Monotonie und Wiederholung nicht als Redundanz, sondern als bewusste gestalterische Strategie betrachtet werden. In der Analyse wird deutlich, dass Mathieus Werk eine philosophische Reflexion über Wahrnehmung, Zeit und Sinn eröffnet. Durch den Vergleich mit filmischen Ansätzen von Regisseuren wie Tarkowski wird zudem erörtert, wie visuelle Narration durch eine extrem reduzierte Bildsprache dennoch komplexe Bedeutungen vermitteln kann.

Schlüsselwörter: Graphic Novel, Erzählstruktur, Wahrnehmung, Wiederholung, Radikalisierung der Genauigkeit.

Abstract

This paper examines the deliberate refusal of conventional storytelling in Marc-Antoine Mathieu's graphic novel *Sens*. By focusing on the recurring motif of an arrow, the work challenges readers to actively engage in constructing the "sense" and "direction" of the reading process. Using the method of "reading disproportionality," this study demonstrates how even the smallest details contribute to a deeper understanding of the book's overall composition. The reading experience is radically slowed down, revealing repetition and monotony not as redundancy but as an intentional artistic strategy. The analysis highlights how Mathieu's work fosters philosophical reflection on perception, time, and meaning. Furthermore, by drawing comparisons with cinematic approaches from directors like Tarkovsky, the study explores how a highly reduced visual language can still convey complex meanings in storytelling.

Keywords: Graphic Novel, Narrative Structure, Perception, Repetition, Radical Precision

[1] Dr. habil, Universität von La Réunion, German Studies, anne.peiter@univ-reunion.fr.

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Extended Abstract

On the Meaning of Arrows: Readings of Disproportionality in Marc-Antoine Mathieu's Graphic Novel "Sens"

This paper examines the deliberate refusal to tell a story as practiced in the graphic novel by the philosophically inclined artist Marc-Antoine Mathieu. Using the beginning and end of this book—entitled *Sens* (meaning "Sense" or "Direction") by the publisher—as case studies, the paper employs a methodological approach referred to as "radicalization of precision" or "reading of disproportionality" to analyze the multilayered structures of repetition. These repetitive structures, according to the thesis, generate a multiplicity of meanings, requiring the reader to actively participate in constructing both the "sense" and "direction" of the reading process.

Mathieu's work is characterized by an extreme reduction of narrative elements, focusing meaning-making on minimal motifs, such as the arrow. This "narration without narration" necessitates a decelerated reading process that relies on precise attention to detail. The concept of "disproportionality" plays a crucial role here, as it is based on an in-depth analysis of the smallest visual components and a reading methodology that slows down perception, allowing new layers of meaning to emerge. By making the act of perception itself the methodological foundation, it becomes evident that each reader determines their own reading pace, thereby expanding the scope of interpretation.

A central feature of this methodology is the enhancement of "close reading" to "closest reading," in which even the most minute details reveal the overarching concept. Just as Walter Benjamin spoke of a "now of recognizability," the complexity of seemingly simple elements is revealed here through an "intellectual friction" with the details. The paper explores how monotony and repetition in Mathieu's work function not as mere redundancy but as essential components of a philosophical discourse on perception, temporality, and meaning. It highlights how even seemingly trivial elements—such as the first entirely black double-page spread—play a fundamental role in the book's overall concept. The aim is to introduce a new perspective on reading and viewing as active processes of meaning construction.

By analyzing the interplay between visual repetition and interpretative engagement, this study seeks to demonstrate that the act of reading Mathieu's work aligns with a broader philosophical inquiry into the nature of representation and cognition. Mathieu's technique is notable for its meticulous attention to the smallest details, reflecting a high degree of reflexivity. His approach demands an investigative mode of reading in which what initially appears as inconsequential takes on heightened significance upon closer examination.

The paper further argues that Mathieu's approach to storytelling—through an almost obsessive focus on a single motif, the arrow—creates a paradoxical tension between movement and stasis. This tension mirrors broader aesthetic and philosophical considerations regarding the act of viewing and interpreting images. The notion of "narrative refusal" in Mathieu's work challenges conventional expectations of plot progression and instead invites an experiential form of engagement in which meaning unfolds through sustained contemplation rather than sequential events.

Moreover, this extended analysis considers how Mathieu's methodology resonates with broader artistic and cinematic traditions, particularly in relation to filmmakers such as

Alejandro Jodorowsky and Andrei Tarkovsky. Both directors are known for their deliberate use of temporal suspension, allowing viewers the space to engage deeply with imagery and composition. Mathieu's work can be seen as a visual counterpart to this cinematic philosophy, wherein the act of reading becomes an immersive experience shaped by the reader's attentiveness to subtle visual cues and structural repetitions.

This study also situates Mathieu's *Sens* within a wider framework of experimental narrative techniques, examining how it engages with concepts of visual semiotics and reader participation. By analyzing the ways in which the novel's design—ranging from the first glued page to the final sequence—subverts traditional reading conventions, the paper highlights how every element of the book contributes to its overarching thematic concerns. Nothing in Mathieu's composition is incidental; each visual and material aspect of the book functions as an integral component of its meaning-making process.

Finally, the methodological approach of "reading disproportionality" is contextualized within prior research, particularly in relation to studies on mass violence representation and the role of excessive detail in literary analysis. The argument is made that extreme attention to detail not only enhances the interpretative possibilities of a text but also transforms the act of reading into a meditative process that challenges conventional linear comprehension. In this sense, Mathieu's *Sens* serves as an exemplary case for demonstrating how minimalist storytelling techniques can generate complex and multifaceted interpretations, revealing new dimensions of engagement with visual narrative forms.

In conclusion, this paper underscores the importance of radical precision in analyzing graphic narratives, illustrating how Mathieu's work exemplifies a unique approach to storytelling that resists conventional narration while simultaneously fostering an enriched reader experience. Through its meticulous examination of repetition, detail, and interpretative agency, the study contributes to broader discussions on the interplay between visual art, narrative theory, and philosophical inquiry into perception and meaning-making.

1 Die Geburt des Buches aus dem Dunkel

Die Graphic Novel *Der Pfeil*, die in Wirklichkeit keinen Titel mit diesem Wort trägt, sondern nur das Bild eines schwarzen Pfeils, der von links nach rechts weist, stammt von dem französischen Zeichner Marc-Antoine Mathieu und darf als Musterbeispiel für ein Erzählen jenseits jeder Handlung, gleichsam ein ‚Erzählen ohne Erzählen' gelten. Die Vielschichtigkeit an Bedeutungen, die durch die minimalistische Reduktion auf ein einziges Motiv – nämlich den Pfeil – zustande kommt, soll Thema der folgenden Analysen sein.

In einer Studie, die methodisch als „Lektüre der Unverhältnismäßigkeit" bezeichnet werden kann (Peiter, 2019, 13-40), sollen der Anfang und das Ende des Buches ins Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit rücken. „Unverhältnismäßigkeit" meint die Radikalisierung einer lesend-schauenden Genauigkeit, die mit einer extremen Verlangsamung der Beschäftigung mit Bilddetails einhergeht. Indem ich der Machart des Buches mit größtmöglicher Genauigkeit folge, soll erwiesen werden, dass von jedem:r Leser:in das Lese- und Seh-Tempo bestimmt wird und dabei immer neue Bedeutungsschichten der Bilder hervortreten. Stimuliert wird diese Herangehensweise durch einen Hinweis, den Mathieu in einem Interview entwickelt hat:

> L'art peut […] être piégeux: en fascinant le public, il éloigne de la vérité. Par exemple au cinéma, un endroit qui enferme pendant deux heures, on a rarement le loisir de se laisser aller. Seuls quelques réalisateurs, comme Jodorowsky ou Tarkovski, laissent du temps au regard du spectateur. » (Le Saux, 2016)
>
> Die Kunst kann […] auch eine Falle sein: Indem sie das Publikum fasziniert, entfernt sie sich von der Wahrheit. Im Kino zum Beispiel, einem Ort, der einen zwei Stunden lang einschließt, hat man selten die Möglichkeit, sich gehen zu lassen. Nur wenige Regisseure, wie Jodorowsky oder Tarkowski, lassen dem Blick des Zuschauers Zeit.

Mathieus Novel eignet sich für eine solche Form der verlangsamenden, sich Zeit nehmenden Annäherung auf besondere Weise, denn für seine graphische Arbeit ist ein hoher Reflexionsgrad und eine philosophische Arbeit bis hinein in die kleinsten Kleinigkeiten hinein charakteristisch. Es entspricht also ganz dem Gestus seines Werks, wenn scheinbar Nebensächliches – zum Beispiel die ersten zwei Doppelseiten des Buches – eine genaue Beschreibung erfahren. Gemeinhin geht man davon aus, diese ‚gehörten noch gar nicht recht dazu' – denn als Auftakt eines Buches wird eigentlich erst das Titelblatt wahrgenommen. Dass es sich bei Mathieu ganz anders verhält, das wird im Folgenden zu zeigen sein. Vom Einband bis hin zur ersten, am Buchdeckel festgeklebten Seite bis hin zum Ende der ‚Geschichte' ist nichts dem Zufall überlassen worden.

Entsprechend genau – bis hin zur Steigerung des „close readings" hin zu einem „close**st** reading" – muss die Lektüre sein. Erprobt habe ich dieses Vorgehen bei der Analyse von Phänomenen der Massengewalt bzw. ihrer literarischen Darstellung (Peiter, 2019; Peiter, 2024). Doch auch bei der Analyse von Komik kann dieses Vorgehen von Nutzen sein (Peiter, 2007).[2]

Die Methode der Unverhältnismäßigkeit geht von dem Gedanken aus, dass in Einzelheiten das ‚Ganze' aufscheint und in der Beschäftigung mit einzelnen Seiten und *captions* die Gesamtkonzeption der Gestaltung greifbar zu werden vermag. Je genauer man liest und je

[2] Ein Beispiel für Komik aus Mathieus Schaffen bildet: Mathieu 2009.

mehr man sich dem Detail zuwendet, desto leichter fällt dann auch die Annäherung an die Komplexität, die dem Werk in seiner Gesamtheit innewohnt.

So wie Walther Benjamin von einem „Jetzt der Erkennbarkeit" ausging, die mit großer Plötzlichkeit eintrete, so folgen die folgenden Analysen der Konzeption, dass die Komplexität des scheinbar Einfachen durch eine Art ‚intellektueller Reibung' mit den Einzelheiten begreiflich gemacht werden kann. Bei Benjamin heißt es: „Nicht so ist es, dass das Vergangene sein Licht auf das Gegenwärtige oder das Gegenwärtige sein Licht auf das Vergangene wirft, sondern Bild ist dasjenige, worin das Gewesene mit dem Jetzt blitzhaft zu einer Konstellation zusammentritt. Mit anderen Worten: Bild ist die Dialektik im Stillstand." (Benjamin, 1999, Vol. 5, p. 576). Um genau diesen Stillstand geht es mir.

Stillstand heißt immer auch, dass mit diesem etwas in Bewegung kommt – nämlich eine neue Sicht, die gerade gegen die – scheinbare – Monotonie, die – scheinbare – Wiederholung des immer Gleichen in Mathieus Buch steht. Wie aber äußert sich zu Beginn aber diese Monotonie? Die Geschichte (oder Anti-Geschichte) beginnt im Innenteil mit einer Doppelseite, deren linke Hälfte das Hardcover, also den Umschlag, mit dem eigentlichen Buch verbindet: durch Klebung. Es kann dies aber eigentlich noch nicht als der wirkliche Beginn des Buches bezeichnet werden, denn Klebungen dieser Art sind stets erforderlich, wenn man ein Buch produziert, und diese allerersten Seiten gelten gemeinhin noch nicht als wirklicher Buchbeginn. Doch festzuhalten ist einleitend auf jeden Fall: Diese allererste Doppelseite ist gänzlich schwarz. Was das im Umgang mit Schwarz, Weiß und Grau in allem, was folgt, bedeuten wird, wird ebenfalls zu untersuchen sein.

Hier sei einleitend nur festgehalten: Es ist der – auf den ersten Blick ganz unauffällige, „übliche" – Beginn, der zum Ausgangspunkt einer Analyse werden soll, in deren Zentrum die Wiederholung des immer selben Motivs, nämlich des Pfeils, steht. Ich möchte verschiedene Facetten dieser ungewöhnlichen Graphic Novel ausleuchten und so Zugang gewinnen zu einer Darstellung von Leben, das sich von Pfeilen – also Bewegungsanweisungen – regelrecht umstellt sieht. „L'idée, c'est d'être égaré sans se perdre." („Die Idee ist, vom Weg abzukommen, ohne sich zu verlieren."[3]) (Le Corre, 2015). Welche Leseschichten ergeben sich, wenn ein Buch nichts weiter erzählt als den Weg eines Mannes, der verschiedenen Pfeilen folgt?

2 Erste Pfeile, erste Schritte

Wenden wir uns in einem ersten Schritt erneut dem Anfang des Buches zu. Was folgt auf die erste schwarze Doppelseite? Als Leser:in schreitet man nach dieser weiter, blättert hin zur nächsten Seite, und zwar in die Richtung, die besagter Pfeil vorgegeben hatte, und man sieht: Da, wo man das Titelblatt vermutet hätte, folgt eine weitere schwarze Doppelseite. Während die linke Hälfte jedoch gänzlich schwarz ist wie die erwähnten, die vorhergingen, ist der rechte Teil dieser Doppelseite von einem weißen Rand umgeben. Etwas hat sich also verändert. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, das Buch beginne hier, mit dieser minimalen, kaum auffälligen Rahmung (vgl. zum Konzept des Minimalen, das im Detail steckt: Peiter, 2018).

[3] Alle Übersetzungen in diesem Artikel von A.D. Peiter.

Die dritte Seite setzt fort, was soeben begann. Links folgt eine weitere, weiß umrandete Seite, rechts davon, fast identisch, eine gleichfalls schwarze, auf der sich jedoch, ein wenig nach links versetzt, mittig ein winziger, grauer Pfeil befindet. Dieser Pfeil wird auf den folgenden Seiten langsam etwas größer und nimmt dabei zugleich die Farbe Weiß an. Und während weiterhin die Seiten als reine Ausstellung von einer nur durch den Pfeil durchbrochenen Druckerschwärze wahrgenommen werden kann, entsteht schrittweise die Neugier, was wohl geschehen wird.

Es bedarf jedoch eines sehr genauen Hinsehens, um gleich hier zu Beginn das Schwarz nicht einfach nur als Schwarz hinzunehmen. Nur bei bester Beleuchtung ist zu erkennen, dass auch das Schwarz sich ausdifferenziert, und zwar so, dass schon auf der vierten Doppelseite ein längliches Quadrat von dunklerem Schwarz erscheint, an dessen Rand der weiße Pfeil angebracht ist. Ebenfalls kaum erkennbar, zeichnen sich die Umrisse einer ebenfalls schwarzen, nämlich silhouettenhaften Figur ab, die einen Koffer in der Hand zu tragen scheint: ein Mann steht da, im Dunkeln. Das Schwarz ist also doch kein reines Schwarz, sondern aus der Druckerschwärze beginnt sich langsam das Weiß zu erheben.

Die folgende Geschichte, die keine ist, wird also nur darum erkennbar, weil das Weiß in Erscheinung tritt, als Kontrast zum Schwarzen, aber auch als sein Verbündeter. Denn während es in der Geschichte des Buchdrucks meist so ist, dass der Untergrund ein weißer ist, während das, was auf ihn gedruckt wird, in Schwarz erscheint, verhält es sich hier genau andersherum. Das Weiß macht es möglich, dass auf den folgenden Seiten etwas geschieht. Nicht das Schwarz ist das Sekundäre, also das, was „hinzutritt". Vielmehr hebt das Buch mit Schwarz an, um dem Weiß die Möglichkeit zur Entwicklung zu geben.[4]

Um jedoch zum Pfeil und dem dunkelschwarzen Rechteck auf einer schwarzen Seite von etwas „hellerer Färbung" zurückzukommen (wenn man denn so Schwarz überhaupt definieren kann), stellt sich die Frage, was der Auftritt der Figurensilhouette weiter mit sich bringen wird. Und in der Tat folgt die Leserschaft sozusagen dem Blick dieser Figur, denn die tut das, was auch dem Erwartungshorizont des:der Leser:in entspricht: Die Männerfigur beugt sich hin zum Pfeil. Dabei wird jedoch erkennbar, dass es sich in Wirklichkeit nicht nur um einen Pfeil handelt, sondern dass dieser Pfeil die Funktion eines Schlüssellochs hat: Die Figur, die sich auf den nächsten Seiten immer stärker aufhellt und durch einen zusätzlichen Zoom in eine Art wachsender Sichtbarkeit eintritt, hat ihren Koffer abgesetzt und blickt durch das Schlüsselloch einer Tür hindurch.

Schlüssellöcher sind, wenn man in Begriffen der erzählerischen Spannung denkt, ein geradezu topisches Ingredienz. Wer durch Schlüssellöcher blickt, hofft, erwartet oder weiß, etwas zu entdecken, was *hinter* der Tür ist und eigentlich, weil die Tür ja geschlossen ist, nicht entdeckt werden dürfte.[5] Die Leserschaft der *Graphic Novel* entwickelt also anfänglich das Gefühl, es könne nun eine Geschichte beginnen, die sich aus dieser Konstellation eines möglichen Voyeurismus bzw. eines Blicks ins Verbotene ergibt.

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[4] In einem Interview äußerte Mathieu: „En fait je pense que lorsqu'on pratique la rêverie, on manipule logiquement les ombres. L'ombre est source de rêverie, Bachelard nous le souffle encore à l'oreille." (Fièvre, 2020.) „Ich glaube in der Tat, dass wir, wenn wir das Träumen praktizieren, logischerweise mit Schatten hantieren. Der Schatten ist eine Quelle der Träumerei, das flüstert uns Bachelard weiterhin ins Ohr."

[5] Wie Spannung funktioniert, wird diskutiert in: Peiter 2025 [in Vorbereitung].

Doch das gesamte Buch tut nichts anderes, als diese Erwartung zu enttäuschen. Es spielt mit einem einzigen Grundgedanken, nämlich dem, dass hinter jedem Schlüssel ein weiterer Schlüssel steckt, dass, anders formuliert, aus diesem ersten Pfeil ein zweiter hervorwächst, stets in neuen Kontexten, und auch in unterschiedlichster Form, doch immer bleibt der Pfeil ein Pfeil.

3 Das Titelblatt, das keines ist

Doch bevor es um diese unablässige Abfolge von Pfeilen gehen soll, möchte ich noch einen Augenblick bei dieser ‚Grundlegung' verharren, die im Buchbeginn besteht. Wie kann man erklären, dass ein Schlüsselloch die Form eines Pfeils hat? Was muss man für ein Werkzeug bei sich führen, damit die Tür sich auch wirklich öffnet und man nicht nur mit dem Blick durch das Loch dringt, sondern auch *mit dem gesamten Körper* durch die Tür hindurch?

Die *Graphic Novel* gibt auf diese Frage keine Antwort. Sie geht nur von der Konzeption aus, dass da, wo ein Blick durch einen Pfeil hindurch ist, auch ein Weg ist, um dem Pfeil zu folgen. Die gesamte „Geschichte" ist nichts weiter, als der Weg eines einzelnen Mannes, der, korrekt, gekleidet in einen langen Mantel, einen Hut mit schwarzem Rand auf dem Kopf, die Schuhe säuberlich poliert, eine Art Aktenkoffer bei sich, von einem Pfeil zum nächsten schreitet.

> Il devient alors le réceptacle des propres interrogations et émotions du lecteur face à sa volonté surhumaine de vouloir dépasser sa condition. Le livre est une vanité moderne, on y parle de vie, de mort, de vide... (Vertaldi & Delcroix, 2014)
>
> Er wird so zum Gefäß für die eigenen Fragen und Gefühle des Lesers angesichts seines übermenschlichen Willens, seine Bedingtheit zu überwinden. Das Buch ist eine moderne Form der Vanitas, es geht um Leben, Tod und Leere…

Mehr lässt sich in einem ersten Schritt zu der sich anbahnenden Geschichte nicht sagen: Es ist die Geschichte, wie ein Mann einem Pfeil folgt, der aus dem Schwarz erwuchs. Der Pfeil wird den Mann durch die unterschiedlichsten Landschaften und Räume führen, er wird Begegnungen mit einer Vielzahl von Pfeilen haben, doch immer ist er auf der Suche nach dem einen, entscheidenden, nächsten Pfeil, der angibt, in welcher Richtung es für ihn weitergeht.

Dass ich dem Beginn dieser Geschichte so große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt habe, erklärt sich also aus dieser extremen Reduktion, für die sich Mathieu in erzählerischer Hinsicht entscheidet. Es ist von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung, wie die Leser:innenschaft in das Buch eintritt, denn eigentlich geht es darum, eine Erwartung zu wecken, die dann bis zum – wie man sehen wird: *bitteren* – Ende enttäuscht werden wird.

4 Das Titelblatt

Denn der Beginn hält nicht, was er verspricht. Man sieht den Mann, den Aktenkoffer wieder in der Hand, durch die Tür schreiten (ohne dass man wüsste, wie diese sich geöffnet hat), man sieht, dass ein Raum hinter der Tür liegt, der vor lauter Licht blendend weiß ist, man sieht auch, wie die Tür langsam zufällt, während die Schritte, die der Mann auf dem Boden gemacht hat, sich in sandartigen Spuren bis zu seiner Person ziehen, man sieht auch eine Masse von winzigen, weißen Pünktchen, die einen Insektenschwarm darstellen, der sich diesseits der Tür,

d.h. auf seiner schwarzen Seite, befindet und dort bleibt, während die Tür schon wieder geschlossen ist.

Aber es geschieht nicht das, was man erwarten würde. Der eigentliche Buchbeginn ist erst *jetzt*, die wirkliche Lektüre setzt, wie man plötzlich verstehen muss, zu einem viel späteren Zeitpunkt ein, als erwartet, und das kommt dadurch zustande, dass erst jetzt, nach bereits acht Doppelseiten, das Titelblatt erscheint. Die Geschichte hatte also doch noch nicht begonnen, das, was passieren würde, war nur *vorbereitet* worden, wer die Geschichte erzählen würde, war durch die Tilgung des Titelblattes bzw., genauer: durch seine Verschiebung an eine ungewöhnliche, nämlich zeitlich stark nach hinten versetzte Position, verschwiegen worden.

Dazu also dient das Schlüsselloch, das in Wirklichkeit nur ein Pfeil ist: dass das Titelblatt schon vergessen wird, obwohl es ungewöhnlich ist, dass es nicht erscheint; dass man es als Leser:in dann aber ganz überraschend aufschlägt und feststellen muss, dass es, obwohl endlich „da", trotzdem nicht dem entspricht, was man erwarten durfte.

Dass erneut Erwartungen unterlaufen werden, zeigt sich darin, dass zwar eine Art klassischer, typographischer Gestaltung dem Titelblatt zuwächst, und dass auch die Seite (im Sinne von: rechts oder links) diejenige ist, die man traditionell für ein Titelblatt erwarten dürfte – nämlich die *rechte* Hälfte einer Doppelseite. Doch das Merkwürdige besteht darin, dass es auf diesem Titelblatt kein einziges Wort gibt, sondern dass, obwohl der Eindruck entsteht, man habe etwas zu lesen, alle Elemente einzig und allein aus einer Folge von Pfeilen gebildet werden.

Wir haben einen dicken, schwarzen, nach rechts weisenden Pfeil in der Mitte – das entspricht dem Titel. Wir haben darüber, ganz am oberen Seitenrand, drei ohne Fettdruck gesetzte, kleinere Pfeilsequenzen, von denen die ersten beiden durch einen Bindestrich voneinander getrennt werden. Es ist plausibel, dass dies der Autorname ist, dessen Vorname ja in der Tat durch einen Bindestrich gekennzeichnet ist: Marc-Antoine. Doch es bedarf eines genauen Hinsehens, um festzustellen, dass in der Tat jede Art von Pfeil einem Buchstaben entsprechen muss, d.h. einer Art Code folgt. Anhand der Buchstaben, die sich im Namen des Autors – Marc-Antoine Mathieu – wiederholen, kann man erkennen, dass jeder Buchstabe seine eigene Art von Pfeil hat. An den Stellen, in denen ein „M" auftritt, beschreibt der Pfeil eine Art eckiger Linkskurve, das „A" entspricht einem Pfeil, der nach oben weist, das „E" ist ein Pfeil, der von rechts nach links zeigt.

Auch die Nennung des Verlags, die, darin erneut herkömmlichen Buchdruck-Traditionen folgend, am unteren Seitenrand erfolgt, folgt diesem Code: Wir können die Pfeile lesen, auch wenn es keine Buchstaben gibt. Das Buch beginnt *hier*, aber es beginnt mit dem, was die Stelle der Buchstaben einnimmt und erklärt damit von vornherein, dass nicht mit Dialogen oder Schriftzügen zu rechnen ist. Es wird sich um eine sprachlose *Graphic Novel* handeln, die sich sogar bis in die Angaben zur Autorschaft hinein weigert, ihren Namen (und vielleicht auch: ihren Sinn, ihren Inhalt beim Namen) zu nennen.[6]

[6] In der Tat wollte Mathieu, dass das Buch keinen Titel (in Worten) trage. Der Verlag sprach sich dagegen aus. Die Veröffentlichung trägt im Französischen den Titel *Sens*, was „Sinn" oder auch „Richtung" bedeuten kann. Es gibt, inspiriert von der Graphic Novel, auch ein Computerspiel, das sich ebenfalls *Sens* nennt, allerdings in der folgenden Schreibung: „S.E.N.S". – Le Corre betont, „à quel point l'interprétation fait partie de l'expérience. S'en

Man kann die Seite jedoch auch anders interpretieren: Vielleicht wird Marc-Antoine Mathieus Name genannt – wir hatten ja eben gesehen, wie das geht –, doch erkennbar wird er nur unter der Voraussetzung, dass man sich auf die neue Pfeilsprache komplett einlässt.

5 Türen und ihre Mauern

In jedem Fall bleibt, bevor ich mit der Analyse der eigentlichen Geschichte beginne (mit dem also, was „hinter" dem Titelblatt liegt), nur noch ein letztes Wort zu der linken Seite dieser Titelseite zu sagen. Es handelt sich, wie schon erwähnt, um eine Doppelseite, und links von der Seite, die den Titel und alles Übrige trägt, ist ein Bild zu sehen, das den beschriebenen Vorspann, also die Schlüssellochgeschichte, bedenkt.

Wir sehen unseren Protagonisten, der durch die schwarze Tür gegangen ist. Wir blicken ihn von vorn, können seine Augenpartie nicht erkennen, doch zu sehen ist, dass er, darin erneut die Korrektheit seines gesamten Auftretens bestätigend, ein bis zum Hals geschlossenes, weißes Hemd trägt und dass er zurücklauscht auf die Tür, die gerade in diesem Moment zugeschlagen ist. Kleine Striche zeigen diese akustische Ebene, und zwar am Rahmen der Tür, die, schon in einiger Distanz, dem Mann im Rücken liegt. Von hieraus betrachtet ist sie nicht mehr schwarz, sondern weiß.

Erstaunlich ist nicht nur die Erkenntnis, auch als Leser:in plötzlich mitten in großer Helligkeit zu stehen. Vielmehr entsteht eine Art Mysterium, und dies erklärt sich, wie folgt: Auch wenn der Mann durch die Tür gegangen ist, hätte er gar nicht durch die Tür gehen müssen, denn Türen haben ja nur da Sinn, wo sie in einer Mauer eine Öffnung schlagen. Eine Öffnung durch eine Tür ist hier jedoch gar nicht nötig, denn wie die Gegenseite des Titelblattes zeigt, steht die Tür ganz frei im Raum, ist also in kein Gebäude, in nichts Geschlossenes integriert. Es handelt sich einfach um eine Tür, die wie *aus* dem Nichts *in* diesem Nichts steht und jetzt zuschlägt, obwohl der Mann auch dann zu der Stelle hätte gelangen können, an der er gerade steht, wenn er links oder rechts an der Tür *vorbei* gegangen wäre, statt *durch* sie hindurch.

Und so kann man schon zu diesem frühen Zeitpunkt – zu Beginn also bzw. vor Beginn der eigentlichen Geschichte – sagen, dass der Sinn von Pfeilen an sich in Frage steht. Denn warum sollte man durch Pfeilschlüssellöcher gucken bzw. genau an der Stelle durch Türen gehen, die ein Pfeil gewiesen hatte, wenn genauso gut denkbar gewesen wäre, ein wenig auszuweichen und einen anderen Weg einzuschlagen? Es wird um Wege gehen, so ist zu erahnen, doch nicht nur um sie, sondern auch um ihre Vermeidbarkeit.[7]

Und so kann die eigentliche Lektüre beginnen, auch wenn sich erweisen wird, dass mit einer Geschichte wirklich nicht gerechnet werden darf.

priver, c'est ne pas vraiment jouer à 'Sens VR'." (Le Corre, 2015.) („…in wie starkem Maße die Interpretation Teil der Erfahrung ist. Auf sie zu verzichten, heißt, ‚Sens VR' gar nicht richtig zu spielen.")

[7] Lemay spricht entsprechend von einer Graphic Novel, „où forme et sens apparaissent comme étroitement fusionnés." (Lemay, 2007.) („… wo Form und Sinn eng miteinander verzahnt sind.")

6 Gezoomte Richtungsvorgaben

Als Leser:in folgt man nun diesem einen Mann. Man folgt ihm durch eine Vielzahl von unnummerierten Seiten, denn auch in dieser Hinsicht bleibt die *Graphic Novel* ihrem Prinzip treu: Auch Zahlen wären ein Zuviel an Sprache. Der Pfeil ist *alles* und muss es bleiben, denn er sagt ja, wie man voranschreitet und ist darin den Zahlen vergleichbar.

Der Protagonist hat die Tür, die eine Art Eingang in die Geschichte bedeutet, hinter sich gelassen, und lädt uns nun ein, ihm zu folgen. Der Autor zieht uns mit auf den Weg, und in gestalterischer Hinsicht gelingt das durch ein Prinzip, das man in einem weiteren Buch von Mathieu auf beeindruckende Weise entwickelt findet. Es handelt sich um den Band mit dem Titel „3"", was bedeutet: „Trois secondes", „Drei Sekunden" (Mathieu, 2011; dazu Genaueres in: Enard, 2016.). Erzählt wird in dieser Publikation eine Geschichte, deren erzählte Zeit nur drei Sekunden dauert, bei der sich aber die Erzählzeit gewaltig streckt. Die Erzählzeit ist weit länger als die erzählte Zeit.

Was dieses Buch mit dem Pfeil-Buch verbindet, ist die Idee des Zoomens. Man hat eine bestimmte Szene vor sich. Erst ist sie in einiger Entfernung zu sehen, doch mit jedem neuen Bild nähert sich der:die Betrachter:in dem Sujet ein wenig mehr an, rückt auf dieses zu, was bedeutet, dass immer mehr Details in Augenschein genommen werden können. In der *Graphic Novel* „3"" dient das Zoomen einer detektivischen Spurensuche, denn verfolgt werden soll ein Revolverschuss, der auf eine Person abgefeuert wird und den kurzen, zeitlichen Rahmen der Gesamtgeschichte abgibt. Mathieu erklärt: „J'utilise, comme dans plusieurs de mes livres, le zoom. Cela amène une lecture en profondeur tout en cassant la linéarité." (Le Saux, 2016.) („In mehreren meiner Bücher benutze ich den Zoom. Das führt zu einer Lektüre, die in die Tiefe führt und dabei die Linearität durchbricht.")

Im Pfeil-Band verhält es sich jedoch ein wenig anders als in den Band über die drei Sekunden, denn hier kommt das zweite Prinzip, das das Sekunden-Buch kennzeichnet, nicht zum Tragen. Dieses zweite Prinzip besteht wie bei der Mord-Geschichte in endlosen Spiegelungen. Herangezoomt wird jeweils ein Ding, in dem sich ein Detail dessen, was geschieht, reflektiert. Das Auge der Leserschaft folgt den Spiegelungen der Spiegelungen der Spiegelungen, und zugleich einem Zoom, der, sobald er das spiegelnde Objekt ganz nah herangezogen (d.h. angenähert) hat, erneut einsetzen muss, weil sich in diesem Objekt, das jetzt nah gerückt ist, etwas Neues spiegelt, das noch nicht nah ist und daher durch einen erneuten Zoom seinerseits an's Auge geholt werden muss. Mathias Enard spricht entsprechend vom „miroir comme expérience intérieure." (Enard, 2016.) („… Spiegel als innerer Erfahrung.")[8]

7 Die Kunst des Umblätterns

Dieses zweite Prinzip also bleibt im Pfeil-Buch außen vor. Es geht vielmehr um ein Zoomen, das dem Voranschreiten des Protagonisten in den von Pfeilen markierten Räumen entspricht. Das bedeutet, dass die Betrachter:innen nicht sofort den ganzen Raum sehen, sondern dass

[8] Es gibt auch noch einen anderen Band, in dem der Spiegel bereits im Titel erscheint. Es geht um einen Mann namens Otto. Dieser Vorname hat eine mittige Achse, so dass der rechte und der linke Teil der Buchstaben einander spiegeln. Mathieu 2016. In der Tat lautet der Nachname denn auch „Spiegel" (und zwar auf Deutsch), und in der Geschichte werden dann ebenfalls lauter Spiegel-Motive wichtig.

sie sich, sich darin gleichsam die Perspektive des Protagonisten zu eigen machend, auf immer neue Pfeile zubewegen, diese umkreisen, erkunden, bis klar ist, in welche Richtung der neue Pfeil weist und in welche Richtung man folglich selbst zu gehen hat. Das Zoomen entspricht in gewisser Weise dem suchenden Blick, und jede Annäherung an den neuen Hinweis in Bezug auf die Richtung, die der Pfeil vorgibt, entspricht der Erwartung, dass es nach diesem Pfeil einen weiteren geben wird und nach diesem noch einen und so weiter ins Unabsehbare.

Während also im Sekundenbuch zwei Grundprinzipien herrschen – nämlich das Zoomen und das Spiegeln –, könnte man von dem Pfeil-Buch behaupten, es verbinde das Zoomen mit der Anweisung, dass jeder Pfeil die Leserichtung vorgibt. Denn letztlich läuft das Lesen dieses Bandes darauf hinaus: dass man umblättert und umblättert und erneut umblättert, unbewusst also der Bewegungsrichtung folgend, die einen als Leser:in in der europäischen Buchtradition von links nach rechts führt. Es gibt, wie bekannt, auch ganz andere Traditionen, ein Buch aufzuschlagen, doch Mathieu verfährt hier, gemäß der Pseudo-Tradition seines durch Pfeile ironisch gebrochenen Titelblattes, so, wie zu erwarten war: Man arbeitet sich langsam auf das Ende des Buches zu, man schlägt eine Doppelseite nach der anderen auf.

Das aber bedeutet, dass man so tut, als gebe es eine Geschichte, die man nur „nach vorn" hin lesen kann, fortschreitend sozusagen. Jedes neue Blättern ist ein weiterer Schritt auf das Ende der Geschichte zu. Das ist insofern paradox, als die Pfeile, denen man sukzessive folgt, durchaus nicht nur nach rechts weisen. Im Gegenteil sind die Richtungen, die sie vorgeben, voller Variationen, geben manchmal vor, nach rechts weiterzugehen, manchmal aber auch nach links, nach oben oder unten, kreuz oder quer. Und trotzdem blättert man weiter, und weiß in gewisser Weise auch, warum: Man will wissen, ob der Protagonist den nächsten Pfeil finden will; es verlangt einen danach, zu erfahren, wie der Pfeil aussieht, in welchem Kontext er sich befindet, aus welchem Material er gemacht ist, wie lange Zeit es dauern wird, bis der Mann ihn gefunden haben wird.

Es tritt, mit anderen Worten, die Materialität der Pfeile und ihrer Kontexte in den Vordergrund, und dies erklärt sich dadurch, dass es außer dem resümierenden Satz, in Mathieus Geschichte folge ein einzelner Mann der Richtung einer langen Folge von Pfeilen, nichts zu erzählen gibt.

Zu dieser Materialität wäre nun ebenso viel zu sagen wie zu den Kontexten. Doch ich kann hier nicht im Detail ausleuchten, welche Wege die Pfeile den Mann führen. Vielmehr möchte ich mich auf einige grundsätzliche Beobachtungen beschränken, um zum Schluss das Ende der Geschichte – als eine Art Pendant zum analysierten Buchanfang – in den Blick zu rücken.

8 Die Geburt des Pfeils aus der Einsamkeit

Hier also nur einige, wenige Beobachtungen zu dem Weg und dem Mann, der ihn beschreitet. Was atmosphärisch entscheidend ist, ist, dass sämtliche Räume und Landschaften gänzlich menschenleer sind. Es gibt nichts, was darauf hindeuten würde, dass es außer diesem einen Mann auch noch andere Männer (oder gar Frauen) geben könnte. Zwar vermittelt der Aktenkoffer, der den Mann eine ganze Weile lang begleitet, den Eindruck, dass er in ganz normale, berufliche Kontexte – etwa als Büroangestellter – integriert sein könnte, was voraussetzen würde, dass es außer ihm auch andere Menschen gibt. Doch nichts davon wird im Buch bestätigt, und so ergibt sich, dass das Pfeil-Buch auch ein Buch über die Einsamkeit

ist, die im Laufe des Weiterblätterns, Hinschauens und Den-Pfeilen-Folgens immer bedrückender wird. Als Leser:in fragt man sich, ob diese Leere immer weiter gehen wird, ob es niemals zu einer Unterbrechung in der großen Monotonie kommen wird, die die Reduzierung des Erzählens auf die beiden genannten Grundprinzipien – Den-Pfeilen-Folgen und zoomendes Suchen nach ihnen – impliziert.

Die Worte „Einsamkeit" und „Monotonie" sind gefallen, und sie sind durchaus ambivalent. Für den Leseprozess ist, obwohl sich auf der Ebene der Geschichte nicht das Geringste entwickelt, sehr wohl eine Neuerung charakteristisch. Während man zu Beginn noch nicht weiß, ob die Aufeinanderfolge von Pfeilen das ganze Buch hindurch weitergehen wird, wächst mit jeder neuen Bestätigung, dass es in der Tat um nichts anderes als um Pfeile und Richtungen geht, die Erwartung, dass es nur um Pfeile und Richtungen gehen wird. Das heißt: Die Spannung, die man noch am Anfang durch den „verbotenen Blick durch's Schlüsselloch" erwarten mochte, wird nicht eingelöst.

9 Die Aufhebung der Monotonie oder: Wandernde Papierquantitäten

An die Stelle der zunehmenden Spannungslosigkeit – es geschieht eben wirklich dauernd das Gleiche – tritt etwas anderes, und dieses Andere steht in gewisser Weise im Kontrast zur Einsamkeit und zur Monotonie. Es ist nämlich so, dass man als Leser:in irgendwann akzeptiert, dass es zu keiner Geschichte kommen wird, und dadurch wächst die Bereitschaft, die Monotonie selbst aufzuheben und sich für die Variationen zu interessieren, die dennoch ein Strukturprinzip des Buches bilden. Man entwickelt eine ästhetische Sensibilität für all das, was in der Welt Pfeil sein kann, man lässt sich ein auf die stets neuen, oft sehr großartigen Landschaften, Wüsten, Mauern, riesigen Felswände, aus denen sich schrittweise ein neuer Pfeil herauszuschälen beginnt. Man empfindet folglich, dass man sich auf einer Reise durch unbekanntes Terrain befindet und dass es, wenn auch nicht vom Erzählerischen, so doch zumindest von der Gestaltung jeder Einzelszene her eine *neue Art* von „Spannung" gibt. Die Monotonie bleibt unbestritten bestehen. Doch wie die Monotonie *variiert* wird, das ist dasjenige, was die Lektüre des Buches so faszinierend macht.

Hinzu kommt etwas Weiteres, und dies gilt ebenfalls weit über diese eine *Graphic Novel* hinaus. Wenn man ein Buch liest, gibt es stets eine bestimmte Menge Papier, die bedruckt wurde. Wenn man das Buch zum ersten Mal aufschlägt, ist die Papiermenge, die von der linken Hand gehalten wird, gering, die Papiermenge in der rechten Hand hingegen groß. Es bezeichnet dieses Ungleichgewicht den Beginn einer jeden Lektüre, sofern es sich um europäische Buchtraditionen handelt.[9]

In dem Maße, in dem eine Lektüre voranschreitet, nimmt die Papiermenge in der rechten Hand ab. Man nähert sich also dem Ende der Geschichte. Es ist, ganz unabhängig von dem, was genau im Buch geschieht, abzusehen, wie lange es noch dauern wird, bis das Ende erreicht sein wird. Die These bezüglich des sich nähernden Endes des Buches lautet, dass diese im Wortsinn „materielle", haptische Seite des Leseprozesses bisher nicht genug bedacht worden

[9] In asiatischen (und anderen) Kulturen gibt es, wie bekannt, auch die umgekehrte Bewegungsrichtung, nämlich durch ein Blättern „von hinten" beginnend, das aber in Wirklichkeit nichts anderes ist als das Blättern von einer anderen Form „von vorn".

ist. Es ist nämlich so, dass, wenn nur noch wenige Seite Lektüre bevorstehen, die Geschichte jedoch noch nicht „an ihrem Ende" angekommen ist, d.h. wichtige Entwicklungen, kurz vor dem Schluss, erwartet werden dürfen, schon allein durch das geringe Gewicht des Papiers in der rechten Hand eine *Beschleunigung* erwartet werden kann: Wenn nur noch wenige Seiten bleiben, muss *schnell* geschehen, was man als Leser:in erwartete, denn viel (Lese-)Zeit bleibt nicht mehr.

Diese langen Ausführungen zur Papiermenge sind außerordentlich wichtig, um zu verstehen, was bei der Lektüre von Mathieus *Graphic Novel* geschieht. So sehr auch während des Lesens akzeptiert werden muss, dass nie irgendetwas Neues passiert – es kommt eben, wie gesagt, nur immer zu neuen Pfeilen –, so sehr darf man doch auf die Frage zuleben, wie denn diese Monotonie *enden* wird. Ohne dass die Monotonie selbst irgendwelche Indizien geben würde, steht man allein schon durch das zu Ende gehende Buch, die sich ihrem Ende zuneigende Lektüre, d.h. das weniger werdende Papier, das noch da ist, vor der Frage, ob wenigstens zum Schluss etwas anderes geschehen wird als das Nichts.

Es liegt hierhin der Grund, warum es sinnvoll ist, dem Anfang und dem Ende der Pfeil-Geschichte besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken. Auch wenn, was unzweifelhaft ist, im eigentlichen Buchteil sehr viel passiert und die Leser:in schrittweise akzeptiert, dass das Augenmerk sich eben auf die bildnerische Gestaltung des Verhältnisses von Mann und Pfeil zu richten hat und nicht auf etwas „Erzählerisches" im engeren Sinne, bleibt im Untergrund die Erwartung wach, gegen Ende hin könne es zu irgendeiner Art von „Entscheidung" kommen, könne – „endlich", „letztlich", „schlussendlich" (alles im Wortsinn verstanden) – etwas Überraschendes passieren.

10 Determination des Nicht-Erzählens

Doch bevor dieser Schluss zur Sprache kommt, möchte ich, dem Prinzip des Nicht-Erzählens folgend, noch einige Anmerkungen zur Einsamkeit einschalten, die mit der genannten Ambivalenz von Monotonie direkt zu tun haben. Man stellt sich als Leser:in die Frage, wie es sein kann, dass eine Welt, in der es dennoch immer wieder, neben natürlichen Elementen, auch Menschengemachtes wie Bauwerke, Mauern, Riesenblöcke etc. gibt, niemals auch nur ein einziger Mensch in Erscheinung tritt. Mit der Zeit ergibt sich der Eindruck, dass die Bereitschaft, einer vorgegebenen Richtung zu folgen, mit dieser unheimlichen Leere zu tun haben könnte. Man beginnt, zu wünschen, der Mann möge sich gegen einen Pfeil entscheiden, und damit: aus der totalen Determination heraustreten, die seine Geschichte kennzeichnet. Warum gibt es auf seinem Weg nichts anderes als das Vorgezeichnete, warum besteht er mitunter große, schwierige Abenteuer, doch ohne, dass je Ruhe eintreten, geschlafen oder etwas Unvorhergesehenes entschieden würde? Wie ist damit zu leben, dass mit jedem neuen Pfeil aber auch wir selbst als Leser:innen *mitgehen*?

Diese Frage weist zurück auf das, was über die Papiermengen gesagt wurde. Dadurch, dass der Mann einfach immer weiter und weiter geht, entsteht langsam eine Meta-Reflexion über das, was man lesend und betrachtend selbst zu tun im Begriff ist. Ergibt sich nicht eine in gewisser Weise ungewollte Komplizenschaft mit dem Protagonisten? Dieser schreitet immer nur weiter und weiter, und enttäuschend ist in gewisser Weise, dass es nie zu etwas Anderem

kommt. Doch indem sich diese Kritik herausbildet, tut der:die Leser:in ja auch nichts anderes: Sie macht auch immer weiter, ganz passiv hinnehmend, dass es eben dem Ende zugeht.

Am Anfang ist dieses noch weit weg, doch je weiter die Lektüre voranschreitet, desto klarer wird, dass das Buch in jeder Hinsicht ein Abbild des Lebens ist: Es wird nicht ewig dauern. Man antizipiert, weil man weiterliest, schon seinen eigenen Tod. In dem – auch haptischen – Bewusstsein, dass das Buch nicht endlos sein kann, erfährt man, dass man auch selbst nicht ohne Ende ist.[10] Lesend und immer weitermachend, bereitet man sich sein eigenes Grab. Endlose Bücher gibt es nicht. Oder anders: Endlose Bücher gäbe es nur dann, wenn sie zyklisch wären, stets von Neuem oder kreuz und quer gelesen werden könnten, um nie zu einem Ende zu kommen.

In dem Moment, in dem hingenommen wird, dass man, obwohl die Pfeile sehr wohl kreuz und quer durch die Seiten gehen, immer nur linear auf das Ende zu blättert, unterstützt man das, was der Protagonist macht. Man verhält sich wie er, und damit wird man auch sein Schicksal teilen. Man lässt sich determinieren, so wie auch er sich in seinem Leben durch die Vorgaben determinieren lässt, die in den Pfeilen und ihrer geraden Ausrichtung stecken.

Die Kategorie der „Vorgabe" erscheint als ein Schlüssel, das ins anfangs erwähnte, pfeilförmige Schlüsselloch passt. Mathieus Buch ist auch ein Buch über Gehorsam, über das Nicht-Ausscheren, über das Nie-etwas-anderes-als-das-Erwartete-Machen. Und fast entsteht dadurch der Eindruck, dass, wenn er Widerstand leisten, die Lektüre seiner Leserschaft anhalten und selbst nicht weitermachen würde, eine neue Art von Lesen und Verstehen, Leben und Machen ermöglich werden würde. Dann wäre man nicht länger gefangen im Prinzip der Richtungsvorgabe, sondern könnte anders lesen.

An dieser Stelle ist zurückzukommen auf das Titelblatt. Die Buchstaben, die erwähnt wurden, folgen einem Pfeil-Code, doch anders als in der Geschichte selbst ist dieser Code nicht allein durch einfache, in eine bestimmte Richtung weisende Pfeile gekennzeichnet. Vielmehr gibt es auch Pfeilen, die „um die Ecke gehen", das heißt zu einem Punkt erst kommen, nachdem die Richtung gewechselt wurde. Das bedeutet, dass dieses Buch, da ohne jede Handlung, sich sehr gut eignet, vorwärts und rückwärts zu blättern, das Zoomen sozusagen rückgängig zu machen und damit auch den herkömmlichen Leseprozess, dem immer eine bestimmte, „nach rechts" weisende Richtung zugrunde liegt.

11 Gehorsam bis in den Tod

Und so gelangt man langsam zum Ende, und auch hier ist das im Wortsinn zu verstehen. Die Geschichte des Mannes bringt nämlich doch nicht nur das Gleiche. Sie endet mit etwas Neuem, auch wenn dies erneut mit einem Pfeil zu tun hat. Und zwar sieht man eine Szene, in der eine Vielzahl von Schatten werfenden Pfeilen, alle gleich groß, alle in dieselbe Richtung weisend, in regelmäßigen Abständen voneinander aufgestellt sind. Die Pfeile erinnern an aufrechtstehende Grabsteine, und in der Tat bewegt sich der Protagonist durch sie hindurch,

[10] Vertali und Delcroix sprechen von „un album singulier sur la condition humaine, où l'absurde confine à la poésie." (Vertaldi & Delcroix, 2014.) („… einem besonderen Band über die *conditio humana*, wo das Absurde ans Poetische grenzt.")

als wäre er auf der Suche nach dem richtigen. Vorausgedeutet wird damit auf das, was kommt. In der Tat geht es immer weiter und weiter, aus jeweils wechselnden Perspektiven heraus, immer mit Blick auf dieses Gräberfeld. Schließlich tritt der Mann jedoch aus ihm heraus und geht hinein in eine neue, weiß blendende Fläche. Hinter seinem Rücken erstrecken sich die schwarzen Schatten auf dem Boden, die, bedingt durch den Lichteinfall, als sehr lang und groß erscheinen. Es ist, als würde der Tod all derjenigen, die vor dem Mann gestorben sind, sagen wollen, dass die Reihe nun an ihm ist.

Der Protagonist, der seit einiger Zeit seinen Aktenkoffer eingebüßt hat, folgt. Nach all diesen vielen, vielen Pfeilen, die sich durch den Schattenwurf noch verdoppelt hatten, findet er schließlich den einen, entscheidenden Pfeil, und der korrespondiert, weil gänzlich schwarz, mit dem Anfangs-, d.h. dem Schlüsselloch-Pfeil, der gänzlich weiß gewesen war. Erst ist dieser schwarze Pfeil noch ziemlich weit weg, doch der Mann bewegt sich immer mehr auf ihn zu, und erkennbar ist, dass die einzige Entwicklung, die es in dieser *Graphic Novel* vielleicht doch gegeben hat – nämlich eine plötzliche Alterung des Mannes – jetzt auch an seinen Weiß gewordenen Haaren zu erkennen ist.

Schließlich kommt der Mann vor dem schwarzen Pfeil zu stehen, und da wird deutlich, dass dieser keine Fläche bildet, sondern sich mit exakten Kanten tief in den Boden gräbt. Man weiß als Leser:in intuitiv: Das muss das Grab sein. In der Tat blickt der Mann hinein, man sieht ihn aus starker Obersicht, doch ein Zögern tritt ein. Der Mann versucht, von dem Pfeil wegzugehen, so als wolle er noch nicht sterben.

Doch plötzlich ist der Pfeil nicht mehr nur Pfeil, sondern wird zum Schatten des Mannes. Dies wird erkennbar dadurch, dass der Grab-Pfeil plötzlich seine kantige Exaktheit verliert und die Form der Füße des Mannes, der sich zu entfernen versucht, als Schatten nachbildet. Das heißt: Egal, ob der Mann jetzt noch zu fliehen versuchen wird – der Schatten des Todes wird mit ihm mitwandern, wird ihm folgen, ist schon er selbst. Darin erinnernd an Chamissos Schemihl-Geschichte (Chamisso, 1908).

Der Mann geht also und geht, schreitet weg, will weg, aber er merkt, dass die Flucht nicht funktionieren wird. So endet schließlich die ganze Geschichte mit dem resignativen Gestus, der die ganze *Graphic Novel* hindurch durchgehalten worden war: Er bleibt stehen, er guckt erneut in die Tiefe und steigt dann langsam und vorsichtig in das Grab hinein.

Dabei ändert sich die Perspektive. Jetzt wird nicht mehr herangezoomt, sondern im Gegenteil entfernt man sich von allem Weiteren. Der Mann und sein Grab, der Mann *in* seinem Grab, mit diesem Entschluss, sich von ihm begraben zu lassen, ohne dass auch nur ein einziger Trauernder dabei stünde, entfernen sich immer mehr, rücken in immer größere Distanz, bis schließlich der Sterbende oder Tote fast nicht mehr zu erkennen ist.

Das ist dann die Endphase, denn auf der nächsten Seite sieht man nur noch eine große, weiße Fläche und in ihr den schwarzen Grab-Pfeil ganz klein, ohne jede weitere Spur der Person, die man über so viele Etappen hin – fast ein ganzes Leben lang, könnte man sagen – begleitet hatte. Die allerletzte Doppelseite ist dann komplett weiß, jeweils nur von einem schmalen, schwarzen Rand umgeben, der sozusagen den eigentlichen Bildteil abgrenzt, hier aber auch an die traditionelle Gestaltung einer Todesanzeige – weißer Grund mit schwarzem Rand – erinnert.

Das Buch ist an diesem Punkt zu Ende. An die Stelle des anfänglichen Schwarz' ist das reine Weiß getreten; an die Stelle eines Beginns, der keiner wirklichen Geburt entsprochen hatte, sondern dem Auftreten eines fertigen – auch von seiner Kleidung her fertigen – Erwachsenen, tritt das selbsttätige, selbstgewählte Verschwinden in einem letzten Pfeil, ohne dass man wirklich sagen könnte, dies sei ein klarer Tod, denn, wie gesagt, begräbt sich der Mann selbst, und um da hinunterzukommen, muss er sehr wohl lebendig sein.

> Je dirais que lorsqu'il y a image, il y a logiquement, à suivre, du récit. L'invention du temps (psychologique, l'invention du temps par l'humain), engendre nécessairement du trou, qu'il faut combler avec du récit, du réel décalé. Je pense […] que le vrai réel est à côté; peut-être ne sommes-nous que du côté de l'ombre du réel! (Fièvre, 2020.)
>
> Ich würde sagen, dass, wenn es ein Bild gibt, es logischerweise auch eine Erzählung geben muss. Die Erfindung der Zeit (psychologisch verstanden, als Erfindung der Zeit durch den Menschen) führt zwangsläufig zu einem Loch, das mit einer Erzählung, einer verschobenen Realität, gefüllt werden muss. Ich denke, […] dass das wahre Reale daneben liegt; vielleicht befinden wir uns nur auf der Schattenseite des Realen!

12 Die Vieldeutigkeit der fehlenden Handlung

Wenn man von hier aus auf die Gesamtheit dessen zurückblickt, was das Buch „erzählt", ergibt sich, dass es ein Buch über Leben und Sterben ist. Vielleicht aber auch über die Monotonie einer rein dem Beruflichen hingegebenen Existenz. Oder ein Buch über die Funktionsweise von Büchern. Oder ein Buch über Schwarz und Weiß und ihre gegenseitige Bedingung – denn ohne sie können Bücher nicht entstehen.[11] Vielleicht ist es auch möglich zu sagen, es gehe um die Frage, wie man eine Orientierung im Raum findet. Oder man interessiert sich für die geometrischen Formen, die die Form immer neuer Pfeile annehmen, und stellt fest, es sei ein Buch, das sich allein, quasi inhaltslos, für sich selbst interessiere. Es wäre genauso gut denkbar, sich über die Frauenlosigkeit dieses Universums zu wundern und zu sagen, das Grab sei unvermeidlich, weil kein neues Leben geschaffen werden kann. Oder man betont, dass der Autor gegen die Sprache polemisiert, indem er noch nicht einmal mehr seinen eigenen Namen jenseits des selbst erfundenen Pfeil-Codes auf das Titelblatt setzt. Dann wäre es eine *Graphic Novel*, die sich für die Beschränkung auf das Bild stark macht und damit einer neuen, sprachlosen Bildersprache das Wort redet. Mathieu selbst äußerte in einem Interview: „Notre société occidentale ne vit pas dans le présent: elle est soit penchée sur le passé, soit projetée dans l'avenir. Alors que la vie, c'est avant tout être." (Le Saux, 2016.) („Unsere westliche Gesellschaft lebt nicht in der Gegenwart: Sie blickt entweder in die Vergangenheit oder in die Zukunft. Dabei ist das Leben vor allem Sein.")

Was immer man am interessantesten findet: Fest steht in jedem Fall, dass der Verzicht auf Handlung im engeren Sinne ein eminent philosophisches Buch hervorgebracht hat und dass die Offenheit für Deutungen eine Vielzahl von Geschichten hervorbringt, nämlich stets in den Köpfen einer Leserschaft, die sich, dank der Pfeile, in jede Richtung bewegen kann, darin ganz

[11] Wie plötzlich durch die Verwendung von Farbe ein bis dahin in Schwarz und Weiss gehaltenes Bild als lebendiges Porträt erkennbar wird, wird zum Thema in: Mathieu 2001.

frei und unabhängig, jenseits alles Vorausbestimmten. Also vielleicht doch ein Buch über die Freiheit des Selbstentscheidens? Es ist auch dies nicht ausgeschlossen.

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Anhang

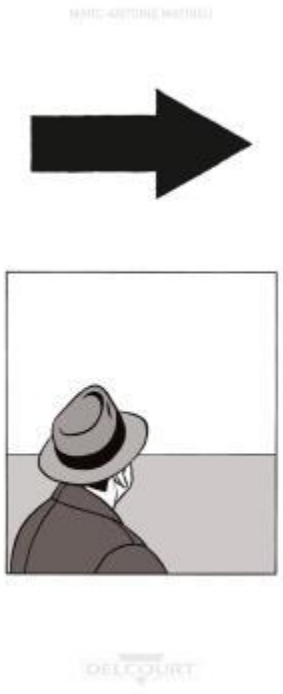


Abb. 1: Titelblatt von Marc-Antoine Mathieus Graphic Novel „Sens"

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Richard Wagner und Jacques Offenbach, zwei deutsche Komponisten des 19. Jahrhunderts, „verfeindete Brüder[1]“?

Danielle Buschinger[2]

Abstract

Dieser Text untersucht die unterschiedlichen Erfahrungen zweier deutscher Musiker des 19. Jahrhunderts – Richard Wagner und Jacques Offenbach – in Paris, das als damaliges Zentrum der Musik galt. Während Wagner, der 1839 nach Paris kam, auf zahlreiche Hindernisse stieß und schließlich desillusioniert die Stadt verließ, fand Offenbach dort seine künstlerische Heimat. Offenbach, ein Wunderkind am Cello, konnte in Paris als jüdischer Musiker Karriere machen und entwickelte sich zu einem der prägenden Komponisten der Opéra-comique. Wagner hingegen kämpfte mit finanziellen Schwierigkeiten, arbeitete als Journalist und setzte sich intensiv mit französischer Musik sowie literarischen Strömungen auseinander. Sein Aufenthalt in Paris beeinflusste seine musikalische Entwicklung erheblich, insbesondere durch die Begegnung mit Hector Berlioz und Heinrich Heine. Während Offenbach in Paris den Grundstein für seinen Weltruhm legte, führte Wagners Erfahrung dazu, dass er seine künstlerische Vision weiterentwickelte, was schließlich zur Entstehung seiner monumentalen Opernwerke beitrug. Diese kontrastierenden Karrieren veranschaulichen die verschiedenen Wege, die Musiker je nach individuellen und gesellschaftlichen Gegebenheiten einschlagen konnten.

Schlagwörter: Richard Wagner, Jacques Offenbach, Paris als Musikzentrum, Oper und Opéra-comique, Musikalische Einflüsse des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Abstract

This text examines the differing experiences of two 19th-century German musicians – Richard Wagner and Jacques Offenbach – in Paris, which was considered the musical capital of the time. While Wagner, who arrived in Paris in 1839, encountered numerous obstacles and ultimately left the city disillusioned, Offenbach found his artistic home there. A cello prodigy, Offenbach was able to build a career in Paris as a Jewish musician and became one of the defining composers of the opéra-comique genre. Wagner, on the other hand, struggled with financial difficulties, worked as a journalist, and engaged deeply with French music and literary movements. His stay in Paris significantly influenced his musical development, particularly through encounters with Hector Berlioz and Heinrich Heine. While Offenbach laid the foundation for his worldwide fame in Paris, Wagner's experience led him to further develop his artistic vision, ultimately

[1] Nach der Bezeichnung von Dieter David Scholz, *Jacques Offenbach. Ein deutsches Missverständnis*. Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2023, S. 65. Ich danke Rainer Fineske für die Ratschläge, die er mir erteilt hat. Dieser Artikel ist zudem die erweiterte Version eines mündlichen Vortrages, gehalten beim Richard Wagner Verband in München. Siehe hierzu : https://www.rwv-muenchen.de/RWV_Highlights.html (Letzter Zugriff 13.02.2025).

[2] Em. Prof. Dr., Université de Picardie Jules Verne, Frankreich, dbuschinger@gmail.com.

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resulting in the creation of his monumental operatic works. These contrasting careers illustrate the different paths musicians could take depending on individual circumstances and societal conditions.

Keywords: Richard Wagner, Jacques Offenbach, Paris as a musical center, Opera and opéra-comique, Musical influences of the 19th century

Extended Abstract

Richard Wagner and Jacques Offenbach, Two German Composers of the 19th Century, "Rival Brothers"?

During the 19th century, Paris was regarded as the musical capital of Europe, attracting composers from various countries who sought recognition and success. Among these composers were two prominent German musicians of the same generation: Richard Wagner (1813–1883) and Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880). Their experiences in Paris, however, were markedly different, shaped by their individual backgrounds, artistic aspirations, and the reception they received from the Parisian musical scene.

Offenbach, a child prodigy and virtuoso cellist, demonstrated exceptional musical talent from an early age. By the age of five, he was already recognized as a highly skilled cellist, and at ten, he was performing concerts and engaging in chamber music performances. Offenbach arrived in Paris at the age of fourteen, as France was one of the few countries at the time that allowed Jewish musicians to build a career in music. His entry into the Paris Conservatoire was only made possible through special permission, as foreign students were generally barred from participating in competitions. Finding the conservatory limiting, Offenbach left after a few months and took private lessons with Louis-Pierre-Martin Norblin, a distinguished cello professor and opera soloist. To sustain himself, he initially played in small orchestras before securing a position in the orchestra of the Opéra-Comique. This experience introduced him to the French opéra-comique genre, allowing him to witness the premieres of works by composers such as Boieldieu, Auber, Hérold, Adam, and Halévy.

Despite his struggles, Offenbach was determined to establish himself in Parisian society. His ambitions mirrored those of Balzac's character Rastignac, as he sought to create influential connections in the city's artistic salons. He eventually gained widespread recognition as a composer and impresario, cementing his place in the history of French music.

Wagner, in contrast, had a far more turbulent relationship with Paris. His first engagement with the city occurred in 1838 when he traveled from Riga with hopes of achieving success as an opera composer. Escaping his creditors, Wagner arrived in Boulogne-sur-Mer in August 1839, where he met Giacomo Meyerbeer, an influential composer who initially made a positive impression on him. Wagner continued his journey to Paris, only to be met with numerous disappointments. Despite managing to stage a concert in February 1841, the event was a failure, and he quickly grew disillusioned with the city.

During his time in Paris, Wagner worked for the music publisher Maurice Schlesinger to support himself and his wife Minna. He contributed to Schlesinger's "Revue et gazette musicale de Paris," a journal that explored the interconnections between music and other artistic disciplines. This experience contributed to Wagner's later conception of the Gesamtkunstwerk, the idea of a total work of art that integrates multiple forms of artistic

expression. Additionally, through the journal, he was exposed to Hector Berlioz's treatise on orchestration, which significantly influenced his approach to composition.

Beyond his professional activities, Wagner expanded his intellectual horizons in Paris. He encountered the works of Heinrich Heine, whose "Memoirs of Mister von Schnabelewopski" provided the inspiration for "The Flying Dutchman." He also met Heinrich Laube, a leading figure of the Young Germany literary movement, as well as Franz Liszt, with whom he would develop a lifelong friendship. Through his interactions with Samuel Lehrs, a German philologist residing in Paris, Wagner deepened his knowledge of medieval history and philosophy. Additionally, he became acquainted with the writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Ludwig Feuerbach, whose ideas on property and religion played a crucial role in shaping the ideological foundations of Wagner's "Ring Cycle."

Despite the many obstacles he faced, Wagner completed "Rienzi" and began composing "The Flying Dutchman" in Paris. However, extreme financial hardship forced him to sell the rights to his French-language adaptation of "The Flying Dutchman" ("Le Vaisseau fantôme") to the director of the Grand Opéra de Paris. This arrangement resulted in the opera being set to music by another composer, Pierre Louis Philippe Dietsch. Ultimately, Wagner's Parisian experience played a decisive role in his artistic development, prompting him to refine his compositional style and solidify his artistic vision.

In April 1842, Wagner left Paris for Dresden, where "Rienzi" was scheduled for its premiere. The opera's immense success led to his appointment as Royal Saxon Kapellmeister in February 1843. Unlike Offenbach, who thrived in the Parisian music scene, Wagner's time in the city was characterized by frustration and unmet expectations. While Offenbach's career flourished in Paris, allowing him to become a celebrated composer of operettas, Wagner's artistic journey took a different path, ultimately leading him to establish himself as one of the most influential composers of the German operatic tradition.

Offenbach's initial move to Paris at a young age provided him with the opportunity to immerse himself in the city's musical culture, shaping his compositional style and enabling him to build a successful career. By contrast, Wagner's time in Paris was a period of struggle and hardship, yet it also proved to be a crucial phase in his artistic maturation. Despite their contrasting experiences, both composers left a significant mark on 19th-century music, reflecting the complex relationship between German and French musical traditions.

In conclusion, Paris played a pivotal role in shaping the careers of both Offenbach and Wagner, albeit in vastly different ways. Offenbach embraced the city as his artistic home, while Wagner's time there was marked by disillusionment. Nevertheless, the influence of Paris was undeniable in both their musical outputs. While Offenbach's works became synonymous with Parisian operetta, Wagner's ideological and artistic development during his Parisian years contributed to the creation of his later masterpieces. Their divergent paths underscore the varied experiences that composers could encounter in 19th-century Paris, a city that remained at the heart of European musical innovation.

Einleitung

Zwei deutsche Musiker derselben Generation (Wagner, 1813/1883 und Offenbach, 1819/1880) kommen nach Paris, der damaligen Hauptstadt der Musik, um Anerkennung zu finden (Yon, 2020, S. 21). In Paris werden, wie Wagner es schreibt, Beethovens Sinfonien am besten gespielt und interpretiert (Société des Concerts du Conservatoire). Deutschland gilt seinerseits als das Land der Musik. Die französische Musik wird ebenfalls in Deutschland hochgeschätzt, besonders das lyrische Repertoire: Auber, Halévy, Gounod, Ambroise Paré; *Postillon de Longjumeau*, opéra-comique von Adolphe Adam 1836, mit der berühmten „ronde du Postillon".

Offenbach ist ein Wunderkind. Mit fünf Jahren soll er schon „ein nahezu perfekter Cellovirtuose gewesen sein"; mit zehn Jahren gab er Cello-Konzerte und spielte Kammermusik, er spielte auch in Weinschänken und Zunfthäusern (Scholz, 2023, S. 68). Er kommt mit 14 Jahren nach Paris. Frankreich ist das einzige Land, wo ein jüdischer Musiker seine Werke spielen lassen darf und Karriere als Musiker machen kann (Yon, 2020, S. 20 f.). Man denke an Fromentin Halévy, den Komponisten von „La Juive". Offenbach hat Paris zu seinem Wohnsitz gemacht. 1848 kehrt er nach Köln zurück, aber er scheitert und kehrt nach Paris zurück. Dagegen wollte Wagner nicht in Paris bleiben, während seines ersten Aufenthaltes (1839-1842) hatte er eine Reihe von Enttäuschungen erlebt.

Mit einer Sondergenehmigung darf Offenbach ins Konservatorium aufgenommen werden, dessen Direktor der Italiener Cherubini ist. Als Ausländer darf er aber nicht an den Wettbewerben teilnehmen. Nach einigen Monaten verlässt der junge Offenbach das Konservatorium, das eine Sackgasse für ihn gewesen wäre (Yon, 2020, S. 31). Er nimmt Privatstunden bei Louis-Pierre-Martin Norblin, der im Konservatorium die Cello-Klasse leitet und Cello-Solist in der Oper ist. Um zu überleben spielt er zuerst in kleinen Orchestern, bevor er in das Orchester der „Opéra-Comique" als Cellist aufgenommen wird, wo er die französische Gattung der opéra-comique kennen lernt (Boiéldieu, Auber, Hérold, Adam, Halévy); er wohnt u.a. der Uraufführung von La „Muette de Portici" und von *Guillaume Tell* bei. Er will Karriere machen und eine angesehene Persönlichkeit werden. Er ist ein „personnage balzacien", dem karriereorientierten Aufstreber Rastignac ähnlich. Er will Kontakte aufbauen und in den Salons Beziehungen knüpfen.

Was Richard Wagner anbetrifft, so nimmt er 1838 von Riga aus zum ersten Mal Kontakt mit Paris auf, wo er sein Glück als Opernkomponist versuchen will (s. Buschinger, 2012, S. 30-35). Auf der Flucht vor seinen Gläubigern verlässt er Riga im Juli 1839 und, von London kommend, landet er am 20. August 1839 in Boulogne-sur-Mer, wo er die Instrumentierung des 2. Aufzugs seines „Rienzi" beendet. Er trifft dort Giacomo Meyerbeer, der ihm einen guten Eindruck macht und dem er das gesamte Textbuch des „Rienzi" vorliest. Er setzt am 17. September seine Reise nach Paris fort, das ihm tief missfällt. Erst am 4. Februar 1841 kann er im Casino der rue Saint-Honoré sein erstes Konzert geben: das Orchester Valentino, ein Orchester zweiten Ranges, spielt die Columbus-Ouvertüre, die er in seiner Jugend in Magdeburg geschrieben hatte. Der Misserfolg war für ihn eine Katastrophe: Paris existierte nicht mehr für ihn.

Er arbeitet für den Musikeditor Maurice Schlesinger, um für seinen und Minnas Unterhalt aufzukommen. Später wird er für Schlesingers Zeitschrift „Revue et gazette musicale de Paris",

für Sand, Berlioz, Balzac, Adam, Halévy, Lesueur, Dumas, Liszt, Janin und viele andere arbeiten. Schlesingers Ziel war es, die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen der Musik und den anderen Künsten zu studieren, was das Credo des „Gesamtkunstwerkes" sein soll. In der „Revue et gazette musicale" nimmt Wagner auch Kenntnis von den „bonnes feuilles", aus denen das „d'orchestration" von Berlioz entstehen wird, das einen großen Einfluss auf ihn haben wird. Übrigens entdeckt Wagner Berlioz' Musik (z.B. die „Symphonie funèbre et triomphale," 1830) und er wohnt der Uraufführung von Berlioz' dramatischer Symphonie mit dem Chor aus „Roméo et Juliette", am 24. November 1839 mit 200 Ausführenden, deren Originalität er rühmt, bei). Andererseits lernt er Heinrich Heine kennen, dessen 1833 erschienene „Memoiren des Herrn von" Schnabelewopski er in Riga gelesen hatte, die Vorlage des „Fliegenden Holländers", und begegnet 1840 seinem späteren engen Freund Heinrich Laube, die die zwei Hauptvertreter der Bewegung vom „Jungen Deutschland" sind und er trifft Franz Liszt zum ersten Mal. Er freundet sich mit drei Deutschen an: Gottfried Engelbert Ander, der in der Musikabteilung der Königlichen Bibliothek arbeitet, dem Maler, Ernst Benedikt Kietz und Samuel Lehrs, der in Paris als Philologe sein Leben fristet. Durch Lehrs lernt Wagner u.a. das Mittelalter kennen, so wie Pierre-Joseph Proudhons „De la propriété" (1840) und Ludwig Feuerbachs „Das Wesen des Christentums" (1841). Wagner ist nun dem Atheismus nahe und der Einfluss Proudhons und Feuerbachs ist entscheidend für die Entstehung des „Rings". Er beendet den „Rienzi" und schreibt die Faust-Ouvertüre und besonders den „Fliegenden Holländer", dessen Partitur er in sieben Wochen komponiert. In Paris wird er sich seines Genies bewusst.

Am 7. April 1842 verlässt er Paris für Dresden, wo sein „Rienzi" in der Oper uraufgeführt werden soll. Am 2. Februar 1843 wird er in Dresden zum Kapellmeister ernannt.

Obwohl Wagner dem Direktor der Grand Opéra de Paris den französischen Entwurf von seinem „Vaisseau fantôme ou Le Maudit des mers" verkaufen musste, um das äußerste Elend etwas zu lindern, in dem er mit Minna lebt (er wird sein eigenes Libretto schreiben, das er dann vertonen wird; die Musik zum „Vaisseau fantôme" wird von Pierre Louis Philippe Dietsch geschrieben), ist dieser Aufenthalt in Paris von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung für Wagner. Er hat sein ganzes weiteres Leben bestimmt.

1833 kommt Offenbach sehr jung nach Paris, um seine Kenntnisse in der Musik zu vervollkommnen, da er schon viele Kenntnisse in der Stadt gesammelt hat, in der er geboren ist, in der Synagoge, wo sein Vater Kantor war, in den Weinschänken, bei seinen Lehrern oder während des Karnavals. „Aber nur Paris, die Stadt, wo er fast ein halbes Jahrhundert lang leben und kämpfen wird, wird ihm erlauben, ganz er selbst zu sein und wird aus ihm einen weltweit bekannten und geliebten Musiker machen. Paris va créer Jacques Offenbach" (Yon, 2000, S. 18).[3]

Dagegen ist Wagner schon 26 Jahre alt und ist fertig mit dem Musikstudium, er hat z. B. bei Theodor Weinlig, Kantor in der Thomaskirche in Leipzig, Kontrapunkt studiert. Er ist bereits Komponist (u.a. Die Feen, Das Liebesverbot, Rienzi, Der Fliegende Holländer), aber er ist immer wieder auf der Suche nach einem neuen Engagement. Er beginnt am 10. Januar 1833

[3] "Mais seul Paris, la ville où il va vivre et lutter pendant près d'un demi-siècle, lui permettra d'être pleinement lui-même et faire de lui un musicien universellement connu et aimé." (deutsche Übersetzung von Danielle Buschinger)

als Chordirektor beim Würzburger Theater, übernimmt dann das Amt des Musikdirektors für die Sommersaison 1834 in Bad Lauchstädt bei Magdeburg, dann am 10. Oktober 1834 in Magdeburg selbst. Er erhält die Stelle als Musikdirektor am Königsberger Theater am 1. April 1837, wird im Mai 1837 Dirigent an der Rigaer Oper (bis Ende März 1839). Auf diese Weise lernt er zahlreiche Opern kennen, die er einstudiert, und sammelt viele Erfahrungen, bis er am 2. Februar 1842 Königlich Sächsischer Hofkapellmeister in Dresden wird, wo sein „Rienzi" 1842 mit riesigem Erfolg uraufgeführt wird (obwohl die Aufführung sechs Stunden gedauert hat). Nie wieder wird er so einen Erfolg erleben.

Offenbach contra Wagner

Nietzsche hat Offenbach und Bizet benutzt, um seinen Bruch mit Wagner zu rechtfertigen. Nietzsche schreibt: „Wagner ist schwer, schwerfällig: nichts ist ihm fremder als Augenblicke übermütigster Vollkommenheit, wie sie dieser Hanswurst (Ausdruck wörtlich Nietzsche) Offenbach fünf-, sechsmal in jeder seiner Bouffonneries erreicht". Dieses Urteil berücksichtigt nicht den Umstand, dass in seinem „Liebesverbot" (am 29. März 1836 in Magdeburg uraufgeführt, unter seiner musikalischen Leitung) Wagner mit geringfügigen, aber entscheidenden Abänderungen, Umdeutungen und Hinzufügungen aus der etwas galligen Komödie Shakespeares „Maß für Maß", die tragisch hätte enden können, ein echtes Lustspiel macht. Wagner äußert sich in seiner „Autobiographischen Skizze" (s. Wagner, 1976, S. 10) selbst zu seiner neuen Oper, „wozu ich den Stoff aus Shakespeare's: ‚Maß für Maß' entnahm, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass ich ihm den darin vorherrschenden Ernst benahm und ihn so recht im Sinne des jungen Europas modelte: die freie, offene Sinnlichkeit erhielt den Sieg rein durch sich selbst über puritanische Heuchelei."

Wie kam es dazu?

Offenbar sind sich Wagner und Offenbach zweimal kurz begegnet (Yon, 2000, S. 429). Zum ersten Mal, als „Le Papillon", eine Ballett-Pantomime in zwei Akten, die am 26. November 1860 in Paris (Le Pelletier) in Gegenwart Kaiser Napoleons und vieler Gäste, u. a. Fromental Halévys, mit großem Erfolg uraufgeführt wurde, während Wagners französischer „Tannhäuser" am 13. März, in Gegenwart von Offenbach, Berlioz und Gounod, die alle drei im Amphitheater (ganz oben) im selben Saal wie Offenbachs „Papillon" jämmerlich scheiterte (wegen der Kaballe von Napoleons III. Gegnern) (Yon, 2000, S. 236-242). Sie begegneten sich ein zweites Mal in der Hofoper in Wien, als „Die Rheinnixen" dem „vorgezogen" wurden. Der französische Historiker und Offenbach-Spezialist Jean-Claude Yon bezeichnet die Zeit von 1860 bis 1876 als „le temps des escarmouches" (die Zeit der Scharmützel) zwischen Offenbach und Wagner (Yon, 2017, S. 252).[4]

1860 bekommt Jacques Offenbach, der, wie es Dieter David Scholz betont, in Paris „zum Inbegriff französicher Musik und ‚Identifikationssfigur französischen Esprits'" wurde, von Kaiser Napoleon III. die französische Staatsbürgerschaft nach dem Erfolg von „Orpheus in der Unterwelt" im Jahre 1858 (Scholz, 2023, S. 68). Er wird in Paris umjubelt (in Mainz wohnt

[4] Die Links zu den Podcasts und weiteren Videoaufzeichnungen sind vom Literaturverzeichnis zu entnehmen.

Wagner im März 1862 „einer minderwertigen Aufführung von Offenbachs ‚Orpheus' bei" (Gregor-Dellin, 1972, S. 98). Offenbach, ein Cello-Virtuose, ist der erste, der Humor in die Musik einführte. Er hatte viel Charme, eine große Verführungskunst. Offenbach, der Wagner als Komponist wohl zu schätzen wusste, seine arrogante Haltung aber nicht mochte, war selbst nicht bescheiden. Es soll mit Nachdruck darauf hingewiesen werden, dass Napoleon III. auch Wagner unterstützt hat: Er hat ja Mitte März 1860 den Befehl erlassen, „Tannhäuser" in Paris aufzuführen[5] (Buschinger, 2012, S. 92; Gregor-Dellin, 1993, S. 462 f.).

1860 ist für Wagner, der im Januar und Februar drei Konzerte in der Salle Ventadour in Paris organisierte, um sich dem französischen Publikum vorzustellen, das Jahr des Scheiterns in Frankreich (die Konzerte lösen eine heftige Polemik aus und enden mit einem ungeheuren Defizit). Wagner hat nur wenige Partisanen, Baudelaire und Champfleury (1821-1889) gehören immer zu den Gästen von den „soirées du mercredi", die Wagner organisierte. Es kamen auch Gustave Doré, Auguste de Gaspérini, Charles Gounod, Catulle Mendès (der später Judith Gautier heiratete), Emile et Blandine Ollivier (Blandine ist eine Tochter von Liszt und Marie d'Agoult, Cosimas Schwester), Jules Ferry, Ernest Reyer, Camille Saint-Saens et Frédéric Villot (der Konservator vom Musée du Louvre), Malwida von Meysenburg, die Wagner in den Buddhismus eingeführt hatte, indem sie ihm im Winter 1855/56 in London die Lektüre von Eugène „Burnoufs Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien" empfohlen hatte (Buschinger, 2017, S. 27). Im Jahre 1860 schenkt Wagner Berlioz ein Exemplar der Tristan-Partitur, wofür der französische Komponist sich wenig dankbar zeigen wird.

1876 werden in Bayreuth die ersten Festspiele organisiert. 1876 fährt Offenbach in die USA, um einer Einladung nach Philadelphia Folge zu leisten, anlässlich des Jubiläums der Unabhängigkeit der USA. Zwischen 1860 und 1876 (1870/71) findet der deutsch-französische Krieg statt, mit der Niederlage Frankreichs.

Berlioz sieht in Wagner einen eventuellen Konkurrenten. Um ihn lächerlich zu machen, entwickelt er die Idee der „musique de l'avenir" (die Idee der Zukunftsmusik), die Wagners Musik kennzeichnen soll. Wagner selbst hatte im Zürcher Exil in der Tradition des deutschen Idealismus und der Linkshegelianer drei theoretische Werke geschrieben; „Kunst und Revolution" (Sommer 1849), „Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft" (Herbst 1849), das er Ludwig Feuerbach gewidmet hatte, und „Oper und Drama" (10. Januar - 11. Februar 1851). Dabei stützte er sich auf „die ästhetische" „Erziehung des Menschen" (Schiller, 1795); „Vorlesungen über die Philosophie" (Hegel, nach dessen Tod von seinen Schülern 1831 veröffentlicht); „Das Wesen des Christentums und Die Grundsätze einer Philosophie der Zukunft" (Ludwig Feuerbach 1841 und 1843); „Das Leben Jesu, kritisch betrachtet" (David Friedrich Strauß, 1835), „Das Evangelium des armen Sünders" (Wilhelm Weitling, 1845) *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (Max Stirner, 1845), sowie Pierre Joseph Proudhon und Mikhail Bakunin. Im Grunde fühlte sich Berlioz von Wagners Musik überfordert. Berlioz schreibt, dass er nicht an die „Zukunftsmusik" glaube. Der Ausdruck „Zukunftsmusik" stammt aber nicht von Wagner und auch nicht von Berlioz. Er wurde 1853 von Ludwig Bischoff (1794-1867) geprägt; letzterer wollte die Tradition der klassischen Kunst gegen das was er als die Exzesse der zeitgenössischen Komponisten betrachtete, schützen (Wagner, aber auch Liszt und sogar

[5] Dies ist einer der Fälle, die zeigen, wie eng Wagner und Offenbach vernetzt waren. Ich komme später darauf zurück.

Berlioz). Im Jahre 1857 parodierte der österreichische Dramatiker, Schauspieler und Opernsänger Johann Nestroy (1801-1862) Wagners Libretto zum „Tannhäuser" (s. Nestroy, 1986, S. 331-362) und er setzte damit eine lange Tradition der Wiener Parodien fort: Tannhäuser, Zukunftsposse mit vergangener Musik und gegenwärtigen Gruppierungen in drei Akten). Nicht nach Rom zieht Tannhäuser, um seine Schuld zu büßen, sondern in die „Zukunftsmusik" Am 31 März 1859 parodierte dann Nestroy Wagners „Lohengrin", der am 19. August 1858 in der Wiener Hofoper gespielt worden war. Am 31. März, sechs Monate später, führt Nestroy die Parodie des „Lohengrin" auf: eine musikalisch-dramatische Parodie in vier Bildern. Wagner wird seine Oper zum ersten Mal, gleichfalls in Wien, drei Jahre später sehen. Diese zwei Parodien sind Nestroys letzte.

Am 10. Februar 1860 führt Offenbach, der öffentlich über diesen Begriff spotten will, weil er wohl wie Berlioz in Wagner einen Konkurrenten sieht, in seinem Theater „Les Bouffes-Parisiens" (im Jahre 1855 von ihm gegründet) den „Carnaval des revues auf. Im 6. Bild tritt ein Mensch auf, der wie Wagner aussieht und der, als „musicien de l'avenir", einen Brautmarsch spielen lässt, als Symbol der Musik der Zukunft, der im Grunde eine Parodie vom Brautchor im *Lohengrin* ist. Er schließt daran eine „tyrolienne de l'avenir" (einen Jodelruf der Zukunft). Dieser Auftritt soll eine Parodie der Musik Wagners und seiner Person sein. Er wird als der Hohepriester der Zukunftsmusik bezeichnet. Wagner war tief beleidigt über die Parodie. Daraus entstand die lebenslange Fehde zwischen den beiden. Offenbach meinte über „Tannhäuser": „Akademisch und langweilig zu sein, das ist nicht Kunst; es ist besser, spritzig und melodiös zu sein." Wagner konterte: Offenbach besitze „die Wärme des Misthaufens, in dem sich die Schweine Europas suhlen." Allem Anschein nach attackiert Offenbach Wagner als erster. Er ist es, der sich als erster Wagner, dem Ankömmling, feindselig gegenüber zeigt.

Am 18. März 1861 scheitert Wagner mit seinem Pariser „Tannhäuser." Nach drei Aufführungen zieht er ihn zurück.

1860 besucht Offenbach Berlin mit seiner Truppe der Bouffes-Parisiens; er führt seine Werke auf Französisch auf. Er kommt wieder 1868 mit einer Aufführung von „Pariser Leben" (La vie parisienne), anlässlich der 200sten Aufführung, nun aber auf Deutsch. Er erlebt einen Triumph. Er geht ebenfalls regelmäßig nach Wien. Er erobert den deutschsprachigen Bereich. „Orpheus in der Unterwelt, La Vie parisienne" u.a.m. in deutscher Sprache. Offenbach triumphiert. 1869 hat Offenbach Berlin und Wien, die deutsche und österreichische Hauptstadt der Musik erobert, was im Gegensatz zu dem Misserfolg von Wagner steht. Das französische Publikum ist voller Vorbehalte Wagner gegenüber. Er gilt als Ikonoklast, als Revolutionär, als Bilderstürmer, der wie ein Hammer den Ohren wehtut.

Ab Mai 1862 organisiert Jules-Etienne Pasdeloup des „Concerts populaires" (Volkskonzerte) im Cirque impérial, nach 1871 Cirque d'hiver: er spielt Werke Wagners vor einem breiten Publikum (5000 Zuschauer). Es wird gebuht, aber auch viel applaudiert. Das Publikum wird immer zahlreicher. Dann führt Pasdeloup im April 1869 „Rienzi" (in der französischen Übersetzung von Nuitter und dessen Vater) im Théâtre lyrique auf, von dem er der Direktor ist. Der Erfolg ist so groß, dass „Rienzi" im September 1869 wieder aufgenommen wird (Wagner kommt nicht. Im Jahre 1887 kommt Wagners Sohn Siegfried inkognito nach Paris, um die Wiederaufnahme von „Rienzi" zu sehen.

Immer mehr Franzosen lassen sich von Wagner verlocken, ausser Offenbach, der ihm immer noch feindlich gesinnt bleibt.

Dann bricht 1870 der Krieg aus. Offenbach ist zerrissen zwischen seinem Herkunftsland und seinem Adoptivland. Er geht mit seiner Familie nach Spanien, um sich in Sicherheit zu bringen. Wagner ist glücklich über den deutschen Sieg. Er bejubelt den deutschen Kaiser mit dem „Kaisermarsch". Seltsam, möglicherweise wird Brahms ebenfalls vom deutschen Sieg begeistert. Er schreibt ein Triumphlied op. 55, Wilhelm I. gewidmet, uraufgeführt im Jahre 1872. Es wird bis zum 1. Weltkrieg gespielt.

Wagner parodiert nun Offenbachs Parodien. Er schreibt „Eine Kapitulation", ein „Lustspiel in antiker Manier". Martin Gregor-Dellin (1993, S. 632) schreibt darüber: „Die Mitglieder der neuen republikanischen Regierung, nach der Gefangennahme Napoleons III. von Favre, Ferry und Gambetta gebildet, wurden ob ihrer Ohnmacht und ihrer beschwörenden Volksreden verlacht, und über Theaterdirektor Perrin und Victor Hugo goß der Verfasser Hohn und Spott in Kübeln aus" (Gregor-Dellin, 1993). Wildgewordene, hungrige Pariser taumelten durch die Straßen, und das internationale Individuum Jack von Offenback spielt ihnen zum Tanz auf. Er dirigiert den Chor und das Ballettkorps.

> Oh wie süß und angenehm,
>
> und dabei für die Füsse so recht bequem!
>
> Krak! Krak! Krakerakrak!
>
> O herrlicher Jack von Offenback!

Wagner verspottet in der „Kapitulation" sowohl das geschlagene Frankreich wie auch die Deutschen, die vor der Pariser Operette kapitulieren. Im Vorwort zu seiner Edition der „Kapitulation" schreibt er, „dass ich sogar die Hoffnung schöpfte, es werde endlich einmal guten Köpfen gelingen, in der volksthümlichen Behandlung solcher Gegenstände, sich originell zu erweisen, wogegen bisher selbst in der tiefsten Sphäre unseres sogenannten Volkstheaters alles nur bei schlechter Nachahmung der Pariser Erfindungen verblieb" (Wagner, 1976, S. 3). Er kam etwas später mit Nachdruck auf dieses Sujet der Nachahmung der Franzosen durch die Deutschen zurück: „Wenn ich jetzt meinen Freunden den Text der Posse noch mittheile, so geschieht dieß ganz gewiß nicht, um die Pariser nachträglich noch lächerlich zu machen (Wagner, 1976, S. 4). Mein Sujet zieht keine andere Seite der Franzosen an das Licht, als diejenige, durch deren Beleuchtung wir Deutschen im Reflex uns in Wahrheit lächerlicher ausnehmen, als jene, welche in allen ihren Thorheiten sich immer original zeigen, während wir in der ekelhaften Nachahmung derselben sogar bis tief unter die Lächerlichkeit herabsinken." Obwohl Victor Hugo gleichfalls ins Lächerliche gezogen wird, ist es keine Abstoßung. Wagner hatte ja 1840 Hugos Gedicht „L'Attente" vertont und er bewundert den Dichter sehr.

Fügen wir hinzu, dass Wagner den Text der „Kapitulation" Karl Richter zur Vertonung im „Offenbach-Stil" angeboten hatte. Dieser lehnte ab: er fühle sich nicht in der Lage wie Offenbach zu komponieren, nachdem auch ein Berliner Theater sich negativ geäußert hatte. Das gesteht Wagner in seinem Vorwort, und er fügt hinzu, dass, da es Karl Richter nicht möglich gewesen sei, „die hierfür wirklich nöthige Musik à la Offenbach zusammenzusetzen", sie dann erkannt hätten, „dass zu allem Genie und wahre Naturbestimmung gehöre, welches beides wir nun in diesem Falle Herrn Offenbach aus vollem Herzen zuerkannten" (Wagner,

1976, S. 3 f.). Kurz, Richard Wagner schliesst aus dem Umstand, dass es unmöglich war, Offenbachs Musik nachzuahmen, er Genie hatte.

Richard Wagner wollte sich wohl nachträglich rechtfertigen und vielleicht auch entschuldigen. Dennoch ist „Die Kapitulation" eine sehr harte und nicht zu verzeihende Attacke. Nietzsche warf dem Komponisten seinen Antisemitismus vor, aber auch die Abfassung von „Eine Kapitulation", um mit ihm zu brechen. Pasdeloup lehnt es ab, wegen der „Kapitulation" den ersten Festspielen 1876 beizuwohnen, obwohl Cosima ihn persönlich eingeladen hatte. Trotz seiner Parteinahme für Wagner ist Pasdeloup antideutsch nach dem Krieg 1870/71. Nuitter meint, es werde sich legen. Es kommen nur ca. fünfzig Franzosen zu den ersten Bayreuther Festspielen. Nach dem Krieg wird Offenbach stark attakiert. Für die Deutschen ist er ein französischer Vaterlandsverräter. Man beschuldigt ihn in Frankreich, ein deutscher Spion für Bismarck gewesen zu sein Das Frankreich Jacques Offenbachs ist besiegt worden. Seine Musik wird der deutschen Besetzung Frankreichs assimiliert. Die opéra-comique in einem Akt (1861) „Fantasio" wird bei der Uraufführung in Paris am 18.01.1872 von der Kritik massakriert, da dieses Stück aus der Perspektive des Krieges betrachtet wurde.[6]

Offenbach wird doch wieder gespielt, seine „opéra-comique" (Yon) oder „opéra bouffe" (Scholz) „Belle Lurette" wird aber erst nach seinem Tod (am 05.10.1890) aufgeführt (am 30.10.1880). Da hatte er ein kleines musikalisches Zitat von Johann Strauß Sohn eingefügt.

Er kommt wieder nach Wien, aber er wird von Johann Strauß Sohn angegriffen; am Anfang werden die Wiener Operetten als Revanche gegen die französischen betrachtet, das Symbol der Leichtfertigkeit, der Frivolität. Johann Strauß Sohn habe Offenbach besiegt, wie die deutsche Armee die französiche besiegt hat. Offenbach kommt nie wieder nach Deutschland, obwohl er in Berlin weitergespielt wird: im Jahre 1873 wird Offenbach 89-mal gespielt.[7]

Nach 1870 will in Frankreich kein Theater mehr Wagners Opern spielen. Wagner kehrt auch nicht nach Frankreich zurück. Zum letzten Mal weilte er in Frankreich im Jahre 1867, anlässlich der Weltausstellung. Ab 1873 werden Werke von ihm aber wieder von Pasdeloup programmiert, aber nur in Konzerten, nicht in der Oper. Ein Auszug aus der „Götterdämmerung", der Trauermarsch, wird am 29. Oktober 1876 von Jules Pasdeloup konzertant gegeben. Aus Patriotismus und aus Protest gegen „Die Kapitulation" hatte sich aber Pasdeloup im selben Jahr geweigert, nach Bayreuth zu gehen. Nun wurde „Die Kapitulation" 1876 ins Französische übersetzt und die Übersetzung vor dem Konzert verteilt, was wieder Proteste hervorief, aber das Stück wird in der Stille gespielt. Danach Buhs gegen Applaus. 1890 bekehrt sich Frankreich endgültig zum Wagnerismus.

Im Anschluss sind die vier bekanntesten Werke Offenbachs zu entnehmen:

Orphée aux Enfers	1. Version 21.10.1858	opéra bouffon
	2. Version 07.02.1874	opéra-féerie (ein neues Werk entsteht)

[6] *La Chanson de Fortunio* wird von Johann Strauss gespielt.

[7] Ich möchte darauf verweisen, dass Offenbachs Opéra-bouffe in drei Akten, *Die Banditen* (Text von Henri Meilhac und Ludovic Halévy, uraufgeführt am 10. Dezember 1860 im Pariser Théâtre des Variétés, am 28. Januar 2024 in der Frankfurter Oper neu inszeniert wird.

	3. Version 14.08.1874	opéra-féerie (geringfügige Änderungen)
La Belle Hélène	17.12.1864	opéra-bouffe
La Vie parisienne	1. Version 31.10.1866	opéra-féerie
	2. Version 25.09.1873	opéra-bouffe (geringfügige Änderungen)
La Grande-Duchesse de Gerolstein	12.04.1867	opéra-bouffe

Keines dieser Werke wird von Offenbach „Operette" genannt. Ein fünftes, erst nach seinem Tod uraufgeführt, „Les Contes d'Hoffmann" (Hoffmanns Erzählungen) (10.02.1881), von der es eine leicht überarbeitete Version (die Orchestrierung wurde überarbeitet), gibt (13.11.1911) ist eine „opéra fantastique" in die die Barcarole der „Fées du Rhin" (Libretto von Nuitter), eingegangen, ein Werk, das am 04.02.1864 unter dem Namen „Die Rheinnixen", *Große romantische Oper (*romantische Oper bei J.Cl. Yon) in drei Aufzügen in der Wiener Oper uraufgeführt worden ist (deutsche Übersetzung von Alfred von Wolzogen. Das ist „eine utopische, eine radikal pazifistische, romantische Oper, eine Grand Opéra, des im französischen Exil lebenden Offenbach, der Armgard, die weibliche Hauptpartie inmitten der Kriegswirren zur Symbolfigur deutscher Einigungsssehnsüchte macht", ja eine heftige Diatribe gegen die Armee (Scholz, 2023, S. 170). Weisen wir darauf hin, dass dieser Alfred von Wolzogen, ein Gegner von Wagner, einen Sohn hatte, Hans, der den Terminus „Leitmotiv", geprägt hat, während Wagner „Hautpmotiv" sagte!

Hier sieht man wie oft Offenbach und Wagner indirekterweise miteinander verknüpft waren.

Die so berühmte „Barcarole" sie hat also nichts zu tun mit Venedig, wie man es so oft sagt (Scholz, 2023, S. 62). Was die „opéra fantastique Les Contes d'Hoffmann" anbelangt, so erinnert Jean-Claude Yon (S. 666) daran, dass Patrice Chéreaus Inszenierung im Jahre 1974 im Palais Garnier in Paris das Statut von „Hoffmanns Erzählungen" als Oper gefestigt hat und die Allmacht der Regisseure gezeigt hat, (zwei Jahre vor der berühmten Inszenierung vom Jahrhundert-Ring in Bayreuth).

Offenbach gebraucht jedoch auch die Bezeichnung Operette. 1856 kündigt er die Organisation eines Operettenwettbewerbes oder „Wettbewerb für eine Operette in einem Aufzug" (Yon, 2000, S. 179). Um seine Initiative zu rechtfertigen, unterstreicht er ausdrücklich, „L'opéra-comique sei" „création éminemment française", auch wenn sie eine Nachahmung von der italienischen „opera buffa", denn „il en diffère par le tempérament de la nation qui, en l'adoptant, se l'est approprié", und fügt hinzu: „l'opéra-comique, en effet, qu'est-ce autre chose que le vaudeville chanté? Le mot lui-même l'indique." Und Jean-Claude Yon setzt fort (S. 180) „Pour Offenbach", „opérette ne signifie donc pas simplement ‚petit opéra-comique', mais encore opéra-comique proprement dit", d'où, d'ailleurs, la précision que son concours a pour objet une „opérette en un acte, expression qui pourrait passer pour un pléonasme si le mot ne servait qu'à définir la longueur de l'ouvrage ; le compositeur entend restaurer le genre dans lequel il ambitionne de réussir. Ce désir de restauration l'amènera en fait à innover, malgré lui – comme tant d'autres créateurs qui, en cherchant à faire revivre une forme ancienne, sont devenus les innovateurs les plus radicaux." Fast fünfundzwanzig Jahre später (1878/79) hat er seine Meinung nicht geändert: „sa constante référence demeure l'opéra-comique français auquel il s'est formé dans sa jeunesse" (S. 601). Aber nun gebraucht er für „Madame Favart"

die Gattungsbezeichnung „opéra comique"! Soll das bedeuten, dass beide Wörter Synonyme sind?

In der Tat, es gibt eine Vielfalt von Definitionen der Operette: „Die Bezeichnung Operette stammt aus dem Italienischen und heißt wörtlich übersetzt „kleine Oper". Die Verniedlichungsform ist durch die im Vergleich zur Oper kürzere Aufführungszeit und die „komische Handlung" entstanden. Denn während eine Oper tragisch ist und über mehrere Akte geht, ist die Operette ursprünglich durchaus lustig und bestand zunächst meist nur aus einem Akt. Der Begriff Operette steht außerdem für eine Kunstform, die weniger anspruchsvoll als eine Oper ist. Das liegt zum größten Teil an der Dialogform und am Gesang, der eine weniger gut ausgebildete Stimme erfordert. Die Handlung ist zudem meistens trivial oder sogar anzüglich, was in einer Oper verpönt ist. Musikalisch eingängiger, tanzbarer und zum Mitsingen und in der Handlung stringenter spricht die Oper nicht (nur) das Klassikpublikum, sondern eine breite Bevölkerungsgruppe an (Lexikon der Musik, 2023; Grimm, 1885–1889).

Der Vater der Operette ist Florimond Ronger (Pseudonym Hervé), „L'ours et le pacha" (1842). Offenbach bezeichnete erstmals „La Rose de Saint-Flour" als „Operette" (1856), aber auch als „Opérette bouffe" (Einakter mit 2 Personen), oder Bouffonnerie musicale (vgl. ebenfalls Les deux aveugles, 1855). Anfangs musste eine Operette wegen der Censur nur einen Akt haben (aus diesem Grunde präzisierte Offenbach 1856 „Wettbewerb für eine Operette in einem Aufzug"; er selbst umging auf witzige Weise diese Maßnahme, indem er eine fünfte Person auftreten liess, die zwar stumm blieb, aber ein Spruchband vor sich trug) und vier Personen, und dies bis 1864, als Napoleon III diese juristische Maßnahme abschaffte.

Vielleicht wäre es möglich, vorsichtig die Hypothese aufzustellen, dass Offenbach, der im selben Satz sowohl „Operette" als auch „opéra bouffe/Opera buffa" und „vaudeville" nennt, anfangs das Wort „Operette" benutzte als Überbegriff für seine Werke? Erst später war für ihn die Operette ein Werk von nur einem Akt, so „Pierrette et Jacquot" (13.10.1876), wobei es auch Ausnahmen gab, wie im selben Jahr „La Boite au lait", das vier Akte hatte! Bei Yon heißt aber dieses Werk „opéra bouffe"!

Gemeinsamkeiten bei Offenbach und Wagner

Offenbachs Vater war Kantor in der Synagoge (er war Synagogensänger, jüdischer Spielmann); alle Vorfahren Wagners waren seit dem 17. Jahrhundert Kantoren. Beide Komponisten habe ihr eigenes Theater gegründet, Offenbach Les Bouffes-Parisiens (1855) und Wagner das Festspielhaus (1876). Wir wissen, dass Wagner in Paris zwei Jahre (1839-1841) im Elend verbringt. In „[e]iner Mitteilung an meine Freunde" (SS IV, S. 261) schreibt er: „Ich erklärte mich selbst bereit zur Anfertigung der Musik zu einem gassenhauerischen Vaudeville für ein Boulevardtheater." Da es ihm nicht gelang, beschäftigte er sich „mit der Anfertigung von Melodienarrangements aus ‚beliebten' Opern für das Cornet à pistons." Bei dem Vaudeville geht es um den Chor in B-Dur „Descendons gaiment la courtille" als Einlage in Marion Dumersans und Dupeutys Vaudeville-Ballett-Pantomine in zwei Bildern „La descente de la courtille" (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 65). Die erste Aufführung fand vermutlich am 20. Januar 1841 im Théâtre des variétés (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 242-244). Handelte Wagner unter dem Einfluss von Offenbach, der bis jetzt „Pascal et Chambord", comédie

mêlée de chants, 2 actes, librettistes A. Anicet-Bourgeois & E. Brisebarr, 02.03.1839, Palais-Royal aufgeführt hatte? (Yon, 2000, S. 759; Scholz, 2023, S. 58). Wohl nicht! Erinnern wir uns daran, dass Wagner „Das Liebesverbot oder die Novice von Palermo", große komische Oper in zwei Akten nach „Measure for Measure" von William Shakespeare (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 38)[8] geschrieben hatte (1836-1840), ein Werk, ein echtes Lustspiel, das er an der Pariser Opéra aufführen wollte (Yon, 2000; Scholz, 2023; Deathridge, 1986, S. 131-143).

Im Jahre 1838, als er noch in Riga war, schrieb er eine Komische Oper in zwei Akten, „Männerlist größer als Frauenlist oder Die glückliche Bärenfamilie" (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 48). Die Musik, die als verschollen galt (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 162-164), tauchte plötzlich aus den Tiefen des Privatbesitzes auf und konnte vom Bayreuther Wagner-Nationalarchiv angekauft werden: das komplette musikalische Material zu Richard Wagners komischer Oper Männerlist größer als Frauenlist oder Die glückliche Bärenfamilie. Das einzige original erhaltene Libretto der unvollendeten Opern Richard Wagners war im Jahre 1873 auf Bitten Cosima Wagners nach Bayreuth geschickt worden, nun kam auch die Klavierskizze der verloren geglaubten Musik wieder an die Öffentlichkeit. Die Jugendoper von Richard Wagner wurde in der Hauptstadtoper Berlin, Lichtenberger Allee 61 am 07.03.2013 uraufgeführt (Aufführungsfassung: Martin Bargel & Kamp; Birgit Eckenweber). Nach heutigem Forschungsstand ist diese Oper von Richard Wagner tatsächlich eine szenische Uraufführung – eine kleine Sensation! Das vollständig erhaltene Textbuch ist von Richard Wagner. Von der Musik aus der Zeit um 1837/38 sind ca. 15 Minuten im Klavierparticell erhalten. Die Originalmusik wird mit weiteren unbekannten Liedern, Klavierstücken bzw. kleineren Chorwerken Richard Wagners ergänzt, die auf den originalen Wortlaut des Textbuches übertragen werden. Einzigartig ist an MÄNNERLIST IST GRÖSSER ALS FRAUENLIST ODER DIE GLÜCKLICHE BÄRENFAMILIE, dass der junge Richard Wagner diese komische Oper als Singspiel konzipiert hat.[9]

Nennen wir noch die „Baßarie in G-Dur „Sanfte Wehmut will sich regen" als Einlage (Max) in Carls Blums komischer Oper in einem Aufzug „Mary, Max und Michel" Text von Karl von Holtei, der als Theaterdirektor Wagners Vorgesetzter war (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 43), geschrieben im August 1837 in Riga, erste Aufführung unter der Leitung von Richard Wagner im Stadttheater Riga. Bei dieser Gelegenheit debütierte Wagner nicht nur als Dirigent, sondern auch als Komponist in Riga (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 155 f.). Am 22. Mai 1875 führte er sogar den Walzer „Wein, Weib und Gesang" op. 333 von Johann Strauß (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 109) auf (Deathridge, Geck, Voss, 1986, S. 527 f.). Richard Wagner interessierte sich aus Not oder aus Spaß für dieselben Gattungen wie Offenbach: sowohl „gassenhauerisches Vaudeville" als auch komische Oper und Walzer. So darf man nicht behaupten, Offenbach und Wagner seien Antipoden. Schliesslich zeigt das Libretto von *Die Kapitulation* wohl, trotz seiner Derbheit und Bissigkeit, dass Wagner Offenbachs Stil wiedergeben konnte.

Ich hatte auf Wagners Synkretismus hingewiesen sowie auf den Einfluss des Buddhismus in *Tristan und Isolde* und Parsifal (Buschinger, 2019, 2017). In „Tristan" vermischen sich Romantik und Buddhismus auf eine einmalige Art. Die Gleichungen „Nirwâna = Nacht und Sansarâ =

[8] Am 29. März 1836 in Magdeburg uraufgeführt unter seiner musikalischen Leitung.
[9] Persönliche Mitteilung von Frank Pionthek (Bayreuth).

Tag", die Wagner im Mai 1868 aufgestellt hat, ermöglichen einen ganz neuen Blick auf das Werk. Indem Tristan sich am Ende des zweiten Aktes in das Schwert Melots stürzt, will er als „bodhisattva", ja als buddhistischer Heiliger das „Erlösungswerk" vollbringen und Isolde den Pfad aus dem Samsara weisen, aus dem Kreislauf der Geburten in das Nirwana. Isoldes Auflösung im All, in der „Weltseele", bedeutet, wie Wagner selbst betont, „höchste Befreiung, Erlösung!" für beide, Aufnahme in das Nirwana, Rückkehr in die Allseele, in die Weltseele, von der Alles ausgeflossen ist. In „Parsifal", Wagners letztem Werk, erkennt man gleichfalls die wichtigsten Punkte des Buddhismus: die Wiedergeburt oder das unheilvolle Gesetz der Seelenwanderung (in der Gestalt der Kundry), das universale Mitleid mit jedem Lebewesen (bei Parsifal), das erlösende Wissen (wie Brünnhilde wird Parsifal durch das Mitleid ein Wissender) sowie die absolute Verwerfung der Begierde, eine Verwerfung, die den Schmerz aufhebt. Diese Eigenheiten des Buddhismus verschmelzen mit christlichen Zügen, die Wagner genau in sein Werk integrierte, so wie er im *Ring* die skandinavische Mythologie benutzte; er sagte selbst, er habe bei der Konzeption des „Erlösers" an den Heiland gar nicht gedacht. „Parsifal" ist somit ein hervorragendes Beispiel von Wagners Synkretismus.

Parallel zu Wagners Synkretismus, aber auf einem anderen Gebiet, stellt man bei Offenbach fest, dass er alles beibehält, was er findet. Hanslick schreibt in seiner Nekrologie, dass Offenbachs Stil, so originell er auch sein mag, sich am meisten Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782-1871) und Adolphe Adam (1803-1856), nähert. Das französische Element dominiert bei ihm. Aber es ist nicht das einzige. Offenbach hat seine Jugend in Köln verbracht, der Stadt des Karnevals. Man stellt bei ihm den Einfluss der „Comedia dell' Arte", die in Köln wohl bekannt war, fest. Er kennt die „opera buffa", die opéra comique, die französische zeitgenössische Musik. Er kennt ebenfalls die deutsche romantische Musik sehr gut; er spricht mit Begeisterung von Mozarts und Webers Opern. Dazu kommt die frivole Anmut Frankreichs, seines Adoptivlandes. Er macht eine Synthese zwischen allen diesen Elementen in einem jüdischen Kontext (jüdische Synagogalmusik, jüdische und rheinländische Kultur, jüdischer Scharfsinn, jüdischer Humor), was die Verwandtschaft mit Heinrich Heine heraufbeschwört (Yon, 2000, S. 428 f.; Scholz, 2023, S. 171).

Wagner und Offenbach sind miteinander vernetzt, verknüpft. Dank seiner zahlreichen Beziehungen hat Offenbach es geschafft, in Paris sein eigenes Theater zu haben, die Bouffes Parisiens, und dann das Theater des Jeunes Elèves, gelegen in der Passage Choiseul, unweit der Opéra comique, das Offenbach zu seinem neuen Haus der Bouffes-Parisiens machte und das er mit seiner „chinoiserie musicale", Ba-Ta-Clan,[10] am 29.12.1855 eröffnete (Libretto Ludovic Halévy; in diesem Werk macht sich der Komponist lustig über die klassischen Opern, über den Militarismus und sogar über Kaiser Napoleon III.; im Finale greift Offenbach das Motiv des Chorals „Ein feste Burg" von Martin Luther auf, das Meyerbeer in den „Hugenotten" ebenfalls zitiert, so wie Wagner im ersten Akt der „Meistersinger!"); gleichermaßen kann Wagner das Festspielhaus in Bayreuth dank der Hilfe von König Ludwig II. von Bayern bauen. Offenbach ist ein hervorragender Musiker und Theatermensch. Er hat Beziehungen zu allen Ländern Europas und erzielt überall große Erfolge. Seine Musik ist mit Paris verbunden. Er sagt selber, dass er Frankreich alles verdankt. Während des deutsch-

[10] Der Titel des Werkes diente als Vorbild für den Namen des Pariser Konzert-Saals (ursprünglich Grand Café Chinois-Théâtre Bataclan), erbaut 1864 vom Architekten Charles Duval; hier wurde am 13. November 2015 das mörderische Attentat verübt.

französischen Krieges 1870-71 geht er nach Spanien. Er führt seine Werke in Wien auf, wo er ein humorvolles Publikum findet, das ihm sehr gut passt. Alfred von Wolzogen übersetzt für ihn seine „Fées du Rhin" ins Deutsche.

Nestroy, Offenbach und Wagner. Nestroy ist es, der sowohl Offenbach als auch Wagner den Weg nach Wien ebnete.

Durch seine Parodie von Wagners „Tannhäuser" (1857) lernt das Wiener Publikum Wagners Oper kennen. Tatsächlich wird „Tannhäuser", der 1845 uraufgeführt worden war, in der Wiener Hofoper erst am 19. November 1857 aufgeführt. Wagner sah übrigens die Parodie seines Werkes im Carl-Theater mit großer Freude.

Am 17. März 1860 führt Johann Nestroy, der bis zum 31. Oktober 1860 der Direktor vom Carltheater in Wien war, „Orphée aus Enfers" (Orpheus in der Unterwelt) auf. Diese Wiener Uraufführung von Offenbachs Werk war sowohl Nestroys letzter großer Erfolg als Direktor dieses Theaters als auch das erste bedeutsame Ereignis von Offenbachs Rezeption in Wien. Zwei Handschriften von 1859 verweisen auf eine Bearbeitung vom französischen Text durch Nestroy für die österreichischen Bühnen (Obermaier, 2019, S. 279-281; Lacheny, 2020, S. 88 f.).

Ein weiteres Beispiel von der Zusammenarbeit von Offenbach und Nestroy ist *Häuptling Abendwind,* das letzte Stück, das der österreichische Satiriker für die Bühne schrieb: als Vorlage nahm er den Einakter „Vent du Soir ou l'horrible festin", Operette à Spectacle en un acte (Abendwind oder das gräuliche Festmahl) von Jacques Offenbach, Libretto von Philippe Gille und Léon Battu; diese Operette wurde am 16. Mai 1857 in den Bouffes-Parisiens uraufgeführt. Anlässlich eines längeren Aufenthalts von Offenbachs Ensemble in Wien wurde sie am 22. Juni und am 6. Juli 1861 im Theater am Franz-Josefs Kai aufgeführt. Nestroys ziemlich wortgetreue Adaptation von Offenbachs Einakter, „Häuptling Abendwind oder Das greuliche Festmahl", Indianische Faschings-Burleske in einem Akt, eine scharfe Attacke gegen den Nationalismus und Kolonialismus, wurde zum ersten Mal am 1. Februar 1862 aufgeführt und am 2., 3., 4. und 7. Februar 1862 weitergespielt, dann wurde es abgesetzt und geriet völlig in Vergessenheit, bis man vor kurzer Zeit das Stück wieder entdeckte. Rio Preisner preist es zum Beispiel als „gelungene Tarnung des Politischen, denn das Stück sei in Wahrheit eine politische Posse gegen Nationalismus und viktorianischen Zivilisationstaumel" (Preisner, 1968, S. 175). Otto Basil stellt seinerseits fest, das Werk sei „im Gewand der Buffonerie [Albernheit, komisch-übertriebenes Spiel] eine parodistische Polemik gegen den Kolonialimperialismus der europäischen Großmächte, mit Ausschluss Österreich-Ungarns" (Basil, 1967, S. 154).

Die Operette

„Die Bezeichnung Operette stammt aus dem Italienischen und heißt wörtlich übersetzt kleine Oper." Die Verniedlichungsform ist durch die im Vergleich zur Oper kürzere Aufführungszeit und die „komische Handlung" entstanden. Denn während eine Oper tragisch ist und über mehrere Akte geht, ist die Operette ursprünglich durchaus lustig und bestand zunächst meist nur aus einem Akt. Der Begriff Operette steht außerdem für eine Kunstform, die weniger anspruchsvoll als eine Oper ist. Das liegt zum größten Teil an der Dialogform und am Gesang, der eine weniger gut ausgebildete Stimme erfordert. Die Handlung ist zudem meistens trivial oder sogar anzüglich, was in einer Oper verpönt ist. Musikalisch eingängiger, tanzbarer und

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Nun ist es Nestroy, der am 17. März 1860 Offenbachs „Orphée aus Enfers" (Orpheus in der Unterwelt), eine Parodie auf die Oper, aufführt. „Orphée aux Enfers" (die Librettisten waren Henri Crémieux und Ludowic Halévy) war der erste große Erfolg Offenbachs (1000 Aufführungen zu Lebzeiten des Komponisten), wo über die Antike gespottet und gelacht wurde, was als eine Profanisierung von einem wichtigen Kulturerbe betrachtet wurde; damit wurde ebenfalls die Doppelmoral der besseren Gesellschaft des zweiten Kaiserreichs karikiert, selbst Napoleon III. trat auf, in der Figur des liebestollen obersten Gottes Jupiter, was der Kaiser Offenbach nicht übelnahm, denn er klatschte laut Beifall.

Mit Nestroys Wiener Aufführung von „Orphée aux Enfers" zieht Offenbachs „opera buffa" bzw. „Operette" in Wien ein. Die Wiener Operette ist somit nach dem Vorbild der Pariser Operette entstanden.

Johann Strauß Sohn (1825-1899) übernimmt zum Beispiel den „galop infernal" (von der opéra-bouffe „Orphée aux Enfers" von 1858 (Orpheus in der Unterwelt), der später unter dem Namen „French Cancan" lanciert wurde, da der „galop infernal" inzwischen im Jahre 1868 nach London gegangen war.

Ich habe schon auf die indirekte Verknüpfung der beiden Komponisten betreffs Alfred und Hans von Wolzogen verwiesen. In diesem Zusammenhang komme ich auf Charles Nuitter (Truinet) zu sprechen, der für Offenbach zahlreiche Libretti schrieb und mit Wagner eng befreundet war.

Offenbach, Wagner und Nuitter

Charles-Louis-Etienne Nuitter (Charles Truinet) (1828-1899) (der Archivar der Pariser Oper wurde, sowohl ab 1866 in der rue Pelletier, wo Wagner den „Tannhäuser" aufgeführt hat (das Haus ist durch einen Brand zerstört worden) als auch ab 1875 im Palais Garnier) hat zahlreiche Libretti für Offenbach geschrieben (wenige davon haben überlebt). Er ist auch einer der ersten Franzosen, die Wagner geschätzt haben. Für Wagner hat er mit Hilfe seines Vaters (er selbst konnte kein Deutsch) „Rienzi", „Le Vaisseau fantôme", „Tannhäuser und Lohengrin" ins Französische übersetzt. Er übersetzte ebenfalls ins Französiche z.B. „Obéron" von Weber, „Les Capulets et les Montecchi" von Bellini, Mozarts „Flûte enchantée", Verdis „Macbeth, Aïda, La Force du Destin und Simon Boccanegra." Er war eher ein „Arrangeur".

Nuitter und Wagner standen im regen, freundschaftlichen Briefwechsel in französischer Sprache (dabei merkt man, dass Wagner in Französisch Fortschritte macht) (Nuitter, 2002, S.

128 f.). Sie unterhielten sich über persönliche Fragen. Nuitter sollte sich um die Einkommen Wagners in Frankreich und die Rückzahlung der früher gemachten Schulden kümmern. Wagner schreibt an Nuitter: „Mon cher ami" und Nuitter an Wagner „Cher Maître". Cosima schreibt in ihrem Tagebuch (am 1. März 1871, das heißt nach der Kapitulation Frankreichs nach dem Krieg 1870/71 zwischen dem 19. Juli 1870 und dem 29. Januar 1871): „Belle lettre de l'ami Nuitter qui est bien au-dessus de toutes choses, mais le bon Pasdeloup a décidé de haïr les Allemands. Cela se calmera, pense Nuitter." Weder Nuitter noch Pasdeloup, der dazu beigetragen hatte, Wagner in Frankreich bekannt zu machen (durch seine Konzerte) gehen 1876 nach Bayreuth. Offenbach ging 1876 auch nicht nach Bayreuth.

Wagner ist Nuitter etwas böse, weil er Offenbach in Wien geholfen hatte (in der deutschen Übersetzung der „Rheinnixen") und er hofft, dass er ihm ebenfalls helfen wird. Er ist wohl neidisch auf seinen Konkurenten.

Nuitter erzählte Wagner nichts über seine Nebenbeschäftigungen (so über seine Zusammenarbeit mit Offenbach). Am 27. Juni 1870 fragt Wagner ihn, ob er weiter mit Offenbach arbeitet: „Toujours en coopération avec Offenbach. Eh! Eh!" Es geht wohl um „La Princesse de Trebizonde, opéra-bouffe en trois actes, créé aux Bouffes-Parisiens le 7 décembre 1869." (Jost, Feist, Reynal, 2002, S. 128 f.). Wagner, der wohl nicht verstand, dass er für Offenbach Libretti verfasste,[11] schrieb am 14. November 1867: „Et puis ne vénérez pas trop Offenbach. Il est très bon harmonicien, mais sous le rapport du contrepoint il ne vaut pas votre admiration exclusive" (Jost, 2002; Feist, 2002; Reynal, 2002). Wagner schreibt ihm nichts über den Krieg noch über die Juden. Dagegen schreibt er am 9. März 1869 an Edouard Schuré, dass deutsche Juden ihm in Paris zu schaffen gemacht hätten. An Catulle und Judith Mendès schreibt er: „Il va de soi que l'incendie de Strasbourg me navre et j'aurais mieux aimé voir Paris détruit." Wagner schont wohl seinen Freund Nuitter, den er nicht verletzen wollte. Er schreibt über ihre gegenseitige Freundschaft und Treue. Er schreibt ebenfalls aus Wien an Nuitter, er hätte trotz seiner Misserfolge un „mal de patrie pour Paris" (Heimweh nach Paris), denn er habe in Paris so interessante und interessierte Leute getroffen. Er habe „des souvenirs de moments de grand bonheur" (Augenblicke, wo er das höchste Glück empfunden habe). Er schreibt Nuitter am 14. Februar 1871: „Ah ! que vous êtes bon er vrai ami ! Merci, merci, mon cher Charles!" und nennt ihn „un ami extraordinaire", „un ami sûr et loyal comme l'était Pylade pour Oreste" in der griechischen Mythologie (Brief vom 25. Oktober 1861); und am 1. Januar 1874 „Mille saluts cordiaux! Je vous appartiens de tout mon cœuré". Im Jahre 1864 schrieb ihm Wagner, mein liebes Deutschland ekelt mich, es sei ein Land der Feigen und der Elenden, der Verlotterten, der Bejammernswerten („des misérables").

Der französische Briefwechsel Wagner/ Nuitter zeugt wirklich von einer tiefempfundenen Freundschaft, „une amitié franco-allemande" jenseits der Grenzen, trotz der Feindschaft und des Krieges. Wir treffen hier ein wunderbares Beispiel deutsch-französischer Zusammenarbeit, trotz der schlechten politischen Verhältnisse. Am 2. Juli 1879 jammert Wagner: Er glaube nicht, dass seine Opern Erfolg in Paris haben werden: „Cela ne va pas! Cela ne va pas! Croyez-moi!" Er hatte den Wunsch geäußert, seinem Sohn den Ort zu zeigen, wo

[11] Nuitter arbeitete für Offenbach zwischen 1856 und 1874 (Jost, Feist und Reynal. 2002, S. 129).

sein Vater ausgebuht wurde![12] In dem letzten Brief, den Wagner an Nuitter schreibt und der vom 24. Februar 1882 in Palermo stammt, hofft der Komponist, dass sie sich nochmals treffen werden, und er fügt hinzu: „et j'espère alors bien retrouver l'excellent ami, que Vous étiez toujours" (p. 150), ein Wunsch, der leider nicht erfüllt wird. Am 15. Februar 1883 kondoliert Nuitter Cosima.

Cosima, die Nuitter aber nie getroffen hat, bleibt nach Wagners Tod mit ihm in Kontakt: sie bittet ihn um Auskünfte für Inszenierungen, die sie in Bayreuth machen will, z.B. *Tannhäuser*, eine Oper, die sie 1888 aufführen will. Sie wollte wissen, wie frühere Inszenierungen aussahen (Dresden, Wien), weil sie als authentisch galten. Dennoch wurde die Aufführung, die sich als zu kostspielig erwies, bis 1891 hinausgeschoben, am 4. Dezember 1890 antwortete er ihr.

Schlussbemerkungen

Erst nach Offenbachs Tod erkennt Wagner die kompositorische Qualität Jacques Offenbachs an, und zwar in einem – allerdings bislang nicht im Original, sondern nur auf Französisch veröffentlichten – Brief Wagners an Felix Mottl in Karlsruhe. Wir erinnern uns, dass er zwar seine Kenntnisse in der Harmonielehre anerkannte, aber dass er gleichzeitig sagte, er sei schlecht im Kontrapunkt.

Wagner schreibt am 1. Mai 1882, zwei Jahre nach Offenbachs Tod: „Betrachten Sie Offenbach. Er versteht es ebenso gut wie der göttliche Mozart. Mein Freund, das ist eben das Geheimnis der Franzosen. Ich bin ihnen in vielen Dingen nicht wohlgesonnen. Aber dennoch muss man diese in die Augen springende Wahrheit zugeben: Offenbach hätte ein zweiter Mozart werden können. Ich glaube, Auber wäre dazu weniger in der Lage gewesen."

Oft zitiert wird hingegen Wagners fataler Ausspruch angesichts des Ringtheaterbrandes in Wien (zwischen 400 und 500 Todesopfern vor der Vorstellung von Jacques Offenbachs *Hoffmanns Erzählungen* am 8. Dezember 1881) zitiert, wie ihn Cosima Wagner in ihrem *Tagebuch* im Dezember 1881 festgehalten hat: „Es klingt hart und geht fast über die Natur hinaus, aber die Menschen sind zu schlecht, um dass es einem nahegehen kann, wenn Massen untergehen. Wie gesagt, wenn in Kohlengruben Menschen verschüttet werden, da kommt mich das Entsetzen an über eine Gesellschaft, die sich mit solcher Hülfe Heizung verschafft; und ob so oder so viele, die einer Offenbach'schen Operette beiwohnen, aus dieser Gesellschaft dabei umkommen, wobei sich auch nicht ein Zug von moralischer Größe zeigt, das lässt mich gleichgültig."

Dabei soll man sagen (und es soll keine Entschuldigung für Wagner sein), dass es Offenbach war, der Wagner bei dessen Ankunft in Paris, wo der Kölner schon etabliert war, den Krieg erklärt hat. Und noch dazu mit einem Spott über einen Begriff, der weder von Wagner noch von Berlioz, sondern 1853 vom Deutschen Ludwig Bischoff, der Wagners „neue" Musik attackierte, geprägt worden war. Im Jahre 1857 parodierte dann Johann Nestroy Wagners Libretto zum „Tannhäuser" indem er den Begriff „Zukunftsmusik" benutzte. Es ist also kein

[12] Damals (1861) befand sich die "Grand Opéra" in der rue Le Peletier. Das Haus, das 1871 von den Communards besetzt wurde, brannte in der Nacht vom 28. auf den 29. Oktober 1872. Als Siegfried Wagner 1887 nach Paris kam, um den *Rienzi* zu sehen, wurde das Palais Garnier (am 5. Januar 1875 eingeweiht) bespielt. 1879 war es auch schon der Fall.

Zufall, dass Offenbach eben den Anlass zu seiner Parodie in der geplanten Aufführung vom Pariser „Tannhäuser" ergriff! Wagner fühlte er wohl, wie Berlioz, als Konkurrenten, und Wagner, tief gekränkt und tief beleidigt, hat ihm diesen Affront nie verziehen, er, der Nestroys Parodie seines „Tannhäuser" nicht mit Widerwillen sah, sondern mit Freude. Nach Offenbachs Tod erkannte er sein Talent als Musiker, aber er hasste den Menschen![13]

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Tarihi Coğrafyada Araştırma Yöntemleri ve Türkiye'deki Durum: Aktörler Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme*

İlker Yiğit[1]

Öz

Ortaya çıktığı andan itibaren farklı araştırma gündemi ve yöntemlerine sahip olduğu görülen tarihi coğrafya başta coğrafya disiplini olmak üzere diğer disiplinlerde cereyan eden gelişme ve değişimlere kayıtsız kalmamıştır. Belirli zaman ve zeminlerde bilimsel araştırma süreçlerindeki tartışmalarda, geliştirilen yöntem ve tekniklerden etkilenmiştir. Bu durum tarihi coğrafyacıların ürettikleri eserlere yansımıştır. Tarihi coğrafya alanında yapılan araştırmaların Bassin ve Berdoulay (2004) tarafından üç döneme ayrılarak değerlendirildiği görülür. 1900'lere kadar olan dönem ki bu zaman dilimi 1700'lerde başlayan ve uzun erimli klasik coğrafya dönemi olarak kabul edilir. İkincisi ise 1900-1950 arası dönem, üçüncüsü ise 1950'den başlayıp günümüze kadar olan süreçtir ki bu dönem çok daha hareketli ve dinamik bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu çalışma kapsamında da bahse konu tasnif üzerinde bazı kronolojik değişiklikler yapılarak, tarihi coğrafya gündemi ve yöntemleri ele alınmıştır. Öncelikle tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemleri izah edilmiş, sonrasında da Türkiye'deki tarihi coğrafyacıların takip ettikleri yöntemler bakımından uluslararası tarihi coğrafya araştırmalarında nerede konumlandıklarına ilişkin değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur. Sonuçta Türkiye'deki aktörlerin bölgesel coğrafya (idiografik) bakış açısı, geçmiş mekanın yeniden inşası, kaynak tanıtımı ve kullanımı, tarihi coğrafyanın teorik yapısına ilişkin eserler kaleme almak suretiyle Bassin ve Berdoulay (2004) tarafından belirtilen 1900-1950 yılları arasındaki tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemlerine büyük ölçüde karşılık gelen çalışmalar yaptığı tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tarihi coğrafya, araştırma yöntemleri, araştırma gündemi, yöntem, teknik.

Abstract

The field of historical geography, which has had different research agendas and methodologies since its emergence, has not remained indifferent to the developments and changes occurring in other disciplines, particularly within the discipline of geography. At various times and in different contexts, it has been influenced by debates in scientific research processes as well as by newly developed methods and techniques. This situation has been reflected in the works produced by historical geographers. Research in the field of historical geography has been classified into three periods by Bassin and Berdoulay (2004). The first period extends until the 1900s, encompassing

[1] Doç. Dr. Marmara Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi, Coğrafya Bölümü-İstanbul/Türkiye, ilker.yigit@marmara.edu.tr

*Bu çalışma "3. İstanbul Coğrafya Kongresi"nde 21-24 Haziran 2023 tarihinde sunulan bildirinin gözden geçirilmiş tam metnidir. Bu çalışmanın temel hedefi Cumhuriyet'in 100. yılında Türkiye'deki tarihi coğrafya pratiğini aktörler üzerinden değerlendirmek olduğu için sempozyum tarihindeki verilere sadık kalınmıştır.

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the classical geography period that began in the 1700s and is considered long-term. The second period covers the years between 1900 and 1950, while the third period begins in 1950 and continues to the present, characterized by a much more dynamic and fluid structure. Within the scope of this study, some chronological modifications have been made to the aforementioned classification, and the agenda and methodologies of historical geography have been examined. Initially, the research methods of historical geography have been explained, followed by an assessment of where Turkish historical geographers stand within the scope of international historical geography research based on the methodologies they follow. Ultimately, it has been determined that scholars in Turkey have produced studies that largely correspond to the historical geography research methods identified by Bassin and Berdoulay (2004) for the period between 1900 and 1950. This has been achieved through approaches such as the regional geography (idiographic) perspective, the reconstruction of past spaces, the introduction and use of sources, and theoretical works on the structure of historical geography.

Keywords: Historical geography, research methods, research agenda, method, technique.

Extended Abstract

Research Methods in Historical Geography and the Situation in Türkiye: An Evaluation Through Actors

Historical geography is increasingly becoming a field of interest in Türkiye. In addition to the growing number of researchers entering the discipline, significant progress has been made in this specialization over the last 15–20 years, both in textbooks and research studies. Like any discipline or area of expertise, the evolution of historical geography should be periodically assessed through its actors and works. Such evaluations serve as both a reflection and a guide for those who wish to enter the field.

This study aims to evaluate the state of historical geography in Türkiye and determine where it stands within the global practice by examining research methods and the academic practices of key Turkish actors in the field. Three prominent actors—Osman Gümüşçü, Mehmet Bayartan, and İlker Yiğit—were chosen to assess the historical geography research methods employed in Türkiye. The primary criterion for their selection was their continuation of academic studies in historical geography, both during and after their doctoral research.

These researchers have contributed significantly to the field, not only through their individual research but also by supervising theses that bring new researchers into historical geography. They have shared their knowledge and experience by producing textbooks covering the nature of historical geography, its research methods, and techniques, thus striving to transfer developments in the international literature to Türkiye. Consequently, these three scholars stand out for their efforts to promote and enhance the understanding of historical geography through undergraduate and graduate courses, the researchers they mentor, and the publications they produce.

All these efforts are expected to bear fruit in the near future, paving the way for the growth and representation of the field with more contributors. Ultimately, these researchers will further fortify Türkiye's position in the global scientific community by conducting historical geography studies at both national and international levels.

When examining the application of historical geography research methods in Türkiye, it becomes evident that they align with the period from 1900 to 1950 as outlined by Bassin and

Berdoulay (2004). Notably, historical geography in Türkiye demonstrates strong representation in horizontal section approaches, genetic historical geography, and human geography. Additionally, research topics such as reconstruction, historical landscapes, and environmental interactions, which persist and are evident in various studies, play a significant role in the field.

Examples of studies focused on historical change and development include İ. Yiğit's doctoral thesis on villages that disappeared, were newly established, or underwent qualitative changes, along with his subsequent publications; M. Bayartan's study titled *"*The Building Blocks of Kütahya City from the Ottoman Period to Today: Neighborhoods*"*; and O. Gümüşçü's research *"*Public Health in Türkiye During the Transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic and the Early Republican Years.*"*

In the context of human geography as historical geography, the works of these actors on cities, settlements (O. Gümüşçü. 2019. *"*The Turkish Settlement System*"* and M. Bayartan, 2015. *"*A Neighborhood as an Administrative Unit in Ottoman Cities*"*), population (İ. Yiğit. 2020. "Population in Burdur and Surrounding Districts (1834)"), economy (M. Bayartan. 2008. "Geographical Distribution of Ottoman Mines in the 19th Century"), industry (İ. Yiğit and Z. Ç. Yazgan. 2021. "Mills as Industrial Enterprises During the Ottoman Era: The Case of Tosya District, 1578–1579"), and agriculture (İ. Yiğit and C. Yücedağ. 2020. "Agricultural Product Diversity in 19th-Century Anatolia") provide a rich collection of examples.

The horizontal section approach is also employed in historical geography studies conducted in Türkiye. Examples include O. Gümüşçü's works on 16th-century Larende (Karaman) district settlements and population (*"*Deforestation in Sixteenth-Century Anatolia: The Case of Hüdavendigar Province*"*), Bayartan's studies on the historical geography of Kütahya city in the 19th century, and İ. Yiğit's publications on the human and economic geography of Beyşehir during the 19th century, along with studies on the evolution of settlements such as Manisa and Konya over the centuries.

In conclusion, Turkish researchers have produced works on regional geography (idiographic approaches), the reconstruction of past spaces, source presentation and utilization, and the theoretical structure of historical geography. These efforts largely align with the research methods of historical geography from 1900 to 1950. However, it is important to acknowledge that there is still a long way to go in terms of representation and practice in the developing field of historical geography in Türkiye.

Furthermore, given the emergence of multi-paradigm geographical practices since the mid-20th century, historical geography research in Türkiye must also adapt to contemporary research methods observed globally. Understanding, practicing, and, most importantly, introducing new researchers to this dimension of historical geography is a critical responsibility of the field's actors. Their role is to provide guidance, support, and encouragement to the next generation of researchers.

1. Giriş

Tarihi coğrafya, ülkemizde günden güne daha fazla kişinin ilgi duyduğu bir alan olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Tarihi coğrafya sahasına giderek daha fazla araştırmacının girmesinin yanı sıra gerek ders kitapları ve gerekse araştırma eserler olmak üzere ülkemizde bu uzmanlık alanında son 15-20 senede ciddi ilerlemeler kat edildiği söylenebilir. Tabi ki bu ilerlemelerin böyle değerlendirilmesinde daha öncesinde büyük ölçüde ihmal edilmişliğin, nerdeyse yok mesabesinde olmanın da etkili olduğu belirtilmelidir. Zira tarihi coğrafyanın bilimsel sistematikteki yerinden, dünyada ve ülkemizde tarihi coğrafyanın durumu, tarihi coğrafyanın kaynakları, tarihi coğrafyada temel kavramlar, araştırma yöntem ve tekniklerine ve bunların çeşitli saha ve kaynaklar üzerinde uygulama örneklerine varıncaya değin önemli çalışmalar nispeten yakın zamanlarda ortaya konmuş ve konmaya devam edilmektedir. Bu tür olumlu gelişmeler bir taraftan devam ederken tüm bunları dikkate almayan (belki de yazılanları hiç okumadan) bazı çalışmalar da ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Bu durumun başlıca sakıncaları ise tarihi coğrafyanın kötü temsili, zaman ve emek israfı olarak belirtilebilir.

Her disiplin ya da uzmanlık alanında çalışmaların nereden nereye geldiği gerek aktörler gerekse eserler üzerinden belirli aralıklar dahilinde ele alınmalıdır. Zira bu hem bir muhasebe hem de ilgili sahaya girecek kişiler için bir rehber niteliği taşıyacaktır. İlk defa bir alana giren kişi ya da kişilerin ilgili uzmanlık alanı ile ilgili kimleri öncelikle takip etmesi (etmemesi ya da temkinli yaklaşması) gerektiğini ancak bu tür değerlendirme yazılarından öğrenebilecektir. Böylesi değerlendirmeler sahaya yeni girecek araştırmacılar kadar ilgili disiplinin ya da uzmanlık alanının tarihselliği bağlamında da ayrıca önemlidir. Bu noktadan hareketle eldeki çalışmada tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemleri ve Türkiye'deki aktörlerin bilim pratiklerine eğilerek dünyadaki tarihi coğrafya yapma sürecinin neresinde olduğumuzu ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Burada bir konuya da açıklık getirilmelidir. Türkiye'de tarihi coğrafyanın gelişim sürecine ilişkin eserlere bakıldığında daha çok isimle karşılaşılır. Hayatının bir döneminde tarihi coğrafyayı merak etmiş, burada da bir ya da birkaç yazım olsun diyerek makale vb. kaleme almış ya da ele aldığı konuyu tarihsel boyutu ile ele aldığı için eserinde tarihi coğrafya değerlendirmeleri yer alan kişiler de olmak üzere daha fazla isimden söz etmek mümkün olabilir. Bunlardan bir kısmı eserine tarihi coğrafya başlığını verirken bir kısmı ise eserinin ne başlığı ne de içeriğinde tarihi coğrafyaya ilişkin hiçbir bilgiye yer vermeden ortaya konmuştur. Zaman elbette en iyi şekilde hükmünü icra edecek ve kimin doğru bir şekilde tarihi coğrafya yapıp yapmadığı yapılacak çalışmalar sayesinde eleştirel bir perspektif ile ortaya konacaktır.

Bu çalışmada, üç aktör belirlenerek Türkiye'deki tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemi değerlendirilmiştir. Bu kişilerin aktör olarak belirlenmesinde ise doktora tezleri ve doktora (sırası ve) sonrası akademik çalışmalarını tarihi coğrafya sahasında sürdürmüş olmaları temel ölçüt olarak dikkate alınmıştır. Bu kişiler lisansüstü eğitimde yönettikleri tezler ile yeni araştırmacıların da bu sahaya girmesi için emek vermektedir. Bireysel araştırmalarının yanında tarihi coğrafyanın ne olup olmadığı, araştırma yöntem ve tekniklerine varıncaya değin ders kitapları üreterek bilgi ve tecrübelerini paylaşarak uluslararası literatürdeki gelişmeleri ülkemize transferini de gerçekleştirmeye çabalamaktadır. Dolayısıyla burada yer alan üç isim tarihi coğrafyacı kimliğiyle lisans ve lisansüstü düzeyde verdikleri dersler, yetiştirdikleri araştırmacılar ve ürettikleri yayınlar ile tarihi coğrafyanın doğru anlaşılmasına ve tanınmasına hizmet etmek suretiyle ön plana çıkmaktadır. Elbette tüm bu gayretler önümüzdeki süreçte meyvesini verecek, çok daha fazla aktörle bu alanın gelişmesi ve temsili mümkün olabilecektir.

Nihayetinde ise bu araştırmacılar ulusal ve uluslararası alanda tarihi coğrafya çalışmaları gerçekleştirerek ülkemizin bilim dünyasındaki yerini daha da tahkim edeceklerdir.

Aşağıdaki başlıklarda öncelikle tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemlerine değinildikten sonra Türkiye'deki durum Osman Gümüşçü, Mehmet Bayartan ve İlker Yiğit'in akademik faaliyetleri üzerinden ele alınıp değerlendirilmiştir. Araştırmacılara ilişkin bilgiler çalıştıkları üniversitelerin akademik bilgi sistemleri, YÖK Akademik ve YÖK Tez Merkezi'nden temin edilmiştir. Elde edilen bilgiler mümkün olduğu kadar sayısal hale getirilerek elde edilen rakamlardan kelime bulutları üretilmiştir. Bu da analiz ve değerlendirmelerimizi kolaylaştırmıştır. Çalışma sonuç ve değerlendirme başlığı ile son bulmaktadır.

2. Tarihi Coğrafyada Araştırma Yöntemleri

Araştırmacılar bilimsel gerçekliğe ulaşmak için belirli yolları/aşamaları takip ederler ki buna genel manada yöntem ismi verilir. Yöntem, sistematik bir biçimde düşünmeyi, bilgi edinmede belirli kural ve yollardan bir düzen içerisinde yararlanmayı; bunu daha güvenilir ve verimli kılmak için gerekli alet ve teknikleri bulup kullanmayı ve geliştirmeyi ifade eder (Türkdoğan, 1989: 209). Araştırmacılar bilimsel bir çalışma yaparken belirli adımları takip eder ve sistematik bir yol izler. Olay ve olguları betimlemeye, anlamaya, açıklamaya ve tahmin etmeye çalışırlar (Arı, 2014: 2). Gerek sosyal ve gerekse fiziki dünyaya ait yapılan araştırmalar geçmişteki ve bugünkü duruma ilişkin bilgi sahibi olmamızı sağlar. Elde edilen geçmişe ait tecrübeler ve halihazırda içinde bulunulan durumdan/işleyişten hareketle, geleceğe ilişkin birtakım kestirimlerde de bulunulmasını da sağlar (Gümüşçü ve Yiğit, 2023: 341).

Tarihi coğrafya, ortaya çıktığı andan itibaren farklı araştırma gündem ve yöntemlerine sahip olmuştur. Başta coğrafya disiplininin kurumsallaşması sürecinde olmak üzere, diğer disiplinlerde cereyan eden gelişme ve değişimlere tarihi coğrafyacılar da kayıtsız kalmamıştır. Nitekim tarihi coğrafyacılar, bilimsel araştırma süreçlerindeki tartışmalardan, geliştirilen yöntem ve tekniklerden etkilenerek çalışmalarında kullanmışlardır (Gümüşçü ve Yiğit, 2023: 343). Tarihi coğrafyada araştırma yöntemleri H. Jager (1969), R. M. Newcomb, (1969) ve M. Bassin ve V. Berdoulay, (2004) gibi araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirildiği görülmektedir. Burada Türkiye'deki durumu açıklayıcı olması bakımından Bassin ve V. Berdoulay, (2004) tarafından gerçekleştirilen tasnif kullanılacaktır. 1700-1900 arası dönem: 1700'lerde tarihi coğrafyanın doğuşundan itibaren uzun bir süre araştırma yöntemleri bağlamında pek gelişme olmamıştır. Asrın sonlarına doğru kıpırdanmalar başlamış ve 1900-1950 arasında ise ciddi bir değişim ve dönüşüm yaşanmıştır. 1950 sonrası dönem ise oldukça dinamik ve çeşitliliğin fazla olduğu bir zaman dilimine karşılık gelir. Biz burada Türkiye'deki tarihi coğrafya pratiğini yeterince kapsaması hasebiyle ilk iki dönemdeki araştırma yöntemlerine yer vereceğiz. Zira ilerleyen sayfalarda görüleceği üzere bu iki dönemdeki yöntemlerin, benimsenen yaklaşımların temsili Türkiye'deki tarihi coğrafya araştırmalarında izlenebilmektedir.

M. Bassin ve V. Berdoulay, (2004) "Historical Geography: Locating Time in the Spaces of Modernity" başlıklı çalışmalarında 1900'lere kadar olan süreçte tarihi coğrafya araştırmalarında etkisi sonraki dönemlerdeki evrimi boyunca da izlenebilecek olan üç erken araştırma yönteminden (yeniden inşa, tarihi peyzaj ve çevresel etkileşim) söz etmektedir: Belirtilen yıllarda en yaygın olan yöntemlerden ilkini, geçmiş peyzajların etkin bir şekilde "**yeniden inşa**"sı oluşturur ki bu da geçmişte belirli bir zamanda bir bölgenin coğrafyasının karmaşık

ancak ampirik bir tasvirini gerçekleştirir. Tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemlerinden ikincisini ise tarihi peyzajın ortaya çıkarılmasıdır. Özellikle Almanya'da "Landschaftskunde" veya "peyzaj" biliminin ortaya çıkmasıyla ilişkilendirilen "**tarihi peyzaj**" kavramı bir yanda romantizmden, diğer yanda XIX. yüzyıl doğa bilimlerindeki gelişmelerden güçlü bir şekilde etkilenmiştir. Bu yaklaşımda peyzajın evrimsel ve organik bir varlık olarak niteliklerinin açığa çıkarılması esastır. Üçüncü araştırma yöntemi ise insanın sosyal gelişiminin bir yönü olarak geniş çapta "**çevresel etkileşim**" olarak adlandırılabilecek hususla ilgilidir. XIX. yüzyılda coğrafya içinde toplumun doğal ortamla olan ilişkisi her zaman merkezi bir konumda yer almıştır. Bu konudaki öğretiler, tarih bilimi için de son derece önemli ve etkili olmuştur. En önemlisi, bu etki insanlığın tarihsel gelişiminin ana hatlarının, bu gelişmenin gerçekleştiği alanların fiziksel ve biyo-coğrafi koşulları tarafından yönlendirildiğini, aslında etkili bir şekilde belirlendiğini iddia eden determinist paradigmaya dönüşmüştür (Bassin ve Berdoulay, 2004: 65-66; Gümüşçü ve Yiğit, 2023: 343-346).

1900-1950 arası dönemde tarihi coğrafya araştırmalarında benimsenen yaklaşımlar ise Bassin ve Berdoulay, (2004) tarafından şöyle sırlanabilir: İlki "**yatay kesit yaklaşımı"** olup amaç "zaman içinde tarihsel kesitleri" incelemektir. Böylece ortaya çıkan parçaların/dilimlerin, söz konusu bölgenin veya ülkenin tarihsel kesit anında tam bir coğrafi resminin temsili hedeflenmiştir. Gilbert'in, tarihi coğrafya nedir? sorusuna verdiği aşağıdaki cevaptan kolayca anlaşılır. İkincisi "**genetik tarihi coğrafya**"dır. Tarihi coğrafyacılar dikkatlerini "genetik kültürel peyzaj"a yönlendirerek analizlerinde, Urlandschaft (ilkel peyzaj) olarak adlandırılan hipotetik bir ilkel durumdan, tarihsel değişim ve gelişim sürecine odaklanmışlardır. Bu dönemde tarihi coğrafyacıların en çok ilgilendikleri konu yerleşme coğrafyası olmuştur. Üçüncüsü "**beşeri coğrafya olarak tarihi coğrafya**"dır. Belirli bir zamanda ve yerdeki insan yerleşmesini, hareketliliğini ve mesleğinin tasviri gerçekleştirilir. Farklı dönemlerde var olan yerleşmeler, köylerin ve kasabaların lokasyonları tartışılır; nüfus dağılışı ve yoğunluğu betimlenir. Tarihi coğrafyacının araştırdığı her dönem için, yolların ve diğer ulaşım araçlarının, tarımın, sanayinin ve ticari hayatın bir analizi gerçekleştirilir (Bassin ve Berdoulay, 2004: 67-70; Gümüşçü ve Yiğit, 2023: 347-352).

3. Türkiye'deki Durumu Aktörler Üzerinden Okumak

Osman Gümüşçü, *XVI. Yüzyıl Larende (Karaman) Kazasında Yerleşme ve Nüfus* başlıklı doktora tezini 1997 yılında tamamlayarak doktor unvanını almıştır. Doktora tezi 2001 yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından basılan Gümüşçü, 2006 yılında *Tarihi Coğrafya* isimli kitabını yayınlamıştır. Bu kitap ilk defa tarihi coğrafyanın bilimsel sistematikteki yerini, temel kavramlarını, ilişkili disiplinlere varıncaya değin ele alan ve bugün tarihi coğrafyanın ülkemizde doğru anlaşılmasının ilk kilometre taşıdır. Doktora tezi ve sonrasında yaptığı akademik çalışmalar ile ülkemizde tarihi coğrafyanın en önde gelen temsilcisi olan Osman Gümüşçü'nün eserleri referans alınarak çalışma konuları bir kelime bulutuna dönüştürüldüğünde özellikle tarihi yerleşme coğrafyası, tarih atlası, coğrafya tarihi, iç göç, tarihi ulaşım coğrafyası gibi konular ön plana çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca tarihi coğrafyaya ilişkin telif eserlerinin hem kişisel kariyerinde hem de Türk coğrafyacılığında ayrı bir yeri vardır.



Şekil. 1: Bassin ve Berdoulay (2004) dönemlendirme ve tasnifine göre O. Gümüşçü'nün çalışmalarında öne çıkan temalar.

Kelime bulutundaki örüntü ile Osman Gümüşçü'nün tarihi coğrafya pratiği Bassin ve Berdoulay, (2004) tarafından belirtilen 1900-1950 arası dönemdeki tarihi coğrafya araştırmalarına karşılık gelmektedir. Özellikle "yatay kesit", "genetik tarihi coğrafya" (hususiyle de yerleşme coğrafyası), "beşeri coğrafya olarak tarihi coğrafya"ya ilişkin çalışmalar ön plana çıkmaktadır.

O. Gümüşçü'nün akademik çalışmalarının yanı sıra danışmanlığını yaptığı tezlere bakıldığında 2 doktora tezi ve 4 yüksek lisans tezi karşımıza çıkar. Yüksek lisans tezlerinin tarihi coğrafya (N. Engiz, 2019. Osmanlı kroniklerine göre Türkiye iklimi), coğrafya tarihi (E. Akaya Bozdoğan, 2019. İdrîsî'nin Nüzhetü'l-Müştâḳ Fi'ḫtirâḳı'l-Afâḳ adlı eserinin batı literatürüne göre değerlendirilmesi), arazi kullanımı (H. Kesgin, 2021. Kalecik (Ankara) ve Söke (Aydın) ilçelerinde karşılaştırmalı arazi kullanımı ve planlama önerileri) ve sosyal bilgiler eğitimi (G. Bengiç, 2008. İlköğretim 6. ve 7. sınıf öğrencilerinin öğrenme stilleri ile sosyal bilgiler dersindeki başarıları arasındaki ilişki) alanında olduğu görülmektedir. Danışmanlığı yapılan doktora tezleri (İ. Yiğit, 2018. XVI-XX. yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da kaybolan yerleşmeler: Manisa-Konya örneği; S. Top Yılmaz, 2023. Türkiye Toponimisi) ise tarihi coğrafya alanındadır. Gümüşçü'nün lisansüstü eğitimde tarihi coğrafya alanında tezler yaptırmasının yanı sıra coğrafya tarihine ilişkin de tezler yaptırmaya devam ettiği dikkati çeker.

Mehmet Bayartan, doktora derecesini *XIX. Yüzyılda Kütahya Şehrinin Tarihi Coğrafyası* başlıklı tezi ile 2003 yılında almıştır. Doktora tezi, temettuat defterleri kullanılarak hazırlanan bir tarihi coğrafya çalışma olması hasebiyle öncüdür. Doktora sonrasında tarihi şehir coğrafyasına ilişkin eserler kaleme almaya devam eden Bayartan, bu çalışmalarını bir araya getirerek *Osmanlı Şehirleri Coğrafi Araştırmalar* ismiyle yayınlamıştır. Müellifin tarihi coğrafya çalışmalarının yanı sıra çağdaş

manada şehir ve turizm konularına eğildiği de dikkatlerden kaçmamaktadır. M. Bayartan tarafından yapılan çalışmaların konuları bir kelime bulutu haline getirildiğinde en öne çıkan kelime hiç şüphesiz tarihi şehir coğrafyasıdır. Bunu çağdaş bağlamda şehir coğrafyası, tarihi ekonomik ve sosyal coğrafya, mekan, turizm, coğrafya tarihi takip eder.



Şekil. 2: Bassin ve Berdoulay (2004) dönemlendirme ve tasnifine göre M. Bayartan'ın çalışmalarında öne çıkan temalar.

M. Bayartan'ın tarihi coğrafya pratiği Bassin ve Berdoulay, (2004) tarafından ortaya konulan 1900-1950 arası dönemin özelliği olan "genetik tarihi coğrafya" (özellikle de tarihi şehir coğrafyası) ve "beşeri coğrafya olarak tarihi coğrafya"ya karşılık gelmektedir.

Danışmanlığı yapılan lisansüstü tezlere bakıldığında 10 yüksek lisans tezi bulunmakta olup bunların tamamı çağdaş coğrafya (şehir coğrafyası, siyasi coğrafya, ulaşım coğrafyası, ziraat coğrafyası) sahasındadır. Doktora tezlerine gelindiğinde ise 3 doktora tezinden 2'si tarihi coğrafya alanında (D. S. Kaya, 2019. XIX. yüzyılda Bolu şehrinin tarihi coğrafyası; M. Zayım, 2023. Antik Dönem Likya Bölgesi ve şehirlerinin coğrafi açıdan değerlendirilmesi) biri ise siyasi coğrafya (E. Kazel, 2021. Türkiye'nin siyasi coğrafyası açısından sınırlar, gümrükler ve güvenlik sorunları: Batı kara hudutlarımız) alanındadır. M. Bayartan'ın özellikle doktora tezlerinde tarihi şehir coğrafyası bağlamında tezlere danışmanlık yaptığı görülmektedir.

İlker Yiğit, 2018 yılında *XVI-XX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Kaybolan Yerleşmeler: Manisa-Konya Örneği* başlıklı tezle doktora derecesini almıştır. Yüksek lisans tezi de (Temettuat Defterlerine Göre XIX. yüzyılda Beyşehir'in Beşeri ve Ekonomik Coğrafyası, 2011) tarihi beşeri ve ekonomik coğrafya alanındadır. Doktora sırasında ve sonrasında tarihi coğrafyanın farklı alanlarında eserler kaleme alan Yiğit'in yaptığı çalışmalar konuları itibariyle bir kelime bulutuna dönüştürüldüğünde ise tarihi yerleşme coğrafyası, tarihi ulaşım coğrafyası, arşiv kaynakları/kaynak eserlerin tanıtımı ve analizi, toponimi, tarihi nüfus coğrafyası ön plana

çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca tarihi coğrafyanın teori, kaynak, araştırma yöntemlerine ilişkin çalışmalar da yapmıştır.



Şekil. 3: Bassin ve Berdoulay (2004) dönemlendirme ve tasnifine göre İ. Yiğit'in çalışmalarında öne çıkan temalar.

Bassin ve Berdoulay, (2004) tarafından yapılan dönemlendirme ve tasnife göre İ. Yiğit'in, "genetik tarihi coğrafya" (özellikle de tarihi yerleşme coğrafyası) ve "beşeri coğrafya olarak tarihi coğrafya"ya karşılık gelen çalışmalar yaptığı görülür.

İ. Yiğit üç yüksek lisans tezine danışmanlık yapmış olup bunların tamamı tarihi yerleşme ve tarihi nüfus coğrafyası (Z. Ç. Yazgan, 2021. XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Tefenni kazasında yerleşme ve nüfus; E. Oruç, 2022. XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar kazasında (Acıpayam) nüfus; C. Yücedağ, 2022. XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Bucak ve Kızılkaya kazalarında nüfus) alanındadır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Türkiye'deki tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemlerinin uygulanışına bakıldığında Bassin ve Berdoulay, (2004) tarafından ortaya konulan 1900-1950 arası döneme karşılık geldiği dikkati çeker. Bu noktada özellikle yatay kesit, genetik tarihi coğrafya ve beşeri coğrafya olarak tarihi coğrafyanın ciddi temsili olduğu belirtilebilir. Ayrıca tarihi coğrafya araştırmalarında varlığını sürdüren ve dolayısıyla da hala izleri çeşitli araştırmalarda görülebilen yeniden inşa, tarihi peyzaj ve çevresel etkileşim konularını içeren çalışmalar da söz konusudur.

Tarihsel değişim ve gelişim sürecine odaklanan çalışmalara İ. Yiğit tarafından gerçekleştirilen kaybolan, yeni kurulan, nitelik değiştiren köyleri ele aldığı doktora tezi buradan hareketle

ürettiği yayınlar; M. Bayartan'ın "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Kütahya Şehrinin Yapı Taşları: Mahalleler" başlıklı çalışması ve O. Gümüşçü'nün "Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Geçiş ve Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Türkiye de Halk Sağlığı" araştırması örnek olarak verilebilir.

Beşeri coğrafya olarak tarihi coğrafya bağlamında aktörler tarafından gerçekleştirilen şehir, yerleşme (O. Gümüşçü, 2019. Türk İskan Sistemi; M. Bayartan, 2005. "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Bir İdari Birim: Mahalle"), nüfus (İ. Yiğit, 2020. "Burdur ve Çevre Kazalarda Nüfus (1834)"), ekonomi (M. Bayartan, (2008), "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Madenlerinin Coğrafi Dağılışı"), sanayi (İ. Yiğit, Z. Ç. Yazgan 2021. "Osmanlı Dönemi Bir Sanayi İşletmesi Olarak Değirmenler: Tosya Nahiyesi Örneği (1578/1579)"), tarım (İ. Yiğit, C. Yücedağ, 2020. "XIX. Yüzyıl Anadolu'sunda Tarımsal Ürün Çeşitliliği") vb. çalışmalar ise oldukça zengin bir örnek grubu oluşturur.

Yatay kesit yaklaşımının da Türkiye'de yapılan tarihi coğrafya çalışmalarında uygulandığı görülür. Özellikle O. Gümüşçü 16.Yüzyıl Larende (Karaman) Kazası'nda Yerleşme ve Nüfus "Deforastation in Sixteenth Century Anatolia: The Case Study of Hüdavendigar Sancak"; Bayartan'ın *XIX. Yüzyılda Kütahya Şehrinin Tarihi Coğrafyası*, "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Madenlerinin Coğrafi Dağılışı"; İ. Yiğit, Temettuat defterlerine göre XIX. yüzyılda Beyşehir'in Beşeri ve Ekonomik Coğrafyası, XVI-XX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Kaybolan Yerleşmeler: Manisa-Konya Örneği, "XVI Yüzyıldan Günümüze Tosya Şehri ve Kırsalında Su Değirmenleri Tespit Süreç ve Değişim" vb. eserler belirtilebilir.

Sonuç olarak Türkiye'deki aktörlerin bölgesel coğrafya (idiografik) bakış açısı, geçmiş mekanın yeniden inşası, kaynak tanıtımı ve kullanımı, tarihi coğrafyanın teorik yapısına ilişkin eserler kaleme almak suretiyle 1900-1950 yılları arasındaki tarihi coğrafya araştırma yöntemlerine büyük ölçüde karşılık gelen araştırmalar yaptığı görülmektedir. Tam bu noktada ülkemizde yeni yeni gelişme gösteren tarihi coğrafyanın temsil ve uygulamalar bağlamında alınması gereken çok uzun bir yol olduğu da belirtilmelidir. Ancak burada şu husus ta belirtilmelidir ki o da 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında başlayan çok paradigmalı coğrafya pratiğine koşut tarihi coğrafya sahasında da dünyada ortaya çıkan araştırma yöntemlerine uygun çalışmalar gerçekleştirme gibi bir ödev bulunmaktadır. Öncelikle bu çalışmaları bilmek, pratik etmek ve hepsinden önemlisi de alana yeni giren araştırmacılara tarihi coğrafyanın bu yönünü göstererek destek olmak, ön açmak ve cesaretlendirmek aktörlerin önemli bir sorumluluğudur.

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Converging Theory for Digital Transformation for Higher Education Teacher Training: The South African Context

Alice Dhliwayo[1] & Thuthukile Jita[2]

Abstract

Digital transformation in education for sub-Saharan Africa is a long-argued concept by scholars. The stark digital divide between the global north and south is a reality that is perpetuating inherent colonial legacies in higher education. The impact on teacher education creates incessant traditional modes of pedagogical practices, retarding citizenry's full participation in the global 21st century information economy. This paper presents a novel approach through converging two theories, the capability approach and the agency theory for the multifaceted digital transformational hindrances peculiar to South Africa. We do this by focusing on major tenets of capability approach and converge them with those of the agency theory in relation to transformed teacher training programs. By examining best practices and innovative approaches, we present possible alternatives for sustainable development of digital pedagogies in preservice teacher training. The paper recommends context-based approach to digital technologies integration in higher education teacher training programs for sub-Saharan Africa and that the relationship between individual agency and social systems be viewed as critical when charting developmental programs.

Keywords: Capability approach, critical theory, digital pedagogy, digital divide.

Introduction

A variety of approaches have been implemented to build a viable digital technology participation for sub-Sahara African (SSA) higher education institutes, with a view to impact the greater region and scale the digital divide. According to Radovanović et al (2020), these attempts have generally been techno-centric and inherently culturally and politically biased, meaning, the same practices implemented for the global north were also implemented for former colonies in the global south, and the resultant impact is the widening digital divide so many years into the 21st century information economy (Research ICT Africa, 2017; Bravo et al., 2021). Thus, for the SSA region, entrenched in colonial legacies and historical disparities, the widening digital gap is perpetuating poverty, inequalities and frustrating creation of a just playing field in the global knowledge economy (Research ICT Africa, 2017). Quraish et al

[1]PhD, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa; Dhliwayo.A@ufs.ac.za
[2]PhD, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa; jitat@ufs.ac.za

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(2024), sights global citizenship as premised on digital literacy and a prerequisite for equal participation for sustainable development and poverty eradication.

The development of African education systems has long been on the global agenda too, for instance, the UN education framework of 2005 which emphasized on equality and quality, defined equality in education as requisite for previously underprivileged environments (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Accordingly, quality was based on measurable learning outcomes in numeracy, literacy and essential life skills (UNESCO, 2007). This approach by the UN is premised on human rights to education, in education and rights through education, which saw the development of child friendly schools, where the interest of the student is central and shifted methodology to student centered learning (UNICEF, 2009; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). However, some scholars still view schooling and education in its current state in former colonies like South Africa as reproducing inherent colonial inequalities evident in non-digitalization of instruction in the majority of rural and urban township schools (Chisango et al., 2020; Mdingi & Chigona, 2021; Tigere & Netshitangani, 2022), where in some cases there is provision of technology infrastructure without implementation skills (Zenda & Dhlamini, 2023).

Various studies on technology across educational levels have been carried out in South Africa (Dzansi & Amedzo, 2014; Spangenberg & De Freitas, 2019; Tunjera & Chigona, 2020; Isaacs, 2020; Venketsamy & Zijing, 2022; Mangundu, 2023; Olayinka, et al., 2024), and the results have again and again showed a dearth in implementation and sometimes in infrastructural provisions, mostly for formerly apartheid disadvantaged schools and universities (Olaopa, 2023). Government's will is evident to some extent in the provision of essential ICT developments especially for universities, however, in such cases, the challenge sighted by literature is the absence of training in subject specific integration skills for educators (Venketsamy & Zijing, 2022), instead, most training offered in these environments are digital literacy skills (Tunjera & Chigona, 2020; Mangundu, 2023). If this is happening in higher education (Olayinka et al., 2024), the product, from the preservice teacher training joins the world of work to perpetuate traditional modes of instruction with a cosmetic application of technology (Timmis, et al., 2021), that is some form of digital literacy skills as modelled by teacher educators.

Without technological skills, the United Nations' (the UN's) concept of sustainable development, in terms of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Agenda 2030, become a pipe dream for most African countries south of the Sahara (Radovanović et al., 2020). The SDGs framework for international cooperation listed access to internet as one of the fundamental human rights and also as basic to the achievement of the SDGs, especially SDG4, which is education (UNESCO, 2023). According to Mohammed (2019), the cooperation framework is the UN's collective offer of support for countries as they address the SDGs to leave no country and no one behind. Given this ideology, it is easy to understand the wholesale provision of digital infrastructures for SSA uniformly with other regions without deference to political, cultural or economic uniqueness of the region. What is needed are innovative strategies that are SSA region specific, cognicence of its unique geo-political social and economic attributes (Olaopa, 2023). In this context, we contribute to literature towards scaling the digital divide as a way of transforming higher education through enhanced digital

access by proposing strategies that draw upon guiding theories and principles of the capability approach and agency to inform a contextualized way forward.

Digital pedagogy and educational transformation

Scholars have long studied the convergence of digital pedagogy and transformation in higher education in SSA (Adu, 2014; Amoah, 2014; Knaus et al., 2022; Isaacs, 2020; Moosavi, 2020; Dei, 2022; Zavale, 2023; Batisai, 2024) and they have at length tried to explain the inadequacy of Eurocentric epistemologies in traversing SSA's challenges with digital pedagogies. When teacher educators are equipped to integrate digital technologies in ways that meet the contextual demand unique to SSA, then the process of a truly digitalized educational participation can begin (Radovanović et al., 2020). Preservice teachers trained thus, under such educators become the stopgap wedge for the widening digital divide between the global north and the global south (Isaacs, 2024). Universities in Africa are perceived by scholars as grand resources well equipped to help this transformation at continental levels (Chukueren, 2017; Isaacs, 2020; Knaus et al., 2022). According to Chukwueren (2017), the process of transforming education begins with proper use of digital technologies as the vehicles of content transmission (Walimbwa, 2023) and not as an end in themselves. Scholars agree that there are several initiatives in place for the enhancement of digital transformation process for higher education in SSA, however, the initiatives are barely aligned to the regional technology gap context (Mhlanga, 2021; Mangundu, 2023; Olaopa, 2023).

Transformation in higher education in SSA is challenging, urgent and need to a greater extent, to remove the legacy of colonialism (Chukwueren, 2017; Anjani, 2019), which can be perceived as still influencing structural dynamics and curricular implementation (Olaopa, 2023; Zavale, 2023). According to (Quraishi et al., 2024), digital pedagogy plays a critical role in the success of this process. SSA, six years away from Agenda 2030, has vast areas of the region still unreached by digital technologies and ICTs in education across all levels (Batisai, 2024). While digital technologies are sighted as an enabler in transforming education and bringing about sustainable development for the region (Batisai, 2023), according to Radovanović et al (2020), SSA has high volumes of youths living in its urban slums who are marginalized as regards to digital inclusion and this extends to the schools and universities they attend.

Mitigating the digital divide in South African higher education

To transform higher education for digital pedagogy in South Africa, is an attempt to fully train educators in ways that take cognicence of the cultural, socio-political and economic context of the country to make teaching and learning meaningful, applicable, and the removal of, '… exclusion and perennial attainment gaps' for the majority of blacks (Hayes et al.,2021: 896). Hayes et al., went on to argue that, '[w]e have a long way to go before previously colonized peoples can reclaim their intellectual sovereignty and before the 'pluriverse' is ready to celebrate and benefit from Southern theory and wisdom." (Ibid). Beginning with higher education, precisely with preservice teacher training, there is provision of a critical basis for cascading digitalization proficiency for the transformation of primary and secondary education (Olugbara & Letseka, 2020; Ramnarain et al., 2021). Literature indicates that the country is still struggling with rural urban technology gaps as well as with those in township schools

(Mwapwele et al., 2019; Venketsamy & Zijing, 2022). Six years away from Agenda 2030, research is still reporting a continued struggle with technology gaps in universities where knowledge is premised to begin, (Radovanović et al., 2020; Zavale, 2023).

Woldegiorgis (2022), asserts that access issues for higher education have been perennially critical for South Africa. The country's race towards digitalization and globalization has resulted in widening the digital divide and exacerbating existent inequalities (Menon & Motala, 2021). There are indications of a very long way to achieving a situation of access to affordable ICTs and internet given the World Bank (2019) report that the average penetration rate for the whole continent is 25% and to achieve universal access, an investment of US$100 billion was estimated. At the same time, globalization and information technology revolution are increasing adaptation and implementation challenges (Knaus et al., 2022). Institutions have to work around catch-up strategies which in the process tend to continue widening the digital gap for marginalized communities within itself (UNESCO, 2023). Within such a socio-economic situation, it is not far-fetched to assume a deepening social injustice with the colonially disadvantaged groups continuing in the same, years after independence (Zavale, 2023).

The convergence of the capability approach and agency theory

Ocholla (2020) argues that transformation in high education in SSA is decolonization and as such, cannot be premised on one theory, but on a convergence of theories to stem the increasing difficulties to benefit from globalization. According to Mbembe (2021: 21), there is a need for "… redrawing of the global intellectual map" to make it possible for "the world to be studied from everywhere and anywhere", which can only be possible for SSA if its higher education is transformed for equal participation on that global fora. Converging the capability approach and agency theory has the potential of presenting a possible framework for the desired transformation through digital pedagogy in higher education. Both ideologies emphasize the significance of addressing general inequalities and empowering postcolonial and marginalized communities (Wells, n. d; Olaopa, 2023; Wiseman, 2021; Hayes et al., 2021; Celikates & Flynn, 2023), making them particularly appropriate to efforts on bridging the digital divide in higher education.

Capability approach

The capability approach (CA) was primarily developed by Amartya Sen in the 1980s and later expanded by Martha Nussbaum (Clark, 2006), and proposes a unique philosophy principally for economics (Dang, 2014) but could be borrowed to transform preservice teacher education in universities (Fukuda-Parr & Cid-Martinez, 2019). According to Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy (2020), the CA has emerged in the past decade as the leading alternative standard framework on poverty, human development and inequality. The approach is a theory focused on the moral significance of persons' capability to achieve the life they value according to set reasons (Wells, n. d.).

As a theoretical framework, CA focuses on four key concepts, functionings, capabilities, freedom and agency, which directly address the quality life that individuals are able to achieve

(Dang, 2014), thus critiquing traditional welfare economics that equate well-being either with wealth (income) or utility (desire fulfilment or happiness) (Wells, n.d.). Sen (1983) acknowledged the necessity of the expansion of goods and services and economic growth as essential for human development, however, he agrees with ancient Greek philosophy that the greater good people seek is not wealth and quality of life should be premised upon what people are able to achieve (Dang, 2014), highlighting the fact that different people and different societies also have differing capacities to transform revenue and commodities into valuable achievements (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020).

The CA framework has been applauded for extending the information base when doing an economic evaluation of different groups or societies, doing away with using one framework to fit all (Bajmócy et al, 2022). Sen's framework focuses on people not merely as the means of production in economic indexing but also as an end in themselves (Sen, 2004). The approach takes cognizance of the concept of humans as heterogeneous and diverse in their capabilities in conversion of perceived asserts which are obviously impacted by issues such as race, caste, gender, age etc., usually and sorely ignored (Hart, 2019), in essence, bringing the emphasis on disparities in human agency and acknowledge that cultures, peoples and societies have different aspirations and values that are to be considered in economic assessments and evaluations (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020).

Quality of life therefore should be judged or evaluated in relation to what a particular group of people are able to achieve (ibid), to what extent are a given group able to function with those things as goods and services within their reach as opposed to the utility approach which ignores the fact that life is made up of much more than mere utility (Clark, 2006). For instant, the ability to achieve with say the same amount of money for two differing families; one may be slightly well-off and use it to pay fees and give a child social advantages with education, another may be very poor and use it for basic survival such as food and clothing; same amount but differing conversions based on differing economic situations (Sen, 2004).

Agency theory

This theory, is rooted in organizational behavior and economics (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Pepper & Gore, 2012), as a principle used to resolve or explain relational issues between shareholders as principals and company executives as agents (Kopp, 2023). The relational issues are based on the actions of the principals when they hire and delegate decision making authority to the agent to perform services on their behalf. The theory, thus, assumes a Principe-Agent problem, premised on the concept of the differing interests of an agent and a principal (Kopp, 2023). By definition, the resources used by the agent in the execution of duties on behalf of the principal belong to the principal who entrust them and has little to none day-to-day input but incurs loss if anything happens (Bendickson et al., 2016).

Agency theory gives individuals and entities autonomy to act towards desired goals or outcomes (Zogning, 2017). According to Syafriadi et al. (2023), agency is a framework that mediates misalignments of interests and potential conflicts due to differences in goals and motivations. They argue that it is most suitable in its mandate as it deals with basic human economic endeavors by using strategies such as incentives and contracts to control agent compliance and minimize losses. Applied to digital transformation, agency emphasizes the role

of administrators and other decision makers within higher education institutes in driving technological transformation and innovation for organizational change as opposed to leaving the job for government initiatives only (Wood, 2011). The proxy within university structures, through adoption of agency framework, can be made to bring about noticeable development when goals are clarified, incentives are aligned and accountability fostered through mutually agreed work contracts (Urbanek, 2020).

Reconceptualizing capability and agency for digital transformation

Converging the capability approach and the agency theory offer a unique and comprehensive framework for addressing the multifaceted obstructions towards digitally transformed higher education in South Africa. This can be achieved by building digital innovation on the diverse cultural and socio-economic contexts within the country (Du Plessis, 2021), establishing capabilities needed by preservice teachers for navigating digital transformation within those contexts. We will do that by focusing on the major tenets of the capability approach and converging them with those of the agency theory in relation to digital transformation for the South African context, which besides being sub-Saharan, is also post- colonial (Timmis et al., 2021).

Empowering individuals

Both the CA and AT share a three-fold strength, the first being their cognisance of human diversity in their abilities as regards the extent to which individuals are able to convert available resources to achieve success (Dang, 2014; Pepper & Gore, 2012). For South Africa, apartheid did not impact the same on rural educational institutes and urban ones (Du Plessis, 2021), while it is important to provide infrastructure in both rural and urban settings, conversion for use processes must differ to consider context of access and use for true transformation (Hart, 2019; Bajmócy et al, 2022). This holistic approach to development ensures that all equipment provided is put to full potential use by users at their differing levels of efficacy and skills acquisition measured in a continuum where all concerned make a conscious free choice of extent of use for their individual wellbeing (Dang, 2014). In preservice teacher training, the emphasis on empowerment from AT makes preservice teachers' agents of their own professional development and learning (Pepper & Gore, 2012), in a South African context, where educational systems are predominantly top-down, to facilitate dismantling this colonial legacy (Christie, 2020).

Disregarding the foregoing is why we are where we are as SSA, with lots of infrastructure in many universities and bare use or modelling for teacher educators resulting in widening digital gaps (Knaus et al., 2022; Zavale, 2023). In some instances, none participation in the 21st century global knowledge economy (Isaacs, 2020; Moosavi, 2020; Batisai, 2024), making evaluation of digital transformation rates much more comprehensive than just based on uniform resource availability.

Equipping universities with digital infrastructure is assumed to mean digital transformation for education, yet on its own, it has proved inadequate (Tunjera & Chigona, 2020). Teacher educators are facing challenges in integration and modelling for preservice teachers (Olayinka

et al., 2024). CA's focus, not only on material resources but also on how individuals have freedom of choice and ability to convert resources available into valuable functionings (Sen, 1983). This makes it imperative for providers to consider empowerment of individuals aligned to their individual differences and tasks (Clark, 2006).

Conjoining Agency theory with capability approach means institutes acquire autonomy to convert the digital infrastructure according to their unique cultural, political and economic situation (Zogning, 2017). This is done to address functionality and optimum access within given communities the university finds itself in (Safriadi et al., 2023). By working on the digital capabilities of educators and administrators, institutes ensure preservice teachers are empowered to fully participate in the global knowledge economy, first steps in scaling the digital divide. The approach is far removed from the present evaluations focused on digital literacy skills acquisition divorced from subject specific integration [individual task differences] (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020), which would enable educators to develop comprehensive capabilities critical for effective pedagogical practices.

Fostering agency

Agency achievement in CA is defined as the totality of a person's success in pursuit of their goals and objectives as a measure for their wellbeing (Urbanek, 2020), while AT provides autonomy for higher education institutions to provide agents that work towards satisfying individual goals and aspirations of educators and preservice teachers alike through contractual relationships and incentives as a basis for commitment (Zogning, 2017). The availability of committed agents towards excellence of performance in the transformation of institutes through focused training of educators and support systems cognicence of social, cultural and economic realities of particular institutes, provides a conducive environment for professional growth and wellbeing in the execution of their duties as teachers and role models for preservice teachers. Striving towards attainment of requisite skills becomes a choice which is readily attainable. AT entails that preservice teachers are given the space to be responsible for their own learning through methodologies that involve participatory approaches, opportunities for collaborative learning and encouraging innovation (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020).

Adopting a convergence approach with tenets of CA and those of AT upholds universities' pivotal role as change agents driving technology innovation with a slant towards decoloniality for SSA countries. The framework fosters collaboration, as policy makers work with university administration as agents to achieve unique African goals and aspiration (Anjani & Simmonds, 2022). Administrators in turn work with staff for professional development (Lumadi, 2021), all for the benefit of the student, in this case the preservice teacher. Such seamless adaptations by universities leverage digital technologies to improve pedagogical quality and expand access (Mwapwele et al., 2019; Tunjera & Chigona, 2020). Wholesome support and digital technology availability eradicates fear and increases confidence for use by teacher educators promoting research excellency as they try new things and utilize commodity for goal attainment and aspirations. Infrastructure is not just put there, as scholars attests that in some public schools' digital tools are locked up, never used and safe from damage so government will find them intact when they come for inspection (Ndlovu & Meyer, 2023; Olayinka et al., 2024).

Contextually inclusive development

When preservice teachers come into higher education institutes, they are from diverse circumstances and contexts. The impact of apartheid on South Africa as a country was not uniform (Timmis et al., 2021). Some rural schools were never exposed to digitalization in all its facets (Radovanović et al, 2020). The CA takes cognicence that people's capabilities are shaped by diverse factors that include but not limited to cultural, social, political and economic contexts (Gumbo, 2023). In teacher training, this would imply an acknowledgement and focused addressing of these diverse needs, challenges and backgrounds that they bring to their education. Bringing in AT to this CA, digital transformation initiatives become flexible and responsive to contextual realities and individual differences (Sen, 2004), in this case, one size does not fit all in the use and choices of digital tools. Converging CA and AT towards digital transformation of educational institutes ensures that initiatives are such that they would also prioritise the aspirations and needs of the marginalised from underserved population groups and from rural communities, at the same time equally serving those from 'better' environments.

Colonialism in education has left an indelible mark in the minds of former colonized groups, that of being content with very little and failure to recognize subtle oppressive systems even years after independence, evident in the struggle to decolonize higher education curricular (Du Plessis, 2021). According to Sen (2004), people can co-opt their hardships and circumstances so much such that they cease to desire or strive for what they perceive as unattainable for them. Thus, with teacher education, instead of perpetuating traditional modes of education with cosmetic technology integration which foster the colonial status quo, CA's focus on objective evaluation of adaptive preferences combined with AT to create environments based on context (Kopp, 2023), that provide students with capabilities to convert digital tools into functions that allow for achieving the life that hitherto was unachievable, the ability to fully participate in the global information economy as equal players (Sen, 2004; Woldegiorgis, 2022). Critical to CA is the concept of empowerment and agency, encouraging preservice teachers to engage in collaborative inquiry, develop their professional identity and question existing practices.

Addressing Structural Constraints

Both CA and AT theories highlight the crucial concept of addressing organisational constraints that may obstruct digital transformation attempts (Dang, 2014; Zogning, 2017; Hart, 2019; Baymocy et al., 2022; Kopp, 2023). While universities in South Africa have invested in infrastructural development for digital transformation, there still exist some gaps in tools, software and more so in human capacity development (Tunjera & Chigona, 2020). The situation for rural higher education institutes is compounded by load shedding and power outages. These disparities in educational resources result in unequal opportunities to learn for preservice teachers (Jita & Sintema, 2018), perpetuating colonial legacies. Through AT, social justice interventions that are institution specific can be designed with a view to both provide resources and conversion capabilities for all preservice teachers to achieve the lives they value (Sen, 2004), regardless of the institution they train from. This becomes possible through systemic changes actuated by autonomous activities of individual institutes towards

transformative educational provision aligned to the existent global economy (Ramnund-Mansingh & Reddy, 2021).

The World Bank (2019), on universal connectivity through broadband by 2030, especially aimed at connecting Africa, indicated that sub-Saharan Africa has the most extremely poor people than the rest of the world combined and is home to 27 out of 28 poorest countries of the world. Of significance are the reasons for such a scenario given by the report as income inequalities, weak institutions and failure to channel resources for poverty reduction. The rate of globalization and the growth of information technologies is increasing the digital gap for the region such that an estimated over 300 million people will be unemployed between 2015 and 2035 (ibid) as they would lack 21st century skills demanded by the information economy. According to the UN (2019) roadmap for connecting sub-Saharan Africa, they aim for an acceleration of broadband connectivity for every individual, government and business at the same time promoting technical skills for digital operation and infrastructure maintenance. These sterling ambitions beg an answer to the question of finances and the high cost of digital technologies (Woldegiorgis, 2022), World Bank (2019), acknowledged that, affordability has remained the major challenge in resolving this global digital divide.

Financial constraints are common among universities especially rural public ones in South Africa and elsewhere in the sub-Saharan Africa region (World Bank, 2019). However, by converging CA and AT, administrators make decisions that leverage transformational goals contextually. AT underscores the critical concept of empowering organizational leaders and stakeholders which would include teacher educators and preservice teachers with autonomy and needed resources within institutional context to drive their own changes (Pepper & Gore, 2012). Including CA in this matrix provides the lens through which decisions are made and executed. Digital technology and software licenses, acquiring and maintaining them are high-cost endeavors, thus to achieve transformational goals under such daunting impediments, convergence of theories ensures technology is provided within the framework of both availability of public goods and conversion factors, enhancing preservice teachers' actual ability to convert digital tools and software at their disposal into 'doings and beings' (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020).

Research indicates lack of qualified experts in educational technology and instructional designs as major factors militating against effective application of digital pedagogies in SSA, leading to wholesale borrowing from western pedagogical practices with their impact on decoloniality attempts (World Bank, 2019; Adu, 2014; Bravo et al., 2021). Contextualizing digitalization developmental strategies through collaboration, policy reforms and resource mobilization (concepts which both CA and AT uphold), dismantle change resistance (usually in-built within institutional structures), inadequate opportunities for educators' professional development towards confident integration of technology driven pedagogies and general bureaucratic impediments.

Ethical considerations, accountability and governance

Combining AT with the CA proffers a robust framework for improved ethical considerations, governance and accountability, for digital transformation in higher education especially where preservice teacher training is concerned. When CA's emphasis on individuals' freedoms and

capabilities to lead lives of value is applied to digital transformation for teacher training, institutes tend to improve ethical considerations by ensuring that resource provision is inclined towards social justice and inclusivity (Chukwueren, 2017; Hayes et al, 2021; Gumbo, 2023). Thus, paying focused attention on the colonial baggage students bring into the university for improved ethical digital practices and incorporation of indigenous knowledge systems of these students (Hart, 2019; Bajmócy et al, 2022; Gumbo, 2023). Both theories highlight the ethical considerations as important in decision-making for resource allocation (Ajani & Simmons, 2022). In the context of teacher training and digital transformation, for SSA region, it involves guaranteeing culturally sensitive technological interventions, respect of and adaptation of indigenous knowledge systems and taking the wellbeing of both students and communities as a priority (Lumadi, 2021).

The strength of AT is its insights on the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders as they drive development through enhanced accountability and governance. This involves putting on-board all stakeholders and providing them with the incentives and resources needed for effective change driven activities (Kopp, 2023). When incentives are aligned, transparency fostered and objectives are clear, there is effective allocation of resources (Zogning, 2017), coupled with conversion empowerment, resulting in sustainable development (Du Plessis, 2021). The overarching purpose in digital transformation is the product, the graduate. In the case of preservice teacher training, by increasing agency in students embracing and integrating technology, universities foster innovation culture which preservice teachers carry with them into the world of work and cause digital transformation at grassroots levels. This synergistic approach to digital transformation for teacher education, besides skills endowment, includes ethics, accountability and transparency, which is quality education and social development.

Conclusion

From a global perspective, all higher education institutes are in the throes of digital transformation. For SSA countries who are former colonies, true transformation must ensure equality and inclusivity through a decoloniality process, besides quality and access. In this paper, we explored how CA and AT can be converged as a possible solution to enhance this digital transformation in higher education especially in preservice teacher training as a way of transforming the rest of the education system in South Africa and enabling citizenry participation in the information driven global economy for quality life. We argued that the capability approach, when used in tandem with the agency theory has the impetus to provide actionable steps towards inclusive equitable access to digital technologies in education.

Through CA, the paper showed that the relationship between individual agency and the power of social systems must be prioritized when drafting developmental programs. Individual capabilities and freedoms for valuable lives emphasize the crucial concept of equitable access to digital resources linked to social justice and ethical considerations for effective digital transformation. Simultaneously, AT stressed the roles and responsibilities of the sum total of stakeholders, contextually, in driving structural objectives through empowering individuals with incentives, resources, and autonomy necessary for this change. Moreover, the approach promotes practical governance structures that can facilitate communication, decision-making and collaboration which is a sustainable way of continuous digital development initiatives for higher education in the context of the SSA. We believe that as South Africa continues to

navigate the intricacies of digital transformation in higher education, leveraging the combined theories of CA and AT, is a possible pathway towards ethically responsible, equitable and inclusive, education in the present digital age.

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Triumfos del Águila: History and Epideictic Rhetoric in Penso's Address to Jan III Sobieski (1683)

Eleazar Gutwirth[1]

Abstract

This study examines Triumfos del Águila by Joseph Penso de la Vega, a significant yet underexplored work written to commemorate King Jan III Sobieski's victory at the 1683 Battle of Vienna. As a Jewish Baroque literary creation, the work blends history and epideictic rhetoric, offering insights into Hispano-Jewish culture and Sephardi literary traditions. While emphasizing classical influences like Petrarch, Penso employs intricate metaphorical structures and erudite allusions, indicative of the Baroque style. The study highlights the dual identity of Amsterdam Sephardim, torn between Jewish heritage and their converso past, and how this manifests in Penso's panegyric to a Catholic monarch. Additionally, it contextualizes Triumfos del Águila within a broader literary reaction to the Ottoman siege, positioning it among contemporary European encomia and triumphalist writings. Penso's engagement with visual motifs and classical rhetoric underlines his innovative synthesis of Jewish and European literary traditions. This paper underscores the work's importance in understanding the cultural dynamics of the 17th-century Sephardic diaspora, linking it to long-standing traditions of panegyrics dedicated to Christian rulers. Furthermore, it advocates for a reassessment of Jewish literary contributions to early modern European intellectual history.

Keywords: Joseph Penso de la Vega, Sephardi Culture, Baroque Literature, Panegyric Traditions, Battle of Vienna

Introduction

The Battle of Vienna, at Kahlenberg Mountain, ended on 12 September 1683, in the victory against the Ottoman forces which had besieged the city for two months. The victors were the Holy Roman Empire (notionally led by the Habsburg king) and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, under the command of King Jan III Sobieski. The swift European literary reactions to this specific historical event include a book (1683) of more than 120 pages by the Jewish author, active in Livorno/Amsterdam, Josseph Penso de la Vega: *Los triumphos del Aguila y eclipses de la Luna / que en reverente panegirico consagra al Invicto Rey de Polonia Don Josseph de la Vega, por la memorable victoria que alcanço contra la Potencia Ottomana su valor, librando de su formidable*

[1] Em. Prof. Dr., Tel Aviv University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Jewish History, gutwirth@tauex.tau.ac.il.

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sitio a Vyena. Amsterdam: Jahacob de Cordova.[2] The work, which has not yet been the object of sustained analysis, is significant for reconstructing, not only the reaction to the specific historical event and its perception by Hispano-Jewish or Western Sephardi readers, but also for an understanding of Penso de la Vega's thought, aesthetic and practices of composing his literary works, and, by extension, something about the state of Sephardi culture at that time and place.

Translation

As it is well known, scholars do not dismiss translations as banal. Amongst other reasons, this is because translations constitute prime evidence of an author's reception history. In the case of Josseph Penso de la Vega (d. 1692) we are not surprised by the frequently repeated mentions of the existence of translations of his *Confusion de confusiones*[3] published in Amsterdam, 1688, famous as the first description of the [Amsterdam] Stock Exchange. Although the work of this Jewish Baroque author *par excellence* (Bnaya, 2008) is highly rhetorical and literary, its financial subject is thought to be relevant and it has certainly attracted the broadest audience of all his books. Anyone, since the nineteenth century, who has braved reading the texts of the prolific author, whether his Hebrew prose, his unedited prosimetrics[4], unpublished Hebrew poetry, (unstudied) Portuguese sermon or his Spanish books, knows that simplicity and ease of reading are not their hallmark. If we add the fundamental Baroque quality-what to readers today may seem at first sight as- the extravagant excess of his attempts at word play, erudite allusions and analogies to ancient Greco-Roman and biblical texts, we realize that any translation of a Penso work is a laborious and admirable achievement that requires skill. It also attests to the text's *fortuna*, its attraction or success even if unnoticed today. That is why it is worth mentioning [although completely against the convention of writings on him] that – apart from the *Confusion* – the only other composition by Penso which has been translated is precisely our subject here, the earlier (1683) *Triumphos del Aguila* (Święcicki, 1883).[5]

Nevertheless, a comparison with the critical heritage on the later *Confusion* shows clearly that Penso's earlier *Triumphos* have barely elicited critical work. Partly, this might be explained by the attitudes to the literary type of the panegyric in general. Indeed, it has been argued – although not in a Sephardi context - that a Romantic perspective has marginalized the genre because it was felt that it was not "authentic". It is only in recent years that the panegyric in Spanish is beginning to be taken seriously:

> La razón principal de este desconocimiento no se le escapa a nadie: durante más de dos siglos los prejuicios decimonónicos contra las composiciones de alabanza han pesado no poco en nuestro

[2] All page references are to this edition. For the historical background see e.g. Baer, M. D. (2011): Barker, T. M. (1997): Stoye, J. (2011): Waissenberger, R. (1983): Ferenc Tóth, (2018); Friedrich Edelmayer: (2018); Anna Kalinowska, (2018); Yasir Yilmaz (2018).

[3] For discussions on the subject of his fame and further references to publications on him see, amongst others, Gutwirth, Eleazar (1994, 2001, 2004), Further work on Confusion in Smith-Ruiu, (2024); Cardoso (2002).

[4] For his animal fables, see Meir Bnaya (2006).

[5] Julijan Adolf Święcicki seems an interesting personality for his place and date. He was the author of a work on Jewish literature (*Historya literatury żydowskiej*) and was also a Hispanist who translated Golden Age classics (Lope, Tirso, Alarcon] into Polish.

> campo de estudio, relegando al silencioso olvido un notable conjunto de textos o arrinconándolos en una posición marginal... (Jesús Ponce Cárdenas, 2018).[6]

This rests on a better acquaintance with the writings on rhetoric of the Renaissance humanists and their later followers, as well as their distant, ancient, Classical ultimate antecedents. This critical neglect and lack of analysis is behind the need to attend in the following lines to Penso's *Triumphos del Aguila* dedicated to Jan III Sobieski, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania.

Triunfos

The titles of Baroque panegyrics – such as the *Triumfos* – mention the main metaphor of the book and not the object of the panegyric. The *águila* of the title is the symbolic visual device of Jan III. *Triumfo*, the first part of the title of Penso's composition, is a category denoting a genre, which we find in the titles of numerous literary works of Amsterdam Sephardim in Spanish. They go from the triumph of popular government[7] to the triumph of Portugal amongst numerous others. At first, they seem to appear as unprecedented Christian concepts in seventeenth century Amsterdam Sephardi thought and mind set. Such *triumfos* and panegyrics by Jews to Christian personalities bring up again the question of whether the Sephardim of Amsterdam (many of whom had a converso, Catholic background for generations) had an untraditional, reconstituted mentality in which the Jewish and the Christian cultures were in constant conflict, split into two *Gespleten zielen, Gespaltene Seelen* or *Almas en litigio* rather than being in contact with the centuries-old internal traditions.

"Triumph" is indelibly associated with the last work by Petrarch. Penso mentions him explicitly: "cante por este segundo Midas el Petrarca" (p. 5). This does not imply necessarily a contact with the Tuscan text. The *Triomphi* had a Spanish *fortuna*.[8] In our context, one cannot ignore the Sephardi attitude to Petrarch. The best-known case is Solomon Usque's translation into Spanish of the Sonnets, a work he dedicated to Alejandro Farnese, Prince of Parma and Piacenza: *Los sonetos, canciones, madrigals y sextinas del gran poeta y orador Francisco Petrarca, traducidos de Toscano por Salvsque Lusitano* (Venecia, 1567). Amatus Lusitanus mentions fondly the translation and the translator. Pyrrhus Lusitanus/ Flavius Eborensis is also a Jew who composed poetry in the mid-sixteenth century,[9] though not in Hebrew or Spanish but in Neo-

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[6] Amsterdam Jews expressed their ideas, of course, in Aramaic, Hebrew, Spanish and Portuguese. For the relevance of texts in Spanish to Amsterdam Jewish thought in the seventeenth century see an example in Yosef Kaplan (1978).

[7] Miguel de Barrios, *Triumpho del Govierno Popular, y de la Antiguedad Holandesa* 1683; idem, *El Duelo de los Applausos , y Triumpho de los Triumphos , retrato de Guilielmo III, Monarcha Britanico. Panegyrico en la entrada que hizo en el Haya*. Hayae Comit, 1691; idem, *Triumpho epitalamico de los Señores Abraham Suaso y de Doña Sara Suaso ; Aplauso armonico á Salomon Juda Leon* 1686; Manuel de Leao, *...Triumpho Lusitano, Applausos festivos , sumptuosidades regias nos augustos Desposorios do Inclyto D. Pedro Segundo com a Serenissima Maria Sofia Isabel de Baviera , Monarcas de Portugal.* Brussels 1688. David Cohen Azevedo,*Triumphos da virtude : Sermão á occasião do natalicio de Guillermo V., Principe de Orange* . Amsterdam, D. de Meldola, 1788.

[8] For the Sephardi *Nachleben* of the *soneto al itálico modo* see, for example, the case of the sonnets published in seventeenth century Smyrna (1659) studied in E Gutwirth, (2022). For the Hispano-Christian *fortuna* see Anne J. Cruz; Javier Lorenzo, (2020), For the completely different question of the Hebrew *fortuna* of the sonnet see e.g. Bregman, Dvora, and Ann Brener (1991).

[9] For his possible relevance to Sephardi culture see E. Gutwirth's study of his links to the hispano-Jewish tradition (2023).

Latin. Further research might recover the precise traces of Petrarchism in his work, which (like the Italian poet's) is also intensely concerned with exile. Somewhat earlier, we have the case of the poem by Moses Remos which Israel Abrahams named "prothanation" (Abrahams, 1926). Written in contemplation of death, (Schirmann, H. & Fleischer, E. (1997) it lists – one by one – the fields of knowledge which will be diminished by his passing. They give the impression of a procession of abstract entities. It has therefore been compared to a triumph (Gutwirth, 2011). Finally, we have the description of Doña Gracia with her forty ladies-in-waiting and their entry into Constantinople in the 1540s. The *Viaje de Turquia* refers to them as a Triunfo:

> Pues judíos me decid que se huyen pocos! No había más que yo no supiese nuevas de toda la cristiandad, de muchos que se iban desta manera a ser judíos o moros, entre los cuales fue un día una señora portoguesa que se llamaba doña Beatriz Méndez, muy rica, y entró en Constantinopla *con cuarenta caballos y cuatro carros triunfales* llenos de damas y criadas españolas. No menor casa llevaba que un duque de España y podíalo hacer, que es muy rica, y se hacía hacer la salva... (*Viaje*, cap. De las mujeres).

That author employs the concept of *triunfo* to describe Doña Gracia's chariots and the entry [*Carro triunfal*] into Constantinople of the (formerly conversa) descendant of the Hispano-Jewish dynasty of *francos*, the Benvenistes. We have then, the testimony of a contemporary, also from an Iberian culture, also in Constantinople, who employs an Ibero-Romance language, who knows how to interpret Doña Gracia's behaviour without the difficulties which might be encountered by someone unfamiliar with that precise culture and period. Most significant, perhaps, is that we still find, again – more than a century later – in Sephardi Amsterdam, the publication of a book with the title *Carro Triumphal* (Gutwirth, 2020). It may be described also as concerned with a military victory. In an Amsterdam Sephardi milieu, *carro triumphal* was evidently not an ephemeral, incomprehensible formula. That is to say that there is a Sephardi history of interest in, and acceptance of the revival of the ancient Roman concept. In other words, in practice, despite the popularity of Van Praag's theory of split personalities, in this case we have no clear "division of souls"[10], no clear conflict between a putatively unprecedented and Christian concept which appears suddenly amongst the Sephardim of the seventeenth century on the one hand and a Jewish tradition on the other, but, rather, an ambiguity between the Christian Spanish fortuna and the Sephardi fortuna of a Petrarcan sensibility.

Sources

Cataloguers, bibliographers (since Nicolas Antonio) tended to produce global evaluations of Penso's works without – as mentioned above – contact with the global output of the prolific Amsterdam author. This is not surprising, amongst other reasons, given the above mentioned challenging role of Baroque erudition in his style. The study of Penso's sources and of Penso's

[10] Although his idea is frequently mentioned, it has not been noticed that Van Praag's colorful formulation seems to allude to the concept and its wording in a theatre play, namely Alfred Karl Röttger *Gespaltene Seelen. Ein Kammerspiel*. München: Müller-Verlag, 1918. p9: " Wir sind gespaltene Seelen, Als wär'n wir Kinder, aller Umwelt fremd/Ha, brüllend weh tut Einsamkeit. Du kamst/Und warst bei mir die Kindheit lang ich /Im Winkel saß, durch Garten strich und Park /Und meiner Träume Wahrheit suchte; denn wir sind /Wie Brüderchen und Schwesterchen in feindlich fremder Welt." Jonas Andries van Praag (1948); idem, (1950).

treatment of these sources, that is to say the history of reading, is recently gaining prominence, as witnessed by the progress made on the Italian aspect or the question of the *Autos*[11]

In the *Triumpho* he occasionally mentions a source explicitly and even proudly. This is the case of *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico* by Emanuele Thesauro – which he is said to have translated into Spanish but not printed. Its main concern is the invention and wit of ingenious metaphors. It is believed to be one of the most important statements of poetics in seventeenth-century Europe. Penso refers to him as "Aristoteles de Turin y Tertuliano de Saboya" (p. 112) or "...el canoro insigne Thesauro aquel cisne en su Cannochiale" (p. 41). So that Thesauro poses no great challenge to those who seek, for the first time, the *Triumfo*'s sources as he is mentioned so openly and clearly. Penso's unconcealed admiration for Thesauro prepares us for the intricacies of his Baroque rhetoric and stylistics. Given the lack of critical work on the Triumphos (where authors are mentioned by one last name and the titles of their works are left out) such attention to sources is fundamental in order to understand the character of the book. Elsewhere, he writes: "Pondere Textor la antipatia que tiene el aguila con el ciervo" (p. 19). He is referring to the French humanist rhetorician, Jean Tixier de Ravisi. Recent research reveals that, as Ravisius Textor, he was highly influential on Spanish culture and literature of the Golden Age. His influence has been discerned in mainstream famous works such as Lope's *Dorotea* (Trueblood, 1958). He was considered a model of epistolography amongst other genres (Calvente, 2006; Parrado, 2019; Parrado, 2017). He may be significant for the comprehension of Penso's work. It has recently been argued that

> the Officina, as its name implies, is a writer's workshop containing a wide assortment of classical instances easily applicable for poetic adornment or rhetorical support, with the accent on the singular and the strange. The material is conveniently broken down into categories and indexed (Trueblood, 1958).

The easy application of Classical allusions by readers of Ravisius or similar reference works and poliantheas might go some way towards explaining, at least partly, the plethora of Classical references in Penso and his contemporaries.

Penso's creation of the role or character, - i.e. the persona – of the Sephardi Jewish author as panegyrist of the Catholic Polish monarch, is prudent. Penso does not write as a Christian. Here, silence, though not sufficiently noted, is the most eloquent expression and rhetorical tool. There are probably not that many contemporary works in peninsular Spanish in comparable genres which omit mentions of Christ, the Virgin, the Saints, etc. Neither does he flaunt his Judaism. He presents and identifies himself, not by religion, but as "hispano": "sole*mos* dezir los hispanos" (p. 31) or, elsewhere, "al cristal llama*mos* luna los híberos" (p. 26). He supports the view of Sephardi identity as linked to language. When referring to the Bible, he uses terms which would be acceptable to both, Jews and Christians, such as "cronologia sacra" or "el historiographo sacro" (p. 14). Hebrew is "el sacro ydioma". Here the question of sources is symptomatic and revealing. One feature which is characteristic of his *Triumphos* is the very frequent appeal to biblical Hebrew etymologies and words: e.g., amongst numerous other examples, "eres Josue...que significando Salvador en la divina lengua..." (p. 15); "neser

[11] On Thesauro in other, different writings by Penso, see Meir Bnaya (1994). For the Italian factor see Valentina Nider, (2010); Nider, (2019); For another work of his, published in the same year, see, for example, Tapsir Ba, (2019); for the *Autos* see Forteza-Rey, (1996); On the Autos in Sephardi libraries see Swetschinski, (2000).

significa en la sacra lengua Aguila" (p. 38); "escudo en el sacro ydioma es magen" (p. 33); "bilha que significa en el ydioma hebreo confusion sobresalto" (p. 62).

To be sure, as is common knowledge, by this time – 1680s – there were numerous Christian Hebraists and others who could and did refer to Hebrew words and etymologies, whether Hebrew etymologies of words in other languages or the etymologies of Classical, Biblical Hebrew. One single – but mainstream Spanish and seventeenth century – example from Penso's age could be the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, the lexicon or Thesaurus of the Spanish language, composed by Sebastián de Covarrubias (1611). In his prologue, he describes his personal beliefs and opinions about Hebrew and etymologies:

> ...hasta agora durase la noticia destas etimologias, no teniamos para cansarnos en buscar otras:pero despues del diluuio cón la confusión de lénguas se oluidò aquella; quedando en sola vna familia, que Dios reseruò de las demas, ...para vsar de misericordia cón el linage humano, haziédose hómbre, descédiéte de Abrahám, Isaac,y Iacob : los quales se llamaron Hebreos, y su léngua Hebrea:enesta hablò Dios a Moyses,y le escriuio las Tablas de la Ley :y en esta escriuio el mesmo Moyses los libros del Péntateuco, y en ella vaticinaron los Profetas... (Prologue).

Throughout the *Tesoro*, he explains Spanish words by adducing Hebrew etymologies of various types:

> ABAD. Este nombre es Hebreo...ab vale tanto como padre...ABDALA, vale sieruo de Dios, Arabigo corrompido del Hebreo Hebed vale seruus... ABEJA: Hebreo Deborah, del verbo ...Dabar, que vale hablar , ... y asi es simbolo de la eloquencia (Tesoro, sv.).

Nevertheless, there is an intensity and frequency of the feature in Penso's *Triumphos* which would give pause for thought to his contemporaries. Similarly, there is a certain agility and originality to his mastery of rhetorically relevant Hebrew and etymological examples. In any case, Penso's Hebrew etymologies are more scholarly than those of Covarrubias.

While he may ostentatiously mention his European contemporary and near contemporary readings, he hides Jewish sources on which he depends. Thus, in a work which opposes Jan III Sobieski's "eagle" to the Ottoman "moon", he expands poetically/rhetorically on the concept of "moon":

> ...es bien notable la contrariedad que usa el sagrado texto en su formacion pues que llamando al principio luminar grande al sol y luminar grande a la luna... sigue luego diziendo que dio Dios al luminar grande la presidencia del dia y al luminar pequeño la presidencia de la noche...como habiendole dado el titulo de grande le aplica agora el titulo de pequeño? (p. 56)

This is an ancient exegetical topic. In the Babylonian Talmud (b. Hullin 60b) the notion concerns the (Gen 16:1) biblical verse's "The great luminaries". The Talmud explains – "They were created of equal size, but that of the moon was diminished because she complained and said, 'It is impossible for two kings to make use of one crown'." Here, Penso silences the Talmudic source (or its medieval tributaries) of the idea he reproduces. Elsewhere he probably cites Leon Hebreo without acknowledgement: "[E]xageren los mas finos amantes su amor desvelandosse en provar que se transforman en el amado objeto los amantes" (p. 19). He mentions some sources which reveal his readings of historical works: "[C]omo publica Pedro Voelkeren el historiografo del Ymperio" (p. 70) referring to Giovanni Piero da Voelkeren, author of the *Assedio di Vienna, scritto da Giov(anni) Piero da Voelkeren, volgarizato per Ani Bulifon* published by Voigt in Vienna in 1683 and in Napoli, 1684, translated from Latin into French and Italian and printed in numerous editions. This fact does not support the opinions and beliefs in a Jewish disinterest in history, particularly non-Jewish history.

Panegyric

Readers of the *Triumphos del Aguila* might be struck by the apparently non-traditional tenor of Jewish Baroque-literary works of encomia to non-Jewish, Christian dignitaries of high rank, monarchy and nobility. One does not need to duplicate the two centuries of writings about the beginnings of Jewish modernity to understand that such universalism and modernities would – at first glance – seem to contradict the periodization of Jewish modernities beginning in the eighteenth century, with the German Jewish *Aufklärung*, *Enlightenment* or *Haskala*. There is some justification for this. The basic popular belief or assumption is that prior to the Aufklärung, Jews had lived in enclosed communities with little contact with the wider Christian world; there were barriers rather than expanded encounters between religions. But what could be a more solid example of contact and encounter than the torrent of seventeenth century Western Sephardi compositions, largely by returning conversos, in the genre of panegyrics and encomia to Christian monarchs and nobility.[12]

There is also the question whether such beliefs in Jewish isolation are symptomatic of a wider neglect of the element of history,[13] e.g. long term continuities in traditional societies (Aers, 1992). Indeed, could an acknowledgement of history recover a Sephardi tradition of interest in – and panegyric and encomia to – monarchs, nobility and other highly placed Christian dignitaries? or is it an exclusive feature of a community only recently returned from its peninsular Catholic past, unaware of Jewish traditions? These historical roots of a phenomenon of such weight and extension, in such a traditional society could be rather profound and need to be taken into consideration.

Long before "modernity" and even before the supposedly expanded boundaries of the age of "Discovery", in the second half of the thirteenth century, the Toledan poet, Todros Ha-Levi Abulafia composes at least two encomiastic poems addressed to the Christian King of Castille, Alfonso the Wise.[14] This interest in, and concern with, Christian kings is manifest also in the following century. Despite the commonplaces about Jewish lack of interest in history in general and Christian history in particular, a historical work depending on historiography in the *romance* was composed by Joseph ibn Waqqar. Joseph was a personality of mainstream Jewish intellectual history. This history of the Christian Kings of Castile was written by this Jewish intellectual from Castile in the second half of the fourteenth century at the request of ibn Khatib, who, in his turn, would offer it to the king of Morocco. Ibn Khatib praises the

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[12] Amongst many others, one thinks of Miguel (Daniel Levi) de Barrios, *Aplauzos Academicos e rellaçao do felice successo da celebre victoria do Ameixial. Oferecidos ao excelentissimo Senhor Dom Sancho Manoel, Conde de Villaflor*... (Amsterdam: Jacob van Velsen, 1673). A similar impugnation of the isolationist thesis of Sephardi barriers depends on reading a Western Sephardi text. The classic study by Loewe of the Spanish *Suplemento* explains that the Jewish situation is invariably one of delicate balance: it is therefore essential that Hayon's doctrine be unequivocally repudiated, since any endorsement thereof would render Jewry unfit to form an integral element in European society (indigno de constituir una parte de la Sociedad Civil de las discretas y politicas naciones de la Europa).Such integration is presupposed by Nieto as a natural and desirable state of affairs. This is an "innocent" and therefore trustworthy revelation of Western Sephardi social/cultural highest ideals. See Raphael James Loewe, (1981).

[13] The problem has been dealt with in other cultures, in some ways, in Aers, David's article with the ironic and significant title: "A Whisper in the Ear of the Early Modernists."

[14] Poems number 714 and 715 in the 1932 Hebrew edition of David Yellin are treated by Aviva Doron, (1999, 1998) whose work on the poet emphasizes links to surrounding Christian culture in the *romanc*e rather than isolation.

Jewish courtier and describes him as the most appropriate person for the task of writing about the history of Christian kings of Spain. Ibn Waqar's source, according to Melchor Martínez Antuña, is the Alfonsine *Estoria de España*.[15] In the fifteenth century, the Jewish surgeon of King Enrique III, don Mose Abenzarzal, is the author of an encomiastic poem in the *romance* dedicated to the recently born Don Juan, the future King Juan II of Castile. The Jewish physician, Xateui, devises a Hebrew poem, praising the wisdom of the *Relator* of the royal court of the kingdom of Castile-Leon, don Fernan Diaz de Toledo (d.1457). Profayt el Naci, in the first half of the fifteenth century, addresses a prose essay on fiscal matters to secular and ecclesiastic noble personages from Castile. Its literary/rhetorical features of encomium have recently been studied. Don Ya`acov Saddiq was a philosopher and also the physician of don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, Master of the knightly Order of Santiago. He authored a translation for him: the *Libro de los dichos de sabios y philosophos* (1402) in Uclés.[16] The encomiastic character of Don Ya`acov Saddiq's work is patently clear:

> ...son los prínçipes llamados fundamiento del pueblo, que ellos lo traen sobre sy asy commo el fundamento trae la casa; que por el prouecho del pueblo son establesçidos e son reyes e prínçipes e señores llamados e son muy altamente honrrados e de grandes rendiçiones e despensas. E después esperan en el çielo ser coronados e gualardonados...

Later texts in the *romance* of Portugal or Castile by don Ishaq Abravanel or Abraham b Samuel Zacut could also be brought to reinforce the argument of the presence of a Hispano-Jewish tradition of praise, paeans and accolades, in both the *romance* and in Hebrew, addressed to Christian dignitaries, nobility and monarchs in the Middle Ages and beyond, before Penso's seventeenth century.

Printed later, in 1553, the Ferrara Bible is sometimes described as the first Spanish translation of the Hebrew Bible for use by Sephardic Jews. It is not, but it was funded and translated by Sephardim who had returned to Judaism and composed an encomiastic dedication, in one issue/printing, to Ercole II d'Este, the Cristian Duke of Ferrara. An additional example could be the Dialogues of Love. That is to say, *Los Diálogos de amor de Mestre León Abarbanel médico y filósofo excelente. De nuevo traduzidos en lengua castellana, y deregidos a la Maiestad del Rey Filippo. Con privilegio della Illustríssima Señoria*. This translation was published together with Daniel Arón Afia's, *Opiniones sacadas de los más auténticos y antigos philósophos que sobre el alma escrivieron*. The Sephardi character of both works published together in 1568 in Venice is clear. Both works have strong affinities with Renaissance Humanism. The translation is the work of Gedella ibn

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[15] Antuña, 1933; Stearns, 2004. While the fourteenth century Jewish interest in, and aptitude for, histories of Christian kings is not in question, the identification of this personality is not yet quite certain. See Goldstein-Chabasl, 2023. They place Joseph in Cordoba. See also Paul B. Fenton (2015) who frames him in the contemporary currents of philosophy and kabbala.

[16] The Babylonian Talmud, at Berakhot 58a, exhorts those who see a gentile king to pronounce a specific blessing: "One who sees kings of the other nations of the world recites: Blessed…Who has given of His glory to flesh and blood." In general, on the antecedents, in medieval Spain, of Sephardi seventeenth century Jewish attitudes to Christians, see Gutwirth, Eleazar (1985). This was followed later by a number of authors including, e.g., Assis, Yom Tov (1992); Eric Lawee, (2018). On don Mosse, see E. Gutwirth, (2019); on Profayt el Naci see idem, (2000); on Xateui, see idem, (1986); for the encomium of don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa see idem, (2021).

Yahia who, like Afia, was an exile from Portugal in Ottoman Saloniki. It is preceded by an encomiastic dedication to the King and Emperor Felipe II (Novoa, 2015). [17]

> Al muy alto y muy poderoso sennor, Don Felippe. Por la gracia de Dios, Rey d'Espanna, de las Indias, islas y tierra firme, del mar Oceano, de las dos Sicilias, de Gerusalém y Católico defensor de la fee. Guedella Yahia Salud y perpetua felicidad. Muchos son los que en estos tiempos (muy alto y mui poderoso sennor)... y no me parece que viene fuera de propósito dedicar el casto subgepto de amor a Príncipe casto, pensamientos celestiales a Príncipe que es ornado de celestiales virtudes, altíssimos entendimientos a Préncipe lleno de altíssimos conceptos...

So that from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and beyond, there was a long standing, rich, extremely well documented [as shown here], solid, Sephardi tradition of panegyrics or literary works dedicated to royal and noble Christian personalities. This tradition was encomiastic and continued in the sixteenth century despite the well-known expulsions, the conversions and the conversos' past. In the case of Ibn Yahia's work, with its encomiastic dedication to the King-Emperor Felipe II, it is noteworthy that the work enjoyed a favorable reception amongst Jewish readers, as Novoa has shown. There was no *litigio* between the work of universalism and panegyric to Christians - sometimes Iberian – and the Jewish readers Therefore, in view of such *longue durée* continuities, a cultural feature such as the panegyric to Christian monarchs and nobility amongst Amsterdam Sephardim in the seventeenth century including those by Penso de la Vega cannot be deemed an unprecedented or unexpected break with the past.

There may be also some further historical background to the work. In general, historians seem to have perceived Jan III's relation with the Jews as relatively positive. This might help to understand, at least partly, Penso's decision, in Amsterdam, to praise the King of Poland, leading to a publication of more than a hundred pages.[18] In addition, Jan III's reputation as erudite, patron of the arts, interested in philosophy, might have been a further incentive.[19] Behind the Battle of Vienna there may be a background of about two centuries of relations between the Ottoman Empire and the House of Habsburg and its allies (including Holland as mentioned by Penso alongside a long list of other allies). But Penso shows no particular interest in this and presents his text as a reaction to a concrete and specific historical event: the Battle of Vienna.

Penso's project, if taken out of context, may have seemed bizarre, hence the lack of attention, study or critical analysis of the *Triumphos*. But an additional historical context may be reconstructed. To achieve this one needs to be aware of broader, non-Sephardi, non-Jewish trends. Smieja describes the literary reactions as "the extraordinary news that spread all over Europe causing countless pamphlets, poems and plays to be written" (Smieja, 1983). If seen in this light the Triumphos becomes more comprehensible. Anders Ingram has referred to these publications as bombastic triumphalism and posturing. According to him, the siege of Vienna generated a higher volume of English writing than any other seventeenth-century event

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[17] See James Nelson Novoa, (2005) & (2006) According to Novoa, the Sefardi author employed both the language and rhetoric of Italian Humanism in a work which found broad acceptance in multi-lingual Jewish contexts where it was well-received by Jewish readers.

[18] For this King's relations with the Jews see e.g. Bar-Itzhak, H. (2004); Kaźmierczyk, (2002); Kizilov, Mikhail, (2008); Antony Polonsky, (2019).

[19] For the King's nonmilitary but scientific and artistic patronage see Marta Gołąbek, (2011).

involving the Ottomans (Ingram, 2014).[20] Cécile D'Albis is precise in her study of this literature on the battle of Vienna which she characterizes: "le flot des nouvelles et des commentaires est immense et inédit". She notes that it comprises about 400 publications and refers to it as an *évènement médiatique*. Particularly relevant to Penso's panegyric is her comment on the celerity of the writings: "Ce qui nous frappe, c'est à la fois l'abondance et la rapidité avec laquelle les nouvelles circulent: avant la fin septembre, des récits du siège, de ses célébrations, des poèmes, des louanges, des traités, etc., sont déjà publiés et copiés dans tous les principaux centres d'édition en Europe (D'Albis, 2013)." The victory of Jan III occurred around mid-September and a number of writings in Spanish, including Penso's, appeared before the end of the year 1683.

Pedro de Arce's play *El sitio de Viena* would be an example, if not a model, for such encomiastic compositions in Spanish published, like Penso's, in 1683, near the time of Sobieski's victory. Another example would be Jerónimo Teulada, *Triunfos de la Aguila Imperial el ... Emperador Leopoldo Primero y sus auxiliares sobre el cerco de Viena contra el exercito del Gran Turco y sus aliados ...* whose title is so close to Penso's. It was dedicated "al muy Ilustre Sr. Don Ioseph de Cardona...Gentilhombre de la Camara...del Sr Emperador Leopoldo I..." and published in Valencia by Vicente Cabrera, also in 1683. The ecclesiastical approbation mentions that the author is *vn Homero*, and that *es sìngular la eloquencia desta Oracion ...pruevas ingeniosas... llenas de recondita erudición, y no es poca fortuna del Militar esfuerzo, aver merecido tan diestro , y eloquente Panegyrista...* That is to say that what may appear at first sight as quirks of Penso's individual style and his *recóndita erudición* are in fact following the dictates of the period's epideictic rhetoric of the prose panegyric, including eloquence, *ingenio* and *recóndita erudición.*

One of the many individuals praised in the *Triumphos* is Christina, Queen of Sweden (Pancorbo, 2019).[21] By the date of Penso's writing she had already abdicated (1654) (so that she no longer ruled as Queen of Sweden) and had settled in Rome. Christina's close connections with Jews were a matter of common knowledge. She was no stranger to Amsterdam's Jewish letters and Sephardi authors, as may be inferred from the fact that Menasse b. Israel tried to win her favor and patronage in the 1650s (Katz, 1983). Penso cites from a letter supposedly written by the Queen in praise of Jan III. If such a letter exists, or did so in the past, it is extremely unrevealing and Penso's citations from it give the impression – if not of banality – at least that it consists of purely conventional courtesies and polite phrases that could have been written by anyone. Penso refers frequently to this letter in the early part of his book and then, in the rest of the book almost not at all. Penso praises also a multitude of other personalities which are not mentioned in the title of the work and are not prominent in bibliographic studies:

> ...que biçarria no ostento en este combate el valeroso principe Waldek y todos los Generales y Coroneles del Ymperio donde luzio la briosa prudencia del Conde Caprara, del de Lesle, del de Rabbata, del de Dernewald, del de Palf, del de Gondola y del de Taff, del Baron de Merci, del de Halleweil y del de Diephental con tal florida y ilustre juventud que vino para hallarse en esta batalla de España, Francia y Ytalia, Flandes, Holanda, Dinamarca y Suecia? Todos excedieron a sus propias esperanças en la disposicion Todos excedieron a sus mismos desseos en la generosidad (p. 107).

[20] Printed accounts of the siege appeared in great numbers depicting the epic scale and dramatic twists of these events. Ingram, Anders, (2014).

[21] For a hypothetical but possible explanation see Fernando José Pancorbo (2019).

The Visual

The visual is prominent amongst Penso's concerns and also amongst his avowed sources, years *before* the *Confusion* (Nider, 2021).[22] He goes beyond the Renaissance's revival of *ut pictura poesis*. In fact, he constructs a metadiscourse on the theme. He elaborates poetically/rhetorically on terms connected with the subject. One could begin to approach the question by way of the mirrors. Espejo is a toponymic, the birthplace of his father, who had passed away in that same year (Copello, 2022). But it is also an attribute of the very subject of the whole work, i.e. Vienna "Viena es Espejo" (p. 27). It is also a metaphor of Empire:

> ...llego el sol que imprimiendo en un espejo sus resplandores haze que reverberen en otros muchos espejos sus reflexos... e iluminando a este sumptuoso Espejo del imperio quedaron iluminados tantos espejos con esta luz que no hay luz ni espejo aunque sea una luz del mundo por lo valeroso y un espejo de la sciencia por lo discreto... (p. 26).

Rather than traditionally investing in poetic descriptions of individual physiognomy, he directs his attention to authors who had written on themes close to his visual concerns. Comparing the shape of the Turkish halfmoon to the "C" of the Romans, he mentions "el doctissimo Tassoni" (p. 14). He must be referring to Alessandro Tassoni (1565–1635) the Italian poet and writer from Modena, best known as the author of the mock-heroic poem *La secchia rapita (The Rape of the Pail, or The stolen bucket*). This acknowledgement of influence in 1683 happens before the *Confusion*. An unforgettable character in it is the Conte de Culagna, described as "un cavalier bravo e galante, filosofo poeta e bacchettone."[23] We can see why Penso, the composer of panegyrics to a King, would read such a work. Elsewhere, he writes "pintando el Gamberti un águila que tenia aprisionado con las garras un halcón pintándolo circundado de sombras" (p. 49). He is alluding, no doubt, to the Jesuit ***Domenico Gamberti***, author of ***L'idea di un principe***, Modena, 1659, written as an encomium of Francesco I d'Este di Modona's son, Alfonso IV. The title itself is enough to understand why Penso, when writing a panegyric, would be interested in such a book and its engravings. Most scholarly treatments of this personality emphasize his importance in the political representation of nobility. (Ostrow, 2011, A.R. Venturi, 1991, 2008). His books read like panegyrics.

Elsewhere he affirms "Aresi pinto por símbolo de un príncipe valeroso un escudo" (p. 35); doubtless alluding to Paolo Aresi, author of *Delle sacre imprese* (Tortona: Pietro Giovanni Calenzano, 1630). He also mentions "eligió por divisa el Manzini" (p. 50) referring to the Bolognese poet and historian, influence on Poussin, who, in his treatment of Esther, characterized her and Ahashverus through metaphors alluding to her beauty and his majesty (Manzini, 1637; Sommer-Mathis, 2011; Unglaub, 2003). "[E]l cardenal Gonzaga tomo por empresa el aguila" (p. 39) might possibly be Scipione Gonzaga, Prince of Bozzolo. Further examples of this visual turn might be"... puede ser que refiera el Cartari en sus imagenes que pintaron los griegos ... a quien adoravan por la luna con un instrumento en la mano..." (p. 69). We now know that Cartari's famous illustrated book on mythology published in Venice in 1571 by Valgrisi and Ziletti had drawings by Giuseppe Porta, (Salviati) (Pierluigi, 2005).

Although, Penso may well have learnt rudiments of rhetoric at school, it is unlikely that these engravings, paintings or books of emblems were learnt at Jewish school in Amsterdam. More

[22] On "the visual" in other, but later works, see e.g. Nider (2021).

[23] For Tassoni in the later Confusion, see V Nider's· article cited above Nider (2019).

credible as an explanation of Penso's visual turn could be the post-Alciato environment which may be understood from Carlisle's clear observation:

> The emblem represents one of the primary artistic forms of the early modern period (c. 1500–1750) ... capable of effectively expressing complex ideas in a compact format, emblems were widely disseminated in both Latin and European vernacular languages; an estimated 6,500 emblem books, each volume featuring fifteen to 1,500 individual emblems, were published during the Renaissance... (p. 24).

Penso's visual concepts of 1683 may be placed broadly within an early modern, post-Alciatus, intensely visual culture, focused on observation which expresses itself not only in art but also in the literary realm. Nevertheless, here again one may question the neglect of the history of such sensibilities and the belief in a conflict between the late medieval and early modern Sephardi attitudes to the visual. Penso's visual preoccupation is also reminiscent, mutatis mutandis, of some earlier features of Sephardi culture. Thus, for example, Solomon b Reuven Bonafed produced (in the 1440s) one of his most sustained poetic/literary cycles: the satires against the leaders of the community of Saragossa who had exiled him to Belchite. Here he employs notions of visual physiognomy which may be traced to medieval treatises with ultimately Classical (Greco-Roman) precedents. His explicitly avowed intention is to create *energeia*, presence; to place the image before the readers' eyes (Smith, 1985).[24] Today we may frame it in a late medieval Hispano-Jewish culture of "pictorialism" which affects literary practice. This "pictorialism" has been identified, recognized, and understood as a key to late medieval mind set in the study of other, (but contemporary) non-Sephardi, cultures and languages. It is sometimes understood as a device which recalls or recreates a representational work of art, actual or imaginary (Gutwirth, 2000; Fiero, 1975; Gabriele, 2016).[25] In addition, there are the explicit written praises of – or comments in Hebrew on – the book-art of works observed by fifteenth century Hebrew authors. These comments become valuable once we realize the notorious poverty of finds of Hispano-Jewish texts on art from the Middle Ages. In Maqueda, Moses Arragel, is not only known for the illuminations which accompany his text, but it has been recently argued and explained, he also composes in the *romance* of Castile a kind of visual art-critical discourse in conversation with the artists of the book-art of the Biblia de Alba around 1422-1433 which is something quite different from painting and closer to Penso's ideas. Similar are the ideas on the visual expressed by Joseph ibn Sadiq of Arévalo or Abraham b. Shlomo (Gutwirth, 2012).[26] Additional examples could be Solomon de Piera's choice of crystals for watching the stars as subject of a Hebrew poem or Moses Almosnino's attention to theoretical discussions on optics (Gutwirth, 2023).[27] Here, we may see these cases as providing a kind of traditional Hispano-Jewish genealogy for Penso's (albeit different) intense concern with *empresas, divisas, motes, emblemas* and *pintores*.

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[24] On *energeia/evidentia* amongst poets and critics of the Spanish Golden Age and their sources, see Smith, Paul Julian.

[25] Eleazar Gutwirth, for Bonafed," For the broader non-Hispanic background see Gloria K. Fiero.

[26] Eleazar Gutwirth, "Jewish Writings on Art in Fifteenth-Century Castile," 27-32; idem, "Cruzando sacras fronteras: sobre el manuscrito de Rashi," 67-76.

[27] On De Piera and Almosnino see Eleazar Gutwirth, "Illuminations II: Lights, Identity, and the Society of Spectacle in the Late Middle Ages" 57-75.

Conclusion

Joseph Penso de la Vega could be seen as one of the most gifted writers of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, not all his works have been symmetrically studied. While some have garnered repeated attention, others have not. The *Triumphos del Aguila* is an example of the latter. Its translation is an exceptional phenomenon linked to the bicentenary of the Battle of Vienna. The lack of attention may also be related to some wider problems. The popularity of the notion that the returning conversos of seventeenth century Amsterdam had a split personality, that they constituted *almas en litigio*, where their Catholic past struggled with their Jewish present, may be one of these. Another might be the occasional lack of acknowledgement or, rather, unawareness of history, i.e. of long term traditions in Sephardi culture.

A very visible theme in the book is that reflected in the title *Triumphos*. Evidently reminiscent of Petrarch's last work it draws attention to the ubiquity of its use in Sephardi book titles from Penso's Amsterdam. An examination of the evidence leads to noticing and reconstructing the Sephardi attitude to Petrarch. Similar in some ways is the clear epideictic rhetoric of panegyric by a Jew to a Christian in Penso's book. Is it a new synthesis? Research into Sephardi primary sources shows that, on the contrary, the tradition of Sephardi encomia to Christian individuals is particularly long standing and well evidenced.

One of the main tendencies in the Triumphs is that of pictorialism. It is present, of course, in the metaphors throughout Penso's book. It also seems to determine the selection of sources and references to authors and books. Here again, even if we ignore the commonplaces about Jews and the visual, it needs to be emphasized that pictorialism before the expulsions has only recently been found in Sephardi medieval culture. It enables us to recreate a genealogy for the sensibility that informs Penso's Triumphos.

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ERSTWHILE EDEN: Noguchi's *Garden Elements* and The New School

John Reed[1]

Abstract

In May, 2017, *Garden Elements* by Isamu Noguchi was auctioned by Christies; the sculpture (two pieces paired since 1958) fetched USD 4,727,500.00, which is the highest auction price of any Noguchi work to date. The current owner and location of the work are indefinite: Bay Area billionaire. First shown at Eleanor Ward's Stable Gallery (New York City), *Garden Elements* was listed at USD 17,0000. The New School for Social Research bargained the price down to USD 10,000, and installed the sculpture, with Noguchi's input, in a newly enlarged courtyard. Through the 1990s, *Garden Elements* was among Noguchi's most public and recognizable works, for a time even enjoying the stature of logo for the university. For thirty years, the sculpture played host to countless exhibitions of art, as well as public performances by celebrated authors and musicians. With the 1990 sale of the work, at USD 1,200,000.00, questions remain: was the work site specific, and if so, does that mean it was de-accessioned? Why was it sold? Was the reasoning parcel to U.S. anti-Japanese sentiments of the 80s? And of course there's the larger challenge of guarding cultural memory, not only against privatization, but against our own willful negligences.

Keywords: Isamu Noguchi, The New School, Art history, Sculpture, Public art

In May, 2017, *Garden Elements* by Isamu Noguchi was auctioned by Christies; the sculpture (two pieces paired since 1958) fetched USD 4,727,500.00, which is the highest auction price of any Noguchi work to date. The current owner and location of the work are indefinite: Bay Area billionaire. First shown at Eleanor Ward's Stable Gallery (New York City), *Garden Elements* was listed at USD 17,0000. The New School for Social Research bargained the price down to USD 10,000, and installed the sculpture, with Noguchi's input, in a newly enlarged courtyard. Through the 1990s, *Garden Elements* was among Noguchi's most public and recognizable works, for a time even enjoying the stature of logo for the university. For thirty years, the sculpture played host to countless exhibitions of art, as well as public performances by celebrated authors and musicians. With the 1990 sale of the work, at USD 1,200,000.00, questions remain: was the work site specific, and if so, does that mean it was de-accessioned? Why was it sold? Was the reasoning parcel to U.S. anti-Japanese sentiments of the 80s? And of course there's the larger challenge of guarding cultural memory, not only against privatization, but against our own willful negligences.

Garden Elements was uninstalled and sold eight years after the de-accessioning of Thomas Hart Benton's *America Today*, a mural which resided for 51 years in its own room at The New School

[1] Assoc. Prof., The New School, Writing Across Media. New York, U.S.A. reedj@newschool.edu.

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of New York City (Dunlap, 1982). The once West Village work now takes up residence in permanent installation in a re-creation of the original room at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on the Upper East Side. The dislocation of Benton, with his caricatures—widely seen as racist, sexist and antisemitic—and a reputation that was in the '80s was tainted by interpretations of regionalism, sentimentality and kitsch, is easier to justify than the severance of Noguchi, whose museum in *Queens New York* had opened in 1985, and whose work and influence was only appreciating. "Japan bashing," as per the terminology of the 1980s, was driven by the sudden (if brief) economic strength of Japan, and the market concessions of U.S. manufacturing (especially cars) to Japanese companies (Walter, 1989). The New School's sale of the work is suspiciously coincident.[2]

Executed in 1958, *Garden Elements* was shown April through May, 1959 at the Stable Gallery in an eponymous exhibition; his second at the space (Noguchi, 1960). The gallery, founded in 1953 by Eleanor Ward, was culturally central to the 1950s awakening of Abstract Expressionism. Noguchi's sculptures—36 works in the show were dated 1957-59 (Noguchi, 1959)—drew on Abstraction in contemporary sculpture, Noguchi's still palpable apprenticeship under Constantin Brâncuşi, and Noguchi's seamless, simultaneous interest in classical Western and Japanese cultural themes. *Garden Elements* affirms Noguchi's contention that "the scale of sculpture, in its ultimate consideration should be the scale of man, that is to say, a man looks at a piece of sculpture, the sculpture looks back at the man, there's a certain relationship there; the confrontation of a man and a sculpture is one of recognition and astonishment—there you are, they seem to say to each other." But if *Garden Elements* is personal, it's also architectural; the Manari granite of *Garden Elements*, which was plausibly sourcing or referencing historic Japanese building techniques, represents the figure at attention and the figure in repose, and the many-hand gesture of come-to-me and come-no-closer of, for example, a Hindu god—it is the entrance and exit of corporeal experience (Garden Elements, 1958; Garden Elements, 1959; Installation view, 1959).

Listed by the gallery at USD 17,000, inventoried at 12,000, by January 1960, the work had been sold at the 7,000 discount to Albert Mayer (Stable Gallery, 1959; Stable Gallery, 1959; Letter to IN, 1959; Memo to IN, 1959; Stable Gallery, 1960; Letter to Mr.Groh, 1961; Memo to IN, 1960; Memo to IN, 1959); Mayer was acting on behalf of The New School. His was the architectural firm engaged to expand The New School's original circa-1930 building, and redesign the new courtyard.[3]

A courtyard culture dated back to the very earliest days of The New School—1919 to 1931—when the institution occupied a swelling knot of brownstones in Chelsea, a few blocks Northwest of the to-be 12th street location (Courtyard of The, Before 1930). As of the 1920s, students of the New York School of Fine and Applied Art (now the Parsons School of Design and a part of The New School) also enjoyed courtyard living via the Paris Ateliers (In Court at Parsons, 1920).

Noguchi arrived in New York in 1922 as a matriculated medical student at Columbia University, but, unable to redirect his passions, was soon entrenched in an arts scene that was

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[2] The author thanks Calissa Kirilenko for her tireless work in citing and preparing this paper for publication.

[3] Mayer was also brother to Clara "Woolie" Mayer, who was committed to The New School from the very outset: as student, trustee, administrator, Dean and Vice President. Mayer and her family were generously supportive of the school for decades.

very much the arts capital of the United States. Noguchi would certainly have been aware of the murals of Thomas Hart Benton and José Clemente Orozco (*Call to Revolution* and *Table of Universal Brotherhood*) at The New School. The first meeting of Noguchi and Orozco is uncertain, but by 1931, the two certainly knew each other; Noguchi fashioned a terra cotta bust of Orozco that year (Noguchi, 1931). In 1934, Noguchi assisted Orozco in the installation of his murals, *The Epic of American Civilization*, at Dartmouth college (Lyford, 2013). To this day, rumors persist at The New School that Noguchi assisted Orozco in the installation of his New School murals. Orozco, who had as a young man lost the use of his left hand in a gunpowder accident (Krane, 2014), was often assisted casually by friends and colleagues, but there is no known evidence to support the New School rumor; Noguchi was assisted by Lois Wilcox during the New School commission. (It's possible that the story began as a conflation of the history of The New School and The Dartmouth murals.) In 1936, Noguchi was center-stage with Orozco and other New School professors (such as Leo Katz, who taught at The New School from 1931-40), as well of professors of the New York School of Fine and Applied Art, at the First American Artists' Congress: "Artists Against War and Fascism (Press clippings, 1935-1936; Curriculum, 1939)."

Through the 1930s, The New School was active in a calendar of events and exhibitions. Noguchi, likewise, was a public-facing artist. His 1937 work with the Zenith Radio Corporation, *Radio Nurse*, as the first baby monitor, excited fevered press attention and exhibition by the Whitney Museum. Noguchi's elegant design was futuristic and warm, leaning into iconographic shapes of Japanese culture (Olson, n.d.; Jewell, 1939; A New Radio, 1938; Advertising News, 1938). Simultaneous to Noguchi's rising star, The New School was competing for artworld attention for its "United American Sculptors" show, which opened in 1939. The show, with nearly 80 artists, seemingly included everyone but Noguchi (United American, 1939); while it's impossible to know if Noguchi was overlooked (the list of artists was not diverse) or unavailable, his absence was an acute lapse of engagement. That very year, Leo Katz included a consideration of Noguchi in his New School course, "Art in Ancient and Modern Mexico (Curriculum, circa 1938; Curriculum, circa 1939)."

An accounting of The Congress for Cultural Freedom and Western Intelligence operations in globally promoting western artists, writers and currents is a work in progress—a project forever in revision. The New School, with its efforts through The University in Exile to bring scholars out of Fascist Europe and to the United States, was early to the allied agenda. Many of the names and figures common to the Congress's efforts—Peggy Guggenheim, curators and directors of the Whitney Museum and the MOMA—are also familiar to the history of The New School, which, concurrent with the U.S. rightward swing post World War II, covered the Orozco murals with a "yellow curtain," at first in whole and then in part. The embarrassing episode, heavily lambasted, ended with the curtain quietly being taken down circa 1954 (Reed 2019).

Paul Mocsanyi, who began teaching and curating at The New School in 1958 and directed The New School's art collection from 1960 to 1985, was also parcel to the Congress; Mocsanyi applied for work at the Central Intelligence Agency in 1962 (Szanyi, 2018; Application draft, 1962; The collectors, 1975-1978). In 1964 at The New School, he presented "The American Conscience: An Exhibition of Contemporary Paintings," which was particularly attuned to the soft war promulgation of Abstract Expressionism (American conscience, 1964).

Noguchi, so outwardly an American of his moment—in aspect, in bearing, in ambition—also contended with his Japanese heritage; the fevered anti-Japanese sentiment of the war years so deeply affected Noguchi that, in May 1942, he self-interned at a Japanese interment camp in Arizona. In his essay, "I Become a Nisei," (Noguchi, n.d.) Noguchi interrogates his conflicted emotions (Self-Interned, 2017-2018).

> The dust was blowing as I arrived in Poston, the new Japanese community on the flood lands of the lower Colorado River. Eye-burning dust, and the temperature seemed to stand at 120 degrees for three solid months. Our food at 37 cents a day was no better than what inexperienced cooks could make it [sic]. And most of us became sick.
>
> How strange were my reactions on entering camp. Suddenly I became very aware of a color line I had never known before. The administration staff, some of whom I had known previously, seemed to change character. In my mind they seemed to have changed from the sensitive people I knew them to be into our keepers whose word was our law. Nevermore could anything be done without first asking them. Along with my freedom I seemed to have lost any possibility of equal friendship. I became embarrassed in their presence.
>
> This is not to say that I came to identify myself with the Nisei. No, their background seemed too different, or does imprisonment make also a prison of one's mind? I have talked to a number of Niseis who feel the same way. They avoid the Japs and also the whites; they are alone. "I am an American," the say, "not used to so many Japanese faces."
>
> The average Nisei, however, seems to take race differences as a matter of course. They refer to the management as the Hakujin, the white ones, the Caucasians, or simply us the Americans. In contrast they call themselves the Japanese or the Nisei. Their attitude toward the whites is one of difference. From them they accept that which they begrudge each other. Among themselves they are sure, outside they are timid. I am told that the fear of discrimination was one of the main reasons that kept them from assimilation. Another was their relative youth, an average 20 with social, economic, and moral dependence on their parents and the community.
>
> In spite of this the most obvious thing about the Nisei is his Americanism. People who visit these camps are immediately struck by the deep cleavage that exists between them and their parents, the immigrant Issei. They remark on attending Nisei talent shows or social events, "How pathetically American they are." Their plays, their songs, and their speech are typically American. They know nothing of Japanese art and literature. They are puzzled by the Shibais, or Japanese plays, put on by their parents. Indeed, excepting for their very young, the language barrier is such that conversation between them is cut to a minimum.
>
> I begin to see the peculiar tragedy of the Nisei as that of a generation of transition accepted neither by the Japanese nor by America. A middle people with no middle ground. His future looms uncertain. Where can he go? How will he live? Where will he be accepted?

Noguchi remained in Arizona until November of the same year, returning to New York City and the concentric circles of art and culture that intersected with The New School. Seemingly upon arrival, he embarked on the quest for the "perfect ashtray." After a series of graceful prototypes, Noguchi settled on a perverse design cast from bullet casings. Noguchi named the wartime memento the *Dymaxion*, a term borrowed from designs by friend and sometimes collaborate Buckminster Fuller, who Noguchi hoped to interest in the project. Fuller, whose association with the New School endured through Fluxus and Black Mountain College (which shared practitioners and professors such as, for example, John Cage) politely declined (Reed, 2021; The Sculptor, 2020-2021; Glueck, 2006).

That same year, Noguchi initiated a working relationship with Martha Graham, set-designing for Graham's historic choreography of *Appalachian Spring*, which was scored by Aaron Copland (Campbell, 2020). Graham had taught at The New School through the 1930s, variously

returning; in 1962 the dance studio was dedicated in her name, as was an experimental dance center. Copland's association with The New School dated back to at least 1927; his final course concert was listed in the university bulletin in 1957, although his connections to the school would endure through his decline in the 1980s until his death in 1990. Graham and Noguchi continued to collaborate over the course of their careers, through sixteen performances (as counted by Noguchi), with two additional set contributions for performances by members of her company (Isamu Noguchi, 1960).

In addition to *Garden Elements*, three works by Noguchi are known to have entered The New School art collection; these three works all tracked through Noguchi's relationship with Graham.

> A bronze bust of Graham, created by Noguchi in 1929, was acquired at a possibly unknown date by The New School (due to lack of records) (Site-Specific, n.d.); the work, an artist's proof, was loaned to Alvin Johnson for the remainder of his life, but probably remained on campus until the then curator Paul Mocsanyi took the work home and eventually distributed it to Ruth Schaffner, the widow of a New School professor, who claimed the work as her own. Despite objections by The New School, the work, then valued at USD 40,000 was sold at a 1994 auction by the Schaffner family, and The New School failed to follow through with their legal posturings. In an August 2024 email thread in relation to research for this investigation, Kathy Goncharov, curator of The New School art collection from 1986 to 2000, recalled that the auction house was informed that the work was stolen and the sale was canceled; however, threatened by a countersuit "the powers-that-be declined to fight it because somehow the Noguchi/Martha Graham/New School connection just wasn't worth it." The school, had "an airtight case." As of an August 2024 interview conducted with The Noguchi Museum in relation to this investigation, the museum does not know the current location of the bust, or its current valuation.
>
> *Jocasta's Bed*, a bronze cast of a 1946/47 set piece crafted for Martha Graham's 1948 production, *Night Journey*, was given (The New School, 1962) to The New School in 1962 as part of the dedication of the Martha Graham Dance Studio (The New School, 1962). The original work, from which the cast was made, is now owned by the Whitney Museum (Noguchi, 1947). The New *School Jocasta's Bed* has been missing since the tenure of curator Paul Mocsanyi. A bronze work fitting the description of The New School work, but not conclusively identified as such, is owned by the Smithsonian (Noguchi, 1947). This work was acquired at auction in 1990 for USD 88,000 (Site-Specific, n.d.).
>
> Isamu Noguchi's *Rocking Horse* was cast in 1965 from the original wood set piece constructed for Graham's 1944 performance *Appalachian Spring*. The work, donated to The New School by Noguchi, was noted in the April 14 issue of the 1965 The New School Bulletin and pictured on "permanent display" (The New School, 1965) in the Martha Graham room. Kathy Goncharov noted in an August 2024 email exchange pertaining to these researches that she and a colleague found the work "in a pile of junk in the basement." The sculpture is now on permanent display in the lobby of The New School's 66 West 12th Street building (Site-Specific, n.d.).

In 1928, the New School announced the Joseph Urban address as "a six-story and penthouse building, which … will be one of the most strikingly interesting educational buildings in the country (Building Program, 1929)." As of the 1950s, with new programs, including degree granting programs tailored for returning World War II veterans, the school had once again outgrown itself, and acquired a property adjacent to the Urban building on 12th Street, as well as an 11th street property. The 12th Street property would expand the Urban building, adding additional classrooms and an elevator bank. The 11th Street building would provide for a presence in undergraduate education, with several large meeting-style rooms and three floors of classrooms. As had the expansions in Chelsea, the 1956 expansions enlarged the courtyard space. The remodeling, if architecturally barbaric (in terms of the Urban design), was

nevertheless practical, and not without flourishes, such as the sky bridges connecting 11th and 12th Street.

In 1958, Alvin Johnson—who had officially retired in 1945 but was still active and would remain active in New School decision making and fundraising for years to come—returned in December for a ceremonial tree-planting in the new courtyard. Commemorating the 40th anniversary of the school and the 25th anniversary of the University in Exile (The Graduate Faculty), Johnson planted a Pin Oak in the as-of-yet still under-construction area (Tree Planting, 1958; Tree Planting 1958). A Pin Oak tree, perhaps the same tree, remained in the courtyard into the 1980s. Over the decades, the tree (or series of trees), which appears from The New School's archive of photographs to have moved at least once, was variously protected by green hedges and walls. Unfortunately, the courtyard, which was architecturally more of a "courtbowl" with no actual contact with the island's soil, proved inhospitable to the lifespan of a tree. To this day, in the now redesigned courtyard, saplings struggle to survive in the soil troughs allotted them.

On August 5, 1959, *The Village Voice* heralded the placement of *Garden Elements* at The New School. The article, featuring a ⅓ page photograph of Noguchi in the courtyard with *Garden Elements* in place (the photo must have been taken after the text was finalized), leads "Fifty-five years old, seemingly 45, as lithe and muscled as an athlete, he came into these office last week … " *The Voice*, however superficially, documents the placement of *Garden Elements* in the courtyard with Albert Mayer, the architect, and tags the date firmly within a few days—the end of July to the start of August. As Noguchi tired of the interview, he glanced at his watch, telling Jerry Talmer, the reporter, "Got to get over to the New School … I did a thing they purchased for the new wing, and at 1:45 I've a date to walk around the place with Albert Mayer, its architect, to figure out where to situate it (Tallmer, 1969)."

A September 21 press release from the university announced the fall semester to newspapers, as well as a "just completed $2½ million building." The press release detailed an array of new and upgraded campus facilities, and "a terraced courtyard designed to serve as the locale for outdoor gatherings and receptions." The courtyard would join the 11th street and 12th street buildings, and, boasted The New School, "contains sculpture by Isamu Noguchi and is equipped with a loud-speaker system for stereophonic music." A "Dear Neighbor" mailer, also dated to that September—and featuring a photo of *Garden Elements* in place in the courtyard—is more congenial about The New School's expansionist profile:

> Have you looked over your back fence lately? Glance up and see what's grown beyond! The New School, America's first university for adults, has added two new buildings. This is your invitation to visit us and renew a friendship of 40 years' standing. Yes, we have come a long way during this time: from 23 courses (mostly in economics) to 400 courses in all fields; from an old brownstone house in 1919 to one of the most modern school plants in the country. This includes a new library with reading rooms and stacks for 60,000 volumes, new classrooms, a new restaurant and a penthouse hall for readings, concerts and exhibitions. For your relaxation, a terraced courtyard between the 11th and 12th street buildings (note the Noguchi statue) (Announcement, 1959; New School, 1959).

Garden Elements, with its clockwork divets and planar surfaces, interacted effortlessly with the modernism of the surrounding courtyard, buildings and furnishings. Reflecting surfaces multiplied the figures of the granite (one standing, one reclining) into a crowd of personas; the many faces of one individual (Unidentified Person, 1960s; Unidentified People, 1960s). The sculpture, celebrated in The New School's publicity from the very beginning, enjoyed a

simultaneously contemplative and extroverted life through the 1960s. New Schoolers worked and chatted quietly in its company, and in the evenings, listened to music and bantered and circulated at exhibitions, conferences and ceremonies. *Garden Elements*, which came to embody the character of The New School—aspiring to academic gravity and cultural effusion—adapted to its role as host with generous elan, beckoning a decade, a golden era, of iconic status in a premiere cultural milieu.

In 1961, in situ, adjacent to the Pin Oak planted by Alvin Johnson (Aerial View, 1960s), *Garden Elements* honored, then inaugurated its fourth president (The New School, 1961; Henry David, 1961). (Dr. Henry David, who fired school co-founder Clara Mayer as well as Sigrid de Lima, the longtime publicity director, and who would have, in 1962, without Johnson's fundraising intervention, have presided over the sale of the The New School to New York University (Reed, 2019.)) Later that same year, the courtyard, perhaps in allusion to the Sculpture Garden of the Museum of Modern Art, (redesigned by Philip Johnson in 1953), quartered a major exhibition of contemporary sculpture, "Mechanism and Organism." *Garden Elements* was catalogued among the 50 works on exhibit.[4] Noguchi, in the New School catalog, was quoted from his artist statement in the Museum of Modern Art's catalog "14 Americans, 1946":

> The essence of sculpture for me is the perception of space … in the relative perspective of our vision lie volume, line, point, giving shape, distance proportion. Movement, light, and time itself are also qualities of space … It is the sculptor who orders and animates space, gives it meaning.

"Mechanism and Organism," announced the press release, was an international exhibition depicting "the changing relationship between man and machine in modern society (Mechanism, 1961; New School Bulletin, 1961; New School sculpture, 1961)." A "Round Table Discussion on Modern Sculpture" was chaired by Peter Selc, the curator of the Museum of Modern Art. Associated events included lectures with prominent *New York Times* critic Clement Greenberg and sculptor Seymor Lipton (Clement, 1961; Sculptor, 1961). Mocyani's of-the-moment curation, for all of his shadowy and capricious qualities, carried the courtyard through over twenty-five years of powerful pairings; many of the works in "Mechanism and Organism" would remain on campus (some joining the collection) and were destined to be placed in the courtyard, complimentary to *Garden Elements* in more intimate arrangements—in like manner, additional acquisitions were put into the circulation of formal and informal exhibition. (A massive show in 1964, "The Artist's Reality," featured 50 "international" sculptors. (PR#3017, 1964; The New School, 1965; The New School, 1965; PR#3039, 1964)). Among the many courtyard paramours of *Garden Elements*: Alicia Penalba's monumental bronze, *Cathedrale*; (Alicia, 1964; Alicia, 1960-1970) Dimitri Hadzi's *Elmo II*; (Courtyard, 1960-1990; Unidentified, 1981) Chaim Gross's *Family of Five Acrobats*; Guy Miller's *Biogenesis;* (Courtyard, 1970s) Alexander Calder's *The Black Sieve*.

The 1960s ushered in a golden era for the courtyard, and arguably for the school itself; the curriculum appended for-credit undergraduate courses, and the Graduate Faculty was perhaps at its most voguish, with, for example, Hannah Arendt's presence on campus and professorial appointment in 1967. This reputation was somewhat undeserved; many of the Faculty's most prestigious members had already aged out or moved on. Arts at The New School, however, were thriving; Parsons had not yet been acquired, and neither had Mannes, and The New School's active art and music-making communities were alive with post-World-War-II

[4] *Garden Elements*, as technically two works, overrepresented Noguchi in a show that limited each artist to one sculpture; it was perhaps here that *Garden Elements* was first provenanced as a single sculpture.

modernism, jazz and literature (Aerial, 1960s). A 1962 "salute" to *Garden Elements* took the form of a rhyming poem published in the Bulletin of February 14, Valentine's Day. The courtyard, seemingly, is the dominion of the sculpture itself:

IMPRESSIONS ON SITTING IN THE NEW SCHOOL

It is built stone upon stone
In the solitude of glass and marble
It cools the summer's heat
With its spacious lines
Of spacious light.

It stands for those
Whose silence they call sacred
And growing knowledge, invisibly unknown;
It rests assured with simple elegance
Among the brownstones of another age.

It has no shame, this monument
Of light and grace
Appearing among the elders
Disturbing ancient rusty dust.

It has a courtyard
Where Medusas and young Buddhas
Can cross their legs, the sacred books
To rest on cooling marble slabs;
And where the summer wind
Must sweep into our hair
In this month of Leo.

But the world lies outside
In the buzz of traffic sounds
So far-sounding, it seems the school
Was built on lonely prairies.
Only here we can rest

To gather in hermit fashion

Our collected thoughts.…(Thonnard, 1962)

Later that year, the courtyard played host to the "New School Poetry Readings," with Leonie Adams, Alan Dugan, Kenneth Koch, Stanley Kunitz, Marianne Moore, Frank O'Hara, and host Robert Lowell (New School Poetry, 1962; Inaugural Series, 1962; New School Bulletin, 1962; Announcement, 1962; Poetry under, 1962). The New School boasted, incredibly, that 1600 people attended the readings (New School Bulletin, 1962). The readings were telecast on public television (Channel 13) on five consecutive Mondays in January of 1963, and then again in June (New School Bulletin, 1962; New School Bulletin, 1963). 1963 also saw an extraordinary Summer Arts Festival, which spanned two months of music, literature, film and theater in the courtyard: (Summer Arts, 1963; Summer Festival, 1963-1964; New School Bulletin, 1963; New School Bulletin, 1963; New School, 1963; Kenneth, 1963; PR#1804, 1963; PR#1811, 1963; PR#1812, 1963; PR#1817, 1963; PR#1818, 1963; PR#1819, 1963; PR#1820, 1963; PR#1821, 1963; PR#1822, 1963; PR#1823, 1963; PR#1825, 1963; PR#1827, 1963)

Saturday, June 1

JAZZ IS MUSIC

THE ART FARMER QUARTET

Featuring JIM HALL

Saturday, June 8

JAZZ IS MUSIC

THE AL COHN AND ZOOT SIMS QUINTET

Sunday, June 9

POETRY READING

KENNETH KOCH AND FRANK O'HARA

Friday, June 14

FOLK MUSIC

OSCAR BRAND

Saturday, June 15

JAZZ IS MUSIC

HORACE SILVER QUINTET

Sunday, June 16

POETRY READING

JOSEPH CERAVOLO, FRANK LIMA, AND DAVID SHAPIRO

Friday, June 21

FOLK MUSIC

BROCK PETERS

Saturday, June 22

JAZZ IS MUSIC

THELONIOUS MONK QUARTET

Sunday, June 23

POETRY READING

GREGORY CORSO, MICHAEL BENEDIKT

Friday, June 28

FOLK MUSIC

ANITA SHEER (Flamenco)

Saturday, June 29

JAZZ IS MUSIC

SONNY ROLLINS & COMPANY

Sunday, June 30

PREVIEW '64:

THE OFF-BROADWAY THEATRE

Excerpts from three new works: discussion by producers Caroline Swann and Claire Heller, and playwrights Jay Thompson and Loften Mitchell, moderated by Allen Lewis.

Friday, July 12

FOLK MUSIC

ODETTA

Sunday, July 14

PREVIEW '64:

NEW WAVE MOVIE MAKERS

Excerpts from films in progress; discussion by director Frank Perry (David and Lisa), and film makers Bob Ross and Bert Brown, moderated by Richard Griffith, Curator of the Film Library, Museum of Modern Art.

Friday, July 19

FOLK MUSIC

JEAN REDPATH (Scottish)

Sunday, July 21

PREVIEW '64:

THE BROADWAY THEATRE

Excerpts from the forthcoming musical productions: Golden Boy, The Rothschilds and Golden Spur. Discussion by Hillard Elkins, producer (Bye Bye Birdie), with Lee Adams and Charles Straus, composers, moderated by Norman Nadel.

According to the September New School Bulletin, over three thousand attended the festival (New School Bulletin, 1963). In 1964, the massive undertaking went unattempted; in 1965, led by a new director, the festival was reprised, for the second and final time: (PR#3160, 1965; PR#3131, 1965; New School Bulletin, 1965; The New School, 1965; PR#3175, 1965; PR#3179, 1965; PR#3184, 1965; PR#3185, 1965; PR#3188, 1965)

June 12

GENE AND FRANCESCA,

Folk Music

June 13

THE GALLIARD PLAYERS,

chamber music

Samuel Baron, flute

Matthew Riamondi, violin

Robert Conant, harpsichord

Arthur Weisberg, bassoon

June 18

IGOR KIPNIS, harpsichord

Bach-Handel program

June 19

RICHARD DYER-BENNETT,
folk music

June 20
VIVECA LINDFORS,
dramatic reading

June 25
JOHN CIARDI, poetry reading

June 26
THE GREENBRIAR BOYS,
folk music

JUNE 27
THE CLAREMONT QUARTET
Marc Gottlieb, violin
Vladimir Weisman, violin
Scott Nickrenz, viola
Irving Klein, cello

July 9
CYNTHIA GOODING
folk music

July 10
JEAN RITCHIE, folk music

July 11
IAN AND SYLVIA, folk music

July 16
TOM GLAZER, folk music

July 18
KOHON STRING QUARTET,

chamber music

July 23

POETS FROM THE NEW BOHEMIA,

poetry reading featuring: Peter Orlovsky, Frank O'Hara, Ed Sanders, Paul Blackburn, Allen Katzman, Diane di Prima, Joel Oppenheimer and others

July 24

ANITA SHEER, folk music

July 25

BEA RICHARDS and FRANK SILVERA, stars of Amen Corner, dramatic reading

As The New School reconsidered itself—institute for adult learning or degree-granting liberal arts college? —the courtyard faced a dilemma of identity. Was the space public, private? A bit of one, a bit of the other? Events in the courtyard—increasingly receptions and in-community affairs—indicated a space that was no longer as neighborly as it had been. In 1969, a reception for the newly minted Human Relations Center (Invitation, 1969) supposed a heavenly shared campus (Invitation, 1969). The courtyard could be all-university in the way the Human Relations Center was to be all-university; the center was christened by a discussion empaneling Shirley Chisholm and Gloria Steinem (Reed & Cruz, 2022). But the Human Relations Center, which sought to bring gender studies to the entirety of The New School, was doomed from the start, with a curriculum that was soon-to-be if not already outmoded, and no real institutional home or protection. *Garden Elements* was similarly adrift: representational but unrepresented.

The New School's uneasy, non-committal adoration of *Garden Elements* is storied by the sculpture's use as a university logo in the 1960s. The sculpture was adopted as a logo in stand-alone form in 1958 (Isamu, 1960s; Photograph, 1960s; New School, 1963), remaining in use in that capacity until at least 1967 (Unidentified, 1967; New School Bulletin, 1965). (In 1964, six miniatures of *Garden Elements* were given out to recognize The New School's first "Council of Fellows." (New School Bulletin, 1964)) As of 1962, the sculpture, as logo/emblem, was often paired with the Pin Oak (New School Poetry, 1962), which was charged with representational responsibilities of its own (Summer Arts, 1963). While *Garden Elements* remained in use as emblematic in 1967, the tree was officialized as the school logo in 1966. The Pin Oak itself, however, had been abandoned in favor of the more familiar classical form of a laurel tree, (New School Tree, 1966-1986; The President's, 1970) perhaps in a nod to then-in-favor notions of liberal arts and humanistic education, perhaps in disassociation with a tree that, rootbound, was ailing and/or stunted, as is evidenced by the progression of photos from that era, which show minimal growth and the erection of a protective wall.

Into the 1970s and 80s, the use of the courtyard was steadily inauspicious: internal events, graduation ceremonies (Graduating, 1971; Leaves, 1975), flea markets (Leaves, 1974). Noguchi's cultural profile, meanwhile, was on the rise, even within the confines of the New School, where he was granted an honorary Doctorate of Fine Arts from the New School of

Social Research, in 1974 (Noguchi, n.d.; Leaves, 1975). Two New School professors who emerged in that moment made Noguchi's work and influence a major part of their practices: *The Arnold Eagle,* who taught at TNS through the 70s, 80s and into the 90s, directed a 1972 film on Noguchi; (Catalogue: Noguchi, 1973) and in 1980, Nancy Grove, a Professor in the Art History Department at Parsons and later Undergraduate Liberal Studies (she still teaches at The New School as of this writing), authored *The Sculpture of Isamu Noguchi: A Catalogue 1924-1979*. The catalogue raisonne of the sculpture variously describes all of the works by the artist mentioned here. In 1985, Grove published *Isamu Noguchi: A Study of the Sculpture* (Isamu Noguchi, 1985). Grove conducted a series of interviews with Noguchi in 1987, and corresponded with him until his death, the next year, in 1988 (Isamu Noguchi, 1987; Isamu Noguchi, 1987; Isamu Noguchi, 1987; Isamu Noguchi, 1987; IN Letter, 1988; IN Letter, 1988).

May 10, 1985, *The New York Times* rolled out the red carpet for the Noguchi Museum:

> Among the very few artists whose work is good enough to sustain a museum of its own, even fewer have had the spirit, will and consummate chutzpah to create one. An exception is Isamu Noguchi. After years of planning, the Japanese-American sculptor has realized a dream, to gather his art in a self-created setting that is also a work of art. The opening tomorrow of his Isamu Noguchi Garden Museum in Long Island City is a feat that surprises no one who knows this dynamic octogenarian, and a very special event in the cultural life of New York. It places permanently before us some 500 sculptures, models and photographs that range across the prolific 60-year career of one of the most versatile and inventive artists of our time. A madeover photo-engraving factory close by Noguchi's studio, the unpretentiously designed museum has 24,000 square feet of exhibition space and an outdoor sculpture garden. Its calm, beautifully arranged series of a dozen gallery spaces provides a refreshing and unexpected oasis in the grungy Long Island City-scape. The term 'garden museum' is a 'metaphor for the world, and how an artist attempted to influence its becoming,' the 80-year-old Noguchi has written, and he gives as the museum's raison d'etre 'a desire to show the totality of my work as an evolving relationship significant to our time. (Glueck, 1985).'

The gushing reportage, typical of the Museum's christening, marked a steep climb in the value of works by the artist. Attuned to the state of the New School collection, Kathy Goncharov inadvertently alerted executive administration to the work's potentially high appraisal. In an August 2024 email correspondence conducted for this research, she confirmed: "They didn't have a clue about its importance or worth until I mentioned it in passing." Major benefactors to the school and the collection, Agnes Gund and Vera List, championed the collection, and were "dead set against selling anything," but "the powers-that-be" insisted.

The two attendant factors that were contributory to the fate of *Garden Elements* were: 1) shifting cultural values; 2) the buildout of the campus.

The 1973 energy crisis had upended the U.S. car market, and the behemoths put out by Ford, General Motors and Chrysler were suddenly outcompeted by smaller, more efficient and more affordable Japanese imports. A similar influx of Japanese imports arrived in the category of consumer electronics—the Sony Walkman was released in 1979—and U.S. paranoia was stoked by Japanese investment in cherished U.S. brands and institutions. The Japanese were punished with sanctions; their products were smashed by congress people on capitol hill, and "Japan-Bashing" was commonly reported in news and media (Sanger, 1988; Novak, 2016; Egan, 1992). In respect to public sentiment, *Garden Elements* wasn't the only work to have taken on the shadows of the American psyche. Thomas Hart Benton's *America Today*, a mural of the then-third, now-fifth floor of 66 West 12 Street, was put up for sale in 1982, with the caveat

that it not be sold outside the United States, or divided into individual panels. Benton has always had his defenders, but from the beginning his work has been criticized as sentimental regionalism overly dependent on caricature tropes, which, over time, have only gained in their appearance of sexism, racism and antisemitism. (In today's milieu, the arguments for deaccessioning the Benton are relatable.) In 1984, the action went forward; with the help of Mayor Ed Koch, who was determined to keep the work in New York City, the panels were acquired in 1984 by AXA (then Equitable Life). In 2012, AXA gifted the murals to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which recreated the original room of 66 west 12, where it installed the panels for permanent exhibition (Griffey, 2014).

The New School's accelerating interest in the undergraduate space compelled a major renovation of the 66 W 12th Street building, as well as the later annex of the 11th Street building, as well as the courtyard; Kathy Goncharov had already secured a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to assist in the remodeling of the latter, which was to include a new site-specific work by Martin Puryear, who was to be the first African American artist to join the roster of the New School's site-specific artists. *A Drama in Time*, a centennial history of The New School, recalls:

> The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) has granted The New School $45,000 toward the design of its courtyard and community garden, the only open space on campus. With an attack on the NEA led by Senators Jesse Helms and Alfonse D'Amato, the NEA leadership yields, and insists its grantees sign an 'obscenity clause' prior to the receipt of awarded funds. The clause is based on the 1991 Helms Amendment, which truncates the freedom of the NEA, but was not in play at the time of the 1990 grant selections. A conservative victory in the 'Culture Wars', the clause will allow politicians to decide what constitutes art. The thousands of grantees—among them, The New School, Shakespeare in the Park, and The Public Theater — balk. On their behalf, The New School's President, Jonathan Fanton, initiates legal action, and issues a five-page statement:
>
> "We believe the obscenity condition even as now interpreted, will continue to cause grant recipients to avoid producing controversial art for fear it will be seen as coming too close to the line that defines prohibited speech. ... It becomes more and more apparent that both the intent of the obscenity clause as adopted by Congress and its effect as implemented by the NEA is not to prevent government funds from being used to support obscenity. Rather, it is to suppress ideas and speech that the government finds dangerous or offensive."
>
> … As part of the $2.6 million renovation of the 11th Street building, which is to house Eugene Lang, the school's newly established liberal arts college, American sculptor Martin Puryear has been commissioned to conceive of a space true to the evolving institution; Michael Van Valkenburgh, a landscape architect, who will work with Puryear. Toward fundraising, The New School has also sold a prized sculpture by Isamu Noguchi, a sculptor with a longstanding relation to the institution (Reed, 2019).

In 1990, the New School appraised *Garden Elements* at USD 800,000 to 1,000,000. The work was sold later that year, through Pace Gallery, for USD 1,200,000 (Site-Specific, n.d.). Those monies were used toward the renovation. In addition to the purchase and placement of the work by Puryear (which was not without collisions), the most notable accolade of the odyssey was The New School's victory in its suit against the NEA, which succumbed to public and legal pressure, and in 1991 rescinded its demands. Puryear and Van Valkenburgh, in their redesign of the courtyard, left a conspicuous absence at the precise once-location of *Garden Elements*.

A Drama in Time, in prologue, accounts for five founding principles of The New School:

1. There would be no need for academic degrees when class society came to an end (in 1919, the Russian Revolution is still a cry of optimism).

2. Academic learning had to become more contemporary, proactive, and responsive.

3. Higher education was not merely for the young; rather, learning was a lifelong endeavor.

4. An interdisciplinary approach was critical to practical, contemporary learning.

5. Experiential learning was preferable to passive learning. (This idea was active as of the 1930s.)

If The New School has arguably but not definitively betrayed the last four principles, it has indisputably betrayed the first. A 2021 census of the school put the total enrollment at 10,815, with 71% (7,632) in the undergraduate space, 29% (3,183) in the graduate space, and an official tabulation of 0% in the continuing education space (Enrollment Data, n.d.), which has been entirely folded into undergraduate.

The New School as a progressive institution lives in a continual state of liminal hypocrisy; perhaps all progressive institutions of higher learning are hypocritical in nature, espousing forward values while adhering to modalities of social class that are transparently feudal. And, as we are reminded every day in our webs of social media, politics and culture, maybe a degree of hypocrisy is constitutional to human experience, and all of our collective spaces are complicated by the irreconcilable.

A series of letters and memorandums by Kathy Gonchorov struggled with the potential sale of *Garden Elements*, how to sell it most ethically and profitably, and whether or not to sell it at all. "We have," she wrote on March 6 of 1990, "a potentially sticky situation in regard to the sale of the Noguchi." In two days time, the executive committee was scheduled to decide if *Garden Elements* should be sold, and if so, whether it should be sold through a private dealer or through Sotheby's, and if through Sotheby's at what time. While the work was valued at USD 800,000 to 1,000,000, auction prices had shown a sudden volatility, with works by name-recognized artists entertaining unheard of sales results. Conversely, works that didn't sell at auction were subsequently compromised. The additional aggravation was that two of the members of the subcommittee were art dealers, and, if best-intentioned, potentially less-than objective (Site-Specific, n.d.).

With enormous delicacy, Gonchorov addressed the concern that *Garden Elements* was site specific to the courtyard (if that were indeed the case, it would be difficult if not impossible to ethically move the work):

> It is David Levy's belief, based on a conversation he once had with Noguchi, that not only the sculpture but the entire courtyard was designed by Noguchi and he suggested speaking with Al Landa who did not discount the possibility. He had no specific memory of the artist's role in the courtyard but he did say that Noguchi had been very involved with the New School in those years. The Noguchi Foundation, which houses the extant records of the artist's projects and commissions revealed no indications of the courtyard designs. Shoji Sadho, the Executive Director of the Foundation and Noguchi's close friend and professional associate for over thirty years, and the one most likely to know, had never heard this claim and had written a letter to this effect. Finally, James Rossant, then a junior architect with the now defunct firm of Mayer, Whittlesey & Glass, that was commissioned by the New School to design the courtyard stated that Noguchi definitely did not participate in the design. He did, however, site his sculpture at that time. Rossant was involved in the New School project from start to finish and is a partner in the firm Conklin & Rossant, that took over Mayer, Whittlesey & Glassey when the original partners died or retired. An employee of the Noguchi Foundation made an off-the-record comment that Noguchi was not

> a humble man and probably the mere presence of his sculpture made him feel that the design was his, thus explaining the remarks made to David Levy (Site-Specific, n.d.).

The hallway condemnation of the sale of *Garden Elements* has been that the work was site specific, and the hallway rebuttal to that claim has been that it wasn't. By strict definition, *Garden Elements* was always autonomous, independent from its location at The New School, and not a site-specific work. That said, by The New School's definition of the 14 site-specific works in the collection, *Garden Elements* is as or more site specific than several of them—while eight of The New School's avowed site-specific works are unequivocally site specific, four beget hesitation: Sol LeWitt's *Wall Drawing #1073, Bars of Color* is based on a schematic by the artist, and was reinstalled and reconfigured after the artist's death, albeit with assistance from the artist's studio; Alfredo Jaar's *Searching for Africa in LIFE*, while installed by the artist in 2014, originated in 1996; Agnes Denes' 2016 installation of *Pascal's Perfect Probability Pyramid & the People Paradox – The Predicament (PPPPPPP)*, likewise, finds its origin in 1980; Camilo Egas's large mural on-canvas, *Ecuadorian Festival*, has been mounted on a stretcher and moved from its original location, which ostensibly no longer exists. And Thomas Hart Benton's *America Today*, while site specific to the dimensions of its original room, now resides at The Metropolitan Museum, and not in the Joseph Urban building of West 12th Street (Site-Specific, n.d.).

Somewhere in the Bay Area, a today viewing of *Garden Elements* bears no memory of a cultural intercis with The New School. Only The New School—in a courtyard, in a *Garden Elements* of its own—grapples with history, memory, and self-awareness. Which is fitting. The New School's wanting knowledge of itself reifies in the work, and evidences Noguchi's assertion that everything is sculpture. As Noguchi wrote of his 1968 basalt sculpture, *Time Thinking*:

"Concepts appear and disappear. How easy it is to lose track of them in the myriad relationships, of depth to shallowness, of volume to plane, of density to clarity, small to large, palpable life to something dead. The stone remains to be attacked again. It is stone, stone all the way through, always remaining, never really lost or destroyed, excepting as we may lose courage and imagination… (Noguchi, 2024 – 2025; Noguchi, 1968)"

The Alicia Penelba bronze, originally on loan to The New School for "Machine and Mechanism," is currently on permanent exhibition at the Harrison Sculpture Garden of the University of Minnesota (Penalba 1960); The Dimitri Hadzi piece, also on loan for "Machine and Mechanism," has since entered the marketplace (Dimitri HADZI, n.d.; Hadzi, 1959); Chaim Gross's sculpture was relocated from an installation at New York University and gifted to The New School in 1967—Gross taught sculpture at The New School for forty years (circa 1950-1988) and was honored by the school upon his retirement (Parsons School, 1991; New School Bulletin, 1989). The work now resides in the lobby of the 66 W 12th Street building, approximately 50 feet from where it was in 1975, and perhaps 100 feet from its once placement in the courtyard. The Guy MIller piece was acquired by the New School at a later date, and remains in the collection. Calder's *The Black Sieve*, originally on loan to the New School—it appeared in "Mechanism and Organism" as well as "The Artist's Reality"—was recently acquired by the Buffalo Albright-Knox Art Gallery (Calder, 1957). Other works that have lodged in the courtyard include two bronze works currently placed on the terrace of the Provost at 66 west 12th street: *Male Torso* by I. Rothstein, and a work attributed in the course of the research herein to Masami Kodama, an artist who is additionally represented in The New School collection by an untitled/title unknown marble sculpture.

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Appendix

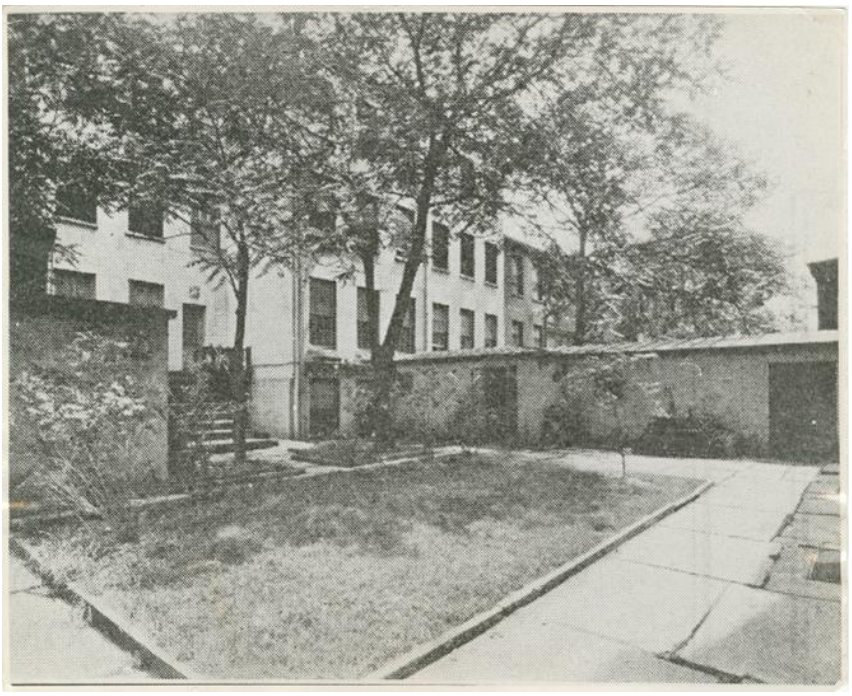


Figure. 1: The New School Archives: "Depicts grounds of the first location of The New School for Social Research, when it occupied six brownstone buildings in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City. Photographic reproduction of printed material." Before 1930 (Courtyard, before 1930).



Figure. 2: The New School Archives: "A group of eight people, all likely New York School of Fine and Applied Art (now, Parsons School of Design) students, seated outside in a doorway, eating. Based on the inscription, this photograph may depict the courtyard of the Paris Ateliers, located at 9 Place des Vosges, Paris." 1920s (In Court, 1920s).





Figure. 3 & 4: The Noguchi Museum: "Isamu Noguchi as a child in Japan, wearing Japanese fencing (Kendo) gear that may have inspired the shape of Radio Nurse, 1911 (Isamu Noguchi, 1937; Isamu Noguchi, 1911)."



Figure. 5: The New School Archives: "Landscaping consultant J. J. Levinson holds a shovel and Fay Lewis of the New School Associates holds a plaque bearing the inscription, "Alvin Johnson Oak," while Alvin Johnson stands between them in the New School Courtyard during construction in the late 1950s. The courtyard connects 66 West 12th Street (Alvin Johnson/J. M. Kaplan Hall) and 65 West 11th Street (Eugene Lang College). In 1997, it was renamed the Vera List Courtyard." December 1958 (Tree Planting, 1958).



the village VOICE, August 5, 1959

Lindsay Rejects 'Sane' Plea on Transfer of A-Bombs Abroad

Representative John V. Lindsay last week indicated that he supported the Administration's policy of entering into atomic-energy agreements with NATO countries.

He expressed his views in a letter sent to residents of the 17th Congressional District in response to a petition, sponsored by the Greenwich Village Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, requesting his support for a Congressional veto of the agreements.

No Transfer

Mr. Lindsay said that the agreements with the NATO countries "specifically state that there will be no transfer of nuclear weapons themselves."

His letter also said that there is no evidence that the deliberate acceptance by the free world of a state of military inferiority will somehow make it easier to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

The "Sane" group opposes transfer of non-nuclear parts of atomic weapons systems to West Germany and other NATO countries.

Jenkins to Conduct 2nd Washington Sq. Concert

Newell Jenkins will conduct the second in the Washington Square Chamber Music Series, sponsored by the Washington Square Association, on Monday, August 10, at 9 p. m. In the event of rain the concert will be transferred to Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square South.

The program includes the New York premiere of Symphony No. 17 by Gaetano Brunetti, whose works have been revived by Mr. Jenkins.

Other selections on the program will be Rameau's Concert en Sextuor and two works by Haydn: "Melk" Violin Concerto in A major and Symphony No. 46.

Gerald Tarack, violinist, will be soloist for the evening.

THE COKE CROWD
You a square? You're not hep to the news of Cicero's Scotch ESCAPE HOES? You don't live till you get to the grave. Could be your bunions and brains will improve.
CICERO'S ESCAPE SHOES
41 Seventh Ave. (nr. 12th)

Voice: Gin Briggs

NOGUCHI AND HIS SCULPTURE AT THE NEW SCHOOL

Isamu Noguchi:

Abstract Sculptor Has Concrete Objective

by Jerry Tallmer

Fifty-five years old, seeming 45, and as lithe and muscled as an athlete, he came into these offices last week looking not for an apartment—we get hundreds of apartment-seekers—but for a building to buy in Greenwich Village. Said his name was Isamu Noguchi, sculptor. We sat him down, sent for our photographer, and said we'd run a story about it.

"What do you want?" we asked. "What sort of building?"

"Exactly what I used to have on MacDougal Alley," Noguchi said. "A ground-floor place with a little yard. Like the studio I used to have down at the end of the Alley, 10 years ago, until I was forced out by that horrible guy with the big apartment house."

"How high a ceiling do you need?" We were thinking of some of hi staller totemlike sculptures, the kind the Museum of Modern Art has to put out in its garden during its shows.

"High as possible."

"How strong a floor? How heavy do your pieces run?"

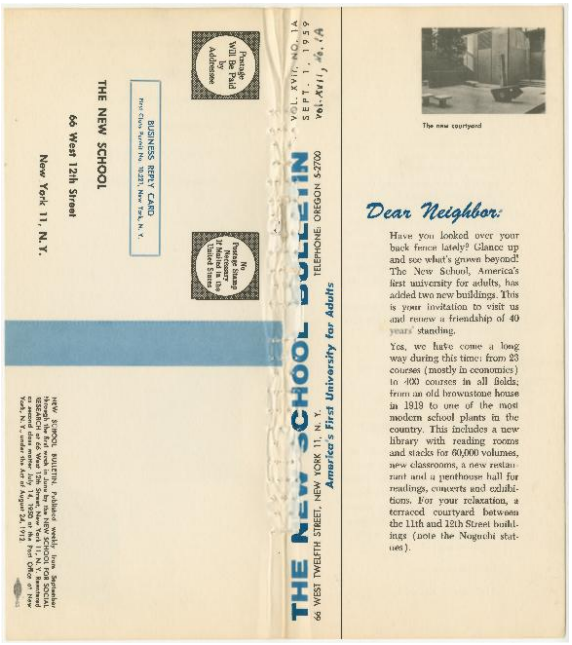
It Depends

Noguchi shrugged. "The heaviest piece so far has been about a ton," he said. "But it doesn't mean very much, you know. A ton spread over a big area is one thing; a ton compressed in a little area, another."

He was wearing a neat but well-worn steel-grey work shirt, suntan trousers, black socks, light oxblood loafers (highly polished), a gold wristwatch, a red pencil in the shirt pocket next to folded, unused hornrims. It was the 44th most unbearable day of the Great Humidity and he looked cool,

Continued on page 5

Figure. 6: Village Voice: august 5, 1969: "Abstract Sculptor has Concrete Objective" by Jerry Tallmer.



THE NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN
66 WEST TWELFTH STREET, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
America's First University for Adults
VOL. XVII, NO. 1A
SEPT. 1, 1959
TELEPHONE: OREGON 5-2700

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BUSINESS REPLY CARD
First Class Permit No. 9231, New York, N. Y.

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

The new courtyard

Dear Neighbor:

Have you looked over your back fence lately? Glance up and see what's grown beyond! The New School, America's first university for adults, has added two new buildings. This is your invitation to visit us and renew a friendship of 40 years' standing.

Yes, we have come a long way during this time: from 23 courses (mostly in economics) to 400 courses in all fields; from an old brownstone house in 1919 to one of the most modern school plants in the country. This includes a new library with reading rooms and stacks for 60,000 volumes, new classrooms, a new restaurant and a penthouse hall for readings, concerts and exhibitions. For your relaxation, a terraced courtyard between the 11th and 12th Street buildings (note the Noguchi statues).

Figure. 7: New School Bulletin, September 1, 1959 (New School Bulletin, 1959).

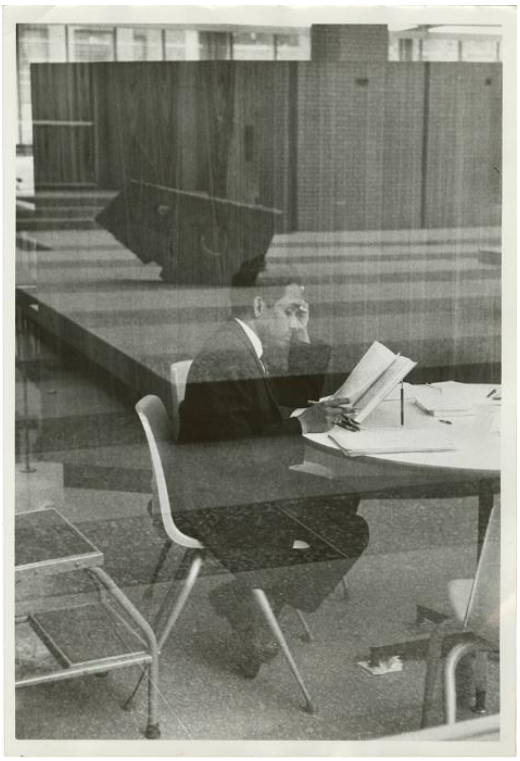


Figure. 8: The New School Archives: "The photograph also depicts the reflection of the courtyard. The courtyard was created in the late 1950s and it connects 66 West 12th Street (Alvin Johnson/J. M. Kaplan Hall) and 65 West 11th Street (Eugene Lang College of Liberal Arts). In the 1960s, '70s and '80s the courtyard housed several sculptures. Isamu Noguchi's Garden Elements from 1958 can also be seen in the reflection. In 1997, the courtyard was renamed the Vera List Courtyard." 1960s (Unidentified, 1960s).



Figure. 9: The New School Archives: "Contact sheets depicting the courtyard." Undated (Courtyard, 1960-1990).

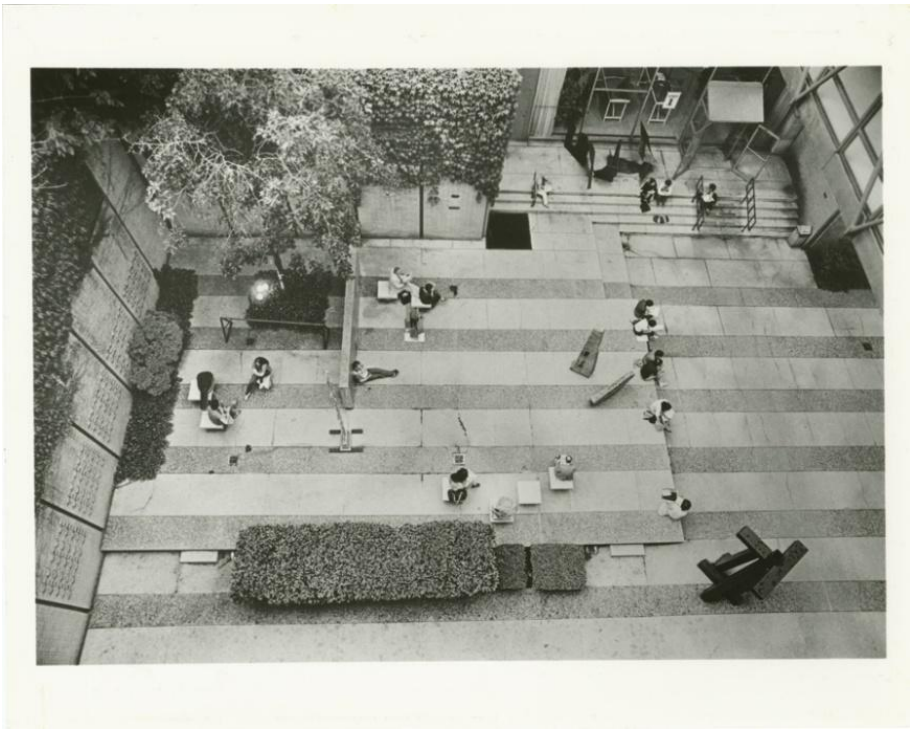


Figure. 10: The New School Archives: "Aerial View of Courtyard of The New School." 1960s (Aerial View, 1960s).



Figure. 11: The New School Archives: "Inaugural Series of New School Poetry Readings: Pictured left to right are Kenneth Koch, Stanley Kunitz, Marianne Moore, Alan Dugan. and Robert Lowell …" May 26, 1962 (Inaugural, 1962).



Figure. 12: The New School Archives: "New School Poetry Readings." 1963 (New School Poetry, 1962).



Figure. 13: The New School Archives: "Logo used on New School stationery, press releases, memoranda, publicity materials and course catalogs from approximately 1966 until 1986." 1966 – 1986 (New School Tree, 1966-1986).

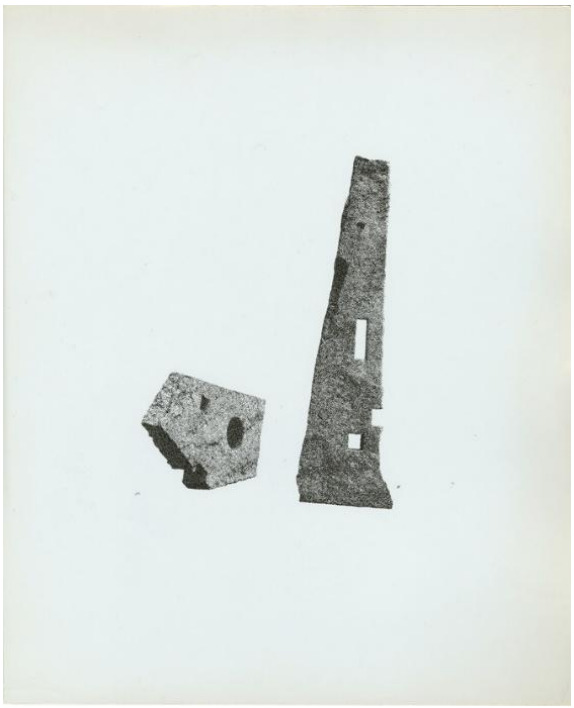


Figure. 14: Logo of Garden Elements. 1950s-60s (Isamu Noguchi's, 1960s).



Figure. 15: Logo of Garden Elements, in process. 1950s-60s (Photograph of Isamu, 1960s).

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Carnival of Soullessness: A Biographical-Cultural Analysis of Billy Wilder's *Ace in the Hole*

Josie Garza Medina[1]

Abstract

Billy Wilder's *Ace in the Hole* (1951) marks the emergence of media-driven scandal culture in American society. The film, shaped by Wilder's transcontinental life experiences and wartime observations, critiques the commodification of human tragedy. Wilder, a former gigolo and Hollywood success, returned to post-war Europe and confronted the atrocities of the Nazi death camps, which profoundly influenced his storytelling (Madsen 23, 25, 13-14). These experiences materialized in the character of Chuck Tatum, a ruthless tabloid journalist—played by Kirk Douglas—who manipulates a mining accident for personal gain. Tatum's actions reflect what Hunter S. Thompson termed 'the main nerve of the American dream' (191). The film's narrative also echoes America's history of exploitation, particularly in its New Mexico setting, subtly evoking the nation's Indian Wars. By paralleling Tatum's ambition with Leo Minosa's innocence, Wilder constructs a cultural and psychological dialectic. The film's exploration of media ethics remains relevant today, particularly in the context of war reporting, as seen in coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Keywords: Media Scandal, Commodification of Tragedy, American Dream, Cultural Syllogism, War Critique

Thesis

Ace in the Hole (1951) pings the dawn of the media scandal age on the radar of the American cultural landscape. A product of the raw mind of Billy Wilder, whose life story up to that time spanned two continents and two world wars, the film satirizes and weeps over the human tendency to commodify tragedy. Wilder, an ex-gigolo who returned to Europe after success as a comedic screenwriter and director at Paramount Pictures, found his old-world cynicism bolstered by the discovery of the Nazi death camps where his fellow Jews died en masse (Madsen 23, 25, 13-14). He funneled his post-war experiences producing Allied propaganda films like *Death Mills* (1945) into the narrative of the mad tabloid journalist Chuck Tatum, willing to do anything for a shot at career redemption. Tatum, embodied by the volcanic Kirk Douglas, and the media frenzy he constructs around a man trapped in a mine shaft fit what Hunter S. Thompson called 'the main nerve of the American dream' (191). This mythical 'big carnival' of American greed and sentimentality also echoes the genocide of its New Mexico landscape, with Wilder using the character of Leo Minosa as a morally good mirror to the

[1] M.A., Texas A&M University, Department of Sociology, United State of America, josie.garza.medina@gmail.com.

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complicated, self-selling Tatum. The cultural syllogisms within the film itself – Germany opposite America, Tatum opposite Minosa – reflect the biographical-psychological syllogism Wilder creates between himself and the bombastic showman Tatum. Though Wilder's film does not explicitly deal with race, its critique of the war opens doors to a critique of America's Indian Wars and provides a lens on genocidal spectacles to come; I briefly touch on this in a concluding discussion of Wilderian media tactics in this year's Russia-Ukraine War.

Tatum And Wilder on The Beat

Arriving in Albuquerque, New Mexico with no money and a broken car, Charles "Chuck" Tatum offers his services to Mr. Boot, the editor of the *Sun-Bulletin*. Tatum is a big city journalist whose alcoholism leads him into fights, womanizing, and general chaos. He has come west to find work and considers Albuquerque a better place to pan for scoops than major markets like Los Angeles. After a painfully boring (to him) year on the job, Tatum and his assistant, the young Herbie, luck upon a cave-in at a nearby mineshaft while on a beat. Tatum, smelling blood, takes charge of the operation to rescue the innocent yokel Leo Minosa, trapped during an expedition to find native pottery.

This involves the forced cooperation of Minosa's wife, Lorraine, a former "dollar-a-dance girl" brought west after World War II with the lure of Minosa's gas station and land. "Look at it. We sell eight hamburgers a week and a case of soda pop. And once in a while, a Navajo rug maybe" (Wilder, 1951). While Leo mistakenly considers Tatum a friend and an honest man, Lorraine senses the "hard-boiled egg" underneath Tatum's skin. Choosing to stay by Leo's side and sell an image of herself as a faithful wife, Lorraine and Tatum develop Leo's entrapment into a media carnival. With the aim of securing a Pulitzer Prize and a big-city job for Tatum and a financial future for Lorraine, their plot soon encompasses the local sheriff and a menage of vendors and roadside hucksters. Tatum, urging the rescue team to use a tactic that extends Minosa's entrapment to a whole week, ends up killing the man. Tatum gets his own comeuppance via a fatal stab wound from Lorraine but tries to redeem himself and atone for Leo's death by decrying the carnival of onlookers and offering the 'big scoop' of his collaboration with the sheriff. He dies on the floor of the *Sun-Bulletin* after ordering Boot and Herbie to give his last will and testament, an admittance to Leo's de facto murder (Wilder, 1945).

Wilder, born in 1906 in Vienna, was himself a former journalist forced to sell himself in the perilous economy of post-war Europe (Seidman 2). His first significant job, as a reporter for the Viennese paper *Die Stunde*, led to a relocation to Weimar-era Berlin and its fertile, intellectual stomping grounds (Madsen 22). The young auteur divided his time between working as a gigolo – what we would consider the middle ground between an escort and a prostitute – and writing screenplays to become a filmmaker (Madsen 23). This was a dual self-pimping – of body, to middle-aged spinsters of a postwar era marked by the deaths of thirteen percent of the men born from 1870 to 1899 (Keegan 7), and of mind, to a burgeoning film industry associated with luminaries like F.W. Murnau and Fritz Lang, but on the verge of Nazi takeover (Seidman 3-7). It is easy to see how Wilder's prostitution of writing skills in Vienna and Berlin gave him insight into Kirk Douglas' mad tabloid writer Chuck Tatum, while his "ballroom-dancer" career showed him the inner workings of Lorraine Minosa's exploitation

by Tatum as a 'faithful wife' who wants nothing more than to no longer be a Minosa (Madsen 22-24).

This life of self-prostitution continued after Wilder's breakthrough collaborative work *People on Sunday* (1930), as he and other Jews and intellectuals (though sadly, not enough of them) fled the country following Hitler's establishment of Nazi dictatorship in the first three months of 1933 (Seidman 7). After a period in Paris, Wilder left for the new world of Hollywood despite knowing almost no English (Madsen 24-25). Attached to Paramount Pictures, he studied English intensively and became a script writer of repute following his pairing with the upper-class American Charles Brackett (Seidman 9-10). Brackett's collaborative partnership continued up till *Ace in the Hole*, and though Wilder worked with two co-writers on the 1951 film, Neil Sinyard notes that they played a secondary role to the director coming off his acclaimed hit *Sunset Boulevard* (1950). *Boulevard* followed *A Foreign Affair* (1948), his first commercial film in Berlin since the rise of Hitler, though it was not his first post-war German film (Madsen 13-14).

As part of the Psychological Warfare Division of the U.S. Army, Colonel Wilder made a now forgotten but essential film called *Death Mills*. Originally intended only for German audiences, it edits together the countless film records of the liberation of Nazi concentration camps to convey to the complicit German public the scale of atrocities committed in the name of *lebensraum*. The tragedies in the film committed by a 'master race' against the supposed 'degenerates' are the 'usual' vileness – emaciated women and children, endless bodies, gold teeth and children's shoes hoarded like a serial killer's stash of keepsakes (Wilder, 1945). One scene, though, is significant in connection to *Ace in the Hole*. The U.S. Army forces the population of a German village to walk through one of the camps at gunpoint; what begins as a lovely "walk in the country" turns into a witnessing of war crimes committed by their friends and neighbors against 'social deviants' out of ideological hate and a sick sense of 'fun' (Wilder, 1945).

The Viennese Esthete Gone American

This belief that death is "instructive," as put by the first man to arrive at Leo Minosa's gas station after Tatum puts out the word that Minosa is trapped in the mine shaft, is something Wilder deeply disagrees with (Wilder, 1951). Wilder's family was killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau (Madsen 13). It is quite possible that his family and friends' personal artifacts were among those filmed in the endless perversity witnessed by the liberators of the camps. Death is never anything but death to Wilder, the totalizing end of life, and the exploitation of it for shock value and media sensation is as sick as the creation of it. Chuck Tatum's murder of Leo Minosa by delaying his rescue to elongate the sensation around it is a mirror put up to Tatum's face, and his denouncement of his 'big carnival' and attempt to redeem himself by outing his murderous actions to his media connections is the film's equivalent to the German people's eternal need to grapple with the ramifications of their genocide (Wilder, 1951). That Minosa becomes trapped because he goes looking for Native American pottery in the mine implies an equivalence between Nazi race war and the American race war against the natives of this continent. This equivalence, though shocking even for discourse in 2022, is an equivalence I will return to later.

Douglas, now a figure of great contention for his various connections to Hollywood machismo (Wood, 2021), the quest to redeem Hollywood Blacklist screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, and the pro-Israel movement, plays Tatum as a man at the crossroads of both his own iconic characters and Wilder's iconic leading men. For most of the film, Chuck Tatum is as hard-boiled and vile as Douglas' early character in Jacques Tourneur's *Out of the Past* (1947), the gangster Whit Sterling. His final attempt at some form of heroic decency is akin to Douglas' future roles as the forgiving WWI officer Colonel Dax in Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957), the rebellious slave Spartacus in Kubrick's *Spartacus* (1960), and the loyal patriot Colonel Casey in John Frankenheimer's *Seven Days in May* (1964). Tatum before his realization of the reality of his atrocity is an avaricious man common to early Douglas roles, while his fatal shot at redemption is textbook later Douglas, a staunchly masculine antihero attempting to fix a disastrous situation.

Wilder's depiction of his antihero is likewise a complex zone of past and future masculine lead characters. Michel Ciment notes three types of Wilderian man that were personified by his most frequent lead actors – likeable like Jack Lemmon, strong and masculine like William Holden, and funny and devious like Walter Matthau (Tresgot, 1980). The 'con man' archetype Matthau often portrayed in films like *The Fortune Cookie* (1966) is most like Tatum's slithery persona, with Douglas' trademark virility standing in for Holden's gruff honor in *Stalag 17* (1953). The tiny bit of perverse joy the audience experiences in watching Tatum turn his gears, however, is nothing like the laughs Lemmon offers as a crossdressing musician in *Some Like It Hot* (1959), or as a working stiff cuckold in *The Apartment* (1960). Tatum is the refined Continental journalist of Wilder's youth in the body of a wily, scheming all-American antihero, a re-envisioning of the sort of European who compromised to survive the world wars as an endlessly ambitious Hollywood noir protagonist. He is also an early filmed example of two peculiarly Southwestern antiheroes – the hardboiled Southwestern criminals that novelist Jim Thompson specialized in, and the morally ambiguous men of Sergio Leone and Sam Peckinpah's revisionist Westerns. Douglas-as-Tatum's "single-minded dynamism" (Maddin 4) is the vital energy at the heart of Wilder's film, the mad id gesticulating under Wilder's luxurious superego of classic Hollywood mise-en-scene.

The psychological reservoir of life experiences Wilder drew on for this film – his life as a reporter, his gigolo career, his associations with the war – blend in ways not often isolated and studied by many critics. In the two essays that come with the deluxe Criterion Collection edition of *Ace in the Hole,* Molly Haskell notes in "Noir in Broad Daylight" that "the survivor's guilt of a man whose family died in Auschwitz" characterizes the "angst" of Tatum and Lorraine's moneygrubbing tango (3), whereas Guy Maddin plays up the campiness of Douglas' performance as wild man Tatum in "Chin Up for Mother". The dual nature of the film – the sordid and the kitschy – harkens back to the experiences of the Germans out for a country walk in *Death Mills*. Wilder's film, though it whistles past the graveyard at times, is even more shocking for how banal and cornpone the witnesses to Minosa's death are in the glimpses we see of their personal lives. Mr. Federber sells his insurance business when put on the air by a radio reporter, while Sheriff Kretzer seems more concerned with his pet rattlesnake than winning re-election. The only New Mexican characters who have a gauge on the sickness of the 'big carnival' of Leo's exploitation are not 'New Mexican', but from back east: Tatum and Lorraine.

Blurred Roles: Wilder Reborn as Tatum

But is anyone in this work truly 'New Mexican'? As I mentioned earlier, this work stands in the shadow of two genocides. Leo Minosa, playing blind man's bluff with ghosts who know the score of eldritch horrors of yesteryear, goes hunting for native American pottery in the local mine. When Leo is buried alive, Tatum capitalizes on the "King Tut in New Mexico" nature of his story by publicizing the "Curse of the Seven Vultures" the ancient inhabitants of the area (assumedly Puebloans) laid upon the mountain. Wilder almost never touched on race issues in his films; only *The Fortune Cookie*, released in a November 1966 atmosphere that was soon to see the civil rights movement become the Black power struggle, contains a major character of color.

Ace in the Hole, however, is the closest he came to making a Western, and all Westerns require an explicit or implicit discussion of the founding genocide of the West. It is also a noir "in broad daylight" and points towards a general trend of 1950s noirs taking place in non-urban, non-nighttime locales (Haskell 1). Though a few Western noirs existed before *Ace in the Hole*, most notably Raoul Walsh's *High Sierra* (1941), few dealt with the racial implications of the West in a liberal way. Tatum is not explicitly Jewish, but an early scene shows him bemoaning the lack of chopped liver and pickles in Albuquerque. Haskell notes this reference to Douglas and Wilder's Jewishness on page 2 of her essay, but avoids differentiating between the 'tough', streetwise Jewishness associated with Douglas' screen persona and the intelligent, decadent Jewishness of Wilder's crumbling postwar Berlin. Wilder worked with a few other Jewish male actors, Erich von Stroheim, Edward G. Robinson, Walter Matthau, and Tony Curtis among them. Yet, Douglas' role as Tatum in *Ace in the Hole* and von Stroheim's role as Max von Mayerling in *Sunset Boulevard* were the only times a Jewish male actor played a man with the same profession as Wilder. Von Mayerling also functions as a de facto gigolo to his ex-wife, Gloria Swanson's silent film star Norma Desmond.

It is arguable that *Ace in the Hole*, following immediately after *Sunset Boulevard* and being another noir, is an attempt to reimagine the decaying von Mayerling as a young American macho man. Under this interpretation, both von Mayerling and Tatum are crypto-Jewish characters based on the newly Americanized Colonel Wilder. Von Mayerling, faithful to his ex-wife despite her fading image and sanity, does not have a post-Holocaust element to his Jewishness but fits the type of the Berlin gigolo that Wilder was before the war. This makes him a dry run for the constantly self-selling character of Tatum, who represents the man who sold his body in Berlin and his writing skills in four cities across two continents.

Tatum pimps his writing skills to Boot. Lorraine pimps her faithfulness, first to Leo and later to Tatum. But what does Leo pimp? Forced to sell the spirit-protected crafts of his homeland at his barren gas station, Minosa is also a Wilderian man. Though the 'full-blooded' Pueblo people refuse to touch the Mountain of the Seven Vultures, the mestizo Minosa acts out a hybrid life – white while native, modern while ancient – for a handful of sales a week. The 'big carnival' of his entrapment mostly exists without his knowledge, but profits entirely off his back. The longer he is trapped in the mine without dying, the more of a profit Tatum and Lorraine make from his "human interest story." Yet this exploitation rests on the deceit of Leo, who can only know bits and pieces of the world outside his mine shaft – deceits like Lorraine's 'faithfulness' and the community's 'rescue' efforts. These deceits function to

elongate his life and spirit, yet they will not ensure his physical survival, only the increase of Tatum and Lorraine's wealth. Chin up for mother. *Arbeit Macht Frei.*

We can now see Leo Minosa's role in this drama more clearly. Leo is a product available for a limited time only, yet his profit margin and potential revenue are still affected by his survival. He is no different than a forced laborer at Ravensbruck or Auschwitz-Birkenau, not even from the pottery he digs for to sell to braindead tourists looking for the 'authentic' native experience. Yet he is not explicitly depicted as a subjugated and exploited symbol for two subjugated and exploited groups, and that is what keeps his struggle from a stale preachiness. He only appears onscreen in his final incarnation as a "human interest story" for the worst sort of human, not as a lifelong toiler and commoner. Indeed, Lorraine says he refuses to let her leave or divorce him, a pattern of behavior considered domestic abuse as early as 1970.

Wilder's film, innovative in this subtle blend of political commentary on the Nazi Holocaust and the American Holocaust, acts as a precursor to temporally shifting Southwestern works like Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Ceremony* (1977) and John Sayles' film *Lone Star* (1996). Leo Minosa's mine shaft is a dark public zone of violence, plastered over front pages like a concentration camp in a newsreel. However, this zone of violence is the totalizing end of the film, unlike Silko's Bataan Death March and Sayles' roadside bar. Silko's protagonist Tayo, just down the road from Albuquerque in Laguna Pueblo, is redeemed through a native ceremony. Sayles' hero, Sam Deeds, reconciles with his late father's legacy when learning he killed a corrupt sheriff to save a Black man's life. The desperate flail at self-redemption Chuck Tatum makes after killing Leo and being stabbed by Lorraine is unsuccessful. Tatum's version of events is not believed in life, and it is left to doubt as to whether he will be taken seriously in death. Lorraine and the sheriff, like so many of the Nazi class, may go free or get a mild reprimand when Tatum's deceit is discovered. Moral ambiguity, so often tokenized in contemporary cinema, finds its ugly consequences exposed in Wilder's melodrama.

A New War, A New Wilder Age

The toxic ambiguity I speak of still exists in media depictions of cruel violence and the common people's reaction to it. This year's invasion of Ukraine by Russia, both countries that suffered Jewish casualties in Wilder's world war, has become a hot potato of understandable moral outrage from the side of pro-Ukrainian demonstrators and callous moral equivalizing from pro-Russian commentators. The popularization of pro-Ukrainian memes like "Russian warship go fuck yourself" and the endlessly parodied propaganda piece "Ghost of Kyiv" come from a concept of psychological warfare as black ops that Wilder formed a part of during his time in the U.S. Army. Their funniness also derives from the Continental sense of decadent humor Wilder's generation of Hollywood and European directors drew upon during the last world war, as Slate's Charles Shaw noted in his article "Ukraine's Caustic Wartime Humor Has Surprising Soviet Roots" (2022). While these memes have the unfortunate side effect of supporting a wider American policy of imperialism and military aggression, they bring aid to an unjustly attacked nation and act as a post-Wilderian form of gallows satire. The screenwriter behind *Ninotchka* (1939) would be proud of the creativity Generation Z has shown in taking the optimistic cynicism of his gentler works to advocate against modern-day fascists in countries all over the world.

However, the priggish face of the pro-Russia brigade comes across as Chuck Tatum vileness with delusions of moral superiority. A quick peruse of the hashtags #IStandWithRussia and #IStandWithPutin on Twitter shows a sad spectacle of conspiracy theorists and emotional incels who support a glorified mob boss out of a fear of minority groups and Western decadence (Twitter, 2022). If the pro-Ukrainian media spectacle is a light comedy like *Some Like It Hot,* the pro-Russian spectacle is a Norma Desmond paranoia episode shot through with Tatumesque realpolitik. One can mock the global implications of Americans supporting an anti-Kremlin policy of post-Soviet containment. One also cannot help but compare Putin's manipulation of the sort of cynicism *Ace in the Hole* contains to be its own form of Tatum-style Machiavellianism, with a last-minute redemption act on his part extremely unlikely.

Conclusion

The Wilder who fled from Berlin in desperation, who found a new life in Hollywood alongside Berliner expatriates Peter Lorre and Bertold Brecht, could have easily used the image reservoir of the West to recast himself as some sort of *High Noon* cowboy-hero avenging the nightmares of Chelmno. Instead, he chose to make his only 'Western' a modern film examining the moral compromises and concessions common to all times, but most notable during the war Hitler waged against his fellow Jews. *Ace in the Hole's* three major juxtapositions - of Chuck Tatum and Leo Minosa, Tatum and Billy Wilder, and the Nazi Holocaust and the genocide of the native Americans – form a complex web of insights about the nature of self-prostitution. This self-prostitution exists in *Ace in the Hole* under the explicit guise of a media critique, but subtly as a critique of the Second World War. It contains an even subtler critique of Wilder's new *heimat* and its legacy of genocide, told through a sunbaked noir melodrama plot that fuses two of the prime genres of postwar American cinema. There is much in Wilder's film that harkens to later media spectacles. Though I hope my discussion of the still-raging war in Ukraine is not an unnecessary tangent, I do think it is worth examining Wilder's insights through the lens of the tragic spectacle we see every day on our phones and televisions.

Wilder's commentary on the spectacle of violence, though unrelentingly cynical and bleak, should be seen in context of the gentleness and optimism he exhibited in interviews and life (Tresgot, 1980). Though Tatum's carnival of avarice is his downfall, his attempt at redemption reflects the perverse desire of the Wilderian hero to somehow make the best out of the nightmares of modern life. Expurgating the "survivor's guilt" Haskell accurately diagnoses him with through the character of Tatum, Wilder is freed of the hell of Auschwitz (4). He only made one film as brazenly dark as *Ace in the Hole* after 1951, the lascivious sex comedy *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1964), and is still known as one of the great satiric directors of Hollywood cinema.

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The Language of Dreams: Understanding the Psychological Impact of Border Partition in Akhtaruzzaman Elias's Series of Works

Sanjay Kumar Sarkar[1]

Abstract

This research paper examines the psychological and impact of border partition as depicted in Akhtaruzzaman Elias's novels, Chilekothar Sepai ("The Soldier in an Attic", 1986), Khwabnama ("Dream Epic", 1996), and Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar ("In Another Room, Another Voice", 1976). By analyzing the language of dreams in these works, the study aims to understand the profound psychological experiences of the characters and their responses to the trauma caused by the division of borders. This paper provides a historical and socio-political context, explores the symbolism and themes present in the characters' dreams, and delves into the psychological consequences of trauma, displacement, identity crisis, and cultural loss. In this article, using trauma theory to explore how the characters' fragmented narratives and struggles with memory contribute to their psychological experiences of trauma and the challenges they face in navigating their post-partition realities.

Keywords: Akhtaruzzaman Elias, Trauma, Identity crisis, Memoir, Border partition

Introduction

The partition of Bengal in 1947 resulted in East Bengal becoming part of East Pakistan, which later became an independent nation known as Bangladesh in 1971. This partition, often referred to as the "Bengali partition," was a significant development in the history of South Asia and had profound implications for the people of the region. The partition emerged as a result of the extensive separation of British India into two independent entities, namely India and Pakistan. East Bengal, with its majority Bengali-speaking population, was geographically separated from West Bengal, which became part of India. This division was driven by religious and political considerations, as West Bengal primarily had a Hindu majority, while East Bengal had a Muslim majority. This catastrophic historical event has exerted its lingering psychological effects on the minds of the victims of the Bengal partition, as well as on the generations that follow. The trauma associated with the partition creates an unavoidable confrontation with the painful past, inevitably leading to a recurring reference to that trauma. Partition of Bengal mostly affected the Bengal in India (Wast Bengal) and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The division of these two provinces was rooted in religious differences, resulting in an unprecedented refugee crisis. The outcomes of the partition were varied and tragic,

[1] Res. Assist. Cooch Behar Panchanan Barma University, Department of English, Siliguri College, India, sanjaykumarsarkar923222@gmail.com

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encompassing looting, killings, sexual violence, moral corruption, murder, the devastation of lives and properties, and rampant vandalism throughout the affected areas. The psychological consequences of the partition of Bengal has great witnessed to be more substantial than the acts of violence that afflicted the population of Punjab. The extent of the violence has spanned over multiple genres, and the curious academic intellects, particularly from South Asia. Among the numerous creative authors, Akhtaruzzaman Elias stands out for his detailed examination of this history of violence, recounting events through a lens of traumatic experience. Hasan Al Zayed is a short-story writer and novelist, says that "Elias in the milieu of great writers like Garcia Marquez, Carlos Fuentes, Chinua Achebe, Naguib Mahfouz, and Salman Rushdie" (Zayed, 2017). Mahasweta Devi talks about about Elias in an interview:

> "the more I read Elias, the more conscious I become of his importance in world literature. Elias spearheaded a group of immensely powerful Bangladeshi writers who began writing in the 1960s" (Devi).

The partition of borders has long been a topic of interest for scholars and researchers studying its traumatic stress on individuals and communities. Within these narratives, the partition is not merely an event or an insignificant deviation that can be easily forgotten, but a traumatic environment that allows for the expression and articulation of a profound sense of disorientation and homelessness. The theme of exile and the restless, homeless condition of the migratory self reflects a profound lack of peace and stability. Analyzing narratives that allude to the partition, whether directly or indirectly, reveals a noticeable pattern or echo. This exploration offers a clear articulation of the self's connection to fate, serendipity, sorrow, and loss, all of which arise from the trauma associated with the partition. In Elias's series of works, *Chilekothar Sepai* ("The Soldier in an Attic"), published in 1986, the narrative unfolds during the tempestuous period of 1969, characterized by the East Pakistani people's impassioned uprising against the West Pakistani military dictatorship. *Khwabnama* ("Dream Epic"), published in 1996, is set between 1946-1948, a time that coincides with the Pakistan Movement, the Partition of Bengal, and the Tebhaga Movement. The Tebhaga Movement emerged in the northern region of Undivided Bengal, where peasants, obligated to share half of their harvested crops with the landowners, demanded an increased share of two-thirds. *Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar* ("In Another Room, Another Voice", 1976) narrates a journey that originates from a different realm, intertwined with Pishima's recollection of her past. These novels offer profound insights into the traumatic dimensions after the border partition of bengal and shed light on the profound effects it has on the characters' dreams and overall psychological well-being. Through the dreams depicted in the novels, the characters subconscious thoughts and emotions are unveiled, allowing readers to glimpse the profound psychological consequences of border partition. If i have to judge Elias's enormity of creative propensity, *Khwabnama* and *Chilekothar Sepai*, *Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar*, are one among them. In examining Akhtaruzzaman Elias's body of work through the framework of trauma theory, I begin by presenting the historical context of the partition of East Pakistan and the critiques surrounding it. The discussion section delves into the theoretical aspect of psychic trauma as it pertains to the partition of India, and i have translated all titles and quotations from their original Bengali language into English.

Trauma is defined as the emotional and psychological reaction to distressing events or experiences that exceed an individual's capacity to manage, frequently leading to enduring emotional, cognitive, and physiological consequences. Psychological trauma can significantly impact long-term memory, causing changes, missing memories, and intensified memories due

to war, partition. According to Erikson, "the word 'trauma' denotes a form of stress or impact that may lead to chaotic emotional responses or behaviors, reflecting a psychological condition arising from such experiences" (Erikson, 1994). According to Cathy Caruth, "Trauma' is a "shock that operates much like a physical threat, although it truly represents a rupture in the way the mind experiences time" (Caruth, 1995). Based on the definition of trauma, it refers to an event that is extremely adverse, which can destroy a person's feeling of security and disrupt their joyful existence. In his book, Harvey defines 'trauma' as a specific term that pertains to "extreme psychological and psychological reactions to major losses, such as the death of close other" (Harvey, 2002). The emotions that emerge from a traumatic experience can lead to significant reactions in both an individual's psyche and psychological state. This indicates that trauma can result from events such as the loss of family members, or close acquaintances. Sigmund Freud's defines trauma refers to "any external forces that are strong enough to breach the mind's protective mechanisms, leading to an uncontrollable surge of stimuli that overwhelms the mental system and binds these experiences together" (Freud, 1910). Dipesh Chakrabarty discusses the traumatized memory of partition in the collection of essays tilted as *Chhere Asha Gram* which is translated as *Remembered Village*. In this work, he discusses two aspects of memories:

> A memory influenced by trauma follows a narrative pattern that is fundamentally different from that of typical historical storytelling. At the same time, for this memory to be identified as traumatic, it must embed the Event in a past that lends credibility to the victim's narrative (Chakrabarty, 1996: 2143).

The study of psychic trauma cannot be fully realized without acknowledging the contributions of Cathy Caruth, a key theorist in trauma research. In the book, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*, she presents the concept of latency, suggesting that trauma initially manifests as ambiguous. However, she emphasizes that "the survivors' uncertainty is not merely a form of amnesia; rather, the event resurfaces, as Freud consistently notes, against their will" (Caruth, 1996). According to her, trauma is fundamentally incomprehensible, yet it also possesses a referential quality. The most nuanced aspect of trauma is its referential nature. She also says, trauma is very difficult to forget. A person who is victim of trauma is feel hesitate to disclose their concealed traumatic reality to the world:

> Trauma involves not only the recurring pain associated with an event but also a persistent departure from its origin. The re-experiencing of trauma leads to a breakdown in the act of witnessing, highlighting the challenge of fully understanding the initial experience. By acknowledging this challenge, trauma invites us to engage in a new form of listening—one that focuses on the very impossibility of comprehension (Caruth, 1996: 10).

When an individual encounters a traumatic event, they may experience a range of effects stemming from that experience. These effects can manifest as shock, denial, and anxiety. According to Thom Spiers in his book, *Trauma: A Practitioner's Guide to Counselling*, describes trauma is "exhibits a clear pattern that can manifest through various responses, including shock, disorganization, denial, depression, guilt, anxiety, and aggression" (Spiers, 2001). The impact of trauma on personality can differ significantly depending on its underlying causes. As noted by Giller, "trauma can present itself in numerous forms, and there are considerable differences among those who experience it" (Giller, 2011). From the definitions provided, trauma can be characterized as a profoundly negative event that undermines an individual's sense of safety and disrupts their overall happiness. Such traumatic experiences can lead to various psychological effects, including insominia, shock, PTSD, depression, anger, guilt, anxiety, and aggression.

The influence of traumatic memories and a profound sense of nostalgia for a once-glorious past is prominently reflected in the narratives and testimonies surrounding the Bengal partition. Bengali literature addresses themes of displacement and dislocation, illustrating how the division of space profoundly impacts personal experiences. The concept of "*udbastu*" (refugee) is crucial in the dialogue about the Bengal partition, as it brings to light a crisis of displacement and a deep sense of being out of place. The re-location of India has led to an identity crisis among refugees, disrupting their sense of self and introducing an unfamiliar environment that challenges their self consciousness. The construction of both individual and collective identities is significantly influenced by geographical or physical space. The intricate connection between space and identity highlights the dynamic nature of identity, which involves movement from one location to another. Dispossession of the citizens of East Bengal has destabilized the ties between one's own geographical space and individual identity. A displaced self attests a sense of belonging to the landscapes, rivers, different natural objects of homeland left behind and reclaims the past through memorialization. So, memory, geography, and identity are interrelated with each other in the process of "becoming". Memory is the vehicle through which past is remembered. It is an act of recollection of something related to the past but that recollection occurs in present. The narratives surrounding the Bengal partition include numerous memoirs that create a space for dialogue between personal experiences and broader societal events. Memoirs, as a literary form, are considered a subset of autobiography; however, they distinguish themselves by prioritizing the author's engagement with public occurrences over their individual life stories (Quinn, 2006:256). A memoir serves as a personal account that captures an individual's experience and observations of a significant historical event. The subjective nature of memoirs allows for a public understanding of how individual identities are formed. They document the private grief of displaced individuals, express a longing for a homeland that can never be revisited, and articulate the complexities of trauma. While memoirs offer insights into the psychological dimensions of those affected, they can also present challenges due to their deeply personal and emotionally charged perspectives. Excessive sensitivity may obscure a clearer understanding of events. A memoir creates a personal space for the recollection of memories, which often extend beyond conscious awareness. Memory interrogates the violence recorded in history, revealing the intricate relationship between memory and trauma. In the context of the Bengal partition, narratives highlight the pervasive "silence" surrounding this event. The memoirs related to the Bengal partition primarily focus on the psychological experiences of the victims, emphasizing how spatial dislocation affects the identities of migrants. The division of the nation resulted not only in the partition of land but also in the fracturing of numerous families, with the perpetrators of violence often targeting women. The most traumatic experience of Partition has made by males confining within their narrow religious identities and succumbed females to be something more than just victims of the partition event. It is only the event of partition that had unlocked the door of fragile fraternity, enmity, devastation and carnage and that had led peoples to the hell where they could neither live nor die. It was the event of partition that had left peoples with most traumatic condition inside and the most drastic condition outside of their bodies and homes too. The writer of our selected novels of Akhtaruzzaman Elias's *Khwabnama*, *Chilekothar Sepai*, and *Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar*, his short story, explore the pathetic and traumatic devastation of partition of Bengal.

To start with, Elias's *Khwabnama*, published in 1996, the novel is a reflective memoir of the partition, focusing on the emotional scars of a victim of displacement. It tells the story of a Tamij lives in a modest village in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) with his father, Tamijer Baap, and his stepmother, Kusum, who looks after their household during the 1946's. Tamijer Baap is a visionary man, but it remains unclear when he sleeps or awakes. His dreams vividly illustrate what he firmly believes to be reality: the presence of Munshi, a soldier who was battled the British during the Fakir-Sannyasi rebellion in the late eighteenth century, alongside Bhabani Pathak. Tamijer Baap built up a strong emotional bond with Munshi but when he is flung from his house and brutally killed by the British commander, Taylor. Tamijer Baap is shocked to hearing this but he believes "he (Munshi) become the sunlight during the day and spread himself all over the lake and reigned over the lake all night from the fig tree" (Elias, 1). The incident is such a devastating impact on Tamijer Baap that he struggles to understand its lasting consequences. This traumatic experience drives him to conceal all his psychic memories of the past. The memoir explores the trauma of partition which is highlighting the author's awareness of his victimhood and the futility of escaping his troubled past. Dipesh Chakrabarty in his essay *Remembered Village* talks about two kinds of memory: "the sentiment of nostalgia and the sense of trauma, and their contradictory relationship to the question of the past" (Chakrabarty, 1996:2143). During the world war second, everywhere around the world is being affected by rapid price hike, food and other commodities. Elias also tries to portray in his novel where an unusual and rapid increase in commodity prices, affecting the remote agricultural economy of Bengal. "Famine and massacre of hundreds of thousand people are the two common result of the war" (Mazumder, 2016). Hunger was a major concern of Elias's novel, *Khoabnama*, we see how Tamijer Baap and Kusum are desperately to show their concern about food when Tamijer Baap says "I want to eat. Rice is cooking, I want to eat" (Elias, 9), and similarly Kusum shows her concern about 'lacking of food' in their house, she always says "waking up late in the morning after trudging all night through the mud and water, he could consume an en enormous quantity of rice. Where did the old fellow stow away so muc food in that scrawny body of his…she had made some of the rice she had made the day before yesterday…Kusum had bailed her belly out yesterday morning with two or three potato-like shankalus…they did have a stove inside the house too, but where would tomorrow's rice come from?" (Elias, 12-13) These lines show how Tamijer Baap and Kusum are victimized by trauma of food so they are always thinking of food's presence behind their eyes because of the shortage of food in their house, and even Kusum, she does not get the enough food at the end of the day. She gets angry to Tamijer Baap who eats all the food at alone, but she does not say any single word to him and starts to do tension about next day's food for her husband like a typical bengali wife always thinks for her husband. Bengali writers who were written a thousand years ago began with "the revelation about the scarcity of rice is troubling. People who are hungry experience significant pain in their stomachs. It is clear that starvation and inadequate nutrition are key contributors to the occurrence of gastric ulcers" (Dasgupta, 2002).

According to Gramsci, 'subaltern' is a term that describes individuals who experience subordination based on their community, caste, class, race, ethnicity, physical attributes, gender, or sexual orientation. This term highlights those who are deprived and whose voices have been muted. The concept is significant in the examination of developing and under developed nations, particularly in Third World War Countries like India, Bangladesh, and Pakisthan. Gayatri Spivak's in her outstanding article "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*" (1988)examines the concept of the subaltern through a highly theoretical lens. According to Spivak, "The

Subaltern cannot speak. There is no virtue in global laundry lists with women a pious" (Spivak, 2009:308). Now, this major theoretical idea is being intersected in this story, Elias introduces women who are equally representative of peasant backgrounds as the men. Kulsum and Phuljan stand in stark contrast to the other female characters in this novel. Elias portrays the daily realities of peasant women, highlighting Phuljan's labor in her father's rice field, which often goes unnoticed. Likewise, Kulsum is a largely underdeveloped character, remaining mostly silent throughout the narrative. However, her presence underscores the patriarchal oppression faced by women, as her security depended solely on the life of her guardian, Tamijer baap. Elias departed with nothing but the scars of trauma and the harsh truths he had witnessed. Elias shows the harsh story as "With his death, Keramat and Kalam Majhi both try to take advantage of her" (Elias, 175). They always tried to touch her body physically and rape her. During that condition, Kusum wanted to cry but her eye did not help. All kind of conservatism keeps women like Kulsum immobile, dark and deaf. This immobility is shown as part of poor landless subaltern women's life, where their voices are being suppressed by the characters like Keramat and Kalam Majhi. This passage illustrates Kusum's profound trauma stemming from the absence of her husband, Tamijer Baap, and her stepson, Tamij, a consequence of the communal riots that occurred without any specific provocation. Such brutal events are intolerable to any decent human being, yet these tragic narratives were tragically commonplace during the partition. 'Trauma of Caste' is also a major thing that can see during partition. In Thenmozhi Soundararajan's *The Trauma of Caste: A Dalit Feminist Meditation on Suvivorship, Healing, and Abolition*, we see how minorities are actually faced some of the challenging religious and caste violance in their own commonities, and later it creates a big issue to loose the fight for liberation. The vision of an India where all Muslims coexist without the divisions of wealth and poverty can be classified as a manifestation of "false consciousness." In this larger context Elias countered partition by bringing Tebhaga, where all poor lower-caste farmers are Muslims and Zamindars are Hindu, and this interplay of class dynamics presents his readers with a more intricate reality. In *Khwabnama*, Tamij a landless peasant at his early thirties dreams for a higher share of his production tilled by his labour, later fisherman, and then turns into a sharecropper Tamij. But after the partition when Tebhaga was actually crumbling, he opts to "fight at the moment of Pakistan's freedom" (Elias, 244). In the Tebhaga movement, class and nation did not come together. Prashanto, a compounder, refuses to take even tea or a banana in Kader's (a Muslim League member) house. Doctor Sisir Sen, a practicing Hindu, finds humor in the situation and advises Kader not to take the matter seriously, explaining that Prasanto has an intense fear of breaking the rules regarding physical contact. "As a son of Brahman, he won't even eat anything in my home, you see" (Elias, 78). In response, Prasanto states, "As impoverished Brahmans, we lack financial resources and political influence. If we lose our caste, what remains for us?// Kader counters: Maintain your caste distinctions. We consider ourselves a distinct race and desire separation. Why, then, do you resist the idea of granting us a separate nation?" (Elias, 78) The relationship between Tamij and Phuljhan generates tension within their communities of fishermen and farmers. Altaf Mandal of Chandiharh expresses his disapproval of the new League members by stating, "What sort of Muslims are they? They often mingle with the Santhals....and under their guidance, these swine are gathering grains for their own households. The Santhal Muslim sharecroppers stand united; what Pakistan are you imagining?" (Elias, 120) The marriage between Gafur and the ex-wife of Bulu Majhi sparks a tension in the village people, and leter Gafur is being isolated by the villagers beacuse he is belonging to a lower caste community. Through these above lines, Elias recounts the suffering experienced by

individuals from various religious and caste backgrounds during the devastating partition violence, emphasizing the internal strife within their communities. The ongoing instances of violence in the subcontinent's history, particularly in relation to partition, illustrate a deep-seated trauma, representing a wound that never fully mends. Elias shows all characters in this novel, have their different dreams for Tebhaga movement Cherag Ali's song is recalled by Tamijer baap, highlighting Bhavani Pathak's struggle against the East India Company, which sees an alliance with Muslim fakirs: "Bhavani joins the fight with the Pathan general, commanding, 'Strike down the whites' (Elias, 41). Majnu Shah, the Pathan general, is accompanied by his follower, the fakir Cherag Ali, who follows the traditional practices of dream interpretation. Cherag Ali performs songs that revive historical memories and recites 'sholoks' that elucidate dreams. His Khwabnama is in high demand among folk-singers Keramat and Baikuntha, serving as a traditional text for dream interpretation. A pivotal change occurs in the transition from Cherag Ali to Keramati Ali. Keramat distinguishes himself by not reciting poetry derived from a detached mystic tradition. Rather he is a singer who creates and claims ownership of his own original songs, although he also seeks inspiration from Cherag Ali's writings. His performances highlight the challenges faced by peasants in their pursuit of *Tebhaga* and their dreams for an 'egalitarian' society in Pakistan. At a gathering of Muslim League supporters, Kader urges him to take the stage. Even under immense pressure, he sings: "The true adversaries of the peasant are the Zamindars and Jotedars; this is a rightful assertion. Therefore, raise your voices for Tebhaga, shout with conviction, and declare victory for the peasants" (Elias, 170). Through this transformation, Elias aims to create an opportunity for a disruption and the formation of a new ontology. However, unless labor successfully challenges the authority of capital, it is not possible to portray "real" situations in which labor achieves success.

Chilekothar Sepai ("The Soldier in an Attic") is another narrative by Elias which takes place a few years following the country's partition, and it addresses the independence movement and the partition of East Pakistan. Elias describes the 'basic democrat 'in this novel, and interpreted the 1969 movement as a considerable participation of the working class, conveyed in his distinctive language 'bus conductor, driver, helper and Rickshaw puller'. Elias, in his depiction of the substantial involvement of the general populace in the movement, employed historical examples, asserting that it marked the culmination of various uprisings against colonial rulers, from the Fakir Sannyasi revolt to the martyrdom of Somen Chanda, a radical writer, in Dhaka prior to independence. Elias effectively depicts the proletariat individual by analyzing the significance of the name Haddi Khijir, where "haddi" is rendered as "bone" in English, in conjunction with the instruments he carries. The initial description of Khijir portrays him as a "notably tall individual, yet he is better known by his nickname that reflects his gaunt physique. It is often noted that he is rarely seen without a screwdriver and pliers in his hands" (Elias, 7). During the insurgency of Dhaka in 1969, Elias depicts the subalterns as purely impulsive and violent in nature. This is particularly evident when Khijir responds instinctively to the kidnapping of a passenger's wife, who is taken by members of the NSF party for the purpose of rape. "Nothing too worry about. We need maximum one hour to complete this. This young group of 3 people took the girl by the arms and went to the opposite side of the sidewalk" (Elias, 57). Khijir promptly instructs the passenger to report the incident to the police station. Nevertheless, in that circumstance, the man prioritizes his future security over rescuing his wife, expressing his concern by stating, "If I attempt to pursue legal action, these beast will ruin my career." (Elias, 57) This extract exemplifies the traumatic fearing of NSF party where his voice are being silenced even though his wife is kidnapped and raped,

but he cannot even give a complain against them to the police station. It is inconceivable for any reasonable individual to endure such barbaric events, particularly after the rape of his wife, but unfortunately, these tragic accounts of inhumanity were all too common during the partition of bengal. In discussing Elias's significance in world literature, Zayed points out the depiction of subalterns in *Chilekothar Sepai,* where he observes that "Haddi Khijir is a unique character in Bengali literature, representing a subaltern who not only voices his opinions but also confronts prevailing norms" (Zayed, 2017). In *Chilekothar Sepai*, Elias reveals the crude, violent, and irrational aspects of human relationships during the partition period. The deteriorated connections among individuals serve as a source of regret in the present. Through the portrayal of characters engaged in such actions, Elias highlights the harsh realities of the partition era, where individuals revel in a climate of theft, murder, abduction, and sexual violence. Joteder's powerful men always steal poor villagers' cows from their cowsheds and keep those in their territory. Later they send a message to the suffering villagers that only after paying a large amount of money will they release the cows from their territory. In addressing this question, Hosen Miya, the devoted helper to joteder Khoybar Gazi, replies: "Negligent, irresponsible, and envious individuals allow their cows to roam onto other people's farmlands to damage the crops, and their cows are captured by the Joteder's men. Only after paying the high penalties, Joteder's men releases those cows from the cowshed" (Elias, 176). These details clearly illustrate that Joteder's men exploit the poor villagers by looting their cows, snatching crops, kidnapping the family members, etc. The above extract reveals Elias's portrayal of a harsh reality where common people are suffering with trauma, and no one is safe from the characters like Joteder and his groups. Elias portrays the overwhelming insanity that individuals exhibit in their pursuit of sexual pleasure and their domination over the lower socioeconomic classes, which fundamentally contributes to the emergence of trauma. To depict the overwhelmed state of men in sexual pleasure, Elias elaborates on the various aspects of Mahajan Rahamatulla, who is a dominating character throughout the novel. At first we see he is taking money from farmers and later see his dominance among the villagers when he gave marriage to Jummon's mother with Haddi Khijir even though she has her husband. But when Khijer get the news his mother and his wife is being rapped and brutally killed by Rahamatulla, khijir protestes against him. But what he actually do against him is 'nothing'. Even his wife (Jummon's mother) is again sitted for marriage with Qamaruddin even though she is pregnant by khijir and later trapped him into a protest. This excerpt explicitly highlights the dangers that men embody in their pursuit of sexual intercourse. Rahamatulla brings Khijir's mother and his wife to his residence after offering them job, not out of goodwill, but to indulge his profound sexual urges. His uncontrollable sexual thirst compels him to exploit others, engaging in sexual intercourse without consideration for whether they are alive or died. By presenting this grim and brutal condition, Elias reveals that the elite members of society are lacking in humanity, behaving in ways that are even more despicable than animals. Their oppressive actions, which include murder and rape, are the ultimate sources of trauma experienced during the partition.

In Elias's novel the main protagonist, Osman is a member of the lower middle class. He is actively present at all meetings and rallies throughout the 1969 insurgency; however, he refrains from engaging with any of the political parties involved. Khijir is also curious about this aspect of his character as he says, "Osman can come forward in these matters. This man goes to processions, listens to meetings, gives slogan, then why does he object to cooperate with Alauddin Miya?" (Elias, 59) Osman is consistently depicted as distinct from his companions, including Altaf, Anwar, and Shawkat, who are active members of various political parties. A

significant relationship exists between Haddi Khijir Ali and Osman. The demise of Khijir and Osman's descent into madness occur in a parallel manner, as both experience a simultaneous loss of their ability to articulate thoughts. Following Khijir's death, the fervent subaltern spirit of Khijir Ali is transferred to Osman and his son Jummon. The symbols such as 'fire' and 'screwdriver-plier,' which represented Khijir Ali's rebellious, proletarian essence, are now appropriated to signify Osman. The previously ambiguous, cautious, and narcissistic nature of Osman has dissipated. He perceives him distinctly among other people; in fact, several significant insights regarding Anwar emerge from his anxious discussions with Khijir: "Khijir is urging him to hurry up. He is not getting how difficult it is to come out of the grip of this animal..... 'Why are you afraid? 'Khijir urges again, 'Didn't you see how that rustic peasant jumped out of it this noon? This bloody Military shouted from back a lot, could he do anything?" (Elias, 298-299) we see when Osman becomes mad, khijir's character under him trying to kill Ranju from dropping down from the rooftop. Elias compiles the various interpretations of 'lunatic' to construct a broad spectrum that can be generalized to some extent. He says: "Osman has been seeing someone in the void for quite some time, What's new? 'Hey Khijir, keep it, don't kill it. Leave it to me! Saying that, Osman came to the roof'…Osman tries to kiss Ranju on his face. Osman was shouting, 'Ranju, this is the last time! Final! Farewell?" (Elias, 283). Elias's use of "lunatic" due to trauma of partition, is to indicate Osman as a mad man but also a hero because it is the madness of him that can kill Ranju and exits from that attic and breaking all the boundaries of that army. Foucault in his book *Madness and Civilization* (1989) explores how the understanding of madness is influenced by the social and cultural frameworks of various eras and societies. He argues that the definitions of madness are not inherent but rather fabricated by society for distinct social and political reasons (Foucault, 1989). In that case scenario, we can see where the mad people is not getting communicate with the modern people, because their voices can not be understood, or being rejected by them. Elias also depicts the same thing when Osman comes out from the attic at the end of this novel, but it does not end the problems cause when he tries to communicate with his family members and friends, no one is tried to understand his deeper messages. "Osman has been seeing someone in the void for quite some time, What's new? 'Hey Khijir, keep it, don't kill it. Leave it to me!" (Elias, 283). At this moment, the themes of Foucault's madness are effectively linked into Osman's characterization, illustrating his transformation into a doubly marginalized figure, where he only communicates with khijir and refuses to talk with others because he knows, his language can not able to understand by them.

Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar ("In Another Room, Another Voice", 1976), another work by Elias, exposes the underlying trauma that affect the characters in diverse contexts. In this work, Elias portrays the 1971 Liberation War which ends with the people's traumatic past and memories. The story starts with the character called Pradeep who travels to his Pisima's house in Bangladesh to reunite with them after the partition. But when he comes to this new land, *Shonar Bangla*, (a land of golden expectations) Pradeep finds himself as a confused and anxious traveler. He says: "In their '*Shonar Bangla*', did the silver moonlight glitter so, even inside a room?" (Elias, 86). The partition of 1971 in East Pakistan has transformed Dhaka into a vastly different city, the city that has expanded to incorporate other surrounding districts such as Narayangunj. This slowly growing city now has various issues and challenges like corruption, domestic issues, threating, and power conflicts, all of which contributing to a collective sense of trauma. In the article "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*" (1988), Spivak explores the notion of the 'Subaltern', mainly a study among Third World countries, indicates a deprived person whose voice has been suppressed. Now, this major theoretical idea is being intersected in this story

where it starts with a conversation of old past memory when non-muslims are raising their voice for their 'identity' but their voice are being suppresed by the political parties and goons by killing and raping and buring their homes, and to safe their life they are fleeing from Bangladesh, to go in Calcutta, and Agartala, "duing the commotion, everyone fled to Calcutta, Nonida went to Agartala" (Elias, 90). It shows they are subalterns not solely because of their social disadvantages; rather, they are subalterns due to their subjugation and marginalization stemming from their 'inferior' caste affiliations. Their voices remain unheard, akin to those of the 'subalterns,' when they seek to express their experiences of societal rejection. Nonida, the brother of Pradeep, engages in small-scale trading, and his life largely devoted to keeping political workers happy, as he is always fear of them Noni says: "What business? How do you live in this country? If the business is a little better, everyone come for donation one by one…There are three or four conferences, meetings and gatherings in a week. Tricks to collect money, do not you understand that?" (Elias, 90) these examples ultimately show us how the government, non government, and goons are actively showing their corruption and dominance to the new build nation citizens and trying to suppressed their voice, isolated and killing them and making them again in a deep trauma even after independence. Even later we see an argument happens between Noni and his wife, and when she heard about the corruption, she advices Noni to go to India and start a new trading business. Even Noni also trying to find a way to start a business in India and send their daughter, Indira to India for safety from local street villain; his wife says "just eat and sleep. Will you not give your daughter marriage? Can not safely send her to college, how will you give her marriage?… not taking her admission in Pakistan. Send her to Kolkata. Will study from her sister's house" (Elias, 91). This lines actually portray the harsh scenario of Bangladesh after the independence, people are still in trauma of fear, as they are afraid not to send their daughter to college just because their daughter is not safe from the societal goons, "these boys look like my son's age, just look at their angry. Girls can not go outside just to feel afraid of them" (Elias, 91). Elias creates the title *Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar* ("In Another Room, Another Voice") through the songs of Pishima. When Pradip hears Pishima's songs from another room with her ups and downs voice which reminds Pishima about the scacrifies of Pradeep's family during the liberation war. "The sound of half-ripe *kul* plopping on the sand-bank of the Padma woke him up. As the last bit of sleep and dreaming leaves him, he sees the verandah light and hears Pishima's song... Her voice rises, it falls; sometimes it is so soft that Pradip can hardly hear. The garland of notes, high and low, fall softly on his eyelids, the notes wet. The eyelids peel off, his eyes come open, taut" (Elias, 94). Pradeep understands that the past is difficult to recover, as it slips away like a dream. Nostalgia serves as the link between Pishima's memories, which are rich in tenderness, fear, and death, and Pradeep's perception of what the new nation has chosen to keep or forget from that past. In this extract exemplifies Pishima's memoir, which recounts the trauma of war, partition, dreams, and visions, is as relentless as the ebb and flow of the Padma River. It poignantly illustrates the fragility of reconstructing lives amidst the remnants of history.

Conclusion

In Akhtaruzzaman Elias' novels, *Khwabnama*, *Chilekothar Sepai*, and *Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar*, the psychological impact of border partition is masterfully depicted through trauma theory and the characters experiences. By applying trauma theory to this analysis, we gains valuable insights into the characters subconscious desires, fears, and unresolved conflicts, as well as their struggles with memory and the lasting effects of trauma. People who are suffering with

immense pain during the partition are silenced or their voice are being suppressed for various reasons, are portrayed here. Particularizing the stories among several, the researcher has gone through *Khwabnama*, *Chilekothar Sepai*, and *Anyo Gharey Anyo Swar*, where Elias reveals the traumatic experience of those partition victims. Elias's series of work mostly describes the history of Bengal Partition which portrays the religious conflicts among common people, rape, torture by the jomindars (Landlords). Elias beautifully highlights the harsh activities done by the elite peoples and fails to address the voice of common peoples through his works. During the liberation war in 1971, people losses their lands, property, families and everything which brings them back to think of their old memories. They lament for their old past memories which Elias portrays through his works as rapists, looters, murders, thieves, lunatics or so on. In order to reveal the brutality, inhumanity, and anguish experienced by the victims, Elias employs irony to expose the suppressed cries and imitative responses of those who suffered. Through this ironic narrative, Elias delves into the genuine experiences of pain, suffering, and trauma that the victims are suffering during the peak of the violence. After all, Elias exposes the harsh realities faced by the victims of partition, whose current state of misery and suffering compels them to connect their fragmented present with a nostalgic past, where their's voice are unheard by the society, or being suppressed by killing, looting, rape, etc. Through Elias's storytelling, the psychic minds, traumatic situations, torturing of individuals are providing a true depiction of the experiences endured by all victims of partition. Partition not only divides people from their lands and political authority but also alienates them from their historical roots, which results in psychological pain that often leads to mental disorders. Elias beautifully captures this struggle in his writings through the lens of psychic trauma.

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A Utopian Approach to Asif Kapadia's *Ali and Nino*: Love, Multiculturalism, Freedom, and the Bolsheviks

Kanan Aghasiyev[1]

Abstract

This article explores the cinematic adaptation of Kurban Said's novel *Ali and Nino*, directed by Asif Kapadia and released on October 27, 2016. Leaving Baku during the Russian Bolshevik occupation in 1920, Said's novel mirrors his unique dual association with both German and Azerbaijani literary traditions. The film brings to life the bi-ethnic love story of Nino Kipiani, a Christian Georgian girl, and Ali, a Muslim Azerbaijani, set against the political turmoil surrounding Azerbaijani independence from the Russian Empire during World War I. This article thoroughly examines the characters' utopian quest for freedom, love, and family amidst these historical upheavals. It discusses the concept of utopia as an idealized vision of society and critically analyses how the film portrays the characters' relentless pursuit of their lofty dreams despite the severe political constraints they face. Moreover, the article explores the significant impact of the Bolshevik occupation on the utopian dreams of love, modern multiculturalism, and freedom depicted in Ali and Nino. By closely examining the film, the article reveals how these historical challenges shape the characters' lives and their aspirations for a better future. It highlights the enduring struggle between personal desires and political realities, showcasing how the characters navigate their complex world while striving to maintain their cultural identities and personal convictions. In doing so, the film not only presents a poignant love story but also offers a profound commentary on the broader social and political issues of the time. The analysis underscores the timeless relevance of these themes, demonstrating how the pursuit of utopia, though fraught with obstacles, remains a powerful and enduring human effort. Through its exploration of these multifaceted themes, the article provides a deeper understanding the novel's cinematic adaptation, emphasizing the enduring power of love and freedom in the face of adversity.

Keywords: *Ali and Nino*, Kurban Said, Essad Bey, Lev Nussimbaum, Utopia, Asif Kapadia, Azerbaijan

Introduction

The feature film Ali and Nino, directed by Asif Kapadia, released on October 27, 2016, serving as an adaptation of Kurban Said's [Lev Nussimbaum's] novel by the same name, who also wrote under the name Essad Bey. Despite Said had a complex background as an ethnic Russian

[1] PhD Candidate in English Language and Literature, Department of Western Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Letters, Karabük University, Karabük, Türkiye, kaasiyev@gmail.com, ORCID: 0009-0001-3969-1879.

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Jew, he is considered a German author and was affiliated with the German Writers Union until 1935. Today he is recognized in Azerbaijan as a significant figure in exile/national-Azerbaijani literature (cf. Acar, 2018). Forced to flee his hometown Baku in his adolescence from the Russian Bolshevik occupation in 1920, Said (Essad Bey) with his ethnic Russian-Jewish and cultural Azerbaijani background and his Western lifestyle in Germany and Austria, gave his novel a dual association with German and Azerbaijani literary traditions (Maurer, 2023).[2] Additionally, by writing another novel under the title of *The Girl from The Golden Horn* (1938), he became more known in Oriental literary arena (Ayuningtyas, 2012). Today in Azerbaijan, the novel *Ali and Nino* is revered as a national love story, prompting its cinematic adaptation. Like the novel, the film delves into the struggle for love before the backdrop of the political upheavals of their time, namely the Azerbaijani independence from the Russian Empire towards the end of World War I.

This article aims to spot a light onto the main characters, Nino Kipiani, a Christian Georgian girl, and Ali, a Muslim Azerbaijani, as they embark on a dual utopian quest—striving for Azerbaijan's freedom while nurturing their love and aspiring to build a family (cf. Tekin, 2023). However, as Bolshevik forces seize control of the country and dismantle the progress made by Ali, Nino, and their compatriots in their pursuit of a democratic, modern, and free state (cf. Qasımlı, 2022), their utopian aspirations for modernity, Western values, democracy, and cultural diversity prove short-lived, lasting less than two years.

The theoretical background of this article explores the "concept of utopia." It discusses how utopia represents an idealized vision of a perfect society, characterized by harmony, equality, and prosperity for all its members. Furthermore, it examines the role of utopian literary criticism or theory, which analyses how literature depicts and critiques ideal societies, reflecting cultural values and aspirations. Ultimately, the text argues that dreaming of a utopia without considering practical constraints or historical realities is itself a utopian attempt, as seen in the film *Ali and Nino*, where characters pursue ambitious dreams in the middle of political challenges. Additionally, in the discussion part, I will analyse the utopian dream of love, modern multiculturalism, and freedom and how all these three dreams are occupied by the Bolsheviks in the movie *Ali and Nino*.

Theoretical and Dictionary Background on the "Concept of Utopia"

As it is known, utopia can be considered a place, a society, or a community in which everyone lives happily with almost no problem or problems with the ultimate and fastest solutions ever. The citizen of a utopic society does not struggle with daily challenges, like working for many hours or fight with each other (or with other countries) to gain more lands (cf. Tekin 2024a, Tekin 2024b). Additionally, a utopia is a place where everyone is equally treated, and no discrimination finds its way towards the residents of this society.

[2] Hans-Jürgen Maurer, „Əli və Nino romanı ərasında Qurban Səid müəllif adının genezisi" in Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyasının Filologiya və Sənətşünaslıq jurnalının, 2022-ci il №12022; „Der Roman Ali und Nino und sein Autor Kurban Said: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Publikationsgeschichte des Romans und zum Schicksal seines Autors", in Literatur- und Kulturtransfer zwischen Europa und dem Kaukasus, ISBN 978-3-949550-04-1, Frankfurt 2023 (English translation on academia.com); www.EssadBeyTruthAlert.com.

Though the earliest example of a utopian literature dates back to the Ancient Greek times (Zhurkova & Khomutnikova, 2019) and Aristotle (Donato, 2024), the term was initially used in Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" (Sadeq et al., 2011), which was released in Latin under the title *Libellus…de optimo reipublicae statu, deque nova insula Utopia* (1516; *Discussing the Ideal State of the Republic and the Newfound Island Utopia*). More uses two Greek words to create the word *utopia*: "not" (ou) and "place" (topos), the word signified "nowhere." While on his diplomatic mission to Flanders in 1515, More penned *Book II of Utopia*, depicting a pagan and communist city-state where reason governed all institutions and policies. This ideal state aimed to starkly contrast the chaotic politics of Europe. The portrayal of Utopia is narrated by a mysterious voyager named Raphael Hythloday,[3] who argues that communism is the sole remedy for egoism in both personal and societal realms.[4] To have an understanding about the word *utopia*, we might consider the following quote:

> A good general definition of utopia appears to be that of Moritz Kaufman (1879 […]): "What is a Utopia? Strictly speaking, it means a 'nowhere Land', some happy island far away, where perfect social relations prevail, and human beings, living under an immaculate constitution and faultless governments, enjoy a simple and happy existence, free from the turmoil, the harassing cares, and endless worries of actual life." (Ertuğrul & Parlas, 2015, n.p.)

If we check online English dictionaries, it is possible to see relatively close definitions of the word "utopia." In *Cambridge Dictionary*, the word is described as "a perfect society in which people work well with each other and are happy"(1)[5] and as "a perfect society in which everyone is happy" (2).[6] Additionally, *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, defines the word utopia as: "a place of ideal perfection especially in laws, government, and social conditions"(3), "an impractical scheme for social improvement"(4), and "an imaginary and indefinitely remote place (5)".[7] However, *Brittanica* explains the word utopia by giving the following definition: "Utopia, an ideal commonwealth whose inhabitants exist under seemingly perfect conditions. Hence utopian and utopianism are words used to denote visionary reform that tends to be impossibly idealistic" (6).[8]

With the above-mentioned six different and yet similar definitions, it is possible to come to a conclusion that utopia is a strong dream. It is a place of happiness and unity. If we look at the first (1) definition of the word given by *Cambridge Dictionary*, it is possible to see that the definition focuses on human behaviours and states the importance of respect amongst people. Thus, we may understand a place where everyone happily listens to one another and shows respect. Additionally, the second (2) definition by the *Cambridge Dictionary* provides us with a single idea: Happiness. This definition does not clarify the conditions that people live in as in the first definition. Here, we see that a utopia is a place of happiness. It does not necessarily

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[3] To read more about the ideas of the character:
https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/more/works/utopia/ch2a.html
[4] To read more about the story: https://www.britannica.com/topic/utopia
[5] (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6) are the numbers of the dictionary definitions. I use this numbering method in order to give clear and understandable explanations about the definitions in the following two paragraphs.
[6] For both definitions, check the following link to get more examples:
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/utopia
[7] To read more about the definitions, follow the link: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/utopia
[8] To read more about the Britannica definition of the word, follow the link below:
https://www.britannica.com/topic/utopia

clarify if these people respect each other as in the first definition, or if people are poor or rich. It does not clarify the social, economic, and political conditions. The only clarification we take from the quote is the importance of happiness. However, unlike the second and as well as first definitions, the third (3) definition by *Merriam Webster Dictionary* of the word gives assumingly detailed explanation: "a place of ideal perfection especially in laws, government, and social conditions". Thus, it is understandable that a utopia is a place where laws, governments, and social conditions are perfect. Even though the definition does not state if the people in this society are happy enough, it could be reasonable to say that if all the mentioned three factors are ideal, then people of the society are happy enough in the utmost possibility.

However, the fourth (4) definition by *Merriam Webster Dictionary* does not provide us a with a possible hope, as it states the phrase: "impractical scheme (for social improvement)". Now, if we look at the definition of the phrase "impractical scheme,"[9] we could comprehend that the hoped social improvements cannot be achieved, as the scheme [or the road map] is not applicable, practicable, or unsuitable. As a result, even though there is a map to reach utopia, the road map to go there is not usable (Aghasiyev, 2024). Thus, the possibility of having a utopia is impossibly possible.

The last definition (5) by *Merriam Webster Dictionary* illustrates a place that is imaginary and indefinitely remote. The definition clearly states that this place can only exist in our dreams if we focus on the word "imaginary." Meaning that, we can only imagine it. However, the second phrase "indefinitely remote" gives us hope that utopia might exist, though it is endlessly[10] far away. Therefore, living in a modern human world and having achieved almost all the geographical discoveries, it is possible to say that "indefinitely remote" utopia does not exist on earth (at least looking at the phrase from geographical perspective). However, if we follow the timely perspective of the phrase, we may hope for a possible utopia, but not anytime soon. Focusing on this dictionary-meaning, we can say that reaching this utopian world is not any different than reaching the borders of the universe. The last definition by *Brittanica* (6) shows us another questionably possible answer in which we can see that such a society is not possible: "Utopia, an ideal commonwealth whose inhabitants exist under seemingly perfect conditions. Hence utopian and utopianism are words used to denote visionary reform that tends to be impossibly idealistic" (6). Consequently, even though the first sentence of the definition explains that everyone in this society use the facilities of this society equally, just as in Sir Thomas More's Raphael Hythloday's descriptive communist society, if we are to follow the word "commonwealth"[11] in the definition. Yet, the second part of the definition clearly states the phrase "impossibly idealistic." Meaning that, this idealism is not reachable.

In literature, even though there is no clear definition of Utopian Literary Theory or Criticism, it is possible to say that Utopian Literary Criticism or Theory might examine literature—particularly works that depict ideal societies or worlds—through the lens of utopian ideals and principles. It explores how literature imagines and portrays perfect or idealized societies, often as a critique or commentary on existing social, political, or economic systems. Utopian literary

[9]Collins Dictionary: Impractical scheme.

[10]Collins Dictionary: Indefinitely remote.

[11]Commonwealth is a political entity formed on legal principles for the mutual well-being or common good: follow the link for details: https://www.britannica.com/topic/commonwealth-political-science

criticism analyzes how these literary works envision utopian societies, the ideologies they espouse, and the implications of their ideals for real-world societies. It also considers how utopian literature reflects cultural values, desires, and anxieties of the time in which it was written.

Now, summing up all the definitions above, we could say that the term "utopian dream" refers to an idealistic vision or fantasy of a perfect society or world where everything is harmonious, equitable, and prosperous for all its inhabitants. It represents an imagined state of existence characterized by an absence of societal problems such as poverty, inequality, or conflict; being a contrary insight of dystopia (cf. Güven & Edman, 2024). The term describes ambitious, but perhaps unrealistic, aspirations for societal improvement or transformation. However, in this article, I strongly claim that dreaming without considering the geographical conditions and knowing that historical facts would not allow the dreamer to achieve their (his/her) dreams is a utopian matter: It is a utopian dream. In the movie *Ali and Nino* [as well as in the novel], we see that Ali's and Nino's dreams about their love, their modern multicultural free republic is a utopic [utopian] dream for that time period.

Discussion

The plot of the film is about the love of a South Caucasian couple: Ali and Nino. While Ali Khan Shirvanshir[12] is an Azerbaijani Muslim, Nino Kipiani is depicted as a Georgian Christian living in Azerbaijan's oil booming capital Baku. However, they are not ordinary lovers. Both of them are from different noble families. While Nino is a Georgian princess, Ali is portrayed as the last of the Shirvanshahs[13] who ruled the eastern part of Azerbaijan for almost seven centuries. However, since both of them are from different cultural and religious backgrounds, it is not easy for them to unite. Even though Ali's father agrees that Ali could marry her, Nino's father insists that they should wait until the war was over. In this part of the story the third important character of the film appears: Malik, an Armenian friend of both Ali and Nino. While he promises to help Ali convince Nino's parents to consent to the marriage, he decides to kidnap Nino after an opera performance in Baku. Hearing this, Ali ends up killing Malik in the oil fields of Baku while he himself gets injured badly. As Malik's family start looking for Ali, he is sent to Dagestan by his father, where Ali slowly recovers. In the meantime, Nino's parents understand that their daughter is ruined because she was kidnapped. They come to ask Ali's father if Ali would still marry her. However, the Khan strongly refuses their request, and he feels humiliated. After all, it was his son who had asked for Nino's hand before, and her father had declined Ali's proposal. Father Kipiani's reasoning had been the war. Understanding

[12] The last name "Shirvanshir" is a reference to the Shirvanshahs of Baku. Shirvanshahs were to rulers of The State of Shirvanshahs (Check the footnote below).

[13] The State of Shirvanshah ("Şirvanşah dövləti" in Azerbaijani) existed between 861 and 1538. The palace of the state remains in Baku, Azerbaijan, to this day. In the film, it is possible to see the palace, and it is depicted that Ali and his family live there. In the novel Ali and Nino, the author portrays Ali as one of the last Shirvanshahs, even though the state had collapsed hundreds of years before 1918. However, Kurban Said (Essad Bey) creates the fictional Shirvanshah Ali to touch the hearts of his readers, as the Shirvanshahs are regarded as one of the most longstanding dynasties in Azerbaijan and the entire Muslim world. Thus, the writer aims to show his readers that his character Ali is a very important royal prince. In the film, Asif Kapadia does not alter Kurban Said's character and represents him as a royal of the Shirvanshahs, as well as a royal of all Azerbaijan.

that their daughter has no value anymore since her reputation is ruined by Malik, the parents decide to send Nino to Moscow. However, Nino opposes this decision and asks Ali's friend Seyid Mustafa, the Mullah, to take her to the mountains, to Ali. Seyid does as Nino asks. In the mountains, Ali and Nino make love for the first time and are getting married by Seyid Mustafa, as he solemnizes them by authority of the religious scripts.

As time passes, the war ends. Ali and his wife Nino return back to their city, Baku. Towards the end of World War I, The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic[14] declares its independence from Russian on 28 May of 1918 and Ali is assigned in the position of Deputy Foreign Minister. Both Ali and Nino start welcoming diplomatic guests from abroad in their palace. However, while the republic, its founders, and Ali think that they have secured all the diplomatic relations with their neighbours, the Russian Bolsheviks start to attack the newly founded republic. The prime minster, Fatali Khan Khoyiski[15] and Ali with his wife Nino and little baby try to flee the country to Geogia. On half of the way, Ali gets off the train and dies on a bridge while defending the last breaths of his country from the Russian troops. The PM Khoyiski gets assassinated after six weeks, and Nino stays in Geogia forever.

It is important to note that even though Ali and Nino are fictional characters, the historical background of the story matches with the happenings in Azerbaijan in that time. At first, the plot of the film gives us an image of a romantic drama. However, as the events unfold, we can see the film to be about the history of Azerbaijan, World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the fall of a modern state: The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, alongside the love of Ali and Nino.

The themes of "the (Bolshevik) occupation of love, the occupation modern multiculturalism, and the occupation of freedom" are direct references to the short-lasting marriage and happiness of Ali and Nino with their little baby. At the beginning of the film, the director portrays a scene where Ali finds the courage to talk with his father about his plan for marrying Nino. If one has not read the novel, one could easily assume that the father would reject Ali's love for the Christian girl. However, surprisingly, the Khan does not oppose Ali's love for the Christian princess and even states "I should like my grandson to be born in May. It is a lucky month."[16] The entire scene shows Ali's love for Nino Kipiani and the confidence in his speech proves it. Now, in this scene, we may find two important factors in which we could see the reference to the month of May. And second, the desire for multicultural society in which families from different backgrounds and religions can form. The month of May is the month when the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan announced its independence in 1918. Thus, even though in this scene the republic is not created yet, we still see the desire for it. The director uses a foreshadowing technique in order to inform the viewers that the month of May is the month of independence and freedom. As well as, the birth of a new child is almost like a birth of a new country: Azerbaijan.

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[14] The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic lived between 1918-1920. Led and founded by Mahammad Amin Rasulzade (Mehmed Emin Resulzâde) Former President of the Azerbaijani National Council.

[15] Another important diplomat and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the ADR (The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic). He is shown as the Prime Minister in the film.

[16] *Ali and Nino*, 03:30 minute.

The second factor, the multicultural family shows itself in Ali's dream as he is a Muslim while his future wife is a Christian. The scene depicts that Ali is in favour of such diverse modern multicultural societies. However, the time period that they lived in did not support the dream Ali has about living in a mixed family, even though Baku was a very multicultural city. Although Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, and Russians lived in Baku together, mixed marriages among Muslims and Christians were not common. Thus, Ali's dream can be counted as a utopic dream for his time. Additionally, knowing that Russia still was very powerful, the foreshadowing prediction of the father about the month of May is another element of utopianism: Knowing that Russia would never allow a new country to emerge inside or outside its borders.

In the scene where Ali refuses to drink wine in Kipiani's (Nino's father's) summer house, we see that at first, he is tried to be convinced by Nino's father, Prince Kipiani, as he states "[i]t can do you no harm."[17] Seeing this, Nino interferes and says that Ali Khan does not drink alcohol as it is against his religion. However, the audience is witnessing a flexibility in Ali's religious beliefs, and he raises his glass in Prince Kipiani's honour. The given scene could be interpreted as that Ali is ready to make exceptional choices when needed to achieve his love and his dream of a multicultural, diverse family. Even though today the majority of Azerbaijanis are Muslims, alcohol is still a part in their culture although it is forbidden in the religion. However, for Ali's time, this act would be a revolutionary step to take. Therefore, it could be said that Ali's act is another example for of his strong desire for a multicultural and diverse family, which would not be possible for his time.



Picture 1: Ali and Nino in the Kipianis' garden.[18]

The picture above is from the scene where Ali tells Nino about his plan of marrying her. Since Nino is a royal princess, Ali states that she will lose her title once she marries him. Hearing this, Nino does not react a bit and continues to be happy as she was. The scene shows that being with Ali is her true desire, just as it is for Ali, and her title does not mean anything for her. As the scene continues, Nino asks a very expected question: "Will you stay with me and take no other wives?"[19] Her question is not in vain, as it was common for Muslim men to have more than one wife in Azerbaijan in those times. Though Ali states that he will not take other wives, she continues asking "[w]on't your father demand that I become a Muslim?" And as expected, Ali states that his father will not demand it from her. This scene shows us two important facts: Polygamy and religious strictness. As I have already mentioned, it was

[17] Ibid: 06:20 minute (Note: All the following Ibid footnotes refer to the film).
[18] Ibid: 09:33 minute.
[19] Ibid: 09:35 minute.

common for men to have more than one wife in Azerbaijan back in the old days. However, if a man married a non-Muslim woman, the woman had to convert to Islam. Ali's "no" answers depict his intentions that for him it does not matter what religion she has or what his religion and societal norms demand from him. His act would be a revolutionary for his time and as much as would be utopian.



Picture 2. Ali, holding a book about his ancestors while talking about the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan and the history of his family.[20]

As the story unfolds, a scene between Ali's father and Ali Khan is presented. We hear Ali's words about his motherland being occupied by the Russian Empire while he is holding a [history?] book about his ancestors. To clarify himself to his father why he does not want to participate in World War I on the side of the Czar, he states: "We have grown used to think ourselves as part of Russia. We are not. They invaded us a hundred years ago[21] and took away our family's[22] power. We are an occupied country. (…) I should be proud to die in battle when the time comes. But this is not our fight."[23]

The quote above illustrates Ali's dreams for an independent homeland. The book in his hand shows the history of his country and the importance remembering one's past, so that they(he/she) might step into the future. Ali is trying to step into the future. A future where his country might be free, and his own history might be told. The scene depicts his willpower for freedom and readiness to sacrifice his life if necessary, while understanding that the fight of the Christian world and the Czar is not his and his people's fight. However, certain questions arise: How utopic is(was) this dream? Was it possible to escape the claws of Russian imperialism? Was the dream of an independent and free state unreachable? Well, the history shows: Yes, his dream for an independent and free homeland was a utopic unreachable imagination. However, even though he does not go to war, the war affects Ali's plans for marrying Nino. When he visits Prince Kipiani, Nino's father, he uses the war as an excuse and

[20] Ibid: 12:42 minute.

[21] Russia invaded Azerbaijan, and in the Treaty of Türkmənçay in 1828, divided its lands between Iran and itself. The northern part of Azerbaijan became part of Russia, while the southern part was ceded to Iran. Today, the northern region is known as the Republic of Azerbaijan, which gained independence in 1918 and again in 1991. The southern region, referred to as South Azerbaijan, has been a part of Iran since the treaty in 1828. The term "South Azerbaijan" is commonly used to describe the Iranian Azerbaijani regions: West Azerbaijan, East Azerbaijan, and Ardabil.

[22] He refers to the family of Shirvanshahs. The (ex) royal family of Baku.

[23] Ibid: 12:42-13:47 minutes.

says that it would be better to wait and see the result of the war: "I think we should wait and see it's [the war's] outcome."[24]

Ali refuses to fight in the war, but both of his childhood friends join the army. As he visits his friends in a café, Russian soldiers are ordering pork for themselves and the waiter put the pork on Ali's friend's table, saying "[c]ourtesy to the officers." The Russians laugh at the shocked faces of the Muslim soldiers. Ali's friend says "[y]ou [Ali] were so right not to join them."[25] Way before, Ali had told his friends that this fight was not their fight and they should not join the army. However, they did not listen. The pork scene illustrates the discrimination which the Muslim and [possibly non-Russian] soldiers faced in the Russian army. Even though they all fight for the Czar and for the empire, the Muslim soldiers are being discriminated and made fun of.

Fatali Khan Khoyski, Ali Khan, Ali's father, and many others gather to talk about the future of their occupied country. While Fatali Khan states that they can be "the first [free] democratic Muslim nation", Ali supports his own ideas: "I agree with Fatali Khan. We should liberate ourselves. And I do not mean to go back to the way it was before the Russians came. I mean we should create a modern progressive country and run it ourselves."[26] The given speech of Ali shows the desire of him and the people in the meeting for a modern, progressive and democratic country. As Fatali Khan says, indeed Azerbaijan becomes the first democratic Muslim country[27] on 28 May of 1918: "I declare a creation of a new sovereign nation. It will guarantee civil and political rights to its all citizens regardless of ethnic origin, religion, class, or gender. The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. (…) Our flag is raised, and it will never fall.[28]"



Picture 3. Fatali Khan declares[29] the independence of Azerbaijan on 28th of May 1918.[30]

The given quote and the picture (3) above promise a new state that provides all rights to its citizens. A sate that does not discriminate against anyone based on their origin, religion, calls,

[24] Ibid: 16:33 minute.
[25] Ibid: 20:00-20:25 minutes.
[26] Ibid: 24:07-25:05 minutes.
[27] The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was the first secular democratic republic in the Turkic and Muslim worlds.
[28] Ibid: 1:10-1:11 minute.
[29] The scene lacks historical facts about the members who declared the independence of Azerbaijan.
[30] Ibid: 1:10 minute.

and gender.[31] Everyone has equal rights in this democratic state, just like Ali Khan dreamt. Even the Treaty of Versailles guarantees the independence of Azerbaijan.

However, this democratic state lasts only two years, then the Bolsheviks occupy Azerbaijan and end the existence of the republic by. Looking at the definitions of the word *utopia*, it could be said that Ali and Fatali Khan's dream of a modern democratic state is a different form of a utopian dream considering the dystopic factor of the Bolshevik Russia. As the time passes, the Bolsheviks do not keep their promise and start attacking Azerbaijan. Quickly, the outnumbered new country loses its independence to Russia. Russia starts controlling the same lands it once used to control [by force]. Ali Khan, after losing his newly founded republic, freedom, modern multiculturalism, democracy, and everything they built so far, says goodbye to his wife and his little baby, as they are boarding a train to Georgia on train while he stays behind to fight the Russians.



Picture 4. Ali, looking at his wife Nino, and daughter for the last time.[32]



Picture 5. Ali Khan dies on the bridge after fighting the Russian troops while the Republic takes its last breaths.[33]

Picture 4 shows the heartbreaking scene of the end of Ali and Nino's dreams about their love. Now, that Ali has lost everything he built for his country, his love, and his family, he stays behind, knowing that he will not be able to see them again, knowing that the words that he

[31] Based on the facts, the republic indeed was a highly democratic state: "The law on the first republican parliament determined the national composition of the parliament like the following: Moslems-80 [Azerbaijanis], Armenians-21, Russians-10, Germans-1, Jews-1, Georgian National Council-1, Baku Trade Unions-3, Baku Council of Oil Industrialists and Commercial Industrial Council-2." (https://axc.preslib.az/en/page/OWziBFAHuy).

[32] Ibid: 1:30 minute.

[33] Ibid: 1:34 minute.

told his father about dying for his own land[34] are going to become true soon. Accordingly, the scene in picture 5 illustrates the dying dream of a free independent country, love, freedom, and democracy. Ali's death is the death of The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic; is the death of a utopian dream [for that time].

Conclusion

The film *Ali and Nino*, directed by Asif Kapadia and released on October 27, 2016, is an adaptation of Kurban Said's novel of the same name. Despite Said's complex background as an ethnic Russian Jew, he is primarily recognized as a German author and was affiliated with the German Writers Union until 1935. However, in Azerbaijan, he is esteemed as a significant figure in exile-Azerbaijani literature. Forced to leave Baku during the Russian Bolshevik occupation in 1920, Said's diverse background and Western lifestyle in Germany lent his novel a dual association with both German and Azerbaijani literary traditions. The story revolves around the main characters, Nino Kipiani, a Christian Georgian girl, and Ali, a Muslim Azerbaijani, leading the challenges of bi-ethnic love against the backdrop of Azerbaijan's struggle for independence from the Russian Empire during World War I. The narrative delves into their aspirations for freedom, love, and family amidst political upheaval.

The article's theoretical framework explored the concept of utopia, representing an idealized vision of a perfect society characterized by harmony, equality, and prosperity. Furthermore, it examined the role of utopian literary criticism in analysing how literature reflects cultural values and critiques ideal societies. The central argument states that pursuing utopian dreams without considering practical constraints or historical realities is itself a utopian attempt. This is exemplified in *Ali and Nino*, where characters strive for ambitious ideals amid political challenges. In the article, I have discussed that Ali Khan's dream of having a multicultural family and a society, as well the desire to have an independent democratic modern multicultural state is a utopian dream, since the time was not allowing any chance to have these dreams to be reality, as the Bolsheviks destroyed whatever Ali, Nino, Fatali Khan, and all the other fought and dreamt for – Russia of that time was the dystopic nightmare of the newly founded The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.

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1901 Tarihli Bir Derleme Çalışması: Anadolu'da Kullanılan Sözlerin Birazı

Himmet Büke[1]

Öz

Anadolu üzerine ilk folklorik ve diyalektik çalışmalar Avrupalı araştırmacılar tarafından başlatılmış; Maksimov, Kunos, Giese, Kowalski, Räsänen gibi Batılı bilim insanları bu konuda çalışmalar yapmışlardır. Yerli araştırmacıların çalışmalarını Osmanlının son dönemlerine tarihlendirmek mümkünken Cumhuriyet sonrası dönemde bu çalışmaların hız kazandığı söylenebilir. "Anadolu'da Kullanılan Sözlerin Birazı" adlı çalışma da Osmanlının son döneminde yapılmış ilgi çekici çalışmalardan biridir. Çalışmanın sahibi Hafız Hasan Hulusi 108 adet sözcüğü bölgenin gramatikal özelliklerini de vererek kayda geçmiştir. Eserin müellifi hakkında elimizde herhangi bir bilgi bulunmamakla birlikte, eserden elde edilen söz varlığı ve dil verilerine göre çalışmanın Denizli yöresinde yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Hafız Hasan Hulusi Türk diline gönül vermiş, Türk dilini savunan bilinçli bir entelektüeldir. Dinî ve ilmî bilimlere hâkim olduğu, Batı dillerinden Rusça, Fransızca ve Almancayı bildiği görülür. Erken dönem diyalektoloji çalışmaları arasında ilk sırayı alacak olan bu eser müellifin "üstād-ı faziletmendimiz" dediği bir sözlükçünün talebi doğrultusunda el yazısıyla kaleme alınmıştır. Sözcükleri alfabetik sıraya göre bir deftere kaydeden Hafız Hasan Hulusi çalışmasının bir bölümünü yörenin fiil çekimlerine ayırmıştır. Çalışma şimdilik erken dönem derleme çalışmalarında küçük bir bölgenin gramer özelliklerini de barındırması yönüyle ilktir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Hafız Hasan Hulusi, derleme, halkbilimi, diyalektoloji, Anadolu.

Abstract

Initial folkloric and dialectic studies related to Anatolia were started by European scientists such as Maximov, Kunos, Giese, Kowalski and Räsänen. It is possible to date the studies by local researchers back to the final years of the Ottoman Empire and say that these studies gained momentum after the Republic. The work entitled "Some of Sayings in Anatolia" is one of the two interesting works written during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. Hafız Hasan Hulusi, the owner of the aforementioned work, recorded 108 words with grammatical characteristics of the area. We have no information on the author of the work. However, the vocabulary and language data acquired from the work show that the work had been conducted in Çal area of Denizli. Hafız Hasan Hulusi was a conscious

[1] Doç. Dr., Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, himmetbuke@mehmetakif.edu.tr

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intellectual who set his heart on Turkish language and defended it. He apparently mastered religion and science and spoke Western languages such as Russian, French and German. The aforementioned work to rank first among the early dialectology studies was written by handwriting upon the request of a lexicographer whom the author referred to as "our merit holder master". Recording the words in a notebook in an alphabetical order, Hafız Hasan Hulusi spared a part of his work to conjugations of the area. The work remains a first among early period compilation studies for now as it also includes grammer characteristics of a small area.

Keywords: Hafız Hasan Hulusi, compilation, folklore, dialectology, Anatolia

Extended Abstract

A Compilation Work Dated 1901: Some Of The Words Used In Anatolia

The text that is the subject of the study is a manuscript written in the Ottoman Turkish alphabet, registered with the NEKTY00941 fixture number in the Turkish Manuscripts Department of the Istanbul University Rare Books Library. The work was written in 1901 by Hafiz Hasan Hulusi. There is no information about the author in the literature. However, it is understood from the short text dedicated to someone in the introduction of the work that the author is an educated person who is devoted to the Turkish language. The mekteb-i fünûn-ı harbiyye-i şâhâne, which is on the cover of the work prepared by Hafiz Hasan Hulusi, is a military school opened in 1846 during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid. At the end of Hasan Hulusi's information on the conjugation of verbs in the region, under a short note, his signature, date, and 'pangaltı' are written. In Istanbul/Pangalti, there is one of the places that this military school used as a service building for a period. Therefore, it is certain that the author was a person of military origin, and the fact that the place of writing of the manuscript is Istanbul suggests that he served in this region for a period and collected this compilation material.

Hafiz Hasan Hulusi recorded 108 words he collected from a region in Anatolia in his work. He also gave the meanings of the words and their use in some explanations. Some of the words in the work are given only their meanings, while others are given detailed explanations with their meanings, contextual uses in sentences, local pronunciations, and even drawings for a better understanding of some of them. The author also included folkloric elements in his work by describing some traditions, beliefs, details of clothing and dress, and children's games specific to the region. On the other hand, he discussed the grammatical features and verb conjugations of this region under a separate heading. The work was created by using the data collection method in today's dialect studies, and the words in the relevant dialect were explained with their explanations and sometimes their contexts in the sentence. In addition, the fact that it also gives verb conjugations is significant in terms of preserving the linguistic data obtained in pioneering studies.

The dialects of Oghuz Turkish, which have existed in Anatolia since the 13th century, have continued to be spoken in different regions of Anatolia over the centuries. The Ottoman Empire determined the standard dialect of Turkish, which is its official language, as Istanbul Turkish and Classical Turkish Literature was formed around this dialect. Other dialect groups, on the other hand, continued their existence in this historical process, continued to be used in

different regions of Anatolia and the Balkans, and were less exposed to external factors. Turkish folklore and accordingly dialect studies started in Turkey in later periods than in Europe. Following the proclamation of the Republic, compilation activities were initiated in many parts of Anatolia with the efforts of the Language Revolution to simplify and enrich the Turkish language, the policies of the Turkish Language Research Society, and the contributions of organizations such as Turkish Hearths and People's House.

It can be stated that this work of Hafız Hasan Hulusi is among the pioneering studies of dialect studies in Turkey. The first initiators of dialect research in Turkey were 19th-century European linguists. The first study was carried out by Maksimov in 1867 and was followed by the studies of researchers such as Kunos, Giese, Kowalski, Räsänen, Hartmann, Bonelli, and Pisarev. All of the early dialectology studies were carried out by Western scientists. Studies in Turkey began with the establishment of the Turkish Language Research Society in the period after the proclamation of the Republic. The pioneer of Turkish dialects in the field of Turkology is Ahmet Caferoğlu and his studies date back to the 1940s. At the beginning of the 1900s, Necip Asım Yazıksız published his articles in the Hungarian magazine Klete Szemle, which included words from regions such as Kilis, Besni, and Erzurum. In these articles, the grammatical features of the relevant region are not emphasized, only the words specific to the region and their short meanings are given.

The work titled "Some of the Words Used in Anatolia", which is the subject of our study, is more clear, more detailed, and more methodical than Yazıksız's works by giving a detailed explanation of the words as well as their use in sentences. In addition, the fact that he also gives some grammatical features of the region brings Hafız Hasan Hulusi closer to today's dialectological studies. He has given the conjugation of the modal suffixes in the modals of declaration and design according to each person and has also shown their spelling in Latin letters. In addition, he gave the positive, negative, and question forms of verb conjugations and briefly explained some of them. Hafiz Hasan Hulusi paid attention to phonetic features in the spelling of words and used special signs to indicate the distinctions of some sounds. At the beginning of the work, the author showed these sounds and the special signs he used for these sounds under the heading of pronouncements, and in this respect, it is seen that attention is paid to phonetic features in the work. Therefore, it can be stated that this work is the first study prepared by a Turkish researcher according to modern criteria in terms of methodology in Turkish dialect studies.

It is not clear where Hafiz Hasan Hulusi compiled this linguistic material. He does not mention the name of this region anywhere in the work, but in a few places, he compares this region with Aydın province. On the other hand, the linguistic data, some specific words, and the features in the verb conjugations in the work show that the region subject to the study is Denizli. This situation is also explained in the conclusion section of the study with its justifications. This original work, which has not been the subject of any study and has not been introduced before, will be introduced to the relevant field of science with this study.

Giriş

Ağız en temel anlamıyla bir dilin içerisindeki farklı konuşma biçimleri olarak tanımlanabilir. *Türkçe Sözlük*'te (URL- 1): "Belli yerleşim bölgelerine özgü, yazı dili hâline gelmemiş dil; diyalekt." olarak açıklanan ağız terimi Korkmaz (1992:4) tarafından: "Bir dilin veya bir lehçenin daha küçük yerleşim bölgelerinde yazı diline oranla biribirinden azçok ayrılan konuşma biçimleri." şeklinde tanımlanmıştır. Bunların dışında ağız teriminin ne olduğuna yönelik çeşitli tanımlar (Banguoğlu, 1986: 11; Ergin, 1998: 10; Topaloğlu, 1989: 81; Yıldırım, 2002: 136) bulunmakla birlikte en kapsayıcı ve tanımlayıcı olanı Demir (2002: 114) tarafından yapılmıştır:

> Aynı kökenden geldiği üst sistem durumundaki bir standart dile bağlı, doğal olarak ortaya çıkmış; aile dost çevresinde, iş yerlerinde; okur yazarlığı az, bulunduğu bölgeden uzun süre ayrı kalmamış insanlarca sözlü iletişimde dilin başka türleriyle karşı karşıya gelme oranına göre değişen biçimde kullanılan, resmi ortamlarda kullanılmasından kaçınılan, yazılı bir gelenek oluşturamamış, iletişim alanı sınırlı, bağlı olduğu üst sistemden dilin her alanında karşılıklı anlaşmanın korunacağı oranda ayrılabilen, prestiji standart dile göre daha az yerel konuşma biçimleridir.

Standart dilin esas alındığı ağıza göre daha sınırlı bir bölgede, daha az kişi tarafından konuşulan ağızlar standart dil kadar etkileşime açık değildir. Bu 'muhafazakâr' tutum ağızlardaki söz varlığının uzun yüzyıllar değişmeden korunmasını ve bazı sözcüklerin yüzyıllarca yaşamasını, aktarılmasını sağlamıştır. Bu yönüyle ağızlar art zamanlı dil çalışmalarında başvurulacak öncelikli kaynaklar hâline gelmektedir. Türk dilindeki ağız ve lehçeler hakkındaki ilk bilgileri Kaşgarlı Mahmud tarafından yazılan *Divanü Lügati't- Türk* adlı eserden öğrenmekteyiz. Oğuz lehçesinin Anadolu'da konuşma dili olarak kullanılmasını takiben 13. yüzyılda bir yazı dili hâline gelmesiyle bu lehçenin söz varlığı da takip edilebilir hâle gelmiştir. Eski Anadolu Türkçesi döneminde yazılan bazı eserlerde ağız özelliklerinin eserlere yansımış olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu dönemde telif ve tercüme eserler yazan müellifler standart bir yazı dili oluşturulamadığı için kendi bildiği ağzı az da olsa eserlerinde kullanmıştır. Diğer taraftan Anadolu'ya gelen Oğuzların farklı boylardan oluşması da ağız konusunun bir başka boyutudur. Boyların kendilerine özgü ağızları olup olmadığı Korkmaz (1971), Karahan (2006), Gülsevin (2010) gibi araştırmacılar tarafından ele alınan ve tartışılan bir başka konudur.

Ağız çalışmaları önce Batı bilim dünyasında başlamış olup Almanlar ve Fransızlar bu işin öncüleri olmuşlardır. Almanlar 1876 yılında "Alman Dil Atlası", Fransızlar 1902 yılında "Fransız Dil Atlası" yayınlamaya başlarlar (Adıgüzel, 2013: 388). Anadolu'daki Türkçe ile ilgili ilk çalışmalar genellikle devletin başkenti ve kültür merkezi İstanbul ile sınırlı kalmış olup genel itibarıyla yabancıların işini kolaylaştırarak iletişim kurmalarını sağlayacak sözcük, kalıp ifadeler ve cümleleri içeren eserlerdir. İnce ve Akça (2017), Yağmur (2014 ve 2016) ve Özer'in (2021) çalışmaları yabancıların Latin harfli Türkçe malzemeleri topladıkları bu eserler hakkında bilgiler vermektedir. Anadolu'da kullanılan yerel konuşma biçimlerini esas alan ilk çalışma ise 1867 tarihli *"Opıt izsledovaniya tyurskih dialektov v Hudavendigyare i Karamanii"* eser olup Maksimov tarafından yazılmıştır. İ. Kunos, Giese, Kowalski, Räsänen, Hartmann, Bonelli, Pisarev gibi Batılı ilim insanları Anadolu ağızları hakkında çeşitli yayınlar yapmışlardır. Halk bilimi alanıyla başlayan derleme çalışmaları 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren büyük bir hız kazanmış, 20. yüzyıldan 21. yüzyıla geçişte ise, tamamen kurumlaşmış, "evrenselleşmiş" ve dünya kültürlerine önemli katkılar yapabilecek bir seviyeye ulaşmıştır (Ekici, 2004: 14). Türkiye Türkçesi ile ilgili ilk çalışmalar yabancılar tarafından yapılmış, Türk ilim insanlarının çalışmaları bunlardan sonraki dönemlerde başlamıştır. Korkmaz'a göre (2000:7) Türkiye'de ilk kez halk ağızlarından söz derleme işini o zamanki Maarif Bakanlığının Hars müdürlüğünü yapan Besim Atalay

başlatmıştır. Daha sonra Dil Encümeninin yürüttüğü derleme çalışmaları 1932'de Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyetinin kurulmasıyla hız kazanmış ve Dil Devrimi sürecinde bu çalışmalar başlıca konulardan biri hâline gelmiştir. Dilde sadeleşme ve öze dönüş politikalarının bizzat devlet eliyle ve Atatürk'ün talimatlarıyla yürütüldüğü bu dönemde Anadolu'nun her yerinden öğretmenler, memurlar ve uzman kişiler vasıtasıyla sözcükler derlenmiştir. 1933-1935 yılları arasında derlenen ve 153.504 fişe dayanan *"Derleme Dergisi"* 1939-1957 yılları arasında beş cilt hâlinde yayınlanmıştır (Korkmaz, 2000: 9).

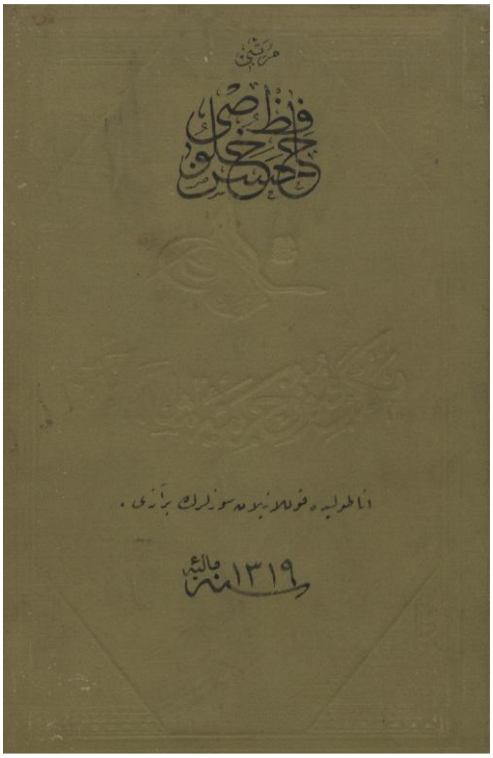
Anadolu ağızlarının Türkiye Türkolojisi tarafından ele alınması Ahmet Caferoğlu ile başlatılır. Caferoğlu 1940 yılında yayınladığı *"Anadolu Diyalektolojisi Üzerine Malzeme I"* adlı eseri Anadolu ağızları üzerinde yapılmış ilk ciddi derleme çalışması olarak kabul edilir. Türkoloji'de 1940 öncesi yabancı araştırmacıların derleme çalışmaları, 1940 sonrası ise Türk araştırmacıların derleme çalışmaları olarak tasnif edilir. Caferoğlu devam eden çalışmalarında Anadolu'nun Balıkesir, Manisa, Afyonkarahisar, Isparta, Aydın, İzmir, Burdur, Antalya, Denizli, Kayseri, Gaziantep, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon gibi 23 ayrı bölgeden dil malzemesi toplamış ve 11 ciltlik bir külliyat ortaya koymuştur. Bu zengin dil malzemelerini içeren Caferoğlu'nun metinleri Anadolu diyalektolojisinin en önemli verileri olarak her zaman başvurulan ana kaynakların başında yer almaya devam etmektedir (Akar, 2006: 39). Caferoğlu öncesi halk ağzına yönelik çalışmalardan ziyade halk kültürü sözlü ürünlerinin derlenme çalışmaları göze çarpar. 1908 yılında İttihat ve Terakki Partisi'nin iktidara gelmesiyle hız ve resmiyet kazanan Türkçülük hareketleri, en önemli varlık alanlarından biri olarak "folklor" disiplininin sözel ürünleri olan "halk edebiyatı"nı görmüş ve kültürel Türkçülük faaliyetlerinin temelinde halkın kültürünü gören bir paradigmayı yerleştirmişti (Oğuz, 2008: 23). 1940'tan sonra Türkiye Türkolojisinde Anadolu ve Rumeli ağızları üzerine yapılan çalışmalar artarak devam etmiş, bu konuda pek çok yüksek lisans ve doktora tezleri hazırlanmış; kitap, makale ve bildiriler yayınlanmıştır. Bu kapsamlı çalışmalar Gülensoy ve Alkaya (2011), Asıl (2021), Erenbaş Pehlivan (2023) gibi araştırmacılar tarafından bibliyografya temelli yayınlarda bir araya getirilmiştir.

"Anadolu'da Kullanılan Sözlerin Birazı" Adlı Çalışma Hakkında Genel Bilgiler

Bu eser bugün İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Bölümünde NEKTY00941 demirbaş numarasıyla kayıtlıdır. Kitabın sırt kısmında ayrıca T 941 numarası yer almaktadır. Eserin yazarı Hafız Hasan Hulusi olup yazım tarihi H. 1319/M. 1901'dir. Eser 114 varak, sayfa ölçüleri 155×42 mm.'dir. Rika yazı türüyle el yazısıyla yazılmış olan eserde sayfalardaki satır sayısı düzensizdir. İnternet üzerinden genel erişime açılan esere http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr:4444/ekos/TY/nekty00941.pdf bağlantısından ulaşım sağlanmaktadır.

Eserin kapağının üst kısmında süslü nesihle "mürettibi ḥāfıẓ ḥasan ḫulūsī" yazısı yer alır. Bunun altında bir tuğra onun altında da kabartma biçiminde "mekteb-i fünūn-ı ḥarbiyye-i şāhāne" bu yazının altında ise eserin adı olan "anadoluda ḳullanılan sözleriñ birazı" yazısı bulunmaktadır. En altta ise eserin yazılma tarihi olan H. 1319 tarihi vardır. Kapaktan sonraki ilk sayfada "edebiyat kütüphanesi 941" ve "anadoluda ḳullanılan sözleriñ birazı" yazmakta olup bunların altında yeni harfli "İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi" kaşesi vardır.

Eserin 2a varağında "żammeler" başlığı altında "żamme-i memdūde, żamme-i maḳṣūre, żamme-i mefḫame ve żamme-i mebsūṭe"ye karşılık gelen ünlüler gösterilmiş, bunlarla beraber "kesre'-i ṣaḳīle" nin gösterildiği Kiril harfleri verilmiştir. Fiillerle ilgili örneklerin 38. sayfadan itibaren başladığı ve derlenen sözcüklerin alfabetik olarak verildiği belirtilmiştir. 2b varağında ise müellifin "başlangıç" başlığı altında "ḥ. ḫulūsī" imzasıyla "üstād-ı faẓiletmendimiz" olarak hitap ettiği bir şahsa yazdığı 16 satırlık bir yazı bulunmaktadır. Besmele ile başlayan bu yazının sol üst köşesinde eski harflerle üzerinde "dār'ül-fünūn edebiyāt fākültesi kütüphānesi" yazan bir mühür vardır. Eserin bundan sonraki kısımları sayfaları numaralanmış bir şekilde alfabetik olarak yazılmış sözcükleri içerir.

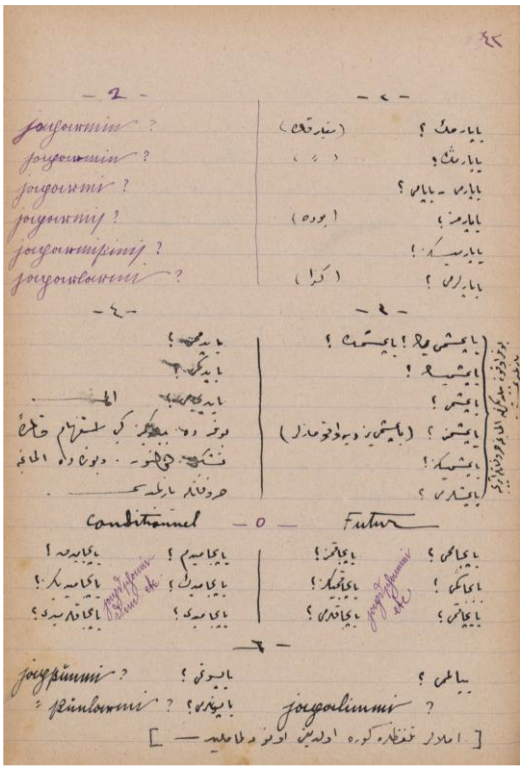


Fotoğraf- 1: Kitabın Kapağı

Müellif Hafız Hasan Hulusi 103 sözcük kaydetmiş bunlardan "oysa/oysan, dikelmek/dinelmek, kızıl is/yanar günler, yumak/yunmak" sözcüklerinin ikili biçimlerini "kendir" sözcüğünün de "çötene" kullanımını vermiştir. Bu sözcükler de dahil edildiğinde 108 sözcüğün bu bölge ağzından derlendiği görülür. Bu çalışmayı orijinal kılan yönlerden biri ise müellifin 38. sayfadan itibaren kip eklerini bildirme ve tasarlama kipleri olarak ayırarak her bir şahsa göre fiil çekimlerini vermesidir. Fiil çekimlerinin olumlu, olumsuz ve soru biçimlerinin de çekimlerini vermiş, bunlardan bazılarını kısaca açıklamıştır. Hafız Hasan Hulusi'nin çalışması Türk bir araştırmacı tarafından hem yerel kaynaklardan doğrudan sözcük derleme hem de yöre ağzının gramer özelliklerini vermesi yönüyle diyalektoloji çalışmalarında bir ilki teşkil etmektedir.

Korkmaz'ın (1976: 143) "yabancı araştırmacılar dönemi" olarak nitelendirdiği 1940 öncesi dönemde Türk araştırmacıların çalışmaları istisnai durum oluşturmaktadır. 1942 yılında Sadeddin Buluç tarafından hazırlanan *"Anadolu Ağızları Bibliyografyası"* adlı çalışma o tarihe kadar yerli ve yabancı araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan ağız çalışmaları hakkında derli toplu bir

kaynakça niteliğindedir. Bu bibliyografyada Türk araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan en erken çalışma Balhasanoğlu ve Balkanoğlu müstear isimleriyle yazılmış: Balkanoğlu, Dialecte turc de Kilis, KSz. (1902), III, s. 261-273., Balkanoğlu, Dialecte de Behesni, KSz. (1903), IV, 1., Balhassanoğlu, Dialecte turc d'Erzerum, KSz. (1904), V, 1. s. 126-130. adlı yazılardır. Balhasanoğlu ve Balkanoğlu isimlerini kullanan bu Türk araştırmacı İstanbul Darülfünununda Türkoloji bölümünü kuran ve Türk Dili Tarihi kürsüsünün ilk profesörü kabul edilen Necip Asım Yazıksız'dır (Böler, 2009: 199). Yazıksız'ın bu çalışmalarından sonra Cumhuriyet'in ilanıyla birlikte farklı bölgelerle ilgili yazılmış Ergun (1926), Bahadırlıoğlu (1927), Fındıkoğlu (1928), Avni (1928), Aksoy (1933) gibi folklorik ve diyalektolojik çalışmalar ilkler arasındadır. Görüldüğü üzere Osmanlı dönemi diyalektoloji çalışmalarının ilkini 1902, 1903, 1904 yıllarında Necip Asım Yazıksız'ın kaleme aldığı söylenebilir. Bir diğer bibliyografya çalışma ise Kayahan Erimer tarafından 1970 yılında *"Anadolu ve Rumeli Ağızları Üzerine Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi"* adıyla yayınlanan çalışmadır. Tuncer Gülensoy da 1981 yılında *"Anadolu ve Rumeli Ağızları Bibliyografyası"* adlı eseri yayınlamıştır. Gerek Buluç'un gerek Erimer'in ve gerekse Gülensoy'un bibliyografya denemelerinde Hafız Hasan Hulusi tarafından 1901 yılında yapılan bu derleme ve gramer çalışması bulunmamaktadır.



Fotoğraf- 2: Eserin Gramer Çalışmasıyla İlgili 42. Sayfası

Müellifin Kimliği

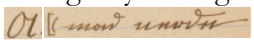
"Anadolu'da Kullanılan Sözlerin Birazı" adlı çalışmayı hazırlayan Hafız Hasan Hulusi hakkında maalesef çok sınırlı bilgi vardır. Osmanlı Arşivleri uzmanı, tarihle ilgili yazılar yazan Sinan Çuluk söz konusu eserle ilgili yazdığı bir yazısında onun meşhur talik üstadı Hattat Hulusi Efendi olabileceğini zannetmiş fakat metnin çok kötü yazısını dikkate alarak bu düşüncesinden

vazgeçtiğini ifade etmiştir (URL- 2). Hafız Hasan Hulusi hakkında tek bilgi kaynağı yine onun eseridir. Hem eserin giriş kısmında kendi imzasıyla kaleme aldığı yazı hem de eserin genelinde izlediği metod onun hakkında fikir sahibi olmayı sağlayan unsurlardır.

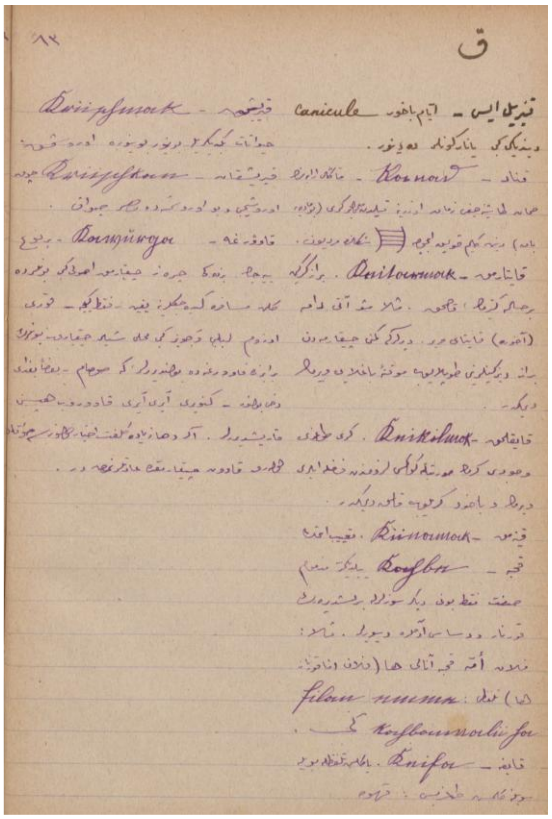
Eserin giriş bölümüdeki yazıda Hafız Hasan Hulusi bu çalışmayı "üstād-ı faẓiletmendimiz" dediği bir şahsın isteği üzerine hazırladığını belirtir. Müellif birkaç yıllık okumanın verdiği istek ve üstad dediği bu kişinin emri üzerine böyle bir işe girişmiştir. Üstad dediği bu şahsın devam eden cümlelerden anlaşıldığı üzere bir "lüġatnüvis" olabileceği akla gelmektedir. Müellif Anadolu'dan derlediği bu sözcükleri muhtemelen görev gereği bulunduğu bir bölgeden derlemiş olmalıdır. Üstad denilen kişinin bu doğrultuda bir isteği olması, Hafız Hasan Hulusi'ye böyle bir görev vermiş olması o kişinin dil üzerine çalışan, sözlükçülükle uğraşan biri olması gerektiğini gösterir. Bu yörenin neresi olduğuna dair görüşler eserdeki sözcük ve açıklamalardan yola çıkarak ilerleyen bölümlerde ayrıca ele alınacaktır.

Hafız Hasan Hulusi tam bir Türkçe sevdalısıdır denilebilir. Giriş yazısında "Türkçemize hiçbir vaḳit ölmüş gözüyle baḳanlardan olmadım, olamam da" ifadesi onun bu konudaki hassasiyetini gösteren en önemli delildir. O Türkçenin "ana-ata dili" olduğunun bilincinde olan bir Türkçe savunucusudur. Yazısında; Türkçe sözcüklerin kullanılmadığını, günden güne unutulduğunu yazarken millî bir bilinç göstergesiyle İslam'ı yeryüzünde yaşatmak için en çok çalışan millet olan Türklerin dilinin de iyi bir durumda olmasını istemektedir. Diğer taraftan günden güne dilimizin kullanılmamasından duyduğu rahatsızlığı ifade etmiş, bu durumdan ne kadar çok üzüntü duyduğunu belirtmiştir. Bu ifadelerden anlaşılacağı üzere Hafız Hasan Hulusi tam anlamıyla Türkçe bilincine sahip, Türkçenin daha iyi yerlerde olmasını savunan, dilinin gücünün farkında olan biridir. Türkçenin rezil ve zelil olmasına asla gönlü razı olmamakla beraber, dili daha iyi yerlere taşımak adına azimle çalışan bir vatansever olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. "Hafız" ünvanını kullanması onun hafız olduğunu ve dinî bir eğitim aldığını göstermektedir. Derlediği sözcüklerin yanına Kiril harfli yazılışlarını ve bazı sözcüklerin Fransızcasını yazması; fiil çekimlerinde Latin harflerini -onun ifadesiyle Almanca hurufât- kullanması onun iyi yetişmiş biri olduğunu kanıtlar. Bu özellikleri onun hem dinî hem de ilmî bilgilere sahip olduğunu; Fransızca kesin olmakla birlikte Rusça ve Almanca gibi dilleri bildiğini gösterir. Hafız Hasan Hulusi bölge ağzından sözcükleri aldığı eğitimin bilincinde olarak kayda geçmiş olup bugün ağız araştırmalarındaki metodları da kullanmıştır. Bazı sözcüklerin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için örnek cümleler kullanmış, yöre ağzındaki telaffuzunu vermiş hatta bazı sözcükler için küçük çizimler yapmıştır. Bu defterin kapağında bulunan "mekteb-i fünūn-ı ḥarbiyye-i şāhāne" 1846 yılında Sultan Abdülmecid döneminde açılan bir askerî okuldur. Hasan Hulusi'nin bölgeye dair verdiği fiil çekimleri bilgisinin sonuna kısa bir not; notun altında imza, tarih ve "pangaltı" yazmaktadır. İstanbul/Pangaltı bu askerî okulun bir dönem hizmet binası olarak kullandığı yerlerden biridir. Dolayısıyla müellifin asker kökenli biri olduğu kesin olup defterin yazılış yerinin İstanbul olması onun bir dönem bu bölgede görev yaptığı ve bu derleme malzemesini topladığını göstermektedir. Tüm bunlardan yola çıkarak Hafız Hasan Hulusi'nin bu çalışmayı Türkçeye hizmet maksadıyla ve bilinçli bir saha araştırmacısı gözüyle yapan bir askerî okul mensubu olduğu söylenebilir.

Müellifin Derleme Yöntemi ve Hazırladığı Gramer

Eserin müellifi Hafız Hasan Hulusi adını belirtmediği yöreden toplam 108 sözcüğü derlemiştir. Bu sözcükleri alfabetik sıra ile vermiş ve her bir sözcüğün açıklamasını yapmıştır. Peltek se (ث), zel (ذ), ayın (ع) gibi Türkçe sözcüklerde bulunmayan örnekler vermemiş bu sayfaları boş bırakmıştır. Eserde 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57,58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114 ve 115. sayfalar boş bırakılmış, 92 ve 95. sayfalarda  ve  harfleri ile sözcük başlamayacağı belirtilerek sehven yazıldığı ifade edilmiştir. Müellif her bir sözcüğü yazdıktan hemen sonra bu sözcüğün Kiril harfli yazımını vermiştir. Bazı sözcüklerin açıklamasını verirken o sözcüğün daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlamak adına cümle içinde nasıl kullanıldığını yani bağlamını göstermiştir: "meṣelā aḥmed nerede? [(telaffuẓu: amad nerde?) -  sūʾāline cevāben annacdan gelüp-batı! derler ki ḳarşı alın açığı) dan gelmek ḥalinde bulunduġunu bildirir bir edātdır." (sf.5) bk. benillemek, çanak, süd, kaytarmak, hindi vd. Müellif bazı sözcüklerin hem açıklamasını yapmış hem de küçük çizimler yapmıştır: ḳanad: ḳañlı arabālarında ṣāman ṭaşınacaġı zamān üzerine ḳıldan maʿmūl bir geri (bu maddeye baḳ) denen kilim ḳoymaḳ için  şeklinde merdīven; gümlü: bizim çömlek dediğimiz  ḳaptır ki gümlü derler. vd. cavabir = Fr. amande, uyku = Fr. dodo, sayacak = Fr. le tripod gibi kimi sözcüklerin açıklamasında Fransızcalarını da yazmıştır. Hasan Hulusi sözcüklerin yazımında fonetik özelliklere de dikkat etmiş, bazı seslerin ayrımlarını belirtmek için özel işaretler kullanmıştır. Çalışmanın başında zammeler başlığı altında bu sesleri göstermiştir:

żamme-i memdūde	ۇ	ou
żamme-i maḳṣūre	ۆ	u
żamme-i mefẖame	ۆ	o
żamme-i mebsūṭe	ۋ	eu



Fotoğraf- 3: Eserin 72. Sayfasında Derlenmiş Sözcük Örnekleri

Hafız Hasan Hulusi'nin bu çalışmasını önemli kılan özelliklerden biri de yöre ağzında kullanılan kiplerin çekimlerini vermesidir. 38. sayfadan 44. sayfanın başına kadar süren bu gramer verileri çalışmayı bir sözcük derleme işi olmaktan çıkarmış ve dönemi itibarıyla orijinal bir özellik katmıştır. Bu kısımda bildirme ve tasarlama kiplerinin tüm çekimleri ele alınmış, bunların olumlu, olumsuz ve soru biçimleri de gösterilmiştir. Diğer taraftan kiplerin çekimlerinin olumlu ve olumsuz biçimleri el yazısı Latin harfleri ile verilmiştir. Müellif bunları 'Almanca hurufat' olarak nitelendirmiştir.

Sonuç

Hafız Hasan Hulusi'nin 1901 yılında yaptığı bu derleme ve kısa gramer çalışmasında toplam 108 adet sözcük ele alınmıştır. Hasan Hulusi bu sözcükleri Anadolu'nun hangi yöresinden topladığını çalışmanın hiçbir yerinde belirtmemiş sadece "burada, ora, oralılar, orada" gibi ifadeler vermekle yetinmiştir: "bildiğimiz maʿnāya söz ise de burada ṣıfat olaraḳ ḳullanılır", "burada incire ṭatlı denildiği gibi aydın ṭaraflarında", "çārşāf veyāḫūd oraʿādetince yalñız baş örtüsü", "z̤āten oralılar yerli yerine fiʿilleri söylemezler", "orada kenevīre kendir dendiği gibi bu şehir ṭaraflarında" gibi. Hasan Hulus'nin derlediği sözcüklerden ve bu sözcüklerin bazılarının içerik bilgilerinden hareketle derleme yapılan bölgenin Güneybatı Anadolu olduğu söylenebilir. Sözcüklerden hareketle bölgede tarım ve hayvancılıkla meşgul olunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Tarım ürünlerinden bazılarına ayrıca adlar verilmesi bize bazı

ipuçları sunmaktadır. "neferne" sözcüğü bunlardan biri olup üzümün ikinci kez hasatından elde edilen küçük taneli üzüme denildiği aktarılır. Bir diğer sözcük ise "tatlı" sözcüğüdür. Bu sözcük maddesinde incire "tatlı", Aydın taraflarında ise "balargın" denildiği aktarılmaktadır. Yine "camız" maddesinde bu hayvana Aydın ve civarında "dombay" denildiğini söyler. Bu ifadelerden hareketle derleme yapılan bölgenin en azından Aydın Merkez ilçe olmadığı bellidir. Çünkü müellif bir bakıma kendi bulunduğu bölge ile Aydın ilini birkaç defa kıyaslamıştır. Diğer taraftan müellif Güneybatı Anadolu ağızlarında görülen bir şimdiki zaman yapısı olan {-I batı}'dan bahsederken bunun -batır biçiminde kullanıldığını da söyler. Bu yapı Aydın ve yöresi ağızlarında şimdiki zaman kavramını ifade etmek için kullanılan yapılardan biri olup asıl fiile getirilen {-Ip} zarf-fiil eki ile geniş zaman çekimindeki yat- yardımcı fiilinin birleşmesi sonucunda oluşur (Yapıcı, 2022: 251). Güneybatı ağızlarında şimdiki zaman gösteriminde kullanılan bu yapı hakkında müellif bunun bir edat olduğunu ve şahsa göre çekimlerinin bulunduğunu belirtir. Bu yapı bugün Muğla/Merkez, Bodrum, Yatağan, Milas, Kavaklıdere, Ula, Marmaris'in bir bölümünde görülür (Akar, 2013: 30). Ayrıca Denizli/Çal ilçesi Hançalar, Akkent, Yukarıseyit, Mahmutgazi mahallerinde de bu yapı bulunur (Kayılan, 2018: 66). Yine Denizli'nin Tavas ve Kale ilçelerinde ve Acıpayam ağzında bu çekimin "- bâ, -p batı, -p bârı, -p batır, -p bata, -y batır" şekilleri karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Biray, 2007:6). Diğer taraftan Aydın ve yöresi ağızlarında bu ekin olumsuz şekli bulunmamakla birlikte olumlu şekli de yalnızca üçüncü teklik ve çokluk şahıs çekiminde görülür (Kısa, 2018: 47). Yardımcı fiille oluşturulan bu şimdiki zaman eki şu halde sadece Aydın, Denizli ve Muğla ağızlarında görülmektedir. Akar (2006:304) pek çok tarihî ve çağdaş Türk lehçesinde kullanılan bu yapının Menteşe Bölgesi Ağızları olarak ifade ettiği Denizli, Muğla ve Aydın yöresi ağızlarında işlek biçimde kullanılmasını diğer ağız gruplarına göre en önemli yapı farklılıklarından biri ve Hazar ötesi tarihî formları koruması bakımından önemli olduğunu ifade eder. Hafız Hasan Hulusi'nin çalışmasında derlenen sözcüklerin büyük kısmı bugünkü Derleme Sözlüğü'nde yer almaktadır. Diğer taraftan Derleme Sözlüğü'ndeki bazı sözcüklerin bölge gösterimlerinde eksiklikler olduğunu da göz ardı etmemek gerekir. "şöngülle, otı, ağzım, emşek, ters evi, dilerler, dürülge, tayfal, yelse-" gibi sözcükler Derleme Sözlüğü'nde yer almaz. Fakat "tayfal-" fiili "dayfal-: Bulantı duymak, bayılma derecesine gelmek, bayılmak"*;* "emşek" sözcüğü "meşek: Yassı taşla oynanan kaydırak oyunu"; "ters evi" sözcüğü "tersefe: Kağnıda gübre taşımaya yarayan sandık"; dürülge sözcüğü "dürülgen: lahana"; "yelse-" fiili "yelsimek [yelpümek -1]: Hava alarak bozulmak, bayatlamak" biçimlerinde Derleme Sözlüğü'nde yer alır. "kırışkan" sözcüğü ise yer almakla beraber anlamı farklıdır. "öngülle, ina, benille-, pürgü, cavabir, yöneççe, tersefe, cuncuk-" sözcükleri ise sadece Denizli'nin Çal ilçesi olarak Derleme Sözlüğü'ne kaydedilmiştir. Çalışmadaki incir anlamında kullanılan "tatlı" sözcüğü Denizli/Honaz ilçesinde; "datlı" biçiminin ise Çal-Belevi'nde kullanıldığı gösterilmektedir. Bütün bunlar dikkate alındığında gerek gramere gerekse söz varlığına ilişkin veriler bu Türkiye Diyalektolojisi açısından öncü çalışmanın Denizli yöresinde yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Necip Asım Yazıksız'ın 1902 yılında Kilis ağzı üzerine yaptığı Keleti Szemle'de yayınlanan çalışmadan farklı olarak Hafız Hasan Hulusi çalışmasında sözcüklerin cümle içerisinde kullanımlarını da vererek bağlamı gözeten bir derleme yapmıştır. Ayrıca çalışmada verilen kısa gramer çalışması da bu eseri ayrıca önemli kılmaktadır. Hafız Hasan Hulusi aynı zamanda yöre folkloruna ilişkin birtakım bilgileri de aktarmaktadır: "emşek" adlı çocuk oyunu, "pürgü" nün ak ve kara olmasının sosyal bir ayrıma işaret etmesi, "tenge, çelme, sıkma" gibi yöresel giyim-kuşama dair bilgi vermesi, incire adıyla hitap edilmesinin uğursuzluğuna inanılması, "kavurga" maddesinde misafir ağırlama geleneği, "kölle" sözcüğünde hem yöresel bir yiyeceği hem de bu yiyecek bağlamından oluşan adak

adama adetiyle birlikte anlatması gibi. Bu eser hem ağız malzemelerini doğru bir yönetemle derlemesi, hem gramatikal unsurları ayrıca bir başlık halinde sunması ve halkbilimine katkı sunacak ögeleri barındırması yönüyle kıymeti haiz olduğu görülür. Çalışmanın ağız ve folklor araştırmaları bakımından Türk bir araştırmacı tarafından erken sayılabilecek bir dönemde yapılması, çalışmada uygulanan metodun modern ağız araştırmalarıyla benzer yapıda olması onu önemli bir eser haline getirmektedir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin son döneminde Batılı araştırmacılara paralel olarak yerli araştırmacıların da Anadolu'nun kültürel ve dil malzemesine ilgi gösterdiği, bu malzemenin tespiti ve kayda geçirilmesi noktasında bazı çalışmalar yaptığı görülmüştür.

EK: Hafız Hasan Hulusi'nin "Anadolu'da Kullanılan Sözlerin Birazı" adlı çalışmasının çeviriyazısı

kapak sayfası

mürettibi ḥāfıẓ ḥasan ḫulūsī

tuğra

mekteb-i fünūn-ı ḥarbiyye-i şāhāne

anadoluda ḳullanılan sözleriñ birazı

sene 1319

1b

edebiyāt kütüpḫānesi

anadoluda ḳullanılan sözleriñ birazı

2a

żammeler:

żamme-i memdūde	ۇ	ou
żamme-i maḳṣūre	ۆ	u
żamme-i mefḫame	ۈ	o
żamme-i mebsūṭe	ۋ	eu

kesreʾ-i ṣaḳīle  ile gösterilmiştir

fiʿlān numūnesi otuz sekizinci ṣaḥīfeden başlamışdır. ve kelimāt-ı sāʾirede yalñız başladığı ḥarfe ʿāʾid ṣaḥīfeye yazılaraḳ – maʿateʾessüf – ḥurūf-ı hecā üzerine tezyīne muvaffaḳ olundu.

2b

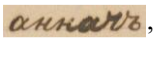
(1) bismillaḥirraḥmanirraḥim

(2) başlanġıç

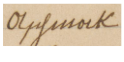
(3) birḳaç yıllıḳ oḳumanıñ verdiği bir istekle ve siz üstād-ı faẓiletmendimiziñ emirlerine (4) imtiṣāl maḳṣadıyla ṭoplayabildiğim şu sözleri -böyle yañlışlıḳlarıyla yañlış yazılış (5) ve añlatışlarıyla- taḳdīme cürʾet ettigimden muʾaḫeze buyrulmam ṣanırım: (6) şu ufacıḳ işin bile bu ḳadar güç olması lüġatnüvisliğiñ eñ güç bir sanat (7) oldugunu bendeñize ne güzel gösterdi. bundan birkaç yıl evvel bir arkadaşımla türkçemiz, ana-ata (8) dilimiz sevgili türkçemiz içün edilen bir muṣāḥabede: türkçemiziñ büsbütün ölmüş bir dil oldugunu (9) bunu diriltmege çalışmaḳ da bir mezār başında aġlamaḳ ḳadar fāʾidesiz olduġunu... añlattıġı zamān (10) o sözler bayaġı ḳafama girer gibi olmuştu; aman, ḫāyır!.. türkçemize hiçbir vaḳit ölmüş gözüyle baḳanlardan (11) olmadım, olamam da... türkçemiz daḥa ölmemiş, belki silsileʾ-i kelimāt ḳorḳunç bir vebāya (12) ṭutulmuş gibi, günden güne kökü ḳurumakta... ʿarap dili "lisān-ı şerʿī" miz ise (13) bu şeriʿati yeryüzünde yaşatmaġa eñ çoḳ çalışan türkleriñ dili niçin iyi olmasın?!. (14) hem ana ata dili… yuḳarıda dedigim gibi bendeñiz sevgili dilimiziñ günden güne -ḳullanmamazlıḳ (15) ḥastalıġından- bittigini görerek acıyorum. bundan ötürü bıraḳacak yerde gittikçe istegim artıyor. (16) şu sözleri yazışımdan bu meydānda -ḥāşā!- at oynatmaḳ istedigim degil ancaḳ ṣırası (17) geldi de yazıldı. bunları büyüklerimize, siz üstādlarımıza bıraḳaraḳ boynumuzun borcu olan "pādişāhım (18) çoḳ yaşa!" duʿāsıyla şu başlanġıcı bitiririm.

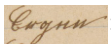
(19) ḥ. ḥulūsī

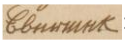
1.sayfa:

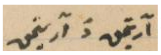
annaç  -  ,  : alnıñ ʿāmiyāne, muḥarrefī olan an ile açığı sözünden mürekkeb (alın açığı) olup ḳarşı maʿnāsına müstaʿmeldir. annacıñdan geliyor. gibi.

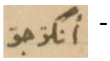
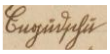
emenmek  -  : emek vermek emek ṣarf etmek demek olup (filān yere ḳadar emendim) denip maḥall-i mezkūra ḳadar giderek boşuna dönmek maʿnāsınadır.

aşmaḳ  -  : bildigimiz aşmaḳ; daġ aşmaḳ; ġurūba inmek; gün aşdı.

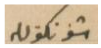
ergen  -  : ḳızılcıḳ (meyvesidir).

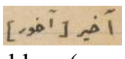
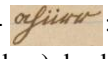
ebermek  -  : getirmek.

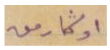
arıtmaḳ ve arınmaḳ  : taṭhīr ve taṭahhur (yalñız maddesi)

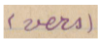
engücü  -  : eñ nihāyet maʿnāsına olsa gerek: meṣelā [engücü esker (ʿasker) oluceñ (olacaksın) ne ġaçıyoñ (ḳaçıyorsun)] diye bir firārīye diyor.

öngülle  - öyle: öngülle yapma.

şöngülle  - şöyle: şöngülle etme.

aḫır [aḫur]  -  : maʿlūm ḥayvānāta maḫṣūṣ maḥalden başḳā; yine ḥayvānātı ṣulamaġa maḫṣūṣ yalaḳlara (ṣavaḳlara) da aḫur derler.

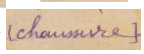
oñarmaḳ  -  : bozuḳ bir şeyʾi taʿmīr etmek, düzeltmek. ḥāl-i intiẓāma ḳoymaḳ demek olur. iḥtimāl ki arma maʿnāsına onġun sözü de bu maṣdardan müştaḳ olsa gerekdir; çünkü o da düzeltilmiş oñarılmış, oñmuş direk olan onġun ismiyle mevsūmdur.

otı  -  - bir edāt olup  doġru, üzeri maʿnāsına ḳullanılır. aḳşām otı: aḳşām üzeri, aḳşāma doġru maʿnāsınadır.

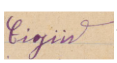
aġzım  -  - bir aġzım: bir loḳma

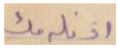
is  -  : bildigimiz dumandan ḥāṣıl olan siyāhlıġa is ve ʾel'ān tütmekte bulunan dumana da is derler ki (ḳızıl is) taʿbīri buradan gelir: çünkü yazın ḥarāretden arāżīde ʿādetā bir ihtizāz bir şeyʾ çıḳtığı görünür gibi olur.

ina  -  - bizim a, aña edāt-ı taʿaccüb maḳāmında ḳullanılır ve ana yaḥūd çoḳ mūcib-i taʿaccüb olduġuna göre nihāyetdeki nūnu -fetḥā olaraḳ- uzun veyā ḳışa telaffuẓ ederler. baʿżen nūnı teşdīd de ederler.

edik  -  - çocuḳlarıñ yaʿnī küçükleriñ - bizim pātik dememiz kabīlinden – giydikleri ḳunduralara  da ıṭlāḳ olunur.

2

ayġıd  -  - kesreʾ-i ṣaḳīle ile [ẕaten anuñ içün iki ye ile yazılmışdır] ālāt ve edevāt maʿnāsına meṣelā: ṭaşçı ayġıdı denince ṭaşçı avādānlıġı ālāt ve edevātı añlaşılır.

ünlemek   birini bağıraraḳ - az veyā çoḳ sadā ile – çağırmaḳ. 

ünlü  -  meşhūr nāmlı. 

oysa - yāḫūd - **oysan** - şüphesiz, belki bi'ṭ-ṭabiʿ maʿnāsına bir ḳayd meṣelā birisiniñ filān yerden gelmesine intiẓār olunup onlar da filān saʿatte ḥareket muḳarrer olsa: aḥmed filān yerden çıḳdı mı ki? yaʿnī ʿacabā aḥmed filān yerden ḥareket etti mi? sözüne cevāben oysan çıḳmışdır derler ki şüphesiz çıḳmıştır. maʿnāsına mutaẓammın olur.

üleşdirmek : tevzīʿ, taḳsīm etmek, dağıtmaḳ.

emşek - : bizim ḳaydıraḳ - dediğimiz ṭaşla bir yere maḥṣūṣ ḳonmuş ṭaş urabilen bekleyeni peşinden ḳoşduraraḳ kendisi de ṭaş alıp maḥāline geçe – oyunu ki orada emşek denir.

ocaḳ - : maʿlūm şey faḳaṭ bunlar bācāya da ʿale's-seviye ocaḳ deyip bunu şu maʿnāda eñ çoḳ ḳullanırlar. maḳām-ı duʿā ve laṭīfe yaʿnī bizim hāy allah müsteḥaḳını versin -faḳaṭ beddu'ā değil- sözü ḳarşılıḳ olaraḳ hāy ocaġı tütesi vāy! derler ve beddu'ā maʿnāsına olursa ocaġıñ sönsün derler.

5. sayfa:

batı - : maʿnā-yı ḥaḳīḳīsi, ġarb ṭarafı, maġrib maʿnāsına müstaʿmeldir; faḳaṭ bunu bir edat gibi ḳabūl etmişler ki şu maḥalde istiʿmāl olunur. meṣelā aḥmed nerede? [(telaffuẓu: amad nerde?) - sūʿāline cevāben annacdan gelüp-batı! derler ki ḳarşı alın açıġı) dan gelmek ḥalinde bulunduġunu bildirir bir edātdır. telaffuẓ olunur.

buymaḳ - : doñmaḳ yalñız insān ḥaḳḳında müstaʿmeldir: ṣovukdan buydum.

bālādaki batı kelimesine ʿilāve: - batı kelimesi fiʿlindeki şaḫṣa göre taḥallüf eder. ve bu batı sözünü baʿżıları (batır) da derler: meṣelā gelmek maddesiyle birleştirelim: gelüpbatırım - gelüpbatırsıñ - gelüpbatır yaḫūd [batı] - gelüpbatırız, gelüpbatırsınız, gelüpbatırlar yaḫūd [batılar].

benillemek : biriñin añsızın ḳorkutması üzerine birden ḥāṣıl olan şaşḳınlıḳla birlikte, ḳorḳu. bu da uyanık ve uyḳuda olduġuna göredir; faḳaṭ aṣıl uyurken añsızın ḳorḳutulmaḳ ṣūretiyle veyaḫūd kendi kendine ḳorḳunç rüʿyā görerek -çocuḳdaki- ḳorḳu ve şaşḳınlıḳ: ne yaptıñ çocuḳ benilledi. gibi bülük - [çocuḳ lisānında] ḳażıb, ālet-i tenāsül, rıcliyyet. frānsızlarıñ çocuḳ lisānında uyḳuya dedikleri gibi.

9. sayfa:

pürgü - : örtü ʾez-cümle ḳadınlarıñ tesettür içün örtündükleri çārşāf veyāḫūd ora ʿādetince yalñız baş örtüsü. ekṣeriyā ṭaşralı değilim maʿnāsına ḳadınlar ḳara pürgülü degilim ve yerli olduġunu añlatmaḳ içün aḳ pürgülü dirler; zīrā oralılar ekṣeriya beyāż çārşāf -faḳaṭ istiʿmāl iden ṭaḳı- ḳullanırlar.

13. sayfa:

tenge - : orada müstaʿmel lüġat-ı ġarībeden biri de bu ki bunu aṣıl onlarca mükellef, müzeyyen şalvāra ʿalem olarak ḳullanırlar. ḳısmen şalvār da derler: faḳaṭ aṣıl maḥallī dilinde şu sözle ıṭlaḳı muracciḥdir: faḳaù yuḳarda dendiği gibi āāyet büyük ve mükellef olmaḳ üzere.

tülü ṭombaḳ - : diğer tuḥaf bir söz de şudur. şeftālī (meyveden) maʿnāsına.

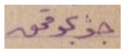
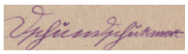
ters evi - : ḳañlı arabaları üzerine gübre ṭaşımaġa maḥṣūṣ menşūr miṣāl-i ḥātem şeklinde ve bir yeʾs żılʿ-ı mücessemiyle ḳañlı üzerine maḥṣūṣ yerine ḳonur ve ḳullanılır; çünkü bunuñla gübre ṭaşındığı gibi şamān ṭaşımaḳ içün [geri] bu maddeye baḳ çalı ve emṣāli şeyler içün yalñız ḳanad direkleri merdīven gibi şeyler ḳonur. ṣoñra ṭaş gibi şey naḳl içün doġrudan ārāba üzerine dögen taḥtası gibi bir şey ḳorlar.

21. sayfa:

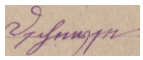
cāmız  -  : ḥayvān ehlinden mandā. aydın ve civārında dombay dedikleri gibi baʿżı ṭaraflarda daḥā başḳa isimler verilmektedir.

cavābir  -  : bādem yaʿnī  maʿnāsına.

cinci  -  : çocuḳlarıñ oynadıḳları -maʿlūm- żıp ṭıb, yuvarlaḳ ṭaşları; faḳaṭ muntaẓam olanlarına yaʿnī derme çatma degil maḥṣūṣan iʿmāl olunmuş olaraḳ ṣatılan cāmeye ve envāʿına ıṭlāḳ olunur.

cuncuḳmaḳ   : ḥayvānıñ birçoḳ zamān ṭavlada beslenmesinden dışarı çıḳarılmasından mütevellid ḥaşārılıḳ yapması.

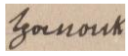
cime  -  : çizme, ayaġa giyilen ḳonçlu maʿlūm ḳundura.

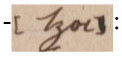
cevze  -  : bildigimiz ḳahve pişirmege maḥṣūṣ şey. cezve.

25. sayfa:

çul  -  : maʿlūm ḥayvāna urılan şeyden māʿadā bi'l-ḥaṣṣa ḳıldan maʿmūl olan kilīmlere ıṭlāḳ olunur. odanıñ çulunu kirlettiñ gibi ki odanıñ kilimini berbād ettiñ demektir.

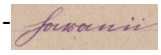
çelme  -  : anadolu deliḳanlılarınıñ ve genç ḳızlarınıñ ḳaşlarınıñ üzerine, bir ṣūret-i muntaẓamada, ṣardıḳları çeyiz.

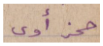
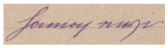
çanaḳ  -  : ṭabāḳ, kāse vesāʾireniñ kāffesine -içerisine yemek ḳonacaḳ dolduḳdan soñra- çanaḳ tesmiye ederler. bir çanaḳ süd gibi ki bir ḳāse demektir.

ça  -  : tā, degin maʿnāsına bir edāttır: ça ora gitdim (ta oraya ḳadar gitdim) ça....a gitdim (...a degin gitdim) gibi.

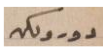
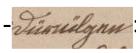
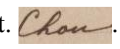
29. sayfa:

ḥānāy  -  : yalñız zemīn ḳatından yaʿnī bir ḳatdan ʿibāret olmayan yüksek eve denir eger bir ḳat olursa yer ev derler.

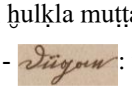
ḥarānı  -  : bildigimiz yemek ṭabḥa maḥṣūṣ tencere ṭoprāḳ veyā maʿden olsun her ikisine ale's-seviye ḥarānı derler.

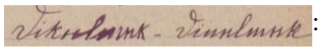
ḥamaz evi  -  : ḳaşırġa.

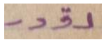
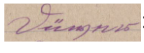
37. sayfa:

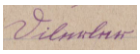
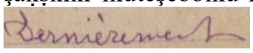
dürülge  -  : maʿlūm nebāt.  .

dayı  : bildigimiz maʿnāya söz ise de burada ṣıfat olaraḳ ḳullanılır. hem de māddiyāt ve maneviyātda ḳullanılır. meṣelā: [pek dayı] ʿaynı zamānda hem maʿnen hem māddeten güzel maʿnāsına gelir ki maʿnen olursa ḥüsn-i ḫulḳla muṭṭaṣıf, māddeten olursa laṭīfü'l-manẓar, żārīf maʿnāsınadır.

dıġan  -  : ṭāva, bildigimiz içerisinde yemek pişen ṭāva.

diñelmek  -yāḫūd- **dikelmek**  - telaffuẓ:  : her ikisi de yaʿnī kāf-i ʿarabī ve nūnī ile telaffuẓ olunması da cāʿizdir: faḳaṭ orada meftūḥ olaraḳ oḳurlar ki ayaḳta durmaḳ ve ḳıyām maʿnāsınadır.

düver  -  : direk.

dilerler  -  : dilemek maṣdarınıñ ṣīġaʿ-i iḫbāriye-i zamān ḥāliniñ cemʿ-i mütekellimiye ṣaḥṣınıñ müteşebbihü'l-lafẓı bir söz; faḳaṭ maʿnāsı degişir geçenlerde maʿnāsına yaʿnī birḳaç kezin öñ  demek.

38. sayfa:

numūneʾ-i taṣrīf-i efʿāl müṭālaʿa: burada taṣrīflerine ve telaffuẓlarına göre muḫtaṣar bir örnegi yazılıp onlara daʿir taṣrīfāt aşaġıda verilecegi gibi efʿāl-i mürekkebeden fiʿl-i iḳtidārī ve taʿcīli gibi fürūʿatdan da baḥṣ olunmuştur.

meṣelā yapmaḳ fiʿli : ṣūret-i iḫbāriye

(1) zamān-ı ḥāl	(2) mużāriʿ
yapıyom – yapıyoñ, yapıyoz	yaparım – yaparıñ, yaparız
yapıyoñ, yapıyoñuz	yaparsıñ, yaparsıñız - yapāsıñız
yapıyo, yapıyolar	yapar – yapā, yaparlar- yapālar
(3) māżi-yi nāḳil	(4) māżi-yi şuḥūdī
yapmışım – yapmışıñ, yapmışız	yapdım, yapdıḳ
yapmışsın, yapmışsınız	yapdıñ, yapdıñız
yapmış, yapmışlar	yapdı, yapdılar
(5) ṣūret-i şarṭīye	6a ṣūret-i emriye
yapcādım – yapcādıñ } yapacaḳtım	(6b) ḥāżır:
yapcādıñ ilḫ	yapā
yapcādı	yapalım (ṭaʿbir-i ġāʿib yoḳ)
yapcādıḳ	yapıñ
yapcādıñız	(6c) ġāʿib:
yapcādılar	yapsun
	yapsunlar

39. sayfa:

ṣūret-i inşāʿiye

(7) zamān-ı ḥāl	(8) māżī
ki yapayım – yapayıñ, ki yapalım – yapalıñ	ki yapaydım- yapaydıñ, ki yapaydıḳ
ki yapasıñ, ki yapıñ	ki yapaydıñ, yapaydıñız
ki yapā, ki yapālar	ki yapaydı, yapālardı, yapaydılar

-evvelce söylendigi gibi uzun uzadıya fürūʿa – ki ẕāten oralılar yerli yerine fiʿilleri söylemezler ki – girmişlerdi. yalñız şöyle ʿamel-i ṣūrette cedvel yapılıp yaʿnī numūnede bizim sözlere muḫālif yerleri işāret ederek ve ḳısmen lāzım gelenlere daʿir biraz maʿlūmāt verilmekle iktifā olacaḳtır.

< (yuḳarıdaki numūneniñ maʿżī olaraḳ taṣrīḥi)>

ṣūret-i iḫbāriye

zamān-ı ḥāl

yaʿnī bizimki gibi ise de yalñız müṣbet ḥālde görüldügü vechile re ḥarflerini ḥazf ederler. o ḥālde: yapıyom – yapıyoñ, yapıyo ... gibi vaḳā-i ʿaliyyü'l-vāḳī.

mużāriʿ

kezā bunuñ da farḳı müṣbet ḥālinde göründügü ḳadar olup ḥālāt-ı sāʿiresi ḳaʿideten teşkīl olunmaḳtadır yalñız (yapmayız) yerine (yapmarız) derler.

-3-

bunlarda ṭıbḳı bildigimiz gibi mużarraftır.

-4-

kezā şu da bildigimiz ḳaʿide vechiledir

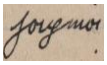
-5-

bildigimiz gibi yalñız telaffuẓ başḳa: yapıbadım ilh. gibi

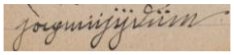
-6-

(6b) yapma. ilh.; (6c) – yapmasın ilh.

-7-

bu sefer bildiğimiz gibi faḳaṭ nefer içün gelen mim ʿādetā kesreʾ-i ṣaḳīl ile yaʿnī yapmayiyiñ   gibi telaffuz olunur.

-8-

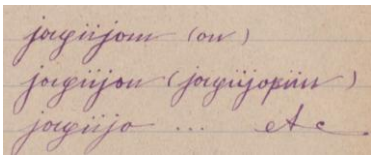
bu da 7 numroda söyledildigi gibi ḳāʿideye tābiʿdir ve öylece telaffuẓ lāzımdır: (yapmiyeydim) gibi 

40. sayfa:

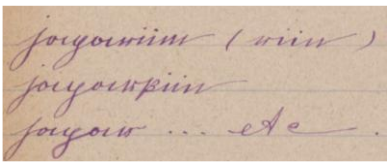
geçen iki – müṣbet ve menfī- numūneniñ telaffuẓun gösterir:

müṣbet olaraḳ

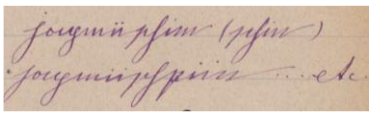
-1-



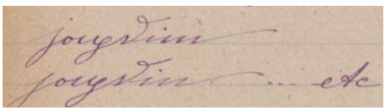
-2-



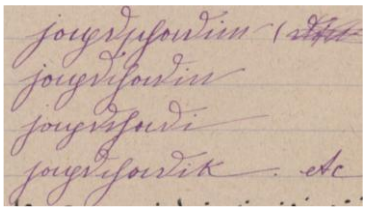
-3-



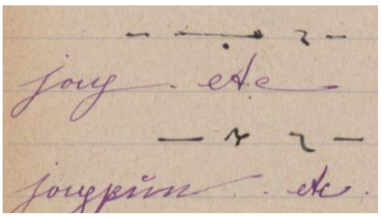
-4-



-5-



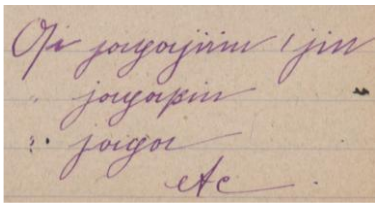
-6-

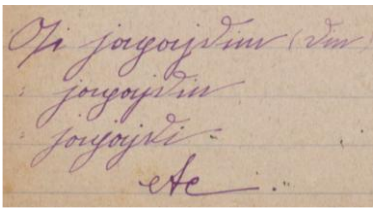


müstaḳbel zamānı yazılmadan doġrudan ṣūret-i şarṭiyeye geçilmiş; telaffuẓu ondan añlaşılabileceginden ayrı gelmiştim meṣelā yapcadım sözünden dālı ḳaldırıp yapcam deyince biʾṭ-ṭabiʿ müstaḳbel zamānı ḥāṣıl olur.

-7-

-8-

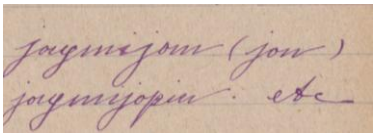




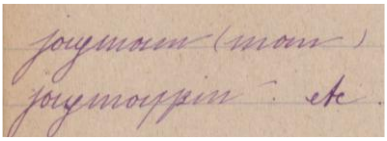
41. sayfa:

-menfiʿ olaraḳ-

-1-



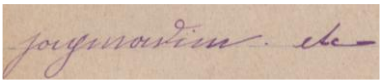
-2-



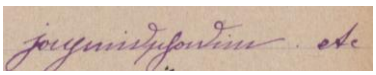
-3-



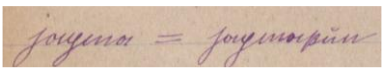
-4-



-5-



-6-



-7-

-8-

bunların almanca ḫurūfātça telaffuẓu (türkçe menfī) numūnesinde gösterilmekle tekrārına ṣarf-ı naẓar olur.

ʿaynı fiʿilin istifhām olaraḳ taṣrīf-i numūnesi:

-1-

yapımıyom – yapımıyon?

yapımıyoñ – yapımıyosuñ?

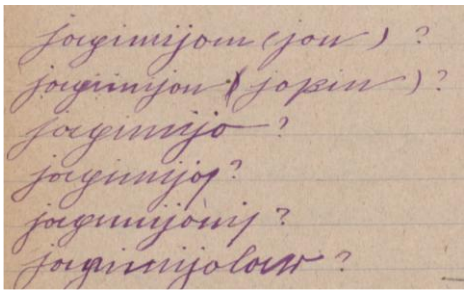
yapımıyo?

yapımıyoz?

yapımıyoñuz?

yapımıyolar?

-1-

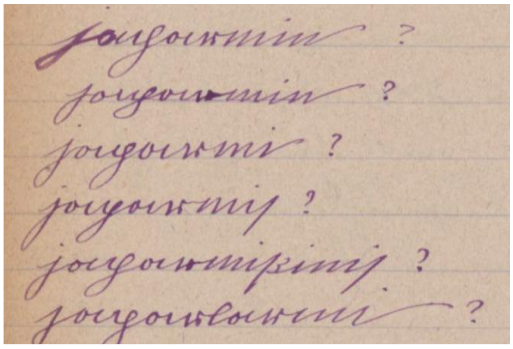


baḳılınca görülür ki ḳaʿideden başḳa bir uṣūlde istifhām: bunda (mı) edāt-ı istifhāmına żamīr fiilinden evvel getirmeyip yap māddeʿ-i aṣliye kesreʾ-yi naḳīle ile oḳuyaraḳ bunu müteʿāḳib mı edat-ı istifhamına ḳorlar.

42. sayfa:

-2-

yaparmıñ?	(muġāyir ḳāʿide)
yaparmıñ?	(")
yapar mı- yapa mı?	
yaparmız?	(bu da)
yaparmısıñız?	
yaparlar mı?	(kezā)



-3-

bunlar oḳuyabildigimiz almanca ḥurūfātla ayrıca yazılmadı

yapmış mıyıñ? yapmışmıñ?

yapmış mısıñ?

yapmış mı?

yapmışmız? (yapmış mıyız ye oḳumazlar)

yapmış mısıñız?

yapmışlar mı?

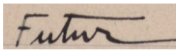
-4-

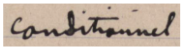
yaptım mı?

yaptıñ mı?

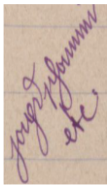
yaptı mı? ilh.

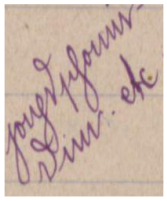
bunlar da bildiğimiz gibi istifhām-ı ḳāʿide teşkīl olunur. ve bunda da almanca ḥurūfātla yazılmadı.

futur 

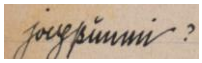
-5- conditional 

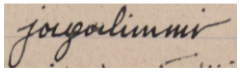
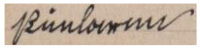
yapcam mı?	yapcaḳmız?	yapca mıydım?	yapca mıdıḳ?
yapcañ mı?	yapcaḳ mısıñız?	yapca mıydıñ?	yapca mıdıñız?
yapcaḳ mı?	yapcaḳlar mı?	yapca mıydı?	yapcaḳlar mıydı?





-6-

yapalım mı? yapsın mı? 

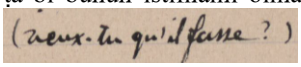
?  yapsınlar mı? 

[imlālar telaffuẓlara göre olduġu unuṭulmamalıdır-]

43

-7-

yapayım mı? ilh.

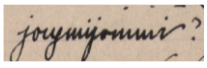
ṭaʿbī bunuñ istifhāmı olmazsa da geldigi cümle ile istifhām olaraḳ bulunur? meṣelā: istermiñ ki yapsın  sözü isteriseñ yapsın mı taḳdīriniñ oldugundan yazıldı.

-8-

(yapa mıydım?) yaʿnī yapmalı mı idim yerine söyleriz bunu nihāyete ḳadar yazmaġa ḥācet yoḳ; zīrā bu gibi şeyleri diger zamānlar yerine ḳullanılır ve tekellüme göre her şaḫış istifhām yapıp yerine göre o sözü söylerler.

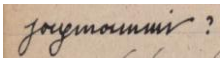
-(yine ʿaynı fiʿilin istifhām-ı inḳārī olaraḳ numūnesi)-

-1-

yapmıyom mu? 

ilh. bildigimiz gibi

-2-

yapmayam mı? 

kezā bu da şu şaḫṣa göre bildigimiz gibi

-3-

yapmamış mıyım – mışmıyıñ?

yapmamış mısıñ? ilh. bildigimiz ḳāʿide mucibince

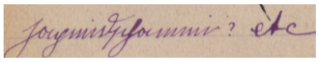
-4-

yapmadım mı?

yapmadıñ mı? ilh. kezā bu da bildigimiz geçen ānı edat

-5-

yapmacam mı? yapmacañ mı? yapmacaḳ mı? yapmaca mıdım? ilh.

yapmacaḳmız? yapmacaḳ mısıñız? yapmacaḳlar mı? 

ṣoña ḳadar bildiğimiz ḳāʿide ile

-emir ṣīġası-

hāfī ġāʿib

yapmayalım mı? yapsın mı? yapsınlar mı?

44. sayfa:

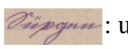
fiʿillere numūne cetveliniñ bidāyetinde baʿżıları ḥaḳḳında ḳavāʿid-i lāzıme serd edilecegi beyān olunmuş ḳavāʿid-i mezkūre ṣırası düştükçe fiʿiller aralarında ẕikr olunan ḳavāʿidden ʿibāret ḳalmıştır; ẕāten faẓlasına iḥtiyāç his etmedigi gibi iḳtidarımıñ fevḳinde bulunmaḳla şu ḳadarcıḳla iḳtifā olunaraḳ en nihāyet şu ṣahīfede defterime ḫātime verilmiştir.

-panġāltı- 2 şubat 1319 ṣālı-

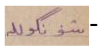
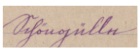
h.ḫulūsī

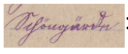
56. sayfa:

süsmek  -  : ḳoyun boġa [ṣıġır boġası] ve bu gibi boynuzuyla urışan ḥayvānlarıñ insānı urması.

süsgen  -  : urucu, insānı boynuzuyla urmaġa çalışan ḥayvānāt. meşelā şu ḥayvān süsgendir deyince insānı urduġu velakin ḳırışḳan denilirse çoḳ ġavġa eden yaʿnī yekdigeriyle çoḳ uruşan ve māhir bulunan ḥayvāna denir.

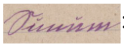
59. sayfa:

şöngülle  -  : şöyle.

şöngürde  -  : şurada.

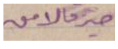
62. sayfa:

şındı  -  : maḳāṣ.

şunam  -  : loḳmā.

şayacaḳ  -  : bildigimiz  ṣac ayaḳ.

şıkma  -  : bildigimiz giyilen mintān (nīmten).

şırḳalamaḳ  -  : ṣarşmaḳ, ṣallamaḳ.

68. sayfa:

ṭatlı  : ṣıfat olaraḳ ḳullandığımız leẕīẕ maʿnāsına olan kelime ise de burada isim olaraḳ ḳullanılır: incir demektir. burada incire ṭatlı denildigi gibi aydın ṭaraflarında da balarġın yemiş deniyor; çünkü aṣıl kelimeyi ḳullanmaḳ -yalñız bu söz ḥaḳḳında- onlarca musībetdendir.

ṭayfalmaḳ طايفالمق - Tayfalmak: ḥavāsızlıḳ veyāḫūd başḳa şūretle buñalmaḳ.

77. sayfa:

ġalan غالدن : [aṣlı ḳalan olsa gerek] Galan - cümel-i menfideki - ne ... galır - artıḳ, maʿnāsına müstaʿmel: ġalan ben bunu yapmam, ki; artıḳ ben bunu işlemem, yapmam [ne galır galır çek] demektir.

ġaġa غاغا - Gagaya: bildigimiz söz ise de onlar bunu diğer maʿnāda söylerler ve ġaġa sözü yerine ibik deyip bunu aġabeg, büyük birāder yerine söylerler. birisi ġaġam geldi der ise aġabegim, büyük ḳarındaşım geldi demek olur.

83. sayfa:

ḳızıl is قزيل ايس: -eyyām-ı bāḫūr Canicule dedikleri gibi **yanar günler** de denir.

ḳanad قناد - Kanat: ḳañlı arabālarında şāman ṭaşınacaġı zamān üzerine ḳıldan maʿmūl bir geri (bu maddeye baḳ) denen kilim ḳoymaḳ için  şeklinde merdīven.

ḳaytarmaḳ قايتارمق - Kaytarmak: biraz gergin bir ḥāle getirmek, ḳasmaḳ. meṣelā şu atı dama (āḫūra) ḳaytayıver. derler ki gemini çıḳarmadan biraz dizginlerini ṭoplayıp müddeten baġlayıvermek demektir.

ḳayḳılmaḳ قايقلمق - Kaykılmak: geri doġru vücūdu germek şūretiyle gögüslerimizden faẓla ileri vermek veyāḫūt gerilip ḳasmaḳ demektir.

ḳınamaḳ قينمق - Kınamak: teaʿyyüb etmek.

ḳaḥbe قحبه - Kahbe: bildigimiz meẕmūm ṣıfat faḳaṭ bunu diger sözlerle birleştirerek ḳurnāz ve desāis ādemlere söylerler. meṣelā: filān emme ḳaḥpe analı hā (filān amma ḳurnāz hā) telaffuẓ filan ... kahbenin oğlu gibi gibi.

ḳāyfe قايفه - Kayfa: yañlış telaffuẓla böyle söylenegelmiş doġrusu: ḳahve

ḳırışmaḳ قيرشمق - Kırışmak: ḥayvānāt yekdigeriyle boynuz boynuza uruşmaḳ.

ḳırışḳan قيرشقان - Kırışkan: çoḳ uruşucu ve bu uruşmada māhir ḥayvān.

ḳavurġa قاوغه - Kavurğa: bir nevʿi yiyecek bizdeki çerez çıḳarmak uṣūlü gibi bunlar da gelen misāfire gideceklerine yaḳın -faḳaṭ gece- ḳuru üzüm leblebi ve cevīz gibi maḥallī şeyler çıḳararaḳ bunlarıñ berāberine ḳavurġa da bulundururlar, ki ṣūṣām -baʿżen buġday daḫi bulunur- ayrı ayrı ḳavurup hepsini ḳarıştırırlar. eger daḫā ziyāde külfet-i iḫtiyār olunursa ṣovuḳluḳ olaraḳ ḳavun çıḳarmaḳ da ʿadetlerindendir.

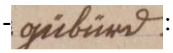
86. sayfa:

kölle كوله - Kölle: yerlileriñ ya kendileri çocuḳları için ve ez-cümle bir şeyʾ adayan kimse işiniñ ṣoñunda fuḳāraya öte beri vermesinden başḳa biʾl-ḫaṣṣā bunu yapıp ibtidāʿī mekteb çocuḳlarınıñ hepsine dağıtırlar. yalñız adama için degil bir ḫayır işlemek için de şunu yaparlar. mürekkeb olduğu şeyler: (mışır, buġday, noḫūd) ve baʿżen şunlara muḫaṣṣıl diger bir şey yaparlar yaʿnī içerisine şunlar gibi diger bir şey ḳarışdırırlar. ve bunu ʿādetā iyice ṣuyunu çekmeden ateşden alup öyle ṣulu ṣulu ṭuzla ekl ederler.

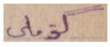
kendir كنديه - Kendir: bildigimiz kenevīr, ḳuş yemi: oralılarca ḳuş beslemek himāye hīç ʿādet olmayıp ḳuşa kenevīr vermezler bilʿakis kendileri bunu ḳavurġa (bu maddeye mürācaʿat) dedikleri şeyʾiñ içerisine ḳorlar ve yerler. orada kenevīre kendir dendigi gibi bu şehir ṭaraflarında da **çetene** Çetenen dedikleri meşhūrdur.

89. sayfa:

gen  -  : tīmārsız, evvelce baḳılmamış iken bi'l-āḫire ḥāli üzere terk olunup baḳılmayan meṣelā: gen baġ, ki çoḳ tīmārsız baġ maʿnāsınadır.

gübür  -  : süprüntü.

geri  -  : ḳañlı arabasında şaman ṭaşınacagı zamān, üzerine ve eṭrafına ḳonan şu  şekilde merdīven gibi ḳanat denen [ḳanad sözüne mürācaʿat] şeyʾiñ üzerine şamanın dökülmemesi için örtülen ḳıldan maʿmūl kilīm, çul.

gümlü  -  : bizim çömlek dedigimiz  ḳaptır ki gümlü derler.

92. sayfa:

şu ḥarfde başa gelemezken naşılsa sehven yazıldı.

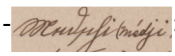
95. sayfa:

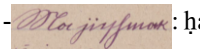
baş ṭarafa kāf-ı yayī olamazsa naşılsa sehven buraya tertīb olunur ki şu ḥarf ḳonmuştur.

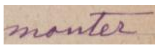
98. sayfa:

listir  -  : kevgīr, süzgeç.

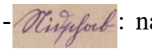
101. sayfa:

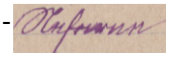
meci  -  : gelin olacaḳ için dikilecek eşyāyı öteki yerine tevzīʾ şūretiyle parasız dikdirmek uṣūlü ki aḳsām-ı meẕkūreniñ yerine mecī taʿbīr olunur.

mayışmaḳ  -  : ḥarāret veyā sāʾir bir sebeple ʿażalarıñ reḫāveti, vücūddaki gevşeklik, yaʿnī: gevşekleşmek.

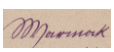
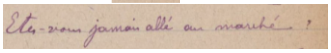
minmek  -  : binmek  bizim bāyı mīm ḥarfine çevirerek minmek derler.

104. sayfa:

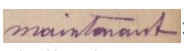
nacab  -  : naşıl maʿnāsına ne ʿaceb sözünden bozma: ne ʿaceb, ne aşıl şey gibi. bir de ne yapıyorsuñ maʿnāsına **nişleyoñ**! derler ki ne işliyorsuñ, ne yapıyorsuñ demektir.

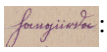
neferne  -  : ġarīb bir söz de şudur. baġlarda yazın üzümleri ṭoplayıp sergi zamānı maḥṣūṣ selelerine ḳoyup ḳurutup bildigimiz ḳuru üzüm yaparlar ṣoñra tekrār ikinci bir üzüm ṭopluyorlar ki āṣıl güzel o evvelki üzümler degil ʿādetā ḳoruḳ gibi ve cılız oluyorlar bundan pekmez yaparlar ki şu ṣoñraki zikr olunan üzüme neferne ıṭlāḳ ederler.

107. sayfa:

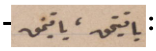
varmaḳ  -  : gitmek. hīç bazāra vardıñ mı? hīç çārşıya gitdiñ mi?  gibi.

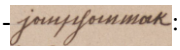
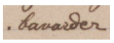
110. sayfa:

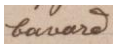
hindi  -  : -el-libās maḥal ḳalmamaḳ üzere nūn ḥarfinden evvel ye ʿilāve edilir. genç ḳadınlarıñ başlarına örttükleri beyāż ve gri renginden işlemeleleri bulunan tül gibi baş örtüsü. bir de  : maʿnāsına şimdi demeyip hindi derler: hindi gitceñ mi? gibi ki şimdi gidecek misiñ? yerine ḳullanılır.

hanġirde  -  : nerede? hangi yerde? sözünden maḫz olsa gerek!

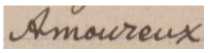
113. sayfa:

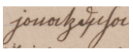
yaḳıtmak, yaḳınmaḳ -  **:** [ḥayvānāta] ṣulamaḳ, ṣulanmaḳ.

yañşanmaḳ  -  : gevezelik etmek, çoḳ söylemek. 

yañşaḳ  -  : geveze, çoḳ söyleyen, 

yeñili  **:** [telaffuẓu: yenni]  [] ḥafīf, az dirhem çeken. 

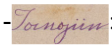
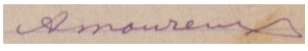
yanġın  **:** ʿāşıḳ 

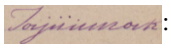
yöñeççe  -  : doġruca, güzelce maʿnāsına: meṣelā: şunu yöñeççe yapsaña; yöñeççe yürü.

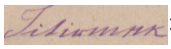
yalım  -  : ġālibā maʿnāsına edāttır. filān geliyor mu? suʿāle cevāben geliyo yalım! derler ki ġālibā geliyor demektir.

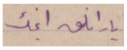
yumaḳ, yunmaḳ  **:** yıḳamaḳ, yıḳanmaḳ (māddiyātta nādiren maʿneviyātta ḳullanılır).

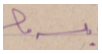
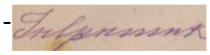
yozmaḳ  -  : yoz olmaḳ, bayaġı gelmek, yadırġamaḳ.

yanġın  -  : ʿāşıḳ 

yayınmaḳ  -  : bazār vesāʿirede pazar ḳurulduġu gün mālını teşhīr olaraḳ sermek.

yitirmek   : żāyiʿ etmek, yitmiş. żāyiʿ, ġāʿib olmaḳ.

yarānlıḳ etmek  -  : muṣāḥabet, mükāleme, muḥādara etmek.

yelsemek  -  : rüzgār ve havā alaraḳ meyveleriñ bozulması meṣelā: elma yaḫūd ceviz içi yelsemiş gibi.

yırılmak  -  : yırtılmaḳ maʿnāsına olup.

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War and Peace à la Japonaise Takarazuka Revue's Interpretation of Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida*

Maria Mihaela Grajdian[1]

Abstract

Based on more than two decades of on-site fieldwork comprised of extensive phenomenological experiences and detailed empiric inquiries with both producers and consumers of Japanese popular culture and, distinctively, of the Japanese all-female musical theater Takarazuka Revue Company's performances as well as of comprehensive archival literature research, this paper aims at hermeneutically elucidating the underlying mechanisms within the dramaturgic conglomerate, conveying and inspiring "change", both textually and contextually, as an inescapable force constantly pushing history forward, by means of critically investigating Takarazuka Revue's interpretation of Giuseppe Verdi's opera Aida (1871): while A Song for Kingdoms's initial version in 2003 emphasized the important of peace on the background of unprecedented public debates on the function of the "self-defense forces", its re-iteration in 2015 re-calibrated the narrative line by bringing into foreground the role played by individual choices and responsibility and following 2014's glamorous celebration of 100 years since Takarazuka Revue's foundation in 1914. The key-element in this endeavor is the redefinition of "war and peace" as solely two further parameters in the flow of historically driven "change" which itself is conceptualized as a self-aware choice, empowering the late-modern individual to dare powerful transformations as part of a greater whole, liberating him-/herself from the constraints of an existence in the shadows of mindless consumerism and "quiet desperation".

Keywords: Musical theater, opera, (re-)negotiation of modernity, late-modern hierarchies of values, human diversity.

1. Introduction: re-thinking the classics

Although we are living in times of tremendous change which occasionally supersedes by far our capability to adapt to continuously new technologies and realities, some things seem to stay forever the same: Emotions are typical examples for the human beings' resistance to rationally motivated evolution, partly because emotions are biologically ingrained in our survival instinct as a species. Emotions and our responses to them grant the human species survival at all costs through mechanisms of perception and processing which are located outside – below, above, in parallel – to the conscious, intellectual self. Moreover, more often

[1] Assoc. Prof. Dr., School of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Department of Integrated Global Studies, Hiroshima University, Japan, grajdian@hiroshima-u.ac.jp

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than not, survival of the species implies the sacrifice of the individual, sometimes to an unfathomable degree. Arts, particularly performative arts, confront us with the tragedy of individual sacrifice in the name of collective progress, transcending the time and space of historical-geographical determination. One such baffling case is the Italian opera *Aida* (1871) and its Japanese counterpart *A Song for Kingdoms* (2003, 2015).

The current paper observes critically Takarazuka Revue Company's 宝塚歌劇団 adaptation of Giuseppe Verdi's and Antonio Ghislanzoni's opera *Aida* (1871) with particular focus on the transformation of the tragedy into a drama of hope in Takarazuka Revue Company's re-iteration in 2003 and in 2015 as *A Song for Kingdoms* 『王家に捧ぐ歌』: While star troupe's 2003 version carries the subtle but powerful metamorphose of message from "peace is the highest and the most precious of ideals of all humans", cosmos troupe's re-make from 2015 conveys the main idea that "in order to attain and keep peace, there are times when war is necessary". In doing so, Takarazuka Revue Company's interpretation of *Aida* as *A Song for Kingdoms* re-evaluates the meaning of war and peace and their – suddenly – dialectic relationship. It is true that in times pf peace, political stability is achieved and economic prosperity follows (Bauman, 2004, Castells, 1998). At the same time, the weakening of the social bonds and the simmering feelings of discontent, resentment and envy underneath the surface of sociocultural harmony lead gradually to a general sense of ennui which, sooner rather than later, leads to open aggressiveness out of boredom and a general atmosphere of nothing really happening, of stagnation and eventually of decline accelerating into collapse (Miegel, 2007, p. 132; Bhabha, 2004; Dalio, 2021; Giddens, 2020). The 2003 version appealed to audiences' need for safety and security, exclusively focusing on peaceful cooperation and blissful togetherness, the 2015 version underscored the dangers of complacency and the illusions of self-sufficiency in a world plagued by scarcity, suffering and unstoppable armed conflicts. The solution proposed by Takarazuka Revue is one of pragmatic simplicity as well as fine-tuning to the international community with the simultaneous move towards a more proactive presence on the global stage.

Traditionally associated with strictly conservative gender politics and socio-economic hierarchies, military-like instruction methods and performance standards which transcend the wildest expectations while pushing the entertainment industry beyond the limitations of technological progress, fans' requirements and technokrats' visions, Takarazuka Revue 宝塚歌劇[2] has been accompanying Japan since its foundation in 1914 (Stickland, 2008; Watanabe, 1999; Yamanashi, 2012). Simultaneously a faithful mirror of Japanese society and a lucid barometer-like institution for the future, Takarazuka Revue's hallmark is its all-female cast impersonating both male (男役 *otokoyaku*) and female (娘役 *musumeyaku*) roles divided in five performing troupes which bring on the stages of the two major theaters in West-Japan (Takarazuka Grand Theater in the city of Takarazuka) and in East-Japan (Tokyo Takarazuka Theater in the posh district of Ginza in Japan's capital) during ten weekly performances throughout the entire year a huge diversity of topics covering all genres and historical-

[2] Takarazuka Revue is the mass-media phenomenon whereas Takarazuka Revue Company is the fiscal entity. Takarazuka Revue administrators did not possess a specific level of fiscal awareness before 1945 so that they changed the names of the institution several times in accordance with the political tendencies of the time.

geographical areas (Tsuganesawa, 1991; Watanabe, 2002).[3] These are embedded in theatrical live performances with Western popular music, laborious choreographies and impressing singing acts, luxurious stage designs, sparkling – and quickly changing – costumes compounded by discrete displays of individual excellence. Moreover, since 1974's blockbuster *The Rose of Versailles* 『ベルサイユのばら』, Takarazuka Revue has been essentially circumscribing the so-called *shôjo* culture (少女文化 *shôjo bunka*): the framework delineating femininity, feminine identity and feminine corporeality by means of instrumentalizing female teenagers within Japan's rapacious systems juxtaposing consumerism, sexuality and public discourses on love, marriage, reproduction (Kawasaki, 2005; Allison, 2013). In recent years, especially since the beginning of the new era in Japanese historiography in 2019 (the Reiwa period) and even more accelerated since the big reset posited by the global pandemic of 2020-2022, a tremendous paradigms shift has been occurring with a renewed focus on expanding the traditional business model centered around "deep fandom" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 36; Nehring, 1997), referring to a rigidly delineated fan community composed mainly of stay-at-home housewives and female financially powerful seniors, aged 35 and above, towards a more diverse consumers' basis to include male theater-goers of all ages, reflected in correspondingly diversified performances to encompass a greater variety of preferences, interests and ideals.

The current analysis consists of two main parts: the description and hermeneutic interpretation of *Aida* and *A Song of Kingdoms*. Essential departing points are the plot and the characters' construction which provide in both cases valuable insights into the structures of their respective eras in Italy and Egypt respectively Japan as well as into the potentialities of their creative re-consideration. In the *Conclusion*, a brief comparative approach is pursued which brings into the spotlight the necessity of reinvigorating the classics through the prism of the cultural consumption industry. Furthermore, some inquiries into the future of such performances are rhetorically addressed with the intent to revive the curiosity of both producers and consumers of live performances, regardless of representational medium. Based on more than two decades of on-site fieldwork comprised of extensive phenomenological experiences and detailed empiric inquiries with both producers and consumers of Japanese popular culture and, distinctively, of Takarazuka Revue's releases as well as comprehensive archival literature research, this paper aims at hermeneutically elucidating the two performances' mechanisms of confronting audiences with uncomfortable historical reconstructions while offering credible visions of a future based on universal values of (healthy) self-love, compassion and mutual respect: the very fact that these values are taken for granted by late-modern social participants leads to them being jeopardized in populist discourses on "the greater good", "pastoral premodernity", "technological evil". Therefore, raising awareness of their historical perishability functions as a sustainable counter-force to current global efforts employed in the dissolution of modernity and its accomplishments towards their replacement with new forms of autocracy, totalitarianism and oppression. As to be shown further below, both *Aida* and *A Song for Kingdoms* tap into the humans' emotional turmoils since time immemorial and reveal within similar dramaturgic logic and architectural

[3] Since 1919, the exclusive, very competitive two-years Takarazuka Music School (宝塚音楽学校 *Takarazuka Ongaku Gakkô*) delivers yearly 40 (female) graduates who join the team of ca. 350 actresses performing on Takarazuka Revue's stage. Similarly to Takarazuka Revue (Company), Takarazuka Music School changed its official denomination several times since its inception. The current name dates back to 1946.

design, two different ways to cope with life's challenges: peaceful acceptance of the inevitable and/or hopeful vision of a better future.

2. The universalization of music and emotions: Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida* (1871)

World-premiered in Cairo on Christmas Eve (24. December) of 1871 at Khedivial Opera House,[4] which had also commissioned its mise-en-scène, in a performance led by the Italian Romantic composer, conductor and double-bass virtuoso Giovanni Bottesini (1821-1889), *Aida* (or *Aïda*) is a tragic opera in four acts composed by the Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) on a libretto in the Italian language by the Italian journalist, poet and novelist Antonio Ghislanzoni (1824-1893). Set in the Old Kingdom of Egypt, the work has been holding ever since a central place in the operatic canon, receiving several performances every year around the world; e.g., at New York's Metropolitan Opera alone, *Aida* has been staged more than 1,200 times since 1886 (Parker, 1998; Parker, 2007).[5] Ghislanzoni's plot scheme follows a scenario often attributed to the French Egyptologist August Mariette (1821-1881), a fact contested by Verdi biographer Mary Jane Phillips-Marz who argues that the actual source was the Italian opera composer and librettist Temistocle Solera (1815-1878; Budden, 1984; Loewenberg, 1978).

Isma'il Pasha (1830-1895), also known as Ismail the Magnificent, the Khedive ('viceroy') of Egypt and ruler of Sudan from 1863 to 1879, when he was removed at the behest of Great Britain and France, who had greatly modernized Egypt and Sudan during his reign investing heavily in industrial and economic development, urbanization and the expansion of the

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[4] The Khedivial Opera House or Royal Opera House was an opera house in Cairo, Egypt, the oldest opera house in entire Africa. It was inaugurated on 1. November 1869 and it burned down on 28. October 1971. It was built on the orders of the Isma'il Pasha, the Khedive (viceroy) at the time, to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal, by commissioning the Italian architect Pietro Avoscani (1816-1891) to design the building. It seated approximately 850 people and was made mostly of wood. Verdi's opera *Rigoletto* was the first opera performed at the opera house on 1. November 1869 instead of the grander exhibition planned by Isma'il for the opening, which included the world-premiere of Verdi's new opera *Aida* set in the Old Kingdom of Egypt and commissioned for this very particular occasion, but after months of delay due to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the Khedivial Opera House opened with *Rigoletto* and *Aida* received its world-premiere on its stage on 24. December 1871. In the early morning hours of 28. October 1971, the opera house burned to the ground, with only two statues made by Mohamed Hassan (1892-1961) surviving (De Van, 1998, 68). After the original opera house was destroyed, Cairo did not have an opera house for nearly two decades until the opening of the new Cairo Opera House in 1988. The site of the Khedivial Opera House has been rebuilt into a multi-story concrete car garage. The square (to the south of Al Ataba metro station) overlooking the building's location is still called Opera Square (Meidan El Opera; see Kimbell and Holden, 2001).

[5] Throughout the decades, several popular adaptations for larger audiences emerged: e.g., the 1952 Broadway musical *My Darlin' Aida*, set on a plantation in Tennessee in the first year of the American Civil War, is based on the opera and uses Verdi's music with lyrics by Charles Friedman; the 1953 Italian movie version which starred Lois Maxwell as Amneris and Sophia Loren as Aida, and the 1987 Swedish production: in both cases, the lead actors lip-synched to recordings by actual opera singers. In the case of the 1953 movie, Ebe Stignani sang as Amneris and Renata Tebaldi sang as Aida. The opera's story, but not its music, was used as the basis for a 1998 eponymous musical with music by Elton John on lyrics by Tim Rice. Moreover, the opera has been portrayed in the 2001 Italian musical adventure fantasy animated movie *Aida of the Trees* (*Aida degli alberi*) written and directed by Guido Manuli on a soudtrack by Ennio Morricone: the characters are seen as anthropomorphic creatures between the fictional kingdoms of Alborea and Petra as the star-crossed lovers must find a way to unify their worlds while facing off against the evil high priest Ramfis (Parker, 1998, Parker, 2007).

country's geographical borders in Africa, commissioned Verdi to write an opera to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal and the inauguration of the Khedivial Opera House or Royal Opera House on 1. November 1869, which Verdi declined. Eventually, he agreed for a hefty honorary (Phillips-Matz, 1993, p. 121). However, because the scenery and costumes were stuck for months in the French capital during the Siege of Paris (1870-1871) of the ongoing Franco-Prussian War, the premiere was delayed and Verdi's *Rigoletto* was performed instead for the official inauguration, with *Aida* being finally world-premiered on 24. December 1871 (Pistone, 1995, p. 73). *Aida* met with great acclaim: the costumes and accessories for the world-premiere were designed by August Mariette, who also oversaw the design and construction of the sets, which were made in Paris by the Paris Opéra's stage painters Auguste-Alfred Rubé and Philippe Chaperon (acts 1 and 4) and Édouard Desplechin and Jean-Baptiste Lavastre (acts 2 and 3), all of them famous specialists of their time, and shipped to Cairo (Pistone, 1995, p. 82; Simon, 1946; Toye, 1931). The Italian (and European) premiere followed at La Scala in Milan on 8. February 1872, and involved Verdi heavily at every phase of the production (Martin, 1963, p. 59; Phillips-Matz, 1993, p. 21; Pistone, 1995, p. 154).

Throughout the four acts, *Aida* follows the intertwined destinies of several main characters whose vocal distribution follow the prevailing conventions of the time in their *a priori* depiction: Aida, an Ethiopian princess (soprano), Radames, captain of the guard (tenor), Amneris, daughter of the Pharaoh (mezzo-soprano or alto), the Pharaoh of Egypt (bass), Amonasro, king of Ethiopia (baritone). The libretto does not mention a precise time period, so it is difficult to place the opera more specifically than the Old Kingdom (ca. 2700-2200 BC). For the first production, Mariette went to great efforts to make the sets and costumes authentic. Taking into consideration the consistent artistic styles throughout the 3000-year history of ancient Egypt, a given production does not particularly need to choose an exact time period within the larger frame of ancient Egyptian history. The back-story of the synopsis reveals that the Egyptians have captured and enslaved Aida, an Ethiopian princess, with whom an Egyptian military commander, Radames, is deeply in love; therefore, he struggles to choose between his emotions towards her and his loyalty to the Pharaoh, the King of Egypt. To additionally complicate the narrative line, the Pharaoh's daughter Amneris is in love with Radames, although he does not return her feelings.

The opera starts with Ramfis, the high priest of Egypt, telling Radames, the young warrior, that war with the Ethiopians seems inevitable, and Radames expresses his hopes that he will be chosen as the Egyptian commander. Radames dreams both of gaining victory on the battlefield and of Aida, an Ethiopian slave, with whom he is secretly in love. Aida, who is also secretly in love with Radames, is the captured daughter of the Ethiopian king Amonasro, but her Egyptian captors are unaware of her true identity. Her father has invaded Egypt to deliver her from servitude. Amneris, the daughter of the Pharaoh, the Egyptian king, who also loves Radames but fears that his heart belongs to someone else, enters the hall. When Aida appears and Radames seems disturbed by her presence, Amneris starts to suspect that Aida could be her rival, but is able to hide her jealousy and approach Aida. Alone in the hall, Aida feels torn between her love for her father, her country, and Radames. The second act starts with dances and music to celebrate Radames' victory: Amneris is still in doubt about Radames' love and wonders whether Aida is in love with him, but she tries to forget her doubt, entertaining her worried heart with the dance of Moorish slaves. When Aida enters the chamber, Amneris asks everyone to leave. By falsely telling Aida that Radames has died in the battle, she tricks her

into professing her love for him. In grief, and shocked by the news, Aida confesses that her heart belongs to Radames eternally. This confession fires Amneris with rage, and she plans on taking revenge on Aida, while Radames returns victorious and the troops march into the city. The Pharaoh decrees that on this day the triumphant Radames may have anything he wishes. Claiming the reward promised by the Pharaoh, Radames pleads with him to spare the lives of the prisoners and to set them free. The king grants Radames' wish, and declares that he (Radames) will be his (the Pharaoh's) successor and will marry his daughter (Amneris). At Ramfis' suggestion to the Pharaoh, Aida, Amonasro and other hostages are kept in Egypt to ensure that the Ethiopians do not avenge their defeat.

The third act begins with public prayers on the eve of Amneris and Radames' wedding in the Temple of Isis. Outside the temple, Aida waits to meet with Radames as they had planned, but Amonasro appears and orders Aida to find out the location of the Egyptian army from Radames. Aida, torn between her love for Radames and her loyalty to her native land and to her father, reluctantly agrees and when Radames arrives, Amonasro hides behind a rock and listens to their conversation. Radames affirms that he will marry Aida and Aida convinces him to flee to the desert with her; when Radames makes further plans, he inadvertently discloses the location where his army has chosen to attack. Upon hearing this, Amonasro comes out of hiding and reveals his identity, which leads to Radames realizing, to his extreme dismay, that he has unwittingly revealed a crucial military secret to the enemy. At the same time, Amneris and Ramfis leave the temple and, seeing Radames in conference with the enemy, call for the imperial guards. Amonasro draws a dagger, intending to kill Amneris and Ramfis before the guards can hear them, but Radames disarms him, quickly orders him to flee with Aida, and surrenders himself to the imperial guards as Aida and Amonasro run off. The guards arrest him as a traitor. The fourth act sets off with Amneris desires to save Radames by asking him to deny the accusations, but Radames, who does not wish to live without Aida, refuses. He is relieved to know Aida is still alive and hopes she has reached her own country. Off-stage, Ramfis recites the charges against Radames and calls on him to defend himself, but he stands mute, and is condemned to death as a traitor. Amneris, who remains on-stage, protests that Radames is innocent, and pleads with the priests to show mercy, but the priests sentence him to be buried alive; Amneris weeps and curses the priests as he is taken away. Radames has been brought into the lower floor of the temple and sealed up in a dark vault, where he thinks that he is alone. As he expresses his hopes that Aida is in a safer place, he hears a sigh and then sees Aida. She has hidden herself in the vault in order to die with Radames. They accept their terrible fate and bid farewell to Earth and its sorrows. Above the vault in the temple of Ptah, Amneris weeps and prays to the goddess Isis. In the vault below, Aida dies in Radames' arms as the priests, off-stage, pray to the god Ptah.

While heavy in orientalist elements submitting to the highly romanticized vision of non-European cultures with the simultaneous attempt to faithfully reproduce the respective era in visual and musical rendition, *Aida* brings into the foreground the inescapable internal struggles of the protagonists on the background of unforgiving historical circumstances. The focus lies on the characters' construction and their relatable, emotionally charged manifestation on-stage so that audiences can experience katharsis as the *sine qua non* goal of artistic representations, regardless of medium. By tapping into the universality of human emotions with their raw expression in moments of uncontrollability and their transcendence in the face of all-encompassing death, *Aida* allows for the transition towards more realist depiction of the

human nature on-stage, which would come to full fruition in the first half of the 20th century. Like in classical tragedies, *Aida* is a stark reminder until today of the all-consuming supremacy of emotions despite centuries of Renaissance-driven Enlightenment and the apparent domination of rationality.

3. Pacifist ideologies: Takarazuka Revue's *A Song for Kingdoms*

When it was world-premiered in 2003, *A Song for Kingdoms* reflected the turmoils of the time: economically, Japan was still recovering from the "lost decade" while trying to cope with the global realities of the early 21st century. Politically, and probably most relevantly, the year 2003 promised to be(come) a difficult turning-point for Japan as political tensions had arisen due to the US pressure to send segments of the "self-defense [military] forces" 自衛隊 overseas in support of the UN military missions in Iraq, increasingly dividing a population famously regarded by outsiders and perceived by itself as a reputed monolith (Benesch, 2014; Sugimoto, 2013). The public debate, energetically fueled by mass-media on all levels, ended with the victory of those few vigorously promoting the deployment of Japanese troops to Iraq – which were officially promised on 9. December 2003 by then-prime minister Koizumi Jun'ichirô 小泉純一郎 "for reconstruction efforts" – and despite the overwhelming opposition of a vast majority of the population throughout the nationally negotiated process of reinterpreting the postwar constitution to employ the *jieitai* 自衛隊 exclusively for "self-defense", as the denomination itself asserts. On the other hand, Japanese everyday culture had started to be increasingly appreciated internationally, with repeated waves of Soft Power affecting gradually larger segments of the global population, specifically in wealthy nations alongside the entire socioeconomic spectrum.

Staged at Takarazuka Grand Theater in Takarazuka from 11. July 2003 until 18. August 2003 and at Tokyo Takarazuka Theater in Japan's capital from 19. September 2003 until 3. November 2003, star troupe's *A Song for Kingdoms* takes over the political upheaval of the stress-ratio between the past and the future and their efficient reflection in the present while bringing into the spotlight the phenomenon of war as a calamity to be kept at bay in the character of Radames, the young officer in the Egyptian army. Based on Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Aida* from 1871, the plot-line was adapted by the experienced Takarazuka Revue's in-house director Kimura Shinji 木村 信司 (Kawasaki, 2005, p. 99). Star troupe's topstar-*otokoyaku* Kozuki Wataru 湖月 わたる, one of the cult-*otokoyaku* in recent decades, delivered a Radames' warrior figure keen on peace, fully aware that wars bring only misery and loss of human lives. In tune with star troupe's public image, 2003's *A Song for Kingdoms*'s almost obtrusive appeal to preserve peace at any cost and to avoid war was at the time clearly politically motivated (Hashimoto, 1999, pp. 43-51; Hori, 2018, p. 96; Robertson 1998 p. 84; Nehring, 1997, p. 64; Sakai, 2022, p. 153).[6] Indeed, star troupe (星組 *hoshi-gumi*), which was founded in 1933, the same year as the

[6] Apart from star troupe and cosmos troupe discussed in this paper, there are three further troupes actively staging within Takarazuka Revue Company, each with its specific public image: Flower troupe 花組 was formed in 1921 and is largely perceived as the most treasured of the five ensembles, with larger budgets and more lavish stage and costume designs as well as more powerful and impactful performances. Founded in the same year as flower troupe, 1921, moon troupe 月組 was mainly the one to push forward the performance strategy when it

original Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre was inaugurated, but was banned from performing between 1939 and 1946, is famous for casting strong, charismatic *otokoyaku* performers (such as Wataru Kozuki 2003-2006 and Reon Yuzuki 2009-2015) in impactful performances with memorable messages thus, the 2003 version focused intensely on the romantic trio between Radames, Amneris, the Pharaoh's daughter enacted by topstar-*musumeyaku* Dan Rei 檀 れい, and Aida, the Ethiopian slave eventually revealed to be the princess of Ethiopia, embodied by secondary-topstar *otokoyaku* Aran Kei 安蘭けい: therefore, the human drama is highlighted rather than the phenomenon of war itself which inconspicuously slides into the background. Like Verdi's *Aida*, *A Song for Kingdoms* transcends its political message into a human tragedy with its universal motifs of betrayal, star-crossed lovers and ultimate sacrifice.

When *A Song for Kingdoms* was re-staged in 2015 (from 5. June 2015 until 13. July 2015 at Takarazuka Grand Theater in Takarazuka and from 31. July 2015 until 30. August 2015 at Tokyo Takarazuka Theater) by cosmos troupe (宙組 *sora-gumi*) – grounded in 1998 and associated with progressive plots, often conveying pilot-projects in attempts to test audiences' boundaries –, the war-related dimension of the performance's message changed radically though subtly, from the imperative commandment to preserve and protect peace in the name of the human right to a life of dignity in freedom to the open acknowledgment that war might be at times necessary for restoring peace (Eagleton, 2003). Radames was enacted by topstar-*otokoyaku* Asaka Manato 朝夏 まなと who generally portrayed warm-hearted masculine characters, so that her version of Radames emanated a sense of compassion and vulnerability, and in combination with topstar-*musumeyaku* Misaki Rion's 実咲 凛音 Aida, the focus shifted towards the impossible choices leaders have to face and the heavy responsibilities which come with their privileged position: While war cannot be avoided, good leaders can make it short and less destructive.

Perhaps the most indicative of this focus on war and peace rather than the human love triangle is *A Song for Kingdoms*' main song 'The World I Am Dreaming of' or "My Request to the World" (「世界に求む」 *Sekai ni motomu*) at the end of the performance in both versions: buried alive as the capital punishment for his apparent betrayal which had led to Pharaoh's assassination by Aida's brother and his acolytes despite Amneris' one-sided love towards him and despair to save him, Radames finds Aida in the tomb's darkness, who has decided to follow him in the netherworld. Together, they pray for peace and understanding among

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staged the world premieres of *Mon Paris* (『モン・パリ：和が巴里よ』, 1927), *The Rose of Versailles* (『ベルサイユのばら』, 1974) and *Gone with the Wind* (『風と共に去りぬ』, 1977). Unlike flower troupe, which is largely perceived as the most treasured of the five ensembles, with larger budgets and more lavish stage and costume designs as well as more powerful and impactful performances, moon troupe pays meticulous attention to group performances and in particular to energetic expression in chorus singing as well as numerous adaptations from Western sources. Inaugurated in 1924, simultaneously with the opening of the first Takarazuka Grand Theatre, snow troupe 雪組 is considered the upholder of traditional dance and opera for the whole company and has the slight reputation of being the vanguard of classical Japanese drama; when it takes over Western material, such as Japan premiere in 1996 the 1992's Vienna-original musical *Elisabeth: The Rondo of Love and Death* 『エリザベート：愛と死の輪舞（ロンド）』, which would turn into one of Takarazuka Revue's long-term blockbusters, it adds symbolical underpinnings, with 'appropriation' and 'Japanisation' being among the main preoccupations and/or insinuations (Hashimoto, 1999, 43-51, Hori, 2018, 96, Robertson 1998: 84; see Nehring, 1997, 64; Sakai, 2022, 153).

humans, even though this might seem impossible in the moment, as a ray of hope for the future (Fromm, 1956; Giddens, 1993; Kristeva, 1989). Two elements seem important in this approach to manifesting peace in the world: firstly, the idea of mutual forgiveness; secondly, the concept of individual responsibility as individual choices we are facing continuously. Hence, on the one hand, it appears crucial to learn to move on from past grievances and to let go of things one cannot control – in this case, the fact that neither Radames nor Aida cannot bring forth any amendments to the fact that they are deemed to die a gruesome death even if they did their best to live a moral life and were betrayed by those they have trusted the most intimately (Bauman, 2003; Anderson, 1988). On the other hand, each of them is painfully aware that they could have made different decisions which would, most probably, have led to a different outcome than their current ordeal: Aida could have not given in to her father's pressure to pull state secrets out of Radames and Radames himself could have simply followed the Pharaoh's and Amneris' requests to enter their family through marriage and give up his dreams of a peaceful togetherness with enemy states. Nonetheless, the past is not something to ponder upon. By moving together into death, their only hope is that future generations will learn the lesson so that their sacrifice is not in vain.

この世に平和を！	Peace in the world!
この地上に輝きを	Light on earth!
人みな　あふれる太陽あび	May the overflowing sun give us smiles
微笑んで暮らせるように！	So that we can keep on living.
戦いに終わりを！	May the fighting end!
この地上に喜びを	Joy on earth!
人みな　ひとしく認めあって	We recognize each other as equals
お互いを許せるように！	And can forgive each other.
たとえ今は	Even if this seems now like a dream
夢のように思えても	I put my life on line
この身を捧げて	That such a world
そんな世界をいつかきっと！	Will certainly exist in the future.
祈ろう明日を	Let's pray for tomorrow!
この地上にこそ希望を	Let's pray for hope on earth!
人みな　時代から時代へと	Everyone across times,
誇らしく語れるように！	So that we can talk with pride about it!
そんな世界を私は求めてゆく！	I am yearning for such a world!

そんな世界を私は求めてゆく！ I am yearning for such a world!

Interestingly, in Takarazuka Revue's version, Amneris' promise on the surface of the tomb that there will be no war anymore so that nobody experience her pain in losing someone dear, is a subtle shift from Giuseppe Verdi's opera, in which Amneris simply decries Radames' death and prays to the goddess Isis on the background of the priests' chorus who, offstage, pray to the god Ptah ("Immenso Ftha" or "Almighty Ptah"). Thus, while Verdi's and Ghislanzoni's opera *Aida* is a tragedy in classical tradition with a direct sense of catharsis to be extracted form events on-stage which would subsequently deliver to audiences the direction of their educational redemption (Martin, 1963, p. 128; Phillips-Matz, 1993, p. 185), Takarazuka Revue's *A Song for Kingdoms* complies with prevailing conventions in products of popular culture and promptly showcases the course of significance and understanding to consumers. In *Aida*, death is the ultimate end, the final outcome of specific decisions taken by individuals and their concatenation in a clearly defined framework. In *A Song for Kingdoms*, death contains the hope of lessons to be conveyed to future generations by a single choice made by an individual in the aftermath of the tragedy: Amneris' vow to end war and to think of the world yet to come instead of pursuing revenge and therefore perpetuating meaningless suffering. Nonetheless, the replacement of the first line of 2003's title song "Peace in the world!" (「この世に平和を！」) with 2015's "To those we love" (「愛する人よ！」), otherwise identical, and of the word "peace" (平和 *heiwa*) with "tomorrow" (明日 *ashita*) in Amneris' final interjection, underscores the discreet yet profound shift from a peace-oriented mindset towards a victory-driven vision of the future.

The employment of cosmos troupe brought firmly to light 2015's version of *A Song for Kingdoms* as revolutionary in its approach to war and more particularly in highlighting Takarazuka Revue's re-calibrating asymmetries towards the representation of war since 1945: from absolute pacifism towards geopolitical pragmatism. Usually associated with a non-conformist allure, breaking prevailing standards in Takarazuka Revue's tradition, the engagement of cosmos troupe strikes in audiences' perception a chord of experimental, explorative exuberance. Founded in 1998, the cosmos troupe is the youngest among the five ensembles of the Takarazuka Revue Company; in comparison to other troupes, the cosmos troupe is regarded as less bound to any sort of image Takarazuka Revue – as a socio-economic or cultural phenomenon – might have established. Thus, cosmos troupe's restaging of such an equivocal performance as *A Song for Kingdoms* suggests Takarazuka Revue's administrators' self-awareness of its fundamental role in conveying specific messages to – and therefore, discreetly, educating – its (primarily) Japanese (primarily) female audiences in relation to the future and its fallacies as well as to their roles as mothers and wives in building up that very future. Like in the initial 2003 version, Radames believes in peace, in political stability and economic prosperity resulting from peace, and promotes it open-heartedly (Yamanashi 2012, p. 151; Iwahori 1972). Nevertheless, Aida's inadvertent betrayal is less motivated by patriotism and rather by the yearning for love and emotional fulfilment, as is Amneris' final nemesis, when she pledges to care for the future not so much out of concern for the population she is in charge with after her father's assassination, but due to the immense pain she must endure when confronting with Radames' involuntary act of treason and his consequent sentencing to death penalty. Once again, there are human destinies underlying impossible choices and as

such reflecting the conflicting loyalties of average citizens in the here-and-now of the Japanese everyday realities, paving the pathway, in the long run, towards a slightly updated alternative to Takarazuka Revue's founder Kobayashi Ichizô's (小林一三, 1873–1957) ideal of it being a theater for the average people and representing them, their dreams and their longings (Kobayashi 1955, p. 36-41; Kawasaki 1999): empowered by cosmos troupe's symbolical position as the carrier of Takarazuka Revue's most progressive contents, the theatrical medium 'Takarazuka Revue' turns once again into an instrument of reflecting, promoting, propagating, implementing, and therefore providing alternative role-models and existential paradigms to audiences within the neo-liberal undercurrents crisscrossing Japan's public discourse by mid-2010s – (in)famous for its increasingly conservative tendencies (Leheny, 2018, p. 121). While 2003's *A Song for Kingdoms* brought forth characters with almost mythological valences, turning increasingly into archetypes and clearly distancing themselves from the warmth, familiarity, memorability, relatability as well as shared humanity which distinguish regular *dramatis personae* on Takarazuka Revue's stage, 2015's *A Song for Kingdoms* metamorphosed them back into classical heroes and heroines, with whom audiences can easily identify in their – individual – quest for fulfilment, validation and empathic resonance. This appears as a bold move in an era of low-key progression towards conservative reformulations of history focused on collectivist leveling, motivated by economic-political endeavors.

More than any performance of the year 2015 but building upon Takarazuka Revue's public image of flamboyant orchestrations of collective cooperation and corporate excellence stemming from individual commitment, hard-work and perseverence,[7] *A Song for Kingdoms* lays the subliminal premises for the *wakon wasai* (和魂和才, 'Japanese spirit/roots, Japanese technology/knowledge') strategy, with friendship 友愛 and kindness 優しさ as core parameters of a new paradigm of humanity, which transcends the (Western) modernity project, emulated by Meiji technocrats into the *wakon yôsai* (和魂洋才, 'Japanese spirit/roots, Western technology/knowledge') slogan, which in its turn had been the mid-19th century version of the premodern *wakon kansai* (和魂漢才, 'Japanese spirit/roots, Chinese technology/knowledge'; (Mason & Caiger, 1979, p. 236; McClain, 2002, p. 138; Howland, 2001; Havens, 1970). Nonetheless, unlike the (Western) modernity project, based on efficiency and competitiveness and prioritizing economic growth and technological progress over political stability and social cohesion, the Japanese solution brings into foreground cooperation and compassion as sociocultural parameters, compounded by integrity and harmony as tools to attain and keep peace, both within nations and, more importantly, among nations. 2003's

[7] The year 2015 was an important year in Takarazuka Revue's more-than-centennial history, with three out of the yearly nine performances orchestrating major paradigm shifts in its representation strategy, after 2014's lavish celebrations of its centennial history. The first such pivotal performance was *1789: The Lovers of Bastille* (『1789：バスティユーの恋人たち』, moon troupe), the Japanese adaption of the French rock-opera *1789: Les Amants de la Bastille*, world-premiered in 2012 at Palais des sports de Paris, which manifests a decisive U-turn from the blockbuster *The Rose of Versailles* (1974) which had determined Takarazuka Revue's public image – and self-orchestration – as a fundamental part of the *shôjo* culture since mid-1970s. The second performance was *A Song for Kingdoms*. The third performance was *The Night When the Stars Met* (『星逢一夜』, snow troupe): it is an essential deconstruction of the Edo rhetoric and the *bushidô* (武士道, "the way of the warrior/samurai") ideology presented as deeply toxic through the focus on a star-crossed love story on the tragic background of three children's friendship.

A Song for Kingdoms clung to past premises of unconditional pacificism regardless of historical realities and geographically motivated tensions. 2015's *A Song for Kingdoms* suggested a more pragmatic approach to present-day challenges implying the proactive involvement into real-time history and, thus, a (more) resolute position on the political spectrum within the global community. This advocacy for a clear stance in international politics originates in the obvious necessity to confront one's own past and to address national traumas as part of a healing journey postponed for long decades – with the very decisive farewell from repressing historical responsibility and the self-aware involvement in the present.

4. Conclusion: late-modern challenges to global ideals

Giusepe Verdi's *Aida* corresponded to the orientalist, romanticized vision of non-European cultures prevalent at the time of its premieres both in Egypt and in Milan: by depicting the raw unraveling of human emotions on-stage, it possibly created a subliminal sense of familiarity between times and spaces, on the one hand, and it opened the pathway towards a more realist expression of characters by artistic means, on the other hand. The love triangle served as the premise for the plot development and its tragic denouement aimed at mediating cathartic experiences while preserving the canon of live representation. Takarazuka Revue's *A Song for Kingdoms* moves beyond the human tragedy into the realm of universal yearnings and employs the display of human emotions as the foundation for historical events which transcend the limitations of individual existence. Aida, Radames or Amneris are far more than simple characters involved in their all-too-common mechanisms of unrequited respectively forbidden love: they slowly metamorphose into human archetypes on their way towards absolution with precise functions within the convulsions of history. Eventually, Radames' uncompromising attitude leads him to inspiring Amneris to envision a world of peace while Aida willingly joins him in death. This is not a tragedy anymore; this is a human drama with three individuals making very distinct choices, fully self-aware of the consequences of those very choices and diligently taking responsibility for them. In Verdi's and Ghislanzoni's *Aida*, humans were victims of their surroundings, and the tragedy resulted from the obligation to submit to circumstances over which one had no control whatsoever. In Takarazuka Revue's *A Song for Kingdoms*, humans are faced with impossible choices, but they make them nonetheless and then stand behind them: war – or peace – are simply consequences of one's decisions, not random events of history. Ultimately, regardless of how hopeless any situation might appear, there are lesson to be learnt and new trajectories for the future to be drawn.

Interestingly, Takarazuka Revue's *A Song for Kingdoms* pushes forward the ideology of peace as the goal of the entire humankind. The 2003 version orchestrated it as an absolute truth; the 2015 version elaborated it into a further precondition of our survival as a species, but underscored at the same time the importance of peace as a conscious decision, not as a state imposed by means of authority and power – which would transform it into yet another form of evil, oppression, dictatorial hegemony. Peace as a phenomenon as well as peace as an understanding of the world stems from peace as an individual choice in the midst of the multitude of existential choices made on a daily basis. It is in this form of self-aware peace that, potentially, collective and even planetary peace can be achieved: towards a genuinely enlightened species which has come to terms with its own mortality, fallibility and ephemerality while paying its own tributes to the universality of cosmic returns. One might argue, indeed,

that Takarazuka Revue's version of *Aida* transcends its orientalism into a millennial *memento* of humanity's attempts to conceptualize itself as part of a greater whole, with peace and war simply being two further elements on the canvas of historical determinism.

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An Enquiry into the Processes of Ethno-Religious Gaslighting in Nigeria

Patrick Agbedejobi[1]

Abstract

Systemic covert and overt inherent ethno-religious structures remain deeply entrenched in the ideological configuration of the Nigerian state. I argue that the process of ethnic and religious gaslighting encompassing pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial socio-economic, cultural and political relations between the ruled and the rulers have had a pathologising impact, the roots of which are deeply entrenched in historical relations of class struggle and failed multiculturalism. This paper presents a path dependency framework for comprehending how ethnic and religious markers are sustained through process tracing, which generates a causal mechanism of contemporary socio-political relations and the importance of ethno-religious gaslighting in Nigeria. The paper offers a theoretically driven discussion which examines two questions: (1) What is ethno-religious gaslighting? (2) How are ethno-religious structures sustained and maintained?

Keywords: Gaslighting, hegemony, ethnicity, religion, democracy, colonialism, post-colonialism, Nigeria.

Introduction

The concept of gaslighting originated from Patrick Hamilton's 1928 play, *Gas Light* (known as *Angel Street* in the US). The plot revolves around a husband's attempt to convince his wife that she is insane, so that he can gain access to her inherited jewels.

Beerbohm and Davis (2021, p. 869) depict gaslighting as an effort to change the victim's worldview or perspective or to cause them to doubt epistemic evidence. They further opine that political gaslighting affects the worldview of citizens by diminishing confidence in beliefs or epistemic evidence. Thus, from a post-colonial perspective, colonial powers subjugated their subjects with mind manipulation by introducing them to a superior culture, to a "modern or a new worldview" and by forcefully rewriting certain institutions and belief systems (Falola, 2021, pp. 3–24). This occurred over time through first contact, the transatlantic slave trade, post-1884 conference mapping, anthropological analysis of colonial subjects and the enforcement of colonial dominance (Falola, 2021).

Succinctly, gaslighting indicates the deprivation or loss of something by one party to the advantage of another. Agbedejobi (2021) and Rietdijk (2021) depict political gaslighting as an

[1] M.A. Independent Researcher, Germany, patreader82@hotmail.co.uk

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attempt to disorientate and destabilise epistemic truth or reality through symbolic buffoonery, speech acts, dialectical relational tensions and incessant rhetoric or discourses that fuel hegemony and control over victims.

Morrock (1973, pp. 129–130) argues, retrospectively, that British colonialism utilised an ethno-religious gaslighting scheme based on three major strategies. The first was based on the settlement of large populations of colonialists at the centre of power among Indigenous peoples. The second was the practice of bribery and corruption to gain the support of Indigenous elites which, according to Osaghae (1991, p. 28), included giving dictatorial powers to local chiefs, warrant chiefs, emirs and kings to instil conformity to the colonialist plan. The third were divide and rule policies that created the administrative and political bases for hegemonic colonial rule. Morrock (1973, p. 129) defines the latter as "the conscious effort by an imperialist power to exploit the existence of cultural, ethnic, tribal, linguistic, religious difference among the Indigenous people or conquered colony."

"Conscious effort" is the critical phrase here, which deserves further deconstruction. It denotes an active action comprising the foremost path – the mode of conquest (predominantly force), followed by the power to frame, rewrite or replace aspects of Indigenous culture, traditions or religions deemed 'inferior' by the coloniser. Thus, existing traditions or cultures was replaced through the use of force and acts of rewriting and replacing.

A further internal examination of conquered colonies of Indigenous peoples is crucial.

From this perspective, it should be noted that certain colonial governors approved anthropological investigations that would optimise the divide and rule policy to the advantage of the imperial authority (Loomba, 1998; Lewis, 1973; Busia, 1967). Within this system, anthropological research built on the assumption that existing Indigenous structures were inferior to equivalent European structures, thereby bolstering the claim for the need of modernisation (Falola 2021, p. 29–33). Morrock (1973, p. 130) further elaborates on how divide and rule strategies were implemented. Tactics included the creation, amplification and exploitation of differences among subjects and a politicisation of those differences that has extended well beyond the colonial era. These tactics were successfully utilised and upheld in post-colonial institutions. It begs the question- how do such stubborn structures outlive the colonial era to forge stronger, deeper and unparalleled impacts?

Conceptual framework

Scholars of psychoanalysis describe gaslighting as a transfer of psychic conflicts from the perpetrator to the victim or, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the act of manipulating someone through psychological means into doubting their own sanity. In the social sciences, the concept has evolved with diverse connotations over time. In psychology, it represents an individual's efforts to destabilise another's confidence and reality by manipulating the victim to question their judgement and sanity (Haider, 2019). In family therapy, gaslighting is a situation in which one partner attempts to control the other. A typical example is a promiscuous individual who tells their partner that their perception of inappropriate or deceitful behaviour is false. In other words, gaslighting revolves within gender related dominance. Some political psychologists have questioned the tenability of gaslighting

in politics. In response, Beerbohm and Davis (2021) suggest that the political variant of gaslighting is not simply a function of partisan followership; rather the aim is to alter reality and substitute it with narratives of deflationary epistemic singularity (Lewandowsky, 2019). From this perspective, Beerbohm and Davis (2021) posit three ways through which gaslighting might be attained and retained: citizens as victims, citizens as enablers and citizens as self-manipulators. The citizen as victim is a creation of second-personal authority or dominance of political rulers. In other words, elected leaders hold the power to spread false beliefs which subdue epistemic evidence or beliefs in the public sphere. The citizen as enabler is the citizen's ability to differentiate between what is constructed and epistemic evidence. However, citizens take falsehood cues from politicians based on shared ethnic or tribal affiliation or views. Lastly, the citizen as self-manipulator is a situation in which citizens, rather than political actors, form the middle ground of dispersing falsehood, misinformation and gaslighting.

A singular narrative and the ability to act as collaborator in dispersing falsehoods energises populism and post-truth politics (Agbedejobi, 2021). In other words, political evidentialism, or the regime of facts is sacrificed for second-personal reasons that emanate from positions of authority and hegemony. Second-personal authority seeks to manipulate the victim's perception of reality. Such worldview manipulation can be socially constructed through truth deflation, memory politics and epistemic fact deconstruction to facilitate partisan or group advantage (Baldwin, 2019). In the context of ethnic politics, gaslighting is fostered by state sponsored control of the narrative which ensures that cumulative historical events are transmitted from one generation to another based on the perpetrator's perspective and not the victim. This implies that ethnic configuration in politics – who gets what, when and how – aligns with competitive class and power struggles which consolidate hegemony and authority to construct certain collective memories (Baldwin, 2019). According to Osaghae (2003, p.57–58) ethnic marginalisation leads to ethnic mobilisation which results in ethnic clashes and conflicts. However, ethnicity is dynamic, suggesting that it is susceptible to shifts and reconstructions. In the context of this analysis, the nature of ethnic interests and competition for resources are important (Agbiboa, 2013, p. 5–7). Some ethnic interests have changed over the years, while some have not. This assumption acts as a qualifier of the Nigerian polity. Ethnic interest among the three major ethnic groups – Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba – have not changed over the decades, while ethnic interest among other, supposedly minority, groups have declined, retreated or halted.

Osaghae (2003, p. 60) explores four arenas of ethnic politics: individual, inter-group, intra-group and ethnic-state. These offer a platform through which ethnic relations and dominant political constructs have been negotiated. Given Nigeria's intra-group conflicts and ethnic-state negotiations, these two are the highest arenas of relations among the three major ethnic groups and other minority groups. In the next section, historical path dependency analysis will be used to understanding these constructs. However, the ethnic-state is a basic unit of political relations in postcolonial Nigeria. In other words, the dominance of a specific ethnic group, from a postcolonial perspective situates the hegemonic ties of the past and present which further aids cultural memory suppression. Cultural memory suppression stems from the historical singularity and victimisation discourse of specific ethnic groups as traitors and unworthy of trust, while others are upheld as heroes of the Nigerian state. The Biafran Civil War and the Ogoni genocide, to mention but two, attest to physical violence or overt/covert forms of aggression towards dominance, cultural memory repression and submission

(Onuoha, 2016). As such, ethnic interests, hegemony, the control and suppression of cultural memory or continual othering of victims by perpetrators indicate a long-term plan for mnemonic erasure (Fasakin, 2022; Onuoha, 2016).

Christianity in Nigeria builds on the ethnic narrative and owes its existence to colonialism. Pre-colonial sources indicate that due to trans-Saharan trade relations, northern Nigeria was in contact with North African traders who introduced Islam in the 11th Century under the political systems of kingdoms, empires and caliphates (Reynolds, 1997; Olukoju, 1996; Onwubu, 1975). Other sources suggest that the scholar Uthman dan Fodio consolidated the practice of Islam through his six-year jihad that began in 1804. Preferential treatment was accorded northern Nigeria, with the colonial administration refusing Christian missionaries' entry into the region, thus retaining pre-colonial religious, socio-political and economic structures (Falola and Heaton, 2008; Falola, 2021). These structures continued into the post-colonial era, creating a socio-economic dichotomy between north and south (Falola, 2021).

Cleavages in modern-day Nigeria can be accounted for through a discourse of ethnic and religious gaslighting. These two forms of gaslighting are also mobilising tools in garnering political support, allocating resources and othering.

Islam is the major religion in northern Nigeria, while Christianity dominates elsewhere. This divide informs political cleavages during elections, when ethno-religious resources are mobilised and exploited. Marx's structural functionalist critique of organised religion suggests that the masses blindly elect leaders not on merit, but on ethnic and religious loyalties that sustain the status quo of hegemony and class dominance.

In the Nigerian context and with regard to the strategies utilised by British colonialists (Morrock 1973, p.129), ethno-religious gaslighting is a second-personal authority plot to maintain polarisation through institutionalising discourse and neglecting aggrieved or marginalised ethnic groups with the sole aim of controlling certain cultural memories and sustaining the political hegemony of the majority ethnic group, thereby pathologising those who resist.

This conceptual definition is oriented towards cultural hegemony and depicts the victim as the marginalised, with the ruled or those who obey depicted as the multitude and, in particular, those who do not hold public office. Ethno-religious gaslighting can be observed in the victim-perpetrator nexus and the sustained systemic chain of authority from the hegemony of the perpetrator. The British colonial strategies of divide and rule, buying Indigenous loyalty and the maintenance of hegemony align with the goals of ethno-religious gaslighting.

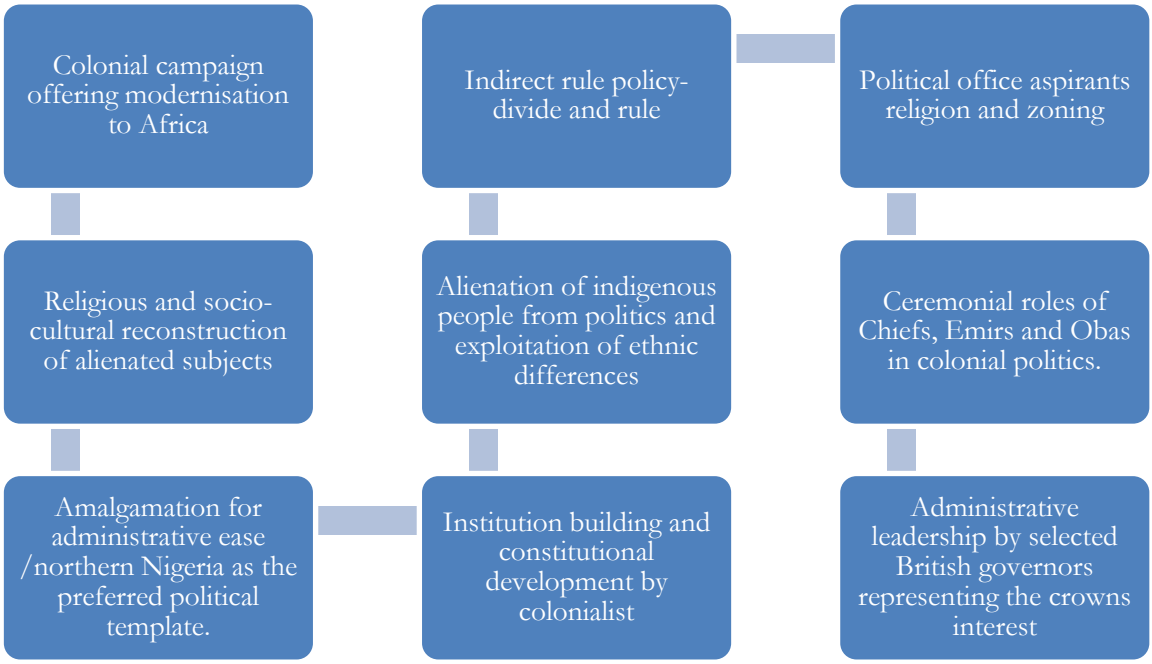


Fig. 1: Ethno-religious gaslighting path tracing of colonial administration

Source: Author

Ethno-religious gaslighting

Agbiboa (2013, p. 6) defines ethnicity as an institutional marker deployed to successfully appropriate and harness power, resources and political hegemony. It is a tool for maintaining competitive advantage over other ethnic groups in conflicts over power and resources. Religion, meanwhile, aligns with a paternalistic perspective buttressed by the role of guardians or counsels representing the roles and duties of religious institutions in the lives of adherents. Guardianship and counselling are further espoused in Pogge's (2008, pp. 40–42) criteria for effective paternalism include a concept that demonstrates human constructed institutions in which certain basic freedoms are acceptable, alongside a criteria of minimal intrusiveness. Such criteria should not be comprehended as exhaustive, thereby leaving leeway for infinite modifications to meet individual or group needs, and additional considerations introduced by the ambitious criteria of justice must not be permitted to compensate for the modest considerations. The structural hierarchy of traditional religions in Nigeria, such as Ifa, Ogun and Amadioha, emulate similar authority structures such as modern-day pastors or imams as arbitrators and counsellors for worshippers or as middlemen to the divine; these roles ultimately shatter the criteria of minimal intrusiveness (Onwubu, 1975). Thus, as with other institutions, religious institutions can be intrusive, dictating or suggesting rules of interaction or the role of the state, intermingling competition and restriction, and nudging individuals or groups towards particular actions or identities to fit the discourse narrative. Ethno-religious gaslighting combines hegemony and subservience at the core of ruler-ruled interactions. However, ethno-religious gaslighting narrative requires historical analysis to highlight critical junctures and the establishment of norms and institutions entrenched in the Nigerian polity

that point to institutionalised gaslighting. As such, an examination of certain events in Nigeria's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history sheds light on the process of ethno-religious gaslighting in relation to majority and minority ethnic groups.

Pre-colonial political and economic relations

Colonial rule was heralded by European exploration and exploitation of human and non-human African resources. At the end of the 15th Century, Portuguese traders visited what is now Nigeria (Dusgate 1985, p. 15), although Portuguese historiography suggests that contact with Indigenous ruler dates back to the 14th century when Portuguese emissaries visited the court of the Oba of Benin. At first, the Portuguese traded in goods such as pepper, spices, gold and ivory (Isichei, 1983, p. 9). Trade in goods and enslaved developed over time with the Portuguese offering aid to Benin in its wars of expansion in exchange for access to the port of Benin.

Historical scholarship of the period 1800–1880 is underpinned by Marxist perspectives that depict relationships contingent on class struggle, antagonism and hegemony resulting from different individual and group interests (Attah 2011, pp. 85–88). Other scholarly literatures specified the need for consensus in human relations and is anchored in the mutual benefits of cooperative rather than conflicting relations. Still other scholars combine both perspectives in explaining political and economic relations between 1800–1880 in pre-colonial Nigeria (Otite, 1988; Olukoju, 1996; Okwudiba, 1978). However, other narratives are influenced by social psychology dynamics which conceptualise pre-colonial inter-group relationships as between *social units* with each social unit having unique values that constrained or influenced its conduct with other units.

Okpeh (2006, pp. 11–12) suggests a topology of pre- and post-colonial relations, including contact and interaction, compromise and cooperation, competition and conflict, and assimilation and integration.

This paper situates pre-colonial relations in Nigeria as the first three elements of Okpeh's topology. Depictions of the era as chaotic or characterised by wars and conflicts are not entirely representative. Rather, the local pre-colonial economy was anchored in subsistence agriculture (Iliffe, 1983). Inter-group relations between the Igbo, Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba were partially destabilised due to the commodification of enslaved, which proved a critical juncture in inter-group, political and economic relations. Northrup (1978) reiterates that pre-colonial era subsistence agriculture led to the commercialisation of palm oil, while gold dominated economic relations within ethnic groups. While there is consensus regarding trade in the Eurocentric literature, Ekundare (1973) suggests that subsistence agriculture remained the mainstay of the pre-colonial economy. This suggestion is buttressed by its eventual progress to commercialisation during the colonial and post-colonial eras.

Some scholars, such as Olukoju (1996), depict the plurality of pre-colonial Nigerian society with its mega and mini states and the existence of over 400 language groups (Okwudiba, 1978). Mega states were comprised of extensive empires and kingdoms, such as that of the Hausa-Kanuri speaking people, or the Jukun Igala, Nupe and Yoruba-Oyo empires (Attah, 2011, p.88–90). The confederacy of the Yoruba-Oyo empire, for instance, was composed of mega and mini states that paid political allegiance to Alaafin of Oyo (king). This sophisticated empire

had emirates and military and administrative positions, including Bashorun (prime minister), Are Ona Kakanfo (military commander-in-chief), Eso (war chief), Oyo Mesi (panel of chiefs responsible for confirming or denying candidates for the throne and acting as checks and balances in governance), Ilari (bodyguards and messengers), Ogboni (religious leaders), Oloye and Baale (chiefs and titled elders over mini-states) (Drewal, et al., 1987). The centralisation of political authority vested on the Oba was evident through the structure of governance.

Mini states, such as those that predominated among the Igbo, were communities lacking political structure above the village level, creating a loose confederation of small communities ruled by chiefs who answered to the Obi (Afigbo, 1972).

Nigeria's pre-colonial societies had systems of governance prior to colonial occupation. Juxtaposing these against imposed colonial systems of governance helps delineate between critical junctures and self-reinforcing institutions. Northrup (1978, p. 13) best depicts the contrasting situation of the social units in different mega and mini states as follows:

> Here, in sharp contrast to the urbanised Yoruba to the west of the Niger, compact settlements were a distinct rarity in the pre-colonial era. Even 'villages' were customarily only political and social units, not actual clusters of dwellings, and the family compounds of a village were normally scattered throughout its territory. Only the coastal ports, fishing villages cramped for dry land, and places fortified against attack were compact settlements.

Unlike the Igbo who lived under a decentralised system of governance, the Hausa-Fulani were one empire, due to the jihad of Uthman dan Fodio which led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1804. A cumulative event like the jihad also led to the assimilation of the largely urban Hausa by the rural and Muslim Fulani through intermarriage and hegemony. In contrast to the Igbos and Yoruba, the Sokoto Caliphate specialised in textile and leather manufacture alongside subsistence agriculture. The former was notable among the Nupe people, and ethnic groups with cross-cultural relations with the Hausa culture. Leather and textile manufacturing became a major mainstay of the Sokoto Caliphate, which also participated in the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Hill, 1976). The internal economy of the Sokoto Caliphate relied on slavery to sustain the subsistence agricultural economy (Hamza, 2004, p. 125). During the pre-colonial era, there was long- and short-distance trade in kola nuts, palm oil and slaves across the Sahara Desert (Lovejoy, 1980, 2005).

Unlike other empires, the Sokoto Caliphate was decentralised into two administrative units – one in Sokoto and the other in Gwandu. Thus, the emirates (a loose confederation of several mega states) were under the control of both administrative units, with the Sultan of Sokoto as the head of government. The Fulani dominated administrative positions, with later cross-cultural intermarriage resulting in Hausa-Fulani fusion that governed the Sokoto Caliphate.

Nigeria's pre-colonial kingdoms of mega states and mini states demonstrated the political heterogeneity or plurality of inter-group relations, as exhibited in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Oyo Empire. In the scholarly literature, issues of territorial expansion, trade and the slave trade are depicted in diverse terms. Religion and ethnicity played a passive role; however, the need to cooperate for mutual survival seemed to have been the driving force behind successful relations between pre-colonial social units.

Colonial Nigeria

The 1884–1885 Berlin conference signalled the advent of colonialism. This historical gathering of European powers was the formalisation of the rules of engagement in colonial partitioning, the slave trade and imperial rule in Africa which continues to have a profound influence on African politics (Uzoigwe, 1985; Anghie, 2005). Craven (2015, p. 32) argues that the covert aim of the conference was to manage the ongoing process of African colonisation to prevent the outbreak of armed conflict between rival colonial powers. At a critical juncture, it accounted for the gradual or partial dismantling of existing institutions, economic and political systems, norms and beliefs. What followed was a transition period that introduced indirect rule which, according to Afigbo (1972), from 1880 onwards, introduced intermediaries who acted on behalf of the colonial government. These warrant chiefs, who formerly held considerable influence in Indigenous institutions and communities, now did the bidding of their colonial masters. The installation of handpicked warrant chiefs was driven by administrative convenience and a desire to reduce transaction costs. This led to gradual interference in pre-colonial socio-political institutions and was a direct consequence of the 1884–1885 Berlin conference that rendered African states and territories *terra nullius* and in need of partitioning for European exploration and exploitation. As a result, many African territories became European protectorates. Partitioning led to the subtle creation of new institutions and new institutional artefacts, such as constitutions and tax systems. The Court of Equity, for instance, was founded to settle mercantile disputes between coastal traders – both European and African – in southeast Nigeria. As such, pre-existing forms of dispute settlement were abolished to accommodate European interests. Subtle alterations or complete dismissal of Indigenous institutions were met with resistance from Indigenous people.

The battles of Aro, Esu Itu and Arochwukwu, among others, highlight the resistance that met the installation of these foreign systems. The Yoruba exhibited similar resistance in southern Nigeria after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates by Lord Lugard in 1914. This important epoch in Nigeria's history marked the transition from a loose confederation of vassal states in the pre-colonial era to a unitary form of government based on British political and administrative hegemony (Adebanwi, 2019, pp. 167–169). This epoch also saw the introduction of a unifying currency to ease British administration. To comprehend the reason for the amalgamation, the multicultural nature of the pre-existing protectorates and forms of representation and governance highlights the importance of transferred artefacts from the colonial to post-colonial era. In summary, rather than being a planned multicultural project with the consent of Indigenous rulers or representation, Nigeria was borne out of necessity, ease of administration and political subjugation.

Deng (1996, pp. 62–63) offers the example of the ease with which the Sultan was installed as an intermediary between the British government and the Indigenous people. The administrative system was then meant to be replicated across the newly amalgamated provinces. However, the backlash from the Southern and Eastern protectorates led to conflicts and uprisings which eventually resulted in the creation of eastern and western regions of the Southern protectorate (Okonofua, 2011). During the creation of Nigeria's regions, the Northern protectorate remained intact and represented the template on which colonial governance was consolidated. This opportunistic dependence on the Northern protectorate and the subsequent creation of buffer zones of ethnic minorities with less contact in the

eastern and western regions marked the beginning of inter-intra ethnic rivalry. This event also set the stage for eventual Hausa-Fulani ethno-political hegemony and successive northern hegemony in post-colonial Nigeria (Okonofua, 2013, p. 3).

Amalgamation led to the centralisation of control under British rule and the highly successful Northern protectorate administrative unit became a template for indirect rule and post-colonial rule with Hausa-Fulani dominance (Hale, 2004). The amalgamation of the protectorates led to discontent among minority ethnic groups, leading to further agitation of colonised subjects and the formation of new regions and states combined with constitutions spelling out Britain's administrative and political powers and its relations with its colonised subjects (Falola, 2021). The first of these was the 1922 Clifford Constitution, named after Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor General of Nigeria, the purpose of which was to create and foster legal and electoral institutions. The former included a legislative council composed of 46 members, 23 of which were official, 19 unofficial and the remaining four were related to the latter. This meant that Nigeria's first electoral system included only four slots for Indigenous representation, three of which were for Lagos and one for Calabar (Asiwaju, 1976; Miles, 1987). Franchise was also limited to those with an annual income of at least £100. The alienation and lack of representation of Indigenous people in the development of the constitution led to calls for reform. The 1944 Richards Constitution, named after Sir Arthur Richards, provided for greater political participation, with a new legislative council comprised of a governor, 16 official members and 28 unofficial members. Of the 28, two were nominated by the governor and four were elected. In this constellation, the Northern region had 11 members, the Western region had eight and the Eastern region had six. It differed from the Clifford Constitution by introducing regionalism and greater Indigenous participation in politics. However, franchise in both Lagos and Calabar required a payment of £50, thus disenfranchising many Indigenous people. The 1944 constitution also provided a platform for a regional House of Assembly, the members of which were nominated by native authority. However, these were not legislative bodies; rather, the house was a forum for discussing national issues, although members of the house were further nominated into the legislative council. This paved the way for unicameral legislatures in both Eastern and Western regions, while in addition to the House of Assembly nomination, the Northern region also had a House of Chiefs (Miles, 1987, pp. 236–238). The 1951 Macpherson Constitution avoided the pitfalls of the preceding constitution and opened the door for further Indigenous representation. It allowed for the inclusion of Nigerians in the constitution-making process and the 1950 Ibadan Conference was acclaimed as a cornerstone of the constitution. This new constitution paved the way for a federal legislature or House of Representatives with 136 elected representatives, six ex-officio members and six members nominated by the governor. Regional division of the members of the legislatures meant that 68 were from the North, 34 from the West and 34 from the East (Mackintosh, 1964; L.P.M, 1953). The constitution was unique in its empowerment of regional legislators who could make regional laws. Despite this increase in representation, the constitution failed and was replaced by the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution. The events surrounding the demise and replacement of the Macpherson Constitution are worth mentioning. The proclamation of independence by Pan-African nationalists led to negotiations at constitutional conferences in London in 1953 and Lagos in 1954.

In summary, the colonial period marked the displacement of pre-existing Indigenous forms of governance by imposed British institutions. These were designed to assimilate Nigerians into

the British system and led to several historically-induced negative backlogs which remain the bane of modern day Nigerian political system (Miles ,1987, pp. 237–239).

Pre-colonial era	**Colonial era**
15th–17th Centuries: existence of kingdoms and wars of conquest- interactions with European traders and the slave trade.	Scramble and partition for resources pre- and post-Berlin Conference leading to conquest and European imperialism.
Political system based on loose confederation, empire or vassal states (mega and mini states, local villages and communities). Central political system with the king, emir and chiefs at the highest position of authority.	Unitary system with the British Governor at the central helm of affairs; warrant chiefs', emirs' and kings' gradual alienation from power.
Pre-existing political systems and leadership, e.g., Alaafin of Oyo (king), Oyo Mesi (privy and administrative council of the king), Bashorun (prime minister), Are-Ona-Kakanfo (military commander)	Indirect rule under British governors, chief commissioners with the nomination of Indigenous stooges and disenfranchisement (1914–43); covert replacement of existing institutions through gradual assimilation process; forced marriage of different ethnic groups-ethnic minority and majority groups.
Loose confederal systems under vassal state systems.	Transition from unitary (Clifford Constitution) to federal system (Lyttleton Constitution).
Local arbitrary courts in kings' chambers, communal chiefs court for dispute settlement, age grade chiefs and advisory councils.	Local arbitrary courts replaced with West African court of appeal; later Lyttleton Constitution replaced this with courts in each region, a supreme court of appeal and judicial committee of the privy council (highest ranked court).
Indigenous languages were the main source of communication; trade by barter followed Indigenous translators with competence of foreign languages.	At the onset of the colonial era, interpreters and translators were needed, with the gradual assimilation of Indigenous people, followed by the emergence of educated elites of native origin; use of the pound as currency is evidenced by the institutionalising of an electoral fee.
Traditional religion or beliefs were intact, although in some quarters, such as northern Nigeria, due to trade and migration, Islam was introduced in 11th–12th Centuries.	Local beliefs were overtly replaced by Christianity based on manipulations/stick and carrot reward structure, psychological warfare/coercive means.

Table 1: Distinctive processes, critical junctures and epochs created by author

Colonial legacies and post-colonial artefacts

The Nigerian construct was officially propagated by the colonial government after amalgamation by Lord Lugard. That specific critical juncture continues to echo during ethnic and racial conflicts, in past civil wars and military uprisings, during the Biafra War and the incessant bid for secession by a group of Biafrans in modern-day Nigeria. In order to comprehend the impact of this critical juncture alongside the consequent artefacts it produced, an examination of multiculturalism, constitutional development and institution building, mode of knowledge production, governance between pseudo-federal structure and other discourses is required.

Multiculturalism refers to a society or world in which "many cultures interact in a significant way with one another" (Gutmann, 1993, pp. 171–172). Despite the simplicity of this definition, one variable stands out – 'the interaction of many cultures in a significant way with one another.'

The nature and scope of interactivity is subjective, prone to interpretive or polemical perspectives that can be either objectively or subjectively expressed. Interaction may be in the form of cooperation, conflict, competition for power, and its scope may be fluid, embracing inter-intra ethnic cooperation or conflicts, national unity embedded in shared history and culture, or negating national unity towards secession and conflict. The nature and scope of such interactivity was coercively forced during Nigeria's amalgamation in 1914 and during the colonial era. It continues to be enforced in the present day with Nigeria depicted as a mere geographical expression by one of its most distinguished nationalist figures, the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Taiwo, 1993; Onwubu, 1975; Adebanwi, 2019; Yusuf, 2018, Falola, 2009; Dudley, 1968). The forced union of the multitude of cultures, and ethnic groups with diverse languages is a foundational misgiving which in modern Nigeria is evinced through the echoes of marginalisation by aggrieved groups, the clamour for new states during the colonial and post-independence eras, secession plots and political and geographical zoning, to mention a few. This evergreen experience alludes to the reality that multiculturalism can yield both negative and positive experiences. In the Nigerian context, the use of coercion and the lack of a referendum or vote on the unity of several ethnic groups or cultures has created an issue that continues to be rigorously debated in academic and non-academic circles. For instance, the impact of this forced union created divisions within the British designed unitary regional structure. This structure created the template for modern-day Nigerian dominance by major ethnic groups over minority groups, as evinced in the formation of erstwhile political parties along regional and ethnic lines. Party formation and composition are the foremost variables of how successfully multiculturalism is embedded in a national context. In Nigeria, party formation between 1940 and 1960 was constituted on a regional basis, with party leadership and key positions always under the banner of one of three major ethnic groups. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC), for instance, was led by the late Dr Nnmadi Azikwe and Herbert Macaulay, among others. The Northern People's Congress represented a regional interest, and prominent leaders included the late Malam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Aminu Kano. A similar regional outlook was evident in Action Group (AG) which emanated from a Pan-Yoruba cultural organisation. Its influential leaders included the late Chief Bode Thomas and Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

Two notable factors in party formation are replicated in modern-day Nigeria. First, is the large concentration of a particular ethnic group in a particular party and competitive superiority of one ethnic group over another in the federal structure (Hale, 2004, pp. 173–174).

Second, is the aggregation of tribal support alongside religious membership to form political parties or organisations. Religious membership and ethnic group membership thus have become currency for political participation and group interest alignment.

Constitutional development vis-à-vis nation and institution building is another critical juncture which must be analysed, particularly with regard to the enactment of foreign constitutions imposed on Indigenous Nigerians (Falola, 2009).

Constitutional development from 1922 to 1999 hinged on cloning Western institutions and constitutional architecture rather than addressing the foundational structural problem of the forced unification of Nigeria or seeking an Indigenous template to fit the geopolitical ethnically diverse configuration that is Nigeria. According to Suberu (2019), this critical juncture is divided into three phases –1914–1966, 1966–1999 and post-1999. The phases encompass a forceful power grab, a transition of power through a nationalist proclamation to a more democratic transition, military intervention followed by civil wars and a return to democratic rule. Nigeria's constitutional journey reflects different critical junctures and fluctuating patterns between the struggle for power and numerous internal divisions. Nonetheless, the basic elements of these struggles – ethnic and religious conflict, geopolitical power-sharing mechanisms, military superiority syndrome, centralised federalism, a presidential system of government, weak institutions – have remained integral throughout the transition and democratisation phases. Apart from these struggles, the evergreen issues of competition between majority and minority ethnic groups remain constitutionally and institutionally unsolved. The latter led to series of national conferences, including the most recent in 2014 during which over 500 delegates representing different interest and ethno-regional groups deliberated for five months concerning Nigeria's divisive political structure, ethnic differences and marginalisation.

Past forums to redress the imbalance and forced nature of the Nigerian construct proved futile. The overall outlook of this inner division and resulting conflicts harks back to the architecture of multiculturalism and constitutionalism right from the beginning. A crucial juncture was the demise of Nigeria's First Republic (1960–1966). At least four institutional factors contributed to its demise, namely, an uneven federal territorial structure, the dissident power of large regional units against the central government, the division and weakness of the central political executive in addressing regional divisions and, most importantly, weak institutions that could not curtail or restrain control of political power.

During the First Republic, the federal structure was comprised of ethno-federal arrangements or segmental federalism which caused the failure of the constituted polity (Hale, 2004, pp.165–166, 170). It is argued that institutional arrangements alongside the impact of strong ethnic diversity and the allocation of competitive resources by political elites promoted marginalisation and secessionist activity. This directly mirrors the post-independence situation in Nigeria when the predominantly Muslim Northern region was engaged in a classic power rivalry with the less populous Eastern and Western regions. This classic power rivalry sought to determine who controlled the central government. Divisions were deepened by the state of economic and social development in the Eastern and Western regions, which were comparatively more advanced than the educationally underdeveloped poor and backward Northern region (Suberu, 2022). This structural imbalance and 'Northern hegemony' further deepened ethnic insecurity and created a game of numbers concerning who had greater representation in federal political institutions and central government, fuelling ethno-secessionist conflict and civil war. The subsequent clamour for self-government by minority ethnic communities, such as the Kanuri, Nupe, Igala, Jukun, Ilorin-Kabba, Efik, Ibibio and Ijaw also demonstrated their active marginalisation by the ethnic majority and a failure to address these issues in the First Republic constitution. The fragility of the federal territorial structure was further aggravated by the constitutional powers of the region, causing a vehement inter-regional distrust of contending ethnic nationalism. Departing from this trend

was an elite-based consensus regarding federal character leading to a centripetal integration of how to deal with ethnic conflicts in the 1979 Constitution (Suberu, 2022). Although the ambiguous scope of federal character or its quota system have been criticised by many scholars, it formed a basis for dealing with inequality, revenue sharing and addressing marginalisation to some extent. This turning point had an impact on federal office appointments, so that the composition of major political parties reflected the federation and not simply ethnic group membership. The 1999 Constitution embraced further developments in federal character, policy making and appointments. However, in some quarters, this has not produced holistic inclusiveness. According to Maduagwu (2019, pp. 131–133), the existence of federal character as a rationalisation for a special quota in federal government institutions has only served the interests of some ethnic groups with their numerical strength, thus creating a questionable status quo and precedence, although the logic behind a quota system is clear. It has, however, created a loophole for Northern hegemony or for a competitive state grab by the major ethnic groups.

Another colonial/post-colonial artefact is the mode of knowledge production. Colonialism's disruption of Nigerian socio-historical development and the consequences of implanting and overwriting foreign institutions on pre-existing institutions displaced existing modes of knowledge production. This critical juncture is crucial in understanding the country's ethnic and religious oriented politics and democracy. Taiwo (1993, pp. 891–894) argued that the transition from a confederal unit mode of knowledge production founded on allegiance to local rulers, priest, kings and Obis and the existing political system created a hole that was quickly filled with Western philosophy and institutions. Colonialism, as an agent of change, erased, transformed or repressed religious and cultural practices and institutions. The exclusive nature of colonialism meant that Indigenous people were at first excluded from governance and voting. This changed with the emergence of educated Indigenous elites and with nationalist movements. The damage caused during this epoch is evident in modern Nigeria where Christianity is the dominant religion in the southwest. The introduction of Christianity, which had a longer descent than colonialism, eventually deposed traditional religions. The impact of this cultural religious disruption can be seen in the establishment of multiple unregulated churches and places of worship in modern Nigeria. Scholars have depicted this disruption as a turn in the development of the colonized (Loomba 1998; Taiwo 1993; Osaghae 1991). The disruption also marks a struggle between earlier and later identities, thereby leading to a hybridized struggle felt in all spheres of social relations in modern Nigeria.

Christianity impacts modern Nigeria from the personal to the institutional unit. Some scholars claim that this identity deficit is responsible for the religiosity of many Nigerians within and outside the public sphere. Such religiosity is seen in the names of past religious deities or traditional beliefs changing due to the manipulative means exploited in instituting Christianity in Nigeria. This is evinced in surnames or first names such as Fayemi, Ogunleye, Ifagbemi or Fagbemi changing to Christian or English names, such as Goodluck, Monday, David, Esther or Paul, indicating conformity to the new worldview. This worldview derived from the era of colonialism which was instituted through falsehood, gaslighting, supremacy and hegemony. In other words, the mode of knowledge production in pre-colonial Nigeria was erased by a foreign mode of knowledge production which instituted a hybridized culture with deep roots and dominant appeal.

In summary, ethno-religious gaslighting is the production of power relations, hegemony, exploitation of ethnic difference or othering and the need to sustain a competitive edge or monopoly over 'others' in a multicultural environment. It is a persistent mental as well as socio-political hegemonic representation of certain formal or informal structures on a repetitive spin which runs from one generation to another. This is successfully embedded in certain stubborn structures where no matter which form of government- the same set of elites or their offsprings or benefactors have political power or rule the state. This is a perfect aspect of Nigerian governance and politics which is less studied.

This pattern was laid down during the colonial era and extends beyond colonial rule. Figure 2 represents the artefacts and the channel through which ethno-religious gaslighting occurs in Nigeria. The main goal of ethno-religious gaslighting in the Nigerian polity is suppressing the electorate from asking crucial questions or prioritising accountability by substituting these with ethnic and religious sentiments, and using cultural memory repression when dealing with minority groups.

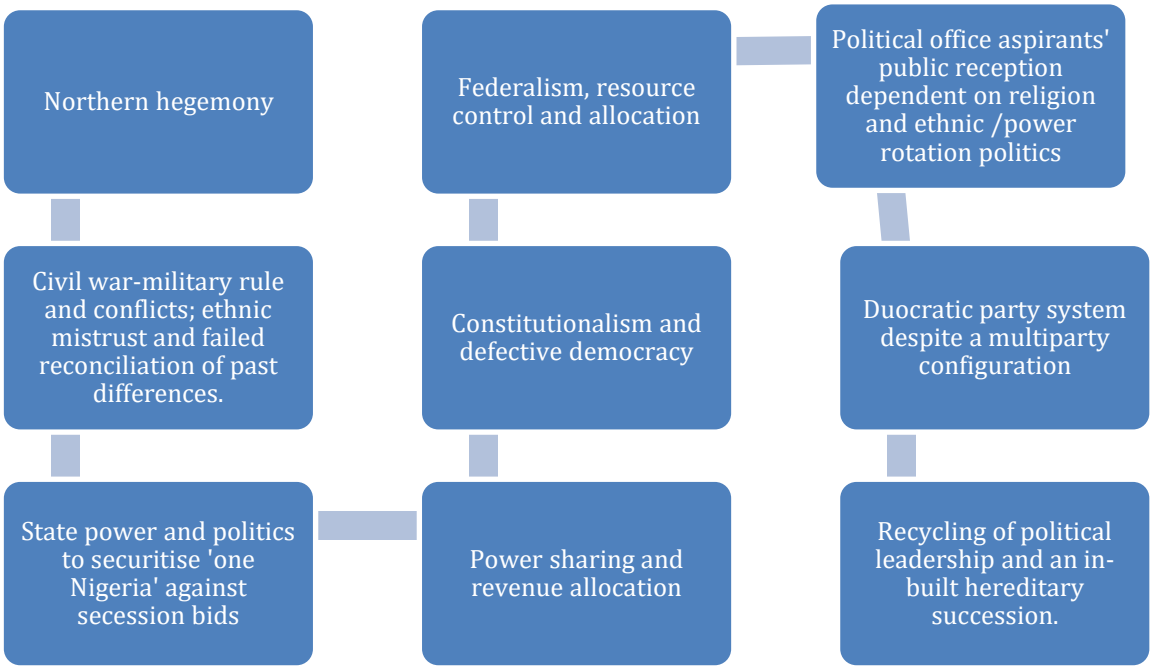


Fig. 2: Post-colonial ethno-religious gaslighting processes created by author

Scholarly discourses indicate a mix between a state shaped by colonialism and one without a concrete identity (Decker, 2016). According to Falola (2021 pp. 10–36, 41) Nigeria's modernisation journey has taken different shapes through the adoption and trial implementation of several systems, including parliamentarianism, regionalism, presidentialism, military rule and federalism with a 'no one size fits Nigeria' appeal. The journey continues with several hybridised versions mirroring Western political systems and a confused political elite class. However, revisiting the Nigerian construct by acknowledging past or current deeds begs

the question of how long Nigeria's multicultural experiment can withstand the tides of political pressure from internal secessionist plots and dichotomies?

Conclusion

Based on the path tracing exercise- we can allude to the fact that Nigeria's superstructure is built on a confused identity. It is a patchwork similar to Frankenstein's monster. Ethnicity and religion play crucial roles in politics, socio-economic relations and in the preservation of certain cultural memories or versions of the same.

Ethno-religious gaslighting controls the public sphere narrative of hegemonic representation of certain ethnic or religious groups, class dominance and institutional capture. The extent to which post-colonial Nigeria is ready to reconstitute these two crucial mainstay artefacts and its identity, to nurture a healthy culture despite division, socio-economic imbalance and political regression remains to be seen. Ultimately, a successful multicultural society will depend on 'oneness of a state or one Nigeria' rather than divisive relations or intra-relations under ethnic and religious banners.

The challenge of administering a multicultural society dates back to the era of colonialism and to the lack of a social contract between elements that were forcefully amalgamated. As noted in the analysis, pre-colonial Nigeria did not exist. Rather, it was a loose confederation of vassals, kingdoms and empires each with its own unique system of government, economic and religious institutions. Colonialism uprooted those institutions and overwrote them with new sets of institutions and culture.

During decolonialisation, indigenous people reacted to colonial assimilationist and integration policies by staging nationalist movements rooted in pre-colonial experiences, or hybridized versions of pre-colonial and colonial experiences. These hybridized versions created stubborn relationship structures which led to friction in the First Republic, civil war, military rule, democratic rule and secessionist campaigns. Thus, the two main currencies of these hybridized versions of decolonisation exist with intra-inter ethno-religious relationships fuelled by hegemonic control of narratives or cultural memory repression in the Nigerian state.

Democracy functions best in a multicultural society with the realisation that no one group supersedes the state or its institutions. Unity in diversity and one people within a territorial boundary are embraced, informing the need to cooperate and collaborate along institutional and economic lines.

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The Role and Significance of Remembering in the Texts of Zaira Arsenishvili and Herta Müller (*When Fear and Dread Rage* and *The King Bows and Kills*)

Salome Pataridze[1]

Abstract

Memory, remembering and forgetting are closely intertwined on both an individual and a collective level. Remembering is a process, and memories are the result, memory is the ability or the means of building a changing pattern. Memory cannot be observed directly, only through the observation of concrete acts of remembering in specific sociocultural contexts can we make assumptions about the memory's nature and functioning. Memories are not objective reflections of past images. Rather, they are subjective reconstructions of past perceptions. Remembering is conceived as a present act of recollecting available data that were stored in the past. Versions of the past change in accordance with the constantly changing present situation. That is why, individual and collective memories never mirror the past, but rather they serve as an indication of the past for the person recalling the past in the present. The present study analyzes the short story "When Fear and Dread Rage" („rotsa mdzvinvarebs shishi da dzrts'ola") of Zaira Arsenishvili, Georgian filmmaker, musician and writer, and the essay "The King Bows and Kills" ("Der König verneigt sich und tötet") of Romanian-born German-language writer Herta Müller based on theories of Maurice Halbwach's, Aleida and Jan Assmann and Sigmund Freud (Collective memory, cultural memory and cultural identity, traumatic memory, permanent trace stored in the unconscious). The analysis will reveal the role and importance of remembering in the conditions of a totalitarian regime, how the regime tries to eradicate cultural memory, as it is the basis of the identity of a social group, how the system demonizes the auto icon in the texts and what the bodies described in the works tell us as signs and carriers of memories.

Keywords: Auto icon, body, memory, totalitarianism, dream.

Introduction

Georgian screenplay writer, musician and author, Zaira Arsenishvili, who encountered obstacles in publishing texts in the early stages of writing, never thought of adapting to the existing political situation, especially considering the fact that the cinema had an alternative way of conveying messages to the audience. Texts of Zaira Arsenishvili deal with one of the

[1] Assist. Prof. Dr., School Of Arts And Sciences, Ilia State University, Georgia, salome.pataridze@iliauni.edu.ge.

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most horrible periods in the history of Georgia (as well as the whole world) - Soviet repressions. In one of her interviews, the author points out that she didn't have the right to not write about the tragedy and ordeal that her family, loved ones and people around her had undergone during this difficult period, so every word written by the writer is personally experienced. Ever since childhood, Zaira Arsenishvili could hear about "black list", terror, propaganda, shooting and deportation since childhood. She was only five years old, when her father was captured and shot, which her grandfather could not live with this and he soon died. In "The Paradoxes of the Soviet Time" („sabch'ota drois p'aradoksebi"), the author says that, from a contemporary point of view, all the stories told by her are unthinkable and unbelievable for those who had not witnessed them, so she would not be surprised if they could not believe her.

Herta Müller, a Romanian-born German novelist, describes life under Nicolae *Ceaușescu's* communist rule and totalitarianism. The author received the name of the 'sincerest writer of today' (Frank Schirrmacher) for exposing images of the totalitarian regime and socialist society. In parallel with the common features of the past of Romania and Georgia, similar historical-political and personal experiences are visible in the biographies of Zaira Arsenishvili and Herta Müller: In her collection of essays 'The King Bows and Kills', Herta Müller describes how three generations in her family fell victims to a history in the 1950s, their village (Nițchidorf in Banat) was taken over by several officials, and the family lost all their property in the course of one night. Herta Müller's mother, who was only 19 at the time, was dispatched to the Soviet labor camp. Father was trying to forget his military past with the help of alcohol (he was in the service of the SS), grandmother was grieving her son lost in the war. The Romanians accused the German-speaking villagers of all the crimes committed by Hitler.

The present research analyzes Zaira Arsenishvili's short-story "When Fear and Dread Rage" ("rotsa mdzvinvarebs shishi da dzrts'ola") and Herta Müller's essay "The King Bows and Kills" (Der König verneigt sich und tötet) based on Aleida and Jan Assmann's cultural and communicative memory, Sigmund Freud's repressed memories and dream interpretation, Maurice Halbwachs' collective memory. The research aims to define the role of memory/memories in totalitarian regimes and to determine whether the mind of the individual is able to act according to impulses received from outside under conditions of severe terror.

Memory, Forgetting and Remembering

Memory, remembering and forgetting are closely intertwined on both an individual and a collective level. Remembering is a process, and memories are the result, memory is the ability or the means of building a changing pattern. Since memory cannot be observed directly, only through the observation of concrete acts of remembering in specific sociocultural contexts can we make assumptions about the memory's nature and functioning. Memories are not objective reflections of past images. They are subjective reconstructions of past perceptions. Remembering is conceived as a present act of recollecting available data that were stored in the past. Versions of the past change in accordance with the constantly changing present situation. That is why, individual and collective memories never mirror the past, but rather they serve as an indication of the past for the person recalling the past in the present (Erll, 2011, p. 7).

Remembering and forgetting are two sides or different processes of the same phenomenon (memory). Social forgetting is the condition for remembering. Total recall would be similar to total forgetting for the individual, as well as for the society or group. Friedrich Nietzsche had emphasized this in 1971 critique of historicism („Nachteil der Historie für das Leben") and claims that forgetting is necessary for memory to be able to create patterns. In this sense, memories are small islands in a sea of forgetting. Even in ancient philosophy we find an analogy of forgetting, this is Themistocles' discussion of 'lethotechnics'[2]. Functions of forgetting within cognitive and social systems are as important as those of remembering. However, forgetting, like remembering cannot be directly observed.

According to Freud, recollection consciously reconstructs images of the past, but revises them according to our present needs. Memory transactions are conducted on the boundary between the unconscious and the conscious. For Freud, memory turns on the exchange between unconscious habit and conscious reconstruction. There is the deep memory born of experience that prompts our actions. But it is made intelligible through our conscious efforts to give it meaning by integrating it into our present understanding (Hutton, 1994, p. 147).

The question is how far can one go in recovering these hidden memories? Freud's optimistic answer was: Back to beginnings. Freud believed that all perceptions of experience are retained as whole memories in the unconscious mind. Our experiences are imprinted on our psyches. This aspect of memory, which pushes us again and again in unusual directions, can be drawn forth. We can recover our deepest memories and so comprehend the true record of the course of our lives. Though, it is not as easy as it seems. The transactions between these aspects of memory present formidable interpretative difficulties because our recollections always come to us in disguised images, displacements of the deep images fixed in our unconscious psyches. This revising of memory as it transcends the threshold of consciousness is characteristic of the spectrum of ways in which past experience emerges from our unconscious psyches to influence us (Freud, 1991, pp. 324-325).

Halbwachs, unlike Freud, believed that personal memory is a collective phenomenon and, therefore, individual memories are social in nature. Humans are social creatures and without other humans, an individual has no access not only to such collective phenomena as language and customs, but also to his or her own memory. This is because we create our own memories in contact with other people who later help us to remember events. Maurice Halbwachs developed the concept of collective memory (mémoire collective) in his works, the concept that has been central to the study of collective memory. Fundamental to Halbwachs is the fact that it is through communication and interaction that we received knowledge about facts, events, time and space, because we participate in collective symbolic order and can remember and decipher past events. We have cognitive schemata that determine our perception and memory. Our perception is group-specific, our individual memories are socially determined. Therefore, collective and individual memory are interrelated, because when the individual remembers, he/ she places himself/herself in the perspective of the group (Erll, 2014, p. 17), and the memory of the group is realized. It is only through the act of individual memory that the collective memory becomes observable, since each individual memory is a viewpoint from collective memory. Every individual belongs to different social groups, such as family, religious

[2] Lethe - the underworld river of oblivion. The shades of the dead drank its waters to forget their past.

community, workplace, other. Thus, every person has different, group-specific thought systems and experiences.

For Halbwachs, history and memory are mutually exclusive forms of addressing the past: History is universal and it is characterized by impartiality to past events, while collective memory is particular – its carriers are groups restricted both chronologically and spatially and their memory is strictly hierarchical (Halbwachs, 1980, pp. 78-83).

Pierre Nora, unlike Halbwachs, who starts from the origins of existence of collective memory, focuses on "sites of memory" which in ancient tradition, were understood as mnemonics (Mnemotechnik-loci). [3] Such sites/images can include geographical locations, buildings, monuments, works of art, historical persons, symbolic actions, philosophical and scientific texts. Sites of memory are signs where some event is executed. According to Nora, three dimensions of memory sites can be distinguished:

1. Material dimension – includes paintings and books, as well as past events.
2. Functional dimension – such objectification must fulfill a particular function in society, for example, a history textbook.
3. Symbolic dimension – in this case actions become rituals or places shrouded with symbolic aura (Erll, 2014, p. 25).

Aleida and Jan Assmann differentiate between 1) cultural memory and 2) communicative memory, which is is formed in daily communication and is, therefore, restricted to 80–100 years. The contents of the communication memory are changing and therefore their meanings may differ. Anyone is capable of remembering and explaining a common past. According Jan Assmann, communicative memory is part of oral history and an opposite concept of the cultural, since in the case of cultural memory we are dealing with solid contents and meanings, the interpretation and continuity of which are related to specific specialties (shamans, priests, etc.). The topic of research in cultural memory is the mythical, as well as important events shaping society from the distant past (Assmann, 1997, pp. 50-53).

The Analysis – *When Fear and Dread Rage* & *The King Bows and Kills*

Cultural studies distinguish between active and passive remembering. Unlike passive remembering, which is uncontrolled and unstructured, active remembering is a conscious process and forms an identity, therefore, gives meaning to life (Tsagareli, 2016, pp. 270-271).

Zaira Arsenishvili's short story "When Fear and Dread Rage" describes the period of Repressions in Georgia following the lives of some families. As the author tells us in the subtitle of the text, the story presents the reality and the dreams of the protagonist. Since the period of the Great Terror (1937-1938) resembled to terrifying nightmare, people could not tell reality from illusion. Throughout the short story, the protagonist actively recalls the events of the past, thus trying to maintain an identity in a difficult period when the totalitarian regime is trying to eradicate cultural memory in various ways, namely:

[3] Mneme (Greek)-memory- Mnemonic technique that help memorize and store information in long-term memory. Content and recollection should be presented in a way that is easy to remember: rhythms, images, arrangement, etc.

1) Books from families and libraries are being destroyed. Tamar, who rejoices in being able to work at the library in the difficult political and historical period, is handed a list of books to be destroyed. Tamar is aware of the consequences of the destruction of cultural memory for both her and the next generation, so, at the cost of her life, she hides books under the bed in a dugout where she was housed by the regime after her husband was arrested. Of course, it is clear to Tamar how dangerous it is to disobey the system, but she also knows that if she does not save the valuable knowledge, then she will help Soviet evil make roots, and when Makvala shoves the list of the books in her hand, Tamar exclaims: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"[4] (Arsenishvili, 2020, p. 60). Since cultural memory is the basis of a social identity of a group (Assmann), its destruction allows totalitarian rulers to control masses who have lost their cultural identity and thus establish a new ideology of "ethics" and "values", which is a proven approach used by totalitarian regimes. Hannah Arendt in her work "Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herschaft" points out that Neither Stalin nor Hitler would have become leaders if these masses had not supported them (Arendt, 1991).

2) The carriers of cultural memory are being destroyed. Unlike communicative memory, which is created in interaction, cultural memory is institutional and its carriers are specialists (Erll, 2011, pp. 30-31). In Zaira Arsenishvili's short story, the system destroys Shalva, a bearer of cultural memory, a true scientist who was accused of being a fascist spy just because he had received education in Germany and replaced by a pseudo-scientist Gigla, whose "papers" are plagiarized. While editing Gigla's work, Tamar easily understands that his ideas are full of plagiarism. Tamar deeply believes that her husband Shalva is a "necessary person" for the country (Arsenishvili, 2020, p. 27), and the regime will be released soon. However, Shalva, who worked on a deep critical analysis of the Fascist economics, posed a threat to the system because he could easily identify the mechanisms of the Soviet system. That is why, despite Tamar's hopes, the scientist Shalva was shot and, along with other bodes, was thrown into a hastily dug pit near Soghanlughi.[5]

3) Since the cultural memory reflects the group's living space and its auto-image, the totalitarian regime seeks to destroy the cultural memory auto-imageby altering or confiscating the living space and demonizing the existing auto-image, causing the disruption of the auto-image. The families of the repressed are evicted and transferred to the anti-space of the cultural space, which is one of the strategies of punishing and possessing the individual – it deprives the individual of personal space, belongings and people related to his or her past and self-identity. On the other hand, spatial semantics are changing: before the Great Terror, the center of Tbilisi - Rustaveli Avenue - is the native space where people are happy to see each other, but once intimate space becomes completely alien and dangerous in the wake of the political change: Friends look the other way and avoid meeting children and wives of "state enemies". It is very difficult for Tamar to explain to her son why Uncle Mirian – with whom his father drank toasts to homeland - did not greet them when they accidentally bumped into him at Rustaveli Avenue. The regime forces people to declare all their relatives - who are ousted by

[4] The narrative implies the vision of the Apostle Paul - The apostle Paul, who was on his way to Damascus to arrest Christians, saw a light from which he heard the voice: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? Is it hard for you to kick against the goads?" (Acts 9:4).

[5] According to the documents kept in the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, the shootings in Tbilisi took place near the village of Soghanlughi, 18 kilometers from Tbilisi.

the regime - enemies and starts an anticampaign against the existing auto-image, resulting in the gradual disruption of the auto-image. Herta Müller and Zaira Arsenishvili describe how the regime makes children learn ideological poems and songs at kindergarten, encourages the imitation and cultivation of the leader / dictator in the masses and turns them into acts so deeply rooted that it is impossible to escape from them. With the destruction of personality in childhood, the totalitarian regime gets mature people who are no longer able to display individual characteristics and, consequently, the only way to self-determination remains wordless obedience to the power. In her essay "The King Bows and Kills", Herta Müller notes that the image of the "King" deeply imprinted in the mind of a child, gradually turned into a "beast embodied in the heart," because the fear of inexplicable and fateful reality evoked ambivalent feelings in people in an authoritarian state. On the one hand, the state instilled a strong fear that showing mercy was not a characteristic feature of dictatorial Romania; on the other hand, it created an imaginary order in people's lives. In the text, the phrase "The beast embodied in the heart," expresses the inner state of the individual, who finds it difficult to free himself from the traumatic memories of the past.

The fears, dreams and memories represented in the texts of Zaira Arsenishvili and Herta Müller serve to highlight the auto-image of the society to which Tamar and the I – narrator belong, thus dissociating it from the society of the new type (which gets on well with the new nomenclature). In "When Fear and Dread Rage" Tamar remembers how valuable Shota Rustaveli's "The Knight in the Panther's Skin" was to her ancestors and family. She reads Vazha-Pshavela's "Roots" and at the beginning and end of the work persistently tries to translate Vazha-Pshavela's texts into Russian. Therefore, by reading, analyzing and translating normative texts, the author explicitly emphasizes Tamar's attempt to reveal the moral basis of self-determination (answer to the question: who are we?). In Herta Müller essay as well, we see the question "Who are you?" And in parallel with this question, the regime names the qualities attached to the demonization: "They called me a shit, dirty creature, parasite and a dog… And when they were more pacified, they called me a whore and an enemy of the people. " (Müller, 2011, p. 72). However, the refuge from the "brain shooting" in Müller's text as well is also the flattering words, rhythms and stories in which the narrator can read and understand himself. Rhythms and stories, where the narrator can read and understand herself, are good for the soul and Austrian poet Theodor Kramer and German poet Inge Müller are mentioned in the essay. In this case, both women writers use the same form of cultural memory i.e. *functional memory*. [6] It includes the small amount of inherited information that is important for the design of an identity and that is always remembered and considered valuable.

Freud argued regarded dreams as a main road to the unconscious mind and the greatest source of imagery, dream interpretation thus being an important technique, analogous tool to psychoanalysis, to explain the mysteries of the mind (Traumdeutung, 1900). According to Halbwachs, dreams are not reliable means of remembering the past, as they deal in images detached from social contexts, that is why they are fragmentary and elusive. We cannot remember while we are dreaming because our social contexts have been removed. Whereas Freud concentrated on the moment of repetition, Halbwachs focused almost exclusively on that of recollection. As present-minded reconstructions of the imagery of the past in present contexts, he contended, recollections are forms of publicity and as such indices of the

[6] Aleida Assmann distinguishes two forms of cultural memory: storage memory and functional memory.

configurations of social power in which they were formulated. Memory is a function of the power to determine the way in which the past is to be represented (Hutton, 1994, pp. 148-149). The dreams of Tamar and I-narrator are closely related to the historical and political environment in which they live, moreover, the interplay and connection of dreams is one of the best ways to analyze character's traits and views.

In Herta Müller's text, the panopticon of death and the absurdity of accusations settle in things and dreams, always reminding of them: the I-narrator cannot wear bra with straps, the sight of the tie disturbs her, because they remind her of a noose that has killed lots of people and threatens her as well. At seeing a coat hanging on a hanger, she hears the clicking of fingers in her head (Müller, 2011, pp. 82-83).

The absurd and crazy stories that take place in the real world and make her anxious, shift to dreams – totalitarian Romania is described as a chessboard with the king, which symbolizes conditions caused by unexplained events, absorbing all the figures and as a result gets red with their blood (Müller, 2011, p. 67).

In the short story of Zaira Arsenishvili, Tamar dreams, how a famous juggler manipulates a big attraction on Rustaveli Avenue. Tamar has a feeling that something terrible will happen and asks her husband not to touch the attraction, while her husband reassures her that if something really dangerous happens, they have an opera house as a shelter. This dream reveals distrust and a sense of danger from the regime at the very beginning of the text. Soviet propaganda "juggled" the public with the promise of living in an idyllic, equal and fair world, but turned the "happy attraction" into a slaughterhouse, and the central street of Tbilisi - a place of surveillance and danger. Under the project of "Soviet monsters", the regime trains people who kill members of society like flies (Arsenishvili, 2020, pp. 21-23). The day before Shalva is shot at Soghanlugh, Tamar dreams about him, he says goodbye to her and adds that he is free now and is not afraid of anything. In her dream, Tamar notices the Chekist who arrested Shalva. Suddenly, the Chekist feels danger from Shalva and begs him not to kill him, to which Shalva responds: "If I do what you do, what will happen then? We will both find ourselves in hell ..." (Arsenishvili, 2020, p. 104). The described dream explains the central fear of Tamar/short story – that they can change Shalva leading to his spiritual and moral destruction. Tamar also fears that her son, Otar, like his peers, will reject his father who is declared an enemy and thus the regime will finally uproot the individual.

In the short story "When Fear and Dread Rage" and in the essay "King Bows and Kills" we come across the memories that unconsciously surface and belong to the implicit memory. This collective implicit memory has various effects, the most severe of which is trauma. It damages an individual's self-consciousness this being associated with painful and abusive experiences. Traumatic memories dig into the present and become an unattainable present (Tsagareli, 2016, p. 282). In these texts, humor is used as a representation of traumatic memories: Otar's friend Soso, who was evicted from his house and forced to reject his father, broke inside and uses humor to express this severe trauma: he tells girls at the university how he happily lives with the mice in the stairwell and how he was "taken care" from above not to be left alone; First they took his parents from him and then gave him mice as friends. Otar tells his mother a joke that conveys the deepest trauma of his generation - the absurdity of crime - how the totalitarian regime makes generations of parents and children accomplice in non-existent crime and creates the impression of infallibility of the leader/system. The joke accurately conveys the

spirit of the time: "The chairman comes out and says: People, the only issue on the agenda is the issue of your hanging... There is silence in the hall... People, don't you have anything to say before you die? – asks the chairman... Finally, one of them raises hand, stands up and asks in a matter-of-fact way: "Shall we take the ropes with us or do you have them?" (Arsenishvili, 2020, p. 147).

In Herta Müller's text the I-narrator and her friends realize that the days of their lives are measured by state arshin and resort to humor to convey this severe trauma, while laughter is seen as one of the means of overcoming trauma. The text uses sarcastic humor to suppress the fear: "We boldly adapted our word creation to the beginning of a German fairy tale: 'It happened once.' Then we would add: "There was and there was not what", because that is how all Romanian fairy tales began. Such a beginning of the Romanian classic fairy tale pointed to the lies told by the state regime and was reason enough for us to laugh heartily" (Müller, 2011, p. 85). The jokes given in the essay were also an opportunity to ridicule the regime, as it exposed the characteristic features of the system's operation, thus imaginatively dismantling the regime. Yet external impulses, knowledge of the real world, reminded them every minute that they were being listened, watched and therefore it was easy to encroach on their lives. Although the laughter becomes a kind of disguise in the conditions of the totalitarian regime which allows people to hide a deep-rooted fear, but the body remains a sign of traumatic memories. The discussion of the body in cultural studies focuses around the thesis that the body is not characterized by cultural markers, rather it is itself a medium and a carrier of signs. The role that the body assumes as an object is involved in a chain of changes (Öhlschläger, Wiens, 1996, p. 11). Herta Müller's essay describes how the body gets used to and expresses trauma, how it resists the conscious, because it is part of the unconscious language: If you succeed in taking possession of both your face and voice, this fear will spread from your fingers and cut out of your skin (Müller, 2011, p. 71). The I-narrator and his friends are aware how unfair it is to arrest people, but they cannot say it out loud (conscious action) for the fear of expecting retaliation. However, their bodies say the opposite - they resort to self-punishment and digging their nails into their palms, which is, on the one hand, an alternative form of resistance, and on the other hand, this act checks if they still have feelings and emotions.

Ceaușescu's regime uses bodies to demonstrate its power and destroys them in a variety of ways: through hitting a car, throwing them out of a window, throwing them to shepherds at the border, slicing them on a ship propeller in the river, and then feed them to fish and seagulls. The murders cannot be proven, and the culprit in these sudden, brutal crimes is still the victim. The violence against individuals is often marked on victim's hair, thus showing the degree of oppression - the system would shave everyone's hair clean, whoever fell into its clutches, thus claiming to be its property.

In Herta Müller's essay, combing son's hair evokes traumatic memories in mother: she remembers the hard experience of spending five years in the forced labor camp when she was a young girl with a long-braid. There people were shaved because of lice or stealing potatoes and beetroots. Hair is part of identity in the text and it is clear how hard it is when someone else takes possession of a single strand of your hair. Fingers betray the I-narrator's mother – when she is braiding the hair, her hair-twisting moves express the variability of moods and hysteria:

1) The hair is sectioned down the middle uneven, but both braids are neatly done behind the ears - the mother is more or less disturbed.

2) The hair is uneven, braids are disordered - the mother is irritated and deeply disturbed.

3) The hair is sectioned down the middle perfectly, the braids are perfect – the mother is calmed down.

In Zaira Arsenishvili's short story, janitor Zoya's body tells the story of her life, which goes back to one of the most difficult periods in world history - Holodomor.[7] The author uses elliptical sentences to describe Zoya's life thus emphasizing the hysteria of the character: "Apparently, she has told Tamar about their misfortune, famine, fall of the family, destruction of the village… Then left all alone, how she was coming…falling exhausted to the ground… huddled in bushes…" (Arsenishvili, 2020, p. 92). The deformation of Zoya's body and the destruction of her family are described on the background of the fall of humans. Although Zoya does not talk about her tragic past (the death of her children, famine, the fear of death by homicide), but her body keeps all the painful memories of the past. Her feet still have the marks of walking barefoot on a long way – scars from Skorokhod winter boots bound to her bare foot and how this painful memory became a permanent trace (Freud - Dauerspur). One part of Zoya's mind functions like a conscious process - new experiences are written on it - she is in Georgia, works as a janitor at the university and knows that she must love and fear the leader who took her life. [8] Although Zoya follows the daily routine set by the new reality, the traces of previous life have not disappeared. New external impulses may be rewritten on these remnants of the past are left but they cannot be eliminated. It is proved by the fact that Zoya deliberately damages a bust of Stalin in the library and she later admits to Tamar, Lily and Maro breaking it on the day of her children's death. Zoya's "crime" has become a way of repressing aggression and suffering for Tamar, Lily, and Maro as well, as they all have a common historical, political and life experience: their husbands were arrested, brothers were shot, houses were confiscated. Therefore, it turned out to be a delight for women to crush the bust of the leader and destroy the evidence.

Conclusion

The analysis of Zaira Arsenishvili's and Herta Müller's texts has revealed the role and function of remembering in totalitarian regimes - remembering is a precondition for self-identification, so the characters often return to normative texts, which they consider to be valuable, and with this act they manage to maintain their identity in the conditions in which the system establishes "values" favorable to the new ideology. In the story "When Fear and Dread Rage" and in the essay "The King Bows and Kills" characters' dreams reveal all the pains, traumas and fears that manifested themselves in the new historical environment and, consequently, the dreams described in the texts echo the social environment of the characters' real world. Using implicit memory, the Georgian and German-language authors describe traumatic memories in their works and use humor as a form of representation of these traumas, thus emphasizing the

[7] Голодомор -also known as the Terror-Famine and sometimes referred to as the Great Famine, was a famine in Soviet Ukraine from 1931 to 1933

[8] According to Freud, a permanent trace, which is inscribed in the unconscious as a result of external impulses, is manifested in bodily excitement and causes the activation of the conscious.

desire to overcome the trauma and, at the same time, its severity. At the same time, the trauma often becomes the reason for the characters to support one another.

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Extending the Nietzschean Metaphor of the Death of God in Poetry through Interrogating Style and Culture

Samson Osariemen Eguavoen[1] & Dilichukwu Lilian Efobi[2]

Abstract

This paper works from the perspectives of poetry, style, philosophy and culture to explore the extension of the Nietzschean metaphor of the "Death of God" in Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach," T. S. Eliot's "The Hollow Men" and Chinua Achebe's "The Lament of the Sacred Python" and "The Penalty of the Godhead." The paper exposes the interconnectedness of these poems of varied eras through their thematic thrust made prominent by the style adopted by the different poets. It argues that the link between the philosopher and the poets is their concern for the health of society. The reading of the selected four poems on the subject matter of the presumed loss of faith in God or gods and the promotion of more reliance on science and liberality by neoliberal world authorities reveal the dynamics of the contemporary terrain and its effects on the psyche of world citizens. The research reveals that the goal of the poets in the depiction of the precipice to which man is bound in their poetry is not only to historicize and poeticize their worries but also to escalate the situation of future members of society to such a point that caution could be taken and unwise philosophies jettisoned for time tested principles. It is also the goal of the poets to create an atmosphere for psychological healing. The research concludes that these poems have been able to drive home their point that God is not dead but that humanity has lost their way and place and is heading towards the precipice.

Keywords: Nietzsche, Death of God, Arnold, Eliot, Achebe, culture, poetry, stylistics

Introduction

Friedrich Nietzsche, a German philosopher wrote, "'Where is God?' 'I will tell you. We have killed him— you and I. All of us are his murderers'" (119-120). The Mad Man, Nietzsche's voice in *The Gay Science* continues, "God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him" (120). This statement has become popularly known as Nietzsche's "death of God" theology. This essay argues that this theology has two angles to it. The first angle refers to the decline of the belief in a supreme being who has divine powers to succor. In support of this stance, Nietzsche argues that the modern world is losing grasp of the traditional Christian belief in a loving God who created the world, set moral standards and promised the saints eternal life.

[1] Dr., Department of English and Literature, University of Benin, Benin City, osariemen.eguavoen@uniben.edu
[2] Lecturer, Department of English and Literature, University of Benin, Benin City, lilian.efobi@uniben.edu

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He cried and asked: "But how did we do this? How could we drink up the sea? Who gave us the sponge to wipe away the entire horizon?" He asks further: "[W]hat after all are these churches now if they are not the tombs and sepulchres of God?" (120). "Could it be possible! This old hermit in the forest has not yet heard of it, that God is dead!" — Nietzsche declares later in *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (Nietzsche, 2005, p. 35). The second angle to the theology looks at how contemporary society is progressively losing the cohesive influence of a value system to steer its actions and decisions. The once revered values and guiding principles of culture that held society together has become comparable to relics that can be discarded due to competing interests that have now mutated the sense of value society projects. Patrick Roney highlights this position when he proposed that: "[T]he meaning of the death of God lies in the sphere of moral values and valuation, and what the name "God" refers to is a hierarchical system of values that affirms otherworldly salvation based on the denigration of worldly existence" (98). Bretislav Horyna seems to project the same position when he argues against Nietzsche being the originator of this theology and explains that Nietzsche used the proclamation "as an illustrative shortcut when describing the intercultural processes of his time, with no ambition to originality, instead, with the clear intention of shaking up the (non)thought of the comfortable bureaucrats and legalistic petit bourgeois of Germany in the late 19th century" (1).

In the following analysis, we explore the complex world of Poetry by examining how poets engage the stylistic use of language to extend the Nietzschean theology or metaphor cum philosophy of the death of God and assert that the poetry selected for the examination are set to mourn the assumed and proleptic death of a stabilizing culture in contemporary times. T.S. Eliot's "Hollow Men", Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach" and Chinua Achebe's "Lament of the Sacred Python" and "Penalty of the Godhead" serve as the primary data for this research. T. S. Eliot doubles as both American and English poet. He is a twentieth century poet and averse to modern society's proneness to loss of religious faith, a background which he shares with Matthew Arnold, an unarguable nineteenth century English poet. Though Chinua Achebe has no English citizenship, he is from Nigeria, a former British or English colony and poet who writes in English. The three poets selected for this study are connected by the fact that they are modern poets. Their four poetic works, though diverse in origin and era, share common thematic threads – the erosion of belief in the once venerated gods, small or mighty through the activities of men which have waned their significance in society. They also share the theme of the waning moral values plaguing modern or contemporary society.

By examining the distinctive stylistic choices employed by the three selected poets, this paper aims to uncover the insights they offer into the loss of faith in cultural spiritual icons or gods and the consequential effects on the nature of modern man. Through a close examination of elements of phonetics and phonology, lexico-semantics and syntax, we demonstrate how these poems artfully convey the notion that gods, godly figures and what they stand for, both divine and philosophical, have lost their potency and are becoming relics of bygone era as they are being replaced by new fancies created by modern and contemporary men.

The Ideological Syntax of the Death of God

The manipulation of syntax serves as a powerful tool for conveying important themes and ideas, especially in poetry. In the four poems under study, a close examination of the syntactic choices and structural elements employed by the poets suggest a collective message. The analysis shows the ingenious ways in which syntax functions as a medium for conveying the poets' shared message of the decline and ultimate demise of the belief in gods and God in the modern world. Among the syntactic elements used in these poems include the use of enjambment, parallelism and repetition, varying sentence types, modality, ellipsis and fragmentation.

Enjambment is a common style used in these poems. The poets use it to create a sense of continuity and flow. Nonetheless, it is observed to also serve other purposes. In "The Hollow Men" (THM), a poem in which the poet has been quoted in an interview to say has connection with his prominent poem, The Wasteland. In that interview, Eliot notes:

> *The Hollow* Men originated out of separate poems… That's one way in which my mind does seem to have evolved through the years poetically—doing things separately and then seeing the possibility of focusing them together, altering them, making a kind of whole of them… The Hollow Men are like the city crowds of The Wasteland, the damned who are so because of lack of spiritual reality, even their sins lacking violence and conviction. (as qtd in Frank Kermode and John Hollander).

The above reflects the poet's ability to fuse and align seemingly unconnected parts to create beauty and highlight social reality through the tool of enjambment. Through its creative use of this poetic tool, the poem tends to create a sense of resignation. For example, lines 2 to 4 and 5 to 10 below, its use gives the poem a tone of emptiness and futility: "We are the stuffed men / leaning together/headpiece filled with straw" (Lines 2 -4).

> Alas!
>
> Our dried voices, when
>
> We whisper together
>
> Are quiet and meaningless
>
> As wind in dry grass
>
> Or rats' feet over broken glass
>
> In our dry cellar. (Lines 5-10)

The above extract clearly extends Nietzsche's position of the after effect of man's killing of God through the use of enjambment. A strong connection can be drawn between the ideological position of Eliot's poem with what Nietzsche expresses through the Mad man in *The Gay Science*, when he asks: "[W]hat were we doing when we unchained this earth from its sun? Whither is it moving now? Whither are we moving? Away from all suns? Are we not plunging continually? Is there still any up or down? Are we not straying as through an infinite nothing? Do we not fell the breath of empty space?" (120).

Eliot in a peculiar way draws inspiration from different sources to assert his ideological position. He does this through the epigraph he selected for the poem under study. From the epigraph, "Miztah Kurtz, he dead" to the last lines:

> This is the way the world ends

This is the way the world ends

This is the way the world ends

Not with a bang but a whimper

Eliot continues to use the musicality of enjambment to proleptically mourn the end of the world or the death of the natural and canal man who feels he can separate himself from God. The poem and the human world ending with a whimper reflects how man gradually and psychologically inundates himself from reason and estrange himself from being filled with supernatural power but embraces hollowness instead. Furthermore, the reader recognizes the similarity of stanza with the popular rhyme "[h]ere we go round the Mulberry bush…" This makes the reader to identify the contrast between the playful tone of the popular rhyme and the dark situation of the hollow men and this also makes the reader recognize the dim situation of the gods' powerlessness against their situation.

In the first stanza of "Lament of the Sacred Python" (LOTSP), the uninterrupted quality of the use of enjambment creates a sense of awe, reverence, pride and dignity. In the second stanza, it creates a sense of intrusion and desecration. In the third, it creates a sense of humiliation and persecution; in the fourth, a sense of betrayal and loss, while in the last, it creates a sense of horror and despair. This sense that the use of enjambment brings about in the poem, creates a sense of contrast in tone between the past and gradually unfolding present. It suggests from the perspective of a god what it means to lose attention or to be displaced and that these gods are not powerful after all, but are only given prominence by men; a mirage that is confused for power.

The flowing lines in Arnold's "Dover Beach" also contribute to the sense of desolation and hopelessness expressed in Eliot and Achebe's poems above. For example, lines 21-23 which reads: "The sea of Faith/Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore/Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled" shows how faith has since receded in modern social landscape. This suggests that the world has no sustaining force because the foundation of faith was hinged on an unsustainable source and as Nietzsche queries: "[H]as it not become colder? Is not night continually closing in on us? Do we not need to light lanterns in the morning?" (181).

In "The Hollow Men" (THM) the repetition of phrases like: "We are the hollow men" and "we are the stuffed men" in lines 2 and 3, 17 and 18 emphasizes the futility of emphasizing the permanence of any creation of man. The poet uses repetition to drive home the idea that gods created by men become meaningless and powerless with time the same way men who cut themselves from their creator become hollow. The juxtaposition of 'hollow' and 'stuffed' in these parallel structures, which suggest a stark contrast between the outer faced (stuffed) and the inner emptiness (hollow) of these gods, allows one to perceive the disconnect between the superficial appearance and the absence of spiritual depth. Similarly, in lines 72 to 90 the parallel structures and the artful use of repetition present the lines as distinct pairs, where the initial lines convey a sense of powerlessness and passitivity attributed to these small gods (for example, idea, motion, act, emotion, desire, potency, essence), while the subsequential lines suggest a more powerful manifestation of genuine power, a contrast to the portrayal in the first lines. The repeated invocation of 'For Thine is the Kingdom' apparently references the presence of a higher celestial power, establishing itself as the referential point for the second lines with words like reality, act, creation, response, spasm, existence, and descent). This

referential reality connects Eliot's poem to Achebe's "Penalty of the Godhead." In the narrative poem, Achebe presents in the form of a parable a practical poetic example of Nietzsche's position which is extended in THM but in Achebe's POTG, it also reflects on the place of the African household gods in the order of the sacred as exemplified in the narrated fire incident in the poem. The season is the dry season or the harmattan season. This season is symbolic in this poem. It represents a season of dryness, close and opposite metaphorically to the European season of winter. The harmattan season in Africa is a season when fire is frequent. The physical setting of the poem is the old man's hut in the rural area. The main furniture in the hut is a straw bed. The occupants of the hut are the old man, rats, roaches, and the household gods. According to the poem, the old man who is stricken in age manages to escape the fire. The rats and roaches also escape the fire. Only the household gods are left to perish in the fire. The significance of this part of the poem is relevant to assessing the relationship which exists among the gods. Extracts from the poem are quoted below:

> The old man's bed
> of straw caught a flame blown
> from overnight logs by harmattan's
> incendiary breath. Defying his age and
> sickness he rose and steered himself
> smoke-blind to safety.
> …
> Household gods alone
> frozen in ritual black with blood
> of endless tribute festooned in feathers
> perished in the blazing pyre
> of that hut.

The situation the poem paints is the type that causes one to raise questions. The first question likely to be raised is: why is the main character in the poem an old man? The second question could be: Were the household gods burnt or their effigies victims of the inferno? The third question that could be asked is: Why is there no attempt made to save the gods or their effigies? The fourth question is: What message is the poet trying to send? The answers to these questions reveal the thrust of the poem and fundamental part of the argument of this paper.

An attempt at the first question raised reveals that the worship of the gods has been abandoned by the young. This reflects the first penalty that the household gods have to suffer, their abandonment by the rising generation. This abandonment reflects their death and the disenchantment of this younger generation towards traditional religion. The disenchantment of the youth towards traditionally worshipped gods hint on the philosophical death of smaller gods as an extension of the proclamation by Nietzsche. This abandonment, going by the title of the poem, also portends that they have incurred the wrath of a higher God. The fire in the poem is a firm acknowledgement of this wrath. It is this fire that carries out the penalty of the Godhead. The Godhead in the poem is perhaps the Igbo "Chukwu" who dwells in the sky and is the head of other gods in Igbo cosmology. This position becomes clear when the poem

is read along with Achebe's position in the essay, "The Igbo World and Its Art." Achebe notes in this essay that: "in popular contemporary usage the Igbo formulate their view of the world as "No condition is permanent." In Igbo cosmology, even gods could fall out of use; and new forces are liable to appear without warning in the temporal and metaphysical firmament" (64).

The use of parallelism and repetition in THM clearly highlights the disparity between the feeble deities and true divine power. These further reinforce the fact that small gods are impotent contraptions that fall out of significance with time. In lines 11 and 12 which reads: "Shape without form, shade without colour,/Paralysed force, gesture without motion;" the parallel structures also reinforce this same idea – that these contraptions of man have lost their significance and presence in the world.

In the concluding lines in the poem, repetition and parallelism are also used. They end in a very pessimistic note for the gods. The use of parallelism and repetition here suggests a sense of futility and inevitability, suggesting that the world of idols and significance is collapsing and they are helpless to prevent it. In all, parallelism and repetition as used in this poem, contributes to the overall mood of despair and hopelessness associated with any belief in small gods.

In "LOTSP", the use of parallelism and repetition in lines 29 and 30, not only creates a sense of urgency by highlighting the danger the python faces but also emphasizes the contrast between the python's once respected status and its current predicament. Their use in these lines effectively highlights the loss of reverence for the python, indicating that small gods have lost their significance in today's society. Achebe uses the poem to buttress the effect of colonialism and its culture and religion on African traditional religion and culture. The poem also reflects the abandoning of African traditional religion for the religion of the colonial missionaries by younger Africans. The poem reflects on the age of African traditional religion and culture as well. This is indicative of what the python says in the poem thus, "I was there when lizards// were ones and twos, child/ of ancient river god Idemili…" Basil Davidson confirms this:

The origin of religion in Africa, as in other continents, lie far back in the dawn of human society. They took shape in remote times when mankind first multiplied and spread across the world… the python was honoured in ancient Meroe, capital of the African empire of Kush on the middle Nile, more than two thousand years ago; and the python is similarly honoured in other African lands. (156)

Despite the age of the African traditional religion and culture, its contact with a new religion and culture still created a conflict that led to its being abandoned by the youth who are easily taken by what they see. As put by the python in the poem:

> But of late
>
> A wandering god pursued,
>
> It seems, by hideous things
>
> He did at home has come to us
>
> And pitched his tent here
>
> Beneath the people's holy tree
>
> And hoisted from its pinnacle

A charlatan bell that calls
Unknown monotones of revolts,
Scandals, and false immunities.
And I that none before could meet except
In fear though I brought no terrors
From creation's day of gifts I must now
Turn on my track
In dishonorable flight
Where children stop their play
To shriek in my ringing ears:
Look out, python! Look out, python!
Christians relish python flesh!

The ideology expressed by Achebe's poem shows, arguably, that the deities never really had true sustainable power in the first place. However, the voice of the python in this poem is representative of the voice of Africa and of her people. The views of the python can as well stand for the views of the poet and any true African who knows that a man does not throwaway what makes him unique because he wants to look like another person.

"Dover Beach" (DB) has a similar use of parallel structures as is noticeable in Achebe's poem analysed above. Lines 32 to 34 reveal striking parallel structures– 'so various, so beautiful, so new / Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor peace, nor help for pain' these lines illustrate the dwindling prominence of religious faith in today's society. The initial description of the world as "various" and "beautiful" suggests an image of former glory which is reminiscent of the once revered faiths. However, the subsequent phrase demonstrates that the once revered deities lack the ability to control their destinies and have become powerless to offer a sense of security or calm.

Epistemic modality used to express certainty and uncertainty can be seen in line 1 of LSP – "I was there". This expresses a sense of certainty while "it seems" in line 14 conveys doubt and uncertainty. Line 1 thus highlights the changing beliefs and values and reinforces the fact that idol gods are no longer essential and that their existence is uncertain and fading away. Again, there is the use of sentence type to suggest that suggests that the gods are no longer revered. For example, the use of declarative sentences by the python (line 6). However, in lines 29/30, imperative sentences are used to instruct or command the python to "look out!" – conveying a sense of urgency and warning to the once- revered and feared python.

Ellipsis and Fragmentation are other syntactic elements seen to stylistically convey meaning in the poems. They are seen to contribute to the themes of emptiness, powerlessness, and despair. For example, in THM the poet uses them to show the disjointed and disconnected nature of the existence of small gods. In lines 92 -93, the use of ellipses suggests that something is missing, unspoken and unresolved. This mirrors the idea that the hollow men are incomplete and lost. This use of ellipses is also seen in lines 92-94 of the same poem, which is a biblical allusion to the Lord's Prayer. By breaking this reference with ellipses, the poem suggests a disconnect or inevitable absence of power and glory in the world of the small gods. This

reinforces the idea that the gods are helpless, impotent and that their world is on the brink of completely collapsing.

Phonological Idea of the Death of God

Phonological strategies that reinforce the idea that "God is dead" in the poems include the use of rhyme and rhythm, and alliteration. For example, in THM, the alliteration of / ʃ / in "shape without form" and "shade without colour" (line 11) reinforces the sense of formlessness and meaninglessness. It conveys the notion that their existence does not have relevance. Also, in line 68 -70, the alliteration of /p/- "prickly pear", in the adaptation of the nursery rhyme (here we go round the mulberry bush), apart from adding to the musicality of the poem, its abrupt percussive quality mirrors the harshness of the situation and highlights the contrast between innocence and human mourning. This creates a stark contrast between the original child-like imagery of the nursery rhyme and the prickly pear which is a symbol of hardship and adversity. This contrast suggests that people are engaging in futile and painful ritual or struggles. This highlights the sense of existential crises associated with lack of true divine guidance.

In "LOTSP", the alliteration of the / ʃ / in "relish" and "flesh" in line 30 mirrors the apparent disregard for the python. / ʃ / has a sharp and sibilant quality which may evoke a sense of mockery. The repetition, like a shushing sound may be said to accentuate a fading of the python's relevance in society.

Alliteration of certain sounds in lines 32 and 34 – "so various, so beautiful, so new / neither joy, nor love, nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain" contributes to the rhythmic patterns that mimic the poets' thoughts as he contemplates the idea of a continuous cycle of emptiness and despair in a world that lacks divine guidance.

Making Meaning of the Idea of the Death of God

The stylistic use of words also presents a very rich array of meaning that significantly contributes to the interpretation of the texts. The poems make use of such devices as imagery, figurative expressions, wordplay, intertextuality, collocation and aspects of pragmatics to drive home the idea that God is dead.

Imagery and is mostly seen to create a vivid sensory experience that enables readers connect with the idea that God is dead in the poems. For example, in the "Lament of the Scared Python", imagery reinforces the idea that the old sacred beliefs have lost their significance. Such words as "royal gait" and "sacred", and "dishonourable flight" and "betrayed", use imagery to contrast the past and present, illustrating the degradation of the python's status. They are used to show how things have changed for the worse for the gods. "Filling down funeral paths" also evokes a sense of death and foreboding and suggests that the presence of the python lacks any positive energy or enduring power and is doomed from the beginning to be discarded with. Also, in "THM", the use of such words as "stuffed", "straw", "dry grass", "paralysed force, "gesture without motion", evokes the imagery of a scarecrow with its illusory power and no real authority or influence. The use of such words creates a sense that the power of the gods relies on the misguided belief of humans rather than actual divine power. Being a

creation of the misguided beliefs of humans in their perfect imperfection, inconsistencies and the god's ultimate demise are bound to prevail.

There is the use of auditory imagery in lines 8 -9 of THM. Such words as "broken glass", "dry grass", "rat's feet", where the reader can almost hear the rustling of the grass and the unsettling sounds of rats moving over shattered glass enhances the emotional resonance of the poem and reinforces the theme of spiritual desolation in the poem. The world ending with a "whimper", (line 98) also has a similar effect, adding to the imagery of loss and insignificance that accompanies the hollow ones.

In "Dover Beach", Arnold's use of shifting tone, mood and images convey a sense of loss and emptiness. In the first stanza, the calmness of nature undisturbed is contrasted against the misery that humanity continue to embrace. For example, in lines 3/4, on the French coast the light gleans and is gone", suggests not only the fleeting nature of faith or hope in a fragile power but reflects the beauty of nature. At the end of this stanza, even nature begins to feel the precipice that man is heading towards as the waves "…bring / the eternal note of sadness in" (lines 13-14). The "sea of Faith", once "at the full", but now withdraws in a melancholic long roar (lines 21-26) in the third stanza of the poem also suggests this, in addition to a decline of religious beliefs and its influence in society. The core of the poem resides in the third stanza as reflected in these lines, the belief in nature's God "was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore/ lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled" (lines 22-23). However, the final image of "ignorant armies" that "clash by night" in the last lines suggests war, chaos and violence that result from lack of divine insight or enlightenment that may lead to questions of the source of moral values and meaning in life.

Some references in the poems make use of references from external sources. Intertextuality references other texts and is observed to be used in this poem to enrich the meanings of the poems. In "THM" For example, the title and the epigraph of the poem are taken from Joseph Conrad's novel, *Heart of Darkness*, in which the character Kurts, a corrupt colonialist, is described as "hollow at the core" (80). Eliot uses this reference to suggest that the hollow men are spiritually and morally empty. The hollow men are insignificant figures who have no true impact on society. In the poem, they are seen to have no true value or significance. In LSP, there is also reference to the last supper - "feast of an errant cannibal god/Tooth-filled to eat his fellow" (line 38-39), where Jesus is depicted as offering and eating his own flesh and blood in the Eucharist. However, in the poem, it is used to highlight how the Christian religion has invaded and consumed the traditional religion and how the python has lost its sacredness and power because it has no true power to defend itself with in the first place. In DB, the reference to Sophocles, the ancient Greek playwright, reporting that he had heard the same sound of the sea as the poet on the Aegean, suggests that human history has for a long time, had no divine plan or purpose. This further suggests that with only misguided beliefs, humans are doomed to lack meaningful existence like the melancholic withdrawal of fragile religious beliefs. Yes, humanity is doomed to fight blindly and senselessly as long as no true divine power guides their path. This is particularly reflected through the allusion to the historical future that Sophocles in *Antigone* foresaw, especially the danger that the world currently drives towards thus:

> Sophocles long ago
>
> Heard it on the Aegean, and it brought

Into his mind the turbid ebb and flow

Of human misery … (711)

Reading these same lines, Eric Trethewey, querying the genealogy of human misery, asserts that there has always been an attack on religious worship. Trethewey expounds on his position by drawing a connection between Arnold and Sophocles and notes further: "Sophocles occupied a position in antiquity analogous to Arnold's in the nineteenth century; he was a poet with a profoundly religious sensibility, articulating a religious view of life in an age when Greek religion, the traditional forms of belief, were losing their power to compel assent" (1320).

Components of literary pragmatics have also been deployed by the poets in revealing their ideological position and this can be seen in line 1 of "Dover Beach" – The sea is calm tonight. The use of the temporal deixis "is calm tonight", creates a sense of immediacy which suggests a quest for sense when all the noise of old beliefs have died down. In lines 1/22, one has to employ implicature to determine that the sea of faith is now low or empty, and that there is a decline in religious belief and practice. A kind of faith that losses its vitality in this manner is one which has been judged to be ineffective and impotent.

The use of figurative expressions such as the use of personification, ironies, paradox and metaphor also illustrate the fading significance of gods in the poems. In lines 41 to 44 in THM, there is the use of paradox the expression where "stone images" "receive the supplication of a dead man's hand". The paradox lies in the fact that they are stone images (inanimate) and yet, receive supplication, which is a religious divine act, yet the context is that of emptiness and desolation. This emphasizes the spiritual hollowness of the situation and reflects the futility of seeking divine intervention in impotent deities devoid of real meaning or power.

Conclusion

The fact that some men have killed God in their lives because of their embrace of neoliberalism, building their faith instead on science does not mean that God has ceased to be. We conclude as Gerald Manly Hopkins notes "And for all this, nature is never spent" (line 9, God's Grandeur"). We add that like the sea in DB bringing the eternal note of sadness in, that humanity has only caused deity to grieve over them, their loss and imminent destruction. These poems are warnings and if these warnings are heeded there may still be hope for humanity's redemption. God and nature are the stabilizing force that the world cannot do without.

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Zwischen Welten Schreiben: Interkulturelle Schnittstellen in Yoko Tawadas Oeuvre

Shreya Gaikwad[1]

Abstract

Dieser Artikel untersucht das Konzept der interkulturellen Literatur am Beispiel der Werke von Yoko Tawada und hebt ihren innovativen Umgang mit der deutschen Sprache sowie die Auseinandersetzung mit bikultureller Identität hervor. Die ursprünglich im deutschsprachigen Literaturbetrieb marginalisierte interkulturelle Literatur von Autoren nichtdeutscher Herkunft hat inzwischen einen festen Platz gefunden, wobei Tawada als herausragendes Beispiel gilt. Ihre Werke thematisieren kulturelle Konflikte und Diskriminierungserfahrungen in Deutschland und bieten durch ihre bikulturelle Perspektive neue sprachliche Ausdrucksformen. Tawada versteht ihre Literatur als Klangkunst und betont die akustischen Eigenschaften der deutschen Sprache, die sie als Nicht-Muttersprachlerin besonders wahrnimmt. Ihre Texte inszenieren einen „naiven Blick", wobei der Erwerb einer Fremdsprache mit einer zweiten Kindheit verglichen wird, die von spielerischem Umgang mit Sprache geprägt ist. Die Fremdheitserfahrungen lassen Vertrautes ungewohnt erscheinen und fordern die Wahrnehmung der Leser heraus. Zentrale Themen sind die Schwierigkeiten des Spracherwerbs, Kulturschocks und der symbolische Übergang von der „Muttersprache" zur „Sprachmutter". Durch sprachliche Kreativität und hybride Identität überschreitet Tawada kulturelle und sprachliche Grenzen und schafft eine heterolinguale Literatur, die den deutschsprachigen Literaturdiskurs bereichert. Der Artikel analysiert ihre stilistischen Strategien und verdeutlicht, wie ihre Werke das Wesen interkultureller Literatur verkörpern.

Keywords: Interkulturelle Literatur, Bikulturelle Identität, Spracherwerb, Sprachliche Kreativität, Kulturkonflikt

Abstract

This article explores the concept of intercultural literature through the works of Yoko Tawada, emphasizing her innovative use of the German language and her exploration of bicultural identity. Initially marginalized within the German literary landscape, intercultural literature by non-German authors has gained significant recognition, with Tawada being a prime example. Her works highlight cultural conflicts and discriminatory experiences in Germany, using her bicultural perspective to offer fresh linguistic expressions. Tawada's unique approach, often

[1] Assist. Prof. Dr., Centre of German Studies, SLL&CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, shreya@jnu.ac.in

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described as "literature as sound," emphasizes the acoustic qualities of the German language, which she explores due to her position as a non-native speaker. Her texts showcase a "naive gaze," likening the process of learning a foreign language to a second childhood, characterized by playful experimentation with words and sounds. Tawada's literature reveals how foreignness can render familiar objects and concepts strange, thus challenging readers' perceptions. Central to her writing are the complexities of language acquisition, cultural shock, and the symbolic transition from the "mother tongue" to a "language mother." Through linguistic creativity and hybrid identity, Tawada transcends cultural and linguistic boundaries, creating heterolingual literature that enriches German literary discourse. This article analyzes her stylistic strategies, exploring how her works embody the essence of intercultural literature.

Keywords: Intercultural Literature, Bicultural Identity, Language Acquisition, Linguistic Creativity, Cultural Conflict

Extended Abstract

Writing Between Worlds: Intercultural Interfaces in Yoko Tawada's Oeuvre

This article delves into the realm of intercultural literature through an in-depth analysis of Yoko Tawada's works, focusing on her innovative use of the German language, her exploration of bicultural identity, and her engagement with linguistic creativity. Intercultural literature, particularly that written by authors of non-German descent, has historically been marginalized within the German literary landscape. However, in recent decades, it has established a significant presence, with Yoko Tawada emerging as a prominent figure in this literary sphere. Tawada's literary oeuvre challenges traditional boundaries of language and culture, providing a fresh perspective on issues of identity, foreignness, and cultural displacement.

Tawada, born in Japan and writing in both Japanese and German, uses her bicultural background as a literary tool rather than a hindrance. Her works exemplify how the intersection of two cultures and languages can lead to innovative narrative forms and linguistic experimentation. Central to her literary approach is the concept of "literature as sound." Unlike conventional literature, which prioritizes textuality and visual interpretation, Tawada emphasizes the auditory qualities of language. Her experience with the German language as a foreign tongue has heightened her sensitivity to its phonetic nuances. This attention to sound is not merely stylistic but deeply thematic, reflecting her broader exploration of language as a living, dynamic entity capable of shaping perceptions and experiences.

A recurring theme in Tawada's works is the confrontation with cultural conflicts and discriminatory encounters in Germany. Her narratives often feature protagonists navigating the complexities of living between cultures, encountering both overt and subtle forms of exclusion. In her text *Talisman*, the narrator recounts a moment when a German acquaintance comments, "The light plays on your skin differently than on ours" (Tawada, 1996, p. 45). This remark, laden with implications of otherness, highlights the everyday instances of cultural alienation faced by individuals perceived as foreign. Tawada's response to such experiences is marked by a blend of irony, reflection, and linguistic playfulness, underscoring the complexities of intercultural communication and the pervasive nature of implicit biases.

One of the distinguishing features of Tawada's writing is her "naive gaze" or what has been termed "calculated naivety." This narrative strategy involves adopting a perspective that views familiar cultural elements as strange or wondrous, thereby defamiliarizing the ordinary. By perceiving the German cultural landscape through the eyes of a foreigner, Tawada exposes the arbitrary nature of cultural norms and linguistic conventions. This technique is closely linked to her portrayal of language learning as a form of "second childhood." Just as a child acquires language through trial, error, and curiosity, Tawada's narrators often approach the German language with a sense of playful exploration. This perspective allows her to question taken-for-granted aspects of language and culture, offering readers a fresh lens through which to examine their own linguistic assumptions.

Tawada's engagement with language goes beyond semantics to encompass the materiality of words and sounds. In interviews and essays, she has expressed a fascination with the sonic qualities of German, noting how certain words evoke distinct sensations and associations. For instance, she contrasts the words "professionell" (professional) and "Beruf" (profession), observing that the former sounds businesslike and clichéd, while the latter carries a weightier, almost religious connotation (Tawada, 2002, p. 128). Such reflections reveal her acute awareness of the interplay between sound, meaning, and cultural context. By drawing attention to the auditory dimension of language, Tawada challenges the primacy of visual literacy and invites readers to engage with literature in a more multisensory manner.

The theme of cultural disorientation and the challenges of adapting to a foreign environment are also central to Tawada's work. Upon her arrival in Germany, she experienced a profound sense of alienation, exacerbated by linguistic barriers and cultural differences. Her narratives capture the bewilderment of encountering unfamiliar customs, linguistic idiosyncrasies, and societal expectations. In *Talisman*, the narrator describes her initial struggle with German vocabulary, noting how everyday objects seemed transformed when named in a foreign language. The German word for pencil, "Bleistift," evokes a sense of novelty and estrangement, as if referring to an entirely new object (Tawada, 1996, p. 9). Such experiences underscore the deep connections between language, perception, and identity, highlighting the transformative potential of linguistic displacement.

Another significant aspect of Tawada's literature is her exploration of grammatical gender in German, a concept absent in Japanese. The narrator's confusion and fascination with the gendered nature of German nouns serve as a metaphor for broader questions of identity and belonging. In grappling with the necessity of assigning masculine, feminine, or neuter articles to objects, Tawada illuminates the cultural embeddedness of linguistic structures. Her playful engagement with gendered language not only critiques linguistic conventions but also reflects her broader interest in challenging binary oppositions and fixed categories.

Tawada's literary experimentation extends to her thematic exploration of the relationship between the "mother tongue" and the "language mother." While the former is associated with innate familiarity and unreflective usage, the latter represents a chosen linguistic identity that requires conscious engagement and continuous learning. This distinction highlights the agency involved in adopting a new language and the creative possibilities it affords. Tawada's decision to write in German, despite its foreignness, exemplifies her commitment to exploring the boundaries of linguistic expression and the potential for cross-cultural dialogue.

Her works also reveal a deep-seated curiosity about the metaphysical implications of language. By comparing the acquisition of a foreign language to the act of removing staples with a stapler

remover, Tawada suggests that learning a new language involves unfastening entrenched associations and opening oneself to new modes of thought (Tawada, 1996, p. 15). This metaphor encapsulates her broader literary project of dismantling linguistic and cultural certainties to uncover the fluidity and multiplicity of identity.

In conclusion, Yoko Tawada's literature embodies the essence of intercultural writing by transcending linguistic and cultural boundaries through innovative stylistic strategies and thematic depth. Her works challenge readers to reconsider their assumptions about language, identity, and culture, offering a rich exploration of the complexities inherent in navigating multiple cultural worlds. By foregrounding the acoustic qualities of language, embracing a "naive gaze," and engaging with the challenges of linguistic displacement, Tawada creates a heterolingual literary space that enriches the German literary landscape. Her exploration of bicultural identity and linguistic creativity not only reflects her personal experiences but also resonates with broader contemporary discussions on migration, multiculturalism, and the evolving nature of language in an increasingly globalized world. Through her unique literary voice, Tawada invites readers to embrace the unfamiliar, question the familiar, and discover the transformative potential of intercultural encounters.

0. Einleitung

Die sogenannte interkulturelle Literatur von Autoren nichtdeutscher Herkunft, die lange Zeit innerhalb des deutschsprachigen Literaturbetriebs marginalisiert wurde, hat mittlerweile ihren festen Platz gefunden und wird heute als eine signifikante Sparte der deutschsprachigen Literatur anerkannt. Anfangs der Kategorie der „Außenseiter" der deutschen Literatur zugeordnet, erleben die Autoren mit Migrationshintergrund gegenwärtig in Deutschland einen Popularitätsschub. Die oftmals „bikulturellen" und „mehrsprachigen" Autoren tragen zur Bereicherung der deutschen Literatur bei, indem sie neue Themen und einen ungewöhnlichen Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache in ihren Werken einbringen. Der bikulturelle Hintergrund dieser Autoren ist kein Hindernis für ihr literarisches Schaffen, sondern kreiert durch den „doppelten" Blickwinkel eine heterolinguale Schreibweise, die die monolingualen Normen durchkreuzt. Die Mehrsprachigkeit, die hybride Identität und ihr transkultureller Lebensweg ist für sie ein künstlerischer Stimulus. Denn gerade aus ihrem bikulturellen Hintergrund erwächst ihre Schreibmotivation, die in einigen Fällen die Freiheit eines spielerisch-kreativen Umgangs mit der deutschen Sprache ermöglicht. Als ein gutes Beispiel solcher „bikulturellen" und sprachlich innovativen AutorInnen gilt Yoko Tawada. Das Schreiben, und zwar das Schreiben in der „Fremdsprache" Deutsch, grenzt die Werke dieser Autorin von den anderen Werken deutschsprachiger Literatur ab. Weil sie in einer für sie fremden Sprache schreibt, gewinnt der Umgang mit der deutschen Sprache in ihren Werken eine besondere Bedeutung. Die Werke der Autorin werden in der deutschsprachigen Literatur als „interkulturelle Literatur" etikettiert, weil sie die deutsche Sprache nicht als ihre Muttersprache gelernt hat. Das Entdecken der deutschen Sprache und das experimentelle Spiel mit dieser gilt als ein typisches Element der interkulturellen Literatur. Im Rahmen dieses Artikels sind schwerpunktmäßig die formalen/ sprachlichen Besonderheiten sowie die stilistischen Strategien der interkulturellen Literatur am Beispiel von Tawadas Texten zu untersuchen. Die hier behandelte Autorin versucht in ihren Texten die Begegnung zwischen zwei Sprachen - der japanischen und der deutschen - literarisch aufzuzeigen. Sie überschreitet durch ihre Literatur Kultur- und Sprachgrenzen. Infolgedessen enthält die interkulturelle Literatur ein hohes Kreativitätspotenzial, da sie sich in beiden Sprachräumen bewegt. Das Anliegen dieses Artikels ist es, anhand dieser Texte zu untersuchen, was interkulturelle Literatur bedeutet und welche hybriden Sprachspiele sie entwickelt. Der Artikel versucht unter Berücksichtigung biographischer, inhaltlicher sowie sprachlich-stilistischer Faktoren der Frage nachzugehen, ob und inwiefern diese Autorin die Grenzen zwischen Kulturen überschreitet und eine neue heterolinguale Literatur ins Leben ruft.

1. Themen und Motive:

Tawada beschreibt in ihren Werken den Kulturkonflikt und diskriminierende Situationen in Deutschland. Die Ich-Erzählerin im Werk *Talisman* wundert sich über eine Aussage von einem Bekannten in Deutschland, der zu ihr sagte: „Das Licht spielt auf *eurer* Haut anders als auf *unserer*" (Tawada, 1996, S. 45). Darauf reagiert sie wie folgt: „Daß er die zwei Wörter »eurer« und »unserer« so sehr betonte, überraschte mich. Ich konnte seine Absicht nicht verstehen" (Tawada, 1996, S. 45 f.). Eine weitere diskriminierende Episode aus dem Werk schildert, wie eine Dame die Ich-Erzählerin nach einem Bach-Konzert fragte: „Wie finden Sie *unsere* Musik?" Die Ich- Erzählerin war schockiert:

> Soll Bach dieser Frau gehören und nicht mir, nur weil er in den Städten lebte, die heute der Bundesrepublik gehören? Ich war entsetzt. Ich bin noch nie auf die Idee gekommen, zum Beispiel Nô-Theatermusik als »unsere« Musik zu bezeichnen. Denn was soll das Wort »wir« bedeuten? Geister haben sowieso keine Nationalitäten. (Tawada, 1996, S. 117).

Tawada hat jedoch eine nahezu neutrale Haltung zum Begriff der „Migrantenliteratur". Laut Tawada könnte der Begriff der „Migrantionsliteratur" die Autoren stören, weil er ihre Literatur nicht korrekt beschreibt. Aber was für Tawada zählt, ist die zunehmende Popularität der sogenannten Migrationsliteratur: „Ich denke nicht, dass man als Migranten-Literaten diskriminiert oder an den Rand gedrückt wird. Unter den gut verkauften AutorInnen sind auch MigrantInnen heutzutage. Daher ist es kein Nachteil und auch kein Vorteil" (Horst, 2022).

2. Tawadas Literatur als Klang

Tawada hat der deutschen Literatur eine neue Dimension eröffnet. Sie versteht die „Literatur als Klang" (Amadeo, Hörner, Kiemle, 2009, S. 173). In der Regel herrscht in der Literatur das Primat der Schriftlichkeit. Tawada akzentuiert in ihrer Literatur jedoch die Wichtigkeit des Akustischen, den Klang der Sprache. Erst die Begegnung mit der fremden Kultur, die Differenzerfahrung von der Muttersprache zur fremden Sprache hat ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die Klanglichkeit, auf die akustische Dimension der Sprache gelenkt. So äußert sich Tawada in einem Interview über ihr Verständnis von „Literatur als Klang", das ihr die deutsche Sprache beschert hat:

> Als ich in Japan lebte, war der Klang für mich überhaupt nicht wichtig [...] Aus dieser Situation heraus kam ich nach Deutschland und hörte dann Deutsch [...] So habe ich zum ersten Mal diese Nicht-Schrift-Literatur, diese deutsche orale Kultur kennen gelernt. Deutsch war von Anfang an für mich auch deshalb gesprochene und nicht visuelle Literatur, der Klang war von Anfang an auch wichtig geworden. Das ist unendlich, unerschöpflich, dieser Klang, Literatur als Klang (Amadeo, Hörner, Kiemle, 2009, S. 213 f.).

Tawada analysiert jedes Wort nach seinem Klang, weil die Begegnung mit der Fremdsprache ihren akustischen Sinn eröffnet hat. Das folgende Beispiel aus ihrem Werk offenbart die Analysetechnik der Wörter nach ihrem Klang: „»Professionell« klingt im Deutschen geschäftstüchtig und floskelhaft, während »Der Beruf« immer noch schwer und fast religiös klingt. Man wird zu einem Beruf berufen. Ich möchte weder professionell sein noch einen Beruf haben" (Tawada, 2002, S. 128).

3. Inszenieren des „naiven Blicks"

Das Primat des Mündlichen in der Fremdsprache kann auch dadurch begründet sein, dass ein Kind zuerst spricht, ohne die grammatischen Regeln oder die Schrift der Muttersprache zu lernen. Auch Tawada vergleicht den Prozess des Fremdsprachenlernens mit der Kindheit in ihren Werken. Tawada zufolge erlebt man eine zweite Kindheit beim Fremdsprachenlernen, weil man die Fremdsprache zuerst mündlich wahrnimmt, ohne unbedingt die Bedeutungen von Wörtern zu wissen. Man macht auch viele Fehler wie die Kinder und lernt aus den eigenen Fehlern die richtigen Wörter und ihre Bedeutungen. Sie äußert sich über die Beziehung zwischen der Fremdsprache und der Kindheit in ihrem Werk *Überseezungen* wie folgt:

> Es gibt Menschen, die behaupten, in einer Fremdsprache ist die Kindheit abwesend. Aber ich fand nirgendwo so viel Kindheit wie in der deutschen Sprache. Schmatzen, schnaufen, schluchzen, schlürfen: viele deutsche Wörter klingen wie Onomatopoesie. Für die Neugeborenen klingt vielleicht jede Sprache so wie Deutsch für mich (Tawada, 2002, S. 110).

Tawada inszeniert in ihren Werken einen „naiven Blick" bzw. eine „gespielte Naivität", mit der die dargestellte Welt betrachtet wird. Andrea Krauß behauptet, dass es bei Tawada um eine „kalkulierte Naivität" geht, weil die Ich-Erzählerin in *Talisman* selbst von der Kindheit spricht: „Wenn man eine neue Sprachmutter hat, kann man eine zweite Kindheit erleben" (Krauß, 2002, S. 70; Tawada, 1996, S. 13). Diese Kindlichkeit führt zu ungewohnten Formulierungen und Fehlern, wie ein Kind sie beim Erwerb der Muttersprache macht. Dass Tawada die fremde Welt nicht als eine komplexe metaphysische Realität, sondern als eine konkrete Wirklichkeit, als die „Dingwelt" mit einfachen Gegenständen wahrnimmt und darstellt, beweist das Vorliegen eines kindlichen Blickwinkels. Ihre Texte verweisen auf alltägliche, ganz banale Dinge, die dem deutschen Leser zwar vertraut sind, aber der japanischen Erzählerin wegen der sprachlich-kulturellen Unterschiede wundersam und erstaunlich vorkommen. Daraus erfolgt eine seltsame Beschreibung dieser Dinge aus einer fremden, staunenden Perspektive, sodass das vermeintlich Vertraute nun auch dem deutschen Leser fremd erscheint.

4. Anfangsprobleme/ Kulturschock

Natürlich musste auch Tawada wie alle anderen Fremdsprachenlerner nach ihrer Ankunft im fremden Land mit vielen Problemen kämpfen, u.a. mit Kommunikationsproblemen sowie mit den vielen neuen Eindrücken des fremden Landes. Die folgende Episode aus Tawadas Werk *Talisman* soll als ein Beispiel für die Anfangsirritationen im fremden Land dienen. Dennoch waren es vor allem die anfänglichen Sprachschwierigkeiten, die die Auslöser waren für Tawadas Schreibimpuls. So schildert sie, wie die Ich-Erzählerin in ihrem ersten Jahr in Deutschland täglich über neun Stunden schlafen musste, um sich „von den vielen Eindrücken zu erholen" (Tawada, 1996, S. 9). Es fiel ihr schwer, die Gegenstände im Büro plötzlich mit einem neuen deutschen Namen zu bezeichnen, weil sie diese bisher nur mit ihren japanischen Namen kannte. Erst nach vielen Überlegungen stellte sie fest, dass ihre Beziehung zu allen Gegenständen eine „sprachliche" gewesen war. Sie erkennt die Macht der Sprache erst nach der Ankunft im fremden Sprachraum, denn in der Muttersprache sind einem die Wörter selbstverständlich. Erst beim Erlernen einer Fremdsprache werden die alten Bezeichnungen in Frage gestellt und neue Bezeichnungen und Bedeutungen gelernt. Im ersten Kapitel des Werkes *Talisman* hat die Ich-Erzählerin täglich solche Sprachprobleme. Das neue Wort für den japanischen „Enpitsu" lautete nun im Deutschen „Bleistift": „Das Wort »Bleistift« machte mir den Eindruck, als hätte ich mit einem neuen Gegenstand zu tun. Ich hatte ein leichtes Schamgefühl, wenn ich ihn mit dem neuen Namen bezeichnen musste" (Tawada, 1996, S. 9). Ein weiteres Sprachproblem war verbunden mit dem kulturspezifischen Gebrauch der Wörter. Als die deutsche Kollegin der Ich-Erzählerin ihren Bleistift verflucht, weil er nicht funktioniert, ist die Ich-Erzählerin tief erstaunt über die Tatsache, dass man im Deutschen auch Gegenstände beschimpfen kann. Denn „in der japanischen Sprache kann man einen Bleistift nicht auf diese Weise personifizieren" (Tawada, 1996, S. 10). Der deutsche Animismus, so wie sie es im Text bezeichnet, hat dafür gesorgt, dass ihr die Gegenstände in

der deutschen Umgebung plötzlich lebendig vorkommen. Das dritte und das größte Problem mit der Fremdsprache Deutsch, dem auch alle Deutsch als Fremdsprache Lernenden zustimmen würden, ist das grammatikalische Geschlecht aller Gegenstände im Deutschen. Sowohl konkrete Dinge wie auch Abstraktionen, alles muss im Deutschen ein Geschlecht besitzen, während im Japanischen, so die Ich-Erzählerin, „nicht einmal ein Mann männlich ist" (Tawada, 1996, S. 11). Sie musste sich viel mit der für die neuartigen Geschlechtlichkeit von Wörtern befassen und diese auswendig lernen, um sie im Kopf zu behalten. Der Enpitsu, der jetzt „Der Bleistift" heißen sollte und auch lebendig geworden war, sollte nun auch noch ein männliches Geschlecht haben. Und somit bekam sie eine neue deutsche Ansicht über die Gegenstände auf ihrem Tisch:

> Der Zauberspruch brachte mir langsam einen neuen Blick. Das kleine Reich auf dem Schreibtisch wurde nach und nach sexualisiert: der Bleistift, der Kugelschreiber, der Füller - die männlichen Gestalten lagen männlich da und standen wieder männlich auf, wenn ich sie in die Hand nahm (Tawada, 1996, S. 12).

Die weibliche Schreibmaschine, die ihr die neue Sprache schenkt, nennt sie die „Sprachmutter" und so verlief jeden Tag der Übergang von der „Muttersprache zur Sprachmutter" im fremden Land. Sie musste jedes Wort und seine Bedeutung hinterfragen und selbst die Antworten darauf finden. Ein interessantes Verhältnis zwischen der Muttersprache und der Fremdsprache erwähnt die Ich-Erzählerin in diesem Kapitel, wobei sie die beiden mit einer Heftklammer bzw. einem Heftklammerentferner vergleicht:

> In der Muttersprache sind die Worte den Menschen angeheftet, so dass man selten spielerische Freude an der Sprache empfinden kann [...] In einer Fremdsprache hat man aber so etwas wie einen Heftklammerentferner: Es entfernt alles, was sich aneinanderheftet und sich festklammert (Tawada, 1996, S. 15).

Während der Mensch seine Muttersprache nicht auswählen kann, könne man selbst entscheiden, welche Fremdsprache man lernen will. Laut der Ich-Erzählerin macht „die Muttersprache die Person, die Person hingegen kann in einer Fremdsprache etwas machen" (Tawada, 2002, S. 111).

5. Sprachmischung durch Mehrsprachigkeit

Diese Ansicht über die Fremdsprache, die mehr Freiheit des spielerischen Umgangs mit der Sprache biete, bildet den Stoff für Tawadas Literatur. Die Literatur ist für Tawada keine ermüdende und schwierige Arbeit, sondern eine vergnügliche und fröhliche. Sie vergleicht das Schreiben in der Fremdsprache mit dem „Spielen" und genießt ihre Arbeit. Im Zwischenraum zwischen den zwei Sprachen findet Tawada den Platz fürs Spielen und sagt: „As a writer I can play with that displacement, play in a rather serious manner, but play nevertheless" (Brandt, 2005, S. 7). Weil ihre Werke, insbesondere auf die deutschen Leser ungewöhnlich wirken, weil sie einen neuen „japanischen" Blickwinkel auf die deutsche Sprache bekommen, werden ihre Werke von den meisten Lesern als rätselhaft und unbegreifbar empfunden. Tawada bezeichnet ihre Werke selbst als „enigmatisch" und behauptet: „Yes, because an enigma does not exist in a priori. You have to create it through the thinking process. And producing this mystery gives me joy and pleasure" (Totten, 1999, S. 97).

Die exotische Kombination der deutschen Sprache mit einer „japanischen Brille" (Tawada,

1996, S. 50). erzeugt viele Sprachspiele. Diese Brille kann die Autorin nicht nach ihrer Wahl auf- oder absetzen, sondern diese sei in ihr Fleisch hineingewachsen, so wie ihr Fleisch in die Brille hineinwuchs. Sie stellt die Bedeutungen von vielen deutschen Wörtern in Frage, wie z.B.: „Der Geruch ist das, was gerochen wird. Der Gehör ist dagegen nicht das, was gehört wird" (Tawada, 2002, S. 21). Es gibt bei ihr auch Schwierigkeiten bei der Assoziation von Wörtern mit deren Bildern im Kopf: „Früher musste ich bei dem deutschen Ausdruck »Ich weiß« immer an die Farbe Weiß denken. »Ich weiß« hieß: »Ich, papierweiß«. Das Ich wird weiß wie ein unbeschriebenes Blatt Papier, wenn dieses Ich etwas weiß" (Tawada, 2002, S. 34). Auch das deutsche Schimpfwort „Arschloch" fand sie höchst erstaunlich: „Es ist seltsam, dachte ich mir, dass man den Namen eines Körperteils als Schimpfwort benutzt. Ich war verblüfft von der Idee, dass dieser Mann mich mit einem unverzichtbaren Körperteil gleichsetzte" (Tawada, 2002, S. 29).

Sie mischt auch Wörter aus dem Japanischen mit ihrem deutschen Gegenstück, um merkwürdige Spiele zu erzeugen: „Heidelberg, was für ein seltsamer Name, »del« heißt auf Japanisch »auftauchen«, also bedeutet »Heidelberg« der Berg, auf dem ein Hai auftaucht, was für eine Stadt" (Tawada, 2002, S. 44).

Sie beschreibt auch ihren Schreibprozess, der sich laut Tawada spontan und impulsiv vollzieht. Ihr Schreibprozess ähnelt dem Prozess des Wucherns. Sie nimmt ein Wort und montiert eine ganze Geschichte um dieses Wort. Für sie ist jedes Wort wichtig: „A single word can inspire me. When this happens, I want to create a whole text out of that one word, which seems to contain the entire microcosm" (Brandt, 2006, S. 45). Aus diesem einzigen Wort entsteht ein ganzer Text. Denn „A text is a weird and wonderful plant that has grown in all directions out of a single word knot" (Brandt, 2006, S. 45). Sie versucht immer, den Subtext hinter dem fremden Wort zu ent-decken: „Diese Wörter motivierten mich hin und wieder, die äußere Verpackung zu öffnen, um eine weitere Verpackung darunter zu entdecken" (Tawada, 1996, S. 44).

Die linguistische Neuprägung des Begriffs der „Quersprachigkeit" ist geeignet, das Phänomen der Interkulturalität zu erläutern (List & List, 2001). Der Begriff der „Quersprachigkeit" bezeichnet den multilingualen Sprachgebrauch in einer transkulturellen Gesellschaft, der auch die verfremdend wirkende Mischsprache der Zuwanderer einschließt. Denn auch bei diesen Autoren geht es nicht um die eine oder die andere Sprache, sondern um die Überschneidung, um den Zwischenraum zwischen den beiden Sprachen. Außerdem führt die sogenannte „Quersprachigkeit", d.h. die Koexistenz zweier Sprachen in die Gedankenwelt der Autoren, zur Entstehung vieler Sprachspiele, mit denen Autoren, wie z.B. Yoko Tawada in ihren Werken experimentieren. Die Mehrsprachigkeit ermöglicht eine Vielzahl von kombinatorischen Experimenten, neuen Wortschöpfungen und Bedeutungen, die oft, weil sie nicht dem Erwartungshorizont des Lesers entsprechen, humorvoll, verblüffend und wunderlich auf den Leser wirken. Die Sprache selbst wird zu einem Hauptthema der Literatur dieser Autoren. Laut Clara Ervedosa sei Tawada sogar besessen von der Sprache als Thema ihrer Werke: „Tawadas Texte drücken eine Besessenheit von der Sprache aus, sie machen Tawada zu einer wahren Semiotikerin des Fremden" (Ervedosa, 2005, S. 572). Tawadas Protagonistinnen nehmen die fremde Welt durch die Sprache wahr und deswegen spielt die Sprache in den meisten Texten Tawadas eine unerlässliche Rolle. Das folgende Beispiel aus

einem Werk Tawadas zeigt das Phänomen der Quersprachigkeit bzw. der Vermischung zweier Sprachen, Deutsch und Japanisch, sehr gut. In einem Werk von Tawada heißt es:

> Eine Woche später fragte mich eine Frau: Haben Sie ein Velo? Ich war erschrocken, denn »Velo« klingt fast genauso wie ein japanisches Wort, das »Zunge« bedeutet. Haben Sie eine Zunge? Das ist eine wichtige Frage. Haben Sie eine Zunge, die man braucht, um hierher zu gehören? Nein, habe ich nicht. Denn meine Zunge kann die Wörter nicht so aussprechen wie die Zunge der Einheimischen (Tawada, 2002, S. 52).

Das zeigt, dass Tawada manchmal deutsche Wörter mit japanischen Bedeutungen assoziiert, was Verständnisprobleme bei ihr erzeugt. Das ist auch der Fall bei allen Fremdsprachenlernern. Denn man kann sich nicht gänzlich vom Einfluss der Muttersprache befreien. Man lernt die Fremdsprache durch muttersprachliche Assoziationen und die Vermischung beider Sprachen löst solche Sprachirritationen aus.

Yoko Tawada hat Deutsch als Fremdsprache im Erwachsenalter gelernt. Sie gibt zu, dass sie beim Fremdsprachenerwerb viele Schwierigkeiten gehabt hat, z.B. Tawada große Probleme mit der Phonetik und dem Hörverständnis der Fremdsprache. Eine Konversation auf Deutsch gelang ihr lange Zeit nicht, weil sie die Aussprache der Deutschen nicht verstand. Die kulturspezifischen Sitten und Gebräuche haben ihr auch Schwierigkeiten bereitet, wie z.B. folgendem Zitat zu entnehmen ist: „Ich konnte sagen, was ich wollte. Aber was die Leute von mir wollten, habe ich nie verstanden. Es nützte auch nichts, wenn ich dann genauer hingeschaut, hingehört habe" (Amadeo, Hörner, Kiemle, 2009, S. 149). Die Beziehung zur deutschen Sprache bezeichnet Tawada als „eigenartig literarisch" und erklärt: „In Tokyo kann man besser essen, aber in Hamburg kann ich besser schreiben" (Botschaft von Japan in Deutschland, 2022). Sie weiß, die Macht der Sprache zu benutzen und mit ihr zu spielen, denn „die Sprache hat Macht, die Sprache kann das Herz der Menschen bewegen" (Horst, 2022).

Die sprachlichen „Peinlichkeiten" sollen, so Tawada, nicht vermieden werden, wenn man kreativ und experimentierfreudig sein will. Ein Muttersprachler bemerkt die Schönheit der Sprache in der Regel nicht und die Sprache wird von ihm nur auf die Funktionalität reduziert. Bei der Fremdsprache bekommt man aber wieder die Chance, den kreativen Wert der Sprache zu erfahren. Tawada erklärt ihr Verhältnis zur deutschen Sprache selbst wie folgt:

> Im Deutschen finde ich die Wörter sehr lebendig, sehr konkret, die einzelnen Wörter und sogar die einzelnen Silben und die Buchstaben, alle sind so frisch, obwohl ich sie kenne. Sie sind interessant, sie sind inspirierend, und wenn ich auf Deutsch schreibe, kann ich viel besser verstehen, was ich schreibe, während ich Japanisch schreiben kann ohne zu denken. Im Deutschen kommt ein Wort aus dem Text heraus wie ein Stein und erschlägt mich.- Und das ist der Vorteil bei der Fremdsprache (Horst, 2022).

Auch in ihren Werken, u.a. in *Überseezungen* wählt sie ein Wort aus und sucht nach den verschiedenen Bedeutungen des Wortes, eine Eigenschaft, die typisch für Tawada ist, weil sie jedes Wort und jede Silbe anziehend findet. Ein Beispiel für das Wortspiel bei Tawada wäre das folgende:

> Ein Gefühl haben, unterdrücken oder zeigen: Das Gefühl ist heutzutage verdinglicht worden und deshalb kann man es auch verletzen. Ein Gefühl stelle ich wie ein Stück Fleisch vor, rosa, feucht, lauwarm. Wenn ein Lüge ins Gefühl kommen würde, könnte ein Geflügel entstehen (Tawada, 2002, S. 152).

Bis heute geht Tawada mit der deutschen Sprache sehr bewusst und sorgfältig um. Sie nimmt jedes Wort und dessen Bedeutungsgehalt unter die Lupe und versucht, es zu analysieren, um

dadurch neue Wörter, neue Bedeutungen und neue Beziehungen zwischen den beiden zu erzeugen. Tawada richtet einen durchdringenden Röntgenblick auf die deutsche Sprache und somit werden die Zeichen und Buchstaben in ihren Werken lebendig und spielen die Hauptrolle als Protagonisten. Tawada nennt diese lebendigen Wörter „Trennungen" oder „Stolpersteine", weil sie dazu dienen, dass der Leser entweder die bestimmte Stelle nochmals lesen muss oder darüber einen Moment nachdenken muss, um den Inhalt verstehen zu können. Tawada erläutert ihre sprachspielerischen Kunstgriffe wie folgt: „Trennung ist eine sehr gute Beschreibung, denn das sollte so etwas wie eine Schwelle, wie ein Stolperstein sein [...] das spielt ein bisschen mit dem Inhalt, mit der Bedeutung des Zeichens, und führt nicht dazu, dass man das nicht versteht" (Amadeo, Hörner, Kiemle, 2009, S. 151). Ein Beispiel für einen solchen Stolperstein in ihrem Werk ist das folgende: „Mein Gefühl zu dem Wort »teilen« ist gespalten. Share oder divide?" (Tawada, 2002, S. 127).

Somit lässt sich feststellen, dass Tawada mit ihrer Fremdheit ganz zufrieden ist und diese in ihren literarischen Werken bewusst thematisiert. Ihr kreativer Sprachgebrauch und der sonderbare, unkonventionelle Schreibstil tragen zur Bereicherung der deutschen Sprache bei.

6. Ausdruck der Fremdheit

Tawadas Hauptthemen sind Reise, Sprachtransfer, Verwandlung, Kommunikationsschwierigkeiten in der Fremdsprache, Fremdheit und die Begegnung mit der Fremde, Entfremdung, Kulturschock, Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen der japanischen und der deutschen Kultur und Sprache usw. Die Sprache und die Fremdartigkeit der Sprache bilden ein zentrales Thema ihrer Werke. Tawada unterscheidet sich vom konventionellen Diskurs über die Fremde, indem sie versucht, sich dem Fremden durch sinnliche Erfahrungen anzunähern. Die körperlichen Reaktionen auf das Fremde stehen im Mittelpunkt ihrer Texte. Weil der Körperteil „Zunge" metonymisch für Sprache steht und auch bei der Artikulation der Fremdsprache wichtig ist, taucht die „Zunge" in ihren Werken oft als ein zentrales Motiv auf. Sogar der Titel eines ihrer berühmten Werke lautet *Überseezungen*, eine Anspielung auf „Übersetzungen" und erzählt von verschiedenartigen „Zungen" bzw. Sprachen verschiedener Regionen der Welt. Die Wichtigkeit der Zunge bei Tawadas Fremdheitserfahrung drückt sich wie folgt aus:

> Ich möchte aber Europa nicht mehr optisch, sondern mit meiner Zunge wahrnehmen. Wenn meine Zunge Europa schmeckt und *Europa* spricht, könnte ich vielleicht die Grenze zwischen Betrachter und Objekt überschreiten. Denn das Gegessene kommt in den Magen hinein und das Gesprochene durch das Gehirn ins Fleisch (Tawada, 1996, S. 50).

Bei der Ankunft im Fremden erleben Tawada und ihre Hauptfiguren nicht nur sprachliche Probleme, sondern vor allem physiologische bzw. körperliche Assimilierungsschwierigkeiten. Denn ihr Körper reagiert auf die fremde Umgebung auch auf eine ungewöhnliche Weise. Dieser Bezug auf das Körperliche bildet einen wichtigen Teil von Tawadas Literatur. Denn „jeder fremde Klang, jeder fremde Blick und jeder fremde Geschmack wirkten unangenehm auf den Körper, so lange, bis der Körper sich veränderte" (Tawada, 1996, S. 41). Um die Wörter in der Fremdsprache zu produzieren, muss sich zunächst einmal die Zunge bemühen, die bisher nie im Mundraum produzierten fremden Wörter zu artikulieren. Bei der Artikulation der fremden Wörter geschieht die Verlebendigung der Sprache, so die Ich-Erzählerin, „schmeckte meine Zunge plötzlich fremd. Die Ö-Laute zum Beispiel drängten sich zu tief in

meine Ohren und die R-Laute kratzten in meinem Hals. Es gab auch Redewendungen, bei denen ich eine Gänsehaut bekam" (Tawada, 1996, S. 41).

Sie stellt die Wörter und ihre Bedeutungen in Frage und bricht in ihren Werken die tradierten Beziehungen zwischen Signifikat und Signifikant auseinander, um durch die Dekonstruktion Verfremdung, Ironie und Satire zu erzeugen. Florian Gelzer schreibt in seinem Aufsatz: „Jenseits von gängigen Deutungen lässt sich die Erzählerin lenken vom Klang und dem Schriftbild der Fremdwörter und ‚liest' ihre Umgebung als ein System von Zeichen, denen sie ihre eigenen Bedeutungen verleiht" (Gelzer, 1999, S. 75). Bei Tawada werden die Musikalität und die Klanglichkeit der Fremdsprache wichtiger, weil sie selbst den charakteristischen Inhalt ihrer Texte bilden. Tawada arbeitet in ihren Werken auch mit Ideogrammen und hebt somit die Bildschrift hervor, die auf den deutschen Leser fremd wirkt. Sie bezeichnet sich als eine „Wanderin", eine „Wortreisende", die sich zwischen den beiden Sprachen hin- und herbewegt. Das Fremde ist keine Bedrohung für sie, sondern eine Herausforderung, die sie bereitwillig annimmt. Sie empfindet Fremdheit als befreiend und inspirierend, weil das Fremdsein Tawada zufolge eine „Kunst" sei. Das Eigene und das Fremde gelten nicht mehr als Gegensätze, sondern spiegeln sich gegenseitig.

7. Die Spannung zwischen der Muttersprache und der Fremdsprache: semantische Verschiebung, Verfremdung und Humor

Tawada wird häufig ein Perspektivenspiel zugeschrieben, das der sog. „fiktiven Ethnologie" (Hänsch-Hervieux, 2006, S. 49). Bei dem ethnologischen Blick handelt es sich um eine japanische Perspektive, mit der die deutsche Welt betrachtet und dargestellt wird. Verena Hänsch-Hervieux vertritt die Auffassung, dass der durch diese Erzählstrategie beim Leser ausgelöste „Verfremdungseffekt" dafür sorgt, dass „die Welt so neu gelesen und neu dechiffriert" wird (Hänsch-Hervieux, 2006, S. 49). Diese Erzählstrategie wird in der Regel als „doppelte Optik" bezeichnet, bzw. eine doppelte Perspektive auf das Fremde, die aus dem Eigenen stammt. Der doppelte Blick geht vom Eigenen aus und überträgt das Eigene auf das Fremde, um die beiden Pole durch einen Vergleich näher zu beleuchten. Durch diese Methode nimmt die Verständigung zwischen den beiden Kulturen zu, sodass man sowohl das Eigene wie auch das Fremde besser versteht.

In Tawadas Texten werden die beiden Sprachen, bzw. die Fremdsprache Deutsch sowie die Muttersprache Japanisch in einen Zusammenhang gestellt. Sie werden auf eine ungewöhnliche Weise miteinander verknüpft. Dadurch kommt die Hybridität in ihren Werken ins Spiel. Tawada lässt ihre Muttersprache Japanisch in den Texten eine omnipräsente Rolle spielen, sodass die geschriebene Sprache bzw. Deutsch aus einer japanischen Perspektive eingeführt wird. Entweder wählt sie Japanisch als ihren Ausgangspunkt, sodass die deutsche Kultur durch Missverständnisse fehlinterpretiert wird. Oder sie geht von der japanischen Grammatik aus, um deutsche grammatische Regeln in Frage zu stellen. Manchmal stehen sogar japanische Ideogramme in ihren Werken, die sie mittels der deutschen Sprache neu analysiert. Umgekehrt gibt es auch Fälle, wo sie vom Deutschen ausgeht, z.B. ein Objekt mit einem unbekannten Namen und dieses mit dem japanischen Objekt vergleicht. Sie verleiht Gegenständen japanische Namen und versucht durch diese Vermischung beider Sprachen die Hybridität und ihre Zweisprachigkeit literarisch zu verarbeiten. Daraus lässt sich das Fazit ziehen, dass

Tawada absichtlich die japanische Sprache als ein grundlegendes Element ihrer Werke einsetzt, um den Verfremdungseffekt beim deutschen Leser auszulösen. Durch diese sprachliche Strategie der „semantischen Verschiebung" entsteht eine komische Wirkung, die manchmal auch Humor erzeugt. Viktor Šklovskij versteht unter der semantischen Verschiebung eine poetische Strategie des Dichters, der ein Wort aus seinem überlieferten Sinnzusammenhang reißt und dieses in einen neuen Kontext versetzt (Šklovskij, 1984). Da der Leser jetzt dieses Wort in einem ganz anderen Kontext liest, schlagen seine Leseerwartungen fehl, sodass das vermeintlich vertraute Wort auf den Leser nun fremd wirkt und ihn zum Lachen bringt. Kilchmann formuliert die gleiche Auffassung: Sprachmischung resultiert in einem distanzierenden Effekt zum Wort der je eigenen Sprache und in Komik. Die deutschen Leser lachen über ein Wort ihrer Muttersprache, das plötzlich >komisch< aussieht" (Kilchmann, 2012, S. 125).

Die semantische Verschiebung soll laut den Formalisten zur Befreiung der Wörter aus ihren konventionellen Bedeutungsfeldern beitragen. Denn die Schönheit der Literatur besteht nicht im reinen Konformismus der etablierten Normen, sondern im Normenbruch. Tawada versucht mit ihrer Literatur eben diese Befreiung (Entautomatisierung) der Wörter aus ihren tradierten Bedeutungen, indem sie deutsche Wörter in neue, ungewöhnliche Kontexte versetzt und ihnen überraschende Bedeutungen zuschreibt. Der Zwischenraum zwischen den zwei Kulturen fungiert für sie als Raum für Kreativität. Als Tawadas Schreibtechnik bezeichnet Ervedosa „das fröhliche Dekonstruieren konventioneller Sichtweisen sowohl auf die Wirklichkeit als auch auf die Sprache" (Ervedosa, 2005, S. 580). Tawada operiert in ihren Texten mit der spielerischen Technik der „Ostränie" (Verfremdungseffekt), die das Bekannte in Frage stellt, dekonstruiert und mittels neuer Perspektiven des Fremden ein unkonventionelles Bild des Eigenen hervorbringt. Bei dieser Verfremdungsstrategie geht es nicht um die Annäherung an das Fremde, sondern um die „Verfremdung des Fremden" selbst. Die Strategie soll „das (Un)Bekannte ver-frem-den, d.h. unbekannt(er) machen und so dem Leser vorführen, dass nicht nur das kulturell Fremde, sondern auch das Eigene als fremd erscheinen kann" (Ervedosa, 2005, S. 569). Ervedosas Meinung nach nutzt Tawada gerade die Distanz zwischen zwei Kulturen, der eigenen und der fremden, um mit der Sprache in der Literatur zu experimentieren. Tawada übersetzt das Fremde nicht in die Sprache des Bekannten, sondern stellt das Fremde in seiner Fremdheit dar. Sie versucht nicht, die Distanz zwischen dem Fremden und dem Eigenen zu überbrücken, sondern experimentiert mit ihrer Unübersetzbarkeit. Eine ähnliche These stellt Andrea Albrecht auf, indem sie für Tawadas Literatur den Begriff der „Lückenvergrößerung" vorschlägt (Albrecht, 2011, S. 285). Tawada nutzt ihre zweisprachige Kompetenz, nicht um die Kluft zwischen den beiden Sprachen und Kulturen zu beseitigen, sondern, so Albrecht, „den Zusammenstoß von deutschem und japanischem Sprach-, Schrift- und Denksystem" herzustellen, um „Lücken zu entdecken oder zu erzeugen und die Lücken zu vergrößern" (Albrecht, 2011, S. 285). Denn gerade der Durchgang zwischen den zwei Sprachräumen ist der fruchtbare Boden für die interkulturelle Literatur.

Das folgende Beispiel aus Tawadas Werk *Überseezungen* exemplifiziert Tawadas Strategie der Verfremdung: „Meine Zunge beginnt plötzlich, Japanisch zu sprechen, itsudemodommatokonidemoyomigaettekuru..." (Tawada, 2002, S. 12). Hier steht das japanische Wort, das vielleicht auf Japanisch etwas bedeutet, unerklärt im deutschen Text. Der Leser bekommt keine deutsche Übersetzung des Wortes und ist irritiert. Das ist dasselbe

Gefühl, das Tawada als eine Fremde in Deutschland hatte, als sie die deutsche Sprache nicht verstehen konnte. In einem weiteren Werk von Tawada, *Talisman*, steht sogar auf jeder Seite des Buches die japanische Version des Textes, sodass auch die deutsche Seite auf den Leser anders wirkt. Andrea Krauß behauptet, dass der Text nicht nur deshalb fremd wirkt, „weil er linksseitig im japanischen Original abgedruckt ist, sondern mehr noch, weil er wirklich ein ganz anderer Text zu sein scheint" (Krauß, 2002, S. 62). Man versteht den japanischen Text nicht, trotzdem steht er im Text, um zur Entstehung des Verfremdungseffekts beizutragen.

Noch ein weiteres Beispiel verdeutlicht die Vermischung der beiden Sprachen bei Tawada. In einem Text aus *Überseezungen* heißt es, dass das deutsche Wort „Ich" zum Lieblingswort der Erzählerin wird, weil es, anders als im Japanischen, kein Geschlecht haben muss. Ein Ich kann entweder männlich oder weiblich sein, während im Japanischen auch das Personalpronomen für die erste Person sexualisiert wird. Die Ich-Erzählerin ist sehr glücklich über die deutsche Sprache, weil in ihr jeder für sich einfach ein „Ich" benutzen kann. Sie sagt: „Im Japanischen gibt es auch das Wort „bin", das klingt genau gleich und bedeutet „eine Flasche". Wenn ich mit den beiden Wörtern „ich bin" eine Geschichte zu erzählen beginne, öffnet sich ein Raum, das Ich ist ein Pinselansatz, und die Flasche ist leer" (Tawada, 2002, S. 57). Die Beispiele weisen darauf hin, dass Tawada beide Sprachen auf semantischer, semiotischer sowie grammatischer Ebene miteinander vermischt und austauscht.

8. Neologismus

Die Bildung von Neologismen durch neue Kompositabildungen kann auch als eine Schreibtechnik Tawadas gewertet werden. Durch die Umdrehung des Wortes „Muttersprache" wird ein neues Kompositum gebildet: „Sprachmutter", das zunächst auf die Leser verfremdend wirkt. Denn es gibt kein solches Wort im Deutschen, aber Tawada bezeichnet damit ihre Schreibmaschine, die sie die Fremdsprache sozusagen lehrt. Schon im Titel dieses Aufsatzes zeigt sich eine klare Transformation *Von der Muttersprache zur Sprachmutter* (So lautet der Titel des Eröffnungsessays aus Tawadas Werk *Talisman*), die metonymisch für die Reise von der Heimat ins fremde Land steht. Der Leser soll diese neuen Wortschöpfungen näher betrachten und analysieren, um die darunter liegende Botschaft zu verstehen. Miho Mitsunaga zufolge gehört der Neologismus zu einer der wichtigsten Strategien Tawadas. Denn sie erfindet ständig neue Wörter auf Deutsch und überlässt es dem Leser, was er unter dem Wort versteht (Matsunaga, 2010, S. 453). Beispielsweise der Titel des Werkes *Überseezungen* erscheint dem deutschsprachigen Leser seltsam. Denn es gibt kein solches Wort in der deutschen Sprache. Wenn man den ersten Teil des Wortes „Übersee-" liest, erwartet der Leser, dass dem ersten Teil „Übersee-" ein zweiter Teil wie z.B. „-hafen" oder „-transport" folgen wird. Tawada bricht aber die Erwartungen des Lesers und bildet eine ungewöhnliche Komposition mit dem zusätzlichen Suffix: „-zungen". Es geht bei dem Neologismus um eine Doppelfrequenz, denn klanglich ist das Wort „Überseezungen" mit „Übersetzungen" verwandt. Inhaltlich werden im Kopf des Lesers beim Wort „Übersee-" außerdem Assoziationen an Fische oder Wasser angeregt. Sie ellipsiert nur einen einzigen Buchstaben „t" und ersetzt ihn durch ein „e" und weicht hier vom normalen Kontext ab. Dadurch wird der Sprachtransfer und Fremdsprachentransport von der japanischen Kultur in den deutschen Sprachraum nachgebildet. Ihre Neologismen sind einerseits selbstreferentiell, aber sie werden aus ihrem konventionellen Kontext herausgenommen und in ein neues Wortfeld gesetzt.

Deswegen klingt ihre Sprache so musikalisch, weil ihre Wörter unser akustisches Gedächtnisarchiv aktivieren und zugleich unsere Erwartungen nicht erfüllen. Dadurch schafft sie es, durch kleine Wortspiele überraschende Effekte auszulösen.

9. Das semiotische Spiel: Auflösung der Grenzen zwischen dem Signifikat und dem Signifikant

Jürgen Schiewe stellt in seinem Essay fest: „Das Spiel mit den Signifikanten ist ein zentrales Charakteristikum des literarischen Werks von Yoko Tawada" (Schiewe, 2011, S. 237). Denn das Schreiben in der Fremdsprache bietet mehr Raum für Kreativität und Experimente als das Schreiben in der Muttersprache. Das Spiel mit der Sprache drückt sich im folgenden Beispiel aus:

> Ein Ladenschild mit einer rätselhaften Form fesselte meinen Blick. Als ich die Fremdenführerin fragte, was diese Form bedeutete, sagte sie nur, das sei eine Brezel. Ein B-rätsel? Ein schönes Wort. Im Schaufenster sah ich ein Brot, das genau dieselbe rätselhafte Form hatte wie das Ladenschild. Das war also ein Stück B-rätsel. Wahrscheinlich bedeutet diese Form etwas Schönes in der Geheimsprache des Bäckers (Tawada, 1996, S. 29 f.).

In diesem Beispiel spielt Tawada mit der Sprache auf zwei Ebenen, einmal schreibt sie das Wort „Brezel" auf eine ganz neue Weise als „B-rätsel". Schon in der neuen Form des Inhalts Brezel steckt ein „Rätsel". Im zweiten Teil des Zitats schreibt sie der unbekannten Form ein Objekt, also ein Brot zu. Sie spielt also sowohl mit der Form wie auch mit dem Inhalt eines Wortes. Sie stellt deutsche Signifikanten in Frage und schreibt den Objekten neue Bedeutungen zu. Bei Tawada kommen die Ausdrucks- sowie die Inhaltsseite einer Bezeichnung durcheinander, was Mehrdeutigkeit erzeugt. Tawada erklärt ihre Schreibtechnik wie folgt: „Eine Sprache, die man nicht gelernt hat, ist eine durchsichtige Wand. Man kann bis in die Ferne hindurchschauen, weil einem keine Bedeutung im Wege ist. Jedes Wort ist unendlich offen, es kann alles bedeuten" (Tawada, 1996, S. 33).

10. Technik der „flüssigen Zirkulation": Eine grenzüberschreitende Literatur

Tsuchiya Masahiko erklärt das Phänomen der Grenzüberschreitung durch die interkulturelle Literatur wie folgt:

> [Die transkulturellen Autoren] setzen sich mit der deutschen Gesellschaft und Kultur mit fremdem und verfremdendem Blick auseinander, [...] indem sie ihre literarische Sprache im Zwischenraum der Kulturen aufbauen, sie begeben sich also auf kulturelle Grenzgänge jenseits der festen Territorien von Staat und Volk (Masahiko, 2012, S. 380-385).

Aufgrund der grenzüberschreitenden Natur der interkulturellen Literatur stellt Andrea Krauß die These auf, dass Tawadas Texte „vielleicht für eine Kulturtheorie der (flüssigen) Zirkulation" plädieren (Krauß, 2002, S. 76). Unter dem Begriff der flüssigen Zirkulation ist eine dynamische Kulturtheorie zu verstehen, die sich nicht auf kulturelle oder nationale Grenzen beschränkt, sondern die ganze Welt als eine, so Krauß, „Wasserkugel" versteht. Wasser ist ein zentrales Motiv in Tawadas Werken und symbolisiert die ganze Erde, denn das Wasser ist auf der ganzen Erdkugel gleichermaßen verbreitet. Das Wasser verbindet verschiedene Regionen der Erde miteinander und verflüssigt nationale und kulturelle Grenzen. In diesem Sinne durchquert auch Tawadas Literatur jede kulturelle, sprachliche Grenze und

führt zur Entstehung einer grenzüberschreitenden „Weltliteratur". Ottmar Ette bezeichnet Tawadas Literatur daher als eine „Utopie", die über national-kulturelle Grenzen hinausgeht. Er bezeichnet Tawadas Stil als eine selbstentwickelte Form des „ZwischenWeltenSchreibens" (Ette, 2010, S. 218). Die Autorin pendelt immer wieder zwischen Japan und Deutschland. Laut Ette hat sich bei Tawada der Aneignungsprozess an die Fremdsprache nicht konventionell vollzogen, denn sie hat Deutsch in ihre eigene Sprache verwandelt. Daher wird Tawadas Schreibweise als translingual kategorisiert. Sie distanziert sich nicht von ihrer alten Identität, um die neue Sprache zu lernen, sondern erzeugt eine Mischung beider Identitäten in ihren Werken. Sie nimmt Europa durch eine „japanische Brille" wahr und die Brille sei, so Ette, „diskursiver, genauer: transkultureller und translingualer Natur" (Ette, 2010, S. 221). Mit Recht argumentiert Ette, dass der Leser die Präsenz der japanischen Sprache auch im deutschen Text spüren kann, wie z.B. das „Wörterbuchdorf", das in *Talisman* als ein „Buch im Buch" steckt, so ist die japanische Sprache und Kultur in Tawadas deutscher Literatur ständig präsent. Vielleicht kann man diese „neue deutsche Literatur" auch als eine grenzüberschreitende „Weltliteratur" ansehen. In der modernen globalisierten Welt sind viele Grenzen aufgelöst und es ist daher nahezu unmöglich, von Kulturen als individuellen Entitäten mit festen Konturen zu sprechen. In der modernen Zeit ist es atavistisch, die bikulturellen Autoren als Fremde zu stigmatisieren. Die neue deutsche Literatur eröffnet nicht nur inhaltlich einen „dritten Raum", sondern bereichert die deutsche Literatur oft auch durch ihre hybride Sprachexperimentalität.

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XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında (Acıpayam) Nüfus ve Nüfusun Mekansal Dağılışı*

Esra Oruç[1]

Öz

Yeryüzünde nüfusun dağılışı doğal koşulların etkisine bağlı olduğu gibi aynı zamanda ekonomik ve sosyal faaliyetlerin çeşitliliğine bağlı olarak da değişmektedir. Nüfusun mekânsal dağılışını analiz etmek, ortaya çıkan mekânsal örüntüye etki eden faktörlerin anlaşılması için de önemlidir. Bu noktada çalışmanın temel amacı 1830 ve 1840 yıllarına ait Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası nüfus defterlerinden yararlanarak nüfus değişimini, nüfusunun mekândaki dağılışını ve bu dağılışa etki eden fiziki ve beşerî coğrafya unsurlarını ortaya koymaktır. Çalışma bir tarihî coğrafya araştırması olması nedeniyle arşiv belgeleri ve arazi çalışmasından elde edilen veriler harita, grafik ve tablolar aracılığıyla görsel hale getirilmiş ve saha literatürü çerçevesinde betimsel olarak analiz edilmiştir. Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası jeomorfolojik olarak ova, eğimli ve platoluk saha ve dağlık alan olmak üzere dört birime ayrılmaktadır. Osmanlı Döneminde en önemli ekonomik gelirin tarım ve hayvancılık olduğu bilinmektedir. Buna göre tarım arazileriyle çevrili olan 840-899 metredeki ova tabanında toplam yerleşmelerin 13'ünde nüfusun %15'inin, 900-1000 metrede bulunan hafif eğimli sahada ise 16 yerleşmede nüfusun %54'ünün, eğimin fazla olduğu 1001-1220 metrede 12 yerleşmede nüfusun %28,71'inin ve dağlık alanda 4 yerleşmede nüfusun %1'inin dağılış gösterdiği tespit edilmiştir. Kazanın Denizli-Antalya ile Denizli-Burdur yol güzergâhının üzerinde bulunması ise özellikle Kızılhisar, Kaysar, Yatağan, Yazır, Akalan gibi belirli yerleşmelerin nüfusunun ön plana çıkmasında etkilidir. Sonuç olarak nüfus, tarım ve hayvancılığa ek olarak ticaretin yapıldığı ve birden çok ekonomik gelir elde etme fırsatının bulunduğu alanlarda toplanmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tarihî coğrafya, tarihî nüfus coğrafyası, nüfus coğrafyası, nüfus defteri, Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar.

Abstract

The distribution of the population on earth depends on the effects of natural conditions, but also on the diversity of economic and social activities. Analyzing the spatial distribution of the population is also important for understanding the factors affecting the emerging spatial pattern. At this point, the main purpose of the study is to reveal the population change, the distribution of its population in space, and the physical and human geography elements affecting this distribution, by using the population books of Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar District of 1830 and 1840. Since the study is a historical geography research, the data obtained from archive documents and

[1] M.A., Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, Institute of Social Sciences, oruc.esra@outlook.com.

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field work were visualized through maps, graphs and tables and analyzed descriptively within the framework of field literature. Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar District is geomorphologically divided into four units: Plain, sloping and plateau area, and mountainous area. It is known that the most important economic income during the Ottoman Period was agriculture and animal husbandry. Accordingly, 15% of the population in 13 of the total settlements on the plain floor at 840-899 meters, surrounded by agricultural lands, 54% of the population in 16 settlements in the slightly sloping area at 900-1000 meters, 12% of the population in 12 settlements at 1001-1220 meters, where the slope is high. It was determined that 28.71% of the population and 1% of the population were distributed in 4 settlements in the mountainous area. has been made. The fact that the district is located on the Denizli-Antalya and Denizli-Burdur road route is effective in bringing the population of certain settlements such as Kızılhisar, Kaysar, Yatağan, Yazır, Akalan to the fore. As a result, the population is concentrated in areas where trade is carried out in addition to agriculture and animal husbandry and where there are multiple economic income-earning opportunities.

Keywords: Historical geography, historical population geography, population geography, population book, Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar.

Extended Abstract

In the First Half of the 19th Century, Population and Spatial Distribution of Population in Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar District (Acıpayam)

The uneven distribution of population across the Earth's surface is a complex process driven by the interaction of physical and human factors. The opportunities and constraints imposed by geographical conditions, combined with human dynamics, have shaped the spatial distribution of the population. Within this framework, the core research problem of this study focuses on understanding how physical and human factors interact to determine population distribution in historical population geography studies and how these dynamics have evolved across different periods. The primary aim of this study is to contribute to historical population geography by examining the population change, spatial distribution, and the physical and human geographical factors shaping this distribution in the first half of the 19th century. In doing so, the study seeks to identify the fundamental dynamics influencing population distribution during the period in question and to offer a new perspective on the spatial analysis of historical population geography. As primary sources, the study utilizes population registers numbered 3238 (Hijri 1246 / Gregorian 1830) and 3261 (Hijri 1256 / Gregorian 1840). Given the focus period and the nature of the sources, the research is positioned at the intersection of history and geography, employing historical geography methods and approaches.

The population data for the years 1830/1831 and 1840 for the Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar District were obtained from the Ottoman Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives. The information recorded in the relevant population registers was transcribed into Microsoft Excel, where summary tables were created based on the study's requirements. Subsequently, the settlement and population data were processed into ArcMap 10.4, a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software, to generate maps illustrating the spatial distribution of the population. For the localization of settlements in the first half of the 19th century, relevant literature on the study area was also reviewed. The boundaries of the study area were determined by considering both natural features and the localized settlements. The collected data, along with the maps, tables, and graphs generated from them, were analyzed descriptively to interpret the spatial distribution of the population. In this context,

when examining the physical geography of the district, it is observed that in the 19th century, the plain and its surroundings within the Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar District constituted the largest of the marshy plains and shallow lake basins located among the mountain masses exceeding 2,000 meters in the northern part of the Teke Region (Arınç, 2018: 124). Within the plain, a 15 km long and 2 km wide marshland extended from the vicinity of Uçarı and Çorum to the areas near Köke and Bedirbey villages (Batmaz, 1969: 1). The combined use of the plain for agriculture and the presence of spring waters flowing through the valleys suggest that a significant portion of the settlements was positioned at the transitional zones between the plain and the plateau. Accordingly, the total area of the district within the 19th-century administrative boundaries was determined to be 1,533 km², of which 33% comprised plains, 37% plateaus and slopes, and 28% mountainous terrain. In terms of settlement distribution, 63% of the settlements were located in the plains, 30.5% in plateau areas, and 6.5% in mountainous regions. Notably, no urban settlements were identified within the district. This absence of an urban center is attributed to the proximity of two significant historical urban centers—Lazikiyya (Denizli) and Gölhisar—since antiquity (Şimşek, 2007: 17). Additionally, the district, located in the western section of the Hamid Sanjak, was situated along the Denizli-Antalya and Denizli-Burdur road routes. This suggests that transportation routes played a significant role in shaping population distribution. Consequently, it can be inferred that the higher population concentrations in settlements such as Kızılhisar, Kaysar, and Yatağan were largely a result of their accessibility to trade opportunities facilitated by these routes. Along these routes, tekkes, zaviyes, and caravanserais, whose origins date back to the early Turkification of Anatolia, continued to exist into the 19th century. Among the structures located along the transportation routes of the district, notable examples include the zaviye in Yatağan village, named after Şeyh Yatağan; the Pazar caravanserai in Karaöyük; the Şeyh Güvenç zaviye in Yazır; and the Sheikh Karakoç zaviye in Afşar (Yiğit, 2020b: 69-72). Additionally, the presence of both mountainous and lowland areas, as well as marshlands, within the district indicates that the population was concentrated at specific elevation levels.

An analysis of the population distribution by elevation in 1830 reveals that due to the marshy nature of certain parts of the plain and its use as agricultural land, 54.56% of the population was concentrated at elevations between 900 and 1,000 meters. A similar pattern is observed in the 1840 population distribution, where the majority of the population was once again concentrated within the 900-1,000 meter elevation range, with 55.42% of the inhabitants residing in the transition zone between the plain and the gently sloping areas. A comparison of the two censuses conducted within a ten-year period indicates a general population decline in the district. However, population growth was recorded in settlements located at elevations between 840-1,000 meters and 1,101-1,220 meters. The overall population decrease, except for these settlements, suggests that there was a degree of population mobility within the district. This movement was predominantly directed toward settlements with better transportation facilities, indicating that migrants tended to relocate to areas with favorable trade and transportation opportunities.

In conclusion, as demonstrated in this study, Ottoman-era archival records hold significant importance for historical population studies. In particular, population registers recorded from the first half of the 19th century onward have facilitated various studies in historical population geography by providing insights into past and contemporary population patterns of a given area. However, these records also present certain limitations, such as the absence of data on

female population and the possibility of incomplete or inaccurate information. While such gaps may restrict the accuracy of research findings, the effective and accurate use of available sources can still provide valuable insights into the population and settlement dynamics of the period.

Giriş

Fiziki ve beşerî coğrafya koşulları geçmişten günümüze nüfusun mekânsal dağılışında ve yer değiştirmesinde etkili olmuştur. İlk yerleşmeler, iklim elemanları, yeryüzü şekilleri ve su kaynakları gibi doğal etmenler ile birlikte tarım, ulaşım, ticaret gibi beşerî ve ekonomik koşullara göre şekillenmiştir. Bu kapsamda nüfusun dağılışı da aynı faktörlerden etkilenmiştir. Doğurganlık ve göçlere bağlı olarak nüfusun her yerde aynı oranda artmaması, yeryüzünün her tarafının insan yaşamına aynı şekilde elverişli olmaması ve mekânın insan tarafından farklı şekillerde kullanılması ile ilgili olan bu durum, nüfusun dağılışını etkilemiştir (Yakar, 2010: 60). Ayrıca mekânsal özelliklerdeki farklılıklar nüfusun yeryüzünde eşit dağılımının önüne geçerken çevreye olan baskı, sağlıklı su temini, tarım alanlarının yerleşme sahasına dönüşmesi gibi birtakım sorunları da beraberinde getirmiştir.

Oldukça dinamik bir yapıya sahip olan nüfus, yatayda, dikeyde ve zamanda değişik dağılış özellikleri göstermektedir. Günümüzde daha çok nüfusun niteliği üzerinde durulurken geçmiş dönemlerde niceliğin ön planda olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Zira geçmiş dönemlerde nüfus demek, üreten, vergi veren ve aynı zamanda askerlik görevini ifa eden kişiler anlamına geliyordu (Yiğit ve Yakar, 2021: 251). Bu haliyle düşünüldüğünde, insan gücüne dayalı olarak birçok şeyin gerçekleştirilebildiği, değiştirilebildiği ve korunabildiği bir ortamda nüfus sayısının günümüze nazaran çok daha önemli bir noktada olduğu ifade edilebilir (Yiğit ve Akkaya, 2016: 256).

Çağdaş zamanlarda önemini koruyan ve korumaya devam edecek olan bir sahanın nüfus miktarı, bahse konu nüfusun mekandaki dağılışı birçok disiplinin yakından ilgilendiği konular arasındadır. Ancak çağdaş dönemdeki nüfusu, nüfusun özelliklerini ve mekandaki dağılışını daha doğru anlamak ve değerlendirmek için geçmişe dair daha fazla çalışmaya ihtiyaç vardır (Yakar ve Yiğit, 2022). Bu nedenle Tarihî coğrafya uzmanlık alanı, kullandığı yöntem ve kaynak bakımından değerli bir çalışma sahasıdır ayrıca geçmişten günümüze veya geçmişte bir zaman diliminde dünyanın tamamının veya bir parçasının çağdaş coğrafya ilke ve yöntemlerine uygun olarak yeniden inşa edilmesi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Tarihî coğrafyanın amacı, belirli bir mekânın geçmişte nasıl bir yerleşme dokusuna ve yerleşme tiplerine sahip olduğunu, nüfusun yapısı ve coğrafi dağılışı ile doğal çevrenin nasıl kullanıldığını belirleyerek, bunlar arasında nasıl bir ilişkinin olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır (Işık, 2012: 1). Şu halde Tarihî coğrafya geçmişten günümüze ulaşan prehistorik, arkeolojik ve tarihi kalıntı, belge ve kaynakların çağdaş coğrafya ilke ve yöntemlerine dayanarak analiz edilmesini amaçlar. Kısaca Tarihî coğrafya bir mekânın geçmiş bir zamandaki fiziki ve beşerî fenomenlerini geçmişe dair kanıtları ile araştırır (Gümüşçü, 2001: 1). Tarihî coğrafyacılar için çağdaş coğrafyadaki konular aynı kalmakla birlikte kullanılan kaynak ve yöntemler araştırılan zamana göre değişebilmektedir (Yiğit, 2018: 12). Arazi araştırması, haritalama teknikleri gibi hususiyetler ise her ikisinde de önemli bir özellik olarak devam etmektedir. Bir coğrafyacı geçmiş bir zamanda nüfus ile ilgili bir çalışma gerçekleştirmişse bu güncelden farklı olarak Tahrir defterleri, Temettuat defterleri, Nüfus defterleri gibi kullandığı kaynaklar ve odaklandığı konu itibariyle tarihi nüfus coğrafyası olarak isimlendirilebilir (Yiğit, 2018: 12). Tarihi nüfus coğrafyası çalışmaları için ülkemizde bulunan Osmanlı Dönemi arşiv vesikaları önemli fırsatlara kapı aralayacak potansiyele sahiptir.

Gelişen teknoloji ile nüfusun tespiti, özellikleri, mekânsal dağılışı vb. verilerin elde edilmesi, sürekli takibi ve yorumlanması kolaylaşmıştır. Bu bakımdan çağdaş coğrafya çalışmalarında Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemlerinin kullanılması coğrafi verilerin analizi, yönetimi ve görselleştirilmesine

farklı bir boyut kazandırmıştır (Yazgan, 2023: 112). Şu haliyle CBS, coğrafyacılar tarafından nüfus gibi çok yönlü bir veri setinin yatayda, dikeyde ve zamanda haritalandırmada kullanılan önemli bir araçtır. Aynı zamanda modern yöntemler vasıtasıyla geçmişe ait elde edilen nüfus verileri ile CBS kullanılarak mekânsal dağılışın yapılması ve dijital ortamda farklı örüntülerin analiz edilmesi de mümkündür.

Osmanlı Devleti'nde nüfus sayımları XlX. yüzyılın öncesinde arazi tetkikleri için sonrasında ise arazi ve vergi gelirlerinin yanı sıra askerî nedenlerle erkek nüfusunu öğrenmek amacıyla yapılmıştır. II. Mahmud' un Yeniçeri Ocağı'nı kaldırıp Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye'yi kurmasından sonra hem askerlik çağına gelenler hem de mükelleflerini tespit etmek amacıyla bir nüfus sayımı girişiminde bulunulmuştur. İmparatorluk içerisinde sadece Müslüman erkekler askere alındığından vergiye tabi tutulabilecek gayrimüslim nüfus bu sayım sırasında gelir durumuna göre, tıpkı cizye defterlerinde olduğu gibi, â'lâ(iyi), evsat(orta) ve ednâ (kötü) olmak üzere üç kategoriye ayrılmıştır. Bu yüzden gayrimüslim nüfus, cizye ve bedel-i askeriyeye tabi çoklukla "reaya", Ermeni, Yahudi, Kıpti olarak tasnif edilmiştir (Behar, 2000: 68). Sayım işlemine İstanbul'dan başlanmış ancak 1828-1829 Rus Harbi'nden dolayı sayımlara ara verilmek zorunda kalınmıştır (Yiğit, 2020a: 14). 1830 yılında ise sayımlar tekrar gündeme alınmış ve 1831 yılında tamamlanabilmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda vergilendirme, tarımsal geliri tespit etme ve askere almayı hedeflemeksizin sadece kişileri saymayı amaçlayan ilk nüfus sayımları ise 1885 ve 1907 yıllarında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu yüzden 1830/1831 yılında sadece erkek nüfusa yönelik başlatılan bu sayım Osmanlı'daki modern nüfus sayımlarının öncüsü olarak değerlendirilebilir (Yiğit, 2020a: 14).

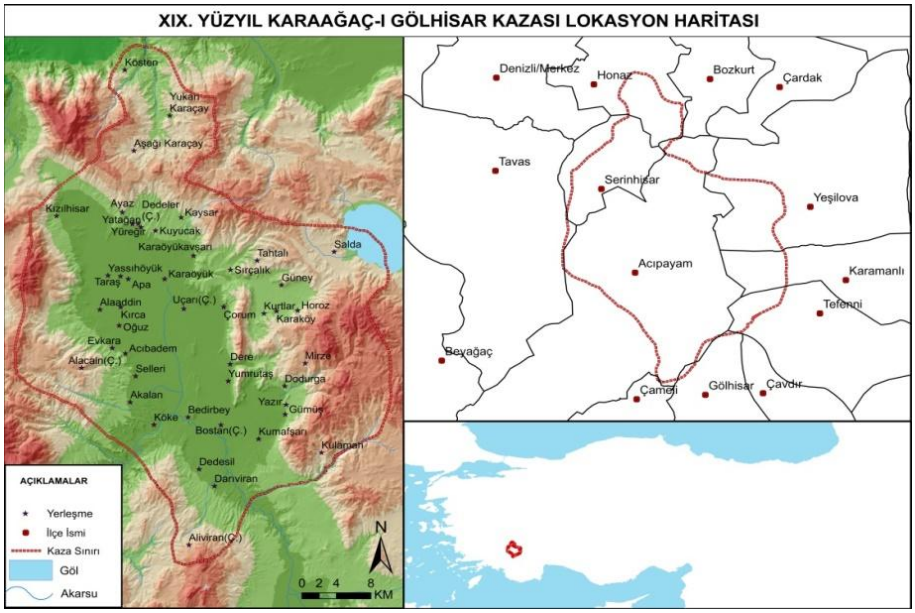
Amaç ve Yöntem

Eldeki çalışmanın temel amacı Tarihî nüfus coğrafyası çalışmalarına örnek teşkil etmesi için XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında nüfusun değişimini, nüfusun mekândaki dağılışını ve bu dağılışa etki eden fiziki ve beşerî coğrafya unsurlarını ortaya koymaktır. Çalışmada kaynak olarak 3238 numaralı (Hicri 1246, Miladi 1830 tarihli) ve 3261 numaralı (Hicri 1256, Miladi 1840 tarihli) Nüfus defterleri kullanılmıştır.

Eldeki çalışma hem tarih hem de coğrafya disiplinlerinin ara kesitinde yer alan tarihî coğrafya yöntem ve metotları kullanılarak üretilmiştir. Araştırmada kullanılan kaynak, kadın nüfusu kapsamasa da nüfusa ve nüfusun dağılışına ilişkin değerlendirme yapmamıza olanak sağlamaktadır. Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasının 1830/1831 ve 1840 yıllarına ait nüfusuna dair veriler, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivleri'nden temin edilmiştir. İlgili defterlerdeki bilgiler taranarak Microsoft Excel'e bu verilerin girişi yapılmış ardından ihtiyaca binaen özet tablolar hazırlanmıştır. Buna göre elde edilen yerleşme ve nüfus bilgisi CBS programlarından biri olan Arc-Map 10.4 programına işlenerek nüfusun mekânsal dağılışını gösteren haritalar oluşturulmuştur. XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısına ait yerleşmelerin lokalizasyonunda sahayla ilgili literatür de incelenmiştir. Çalışma sahasının sınırları doğal unsurlar ile lokalizasyonu yapılan yerleşmeler göz önüne alınarak belirlenmiştir. Elde edilen bilgiler ve bilgilere dayalı oluşturulan harita, tablo ve grafikler aracılığıyla betimsel olarak analiz edilmiştir.

Bulgular

Anadolu'da kurulan şehir yerleşmeleri ulaşıma elverişli alanlarda, su kaynakları etrafında, verimli ovalarda, Pliyosen ve Pliyo-Kuvaterner yaşlı platolar ile dağ eteği ovalarında toplandığı görülmektedir (Özdemir, 1996: 210). Ancak çalışma sahamızda Osmanlı Dönemi'nde XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısına kadar sadece kırsal yerleşmeler bulunmaktadır (Arıkan, 1988: 35/36; BOA, NFS. d.: 3238_1-28; BOA, NFS. D.: 3261_01-89). Antik dönemlerden itibaren Lazıkıyye (Denizli) ve Gölhisar'ın önemli iki merkez olması Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında şehir niteliği taşıyan bir yerleşmenin gelişmemesine neden olmuştur (Şimşek, 2007: 17). Çalışma sahamızı oluşturan kırsal yerleşmeler ise; ovalar, vadi tabanı ve platolar gibi ana yer şekillerinde dağılış göstermektedir. (Erkal ve Tekkanat, 2019: 327). Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında yerleşmelerin kuruluşunda ve nüfusun dağılışında; yer şekilleri, iklim, su kaynakları, yükseklik gibi doğal koşullar ile ulaşım güzergâhı, güvenlik, eğitim ve ekonomik faaliyetler etkili olmuştur (Harita 1).

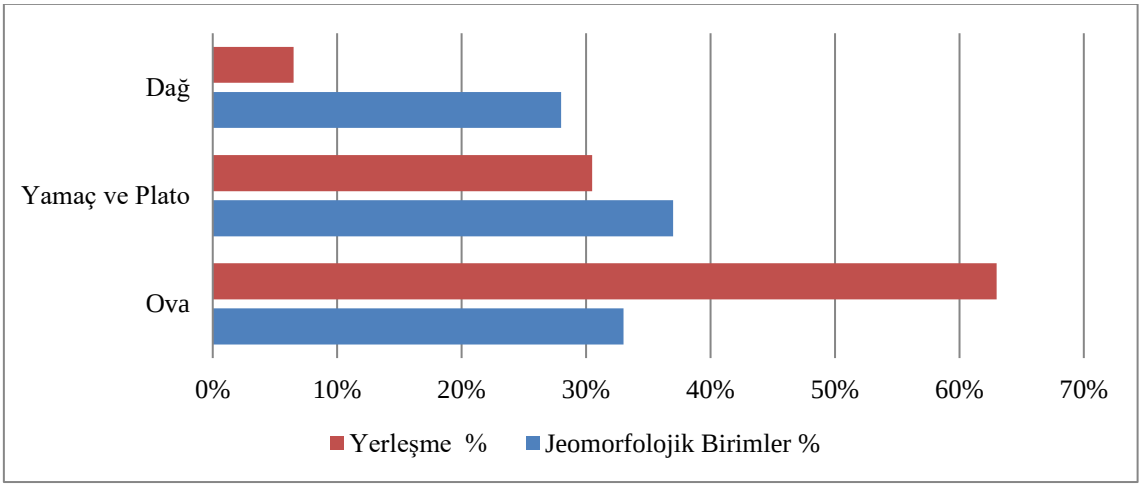


Harita 1. XIX. Yüzyıl Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası Lokasyon Haritası

XIX. yüzyılda Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası içerisinde bulunan ova ve çevresi Teke Yöresinin kuzeyindeki 2000 m'den yüksek dağ kütleleri arasında bulunan bataklık ve sığ göllerle kaplı ovalardan en büyüğünü oluşturmaktadır (Arınç, 2018:124). Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında ova, 840-959 metre arasında yer almakta ve kuzeyde Honaz Dağı'nın güneydoğusundaki Can Dağı ile Kızılhisar Dağı'nın kuzey ucu tarafından kesintiye uğramaktadır. Ova, güney kısımda ise Gireniz Vadisi ile Gölhisar'a uzanan geçitle sınırlıdır. Gireniz Vadisi'yle olan sınır, Köke köyünden itibaren başlamakta ve Çakır köyünün güneybatısı ile Kelekçi tarafları sınır dışında kalmaktadır (Ertaş, 2007: 31). Kazanın diğer bir jeomorfolojik birimini ise yamaç ve platoluk sahaları oluşturmaktadır. Bu alanlar ise 960-1.352 metreler arasındaki sahayı kapsamaktadır. Ovalık saha ile dağlık saha arasında bulunan bu alan daha çok mevsimlik akarsuların çevrelediği alana tekabül etmektedir (Bilginer, 1944: 10). Son jeomorfolojik birimi ise dağlık alanlardan oluşmaktadır. Dağlık alan ise 1.353 m ile 2.528 metreler arasında bulunmaktadır. Dağlık sahanın en yüksek kesimini Honaz Dağı (2.528 m) oluşturmaktadır.

Jeomorfolojik Birimler (1533 km²)			
	Ova (513 km²-% 33)	Yamaç ve Plato (574 km²-%37)	Dağ (428 km²-% 28)
Yerleşme	29	14	3
%	63%	30,5%	6,5%

Tablo 1. XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Yerleşmelerin Jeomorfolojik Birimlere Dağılımı



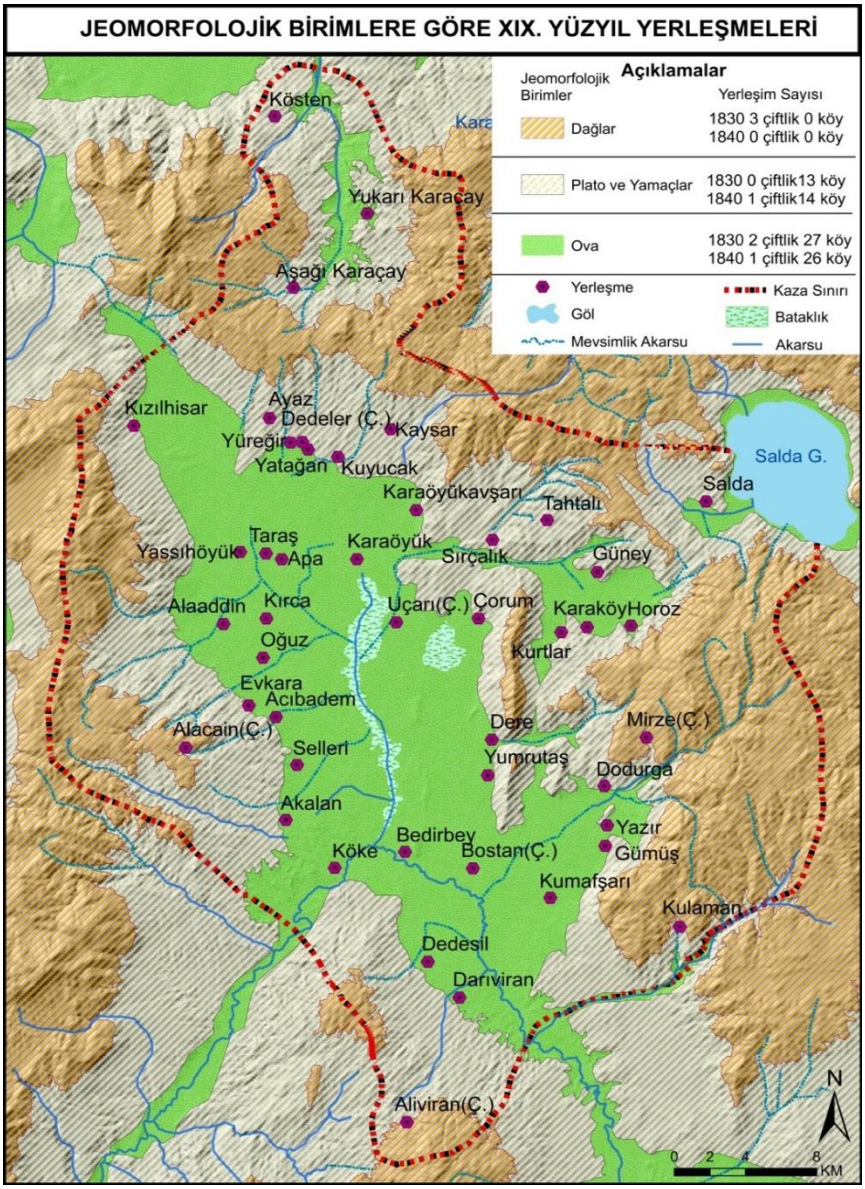
Grafik 1. Yerleşmelerin Jeomorfolojik Birimlere Dağılımı

Kaynak: BOA, NFS. d.: 3238_1-28; BOA, NFS. D.: 3261_01-89

Lokalizasyonu yapılan XIX. yüzyıl yerleşmelerinin büyük ölçüde ova kısmında yer aldığı görülmektedir (Tablo 1). 1830 yılında toplam 45 yerleşmeden 27 köy ve 2 çiftlik yerleşmesi, 1840 yılında ise 42 yerleşmeden 26 köy ve 1 çiftlik yerleşmesi ovalık kısımda yer almıştır. Plato ve yamaç kısmında ise 1830 yılında 13 köy yerleşmesi bulunurken 1840 yılında 14 köy yerleşmesi tespit edilmiştir. Dağlık kısımda ise 1830 yılında sadece Alacain, Aliviran ve Mirze çiftlikleri kayda geçilmiştir (Harita 1). Buna göre XIX. yüzyıl kaza sınırı içerisinde kalan sahanın toplam alanı 1533 km^2 ve bunun %33'ü ova, %37'si plato ve yamaçlar, %28'i dağlık saha olarak tespit edilmiştir. XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında ise yerleşmelerin %63'ü ovada, %30,5'i platoluk alanda ve %6.5'i de dağlık alanda kurulmuştur (Tablo 1).

Ova içerisinde Uçarı ve Çorum civarından başlayıp Köke ve Bedirbey köylerinin yakınına kadar ulaşan 15 km uzunluğunda ve 2 km genişliğinde bataklık bulunmaktadır. Bataklık suyunun ancak 1950 yılından sonra kanallar vasıtasıyla Dalaman Çayı'na yönlendirilerek kontrol altına alınması (Batmaz; 1969: 1) XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında ovadaki yerleşmelerin, tarım alanlarının ve ulaşımın bu bataklıktan olumsuz etkilendiği kanısını ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Ovanın hem ziraat nedeniyle kullanılması hem de kaynak sularının göz önünde bulundurulması, yerleşmelerin önemli bir bölümünün ova ile platoluk saha arasındaki geçiş noktalarında konumlanmasına yol açmıştır. Ovadaki bataklığın zirai alanı daraltması, nüfusun eğimli arazide hayvancılıkla uğraşarak ek bir ekonomik gelir elde etme isteği ve kaynak sularına yakınlığı yerleşmelerin %30,5'ni yamaç ve platoluk sahada kurulmasında etkili olmuştur. 1845 yılı

Temettuat defterlerinde Darıviran, Dodurga, Kumafşarı, Kurtlar gibi ovadan yamaç ve platoluk sahaya geçiş bölgesinde bulunan yerleşmelerde büyükbaş hayvancılıktan daha çok küçükbaş hayvancılığın yapıldığı görülmektedir. Buna karşın ovanın iç kesimlerindeki Bedirbey, Bostan, Dere, Kırca, Oğuz ve Uçarı yerleşmelerinde sadece büyükbaş hayvancılık yapılmaktadır (Özçelik, 2005: 254). Bölgenin yüzey şekillerinin ekonomik faaliyet tercihlerinde de etkili olduğu söylenebilir (Harita 2).



Harita 1. Jeomorfolojik Birimlere Göre XIX. Yüzyıl Yerleşmeleri

Kaynak: BOA, NFS. d.: 3238_1-28; BOA, NFS. D.: 3261_01-89; Özçelik, 2005: 542

Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında Ulaşım

Yollar, coğrafi özellikleri bakımından birbirlerinden farklı ve karşılıklı ihtiyaç giderme bakımından birbirlerinin tamamlayıcısı olan yerleşme ve bölgeler arasındaki karşılıklı münasebetler sonucu ortaya çıkmış, belirli güzergâhlarda önemini kaybetmeden devamlılık

sağlamıştır. Eski yollar sadece insani ihtiyaçlara göre değil aynı zamanda fiziki faktörlere göre de şekillendiğinden doğal çevreye uymak zorunda kalmış, bundan dolayı çoğunlukla uzun ve dolambaçlı bir yapıya sahip olmuştur (Gürsoy, 1975: 25).

Anadolu'da yer şekillerinin taşıdığı ana karakter, yolların eski çağdan beri seyri üzerine etki yapmış ve belirli güzergâhların ortaya çıkmasına yol açmıştır. Bunlar genellikle doğu-batı istikametli depresyon alanlarını takip ederler. Kuzey-güney istikametli bütün yollar, dağlık sahaları aşmak için ya dağların alçaldıkları noktalardaki boğaz/geçit/bel/belen oluşturan sahaları ya da boyuna vadi oluklarını takip etmek durumundadır (Gümüşçü vd., 2014: 55).

Anadolu topraklarının karayolu tarihi çok eski devirlerden başlar. Nitekim Anadolu'nun tarihsel gelişimi incelendiğinde en eski yolların ekonomik ve askeri amaçlar taşıdığı görülebilir. Öncelikle Anadolu'nun Demir Çağı uygarlıkları olarak bilinen Hitit (M.Ö. 1200- 700), Urartu (M.Ö.900-600), Frig (M.Ö.800-600), Lidya (M.Ö.700-550) ve Pers (M.Ö.550-300) egemenliği dönemlerinde gelişmiş bir yol ağının olduğunu birçok tarihçi de ifade etmektedir. Ancak Anadolu'da esaslı yol yapımı Roma Döneminde başlamıştır. Romalılar geniş imparatorluklarını kent, ticaret ve askeri güç temeli üzerine kurduklarından hem mevcut yolların onarımını yapmışlar hem de yol ağını geliştirmeye önem vermişlerdir (Ceylan ve Gölen, 2002: 42-43). Roma'dan Bizans'a uzanan sürede belirginleşen ve kullanılan yollar büyük ölçüde önemini Selçuklular, Beylikler ve nihayetinde Osmanlı zamanlarında da sürdürmüştür (Yiğit, 2020b: 60). Osmanlı Devleti zamanında yollar üzerinde menzil külliyeleri, hanlar ve derbentler inşa edilerek yolcuların geceyi güvenli bir şekilde geçirebilecekleri tesisler oluşturulmuştur. Her ne kadar Osmanlı Dönemi'nde Roma ve Selçuklulardan alınan yollar üzerinde köprüler, menzil külliyeleri ve yeni yerleşimler yapılarak yollar daha nitelikli hale getirilmiş olsa da fiziksel açıdan ve yol teknolojisi bakımından büyük bir ilerleme kaydedilememiştir (Demirci, 2014: 103).

Genelde Anadolu sathında ve özelde ise Hamid-ili'nde Selçuklu Dönemi ulaşım ağı, büyük ölçüde Roma Döneminde yapılan ve Justinianus (527-565) zamanında tamir edilerek iyileştirilen güzergâhları takip etmiştir. Ancak Konya'nın başkent olması, Kayseri ve Sivas'ın ise önemli şehirler olarak ön plana çıkması, ayrıca da Sinop, Alaiye ve Antalya liman şehirlerinin yol sistemine eklenmesi ile ulaşım sistemi daha fazla gelişmiştir (Demirci, 2014: 102; Yiğit, 2020b: 68).

Hamid sancağının batı kesiminde bulunan Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası Denizli- Antalya yolu ile Denizli-Burdur yol güzergâhında bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Honaz'ın geç Bizans ve Selçuklu Döneminde önem kazanması Karaağaç Ovası'ndan Antalya'ya bağlanan yolun da önemini arttırmış ancak sonraki zamanlarda işlevi azalsa da XIX. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar etkin olarak kullanılmaya devam etmiştir (Baykara, 2013: 7).

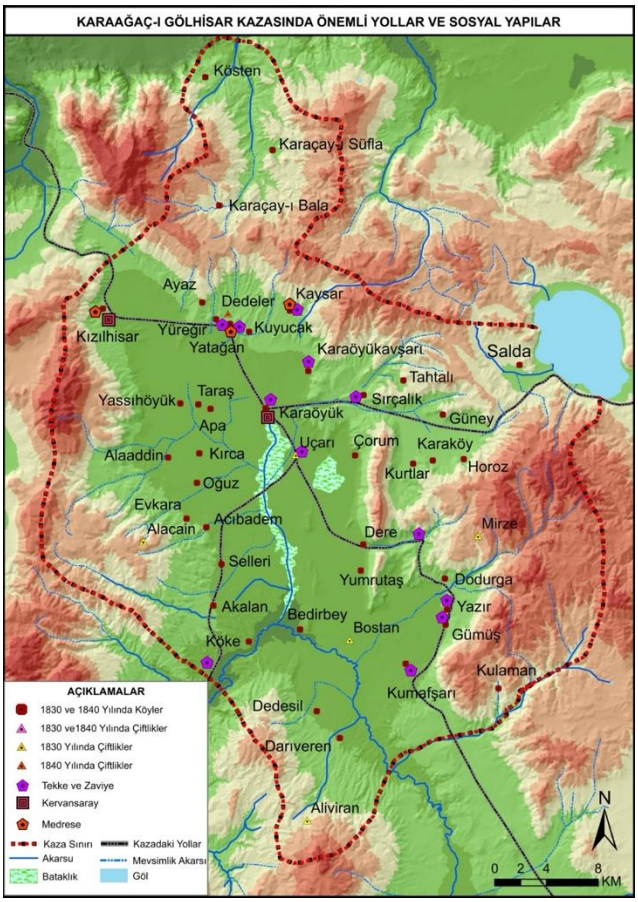
Isparta-Burdur yolunu Menderes Havzası'na bağlayan yol Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Ovası'ndan geçmiştir. Bu anayol, demiryolunun Denizli ve çevresine ulaşmasına kadar etkinliğini sürdürmüştür. Ova tabanının kış döneminde geçişe izin vermemesi Yatağan köyünün önemli bir durak yeri olmasını sağlamıştır (Baykara, 2013: 7).

Osmanlı Döneminde yollar üzerinde ulaşımı kolaylaştırmak ve güvenli konaklamayı sağlamak adına sadece han ve kervansaraylar değil, kullanım çeşitliliğine ve bulunduğu yerleşim fonksiyonuna göre "imaret", "tekke", "dergâh", "zaviye" veya "asitâne" kelimeleriyle ifade edilen yapılar bulunabilmekteydi (Ocak, 1978: 249). Özellikle zaviyeler şehirlerde ve kırsal yerleşim birimlerinde, yollar-geçitler üzerinde tesis edilen, bir şeyhin yönetiminde, bir tarikata

mensup dervişlerin yaşadıkları ve görevlilerin gelip geçen yolculara ücret karşılığı olmaksızın yiyecek, içecek maddeleri ve yatacak yer sağladıkları, çeşitli binalara verilen isimdir (Ocak ve Faroqhi: 1985: 468; Açıkel, 2011: 5).

Zaviyeler Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesine ve İslamlaşmasına aracı olarak özellikle ıssız yerleri iskâna açmışlar, tarım ve hayvancılıkla uğraşarak ekonomik anlamda ilgili sahanın hayatiyet kazanması sağlanmıştır. Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Döneminde medreselerin ulaşamadığı köylerin ve konar-göçer toplulukların Dini ve sosyal hayatını düzenleme görevini üstlenen zaviye ve tekkeler, Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti'nin gücünü yitirdiği dönemde henüz sınırları ve halkı istikrarsız olan memleketin yol emniyetini de üstlenmiştir (Yiğit, 2020b: 62-63). İşte han, kervansaray, derbent ve tekke/zaviyeler hem Osmanlı hem de Hamid sancağı ve çevresinin yol güzergâhını ortaya çıkaran en önemli işaretlerdir (Harita 3).

Temelleri Anadolu topraklarının Türkleşme döneminin başlangıcına kadar giden tekke ve zaviyeler ile kervansaraylar Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında da özellikle Osmanlı Döneminde XVI. yüzyıllarda tahrir kayıtlarında belirtilmiş olup bahse konu yapılar "âyende ve revendeye hizmet" şartı koşularak vakıf arazileri üzerinde işlevini sürdürmüştür (Ertaş, 2007:200; Yiğit, 2020b: 61). XIX. yüzyıla kadar varlığını sürdürenler arasında Yatağan köyünde bulunan ve adını Şeyh Yatağan'dan alan zaviye, Karaöyük'te Pazar kervansarayı, Yazır' da Şeyh Güvenç zaviyesi ve Afşar'da Şeyh Karakoç zaviyesi belirtilebilir (Yiğit, 2020b: 69-72).



Harita 2. Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası Ulaşım Haritası

Kaynak: Ertaş, 2007: 200; Yiğit, 2020b: 69-71

XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında Nüfus

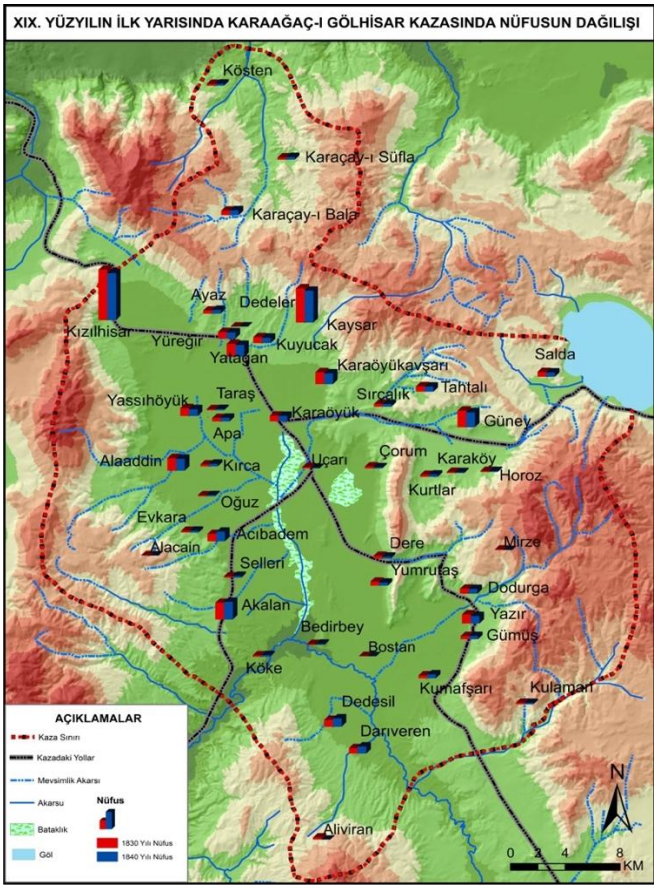
1830 yılında tutulan Nüfus defterine baktığımızda kaza içerisinde 40 köy ve 5 çiftlik yerleşmesi olduğunu görmekteyiz. Kaza içerisinde bu yerleşmeler dışında şehir, mahalle ya da kasaba olarak nitelenebilecek herhangi bir yerleşme bulunmamaktadır. Bu yüzden Müslüman erkek nüfusun dağılışı köy ve çiftlikler içerisinde değerlendirilmiştir. Buna göre kaza içerisinde en fazla erkek nüfus 1.868 kişi ile Kızılhisar köyündedir. Kızılhisar köyünün erkek nüfusu kaza genelinde tespit edilen toplam erkek nüfusun %18,23'ünü oluşturmaktadır. Kazanın en fazla erkek nüfusa sahip ikinci köyü ise 1.274 (kaza erkek nüfusunun %12,4'ü) kişi ile Kaysar'dır. Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası erkek nüfusunun %30,7'si bu iki yerleşmededir (Harita 3). En fazla erkek nüfusun bulunduğu diğer yerleşmeler sırasıyla; 622 (%6,1) kişilik erkek nüfusu ile Akalan, 618 (%6) kişi ile Güney, 480 (%4,7) kişi ile Yatağan, 465 (%4,5) kişi ile Alaaddin, 442 (%4,3) kişi ile Karaöyükafşarı ve 341 (%3,3) kişi ile Yazır köyleridir. Günümüzde ilçe merkezi olan Acıpayam, XIX. yüzyılda Acıbadem (Acıpayam) köyü olarak kayıtlara yansımış olup 277 kişi erkek nüfusu ile kazadaki toplam erkek nüfusun %2,7'sini oluşturmaktadır. Kaza dahilinde en az erkek nüfusa sahip köy ise 33 erkek nüfus ile kaza toplam erkek nüfusun sadece %0,3'ünü barındıran Horoz'dur.

Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında 1830 yılında en kalabalık erkek nüfusa sahip çiftlik yerleşmesi ise 77 (%0,8) kişi ile Aliviran'dır. Bunun yanı sıra Uçarı çiftliğinde 41 (%0,4), Mirze çiftliğinde 15 (%0,14), Alacain ve Bostan çiftliklerinde 7 (%0,07) kişilik erkek nüfus bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Alacain ve Bostan çiftlikleri kazanın en az nüfuslu yerleşmeleridir. Aliviran ve Uçarı çiftlikleri nüfusu Taraş (39 kişi), Oğuz (38 kişi), Bedirbey (37 kişi) ve Horoz (31 kişi) köylerinin erkek nüfuslarından daha kalabalıktır.

Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazası erkek nüfusu 1840 yılında 9.907 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Kaza içerisindeki toplam hane sayısı ise 4.842'dir. Kazada erkek nüfusu en fazla olan Kızılhisar köyünde bu dönemde 1.742 kişi bulunmakta ve kaza toplam nüfusunun %17,61'ini oluşturmaktadır. Yine en fazla erkek nüfusun bulunduğu ikinci yerleşme 1.185 kişi ile Kaysar köyüdür ve toplam kaza nüfusunun %11,98'i buradadır. Erkek nüfusun yüksek olduğu diğer yerleşmeler ise sırasıyla; Akalan köyü 655 (%6,62), Güney köyü 550 (%5,6), Alaaddin ile Yatağan köyü 439 (%4,4), Afşar köyü 401 (%4) ve Acıbadem köyü 358 (% 3,6) kişidir. En az nüfuslu köy yerleşmesini ise 33 (%0,33) kişi ile Horoz köyü oluşturmaktadır. Diğer az nüfuslu yerleşmeler ise sırasıyla; Karaköy 36 (%0,36) kişi, Oğuz 42 (%0,42) kişi, Bedirbey 44 (%0,44) kişi ve Çorum 45(%0,45) kişiden meydana gelmektedir. 1840 yılında ise deftere kaydedilen iki çiftlikten Dedeler' de 4 (%0,04) kişi Uçarı' da 16 (%0,16) kişi vardır (Harita 3).

Nüfusun her iki yıldaki durumu karşılaştırıldığında artış hızının düştüğü anlaşılmaktadır. Özellikle 1830 yılında tutulan nüfus defterinin 1831 yılına gelindiğinde tekrar işleme tabii tutulduğu görülmektedir. Buna göre 1831 yılında sayımlar tekrarlanmış ancak elde edilen bilgilerin 1830 yılı defterlerine kaydedilmiştir. Bu durum bir yıl içinde nüfusta ortaya çıkan durumların (askerlik yapan, nüfus hareketliliğine katılan ve ölen kişilerin) (vukūat kayıtlarının) not edilmesi sayesinde 1831 yılına gelindiğinde önemli oranda kaza nüfusunun azaldığını göstermektedir. Doğum oranlarının düşük olmasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin XVIII. yüzyılın sonlarında ve XIX. yüzyılın başlarında sürekli olarak girdiği savaşlar neticesinde erkek nüfusun bu savaşlarda yer alması etkili olabilir. Nitekim özellikle Rum isyanları ve 1828 Osmanlı-Rus Harbinde Hamid Sancağından da bu savaşlar ve isyanları bastırmak için asker gönderildiği arşiv

kaynaklarından tespit edilmiştir[2]. Ancak ölümlerin %23,95'inin 1-5 yaş arası erkek çocuklardan, %5,43'ünün yeni doğan erkek çocuklardan oluşması kazada bir salgın hastalığın olabileceği varsayımını güçlendirmektedir. Her ne kadar arşivde bununla ilgili bir bilgiye rastlanılmasa da Denizli'de 1830'dan 1833 yılına kadar gerçekleştiği tespit edilebilen 275 ölümden 157'sinin 1831 yılında yaşanması (Çevik, 2007: 17-18) salgın hastalık ihtimalini güçlendirmektedir. Zira bölge halkının ifadelerine göre geçmiş dönemlerde yörede "kıran" olarak nitelendirilen ve çok ciddi ölümlere yol açan bir salgın hastalık yaşandığı ve yaşanan bu salgın hastalık zamanında "ölen kişiyi gömmek üzere mezarlığa giden kişilere geri dönmemeleri ve birkaç mezar daha kazmaları"nın söylendiği ifade edilmiştir. Bu durum Anadolu'da birçok isimle anılan vebanın veya bataklıklardan yayılması muhtemel sıtma hastalığı gibi salgınların bu dönem içerisinde Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında etkili olduğu düşüncesini kuvvetlendirmektedir. O halde nüfusun on yıllık süreçte azalmasında ve nüfus artış hızının %-3,39'a gerilemesinde etkili bir faktör olabilir. Diğer yandan belirli yerleşme nüfuslarının 1840 yılında kaydedilmemesi ve bu dönemde kaza dışarısına çeşitli sebeplerle yaşanan göçler de nüfusun azalmasında etkili olabilir.



Harita 3. XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında Nüfus

Kaynak: BOA, NFS. d.: 3238_1-28; BOA, NFS. D.: 3261_01-89

[2] Osmanlı- Rus harbine Hamid Sancağından istenen askerler için H. 29 Cemazeyilahir 1244 (M. 6.01.1829) tarihli belge için bakınız: BAO, Cevdet-i Askeriye, nr. 51728. Rum İsyanına gönderilen askerler için H. 29/04/1240 (M. 21.12.1824) tarihli belge için bakınız: BAO, Cevdet-i Askeriye, nr. 34192. Diğer askeri belgelere de BAO, Cevdet-i Askeriye belgelerinden erişebilirsiniz.

XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında Nüfusun Yükselti Basamaklarına Göre Dağılışı

Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasının 1830 yılı nüfusunun yükselti basamaklarına göre dağılışı incelendiğinde, yerleşmelerin ve nüfusun 840 metrede bulunan Köke ve Bedirbey köylerinden 1.440 metrede bulunan Aliviran çiftliğine kadar olan 600 metrelik yükselti farkına sahip alanlar arasında dağılış gösterdiği görülmektedir. Ancak ova tabanının yer yer bataklıktan oluşması, tarım arazisi olarak kullanılması, nüfusun %54,56'sının 900-1.000 metre aralığında toplanmasına neden olmuştur. Ayrıca yerleşmelerden 16'sı bu yükselti basamaklarında bulunmaktadır (Tablo 2). Nitekim nüfusun %22,01'lik kısmı 1.001-1.100 metredeki yükselti basamaklarına dağılmıştır. Yine bu yükseltide yer alan yerleşmeler yamaçlar ile birikinti konileri üzerinde bulunmaktadır. 1101-1220 metre arasındaki platoluk saha içerisinde bulunan yerleşmelerde ise nüfusun %6,70'i bulunurken platoluk saha ile dağlık kesim arasında yer alan aşınım yüzeyleri ile eğimin nispeten yerleşmeye uygun olduğu 1.300-1440 metrelik yükselti basamaklarında ise nüfusun %1,60'ı bulunmaktadır. Buna göre çiftlik olarak kaydedilen yerleşmelerin 3'ü 1.300-1400 m arasındaki yükseltidedir. Ova tabanının bulunduğu 840-899 metrelik yükselti basamaklarında ise yine nüfusun %15,10'luk kısmı bulunmaktadır.

Yükselti Basamakları	Yerleşme	Nüfus	Oranı (%)
1830 Yılı			
840-899	Bedirbey - Çorum – Köke – Apa – Taraş –Yassıöyük – Kumafşarı - Karaöyük- Bostan(Çiftlik) – Uçarı (Çiftlik) - Kırca -Oğuz – Alaaddin	1547	15,10%
900-1000	Karaöyük Afşarı – Darıveren – Dedesil – Akalan – Selleri – Kuyucak – Acıbadem –Kızılhisar – Yatağan – Yüreğir – Dere – Yumrutaş – Dodurga - Yazır – Gümüş – Evkara	5591	54,56%
1001-1100	Kaysar- Kösten - Yukarı Karaçay – Sırçalık –Karaköy – Kurtköy – Güney	2256	22,01%
1101-1220	Ayaz – Salda – Tahtalı – Horoz - Aşağı Karaçay	686	6,70%
1300-1440	Kulaman - Aliviran (Çiftlik) - Mirze (Çiftlik) - Alacain (Çiftlik)	166	1,60%
Toplam	45	10246	100%

Tablo 2. 1830 Yılı Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında Nüfusun Yükselti Basamaklarına Dağılımı

Kaynak: BOA, NFS. d.: 3238_1-28; BOA, NFS. D.: 3261_01-89

Yükselti Basamakları	Yerleşme	Nüfus	Oranı (%)
1840 Yılı			
840-899	Bedirbey- Çorum- Köke- Apa- Taraş-Yassıöyük- Kumafşarı- Karaöyük- Uçarı (Çiftlik)- Kırca- Oğuz- Alaaddin	1531	15,45%
900-1000	Afşar-Darıviran- Dedesil- Akalan- Selleri- Kuyucak- Acıbadem- Kızılhisar- Yatağan-Dedeler (Çiftlik)- Yüreğir- Dere- Yumrutaş- Dodurga- Yazır- Gümüş- Evkara	5491	55,42%
1000-1100	Kaysar-Kösten-Yukarı Karaçay- Sırçalık-Karaköy- Kurtköy- Güney	2136	21,56%
1100_1220	Ayaz- Salda- Tahtalı- Horoz- Karaçay	695	7,02%
1310-1350	Kulaman	54	0,55%
Toplam	42	9907	100%

Tablo 3. 1840 Yılı Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında Nüfusun Yükselti Basamaklarına Dağılımı

Kaynak: BOA, NFS. d.: 3238_1-28; BOA, NFS. D.: 3261_01-89

Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında 1840 yılı nüfusunun yükselti basamaklarına dağılışı incelendiğinde yine en fazla nüfusun 900-1000 m arasındaki yükselti basamaklarında toplandığı görülmektedir. Buna göre nüfusun %55,42'si ova ile hafif eğimli saha arasında bulunmaktadır. Nüfusun en fazla bulunduğu ikinci morfolojik birim ise 1000-1100 m arasında bulunan, eğimin yerleşmeye izin verdiği yamaçlardır. Buna göre bu yükselti basamakları (1000-1100 metre) arasında nüfusun %21,56'sı dağılış göstermektedir. Yine nüfusun %15,45'i ova tabanında yer alan 840-899 metrelik yükseltidedir. Bunun yanı sıra nüfusun %7,02'si 1100-1220 metredeki plato ve tepeliklerde, %0,55'i 1310-1350 metre arasında dağıldı tespit edilmiştir (Tablo 3).

On yıl içerisinde yapılan iki sayıma bakıldığında kaza nüfusu azalmış ancak 840-1000 metre ile 1101-1220 metredeki nüfusta da artış yaşanmıştır. Diğer yükselti basamaklarında ise nüfus azalmıştır (Tablo 2-3). Bu durumda hem kaza sınırları içerisinde hem de kaza dışarısına doğru bir nüfus hareketliliği olduğu söylenebilir. Kaza içerisinde yaşanan nüfus hareketliliğinin özellikle tarım, hayvancılık ve ticaretin önemli bir geçim kaynağı olduğu anlaşılan yerleşmelere doğru olduğu görülmektedir.

Osmanlı Dönemi'nde en önemli ekonomik gelir tarım ve hayvancılıktan oluşmaktadır. Buna karşın önemli yol güzergâhlarının bulunduğu yerleşmelerde ticarete dayalı hizmet ve sanayi de gelişebilmektedir. Gerek saha literatürü ve gerekse nüfus bilgilerinde yer alan lakaplardan özellikle yol güzergâhı bulunan Kızılhisar ile Kaysar'da hizmet ve modern öncesi sanayinin Dodurga, Akalan, Yassıöyük' te sanayinin Kızılhisar, Kaysar, Yatağan, Yazır ve Güney'de hizmet sektörünün diğer yerleşmelere göre öne çıkması, nüfusa tarım ve hayvancılığın yanı sıra en az üçüncü bir ekonomik gelir elde etme fırsatı sağlamıştır. Bu durum beşeri ve ekonomik faktörlerin nüfus üzerinde oldukça etkili olduğunu göstermektedir.

Sonuç

Geçmişe dair yapılan nüfus çalışmalarında Osmanlı Dönemi arşiv kayıtları önemli arz etmektedir. Özellikle XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren kaydedilen nüfus defterleri bir mekânın geçmişteki bir zamanda veya günümüze kadar nüfus örüntüsünün ortaya konulmasında özellikle Tarihî nüfus coğrafyası için çok farklı çalışmaların ortaya çıkmasını sağlamaktadır. Bu dönemdeki nüfus defterlerinde kadın nüfusa dair bilgiler bulunmaması, verilerin eksik veya hatalı olması gibi ihtimaller söz konusudur. Ancak nüfusun coğrafi dağılışına etki eden doğal çevre ile beşeri ve ekonomik faktörler, hem bu dönem hem de bu döneme yakın tarihlere ait yapılan çalışmalardan yararlanılmıştır.

Tarihî coğrafyanın diğer uzmanlık alanlarında olduğu gibi farklı uzmanlık alanlarının ara kesitinde olması, çağdaş coğrafya yöntem ve metotlarının yanı sıra tarih, arkeoloji gibi diğer sosyal bilimlerden yararlanılarak çalışmaların zenginleşmesini sağlamaktadır. Bu nedenle CBS ortamında hazırlanan haritalar saha ile ilgili bu döneme dair çalışmalarla da desteklenmiştir.

Karaağaç-ı Gölhisar Kazasında yerleşmelerin, ova tabanında yağışlı dönemlerde ve bunu takip eden zaman dilimlerinde oluşan geçici göl ve bataklık alanlarından olumsuz etkilendiği görülmektedir. Bu durumun bir neticesi olarak bölgedeki nüfusun yarısı 900-1000m yükseltide yani ovadan eğimli araziye geçiş noktalarında konumlanmıştır. Ayrıca hafif eğimli ve yüksek alanlarda hayvancılık yapılabilme olanağı da yerleşme ve nüfus dağılımında etkili olmuştur.

Osmanlı Döneminde Ege ve Akdeniz limanları ile Konya arasındaki ulaşım güzergâhının bir parçası olması özellikle bu yol güzergâhları üzerinde bulunan Kızılhisar, Kaysar ve Yatağan gibi köylerde tarım ve hayvancılığın yanı sıra ticari faaliyetlerin önemli geçim kaynağı olmasını sağlamıştı. Osmanlı Dönemi ulaşım güzergâhlarının desteklenmesinde, güvenli ulaşım hatlarının oluşturulmasında "tekke", "zaviye" ve "kervansaray" gibi yapıların da kazadaki belirli yerleşmelerde bulunması buralardaki ticaretin gelişmesinde ve nüfusun dağılışında etkili olduğu söylenebilir. Zira hazırlanan haritalara bakıldığında nüfusun fazlalaştığı saha ile bu yapılar da paralellik göstermektedir.

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Exploring the Community Identity of the Bene Israel through their Autoethnographic English Literature: Assessment of Nissim Ezekiel's *Background Casually*, Esther David's *The Walled City* and Robin David's *City of Fear*

Riti Banerjee[1]

Abstract

Indian Jewry is unique for being the only Jewish community never historically persecuted. Among them, the Bene Israel stand out as the largest and most fully integrated Jewish group in India, distinguished solely by their religion. During the British Raj, they migrated from the Konkan countryside to urban centers like Bombay, Pune, and Ahmedabad, assuming middle-class roles. Following India's independence, many emigrated to Israel, where they were officially recognized as "full Jews" in 1964. While much scholarly attention has focused on their origins and Jewish authenticity, exploring their auto-ethnographic literature offers insight into their lived experiences within India's pluralistic society.

Key figures include poet Nissim Ezekiel, whose work reflects his assimilation into cosmopolitan Bombay while grappling with cultural alienation, as seen in his poem *Background, Casually*. Author Esther David provides a female perspective on Bene Israel life in Ahmedabad in *The Walled City*, depicting generational interactions with Jewish and non-Jewish neighbors and the challenges faced by women in minority communities. Her son, Robin David, in *The City of Fear,* examines the community's insecurities amid Gujarat's 2002 violence, highlighting intergenerational shifts in identity. By analyzing these auto-ethnographic narratives, written in distinct political contexts, this study explores the Bene Israel's complex negotiation between their Indian homeland and their longing for Israel, underscoring their efforts to maintain a unique religious identity in 21st-century India.

Keywords: Bene Israel, Auto-ethnographic literature, Jewish identity, Nissim Ezekiel, Esther David

Introduction of Bene Israel Community: A History

Fleeing persecution and political turmoil somewhere around 175 BC, lost in a shipwreck at Arabian Sea, seven men and seven women landed at the coast of a village called Navgaon in Alibaug in the present Kolaba district in Maharashtra. Burying their fellow comrades there, the survivors made their way into the new land they had stumbled upon where they were

[1] M.A., Presidency University, Department of History, Kolkata, India, ritibanerj@gmail.com.

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hosted welcomingly by the existing religious communities and they gradually settled down there expanding their own community.

This is the story of origin that the Bene Israel believe in and transmit from one generation to the other. What seems to be the first written reference to the Bene Israel comes from European Christian missionaries who as a part of their colonizing venture tried preaching their religion to the indigenous population of India by attempting to gain a basic understanding of their religious beliefs and practices. One such person was a Danish missionary called J.A. Sartorious who had heard of a rumored community of Jews residing in Surat and Rajapore, who believed in monotheism, practiced circumcision and endogamy and knew nothing of Hebrew except how to recite the *Shema*, claiming that they had lost all their religious books in the shipwreck that had brought them there (Nathan Katz, 2012, p. 3). Sartorious's source of information were Cochin Jews from Madras, part of the earliest settled Jewish community of India whose presence has been ratified by written documents dated as early as 9th to 10th century. Being in close proximity to their co-religionists in Konkan, they must have come into contact with them. Yet unfortunately the earliest written evidence of their interaction comes only in 1768 from a David Rahabi whose letter to the Jews in Amsterdam sought to inform them of the progress of the training that Cochin Jews were providing to their counterparts in Konkan that included teaching them Jewish rituals in Hebrew and familiarizing them with up to date religious practices. Interestingly, grafting this actual incident on a legend of their own, the Bene Israel also claimed that one David Rahabi had already introduced them to Jewish practices as early as the 12th century (Israel, 1982, pp. 18).

But it was only after 1813 when the Royal Charter allowed Christian missionaries to preach their religion freely in India that the Bene Israel really embraced their Jewish identity and embarked on the journey of their evolution from a group of rural oil pressers in Kolaba to urbanized professionals settled in Bombay, Surat and Ahmedabad. In the rural countryside of Maharashtra, the missionaries made copies of the Bible available in Marathi and also introduced people to the English alphabet which opened up vast areas of opportunity for them in British India and initiated their migration to Bombay Presidency (Katz, 2012, pp. 5).[2]The Bene Israel preferred referring to themselves as the children of Israel rather than using the Hebrew term 'Yehudi'. Completely assimilated into the Indian culture, they also dressed up in regional Marathi sarees and dhotis and had no distinct features to distinguish themselves in terms of physical appearance so much so that few of their Indian neighbours were aware of their Judaic roots and used to call them *Shanivar telis* because they took off every Saturday from their traditional occupation of oil pressing for observance of the Sabbath (Israel, 1982, 23). The community drew scholarly attention when Samuel Kehimkar, a Bene Israel himself, wrote a history of his community and an account of their beliefs and observances in 1897 which was however published only in 1937. With his work being acknowledged and discussed in scholastic circles engaged in Indo-Judaic studies, scholars started questioning the authenticity of their Jewishness. Some scholars even noted that the origin myth that Bene Israel propagated was very similar to that of the Chitpawan Brahmins residing in Maharashtra and termed it as

[2] While the men joined the British army, the English educated women of the household took to teaching in convent schools and soon Bene Israel Jews served in middle class professions like doctor, engineer and professors. Though they were not sure of their roots, their devotion to Judaism was laudable.

an attempt of Sanskritization by a group which could not place itself within the caste hierarchy prevalent in India (Katz, 2012, pp. 8-9). When the State of Israel came into existence on August 1948, it had to face its invading neighbors along with the daunting challenge of creating a Jewish nation out of a semi-arid region around the Negev. Driven by the need to find more laboring hands to gear the nation into progress, the Ministry of Immigration was founded in 1948 to help rehabilitate immigrating Jews. Since then, the migration of the Bene Israel to their homeland has increased considerably and their population in India has reduced. Although India officially does not recognize Judaism as a minority religion, the states of Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujarat identify Jews as religious minorities (The Times of Israel, July 2018)[3].

Schneider opines that "culture constitutes a body of definitions, premises, statements, presumptions, propositions and perceptions about the nature of the universe and man's place in it" (Shweder and Levine, 1984, pp. 93). Studying culture has come to occupy an important part in the discipline of anthropology as it is seen as an authentic primary source in the study of a community. Ethnography as a part of examining culture has evolved recently as scholars realized that a person living within the community would be a better informant of even the smallest details than an outside observer ever could. A piece of written literature is a reflection of the thoughts and ideas of its author. Thus, when it is written from an ethnographic perspective, it mirrors the aspirations and ideas of a whole community. Mapping the historical anthropology of such writings of the Bene Israel community whose ambiguous history leads them to be torn between an indigenously acquired cultural identity and an essentially foreign religion they call their own, shall be rewarding in understanding the experience and cultural identity of a marginal community through the lens of their own literature in India's changing social contexts.

A Poet's Search for His Muse: Nissim Ezekiel and Bombay in *Background, Casually*

Born to rationalist Bene Israel parents in the rapidly urbanizing metropolis of Bombay in 1924, Nissim Ezekiel was to become one of the most prolific Indian poets in the English language decades later. Attending a missionary school in the city along with students from other religious communities, Nissim had plenty of opportunity to interact with different belief systems right from his childhood which contributed to his cosmopolitan outlook.[4] The Bene Israel community in Bombay was one of the first to gain access to the growing facilities of the rising metropolis as they had started migrating to the city as early as the late 18th century. They built their first synagogue, Shaar Harahamim in 1786 surrounding which the Jews built their community life. After his parents acquired some stability in their career, Nissim moved with his family to The Retreat which was an area inhabited by the middle classes of most of the minority communities residing in Bombay like the Parsis, Jews, Muslims and Christians. As a community that has lived through most of the political events in Bombay both during colonial

[3] This has entitled members of the Bene Israel community both in Mumbai and in Ahmedabad today to certain welfare measures of the Government instituted for members of officially recognized minority religions in India. JTA, " Indian state grants minority status to its Jewish community", The Times of Israel, 10 July , 2018, https://www.timesofisrael.com/indian-state-grants-minority-status-to-its-jewish-community/

[4] Nissim attended the Antonio D' Souza High School under the jurisdiction of the Gloria Church (R.Raj Rao , 2016, pp. 21-22).

rule and post-independence period, the Bene Israel have had little to participate in them due to their microscopic numerical strength and their careful avoidance of any political conflict to prevent being targeted and to promote and uplift their lifestyle as a community. The same is reflected in Ezekiel's writings as he did little to address any political problems in his work just like other published Bene Israel authors before him like Bahais Joseph Talkar or M.D. Talkar. Yet Nissim had not actively refrained from politics altogether. In college, he was attracted to M. N. Roy's 'leftist' ideology and especially supported his approval of the English fight against fascism during World War II while Gandhi and the Congress was more invested in the independence movement. Not coming from a conservative Jewish background, he also decided to follow in Roy's footsteps of atheism which he would later abandon but he remained a secular person throughout his life (R. Raj Rao, 2016, pp. 41-42).

Growing up, Ezekiel had loved reading poetry and in college he chose to pursue an honors degree in English Language. After his graduation in 1945, he flew to London to study philosophy where he was influenced by Elliot and Pound's theory of modern English.[5] While in London, he had already started working on his poetry which was to be published in 'A Time to Change' (1952). Most of Ezekiel's early work revolved around searching an identity among different generalized landscapes usually rooted in an urban lifestyle in Bombay (R. Raj Rao, 2016, pp. 37)[6]. Himself dabbling in different occupations ranging from a newspaper editor, an art critic and a professor in English in search for a satisfactory answer to his inner complexities, he tried to portray the complex realities of Indian life in a simplified manner. Perhaps he thought a better way to pursue that would be to introduce a new form of English in his poetry which he noticed was very peculiar to the English-speaking Indian population. He used this style in some of his poems in the Hymns in Darkness anthology published in 1976. While some literary critics opined that it was an unnecessary satire and declined the quality of his work, his biographer R. Raj Rao says that it was Ezekiel's way to fit into the Indo Anglican school with his contemporary poets who were usually bilingual.[7] To compensate for his lack of Marathi skills he resorted to writing in Indian English which allowed him at once to look at Indian society objectively and embrace his own Indianness by vouching for his familiarity with the wider Indian public in the torrid world of Bombay.

Ezekiel wrote 'Hymns in Darkness' after he had decided to become a believer post his LSD trip in 1967 and is one of his later publications (R. Raj Rao, 2016, pp. 233). This 16 poem anthology imitated the technique of the Old Testament and included poems about love, religion and Bombay. Although in earlier poems like 'A Short Story', 'First Theme and Variations', 'Marriage' and 'Case Study' he had shown snippets of his life, in Background Casually in all of 75 lines he summed up his entire experience growing up as a Jew in India, his adult life struggling to settle down in a stable job and his old age where he was able to

[5] He was a fellow at the Wilson College in London.

[6] Along with other Bombay based poets who wrote in English like Adil Jussawalla, Dom Moraes and the likes, Nissim Ezekiel was considered to be one of the earliest pioneers of the 'Bombay school' of poems which talked about life in the city.

[7] Anita Desai opined that the volume was a failed experiment as Ezekiel did not seem to be 'at home' with the theme. John Beston's review considered the title poem 'Hymns in Darkness' to be the most ambitious among all the other poems in the anthology.

embrace his identity as he looked upon his life in retrospect.[8] This is one of the very few poems where he actually asserted his Jewish identity and narrated his experience of growing up as a member of a minority community in India.

The poem begins when Ezekiel addresses himself as the 'poet-rascal-clown' who right from his childhood lacked in physical strength. In his convent school he says, his Christian friends accused him of deicide while he was afraid of his Muslim friend who had boxed his ear and of his Hindu classmates whose poor English grammar repelled him. Although we can easily dismiss these events saying that none of this held true meaning in childhood when children are often misinformed and unaware of their wrong doings, we have to accept how in spite of receiving a similar education in the same academy, the children were aware of their distinct religious backgrounds and belief systems which often demarcated invisible lines between innocently forged childhood friendships. Unable to make sense of religious practices of his own Jewish community which did not fit the narrative of the religious majority he grew up with, he questioned his own morals and embarked on a futile search of finding a meaning to his life by exploring ideas of different religious systems that the pluralistic Indian landscape had to offer him. As a part of it he travelled to England where 'philosophy, poverty and poetry' were his 'three companions' and from where he journeyed back to India on a cargo ship due to lack of finances. Returning with new knowledge helped him to see through some things yet it also gave rise in him an acquired disgust from his father at the way Hindus conducted themselves. Here the word Hindu has been deliberately used instead of Indians to show that in a majority ruled religiously diverse India, it was still the majority that defined and represented the larger population.

In a bid to 'settle down' in his middle-ages he got married and found a 'stable' job yet he realized all these years of experience had still left him a 'fool', a fool who was yet to experience much of his life's journey. Now he recalls his heritage and narrates the journey that the Bene Israel community went through, once considered outcasts to the Indian caste system due to their occupation as oil pressers in rural India to serving the British State during Boer War and settling down as an estranged population in the city of Bombay (R. Raj Rao, 2016, pp. 237).[9] Drawing on his history, he comes to terms with his personal identity the best expression of which he himself believes is his poetry where he can make sense of his inner psychological conflicts as well the 'outer storms' he had to face in life. In the last part of the poem he explains how although the Indian landscape 'sears his eyes' with all its problems staring naked at him and making him feel like an outsider, he has committed himself to the city with all its faults and backwardness. Even when other members of his community have travelled to some foreign land and tried convincing him to join them there, he chooses to become a part of India which is as much a part of his struggle with identity as his inspiration. In poetry he finds his home and in India is his permanent abode where in spite of his spells of alienation, he has found his inspiration from the dynamic and diverse life around him. Ezekiel's love for India is further justified when he defends his country from Naipaul's harsh criticism in 'An Area of

[8] While in the first two poems he employed third person narrative, in the latter two he used first person narrative forthright to talk about himself.

[9] This part is also reflective of Nissim's grandfather, Samuel Haskelji's service for the British State in India during the Boer War. He contrasts this with his career in poetry which he chooses as his own vocation.

Darkness' where he perceives India to be a mishmash of mutinies and irremediable backwardness (Ezekiel, Journal of South Asian Literature, 1976, pp. 193 – 205). The Indian poet objects by saying that although he is a 'natural outsider' to the country owning to his Jewish heritage, it was his circumstances and the conscious choices he made that rendered him an Indian, a part of a modern India which even after putting Ezekiel's religious identity in a flux with all her vicissitudes allowed our poet to finally reconcile his Jewishness with his Indianness.

The Other Half of the Sky: A Woman's Perspective of the Bene Israel Community Through Esther David's *The Walled City*

Esther David was born in Ahmedabad in 1945. Once the heart of a flourishing colonial trade network, it was home to several communities. The lucrative cotton trade and other ancillary opportunities of work that arose in Ahmedabad, attracted the Bene Israel from Bombay who now started settling down here starting from the late 19th century onwards. One of the first synagogues in the city, the Maghen David, was built by Dr. Samuel Erulkar in 1934. Although they had spread out to other emerging centers around Gujarat like Surat, Junagadh, Rajkot etc. they were mostly concentrated in Ahmedabad.

Being brought up in a non-conservative Jewish family, a young Esther David often could not understand Jewish rituals and found herself out of place in the synagogue. As Esther says in her interview with me, her sources of information about her roots was derived from their huge family library, her grandmother who narrated stories of their family and her cook Mani who fed her with Indian folk stories and culture (Esther David, Interviewed by Riti Banerjee, April 2022). Growing up, Esther David studied sculpture at the MS University in Vadodara and held exhibitions of her own artwork, simultaneously writing as an art critic for columns in well-known magazines.[10] An art critic too, Nissim Ezekiel was one of Esther's greatest inspiration and she reminisces how they had conversations about the uniqueness of Indian Jews in the sense that they 'experienced cross cultural conflicts in a multi-cultural country like India', but as Jews had never faced any persecution (David, Interview by Riti Banerjee, April 2022) .Yet she always felt that her art confined her to a block of wood and she wished to be a storyteller which she somewhat fulfilled by narrating short accounts of Bene Israel life across Ahmedabad in newspapers or public forums. While doing her ethnographic research work, she realized she knew little of her own community and decided to dive deeper in her search which culminated in her first novel *The Walled City* in 1994. The novel holds a very special place in her heart as she herself says that in it she finally found her homeland (Esther David, 2009, pp. 1-11). She further says that in writing it, she used Ahmedabad as the theatre and their synagogue as her sub stage where she gave life to her characters and fictionalized them, thus establishing a permanent connection between the Jewish life in the sanctuary of the synagogue and the bustling city outside (David, Interview by Banerjee, April 2022). The commitment to his city, Bombay, that Nissim accepted in 'Background, Casually', was embraced by Esther in her novel *The Walled City*.

[10] She worked in the Ahmedabad Times, Femina Gujarat etc. as an art critic. "Esther David: Biography", Accessed on April 7, 2022, www.estherdavid.com.

The novel opens in the busy neighbourhood of Dilli Darwaza in Ahmedabad in the 1940s where people from different religious and working-class backgrounds live together and cater to each other in their needs. The big courtyard in the narrator's house is lent out by her uncle to both her best friend Subhadra's Hindu family and their Muslim neighbor Hasmukh for his social programmes. They have employed Mani and Fatima as their household helps who have as much influence on her as any other member of the family. Yet, as the narrator grows up, she gradually comes to see through these seemingly friendly interactions as the same walls that had for so long held together her small and ideal world now set up boundaries of religion, caste and gender between the secure 'walled city' she dreamt which had now transformed into the 'walled city' that shackled her to societal norms.

The narrator's struggle with her religious identity, being a member of a marginal minority community, has featured throughout the novel. The line has been drawn between innocent childhood friendships when Subhadra hesitates to put 'chandan' (sandalwood paste) on the narrator's forehead which 'burns for the coolness of sandalwood paste' or when Subhadra's mother does not permit the 'meat- eating narrator' to enter their kitchen which houses their family deity even though it is these vegetarian Gujarati dishes that she craves for in spite of her mother's strict prohibition to not have it or when Subhadra has to 'run back to her house' for just a glass of water. The young girl feels guilty 'for the ways of her ancestors' which alienate her from her best friend and it does not take her much time to realize "We are different" (David, 2009, pp. 27).

Her identity crisis intensifies when she sees finds familiarity with the Hindu deities which look and dress just like her people. Like any typical Bene Israel family, their men are dressed in turbans and fez caps coupled with well-knit suits while women usually wore saris and accompanying jewellery [11]. After a forbidden visit to the temple with Subhadra, when she sits with her *Children's Illustrated Bible* at home little does she relate with the foreign figures on the pages. Rather she finds its storyline similar to the Hindu mythology of Lord Krishna who is easily known to her through her school textbooks, which even though affiliated to a Christian board follows the syllabus set by the narrative of the majority (David, 2009, 29). What she found more fascinating about Subhadra's religion was that she knew and understood her rituals and prayers. The narrator did not understand anything of the Hebrew prayers that were said at the synagogue and often felt out of place there, much like the young Esther did. Hence, she tried to fit into Subhadra' standards, to her she was the perfect example of an ideal girl who was sure of her beliefs and of her affiliation to a particular social identity. Little did she then realize that Subhadra was never given the opportunity to explore beyond the identity she was attested at birth. The narrator's illusion is soon broken when Subhadra commits suicide after she is forced by her parents to discontinue her studies and enter into an arranged marriage (David, 2009, pp. 40-44). The young Esther suddenly grows up to realize, what according to her women seem to realize a little too early, that the fate of the woman does not change, whatever her religious affiliation. She is the body over which men in a patriarchal society practice their religious discourse on, and the 'model' person of whom it is expected to meet all the social norms set for her. She had observed the same with her working mother, Naomi,

[11] Esther David tells us that the men adapted suit as a traditional wear due to the influence of the British whose support they always wanted in win to gain opportunities in a colonialist economy.
David, 2009, p.100.

who was derided by other female members of the household for ignoring her familial obligations. Ironically, it was this same Naomi who in turn made sure that her daughter conformed to all the rules set by the Jewish religion she was born into. It is only in the later part of the story that we come to know that her stress on strict implementation of religious norms was a conservatism that was rooted in insecurity and hatred she had for her father's (Daniel) Hindu mistress, Durga, with whom he had eloped, driving his wife, Leah, to suicide. Traditionally, women are considered either pure or evil (Kramer, 2004, pp. 28). For Naomi, Durga was the epitome of evil, a representation of the sensuous Hindu woman who would entice men with their seduction. Thus, she wanted to protect her daughter from all kind of immodest influences and interactions and thought it best to bring her up the in the religious ways of Judaism. Her religion, to her, was her save haven, from the all-consuming Hindu canvass that surrounded her.

Yet when Leah was betrayed by Daniel and her own religion had failed her, she left no stone unturned to bring him back to her and even took recourse to well-known Hindu religious superstitions. Be it the famous Pir's 'dargah' or the famed Banyanbaba whom everyone revered irrespective of their religious faith, Leah was evoking all supernatural forces that were available to her (Esther David, 2009, pp. 60)[12]. Similarly, after Subhadra's death, in her own emotional journey to cope with the tragic accident, the narrator had sought comfort in a hanuman idol that she made out of clay herself and worshipped. To a teenage girl who had just lost one of her closest friends, her God was what she personalized and tried to make her own.

Besides these instances which show the all-pervading nature of the religion of the majority on the emotions of a minority, Esther also shows that in their linguistic vocabulary too, Hindu as well as Muslim influences are apparent. The narrator's granny insists prioritizing learning Marathi, not Hebrew, over their local Gujarati dialect to remind them of their roots. She also used Marathi Hindu terms like 'deval' and 'deva' for the Jewish synagogue and their deity, and the Urdu word 'namaaz' to refer to their prayers (Esther David, 2009, pp. 86).

As the narrator grows up with her mother imposing values of self-reservation on her, she is more attracted to the colorful tales of Krishna and his 'Rasleela' where young love blooms and is celebrated as part of an annual religious custom (Esther David, 2009, pp.76). Falling head over hills for a boy from the Baghdadi community, she compares him with this playful Indian deity. Reality kicks in when her Granny informs her that such a fair boy from the Baghdadi community would never risk it to be seen with a dark-skinned girl like her from the Bene Israel community. Indian affinity for fairer skin tone has added to the racial discrimination that the Baghdadi community themselves once implemented to prove their similarity to the English colonizers and their distance from dark skinned Indians including their coreligionists in Maharashtra, the Bene Israel.

However much she tried to fit herself into the larger fabric of the Hindu narrative, she was faced with situations which pointed to her how little people knew of her religious background. At a wedding with Pratibha's family which was very different from Bene Isarel ones, where the narrator was an active participant, someone singled her out as 'different' from others. Although the matter was resolved with Pratibha's family reassuring her that she was 'one of

[12] In fact, in the story, it was Leah's Muslim neighbours Shilaben and Hasina who had suggested they visit the local famed Hindu ascetic 'Banyan-baba' whose 'spells' are always effective.

them', when Pratibha had later asked her, 'What are you, if you are not a Hindu, Muslim or Parsi?' the narrator was in a fix with her limited source of knowledge about their ambiguous history. In trying to explain herself better to Pratibha whose religion offered a pictorial representation of a multiplicity of Gods, narrator had equated her imageless God with a Hindu 'Sadhu' (Esther David, 2009, 77).

The novel was published in 1997, after the beginning of communal unrest in Gujarat in 1992 with the demolition of Babri Masjid, which transformed Ahmedabad from the land of Gandhi into a land of bloodshed overnight. Although the narrator's family was protected from any direct influence of the violence, parts of her life started crumbling – Mani's husband was murdered, one of her distant cousins went missing and their family was suffering financially due to the curfews imposed. Many of her relatives, realizing they have no future in India, left for Israel, diminishing the already dwindling numbers of their community. The narrator, though, stayed in Ahmedabad because she had made her place here. Her search for identity was over as the brutality of religious fanaticism was laid bare before her. She understood, while on the one hand, faith could provide comfort like it sheltered her Granny and her Mother, on the other it could be vicious, deliberately shackling you to chains for the way you were born, based on your gender or your caste or suffocate you for the different opinions or beliefs you hold. It is as if this continuous monologue of the narrator was self-reflections of Esther David herself, who had lived a life of varied experiences, being a female follower of an old monotheistic religion in the land of an even more ancient one with multiple deities with their own set of faiths and disciples. Even after a life of its own burden of lived experiences, the narrator decides to stay on in this country, just like Esther David, who decides to nurture the last living legacy of the dwindling community.

Locating Marginal Minorities During Communal Violence: Ahmedabad in 2002 Through the Eyes of Robin David as Seen in His *City of Fear*

Robin David's *City of Fear* follows the tail-end of his mother's *The Walled City* as it traces his experience as a member of the microscopic minority Jewish community in Ahmedabad during the violent outbreak of communal violence in Godhra in 2002. As a journalist with the Times of India during that time, he also gives us a different perspective to the religiously charged atmosphere of Ahmedabad amidst the State imposed curfew. On one of his press tours, the day after a train carrying 'kar sevaks' returning from Ayodhya had been burnt down which had sparked statewide unrest, Robin's press car was stopped by an armed mob. They were asked about their religious affiliation, not apparent from their physical appearance and the crowd was convinced that their driver was Muslim, because according to them, "All drivers are Muslims" (David, 2007, 41). They only managed to get away by reaffirming the mob that they were 'Hindu' by chanting the now war cry of Hindu nationalists 'Jai Shree Ram' and promising to 'defend' their Hindu faith which was under attack from the Muslims. What shocked Robin more was the familiarity of all these faces he had often encountered all around Gujarat and the similarity between them all that made them look like one body of hatred spewing snake with many heads.

His mother, Esther, was faced with a similar situation when she was passing through the same slums of Guptanagar she had walked through her entire life when people suspected her of

being a Muslim for wearing Khaki pants and 'dupatta' (David, 2007, 127). Such stereotypes were being reinforced more than ever before which made them 'feel like refugees' in their own city. In this religiously charged Gujarat which saw its people divided into a broad dichotomy of only Hindus and Muslims as two homogeneous religious monoliths, where would the minority communities such as the Jews place themselves? This was the same question that both Robin and his mother asked themselves when they felt a sense of relief wash over them that they were 'not Muslims' when faced with placed in sudden religiously hostile situations but immediately plunged into sense of guilt (David, 2007, 88). Discussions held with certain people further aggravated his confusion of locating himself. When his uneducated barber, Rameshbhai, who had no knowledge of the Jews before Robin informed had him, concluded that all the problems revolving around Muslims today had evolved from them as they had been their ancestral religion, it left Robin in a fix (David, 2007, 175-177). Elaborate conversations with his 'educated' Hindu professor friend Jayendrasinh seemed similar as he expected Robin to be aggressively anti-Muslim because of his roots in Israel. When he refused to agree to his convoluted nationalist logic of how Muslims were trying to take over India by overpopulating the country and that they were now receiving the much 'deserved' violence, he was labeled 'pseudo-secular', a term which in communal India has come to mock liberalists going against the rabid ideas of the Hindutva discourse and is thought to be synonymous with being an anti-nationalist Pakistani spy. [13] When Robin had insisted that in a mob he would always be recognized and targeted as a Muslim due to his circumcised penis, Jayendrasinh had refused to believe him by stressing that he was 'different' than the other 'bandia' guys (David, 2007, 100-103).

The unrest took a pugnacious turn when a woman was stripped and murdered in broad daylight. Geetaben, as she was called after her marriage to a Muslim man, made her an easy target of the bloodthirsty Hindu mob (Robin David, 2007,123-125). The woman's body once again became the symbol of a whole community, desecrating which was seen as a blow to the whole Muslim community. The lack of police surveillance that day revealed the State endorsed nature of the violence and it was clear to this small Jewish family in Guptanagar, that they would not find help where they usually sought for. With this incident, Guptanagar which was situated adjacent to the Muslim settlement of Juhapura was transformed into a hotbed of conflict as every day false alarms were spread of an impending Muslim attack and angry Hindu mobs pointed their arms at invisible Muslim attackers. Thus, the Davids began a search for their new home. The concept of 'home' had always been very elusive to the Bene Israel families in Ahmedabad and especially to the Davids as they had undertaken several failed attempts to return to their Promised Land. Their stay in Isarel was not at all what Esther had dreamt of and instead of feeling inclusive in an all-Jewish land, they were excluded from social events such as weddings for not following daily Jewish rituals astutely.[14] Soon, their hearts yearned for their own corner in Guptanagar they knew so well.

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[13] Jayendrasindh talks about a nationalist logic we are much well aware of in religiously charged contemporary India. Imposing the term 'pseudo secular' on a reasonable thinker is supposed to silence the opposing voice of reason to their fantastical logic (David, 2007, p. 100).

[14] Their orthodox Jewish neighbor Amy refused to have meals with them at the same table as they did not follow Kosher rules properly. She had also 'forgotten' to call them to her wedding which flocked their mind with a lot of questions about the authenticity of their Jewishness in regular practices (Robin David, 2007, 64).

This task of finding a new home in riot-ridden Ahmedabad was more challenging than they had expected. Although initially they were refused tenancy in a complex for being 'meat esters', they found some options in some financially wealthier areas away from Guptanagar. The move took a toll on them emotionally as they were leaving behind them many fond memories of the past. The shift to their new flat was not without questions. Soon their present seemingly wealthy and 'refined' neighbours began to enquire of the 'mezuzah' on their door and also questioned the faith they belonged to. Even when Miss David explained their Jewish origins, they were not able to erase the tag of 'being Muslims' even away from Guptanagar, as some uninformed neighbours outside the complex claimed that both they and the Parsi family that had moved next door were 'Muslims' (Robin David, 2007, pp. 237). To them, any ritualistic practices alien to their own faith was supposed to be 'Muslim' and thus was to be deemed to be a threat. Only the financial affordability of people had changed, the irrational fear of the Muslim community had remained, realized Robin. This perceptible attitudinal change towards minorities was to become the ruling for years to come, thereby heightening the vulnerabilities of the marginalized communities which alienated them further.

After an impending 'rath yatra' procession was 'successfully' handled by the State in the sense that the pilgrims who were ordered to be unarmed were given complete protection from any 'alien' intervention, the unrest was thought to have 'died down'. Esther David decided to go back to their half-empty house at Guptanagar, to cling on to the last remnants of nostalgia that it held. But Robin's refusal to return to his ancestral residence at Guptnagar reflects his realization that beneath the din and bustle of the apparently multicultural city lay a sleeping monster of communal hatred ready to rear its ugly head, at the slightest provocation, real or imaginary. Once this hatred was allowed to be pandered by the state in a majoritarian discourse, the tiny but significant space that minorities like Jews occupied began to be squeezed and their sense of belonging was replaced by a state of despondency. Thus, at the end of the memoir, Robin sits uneasily with the deliberate self- effacement of his past and seeks anonymity to start a new life where he thinks he would have the power to rewrite an identity which would give him a fleeting sense of security in a communally charged India where collective animus is the new normal.

Conclusion

The Bene Israel Jews in India - A community not familiar to most, much less written or talked about than in exclusive scholarly articles. Followers of a religion not known indigenously to be cultivated in the country they claim to be their Motherland. A group which completely blends with a pluralistic Indian culture yet refuses to give up their 'borrowed' religious identity completely. The ignorance of their practising faith while sometimes allowing them to situate themselves within the niche of any religion, sometimes threatens their existence in a religiously charged India. This simultaneous belonging and alienation manifests itself in the three auto ethnographical narratives I have examined. Produced in different timelines, cities and political scenarios in India, their cultural encounters might have been different, yet their desire for a homeland seems to transcend these differences. While Nissim Ezekiel navigates life in Bombay through his poems and finally acknowledges his place in it by coalescing his religious background with his cultural identity, Esther David takes us through the identity crisis she faced being placed in a narrative set by the majority in a country, all the while searching for a

faith that could shelter all her insecurities which were intensified by the rising tension between the Hindus and the Muslims in post 1992 Ahmedabad. Robin David looks at a completely changed city in 2002 where instead of the usual curiosity at the mention of their faith there is a complete refusal to acknowledge their independent existence and a tendency to align them with any of the two dichotomous monolithic religions the state had been deliberately divided into. Throughout this experience, his search for a safe abode is kept up and when he finally finds one, he decides to chart out his own course and redefine his path rather than let his religious faith define it. With a forgotten history, most of which is scoured from oral traditions, their failure to situate themselves perfectly in Israeli or Indian traditions comes naturally, but most often they find themselves settling down in the pluralistic Indian landscape which when not threatened allows them to retain their unique religious identity as well as gives them a sense of belonging in a multicultural India. The ethnographic writings I have examined helped its creators to redefine this permanent abode in India as they explore and embrace their identity through their own creations. Esther David perfectly sums it up when she tells me about the process of writing her novel, "…the small space within the synagogue and the bustling city outside the sanctuary of Jewish life becomes the theatre of my life and literature."

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Glossary

'Bandia'- A Hindi slang used for those with a circumcised penis.

'Chandan' – Sandalwood paste which is often used in Hindu rituals, usually applied on the forehead of devotees.

'Deval' – The Marathi word for 'temple'.

'Deva' –The Marathi word for 'God'.

'Dupatta' – A piece of cloth worn around the head or neck by Indian women.

Goddess Durga – She is the embodiment of the powerful female deity (shakti) in the Hindu pantheon. Worshipped in various forms, she is also considered to be the Goddess of prosperity and peace in family life.

Hindutva Ideology – An ideology seeking to establish the hegemony of Hinduism and Hindus in India by foregoing the nation's pluralistic and secular culture.

Indo Anglican School of literature – Indo Anglican school of literature refers to contributions to literature by Indian authors in the English language.

'Kar Sevaks' – The disputed land of Ayodhya which is considered to be the birthplace of the Hindu mythological figure Ram is referred to as Ram *Janmabhoomi* by Hindu nationalists. In 1990, some of these political parties claimed that the Ram Temple be built on those grounds. Kar Sevaks are a group of people who have pushed this demand to build the Ram temple in Ayodhya for years. On Decemeber 6, 1992, in a rally at Ayodhya, a group of *kar sevoks* razed the Babri Masjid to the ground, a moment that redefined modern Indian politics.

Lord Krishna – One of the most widely revered Hindu deities, considered to be the proponent of the Bhagvad Gita and the eight incarnations of the Hindu God Vishnu, the protector of the Universe.

'Mezuzah' – A parchment with religious text hung on the doorstep of a Jewish house to express good faith.

'Namaaz'- It is the obligatory prayer performed by a practicing Muslim five times a day.

'Rasleela' – Rasleela is a part of the mythology of Krishna where this playful deity is seen dancing with his lover Radha and her gopis (friends). Today it is observed as a tradition in India to celebrate Krishna's youth and blossoming love.

'Rath Yatra'- A Hindu ceremonial process with a chariot centered in the middle where the deity of image of the central deity is mounted.

Royal Charter 1813- The Charter Act of 1813 ended the East India Company's trade monopoly in India and established the sovereignty of the Crown over the Company. It also made provisions for the missionaries to come to India and engage in proselytization.

Sadhu – A Hindu ascetic.

'Shanivar Teli' – Literally translating to 'Saturday oil pressers' in English from Marathi, the Bene Israel were given this name because of their traditional occupation in the district of Kolaba in Maharashtra. As they took every Saturday off from their work to read the Sabbath, they were known by this name amidst the local Marathi population.

'Shema' – Shema is the beginning couple of lines from the book of Deuteronomy which became an important part of prayers in ancient Israelite tradition. "Listen, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord alone", says the first lines of Deuteronomy 6:4. The word 'Shema' in Hebrew translates to 'Listen' in English. Today the *Shema* has become an important part of Jewish ritualistic tradition.

'Yehudi' – The Biblical Hebrew term used to refer to the ancient people from the kingdom of Judah in ancient Israel. Today it is used to refer to people professing faith in Judaism.

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Kurumsal Dil ve İletişim Üzerine Kitap Tanıtımı

Habib Tekin[1]

Duman, Seyyare (2024). Kurumsal Dil ve İletişim. Eylem Örnekçeleri – Kurumsal İletişim – Sorun Çözme. İstanbul: Paradigma Akademik Yayınları

Yazar Seyyare Duman'ın (Prof. Dr.) *Kurumsal Dil ve İletişim* çalışması, toplumsal kurumların dil yapısını ve bu yapının iletişime olan etkisini kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alıyor. Eserde, kurum içi iletişimde kullanılan dilin özellikleri, dilin işlevi ve kurumsal bağlamda nasıl şekillendiği üzerine teorik ve uygulamalı analizler sunuluyor. Kitap, özellikle dilbilim, sosyoloji ve iletişim bilimleri gibi alanlarda çalışan akademisyenler ve araştırmacılar için derinlemesine bir kaynak niteliğinde ve kurumlardaki iletişimin daha işlevsel olması için yazılmış olup, eleştirel ve ampirik bir edimbilimsel çalışma özelliği taşıyor. Dilinin anlaşılır olması, geniş bir okuyucu kitlesine hitap etmesini sağlarken, çalışmanın akademiye katkıları, kurumsal dilin nasıl yapılandırıldığı ve sosyal ilişkilerde nasıl işlev gördüğü konusunda yeni bakış açıları sunmasıyla dikkat çekiyor. Bu bağlamda, daha kapsamlı araştırmalar yapılması gerektiği de vurgulanıyor.

Duman'ın çalışmasında, "dilsel eylem," "katılımcı eylem," "eylem bağlamı" gibi kavramlar, dilsel eylem teorileri çerçevesinde açıklanmış. Austin ve Searle'ün söz eylem teorisine sıkça atıfta bulunulması, dilin toplumsal ve bireysel yönlerini açıklamak için önemli bir kuramsal zemin oluşturuyor. Duman, dilsel eylemleri sadece bir iletişim aracı olarak değil, aynı zamanda kurumsal amaçlara hizmet eden bir yapı olarak ele alıyor. Bu bağlamda, kurumsal dilin teorik temelleri kitapta detaylı olarak açıklanmış ve okuyucuların kurumsal iletişimi daha derinlemesine anlamasını sağlıyor. Kitabın bu kavramsal yapısı, akademik çalışmalar ve araştırmalar için sağlam bir teorik temel sağlamakta. Kurumsal iletişim ve dilsel eylem alanlarında çalışan akademisyenler, Duman'ın kuramsal açıklamalarını kendi çalışmalarına entegre ederek yeni araştırma alanları oluşturabilirler. Ancak, teorik çerçevede daha fazla örnek verilmesi, özellikle kuramla pratiği bağlamak açısından faydalı olabilirdi. Örneğin, dilsel eylem kuramının farklı alanlardaki (örneğin hukuk veya tıp gibi) pratik kullanımları ile zenginleştirilmiş bir anlatım, okuyucular için daha kapsayıcı bir bakış açısı sunabilirdi.

Duman'ın analizinde, kurum içindeki dilin güç dinamiklerini nasıl yansıttığına dair açıklamalar oldukça dikkat çekici. Kurum içi dil, kurum çalışanlarının birbirleriyle ve kurum dışından gelen katılımcılarla olan iletişiminde belirli bir güç dengesini de ifade eder. Çalışmada, kurum çalışanlarının bilgi üstünlüğü nedeniyle dilin yönlendirici ve kontrol edici bir yapıya büründüğü

[1] Assoc. Prof. Dr., Marmara University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of German Language and Literature, ORCID-ID: 0000-0002-2650-8801, Web of Science Researcher ID: AAB-3762-2019

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belirtilmektedir. Kurumsal dil, burada bir kontrol mekanizması olarak işlev görmekte ve iletişimi güçlendirici bir yapı sağlamaktadır.

Çalışmada yer alan kurumsal iletişim örnekleri, farklı alanlardan alınarak derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Tıbbi iletişimde hasta-doktor ilişkisi, okul iletişiminde öğretmen-öğrenci etkileşimi ve aile içi iletişim gibi çeşitli konular ele alınmaktadır. Bu örnekler, kurumsal dilin farklı bağlamlarda nasıl işlediğini göstermesi bakımından oldukça başarılıdır. Özellikle hasta-doktor iletişimi örneğinde, kurumsal dilin bireylerin sağlık durumları üzerinde nasıl bir etkiye sahip olabileceği detaylı olarak açıklanmıştır. Bu örneklerde dikkat çeken bir diğer nokta, kurumsal dilin yalnızca işlevsel bir araç olarak değil, aynı zamanda sorun çözme ve ilişki kurma işlevi görmesi. Duman'ın çalışmasında bu tür detaylara yer verilmesi, kurumsal dilin çok yönlü yapısını anlamak açısından oldukça faydalıdır. Ancak, burada da diğer ülkelerden veya kültürel bağlamlardan ek örnekler sunulması, çalışmanın etkililiğini artırabilir. Örneğin, tıbbi iletişimde Batı ülkeleri ile Türkiye arasındaki farklılıklar veya eğitimdeki kültürel farklılıkların iletişime yansıması gibi konular da ele alınarak daha kapsayıcı bir analiz yapılabilirdi.

Kurumsal dilin sorun çözme sürecindeki rolü, çalışmanın en dikkat çekici bölümlerinden biridir. Duman, dilin bir sorun çözme aracı olarak nasıl kullanılabileceğini örneklerle açıklamaktadır. Özellikle kurum çalışanları ile kuruma dışarıdan katılanlar arasındaki bilgi farkının, kurumsal dil aracılığıyla nasıl kapatılabileceği ve bu dilin işlevselliği üzerinde durulmaktadır. Kurumsal dilin sorun çözme yeteneği, özellikle karmaşık ve hiyerarşik yapıdaki kurumlarda oldukça önemlidir. Burada dilin işlevselliği üzerine odaklanılırken, kurumsal iletişimde sıklıkla karşılaşılan engeller ve dilin bu engelleri aşma stratejilerine daha fazla yer verilebilirdi. Örneğin, kurumsal dilin anlaşılabilirliğini artırmak için hangi iletişim tekniklerinin kullanılabileceği veya farklı kültürlerden gelen bireylerle etkili iletişim kurmak için hangi stratejilerin geliştirilebileceği konusu daha fazla işlenebilirdi. Bu tür detaylar, çalışmanın kurumsal dilin işlevselliği açısından pratik öneriler sunan bir kaynak olmasını sağlayabilirdi.

Çalışmanın kurumlararası ve kültürlerarası iletişim bağlamında daha fazla detay içermesi, kurumsal dilin çok boyutlu doğasını daha iyi anlamaya katkı sağlayabilir. Duman'ın ele aldığı dilsel eylem teorisi, farklı kültürel bağlamlarda kurumsal iletişimin nasıl işlediğine dair değerli ipuçları sunmaktadır. Ancak, kültürel çeşitliliğin dil ve iletişim üzerindeki etkisi üzerinde daha kapsamlı bir şekilde durulabilirdi. Örneğin, uluslararası kuruluşlarda çalışan profesyoneller için kültürel farklılıkların iletişime etkisini açıklamak, eserin çok kültürlü çalışma ortamlarında kullanılabilirliğini artırabilir. Ayrıca, çok uluslu şirketler ve küresel organizasyonlardaki kurumsal iletişim uygulamalarının ele alınması, Duman'ın çalışmasının kapsamını genişletebilir. Özellikle farklı kültürel normların, dil kullanımı ve iletişim biçimleri üzerindeki etkisini anlamak, okuyuculara evrensel bir perspektif sunacaktır. Çalışmanın bu bölümünde kültürlerarası iletişimde yaşanan dil engellerine dair öneriler sunulması, kitap için pratik bir rehber niteliği de kazandırabilir.

Duman'ın *Kurumsal Dil ve İletişim* eseri, kurumsal dilin yapılandırılma biçimini ortaya koyarak akademik çevrelerde önemli bir katkı sağlıyor. Özellikle dilbilim, iletişim bilimleri ve sosyoloji alanlarında çalışan araştırmacılar için değerli bir kaynak olmasının yanı sıra, kurum içi iletişimle ilgilenen sosyal bilimciler için de kapsamlı bir rehber sunmaktadır. Eserde sunulan dilsel eylem teorisi, akademisyenlerin yeni araştırma alanları keşfetmesine ve disiplinler arası çalışmalara

yönelmesine olanak tanıyor. Bu bağlamda, Duman'ın çalışması, kurumsal iletişimin teorik çerçevesini daha geniş kitlelere ulaştırarak, akademik birikimi zenginleştiriyor.

Bu minvalde, Duman'a göre, kurum içi iletişimdeki mevcut aksaklıkların giderilmesi için, iletişimin işlevselliğini artırmaya yönelik stratejik adımlar atılmalıdır. Çalışmasında, tıp, aile, okul ve danışmanlık gibi çeşitli kurumlarda iletişimin nasıl şekillendiğini ele alan Duman, özellikle hasta merkezli iletişim modeli üzerinde durur ve doktorlara daha fazla zaman tanınmasının, sağlık alanında iletişim kalitesinin artırılmasında kritik bir rol oynayacağını vurgular. Duman'a göre, aile içindeki ataerkil yapı ve cinsiyet ile yaşa dayalı hiyerarşi, iletişimin eşitlikten uzaklaşmasına neden olmakta ve bu yapının eleştirel bir şekilde sorgulanması gerektiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Aile içi sağlıklı iletişimin sağlanması için toplumsal değerlerin ve hiyerarşik yapıların yeniden değerlendirilmesi gerektiğini ifade eden Duman, bu alanda daha fazla ampirik çalışmanın yapılması gerektiğine dikkat çeker. Okul kurumunda ise, öğretmen merkezli iletişimin öğrenciyi dışlayan yanları üzerinde duran Duman, öğrenci merkezli iletişim modellerinin eğitimde nasıl daha etkili olabileceğini tartışır ve bu geçiş sürecinin gerekliliğine vurgu yapar. Duman, kitabında tüm bu konuları anlaşılır bir dille ele alarak geniş bir okuyucu kitlesine hitap etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ona göre, kurumsal dil yapısı ve iletişim yöntemleri, yalnızca mevcut sorunları ortaya koymakla kalmayıp, bu sorunların çözümü için daha kapsamlı araştırmalara olan gereksinimi de işaret etmektedir.

Çeşitli kurumların iletişim yapısını inceleyen bu çalışma, her kurumun kendine özgü iletişim dinamiklerini ve aksaklıklarını anlamada önemli bir perspektif sunmaktadır. Tek bir kuruma değil, tıp, aile, okul ve danışmanlık gibi farklı alanlara odaklanarak geniş bir örneklem üzerinden işlevsellik analizleri sunması, iletişimin çok boyutlu yönlerini anlamaya olanak tanır. Kurumlarla ilgili sınırlı eylem örnekçelerinin incelenmesiyle, her bir kurumda iletişim aksaklıklarının ve yapısal eksikliklerin nasıl giderilebileceği konusunda değerli veriler elde edilmektedir. Böylece, iletişimin katılımcılık esasına dayalı olarak zorunluluktan çıkıp istekliliğe dönüşmesi gerektiği vurgulanır. Ayrıca, kuruma dışarıdan katılan bireyler ile kurum çalışanları arasındaki bilgi aktarımı ve iletişim süreçlerinin araştırılması gerektiği belirtilirken, bilginin doğruluğunun ve niteliğinin sorgulanması gerektiği ifade edilir. Kurum çalışanlarının bilgi aktarım süreçlerinde bilginin nasıl ele alındığı, kurumsal iletişimde verimliliği artırmada etkili bir odak noktasıdır. Aynı şekilde, kurumlara dışarıdan gelen bireylerin bilgiyi nasıl elde ettiği ve bu bilginin doğruluğunun değerlendirilmesi de iletişimi daha sağlıklı ve işlevsel hale getirmek için önemlidir. Söz hakkının kurumlar içindeki kullanımı ve bu hakkın nasıl yönlendirildiği de çalışmada öne çıkan bir başlık olarak karşımıza çıkar. Kurumsal katılımcılık ve yönlendirmenin olumlu ve olumsuz yönlerinin açığa çıkarılması, her kurumda eşit ve özgür bir iletişim ortamının sağlanması için yapılacak araştırmalara ışık tutacak niteliktedir. İşlevsel edimbilim alanında daha fazla ampirik çalışmanın gerekliliği ve bu alanda yapılacak her araştırmanın iletişim adına olumlu sonuçlar doğuracağına olan inanç, çalışmanın amacını ve kapsamını güçlü bir şekilde ortaya koymaktadır.