

**VABAHUSÕ MÕISTÕQ
HUMMOGU-EURUUPA KIRÄNDÜISIN**

**VABADUSE KONTSEPT
IDA-EUROOPA KIRJANDUSTES**

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**THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM
IN THE LITERATURES OF EASTERN EUROPE**

Toimõndanuq
Szilárd Tibor Tóth, Roza Kirillova ja Jüvä Sullõv



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Võro Instituudi toimõnduisi sari ilmus 1997. aastagast pääle. Aastagast 2007 om välläannõq saanuq alalidsõ toimõndaja ni toimõndamisõ mano om haarõt riikevaihõlinõ nõvvokogo. Sarja om naat inne välläandmist retseniirmä ja taa pandas kirjä riikevaihõliidsihe raamadunimistüihe.

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Artikliq retsenseeritäsõq. Egä kirotusõ kotsilõ and uma varadu ni-mega arvamisõ kats, suurõmbidõ lahkominekide kõrral kolm arvamisandjat. Toimõndaja saat arvamisõq artikli kirotajalõ edesi.

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Põhinumbrite põhirubriigis avaldatakse läänemeresoome ning teiste Euroopa väikeste keelte ja kultuuride uurijate – keele- ja kirjandusteadlaste, folkloristide, arheoloogide, etnoloogide ja ajaloolaste ning sotsiaalteadlaste – artikleid.

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Toimetaja

ALKUSANAT

Vörun instituutin toimituksia -julkaisusarja on ilmestynyt vuodesta 1997 alkaen. Vuodesta 2007 julkaisulla on ollut vakituinen päätoimittaja ja toimitustyössä on ollut mukana kansainvälinen työryhmä. Sarjaa on alettu esitarkastaa. Julkaisut rekisteröidään kansainvälisiin bibliografisiin tietokantoihin.

Vörun instituutin toimituksia on **aikakausi-julkaisu**. Sarjan päänumero ilmestyy joka vuosi lokakuussa. Lisäksi julkaistaan erikoisnumeroita kulloinkin saatavilla olevasta materiaalista.

Julkaisemme artikkeleita, jotka ovat teoreettisesti ja empiirisesti hyvin perusteltuja. Otamme vastaan artikkeleita kielen ja kulttuurin tutkimukseen liittyviltä aloilta, eikä kirjoittajan tarvitse olla osallistunut Vörun instituutin konferensseihin. Toivomme artikkeleilta tieteidenvälistä ja vertailevaa näkökulmaa.

Päänumeroiden perussisältö muodostuu itämerensuomalaisten ja muiden Euroopan pienten kielten ja kulttuurien tutkijoiden – kieli- ja kirjallisuustieteilijöiden, folkloristien, arkeologien, kansatieteilijöiden, historioitsijoiden ja yhteiskuntatieteilijöiden – artikkeleista.

Esseistiikan osiossa julkaistaan populaaritieteellisiä artikkeleita, arvosteluja ja katsauksia. Erikoisnumeroina ilmestyvät teemakokoukset, monografiat, tutkimukset yms.

Julkaisujen kieli. Vörun instituutin toimituksia on alusta asti ollut monikielinen sarja. Vöron- ja vironkielisten artikkelien lisäksi otamme vastaan artikkeleita kaikilla itämerensuomalaisilla kielillä, poikkeustapauksissa myös muilla kielillä. Jokainen päänumero on vähintään kolmikielinen – alkuperäiskielisen artikkelin lopussa on aina vöron- ja englanninkielinen tiivistelmä.

Artikkelit tarkastetaan. Jokaisen artikkelin arvioi anonyymisti kaksi, erimielisyyksien sattuessa kolme tarkastajaa. Sen jälkeen arvostelu lähetetään artikkelin kirjoittajalle.

Määräaika. Artikkeleita otetaan vastaan joka vuosi 15. helmikuuta saakka. Artikkelit julkaistaan saman vuoden julkaisussa.

Artikkelin muotoiluohjeet löytyvät Vörun instituutin toimituksia -julkaisun kotisivulta (wi.ee/toimonduso).

Toimittaja

PREFACE

Publications of Võro Institute have been underway since 1997. Since 2007 the procedure of publication has been changed. There has been a standing editor in charge, an international advisory board involved and the series are peer-reviewed. The publications are to be registered in international indexing/abstracting services/databases.

Periodicity. From now on we aim to publish a main issue every October and (according to the material and will special editions will be published) and publish special additions depending on the available materials.

Theoretically and empirically well-grounded **papers are expected** to be published. Publications are not limited to the presentations of the annual conferences of Võro Institute. We expect all kinds of contributions from the different fields of the study of language and culture. The interdisciplinary and comparative angle is welcome.

In the main section the contributions of researchers of Finnic and other European small languages and cultures – linguists, scholars of literature, folklorists, archaeologists, ethnologists, historians, and social scientists – are published.

In the section of essays the papers of popular interest, reviews and summaries are published. Thematic numbers, monographies, and ad hoc studies are published as special editions.

Language. Publications of Võro Institute have been available since the very beginning of multilingual studies. In addition to the Võro and Estonian languages articles in all Finnic languages, and as an exception in other languages, are welcome. Each main edition is at least trilingual – the summary in Võro and in English are to be added to the original.

The papers are peer-reviewed. Each article is anonymously reviewed by two scholars, in case of disagreement by three reviewers. Should any scientific confusion occur, the reviews are to be forwarded to the author.

The deadline for papers is February 15 annually. The papers are published every October.

Submission guidelines are available on the homepage of the Publications of Võro Institute (wi.ee/toimonduso).

Editor

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THE COLOURS OF THE POLAR LIGHTS (SYMBOLS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SAMI IDENTITY)

ILDIKÓ TAMÁS

From Lapp groups to the Sami nation

It is generally accepted (even in the Scandinavian countries) up to the present day that the Sami have been a remarkably unified group, that their existence has always been close to nature and based on reindeer herding, and that they have been singing their “ancient” joiks¹ (Mahtisen 2004). This homogenizing thinking is not at all surprising, as outsiders reduce even groups without sovereign nations or autonomy down to less nuanced categories. The Sami have been living on Northern Europe’s periphery in an area about 1500–2000 km long and 200–400 km wide (Berezcki 2000: 37). The borders of four countries cross over *Sápmi* (“Sami-land”), the crescent-shaped area where the Sami live. In Scandinavia, those who identify as Sami are numbered around 70 000–100 000. They form the largest minority in Norway, where more than half of the Samis live (Aikio 2003: 35). The smaller portion of the Sami population lives in three other countries, the majority of which are in Sweden and Finland, and there are now fewer than 2000 Samis in Russia (Stepien 2009: 75). Until the 19th century,

¹ The joik is a singing tradition that touches the whole life of the Sami. It exhibits the marks of sacred and the profane symbols, and it is performed by many more people than those who would usually be connected with folk songs and ritual singing. The joiks have many functions: for example, as entertainment, as a communication tool, and as an expression of identity. The joik is also a system for the classification and identification of the Sami’s surroundings, a kind of summary of their experiences and knowledge about the world, in which their views about life are reflected and expressed (Tamás 2007: 75–79).

the division of the Sami groups was determined by ecological factors and the *siidas*² along the migration routes of the reindeer. These territorial units stretched from the edge of the sea into the interior in parallel lines, where they formed what can be viewed as linguistically, economically, and culturally unified regions. The Sami themselves considered the boundaries between the *siidas* to be the borders of separation between them, the primary evidence for which is the formation of different dialects. The migrations of the people, tied to predetermined routes and often requiring a forced tempo, meant that the members of each group only maintained contact with directly neighbouring groups, so more distant Sami only knew of each other's lives by information passed on between several groups. This means that before the Second World War news did not penetrate to the entire region populated by the Sami (Lehtola 2010: 58). The most common exonyms of the Sami are "Finn" and "Lapp" (which are known from the earliest contact with them).³ The latter was in almost exclusive use as an exonym for the Sami from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The word *Lapp*, which has a pejorative connotation in the North, has been successfully removed from official use thanks to the efforts of these people, and the endonym *Sami* has taken its place.⁴ These designations originated primarily from

² The *siidas* are territories adjusted to the numbers (50–500 people), needs and natural boundaries of Sami groups, whose central location was the winter quarters. The entire *siida* community came together in the winter quarters, while family groups lived separately during the milder seasons, when they hunted, fished, and/or wandered together with the reindeer (Näkkäljärvi 2003: 114–121).

³ *Finn* and *Lapp* as exonyms can be found in several early sources (Tamás 2007: 31) and geographical names (such as the Finnish Lappi and Norwegian Finnmark) evidence them even today. The word *Lapp* is decidedly rude, even insulting, in Scandinavian countries to this day, and it is not a "politically correct" expression in more distant countries, either. This has caused a change in exonyms and the use of the endonym *Sami* in other languages, including Hungarian in the 21st century.

⁴ Until the start of the 20th century, the overwhelming majority of the Sami people were reindeer herders, while the inhabitants of the fjords and the river and lake countries were fishers. These are the occupations

travellers and missionaries. Later, when linguistic and folkloric studies of the Sami began, newer and newer opportunities for drawing divisions appeared, which the Samis themselves also found important, while others valued them for their scientific merit. The different Sami occupations (lifestyles) are also considered distinguishing features among the Samis, as are language and folk dress. The varieties in folk dress, which reflect the geographic and cultural divisions among the people, make this picture literally multicoloured, and they play a key role in the internal and external representation of the Sami. The ten very different dialects are historically the result of the low population spread over tremendous territory, and many of them are endangered today.⁵ (Figure 1)⁶



Figure 1. The Sami languages: Southern, Ume, Pite, Lule, Northern, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Sami.

based on which even the earliest sources (Tamás 2001: 30–32) separate the types of Sami groups: they describe the ocean Lapps as fishing communities, the mountain or forest Lapps as reindeer herders. These two key economic paths were complemented by hunting, gathering, and agriculture and crafting to a lesser extent.

⁵ Source: <http://hu.languagesindanger.eu/nyelvek-listaja/> (last accessed: 10.09.2015)

⁶ The map's source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Sami (last accessed: 10.09.2015)

The multicolouredness of the languages is intensified by the fact that the Sami live in the territory of four countries, which causes many problems as well. Despite this, many of them are not bilingual. Though they consider themselves Sami, the banning of their language for several generations has caused many of them to speak only the official language of their country. Bilingualism, and in some cases (particularly near the borders of three different countries) proficiency in three languages, can be connected with the “unevenness” caused by the fact that the Sami language is only in spoken use, while the written literacy of the Sami is tied to Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, or Russian.⁷ Thanks to Sami *giellabeassi* (language nest) programs in kindergarten and native-language education, reading and writing is becoming increasingly universal among young people, while it is less widespread among the older generations. Samis who learn their native language as adults often do not speak the language of their own territory, and instead speak only or prefer to use the primary, northern Sami dialect. The cause for this is that – though more dialects have orthography – the dominance of Northern Sami is becoming more emphasised (Tamás 2001: 619–628). Considering that (on the basis of the Swadesh list⁸) the differences between even the neigh-

⁷ These are supported by my plotting-boards made during my visits to Norwegian and Finnish Sami settlements (in 1999 and 2014). In Kau-tokeino, for example, an elderly woman called Máret, who speaks three other languages fluently besides Sami, asked me to write to her in Norwegian or English if I write to her, the latter of which her daughter can translate for her, as her ability to read is limited to Norwegian. Although there has been a unified, official written language for the Northerners since 1978, neither the 75-year-old lady, nor her daughters could read nor write in their native language, so they could only communicate in writing in Norwegian and English, which they learned in schools.

⁸ The American linguist Morris Swadesh’s compilation of a basic concepts is the standard method employed in historical and comparative linguistic studies. The following statistical data about the Sami language are derived from Gábor Tillinger’s dissertation: the overlap between the neighboring Northern Sami and Inari Sami languages is 90.2%, which is smaller, than between Norwegian and Danish (96.7%) and close to that between Spanish and Portuguese (85.9%). The percentage is the

bouring Sami dialects are greater than, for example, those between Norwegian and Danish, and the “overlap” between more distant dialects is about the same as between the Romance languages (Tillinger 2013), it was necessary to designate **one** language for the purpose of nation-building. Therefore, Northern Sami assumed the role of the national language, while the other languages took on a minority status (minorities within the minority). Naturally, folkloric elements also have their own unique regions with particular features, significantly influenced by different ethnic connections.⁹ The lifestyle of the Sami people has been transforming largely since the second half of the 20th century, so that today important differences are evident. A substantial portion of the Sami became city-dwellers, and many who would rather have pursued reindeer keeping were forced to find urban occupations. Due to reduction caused by the “communication of cultural differences” (Eriksen 2008: 41), the differences between the Sami and the majority populations (superficially) began to lessen, and there began a spread and dissolution of the characteristic aspects representing of Sami-ness (the Sami own selves). In opposition to this, reindeer herding remains a central element in the internal and external expression of “Sami identity” and Swedish and Norwegian law guarantees the Sami monopoly in this area. In Finland, however, only 20% of the Sami population is engaged in reindeer herding, and the percentage is even lower in Russia (Lehtola

same (85.9%) in the case of the neighboring Inari and Skolt. The overlap between Lule and Skolt, which do not border each other, is 71.2%, which matches the “distance” between the French and Portuguese languages, and it is somewhat less than the shared vocabulary of the Estonian and Finn languages (72.3%) (Tillinger 2013: 64-65, 81–90).

⁹ A good example of this is the development of the joik tradition, which have significant differences between regions. While the primary, Northern Sami region’s joiks, musically and lyrically, are markedly different from the surrounding Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish folk music, the musical world of the more southern regions has been strongly influenced by the Swedish folk song treasury, and the Karelian epic tradition had a strong influence on the characteristically long texts of the eastern regions (Tamás 2001, Tamás 2007).

2010: 10). Despite this dynamic transformation, the “exoticization” of the Sami in (not only) external discourses remains significant, mirroring discourses connected to native populations worldwide. Depicting archaic people caught in an unchanged state separated from modern progress (with their tents, reindeer, and shaman drums), these images dominate the discourse, connected to this day with ideas of being left behind, inferiority, and similar negative stereotypes. This means that differences between the Sami groups are reduced to seeming insignificance beside the much more obvious differences that separate them from the Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian populations. In other words, for external viewers without an immediate or deep knowledge of the subject, the formed picture appears uniform. The patchwork-like reality of the Sami is geographically, linguistically, culturally, and economically heterogeneous. This variety is complicated by the fact that the criteria of laws determining who can officially be considered Sami vary from country to country.¹⁰ It can be said that due to their minority status, the Sami are in the crossfire of both internal and external determination of their ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the awareness of Pan-Sami identity is now shared among the Sami people, flocking together even in the most distant regions. This required the joint efforts of the Sami intelligentsia, which has grown and strengthened from the middle of the 20th century. The important questions of the movements aimed at beginning this revitalization ask how the Sami can identify themselves and their tighter and more distant communities in the modern world, as well as what national qualities they find important. In order to communicate with the world and many people, they had to find those central symbols, drawn from a variety of sources but still crafted into a unified whole, that project the image the Sami prefer (and, at times, that outsiders expect). The political and cultural interests of the Sami required that such national

¹⁰ The Norwegian poet Aagot Vinterbo-Hohr (born 1936) makes reference to this in the following lines: “grandfathers / were born in eighteen ninety-five / grandmother in eighteen ninety / parents in nineteen forty // native language / banned across four generations // according to the law: / he is not Sami” (based on the Hungarian translation by Johanna Domokos) (Domokos 2003: 19).

symbols be constructed, all while recording and supporting their heterogeneity (Hobsbawn 1990, 1997, Hobsbawn; Rangers 1983). The shaping of these symbols naturally included an emphasis on the linguistic and cultural signifiers of certain regions, which had to be accepted by the entire Sami community. One such element is the word *sámi*, describing nationality, being applied to the entire Sami population in everyday and official use, as well as the name for the entire region populated by them, *Sápmi* ('Sami-land'), which are words from the Northern dialect. Nation-building usually comes along with selecting the groups (and places) to emphasize as having the desired essential qualities of a nation, and the existence of such groups (in the case of the Sami, the northern reindeer-herding communities) determines what symbols are possible or desirable to be emphasized. On the one hand, their minority existence in the four countries is connected to a new kind of center – periphery relationship (in “Sami-land”), and on the other hand, with a new “global” solidarity that connects all people with indigenous status. For this reason, we should take into account at least three relationship systems when we analyse these symbols: national state vs minority, Pan-Saminess vs Sami groups, and aboriginal groups vs Sami. To understand Sami self-determination, a brief historical overview is necessary.

In the shadow of hostile flags

Although they have never established an independent state in the course of their history, the Sami populated a huge territory until the start of the 18th century. Their territory extended far to the south of its boundaries today. Because of their cyclical migration and the border crossings these required, they frequently had to pay taxes to several states. From the 17th century, Swedish rule intervened increasingly in the lives of the Sami, and the Swedes often took their lands without compensation. At the start of the 19th century, the exact determination of the border between Norway and Russia had a more negative effect than any previous event on the nomadic Sami, as they had until then wintered the herds in the interior and then herded them to the fjord regions in the summer,

but this change put an end to their free movement in the area. Although churches had already been built in Lapland by the 16th century, the most effective period of missionary work was the second half of the 19th century. The Puritan Lutheran movement led by Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) spread from 1840 and achieved significant successes. Shamanism and joiking, seen by outsiders as demonic, were punished by religious and secular authorities alike. Certain items of women's clothing were also banned, primarily the *ládjogahpir*, a sickle-shaped head covering with internal reinforcement (Figure 2)¹¹ (Solbakk; Solbakk 2005: 111).



Figure 2. *Ládjogahpir*.¹²

¹¹ The image's source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28772513@N07/5264099407>

¹² The image's source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28772513@N07/5264099407>

These, together with confiscated shaman drums, were publicly burned by the ministers.¹³ Though the Sami took up arms against the political and the religious restrictions, the use of intimidation, and the impossibility of economic survival, the Sami rebels were few in number and isolated from one another, so the rebellion was defeated. The leaders were executed or thrown in prison, which created even deeper fear amongst them, and the Sami became even more withdrawn. The events of the 20th century didn't ease tensions until the last third of the century; in fact, the circumstances continued to worsen in many respects. The territory of the Sami continued to contract, while the Norwegian and the Swedish governments employed unheard-of tactics to try to assimilate the Sami. People struggling to maintain their Sami identity no longer had to deal only with the loss of societal prestige and discrimination. They could not use their native language in public, and everything connected with Sami identity was stigmatized. In Sweden, institutes established for the study of racial biology were used to demonstrate their inferiority. The most famous (most publicized) one operated in Uppsala until the 1970's. This was all connected to concrete measures such as sterilization. Under the above-mentioned circumstances the basic manifestations of Sami identity (language, clothing, tents) disappeared (at least in public spheres) because they had become synonymous with inferiority. In areas of mixed populations where the Sami were a minority, their native language, joking, and Sami dress could be found exclusively inside Sami homes, carefully hidden away from the eyes of outsiders. Harald Eidheim (Eidheim 1969), writing in his studies about Samis living in seaside settlements and Norwegian fishing communities, describes the struggle against notions of Sami stupidity, dirtiness, fecklessness, ridiculousness and other stereotypes about the Sami cultural markers completely outlawed in external spheres. Although they did not break away completely from every element of the Sami lifestyle, the Sami themselves became in-

¹³ This is the subject of the film titled *Iðitsilba* (Burning Sun), directed by Elle Márjá Eira, presented at the 2015 Sami film festival (<http://www.isfi.no/eng/resources/pdf/7SamiStories.pdf>).

creasingly used to the fact they could only practice the things condemned and looked down on by the Norwegians or the Swedes (eg. joiking), behind closed doors, often hidden even from their own children. To speak Sami in front of Norwegians or Swedes was considered a provocation, and to appear in traditional dress was social suicide. As a result of the powerful dichotomization (Eidheim 1971), and in order “to save themselves from being labelled, they introduced themselves as Norwegians, and overemphasized everything that they considered part of Norwegian culture” (Eriksen 2006: 360). This all led to a deep crisis for the Sami identity, as well as to the conscious switching back and forth between the externally displayed and internally lived identities. However, the coin has another side, regarding which Thomas Hylland Eriksen’s uses the term *paradoxon* (Eriksen 2006: 360). Under the influence of the Norwegian school system and to help force assimilation, the ability to read and write became universal in the Sami circles. This became a requirement of their ability to uphold their interests. Therefore, the Norwegian methods of assimilation, banning the use of the Sami language and requiring them to become part of the Norwegian social system as Norwegians, gave the Sami capacities that later made it possible for them to effectively represent their own political goals. They learned the contemporary tools of nationalism and survival, and learning the Norwegian discourses of power was the price of their survival. The Swedish and Finnish oppression was different from that of Norwegian. Instead of the assimilation of the Sami (their “Swedification” or “Finnification”), here the political intention was to exclude them. The “*Lapp skall vara lapp*” (‘the Lapp should remain a Lapp’) motto, together with its use of the pejorative exonym, suggested that the Sami are unsuitable for becoming equal members of society (Grundsten 2010: 21).

For all those differences and new trends in international indigenous policy, the Sami reached significant achievements. In the second half of the 20th century, Sami parliaments were founded one after another in the Scandinavian states: on November 9, 1973 in Finland; on October 9, 1989 in Norway; and on January 1, 1993 in Sweden. The Sami Council (*Sámiráđđi*) was formed in 1956. It is a Pan-Sami movement based in Norway, which supports and

represents Samis living anywhere in the world. The familiarity gained in the necessary political-cultural discourses would not have been enough in itself. For their cultural rebirth and the revitalization of their ethnic identity, the Sami needed important symbols that could focus on their survival strategy as the main factor in traditional Sami culture.

The Northern, Pan-Sami, and pan-indigenous discourses

Many important Sami political and cultural institutions are located in the northern Norwegian region of Finnmark, which plays a central role in all respects. Nevertheless, the early all-Sami political efforts started in the furthestmost southern regions, where the threat of assimilation appeared earlier and with greater force. In the first years of the 20th century, between 1904 and 1911, the institutions formed in the southern-Sami territories were the forerunners of later movements, which appealed to larger groups. Their efforts were primarily social and cultural in nature. The era's most outstanding figure was Elsa Laula Renberg (1877–1931), a Sami living in Sweden. Her intense political role from the start of the century formed the basis of the international Sami council held on February 6, 1917, in Trondheim. Following this, there were three more ground-breaking meetings through 1937. The Sami guiding principles established in the first third of the 20th century later took on a central importance in the international political struggle for indigenous peoples' rights (Hilder 2015: 23–25).

The second wave of the minority unity movement also started in the southern regions, when, during the Second World War, the different Sami groups were moved as part of the evacuations to the western Finnish region of Ostrobothnia. As a result, the widely spread Sami groups who barely knew of each other's existence found themselves confined together in a small space, which created conditions favourable to cooperation (Lehtola 2010: 54-55, 58). Neither the Second World War nor the surviving theory of Social Darwinism could stop the emerging Sami

movement. In 1947, the Sami reindeer herders started an organization to protect their own interests. Nine years later, the Northern Sami Council was founded with the goal of bringing together the Sami living in different countries and regions. This is when the idea of a unified Sami nation was irrevocably formed: a nation which, though it does not have its own political borders, can pass laws over territories in which the Sami have lived for centuries. Since this subject was raised internationally, the Sami have played an important part in international talks regarding the rights of indigenous people. At that time efforts to assimilate the Sami were gradually concluding. The most important change occurred in 1979 as a result of the protests against the redirection of the northern Alta River and the construction of a hydroelectric power plant. The protest failed in terms of its inability to prevent the construction of the power plant, but it had a positive outcome as well: attention was drawn more than ever to the rights of the Sami, the problems of the northern regions and the protection of the environment. Mostly due to the positions they won in Norway, the Sami play an important part in the most significant international forums (WCIP, IWGIA) on the issues of indigenous people, the compensation of affected groups, and programs for rehabilitation.¹⁴ So far, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, ILO 169, covering the territorial rights of indigenous people, has only been ratified in Norway, and not in the other countries. Despite the limited self-governance enjoyed by the Sami, the separation from external perceptions (and certain stereotypes along with them) and global discourses have not deeply penetrated into the Sami. The term indigenous continued to be strongly connected to the image of a pre-modern, “pagan” person living in harmony with nature (Gaski 2003, Graff 2007, Pentikäinen 1996, Sveen; Rydving 2003). The Sami themselves consider their common denominators with other indigenous people important. They place great value on their commonality with other similarly oppressed

¹⁴ The president of the Norwegian Sami Parliament, Ole Henrik Magga, was the first president of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, formed under the aegis of the UN in 2002 (Stepien 2009: 87).

people they have established links with through international politics and cultural connections. As was expressed several times by the founder of the Sami revitalization movement, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (as well as many other Northern politicians and writers): the voice of the Sami is barely audible by itself, but they form a strong and powerful community to whom the world pays attention when they are united with other indigenous groups.¹⁵ This belief is often visually expressed in the decorations of cultural events and in the creations of Arvid Sveen, Hans Ragnar Mahtisen, and many other Sami artists. Christianity and imperialism are often viewed as conquering powers. Mostly due to these images connected to the pre-Christian world view and shamanism play a determining role in Sami discourses.¹⁶ (Figure 3–5)

¹⁵ The biopic about Valkeapää (“The wind is blowing through my heart”) can be watched on YouTube. The importance of pan-indigenous cooperation is expressed several times in it:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ax8eWwrneVE>

(last accessed: 09.10.2015)

¹⁶ One of the causes for the “store window-style” interpretation of shamanistic motifs is the “necessity to display” (Bíró 1996: 247), in other words, to show those things that the colonizers were exterminating earlier with fire and steel. These symbols associated with Sami-ness carry within themselves the image of an unconquerable people capable of survival. There is a clear representation of this at the end of a music video by the Sami singer Sofia Jannok, who is from Sweden. It shows a piece of graffiti written in the Sami language: “*LEAT DAS AIN*” (“we are still here”). The video’s source:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hr13WV7UkgA> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

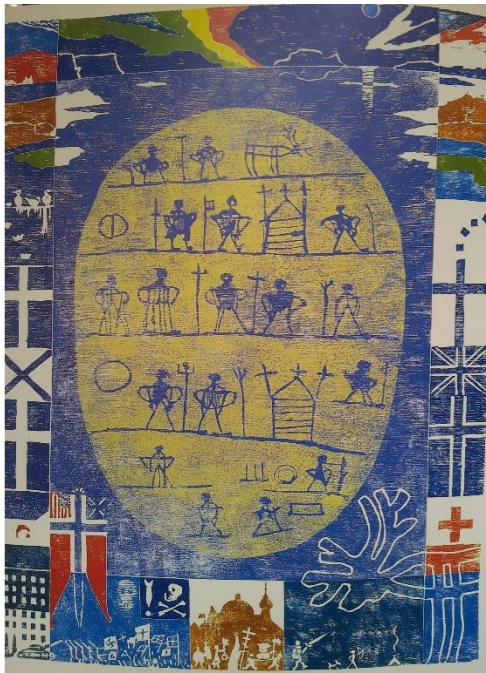


Figure 3. Poster of a historic theme by Hans Ragnar Mahtisen.



Figure 4. Hans Ragnar Mahtisen: Newborn Nation...



Figure 5. Arvid Sven's work¹⁷ about the solidarity of indigenous people and the Sami national endeavour.

¹⁷ The image's source:
<http://kreativforum.no/artikler/kudos/2014/02/asdfg>

The image of the natural people is “mystically” connected with a “natural world view”, which stems not only from historical discourses, but is also reinforced by contemporary expressions condemning the results of modernization and the pollution of the environment as well as contemporary pagan knowledge-registers (Hilder 2015: 109–148). The construction of Pan-Sami identity is therefore (also) strongly linked with natural, shamanistic, and mythic imagery, which can be considered to be a common denominator with other indigenous groups, for instance, with the construction of the similarly (very) heterogeneous North American Indian tribes’ Pan-Indian identity (Kristóf 2007: 153–172).

The above-mentioned processes and events—the more intense assimilation of the south, the limited minority rights of the eastern Sami (on the Kola Peninsula)—led to the political and cultural strengthening of the Sami in northern Norway, where the new middle-of-periphery pattern of Sami society was unconsciously formed.¹⁸ The indigenous minority’s tremendous geographical distance from the more densely-populated, strategically important Scandinavian regions also helped enable the northern Sami regions’ independence. The exotic idea of the “Far North” eventually brought about a rise in tourism. A visit to Lapland meant an imaginary journey into the past and a real experience—with many difficulties and challenges—of idyllic, untouched nature, made more beautiful by the reindeer and the people in colourful clothes herding them.¹⁹ For all that, the North, seen from the perspective of the nation-states as peripheral, became the center of the Sami revitalization. Thereby, the most important symbols also started out in this central region. The first flag (Figure 6), which was used

¹⁸ Of the Scandinavian countries, Norway has the most complete representation of Sami rights. In Sweden, the protection and support of Sami occupations is emphasized. In these two countries, reindeer keeping is the exclusive right of the Sami. In Finland and Russia (despite the fact that the first Sami parliament was formed in Finland), the opportunities available to the Sami are significantly more limited.

¹⁹ Fishing, which received emphasis early on, was less suitable for being the basis of opposition, so its role in identity representation was forced into the background.

from the start of the 1970's until 1986, actually contained the colours and patterns of the folk dress of the reindeer-herding, Northern Sami dialect-speaking groups. The widest blue stripe is the basic colour of their folk dress, and the narrow yellow stripe and the somewhat wider red stripe are the colours of the costume's breast- and shoulder parts, as well as that of the decoration along the edges (Bjørklund 2000: 279). The characteristic green colour from the folk dress of the furthestmost southern regions, primarily in Sweden, only appeared in the flag accepted in 1986, as a fourth stripe.



Figure 6. The first flag.

Beyond these central symbols, the Pan-Sami ideal also appears in emblematic organizations and groups, such as the composition of the Sami football team and the Sami choir. The football team (Figure 7)²⁰ is made up of Sami from three countries, while the choir's membership (Figure 8)²¹ covers all the four countries—in fact, its activities cannot be linked to a base in a single region, as it “wanders” among the centers of several languages (they call themselves *musijikka nomádat*, or musical nomads, on their homepage).²²

²⁰ Source: <http://tavriya.com.ua/?id=4921>

²¹ The picture's source: <http://www.samijienat.com/govat.html>

²² The website's address: <http://www.samijienat.com/musihkka-nomaacutedat.html>



Figure 7. The Sami football team in 2008.



Figure 8. The *Sámi Jienat* ('Sami voices') choir's members.

Elements of folk dress and folklore in the Sami flag

The flag that today symbolizes the Sami nation (Figure 9) was first used in 1979 in the course of the protests against the building of the hydroelectric plant on the Alta River in northern Norway. It was made official in 1986 on the anniversary of the first all-Sami council (February 6, 1917), at the 13th Sami Conference in Åre (Näkkäläjärvi 2003: 21). The flag, composed of different vertical stripes connected by a ring, carries many meanings. The four stripes represent the Sami groups living in the four countries, while the ring that combines them represents the need to balance out their dividedness.



Figure 9. The current Sami flag.

The four colours show the colours of the traditional dress (and, at the same time, those of the Aurora Borealis). The ring of the flag is a symbol of many meanings: beyond unity, it represents the Sun and the Moon, the opening to allow smoke to escape at the top of traditional tents, the shaman drum, and migration based on cycles, which is the traditional lifestyle of the Samis (Näkkäläjärvi 2003: 21).²³ Related to this, the blue and the crimson semicircles refer not only to heavenly bodies but to the “dual-dwellings” of the Sami who have separate winter and summer quarters. Visual and verbal symbolism, therefore, connects very strongly with the ideology associated with the flag. Another point

²³ The following section of a Valkeapää poem illustrates the above symbols in condensed terms: “Great ring / on a wandering path / the moon in the opening for smoke / Northern lights / the stars of the sky”.

supporting this is that the flag designed by Sami artist Astrid Båhl and the national anthem's text were accepted simultaneously and made official. A genuinely dense literary and poetic language-web exists around the flag. According to the prose folklore texts about the origin of the Sami and the Aurora Borealis, as well as in motifs appearing over and over in epic joiks, the Sami are the sons of the Sun who live their lives matching their own wanderings to the cyclic movement of the Sun (Gaski 2003). The text of the *Sámi soga lávlla*, the "Sami national anthem," written by Isak Saba, draws partially from this tradition, when it describes the Sami as the "shining descendants of Sun-children".²⁴ The flag's symbols, therefore, are in close connection with Sami literary tradition and object culture: primarily with the colours of the folk dress and the form and motifs of the shaman drum. The flag's colours display primarily the colours of summer dress (the winter dress is a pelt with the fur turned out, whose colours of blue, yellow, red, and green only appear in its ribbon decorations). The *gákti*, the summer dress—for men and women alike—is made chiefly of blue baize, its borders and its neck decorated by colourful—red, yellow, and green—stripes and geometric shapes.²⁵ (Figure 10-11)

²⁴ For example, in the *joik* texts gathered and completed by Anders Fjellner. Finn's work was inspired by the rich Finnish folklore collections and publications, thus was born the "Sami epic fragments" titled *Páiven párneh* ("The Sun's son") and the *Pišša Paššan párdne* ('Pišša and Paššan's son'), a work of notable creativity reflecting the conventions of contemporary folklore text-publication. The selection is translated into Hungarian by Anna Bede (Keresztes 1983).

²⁵ The flag of the Seto in Northern Europe can be mentioned for its parallel use of folk dress. Although the Seto flag, like other flags of Northern minorities (Vepsians, Votes, Izhorians, Karelians, Ludians), uses the template of the Scandinavian flags, the cross-shape of the Seto flag is decorated with their characteristic embroidery. The picture's source: <http://www.nyest.hu/renhirek/hanyan-beszeli-a-szettut-a-voruites-a-mulgit> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)



Figure 10. Sami Women, Kautokeino, 1999.

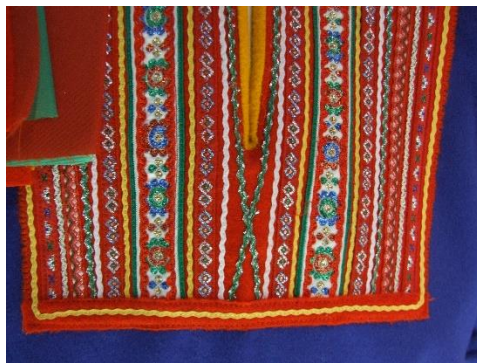


Figure 11. Sami ornamental motifs.

I have already mentioned the objects connected to the ring motif, and it should be noted that on shaman drums, well-known only as museum pieces, the Sun always appears as a central symbol. Comparing the northern countries' and the other minorities' flags, they differ only in their colours, while all are divided by a cross. At first glance, the Sami flag departs from this Scandinavian tradition. If we consider the flag's proportions, and we look at the two narrow stripes, it becomes clear that there is a similarity with the Scandinavian flags. The stripes, overlapped by the ring, can be considered the opposite of the cross motif:



The Sami opinions that do not agree with the central symbolic language also reflect this. In the Sami journal *Sáogat*, an article appeared with a fairly provocative title: “The Sami Flag is Ugly and Full of Occult Symbols.”²⁶ The writer, a Sami minister, condemns the flag's ring, representing the Sun, Moon, and the shaman drum together. He would rather see the cross on the flag, as the Sami have not been pagans for a long time. The shamanistic symbols and their interpretations, wrapped in the mist of Sami myth and esotericism, are genuinely not always popular among the Christian Sami, particularly the Laestadians. They bemoan the lack of Christian symbols in the process of building Sami identity, though their opinion does not even begin to reflect the thoughts of the majority, due to the contradictory role Christianity played in the history of the Sami. This does not mean that the Laestadians and other, strongly Christian groups would reject the Sami symbols completely from the sphere of religious life. Sami folk dress

²⁶ The report's original location: <http://www.sogat.no/hovednyheter/2013/02/16/29982/>. The report was mentioned by several Norwegian news outlets, for example: <http://www.vl.no/troogkirke/pastor-h%C3%B8sterstorm-etter-kritikk-av-sameflagget-1.59464> and <http://thornews.com/2013/02/16/pastor-thesami-flag-is-ugly-and-full-of-occult-symbols/> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

is used as Sunday dress and for celebrations in the churches, and the pictures and altars in the Sami churches reflect this, displaying Christians wearing folk dress, including the “Lapp Mary” (Figure 12-13).



Figure 12. Sami triptych in the Jukkasjärvi Church by Bror Hjort (1894–1968).



Figure 13. Sami children at their Confirmation.

The symbolic discourse of rehabilitation (?)

Beyond uniting the Sami, the old-new symbols also have a positive influence on the outside world. Sami songs or modes of dress are no longer considered worthless and laughable, but they are rather considered important forms of knowledge that can be used for protecting the environment. In this new and clearer light, the Sami are talented musicians and their material world inspires visual artists and designers. Although many continue to be antagonistic or apathetic towards questions associated with indigenous people, it seems that an increasing number of people want to take part in Sami culture. This new trend has created some fairly ambivalent situations: on the one hand, Sami and “outsiders” have strongly contoured ideas about what is authentically Sami, while on the other hand, we can find the many-sided truth behind the unified mask of these ideals “on both sides”. Next, I will describe three occasions in three countries which are associated with Sami dress.²⁷

On February 6, 2009, all of Norway looked north. They did this not only because the Sami celebrate Sami National Day on that day but because the royal couple, Haakon and Mette-Marit visited Kautokeino and Karasjok.²⁸ The couple wears Sami folk dress on the occasion, which they had received for their wedding in 2001 (Figure 14.)²⁹.

²⁷ Dress as a national symbol is prominent in Norway and Sweden. The royal family’s members in both countries appear in the colors of their countries’ flags on national holidays.

²⁸ Kautokeino and Karasjok are emblematic Sami settlements. The former is the site of the most important cultural events, while the latter is the center of the Sami judicial system and is also where the Norwegian Sami parliament is based.

²⁹ The picture’s source: <http://www.finnmarkslopet.no/rhist/article.jsp?id=4091> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)



Figure 14.

Within two days spent in the North, they tried traditional Sami foods, as well as traditional Sami activities from lassoing to riding in a reindeer-drawn sleigh, almost even sleeping in tents. Mette-Marit declined this last activity because of the -30 to -35°C cold.³⁰ The media wrote positive accounts of the royal couple's participation in the series of Sami celebrations, although some Sami groups aired criticism. For example, they wrote that Haakon put the "four winds cap" on the wrong side and that both wore overalls beneath the winter clothes they received as gifts from the Sami.³¹ The rejection of sleeping in tents and wearing overalls both recalled one of the "homogenizing" themes in Sami folklore, which is that only Samis can stand the cold. The gestures of building bridges and friendship could not shadow the smaller mistakes, such as the incorrect wearing of the cap – no one questioned the positive intentions of the royal couple.

Other more dramatic events reveal that the Sami react very sensitively if someone uses their symbols in a way that reveals they do not know the symbols' code. In Finland, the case of the beauty queen served as an important lesson. The winner of the Finnish Miss Universe 2007 contest represented the country in Sami dress (however, the dress was not made by Sami, but was mass-produced in Hong Kong). As a result, there were protests in

³⁰ Source: <http://www.seher.no/royal/sover-ute-i-35-minusgrader-36740> (last accessed: 09.10.2015.)

³¹ Source: <http://norwegianne.net/2009/02/09/haakon-and-mette-marit-in-finnmark/> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

the northern Finnish city of Rovaniemi. Several hundred young people marched through the streets with Sami holding English signs (directly avoiding Finnish) to send a message to the world beyond the Finns. The mottos of the protests were: “Respect my culture!”, “I like real things!”, “Not for sale!”, “This is our dress, this is our identity!” and “Burn fake!” (Hilder 2015: 159). Lars Miguel Utsi expressed in a release that they were protesting because the industry associated with tourism was flooding Lapland with “fake folk dress” and “fake Samis”.³² According to him, this is an unacceptable, new sort of discrimination that treats the Sami like they were worthless. Tourists encounter “fake Samis” and the pale imitations of their material culture in the North, and they think that this must be what genuine indigenous people are like as they experience the glittering empire of Santa Claus. Among the signs from the protests, one had the slogan *Dá lea miss Sápmi!* (‘Here is Miss Sápmi!’), which a young woman dressed in *genuine* folk dress held while standing beside a table, on which imitation Sami clothing “made in Hong Kong” like that worn by the Finnish beauty queen were spread, thus demonstrating the powerful contrast between the two. As was revealed by the releases, these show a problem with deeper roots than any isolated incident. Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi, President of the Finnish Saami Parliament from 2008 to 2015, also expressed how much harm the Finnish tourism industry does to them, as cheap imitation Sami objects mass-produced in China, among them folk dress, flood businesses not run by Sami in Lapland.³³ The gifting of clothing (which is always home- and handmade) and folk dress is important in Sami circles to this day. It has ritual meaning, as it represents acceptance as well as becoming a member of society. By contrast those who order and market the Finnish goods neglect the meanings behind them but also pay no attention to accuracy or quality. Although handmade Sami goods that are certified authentic (*duodji*) also exist on the market, these have difficulty competing

³² Lapland is the English equivalent of the Finnish Lappi, which is the official designation of Finland’s most northerly region.

³³ Oral remarks. Klemetti Näkkäläjärvi spoke on this topic at a round table arranged by the Loránd Eötvös University, Faculty of Humanities, during his November 2014 visit to Hungary.

with the mass-produced, cheap goods. Naturally, to a certain extent, tourism contributes to the survival of the indigenous people, and the Sami form their “own” tourism industry, which is impossible to confuse with Chinese imitations and copies.³⁴

A Sami boy dressed in folk dress appeared in the first round of the 2014 “Talang Sverige” talent competition. His appearance was emphasized both in the interviews conducted with him and in his conversation with the judges when he came on stage. Jon Henrik Fjällgren explained that he loves Sami folk dress and his clothing was made by his mother. He himself is of South American “Indian” descent, and he was adopted by a Sami family as a baby. A film was shown before his stage performance revealing that many looked down on him and made fun of him for his skin colour in his childhood, and also for the fact that he was part of a reindeer herding Sami family preserving traditions. Despite these, he bravely introduced the Sami culture’s treasures to the broader Swedish audience, so he prepared a joik for the talent show. During Jon Henrik’s performance, many people broke into tears, and after the song the members of the jury as well as the audience gave a standing ovation, so overcome they could barely speak.³⁵ A few weeks and rounds later, Jon Henrik left as the nationwide program’s winner. In 2015 he joiked before the Swedish royal family under Swedish flags, accompanied by a Royal Swedish

³⁴ Sami fashion designers increasingly try to adjust the patterns, colors, and motifs to the “templates” desired by young people. Modern Sami clothes designed uniquely are popular in Sami and non-Sami circles alike. They always emphasize, though, that the historical symbolism of the clothing must be accurately preserved in the world of the modern fashion. In August 2015 Sigga-Marja Magga held a presentation about the work of Sami handmade products and the work of fashion designers in Oulu. She stressed that the *duodji* still carries very important meanings today: it is connected to a system of norms, and it is also the symbol of the Sami fight for human rights (Magga 2015: 448-449).

³⁵ The contest’s broadcast can be viewed on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=woEcdqqbEVg>

Army Orchestra during the Nationaldagen festivities.³⁶ It has become a tradition on the Swedish National Day for a Sami singer to take the stage as a special performance, and many Sami singers in addition to Jon Henrik have become famous among the Swedish audience (Figure 15³⁷ -16³⁸).



Figure 15. One of the jury members, Tobias Karlsson, while listening to Jon Henrik jolking.



Figure 16. The winner with his parents.

³⁶ Other Samis have been guests of honor at these events in recent years: Sophia Jannok in 2013 and Ingá-Máret Gaup-Juuso in 2014, accompanied by Loreen.

³⁷ Source: <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=5793990> (last accessed: 09.10.2015).

³⁸ Source: <http://www.op.se/noje/musik/dagen-efter-succesegern-jon-henrik-fjallgren-slapper-skiva> (last accessed: 09.10.2015).

These three cases demonstrate that ethnic tensions are present even today in the North. Sami rights received legal protection primarily in Norway and Sweden. Despite this, the two (Norwegian and Swedish) examples illustrate well that the two countries are following different paths in the rehabilitation of the Sami. This could all have historical causes, as Norway wanted to erase the cultural markers of Sami-ness: to assimilate by force and change (“Norwegianize”) the Sami (Bjørklund 2000, Minde 2005), while Sweden primarily aimed to exclude them: they denied rights to them and took steps (such as sterilization) to lower the Sami population, which signified that Sami are an inferior “race” that will never be equal to the Swedes (Grundsten 2010)). This is why in Norway today the political efforts towards rehabilitation aim for the acceptance of distinctive Sami elements and cultural equality, which the Norwegian royal couple appearing in an official capacity wearing Sami clothes illustrates well. In Sweden, the steps towards achieving social equality are more readily observable. The primary symbols of Sami-ness (such as their dress and the joik) have gone from being looked down on to being accepted, even celebrated by the Swedes in the discourse for equality (and compensation). It is yet to be decided whether the political background despite the positive changes seen in political spheres was not as significant as that in Norway. For a more nuanced understanding of the situation in Norway, it is necessary to know that, although the Finns and the Sami consider the northern region historically the home of the Sami, we hardly find any settlements in Lapland where the Sami comprise a significant majority. The mixing of Sami and Finns was much more prevalent there; as a result, many Finns have started to herd reindeer. They learned reindeer keeping from the Sami, they adopted the related tool usage and terminology (like other elements of regional folklore) while changing them to suit their own preferences. The majority of Sami in Finland today feel that political processes are increasingly excluding them from reindeer keeping, which is a vital, iconic branch of their self-identification, so many must choose other occupations out of necessity (Näkkäljärvi 2014: 109–125). After long discussions, the acceptance of Convention C 169 of the ILO was included in the daily agenda of the Finnish Parliament.

The Sami watched the events with great anticipation, but only the Swedish minority partially voted for them, and the Parliament rejected the proposal. As a result the Sami did not receive the right to control their land and natural resources, which among other things would have helped strengthen the economic position of reindeer keeping. As a result of the actions of the tourism industry, in the eyes of the Sami, more and more cultural elements pass into outsiders' hands. It is understandable that in this context culture plays an ever more valuable role. The Sami nation can be accessed through culture. Because Sami do not have their own state, their culture is the one (thing) that is exclusively the common property of the Sami in the sense of national property. The use of their symbols in situations independent of them, even if it is done with good intentions, causes panic or disapproval in Sami circles.³⁹ As we see, relationships are multifaceted, and they are influenced by current ideologies and events. The lack of understanding connected to Sami clothing does not appear only in Finn-Sami relations, as we see in the criticism about the Norwegian royal couple's not completely proper dress. In Sweden, one of Sofia Janok's videos from 2015 shows how to put on the folk dress, while she strongly criticizes Swedish democracy in the lyrics.⁴⁰

Conclusion

The performances of Sami politicians, singers, visual artists are impossible to imagine without Sami dress or other visual symbols of Sami identity, which all come along with the processes of revitalization and rehabilitation. Ethnic symbols can be easily picked and built in by the nation-construction, as I explained by

³⁹ In such situations, the Sami do not react by jealously shutting others out, but rather by emphasizing national values, striving for certain standards of quality within their borders, and seeking international protection and regulation (in the same way as "Hungaricum" and its foreign equivalents).

⁴⁰ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UGc7c8U2aps> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

the design of the Sami flag. Ethnic symbols are becoming institutionalized in this process.

The “North’s” earlier interpretations—as a wild and uninhabited “no man’s land” waiting to be conquered by civilization—are today unacceptable (Broderstad 2011: 893, Hilder 2015: 120–129). The ever-present Sami symbols remind us: the North was never only a bleak wilderness. This arctic landscape is the home of the Sami, where every hill, valley, river, and stone has the appropriate story of their own. It is a place of memory, the stage of Sami history. Apart from public writing place names in the Sami language another visible result of the achievements of the ethnic revitalization is the frequent presence of Sami flags and people wearing traditional dress.

Although territorial autonomy is impossible for the Sami, the blue, red, yellow, and green colours mark the symbolic reacquisition of land by the Sami as well as the need for the validation of their rights. This presence, reinforced by visual symbols, appears every time Sami issues are dealt with, whether in political or in cultural spheres. From the colours in the creations of Sami visual artists to political placards, from the logos of official institutions to the appearance of musicians on stage, the indigenous “world of the four colours” appears in all.

Apart from the complete folk dress, we can often find everyday (not ethnic) clothing decorated with jewellery, Sami writing, or shaman drum motifs. These elements link the ethnic identity and the national endeavours. Poetically speaking, we find everywhere the “pictures / the imagery of pictures / symbolic / images of drum pictures / fancy / picturesque world”⁴¹. The widespread appearance of the figures that decorate the drums’ membranes are

⁴¹ Translated from the Hungarian translation by Johanna Domokos (Valkeapää 2001: 27).

not only a reference to the Sami world picture before the arrival of Christianity.⁴² (Figure 17⁴³, 18⁴⁴, Figure 19⁴⁵)



Figure 17. Sofia Jannok wearing her *risku* (the traditional female brooch for a scarf), which also serves as her protective symbol.

⁴² In the same way we see in the use of the rock art of Alta, the use of this treasured motif also expresses the desire for the legitimization of “ancientness,” thus the right of the Sami to their own territory is also reinforced.

⁴³ Source: https://www.google.hu/search?q=sofia+jannok&biw=1920&bih=969&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAWoVChMI-weXX28KKyQIVyfyCh2U8Ac k#imgrc=ze1xn0s36XUfMM%3A

⁴⁴ Source: http://www.zazzle.co.uk/sami_tshirt-235891891863758143 (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

⁴⁵ Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/31384528627200289/> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)



Figure 18. A T-shirt with Sami colours and a reindeer.



Figure 19. A tattoo of a reindeer motif used on shaman drums.

The efforts at homogenization, whether arriving from the outside through the use of force or created by necessity and practicality by the inner dynamic, determined the use of Sami visual representation for a long time. Their entrance into an even wider context and connection to the Northern way of life as well as to the “global picture” of indigenous life all contributed to a unifying

effect. The “*real, accurate*” Sami wears folk dress, herds reindeer, and probably relates to the supernatural in their own archaic way. Museum displays from the 19th to the turn of the 20th century were based on this concept as well (Mahtisen 2010: 53–72), to which the perspective of modern Scandinavian museology—which also documents contemporary cultures in detail—stands in sharp contrast. It is natural, and also unavoidably archaic that the most characteristic symbols in the self-definition of the Samis are also the most historical. The branches of the tourism industry and often the legal decisions also reinforce this (ex. in Norway and Sweden, the Sami have exclusive rights to keep reindeer, which is of special importance to Sami identity). These symbols have to prove to be effective not only inwards, but outwards, which also demonstrates the “majority culture’s desire for exoticism” (Nagy 2014: 241⁴⁶) (Figure 20, 21⁴⁷, 22⁴⁸).



Figure 20. The rock art of Alta (northern Norway).

⁴⁶ This quote was taken from Zoltán Nagy’s study on small Siberian groups, and it also applies perfectly to the Samis’ situation.

⁴⁷ Source: <http://old.no/samidrum/> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)

⁴⁸ Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/310889180496404076/>

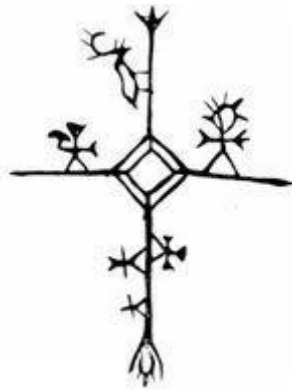


Figure 21. Shaman drum motifs.



Figure 22. Sami jewelry. (Juhl's Silvergallery, Kautokeino.)

This occasionally causes internal tension, which has been expressed in literature several times: “I do not live like that / I do not have such a house / I do not hunt. / Am I Sami? // Nevertheless / my will is Sami / my thoughts are Sami / my soul is Sami / my tongue is Sami” (Ravna Eira).⁴⁹ An average, modern town in the

⁴⁹ Based on the Hungarian translation by Johanna Domokos (Domokos 2003: 23).

North does not attract visitors. Those who travel to Lapland want to see the arctic region's old face, and this naturally overlaps with the Sami desire to preserve their traditions, which are the most fundamental pillars of nation-building. These pillars also support the opinion that place the Sami outside the boundaries of modern society. The shift away from showing the relics of the past only began in the early 2010's. Museum exhibitions, films, music videos, etc. try to show the Sami as equal members of modern society. This goes beyond showing people travelling beside the reindeer herds on snowmobiles instead of skiing and depicting the most modern technology in Northern homes. The symbols themselves that represent the Sami are taking on new meanings. For example, listening to joiks has become "trendy." One can win national talent competitions by joiking. The works of Sami artists and designers can be found in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and more distant homes (for example, a sofa patterned around a Sami drinking cup or "four winds cap"-inspired decorative bottles and glasses) (Figure 23⁵⁰, 24, 25.).



Figure 23. Ikea chair designed by Maria Vinka, a Sami.

⁵⁰ Source: <http://www.ikea.com/hu/hu/catalog/products/50039552/> (last accessed: 09.10.2015)



Figure 24. A medallion inspired by a Sami motif. (Juhl's Silvergalleri, Kautokeino, 2014.)

Thus the use of the Sami imagery in wider circles is connected to another “pan-indigenous discourse,” the ownership rights of traditions and the protection of their materials, which actually revolves around the question of brand protection.⁵¹ Obviously post-colonial reactions are also observable in Sami circles in connection to this: they consider the study and analysis of their own culture, language, and history to be their own right and responsibility, and they view the “naturalization” of certain Sami symbols by other Scandinavian groups with official disapproval (such as in the mentioned case of Miss Universe in Finland). On the issues raised about access and rights to scientific research,⁵² Elina Helander, an employee of the Arctic Centre in Rovaniemi, wrote

⁵¹ The literature about the protection of the cultural goods of indigenous people is ever-growing (ex. see Brown 2003, Collins 1993, Graves 1994, Hirvonen 2008, Mills 1996, Solbakk 2007).

⁵² Discussion of the problematic nature of the relationship of “indigenous” and “outsider” researchers to each other and their researched topic appears virtually everywhere. In the case of the Siberian small minority groups, “sharp questions appear about who the culture belongs to, who can benefit from it, who can thematize the discourse, and whose is the deciding opinion. From this approach, it appears obvious that those who know the culture the best are the ones who belong to it, so their opinion must be treated as incontrovertible” (Kristóf 2007: 160).

the following: “What has Sámi research meant for the Sámi? First, in the earlier research tradition the Sámi were an object of study for outsiders, non-Sámi researchers [...] historians, pastors, linguists and many others described the Sámi culture from their point of view. [...] The existence of the Nordic Council and the Sámi Council made it possible to open a Sámi research institute in the early 1970s: the Nordic Sámi Institute [...] Through this institute, the Sámi have been able to influence the image of the Sámi and the way their history and culture is depicted and their language and society studied.” (Helander 2003: 41). In the continuation of the article, Helander stresses that the Sami can only be studied with their consent and supervision, and only such issues that are politically, economically, or culturally beneficial for the Sami. Because the frequently anticolonialist “minority nationalism-discourse” is organized primarily around the notion of cultural nationalism, they see the inaccurate and unlicensed use of images as a continuation of earlier negative discrimination. The latent symbols of the second third of the 20th century had become of primary importance by the turn of the millennium, and by the 2010’s their popularity had spread beyond the borders of the Sami communities. While the Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns were integrating Sami symbols into their own usage, the Sami worked all the more to stress their closely-guarded cultural uniqueness. The fear of assimilation remains alive today, so the hyphen between the categories of **integration-appropriation** and **rehabilitation-(cultural) imperialism** becomes washed away, and symbols become seemingly more fragile and vulnerable to the interpretations. In this context, the old slogan “*Samiland for Sami*” today can be expressed as “*Sami culture for Sami*”. The feeling of danger to societal identity from the globalization of culture leads to increasing counter reactions. In Eriksen’s words: “At the start of the new millennium—regardless of perspective—we must all face the serious challenges of both homogenization and isolation” (Eriksen 2006: 385).

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Ildikó Tamás: Virraliisi värmiq (Sümboliq saami hindäpidämise kujonõmisõ man)

Autor kaes kirotusõn keeroliidsi rahvusliidsi vaihõkõrdo läbi saami rahvusliidsi sümbolidõ. Tä näütäs aoluuliidsi sündmüisi kontekstin ideoloogiliidsi trende. Autor näütäs, kuis aoluuliidsi sündmüisi ja ideoloogiliidsi tendentse kontekstin tekkü pan-samismi idee. Kuis saami rahvusküsümüs ilmu poliitikahe ja kultuuriello ja mäantsit tähtsit sümboliid om pruuknuq saami intelligents, et saiaq tukõ vahtsõ hindäpidämise diskursusõlõ. Nelän riigin eläväq saamiq tundvaq kimmäst üttekuulumistunnõt. Poliitikidõ ja avaligu elo tegeläisi etteastmiisil kandvaq nä saami rahvarõivit, miä näütäs vällä näide hindäpidämist. Nättäväq sümboliq näütäseq saami ütisüst, kaitsvaq tagasi õdagumaist ideoloogiat ja näütäseq vällä solidaarsust tõisi maiõ põliselänikkõga.

Saami sümboliq, miä ommaq Skandinaavian ammõtligult kinnütedüq ja saanuq vahtsõ tähendüse, ommaq vasta võeduq 20. aastagasaa tõsõl poolõl ja näide pruukminõ om naanuq küündümä saami kogokunna piirest kavvõmbahe.

Vahtsõl aastagatuhandõl ommaq saami sümboliq sulandunuq norra, roodsi ja soomõ kultuuri ni või nätäq nii meediän ku turismi alal naidõ katõpalgõlist pruukmist. Taa om kultuurilinõ oht, miä ähvädäs ja sund assimiliirümä. Hirm ja assimilatsiuun ommaq täämbätsel pääväl suurõq, nii et piir integratsiooni ja imperialismi rehabilitiirmise vaihõl om hägonõ.

Tähüssõnaq: saamiq, hindäpidämise, rahvusõ kujonõminõ, rahvusliguq sümboliq

Märksõnad: saamid, identiteet, rahvuse kujunemine, rahvuslikud sümbolid

Ildikó Tamás: The Colours of the Polar Lights: Symbols in the Construction of Sami Identity

The author analyses the complicated interaction of ethnicity and nation-building through the example of the design of the Sami national symbols. In the context of historical events and ideological trends she presents the idea of “pansamiism”. The latter has evolved in the way the issue of the Sami nation emerged in political and cultural scenes and where central symbols were used by Sami intellectuals to ensure the success of the new identity discourse. Sami people living in the four countries have a strong sense of belonging to their land nowadays. The public appearance of Sami politicians, public figures and artists is always marked with some Sami costume or other symbols that visually represent Sami identity. These visual symbols express Sami unity, rejection of “western” ideologies and their community and solidarity with other indigenous peoples of the world. Sami symbols that had been formerly stigmatized in Scandinavia received new meanings and had become accepted by the second half of the 20th century, and finally, their popularity has been extending beyond the borders of Sami communities. Since the turn of the millennium the integration of Sami symbols by Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish people can be observed in media and in tourism, to which the Sámi react in an ambivalent way. It is a new, cultural emergence of threat evoking former colonization and forced assimilation. Fear of assimilation is strong nowadays, thus, the break between the categories of integration-appropriation, rehabilitation- (cultural) imperialism is often blurred and in the sway of interpretations the symbols seem more fragile and vulnerable as well.

Keywords: Sami, ethnicity, identity, nation-building, national symbols

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**БИЛИНГВАЛЬНОЕ ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОЕ
ТВОРЧЕСТВО КАК ОТРАЖЕНИЕ
НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ АВТОРА
(НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ЛИРИКИ А. И. МИШИНА)**

МАРИЯ КАЗАКОВА

В 2000 году выходит в свет третий том коллективного труда «История литературы Карелии», где впервые исследователи литературы выделили билингвизм в самостоятельную тему для изучения. Авторами раздела «Опыт билингвизма в творчестве карельских писателей» стали А. И. Мишин, Е. И. Маркова, И. Л. Савкина. Отметим, что А. И. Мишин представлен в исследовании и как автор вводного раздела «Общая характеристика», и как объект исследования: его поэтическое творчество анализируется литературоведом Е. И. Марковой в разделе «Олег Мишин (Армас Хийри)».

Для самого Мишина – поэта-билингва, пишущего на русском и финском языках, понятие «художественный билингвизм» намного шире распространённого понимания билингвизма как межкультурной коммуникации, ставшей результатом столкновения двух разных художественных картин мира и выраженной в творчестве на двух языках. По мнению А. И. Мишина, писатель может не знать родного языка или утратить его в силу разных причин, но его этническая идентификация заявляет о себе в самом художественном творчестве автора. А. И. Мишин так пишет о романе Эрнеста Кононова (1930-1974): «Национальный колорит жизни крестьянина-карела воссоздаётся в романе «Борозда» разными путями. Это и сами географические названия (*Туулиярви, Койвусельга, Лисья Сельга, Мусталамби, Кулусъярви, Хейнясуо*), карельские фамилии (*Туруев, Киркков, Коссиев, Нижиев*), имена (*Васлей, Пауша*). Встречаются отдельные карельские и финские слова: *терве* 'здравствуй', *хювясти* 'прощай, до свидания', *вейкко* 'брат', *пуникки* 'красный, красногвардеец', *нейти* 'девушка, барышня'» (Мишин 2000: 363-364).

Литература как часть национальной культуры народа, сохраняет характерные её черты и особенности. По словам А. Г. Хурмеваара, «в содержании карельской литературы много единого потому, что и писатели, пишущие на русском языке, и те, кто пишут по-фински, черпают материал для своих произведений из жизни Карелии, в её настоящем и прошлом, что предопределяет и какую-то схожесть тем и, с неизбежностью, наличие одинаковых черт в характерах героев. Можно найти отдельные сходные элементы и в форме произведений, написанных на разных языках. Чаще всего, если это не общенациональные черты, они связаны с поэтикой рун эпоса «Калевала», к которой обращаются почти все писатели Карелии. Влияние лучших традиций всей советской и прежде всего русской литературы также объединяет творчество разнонациональных карельских писателей» (Хурмеваара 1959: 132).

Национальная самоидентификация автора проявляется в тексте произведения, независимо от того, на каком языке оно написано, в выборе автором поэтических средств изображения, в созданных им художественных образах, в тематическом отборе.

Таким образом, в разделе «Опыт билингвизма в творчестве карельских писателей. Общая характеристика» рассмотрено, в основном, творчество писателей, которые создавали произведения только на русском языке, но с опорой на свою национальную идентичность (Т. Вякя, Э. Кононов, Эд. Алто, Р. Мустонен), что, на наш взгляд, не совсем правильно, так как влияние русского языка и русской культуры приводит к подмене национальной идентичности писателя и не даёт автору возможности полностью раскрыться в рамках субкультуры. В своей работе А. И. Мишин пишет: «В русскоязычной поэзии и прозе Карелии, созданной карелами и финнами, находит безусловное отражение национальный характер творцов, хотя неполноценное знание (а порой и незнание) родного языка ослабило культурную память» (Мишин 2000: 370).

Мы полагаем, что полновесное использование писателями/поэтами двух речевых кодов разных лирических подсистем является характерной особенностью билингвального

художественного творчества, что и обеспечивает взаимодействие, взаимовлияние, диалог двух картин мира, создавая поистине национальное произведение (пример творчества Олега Мишина – Армаса Хийри и Рейё Такала). Билингвальный диалог сознания отражает художественную картину мира автора-билингва через его ценностно-мировоззренческие представления, через систему символов, свойственных той или другой культуре.

Обратимся к творчеству поэта-билингва Олега Мишина – Армаса Хийри, которое поможет нам выявить особенности взаимодействия двух культур в сознании автора, определить национальные черты его творчества. Напомним, что поэт, родившийся в деревне Пустошке Ленинградской области (бывшая территория Ингерманландии) в 1935 году, в годы войны, вместе с матерью «был эвакуирован в Сибирь, где в деревне Усть-Заостровск на Иртыше, а потом в Омске учился в русской школе» (Писатели Карелии 2006: 41). Будучи оторванным от своей родной культуры, он постепенно утратил «язык отцовский» и был вынужден скитаться по разным уголкам большой страны в надежде вернуться на свою малую родину. «Русский язык и русская культура оставались для Мишина-Хийри, ингерманландца по рождению, единственно доступными долгое время. Соплеменники российских финнов (ингерманландцев) были союзниками фашистской Германии, поэтому они, без вины виноватые, были под подозрением. Им запретили селиться в крупных городах, но и в родные края (в Ленинградскую область) возвращаться тоже не разрешили. Разбросанные по всей стране, они не смогли вновь создать этническую общность, что в результате привело к смене национальной идентичности многих ингерманландцев, в том числе и Мишина-Хийри» (Казакова 2016: 468). После войны он с матерью поселился в посёлке Шала, позже окончил Пудожское педагогическое училище и Петрозаводский педагогический институт, несколько лет преподавал русский язык и литературу, а звучание родного финского языка осталось лишь в воспоминаниях детства.

Уже во второй половине 1950-х годов А. И. Мишин (Мишин-Хийри) публикует свои первые стихи на русском языке

в периодической печати, подписывая их именем *Олег Мишин*, которое досталось ему в эвакуации в Омске, так как родное имя *Армас* звучало непривычно для русского слуха. Данное родителями имя Армас Хийри осталось надолго забытым и вновь зазвучало лишь в связи с публикациями первых стихов на финском языке. «Смена имени, культуры и языкового окружения, обусловленная влиянием внешних факторов, приводит к временной подмене национальной идентичности. Мишин–Хийри не просто становится русским, он начинает мыслить и писать как русский человек» (Казакова 2016: 469). Доминирующая русская культура и богатое литературное наследие приводят к тому, что для творческого сознания поэта основополагающими становятся художественные традиции русской и советской литератур, что, безусловно, отражено в лирических произведениях этого периода. Л. Н. Евсеева пишет, что «идентичность есть результат открытого процесса идентификации, в которые индивид вовлечён в ходе социализации и социальной адаптации, и результат этот никогда не бывает окончательным, таковым он становится только со смертью индивида» (Евсеева 2009: 15). Подмена идентичности у А. И. Мишина (Олега Мишина – Армаса Хийри) приводит к тому, что его поэтические опыты на русском языке 1960-х годов отражают настроения эпохи, когда национальное мыслится как нечто несущественное, а доминирующая русская культура и русский язык определяют специфику художественного творчества.

Несмотря на всё вышесказанное, национальная идентичность начинает заявлять о себе уже в первых русскоязычных сборниках Мишина («В дорогу» (1961), «Голубая улица» (1963), «Бессонница» (1966) воспоминаниями о родных местах, о детстве, проведённом в отчем доме на Мге.

*А край мой уплывал всё дальше,
Где домик наш над тихой Мгой.
(Мишин 1961: 47)*

Анализируя раннее творчество Мишина, авторы коллективного труда «Очерки истории советской литературы Карелии» (1969) пишут: «Родным языком Мишина является финский, но, прекрасно владея и русским, будучи учителем русского языка и литературы, поэт своими стихами и личностью доказывает, что чистое, светлое, глубинно-национальное чувство становится интернациональным и общечеловеческим. Удивительный, подлинно поэтический эффект стихотворения «Родной язык» в том и заключается, что здесь о «музыке родного» – финского языка рассказано взволнованной музыкой чисто русской поэзии» (Очерк истории советской литературы Карелии, 1969: 263). Мишин действительно прекрасно владел русским языком, а вот финский язык, о котором лирический герой стихотворения «Родной язык» с чувством глубокого сожаления и печали говорит: «мне предки позабытые мои / язык свой, умирая, завещали» (Мишин 1966: 20), поэт начал заново учить лишь во второй половине 1950-х годов. Именно в этом стихотворении «из недр веков сквозь ливни и метели» (Мишин 1966: 20) начинает заявлять о себе его этническая индивидуальность. Ещё родной некогда, но полностью забытый язык не воспринимается своим, а лишь языком предков, но этническая связь поколений, выраженная лишь несколькими словами на родном языке *äiti, kotimaa* подталкивает лирического героя к осознанию себя частью иного этнического космоса. С этой точки зрения говорить о появлении в лирике Мишина интернационального не представляется возможным, скорее наоборот, национальный русский поэт постепенно берёт верх над советским русским поэтом. «Не русский я, но россиянин» (Карим 1973: 228-229) – строки, написанные башкирским поэтом М. Каримом, акцентируют внимание на национальной идентичности, где последняя представлена как часть многонационального и многокультурного пространства. Именно россиянином начинает мыслить себя и лирический герой стихов Мишина.

Соседство двух культур в сознании одного индивида (оставшейся при рождении ингерманландской и полученной позже и доминирующей многие годы русской) сказывается и

на последующем творчестве Мишина–Хийри, в котором преобладающей становится тема природы, взаимоотношение человека с окружающим миром. Лирический герой стихов Мишина–Хийри восхищается красотами и целесообразностью природы не как сторонний обыватель, а как её составная часть, как человек природы, получивший в наследство от своих предков любовь и уважение к ней. Эта особенность свойственна многим писателям/поэтам Карелии вне зависимости от их национальной принадлежности.

*Потрясают до глубин
понимающего сердца
водопады и дубы,
крутизна утёсов дерзких.
И по сердцу мне всегда,
словно друга разговоры,
ламбы ясная вода,
ивняки и косогоры.
(Мишин 1970: 39)*

Постепенное возвращение своей национальной идентичности, осознание себя частью двух культур, мы наблюдаем на примере художественного творчества поэта на двух языках: родном финском и русском. Мишин вошёл в литературу Карелии как русский поэт. Но, живя в Карелии, где ещё сохранялось мощное влияние финской культуры, где многие выдающиеся писатели и поэты творили на финском языке, русский поэт Мишин начинает ощущать утрату родного языка, культуры своих предков, и именно это подвигло его к изучению финского языка во второй половине 1950-х годов.

В первые русские сборники Мишин включает помимо стихов на русском языке свои переводы с финского на русский лирики Ялмари Виртанена, Тобиаса Гуттари (творческий псевдоним Леа Хело), Николая Лайне, Тайсто Сумманена, Яакко Ругоева.

Знакомя русскоязычных читателей с творчеством классиков карельской литературы, Мишин одновременно учит финский язык и осваивает особенности стихосложения на родном языке.

Именно желание снова говорить на родном, некогда забытом языке, узнать культуру своих предков, приводит Мишина в 1967 году в аспирантуру Института языка, литературы и истории Карельского филиала АН СССР.

Здесь под руководством известного ученого Э. Г. Карху, Мишин приступает к изучению литературы Финляндии.

Результаты не заставили себя долго ждать, и уже в 1968 году на страницах периодических изданий поэт под именем Армас Хийри печатает свои первые стихи на финском языке.

В 1970-е годы было опубликовано четыре русскоязычных сборника «Солнечный день» (1970), «Теплотрасса» (1972), «Второе зрение» (1973), «Тревожность» (1978) и один (первый) сборник на финском языке «Ikkunani katsoo maailmaan» («Мои окна смотрят в мир») (1976), а уже в 1980-е годы из-под его пера вышло два финноязычных сборника «Juuret avaruuteen» («Врастать корнями в небо») (1980), «Kotikyläni räähkyset» («Ласточки моей деревни») (1986) и три русскоязычных «Снег на пушках» (1980), «Мгновения» (1982), «Сопричастность» (1985).

В лирике Мишина-Хийри 1960-х годов мы наблюдаем поэтизацию труда человека, его деятельность носит не только практическую ценность, но осмысливается с позиции эстетики бытия. Если в 1970-е годы на первый план выходит отношение человека с природой, где природа – друг, брат, а человек – часть природной стихии, то в лирике 1980-х годов лирический герой постигает свою национальную сущность, переключаясь на проблемы этнического самоопределения.

В лирике Мишина-Хийри 1980-х годов всё чаще начинают появляться традиционные для его родной культуры символы: ламбушки, сопки, брусничный сок, пригоршня черничин.

Наполняя текст стихотворения символами родной культуры, Мишин–Хийри целенаправленно подталкивает к межкультурной коммуникации, где созданный образ формирует новый контекст с новым смыслом.

*Красная торпа на склоне скалистом –
окна в блеске вечерней зари.*

*А внизу –
желтеющие поля.*

(Мишин 1981: 16)

В финском языке и культуре слово *торпа* означает участок земли с домом, сдаваемый владельцем в аренду для осуществления хозяйственной деятельности. Слово *торпа* отсылает читателя к эпохе безземельного крестьянства в Финляндии, к целому ряду исторических событий. «Торпарский вопрос» остро стоял в Финляндии в начале 20 века и во многом способствовал началу революционного движения в Финляндии в 1918 году. Основным требованием финских крестьян была передача арендуемых и обрабатываемых земель в собственность торпарям, что, безусловно, не было поддержано богатыми землевладельцами. В стихотворении Мишина *торпа* приобретает красный цвет, символизирующий кровавые события расправы над поднявшимся, но потерпевшим поражение рабоче-крестьянским движением в Финляндии. Вводя в текст стихотворения слово, чуждое для русской культуры, но родное для своей финской, автор раздвигает контекстуальный план лирики, обогащая и развивая русскую культуру и русский язык, создавая, таким образом, язык билингвального художественного текста.

Е. Н. Кремер пишет, что «заимствованная лексика “не работает” на сближение языков, а способствует раскрытию концептов как ментальных единиц иной культуры. Не нарушая информационный код русской языковой системы, не влияя на категоризацию и образ мира, зафиксированного в ней, она является доказательством продуктивности межъязыкового взаимодействия, при котором расширяются рамки мирознания читателя, осуществляется его приобщение к иной

культуре, повышается популярность обеих языковых культур» (Кремер 2010: 18).

Что касается билингвального художественного творчества Мишина-Хийри, то, с нашей точки зрения, расширяя ментальное значение контекста с помощью этнопоэтизмов, автор стремится обозначить свою национальную идентичность, донести до читателя образ родной культуры. У. М. Бахтикиреева пишет, что «ориентируясь в стихиях обеих языковых культур, билингвальный писатель делает и своего читателя «гражданином мира», способным верно понять те культурные артефакты, с которыми он сталкивается при чтении, но которые не принадлежат к его культуре. Читатель начинает делать «своим» «чужое» через свой язык, конструируя вокруг себя культурный ореол и ситуацию, сообразно той, которую создаёт опережающее обыденность сознание творческой билингвальной личности» (Бахтикиреева 2005: 21).

Попытка обозначить свою связь и этническую принадлежность прослеживается и в активном использовании топонимов в своём творчестве. Назия, Мга, Ингерманландия – тесно живут в воспоминаниях детства лирического героя, как символы национальной связи с родным домом, родным селом, местом рождения. Карельские топонимы: *Валаам, Выг, Шуя, Водла, Ладоба, Спаская Губа* – ставшие родными уже в зрелом возрасте – символы возрождения утраченной связи с национальной культурой предков.

*Здравствуй, родина! Ивы, берёзы.
Речки Назии светлый изгиб.
Над водою туман белёсый.
И прибрежного ключика всхлип.
Я стою над речушкой на круче,
на едва различимой тропе.
О, мой чистый немолкнущий ключик,
как же я позабыл о тебе!*
(Мишин 1985: 91-92)

Лирический герой стихов Мишина-Хийри, осознав свою национальную индивидуальность, трагически воспринимает утрату родной культуры. Жившая лишь в воспоминаниях детства этническая связь с предками, как «немолкнущий ключик», заявляет о себе, вызывая чувство вины за то, что он позабыл свои корни. Страдания и боль лирический герой воспринимает как очищение, катарсис, необходимый для того, чтобы стала связь «прочней с землёй отцовскою, родной» (Мишин 1985: 92-93).

В статье, посвященной лирике Карелии 1980-х годов, Е. И. Маркова пишет: «Поэты верили, что спасти страну от распада поможет возвращение к своим корням, первоистокам природно-крестьянского мира, осмысление основных первообразов ноосферы» (Маркова 2000: 289). На наш взгляд, билингвальное творчество Мишина-Хийри есть не что иное, как возможность найти новое взамен ушедшего или утраченного старого, заполнить пустоту, образовавшуюся в результате отступления от этнических первоисточков, своих корней. Возвращение к своей этнической первооснове придаёт русскоязычной лирике Мишина-Хийри 1980-х годов оптимистичности. Лирический герой его стихов – вечный странник, постоянно стремящийся куда-то, к новым открытиям и впечатлениям, свободный и романтический. «Эта лёгкость существования объясняется своеобразной укорённостью лирического героя, воссоединением с праотцами, заново обретенной этнической принадлежностью» (Казакова 2016: 469).

*Но, как бы далеко ни увели
Пути-дороги от родного края,
Я всюду рубежи родной земли,
Как крылья за спиною, ощущаю.*
(Мишин 1970: 41)

Финноязычную лирику Мишина-Хийри 1980-х годов можно охарактеризовать как рефлексивную. Устремления поэта нацелены на гармонию с собственным внутренним миром, познание себя. Предметом описания часто становятся

отдельные, возможно, малозначимые для других, переживания, неотъемлемо связывающие его с родным домом.

<i>Sodan jälkeen</i>	<i>После войны</i>
<i>kotikylässäni –</i>	<i>в родной деревне,</i>
<i>oikeammin sen rauniolla –</i>	<i>вернее – на её развалинах,</i>
<i>kaivelin</i>	<i>наткнулся</i>
<i>mennyttä –</i>	<i>на стеклянные осколки –</i>
<i>Lasinsiruja löysin –</i>	<i>игрушки моего детства.</i>
<i>lapsuuteni leluja –</i>	<i>Как больно они кольнули</i>
<i>Nekö ne pistivät sydämeeni?</i>	<i>в сердце!</i>
(Hiiri 1980: 35)	(Мишин 1980: 22)

Внимание читателя сразу приковывают последние строчки стихов из сборников 1980-х годов «*Nekö ne pistivät sydämeeni?*» (Hiiri 1980: 35) и «*Как больно они кольнули в сердце!*» (Мишин 1980: 22). Закономерен вопрос, можно ли считать представленные стихотворения автопереводом.

На наш взгляд, отличия в пунктуации сказываются на интонации каждого из стихов, меняется их смысловая нагрузка. Задавая самому себе вопрос по-фински, автор побуждает к размышлению и переосмыслению прошлого, его ментальных основ, ценностей. Русскоязычное же стихотворение подчёркнуто результативно. Две разные картины мира, преломляясь в сознании одного человека, полемизируют, создавая многоголосье смыслов и интонаций. Один и тот же образ, осмысленный с точки зрения разных культур, разных языковых единиц, порождает два стихотворения, то есть самостоятельное художественное творчество на двух языках.

Говоря об авторском переводе, Бахтикиреева пишет, что «он является таким же уникальным и неповторимым авторским текстом, как и его прототип. В авторском переводе решение задачи целей перевода приобретает несколько иной характер и содержание, чем в переводе профессиональном» (Бахтикиреева 2005: 28).

Разделяя точку зрения Бахтикиреевой, мы лишь добавим, что авторский перевод отражает национальную культуру са-

мого автора, его этические нормы, которые позволяют сделать возможным взаимоотношения или диалог писатель-читатель, в котором писатель мыслится в роли «проводника» иной культуры.

Вернув некогда утраченный язык и культуру своих предков, поэт возрождает свою этническую принадлежность.

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Maria Kazakova: Kuis katõn keelen luuva kiränigu rahvus paistus vällä timä luudust (A. I. Mišini luulõ)

Om kimmähe vaia näüädäq, et Kařala kirändüsen om olõman pääle vinne ja soomõ-ugri konteksti viil kolmas, katõkeeline. Asi om tuun, et 1980.–1990. aastil, rahvuslidsõl heränemisaol, tull ridastikku vällä kiränikke, kiä lõiq katõn keelen: vinne ja imäkeelen. Liikmisõ lättil saisõ Kařala Vabariigi rahvakiränik A. I. Mišin (Oleg Mišin – Armas Hiiri). Artiklin lahastas timä, sündünü ingerläse, ello ja luudut nigu näüdüst tuu kottalõ, kuis aoluu sunnil tävveniste vinne kultuuri umas võtnuq inemine saa populaarsõs vinne luulõtajas. Ja õnnõ peränpoolõ, edimält sõpro mõõ all, a ildampa joba tävve tiidmisega, tulõtas tä miilde imäkeele, miä, nigu paistu, oll joba igävädses unõhtõt. Veidüq tuust – tä nakkas kirotaama värsse soomõ keelen, ja tuu avitas täl kätte saiaq vahtsõt hindätiidmist, – et tä om sündünüq ja elänüq ku suumlanõ. Kaias perrä, kuis rahvuslinõ hindätiidmine paistus vällä timä katõkeelitsest luulõst läbi eräumatsidõ kujondidõ, validu ainõtsõõri, värsirütmi jm.

Tähüssõnaq: rahvuslinõ hindäpidämine, katskiilsüs, soomõ-ugri kontekst, vinne luulõtajaq, ingerisuumlasõq, imäkiil, Kařala kirändüs soomõ keelen, A. I. Mišin (Oleg Mišin – Armas Hiiri)

Märksõnad: rahvuslik identiteet, kakskeelsus, soome-ugri kontekst, vene luuletajad, ingerisoomlased, emakeel, Karjala kirjandus soome keeles, A. I. Mišin (Oleg Mišin – Armas Hiiri)

Maria Kazakova: Bilingual poetic works as the reflection of the author's national identity (The poetry of A. I. Mišin)

It should be noted, that Karelian literature has not only Russian and Finno-Ugric contexts but also a third bilingual one. The latter is connected with the period of national renaissance in 1980–1990. During those decades some writers and poets wrote in two languages: in Russian and used their mother tongue. A. I. Mišin (Oleg Mišin – Armas Hiiri), the national Karelian writer, was one of the first writers who contributed to this process. The article analyzes A. I. Mišin's (Oleg Mišin – Armas Hiiri) life and works. He is an Ingrian Finn, but due to historical events he became a popular Russian poet. Later not only did he consciously restore the knowledge of the forgotten mother tongue, but also began to write poems in Finnish. That fact promoted his self-perception as a Finn by birth and life. Reflection of national identity in his bilingual poems is explored through artistic images, themes, rhythmic patterns and so on.

Keywords: national identity, bilingualism, Finno-Ugric context, Russian poet, Ingrian Finns, mother tongue, literature of Karelia written in Finnish, A. I. Mišin (Oleg Mišin – Armas Hiiri)

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BANNED LITERATURE IN ESTONIA

SIRJE KIIN

What is banned literature?

To define banned literature, we should define forbidden knowledge as it has been studied by historians, historians of religion, political scientists, literary scientists and sociologists, particularly those who have studied the history of censorship and totalitarian regimes. Forbidden knowledge is literature to which the access is limited or forbidden for political, moral, or religious reasons. When a totalitarian regime considers certain books dangerous for the regime and limits access by repressive measures, we are dealing with censorship. When a regime tries to minimize or discredit the validity of certain kinds of books or knowledge, it is usually done by means of propaganda.

Firstly, we should touch upon a very important question: When did the censorship actually start? In several studies, the history of censorship is rooted in the Middle Ages and the invention of the printing press by the Johannes Gutenberg in Germany (Cotter 2003). But we know also that the Chinese used printing techniques in the 7th century and also had practices that would remind us of censorship. In China, the first censorship law was introduced in 300 AD. The origin of the term *ensor* can be traced down to the office of censor established in Rome 443 BC (Newth 2010: 1).

I would also challenge the claim that censorship is related primarily to printing, because we know that in Estonian cultural history, which started with oral traditions such as stories and songs, certain types of censorship existed. Not all stories or songs were “meant” to be told or sung in every group of people. For example, some folksongs were banned or considered inappropriate for women or children. Also as the culture moved from spoken to written, some collectors of folklore chose what kind of stories or songs to write down. The folklorist Jakob Hurt (1839–1906) needed to encourage them not to choose, but to write everything

down without censoring their selections. It is possible, therefore, to claim that oral censorship could be thousands of years old. Oral censorship in the Estonian case goes back about five thousand years, because older Estonian folk songs (*regilaulud*) occurred in the third millennium BC, during the interaction of Finnic and Old Baltic tribes.

Reasons for prohibiting books

What reasons have been used as a basis for banning books, in the past and today? There are four main categories:

- 1) Religious reasons (examples include the New Testament and Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* as a recent case)
- 2) Social reasons (these arguments claim that the banned books cause social restlessness or social inequality. Included in this category is censorship based on political correctness, attempts to forbid usage of certain terms or expressions, and normatively limited usage of words)
- 3) Political reasons (totalitarian regimes claim that they are censoring to protect those who are rightfully in power, to eliminate or to avoid resistance, to keep away from an unwanted cultural or political past, or to destroy it)
- 4) Moral reasons (erotic, sexual, or pornographic content – but medical literature and art have also been banned in this category. For example, a movie about the suicide of a young man was forbidden by the Estonian Court of Justice)

There are claims that these four main reasons to ban literature are found only in religious, under-developed countries and totalitarian regimes but, as I have noted, they are also found in developed western countries such as the USA and Estonia. My argument contradicts the belief that, in democratic societies, there is only moral censorship and not political, religious, or social reasons to ban literature. For example, the American Library Association organizes every September Banned Books Week, to draw attention to the fact that, in a number of U.S. states, attempts to ban books

persist, mostly related to sexual or moral issues in children's books, but also classics of the world literature in some cases.

In Estonia, we have a recent case. In 2014, the Estonian Court of Justice banned a book by British journalist Toby Harnden, *Dead Men Risen*, a documentary book about the war in Afghanistan (Harnden 2011). The book was a winner of Orwell Prize in 2012. A translation was published in Estonian in 2012, but it was banned in 2014 because some soldiers who fought in that war considered the book to be dangerous to their lives and the lives of their families – and also an insult to their dignity. The banning was based on allegations that the book released delicate personal data against their will and without their permission. The British Defense Ministry bought all outstanding copies of the English version of the book, paying 175,000 euros, and destroyed them. This case was an international news story.

Banned literature in Estonia during German occupation 1941–1944

During the 20th century, Estonia suffered two occupations, a short period of German occupation during WWII from 1941 to 1944, and Soviet occupation during 1940–1941 and from 1944 to 1991.

Both regimes were totalitarian and both banned many different kinds of literature. What kinds of literature were banned, and why were they banned under both regimes? Of equal interest, if there were differences in the kinds of literature banned by the two occupiers, what were the differences between the two regimes?

First, the similarities: both regimes used literature as an instrument of propaganda and both regimes destroyed literature that was ideologically unsuitable to them. Germans published the first list of banned literature in November 1941, just two months after beginning of their occupation. Their first efforts targeted Soviet books published during the Soviet occupation of 1940–1941, then moved on to all Soviet propaganda books. Later on many more books, including schoolbooks published during the first Soviet period, were banned. The full list of types of banned literature during German occupation period is: republican minded; printed

during Soviet occupation 1940-1941; left liberal; Soviet propaganda books; social democratic; masonic literature; Marxist; occultist book(s); anti-fascists; school books of Soviet period 1940-1941; pacifist; Soviet books, published 1917–1940; international; English, French literature since 1933; sexual issues; authors who left Germany since 1933; psychoanalytic literature; German hostility in any language; Jewish authors in any language.

But the Germans did not attack the functional memory of the Estonian nation and did not attempt to disrupt the cultural memory of Estonians (Lotman 1991: 87–121). The German occupation did not attempt to break the continuity of literary life of the first Republic of Estonia (Tsensor Eesti raamatukogus, 1991). On the contrary, in an effort to reestablish ties to the cultural life of the 1930s, they published some well-read authors of that period, including August Gailit, Karl Ristikivi, August Mälk, Eduard Vilde, Anton Hansen Tammsaare, and Oskar Luts. The best sources of the hate toward Russia were the experiences Estonians had during first year of Soviet occupation. “At least during the war conditions, Germans, who ruled Estonia, understood that it was not wise to attack the functional memory of Estonian nation, so they allowed us to live in the same discourse, to oppose themselves to Soviet Russia,” wrote Piret Lotman, one of the most dedicated researchers of Soviet Estonian censorship (Lotman 2000: 98). In summary, we can claim that limitations on literature during the German occupation resulted from political goals and did not focus on the cognitive base of Estonians’ identity.

Banned and destroyed literature during Soviet occupation 1944–1991

What happened regarding the banning of books during the first Soviet annexation, which started in June of 1940? It is not widely known, but political censorship was actually established in Estonia almost a year before the Soviet annexation started, in the fall of 1939. On the 5th of September, Estonian Prime Minister Kaarel Eenpalu gave a secret order to his ministers, announcing that information about interior and foreign politics would be censored from that point forward, with internal and foreign information controlled by their respective ministries. By the spring of 1940, the Estonian State Library started to ban anti-Soviet literature, even though the actual annexation did not happen until 21st of June (Ant 1999, Lotman 2000).

The main governmental office that controlled publishing – Russian abbreviation GLAVLIT – was founded on the 23rd of October 1940. After that, the censorship of literature became more specific and more secret. The list of books banned by the Soviet regime was much longer and had a more profound impact. In just two months, they closed 212 newspapers and magazines. All previous schoolbooks were banned. By the spring of 1941, a law was passed according to which libraries could keep only books published before 1918, meaning that all books published during the Republic of Estonia between the two World Wars (1918–1940) were ordered to be removed from libraries and destroyed (Medijainen 1991: 23–50).

Systematic destruction of Estonian and foreign literature continued after WWII, based on preparations made during the war. In February 1945, GLAVLIT had 16 censors working in Estonia, one Russian and 15 Estonians. It is interesting to note that four of the censors had higher education, four had a high school education, and four had only elementary education. The extent of censorship increased significantly in the coming years. In 1949, an order was given to destroy all foreign literature – both originals and translations – published outside of borders of Soviet Union after 1917.

The full list of banned types of literature during Soviet occupation is: all books published during Estonian Republic 1920–1940; foreign literature published outside of Soviet Union after 1917; all schoolbooks and manuals from the Republic of Estonia; all fascist literature; “reactionary” literature; “justifying and defending capitalist exploitation and impoverishment”; anti-communist literature; “anti-Soviet slander and abetting (provoking) literature”; anti-Soviet-Estonia literature; “against the vital interests of the working people” literature; “against building up socialism literature”; all theological literature; books of Russian dissidents (Grigory Zinoviev, Alexei Rykov, Lev Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin) (Uurimusi tsensuurist, 1995).

The clearing of Estonian libraries of all books published during Estonian Republic was finished by 1951. By destroying literature and history in Estonian, the Christian system of values was also destroyed (Lotman 1996: 120–152). This was not accidental. Soviet censorship was also used to fight against religious ethics and morals. The continuity of Estonian national memory was violently destroyed, or almost destroyed.

Results of the Soviet destruction of Estonian books

Several librarians have revealed, during the period of Soviet censorship, that there was a massive effort to hide banned literature – in churches, barns, cellars and attics. For example, my uncle, Arnold Rehtsalu, a beekeeper, kept one of the most forbidden books, *Eesti rahva kannatuste aasta* (‘The Year of Suffering of Estonian Nation’, about the first Soviet year of occupation) in a hidden compartment in one of his beehives, and the book fared well due to proper ventilation of the hives. He took the book out after Estonia was free again. Also, it escaped the Soviets’ notice that some librarians were hiding banned books right on the shelves of libraries – by removing the titles from the card catalogs. In the 1990s those books showed up again in the catalogues – like nothing had happened!

Estimates vary about how much damage was done to Estonian books by the Soviet censorship effort, partly because it is difficult

to calculate the number of books lost to the war itself. Tartu University Library Director Friedrich Puksoo estimates that, during the first Soviet occupation, about 200,000 books were destroyed. From the local libraries, estimates have been compiled of about 600,000 books having been destroyed. But altogether the number of books destroyed (using data compiled by the Estonian State Publishing Center) is seven and a half million books.

During the Soviet post-war occupation, about 10,000 titles of books were banned, and officially they were all destroyed. Later study has shown, however, that the actual number of books destroyed was between 20 and 26 million copies (Lotman; Lõhmus 1995).

How did the Soviets destroy the books? In contrast to other censors throughout history, they found that books were not very good material to burn, so they hacked them with axes. Covers were torn off, the books, were hacked into smaller pieces, and the paper was packed in bags and sent to the dump.

What happened to people who kept, read, or distributed banned literature?

Poet Heiti Talvik (1904–1947) lost his life in Siberia in 1947, in the Tyumen labor camp, because he happened to spend the night on the couch of his friend, folklorist August Annist. Annist had been hiding some banned German books inside the couch. Talvik spent the night with his friend because he and his wife, the poet Betti Alver (1906–1989), were afraid to sleep at home due to constant threats of arrest. Though Talvik's presence on that couch was a coincidence, he was arrested and sentenced to the labor camp, where he died (Muru 2002: 78–85).

Another story shows how dangerous it was to write the banned poetry of Estonia's most influential poet of the 20th century, Marie Under (1883–1980), in a letter to a relative who was confined in a labor camp. A young Estonian woman, whose 11 relatives had been either deported, killed, or imprisoned by the Soviets, wrote a letter to her aunt in a labor camp in Siberia. In that letter she included, as a comfort, Under's "Christmas Greeting 1941", a

compassionate poem dedicated to those who had been deported or imprisoned, the poem starts with the compassionate verse:

*I am walking silently and slowly
Through my hapless country's Christmas snow.
And before each door I feel how lowly!
Every home has suffered its shrewd blow. (Under 1943)*

Her aunt never got the letter with the poem, but the young woman was arrested and sent to Bashkiria prison in 1950. She had no idea why she was arrested until 1955. Two years after Stalin's death in 1953, she was released and a KGB officer showed her a file which contained her letter with the lines of Under's poem underlined in thick red pencil. She returned to Estonia but never got to work in finance, the field of her education, and was limited to unskilled work in factories because she was former prisoner.

In the beginning of 1960s, Marie Under heard the woman's story and sent her, via hand delivery of a friend, a favorite piece of jewelry – a silver sword – as a thank you for her suffering over her poem. Her name is Silvia Uusväli, and she wears the symbolic gift from Under on her chest, over her heart (Kiin 2010).

Is there anything as powerful as the words of a poet, when a so-called superpower is so afraid of her words that it needs to send people to prison in Siberia, simply for knowing those words?

Banning made certain books most influential

Several examples of the most forbidden books or poems became an important part of our cultural memory during Soviet Estonian period – and the meaning of which actually increased due to them being banned or because their authors were punished in some way.

One of them is the children's poem 'Badger House', written by the poet Helvi Jürisson (born 1928; Jürisson 1970). The poem was published in 1970 in the children's magazine Pioneer, but all copies were collected after that issue went on sale. Jürisson could

not get anything published for several years after that and – as was common – she was forbidden to travel abroad.

What was wrong with the Badger House poem? It tells a story of the Badger, whose peaceful life and cozy home was suddenly invaded by aggressive raccoons. The Badger went to court to get justice but the judge was an old bear who did not understand anything, and poor Badger was forced to continue his road to court until the road got longer and longer and longer... you can see the road in the grass even today...

Singer Joel Steinfeldt made the poem, an allegory about the occupation of Estonia by Russians – who kept coming to Estonia and getting the best new flats before Estonians, into a popular song. For some young readers, that song was a first sign of open resistance to the Soviet occupation, as I saw in a recent post on Facebook. In recent times, the poem has been published many times as a children's book and earned its place among Estonian children's classics.

The poet Arvi Siig (1938–1999) was called the Estonian Mayakovsky and the Estonian Yevtushenko because he translated modern Russian poetry and was himself influenced by it. Other than Marie Under, he was one of the very few Estonian city poets, and also represented working class youth. Siig's most popular collection was his second book from 15 books, *Reporter värsi-kaameraga* ('The Reporter With Poetry Camera'), published in 1966. His generation knew his poems by heart, and he received several literary awards in Soviet Estonia. He was allowed to travel and present his work all over Soviet Union – until he published his Acrostic poem, 'Kindergarten Aunt' (Siig 1976). He had significantly influenced a young literary generation, through his work as an editor of the magazine *Youth*, but after the publication of that poem, he was immediately fired.

"Kindergarten Aunt
Kindergarten Aunt Masha should be retired.
But she is a good person.
One day,
When you cannot hide the fact that city has a zoo,
She tells the news:

*“Children, a zoo is visiting our city”
There is a little hustle among the children,
But aunt Masha has read Makarenko
And she knows, what binds collective.
She gives to children the toddler’s rope.*

So here are the children’s names in the order they go:

*Rein
Asta
Henn
Viiu
Ats
Sulev*

[The first letters of those names reads in Estonian *rahvas* – ‘the people / the nation’. – S. K.]

*The main door of the zoo does not have a guard,
But it has rules:
Do not touch exhibits with hands!
And Aunt Masha adds:
“Questions are redundant,
Because what I explained,
Is well explained.”*

Here are the animals:

*Kangaroo
Porcupine
Gazelle
Snake*

*Skunk
Quite old bear
Dolphin
Donkey
They are not at all redundant animals.
And Aunt Masha is actually a good person.”*

The first letters of the Estonian names of animals are important in this Acrostic: *Känguru, Okassiga, Gasell, Uss, / Tõhk, Õige vana karu, Delfiin, Eesel*. It reads as *KOGU TÕDE* – which means 'the whole truth' in Estonian. Nation in line, tied in the toddler's rope and the whole truth was obviously too dangerous a combination for the Soviets. Today, the poetry of Arvi Siig has become part of pop culture because the punk rock band Vennaskond ('The Brotherhood') has turned many of his poems into popular songs, including *Asphalt* and other city poems, and they are now widely available on YouTube.

Poet Paul-Eerik Rummo (born 1942) wrote, in 1972, a poetry collection entitled 'The Address of The Sender', which was not published until 17 years later, in 1989. Rummo wrote to me to explain what actually happened, and about endless negotiations that had taken place with the publisher. They were asking to make the compromises – to cut or to rewrite the poems they did not like because of political reasons – without saying it of course. But Rummo considered the long poem as a whole concept with its own balance and would not agree to change them. The poems in 'The Address of the Sender' touched on very sensitive and forbidden political subjects, including the conscience of the generation of the poet's father, Estonian intellectuals who had gone along with the Red Army and the Soviet regime and understood, in their middle age, what actually had happened to their home country. Instead of liberty and justice, they felt guilt, but could not acknowledge it even to themselves. For example, in the sensitive and touching poem 'Below the Trembling Aspens', Rummo contemplated ironically the idea of communism and other idealistic issues of the communist regime.

The director of the monopolistic publishing house – the only publishing house in operation in Soviet Estonia, Estonian Book – Aksel Tamm, proclaimed in meetings where the conflict was discussed, "We are trying to make the Paul-Eerik Rummo collection ready, but we cannot do it because he does not agree with anything." Rummo replied that his parents had made him "ready" long ago. Finally, Rummo agreed to publish just a few poems from the long manuscript in the literary magazine *Vikerkaar*. Another sub-group was published in another poetry book, but the

original manuscript started to develop a life of its own. It spread through the population via the literary underground. I copied it dozens of times myself and spread it among my friends. Many people did the same, and it became one of the most famous underground poetry manuscripts of the Soviet era in Estonia. The editor of the compromise book *Ajapinde ajab*, ('Splinters of Time Go'), Rein Veidemann, who tried to help the author pass through the gates of political censorship, failed badly and Rummo suffered mental issues resultant from those long battles. He spent time in a mental hospital and received strong and invasive treatments, after which he was never the same sensitive poet again. He is a member of Estonia's parliament today and has written many plays and even some poetry, but the poetic talent he had before is gone. Veidemann believes that the case of Rummo's book is the most significant example of the fate of Estonian intellectuals during Soviet occupation (Veidemann 2015).

The legendary book of the poet Hando Runnel (born 1938), 'The Purple of Red Evenings' (Runnel 1982), had an opposite fate to that of Rummo's work: it was first published, then banned. It got published, due to mistakes by the censors, in 1982, but banned after the censors' mistakes were realized. Copies were collected from stores by order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. And Runnel's name was significantly forbidden for about ten years after that. And what was the strictly forbidden subject of this poetry book? Patriotic love of the Fatherland.

"Beautiful, beautiful, beautiful is the country, I love," wrote Hando Runnel in the end of ten poems of his series of poems with the title 'Beautiful country, beautiful country, beautiful country' (Runnel 1982: 91–100). This created a sensation because, until this book, nobody had the courage to say such things about Estonia. The country you could and should love – and were allowed to love – was the Soviet Union. By official doctrine, Estonia was only a small and insignificant part of the real Fatherland.

The composer and musician Rein Rannap created a cantata of the patriotic poems of Runnel but this, too, was banned after a few concerts in 1983. People stood and listened as if it were the anthem of Estonia when it was performed on the huge stage of Tallinn City Hall in October of 1983. There were rumors that the

book was banned not just because of the patriotic love poems but also because of parody poem in the book about “A handsome tall boy, who danced national dance (*kaerajaan*)” (Runnel 1982: 5) and did not even notice that a big army of purple snails was approaching from the northwest – a clear reference to the implantation of hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants, relocated to Estonia during Soviet era. Why did the purple snails come from northwest? Because negative references to the East had for a long time been banned. A TV announcer was once fired because, in reporting the weather, she said that only bad weather could be expected from the East.

Another composer, Veljo Tormis, converted several poems from this collection to music (Viru Oath, Little Loyal Songs, Reflections with Hando Runnel and others) and they were also significantly forbidden during the 1980s. These days, several of those songs are among the most popular for Estonian choirs to sing during Song Festivals.

The most forbidden topic during the Soviet occupation was the fact that tens of thousands Estonians were sent to Siberia by the Soviet regime. But a few brave writers still had the courage to touch on that forbidden subject.

First, a productive prose writer Heino Kiik (1927–2013) wrote the novel ‘Maria in Siberia’ in 1978 (Kiik 1988). It was the story of his mother, grandmother, and brother being deported to Siberia, because his father had been arrested 1945 and died in a prison camp 1947. The family was punished too. Heino himself was spared deportation because he was not at home the day his family was taken away. He wrote the manuscript 1978 but did not gather the courage to offer it to a novel competition until 1985. It was not allowed to be published, not to mention receiving any awards. But again the manuscript started to spread among the people, copied by hand many times, even though some were punished because of copying and spreading it. Kiik wrote the novel in the hope of it being published despite its forbidden subject, so he tried to see all sides of the trip to Siberia through rosy lenses and with positive colors. With great difficulty, the novel was finally published in literary magazine *Looming* in 1987 and as a book 1988, ten years after it was written. I remember reading the manuscript

on Kihnu Island in 1979, as it was passed from tent to tent, page by page, at a summer camp of young scientists.

The writer Arvo Valton (born 1935), who was deported with his mother and brother to Siberia when he was just 14 years old, finished high school in Magadan Oblast, Siberia. When his family was allowed to return to Estonia, he became an engineer, a popular screenwriter, and master of short stories. Valton had achieved success and earned decent money as a writer in the early 1980s, so he decided that he should write a book during 1984-85 about his experiences in Siberia, even though he held no hope to publish it in Estonia. He made microfilm copies of the manuscript and sent one to California and another to Australia. As he was finishing his novel, he received a warning from another writer that officials were worried about him writing a novel about Siberia. The Writer's Union supported publication of the novel, entitled 'Prostration and Hope' in 1989. But, in 1986, the old communist Henrik Allik had written to the publisher that the novel should not be published because deportation of the enemies of the nation in 1949 was necessary and the book was not worth publishing. Actually, Valton's novel is the best book about the Siberia issue written in Estonia. It tells the story of a young man's development. It is a love story, and at the same time, an encyclopedic treatise on the legends, jokes, and stories about people deported after WWII. And it is one of Arvo Valton's best novels.

A third author who had courage to write honestly and bravely about his political past was the very popular and prolific prose writer Raimond Kaugver (1926–1992), who had fled to Finland in 1943 and fought in the Finnish Army against the Red Army. He returned to Estonia after the war, was arrested by the Soviets, and spent five years (1945–1949) in a prison camp in Vorkuta, a gulag that earned one of the most worst reputations among prison camps during Stalin's regime. He survived Vorkuta, but many others did not. In the early 1980s, Kaugver wrote a collection of short stories, 'Letters from Camp' (Kaugver 1989), an autobiographical book that was published in 1989 as the weakening grip of the Soviets censorship became ineffective. It was a very harsh but honest book about the reality of life in a Soviet prison camp.

Following Estonian re-independence, many other memoir books were published about Soviet deportations and prison camps. But those three autobiographical pre-liberation books about Siberia were not simply the first birds of spring but well-written, well-composed, and balanced books about the most forbidden subject in Soviet Estonia.

In 1980 an art student and young poet, Andrus Rõuk (born 1957), wrote an Acrostic poem which was published in the literary magazine *Looming* in September 1980. The first letters of the lines of this lyrical nature poem spelled out the forbidden color combination of the completely forbidden flag of the Estonian Republic: blue–black–white. At the time the poem was submitted, the chief editor was away and as an assistant editor did not notice that the poem was an acrostic. The censor also did not notice, so the poem got published. But of course readers noticed. That issue of the magazine sold out at the newsstands and banning the poem did not work afterward, as it spread among Estonians like wild-fire. Rõuk was kicked out of the art university, and the editor-in-chief of *Looming* was punished by the Communist Party, even though he was not involved in the decisions that led to the publishing of the poem.

I was working as editor-in-chief of the magazine *Keel ja Kirjandus* ('Language and Literature') at that time. Among my correspondents was an Estonian-Italian heritage literary scientist colleague in the USA. I tried to buy a copy of that issue of *Looming* for her, but it was sold out, so I copied Rõuk's Acrostic poem by hand into a letter to her. Unfortunately, I made the mistake of posting the letter through to the official post office instead of the "hand post" (tourists) through Finland, as I usually did with sensitive letters. It was a big mistake and I got fired for it. I was not allowed to hold a job in my field for the next 8 years and became a jobless dissident. Just before this incident, my then-husband and I had been deeply involved in the writing of a protest letter by 40 intellectuals against Russification of Estonia in October of 1980. My husband and I had agreed that only one of us would sign the letter out of fear that, if we were both deported, our son would be made an orphan. But because my husband signed the letter and I did not, the authorities could not fire me for my involvement in

writing the letter. So they found another reason, and it was the letter to my US friend that contained Rõuk's Acrostic. I was invited to a KGB office for interrogation, where they showed me my letter and told me that it had been read at a party of US Estonians. They claimed that my letter had been sent to USSR officials to protest the writing of such seditious letters to those outside of Soviet Estonia. What a ridiculous lie they came up with! Actually, my letter never reached its intended addressee. The KGB had taken it from the post office and decided that it would be a good reason to punish me for anti-Soviet activities. I was left without any job and money for 8 years. For his involvement in the letter of 40 intellectuals, my husband was fired from the Academy of Science. We survived only with help from relatives and some Finnish friends, and because we had a big garden where we could grow our own food.

The Secret of Pseudonyms Sirje Sinilind and Siniveli

In 1983, a book was published in Sweden that became one of the most forbidden books in the eyes of Soviet regime in Estonia. It was published under the pseudonym Sirje Sinilind, and entitled 'Some Aspects of National Politics: A Critical Sketch of The Soviet National Policy' (Sinilind 1983). It was written in Estonian and was the very first book that tackled the issue of the Russification of Soviet Estonia. The KGB hunted the author or authors of this book until the collapse of Soviet Union. In 1984, the same book – with additional maps, statistics, and data was published in Finland, in Finnish, using the title 'Estonia and Russia' (Sinilind 1984¹, 1985²). Both the author and translator used pseudonyms. The same book was also published 1984 in English (Sinilind 1984) and a few years later in Hungarian. All translations of this book used also the pseudonyms, for the author as well as for translators, because it was too dangerous to reveal the real names.

Another book under a pseudonym Siniveli ('Blue Brother') was published in Finland – *Estonia Is Fighting for Its Freedom. The Year 1944 Through The Eyes Of Unknown Witness* (Siniveli 1985). It was on another very forbidden subject – the defensive

battles of Estonians during 1944 in the Sinimäed, the 'Blue Hills', nearby Narva. Nobody knew who was the author or the translator of this book, published in Finnish.

We revealed the big secret of those books 1990, when I published an interview of the author and translator of those books, whose name was Juhan Kristjan Talve (1951–2003), a Finnish-Estonian lawyer, who had been our friend and underground political collaborator for about 10 years. Talve was a well-known correspondent and political commentator for Radio Free Europe's Estonian service for about 25 years, and was elected to the Estonian Congress after re-liberation. He was the only lawyer, educated in the free world, to serve as a member of the Estonian Constitutional Assembly in 1990-1991, and was one of the authors of the current Estonian Constitution.

But the Sirje Sinilind and Siniveli pseudonyms were not just about Juhan Kristjan Talve. Actually, an underground team of collectors of information and many secret soviet documents worked behind those political pseudonyms. Political scientist and philosopher Rein Ruutsoo (my husband during the troubles of the 1980s), the beat poet Johnny B. Isotamm, and I all did our share to collect materials for the books that Juhan Talve was writing in Finland. We sent our information to Talve in many secret ways, mostly with innocent Finnish tourists, in baby carriages, in diaper packages, in cosmetic bottles, in music instrument boxes, even in the prosthesis of one Estonian writer, Raimond Kaugver – the same Kaugver who wrote with such brutal frankness about his experiences in a soviet prison camp.

One of the most secret and sensitive documents – the 1978 Russification order given by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party – was copied to microfilm and sent out of Estonia with a Finnish official who had no idea that she was carrying it as a souvenir in her luggage. The KGB got upset when this document was published in Foreign Estonian press in Sweden, and they started to suspect my husband Rein and me.

The Finnish book 'Estonia and Russia' was put into a most-secret category and kept in a special closed section of the library. Estonian historian Küлло Arjakas told a story, years later during a train ride from Helsinki to Turku, to me and to Juhan Kristjan

Talve, how he had gotten permission to read the Sirje Sinilind book in the special section of the library. No notes were allowed, so he memorized the book, page by page over many visits, and went out and wrote down what he remembered. In this way, he created a handwritten copy of the book and spread it among his historian colleagues.

I witnessed an historical moment when I introduced Juhan Talve to young Mart Laar (the future prime minister of Estonia) in Tallinn in 1990. I went to buy coffee for all of us and, when I came back, the two men were hugging each other in tears and were almost speechless. The author of the Siniveli book (Laar) and translator of that book (Talve) had finally met and recognized each other. Prior to that day, Laar had not known how his manuscript had gotten out of Estonia, and Talve had not known whose manuscript he was translating from Estonian into Finnish and publishing. Those two writers did not know who each other was, but the literary underground – those who fought Soviet censorship – had known all along.

One of the underground collectors of secret political information, especially personal data and biographies, was the only Estonian beat poet, Johnny B. Isotamm alias Jaan Isotamm (1939–2014), who also suffered greatly during the Soviet regime. He was arrested as a high school student for leading an anti-Soviet organization and spent 8 years in a prison camp. During Soviet times, Isotamm was truly an underground person, working visibly as a night guard at construction sites, but actually a leader of many young intellectuals, including me. He tried to publish his beat poems in early 1970s, but was badly hurt by censorship (Isotamm 1972) and later refused to publish anything under that regime. When Estonia was free again, he found his place as the splendid editor of the magazine *Akadeemia*, which dealt with social sciences. In 2015, a large collection of his underground articles and other long-forbidden materials was finally published in Tartu, entitled ‘Seer In The Land Of The Blind’ (Isotamm 2015). Only now we can say that, 25 years after Estonian re-liberation, one of the former prisoners of the Soviet regime got out from the status of the underground writer, where he was forced to go as a patriotic school boy 60 years ago.

Does banned literature exist today in free Estonia?

After an overview of the banned literature during the Soviet period in Estonia, a question remains: does banned literature exist now, in free Estonia? The answer is “Yes”.

In paragraph 178, subsection 1 of the Estonian penal code, the making, distribution, and sale of child pornography is prohibited, as are such activities in many other western democracies. But Estonian lawmakers included the word *teos* in their code, which means creation in Estonian, and could be interpreted as forbidding the writing of fictional works that deal with issues deemed to be related to child porn.

So the writer Kaur Kender (born 1971), recently published on his website, which is registered in the US, not in Estonia, a short story called *Untitled XII*, where he describes the thoughts and acts of a child molester. It is very harsh and hard to read – the author himself calls it the psychological collapse of serial killer and describes his method as a grotesque. He does not agree with accusations that he has written pornographic work.

But organizations which purpose is child protection protested his work, and it was taken to the pornography committee by the cultural ministry. The committee, which does have any writers or literary scientists as members, decided that the work was child pornography and officially accused Kender of making and spreading child porn on the internet. Kender removed the text from the internet, but later published it in a newspaper format and also arranged a public reading of the story in the medieval prison building in Tallinn known as Fat Margareta. Many intellectuals have shared the story on their web pages as a form of solidarity regarding freedom of speech.

I was asked by Kender’s attorney to give a literary scientist’s opinion of whether *Untitled XII* is child porn, or not. My reply was a definite NO. In reaching this conclusion, I was interpreting the Estonian constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights, both of which support freedom of speech in the arts, imagination and fantasy. Despite the fact that I hate Kender’s story and could not even read it properly to the end, because it was *so* disgustingly and provocatively written, I am convinced that we cannot allow

the banning of fiction writing, no matter how much we hate or do not like it. This is the central issue of freedom of speech.

Earlier I discussed the banned book, *Dead Men Risen* (Harn-den 2011), which contained information about Estonian soldiers who served in Afghanistan. I agree with the decision of the Estonian court in that case, but not with the decisions made thus far in Kender's case, which is still in the midst of its legal process. In a worst-case outcome, Kender could get several years in prison for writing a fictional story.

What is the difference of those two cases? In one case there are real persons who could be hurt by the publishing of the facts in the book. In the other case, we are dealing with fiction, a fantasy creation of the writer, and no actual child was hurt by the Kender story. It was disgusting, for sure, but written to provoke the Estonian audience and to get the public attention for the author, which has definitely become a success. But regardless of the provocation, it should not – cannot – create a criminal case against the author.

By the logic being used to prosecute Kender, we could arrest Agatha Christie for graphically describing murder in her globally famous mystery novels, or punish Vladimir Nabokov and the Estonian writer Maimu Berg (born 1945) for describing sexual relationships between underage girls and adult men in their awarded and translated novels *Lolita* (Nabokov 1955) and 'I Loved a Russian' (Berg 1994).

Freedom of Speech is protected by the Declaration of Human Rights clause 19, and by the Constitution of the Estonian Republic clause 45. Fiction writing should be protected by every democratic society and by common sense.

Oscar Wilde wrote: "The books that the world calls immoral are books that show the world its own shame" (Wilde 1890).⁵³

⁵³ Tallinn-based Harju County Court found in May 2017 author Kaur Kender not guilty of producing child pornography.

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Sirje Kiin: Keelet kirändüs Eestin

Keelet kirändüs om teos vai teedüs, minkalõ lasta-i mano kas osast vai tävveniste. Tuu põhjus või ollaq poliitilinõ, moraalnõ, usolinõ vai sotsiaalnõ. Tsensuuriga (raamadukohtuga) om tegemist sõs, ku kiildjäs ommaq ütiskundlidsõq asotusõq ja nä teeväq tuud väevõimuga, selle et poliitiline kõrd näge määntsestki kirändüsest hindäle ohto. Ku poliitiline kõrd pruum tetäq nii, et rahvas määnestki teedüst (kirändüst) veidemb ususi, sõs om tegemist propagandaga.

Autor vaidlõs vasta arvamisõlõ, nigu olõsi raamadukohus sündünü õnnõ ütten trükükunsti vällälöüdmisega Šaksamaal 15. aastagasaal. Hiinlasõq mõtliq trükükunsti vällä jo 7. aastagasaal ja ütten tuuga panti käümä ka tsensuur. Periselt tegüsiq määnestki sorti sotsiaalsõq ja moraalsõq piiriq joba suulidsõ rahvaluulõ sünnüaol. Nii võimi rikka rahvaluulõperändüsega Eestin rehken-däq kül jo paari tuhandõ aastaga vannu tsensuuriga.

Tsensuur tüütäs täämbädsel pääväl mitte õnnõ kõgõvõimu-lidsõ valitsõmisõga riigen, aga ka Ödagumaa edengiriigen. Ku kitetäs, et demokraatligõn riigen om olõman õnnõ moraalnõ, mitte poliitilinõ tsensuur, sõs tuu olõ-i õigõ. Näütüses USA raamadukokõn peetäs egä aastaga süküskuun keeledü kirändüse nädälit. Tuuga tahetas näüädäq, kuis mõnõn osariigin proomitas iks viil ärq keeldäq mitund masti kirändüst, latsiraamatist pääle kooniq maailmakirändüse klassikani ja Piiblini.

Autor kaes kõrvuusi, määne kirändüs oll Eestin keelet Šaksa (1941–1944) ja määne Nõvvokogo (1944–1991) võimu aigo. Sovetiao raamadukohus oll šakslaisi umast tõistmuudu tuu poolõst, et kõgõ Eesti Vabariigi aigo ilmunu emäkiilse kirändüse ärkiildmisõga tetti lõpp ka ristiusolidsõlõ väärtüshindamisõ süstemile. Sovetiao raamadukohus tüüt ka nigu usovastalidsõ võidõlusõ viis. Varratsõmbaq kultuuritekstiq es päseq inämb mõoma, nä olliq nii-üldäq ammõtligul diskursusõl mant kak-saduq. Eesti kirändüse kakkõmalda edenemisele ja imäkiilsele kultuurilõ ku rahvuslidsõ hindätiidmise põhalõ sai vägivallaga jakk sisse lüüdüs.

Riigi kirästüskeskusõ võimkunnan häõtedi nõvvokogo aol 7 502 000 raamatut. Keeledü kirändüse nimekirja panti tuudaigo

pia 10 000 nimme, nuuq võedi raamadukogodöst vällä ja saadõdi häötämisele. Kokko häöf Nõvvokogo võim Eestin raamatit 20–26 miljonit tükkü.

Artiklin ma tuu näütit noidõ inemiisi õnnõtust saadussõst, kiä püvviq keeletüisi raamatit ärq kääkiq ja alalõ hoitaq: luulõtaja Heiti Talvik kuuli Tsiberi laagrin tuuperäst, et johtumiisi magari sõbra sohva pääl, kohe sisse oll kääkit šaksakiilset keeletüt kirändüst. Silvia Uusväli oll aastit Tsiberi laagrin tuu iist, et saaf eräkiran umalõ laagrin olõvalõ tädile Marie Underi üte halõlidsõ joululuulõtusõ, miä oll keelet, nigu kõik Eesti pagulaskirändüs.

Artiklin om näütit Nõvvokogo Eestin keeletüist ja/vai poolõlistõ keeletüist kirätõiest, miä nimelt kiildmise peräst saiq esiqeräle kuulsas ja populaarsõs; terveq Marie Underi luulõq, Helvi Jürissoni luulõtus “Kähri maja”, Paul-Eerik Rummo värsikogo “Saatja aadrõss”, Hando Runneli värsikogo “Verevide õdagidõ purpur”, Andrus Rõugu akrostihhon, mink rito edetäheq anniq kokko Eesti Vabariigi keeledü lipuvärmiq: sini-must-valgõ.

Üts, minkast Nõvvokogo aol kõgõ vähämb tohtsõ kirotaq, oll Tsiber. Eesti kirändüsen julassiq tuust kirotamisõ kõgõ inne ette võttaq Heino Kiik romaanin “Maria Tsiberimaal” ja Arvo Valton umaeloluulidsõn romaanin “Süämevaiv ja loodus”, niisamatõ Raimond Kaugver dokumentaalsõn jutukogon “Kiräq laagrist”.

Artikli tuu päävävalgõhe, et poliitilidsõq vaõnimeq Sirje Sinilind ja Siniveli, kedä KGB aastit üle ilma takan otsõ, märkeq soomõ-eesti juuriga juristi Juhan Kristjan Talvet. Tä om kirotanuq mitu raamatut Eesti vinnestämisest, om pikält olnu Raadio Vaba Euruupa poliitilinõ kommõntaatri ja om üts täämbädse Eesti põhisäädüse luujit.

Kas raamadukohus tüütäs ka seoilmaolidsõn vaban Eestin? Jah, nii taa om: 2014 panti kohtu otsusõga Eestin keelo alaõ Briti aokiränigu Toby Harndeni dokumentaalnõ teos, kon uuritas Afganistani sõta. Asi om tuun, et sääl tuudi vällä Eesti sõamihi hindäandmõq ja säeti ohto näide elo. Parhillaq om käümän kohus teksti Untitled XII üle, miä ilmu 2015 veebilehe nihilist.fm pääl. Toolõ om süüs pant latsõpornograafia lakjalaotamist.

Viimätsen süüaõsan näütäs autor nii Inemiseõiguisi deklaratsioonõ ku Eesti põhisäädüse pääle, miä hoitvaq sõnavabahust. Tuuperäst pidänü olõma põhimõttõs, et ei toheq ärq keeldäq

ilokirändüse teossit, miä ommaq vällämõtölusõq, olku nä nii säädüsevastalidsõ sisuga ku nä ommaq. Tõõnõ lugu om dokumentaalraamatidõga, mink läbi võivaq kaiho saiaq periselt olõmanolõvaq inemiseq.

Tähüssõnaq: eesti kirändüs, keelet kirändüs, raamadukohus, üleskihotus, sündsüs, Nõvvokogo okupatsiuun, Šaksa okupatsiuun, poliitilidsõq süsteemiq, raamatidõ häõtamine, rahvuslinõ hindätiidmine, kultuuri meelenpidamine, akrostihhon, poliitilidsõq pseudonüümiq, latsiporno, Eesti Põhisäädüs, Inemiseõiguisi kuulutus

Märksõnad: eesti kirjandus, keelatud kirjandus, tsensuur, propaganda, sündsus, Nõukogude okupatsioon, Šaksa okupatsioon, poliitilised süsteemid, raamatute hävitamine, rahvuslik identiteet, kultuurimälu, akrostihhon, poliitilised pseudonüümid, lasteporno, Eesti Põhiseadus, Inimõiguste deklatratsioon

Sirje Kiin: Banned Literature in Estonia

The goal of this article is to give an overview of banned books in Estonia during the last 75 years. What are the reasons for prohibiting books during different political regimes? What kind of differences were there in banning books by the Soviet and German occupation regimes? How was the banning done and what actually happened to the millions of banned books during Soviet occupation? What happened to the people who concealed banned books? What kind of banned books were most famous, and therefore the most influential, during the Soviet regime in Estonia? What happened to their authors? Are there any banned books in free Republic of Estonia today? If yes, why?

Keywords: Estonian literature, banned literature, censorship, propaganda, morality, Soviet occupation, German occupation, political regimes, destruction of books, national identity, cultural memory, Acrostic, political pseudonyms, child pornography, Estonian Constitution, Declaration of Human Rights

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VABADUS, ARMASTUS: SÁNDOR PETŐFI LUULE TÕLGETEST EESTI KEELES⁵⁴

PIRET NORVIK

Võrreldes teiste Euroopa maadega, sai ungari väljapaistvaima poeedi Sándor Petőfi luule tõlkimine Eestis alguse ja hoo sisse küllalt varakult.

Kõige varasem eesti keelde tõlgitud Petőfi luuletus on „Laulik“ („Virágoskert a költő szíve“), mis ilmus 1878. aastal Eesti Postimehe 1879. aasta kalendris. Tõlkija oli Johann Voldemar Jannseni poeg, Lydia Koidula vend Harry Jannsen. See on tõenäoliselt kaudtõlge, mis on tehtud saksa keele vahendusel. Rohke riimi, alliteratsiooni ja assonantsi kasutamine, lühikeste sõnade vaheldumine pikkadega, annab luuletusele kerguse ja hoo, mis meenutab liblikalendu. Keeleliseltki mõjub luuletus, kuigi tõlgitud juba peaaegu 140 aastat tagasi, kaasaegsena. Tõlkija on hästi tabanud ja edasi andnud alusteksti meeleolu.

Ei ole kindel, et Harry Jannsen just selle luuletuse tõlkimise ajal oskas ungari keelt, kuid see ei ole ka välistatud. Nimelt oli ta tihedas läbikäimises ungari kirjanike ja poliitikutega. Ta oli tegev rahvusvahelise kirjanduslik-poliitilise ajakirja „Westöstliche Rundschau“ asutamise (1894) ja toimetamise juures, mille eesmärgiks oli Ida- ja Lääne-Euroopa ühtsuse arendamine vaimsel tasandil. Samuti innustas ta ungari kirjanikku ja folkloristi Béla Vikárit eesti kirjandust tõlkima ja oli abiks ning nõuandjaks valminud tõlketööde läbivaatamisel. (Vikár 1930)

⁵⁴ Sel teemal esines autor esmakordselt 1993. aastal Petőfi sünnilinnas Kiskőrösis konverentsil „Petőfi kultuuridevahelises kontekstis“, mille korraldas Göttingeni ülikooli Finnisch-ugrisches Seminar koostöös kohapealse Sándor Petőfi Seltsiga. Pikem ungarikeelne kirjutis (Norvik 2000) on ilmunud konverentsikogumikus. Käesolev artikkel põhineb 21. oktoobril 2017 Narva hõimupäeva konverentsil „Vabaduse kontsept Ida-Euroopa kirjandustes“ esitatud ettekandel.

See rariteetses väljaandes ilmunud luuletus on nii varasematest kui ka hilisematest ungari kirjanduse tõlgete kohta tehtud ülevaadetest välja jäänud, kuna seda pole leitud. Seetõttu on Petõfi luule eestindamise algusaega seostatud Matthias Johann Eiseni nimega. Tema luulekogu „Helinad Emajõelt“ (1884) oli esimene luulekogu, kus ilmusid kaks Petõfi luuletust „Surma soovid“ („Ha az isten“) ja „Sadab“ („Esik, esik, esik“). Mõni Petõfi luuletus on väljaspool Ungarit palju rohkem tuntud kui Ungaris, nagu näiteks eespool toodud „Ha az isten“, lisaks ka mitme tõlkija tõlgitud ja mitmes väljaandes ilmunud „Csatadal“ („Lahingulaul“).

Esimeseks tõlkeks otse ungari keelest on peetud Petõfi luuletust „Mina oleks jooksev jõgi“ („Lennék én folyóvíz“), mis ilmus 1886. aastal ja mille tõlkis Tartu ülikooli eesti keele lektor, keeleteadlane, luuletaja ja ühiskonnategelane Mihkel Veske, kes oli viibinud üle aasta Ungaris aastatel 1885-1886, kus ta keeleteadusliku töö kõrval tutvus ka ungari kultuuriga. Veske elas tol ajal keeleteadlase professor József Budenzi juures (Jürgenstein 1915: 145) ja puutus kokku ungari kultuuritegelastega, teiste hulgas ka Béla Vikáriga, kellelt võttis ungari keele tunde ja kes õppis temalt eesti keelt (Csekey 1930: 31). Omandanud teataval määral ungari keele oskuse, hakkas Veske katsetama ungari kirjanduse tõlkimisega. Produktiivset tõlkijat Veskest ei saanud. Lisaks eespool nimetatule, on Veske Petõfilt tõlkinud veel ühe luuletuse „Kaugelt reisilt koju poole...“ („Füstbe ment terv“), mis on ilmunud M. Veske postuumselt avaldatud kogumikus „Dr. Veske laulud“ (1899). Sellele luuletusele on Veske juurde luuletanud lõpustroofi „Mõlemad me nutsime“, mis muudab luuletuse sentimentaalseks. Veske enda luuletustest on siiaamaani tuntuim „Kas tunned maad, mis Peipsi rannast...“ (Veske 1899: 5-6), mis prantslasest helilooja F. Berat hoogsal viisil on üks laulupidude lauldavamaid lõpulaule oma patriootilise ja üldinimliku sisu tõttu: armastus isamaa vastu, isamaa ülistus, lootus vabaduse ja parema tuleviku saabumisest.

1887. aastal hakkas Petõfi luule tõlkimine ja avaldamine hoogsalt edenema. Produktiivseks osutus 1888. aasta, mil ilmus ühtekokku 20 Petõfi luuletust. Esimese luuletõlke avaldamisest kuni 1918. aastani ilmus minu andmetel üle 70 Petõfi luuletuse.

Täpset arvu ei oska nimetada, sest mitmed luuletused on ilmunud eri väljaannetes, erinevate pealkirjade all, kas eri tõlkijate poolt tõlgituna või sama tõlkija poolt parandatuna, muudetuna või täiendatuna. Millisele Petõfi originaalluuletusele need on tagasiviidavad, vajab tihtipeale veel selgitamist. Suures osas jäävad need mugandused, mis on tehtud enamasti saksa keele vahendusel Petõfi originaaltekstist kaugele maha. Nii ongi enamasti luuletuse pealkirja alla märgitud: Petõfi järgi vabalt ümber pannud (lisatud tõlkija nimi). Seejuures on Petõfi nimi eesti lugejale suupärasemaks ja mõistetavamaks muudetud. Nii on Sándor Petõfist saanud Aleksander Petõfi. Ent tõlkimisega on kaldutud ka teise äärmusesse: tõlge on sõnasõnaline variant saksakeelsest eeskujust, mistõttu on tõlge muutunud konarlikuks, lohisevaks, mõte aga raskesti jälgitavaks ja kadunud on Petõfi luulele omane värvikus.

Saksa keelel oli Petõfi luulega seoses tähtis osa etendada. Saksa keel oli esimene, millesse Petõfi luulet hakati tõlkima. See on keel, millesse Petõfi lüürikat on kõige rohkem tõlgitud. Põhjused on nii ajaloolised kui geograafilised. Ungari asub Austria vahetus naabruses, Ungari oli sajandeid Habsburgide dünastia ülemvõimu all ja kuulus saksakeelse kultuuri mõjusfääri. Saksa keele vahendusel hakkas Petõfi luule XIX sajandi keskel ja II poolel hoogsalt levima väljapoole Ungari piire ja sai tuntuks paljude Euroopa rahvaste seas, peaaegu kõigis Euroopa kirjandustes. XIX sajandi II poolel saavutas Petõfi luule populaarsus oma kõrgpunkti, see oli Petõfi luule õitseag Euroopas.

Eestis vahendas XIX sajandi teisel poolel ja XX sajandi alguses Petõfi luulet suur hulk tõlkijaid. Neid oli umbes 20 ringis. Nende hulgas oli vähetuntud või hoopis tundmatuks jäänud sulemehi. Suure osa – ligikaudu 20 luuletust – on eestindanud Võrumaa mees Jaan Parv (Endla)⁵⁵. Need ilmusid peamiselt ajalehes Postimees, mille juures ta ise tegev oli, kuid ta tegi kaastööd ka teistele ajalehtedele. Parv luuletas ka ise, kuid

⁵⁵ Jaan Johannes Parv, varjunime all Endla (1867–1899) sündis Kanepis. Õppis oma kodukoha kihelkonnakoolis ja Võru kreiskoolis. Elas Võrus ja Tartus. Pidas ajakirjanikuametit. Aastal 1893 asus Vastseliina kihelkonna vallakirjutajaks. (Pettai 1928: 422)

algupäraseid luuletusi on tal vähe. Ta on avaldanud ka proosapalu ja artikleid. Petõfilt on ta eelistanud tõlkida lühikesi, sisult kergeid, vähenõudlikule maitsele vastavaid luuletusi, kuid leidub ka pikemaid. Ülekaalus on armastuslüürika, kuid üksikuid tõlkeid on ka isamaaluulest. Parv on harrastanud sõnasõnalist tõlget saksakeelsete eeskujude alusel, mistõttu talle on pahaks pandud seda, et kaduma on läinud Petõfi saksakeelsetelegi tõlgetele omane emotsionaalsus ja ilmekus, hoog ning mõttearendus, algupärane ungari rahvuslik varjund, sügavus ja otsekoheus (Pettai 1928: 422-423).

Kuid tõlkijate seas oli oma aja kohta tähelepandavaid luuletajaid, kelle loomingul oli küllaltki lai alandane mõju rahva seas ja teatav edasiviiv osa eesti luule arengus. Sellised autorid olid Friedrich Kuhlbars (Villi Andi), Gustav Wulff (Õis). Rahvusliku liikumise perioodi luuletajaile oli omane rohke patriootilise ja armastusluule viljelemine, millega on seletatav ehk ka lai huvi Petõfi luule vastu. Lisaks sellele luuletasid nad oma kodukohast, oma kodukoha looduseilust ja lapsepõlvemälestustest – need teemad on esindatud Petõfilgi. Wulff on Petõfilt tõlkinud „Ülem hea“ („Szabadság, szerelem!“), mis ilmus 1887 ja on ühtlasi selle luuletuse kõige varasem tõlge eesti keelde. Toodud luuletuse õnnestunuim variant pärineb luuletaja ja tõlkija Ellen Niidult ning on ilmunud pealkirja all „Vabadus, armastus“ esmakordselt 1955. aastal Sándor Petõfi luulekogumikus „Valitud luuletusi“ ja parandatuna luulevalimikus „Vabadus, armastus“ (1964). Wulffilt endalt pärineb igavest vabadusigatsust väljendav luuletus „Õrn ööbik, kuhu tõttad sa?“ (1883), mis on loodud seminarikaaslase Karl Rammi viisile ja mida nõukogude ajalgi veel sageli lauldi. Fr. Kuhlbars avaldas Petõfi 50. surma-aastapäeval (1899) poeedi mälestuseks vabalt ümber pandud luulepõimiku.

XIX sajandi keskpaigas tekkinud ühtse eesti kirjakeele väljendusvahendid olid alles välja kujunemas. Petõfi varasemad luuletõlked valmistasid ette pinna paremate tõlgete ilmumiseks ja eesti oma originaalkirjanduse arenemiseks.

Kuid Petõfi luulet on tõlkinud ka väljapaistvad luuletajad, kelle enda luuleloomingus on täheldatud tuntavaid Petõfi luule mõjustusi. Luulekogsusse „Aasa õied“ (1890) on Karl Eduard Sõõt

ümber töötatuna ja parandatuna paigutanud kaks Petőfi luuletuse tõlget „Laps“ („A dal“) ja „Leib“ („Fekete kenyér“). Söödi tõlkes on veel ilmunud „Mu luulelend“ („Képzetem“), 1907 ja „Lausuda kui võtaks mulle jumal“ („Ha az isten“), 1909 (leidub luulekogus „Aastate kajastus“). Sööt on ka ise tunnistanud, et on saanud inspiratsiooni Petőfi luulest, nt kas või luuletuse „Malemäng“ kirjutamisel (Pettai 1928: 424). Püsivama väärtusega Petőfi luule tõlge – kuigi ka tehtud saksa keele vahendusel – on Gustav Suitsu (pseudonüümi all K. Vahur) 1903. aastal ajakirjas Linda ilmunud luuletus „Valgus“ („Világosságot!“). See on esindatud ka Suitsu 1905. aastal ilmunud võitluslikest meeleoludest kantud luulekogumikus „Elu tuli“. Tõlge jälgib saksakeelset alusteksti peaaegu sõnasõnaliselt.

Kirjandusteadlane Mart Mäger (1975) on osutanud, et Suitsu sidemed Petőfiga ulatuvad palju kaugemale ühe luuletuse tõlkimisest. Kui seni oli tavaks võtta vastu mõjusid saksa kirjandusest, siis Suits oli aldis neid vastu võtma soome ja ungari kirjandusest, leides sealt hoogu nooruslikule temperamendile ja paatosele. Võitlev nooruslik paatos on omane nii Petőfile kui ka Suitsule. Siit pärineb ühiste sümbolkujunditegi rohkus: torm, äike jms. Vabadus ja armastus on nii ungari kui ka eesti poeedi lemmikteemad. Mäger on analüüsinud 7 Suitsu luuletust, mis võivad olla Petőfi luule ainetel loodud: „Hullumeelne“ („Az örült“), „Kevade ja sügise“ („Te a tavaszt szereted“), „Mehed“ („Ha férfi vagy, légy férfi“), „Nooruse unenägu“ („Tündéralom“), „Friedebert Tuglas“ („Ha az isten“) ja ühe luuletuse alusel on loodud kaks „Needmine“ ja „Surnuaia laul“ („Az utósó ember“). Mäger toob esile, et Petőfi mõju Suitsule piirdub „Elu tulele“ eelneva perioodiga 1903-1904. Mõjustusi vastu võttes Suits ei matki, vaid loob ja arendab edasi. Kust ka mõjustused ei lähtunud, sai luulekogumikust „Elu tuli“ eesti uuema lüürika lähteteos.

24. veebruaril 1918 kuulutati välja iseseisev Eesti Vabariik. Vabadus kätte võidetud, rauges ka mingil määral huvi Petőfi luule vastu. Tõusulaine oli veel korraks 1920ndate aastate algul, mil Petőfi 100. sünniaastapäeva puhul (1923) ilmus ajakirjanduses Söödilt mitu luuletõlget, need ja mõned varasemad ning hilisemadki on kokku kogutud tema enda luulekogusse „Aastate

kajastus“ (1925). Samuti on sel puhul Georg Eduard Luigalt ⁵⁶, kes oli samuti pärit Võrumaalt nagu J. Parvgi, kolm luuletõlget 1922. aasta Päevalehe veergudel: „Vana lipukandja“ („Vén zászlótartó“), „Kuidagi“ („Valahogy“), „Vaik on Euroopa“ („Európa csendes, újra csendes“).

Edaspidi ungari kirjanduse tõlkijate huvisfäär laiienes: asuti tõlkima kaasaegseid ungari luuletajaid (Géza Képes, Imre Madách, Endre Ady ja väga paljud teised).

Kuni saabus jälle aeg, mil koos iseseisva vabariigi kukutamise ja julgeti priiusest vaid unistada, aga keelatud oli sellest kõnelda ja luuletada. Rohkem kui 100 aastat tagasi elanud Petőfi kui ungari kirjanduse klassiku luule avaldamine loomulikult keelatud ei olnud.

Eri raamatuna ilmusid Petőfi luuletuste tõlked Eestis esmakordselt alles 1955. aastal Ellen Niidu tõlkes pealkirja alla „Valitud luuletusi“, mille järelsõnas on kirjutatud Petőfi elust ja loomingust kauaaegne Tartu ülikooli soome-ugri keelte õppejõud dotsent Paula Palmeos⁵⁷, kes oli ühtlasi ka Petőfi luule suur austaja, armastaja ja populariseerija. Vähe tähtsusetu ei ole seik, et ungari keele kursuse lõpul oli kohustuslikuks lektüüriks läbi lugeda 150 lehekülge Petőfi luulet (luuletuste valik oli seejuures vaba), mille läbitöötamist – neid tuli osata lugeda ja tõlkida – õppejõud tähelepanelikult kontrollis. Enamusele oli see esimene kokkupuude Petőfi luule ja üldse ungari kirjandusega originaalis. Mitmele soome-ugri eriharu lõpetanule andis see tõuke edaspidi ungari kirjandusega tegelda, võimekamatest said aga ungari kirjanduse vahendajad eesti lugejaile.

Hilisemadki Petőfi luule valimikud on kõik E. Niidu poolt tõlgitud: „Vabadus, armastus. Valik luuletusi ja poeeme“ (1964), „Iginoor mees. Luuletused ja poeemid“ (1973) ja poeem „Sangar János“ (1973).

⁵⁶ Georg Eduard Luiga (1866–1936) sündis Võrumaal Kanepi kihelkonnas Valgjärve vallas. Õppis Kanepi kihelkonnakoolis. Tegutses aastast 1901 ajakirjanikuna, oli 1908–1934 Päevalehe vastutav ja peatoimetaja.

⁵⁷ Paula Palmeos oli Tartu ülikooli õppejõud 1944–1989, Ellen Niit oli tema õpilane.

Petőfi luule on innustanud maailma paljusid heliloojaid. Eesti heliloojad on viise loonud Ellen Niidu tõlgitud luuletustele. Üliõpilaskooride repertuaari on kuulunud Riho Pätsi „Sa noorus“ („Te ifjúság“), mille meloodiline viis annab hästi edasi luuletuse meeleolu. Ta on veel viisistanud „Sõduri elu“ („Katonaélet“) ja „Lahingulaulu“ („Csatadal“). Soololaulutsükli „Viis romanssi Sándor Petőfi luulele“ on 1955. aastal loonud helilooja Eino Tamberg (ilmunud 1959). Need viis romanssi on järgmised: „Madalal on pilve süle“ („Ereszkedik le a felhő“), „Tuul viib õilmelt lehe ära“ („Hull a levél“), „Kevad ja sügis“ („Te a tavaszt szereted“), „Mu laulud“ („Dalaim“). Viisistamisel on helilooja kasutanud ungari rahvamuusika elemente: rütmi ja meloodiakäike.

Petőfi luule ei ole kaotanud oma tähtsust ka kaasajal. Ikka on selle juurde tagasi tulnud pöördelistel aegadel, kui on vaja olnud oma mõtteid ja tundeid sõnastada. 1990. aastal loodud Eesti Ungari Seltsi koosviibimistel, ajal mil Eesti oli iseseisvust taastamas, luges näitleja ja vabadusvõitleja Mikk Mikiver Petőfi vabadusvõitluslikku luulet. See oli väga ajakohane: sisendas ärevatel aegadel julgust ja lootust ning usku, et vabadus ja iseseisvustee on ainuõige tee.

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Piret Norvik: Vabahus, hoitminõ: Petófi Sándori luulõ ümbrepanussist eesti keelen

Petófi luulõtuisist om kõgõ varrampa pant eesti kiilde 'Laulja' („Virágoskert a költő szíve“). Tuu ilmu 1878. aastagal Eesti Postimehe 1879. aastaga tähtraamatun, ümbrepannja Harry Jannsen. Kõgõ inämb (nii üle 70) tull Petófi Sándori värsse ümbrepanõkit trükün vällä XIX aastagasaa lõpun, ku rahvuslinõ liikminõ oll korgsaison; niisamatõ XX aastagasaa alostusõn, inne ku Eesti sai 1918. aastagal hindäperi. Näid trükeq ärä palloq postileheq ja aokiräq ni suurõlt jaolt olliq nä ümbre pantu läbi šaksa keele. Päämädselt olliq tuud tennü veidüq tunnõdu ašarmastajaq kirämeheq, a näide siän oll ka teedäq kiränikkõ, nigu näütüses Gustav Wulff (Õis), kiä pand ümbre värsiq 'Ülemb hää' („Szabadság, szerelem!“), niisama ka Karl Eduard Sööt ja Gustav Suits. Edimäne õkva ümbrepanminõ ungari keelest oll 'Ma olnu juuskva jõgi' („Lennék én folyóvíz“), miä tull vällä 1886. aastagal. Tuu oll tennüq keeletiidlane ja ütiskunnategeläne

Mihkel Veske. Umaette raamatun ilmu Petófi luulõq eesti keelen õnnõ nõvvokogoaisõn Eestin 1955. aastagal (tävvendedült 1964. aastagal), ümbrepandjas Ellen Niit. Petófi värsest paistus vällä kodomaa hoitminõ ja vabahusõihkus, miä ommaq pallodõ maiõ rahvilõ kõgõ inämb süämehe lännüq õkva sõs, ku om olnuq vaia võidõldaq uma esämaa vabahusõ iist. Petófi luulõq tougas takast eesti luulõtajit (nigu K. E. Sööt ja G. Suits), kiä ummakõrda tõhudiq tüühü ja võimõndiq vabahusõ sõnna imäkiilsin värse. Petófi luulõq olõ-i aost maaha jäänüq ka seo ilma aigo. Nii lugi näütlejä ni vabahusvõitlõja Mikk Mikiver Petófi esämaaliidsi värse 1990. aastagal Eesti Ungari Seldsi kokkokäümiisil inne, ku tetti tagasi Eesti Vabariik.

Tähüssõnaq: Petófi luulõq, ümbrepannusõq, ümbrepandjaq, ungari kiil, eesti kiil, vabahus

Märksõnad: Petófi luule, tõlked, tõlkijad, ungari keel, eesti keel, vabadus

Piret Norvik: Freedom, love: translations of Sándor Petófi's poetry into Estonian

The earliest Petófi's poem translated into Estonian was "Laulik" ('The Bard', in Hungarian "Virágoskert a költő szíve"). It was published in 1878 as part of the 1879 print calendar by "Eesti Postimees" and was translated by Harry Jannsen. The heyday for Sándor Petófi's poetry translated into Estonian was the Estonian National Awakening period in the late 19th century and the years prior to Estonia's declaration of independence in 1918. During that period, more than 70 poems were translated and published usually in numerous newspapers and magazines.

The translations were usually made via German and authored by amateur penmen. Still, amongst them were famous writers, such as Gustav Wulff (Õis), who translated the poem "Ülem hea" ('The Best', in Hungarian "Szabadság, szerelem!"), Karl Eduard Sööt and Gustav Suits. The first Hungarian to Estonian translation of the poem "Mina oleks jooksev jõgi" ('I would be a flowing

river', in Hungarian "Lennék én folyóvíz"), was completed by linguist and poet Mihkel Veske in 1886. Ellen Niit was the translator for the first collection of Petőfi's poems in Estonian, which was not published until the Soviet era, in 1955 (second, enhanced print in 1964).

The patriotism and yearning for freedom that is so vividly expressed in Petőfi's poems, has resonated with readers in many nations and countries in times of struggle for independence. Petőfi's verses influenced several Estonian poets (e.g. K. E. Sööt and G. Suits), who in turn encouraged people to act and expressed the desire for freedom in their poetry written in Estonian. Furthermore, it served as source of inspiration in turbulent times when Estonia needed to fight for regaining its lost independence. For instance, actor and freedom fighter Mikko Mikiver recited Petőfi's patriotic poems in 1990 at the Estonian Hungarian Society gatherings, a short time before Estonia's independence was restored.

Keywords: Petőfi's poetry, translations, translators, Hungarian, Estonian, freedom

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СВОБОДА ВЫБОРА В РАБОТЕ ПЕРЕВОДЧИКА

БОРИС БАЛЯСНЫЙ

Свобода – понятие неоднозначное в принципе. Свобода выбора для автора любого текста, казалось бы, очевидна, однако он пишет, сообразуясь с задачами, сформулированными им самим или заказчиком, особенностями выбранного стиля, ориентированием на определённую аудиторию и т.д. Что же до переводчика, то у него не только те же ограничения в свободе выбора, но он ещё зависит от оригинала. Т. Ковалёва в статье «Художественный перевод и личность переводчика» пишет: «Специфика художественного перевода определяется, с одной стороны, его местом среди других видов перевода, а с другой – его соотношением с оригинальным литературным творчеством».⁵⁸

Такой подход к переводу достаточно традиционен, его сторонники полагают, что путь от исходной точки до результата – это сложный процесс «перевыражения» того, что наличествует в образной ткани переводимого произведения, то есть проблематика художественного перевода лежит в сфере искусства и подчиняется его специфическим законам.

Не оспаривая этого, позволю всё же себе отметить, что в результате выполнения художественного перевода, тем не менее, возникает литературное произведение (а, стало быть, его следует анализировать с позиций литературоведения), но на отличном от оригинального языке (а значит, правомерен и лингвистический анализ), которое при благоприятном стечении обстоятельств может стать явлением другой культуры (а здесь открываются перспективы для слишком многих дисциплин, имеющих отношение к культуре).

⁵⁸ <http://docplayer.ru/27360996-Kovaleva-t-v-hudozhestvennyu-perevod-i-lichnost-perevodchika.html> (дата обращения: 28.06.2017)

Поэтому мне всё же представляется наиболее предпочтительным анализ переводоведческий, который включает всё ранее перечисленное.

И хотя необходимость передачи в переводе «художественности» текста, безусловно, важна, тем не менее, множество переводческих потерь, обусловлено несовпадениями из области языково-ментальной, в нашем случае эстонско-русскими языково-ментальными несоответствиями, в том числе и непониманием и/или недопониманием переводчиком эстонской фразеологии. А если брать шире, то проблема в несовпадении языковых картин мира.

Попробую аргументировать сказанное. Специфика перевода художественного текста состоит в том, что человек говорящий (пишущий) каждое свое слово стремится вывести за пределы текста. Соотнести своё слово со словами других, с другими текстами, с внеязыковыми объектами, ситуациями, событиями, фактами и т.д. Иными словами, текст следует рассматривать «<...> как элемент семиосферы, которая понимается как конгломерат объектов, событий, фактов и оценок, принятых в данной социальной формации.» (Нуриев 2003: 80)

В отличие от автора, человека находящегося внутри «своей» семиосферы, переводчик попадает в пересечение, по крайней мере, двух семиосфер: «своей» и «чужой», представленной подлежащим переводу текстом (Базылев, Сорокин 2000: 56). При этом он создает третью – семиосферу перевода, которая частично или полностью включает две названные. А если учесть, что исходный текст является индивидуальной реализацией модели мира (Лукин 1999: 93-94), то из этого следует, что переводческая деятельность детерминирована, по меньшей мере, двумя семиотическими моделями мира (картинами мира): национальной (этнической) и индивидуальной. Представляется необходимым пояснить трактовку понятия «картина мира», которое «<...> относится к числу фундаментальных понятий, выражающих специфику человека и его бытия, взаимоотношения его с миром, важ-

нейшие условия его существования в мире» (Серебренникова и др. 1988: 11). Наиболее точной трактовкой картины мира мне представляется определение ее как исходного глобального образа мира, лежащего в основе видения мира человеком, репрезентирующего сущностные свойства мира в понимании её носителей. В такой трактовке картина мира предстает как «<...> субъективный образ объективной реальности и входит, следовательно, в план идеального, которое, не переставая быть образом реальности, опредмечивается в знаковых формах, не запечатлеваясь полностью ни в одной из них» (Нуриев 2003: 82).

Можно сказать, «<...> что существует столько картин мира, сколько имеется субъектов, контактирующих с миром. Субъектом картины мира может быть: 1) отдельный человек или отдельная группа людей; 2) отдельный этнос (этносы); 3) человечество в целом.

Этническая модель мира состоит из набора своеобразно взаимосвязанных понятий, к которым можно отнести такие, как время, пространство, изменение, причина, судьба» (Гуревич 1972: 17).

А общая картина мира «<...> служит своеобразным посредником не только при взаимопонимании индивидов, но и при контакте различных сфер человеческой деятельности, различных этнических культур благодаря универсалиям, формирующим её структурное ядро (универсалии – категории, присущие человеку на любом этапе его истории, присутствующие в структуре сознания любой социальной формации) (Серебренникова и др. 1988: 28).

Картина мира эксплицируется через семиотическое оформление, формируя один из своих наиболее глубинных слоёв – языковую картину мира, где реализуются индивидуально-личностные, культурно-этнические и общечеловеческие компоненты.

Ещё В. Комиссаров отмечал: «Проблема взаимоотношения языка и культуры традиционно включалась в сферу интересов языковедов. Но в последние десятилетия понятие «культура» интерпретируется все шире. На смену понимания

культуры как совокупности материальных и духовных достижений цивилизации пришло расширенное толкование этого термина, включающее все особенности исторических, социальных и психологических явлений, характерных для данного этноса, его традиции, ценности, взгляды, институты, поведение, быт, условия жизни – то есть все стороны его бытия и сознания. Такое понимание культуры включает в нее язык и все другие аспекты вербальной коммуникации как важнейшего условия человеческого существования».⁵⁹

Однако следует помнить, что «<...> языковая форма высказывания не определяет однозначно содержание высказывания, выводимое на основе интерпретации значений составляющих его единиц, а служит лишь исходной базой для понимания глобального смысла. Один и тот же смысл может быть выведен из разных языковых структур, и, наоборот, одна и та же структура может служить основой для формирования и понимания сообщений. И зависимость выраженных мыслей от способа их языкового выражения оказывается относительной и ограниченной» (Нуриев 2003: 84). Поэтому оптимальность перевода обусловлена не только пониманием алгоритмов «чужой» культуры, но также столкновением ментальных пространств автора исходного текста (ИТ) и его переводчика, т.е. их индивидуально-личностных особенностей.

Переводчик, сколь высокого уровня профессионалом он бы ни был, всегда субъективен. С другой стороны, стремление к полной элиминации субъективности не может быть оправданным. Переводчик, являясь представителем той культуры, для которой он осуществляет перевод, выполняет при этом функцию «фильтра» (не пропуская из оригинала в перевод то, что окажется недоступным носителям ПЯ, то есть переводящего языка или языка перевода), «лупы» (усиливая и увеличивая в тексте перевода то, что может пройти мимо них незамеченным, но является принципиально важным для данного произведения) и «трансформатора» (переноса в иное

⁵⁹ <http://www.studfiles.ru/preview/2227011/page:5> (дата обращения: 06.07.2017)

культурно-языковое пространство элементы текста оригинала, которые не могут быть восприняты и поняты так, как их могут понять носители ИЯ, то есть исходного языка).

Коммуникативная ситуация для художественного текста – понятие достаточно широкое, охватывающее все многообразие возможных реципиентов данного произведения, а также все его эксплицитные и имплицитные смыслы, замысел автора и т.д., что и определяет существование следующей зависимости: «Чем сложнее и противоречивее предъявляемые к переводу требования, чем шире функциональный спектр переводимого текста, тем меньше вероятность создания текста, представляющего собой зеркальное отражение оригинала» (Швейцер 1989: 54-55), а возможность создания такого «зеркала» при переводе художественного текста представляется и вовсе сомнительной. В связи с этим принципиальное отличие личности переводчика от личности создателя переводимого произведения может послужить обоснованием оппозиции «личность автора – личность переводчика» в качестве особого фактора, влияющего на уровень эквивалентности перевода, и потому является и серьезной переводоведческой проблемой.

Личность переводчика с неизбежностью отражается на переводе, как и особенности представителя другой профессии на продукте его труда. В то же время, необходимо подчеркнуть, что ментальные пространства индивидов никогда не могут полностью совпадать, поскольку они определяются индивидуальным опытом, знаниями и представлениями и репрезентируются индивидуальным «вербальным кодом». Тем не менее, можно говорить о наличии некоторых «общих зон» в индивидуальных ментальных пространствах, что обусловлено присутствием в «<...> концептуальной системе языковой личности совокупности обыденных знаний об объектах и явлениях мира» (Нуриев 2003: 85), и перевод будет тем успешнее и результативнее, чем будут шире «зоны» пересечения индивидуальных ментальных пространств автора ИТ и переводчика. Именно совмещённое ментальное пространство обуславливает вербальную репрезентацию средствами

принимающего языка (ПЯ) психосемиотических особенностей автора (Фесенко 2001: 45).

Проблема текста всегда будет оставаться одной из центральных проблем переводоведения. Именно текст является предметом анализа на первом этапе перевода, связанном с интерпретацией оригинала, и именно текст является предметом синтеза на его заключительном этапе. Поэтому эта проблема привлекает к себе пристальное внимание теоретиков перевода. Так, по мнению Р. Штольце, «<...> теоретическое осмысление процесса перевода должно строиться с учетом тесной связи герменевтики и лингвистики текста, ибо в основе перевода лежит возможность органического соединения герменевтического анализа текста как целого и системного анализа на основе лингвистических критериев (Stolze 1982: 49). В основе разрабатываемой Р. Штольце теории перевода текста лежит представление о форме текста как о выражении коммуникативной интенции отправителя, реализуемой через посредство языка. Анализируя исходный текст, переводчик ставит перед собой вопросы: какую цель преследует отправитель и какие языковые средства использует для этого?

Понимание текста основывается на осознании его целостности. При этом важно не только сказанное, но и подразумеваемое: не только сказанное ранее, но и просто известное, «я» говорящего, его социальный статус, фоновые знания и др.

Здесь представляется уместным вспомнить слова И. Гальперина о роли подтекста, запланированного создателем текста. Выдвигаемое им положение о «содержательно-подтекстовой информации» как об органической части смыслового содержания текста, имеет самое непосредственное отношение к переводу (Гальперин 1981: 42).

На основании сказанного выше об эксплицитных и имплицитных компонентах смысла текста, о роли различных факторов в его формировании Р. Штольце делает важный теоретический вывод о многоплановости перевода.

И писатели вполне осознавали важность такого подхода к переводу. Требования к хорошему переводу просто и четко были сформулированы еще эстонским просветителем Ф. Р.

Крейцвальдом. В своем письме от 9 апреля 1870 г. он писал поэтессе Лидии Койдула: «Хороший перевод должен возможно полнее отражать дух и смысл подлинника, но при этом читаться так же плавно, как и поэтическое излияние на родном языке» (Kreutzwald 1910: 48).

А такой выдающийся поэт и переводчик как Д. Самойлов в одном из интервью рассказывал: «<...> С эстонского начал переводить стихи Ральфа Парве и Эллен Нийт. Эстонским языком я, к сожалению, не владею, но стараюсь познать характер эстонского народа, его понятия, его историю, его реалии, быт. И это, конечно, очень помогает в переводческой работе. С эстонского перевожу по подстрочнику. Для меня составляется точный текст, объясняется, как и в каком размере стихи написаны, где размещается рифма. Одним словом, делается подробное описание стиха. Так мы обычно переводим с языка, который не знаем или знаем плохо» (цит. по: Перельгин 2002).

Действительно, недостаточное владение или полное невладение переводчиком информацией об ино-культурных (в данном случае) эстонских реалиях является для него весьма значительной проблемой и, как следствие, приводит к потерям, обусловленным языково-ментальными несоответствиями.

Можно привести множество примеров переводческих потерь, обусловленных различиями в восприятии читателей, носителей разных менталитетов, например, образно-ассоциативные различия в восприятии. Скажем, для русского читателя *береза* – символ и отчего дома, и детства, и вообще родины (например, в некогда популярной песне пелось: «И родина щедро поила меня // березовым соком, березовым соком»⁶⁰ А в эстонских народных песнях береза – домашнее дерево: украшение комнат, веники, розги и т.д. Родственный (по силе образа) *русской березе эстонский можжевельник* для русского читателя просто немного экзотический куст: «Я

⁶⁰ http://webkind.ru/text/96846_6657610p85907021_text_pesni_i_rodina_shhedro_poila_menya_berezovym.html (дата обращения: 18.07.2017)

увидел во сне можжевельный куст...» (Заболоцкий 1957: 117). То же самое и с *дубом*, который в эстонской литературной традиции олицетворяет силу, молодость, напор, а в русской – это дерево, которое может символизировать силу (*могучий, вековой*), но чаще символизирует глупость человеческую (*дуб дубом, дубина стоеросовая*). *Рябина* как символ достаточно похоже трактуется и в русской, и в эстонской традиции, но все же отличаются степенью интенсивности. Если в русской литературе «<...> горит костер рябины красной» (Есенин 1970: 190), то в эстонской рябина, как правило, символ более камерный: огонек, светлячок, фонарик и т.д., но и защищает сад и территорию от злых духов (Viires 2000: 98–103, 105–118, 152–156).

Множество разнообразных переводческих потерь, связаны с тем, что переводчик, не может (или не хочет) реалии оригинала «увидеть» глазами автора, сквозь призму авторского, а не своего (переводчика) внутреннего мира. Вот, например, фрагмент стихотворения одного из известных эстонских поэтов Александера Суумана «Рождение сюрреализма» (“Sürrealismi sünd”) и его перевод, выполненный московским переводчиком П. Кошелем.

SÜRREALISMI SÜND

*Haigutavad eite-taati
sängis: Imelik!
Uni ammu otsas! Väljas
ikka pimedik!*

*Tõuseb vana, läheb õue
asja järel kaema –
südasuine hele päike
pooles taevas!
(Suuman 1975: 20)*

РОЖДЕНИЕ СЮРРЕАЛИЗМА

*Зевают дед с бабушкой
в постели.
Чудно!
Не спится, хотя на дворе
черно.*

*Вышел дед
поглядеть, что как.
Видит –
в небе солнца пятка.
(Сууман 1980: 70)*

Здесь искажены и форма (хорей заменён ямбом) стихотворения, и смысл. Вероятно, переводчик шел не от текста, а от заголовка. Он стремился не перевести стихотворение, а передать «сюрреалистическую картину» такой, какой видит ее он, а не автор. В оригинале говорится о том, что сон уже ушел, а сумерки всё не проходят. В переводе: «Не спится, хотя на дворе черно», т.е. поменяны местами причина и следствие.

Другой особенностью художественного перевода является то, что, как правило, его выполняют не по возникшему спонтанно желанию (я сейчас не о любительских переводах), а на заказ. В этом случае работа переводчика зависит уже не только от его понимания своей задачи (компетенции, позиции, стратегии и т.п.), но и от задачи, которую перед ним ставит издатель. Нередко при этом возникают конфликты (и между автором, переводчиком и издателем, и внутренние у самого переводчика) не только идеологий, но и эстетик. Общим местом стали рассуждения о насилии над личностью переводчика со стороны издателя, редактора, цензора и т.д., но за рамками этих рассуждений остаются действия недобросовестного переводчика и вполне оправданные требования к нему об улучшении качества перевода текста, которое он, недобросовестный переводчик ошибочно (или намеренно) трактует как «улучшение стихотворения». Рассмотрим перевод еще одного стихотворения А. Суумана „Sõjamälestus“ (в переводе «Воспоминание о войне») из того же сборника, выполненного другим московским переводчиком – Н. Гороховым. Фрагмент несколько великоват, но наглядно иллюстрирует сказанное.

SÕJAMÄLESTUS

*Meie juurde tulid
kaks meest punaväest.
Habetunud. Teine oli
haavatud käest.*

*Veel tuli meie juurde
mehi terve kamp.
Igäihel käes oli
püssitorts või -ramp.*

*Valged linnid käistel,
irvitud suul.
Üks nendest kamandas:
"Kummalegi kuul!"*

*Isa tõstis hangu:
"Kas teil pole häbi!
Laske torud alla!
Muidu löön läbi!"*

*Mina oma maa peal
oma vange tappa
vat ei luba!
Kasige rappa!*

*Pärast kuhjategu
Komandantuuri
ise mina viin nad!"
Vaatas veel uuri.*

*Mehed seisid tummalt.
Otsas oli nõu.*

ВОСМИНАНИЕ О ВОЙНЕ

*Под вечер пришли одна-
жды
двое из Красной Армии –
обросшие и худые,
один тяжело стонал...
Явилась свора, и каждый
имел **ружьецо, поганец.**
и каждый себе повязку
на руку повязал.*

*Их рожки лоснились сыто,
кривилась ухмылка злая,
в глазенках хмельных и
тусклых,
стоял затаенный мрак.
Один процедил ядовито:–
Каждому дать по пуле...
Отец вдруг схватил вилы:
– А ну, опустите дула!
А ну, говорю, опустите!..
Мать вашу растак...*

*Я на своем сенокосе
убивать не позволю плен-
ных, за что же кормлю их
хлебом – пусть трудятся,
черт возьми!
Хозяин я в этом вопросе –
уложим стога, и сам я
к начальству сведу...
Успеть бы
стога сложить до
восьми...*

*Сказал, на часы сам гля-
нул:*

*Isa võttis leivakorvi,
hapupiima nõu.*

*Sõdurid võdisedes
kustutasid nälga.
Lindimehed nolisedes
lasksid jalga.*

*Kaarti siis uuriti.
Isa näitas käega
Narva pole, kus võis kokku
saada punaväega.*

(Suuman 1975: 67)

*– Пора закусить, дармо-
еды...–*

*Нарезал он хлеб ломтями
и в кружки налил молоко.*

***Будь ты не тем помя-
нут!.. –**
злбно сказал прыщавый,
тот, что грозил расстре-
лом.*

И след их простыл далеко.

Бойцы закусили хлебом.

***Сказали отцу: – Спа-
сибо...–***

*и долго глядели в карту:
тут где-то свои – впереди
А после все шли под небом
цвета **багряного флага**, –
отец показал рукою,
как в сторону Нарвы
пройти*

(Сууман 1980: 75)

Говоря о неизбежных при переводе потерях, обычно приводят аргументы в пользу оправданности/неоправданности тех или иных потерь в зависимости от допустимости/недопустимости отклонений в каждом конкретном случае.

Попробуем рассмотреть этот пример с точки зрения адекватности в восприятии описанного в оригинале и в переводе. В переводе мною выделены слова и обороты, которых не только нет, но и не может быть в оригинале. Эти неоправданные замены или дополнения делятся на штампы, характерные для русских «стихов о войне» (красноармейцы непременно бородатые и худые; полицейские – это полицаи, прыщавые со злобными ухмылками, пьяные и т.д.) и «вкладывание в уста автора» слов и словосочетаний, присущих лексикону русского, но не эстонского крестьянина. Похоже, переводчик предлагает читателю просто «стихотворение о

войне», а не перевод **эстонского** стихотворения (причем, трудно сказать, чего привнесено больше: русского или советского). Из-за этого всё стихотворение воспринимается как игра в маскарад: эстонцев «переодели» в русскую одежду и заставили говорить на скверном и не всегда понятном русском языке. И «отец-крестьянин» в переводе – какой-то очень обрусевший, и полицаи тоже. А какво слышать из уст все того же эстонского крестьянина привычное для русского уха «Мать вашу растак...»? И даже то, что «отец показал рукою (?), как в сторону Нарвы пройти», нисколько не показывает, что дело происходит в Эстонии – в сторону Нарвы можно идти и из Ленинградской области.

Если читать только перевод, возникают вопросы к русскому языку переводчика. Почему крестьянин изъясняется так по-канцелярски: «Хозяин я в этом вопросе»? Смущает фраза: «Пора закусить, дармоеды», т.е., если «дармоеды», скорее – «жрите». Особо загадочно звучит пожелание или проклятие «Будь ты не тем помянут!». А как понимать фразу «И след их простыл далеко»? Невнятно звучит: «все шли под небом цвета багряного флага». Непонятно, это все участники стихотворения так странно побагровели или все же такое произошло с небом, под которым все шли (?), в то время как в оригинале просто уходили на закате. Строфика, метрика, ритмика, и система рифм перевода не имеют ничего общего с оригиналом, появляются диалоги, которых в оригинале нет. Это то ли вольный перевод, то ли пересказ, то ли стихотворение «по мотивам».

Но таких переводов эстонской поэзии очень много. Я далек от мысли, что «зловредный переводчик» умышленно искажил смысл переводимых стихотворений или выполнил его намеренно недобросовестно. И, тем не менее, если отбросить все, что касается небрежного обращения переводчика с собственным языком, несложно заметить, что главная причина потерь этого перевода кроется в различиях эстонского и русского менталитетов и неумении переводчика эти различия обнаружить.

Наверное, самый большой конвейер перевода был создан советской школой перевода. Василий Бетаки и Елена Кассель

отмечают: «В России издавна гордились качеством вообще литературных и, в частности, поэтических переводов. <...> если сосредоточиться только на переводах поэзии, то станет ясно, что их можно легко разделить на две категории. В первой окажутся переводы, которые являются частью собственного творчества переводчиков, переводы, сделанные, как правило, с подлинников <...>. Во вторую же категорию попадут переводы с пустых голых подстрочников <...>, сделанные исключительно для заработка»⁶¹. С этими утверждениями трудно не согласиться, однако есть немало примеров скверных переводов, относящихся к первой категории, и вполне приличных даже по сегодняшним меркам (через четверть века после кончины советской школы перевода), относящихся ко второй категории. Поэтому, возможно, пришла пора поговорить об этой школе спокойно и беспристрастно, без идеологической зашоренности и «выплёскивания вместе с грязной водой» ни в чём неповинного ребёнка.

Руководитель отдела социально-политических исследований «Левада-центра» Борис Дубин отмечает, что «<...> ещё в далёком 1929 году О. Мандельштам писал по поводу переводов: „В издательства хлынула целая масса псевдопереводчиков, никому не ведомых безграмотных дилетантов, готовых на все условия. Полуголодный пришибленный переводчик, полуграмотно переводит подлинник, а потом редактор корпит над его стрепней и приводит ее в мало-мальский человеческий вид, уж конечно, не заглядывая в подлинник, в лучшем случае сообразуясь с грамматикой и здравым смыслом“»⁶² Далее Б. Дубин пишет: «<...> если говорить о советской переводческой школе, у нее есть несколько несомненных заслуг: скажем, она создала корпус неплохо переведенной на русский язык мировой классики. Точнее сказать, той литературы, которой советская власть позволяла считаться

⁶¹ <http://mbla.livejournal.com/626884.html> (дата обращения: 19.07.2017)

⁶² <http://www.polit.ru/analytics/2008/06/07/perevod.html> (дата обращения: 18.07.2017)

классикой. И вторая очень важная заслуга: эта школа подняла средний уровень: средний уровень перевода, средний уровень текста».

Представляется правомерным сказать, что у советской идеологической системы наряду со всеми её недостатками, освещение которых не входит в мои намерения, имелись и неоспоримые достоинства, которые, к сожалению, являлись продолжением или следствием этих недостатков. Можно ли перечислить всех поэтов и прозаиков, которые, не имея (или не всегда имея) возможности свободно самовыражаться в собственных произведениях, «уходили в перевод»? Вот только те, кто сразу приходят на ум: Б. Пастернак, О. Мандельштам, М. Цветаева, А. Тарковский, А. Ахматова, Н. Заболоцкий, В. Шаламов, К. Чуковский, С. Маршак, М. Зощенко, Д. Самойлов. А вышесказанное уже позволяет сделать некоторые выводы, один из которых можно сформулировать так: улучшение качества художественного перевода на русский язык в 1920–91 гг. во многом произошло за счет улучшения качества самой русской литературы, т.е. переводом стали заниматься не просто профессиональные, а большие оригинальные поэты и писатели.

Справедливости ради всё же стоит отметить, что в большей мере это относится к переводам мировой литературы, а не литературы народов СССР. В последнем случае недобросовестных переводчиков было так много, что легче перечислить добросовестных. Тот же Б. Дубин отмечал: «Не из-под палки, как ни странно, в 50–70-ые годы переводилась только великая литература. Если надо было переводить какого-нибудь чукотского поэта, это было божье наказание. Ну и люди, доводя это до какого-то приемлемого вида, делали на этом денежки, и очень неплохие. Про такие переводы Пастернак говорил: такого меньше 200–300 строк в день делать не надо, иначе это не имеет смысла. Зато переводчик получал такие деньги, которые позволяли ему существовать год, и писать своего, скажем, „Доктора

Живаго“»⁶³. Хотя просто констатировать сказанное – не вполне справедливо. Семён Липкин (из того же литературного поколения, что и Арсений Тарковский), как и А. Тарковский вынужденно занялся переводом и тоже с восточных языков. Но он не жаловался на это в стихах («Ах, восточные переводы, / Как болит от вас голова» А. Тарковский. «Переводчик»⁶⁴), а перевёл десятки эпических произведений разных народов, например: калмыцкий эпос «Джангар», киргизский эпос «Манас», кабардинский эпос «Нарты», казахский эпос «Кобланды-батыр», бурятский эпос «Гэсэр», предания и легенды народов Дагестана. Его перу принадлежат переводы поэм великого Фирдоуси «Шахнаме», Алишера Навои «Лейли и Меджнун» и «Семь планет», переводы поэм и стихотворений других классиков восточной литературы.⁶⁵ С. Липкин и сегодня считается не только большим поэтом, но и знатоком восточных языков, в том числе и древних, и даже мёртвых.

Если говорить о советской школе перевода, то сферой моих профессиональных интересов является её «эстонско-русская» составляющая. В рамках заявленной темы представляется целесообразным поговорить не только о выборе переводчика, но и об отборе произведений для переводов. Была предпринята попытка выяснить, можно ли провести сколько-нибудь существенный анализ этого отбора на основании перечня опубликованных, например, в 1972 году (самый обыкновенный, не юбилейный, не «съездовский» год) переводов эстонской литературы на языки народов СССР. Т.е. ответить на 2 вопроса:

1. Достаточно ли набирается материалов для проведения анализа такого рода?

2. Просматриваются ли какие-либо издательские предпочтения на этапе отбора материалов?

⁶³ <http://www.polit.ru/analytics/2008/06/07/perevod.html> (дата обращения: 18.07.2017)

⁶⁴ <http://www.ruthenia.ru/60s/tarkovskij/perevodchik.htm> (дата обращения: 18.07.2017)

⁶⁵ <http://www.time.kg/istoricheskie-lichnosti-kyrgyzstana/3182-lipkin-semen-izrailevich.html> (дата обращения: 18.07.2017)

Проработав книгу «Писатели Советской Эстонии. Библиографический словарь» (Бассель 1984), я обнаружил, что в 1972 г. в переводах на русский язык было выпущено довольно значительное количество эстонской литературы. Но там была только информация об отдельных книгах тех или иных авторов, причем, часто неполная (отсутствовали данные о тиражах, не всегда указывались издательства и/или переводчики и т. п.), а меня еще интересовали сборники переводов произведений разных авторов, переводы опубликованные в периодических изданиях. И не только в Эстонии и России, и не только на русском языке, а и на языках народов СССР. Кроме того, показалось методологически неверным пользоваться менее, чем тремя источниками. Поэтому я обратился к ежегодно выходящему сборнику «Книжная летопись» за 1972 г. (I–IV, vast. toim. I. Helm), а потом и к библиографическому указателю О. Киви (Киви 1978). Теперь материалов набралось уже достаточно много, правда, и в этом указателе некоторые данные отсутствовали. Я перепроверил данные в книгах, которые нашлись в библиотеках Эстонии, однако, выяснить кто, например, перевел юмореску Рудольфа Аллера «Бедная девочка», опубликованную в 15-ом номере ж-ла «Крокодил» или стихотворение Ральфа Парве «Хлеб», опубликованное (на молдавском языке) в сборнике «Пою мое отечество» в Кишиневе, оказалось затруднительным даже с помощью Интернета.

Тем не менее, произведя выборку произведений, опубликованных в 1972 г. на русском и других языках народов СССР, вышедших в свет отдельными книгами, сборниками, в газетах и журналах как общесоюзных, так и российских, эстонских и других республик СССР, я пришел к заключению, что этого явно недостаточно для глубокого анализа. Хотя бы потому, что невозможно учесть продолжительность редакционно-подготовительного цикла того или иного издания, ведь период от решения опубликовать то или иное произведение до выхода его в свет может колебаться от нескольких недель (а порою и дней) в республиканской или районной газете Эстонии до нескольких лет во всесоюзном или республиканском книжном издательстве. Поэтому сам факт той или иной

публикации мало о чем говорит. В публикациях не заметно какой-либо периодичности и в разные годы их может быть больше или меньше. Например, пик публикаций переводов на узбекский язык за период с 1966 по 1975 гг. приходится на 1968 г., а переводов на украинский язык за тот же период – на 1975. Так в 1975 г. в украинских изданиях обнаружено 27 (!) переводов произведений только одного Пауля-Ээрика Руммо. Кстати, в 1972 г. на языки народов СССР было переведено и опубликовано 21 произведение Руммо. А в 1972 году больше других переводились Дебора Вааранди (41 перевод), Ральф Парве (29), Эллен Нийт (28), Юхан Смуул (26), Владимир Бээкман (21), Лилли Промет (19).

Конечно, хорошо бы сделать аналогичную выборку, скажем, за 10 лет (и я надеюсь проделать эту работу). Тогда можно было бы увереннее сказать о некоторых тенденциях, о которых пока приходится говорить как о чем-то предположительном. Тем не менее, кое-какие тенденции были обнаружены.

С большой долей вероятности можно предположить, что эстонскую литературу в 1972 г. переводили обильно, не отдавая особых предпочтений отдельным жанрам и авторам. Трудно не заметить, как в тех ли иных республиканских изданиях (и на русском языке, и на языке народа этой республики) вдруг появляется сразу много переводов с эстонского. Вероятнее всего, эти публикации приурочены к «дням эстонской культуры (литературы)» в этой республике или это «эстонский номер». Еще одной тенденцией являются повторные публикации переводов в других изданиях, но это более говорит о предприимчивости переводчика (а возможно и автора, но это менее вероятно), чем о литературной политике того или иного издания.

Когда речь идет о переводах на разные языки нашумевшего романа, то наиболее вероятной причиной тому является мода, но когда видишь множество переводов одного и того же рассказа (а еще чаще стихотворения), поневоле приходишь к выводу: либо это произведение действительно рекомендовано изданию кем-то вышестоящим, либо перевод выполнен с перевода на русский язык, который, как правило,

выполнен раньше. Т.е. либо перевод выполняется с использованием перевода на русский язык в качестве подстрочника перевода, либо перевод все же выполняется с эстонского, а перевод на русский является чем-то аннотационно-рекламным для переводчика с эстонского на какой-либо из языков народов СССР, кроме русского.

Вообще, «прямые» переводы с эстонского на языки народов СССР у меня вызывают большие сомнения. Я не знаю, кто из переводчиков владел эстонским языком. Насколько я помню, дважды предпринимались попытки прицельно готовить переводчиков эстонской литературы. В первый раз этим занимался Валерий Беззубов (в ТУ в 1960-е годы), готовивший переводчиков на русский (и очень многие из них работают – и хорошо! – до сих пор, например, Татьяна Верхоустинская), вторая попытка была предпринята Т. Лийвом в конце 80-ых годов, когда попытались подготовить именно переводчиков на языки народов СССР, а не только на русский. По иронии судьбы, только переводчица на русский язык – Нина Бавина (Москва) и сегодня переводит эстонскую литературу. А как обстояли дела в 1972-ом году? Точно удалось выяснить только то, что переводчик с эстонского на украинский Александр Завгородний владел эстонским языком на уровне достаточном, чтоб переводить художественную литературу.

Если развить это тему и сделать выборку переводов за 10 лет и попытаться выяснить, кто из переводчиков обучался эстонскому языку (в Эстонии или самостоятельно, имея эстонские корни), и то же самое проделать с переводами эстонской литературы на иностранные языки (кстати, я подозреваю, что и на них в очень многих случаях переводили с русского), то можно провести полноценное аналитическое исследование о переводе эстонской литературы в XX веке. Вполне вероятно, что тут поможет книга «Эстонская литература на иностранных языках» (Мауэр 1978).

Сказанное позволяет сделать некоторые выводы:

1. В своей работе переводчику, в том числе переводчику художественной литературы приходится сталкиваться с множеством ограничений.

2. Переводчик художественной литературы всё же свободен в выборе способов преодоления этих ограничений, ведь перевод художественного текста – занятие сугубо творческое.

3. Эстонскую литературу переводили, может быть, не всегда добросовестно, но достаточно обильно, что позволяет проводить самые разные исследования. А если учесть, что больше, чем на русский, эстонскую литературу не переводили ни на какой другой язык, то, наверное, стоило бы придать исследованиям именно этих переводов более системный характер.

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Boriss Baljasnõi: Valimisõ vabahus ümbrepanđja tüün

Tävvelist valimisõ vabahust olõ-i esiki teksti luujal: timä kirotas nii, nigu täl hindäl vai teljäl ommaq tsihiq paika pantuq, ja sääd hinnäst vällävalidu stiili, lugõjidõ jne perrä. Ümbrepanđja piät pääle tuu viil rehkendamä ka originaali keelega.

Aastil 1920–91 lätsiq eesti kirändüse vinnekiilseq ümbrepannusõq parõmbas innekõkkõ teno toolõ, et ümbrepannmistüüd naksiq tegemä nuuq, kiä olõ-õs õnnõ opnuq inemiseq, a olliq ka suurõq umanõolidsõq kiräniguq. Ku kõnõlda q ümbrepanõkist eesti ja vinne keele vaihõl, sõs inämbjago puudujäämiisi sääl man tulõ keele ja vaimo lahkomekist, vai ku kariaq laembalt, sõs hädä om ilmapilte lahkomekin.

Tähüssõnaq: vabahus, ümbrepannus, eesti kiil, semiosfäär, luulõq, kuul

Märksõnad: vabadus, tõlkimine, eesti keel, semiosfäär, luule, kool

Boriss Baljasnõi: The freedom of choice in the work of translator

Freedom is an ambiguous concept in principle. It is not obvious even regarding the freedom of choice for the author of any text. Yet it depends on the tasks formulated by either the author or the customer, the peculiarities of the chosen style, the orientation towards a certain audience, etc. As for the translator, he is also limited by the freedom of choice and by the original. Most of the translation losses are caused by discrepancies arousing in the linguistic-mental area. The problem is the discrepancy of the language pictures of the world. There are as many pictures of the world as there are actors contacting with the world. Any text should be regarded as an element of the semiosphere, but unlike the author, the interpreter finds himself at the intersection of at least two semiosphere: “his” and “someone else’s”, represented by the text to be translated.

Probably the biggest part of the translations was created by the Soviet translation school and perhaps it is time to talk about this school impartially, without ideological prejudice and rejecting the precious of this school. It is possible to enumerate for a long time all the great and not so many poets and prose writers who lacking the opportunity to express themselves freely in their own works, had to resort to translation as a way of social escapism. Among them are A. Blok, B. Pasternak, O. Mandelstam, N. Gumilev, M. Tsvetaeva, A. Tarkovsky, A. Akhmatova, N. Zabolotsky, V. Shalamov, K. Chukovsky, S. Marshak, M. Zoshchenko, D. Samoilov, M. Gasparov. Even this short list of names enables us to draw some conclusions. One of them can be formulated as follows: improving the quality of artistic translation into Russian in 1920–91 was brought about mostly by the improvement of the quality of Russian literature itself, i.e. The translation was initiated not only by professionals, but by great original poets and writers. Talking about the "Estonian-Russian component" of this school, the presence of some typical features also fits into the above-mentioned context.

Keywords: translation, freedom, language, Estonian, semiosphere, poetry, school

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**THE MOTIVE OF FREEDOM IN THE BALTIC
AREA AND THE SWEDISH GEOPOLITICAL
RESPONSIBILITY: IN THE NOVELS BY HENNING
MANKELL *THE DOGS OF RIGA* (1992/2001) AND
THE TROUBLED MAN (2009/2011)**

IVARS OREHOVS

Introduction

The researcher Kerstin Bergman claimed in 2010 about the aspect of causal-coherence regarding the internationally growing interest in Scandinavian detective and crime fiction: "*The Scandinavian crime fiction is currently devoting much attention to the clash between traditional national identities and the processes of Europeanization and globalization. The development of cultural identities no longer appears primarily rooted in language, folk culture, and national history, but rather in the emergence of a common European cultural and medial environment.*"⁶⁶

The Danish scholar Gunhild Agger (2014: 41), presenting her genre typology just regarding the historical crime novel, makes a distinction between the "historical period crime fiction", "the historical novel that involves a criminal mystery" and the "mixed forms, crime fiction in which the past is blended with the present"⁶⁷. According to her – the latest mentioned type "is the most

⁶⁶ Bergman, K. 2010. Negotiation of European versus national and regional identities in Mankell's *Den orolige mannen* (2009). Lund, Lund University. [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.sol.lu.se/doc/1263571658.conference.125.msOffice.1.Abstract_IASS_2010_Kerstin_Bergman.doc.pdf/Abstract%20IASS%202010%20Kerstin%20Bergman.doc.pdf (last accessed 17.04.2015)

⁶⁷ See for example: Agger, G. 2014. Den historiske krimi: Dorph / Pasternak, Staalesen og Ekman. *Literature, Folklore, Arts: "Literature and Law" Culture and Literature of the Scandinavian Nations in Inter-*

widespread in contemporary Scandinavian crime fiction, because it contains so many possibilities: analogies and parallels, revision of the past, mirroring of times etc.”⁶⁸

In fact, the historical recentness as well as geographical neighborhood of the chrono-topical background of the novels *The Dogs of Riga* (1992 – in Swedish / 2001 – translation in English) and *The Troubled Man* (2009 – in Swedish / 2011 – translation in English) by Henning Mankell (1948–2015) allow to introduce these works not only typologically as samples of historical crime novels from recent past, but also as some kind of embodiments of geopolitical actualities with special attention to aspects of necessity for intercommunication to ensure freedom and peace.

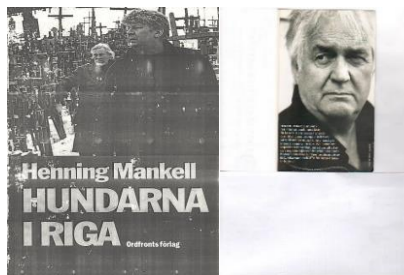


Figure 1 (On the left). Cover page of the Swedish edition of the novel (1992) by Henning Mankell *Hundarna i Riga* (“The Dogs of Riga”; Stockholm: Ordfronts förlag, 1999) – with a view of the movie by the same title (1994, director: Pelle Berglund, script: Lars Björkman).

Figure 2 (On the right). Henning Mankell. Photo by Lina Ikse: from the 3rd cover page of the Swedish edition of the novel (2009) by Henning Mankell *Den orolige mannen* (“The Troubled Man”; Stockholm: Pocketförlaget, 2010).

national and Interdisciplinary Perspective. Articles from the International Association for Scandinavian Studies (IASS) 29th conference in Riga and Daugavpils 2012. Latvijas Universitātes raksti = Acta Universitatis Latviensis = Scientific papers University of Latvia; Volume 799. Rīga: Latvijas Universitāte, 32–41.

⁶⁸ Ibid.: 41.

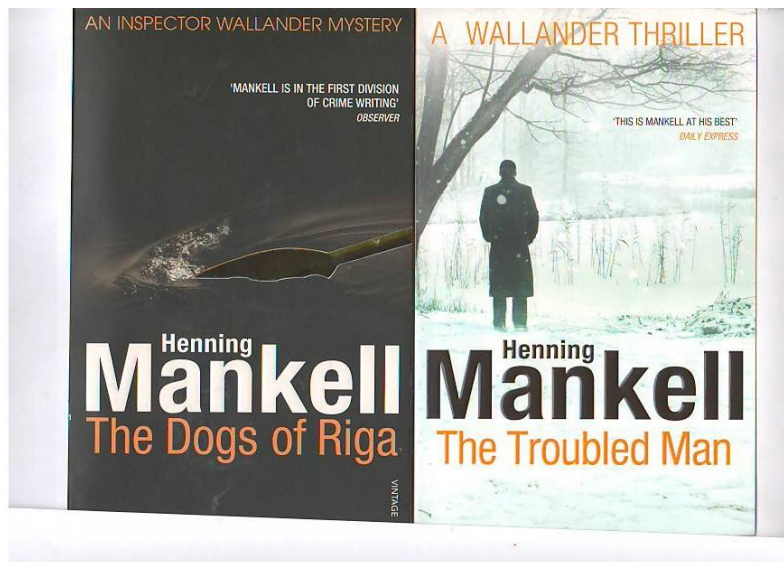


Figure 3. Cover pages of the English editions of the novels by Henning Mankell *The Dogs of Riga* (London: Vintage Books, 2009) and *The Troubled Man* London: Vintage Books, 2012).

The aim of the investigative article is precisely the analytical and interpretive assessment, underlining the fictionalization aspects of the historical time problems based on the literary narrative. From the Baltic regional standpoint, the view, understanding and significance of artistic depiction's impact by representatives of neighboring intellectually creative potential as well as simpler young person's immediate view provide an essential basis for generalized argued opinion on the global scale.

Looking backwards, one can point out, for example, a simple observation, which has been memoirs-literary documented in the book *Till hundra procent* (1992, Eng. – “For All Hundred Percent”) by the well-known Swedish tennis-player Björn Borg (born 1956), describing a particular experience on the way to the first “Davis Cup” trophy of the Swedish National team in 1975:

“So we were to play against Soviets. All other guys, who had played in Soviet Union, warned us, that it would be hard with the Russian crowd [...]. Soviet Union placed the match in Riga [Jūrmala – I. O.], in Latvia. We went there and had to play in front of the so called Russian crowd with 8-9000 people on stands. We were convinced that we would have all 9000 against us. To our astonishment there was not a single in the crowd, who supported Soviets [only a little exaggerated – I. O.]. It was like to play in Sweden. It was a shock for us. We didn't believe our eyes and ears. The whole crowd wanted our win. We were of course there to play tennis. We didn't know any politics. We didn't think of that, that the parts of Latvia once belonged to Sweden.” (Borg 1992: 59–60; from Swedish translated by I. O.)



Figure 4 (On the left). Cover page of the book in Swedish by Björn Borg *Till hundra procent*. (“For All Hundred Percent”; Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1992).

Figure 5 (On the right). The title page of the competition program of the “Davis Cup” match between National tennis teams of Soviet Union and Sweden, July 1975 in Latvian seaside resort town Jūrmala, as well as photo on Björn Borg during this sports event.

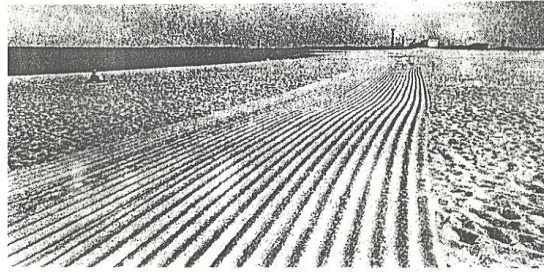
This revelation about the manifestation⁶⁹ of wordless resistance against the Soviet occupation since the end of WW II in Latvia and whole Baltics, shall generally be supplemented with a thought, that episodically, but more increasingly was expressed that way, which led to the crucial changes or ‘the Singing Revolution’ in the Baltic countries at the end of 1980-ies and beginning of 1990-ies. Just this has served as background for H. Mankell’s novel *The Dogs of Riga*. The novel has been adapted for the screen by Swedish initiative (1994; director: Pelle Berglund, script: Lars Björkman) with participation of Swedish, Danish and Latvian actors as well.⁷⁰ Both the novel and the film can be comprehended as artistic interpretations of a generalized Swedish perspective on historical events in the neighboring countries.

It has to be mentioned a certain symbolic notion, which does not only characterize the historical situation in general, but also is associated with human destinies as the ‘great-power-countries’ politically ‘defined’ European life after WWII, namely – they ‘cleaved the world’. This notion related to the war, results in dividing the European history in ‘chronological and geopolitical worlds’, from where derives also division in ‘two different informational fields’ up to 1990-ies.

⁶⁹ It didn’t mean in fact neither some kind of common expression of sporting sympathies for the Swedish National team, nor – a historically nostalgic after the Swedish Great Power rule in the Livonian (nowadays the region of Vidzeme) part of Latvian territory (1621-1710).

⁷⁰ There is also a newer one British film version with some changed chrono-topical elements under the title *Walander: The Dogs of Riga* (2012; director Esther Campbell, script: Peter Harness), which could serve as subject for a later comparative examination.

I en kluven värld 1945–1991



Kurzemes jūrmalas smilšainais krasts
katru vakaru tika nogrābts, lai varētu
atklāt ienaidnieku un bēgļu pēdas.

Kurlands sandstrand krattades varje
dag, så att fienden och flyktingar
skulle upptäckas.

Figure 6. ‘The cleaved world’ – the symbolic notion, which characterizes the politically ‘defined’ European life after the WW II; in fact as an example one can see in the photo: the sandy coast line in the western part of Latvia was ploughed up every night by the Soviet army until 1991, so that enemies and refugees could be detected. Photo: from the brochure in Latvian and Swedish by Pär Lidström & The Swedish Institute *Zviedrija un Latvija / Sverige och Lettland* (“Sweden and Latvia”; Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 2000, s. 29).

The Dogs of Riga

H. Mankell orders the principal character of the novel, Kurt Wallander, detective commissary, and his colleagues from the police headquarters in Ystad (a town in southern Sweden) to start a crime investigation of a double murder case, which later on binds with another murder of a police major from Latvia, who was previously invited to Sweden to investigate the first crime. Before being murdered, the Latvian police major Kārlis Liepa during his

stay in Sweden manages to explain for his Swedish colleague a still uncertain political situation in Latvia concerning relics of the soviet occupation. It means – some secretive activities, which are still going to be performed by the former KGB within the new authorities of independent Latvia, also in the police headquarters. In the movie it's demonstrated figuratively with help of tooth-picks as well as salt- and pepper-cellars, which remarkably enough overturn. In sense of necessity for history learning for young people the same requisites are in use, when K. Wallander sums up all that for his own daughter Linda.

After the murder of the police major Liepa, the Swedish detective commissary is forced to undertake a professional trip to Riga, and with that in the period of transition he passes through for the first time and 'legally' 'the cleaved world's visible border', he comes to "a country, where it was just as cold inside as it was out" (Mankell 2009: 102), and the echo-shaped presence of the old authority is represented to a certain extent by an archaic pompous official car of the previous Soviet nomenclature – 'ZIM' in the movie, while in the novel it's "a black police car" (Mankell 2009: 104). In this way does the detective commissary as it were the first circle in a kind of 'educational tour', which includes juridical practice as well as knowledge of historical realities, for example, about the fact that for the most people "freedom is alluring, like a beautiful woman one cannot resist. But others regard freedom as a threat that must be opposed at all costs" (Mankell 2009: 145).

Heroic and for a detective novel with appropriate tension does Wallander also the second circle of 'the educational tour' by this time 'unlawful', it means 'illegal' crossing of the "invisible" (Mankell 2009: 251) and "the final border" (Mankell 2009: 254). In the movie it takes place close for the whole Baltics symbolical very weighty Hill of Crosses in Lithuania, which is not far away from the Latvian border. In the plot of the narrative this turning-point gives evidence about the detective commissary's task to helpfully participate in fight against the totalitarian relics, which are interwoven into organized crime, but it seems also in metaphorical generalization rather clearly interpretable as if in the one

representative from the 'neutral Sweden' to demonstrate inter-communication skills and to assume the Swedish responsibility about the real liberation of the Baltic States.

The story unfolds further still more hyperbolic exciting – along with a softly rising love story – between Wallander and also patriotically-minded widow of the Latvian police major, namely Baiba Liepa – there are both, Wallander's snaking into the police archives, classified as top secret: in order to find any material, which should deal with proofs about one of them two chief constables hidden service for 'KGB's' continuing activities, as well as a firing on a house-roof in the central part of Riga in the 'Hollywood-like' way. These, the action mostly sharpening events come to a happy end for the time being in both cases – for the Swedish commissary and for the sake of Latvian independence. But the author argues at the same time in the Afterword, that to realize a literary fiction seems for him "[...] more problematic when one tries to steer a course through a social and political landscape that is still fluid" (Mankell 2009: 341).

The Troubled Man

In the Afterword of the novel *The Troubled Man* H. Mankell underlines: "In the world of fiction it is possible to take many liberties. [...] Like most other authors, I write in order to try to make the world more understandable. In that respect, fiction can be superior to factual realism" (Mankell 2012: 502). One can maintain, that in this novel with much more experienced, but unfortunately aging by always more disturbing symptoms acting detective commissary Wallander the author tries to investigate not only reasons for missing and death in the first decade of the 21st century of a retired Swedish navy officer and by other circumstances the same of his wife, who both are related to Wallander as his daughter's Linda parents-in-law, but also in fact a range of crucial events from the Swedish political and military history during the second half of the 20th century.

By inserting into the plot fictionalized persons, H. Mankell steers the investigating main character to documentary facts and

hypothetically connections regarding the Swedish policy of neutrality. There has been also touched, for example, “[...] the Russian submarines trapped inside Swedish territorial waters being set free” in early 1980, hypothetically against “[...] NATO submarines hiding in our [Swedish – I. O.] territorial waters” (Mankell 2012: 480), than possibly even more – “[...] a secret linked to the death of Olof Palme [murder of Swedish Prime Minister in 1986 – I. O.]” (Mankell 2012: 491). Also the geopolitical activities, manifested during the Cold War period by the “great-power-countries” USA and Soviet Union as hidden opposition in the Baltic Sea, are fictionally personified in the novel by citizens from the neutral Sweden – the married couple of the navy officer Håkan von Enke and his wife Louise, where the husband has been a spy for the USA, while the wife has been suspected as “[...] spying for the Russians” (Mankell 2012: 492). The continuation of this family internal distrust after the fall of the Iron Curtain leads to the violent death of both of them.

In his turn detective Wallander, who was not officially involved, but held the investigation of his own accord and afterwards started to write down the essential things and thoughts, regarding this story, as if has done by this a new circle of ‘the educational tour’ – geopolitically globalized one – in comparison to the previously discussed issue regarding the independence of Latvia, but in fact staying within the same Baltic Sea region. The author’s voice of H. Mankell concludes: *“When he returned in his thoughts to everything he had heard about the Cold War, the divided attitude of the Swedish armed forces to neutrality and not joining alliances or the necessity of being an integrated part of NATO, he realized how little he actually knew about the world he had lived in. It was impossible to catch up on the knowledge he hadn’t bothered to acquire earlier. What he could learn now about that world obviously had to be perspective of somebody in the present looking back in time.”* (Mankell 2012: 493)

But the investigational activities of Wallander, which finally lead to the personal experienced meeting and talk with the intensively and adventurous searched navy officer, are also marking important challenges of geopolitical perspective in the following words by Håkan von Enke: *“It’s the same today. Without the*

USA, the world would be at the mercy of forces whose only aim is to deprive Europe of power. What do you think [...]? What will the Russians do once they've solved their internal problems?" (Mankell 2012: 482)

These warningly suggestions of the novel, first published in 2009, as if predictively express the actual uncertainty not only regarding the force demonstration in Ukraine, but also the undesirable threats against the independence in neighbored countries of Central and Northeastern Europe. In personified form it is also expressed by meeting again of Wallander and beloved Latvian lady Baiba Liepa, who is already known from the novel *The Dogs of Riga*. Their intimate emotional, as well as deeply analytical talks about personal relations and socio-political peculiarities in Latvia after the regaining of independence are in fact their last encounter, after which follows the death of Baiba of cancer, than – Wallander's participation at the funeral in Riga, which turns out to some kind of nostalgic retrospective.

Conclusion

Concluding and looking on transnational and evolutionary theoretic characteristics regarding these two novels by H. Mankell one can observe a clear tendency of the extension concerning the range of creatively fictional depiction from the standpoint of the chronology of the novels' publication – from bilateral cooperation in the regional aspect to a globalized pattern of interdependence. Specifically, the earlier (one) novel – *The Dogs of Riga* – is considered as “the historical novel that involves a criminal mystery”, according to the previously mentioned distinction of G. Agger (2014: 41), with one successful attempt of fictionalized intercommunication, demonstrating the taking initiative of Swedish geopolitically-regional responsibility for freedom and peace in the Baltic Sea area, while the 17 years later issued and geopolitically expanded *The Troubled Man* demonstrates an example of this tendency, which has been described by earlier mentioned scholar K. Bergman, and is includable in the group of “mixed forms, crime

fiction in which the past is blended with the present” – also distinguished by Agger (2014: 41), and the previous intercommunitative optimism of freedom is subjected to aspect of doubts in globalized terms.

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Ivars Orehvs: Õdagumeremaiõ hindäperisüs ja Roodsi geopolitiilinõ vastutus Henning Mankelli romaanõn *Riia piniq* (1992/2001) ja *Murõlinõ miis* (2009/2011).

Henning Mankell (1948–2015) om häste tunnõt roodsi kiränik, detektiivromaanõ autor. Timä luudu kriminaalkirändüse ainõvald om lağa. Säält või löüdäq ka faktilist matõrjali vabahusõga köüdetüist hätist Põhahummogu-Euruupan. Täpsembähe üldäq – Õdagumere piirkunnan, miä tunnus esiqeräle tähtsä, selle et küünüs Roodsilõ õkva ligi.

Politseikomissar Wallanderi tõõsõn raamatun – *Riia piniq* – om kotus, kon lugu arõnõs Lõunõ-Roodsin ja Riian, nii et tagapõhal näüdätäs, miä sündü Baltimäiõn 90. aastidõ alostusõn, ku otsustõdi noidõ riike esiqsaisvus, ja kuis Roodsi ütiskund tuust taha-as arvo saiaq. Ku autor näütäs, midä Wallander saat Lätin kõrda nii ammõdiäson ku hindä jaos, sõs tuuga tege tä mäantsengi mõttõn piltkõrvutusõ ja kujotas Roodsi vastutust Balti riike vabahusõ iist. *Murõlinõ miis*, Wallanderi-raamatidõ rian üttestõistkümmes, om nigu aon tagasikaeminõ, kohe mano käü avvar aoluu-nägemine läbi mitmõ nuka alt piinühe silmätüide ütsikasjo. Raamatun nõud tähelepandmist tuu, kuis om vällä pakut riike vaihõkõrra nihkuminõ päält külmä sõa ao. Henning Mankell kaes asja katõst külest – kuis vanõmbas jäämisega sündüq komissar Wallanderi elon ütSIGUq herevästegeväq muutusõq, miä mõodiq timä saadust, ja kuis XXI aastasaa joba müüdälännüide aastidõ joosul pantiq proomilõ geopolitiilidsõq tulõvigukaehusõq. Viil inämb – om nätäq, et tä kuulutas ette hädäkelli ja kimmüseldä olõkit, ku inneskine mõlõmbapoolinõ hääuskminõ and maad kahtluisilõ.

Seo artikli tsihis om kõrvuisi sääden uuriq tähtsämpi kaemisnukkõ ja tuuga tuvvaq vällä päämädseq mooduq, minka näüdätäs üleminekiid ja arõnõmist.

Tähüssõnaq: Mankell, aoluulinõ kuritüüromaan, geopolitiilis-regionaalnõ vastutus, interkommunikatiivnõ optimism

Märksõnad: Mankell, ajalooline kriminaalromaan, geopolitiilis-regionaalne vastutus, interkommunikatiivne optimism

Ivars Orehovs: The Motive of Freedom in the Baltic Area and the Swedish Geopolitical Responsibility: in the Novels by Henning Mankell *The Dogs of Riga* and *The Troubled Man*

H. Mankell, the well-known Swedish author of detective novels, has included in his thematically wide range of fictional-criminally turning processes also the factual material about the problematic issues of freedom in north-eastern Europe, more precisely – in the Baltic area as in a chrono-topic unit in close neighbourhood of Sweden. The action in the second book about the police commissar Wallander – *The Dogs of Riga* – takes place in Southern Sweden and in Riga on the background of the fateful events during the re-establishment of independence in Baltics at the beginning of 1990-ies and their fiction related reflection in the Swedish society. With depiction of Wallander's activities at that time Latvia the author has achieved in certain metaphorical level comprehension of the Swedish responsibility about the liberation of the Baltic countries. *The Troubled Man* as the 11th book in the Wallander series is like a chronological retrospective view (backwards), assuming a wider range of previously detailed aspects and pointing out in fictional form internationally actual tendencies after the Cold War period as well. Mankell characterizes both – the individual fateful troubling changes due to aging of commissar Wallander and challenges of the geopolitical perspective during the already passed years of the 21st century. Even more – he seems to predict possible warnings and uncertainty, when the previous intercommunicative optimism of freedom is subjected to aspect of doubts. The purpose of this study is to examine thematically crucial aspects in comparative way, pointing out the main transitional and evolutional features.

Keywords: Mankell, historical crime novel, geopolitically-regional responsibility, intercommunicative optimism

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