Folklore

Electronic Journal of Folklore 92

Folklore
Electronic Journal of Folklore
http://www.folklore.ee/folklore
Printed version
Vol. 92
2024

Folk Belief and Media Group
of the Estonian Literary Museum

Estonian Institute of Folklore

Folklore

Electronic Journal of Folklore
Vol. 92

Edited by Mare Kõiva

ELM Scholarly Press
Tartu 2024

The journal is supported by the research grant of the Estonian Literary Museum EKM 8-2/20/3 and by the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (TK 145) through the European Regional Development Fund.

Indexed in EBSCO Publishing Humanities International Complete, Clarivate Analytics Web of Science (Arts & Humanities Citation Index), MLA International Bibliography, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie / International Folklore Bibliography / Bibliographie Internationale d'Ethnologie, Open Folklore, C.E.E.O.L., Scopus

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ISSN 1406-0957
doi:10.7592/FEJF2024.92

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.annuk_voolaid

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Abstract: The paper focuses on gender aspects in graffiti and street art as context- and communication-based cultural phenomena. The key issues tackled here are how gender aspects and gender-based communication are expressed in graffiti and the nature of the gendered aesthetics of street art. The analysis aims to identify gender clichés in graffiti, illustrating stereotypical views from a broader sociocultural perspective. The study also highlights the role of graffiti and street art in challenging gender stereotypes and bringing novel concepts to the fore. The paper combines studies on graffiti and street art with the gender studies approach and employs as a research method the contextualisation of graffiti and street art as ephemeral cultural phenomena from a viewer's perspective. Graffiti works collected mainly in 2010–2020 and held in the online graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum constitute the sources of this paper.

Keywords: graffiti, contextualisation, cultural studies, gendered aesthetics, gender studies, femininity, masculinity, street art

Attitudes towards graffiti and street art can significantly vary depending on whether they are approached from the perspective of a creator or a viewer of graffiti, as well as the viewer's status and occupational role. As researchers studying graffiti, the authors find it important to present here their own attitudes towards graffiti, as it also helps determine their position in investigating this phenomenon.

Literary researcher Eve Annuk has previously not been involved in the study of graffiti but has past personal experiences with the subject. She became more keenly interested in graffiti after seeing a Loesje[1] message on a streetlamp post a long time ago – "My wings couldn't take the criticism, so I flew away" –, which had such an unexpected, inspiring effect on her and sounded as if a poem amidst the city's daily bustle. The contrast between the mundanity of the city and poeticity of the message made her reflect on it, inspiring interest towards the message and graffiti in general. It also appeared to be a very democratic phenomenon: someone simply wrote a message in a public space, hoping that someone else would read it. This freedom of expression outside the formal institutions regulating society also served as a countermeasure challenging social authority structures.

Piret Voolaid became involved in studying graffiti in 2010, as she participated in the Estonian-Polish joint project "Creativity and tradition in cultural communication", which analysed rhetorical folklore in Polish and Estonian graffiti. As a folklorist and researcher of minor forms of folklore, her interests have mostly focused on paremiological graffiti;[2] she has studied the representations and performance purposes of textuality in graffiti (Voolaid 2012, 2013b), and has compiled a genre-typological graffiti database conforming to the principles of folklore studies (Voolaid 2013a).

The paper focuses on the aspects of gender in Estonian graffiti – a topic which has so far eluded more rigorous scholarly study. The authors' choice of the subject was also inspired by the fact that Estonian graffiti repertoire suggests that it is a male-dominated field with very few female authors represented. Furthermore, graffiti does not seem to be gender neutral from the perspective of viewers either, which has prompted research questions such as how gender aspects and gender-based communication are represented in graffiti and what is the nature of the gendered aesthetics of graffiti.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING GRAFFITI AND STREET ART

Researchers have defined and/or outlined graffiti, street art and other forms of so-called public art variously (see, e.g., Blanché 2015; Szpila 2013; Ferrell 2019 [2016]), and this is also the case in the Estonian context (Leete 1995; Palkov & Sepsivart & Siplane 2009; Joala 2017). For example, Sirje Joala, a street artist and promoter of street art under her artist name Sirla, argues that "street art and muralism are two separate art movements". By muralism she means large wall paintings that have been officially sanctioned by the authorities (Joala 2017: 9, 28).

In this paper, the term graffiti has been used in its broader sense, marking any independent street art executed in various styles and techniques. Graffiti and street art are understood as both a visual and textual form of representation in a public space, and as a communicative dynamic context-centred cultural phenomenon set in a specific time period (Voolaid 2014: 237). In principle, any one of us could be an author of this phenomenon, even though it is mainly created by young people who wish to express their ideology or (artistic) aspirations.

Graffiti and street art can be approached as belonging to both art and subculture. As a social phenomenon, graffiti is a form of communication which is related to the use of social, i.e., public/urban space, and as such it is, in a way, the most publicly visible form of contemporary urban culture. Its intricate subtexts, however, may remain elusive for the spectators as the authors embed allusions, the history of the subculture, and cryptic messages in their works that an uninformed viewer may not fully understand. Thus, while being highly visible, graffiti and street art "are often invisible as well". But there exists also another dynamic of visibility and invisibility, such as the presentation of subcultural belonging where an author paints over a rival's work (Ferrell 2019 [2016]: xxxii).

Graffiti and street art have also been understood as "forms of edgework", the fluid interaction of skills and risk in dangerous situations, through which those involved are able to "push out to the edges of human experience" (Lyng 1990; Ferrell 2019 [2016]: xxxiii).

As a form of urban art, graffiti is associated with urban space as an unofficial unsanctioned method of representation and as such it is sometimes considered to be vandalism (from a legal point of view); defining graffiti as illegal depends also on the jurisdiction of a given country (Blanché 2015: 34).[3] At the same time, the illegal, "unsanctioned" nature of graffiti suggests that it is an argument towards capitalism and commercialism, it cannot function in the commercial sense and, as such, it is independent, unlike the "saleable" art displayed in galleries (ibid.). While being highly visible in the public space, graffiti and street art may not be understood in the same way by everyone – rather the other way around. While graffiti and street art may speak for themselves, they speak differently with everyone (Blanché 2015: 38). For example, for many passers-by, graffiti and street art in the urban environment are "forms of visual noise that they ignore" (Blanché 2015: 36).

According to Blanché, another important feature of graffiti and street art is that they can be characterised by participation and interactivity. Anyone can participate in a graffiti work, paint over it, write or add something to it; any passer-by can become an active participant in its creation (Blanché 2015: 37).

In this sense, graffiti is a democratic, open and dialogic form of representation, which is accessible to anyone who is able to add comments to it.

Graffiti, in general, is a non-institutional art, and as such it stands apart from public art, which is bound by bureaucratic rules, such as the need to apply for permissions. For example, in recent years, several apartment buildings in the city of Tartu, Estonia, have been decorated with intriguing murals, most of which are associated with the official project SmartEnCity (2016–2021).[4] This is an example of following bureaucratic rules, such as asking for permission from the local government, the artists commissioned being professionals in creating urban art, etc.

On the other hand, graffiti has been associated with power, more specifically power hierarchies in society. This represents an important issue since graffiti and street art have been seen as oppositional or as subversive to public authorities (Joala 2017: 125). Graffiti as a statement of position prompts the questions about to whom public urban space belongs and who has the right to display their messages there, as well as the question of art (and culture, in more general terms) as an institutionalised discipline, juxtaposing it with non-institutionalised art (or culture).

In his essay "Kool Killer ou l'insurrection par les signes" (1976), the French philosopher and cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard has pointed out the political meaning of graffiti, which is associated with the social power system. Baudrillard argues that graffiti in the urban landscape violates the rules of the game, dismantles the urban sign system and cultural code with the nonsensicality that it conveys. Namely this latter feature is the strength of graffiti because as such it also acts against symbolic authority as a radical, revolutionary cultural practice. Graffiti does not carry a political message, but it is "a savage cultural process with neither goal, ideology, nor content, at the level of signs" (Baudrillard 2005 [1976]: 33). Graffiti in essence acts as a revolutionary counterculture of mass media, an attack against the code of cultural hegemony.

Discussing the relations between graffiti, street art and (public) authority, artist Tanel Rander argues:

> *The authorities, with their institutional culture, have used the concept of street art as a platform for legalising certain forms of 'street crime'. This is partly a result of natural deregulation, especially in areas where street art puts extreme pressure on public authorities and private owners, and where a lack of resources does not allow the walls of buildings and subway trains to be kept spotlessly clean at all times. So, whether street crime is considered art or vice versa is merely a political decision – either way, street art is an indicator of the viability of public order and also indicates the*

> *struggle for public space. … In my mind, it is precisely real tensions over power that are the very stuff of street art – there is a set of scales with the authority and might of the powers that is on the one side, and subversive intervention on the other*. (Rander 2017: 3–4)

By associating graffiti with the position of power (graffiti as opposed to public authority), Rander implicitly refers to a male author when he speaks about the author of graffiti. He discusses the work of Edward von Lõngus, arguing that "Edward von Lõngus is Estonia's 'very own Banksy',[5] whose works have the ability to take our national culture, afflicted as it is by an inferiority complex, and transport it to the wide world" (Rander 2017: 4). Rander is also critical of national culture and the institutions that represent it, claiming that cultural institutions are "an extension of public authority and an embodiment of Estonian ideology" and since Edward von Lõngus "mixes the authority of global culture and the sacral quality of national culture, he automatically gets entangled in national ideology" (ibid.).

SOURCES, METHOD OF COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The sources used in this research are from the graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum (Voolaid 2013a), which was started in 2013. The database holds photographs of graffiti works, collected mainly by Piret Voolaid but also by others. Photographs of about 800 images of graffiti have been taken since January 2010, focusing on public spaces in Tartu but also other locations in Estonia and other countries.

Technology plays a major role in collecting and saving place-related graffiti, as it expands the lifetime of graffiti. As a photograph, a graffiti image may survive much longer than the original work in its actual location where it may have already disappeared. In outdoor space, graffiti is vulnerable to the environmental impact (even simple rain may wash it away) but it may also be painted over when it is perceived as an act of vandalism in public space. Other graffiti creators may also write or paint it over. Graffiti and street art are temporary, ephemeral, disappearing, which is why photography is a good tool for documenting a piece of graffiti (Blanché 2015: 37). Other researchers have also compiled graffiti databases using photographs (see Novak 2015; Flynn & Hansen 2015).

The graffiti database is a fine example of combining a need in the humanities and solutions of information technology, resulting in a web application with an access to the folkloristic genre-typological data corpus (see also Voolaid 2014). The aim of such an online solution is to preserve a cultural phenomenon (which

is often very temporary) and present the material as a systematic corpus of folklore. An academic database of graffiti differs from online blogs and albums on this topic particularly in that it is tailored to suit the scholarly needs of specific researchers. A search engine allows a researcher to search for a graffiti work by specific features (e.g., in addition to graffiti text itself, by the place and time of collection, the name of the collector, language, technology, keyword, etc.). Thus, the database provides metadata on each graffiti image. This includes folkloristic typology. A list of the types or categories arranged on the basis of variants that are similar, or can be grouped together on the basis of contents or form, is revealed under the link titled 'Graffiti'.[6] In cases where more than one variant exists, the number of variants is given after a slant bar following the type number. A type includes graffiti on a similar topic documented in different places, or images of the same graffiti text at different times to highlight the dynamic nature of a graffiti text as efficiently as possible. The diachronic corpus of documents is a useful source for researchers of folklore and culture but also for the wider general public to use for entertainment purposes. Easy access to the material and English translations of the texts favour international academic cooperation regardless of the users' physical location. To serve the needs of researchers, the option of statistical data analysis based on genre specifics has been added to the database.

Graffiti art research requires graffiti to be contextualised as its meaning is always associated with its context. The most important context for understanding graffiti is subcultural because graffiti is often based on subculture and lifestyle. Also, the context of the environment where the graffiti has been created is important – a specific place in the urban environment with text sketches and visual images – in this sense, graffiti art is always a site-specific art form (Novak 2015: 14).

The graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum contains details about the location of graffiti works, and the more recent images in particular have been photographed from different angles and from close up and at a distance. Also, there are single references to the context of the image in the database, although, unfortunately, in most cases these have not been included.

In terms of context, information related to the authors is also important: who they are, are they male or female, their age, the subculture that they adhere to, etc. Unfortunately, the graffiti database of the literary museum does not allow exploring all these aspects, because the author's information is most often lacking. Linking a graffiti artwork to a specific subcultural context often proves impossible, which presents the main limitation of the approach in this paper.

The article analyses graffiti as a combination of visual and textual representation, in which both elements are essential, even though graffiti may often be limited only to an image or a text.

About a quarter of the material in the database includes a reference to the gender aspect, which allows analysing graffiti art from aspects such as gendered imagery and/or texts and their role in graffiti as a whole, depiction of femininity and masculinity, etc. The database is limited and does not allow for major generalisation, but still gives some idea of the gender-related meanings of graffiti.

What needs to be considered here is contextuality – where and how has a graffiti work been placed – and also information about its author, if it happens to be available. Whenever possible, an attempt has been made to conceptualise the subcultural context of graffiti, even though the viewers may know nothing about it and even we, researchers, are often not aware of it, the same way that information about the author is in most cases lacking. Graffiti artists often hide their gender, using gender-neutral tags to mark their authorship. There are artists or groups of graffiti artists whose name is gender-marked, for example Edward von Lõngus. However, most of the works represented in the graffiti database lack any indication of the author.

Thus, similarly to Vittorio Parisi (2015: 54), the interpretation of graffiti / street art presented here must be approached from the standpoint of the graffiti / street art spectator, not from that of its writer/artist. The setup in this paper somewhat resembles that of Parisi as it also inquires to which measure graffiti expresses or reveals femininity or masculinity or the question of gender in general.

In a way, the approach presented here can be viewed as related to autoethnography: it is visual in that it analyses visual artefacts and the archives containing photographs of these artefacts (see Hamdy 2015: 69). But the authors' own experience with graffiti and intuitive interpretations have influenced the approach, as indicated in the experience of graffiti perception mentioned at the beginning of the article, which contributed to the positive predilection for understanding and analysing graffiti. This also means that the authors, as researchers of graffiti, are not always neutral observers if their experiential/intuitive attitude towards the subject is rather positive.

The approach here can be understood also as an investigation of the gender aspects of graffiti in the Estonian context, which reveals the inevitably limited perspective of the authors as researchers. This could also be called situated knowledge (Haraway 1988). According to Donna Haraway, scientific knowledge is related to a specific context and a specific subject position, i.e., she criticises the myth of scientific objectivity, arguing that all knowledge depends on the position and standpoint of the researcher. Since the latter also influences knowledge itself (the ways in which this knowledge is created and attributed meaning to), it is important to highlight one's position as a researcher.

Graffiti researchers have mainly associated graffiti and street art with masculine subculture, understanding it as a place for constructing masculine identities (Macdonald 2001: 94–150; 2019: 187). It is also claimed that graffiti culture relies on hegemonic forms of masculinity, which are altered through subordinated masculinities to produce new systems of meaning. These new masculinities emerge from a dialogue between politics of race, gender and nationality, consumer culture, resistance, and other factors (Lombard 2013: 178).

The standards and values of graffiti and street art complicate the total acceptance of women in this topic (Macdonald 2019 [2016]: 188). Jessica N. Pabón has described graffiti as "a presumably male masculine subcultural activity, whereby because of their gender difference females are thought to be unable to perform on par, or felicitously, with their male counterparts" (Pabón 2013).

Graffiti has also been considered a primarily youth-led subculture and since the graffiti subculture "celebrates social deviance" and encourages its participants to resist conventional ideas about growing up, it "exceeds social expectations for girls" (Pabón-Colón 2018: 3). But also our, the spectators', ways of seeing graffiti remain heavily influenced by hegemonic Western gender norms (Pabón 2019 [2016]: 79).

Graffiti may also represent gendered aesthetics (Parisi 2015: 54); however, as Vittorio Parisi has found, there is no direct link between the author's gender and this aesthetics. The graffiti created by women does not necessarily represent feminine imagery, such as the so-called soft topics like love. Also, depiction of a naked woman's body does not necessarily indicate that it was created by a man. A discussion of the gender aspect in graffiti usually focuses on whether and how the creation of male and female graffiti authors differs (e.g., Lombard 2013; Macdonald 2001, 2019 [2016]; Pabón 2013, 2019 [2016]; Parisi 2015). This approach requires knowing who the author is. Indeed, in the international context it often is the case, at least as far as more famous art works are concerned. If the authors remain anonymous, an analysis can only entail the gender aspects of images and texts, to the extent they can be detected in graffiti; however, a rather significant part of graffiti appears to be gender-neutral.

The graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum, however, contains a few images by known authors and this allows associating the interpretation with the author's gender, which at times or in some topics may be important. Regardless of that, the gender of a graffiti author is not necessarily a decisive factor, as female authors do not necessarily create graffiti that is different than that created by men. This aspect is more broadly related to the idiosyncrasy of artistic/cultural representation. Gender identity and its cultural manifestations do not stand in direct relation with each other, which is why this kind of link cannot be assumed in terms of cultural artefacts, including graffiti. Also, female artists or authors do not necessarily paint or write about so-called feminine topics (e.g., motherhood), and can be entirely gender neutral in their approach.

The issue of gender and representation has been tackled by art historian Linda Nochlin in her already canonical work "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" (1971), in which she explains the lack of representation of women in art history with their limited access to the field of learning and practising art as for that they had to have a good fortune to be born white, middle class, and male. On the other hand, she points out that women do not necessarily create art that is in some ways different or in so-called feminine style, i.e., there is no direct and unconditional link between gender and artistic achievements or style, as she calls naïve the "idea that art is direct, personal expression of individual emotional experience" (Nochlin 2000 [1975]: 16). Also, keeping the gender aspect in mind allows us to highlight graffiti as a gendered or gender-related communication. While graffiti does speak to the people viewing it, they are still men and women who, similarly to the authors of graffiti, may understand the message of a graffiti work completely differently. Even the city as an environment is not gender-neutral, which in turn may influence how graffiti is being created and understood.

REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY

The material included in the graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum reveals that approximately 20–25% of graffiti works refer to gender in some way or another, in either its visual or textual aspect. While some depict men or women, also completely genderless creatures or odd (fantasy) characters can be found (see Fig. 1). A text may also associate in some way with the subjects of women, men, or gender in general.

Figure 1. *Vallikraavi Street, Tartu. Photograph by Anastasiya Fiadotova 2019.*

Remarkably, the references to (famous) men, both in the form of quotes and visual images, far outnumber those to (famous) women. One reason for that may be that the majority of graffiti authors are men and for them authority is represented mostly by men.

The gallery of men depicted in graffiti works ranges from world-famous ones to those known locally. There is a remarkably high number of references to writers from Estonia and other countries and quotes by these authors: Anton Hansen Tammsaare, Artur Alliksaar, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Lev Tolstoy, Hans Christian Andersen, Haruki Murakami, and others. It appears that literature and (male) writers constitute an important source of inspiration for graffiti writers through which to convey their message. This is also an indication of the importance of literature in today's world. One of the widely quoted favourite authors is the Swiss writer Robert Walser. Among the Estonian authors who have inspired graffiti artists, the most popular one is Artur Alliksaar with his highly unique poetic style with several quotes. The portrait of novelist Oskar Luts in front of his home museum in Riia Street in Tartu (Fig. 2) is complemented with a quote from his book *Suvi* ('Summer'): "*Einoh, kui te nüüd nalja ei tee, siis see on küll päris kena nali"* (Why no, if you're not joking right now, then it is a damn nice joke).

Figure 2. *Riia Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, March 2015.*

Quite often the graffiti works refer to Estonian and internationally known politicians (Vladimir Putin, Andrus Ansip, Jürgen Ligi, Edgar Savisaar), also pop singers and artists (Koit Toome, Uku Suviste, stripper Marko Tasane). Next to Estonian musicians, also several Western pop artists are represented, such as the British singer Pete Doherty or US rapper Kendrick Lamal. Some more specific references require knowledge of the specific subcultural context, such as the reference to chemist Albert Hofmann, who is known for having synthesised the psychotropic substance LSD, or Ülo Kiple, who was an Estonian graffiti artist active in the 1980s. Fictional characters, however, are scarce. Worth noting here are Sammalhabe (Mossbeard) (see Fig. 10) and Kalevipoeg (Son of Kalev) and hedgehog in *Kalevipoeg 3.0*, the work by Edward von Lõngus, reinvented with the Son of Kalev as a biomechanical super soldier and the hedgehog running his operation centre, photographed under Vabadussild (Freedom Bridge) in Tartu in 2014 (Fig. 3). Here, the Son of Kalev, hero of the Estonian national epic, is depicted as a cyborg, with the hedgehog delving into its computer behind him.

Figure 3. *Under the Freedom Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, October 2014.*

The construction of a traditional modern Western hegemonic masculinity usually involves the valorisation of qualities such as authority, competition, power, physical strength, aggression, domination, activity, independence, etc. (Lombard 2013: 179). The roles and activities of men in graffiti and street art works usually point to masculinity as it is traditionally understood where the man represents an active agent, authority figure, adventurer, sometimes even the world conqueror – man as an astronaut, boss, soldier, politician, policeman, labourer, but also as a male intellectual (novelist, philosopher), artist, pop singer, authority figure, or a technology enthusiast.

Examples of conventional masculinity can be seen, for example, in the image of a labourer in overalls (Fig. 4) in Õnne Street in Tartu and in the picture of a male tourist on Pärnu beach, with the Finnish text "Virossa on hyvä" (It's good in Estonia; Fig. 5). The latter ties the notion of masculinity with the national context: Estonia as a post-socialist country that is affordable for a Finnish man. The photograph was taken in 2011, when the price level in Estonia was relatively lower and Finnish tourists contributed heavily to Estonia's economy.

Figure 4. *Õnne Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2018.*

Figure 5. *Pärnu Beach. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2011.*

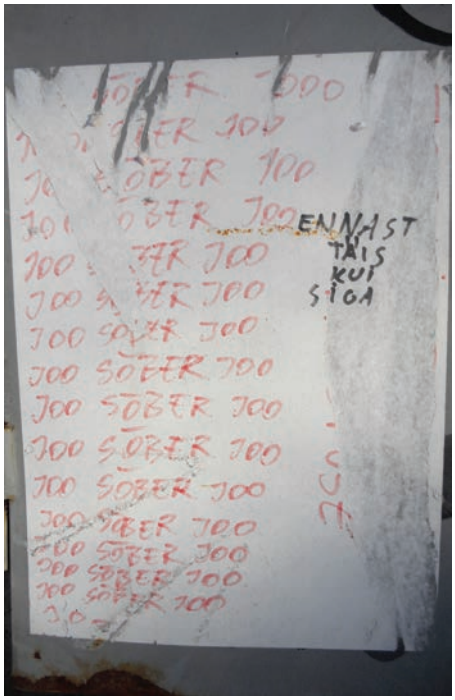

Figure 6. *On the corner of Vaksali and Vanemuise streets, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2011.*

Masculinity is also associated with alcohol and drug use. For example, a photograph taken in 2011 features a verse from a popular Estonian song "Joo, sõber, joo" (Drink up, my friend, drink up!; Fig. 6). While the song is sung in social occasions by both men and women, the emphasised repetition of the song on fifteen lines rather leaves the impression of masculine self-expression.

Also, certain props, like a pipe or a gun, point to masculinity. An image of a man may be presented simply as a figure, a man wearing a suit, or a small boy.

On the other hand, graffiti art sometimes features masculinity that is perceived as non-traditional, which may be manifested either by conveying the so-called soft values or as an alternative sexual identity, such as homosexuality. Despite that, some graffiti texts stigmatise homosexuality. Soft values, for example, are expressed in an image of an old man sitting with his legs crossed and smoking a pipe, which has been edited, probably by someone other than the author, with the text "I love you all" (Fig. 7). Also, the image of a boy playing an accordion (Fig. 8), under the Freedom Bridge in Tartu, seems to associate with the so-called soft values – the boy is energetically playing the accordion and singing, as if encouraging the viewers to join in.

Figure 7. *Villa Margaretha, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2012.*

Figure 8. *Under the Freedom Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2014.*

Sometimes, however, representations of masculinity can be more ambivalent. For example, man as a soldier is depicted, among other things, as the good soldier Švejk (Fig. 9). The Czech writer Jaroslav Hašek in his satire *The Fateful Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk during the World War* (1923) ridicules human stupidity and social institutions, authority and power hierarchies through its simple-minded main character, soldier Švejk, who either is an idiot or pretends to be one (the book does not unequivocally lay it down). The character of Švejk is highly unique, since in a way he also ridicules traditional masculinity: as a soldier he is not strong, courageous, and heroic as one would expect a wartime hero to be, but quite the opposite – he is both mentally and physically inept, finds himself in all kinds of trouble, asks inappropriate questions, and does not seem to understand anything.

Figure 9. *Riiamäe bus stop, Võru Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2011.*

In the graffiti work (which used to be located in a bus stop at the beginning of Võru Street in Tartu), Švejk appears as a clearly recognisable figure with the characteristic details: happy disposition, with the cap drawn down deep to his eyes, the rifle hanging over the shoulder. There is the (author's?) name tag B. in the right lower side of the work, with no additional text elements.

A separate interesting male character is Mossbeard in the artwork *Kannahabe ja Nõiakütt* (Cannabeard and witch hunter, 2014; Fig. 10) by Edward von Lõngus. As one of the main characters in the children's book *Naksitrallid* (The Three Jolly Fellows) (1972) by the Estonian writer Eno Raud, Mossbeard is a fictional character who represents non-traditional, so-called soft masculinity. As a character in the book, he is close to nature, protects the environment, and represents soft values (love, caring and tolerance). For example, in the book, he patiently waits for the hatchlings to emerge from eggs and grow up in a nest in his beard of moss. Mossbeard also has a unique appearance: drawn by artist Edgar Valter, he is somewhat hippie-like with his long beard of moss, in which lingonberries are growing, wearing a big baggy hat and a long khaki *khalat*-like robe. His entire personality is warm and likeable. In the work by Edward von Lõngus, an upgraded version of Mossbeard appears: instead of moss, his beard is of cannabis (leaves) and his hands are grabbed to be cuffed behind his back by a policeman with the name tag 'Witch Hunter'. This upgrade does not actually change Mossbeard's nature as a literary character – in the image he still looks like he represents nature and soft values, which stands in especially stark contrast against the policeman as a representative of official authority.

Figure 10. *Near the building of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2014.*

The artist's unexpected and humorous interpretation refers to the "ineptitude of punitive drug policies and the changing trends in global drug policies", as is stated on the website of Noar online art gallery,[7] who sells a copy of this artwork. The location of the work, the wall of Tartu's former maternity hospital, now the building of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Tartu, facing the building of the Supreme Court of Estonia, is probably not accidental, as it speaks to the institutions of executive and judicial power in Estonia, and conveys the author's attitudes towards them.

On the other hand, this and other works by Edward von Lõngus represent street art that is no longer opposed to art institutions but has, to a certain extent, become part of it (art as a saleable object), since copies of Edward von Lõngus' works can be purchased.

In some works, a man and a woman are depicted as equal partners, such as the image of the figures of a man and a woman sitting together and holding hands in the Risti bus stop in western Estonia (Fig. 11). The figures are painted in a way that they look like people sitting on the bench and waiting for the bus, whereas the gender of both is marked: the woman has long flowy hair and thin arms, whereas the figure of the man with short hair is more robust.

Figure 11. *Risti bus stop, photograph taken through a bus window. Photograph by Siiri Pärkson, April 2019.*

REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMININITY

Women, both ordinary and famous, can rarely be found in the photographs held in the graffiti database. References are mostly made to female politicians, such as Anna-Maria Galojan, to whose portrait with a laurel wreath has been added the ironic comment "Talents back home!" (Fig. 12). References to politics and political standpoints are common themes in graffiti art and, regardless of gender, politicians are always on graffiti artists' radar, their actions are commented on and criticised through graffiti. This has to do with the more general socio-critical attitude of graffiti, which manifests in criticising anything from various social phenomena/problems to the social system in general.

Figure 12. *The Arch Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2012.*

Among other famous women in graffiti, a reference has been made to Lydia Koidula (Fig. 13), which is quite logical, since she is one of the few women who

has had a prominent position in Estonian national memory. Koidula is not only a historical figure but also a symbol of national identity, cemented by the use of her portrait on the 100-kroon Estonian banknote. Koidula continues to appear both in the cultural memory and public discourse, which is why her image being used in Estonian graffiti is by no means surprising.

Figure 13. *Kompanii Street, Tartu. Photograph by Hanna Linda Korp, April 2013.*

However, rather surprising are the four quotations (found in graffities in the graffiti database) by the US fashion editor Diana Freeland, who has worked for *Harper's Bazaar* and as the editor-in-chief of *Vogue*, and who is probably not widely known among the general public in Estonia. It is possible that Freeland was quoted by a graffiti artist who was a woman (and/or) knowledgeable in fashion.

Worth mentioning here is also the graffiti on the wall of the house of the Finnish-Estonian writer Aino Kallas in Raja Street in Tartu (Fig. 14). Aino Kallas lived in this house from 1912 to 1918, with her husband Oskar Kallas, a folklorist and a diplomat. The neoclassical building, designed by the Finnish architect Valter Thomé, is privately owned and currently abandoned and has culture-historical significance also because the Estonian writer Jaan Kaplinski spent his childhood years in this house (Hanson 2011). Considering the location and meaning of the graffiti, it appears that the graffiti artist has been familiar with the life and work of Aino Kallas, especially since Kallas was not

widely known in Estonia, yet the author of the graffiti has a message to convey about her. The image depicts a blossom with petals surrounding the text "Aino", which is placed in the centre of the wall. The favourable placement of the image is like a homage to this remarkable female author. It seems as if the graffiti artist intended to highlight Aino Kallas as a prominent woman, as if to counterbalance the large number of men represented in urban space/graffiti.

Figure 14. *Raja Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, May 2018.*

References have also been made to some fictional female characters, such as Laura Palmer, the protagonist of the TV series *Twin Peaks*. Serving as if a parallel to Mossbeard as its male fictional counterpart, a reference is made to Snow White (Fig. 15, the text reads "Peeglike, peeglike seina peal, kes on kõige vingem võistkond planeedi peal?" (Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the best team on the planet?) in women's toilet in a popular sports facility in Ujula Street, Tartu). However, fictional female characters are virtually non-existent in the analysed sources.

Figure 15. *Women's toilet in the sports facility in Ujula Street, Tartu. Photograph by Eda Kalmre, March 2014.*

Representations of femininity are generally associated with certain qualities and activities that are perceived as feminine, such as associating women with cleanliness (Fig. 16, the text "Keep it clean" next to a woman's image) and being sober (Fig. 17), woman as a mother or a lady, woman as an angel by day and a witch by night (Fig. 18), woman as an artist (Fig. 19), crocheting as a feminine activity (Fig. 20), woman as too talkative (Fig. 21). The latter aspect has been highlighted by reproducing a Soviet agitation poster, with the text reading "A party member keeps quiet", featuring a woman with a finger on her lips (which is the base text of a stencil by street artist von Bomb). However, the meanings of this graffiti ironically largely refer to Soviet symbolism.

Figure 16. *Vallikraavi Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2012.*

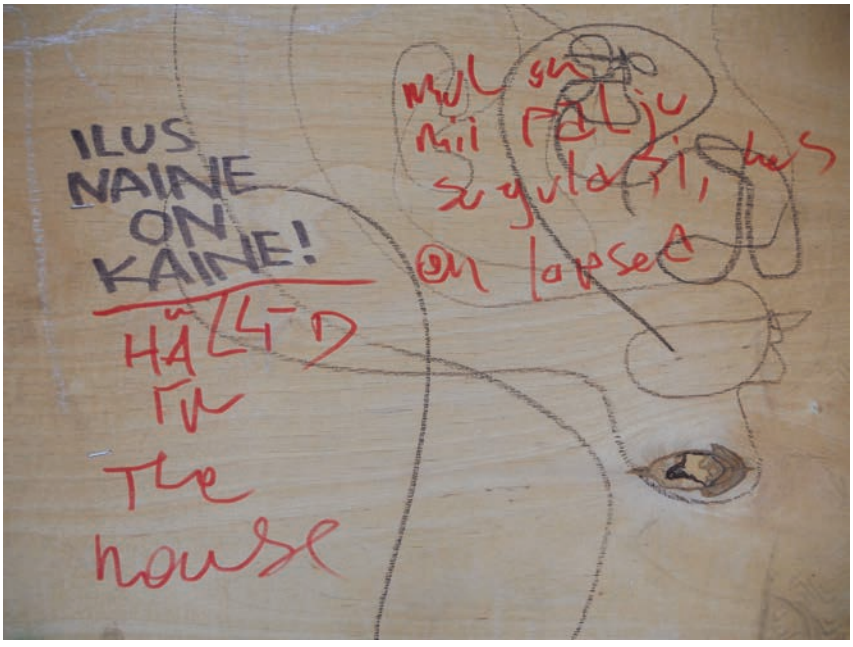

Figure 17. *Vallikraavi Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, April 2012.*

Figure 18. *Põltsamaa. Dormitory of Põltsamaa Gymnasium. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, July 2014.*

Figure 19. *Pallas University of Applied Arts, Tolstoi Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2011.*

Figure 20. *On the corner of Tähe and Pargi streets, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, April 2012.*

Figure 21. *Tartu Writers' House, 19 Vanemuise Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2013.*

Associating femininity with cleanliness or sobriety alludes, among other things, to gender stereotypes, according to which women's conduct is subject to expectations different than that of men. Thus, there is a graffiti that reads "A beautiful woman is sober" (Fig. 17). According to gender stereotypes, cleanliness and sobriety are important characteristics of women, whereas a manly man more often than not drinks alcohol.

Woman and creativity or feminine creativity has also captured interest – an image representing woman as an artist (Fig. 19) depicts a woman in heels and a floral dress, spray-painting colourful flowy images on a large surface of wall. The artwork reflects a woman's creative inspiration which is visualised by the paint spray turning into a hand holding a paint brush. The artwork, which used to be located in Tolstoi Street in Tartu, was rather large and impressive, covering the entire wall.

Creativity and intellectuality are also implied in the black-and-white image of a pensive woman (Fig. 22) in Vallikraavi Street in Tartu, drawn in pencil from waist up, with a serious look on her face and glasses contrasting with her large breasts. A rather lengthy text completes the image:

> *[We work] for the purpose of discovering life – how it functions, how beautiful it is and how to make the world a little better. Each one of us has the opportunity to use our skills to influence the society. It all comes down to what kind of a person you are. Everybody should do what they love.*

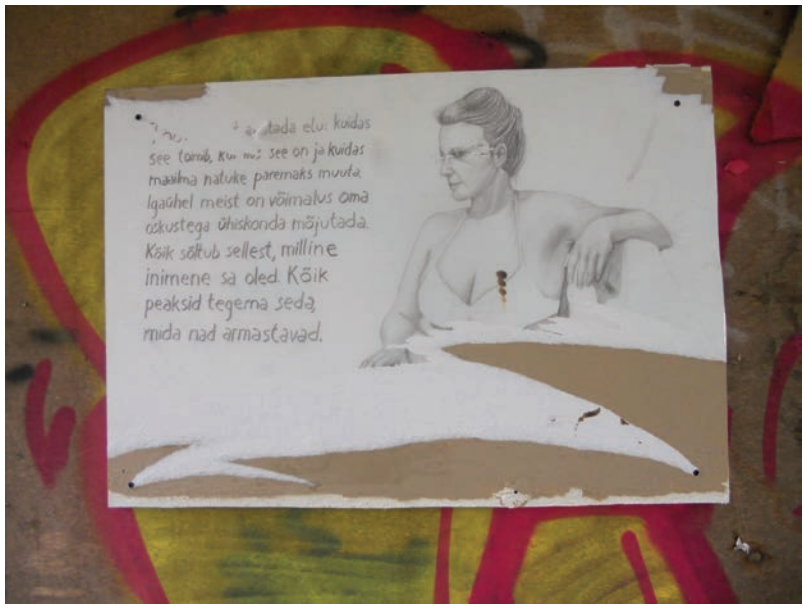

Figure 22. *Vallikraavi Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, May 2015.*

On the one hand, this text sounds like wisdom shared by a woman who is experienced in life, but on the other hand, it conveys hidden social criticism, because the author's message emphasises the need to make the world a better place. A responsibility to do what you love is a prerequisite of making the world better, which is also the author's categorical imperative.

Depicting femininity is also associated with qualities such as cuteness and softness. For example, there is a graffiti with an image of sweet and childish Hello Kitty, even though it has been complemented with the text "Hello Kitty / Fuck the police" (Fig. 23). For a person looking at it, the subject would probably appear feminine, leaving the impression that it had been made by a young woman.

Figure 23. *Riia Street, Tartu. Photograph by Hanna Linda Korp 2013.*

The conscious use of the so-called feminine representation or style is also noticeable in the works of the artist MinaJaLydia, such as the one with no title (Fig. 24), which depicts two girls with glasses but decorated with feminine items (they have a feminine appearance, wear hair jewellery and necklaces) making a victory sign.

Figure 24. *Kompanii Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, April 2014.*

Jessica N. Pabón (2019 [2016]) has found:

> *The historical marginalization of women street artists /graffiti writers has consequently produced an aesthetic hierarchy whereby imagery, lettering, and approach characterized as "feminine" is degraded – tacitly informed by the notion that only men are capable of producing graffiti / street art with "masculine" characteristics. As an active deconstruction of a sexist value structure, a way to bring gender equity to these value systems, and / or as a nonchalant rejection of them, graffiti writing and street art making women mark their letters with embellishments (bows), popular culture references (Poison Ivy), and titles (Miss). Others revel in overt female sexuality and hyperfemininity through characters.* (Pabón 2019 [2016]: 83)

Pabón has also argued that certain "aesthetic choices in relation to gender representation differ among individual members, but as a whole they 'represent' one another and they do so in full view of the public – bringing a new level of visibility and recognition for girls and women" (Pabón 2019 [2016]: 86).

Such "imagery characterised as feminine" can be found in the graffiti works with the text "Tahan olla öölind" (I want to be a bird of night; Fig. 25) and "Sulame ära teise sisse. Linnuke" (Let's melt into another. Birdie; female figure; Fig. 26). Both graffiti works have a similar visual design/style, also the messages have a feminine feel to them, so that whoever views them could interpret the graffiti as a female author's perspective.

Figure 25. *Friendship Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, December 2013.*

Figure 26. *Friendship Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, December 2013.*

Figure 27. *Freedom Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2011.*

Some representations of femininity, however, do not associate women/femininity with only traditional values. For instance, a graffiti work conveying the message "Love is concrete" depicts a woman in overalls holding a trowel (Fig. 27, on the concrete wall of the Freedom Bridge in Tartu). The young woman on the image is in real life a professor of concrete buildings and a collector of street art (Eesti Ekspress 2011: 37).

Femininity may also be presented in a somewhat negative manner, for example, as connected with fear as in the image of a big bad wolf and a little girl with the text "Pimedus sööb väikeseid tüdrukuid" (Darkness devours little girls; Fig. 28). This image plays on women's fear of darkness, which has been expressed in poetic, metaphoric style. The fear of darkness, for example, walking alone through the city at night, may be gender specific. Late night urban space, in which women do not feel safe to walk around, as if belongs to men. The graffiti text "I'm afraid of walking home in darkness" (Tartu, Tähe street, 2011) more directly seems to be an expression of a woman's perspective, because it is difficult to imagine that this simple and laconic message has been written by a man.

Figure 28. *Former "Kaseke" restaurant, Lootuse Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2011.*

Figure 29. *The corner of Tähe and Pargi streets, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, February 2013.*

The artwork *Perekond Ideaalne* (The Perfect Family; Fig. 29), signed by the author MinaJaLydia, on a lamppost at the corner of Tähe and Pargi Street in Tartu, depicts a family portrait of a mother, a father, a son and a daughter. The work has the feel of an ironic comment on a stereotypical depiction of the ideal family and family values.

The variety of women's roles and activities, however, is rather limited compared to that of men, which may be explained by the fact that most graffiti artists are men, whose works inevitably reflect their (masculine) experience.

WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT, GIRL POWER

A separate interesting issue in the Estonian context is the subject of graffiti and feminism. In Western countries, for example, feminism has influenced the emergence of female authors in the field of graffiti, mostly because graffiti has traditionally been men's domain, but also because of the themes depicted in street art. In Estonia, feminism did not exist in the Western sense of the word (as the 1970s feminist movement) and so it is safe to say that the influence of feminism and feminist ideas on graffiti here has been small. This relates to the topic of women's empowerment – the perspective and style that represent women and feminine or women-related topics from a positive aspect as a source of (female) strength, as a positive power to change the world. The graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum contains a few images that could be interpreted from this perspective; for example, the graffiti *Live fast, die young* by MinaJaLydia, which depicts a woman breastfeeding her child (Fig. 30). MinaJaLydia is a street artist whose online introduction is as follows: "I'm an Estonian street artist named MinaJaLydia (it means Me and Lydia). If Me spends her days solving everyday problems in the style of Kinder, Küche, Kirche, then Lydia spends her nights sketching, working in art studio or sneaking on the streets spray-painting images on the walls." She emphasises the duality of this identity when speaking about her work: "The way how there are two persons inside one isn't only about street artists who often create a new identity for illegal art works but in every character I use in my works."[8]

An image of a breastfeeding mother has the impact of highlighting or glorifying femininity, emphasising femininity as a positive and empowering force. We may even go as far as to say that the image has been created from a woman's perspective and the woman as an object to look at is there for the gaze of a feminine spectator. In her canonical article "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema", researcher of cinematography Laura Mulvey has referred to women in cinema as an object of the gaze of a male (masculine) spectator: the woman is construed according to the man's wishes/desires and she herself is aware of being the object

of the masculine gaze, which creates the pleasure of looking because a woman as a spectator can also identify with this masculine gaze (Mulvey 2003 [1975]).

In this sense, the image of a breastfeeding mother by MinaJaLydia could be viewed as a female standpoint – one that challenges the male gaze looking at a woman and highlights feminine values in public space.

The graffiti work *Pipi piiksub* (Pippi squeaks; Fig. 31) by Astrid Linnupoeg (lit. Astrid Birdchick) serves as a manifestation of feminine power/force, bringing to the focus the famous literary character Pippi Longstocking (Est. Pipi Pikksukk) by Astrid Lindgren as a symbol of girl power. As a literary character, Pippi is a girl who defies gender expectations and norms, and is smart, clever, inventive, very strong, independent, and rich, but at the same time also kind and caring. Pippi's actions and words are never meant to harm, but she always has a message to convey to the world. In the graffiti, Pippi's role, on the one hand, could be interpreted as a messenger, i.e., Pippi has something to say to the world or the passer-by. This is visually strengthened by the depiction of Pippi as halfway hidden: Pippi is as if peeping from behind the fence. But what she has to say has been turned into mere squeaking in the author's rendition: the text "Pippi squeaks" refers to her message not being taken seriously or not being noticed. Squeaking represents a weak, helpless, high-pitched sound which does not have the same impact as a loud and clear statement. The graffiti's author, whose artist's name suggests is a woman, as if intends to draw attention to the fact that even though women are a considerable force in society, what they have to say is not always noticed or taken seriously.

Figure 30. *12 Kompanii Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, October 2014.*

Figure 31. *Vaksali Street, Tartu. Photograph by Urmas Sutrop 2019.*

The most recent example of women's empowerment is a graffiti in which a Ukrainian woman fights with a dragon (Fig. 32). The graffiti, created by an unknown author, is located under the Kroonuaia Bridge in Tartu. It is a powerful and beautiful painting, which supports Ukrainian fight against the Russian invasion. The author of the graffiti has used the widely known motif of Saint George's fight with a dragon, as an article introducing the graffiti to the readers of the newspaper *Postimees* mentions (Hanson 2022). The message of the graffiti, including the text "Слава Україні!" (Slava Ukraini 'Glory to Ukraine!') in Ukrainian, emphasises women's strength in fighting the enemy. The viewer does not see her face but long blonde hair, and the woman's attitude reflects courage and determination. She is holding a sword and her figure is placed on a light blue background which brings out the woman's slim and youthful figure particularly well. In contrast to the figure of the woman, the dragon as genderless represents amorphous and omnipresent evil power. Thus, the graffiti uses gendered connotations contrasting femininity with evil forces.

Figure 32. *Glory to Ukraine! Under the Kroonuaia Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2023.*

REPRESENTATIONS OF SEXUALITY

Graffiti traditionally features sexualised gender clichés and representations of women. Parisi (2015: 60) presents a view that in the urban environment of Western societies, advertising making use of explicit sexual content is a generally accepted phenomenon (in spite of protests and awareness-raising campaigns) and wonders if urban art enjoys the same type of tolerance. He argues that today we know that both men and women are producing erotic street art; however, engaging in erotic art is very likely to be perceived as a masculine trait, for example, the representation of female nudity has been constantly seen as a men's activity. Parisi concludes that today women play a pivotal role in street art by employing a wide range of contents, styles, techniques, and aesthetic languages (ibid.).

Such sexualised gender clichés can be found also in the graffiti database, even though here they may have been attributed a broader socio-critical meaning, such as in the graffiti (Fig. 33) depicting a woman, nude from waist down,

accompanied by a text in English: "My sister lives in London now, she has a good job there". This is an anti-capitalist criticism of sorts and depicting nudity is ambivalent: it either represents a "sexualised gender cliché" and/or social criticism (an Eastern European woman working as a prostitute in London). In most cases, women are represented merely as sexual objects (Figs. 34–36).

Figure 33. *"Freedom gallery" under the Freedom Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, March 2014.*

Figure 34. *Baltic Station, Tallinn. Photograph by Hanna Linda Korp 2013.*

***Figure 35**. Wall of the former shopping centre Kaubahall, Tartu. Photograph by Hanna Linda Korp, April 2013.*

***Figure 36.** Former "Kaseke" restaurant, Lootuse Street, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid 2019.*

CONCLUSION

Graffiti and street art are phenomena inseparable from contemporary urban space and their socio-cultural meanings are diverse and interrelated with several layers of subculture.

The interrelation of graffiti and street art with urban space indicates that it is an unofficial way of expression which has sometimes been perceived as vandalism. On the other hand, graffiti is a form of democratic, openly dialogical form of representation because anyone is allowed to modify the works by adding their own comments. Graffiti and street art point out the power relations in society and they have been seen as subversive to the power of public authority. This is related to the unique nature of graffiti and street art as non-institutional art.

Western scholars have associated graffiti and street art with male subculture, which is where masculine identities are forged. While in recent years women authors have become increasingly visible in the field, introducing, among other things, so-called feminine subjects, it has not changed the image of graffiti as a masculine subculture.

The sources used in this study seem to confirm the idea of graffiti and street art being a masculine subculture, even though the share and contribution of female graffiti artists has steadily grown in the recent ten or so years. Also, the meanings of graffiti and street art always depend on the spectators and their attitudes towards the phenomenon, which may range from complete denial to understanding that graffiti and street art challenge the social power system and institutionalised cultural practices. The study of graffiti and street art allows understanding their meanings and functions from the perspective of the author, the spectator, and (urban) space from the aspect of social power dynamics. Unlike in Western countries, graffiti and urban art have not been subject to sufficient study, whereas representations of gender aspects have eluded any scholarly attention. For that reason, this article focused on analysing the gender aspects and interpretations of graffiti and street art.

Urban art is an ephemeral phenomenon which is why a database containing photographs of the works, with contextual information on each and every graffiti item, such as the author, location, etc., is of immense use. Even though the graffiti database of the Estonian Literary Museum, which was started in 2013, represents only a small part of graffiti created and displayed in Estonia, it gives an overview of local urban art and its various aspects, including those related to gender issues.

Analysis of the material included in the database of graffiti and street art revealed that gender issues are represented in about a fourth of the works of graffiti and street art, at least to some extent. The authors observed the

nature of gender representations in both texts and images, the way femininity and masculinity are manifested in the works, whether an image represents a masculine or a feminine standpoint, and how it has been executed.

The majority of the graffiti tends to represent a masculine viewpoint (a large share of quotations and visual images relate to famous men and very rarely to famous women), which seems to suggest that the majority of graffiti authors are male and that men continue to be more visible in society and culture, which, in turn, is reflected in graffiti. The greater visibility of men in society and culture is also connected with the higher authority of men and masculinity. Femininity, on the other hand, is often depicted through stereotypes, for example, by sexualising a woman's body. The graffiti included in the database reflects, among other things, the gender stereotypes established and spread in society, such as perceptions about women as clean, decent and sober, while men are seen as influential public figures (e.g., politicians) and through stereotypes that are perceived as masculine, such as drinking alcohol. To counterbalance the stereotypes of masculinity, the graffiti works rarely feature allusions to so-called soft masculinity, or images in which a man and a woman are represented as equal partners.

Women are also visible as graffiti authors, as can be seen from the emergence of new perspectives as well as in the diversification of the visual representations of graffiti and street art. The urban art created by women, such as the works by MinaJaLydia, highlight the positive experience of being a woman, which can also be conceptualised as an attempt to enhance the visibility and authority of women in public space.

A certain amount of graffiti and street art seems neutral from the gender perspective; however, the interpretation always depends on the viewer who is in the role of an active meaning creator.

The database does not generally include information about the authors of the graffiti, and therefore the study remains limited in that it has proved impossible to focus on potential divergences in graffiti created by men and women. In the future, it would be interesting and practical to analyse Estonian graffiti and street art also from the angle of authors. Data about graffiti authors would enable us to further contextualise graffiti and identify the characteristics of the creation of male and female authors. Further down the line, it is worth comparing Estonian graffiti and street art against a broader international context to point out both similarities and differences. The constantly updated database continues to yield new sources to be analysed both for that purpose and for the study of urban art from different angles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The article was supported by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies, TK 145), and is related to the Estonian Literary Museum research projects EKM 8-2/22/1, "Cultural History and the Archive: Sources, Problems, Perspectives", EKM 8-2/20/1, "Sociality of Life Writing and Literary Culture: An Archival Perspective", EKM 8-2/20/3, "Narrative and Belief Aspects of Folklore Studies", and the EKKD65 project of the Ministry of Education and Science.

NOTES

[1] Loesje is an international organisation involved in spreading criticism, philosophical reflections and topical ideas in public space. The messages are signed as Loesje, a common Dutch girl's name (on posters by Loesje in the streets of Tartu see Voolaid 2013b: 14–16). See also https://www.loesje.org/category/language/estonian, last accessed on 22 January 2024.

[2] Under paremiological graffiti, Voolaid (2013b) categorises the type of graffiti in which the graffiti author has made use of sayings ranging from proverbial generalisations (including classical proverbs, their modifications or so-called antiproverbs) and aphoristic author quotations to humorous and juicy catch phrases, slogans, and fixed expressions. The syntactic formulas of graffiti texts but also their purpose to conceptualise everyday experiences, in which it is analogous to traditional folk wisdom, refer to the paremiological nature of these graffiti works. The themes most characteristic of paremiological graffiti are, e.g., society, politics and criticism of the ruling regime, ideologies and religion, lifestyle, school, sex, alcohol, drugs, and spheres of private life.

[3] In Estonia, attitudes towards graffiti and street art vary even at the level of local municipality, e.g., Tallinn vs. Tartu.

[4] The SmartEnCity project aimed to create a smart and energy-efficient urban area with apartment buildings retrofitted as near zero energy buildings and smart solutions applied in central heating, streetlights, and the use of renewable energy (see https://smartencity.eu, last accessed on 22 January 2024).

[5] Banksy is one of the most famous UK graffiti artists whose stencil artwork has attracted global interest. His real person is widely speculated on but is currently unknown.

[6] See http://folklore.ee/Graffiti/grafitid, last accessed on 22 January 2024.

[7] See https://noar.eu/et/kunst/cannabeard-witch-hunter/, last accessed on 21 December 2023.

[8] See http://minajalydia.tumblr.com/about, last accessed on 3 January 2024.

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.poldsam

HOMOPHOBIC DISCOURSES AND THEIR SOVIET HISTORY IN ESTONIA

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Abstract: In this article I discuss the links between homophobic discourses and the history of non-normative sex-gender subjects in Soviet Estonia. How was homosexuality seen and handled publicly during the Soviet period? What was the relationship between official discourse and non-normative sex-gender subjects? By working through a selection of archival materials on criminal investigations under the Pederasty Article of the Soviet Estonian Criminal Code and analysing the period's sexual health discourse I outline an official discourse about non-normative sex-gender subjects in Soviet Estonia. I also analyse the manifestations of this official discourse in historical sources. In addition to the official discourse, the archival and ethnographic sources allow me to trace some of the experiences that differed and dissented from the repressive ideologies set by legal, medical, and social regulations.

Keywords: Soviet Estonia, queer history, ethnographic history writing, queer criminology, homophobia

Some of the most common and explicit homophobic discourses in Estonia have been captured in the video installation "Kuuldud jutt" (Heard Story) (2011) by artists Minna Hint and Liisi Eelmaa. The piece presents interviews with seven men and one woman who made notoriously homophobic statements in 2011. The title implies that such stories have been "heard enough already". At the exhibition[1] the interviews were shown on black and white television screens mounted on a large canopy bed with rainbow-coloured bed linen to create a contrast between the diversity of the expected audience and the strict normativity conveyed by the interviewees. Indeed, the interviewees are represented as people who do not accept the LGBT community as they describe homosexuality as a disease, as a deviation, as something that belongs to prison culture, as a threat to national

reproduction. The interviewees conflate homosexuality with paedophilia, confuse sexual and gender identities, and present theories of secret homosexual societies. In the context of my ethnographic research this artwork has acquired new significance as it captures homophobic discourses common in Estonia.

This article discusses the official discourses on homosexuality in Soviet Estonia, in which several discourses that are similar to those expressed in the artwork surface. Thus, I would argue that some of the homophobic discourses presented in the "Heard Story" (2011) have a historical basis and belong to a field of memory (Foucault 1972: 58): these discourses have not been forgotten, yet they can no longer be considered as valid as they used to be in Soviet Estonia. I focus on the following questions: What were the official discourses on non-normative sex-gender subjects in Soviet Estonia and how were they constructed and distributed? By employing Judith Butler's (2007 [1990]) ideas on gendered subjectivity, Michel Foucault's (1972) approach to discourse and Karen Barad's (2007) agential realist theoretical models, I aim to outline the official discourse on homosexuality in Soviet Estonia as presented in the Criminal Code and its use in courts as well as in popular sexual health handbooks which were the most widely distributed source of information about homosexuality in Soviet Estonia from the 1960s onwards. To discuss sexual and gender subjects, e.g., homosexual and transgender people who have been marginalised by the dominant discourse in the past, I use the term non-normative sex-gender subjects instead of 'queer' as the latter is a specific and evolving category which would not translate to the historic context studied in this article.

While there has been very little historical research on non-normative sex-gender lives in Soviet Estonia (cf. Kurvinen 2007; Nõgel 1991; Samma et al. 2015; Taavetti 2018), Eastern European and Soviet history of sexual and gender minorities in the twentieth century has been studied more extensively (e.g., Alexander 2021; Aripova 2020; Healey 2018; Kurimay 2020; Valodzin 2016). This article aims to contribute to this transnational scholarly endeavour. Similarly to these scholars, I have found most of the empirical material for this article from archival sources that document how official discourses were promoted and applied.

I gathered the majority of the empirical material for this article in 2021 from the National Archives of Estonia in Tartu, Tallinn, and Rakvere, where I located one hundred court investigations, and in the Supreme Court of Estonia in Tartu, where I located seven cases.[2] As the Pederasty Article cases are not easily identifiable in the archives, I had to find them with the help of the archivists, some of whom also shared their knowledge about Soviet court practices with regard to homosexuality. In this process I learned that only about one-third of the court investigation case folders have been fully preserved and

that only court orders and judgement conclusions have been preserved about the other investigations in annual criminal court catalogues that contain trial summaries. With the exception of the Chairman's investigation folder, which is discussed in the final part of the article, all the investigation folders with more extensive information concerning the Pederasty Article accusations that I located discussed non-consensual acts.

In parallel to the archival fieldwork (cf. Harris 2001: 333) I studied Soviet Estonian Criminal Codes and their annotations to analyse the changes in legal regulations and practices concerning homosexuality and trans identities. In addition, I analysed Soviet era Estonian language print media in online media libraries, Soviet Estonian encyclopaedia articles, and sexual health handbooks which were widely distributed in Estonia from the 1960s onwards and provided information about homosexuality, making them a valuable source.

Besides legal, medical and educational materials I used five oral history interviews conducted in 2021 with the first Estonian gay and lesbian activists with experience of the Soviet period for background knowledge and consultation, and I had conversations and e-mail exchanges with other researchers to discuss and share our findings and challenges in identifying sources on homosexuality in the Soviet period.[3] To maintain the focus on the official discourse, most of these conversations are not separately analysed in this article.

Despite the relatively broad scope of fieldwork, the sources about non-normative sex-gender subjects from the Soviet period are rather limited. For this reason, I have studied above all the criminal cases under the Pederasty Article that are preserved in the archives. I analyse them by diffractively reading (Barad 2014) them together with popular Soviet period print media sources. From the 1940s to 1992, homosexual intercourse between men was defined in Estonia by the Soviet Criminal Code. I have predominantly studied the implementation of the Pederasty Article from 1957–1991 on the basis of materials preserved in the archives of Tallinn, Harju County (until 1990 raion) and Tartu city and county Soviet People's Courts. I have also explored other Soviet Estonian People's Courts' archives, focusing on the years when the official Soviet Estonian statistics recorded the highest numbers of convicts (cf. Valodzin 2020). Of the 107 located court cases tried under the Pederasty Article in Soviet Estonia, only eleven investigated consensual sex between men. Based on these findings I argue that in Soviet Estonia homosexuality was defined through sexual violence. In the court investigations consensual same-sex relations remained rare and were not distinguished from the abusive ones.

In comparison to the representations of male homosexuality in Soviet Estonia, I have located very few ones of female homosexuality and transgender persons. In our article about the emergence of the LGBT community in late-Soviet

Estonia (Põldsam & Arumetsa 2023), Sara Arumetsa studied trans people's legal and medical struggles in late-Soviet Estonia (cf. Arumetsa 2021). However, both the oral and written sources I have gathered indicate that in the Soviet period lesbian women were publicly less visible than gay men at least partly because women's homosexuality was not defined by law. Therefore, female homosexuality and trans people in Soviet Estonia require separate research. In this article I have focused on the non-normative sex-gender subjects related to male homosexuality.

In the first part of the article I discuss the theoretical framework for studying official discourses about sex-gender normativity in Soviet Estonia. In the second part I discuss the Pederasty Article in the Soviet Estonian Criminal Code, its implementation and influence on the formation of homophobic discourses. In the final part I revisit the archival sources of a criminal investigation folder which contains rare self-descriptions of homosexual men in the 1960s' Estonia. These documents have previously been studied and interpreted by artist Jaanus Samma in his art project *NSFW: The Chairman's Tale* (2013/2015).[4] The Chairman's investigation offers a detailed insight into how official discourses were applied and into the lives of those subjected to the Pederasty Article.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To embrace the variety of meanings of the term 'homosexuality' in both Soviet Estonia and at the time of writing, I use the term 'non-normative sex-gender subject'. I have arrived at the term by following Karen Barad's (2007) model for analysing the construction of meanings through entangled material-discursive relations. For Barad, the discursive is always materialised in a specific situation at a particular moment and hence the material and the discursive are always intertwined and need to be attended to in analysis (cf. Barad 2007: 148–149). Thus, I have employed Barad's analytic model for analysing the impact of dominant discourses on individual lives.

'Non-normative sex-gender subject' also evokes Judith Butler's (2007 [1990]: 26) argument that the "binary regulation of sexuality suppresses the subversive multiplicity of a sexuality that disrupts heterosexual, reproductive, and medico-juridical hegemonies". The extent of conformity with binary reproductivity distinguishes normative from non-normative sex-gender subjects. In Soviet Estonian public sources (e.g., ESE 1971, 1988) homosexuality was contextualised through criminal punishment and deviation from the heterosexual norm.

As there were relatively few public representations of homosexuality in Soviet Estonia, it can be argued, following Judith Butler (2007 [1990]: 2–3),

that people were subjected to non-normative sex-gender frames largely through juridical regulations, "in purely negative terms – that is, through the limitation, prohibition, regulation, control, and even 'protection' of individuals related to that political structure" so that "the subjects regulated by such structures are, by virtue of being subjected to them, formed, defined, and reproduced in accordance with the requirements of those structures". In the following I demonstrate how such regulations characterised the official discourses of Soviet Estonia that constructed homosexual men as non-normative sex-gender subjects. I analyse how non-normative sex-gender subjects were positioned in the official discourses of Soviet Estonia, i.e., in the legal frameworks regulating sexual relations and in popular sexual health education (cf. Butler 2007 [1990]: 10–11). In Soviet Estonian public and official sources – i.e., the Criminal Code, sexual health handbooks, encyclopaedias, media representations – homosexuality was strictly framed as a moral deviation, a crime and a threat to the Soviet social order. Following Michel Foucault's (1972: 41–42) analysis of discourse, these realms surveilled by Soviet authorities can be studied as means of power which enforced and encouraged the wider society to participate in the social control of non-normative sex-gender subjects. Under this control non-normative sex-gender expressions were mostly camouflaged by public silence and denial during the Soviet era.

While the official discourses on and regulations of non-normative sex-gender subjects can be studied, the individual voices of the suspects in the Pederasty Article investigations were subjected to legal protocols, i.e., official discourses (cf. Foucault 1972: 42–45). Due to the fear of punishment, anything anyone expressed in these documents has to be viewed as subject to the official discourses and the truthfulness of these stories remains ultimately ambiguous and limited. Nevertheless, the first-person accounts of the suspects contain at least some information about how homosexuality was individually perceived at the time.

THE PEDERASTY ARTICLE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ESTONIA

The central theme under which non-normative sex-gender subjects were represented in the Soviet period was 'pederasty'. The word also appears in the title of the Criminal Code article in the chapter on crimes against persons, which prohibited sexual acts between men. Homosexuality was first decriminalised in Estonia in 1935 (Kalkun 2018: 143). From 1940 to 1941 and from 1944 to 1991 Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union as the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR), and in these periods male homosexuality was

re-criminalised until 1992.[5] Whereas the central government set the general regulations, policies and plans for the USSR as a whole, each republic had its own local adaptations of the laws and plans. An example of such adaptations can be seen in the following comparison of the Criminal Code articles from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and the ESSR, regulating intercourse between men.

Historian Rustam Alexander (2021: 18) describes the anti-sodomy law adopted in 1934 under Stalin, which remained in force until 1960 (cf. RSFSR 1941):

> *Article 154a of the USSR Criminal Code … consisted of two parts: the first (154a – I) criminalised consensual sodomy (punishable by deprivation of liberty for a term of three to five years), while the second (154a – II) criminalised so-called 'forcible' sodomy (with a more severe penalty of five to eight years).*

The same Article 154-a was effective during the first Soviet occupation in 1940–1941 and in 1944–1960. The only difference is that in Estonian the article never mentioned sodomy (Rus. мужеложство) but called intercourse between men 'pederasty'. In 1961 the new Sodomy Article in the RSFSR Criminal Code (Article 121) contained only one change: there was no minimum punishment for consensual acts, but the maximum sentence of five years remained (Alexander 2021: 138). In Estonia from 1961 to 1992 the Criminal Code Article forbidding sex between men was formulated as follows:

> *118 Pederasty. Subsection 1 – is punishable by deprivation of freedom for up to two years. Subsection 2 – Pederasty committed with the use of physical violence, threats or taking advantage of the victim's helpless condition or having intercourse with a younger than 18-year-old person while being aware of their age – is punishable by deprivation of freedom from two to six years along with deportation up to three years or without it.* (Rebane 1965: 275)

Thus, in the ESSR the punishments for both consensual and violent intercourse between men were slightly milder than in Lithuania, Latvia and the RSFSR, where the imposed punishment for consensual acts was up to three years in Lithuania and up to five years in Latvia and Russia (Lipša 2017: 61; Alexander 2021: 138). Dan Healey (2018: 170) argues that while Nikita Khrushchev reviewed and cancelled many of Stalin's statutes, anti-sodomy laws remained in place and secret documents encouraged the police to "make greater efforts to crack down on homosexuality between men".

While the Criminal Code did not define what was meant by pederasty, the annotated editions of the ESSR Criminal Code of 1965 and 1980 by Ilmar Rebane provide some important additional information about the prosecution and implementation of the laws prohibiting sexual crimes. The comments explain that this Article only punishes for anal intercourse and "[i]n consensual circumstances both so-called active and passive participants are considered responsible. ... When violence is involved, only the active participant is responsible, and when the active participant is aware that the passive participant is younger than 18-years-old, then the crime is considered under subsection 2. ... However, if the 16- to 18-year-old participates consensually, the crime is qualified under subsection 1" (Rebane 1965: 275–276).

In his 1965 annotations Rebane (275) states that such "intercourse between women does not qualify as *corpus delicti*", i.e., they would not constitute a crime, while in the annotations from 1980 he adds that "women could be punished for similar crimes with Article 115[1] (Expressing sexual desire in an unnatural manner) or Article 117 (Corrupted sexual activity with a minor younger than 16-years old)" (Rebane 1980: 387). In 1980 Rebane explained that Article 115[1] was enforced in 1965 as an addition to Article 118 for sexual behaviour that was violent, abusive, or threatening with sexual abuse and did not necessarily include anal intercourse.

Rebane adds that if violence or threat of abuse "was not used when expressing unnatural desire, the crime can be qualified as a crime against social order and security, Article 195 (Hooliganism), Article 200 (Distribution of pornographic items) or as ... Article 117" (Rebane 1980: 383). While this shows that there was some flexibility in prosecuting sexual crimes, I did not come across any traces of same-sex relationships between women in the court archives under any of the sexual offence articles.

The implementation of the Pederasty Article

Until now scholarship concerning the history of the implementation of the Pederasty Article in Soviet Estonia has been limited to Jaanus Samma's artistic research project *NSFW: A Chairman's Tale* (2013/2015) and to two surveys of statistics. Historian Teet Veispak (1991: 112) gathered implementation statistics of the Pederasty Article from the Archive of the Ministry of Justice of Soviet Estonia from 1960–1989. A report of official statistics on the number of people prosecuted under anti-sodomy articles in all Soviet republics in 1946–1991 was published in a working paper by Belarus researcher Uladzimir Valodzin (2020: 7–11). Valodzin's statistics are based on annual court statistics sent from each

Soviet republic to the central authorities in Moscow, which are now kept in the State Archive of the Russian Federation.

Remarkably, only some of the statistics detailed by Veispak and Valodzin coincide, with official numbers from the Russian State Archive sometimes being higher. The differences between the statistics and the number of men convicted, whose cases I located during my archival fieldwork, grew even larger when I started counting the numbers of men convicted under Article 154-a and Article 118 in the archived court materials. Official statistics state that in 1946–1991, 212 men were convicted for pederasty in the ESSR. I located 107 court investigations, including 76 investigations from Tallinn and Harju County, 13 investigations from Tartu city and county, 9 investigations from Viljandi County, and 9 more investigations from other People's Courts across the ESSR and the Supreme Court. As a result of these investigations, 204 men were convicted under the Pederasty Articles 154-a and 118 between 1957 and 1991. I found more Article 118 cases in counties which had detention institutions, e.g., Tallinn, Harju County, and Viljandi, while in the People's Courts of the less populated counties I found no cases for decades (e.g., Kingissepa, Paide, Rapla). Although the 107 cases are only a part of all Pederasty Article investigations, these findings demonstrate that the official statistics are unreliable. For example, the official statistics show that in 1966 there were eight pederasty convictions in Estonia, yet I found seven investigations and thirteen convictions. I found similar differences in 1969, 1973, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1982, and 1991. The two possible explanations for the discrepancies in the data are either that the statistics excluded crimes in detention institutions, e.g., prisons and youth detention centres, or the statistics may only represent the most serious crime of a person who committed several crimes.

Out of the 107 located investigations 20 were paedophilia cases with boys younger than 16, 68 cases in prisons, youth detention centres and care home institutions, out of which 66 were rapes and two were consensual cases. Outside of prisons there were twelve rape investigations and nine consensual sex cases, out of which one is an unspecified case that I found from a list of crimes but could not locate its court order. The only full investigation file of a case of consensual same-sex intercourse prosecuted under the Pederasty Article is the so-called Chairman's case. Only court orders or summaries survive about all other consensual cases. In addition, I found one acquittal where a 17-year-old youth accused a 30-year-old man of raping him at a well-known cruising beach. The suspect was discharged for a lack of *corpus delicti* in 1987.

Although working through all the Soviet People's Courts' annual catalogues in the Estonian National Archives would give a more exact overview of how many men were investigated using the Pederasty Article, I decided not to do

this for two reasons. Firstly, the located findings quickly became repetitive, which allows me to hypothesise that the Pederasty Article was dominantly employed for non-consensual sexual acts. Secondly, at an early stage of conducting archival fieldwork the Supreme Court archivist shared a hearsay that he had heard from senior judges and prosecutors that in the 1960s, when the Criminal Code of the ESSR was introduced, the courts in Tartu had decided not to prosecute men engaging in consensual sexual relations under the Pederasty Article.[6] According to the archivist, the decision was motivated by the violence with which people convicted under the Pederasty Article were treated in prisons (Üllar 1990) and the fact that socialist Hungary and Czechoslovakia decriminalised homosexuality in 1962 (cf. Szulc 2018: 212). Hence, at least some Soviet Estonian legal practitioners did not consider this crime socially threatening and some consensual cases were hidden, for example under Article 195 (Hooliganism) (cf. Rebane 1980: 383; Epner 2021).[7] Therefore, studying all the Pederasty Article cases would not give a definitive picture of how homosexual relations were treated by the legal authorities. Yet, studying a wide selection of court materials allows me to analyse the legal treatment of same-sex relations between men in Soviet Estonia.

Sexual violence and the Pederasty Article

Of the court materials that I have located, over 90% of the Pederasty Article investigations focused on sexual violence. This article was most often implemented in detention institutions and against paedophiles and was rarely implemented in the case of consensual relationships. In order to study the rumour about the differences in Tallinn and Tartu courts, shared by the State Court archivist, I systematically studied the People's Courts of Harju County (1957–1990, 34 cases, 62 convictions), and four People's Courts in Tallinn districts: Kalinini (1957–1990, 27 cases, 62 convictions), Mere (1957–1990, 5 cases, 12 convictions), Lenini (1974–1990, 5 cases and convictions), and Oktoobri (1974–1990, 5 cases and convictions).[8] In Tartu County's People's Court, I found 3 cases and convictions during the period 1957–1990, and in Tartu City People's Court 10 cases and 11 convictions. In contrast, in Tallinn and Harju County 57 of the located 76 pederasty investigations during this period were conducted in closed institutions, i.e., in care homes and youth centres, but mostly prisons. This is because the Rummu prison camp and the Patarei prison's investigation isolator were the largest prisons in the country and most of the statistical findings cover inmate rapes. According to my observations of court files, prison cells held from six to thirty inmates, which facilitated crimes.

Twenty of all the located cases prosecuted under the Pederasty Article covered paedophilia: 7 of the 13 convictions in Tartu city and county and 8 of the 76 cases in Tallinn and Harju County were paedophiles who had molested children from the ages 5 to 14. In addition, I located five paedophilia cases in other counties. Article 117 was used to punish adults who had had sexual relations with 14- to 17-year-olds, and Article 116 for grooming or molestation of girls younger than 15 years old, both with up to four years imprisonment. Therefore, prosecuting the molestation of boys under Article 118 (Pederasty) officially conflated homosexuality with paedophilia.

Prison cases were usually violent rapes which included more than one offender and often Article 115[1] was added to increase punishment. I located two consensual cases (Article 118 subsection 1) from prisons. In 1973 a convict infected three other men with gonorrhoea and was found to be the source. In 1980, a convict solicited another man to be his "passive" partner, but they were quickly caught by guards and arrested. The so-called "passive" partner told the court psychiatrist that prior to imprisonment he had been an "ordinary heterosexual man", but in prison he was repeatedly abused by other inmates. I also found a victim who was beaten and threatened with rape by other inmates after his Pederasty Article conviction was made public on the prison's information board. Arguably one of the reasons why Tartu courts decided to hide consensual homosexual conduct from the 1960s onwards was prison violence.

In the city and county of Tartu there were no prisons, which seems to contribute to a relatively lower number of cases and convictions: in total there were 13 Pederasty Article cases and 14 convictions from 1957 to 1991, four of which were rapes. Remarkably, a 49-year-old convict, who groomed and then raped a 19-year-old man while the latter was sleeping, was placed on a three-year probation for a sentence of two years of ordinary imprisonment (i.e., not solitary confinement), something that could not be seen in any other Article 118 subsection 2 cases. In comparison, in Tallinn and Harju County there were seven Pederasty Article rapes outside of the prison.

With the criminalisation of certain acts of male homosexuality, Soviet law officially prescribed a specific sex-gender normativity discourse. This was imposed through the criminal code, court practices, and the constant threat that nearly anyone could suddenly be involved in such an investigation either as a suspect or a witness. As most of the Pederasty Article cases took place in prisons, this nurtured disgust towards homosexual relations, as is pointed out by historian Adi Kuntsman (2009: 317), who argues that in Gulag memoirs homosexuality was associated with moral and class hierarchy of the prisoners, relating homosexuality to violence and moral deviance. A similar moral narrative was also emphasised in the sexual health handbooks to be discussed below.

Consensual Homosexual Relations

The largest network of homosexual men that I located was in an investigation in Pärnu in 1967, in which ten men were accused of "active pederastic relationships"[9] from 1936 to 1965, nine of them under Article 118 subsection 1 (consensual conduct) and one under subsection 2 (sexual abuse). From this investigation only a 32-page court order has survived, which describes men whose ages ranged from 23 to 61. The starting point of the case was a rape accusation against one of the men. The court order reveals that the men had met on the Pärnu beach and visited each other's homes as a clandestine community of friends and sex partners, with some of them having known each other for up to 15 years. Most of the men received positive characterisations and letters of support from their workplaces, asking for a pardon or probation. None of the men had a higher education, but they were all working as specialists, skilled labour and factory workers. Despite solemn confessions, which sometimes acted as mitigating circumstances, all the men were sentenced to prison for eighteen months.

With the help of activist archivist Taavi Koppel, I by chance found a letter pertaining to the case in the Estonian Gay League (Eesti Gayliit, EGL) archive folder in the special collection of the Harju County Museum.[10] When the EGL was publicly established in 1993, dozens of men contacted them asking for help in finding other gay men. Among these was a letter from one of the ten Pärnu men, who wrote in 1993 that in 1968 he had stood in front of the court with his friends, having to explain why they were 'queer'.[11] He added that the others served time in the Patarei prison but that he was released with an amnesty in celebration of the October Revolution anniversary. In this brief recollection, he added: "This is what our secret and delightful love was worth. But when there's love, even chains won't hold."[12] The combination of these sources allows me to speculate that these ten men were friends and lovers who constituted at least part of the Pärnu gay community in the 1960s. This court case and the letter are among the very few traces proving that such communities existed despite legal sanctions.[13]

Of the located Article 118 subsection 1 cases, nine investigations into consensual cases took place in civil life. In 1961 a man was investigated in Tartu County for having had consensual sex with another person who claimed they were a 'hermaphrodite'. However, the court medical examination stated that this person was physically male. This is the only found case that involved gender non-conformity or potential cross-dressing. In 1972 two men who had met in the summer of 1970 while cruising by the river in Tartu and had since then started visiting each other's homes, were convicted for consensual homosexuality but

placed on probation "as they were old already". They were 67 and 46 years old respectively. There was a similar couple from Tallinn who were put on probation. In Rakvere two men who had sex in a dormitory were investigated, one argued that he had been raped by the other, but the witnesses did not confirm this claim, and so both men were sentenced for two years. Notably, three of the eleven located consensual cases were related to the Chairman: the 1964 investigation of seven men in Tallinn, the 1966 case of Chairman and his sex partner, and two cases relating to the Chairman's circle in 1966.

This suggests that the police found most homosexual men not by systematically hunting them down, but rather demanding the accused men to list all their sexual contacts.[14] There are several oral accounts about the Raadi cruising area in Tartu from the 1970s and 1980s, where the Chairman, among others, used to go (Samma et al. 2015; Rünk 2022), but the court cases do not reflect that. Although in Tartu there were remarkably fewer Article 118 cases than in Tallinn, no located case would confirm the rumour that People's Courts in Tartu sheltered men from Pederasty Article accusations.

To conclude, the Pederasty Article differentiated between consensual homosexual intercourse and violent same-sex acts in its two subsections, where consensual case suspects were at times placed on probation or discharged, but at other times sentenced to eighteen months in prison. The violent intercourse offenders were usually punished with at least two and a half years of imprisonment. Nevertheless, from the perspective of the law, sexual acts between men were considered a crime regardless of the participants' intentions. Therefore, when looking at the implementation of Article 118, it can be argued that Soviet laws and legal practice contributed to the myth that homosexuality was a violent, deviant, and dangerous phenomenon in all circumstances.

HOMOSEXUALITY IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Apart from the Criminal Code and its implementation, homosexuality was rarely discussed publicly in Soviet Estonia. Based on the digitised media archives, it can be argued that there was nearly no public conversation about homosexuality in the Soviet Estonian media prior to the wave of discussions that emerged in the 1980s in response to the global AIDS epidemic (cf. Nõgel 1991; Kurvinen 2007). The most significant public discussion related to homosexuality was the 1978 court case of the Lithuanian Catholic dissident Viktoras Petkus, who was convicted for anti-Soviet propaganda and organised crime together with Estonian national activists, and for homosexual relationships with 16-year-old boys in Lithuania (Navickaitė 2024). This case was widely reported in Estonian

newspapers in exile (e.g., AMI 1978: 2–3) and in the memoirs of Estonian dissidents (cf., e.g., Niklus & Kukk 1983: 74), who claimed that it was a staged case to implement political repression.

The most accessible discussions about sex-gender topics during the Soviet period can be found in the popular sexual health and education handbooks targeted to youth (cf. Alexander 2021; Lišková 2018). From the 1960s onward several handbooks written by Estonian authors (e.g., Kadastik 1970 [1963]; Kahn 1970) had print runs and reprints of up to 100,000, which was enormous as there were approximately one million Estonian speakers in the ESSR. This attests to active popular interest in these books. Folklorist Andreas Kalkun (2006) has analysed these handbooks from the perspective of their lasting impact on sex-gender normativity, and feminist scholar Eve Annuk (2015) has traced shifts in Soviet Estonian gender discourse within these books.

Annuk (2015: 84) has noted that while heteronormativity was discussed fairly similarly across these handbooks, a strikingly different approach to homosexuality appeared in the translation of the Finnish book *Sukupuolielämän tietokirja* (Encyclopaedia of Sexual Life), originally published in 1968, and translated into Estonian in 1974 under the heading *Avameelselt abielust* (Openly About Marriage). This book presented homosexuality in a list of sexual perversions, but it also contained a subchapter arguing that latent homosexuality was "completely normal" (Paloheimo & Rouhunkoski & Rutanen 1975: 209).

The description of homosexuality in Soviet-period Estonian-language sexual education handbooks was dominated by a 1960 Russian translation of a book *Юноша превращается в мужчину* (The Youth Becomes a Man), written by the esteemed Czechoslovakian sexologist Josef Hynie. The book was first translated into Estonian in 1962. It describes homosexuality in only one paragraph:

> *There are people who have abnormal attraction to individuals of the same sex. They are called homosexualists. Homosexualists are aroused by and satisfy themselves with adolescents and youngsters, even though the latter have a normal interest in girls. Homosexualists go all out to gain young people's affection; they buy sweets and cigarettes for youngsters, tickets to the cinema, give them money, help them to do homework and generally pretend that they unselfishly love youngsters. However, after such preparation, they sooner or later proceed to act. Do not let them touch you! Do not be shy about reporting them to your parents or educators, do not hesitate to report such attempts aimed at you or other young men! Both parents and educators are willing to help. Homosexuality is a punishable crime, and homosexualists are perfectly aware of that!* (Hynie 1962: 27–28; cf. Alexander 2021: 63)

Remarkably, the same paragraph on homosexuality is used by Estonian psychiatrist Heiti Kadastik in his sexual education manual *Vestlusi noorukitele* (Conversations with Young Men) (1970 [1963]: 37), which had at least three reprints, making it the most common sexual education book targeted to young men. Interestingly, according to Katerina Lišková's (2018: 229) study of communist Czechoslovakia's sexology, Josef Hynie – a student of Magnus Hirschfeld – was against the criminalisation of homosexuality and did not consider homosexual people 'perverts' at least until 1948. How the Soviet translation of Hynie came to argue the opposite is yet to be studied.[15] Twenty-four years after publishing his handbook for the youth, Heiti Kadastik (1987: 278) also started to argue for the decriminalisation of consensual homosexual relations.

This finding allows me to argue that Soviet ideology created an extensive homophobic dominant discourse in which medical and legal discourses of sexuality were intertwined. In addition to the sexual health handbooks, the Estonian Soviet Encyclopaedia (1971: 68) defined male and female homosexuality within the same narrative of deviation and punishment. Thus, it could be argued that the homophobic discourses were officially prescribed as the norm.

Here I have described the sources that created the official discourse on non-normative sex-gender subjects in the Soviet period from the 1960s to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The legal framework that defined homosexuality as a criminal act and the medical framework, popularly introduced in sexual health handbooks and encyclopaedias, treated homosexuality as a sexual deviation. It could be argued that these discourses formed an episteme (Foucault 1972: 191–192) according to which a homosexual man was a socially dangerous non-normative sex-gender subject who had to be regulated and controlled by the society at large. Hence, the official discourse about non-normative sex-gender subjects was constructed around repulsion towards deviation from heteronormativity and the fear of getting caught.

THE CHAIRMAN'S TALE REVISITED

In this section I examine a 1966 Pederasty Article investigation of a man nicknamed the Chairman. Revisiting the Chairman's investigation allows me to discuss in greater detail how consensual and non-consensual intercourse was approached, and to look more broadly at how Soviet sexual normativity was imposed on an individual. This court investigation folder consists of 330 two-sided pages and is the most multifaceted, informative, and wide-ranging Article 118 investigation file that has been located in court archives. Importantly, it is the only consensual relationship investigation file from the Soviet Estonian courts

that has been found, although a rape accusation acted as its catalyst. Documentation of criminal court investigations sheds light on the ways in which official normativity was imposed on the suspects by the authorities. These documents make visible how the ambiguity of legal language caused confusion, how some cases were dismissed, and how men could avoid Article 118 and, perhaps most glaringly, how men were subjected to unsparing inquiries about their sexual activities. The Chairman's investigation folder holds documents from all the standard procedures of such investigations: accusation, copies from previous and parallel investigations, court medical and psychiatric examination records, various types of witness statements that show how confessions could change in the course of the investigation, letters from the accused, and documentation of physical evidence.

To receive a lighter punishment – eighteen months of imprisonment – the suspects had to give detailed descriptions of their sexual practices. They had to express so-called solemn regret by clearly demonstrating their understanding of their abnormality and will to abstain from practicing it. Moreover, the examination statements offer fragments of how individuals resisted the official discourse, e.g., by preferring sexual practices that were not defined as punishable. All things considered, the Chairman's investigation offers snippets of how the official discourse about homosexuality was individually practiced on either side of the law.

The Chairman's investigation

The Chairman was born into a farming family in 1921. In the 1940s he fought in the Red Army and returned from the Second World War as a hero, who in the following years was appointed to chair several collective farms. He then completed chairman's training, high-school, and vocational education as an agronomist. In the 1950s he married and had children. In the 1960s he was investigated twice and sentenced once for homosexuality. From the 1970s he lived in Tartu, where he hosted parties and had many sexual contacts until he was murdered in his home in 1990 (cf. Samma et. al. 2015; Rünk 2022).

The 1966 court folder shows that over a dozen men were interrogated about their sex lives as part of this investigation. It is an exceptionally heavy folder because it includes additional materials from a 1964 case, in which the Chairman had been discharged and an investigation into another man who was connected with the Chairman, but who – similarly to the Chairman in his 1964 case – was cleared of charges. The Chairman's case is both extraordinary and exemplary of the ESSR Pederasty Article investigations for four reasons: 1) it is

the most detailed investigation of the located cases; 2) it is one of the few cases that dealt with consensual sex; 3) it includes interviews where men speak about their sexual self-understanding; and 4) it is connected to other investigations, which gives a good idea of how the surveillance of homosexual men functioned and of the reasons why men were charged, acquitted or placed on probation.

The 1966 criminal investigation was started by a 24-year-old collective farm worker Mart Tross, who accused the 59-year-old bartender Kalev Post of sexual abuse (Article 118 subsection 2) and within this mentioned the 45-year-old Chairman as Post's friend.[16] Tross's accusations changed in the course of the proceedings, but he claimed that on two or more occasions the two men had given him too much alcohol and that subsequently Post had sexually abused him. The folder includes a blackmail letter from Tross demanding 5 roubles (the price of a litre of vodka) from Post to prevent Tross from informing the police about Post's pederasty. Post did not pay and so the case began.

The court investigation procedure dictated that the accusers and the accused had to name all their homosexual encounters. Naming all sexual contacts was in this context conceptualised as a 'solemn confession', which the courts could consider as a mitigating circumstance as described in the annotated edition of the Criminal Code (Kadari & Raal & Rebane 1963: 309–310). Thus, the main accuser, Tross, named his 25-year-old unemployed friend Kain Veski as someone who had participated in homosexual activities that were not defined in Article 118. Both young men mentioned in their statements that besides the Chairman and Post, there had been a leading local civil servant, whose name they did not know. The police found that this was 49-year-old Tõnu Kinnas, who was then investigated for sexual conduct with his 19-year-old employee Raivo Palgi, who had slept over in Kinnas's house after getting heavily drunk. Kinnas was cleared of charges as the men had not performed acts defined in Article 118. Nevertheless, the court order mentioned that Kinnas's behaviour with an employee was amoral and the town should reconsider his suitability for the high-ranking job.

Under investigation, Kain Veski mentioned one more man as his sexual contact – 55-year-old Rudolf Tepp, a collective farm worker from a rural area, who had had sex with Veski when the latter was under 18 years old. Hence, a separate investigation into Tepp was started and the court order states that Tepp had given an earnest statement where he solemnly confessed that he had "systematically participated in pederasty" since 1954 and had named three of his partners, some of whom had been minors like Veski at the time when the acts took place. However, his crimes had expired, and he could only be punished at a minimum rate, which meant that he was on probation for one year and during that time 20% of his income was withheld by the state.

While Mart Tross did not accuse the Chairman through the Pederasty Article, the investigators quickly discovered that the Chairman and Post had had a sexual relationship and that the Chairman had paid 3 roubles and 50 kopeks to have sex with the 19-year-old collective farm transport worker Vladislav Trepenko. Trepenko was also mentioned as a sex partner by Rudolf Tepp, which might indicate a network of gay men in this county. Despite the Chairman's denial of any payments and sexual acts defined in Article 118 with Trepenko, the prosecution could now confirm that the Chairman had had at least three known sex partners: Trepenko, Post, and Mati Tõug from a previous investigation. While in 1964 the Chairman had been discharged thanks to his high-ranking position, Tõug had been convicted for having sexual relationships with seven men, including the Chairman, who formed a network of gay men in Tallinn and Tartu between 1959 and 1963. Tõug's new 1966 statement revealed that he had been released after six months of imprisonment in order to get married, i.e., to start a so-called "normal life" after his 1964 conviction.

In 1966 the court decided that the 1964 case had not expired and it was subsequently added to the Chairman's case. Hence, in 1966 Mati Tõug and another man from the 1964 case along with the Chairman's and Kalev Post's wives, colleagues, other relatives and acquaintances came to give statements to the prosecutor and in court. In court both wives supported their husbands by saying that they had no idea about their husbands' homosexual behaviour before the trial. The Chairman's wife had known from the 1964 court case that her husband had done "silly things while drunk" after which they had separated, but in court neither of the wives expressed any condemnation.

In 1966 the Chairman was convicted of consensual sex with men and Kalev Post was at first convicted of violent acts, but following an appeal his conviction was reduced to consensual acts. The Chairman was sentenced to the standard imprisonment in a corrective labour camp and Kalev Post to a strict regime labour camp. The exact prisons to which they were sent are unknown. The young men, Mart Tross and Kain Veski, were cleared of charges as they were by law considered morally superior for reporting socially dangerous men.

The Chairman within the official discourse

The presence of the dominant discourse about sex-gender normativity among the men involved in the Chairman's case failed to prevent homosexual acts. Contrary to the prescription of sexual health handbooks, the wives of the men did not publicly condemn their husbands. The men had deviated from numerous norms and laws set by the state: they abused alcohol, the Chairman had paid

for sex, and they had sex with each other while knowing the risks. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ascertain how the men defined themselves.

From the perspective of the self-identification of homosexual men in Soviet Estonia and the discourse around sex-gender normativity, the Chairman's 1964 witness examination statement is a particularly interesting part of the court file because of its explicitness. The account starts with a brief biography but then continues with his sexual development: how he first experienced "abnormal sex" in 1955, in a public toilet with a stranger who approached him through a hole during a work trip to Tallinn. This had made him "think seriously" – we do not learn about what exactly – and soon he met other men with some of whom he had longer relationships, while in the case of some men he never knew the names. He also mentioned some men whom he had recognised as "such" just by sight but did not have sexual relationships with. The account ends with a description of how he became acquainted with the other suspects in the case, which reveals a small network of homosexual men in at least three Estonian towns.

This confession might suggest that Soviet homosexual men understood themselves as defined by the "special gaze" that connects "such men" with each other. The gaze created a community that transgressed against the official normative discourse, or the men simply recognised each other beyond the cruising paths by noticing each other in bars. These clandestine networks of homosexual men may have fed the narrative about the existence of secret gay societies that hid the community from the public in a hostile environment.

In his 1966 statement the Chairman's final words directly addressed the court's expectation that the suspect had to give a solemn confession of his deeds which would then function as a mitigating circumstance. As being caught in the same crime that he had previously been accused of was an aggravating circumstance, the Chairman expressed his regret for deviating from normal sexuality and claimed to have succeeded in lately avoiding such people. However, because the Chairman's narrative follows a prescribed format for a witness statement and there are no other sources that would tell us about his life during that period, it is difficult to assess how much of his narrative is solemn and how much it corresponds to his public defender's advice. These statements also align with the sexual health handbooks, which advised abstinence and self-repression of homosexual acts. Thus, each individual had to demonstrate awareness of and conformity to the narrow Soviet official discourses about homosexuality as sex-gender non-normativity.

CONCLUSION

In this article I have tried to outline the official discourses on non-normative sex-gender subjects in Soviet Estonia. I found that the official discourses on the subject were rather narrow and formed an episteme according to which male homosexuality was a deviation that was regulated by criminal law. These discourses were distributed and practiced in Pederasty Article cases, in the vocabulary in the Soviet Estonian encyclopaedias and sexual health handbooks. The sources revealed the presence of a significant amount of sexual violence in prisons. The official discourses also referred to homosexuality as a deviation and the Pederasty Article conflated homosexuality with paedophilia. Gay men indeed very probably did have clandestine circles to meet partners. The purpose of distributing homophobic information and threatening people with imprisonment in the Soviet period was to generate fear and to gain control over the intimate lives of a large majority of society.

All these aspects were also present in the interviews of the "Heard Story" (2011), showing that the Soviet-era dominant discourses on non-normative sex-gender subjects continue to circulate in the twenty-first century. In this way these discourses – even if they belong to the field of memory (Foucault 1972) and have lost their former dominance – continue to contribute to the construction of the meaning of 'homosexuality' as something disruptive of heteronormativity.

The studied court investigation materials reveal the structures that regulated homosexual subjects by imposing limits, prohibitions, and control on them. These practices are parallel to Judith Butler's (2007 [1990]: 2–3) analysis of defining subjects through normativity. The article demonstrates that in practice the official discourses were not that all-encompassing: some suspects were acquitted and not all men who had homosexual relations were investigated under the Pederasty Article. In order to escape punishment, some men may have changed their sexual practices.

By outlining the official discourses on non-normative sex-gender subjects in Soviet Estonia in the period from 1957 to 1991, I have tried to demonstrate that some of the extant homophobic discourses can be traced back to a totalitarian political regime governed by repressive laws and that they should be viewed as a field of memory that lacks force today. Therefore, it is my hope that this article will provide material for rethinking the non-normative sex-gender subjects in Soviet Estonia and today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research has been granted an approval 323/T-20 from the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Tartu.

NOTES

[1] The exhibition *Untold Stories* (Tallinn Art Hall), curated by Rebeka Põldsam, Airi Triisberg and Anders Härm in 2011, was dedicated to the lives of homosexual, queer and transgender people in post-socialist Eastern Europe. The exhibition is a precursor to this article as two works discussed in this article were commissioned for it: "Heard Story" by Minna Hint and Liisi Eelmaa; and *Stories*, a selection of interviews with homosexual men from Soviet Estonia by Jaanus Samma, which were also the foundation for *The Chairman's Tale* (2013/2015).

[2] In alignment with the best practices of personal data protection, I have not included direct references to the criminal files or folders in this article. For verification or for further study purposes the archival references can be asked directly from the author.

[3] I would like to thank Vahur Aabrams, Toomas Anepaio, Sara Arumetsa, Eero Epner, Andreas Kalkun, Ken Kalling, Taavi Koppel, Liisa Lail, Ineta Lipša, Uku Lember, Rasa Navickaitė, Airi Põder, and Riikka Taavetti for sharing their knowledge and findings in conversations and e-mails in 2018–2023.

[4] See https://www.jaanussamma.eu/nsfw-a-chairmans-tale/, last accessed on 17 January 2024.

[5] From 1941 to 1944 Estonia was occupied by Nazi Germany. I have found one file hinting at an investigation of "Päderastie" from July 1944 in Estonia. However, there was no actual information about the investigation in this file. Medical historian Ken Kalling (2007) suggests that in Estonia, unlike in Germany, the Nazis did not repress the patients of mental hospitals, except for the Jewish patients. It can be hypothesised that homosexual people were also out of Nazi occupation's focus in Estonia. According to historians of sexuality in Germany, the Nazis were unsystematic in their treatment of homosexual people (cf. Heineman 2002: 34–35; Whisnant 2016: 229). The lack of investigations in the Estonian archive could be explained by the fact that the Nazi occupation restored Estonian laws from 1940, i.e., before the first Soviet occupation, when homosexuality was decriminalised. The few publicly known non-normative sex-gender persons from the interwar years in Tallinn and Tartu, whom I have previously studied, survived the Second World War (Põldsam 2020, 2022).

[6] Similar information was confirmed by sources shared by Eero Epner (e-mail exchanges in 2021).

[7] The Hooliganism Article was very flexible in its application and was therefore widely used. Thus, it would require separate research to ascertain whether and how much it was applied to men engaging in homosexual relations. In addition, thanks to one of my interviewees who remembered the disappearance of a celebrated stage choreographer because of his homosexuality, I found an investigation under Article 117 (Attracting minors to sexual activity). The 35-year-old man had sexual relationships with four 15-year-old boys and was sentenced to two years of imprisonment. This unusual legal treatment suggests that public figures were not prosecuted under Article 118 but under other articles.

[8] The Lenini and Oktoobri district People's Courts in Tallinn opened only in 1974.

[9] In the original Estonian "pederatiivsed suhted".

[10] The chief treasurer of the Harju County Museum and LGBT activist Taavi Koppel has created a special collection of LGBT activist organisations from the 1990s. Among other things it includes letter exchanges, meeting minutes, publications, project reports and newsletters of these organisations, and is thus an invaluable source for studying the dawn of Estonian LGBT community organisation.

[11] The original for queer was 'lillad', 'purple' in direct Estonian translation.

[12] The original in Estonian: "Vat nii oli meie salajane ja mõnus armastus väärt. Aga kui on armastus, siis ei ahista ka ketid."

[13] Beach cruising in the Soviet Baltics is also described in the diaries of a Latvian, Kaspars Aleksandrs Irbe (1906–1996), who mentioned handsome Estonians coming to cruise at Latvian beach resorts (Lipša 2017: 76), but also in other Eastern bloc socialist countries (Kurimay 2020; Szulc 2018).

[14] Similar information about sexual contacts was demanded from the patients of sexually transmitted diseases. Ken Kalling (e-mail exchange in September 2023) has found a list of 168 homosexual patients from the Tallinn dermato-venerology clinic's archives, who were regularly monitored in the Soviet period.

[15] A similar use of Hynie's Russian translation has been found in Lithuanian sources by Rasa Navickaitė (personal communication in April 2023).

[16] I have adopted the pseudonyms that Jaanus Samma uses in his artwork; I have given new made-up pseudonyms to the men who were not part of Samma's artwork.

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.ruudi

ADOPTING OR DODGING THE HEROIC MODEL: PROFESSIONAL TRAJECTORIES OF ESTONIAN WOMEN ARCHITECTS

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Abstract: The article focuses on gender-specific experiences of Estonian women architects in the late Soviet and post-Soviet Estonia. Architecture has been, and to a great extent still remains, a rather masculinist field, adhering to an image of heroic individualist creative genius and supporting a very demanding and uncompromising work culture. These preconceptions often make it complicated to forge different career paths or to appreciate alternative or more cooperational modes of practice. The article asks if and to what extent the unwritten rules and prejudices have affected Estonian women architects' experiences in studying architecture, establishing their careers, combining the responsibilities of professional and private lives, and building up their image as (women) designers in a general sense. Based on in-depth interviews with 16 professional architects aged 33–92, the article also highlights the differences and similarities of practising architecture as a woman in the Soviet and post-Soviet social and economic contexts, mapping them onto findings of international feminist research in the context of both Western Europe and the former Eastern Bloc. Additionally, the article refers to the productive possibilities of oral history as a method to complement and challenge the conventional architecture historical writing as well as the intersubjective character of the narratives thus constructed.

Keywords: architecture, feminism, late Soviet, post-Soviet, oral history

The mainstream discourse of architecture involves certain prejudices and encompasses a number of myths, one of the strongest and most pervasive of these being that architecture is not an ordinary discipline but a special calling, a heroic journey of self-realisation that surpasses all other aspects of life. In the centre of this myth stands the architect, a highly innovative creative individual with a unique vision and an ability to grasp with equal competence the deeply philosophical considerations of space and habitation as well as the

very technical aspects of constructional engineering. Although designing and constructing a building is a complex endeavour that involves input from a large number of people with different professional competences, the public discourse of architecture is still centred around a single individual as the heroic creator of the new. Needless to say, such a heroic genius is a masculine trope, defined by qualities such as boldness, independence, toughness and vigour – all of which have been coded in Western culture as masculine traits. Additionally, in public this image of the profession as centred around unique creative individuals and their singular chefs-d'oeuvre is being held up by a canonical narrative that presents the professional genealogy as "'a lineage of great men', laying out both the 'masters' from whom he has descended and the impressive followers in his wake" (Stratigakos 2016a). Regardless of a decades-long tradition of feminist critique and a quest for alternative approaches to the conceptualisation and practice of architecture (Matrix 1984; Shonfield 2001; Brown 2011; Awan & Schneider & Till 2011), the mainstream combining the "mystique of architectural authorship" (Stead 2006) with a "naturalization of the masculine domination in the field" (Heynen 2017: 262) still results in a profession with a strong bias towards the masculine in both its intellectual and social values as well as organisational and working culture – a tendency that seems to be universal regardless of the differences in nuances related to whether the context is Western European, socialist Eastern European, Soviet or post-Soviet Estonian.

Based on in-depth interviews[1] conducted with sixteen Estonian women architects aged 33–93, the article aims to investigate their options in relation to accommodating to and fitting in or dodging and subverting this heroic model of architecture as a vehicle of creative self-realisation. The article discusses the professional milieu of architecture and the mechanisms of related cultural values, and the impact those conditions have had on women's studying and practising architecture during the Soviet and post-Soviet times. Did the experience of studying architecture differ in those eras? What kind of cultural and professional values and conceptions of work ethics were imprinted through the studies? What have been the available paths of entering professional life, and what has it taken to establish oneself as a (woman) architect? What kind of creative goals have different women architects set to themselves? Do they believe that female authors have a specific type of creativity or certain preferred modes of working, or do they, on the contrary, consider the gender aspect irrelevant? What does it mean to balance the roles of a creative professional and a mother in the context of architecture? What role, if any, have feminism and women's emancipation played in their identity formation and professional and personal choices? The interviews took place from autumn 2018 to winter 2019 as part of the preparatory process for an exhibition "A Room of One's Own: Feminist's

Questions to Architecture" (2019) at the Estonian Museum of Architecture.[2] The interviewees were selected based on their creative and social activity and public acknowledgement and chosen so as to represent as broad an age spectrum as possible to cover both Soviet and post-Soviet working contexts. The qualitative interviews were based on an open set of questions concerning their experiences with architecture studies, conditions of setting up a career, family background, work and life balance, and reception of their work. The oral interviews generally took an hour to an hour and a half and were recorded, involving the interviewees' consent to use the video recordings and transcripts for public display. In a shortened and edited form, the recordings were used for a one-hour film displayed at the exhibition and broadcast on the YouTube channel of the Estonian Museum of Architecture.

ORAL HISTORY IN ARCHITECTURE

The productive potential of oral history in architecture has started to be more widely acknowledged only recently (Gosseye & Stead & van der Plaat 2019). However, it promises to provide a valuable and much-needed supplement to the traditional methods of architectural research with a potential for mending the gaps in the existing canon and providing various counter-narratives to the prevailing high-profile mainstream discourse. From the perspective of the gender issue and the more or less marginalised authors, producers, co-producers and users of architecture, the conventional methods of the historical research of architecture could present certain specific pitfalls. The published primary material and available archival sources may be highly biased – it is a widespread practice for successful architects and architecture practices to finance the research of their own work and publishing of their monographs (Stratigakos 2016b: 66), while the archives of architecture museums and similar archival institutions are mostly based on material gifted or bequeathed by architects who wish to preserve their heritage for public knowledge and access (Harris 1989: 15), which results, due to a combination of gendered prejudices and women architects' low self-esteem, in hindering them from offering their material to the archives, to the collections comprised predominantly of designs of men.[3] If the archival institutions are able to make acquisitions on their own, their preference goes to the heritage of "major critical practitioners" (Lambert 1999: 313), which reinforces the existing canon even further. The lack of archival material, in its turn, results in difficulties in including the work of women architects in museum exhibitions and curating solo or group shows of their oeuvre (Weissmüller 2017: 22). In this situation, and in tune with the rising

interest in subjective accounts of history accompanying the post-structuralist turn, oral testimonies have, since the 1970s, already contributed to research of practitioners who have been traditionally silenced out in architecture history narratives, resulting in various monographic accounts of the first generation of women architects. Nevertheless, those accounts tended to follow the conventional monographic model by simply substituting the character of the male genius with the figure of an extraordinary woman, rarely raising questions beyond the aspects of design. In the big picture of architectural historiography, interviewing the architects tended to be used mainly for the elaboration of the narratives of the modern masters already known all too well (Gosseye 2019: 13). However, the most productive potential of the oral history of architecture might lie in posing different questions, including a greater variety of agents, and investigating not only the results of the design process but also the different conditions of architecture production, the impact of networks of influence, professional regulations, or informal aspects of organisation in the field. Collecting and assembling oral accounts from contexts and regions that have been less covered with conventional historical research enables us to measure the existing research models and assumptions against a more global perspective that would reveal the local specificities of gender systems and the inconsistencies of standard models, helping to produce a more plural feminist architecture history (Burns & Brown 2020). In the context of Estonia, adopting, assessing, and adjusting the existing models of feminist architecture history involves entanglement of feminism and postsocialism and presupposes taking into consideration the historical geopolitical specificities that have influenced Estonian gender politics and practices both during the Soviet and post-Soviet eras (Annuk 2019). Oral histories also display an activist and political engagement, empowering hitherto marginalised groups, creating meaningful connections over the generations, and a communal bond with the public. The ability of oral history to produce counter-narratives of architectural history, which transgress not only the existing high-profile canon but also the entrenched geographical and cultural models, has a great activist potential, all the more if the stories told are presented in various forms of public display (Burns 2019).

At the same time, the specificities of oral testimonies must also be taken into consideration. A narrative account of one's working and private life is obviously never objective – it is not a mere presentation of a previously existing story but rather a means of constructing it in the process. It is a complex narrative performance whereby attention needs to be paid to the use of language, the deployment of narrative structure, the articulation of memory, and the context within which the life is narrated (Abrams 2010: 34). The contingency of the construction of a narrative through interviewing manifests itself especially with women: it

has been observed that instead of presenting themselves as independent selves leading a continuously progressing life unfolding in a linear manner, women tend to construct a picture of themselves primarily in relationship to various other agents (Abrams 2010: 44). A woman is always aware that she belongs to a group that has been defined by the dominant male – or patriarchal – culture. Women's accounts of their life stories are shaped by shared ideas, conventions, and dominant understandings of what these narratives should look like. One can only assume that in the context of architecture as a masculine field with deeply entrenched conventions, the horizon of expectations bears an even stronger than usual mark on the stories conveyed in the interviews. Such relationality may feel occasionally either as a supporting root network or as a restraining grid, but it is an inevitable background from where the individual's choices and actions emanate. Feminist theoreticians have interpreted the relational self in different ways, either as a part of a patriarchal encumbrance that should be gotten rid of, or as a certain strength, an intrinsic quality of a woman's identity (Kirss 2002: 17). Regardless, the testimonies deviating from an unilinear narrative and incorporating the relationality often result in more complex and fuller stories. Additionally, oral history involves intersubjectivity – there is no unmediated narrative but the presence of the interviewer together with their assumptions, prejudices and biases inevitably informs the account as well, showing that subjectivity is in a constant flux (Abrams 2010: 54). In the case of the interviews in question, this was confirmed by many respondents' admittance that they had never considered their professional lives from a feminist perspective, and that setting the questions from such a perspective prompted them to interpret their choices and actions in a previously unimaginable way.

STUDYING ARCHITECTURE AS A WOMAN

Since antiquity, the figure of the architect has had allusions of almost like a kind of superhuman, and the conception of architecture education has played no small part in this. Already Vitruvius, one of the founding fathers of architecture discourse from the first century BC, stressed the comprehensiveness an architect's education must display:

> *He must have both a natural gift and also readiness to learn. He should be a man of letters, a skilful draughtsman, a mathematician, familiar with scientific inquires, a diligent student of philosophy, acquainted with music, not ignorant of medicine, learned in the responses of jurisconsults, familiar with astronomy and astronomical calculations.* (Vitruvius 2002 [33–14BC]: 9)

Certainly some of those high ideals have lingered well into modern times. Additionally, the personality-forming character of traditional architectural studies has been equally acknowledged and appreciated. Architectural education plays the key role in disseminating particular social and cultural values to the future practitioners, thus reducing not only the possible differences between male and female students' modes of creativity, design goals and professional positions but also levelling out the different experiences of students from different social classes, encouraging to adopt a commonly held masculine and middle-class worldview and promoting a male-dominated practical model (Kuhlmann 2013: 43–45; Harriss 2016: 250–251). These are transmitted by curricula presenting architecture histories that have no place for women, neither as producers nor as conceptualisers of the discipline.[4] Sociological research has indicated that female students of architecture seem to be aware that they are entering a male domain even before initiating their studies (Women in Architecture 2018: 9). The general structuring of design education has been described as something like a boot camp, dominated by competitions, star systems, and high-risk gambles (Fowler & Wilson 2004: 106). The commonly used studio system works as a rite of institution whereby the design juries, comprised almost exclusively of male architects, assess the students' projects without much quantifiable or easily graspable evaluation criteria, resulting in a well-known academic syndrome, in which the students believe that mystery – or the neglect of rational teaching methods – is an indication of the mastery of the instructor (Fowler & Wilson 2004: 107). Paradoxically, to an extent, this might be part of the lure of the discipline.

In the Western European and American contexts, enrolling in an architecture school could present psychological as well as practical obstacles – for instance, in a large number of universities in the USA, architecture colleges were not admitting women until 1972, when an Education Amendments Act ended gender discrimination in federally funded programmes (Stratigakos 2016b: 21) although some private architecture colleges remained male-only even into the 1980s. In the Soviet Union and the Socialist Eastern bloc, the situation was different – incorporating women into workforce in all fields including technical disciplines was an ideological as well as a practical goal. Women's studying architecture was encouraged in numerous ways, even, like in the case of German Democratic Republic, by creating all-women classes with special schedules for seminars and exams to accommodate students with small children, or providing student dormitories with nurseries (Engler 2017).

Although no such generous measures are known from Estonia, the introduction of free higher education facilitated obtaining higher education for both genders, and the number of female students grew remarkably in architecture

as well. Thus, throughout the Soviet years from the 1950s to the 1980s, the numbers of male and female architecture students at the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute and the Estonian State Institute of the Arts (today the Estonian Academy of Arts) were practically equal, with women even slightly dominating in the 1970s.[5]

Nevertheless, studying and teaching architecture was and, to a great extent, remains in essence a masculine activity. In Tallinn Polytechnic Institute, where architecture was taught at the end of the 1940s, the curriculum included a compulsory summer practice at a construction site where women were expected to bear equal workload with men. In the 1960s, the first year of architecture studies at the State Institute of the Arts meant half-days at the construction site with lectures and design classes taking place in the evenings. Regarding the lectures, seminars, and design classes, all the faculty staff during the Soviet years was male. None of the interviewees remembered having any female teachers, except the youngest ones studying in the 2000s, who were taught urban landscape design by Katrin Koov, a recent graduate herself. In 2019, the architecture department at the Estonian Academy of Arts had three full professors, all men, and woman to man ratio among the rest of the faculty was 13:56.[6] Furthermore, women among the faculty tend to teach supportive subjects and not the core subjects. This conforms to the international situation where recent examination of architectural training in Germany, the USA, and Canada by Marianne Rodenstein showed that the few female professors did teach subjects such as architectural history, planning, and environmental psychology, but that only a few of them actually taught architectural design (Kuhlmann 2013: 45).

The attitude of the male professors towards the female students was different depending on the personalities. While many legendary architecture professors were remembered as old-school gentlemen in spite of their certain quirks, almost all interviewees admitted to having experienced more or less open expressions of prejudice, diminishing, patronising or condescension:

> *It was common for the male professors to casually say that women did not know how to calculate. One of them declared that spatial geometry was essentially beyond a woman's comprehension. He left the impression that we shouldn't even bother. But this attitude was more common to teachers of construction engineering than to teachers of design.* (H, 69, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

Several others described more indirect patronising and an air of prejudice implied by small remarks like the professors' delight if the class contained only

two women among men, or conversely, their obvious disappointment on the first day in September when it turned out that the class consisted of predominantly women. The 'crits' – the feared and revered criticism and grading events whereby a design jury made up of several professors and teachers collectively interrogated and assessed the projects completed in the design class – often paid more thorough attention to the work of male students, especially if they were more eager to actively dispute the teachers' verdicts, and offered a more casual commentary to the female students, especially if they tended to be of a more quiet type. Such gendered behavioural patterns seem to be a universal problem, with a quantitative study involving 112 design juries of architecture schools in the USA concluding that not only were the female students given less time for presentation and discussion of their projects, but the female members of the juries were also interrupted much more frequently than their male peers (Kuhlmann 2013: 46). During the Soviet years, when there was a state system of job placement whereby all graduates were assigned a workplace in one of the centrally managed state design offices, the interviewees admitted that a kind of a pre-selection of the more promising male students took place during the study years, who were then offered job placements in the more creative and desirable EKE Projekt design office. In the post-Soviet decades, such a differentiation did not have any relevance anymore; however, now differences could manifest themselves in the context of design goals and solutions – it was pointed out that the male professors often expected bolder interventions and stronger architectural solutions, disapproving some female students' preference to work on a smaller scale and propose softer interventions, incorporating grassroots activism and community input. The latter confrontation certainly also sprung from generational difference as much as from a gendered one.

ESTABLISHING ONESELF IN THE PROFESSIONAL FIELD

While German and Anglo-American feminist scholarship has highlighted the difficulties women architects have had with getting commissions and establishing themselves professionally, and the wide-spread prejudices that women are only suitable to design dwellings or buildings related to nursing and care (Pepchinski 2017; Stratigakos 2016b; Scott Brown 1989), the labour system in the Soviet Union as well as in the socialist bloc in general included official job placement regardless of gender. Recent university graduates were officially assigned a professional position in the state design offices, which meant that soon women made up a significant proportion – up to half of the employees (Marciniak 2017: 65; Lohmann 2017: 178). At the same time, it also meant

that working was a constitutional obligation for both genders, and the location or position of the assignment – hence also the projects to work on – were generally not for oneself to choose. This situation meant that women architects were active in a very broad range of typologies and tasks, and apparently no discrimination based on building typologies took place. A brief typological survey of the production of Estonian design offices in the 1960s–1980s generally confirms this[7] – women architects authored all kinds of design projects ranging from industrial architecture, infrastructure, and urban planning to housing, hospitals, and schools. Still, there are remarkably fewer women architects who have designed the most representative public buildings, the commissions of which were usually directly assigned to a handful of top male architects in the offices. Also, women rarely rose to key leadership positions in the field in any of the countries of the Eastern bloc (Pepchinski & Simon 2017).

In the post-Soviet era, the legislation has mostly required open anonymous competitions for public buildings resulting in a number of remarkable projects by women architects or offices with female leaders or partners. At the same time, commissions of housing, office and commercial buildings are now increasingly driven by the real estate developers, a predominantly male-dominated field with its own power networks. The interviewees, professionally active in the recent decades, confirmed that all their private and corporate clients have been men, and that getting a hold in the respective networks has taken certain effort. Project negotiations and design meetings often include patronising situations, and one of the most common assumptions is that a woman in a design team would be only responsible for interiors:

> *Whenever I have been introduced as an architect at a meeting, the men at the table assume I deal with interior decoration*. (S, 75, personal communication, 29.09.2018)

> *It was taken for granted that the smaller details like stair railings, interior doors or anything like this were given to women architects to produce drawings for.* (A, 37, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

> *At school already, the male students were mocking that you would be the one to choose curtains*. (P, 33, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

> *There was a meeting concerning an urban planning project, and a municipal official asked me if there were any men coming to actually talk to.* (B, 42, personal communication, 6.12.2018)

> *At the beginning of the career, surely many a tear was secretly shed because of such pressure from the men at the negotiation tables.* (K, 45, personal communication, 9.11.2018)

> *It is frustratingly common that men from construction companies assume that you are incompetent simply based on your looks*. (L, 60, personal communication, 11.01.2019)

> *It was openly declared that such a responsible project could not be entrusted to young women because surely they would soon take the maternity leave and probably disappear after that.* (R, 73, personal communication, 15.11.2018)

Regardless of the age of the architect, the interviews brought out a number of such occasions of casual sexism, with most of the occurrences taking place during the post-Soviet era. At the same time, the respondents did not assign particularly great importance to those events but rather seemed to accept them as something inevitable best to be ignored. While accepting the given conditions in the professional field, there is a strong conviction that architecture is meritocratic: success only depends on personal talent and hard work. Instances of patronising and sexism are interpreted as singular occurrences and gendered discrimination is not seen as a structural problem – women practitioners want to believe that the problem can be addressed only in historical context and is surely something that has been left behind by now (Clark 2016: 16–19). The interviews confirmed that this attitude prevailed among the Estonian women architects as well – while admitting the instances of discrimination, they still firmly believed that it could and had to be overcome by proving oneself through talent and hard work. It is common knowledge that architecture is a discipline in which the culture of long hours is deeply entrenched and even glorified (Fowler & Wilson 2004; Burns 2016). In the Estonian context, this is exacerbated by cultural norms whereby women have traditionally seen work (either domestic or professional) not only as an obligation and self-justification but also, paradoxically, as a source of vital power in its own (Kirss 2002). Correspondingly, most of the interviewees stressed dedication and extensive working hours as an inevitable guarantee of high-quality design and success as an architect, internalising the masculinist values of exceptional effort and endurance, and often presenting the fact with pride:

> *Being an architect is not a job, it is a lifestyle. It requires full devotion. There are never nine to five workdays, but long evenings and weekends, unexpected extra tasks and changing deadlines to deal with*. (L, 60, personal communication, 11.01.2019)

> *Architecture is a profession of all or nothing. Surely you could also choose to just have a desk job at somebody's office but if you consider architecture your calling and a means of self-realisation, you have to devote yourself fully*. (V, 46, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

> *I have worked for more than forty years and during that time I have never taken longer holidays than a week. But mostly from Thursday to Sunday*. (R, 73, personal communication, 15.11.2018)

> *One of my children said that whenever she came home, regardless of the time of the day, she found me sitting at the desk*. (H, 69, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

Quite few respondents acknowledged the dangers of such singular devotion and expressed the need to find alternative working modes – albeit still secretly worrying that it could have a negative impact on the design results:

> *It all takes its toll. With running a design practice, position as the president of the architects' union, and small children to raise, I acquired extra abilities for multitasking. But it could happen that I did not have time to talk to my husband for days. He said he read the newspaper to get to know my whereabouts*. (M, 52, personal communication, 16.11.2018)

> *For the last years, we have tried to pay attention to the issues of mental health at the office. We have taken a conscious decision not to go crazy with the work. But of course, maybe the results would be better if we did, if we really pursued the extremes with each design consideration*. (A, 37, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

> *Somehow I have managed to pay a lot of attention to my family and children as well, in addition to design work. Although sure, if I had devoted myself more, I could probably have achieved more as well. But not everybody can be the prize winner. It is unhealthy to cultivate the culture where only the first prizes are of value.* (T, 48, personal communication, 12.12.2018)

> *The aim of the experiment [establishing an all-women design office] was to find alternative working modes where design work could be sensibly combined with having a family and raising children. But I have to say it did not really work out. You have to concentrate on designing 100%.* (K, 45, personal communication, 9.11.2018)

One of the problems is the lack of diverse modes and possibilities of being an architect. The prevailing heroic all-or-nothing attitude prevents working part-time, which is universally regarded with suspicion and strong prejudice (Burns 2016: 66). There is an overall lack of female role models in architecture (Women in Architecture 2018: 10), and especially when it comes to addressing the practice in ways deviating from the mainstream norms:

> *When I teach, there are as many girls as there are boys in an architecture class nowadays, and I can confirm that they are no less talented or hardworking than their male peers. But when they enter the job market, a radical difference comes in. This means that there must be some significant failings in the course of the education – we are not providing them with adequate models and tools to build up a career as a woman*. (V, 46, personal communication, 12. 11.2018)

So, women architects model their practice on masculine examples ingrained through studies focused on individualistic male masters, and on a later exchange with peers carrying on similar values and ethics. Failing to live up to these standards would be considered a weakness, and only very few acknowledge the necessity to challenge the standards themselves, let alone from a feminist position. It is characteristic that while high-achieving, successful and emancipated, practically all the interviewees were reluctant to associate themselves openly with feminism. Although seemingly paradoxical, such a stance was widespread already during the Soviet period when women felt deep ambivalence towards the feminist label and perceived emancipation as yet another directive forced upon them by the state (Moravčikova 2017: 49). A need to dissociate oneself from official Soviet ideology to support cultural and personal identity that would be based on resistance hindered appreciating the more empowering aspects of a feminist agenda. In the post-Soviet era, the reasons have shifted – now the prevailing reason for keeping away from feminism is the fear of being placed into a kind of handicap category:

> *Every time I get an invitation to present at a symposium or be included in an exhibition or a book, it has to do with me being a woman. Usually the organisers have trouble achieving gender balance, and I feel that I'll be filling a gap.* (V, 46, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

> *I have often found myself in situations where I get some kind of advantages or am being preferred to other candidates because I am a woman and they have a quota to fill*. (P, 33, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

> *I refuse to label myself as a woman architect – I am an individual. Sure, I find the issue interesting in a general sense, but I do not see it as my personal issue. No external labels can define me*. (A, 37, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

> *In my long career, I have often found myself as the only woman among ten to fifteen men around a negotiation table, and I have never thought that I should think of myself as different from them*. (R, 73, personal communication, 15.11.2018)

The handicap fear is universal; when in 2017, a list of 50 inspiring women architects was published by a popular design site dezeen.com to mark the international women's day, it provoked a passionate letter of objection from one of the included, Dorte Mandrup, stating, "I am not a female architect, I am an architect" (Mandrup 2017). A fierce discussion followed across the web and social media. Mandrup finds that as soon as a designer or a project is set into a "female" category, it ceases to be seen as a serious piece of work, and is presented as something beautiful and harmless, removed from the "real world" of "architecture of men" – the "female architecture" encompasses no corporate commissions, no tough competition, no skyscrapers, etc. And once a year, on the International Women's Day, the achievements in this handicap category will be praised, to be relegated to the margins for the rest of the time (Mandrup 2017). Other international female star architects have expressed similar sentiments, most significantly Zaha Hadid, the only woman to have individually received the most prestigious Pritzker prize,[8] who has also decisively rejected the attempts to address herself as a woman architect (Stratigakos 2016b: 64). The situation is definitely problematic and quite similar to the one in the arts scene where it has been observed that especially artists born around the 1980s–1990s do not want to associate themselves with the feminist label for fear that it would be marginalising and would work rather as a hindrance to the institutional recognition they are trying to achieve (Diaz Ramos 2016: 20). However, Karen Burns has pointed out that women practitioners' reluctance to embrace such categorisation should not be interpreted as a betrayal of a feminist position but that it can also be seen as a conscious choice to define oneself on one's own terms (Burns 2012).

As the general consensus in the architecture world supports the "all-or-nothing" concept of the discipline, it is easy to deduct that the reasons women often fail to make it to the top are to be found in their naturally smaller ambitions. Justine Clark has called this one of the most dangerous myths surrounding women's self-realisation in architecture (Clark 2016: 23). Her three-year

research project mapping women in Australian architecture clearly brought out both how commonplace and how ungrounded the assumption was – it is not the natural lack of ambition but rather the practical difficulties with attaining the necessary experience to proceed, the impact of gender bias in estimations of potential and competence, and the impossibility to build up a career in a way that would enable for periods with greater and lesser intensity that present the greatest obstacles to women's advancement (Clark 2016: 21). However, the interviews conducted with Estonian architects revealed that many women do share this assumption, at least to some extent:

> *A woman is a woman, maybe she is just not so ambitious. There are also very few women in politics, aren't there. Maybe they just do not want all that responsibility?* (M, 52, personal communication, 16.11.2018)

> *Women are nurtured to be modest. Often women do a lot of work in the background but for the public eye they prefer to push somebody else to the forefront. It's a shame, really.* (K, 45, personal communication, 9.11.2018)

> *If you look at other cultural fields, it's the same. Take music – a woman conductor is a rarity. There must be a reason – maybe it's a psychological problem?* (H, 73, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

For some women, the tendency to remain, more or less voluntarily, in the background might have to do with a very widespread pattern to work in tandem with their husbands or partners. Establishing a practice together with a husband has been a common choice for Western women architects since the early days of the Modern Movement (Colomina 1999; Marciniak 2017),[9] and when in the post-Soviet era the Estonian architects started to establish private practices, creating a small enterprise of a husband and wife was also fairly common. As only three of the sixteen interviewees had personal experience with co-working with their husbands or partners, the current selection did not really enable me to comprehensively investigate the issue and the answers rather represented their general understanding of it. Nevertheless, some interviewees admitted that such a mode of working entails role division whereby women often deal more with managerial tasks and negotiations, and men concentrate more on actual designing – an arrangement that could leave an impression, even if only subconsciously, that the male partner would be entitled to a larger share of the authorship and honour. But such a role division is certainly not a universal rule.

Inevitably, a husband-and-wife design team also brings up the issue of balancing work with family life – a difficult question for any woman architect but

even more for architect couples where the responsibilities are shared in both realms of life. The stance that combining architecture with parenting is an impossible task dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, based not on mere issues of logistics and time management but on a deeper conviction that the tasks require essentially opposing and contradictory characters (Stratigakos 2008: 284). Contemporary international research on these issues is divisive. Most of the surveys confirm raising a family as one of the major career obstacles – for instance, an overwhelming number of women architects in Australia pointed to remarkable difficulties within the architectural workplace once they had children (Clark 2016: 23). Family obligations mean that women have to consider their limited time resources very carefully, and in this situation they often decide to opt out of professional social life like after-work drinks, exhibition openings, and informal events, relinquishing the opportunities for networking and promoting their work to critics and journalists. Yet the architecture world is highly competitive and such socialisation, promotion, and building up one's public image is extremely important (Heynen 2017: 262). However, there is data that suggests that the situation is more complex than that and childcare cannot be the only issue to blame: a European survey pointed out that in France, where women are considered particularly good at combining children and work, only a third of the architects are women, whereas in countries where there is very little state support for families regarding childcare, like Bulgaria, Greece and Croatia, the proportion of women architects is the highest (Women in Architecture 2018: 12).

The assessment of this aspect in Estonia must take into consideration the specificities of the Soviet and post-Soviet context. The emancipated Soviet woman was a highly ambivalent construct: in the public and professional sphere, an equal contribution was expected from a woman but in the private sphere traditional and patriarchal expectations remained in place (Annuk 2015: 70). Thus, in reality, women were left with a double burden of work. For many, this was beyond their capacities, and inevitably left very little energy and time for the extra efforts necessary for reaching the top levels in architecture, such as successfully partaking in competitions, promoting their work in public, and participating in wider professional discussions. This could be the reason why even if the number of women architects working in the design offices was almost equal to men, only a handful of them have been recognised as canonical authors. While Valve Pormeister (1922–2002), the most successful and decorated woman architect of Soviet Estonia, highlighted for her exceptional work by several of the interviewees, was child-free, another high-achieving woman of the Soviet era, Irina Raud, enjoyed a highly unorthodox family model whereby her engineer husband took care of most of the domestic obligations, enabling

his wife to fully devote herself to self-realisation in the professional and social realms (Kaik 1991: 5).

In the post-Soviet era, there certainly has been movement towards a more egalitarian family model but the changes in cultural and social norms have been slow. The Soviet rhetoric of egality has left a problematic legacy – egality is often being conflated with Soviet ideology and thus seen as something unnatural, incurring scepticism and antagonism (Annuk 2015: 71). For the Estonians under occupation, the need to mentally dissociate themselves from anything related to Soviet ideology included a deep suspicion of feminism even if they benefitted from it in their everyday experience. At the same time, the post-Soviet transition meant a desire to turn back to pre-occupation, pre-war values and cultural norms, including the conservative gender roles of the 1930s. This combination still affects practitioners today and has made open and conscious embracing of feminism difficult even for those who actually share its principles. Needless to say, it deeply affects everyday practices as well. Most of the interviewees, both those having children and the child-free ones, admitted that in spite of the best efforts, the situation is still asymmetrical, and as a rule, women are bearing the bigger part of responsibility for children and family obligations.

DESIGN STRATEGIES AND CAREER GOALS

The question whether women have different design strategies or a different sense of space has been debated since the second wave of feminism. In the 1970s, the understanding that women have different priorities in designing and using space was inspired by concurrent feminist practices in the visual arts, one of the most influential being the Womanhouse project (1972), led by Judy Chicago, whereby a derelict dwelling near Los Angeles was filled with spatial installations by several artists exploring the ways how architecture and spatial organisation define gender norms and expectations, working as a means of discipline, normalisation, and patriarchal oppression. It has also been argued that women designers value more highly qualities like connectedness, inclusiveness, an ethics of care, everyday life, subjectivity, feelings, complexity, and flexibility in design (Franck 1989). A number of feminist designers from the second wave have also aimed at drawing inspiration from the female body, preferring round and curvaceous forms, designing spaces that embody aspects of enclosure and containment, and opposing rigid geometries and phallic towers. Significantly, practices defining themselves as feminist, with UK's Matrix as a pioneer, have explored alternative strategies of intervention into the built environment, employing a more inclusive approach, engaging future users in

the design process, contributing to consultancy initiatives, and bridging the gap between bureaucratic expert culture of planning and real estate development and the everyday level of the communities. They have also attempted at less hierarchical ways of organising the design process and managing the offices, aiming at various collaborative models and shared authorship. At the same time, developing feminist architectural practices has taken place in a lively dialogue with theoretical considerations, striving to relate feminist theory to architectural design and built practice to written text. Together, those initiatives have worked as an implicit yet powerful critique of architectural value systems. As a result, feminists have opened up definitions of architectural design to include process as well as product, drawing and writing as well as building, blurring the distinctions between design, history, and theory (Rendell 2012: 91). At the same time, naturally, the larger part of international women-led practices neither define themselves as explicitly feminist nor relate much to such aspirations, preferring to aim at succeeding in the mainstream architectural discourse. In those cases, claiming that there is no essential difference between how a man or a woman designs and what kind of space is being produced, often forms an important basis of their position (Mandrup 2017).

While none of the interviewed Estonian architects was ready to claim an openly feminist position, it was surprising to find out that the majority seemed to think that women do perceive space in a different way, that they often do emphasise and value different aspects of space than men, and that accordingly, they do approach architectural design in a slightly different way. The most commonly mentioned aspect was a certain sensitivity and a greater consideration of the existing context, in terms of historical as well as natural surroundings of the building being designed. Those qualities were equally highlighted either when talking about their own practice or when being inquired about the work of other, contemporary or preceding women architects whom they admired. The most common answer when asked about notable Estonian architects and specific qualities of their work was to point out Valve Pormeister, the most revered woman architect who has an undisputed place in the local architecture history canon as a modernist innovator from the 1960s–1970s. The Alvar Aalto-inspired work of Pormeister, offering a more nuanced, softer take of the Soviet modernism and integrating architectural spaces with considerate landscaping, definitely reveals a tactile sensibility and a keen eye for environmental and contextual aspects. But at the same time her position as the single most celebrated woman architect is somehow seen as standing in for all the women architects in general, as if her existence and universal appreciation would obliterate the problem of underrepresentation of all the others. She is sometimes seen as the ideal standard model for a woman architect whose design principles and

attitudes all the subsequent women should follow if they want to successfully fulfil the role. In the contemporary context, Siiri Vallner seems to have taken on the role of an undisputed model, the exceptional qualities of whose works are universally praised.[10] In both of their works, qualities like sensitivity, tactility, thoroughness, and consideration of the surrounding urban, natural and historical context were highlighted. Similar features were brought out also when talking about aspirations in their own work:

> *Sensitivity is extremely important. It does not mean that the new building should not be different from the existing ones and that it should completely blend in, but it should demonstrate a certain connection with its particular place. To design something only for the sake of standing out, of being trendy and eye-catching... okay, you might do that too, but you must be sure that it would also age well, otherwise it would be ridiculous in ten years already*. (T, 48, personal communication, 12.12.2018)

> *I am a nature lover, and when designing to natural surroundings you must blend in. But it is the same in urban context – each area, each urban district has its own character, its mood, and you should take it into consideration and try to maintain it. Direct contrast as a design principle is not something I would appreciate much. Sure, a scandal is always a way to get into the spotlight, but it is not sustainable*. (S, 75, personal communication, 29.09.2018)

> *I think women architects are more sensitive and take the existing context into consideration to a greater extent. To design a building that would fit into historical context with a certain conservatism is often a much bigger challenge than to create something new and outstanding. Maybe women are more ready to constrain their ego in this purpose*. (H, 69, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

At the same time, the "feminine" sensibility is paradoxically characterised with tropes that were often used by some of the modernist heroes themselves, such as mysteriousness, mood, and poetics of space, highlighting the subjective and even notoriously vague nature of architectural rhetoric:

> *The thing that I am looking for is a certain sensitivity, the plastic quality of space. We were taught to appreciate very rational floor plans but I don't think spaces should be all rational and rigid, I'm rather aiming at a hint of mysteriousness, a poetics of space. Spaces that have impressed me have*

> *not been rational at all but rather involve some arbitrariness that lends them a poetic feel.* (M, 52, personal communication, 16.11.2018)

> *What inspires me most is music, its ability to create a certain mood. Similarly, I strive for architecture that would be able to generate a mood, a distinct feeling*. (A, 37, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

At the same time it is acknowledged that contextuality and appreciation of softer values might not be characteristic to architecture designed by women but rather a more universal contemporary trend:

> *I think that our time has become, so to say, more feminine in general. Architects are more flexible, more open for cooperation, consideration of the user. This applies to many male architects as well*. (V, 46, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

> *There are feminine and masculine energies manifesting themselves, and nowadays certainly more feminine energies are to be seen in architecture – more sensitivity, attention to detail, less vigour and more indirect impact. It is not so important to ask if these aspirations come from a man or a woman*. (A, 39, personal communication, 18.10.2018)

The interviews also confirmed the stereotypical expectation that women are more willing to deal with the everyday aspects of space, and many of them consider this also something that distinguishes women's approach to design in general:

> *If a male client comes to commission a private house, he only describes the main rooms he sees necessary, like a large living room, a cabinet, a sauna. I always tell him that I also need to meet his wife who then details the spaces she needs, the aspects that are essential for convenient housekeeping*. (S, 75, personal communication, 29.09.2018)

> *Surely women architects think more of the small everyday details, like add the flowerpots to the balconies, or consider if there are enough playgrounds and places to hang around with kids*. (M, 52, personal communication, 16.11.2018)

> *The reason why I have always been interested in in-between spaces, the areas around and between the buildings, is that everybody uses these. Designing buildings can be quite elitist sometimes but space is actually*

> *an everyday phenomenon, something ordinary and practical that is meaningful for everybody. The everyday, democratic dimension of space should be appreciated more*. (K, 45, personal communication, 9.11.2018)

Another recurring aspect when discussing the design principles and attitudes towards work was the issue of ethics. Many high-achieving architects emphasised design as a social mission as opposed to design as a personal career, and many highlighted integrity as an important personal characteristic:

> *The social dimension of my work has been really important and I have devoted myself a lot to initiating, organising and managing things. But it has primarily been driven by a sense of mission rather than ego-driven career decisions*. (H, 69, personal communication, 15.10.2018)

> *When taking up a job as the city architect, it was most important to think strategically, to encompass a wider perspective of the city. I was invited to be part of the city government because I did not have political connections, I was independent in my decisions and would only consider the urban and architectural merit*. (R, 73, personal communication, 15.11.2018)

> *As a landscape architect you deal with environmental aspects, and it becomes clear really quickly that it is not only an issue of organising space for pedestrians or bicycles or cars on a certain lot but a part of a much bigger picture. And it is impossible to deal with these things professionally if you are not integrating all these considerations into your own personal life. You have to live what you believe*. (B, 42, personal communication, 6.12.2018)

> *We have a lot of projects that deal with social issues. It all starts with the choices as to what kind of commissions you take, what kind of competitions you choose to take part in. The deepest motivation for being an architect is the hope to change something for the better*. (V, 46, personal communication, 12.11.2018)

Thus, it may be deduced that women architects, regardless of their reluctance to openly associate themselves with a feminist cause, see the social responsibility as one of the primary motivations of their work, aiming at a more inclusive built environment. At the same time, their adherence to the view that women produce a more sensitive architecture possessing some kind of "everyday poetics" sustains an essentialist approach that contributes to continually delegating their work to a realm separate from male "mainstream" architecture.

CONCLUSION

The interviews with the Estonian women architects revealed that regarding studying architecture and establishing oneself in the professional field, many issues are universal and reflect the international situation. To a large extent, the masculinist architecture culture goes unchallenged, and the myths of the heroic individualistic creator and the belief in hard work and exceptional talent as the sole basis of success are mostly being universally accepted and also taken pride in. A certain suspicion concerning the open acceptance of the feminist position and the fear of finding oneself in a handicap category are also widely shared. At the same time, the Soviet and post-Soviet contexts add a specific twist occasionally resulting in paradoxical situations that bring out discrepancy between women's choices, actions, and rhetoric. Both Soviet and post-Soviet generations of women architects have a highly ambivalent relationship with feminism and with their possible options of defining and establishing themselves as architects and women. Cultural norms and attitudes rooted in the Soviet period have continued to affect the internalised expectations and self-perception of woman architects until today. In the Soviet period, the impulse to mentally dissociate themselves from anything related to Soviet ideology included a suspicion of feminism even if they benefitted from it in their everyday experience. Thus, the social conditions that seemingly celebrated women's emancipation did facilitate women architects' careers but in essence did not lead to substantial changes – neither in the masculinist architecture culture nor in the unbalanced canon. At the same time, the post-Soviet transition brought along a desire to turn back to pre-occupation values and cultural norms, including the conservative gender roles of the 1930s resulting in a peculiarly pervasive essentialism lurking beneath the surface. This combination still affects women's positions and attitudes today and can make conscious embracing of feminism difficult even for those who actually share its principles.

All the interviewed architects had been remarkably successful, yet while often finding themselves representing the minority in the higher ranks of architecture profession, they were reluctant to address it as a systemic problem – the achievements or failures of a woman architect were only assessed on an individual basis. Accordingly, extreme workload and difficulties of work-life balance were being accepted as inevitable in the profession, although the transition to post-Soviet period has brought along some acknowledgement of the problem. In terms of design principles and architectural qualities, there was a surprising consensus in seeing their approach as displaying characteristics that could be called feminine although it was also acknowledged that generally those characteristics are on the move to becoming more universally accepted, thus obliterating the need for distinguishing them as specifically feminine.

The interviews brought up a number of issues hitherto never addressed in the Estonian architecture discourse, such as gender parity, specificities of architecture education, gender-based networks of power in architecture, and the limiting effects of accepting the underlying myths of the discipline. They also constituted a highly instructive process of oral history production whereby in the course of the discussions, the interviewees often started to reframe their experience, considering for the first time their studies, career paths, and design processes from a feminist perspective. The knowledge produced was certainly intersubjective and pointed out both the relationality of the professional and private selves of the architects and the different possibilities of conceptualising their lived experiences. In that sense, interrogating the personal and informal aspects of architectural production and posing issues from a feminist perspective might help to start constructing a more nuanced picture of Estonian architecture culture and conditions of design production of the late Soviet and post-Soviet times.

NOTES

[1] All audio recordings and written transcripts of the interviews in the possession of the author. For the sake of anonymity, the interviewees are referred to by an intitial only.

[2] See https://arhitektuurimuuseum.ee/en/naitus/a-room-of-ones-own-feminist-questions-about-architecture/, last accessed on 8 January 2024.

[3] For the situation regarding gender balance and acquisition and donation practices at the Estonian Museum of Architecture, see Ruudi 2021.

[4] Various activist initiatives are aiming at correcting this situation; see https://womenwritearchitecture.wordpress.com, last accessed on 9 January 2024.

[5] The claim is based on the list of all graduates of the faculties of the Estonian Academy of Arts through the years as presented in the appendix of the book *Kunsttööstuskoolist kunstiakadeemiaks: 100 aastat kunstiharidust Tallinnas / From the School of Arts and Crafts to the Academy of Arts: 100 Years of Art Education in Tallinn* (Kalm 2014).

[6] Statistics gathered for the exhibition "A Room of One's Own: Feminist's Questions to Architecture" at the Estonian Museum of Architecture in 2019.

[7] Data and projects assembled for the exhibition "A Room of One's Own: Feminist's Questions to Architecture".

[8] Zaha Hadid was the first woman to receive this most desirable prize of the architecture world in 2007; later Kazuo Sejima (2010), Carme Pigem (2017) and Anne Lacaton (2021) have gotten the prize as one half of a design partnership, and Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara (2020) for their joint practice at Grafton Architects.

[9] For a more comprehensive overview of the tendency, see the website couplingstactic.com, an ongoing initiative for worldwide mapping of architectural husband and wife partnerships.

[10] See the list of Siiri Vallner's accolades attached to a profile story in *Maja: Estonian Architectural Review* (Kauge 2017).

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.wide

WOOING WEREWOLVES: GIRLS' GENIUS, FEMININE, AND INITIATION IN ANGELA CARTER'S AND MÄRTA TIKKANEN'S VERSIONS OF "LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD"

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Abstract: Girls' initiation contributes to cultural representations in Western folk fairy tales. This study examines girls' initiation in three contemporary versions of "Little Red Riding Hood", Angela Carter's "The Company of Wolves" and "Wolf-Alice" (1979), and Märta Tikkanen's *Rödluvan* (Little Red Riding Hood, 1986), in relation to "The Story of Grandmother", popularized by Paul Delarue (1956). Combining fairy-tale research with Kristevan theories on subjectivity, the feminine, and the genius, it examines how initiation assigns to the girl in Delarue's tale a social identity and role as a woman and how the contemporary tales negotiate this through the heroines' wooing of werewolves. The findings, presented in both written and visual forms, show the reach of the heroines' feminine psychosexual maturity, here called the girl genius, in Carter's and Tikkanen's versions, representing an alternative to traditional assumptions of girls' psychosexuality within normative heterosexuality.

Keywords: abjection, Angela Carter, the Kristevan feminine, the girl genius, girls' initiation, menstruation, Märta Tikkanen, the Kristevan subject, Little Red Riding Hood

INTRODUCTION

Girls' initiation, their admission into adulthood, plays an important part in Western folk fairy tales. Francisco Vaz da Silva (2008b: 487; see also Conrad 2008: 1041) argues that all oral folk narratives, or wonder tales, address

initiation simply because they have assimilated traditional representations and structures of initiation. This is seen in the oral folk tale "The Story of Grandmother", where, according to Yvonne Verdier (1997: 117), a menstruating girl is sent to her grandmother to undergo initiation. The tale that circulated in female culture (Verdier 1997: 118) dates to the 1000s (Tehrani 2013: 5) but was not transcribed until 1886 by Achille Millien in France, after which it became the front version of Paul Delarue's (1956) collection of twenty oral versions of "The Story of Grandmother". Delarue's "The Story of Grandmother" is better known today as "Little Red Riding Hood" (LRRH), ATU 333, by Charles Perrault (1697), and "Little Red Cap" by the Brothers Grimm (1812), who acquired the tale from women tellers. Although Perrault and the Brothers Grimm shift the focus from initiation to caution about rape (Zipes 1993 [1983]: 8, 33–37), elements of initiation persist in their versions. This is seen in Mary Douglas's (1995: 6) assertion that stories like LRRH are "verbal rites", handling women's matters of the past, and in Judy Grahn's (1993: 141) descriptions of the girl in the Brothers Grimm's LRRH as an "archetypal menstruant" and the story as a menstrual narrative, outlining initiation. Other examples of tales with an oral and initiatory past are "Sleeping Beauty" and "Beauty and the Beast". Perrault's "Sleeping Beauty" (1697) and the Brothers Grimm's version "Little Briar Rose" (1812) centralize an adolescent princess's deathlike sleep, caused by a splinter from an old woman's spindle, interpretable as a shift of menstruation and fertility from old to young (Vaz da Silva 2007: 243–244). The protagonist in Gabrielle-Suzanne Barbot de Villeneuve's "Beauty and the Beast" (1740) is likewise a girl, and the tale that revolves around her romantic relationship with an animal bridegroom might be the oldest of these fairy stories since it returns to Lucius Apuleius's "Cupid and Psyche", transferred to writing in the 200s AD (Swain 2008: 106–108). Yet, the oldest story that stems from oral lore and that is known to describe initiation (Wolkenstein & Kramer 2004: 23–25) is the Sumerian poem "The Descent of Inanna" (2000 BC), where in Grahn's (1993: 211–212) view, goddess Inanna visits the netherworld to do menstrual initiation rites.

Adolescent girls' initiation, like that of adolescent boys', has had a central meaning in human societies, although today these are nearly individualized in the Western world. Girls' adolescence is a transition between child and adult, innocence and maturity, where girls' identities, psyches, and bodies are particularly open, malleable, impressionable, and, therefore, suitable for initiation (Markstrom 2008: xi, 46–53). During adolescence, hormones impel massive biological, cognitive, and emotional changes, which, according to Carol A. Markstrom (ibid.: x), are only comparable to those of infants. Along with sexual maturity, Julia Kristeva (1990: 8) asserts that adolescence involves an

openness towards the border of the maternal, an individual's psychic space relatable to the mother and formed in infancy. This causes the adolescent's psychic transformation that traverses borders between differences in identity related to gender and sexuality, in reality and imagination. The function of girls' initiation has traditionally been to structure, through rites, cultural attitudes, values, customs, and beliefs related to perceptions and practices of women and menstruation on girls to shape desired physical traits, character, and personality (Markstrom 2008: 2–3). By assigning a socially fit identity and role to the initiate, defining girls' place in society as women, rites bridged the gap between child and adult and provided comfort and assurance in relation to the unknown (Perianes & Ndaferankhande 2005: 423; Markstrom 2008: 2). Nevertheless, owing to changes in education, employment, dependence patterns, and mobility in life transitions in Western societies, while diminishing the importance of age, adolescents' or young adults' individual agency has been centralized, highlighting individual choices, opportunities, and representations in contemporary initiation (Furlong 2009: 1–2). This shift to individuality was predicted by Arnold Van Gennep (2004 [1909]: 189), who claims that rites can be individual: "Sometimes the individual stands alone and apart from all groups". According to Inge Seiffge-Krenke and Shmuel Shulman (2011: 158–160, 166), a key component of adolescents' individual transition and social development today is the romantic relationship, describing an interest in romance, sexual, and emotional gratification with the other (or same) gender that highlights the adolescent's seeking of "a new love object" to replace that of parents (Kristeva 1990: 9). The ability to form and maintain relationships, particularly romantic ones, referred to as "object relationships" by Kristeva (2004a: 420), is central to contemporary initiation (Seiffge-Krenke & Shulman 2011: 165–166) because relationships with others change individuals' entire life courses (Heinz 2009: 7).

Romantic and sexual relationships in the young heroines' transition into adulthood are highlighted in British writer Angela Carter's and Swedo-Finnish writer Märta Tikkanen's contemporary narratives of LRRH. While Carter's short stories "The Company of Wolves" and "Wolf-Alice", published in *The Bloody Chamber* (1979), have been widely studied and the former even filmed in 1984, Tikkanen's novel *Rödluvan* (Little Red Riding Hood, 1986), translated into Finnish as *Punahilkka* (1986), has received less attention. According to Sinikka Tuohimaa's (1994: 169–176) study, Tikkanen's semi-autobiographical novel is violent and erotic, describing Märta's transformation from girl to woman and her romantic relationship with Henrik, her second husband, whom Märta names the Wolf, while she calls herself Little Red Riding Hood. Carter's tales are similarly classified as heterosexual erotica for women, focusing on the protagonists' romance with werewolves. Whereas Cristina Bacchilega (1997:

59) argues in her study that Carter intertextually returns to both written and spoken LRRH traditions to deconstruct normative sexual and gendered behaviour by re-evaluating girls' menstruation and initiation, Andrea Gutenberg reads Carter's tales as fables of sexual initiation, redeeming both the werewolf and the girl through abjection, an individual's inner abilities to transform, or contrastingly fortify, subjective identity (Kristeva 1982: 13–15). Merja Makinen (1992: 4–14) emphasizes that Carter constructs, with her protagonists, a female psychosexuality that is rooted in violence, perversion, "animalness", and drives, what Kimberley J. Lau (2008: 77) calls "an alternative erotics".

Expanding on previous research, this study addresses representations of initiation in Delarue's, Carter's, and Tikkanen's tales by colligating theories of female initiation in folk fairy tales by Verdier (1997) and Vaz da Silva (e.g., 2008a; 2008b; 2008c) with the Kristevan *subject* and *feminine* (e.g., Kristeva 1982; 2019). I am interested in how initiation in Delarue's "The Story of Grandmother" assigns a woman's traditional role and position to the protagonist and how the heroines in Carter's and Tikkanen's tales negotiate tradition through a transition that awakens, along with menarche and romantic interests, the heroines' libido that resembles the characteristics of feminine psychosexuality, as theorized by Kristeva, moving within normative heterosexuality, *the girl genius*, my adaptation of the Kristevan genius to foreground girls. The Kristevan *subject* emerges from an infant's relationship with and love for its mother, marking out psychic, or maternal, space through the drives of the body, but is not considered complete until the young child abjects the mother, by separating from her to become a subject proper within the symbolic (hence symbolic identity) through language, culture, and morals, taking up (or not) the father as a new love object (Oliver 1993: 3–5, 22–23, 32; Kristeva 2014: 69–72). A subject's *feminine*, emerging from maternal space and in a symbiosis with the masculine, forms an individual's psychosexuality (Kristeva 2019: 3–4). Through her writing on Hanna Arendt, Melaine Klein, and Colette Willy, who distinguished themselves within their respective fields, Kristeva (2004a: 419–427) discovered three characteristics of the *feminine* connecting these women geniuses: 1) a view of temporality as new beginnings or rebirth; 2) a self that connects to others; and 3) a unity of living and thinking, offering meaning to life (Kristeva 2004b: 222–227; Schippers 2011: 119–121).

The combination of initiation and Kristevan theories lends itself to a comparison of initiation and abjection. In an interview with Charles Penwarden (1995: 23), Kristeva likens the subconscious workings of initiation, or the rite of passage, with that of abjection. According to Kristeva, abjection is known to confront individuals' feminine and transform identity through a return to maternal space, for example, during adolescence (Kristeva 1982: 58; 1990: 8).

She continues that this is viewable in societies' coding themselves through rites and rituals "to accompany as far as possible the speaking subject on that journey" (1982: 58). Comparably, initiation in folk fairy tales follows Van Gennep's (2004 [1909]: 18, 90–106; see also Vaz da Silva 2008b: 487) division of passage into three stages, where *seclusion* removes initiates from childhood and places them at the entrance of *transition*, experienced in terms of transformation through death and rebirth, after which initiates are incorporated into adulthood in the *inclusion* phase. Following along from this, Delarue's tale highlights three representations of female initiation – needles and pins, cannibalism, and skin-shifting (Verdier 1997: 102; Vaz da Silva (2008c: 1026) – that relate to the werewolf. These are featured in Carter's and Tikkanen's tales, too, in terms of awakening the heroines' libido in ways that reach feminine psychosexuality and disclose the genius. This will be shown in written and visual representations in the conclusion, where the written exegesis and the creative work have been synthesized, and they both represent the same findings, the latter perhaps offering a challenge to readers by presenting a social taboo, menstruation, concerning female bodies.

"THE STORY OF GRANDMOTHER"

In "The Story of Grandmother", female initiation defines the protagonist's place as woman. Following her mother's instruction, the protagonist journeys into seclusion, marking a crossing into the maternal, with food and crosses paths with a werewolf. With the words "You are going to carry a hot loaf* and a bottle of milk to your grandmother", the mother in "The Story of Grandmother" sends her daughter away (Delarue 1956: 230), like in real-life initiations, where often in the company of initiators, initiates sought privacy from family and community (Frazer 1998 [1890]: 686–689; Grahn 1993: 24–35). Between the family home and the grandmother's house, the protagonist in Delarue's tale encounters a crossroad, figuratively representing a critical juncture that shows her crossing into the underworld, metaphorically marking the maternal. Considering initiation rites, Louise Carus Mahdi (1998 [1996]: xxiii) indicates that crossroads are initiates' crossing into the underworld of dead ancestors, spirits, and deities, functioning as sites of sacrifice, transformation, and the advents of initiators. At the crossroads, a werewolf in "The Story of Grandmother" greets the protagonist, asking her where she is going. Food marks the crossing in Delarue's (1956: 230) tale when the girl imparts that she is "taking a hot loaf and a bottle of milk to [her] grandmother". Food was shared among generations in French folk tradition, and children distributed the food, cooked by their

mothers, to their grandparents (Verdier 1997: 114). Verdier (ibid.: 111–114) interprets the werewolf, known for its ability to skin-shift, in Delarue's tale as a representation of the girl's grandmother, initiating her into womanhood. In many parts of the world, girls' initiation was overseen by senior women. Wiser in years, they managed women's secrets and life, transferred to girls in initiation rites (La Fontaine 1977: 424, 434). If rites, including initiation, demonstrate the border between an individual's maternal and symbolic (Kristeva 1982: 73), the crossroad is comparable to crossing the borders of an individual's symbolic identity into the maternal, which not only transforms but also threatens subjectivity; as Kristeva (ibid.: 64) argues, "Phobia alone, crossroad of neurosis and psychosis, and of course conditions verging on psychosis, testify to the appeal of such a risk." Standing at the crossroad, the werewolf in Delarue's tale controls the representations of female initiation, transforming the girl subject: needles and pins, cannibalism, and skin-shifting.

The fork in the road in the woods diverges into the roads of needles and pins, the first werewolf representation used in female initiation and a stand-in for menstruation, which highlights women's place (Delarue 1956: 230). The werewolf in Delarue's tale asks which way the protagonist will take to her grandmother's house, "the Needles Road or the Pins Road" (ibid.). Crossroads in folk fairy tales are symbols of magic rites, faith, and luck, and involve a choice of road, where an animal may influence which road to take (Garry 2005: 334, 338–340), like the werewolf in Delarue's tale. The girl chooses the Needles Road in Delarue's version, while in many of the other versions, she decides on the Pins Road. In a version from Forez, France, she defends her choice by stating, "I like the road of pins with which you can dress up" (Verdier 1997: 105). According to Verdier (ibid.: 101–106), needles and pins carry specific meaning in the context of sewing. Sewing was an important skill for girls, to whom the tale was told by women during the 1800s in areas of France and Italy, where it was a custom for peasant girls during a winter to live with an old seamstress. In addition to needlework, she educated them in socially fitting adult behavior and responsibilities, formalizing their place as women for the benefit of family and community. Here, pins carried a symbolic meaning, representing maidens through menarche and virginity, whereas needles resembled adult women's sexuality and blood (ibid.: 106–107). Women's bleeding and fertility in folk fairy tale are often described in terms of figurative language, for example, the spindle in "Sleeping Beauty" (Vaz da Silva 2007: 243–244), a red apple in "Snow White" (Girardot 1977: 292), and a red hood in LRRH (Verdier 1997: 103–104). Women's regular bleedings also figuratively connect with the werewolf's transformations under the full moon (Gutenberg 2007: 151–152). In Verdier's view, through pins and needles, the girl is instructed in women's roles, work, and sexuality,

defining her place as woman in French peasant society. Traditional values, old customs, and morals governed peasant life, dividing culture into young and old, women and men (Poster 1984: 222, 225). While Verdier (1997: 117) sees some power, freedom, and even rivalry between women within female culture, even more so among both genders in urban areas and the noble, it must be noted that rural peasant women were not free because, outside women's culture, adult men ruled over them and their children (Poster 1984: 225).

It is also noteworthy that in the context of initiation, the Pins Road in "The Story of Grandmother" calls attention to a cutting of girls' genitals, resulting from menstrual taboo, a prohibition or social exclusion (see Freud 1989 [1913]: 15–41; see also Kristeva 1982: 62–63). The Latin word for a pin, fibula, has motivated infibulation, a type of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), closing the vagina (Andro & Lesclingand 2016: 219). Fibula also has a second meaning of brooch (OED 2023), drawing attention to an old Egyptian custom of pinning brooches, fibulae, to female slaves' labia (Burrage 2015: 81). Romans correspondingly infibulated theirs; and chastity belts, forming mechanical infibulations, were popular among the noble in Medieval Europe (Andro & Lesclingand 2016: 220). A Greek papyrus of 163 AD claims the FGM to have been important in girls' initiation rites in Memphis, Egypt (Burrage 2015: 81). The FGM closely relates to taboo (ibid.: 12). Menstrual taboo, where it is practiced, typically starts around menarche and continues throughout women's menstruating life (Laws 1990: 23–24; Grahn 1993: 24–28). The menstrual taboo parts menstruants from others because female blood is considered a defiled substance (Kristeva 1982: 62–63; Freud 1989 [1913]: 15–41), seen in, for example, Leviticus 15:19–33 of the Old Testament and Torah. The Roman author Pliny the Elder (1855: 304–305) warned against the menstrual taboo in *The Natural History by Pliny*, 77 AD, arguing that proximity to female blood makes iron rust, ivory dull, and wine go bad; it makes mirrors fog, bees die, and dogs go mad; additionally, it causes fruits to fall prematurely, plants to wither, and crops to barren. According to Kristeva (1982: 73), defilement in a context of taboo points to the first boundaries of an individual's "clean and proper self", amounting to the maternal because mothers traditionally washed infants' bodies to keep their skin clean, which has provoked a view of women's bleeding, fertility and the feminine as unclean (Penwarden 1995: 23). Kristeva (1982: 15–17, 48) lists taboo as a form of abjection that operates in individuals' subconscious, upholding morals in the unconscious part of the mind, where it "prohibits, separates, prevents contact" (ibid.: 59). Defilement in taboo must be cleansed through rites (ibid.: 17, 70, 83). Such cleansing is separation rites (ibid.: 77), including the FGM, alluded to in the Pins Road of Delarue's tale, although a curbing of

female sexuality and generative powers is perhaps viewed as more important (ibid.: 70, 77; Burrage 2015: 12).

In addition to needles and pins, the second and third representations of female initiation, cannibalism, and skin-shifting, specific to the werewolf of folk fairy tales (Vaz da Silva 2008b: 1026), display abjection in the oral LRRH tradition. Because werewolves were well-known for cannibalism already in medieval lore (Zipes 1993 [1983]: 18–20), as Verdier notes (1997: 104), the werewolf in "The Story of Grandmother" only follows its instincts when it kills and eats the girl's grandmother while placing some of "her flesh in the pantry and a bottle of her blood on the shelf" (Delarue 1956: 230). Another oral LRRH version from Tyrol, Italy, takes particular relish in the werewolf's gruesomeness: "he had hung the intestines of his victim on the door in place of the latchcord, and he had placed the blood, the teeth and the jaws in the buffet" (Verdier 1997: 108). The grandmother's eating is present in Perrault's and the Brothers Grimm's versions, too, although the man-wolf is a man or a wolf, seemingly lacking capacities to transform between these. Because the werewolf cannot maintain its own stable borders of identity and also threatens its victim's, in Gutenberg's view (2007: 149–153), it resembles an abject, described by Kristeva (1982: 75) as a border "between the human and the non-human". The werewolf also rivals the maternal through an individual's imagination and introjection of a maternal construction that it must expulse to establish borders between its own inside and outside, between itself and the mother, in order to become a speaking subject (Gutenberg 2007: 153). This calls attention to Sigmund Freud's (1918) study of the "wolf man" who suffered from animal phobia, a fear of being devoured by animals. According to Kristeva (1982: 38–42; see also Oliver 2009: 286–287), the phobic object, sometimes a wolf, stands in for the mother that the child has assimilated through the mouth but is not yet introjected or displaced.

The protagonist in Delarue's tale transforms into a cannibal, the second werewolf representation in female initiation after she has entered her grandmother's house with food. Verdier (1997: 117) likens the granddaughter's sojourn with an "initiatory visit", turning the grandmother's house into a menstrual hut, used for initiation rites in a large part of the world (see Buckley & Gottlieb 1988: 12–13). The heroine in Delarue's tale accesses the "world of the dead" (Verdier 1997: 16), like Inanna, who entered the netherworld, the world after death, to meet her sister for initiation (Wolkenstein & Kramer 2004: 23, 33). In Delarue's tale, the werewolf requests that the heroine eats the meat from the cupboard and drinks the wine. While the heroine appears monstrous (Verdier 1997: 104), Vaz da Silva (2008a: 157) argues that in folk fairy tales, "women in different generations often ingest one another", making cannibalism a representation of female initiation. For example, the stepmother in the tale "Snow White"

demands a hunter to bring the princess's liver for supper (Vaz da Silva 2008a: 157). Cannibalism describes the initiate's "passage and transubstantiation, death and renovation" (Vaz da Silva 2008a: 157), reflecting intergenerational survival relatable to power, identity, and presence among blood-kin (Warner 1998: 63). Through the young generation's assimilation of the old, cannibalism has been incorporated into fairy tale magic, ensuring female fertility, rejuvenation, and rebirth (Bacchilega 1997: 56; Vaz da Silva 2008a: 157). Cannibalism is also about assimilating information (La Fontaine 1977: 425; Freud 1989 [1913]: 102). Ancient Egyptians and Tunisians ate their kings and queens before they were to die naturally, and in Paleolithic and Neolithic traditions, deceased relatives' brains were eaten, while their skulls were adorned, cared for, and provided for with food offerings and sought for advice (Skinner 1961: 71–86). The meal in Delarue's tale is more complex in the other oral versions, illustrating the girl's learning from women's cooking (Verdier 1997: 109, 115). In a Touraine version from France, the girl makes blood pudding of her grandmother, while in two versions from Tourangelle and the Alps, France, she cooks and eats her grandmother's breasts and nipples while a voice calls out, "You are eating my *titine* [nipples or breasts], my daughter" (Verdier 1997: 108).

Delarue's tale draws on the third werewolf representation in female initiation, skin-shifting. Werewolves in old lore are "skin-shifters", transforming between animal and human skins (Vaz da Silva 2008c: 1026). Kristeva (1982: 53) comments on skin in relation to experiencing abjection: "It is as if the skin, a fragile container, no longer guaranteed the integrity of one's own and clean self". Werewolves' shedding of skin represents transformation, death, and rebirth (Vaz da Silva 2008a: 279; 2008c: 1026), invoking "cyclical notions of time and being" and of menstruation (Vaz da Silva 2003: 349–350). Kristeva (1982: 15) argues that abjection similarly transforms individuals since "[a]bjection is a resurrection that has gone through death (of the ego)", resembling a second birth that recalls the genius's characteristic of new beginnings and rebirth. The girl's change of skin, or identity, in Delarue's tale is visible in the werewolf's prompting her to strip her clothes and share the bed. The peasants of rural France often shared the same bed, making children understand the secrets of sexual life early because they were aware of their own parents', families', or animals' sexual acts (Poster 1984: 230). Nicolas Edme-Restif (Poster 1984: 231) describes a not so innocent game, called Wolf, played in the historical Burgundy region, from where stem several versions of the oral LRRH tale. A wolf, always a boy, was blindfolded and placed in the middle. The other children threw their clothes on the wolf, who identified the owner based on their scent. If the wolf identified a girl, he ate her, which often involved sexual indecency or roughness, especially among older children. Van Gennep (2004 [1909]: 81) explains

that unclothing in initiation sheds initiates' identities, preparing for rebirth. Similar to the children that played Wolf, the girl in "The Story of Grandmother" removes her clothes and throws them, not on the wolf, but in the fire, like goddess Inanna, who was gradually shorn off her clothes and jewelry, then, hung on a peg for days from her own skin, as a celebration or maybe cleansing of women's fertility and bleeding (Wolkenstein & Kramer 2004: 33); resembling real-life menstrual rites were girls hung in hammocks for the duration of menarche (Frazer 1998 [1890]: 690–4). While Vaz da Silva (2008c: 1026) argues that the "wolfish girl" in Delarue's tale "ends up figuratively reborn", making her sexual debut and implying female empowerment between generations, Verdier (1997: 118) maintains that women's domestication of initiation, as seen in Delarue's tale, underscores "the traditional power and autonomy of women over their destiny". However, it cannot be overlooked that girls submitted to traditional values and roles of heterosexuality, where women assumed a submissive and passive role. Since pain was believed to ensure submission, the intercourse of real-life initiations, where it was practiced, could be violent, too (Delaney & Lupton & Toth 1988 [1976]: 32). Coitus sometimes coincided with marriage but equally often not (Van Gennep 2004 [1909]: 70). More often, an old woman perforated girls' hymen (Delaney & Lupton & Toth 1988 [1976]: 32; Van Gennep 2004 [1909]: 72), drawing attention to the werewolf-grandmother in Delarue's tale.

Sexual initiation was a sign of the completion of skin-transformation, the transitional phase, incorporating the initiate into society as an adult; she could now leave the menstrual hut. As a ruse to exit her grandmother's house, the protagonist in "The Story of Grandmother" asks the werewolf if she can go outside to defecate. Her mention of feces and the werewolf's wish to swaddle her, by doing it in the bed, refer to mothers' duties. Based on Edme-Restif's recalling (Poster 1984: 233–234), little girls were swaddled in their excrements more often than boys, as Mark Poster notes (ibid.), to ensure "helplessness and dependence" on others in French peasant communities, where individual autonomy was considered threatening. Yet, the girl in Delarue's tale maintains the boundaries of her clean and proper self by going outside to reveal herself and escapes. Unlike Perrault's and the Brothers Grimm's versions, where Little Red Riding Hood is swallowed by the wolf, albeit also saved by a hunter in the latter, the protagonist in "The Story of Grandmother" returns home as a woman.

MÄRTA TIKKANEN'S *RÖDLUVAN*, ANGELA CARTER'S "THE COMPANY OF WOLVES" AND "WOLF-ALICE"

While, like in Delarue's "The Story of Grandmother", Carter's and Tikkanen's tales centralize girls' passage into adulthood, menstruation, and fertility, their heroines' transitions recreate women's traditional place and roles through romance, which results in sex and a reach of feminine psychosexual maturity, displaying the genius's three characteristics. Food, crossroads, and werewolves acquire new meanings in Carter's and Tikkanen's tales, when the heroines take control of their own initiation, indicating a transition to romantic interests. Separation here conforms to breaches in parental attachments, allowing a development of romantic involvements (Seiffge-Krenke & Shulman 2011: 167–168). Kristeva (1990: 8–9) explains that youths' psychic reorganization coalesces with an opening towards the maternal, metaphorically described through the crossroad of Delarue's tale, questioning their own identifications and seeking of romantic object relationships with others. Similar to the mother in "The Story of Grandmother", the mother in "The Company of Wolves" prepares a food basket for her daughter to carry. However, as opposed to the former tale, the "strong-minded" daughter in the latter decides to visit her grandmother despite the dangers of wolves (Carter 2006: 133). She increases personal authority and individuation from her parents through decisiveness, according to Walter R. Heinz (2009: 3), a characteristic of contemporary transitions. The knife slipped into the food basket also demonstrates strength and bravery. The heroine's crossroad in "The Company of Wolves" is the woods, where a male werewolf in the form of a chivalrous, handsome hunter approaches her. Dressed in green hunting clothes and a hat, the werewolf resembles the Green Wolf of French lore, symbolizing fertility in spring rites (Monaghan 2011: 180). Terri Windling (2002: 4–5) links the green wolf with Jack in the Green of British lore, known as a trickster figure in green with a good eye for girls, appearing on May Day and symbolizing rebirth and regrowth. The crossing in Carter's tale turns into a "rustic seduction" (Carter 2006: 135), when the werewolf tries to double-cross the protagonist with a magic compass, showing the quickest way to her grandmother. Despite his little tricks, she finds him "dashing" (ibid.: 134) and promises to kiss him if he arrives at her grandmother's house first.

Similarly, the protagonists in *Rödluvan* and "Wolf-Alice" meet their romantic partners. Rödluvan in Tikkanen's tale carries raspberry juice and bread in a basket when crossing a path with a wolf in the woods, whereas Märta, working as a reporter in the parallel story, comes across Henrik, the Wolf. Märta describes the Wolf as soft, naked, vulnerable, and scared underneath his wild, reckless, and aggressive fur. Despite her innocence, Rödluvan, with whom Märta

identifies, is contrastingly viewed as "grym, glupsk och listen" (ferocious, wolfish, and lascivious),[1] leading the wolf into the depth of the woods (Tikkanen 1986: 165–166). Her whole life course transforms when she divorces and remarries, which indicates the decision-making and timing of contemporary transitions, transcending age, which carried significance in traditional initiation (see Heinz 2009: 3). Märta outlines a shift of romantic attachment from her father and first husband to Wolf, her true companion. Like Carter in "The Company of Wolves", Tikkanen, through Märta's outlining of male object relationships, indicates the heroine's separation from, or abjection of, the mother, girls' primary love object in early childhood, for the father as a new romantic relationship, resulting here in her heteronormativity and taking up a position of autonomous, speaking subject (see Oliver 1993: 55). Unlike the other protagonists who wander into the woods, in "Wolf-Alice" the wild is the protagonist's natural habitat as she is abandoned by her human mother. Wolf-Alice grew up among wolves. Her home is the lair, and her food is milk from wolves until hunters cross the lair and kill her wolf mother. The killing represents Wolf-Alice's crossroad, showing parting from her wolf mother. Wolf-Alice cannot speak and is, therefore, not a speaking subject, as Kelly Oliver (1993: 23) notes, one "becomes, through language, a subject proper". However, parted from her mothers, it may be argued that she is in transition to become a subject. The hunters bring Wolf-Alice to a convent, from which, because of her animalness, she is sent to work for the Duke, a werewolf. Like the heroine in Carter's "Wolf-Alice", who was snatched by hunters, animal brides in fairy tales are often victims of abduction, reflecting on men's fantasies of rape and domination and women's desire for autonomy (see Warner 1995: 310; see also Silver 2008: 41).

Tikkanen's and Carter's tales return to the first representation of female initiation, needles and pins, found in "The Story of Grandmother", and change it into a celebration of menstruation. Tikkanen's *Rödluvan* alludes to needles and pins, seen in "knappnålar och synålar och bröst och blod" (pins and needles and breasts and blood) (Tikkanen 1986: 227), where pins, needles, and blood stand for menstruation, whereas the addition of breasts indicates female fertility and sexuality. Carter plays with similar word combinations in her tales, for example, in "The Company of Wolves", the heroine's "breasts have just begun to swell … she has just started her woman's bleeding" (Carter 2006: 133). Furthermore, Carter and Tikkanen represent needles and pins through sewing. The grandmother in "The Company of Wolves" resembles an old seamstress, invoking initiation through her needle craft, "the grandmother who'd knitted her red shawl" and "the patchwork quilt she made before she was married" (ibid.: 133–135). However, rather than a continuation of women's traditional place, as suggested in Delarue's tale through the werewolf-grandmother (Verdier 1997:

110), her passing in Carter's tale indicates a break with traditional ways of doing initiation and needlework because the werewolf is here a male lover. The heroine in "Wolf-Alice" comparably breaks with the past by tearing up finely sewn garments, belonging to the Duke's dead mother, into rags to halt menstruation (Carter 2006: 144). Like the other protagonists, Märta in *Rödluvan* renegotiates women's place, assigned through sewing. Wearing her father's old suits, refashioned into girls' garments, her father's masculinity is transferred to Märta, employing a feminization of masculinity (Tikkanen 1986: 130).

In relation to menstruation, Carter and Tikkanen construct the heroines' feminine psychosexuality to expand into the genius's characteristic of time as new beginnings and rebirth. Kristeva uses menstruation and motherhood to describe how the view of time as new beginnings and rebirth works with the feminine: "Whether or not it is founded on the experience of menstrual cycles or of maternity, this temporality which breaks with linear time … seems to resonate with female psycho-sexuality" (Kristeva 2004b: 226). The protagonists in Carter's tales have arrived at similar understandings of time as cyclical using menstruation and sexuality. The heroine in "Wolf-Alice" "learned to expect these bleedings" and "discovered the very action of time by means of this returning cycle" (Carter 2006: 144), as well as combining blood and sexual fantasies that foregrounds the werewolf's relation to the moon and menstruation: "she woke to feel the trickle between her thighs and it seemed to her that a wolf who, perhaps, was fond of her, as wolves were, and who lived, perhaps, in the moon? Must have nibbled her cunt while she was sleeping, had subjected her to a series of affectionate nips" (Carter 2006: 144).

Like Wolf-Alice, the heroine in "The Company of Wolves" has gained an understanding of "the clock inside her that will strike, henceforward, once a month" while imagining sexual pleasure through her "magic space the entrance to which is shut tight with a plug of membrane" (Carter 2006: 133). In *Rödluvan*, Märta's perception of time as new beginnings and rebirth rises from her feminine that emphasizes maternity, positively enhancing female generative powers: "ungens doft och mjölkens, kvinnolukten, den går aldrig ur, den leder bakåt inåt neråt, djupt mot skogstjärnar och fuktig sammetmossa, fjärrantider, ursprungsåder sinnlighet, orgasmextas" (the kid's scent and the milk's, women's scent, which never disappears; it reverts backwards inwards downwards, towards a woodland pond and damp velvet feather moss, bygone times, mother vein, sensuality, the ecstasy of orgasming) (Tikkanen 1986: 273). Tikkanen's construction of giving birth as new beginnings comes close to Colette Willy's, one of Kristeva's geniuses, perception of herself as "hatching" (Kristeva 2004a: 210) or Hanna Arendt's, another of Kristeva's geniuses, view of natality, seeing each child as "a new beginning" because "each begins, in a sense, a new world" and has the capacity to begin again (ibid.: 423).

Carter's and Tikkanen's tales explore fears of the werewolf in folklore, highlighting sexuality and power and revealing the heroines' attachment to the werewolf as similar to the relationship between the girl and the beast in the tale "Beauty and the Beast". While Warner (1995: 308–309) maintains that many of Carter's fairy tales expand on the theme of "Beauty and the Beast", also making it prominent in "Wolf-Alice" and "The Company of Wolves", Vaz da Silva (2008a: 163) suggests that werewolves in Carter's tales represent dangerous male sexuality and female power. Of all nightly and woodsy creatures in folklore, the wolf is described as the worst in "The Company of Wolves". Through the werewolf theme, Carter (2006: 129) constructs homology between eating and sex: "once he's had a taste of flesh then nothing will do". The werewolf's erect penis when jumping on the grandmother to eat her in her home makes his sexual intentions explicit while also alluding to the eating of the grandmothers in Delarue's, Perrault's, and the Brothers Grimm's tales. Eating and cannibalism have been linked to coitus in literature since the turn of the 1500s (Partridge 1996 [1947]: 40–108), and werewolf lore was increasingly coupled with sexual perversion in the 1900s (Gutenberg 2007: 154). Comparable to the werewolf in "The Company of Wolves", the werewolf-Duke in "Wolf-Alice" is portrayed as a "corps-eater" and a "body snatcher", whose "eyes see only appetite" (Carter 2006: 142). The werewolf-Duke resembles the Beast in the tale "Beauty and the Beast", where Beauty, who has come to live with the "ugly male animal," performs tasks for him to retrieve his love (Vaz da Silva 2008a: 41). The heroine in "Wolf-Alice", likewise, assists the werewolf-Duke, knowing "no better than to do his chores for him", cleaning scraps of his victims every night from his bedroom (Carter 2006: 143). Like the Beast attracts his Beauty in "Beauty and the Beast" (Warner 1995: 308), the heroines in Carter's tales attach to the werewolves, despite their repulsiveness, reminding one of the abject, described as "a repulsive gift" that fascinates its victims while threatening the integrity of their identities (Kristeva 1982: 9). Animal grooms in fairy tales, like the werewolves in Carter's tales, represent the transformative powers of love (see Silver 2008: 41). Previously seen in the heroine's liking of the werewolf in "The Company of Wolves", Wolf-Alice's attachment to the werewolf-Duke indicates an increased object relation, significant in the context of both adolescents and the genius (Kristeva 2004b: 222–224; 2007: 715–717). While adolescents often submit to "amorous passion" and idealization of their love objects (Kristeva 2007: 717), the genius's ego cannot separate from its relationships (Kristeva 2004a: 420). Like the other werewolves here, the wolf in *Rödluvan* engulfs the grandmother (Tikkanen 1986: 226), while Henrik, the Wolf, turns to alcohol, affairs, and violence (ibid.: 177–274) because he is afraid of love, "han kan inte älska" (he cannot love) (ibid.: 167). Like Carter invokes the "Beauty and the

Beast" theme in her tales, Märta in *Rödluvan* hopes her love, indicating her romantic investment and increased object relationship, will change the Wolf's heart but nearly breaks her own (ibid.: 167, 271).

Tikkanen highlights cannibalism, the second representation of female initiation, in *Rödluvan* through the abjection of the heroine's mother, thus reversing the beast motif also seen in "Wolf-Alice". Of Tikkanen's and Carter's tales, Märta in *Rödluvan* remains most true to the cannibalistic representation of female initiation, earlier seen in Delarue's tale: "Vargen bjuder henne på en måltid som hon sent ska glömma dricker mormors blod och äter mormorns bröst" (The wolf invites her to a meal which she won't forget drinking granny's blood and eating granny's breasts) (Tikkanen 1986: 226). The first experience of cannibalism for humans is the infant's incorporation of the mother's breast (Skinner 1961: 71). Melanie Klein, also called a genius by Kristeva, discovered the infant's first notion of a self in relation to a partial object, the mother's breast, which occurs before her abjection (Kristeva 2004b: 223). Warner (1998: 146) likens the child cannibal in folk fairy tales, reversing the motif of the beast, with children's uncontrollable id, instinctual and animalistic desires, through "inner compulsions, especially greed and the ferocious survival instinct". According to Kristeva (1982: 39), for small children, cannibalism is a fantasy, dealing with the fears of losing the mother after having abjected her, as she writes, "I incorporate a portion of my mother's body, her breast, and thus I hold on to her". Equally fantastic to the infant, as its wish to devour the mother, is the fear of being devoured by her (ibid.: 4), which describes a feeling of maternal excess (Oliver 1993: 77). In another context, Warner (1998: 57) similarly describes cannibal parents in folk and fairy tales as excess. Märta in *Rödluvan* captures the essence of maternal excess through an ambivalence of devouring when stating that "äter inte Rödluvan upp sin mormor äter mormor henne" (if Little Red Riding Hood doesn't eat her granny, granny will eat her) (Tikkanen 1986: 226). These fantasies that doubtless are aggressive and sexual, too, coincide with the child's incorporation of language, culture, and morals (Kristeva 1982: 13, 41–44): The child replaces maternal loss with signs, gestures, and words (ibid.: 41). As Kristeva (ibid.: 79) writes, "I give up cannibalism because abjection (of the mother) leads me towards respect for the body of the other", the mother having turned into an other after abjection, helping the child separate from her and become autonomous (Oliver 1993: 61). Raised by beastly wolves that similarly understand neither human language nor culture, the protagonist in "Wolf-Alice", as Makinen (1992: 11) argues, is raised "outside of the social training of the symbolic" but nevertheless learns enough about this to become a subject proper, visible in her partaking in a congregation at the local church: "She lent them the assistance of her own, educated voice" (Carter 2006: 148).

The theme of "Beauty and the Beast" combines with cannibalism and skin-shifting, the second and third representations of female initiation, in "The Company of Wolves", unleashing the heroine's inner sexual being. Reminiscent of "The Story of Grandmother", the heroine in "The Company of Wolves" removes her clothes and throws them on the fire, indicating her skin-shifting. However, when the werewolf wants to eat her, too, knowledgeable that "the worst wolves are hairy on the inside", she bows to fate and meets his desire, realizing that she is "nobody's meat" (Carter 2006: 137) and changing the "passive terror" endured by the Brothers Grimm's Little Red Riding Hood in the wolf's belly (Makinen 1992: 5). Merja Makinen (1992: 10) points to Carter's use of "skin and flesh as signifying pleasure" in *The Sadeian Woman*, which through the protagonist's sexual passion in "The Company of Wolves" transforms "'meat' into 'flesh'" (ibid.: 11) and the werewolf into a "tender wolf" (Carter 2006: 138). The tale ends with romance through Carter's envisioning of a bizarre fairy tale wedding: "she will put the lice into her mouth and eat them, as he will bid her, as he would do in a savage marriage ceremony" (ibid.: 139). While Makinen notes Carter's fascination with "'beast marriage' stories" (ibid.: 9), Warner (1995: 307) argues that by exploiting the beast motif, Carter's heroines discover their own "force of nature" through the werewolves, only reflecting what already resides within; as Makinen (1992: 9) emphasizes, Carter's tales show that women can be sexually active and even perverse. The beast represents a sensuality that has traditionally been viewed as devouring but which, if embraced, is empowering because it provides "a new awareness of both self and other" (ibid.: 10), also viewable in Carter's "Wolf-Alice".

Similarly, skin-shifting and cannibalism of female initiation wed in "Wolf-Alice", displaying sexual maturity that reaches feminine psychosexual maturity seen in the genius's unity of living and thinking. Carter (2006: 146) constructs skin-shifting, in Wolf-Alice's own words, through "the new skin that had been born … of her bleeding". Carter (ibid.) also combines skin-shifting and cannibalism in Wolf-Alice's examination of her own skin and breasts, which for hours, she would lick and taste with her long tongue, indicating both pleasure and eating. Towards the end of the tale, by putting on a dead woman's bridal dress, which refers to marriage, Wolf-Alice reverses the representation of skin-shifting, her transformation. She sets out from the castle in the bridal dress and finds the injured Duke, shot with a silver bullet, in the graveyard. The villagers have decided to finish him because he abducted the bride, the owner of Wolf-Alice's dress. However, Wolf-Alice brings him to his bedchamber in the castle. With her long tongue, she licks "without hesitation, without disgust, with a quick, tender gravity, the blood and dirt from his cheeks and forehead" (Carter 2006: 148). As Makinen (1992: 11) observes, Wolf-Alice confronts her own desire "in all its unruly 'animalness'". While Lau (2008: 91) finds Wolf-Alice's response

"both tender and erotic", like the protagonist's picking of lice in "The Company of Wolves", in Makinen's (1992: 11) view, she brings the werewolf-Duke "into the world of the rational, where he too can be symbolized" (ibid.); however, in such a way that "flesh" makes "thought", that thought yields to instinctual drives (Kristeva 2004b: 225). Such is the genius's characteristic of the unity of living and thinking, also emphasized in Carter's characterization of Wolf-Alice: "how did she think, how did she feel … with her furred thoughts" (Carter 2006: 144). Like Carter, Colette Willy (2004) explores her furry thoughts through the minds and feelings of a dog and a cat in her short story collection *Barks and Purrs*. According to Kristeva (2004a: 85), pushing beyond "the limits of the sensory" with humor and simplicity, Colette tames her own animality through "extreme perceptions and desires as if they were those of a beast". Carter (2006: 149) constructs a similar kind of gentle animalness, displayed in the heroine's "soft, moist, gentle tongue" in "Wolf-Alice", which is very different from the protagonists' more violent animalness in "The Company of Wolves" and *Rödluvan*.

Tikkanen's *Rödluvan* similarly represents skin-shifting, through love and sex, which extends into feminine psychosexual maturity. Märta's shift of skin in *Rödluvan* is shown through death and orgasming, indicating her transformation: "strip-tease och eldsflammor och lilla döden, stora döden" (striptease and flames and little death, giant death) (Tikkanen 1986: 209). Märta, as Rödluvan, describes her libido as "riktigt skönt pervers och ful och härligt våldsamt snedvriden och hotfullt farlig" (really charmingly perverted and ugly and delightfully crooked and terrifyingly dangerous) (ibid.: 225). The heroine in "The Company of Wolves", correspondingly, seduces the werewolf, by kissing and violently ripping off his clothes, informed that without his human clothes, he is condemned to wolfishness. Lau (2008: 86) argues that the protagonist "opts for the bestial", revealing her own animalness and sexual agency. Nevertheless, unlike the sex in "The Company of Wolves" that, according to Makinen (1992: 9), is grounded in equality and recognition of "the reciprocal claims of the other", the Wolf in *Rödluvan* cannot control Märta in the sexual act because, as he laments, her pleasure is internal and "han blir utanför" (he is left outside) (Tikkanen 1986: 223, 273). Märta thinks that he is afraid to give in to her love (ibid.: 167), and it is not until he is dying that they reconcile in love (ibid.: 290). Yet, like the protagonists in "Wolf-Alice" and "The Company of Wolves", Märta's psychosexuality has a soft side, too, resembling maternity through her love and care for the Wolf and her own children, making the maternal part of the erotic because if the mother lacks the libido of the lover, a drive-oriented satisfaction, her eroticism, Kristeva (2014: 75) argues, would run "defensive or operational", impeding thinking. Maternal eroticism orients itself towards other beings (ibid.: 71), emphasizing the genius's inseparableness from others.

CONCLUSION

Figure 1. *Girl Geniuses I–III (2020). Carola Maria Wide ©.*

Addressing three representations of female initiation in folk fairy tales – needles and pins, cannibalism, and skin-shifting – in Delarue's, Carter's, and Tikkanen's tales, this study has shown how traditional female initiation in Delarue's tale allocates a social identity of the woman to the girl, by her taking up women's responsibilities, roles, and positions, and how the heroines in Carter's and Tikkanen's tales, while returning to traditional representations of female initiation and womanhood, transform them through romance and sex in ways that resemble contemporary transitions. The study has additionally compared the heroines' initiation with abjection: while initiation is not abjection, initiation rites function like abjection, through the return of a subject to the maternal, transforming and reconstructing the subject's identity. With the photographic series *Girl Geniuses I–III* (2020) in Figure 1, picturing the author's blood, I hope to demonstrate that abjection can be a regenerative force and that menstruation, like in Carter's and Tikkanen's tales, can be both beautiful and empowering for girls. Along with an awakening of the heroines' menstruation, love, and sexuality, using the werewolf as an adaptation of the beast, Carter and Tikkanen represent a reach of the heroines' feminine psychosexual maturity, the Kristevan feminine. The Kristevan feminine concludes here in the girl genius, which transforms and moves the heroines' identity as subjects beyond the ordinary and can, therefore, be considered as an active and agentive force for girls: a self that holds a capacity for viewing time as new beginnings and rebirth, that orients itself towards romantic others without losing itself, and, finally, that amalgamates living and thinking, instinctual drive and intellect to achieve wholeness. Such is the genius of Carter's and Tikkanen's girl protagonists. In

order to write of the feminine, one is sometimes bound to first experience it (Kristeva 2000: 120), which also suggests a certain genius of Carter and Tikkanen, which could be worth examining in the future.

NOTE

[1] All translations are my own.

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.demir

THE WILD WOMAN ARCHETYPE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MOTIF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN "BLUEBEARD" AND THE TURKISH FAIRY TALE "İĞCİ BABA"

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Abstract: Given that myths and tales are living and memory areas of archetypes, in this study the French tale "Bluebeard" and the Turkish fairy tale "İğci Baba" are compared both in terms of the wild woman archetype and the motif correspondence based on this archetype. In this respect, two tales are analysed based on archetypal criticism. Moreover, archetypal criticism paves the way for imagery analysis by making it possible to see the collective, universal, and archetypal image of women to be seen through the motif correspondence associated with the wild woman archetype. The correspondence of motifs based on the wild woman archetype makes it possible to compare "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba", which are texts from different geographical regions, cultures, and eras. The wild woman archetype and the motifs in the two tales, such as initiation, the forbidden secret room, the irresistible curiosity and desire to know, and the key, are strikingly similar. The encounter with the wild woman archetype in two texts can be explained by the suprapersonal, supracultural and universal character of the archetypes, and the strong correspondence between the two texts based on similar motifs can be explained by the universality of the fairy tales and supracultural motifs.

Keywords: Bluebeard, İğci Baba, archetypal criticism, comparative study, motif correspondence, wild woman archetype

INTRODUCTION

The tale of "La Barbe Blue" (Bluebeard)

The tale of "La Barbe Blue" (Bluebeard), written by Charles Perrault in 1695 and published in 1697, is a French tale that incorporates a number of myths and folkloric elements that have persisted for centuries. A blue-bearded man,

a magnificent castle, a forbidden room to test the wives, curiosity, and the serial murder of spouses have made a lasting impression on the readers' imaginations (Hermansson 2009: 3). This story, which is based on French oral narratives, has left its trace by evolving into or manifesting in various tales in different geographies throughout the ensuing periods (Hermansson 2009: IX; Tatar 1999: 138). The "Bluebeard" tale and its variants have been widely circulated throughout Europe, and it has become a cultural element in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Scandinavian countries, even reaching the Slavic tradition. It has become a common European tale (Lokke 1988: 8; Tatar 2004: 14). The fairy tale, which travelled through trade routes to places like Africa, India, and Jamaica, has evolved into numerous variations that reflect the distinctive dynamics of each geographic region (Tatar 2004: 14). It is also seen that the French and German versions of the tale reached North America and survived in various variants (Estés 1997: 39). "Bluebeard" has been retold many times, has inspired many narratives, and reflected in different forms in literature, painting, engraving, and cinema (Warner 1995 [1994]: 241–272). For instance, in the context of intertextual relations in the fields of literature, theatre, opera, film, etc., in English culture from the eighteenth century to the present, it is possible to come across many serious or humorous texts that can be connected to "Bluebeard" (Hermansson 2009). So much so that Arthur Rackham (1867–1939) and later artists portray Bluebeard as an Oriental, a Turk in trousers and turban, riding an elephant, and grabbing his wife by the hair when he prepares to behead her with a scimitar. In some retellings of "Bluebeard", the heroine is sometimes called Fatima and Bluebeard is given a name, such as Abomélique, and Bluebeard's fabulous estate is sometimes illustrated near Baghdad (Warner 1995 [1994]: 242). Likewise, the tale has been reflected in many texts from the eighteenth century to the present day in German literature (Davies 2001, 2002). It is plausible to assert that "Bluebeard" is a traveling story, with its traces appearing in various historical eras and geographical locations. Even though it is known that the story of Bluebeard originated in France and has been retold throughout different periods, including the postmodern era, there are also opinions that suggest its origins go back to late antiquity. In works such as Barzilai (2009), Hasan-Rokem (2003), and Tatar (1993, 2003 [1987]), the story of Eve and Adam in Genesis is cited as the source for "Bluebeard". In these works, it is claimed that the correlations, such as Eve's curiosity (female curiosity), succumbing to temptation, the sin of the Fall, and Eve's sin, foreshadow the direction that Perrault and other storytellers would take centuries later when they adapted the tale of Bluebeard and his wife. Zipes (2012) points out that "Bluebeard" is based on the oral tradition of the Bible as well as Greek and Roman myths in the context of intertextual relationships.

"Bluebeard" includes the following events: There once lives a man who has fine houses, both in the city and in the country, dinner services of gold and silver, chairs covered with tapestries, and coaches covered with gold. But this man has the misfortune of having a blue beard. This blue beard makes him look so ugly and frightful. Bluebeard who married several times before wants to marry a young woman and reaches this desire. Bluebeard and his wife begin to live in a castle. After a month had passed, Bluebeard tells his wife that he has to travel to take care of some urgent business in the provinces and that he will be away for at least six weeks. Before leaving the house, he gives his wife the keys to all the rooms in the castle but forbids her from entering a secret room in the castle. When Bluebeard embarks on a journey one day, the woman enters the forbidden secret room to satisfy her curiosity and comes across the dead bodies of his previous wives. She realises that Bluebeard is a serial killer. She is frightened and shocked. The key to the room, which she was about to pull out of the lock, falls from her hand. When she regains her senses, she picks up the key, closes the door, and goes back to her room to compose herself. But she does not succeed, for her nerves are too frayed. Noticing that the key to the room is stained with blood, she wipes it two or three times, but the blood does not come off at all. She tries to wash it off and even tries to scrub it with sand and grit. The blood stain does not come off because the key is enchanted, and nothing can clean it completely. When she cleans the stain from one side, it just returns on the other. On that very night, Bluebeard returns unexpectedly from his journey. He asks the young woman to bring him the keys. She is forced to bring all the keys. Bluebeard understands from the key tainted with the victims' blood that the young woman broke the rules, entered the room, and discovered the room's secret. He makes an attempt to murder the young woman for this reason. The young woman is saved by her two military-serving brothers and sister, Anne, and the story concludes with her happy marriage using the money that Bluebeard left behind (Perrault 1999: 144–148; 2009: 104–113). Like many fairy tales, "Bluebeard" is essentially grotesque. The tale, which is about a wealthy aristocrat who murders his wives and conceals wives' bodies in his cellar, juxtaposes opposites in an unsettling way, including youth and old age, beauty and ugliness, goodness and evil, violence and love, perversion and innocence, death and life. Besides, the intermingling of these incongruous elements challenge the reader's expectations and habits of thinking in a manner typical of the grotesque (Lokke 1988: 7). Although the grotesque is defined in various ways, it can basically be explained through the concepts of 'incompatibility', 'uncertainty', and 'abnormality' (Edwards & Graulund 2013: 2–8). The grotesque is a structure. The main characteristic of the grotesque is 'estrangement'. The nature of the grotesque is the combination of the familiar and the unfamiliar, or the distortion of the familiar. It is our world which has to be

transformed and the grotesque transforms our world. The grotesque constructs the world as a strange, estranged, and ominous place. This incompatible, unorthodox, uncertain, and estranged world directs the audience to suddenness and surprise. For this reason, suddenness and surprise are essential elements of the grotesque (Kayser 1963: 184). The deliberate blurring of fantasy and reality characterises the presence of the grotesque within the realm of the fantastic (Edwards & Graulund 2013: 7). The grotesque in the fairy tales opens the door to a never-never land beyond the demands of logic and verisimilitude. Fantasy and reality come together in an incompatible union. This situation creates inconsistencies and uncertainties arising from irreconcilable dimensions (Lokke 1988: 7). In most grotesques, it is observed that the normative, fully formed, high or ideal elements and the abnormal, undeveloped, degenerate, low or material elements coexist (Harpham 2006: 11). In this context, in "Bluebeard" the characters, events, settings, and descriptions that come together by the intertwining of fantasy and reality are exaggerated, distorted, unsettling, and shocking. The tale of Bluebeard juxtaposes opposites in an unsettling way and puts the abnormal alongside the normal. This structure of incompatible elements challenges the reader's expectations and habits of thinking in a way typical of the grotesque. "Bluebeard" exhibits a grotesque character in terms of its incompatible, bizarre, absurd, and distorted elements. It involves the combination of elements that are not typically associated with each other, resulting in a strange and unsettling effect on the audience.

The tale of "İğci Baba"

"İğci Baba" is "a tale in the *Billur Köşk* (Crystal Manor) tales, whose place in the Turkish fairy tale corpus is indisputable" (Saluk 2018: 44). *Billur Köşk* is the oldest fairy tale book in which fourteen folk tales are brought together. The first publication date and compiler/author of *Billur Köşk*, which consists of tales taken from the oral tradition, are unknown (Boratav 1969: 424). Alangu (1961: 5) surmises, by examining the features such as letters, paper, and printing style, that the first edition of *Billur Köşk* may have been printed in 1876, even though there is no printing year in the *Billur Köşk* books that he could find during his research in İstanbul libraries. Boratav (1969: 424) and Alangu (1961: 5) draw attention to the orientalist Georg Jacob's mention of a *Billur Köşk* book, which he obtained in 1899, without a publication date. Ertizman (2020: 32) emphasises that the tales in the *Billur Köşk* book were published in accordance with the linguistic and stylistic conventions of the nineteenth century in order to appeal to the intelligentsia by someone who was familiar

with the fairy tale books in Europe, and to enable the tales to circulate in urban life. Ertizman asserts that the compiler/transmitter/author altered the narratives he gathered from the oral culture environment in *Billur Köşk* in terms of language and style while preserving the original content and motifs of the narratives. Since the narratives belong to the public, the compiler/transmitter/author presented the book to the reader as a fairy tale anthology without mentioning his own name.

In my research, two *Billur Köşk* books were found in the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library, registered with the place number 813 BİL 1304 H/1886 k.1/12 and the publication year of 1886, and the place number 398.2 HİK 1325R/1909 k.1/1, with the publication year of 1909, respectively. In both books, the tale of İğci Baba is included under the name of "Hikâye-i İğci Baba". "İğci Baba", which was registered with the place number 5965/SÖ 1326; 1920 k.1 in the Seyfettin Özege Department of the Atatürk University Library and published independently in 1910 under the name of "İğci Baba ile Üç Kız", was also found.[1]

The tale of "İğci Baba" is also included in the *Billur Köşk* books published in the republican period in Turkey (Server Bedii 1341/1925: 111–117; Alangu 1961: 130–140). The tale of "İğci Baba" can also be found in compilations of fairy tales collected and published from various Anatolian regions. The fact that "İğci Baba" tale appears in Günay's *Elazığ Masalları* (1975) and Alptekin's *Taşeli Masalları* (2002) compilation works demonstrates that this story is widely known in Anatolian geography as a component of oral tradition.

In the tale of "İğci Baba", an elderly man named İğci Baba, who sells spindles and consumes human flesh, runs into three sisters while they are out shopping. Three sisters want to buy spindles for knitting cotton, but none of the spindles please them. Thereupon İğci Baba says that the beautiful spindles are in his house and invites the girls to his house. The oldest of the sisters accepts the offer. İğci Baba and the young woman go to İğci Baba's cave on top of a mountain. When they reach the cave, İğci Baba forces the young woman to eat human flesh. She refuses and he kills her and hangs her on the wall in two pieces. Then İğci Baba goes back to the sisters' house. The two sisters ask İğci Baba where their older sister is. İğci Baba says that he married their older sister to the son of a shah. Afterwards, İğci Baba says that he can also marry them off to a rich husband if they want. The middle sister accepts İğci Baba's offer and goes to his cave with him. In the cave, İğci Baba forces the young woman to cook and eat a piece of meat from her sister's corpse. Then İğci Baba kills the young woman who refuses to eat human flesh, and hangs her on the wall in two pieces. İğci Baba goes back to the sisters' house the next day. The youngest sister asks İğci Baba where her middle sister is. İğci Baba says that he married her older sister to the son of a rich merchant. After that, İğci Baba says that he

can also marry her off to a handsome and brave son of a rancher if she wants. Finally, İğci Baba deceives the youngest sister and takes her to his cave. The young woman finds many other people's corpses in the cave along with those of her sisters. She discovers that İğci Baba is a serial killer and cannibal. As he did to her older sisters, İğci Baba attempts to force the young woman to eat human flesh. However, the girl deceives him and persuades İğci Baba that she eats human flesh (in reality, she does not eat it). As a result, İğci Baba believes that she obeys him and gives up the idea of killing the young woman. İğci Baba gives the young woman the key to forty-one rooms in the cave so that she will not get bored and can walk around when he is far from the cave. He says that she can open the forty rooms but forbids entry to room forty-one. The young woman visits the rooms one day when İğci Baba is not in the cave and discovers that they are filled with various jewels and valuables. She also unlocks the door to room forty-one out of curiosity, where she encounters a charming young man. The young woman releases the young man from captivity. The young man informs her that İğci Baba is a witch and shows her the way to use a trick to remove three strands from İğci Baba's hair so that İğci Baba will sleep for forty days and they can escape. The young woman does as the young man says and plucks three strands from İğci Baba's hair. The young woman and the young man flee as İğci Baba nods off. They go to the city and live there happily. On the forty-first day, when İğci Baba notices that the young woman and the young man have fled, he goes directly to the city and discovers the young woman's house. İğci Baba, who appears to the young woman in the guise of a poor old man, asks the woman to host him and give him food. The young woman takes him home. The young man realises that the person is İğci Baba as he is returning from the bazaar, but he does not want the young woman to know this, as he does not want to alarm her. The young couple retires to their rooms after dinner, while the old man (the witch) sleeps in the area designated for him. The young man does not fall asleep, but the young woman does, unaware of what is happening. The witch (the old man) awakens in the middle of the night, walks around, and spreads the magic dust of the dead soil all over the neighbourhood. Everyone falls into a deep sleep. He places a bottle of dead soil by the young man's bedside when he gets back to the young woman's home. Thus, the young man also nods off to sleep soundly. When the young woman is awakened by the old man (the witch), he begins beating her with a stick in his hand. The young woman prays to God for help as she begins to scream in agony from the violence she has experienced. Then the room's wall splits in half, a light appears in the centre, and a grey-haired man instructs her to break the bottle by the young man's bed. While attempting to flee from the old man (the witch), the young woman strikes the bottle with her foot and breaks it. The young man wakes

up and rushes to the aid of the young woman. After nailing the old man to the ground with the stake brought by the young woman, the young man burns him, and throws his ashes into a stream. The young couple, who saved the entire world from the witch's evil, sells the jewels and valuables they have obtained from the witch's cave. They live happily with their two children in wealth (İB 1326/1910). The grotesque style that Lokke (1988: 7) describes as a general feature of the "Bluebeard" thus applies to "İğci Baba", as it does to many other fairy tales. Youth and old age, beauty and ugliness, good and evil, perversion and innocence, death and life – in short, opposites – intertwine in "İğci Baba" just as they do in "Bluebeard" to form a disturbing combination. In "İğci Baba", much as in "Bluebeard", the normative, high or ideal elements coexist with the abnormal, degenerate, low elements. The characters, events, settings, and descriptions that come together in the blending of fantasy and reality are magnified, distorted, disturbing, and frightening. In "İğci Baba", abnormality reigns over normality, creating a strange, unsettling, and dark atmosphere. In a manner typical of the grotesque, this structure challenges the reader's expectations and cognitive habits by combining incongruous elements. In "İğci Baba", the young woman not only survives the strange, absurd, and abnormal events she encounters, but also emerges victorious in her battle against İğci Baba, all thanks to the spirit of the wild woman within her. By embracing the power of her wild side, she brings harmony and normalcy back into her life.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Archetype is a concept that Carl Gustav Jung used together with the collective unconscious. Jung divides the unconscious into two layers: personal unconscious and collective unconscious. The personal unconscious is the superficial layer of the unconscious and is the field of reflection of personal experiences. The personal unconscious is based on a deeper, innate layer, rather than on personal acquisition or experience. This deep layer is not individual but universal, and, unlike the personal psyche, corresponds to more or less the same content and behaviours everywhere and in all individuals. In other words, because of its universality, it is the same in all people and serves as the common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature. This deep layer is the collective unconscious (Jung 1969: 3–4). As a result, the collective unconscious is suprapersonal and serves as the source of images, imaginary visual thoughts and archetypes that are shared by all of humanity. These collective images, visuals and thoughts that exist in the common psyche universally from the beginning of humankind till the present are called archetypes (Jung 1969: 42). Independent of personal

experiences, the archetype appears in thoughts that are determined by the collective unconscious in accordance with universal laws. As inherent components of the unconscious, archetypes have a compelling and guiding character. Individuals' emotional, mental, and imaginary words are frequently shaped by archetypes present in the collective unconscious's innate structure (Neumann 2015: 4). Hence, archetypes are hereditary structures that are a part of everyone's collective unconscious. They are lifelike images that, throughout time, have coexisted with the fundamental laws of human nature. Therefore, there are as many archetypes as normal human situations (Walker 2002: 4). The collective unconscious is an impersonal, utterly universal phenomenon and the carrier of archetypes. The oldest and most universal ways of thinking in existence, archetypes are constantly re-enacted in the collective unconscious and take on various manifestations without altering their fundamental nature. The common image world of humanity, mental models, and archaic images are all examples of archetypes, which have a rich historical background and can be found in even the earliest texts (Jung 1977: 164; 2010: 13–15). These archetypes, or primordial images, are the result of human creativity and can be found in a variety of forms across time and space (Jung 2010: 12). For instance, the mother archetype, one of the fundamental components of the collective unconscious, is represented by various archetypal images in various geographies, eras, and texts that go deep into history, but its core theme is motherhood. The mother archetype can take on many different guises in this regard (ibid.: 14–15). Every human condition has a single archetype, but each archetype has an indefinite number of empirical statements, according to this theory. In other words, each archetype is associated with numerous behaviours and ways of thinking, as well as numerous archetypal images. An archetype can thus generate an infinite number of archetypal representations, which are sometimes referred to as visualisations or personifications of the original archetype. Rather than being archetypes, god and goddess images are cultural representations of archetypal images (Walker 2002: 13).

Archetypes are an archaic character group which includes mythological motifs in terms of both meaning and form. Myths, fairy tales, legends, and folklore all contain mythological motifs in their purest form. Some well-known motifs consist of "the figures of the hero, the redeemer, the dragon (always connected with the hero, who has to overcome him), the whale, or the monster who swallows the hero" (Jung 1977: 38). Therefore, archetypes can always emerge spontaneously in a similar or identical way among all people, and they do so through mythological motifs (Neumann 2015: 13). In this respect, myths and fairy tales are the main reflection and memory areas of archetypes. It is possible to follow in depth the recurring/transmitted forms of the collective representations that come to life in myths and fairy tales (Jung 1969: 5).

Within this context, the wild woman archetype, as Estés calls it, is a universal concept that refers to the freedom found in the essence/nature of women, based on the idea that over time the nature peculiar to women is plundered, suppressed, oppressed, worn out, ignored, or compressed into certain patterns, like wild life and wild nature. The wild woman archetype derives from the historical origins of the women who are conditioned today to be everything for everyone, and represents the inherent freedom, strength, endurance, courage, ability to adapt to any situation, and ability to survive in any circumstance. This imagery appears in myths and the earliest narratives, and the wild woman archetype, which is the conceptual equivalent of this imagery, is related to identifying and remembering the women who have been suppressed and devalued in the historical process, with the oldest roots specific to their free nature. Therefore, the wild woman archetype encompasses women's existence as individuals, self-creation, and voice-making from myths and the earliest narratives to the present (Estés 1997: 1–2). The wild woman archetype provides the solution to her struggle to live a happier and more equitable life in accordance with her own skills and interests while overcoming various acts of gender socialisation, male dominance, and disregard for her psyche (Bölükmeşe & Öner Gündüz 2020: 250). Through the wild woman archetype, tales, myths, and stories give us the chance to travel in history to explore the wild nature of women and to understand their free nature. The terms 'wild' and 'woman' refer to a woman's inherent freedom and open the door to her deeply ingrained suprapersonal and supracultural psyche. Because of this distinct, fundamental, and universal psyche, women are born with a strong, resilient, and free nature, and because of this essence, they resemble one another (Estés 1997: 4–5). The wild woman archetype therefore exists in the collective unconscious and is valid for each woman's nature in a suprapersonal and supracultural realm. This nature is the source of the attitudes, behaviours, and actions of women to create themselves and to stand on their feet strongly in the face of threats of all kinds to their psyche. This wild and free nature, which is unique to all women, has undoubtedly been represented by various archetypal images in numerous narratives, beginning with myths and fairy tales.

Archetypes from ancient times to the present are stored in myths, tales, and stories. Narratives are the main carriers of archetypes, and thus is the archetype of the wild woman, which is depicted in the narratives from a variety of perspectives, representations, and artistic interpretations (Estés 1997: 15). In this regard, the wild woman archetype, which represents the same, constant wild nature of women, is encountered when the narratives of various geographies, cultures, and ages are taken into account. In myths and fairy tales, looking for traces of the wild woman archetype is also a critical issue for feminist criticism in-

sofar as archetypal criticism is concerned. In studies on the connection between fairy tales and feminism, Haase (2004: 14–17) notes that one of the key strategies has been to look for the voices of women in fairy tales, to illuminate how these voices have been reflected historically, and to elevate the collective female voice. In this respect, analysing the reflections of the wild woman archetype in various tales is also about seeking and announcing the collective, universal, and archetypal voices of women.

In the context of cultural representations, it is natural to search for archetypes in the writings of different eras, cultures, and geographical regions, to trace their presence, and then to extract different fictional representations of the same archetype, since archetypes are suprapersonal and supracultural. In this study, the appearances of the wild woman archetype in the tales of "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" are analysed. The prominence of the motif correspondence based on the wild woman archetype has facilitated the comparative analysis of "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba". It is also possible to explicate the motif correspondence between the two texts by pointing to the universality of tales and the motifs they have established in the supracultural realm. The motif correspondence between "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" includes the motifs of initiation, the forbidden secret room, irresistible curiosity and desire to know, and the key.

As was already mentioned, the researchers believed that the tale book of *Billur Köşk*, which contains "İğci Baba", was published in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the motif correspondence between the two texts can be explained by the supracultural and universal nature of the motifs in myths and tales, or it can also be assessed as the reflections of the motif in "Bluebeard" tale, which started to travel around various geographies centuries ago, on one of the Turkish tales. The Department of Seyfettin Özege at the Atatürk University Library has a Turkish translation of Charles Perrault's fairy tales, which is catalogued with the place number 28/S [y.t.y.] and the fixture number 0106260-61 (n.d.). The "Bluebeard" tale is included as "The Man with the Blue Beard" in Mustafa Hami's (Pasha) 116-page translation of *Acâyibü'l Hikâyât* (Mustafa Hami?: 20–27). As stated in Okulmuş (2015: 7–9) and Turan (2015: 14–45), "Mustafa Hami Pasha, who has many copyrighted and translated works, died in 1878/1879". Based on this, it is possible to argue that the book titled *Acâyibü'l Hikâyât*, which contains the tale known as "Bluebeard", was published in the 1870s or earlier.

Against this background, this study seeks to discuss the tales of "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" comparatively, in terms of the wild woman archetype and the motif correspondence in relation to this archetype. The two tales are analysed based on archetypal criticism. The wild woman archetype and its appearance in both tales are discussed, and implications are examined based on the primary motifs (initiation, the forbidden secret room, irresistible curiosity and desire to know, and the key) that form the motif correspondence between the two tales.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Initiation

Should the tales of "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" be considered as the narratives of Bluebeard and İğci Baba (male figures) or should they be read as women's tales despite their tale names? It is best to consider Bluebeard's young wife, who is the youngest of the siblings, and in "İğci Baba" the young woman who is the youngest of the three sisters, as the tales' main protagonists, with Bluebeard and İğci Baba serving as the tales' antagonists and opposing forces against young women. Both young women come across serial killers who hinder, test, and intend to kill them as opposing forces. Although the two fairy tales, "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba", are named after the male characters, the action revolves around female characters. Both Bluebeard and İğci Baba are the "monster/witch, one of the archetypal fairy tale characters that frequently appears in tales" (Thompson 1946: 35) in the context of the evil and darkness they represent. In addition, İğci Baba embodies another archetypal fairy tale character, the "cannibal" (Thompson 1955–1958), in that he forces the young women he takes to his cave to eat human flesh. İğci Baba is a character distinct from the helpful old man that appears in many Turkish folktales and has a lethal function with his cannibal identity. The portrayal of İğci Baba as a cannibal can be interpreted through the emergence of unconscious feelings of fear and hatred toward elders, who are thought to exert a suppressive influence on individual identities in society (Yolcu 2009: 323). As a result, both male characters are bad people who restrict the freedom of young women, ban them, and try to kill them. Young women complete their initiation process through their struggle against these malevolent masculine forces. According to Tatar (2004: 4), many commentators have emphasised that, despite the male character appearing in the title of "Bluebeard", the tale is about Bluebeard's wife, and the young woman who must contend with a murderer is at its centre. Estés (1997: 46) interprets "Bluebeard" from the perspective of the Bluebeard's wife and concentrates on the archetypal traits of the young woman battling a predator who ensnares women. Bacchilega (1997: 110–111) also points out that "Bluebeard" is a tale of initiation in which the protagonist successfully confronts death because she is bold and clever or because she has strong community ties. She unlocks the forbidden chamber thanks to bravery as well as curiosity. The initiation process makes the heroine the protagonist of the tale. It is best to read the tale of "İğci Baba" as a story of a young woman who struggles against İğci Baba and defeats the malevolent male power in the story's centre, even though the name of the story is given in reference to the male figure, just like the tale of "Bluebeard".

Both tales contain the initiation processes of young women. When young women engage in conflict with the masculine opposition, are put to the test by male subjects, succeed in the test, go through an awakening or change, discover the wild woman within them, and eliminate the threats to their psyches by moving from ignorance to knowledge, it is possible to consider young women as dynamic characters. As a result, the role of male figures in both tales can be explained by the malevolent counter-power function that forces young women to go through their initiation and pushes them to awaken and discover the wild woman inside them. These are all compelling reasons to read the stories as those of young women.

From myths to contemporary texts, being tested and passing the test are two of the most crucial stages of the initiation processes of the heroes. The hero goes on a journey in the process of self-realisation, equipping themselves with the skills they need for themselves or for life, and initiation. In this journey, they are tested, pass various tests, and successfully complete their initiation in the exam they faced (Campbell 2004 [1949]: 89, 227). Bluebeard is a cruel hunter, and both his young wife and Bluebeard's previous wives are naive prey who fall into the hands of the hunter (Estés 1997: 46). As a malevolent force that inhibits and dominates women, Bluebeard represents darkness and ferocity (Osborne 2014: 58). In "İğci Baba", too, the three sisters are naive prey who have fallen into the hands of the cruel hunter, the predator, the dark power. Only the youngest sibling can escape from the cruel hunter. The awakening and activation of the wild woman within her is what ultimately saves her. Bluebeard's young wife and the youngest sister in "İğci Baba" are archetypal tale figures who initially fall into the hands of the hunter, then are tested, and pass the test successfully, and finally survive by completing the initiation process. These young women innately possess the wild woman, who represents the liberated nature of all women, but it waits to be discovered and revealed. Actions of masculine power, in other words hunters, toward young women, as well as the circumstances they create for them, serve as triggers. The main trigger that sets off young women's irresistible curiosity and desire to know more is the prohibition of masculine opposing forces. Both stories feature male characters who forbid young women from entering the rooms to which they give their keys for putting them to the test in an effort to establish their dominance over young women and to convince them that they are in charge of their interactions with them. Both young women are victims of hunters who suppress their psyches with the prohibitions they impose, push them to the edge of death, and render them docile while putting them to the test. They are saved from the cruel hunters' grasp when the wild woman within them awakens. Therefore, the prohibitions of male figures, who are in confrontation with

both women and pose a threat to their psyches, initiate actions and events that prepare the emergence of the wild woman in both women. The young women begin the process of enlightenment by exploring the room where they were forbidden and acting to satisfy their curiosity and desire for knowledge aroused by the restriction imposed on them. This is the awakening of the wild woman within them. Thanks to the influence of this wild woman, they overcome the ban imposed on them as a reflection of their desire to know and realise the danger they face when they enter the forbidden room. They complete their initiation process with their struggle against the masculine opposition power that threatens their existence, and they create themselves. As a result, as Tatar (2004: 6) notes, the young woman becomes an archetypal fairy tale figure who is a victim, trickster, and survivor due to the young woman's dominance by Bluebeard, her struggle to survive against Bluebeard, and her search for a way to get rid of the danger she faces. The same is valid for the young woman who is engaged in a fight against İğci Baba, a powerful antagonist. As an archetypal tale character, the young woman resembles Bluebeard's wife in that she becomes a victim, trickster, and survivor, respectively. Thanks to their determination and perseverance in the face of formidable foes, both young women successfully complete their initiation process and take on the characteristics of the same wild woman. What Estés said about Bluebeard's wife also applies to the young woman in the "İğci Baba". The innocent young lady unwittingly falls into the hands of the evil, natural destroyer, who in folklore, myths, and dreams seeks to annihilate the psyche of all women. The young woman, who is struggling to realise herself in the face of the natural predator of psyche, is wiser, stronger, and recognises the cunning destroyer of her own psyche at a glance when she manages to escape at the end (Estés 1997: 43–44). Since the dawn of human history, various manifestations of initiation and rebirth have been noted in various cultures (Eliade 1958). The wild woman inside of them is what gives young women the victory over the natural destroyer of their psyche and what allows them to survive in "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba". The awakening of the wild woman in them and the awareness process they experience refer to initiation, which also means their rebirth. Both tales feature maturing young women who develop their own unique psyches and experience rebirth as a result of the perilous adventure they have to face with death. In "Bluebeard", the young woman is saved from the destroyer of the psyche by her brothers, while in "İğci Baba", the young man she saved from the forbidden secret room aids in her rescue. The happy marriages they make at the end of the tale, based on their own decisions, and beginning a new life can be seen as the metaphorical equivalent of this rebirth. It should also be noted that the young woman's successful rescue of the young man who was being held captive by İğci Baba can

be seen as a separate example of the wild woman's strength and her capacity to outweigh masculine power when necessary.

Forbidden secret room

One of the primary motifs in fairy tales is the "forbidden secret room" (Thompson 1946: 90, 482). In the world of tales, it is common to come across rooms that cannot be opened or entered. One of the best-known tales connected to the myth of the forbidden room is "Bluebeard" (Hartland 1885: 193–194). "Bluebeard" is about the allure of the forbidden room and breaking the ban with the curiosity and desire to know aroused by the prohibition in the heroine. The seductive charm of the forbidden room along with the curiosity it arouses in the person opens the door to a closed, secret, dark space rather than to the vast expanse of the wonderful worlds in traditional adventure narratives (Tatar 2004: 2). The tale of "Bluebeard" is built on three main components, which are a forbidden chamber, an agent of prohibition who also metes out punishments, and a figure who violates the prohibition. The story is framed by the sense of wonder the forbidden room inspires, the disobedience shown to the one who is forbidding, and the repercussions of curiosity and disobedience (Tatar 1999: 138–139). "In more necessarily general terms, the Bluebeard fairy tale is a nexus of variants related by themes: curiosity, forbidden chambers, punishment, wife murder" (Hermansson 2009: 3). The forbidden room is a metaphor in "Bluebeard" for not having someone do it, rendering one passive, and denying one the opportunity to learn or discover. Every spouse who is inquisitive and wants to know/learn is portrayed as a skeleton in the fairy tale's forbidden room (Bölükmeşe & Öner Gündüz 2020: 262). The forbidden secret room in "Bluebeard" also exists in "İğci Baba". The forbidden secret room in the cave in "İğci Baba" is analogous to the forbidden secret room in "Bluebeard" in terms of masculine power not letting women do it, rendering them passive, and also depriving them of knowing/learning. In both tales, the forbidden secret room is a means used by the malevolent forces threatening their existence to test the young women's obedience to the order/ban. Malevolent masculine forces employ this tool to put young women to the test while forcing them to abide by the prohibition, establish their superiority, and impose their authority. However, they are unable to succeed because the wild woman within young women awakens and vanquishes the evil force.

Estés (1997: 50–51) points out that Bluebeard's teaching his wife an ostensibly psychic compromise by telling her to do what she wants aims to create a false sense of freedom. The forbidden secret room is a sign of the authoritarian attitude of male characters, despite the fact that the opposing masculine

forces' assertion that young women can enter all rooms but the forbidden one seems to give them a sense of freedom. Bluebeard and İğci Baba try to instil in young women the notion that they are in control of the bilateral relationship and can impose a ban by placing a ban on a room, even though they give the young women a false sense of freedom by saying that they can visit rooms other than the one they have banned. While pitting young women against antagonists as participants in the conflict, the forbidden secret room also piques young women's curiosity and desire to know. The wild woman in both women is compelled by this desire to rebel against the male forces that forbid them and stifle their psyches. The fact that they have the keys to the rooms is alluring in terms of putting an end to their curiosity and desire to know that emerged with the prohibition. They are drawn into a movement by their curiosity and desire to learn. Tatar points out that many narratives, including "Bluebeard", are repetitions of a main biblical plot: the Genesis narrative of the Fall (1993: 96), and describes Bluebeard's young wife as one of Eve's daughters because of her curiosity and disobedience (ibid.: 110–113). According to Warner, "Bluebeard" is a version of the Fall, and Bluebeard's young wife resembles Pandora, who opened the forbidden casket, as well as Eve, who ate of the forbidden fruit. "Bluebeard" is subtitled "The Effect of Female Curiosity" or "The Fatal Effects of Curiosity", just like the stories of Eve and Pandora (Warner 1995 [1994]: 244). "İğci Baba" also bears a subtitle "The Effect of Female Curiosity" or "The Fatal Effects of Curiosity". Similar to Bluebeard's wife, in "İğci Baba" the young woman's curiosity leads to the decision to enter the forbidden room, which becomes the turning point of events in "İğci Baba".

The young women engage in a variety of actions and events that are directed toward the desire to find out what is behind the door without considering the circumstances they are in or the potential repercussions they may experience in both fairy tales. With the key Bluebeard gave her, the young woman in "Bluebeard" unlocks the door to the forbidden secret room, discovers the corpses of Bluebeard's former wives, and finds out that her husband is a serial killer. Under the influence of her curiosity and desire to know more, the young woman in "İğci Baba" opens the forty-first room of the cave using the key that İğci Baba gave her, just like the young woman in "Bluebeard", and encounters a handsome young man there. The young woman releases him from captivity. She finds out from the young man that İğci Baba, a cannibal and serial killer, is also a witch, and discovers how to get rid of him. As a result, young women enter the forbidden secret room and fully comprehend the threat that masculine power poses. This is a crucial stage in the initiation process because it marks the change from ignorance to knowledge. The young women are currently involved in a movement that can be attributed to spontaneity. The wild woman

archetype is a resource that can be used to explain the internal drive and desire for knowledge that young women have. The young women can challenge the dominating attitude toward them, break the law, and transition from ignorance to knowledge thanks to the inspiration from this source. They have completed a crucial step in the initiation process by discovering the wild woman they have kept inside, which allows them to see the true nature of the evil forces that pose a threat to their existence.

From the earliest periods to present, spaces like cellars, dungeons, and caves have been used as initiation environments in stories and are symbolically related to one another. They are locations where heroes seek the truth, shatter taboos, succeed under pressure, eliminate threats to their psyche using reason and/or labour, chase away, change or destroy the murderer of their psyche, defeat evil forces, reach the self-actualisation, and discover themselves (Estés 1997: 59). They play a significant role in Turkish culture and beliefs, as they do in many other cultures. According to Turkish cultural geography narratives, the cave is a place where a person discovers who they are, comes to terms with who they are, learns new things, goes through a transformation, and starts down the path of maturation, usually on a symbolic level (Çetindağ 2008: 443–444). In both "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba", the forbidden secret room/cave plays a significant role in the awakening of the wild woman in the psyches of young women, on a mythical and symbolic level. The forbidden secret room or cave, with the alluring direction created by the prohibition and secrecy, is a place where young women can escape the control of malevolent masculine forces, find inner light in the grim, corpse-filled, dark environment they enter, create their psyches, and a happy and bright place for themselves by gaining strength from the wild woman who awakens inside of them. Therefore, the castle in "Bluebeard" and the cave in "İğci Baba" – forbidden secret spaces – serve as catalysts for human transformation and initiation in both fairy tales.

Irresistible curiosity and desire to know

What makes the young women in "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" characteristically similar is their irresistible curiosity and desire to know. With the allure of the key that was given to them and the forbidden secret room, both young women are drawn by an overwhelming sense of wonder and a desire to learn the secrets hidden behind the door. In both tales, the evil power in front of the young women perceives their curiosity and desire to know as disobedience, and both Bluebeard and İğci Baba want to punish them for the disobedience shown against them. Thanks to the latent power of the wild woman awakened within

them, the women withstand Bluebeard's and İğci Baba's desire to punish and kill young women. Bluebeard and İğci Baba are defeated and killed by wild women. The wild woman awakening in the presence of Bluebeard and İğci Baba, the embodiments of the malevolent male power, and displaying her strength is analogous to birth and enlightenment. The meeting of darkness and light and the subsequent triumph of light over darkness can therefore be seen as one of the primary oppositions that constitute the grotesque structure in both tales.

Tatar (1999: 141) draws attention to the intellectual origin of the young woman's curiosity and desire to know in "Bluebeard". Her curiosity drives her to become a committed and enthusiastic researcher in order to uncover the information in the forbidden secret chamber in the castle. The young woman in "İğci Baba" exhibits intellectual curiosity and a desire to know, similar to the young woman in "Bluebeard". She becomes a determined and enthusiastic researcher who, because of her intellectual curiosity, wants to explore every room and discover the secret of the forbidden secret room. The emergence of the wild woman and the change from passivity to activity are thus connected to the investigative nature of both young women. They take a proactive stance against evil forces once they both quench their curiosity about the forbidden secret room and discover its secrets. Even in "İğci Baba", the young woman inquires of the young man she encounters in the forbidden secret room as to how they might first get rid of the witch (İğci Baba). The question of "O beautiful young man, is there a way to kill this witch and get rid of him?" (İB 1326/1910: 9) highlights the young lady's proactive attitude, the wild woman's intellectual curiosity about learning and knowledge, as well as her bravery and tenacity in the face of nefarious male power.

In this context, it can be said that "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" are narratives that focus on "women's curiosity, not the desire to conceal pathological murderous behaviour and the crimes of Bluebeard" (Odajnyk 2004: 263) and İğci Baba. "Bluebeard" differs from fairy tales about romantic conflicts based on male-female relationships because of the woman's irresistible curiosity and desire to know, and in this way, it is distinguishable from the folkloric norm (Tatar 2004: 3). Although the young woman in "İğci Baba" develops a romantic relationship with the young man she saves, leading to their marriage at the end of the story, this circumstance pales in comparison to the young woman's conflict with İğci Baba, her curiosity about the forbidden secret room, her desire to know, and her realisation of the wild woman within her. We see the young woman in "İğci Baba" acting against threats to her existence, engaging in conflict for her own self-realisation, and displaying intellectual curiosity and a desire to learn in the context of the wild woman archetype, rather than in romantic relationships and conflicts. Therefore, the irresistible curiosity and the desire

to know that we find as motifs in many narratives, including fairy tales, are concepts peculiar to the wild woman that the young women in "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" carry within them. The irresistible curiosity and the desire to know serve as catalysts for them to break free from their limitations, face the malevolent power that threatens their existence, and transition from ignorance to knowledge and realisation of their own potential.

The key

The key is another motif we come across in the context of the wild woman archetype in "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba". According to Odajnyk (2004: 265), the achievement of self-integrity and rediscovering one's lost aspects of the self are both represented by the key, a symbol of knowledge, an inner/spiritual journey, and understanding that has reached maturity. Young women are initially passive and unaware of the wild woman within them in both tales. They have not yet taken action against people who pose a threat to their existence. They are even given keys to test their obedience. The fact that Bluebeard and İğci Baba forbade young women from entering a room they had given them the key to while claiming they could enter any other room in their home demonstrates how they use the key as a testing device. In both tales, malevolent masculine forces attribute the meaning of domination, power and authority to the key and put young women to the test to obey their ban. Estés (1997: 50–51) argues that Bluebeard began his destructive scheme by using the key to ban a room while giving his wife the freedom (a false freedom) to move around within the boundaries he established. The young woman is not truly free because Bluebeard forbids her from learning about himself and puts her to the test by demanding obedience through the key. The skills that women possess on a symbolic level can also be considered the key. The key is intended to incapacitate the woman and hinder her from activating her faculties. In "Bluebeard", the desire of the masculine mentality to deny women their abilities reflects the negative attitudes toward women in the context of gender socialisation. The restriction of one's abilities for alleged freedoms by social norms is represented by the masculine power's prohibition on using the key to the forbidden room even while giving the key. Bluebeard's desire to enforce masculine mentality norms in settings where the man is not physically present, and to send the message that conforming to masculine norms is appropriate in all circumstances can explicate his decision to leave the castle after giving the young woman the key to the forbidden room. Bluebeard wants to compel young women to conform to social norms and to establish masculine power in settings where he is not present (Bölükmeşe

& Öner Gündüz 2020: 260). The key also recalls the story of "Eve in the Garden of Eden". According to Tatar, there seems to be a consensus among critics in their comments on "Bluebeard". The magic of the key and the use of the key to satisfy curiosity in "Bluebeard" are seen as symbolic parallels to succumbing to temptation, the sin of the Fall, and the sin of Eve in the story of Eve in the Garden of Eden (Tatar 2003 [1987]: 159).

In "İğci Baba", similar to "Bluebeard", the key is used with the same purpose. The key, given under the condition of non-usage, serves the purpose of neutralising the young woman by prohibiting and inhibiting the activation of all her abilities, while also functioning as an instrument to subject her to a test. İğci Baba aims to convey to the young woman the importance of adhering to norms established by male power. That İğci Baba, as in "Bluebeard", leaves the cave after giving the young woman the key to the forbidden secret room is the result of his unshakable conviction that it is necessary to adhere to the masculine norms of mentality wherever they apply and to act according to them in all circumstances, whether he is present or not. Similar to Bluebeard, İğci Baba tries to assert his masculine dominance in settings where he is not present, and coerces the young woman to conform to the norms he has established. Bluebeard puts the young woman to the test, using the key as a symbol of supremacy and to illustrate his power. The key to the forbidden room piques the young woman's interest and forces her to choose between fulfilling her curiosity and obeying. In reality, Bluebeard and İğci Baba both anticipate that the key will be used in a transgressive manner, giving them an excuse for a new victim.

The young women satisfy their curiosity and discover the forbidden secret room's secret in both tales by using the key. The key offers young women the opportunity to awaken their inner wild woman, in addition to allowing them to see the true nature of those who pose a grave threat to them. Through the key, they experience a transition from ignorance to knowledge regarding the destroyer and learn the true faces of the people confronting them. They also realise the danger they face. In fact, the process of noticing and knowing results in a state of noticing/knowing about oneself as the wild woman inside of them awakens. They realise the active, counteractive, and unyielding aspects of themselves, which leads to maturation and improvement. They fight the destroyer and triumph over the destroyer of the psyche when they pay attention to the voice of the wild woman inside them, their free nature. The young women, who have attained full knowledge, learning, and understanding thanks to the key, actually complete their inner/spiritual journey by confronting their destroyers and struggling against them. They discover the wild woman and become the subject of a journey that leads them to happiness.

In "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba", the "bloody key as sign of disobedience" (C913) (Thompson 1955–1958), which we come across in many fairy tales, represents knowledge, learning, discovery, and initiation for the young women. The young women, the youngest of the siblings, are no longer as naive as at the beginning of the tale, in that they have matured by discovering the wild woman in them and have revealed the latent power of their free nature. The key is also the initiator of events that bring the young women to a happy ending. Therefore, "a woman's psychic empowerment begins with opening the door of the room she is forbidden to enter" (Bölükmeşe & Öner Gündüz 2020: 261). Thanks to the key, the young women who solve the mystery of the forbidden secret room face their destroyers, get rid of them, and reap the reward of listening to their inner wild woman and finding happiness.

CONCLUSION

It can be said that tales offer a chance to trace the history of the fictitious representations of archetypes given that myths and tales are places of reflection and memory areas of archetypes (Jung 1969: 5). In this regard, when examined through the lens of archetypal criticism, fairy tales naturally present a wealth of information about archetypes as they serve as mirrors of archetypes. Tales from various cultures can display motif homology or correspondence with universal concepts, values, and phenomena when the supracultural/universal nature of archetypes is combined with the universality of tales and the motifs they create in the supracultural field. The wild woman archetype used by Estés (1997) to express the free and wild nature of women, as a synthesised reflection of the archetypal and feminist approach, can be seen in the stories of various cultures throughout history in a variety of fictitious forms. The wild woman archetype encompasses all forms of activism in which women come to terms with who they are by moving past gender socialisation, masculine discourse, and gender stereotypes and fusing their psyche with their free and wild nature. As a result, the wild woman archetype can appear in fairy tales in a variety of fictitious forms and motifs.

This study examined the wild woman archetype and the motif correspondence associated with this archetype while comparing the French fairy tale "Bluebeard" and the Turkish fairy tale "İğci Baba". It also sought to understand the collective, universal, and archetypal voice of women in various geographies. The analysis and interpretation of the selected tales revealed the female image associated with the wild woman archetype. As a result of the research, it can be claimed that the motif correspondence (such as initiation, the forbidden secret room, the irresistible curiosity and desire to know, and the key) between the two tales through the

wild woman archetype is an indicator of the discovery of the wild and free nature of women, as well as the realisation of their psyche towards a masculine power thanks to the wild woman they have nurtured within themselves. In both tales, the young women exist by representing an image other than acts such as gender socialisation, making masculine power dominant and women passive within gender stereotypes. The initiation of young women, their revelation of the wild woman in them, their demonstration of the wild and free power inherent in their nature, and their triumph over the dominance of malevolent forces that threaten their psyches are circumstances that destroy the phenomenon of obedience. In other words, the actions of young women as a reflection of the wild woman archetype mean breaking the narrow patterns of gender socialisation and the dominant masculine discourse. This demonstrates that both tales transcend the realm of folklore and fairy tales that typically portray women as being obedient to the norms determined by the masculine power, passive in the face of the masculine power's authority, disciplining masculine power, and its physical strength, and having an incomplete/unfinished psyche. In "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba", the young women are not victims of strong, authoritarian, disciplinary masculine power. Instead, they are the ones who have triumphed over masculine power. The strong voice of the young women is a voice that can be articulated with the universal voice of the wild woman. Thanks to this voice, the young women also challenge the traditional gender stereotypes that make women passive, and the settled role perceptions about women and men. Therefore, in different geographic and cultural contexts, "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" are vital texts of the wild woman archetype. Finding and analysing such texts is of significance for several reasons, including reminding women of their wild and free natures, providing information for changes based on gender equality, getting rid of unfavourable cultural and universal codes regarding women through the supracultural and universality of archetypes, and amplifying the collective, universal, and historical voice of women. In this study, the findings based on the "İğci Baba" tale, and the motif correspondence between "Bluebeard" and "İğci Baba" are consistent with the analyses of Bluebeard in previous studies by Estés (1997), Odajnyk (2004), and Tatar (1993, 1999, 2003 [1987], 2004).

NOTES

[1] In addition, *Billur Köşk* (Crystal Manor) books with location number EHT 1971 A 831 and publication year 1900, location number 06 Mil EHT A 5184 and publication year 1921, and location number 06 Mil EHT A 15564 and publication year 1927 were found in the National Library in Ankara. Also, in the *Billur Köşk*, published by Theodor Menzel in 1923 under the name *Türkische Märchen I. Billur Köschk (Der Kristall-Kiosk)*, the tale of "İğci Baba" is mentioned as "Die Geschichte von dem alten Spindelhändler" (1923: 143–151).

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.sazyek

THE APPEARANCE OF GROTESQUE FORMS IN *CRYSTAL MANOR TALES*

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Abstract: The term "grotesque", derived from the Italian word "grotto" for underground caves, refers to the ornamental art in which human, animal, and plant motifs are intertwined on the walls of Nero's Golden House (Domus Aurea), discovered during the Roman excavations in 1480. However, over time, it has abandoned its decorative meaning and become a form of expression in art and literature, which is sometimes associated with the humorous and sometimes with the tragic. Adjectives such as "absurd", "outrageous", "strange", and "incompatible" characterize the grotesque, which is intended to surprise, frighten, and disgust an audience as well as make them laugh. More importantly, the grotesque exists across the folk mythology and pre-classical works of many cultures as a significant means of expression that takes and presents the ugly and formless from within an exciting life. The present study examines *Crystal Manor Tales* through the lens of the grotesque theory, which Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin conceptualized in his work *Rabelais and His World* (2005 [1965])[1] by associating it with medieval and Renaissance carnivals. Therefore, it has been determined that the tales aim to expose society's flaws through the grotesque images they convey, as well as to establish a healthier order by excluding undesirable behaviors.

Keywords: Bakhtin, *Crystal Manor Tales*, folklore, grotesque, metamorphosis, Turkish folklore

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to analyze *Crystal Manor Tales* (original heading *Billur Köşk Masalları*), the first Turkish collection of fairy tales, in the context of the grotesque theory. In the first part of the article, information about *Crystal Manor Tales* is given and the important place of this work, which consists of fourteen tales, in the history of Turkish fairy tales is mentioned. Furthermore, a general

literature review on the subject was conducted and it was determined that *Crystal Manor Tales* had not been analyzed in the context of the grotesque theory before. In the second part of the article, the definition of the grotesque is attempted to be made and the effective presence of this concept in *Crystal Manor Tales* is emphasized. In the third section, examples of the grotesque in *Crystal Manor Tales* are evaluated under three headings: "Disharmony", "Fear", and "Exaggeration". (1) In the section titled "Disharmony", the dual nature of the grotesque is emphasized, and it is found out that this disharmony manifests itself either in the form of metamorphoses experienced by the fairy tale protagonist on the physical plane, or ambivalence, where opposing concepts meet at the same point. (2) In the section titled "Fear", it is concluded that uncanny places such as caves and wells belonging to the underworld or otherworldly daemonic forces such as monsters, giants, witches, and dragons are the embodiment of the fears of society. (3) In the section entitled "Exaggeration", the rebellious content of this principle, which represents transgression and constitutes a violation of the sovereign order, is mentioned.

The grotesque is a combination of carnival laughter and fear, which turns all kinds of reality upside down. This dual nature of the grotesque, which means the management of the uncanny by the comic or the minimization of fear by the act of laughter, treats disturbing and fear-inducing thoughts with humorous language. Through its rich grotesque imagery, *Crystal Manor Tales* appeals to the vestigial primitiveness within human beings and helps to cure the fears of universal consciousness as well.

This article examines the meaning and importance of grotesque images in folk literature and suggests a method for reading literary texts in terms of the grotesque. Furthermore, the grotesque, which modern literature – as in the case of Gregor Samsa – uses to describe the alienation of the individual who has moved away from religion and myth and which it describes as a "mad invention" (Thomson 1972: 64), is not only an aesthetic device of the twentieth century or of modern civilization. This study, which analyzes *Crystal Manor Tales* in terms of the grotesque, has shown that this aesthetic device, which is as old as human history, has its roots in the literature of the people.

CRYSTAL MANOR TALES

Crystal Manor Tales is a work of art that has been read with interest by Turkish people for almost 150 years. The earliest known publication of this work dates back to 1876; however, the author is unknown. *Crystal Manor Tales* contains fourteen fairy tales: "Billur Köşk ile Elmas Gemi" (Crystal Manor

and the Diamond Ship), "Helvacı Güzeli" (The Halva Lady), "Kahveci Güzeli" (The Coffee Lady), "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" (The Crying Pomegranate and the Laughing Quince), "Muradına Eren Dilber" (The Lady Who Attains Her Desires), "Muradına Ermeyen Dilber" (The Lady Who Doesn't Attain Her Desires), "Tasa Kuşu" (The Simurgh), "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu" (The Phoenix), "İğci Baba" (İğci Father), "Hırsız ile Yankesici" (Thieves and Pickpockets), "Sefa ile Cefa" (Sefa and Cefa), "Ali Cengiz Oyunu" (Dirty Trick), "Saka Güzeli" (The Goldfinch Lady), and "Karayılan" (Black Snake). These tales are based on the values that comprise society and have a didactic quality, both at the local and universal level, due to their insights into the formation and growth of humanity. Despite differences in language, style, and narrative, a uniform structure emerges when these amazing stories are categorized according to 31 functions (Propp 1985: 30–31) based on human activities as described in Vladimir Propp's famous work *Morfologia Skazki* (Morphology of the Folktale) (1928). This uniformity indicates that *Crystal Manor Tales* not only represents the lifestyle and cultural traits of the culture to which it belongs but also transmits its message to the entire world through a universal language.

Georg Jacob (1862–1937), an Oriental studies expert, was the first to reference *Billur Köşk* (Crystal Manor) in the field of Turkish fairy tale studies. Jacob mentioned a copy of *Crystal Manor* acquired in 1899, which has no printing date (Alangu 2018: 329). He explored *Crystal Manor* in-depth in his book *Türkische Volksliteratur*, emphasizing that these fourteen tales are "genuine folk productions" (Jacob 1901: 5). In the same year, Hungarian Turcologist Ignac Kúnos (1860–1945) selected 25 folktales for publishing in the eighth book of Wilhelm Radloff's (1837–1918) ten-volume study *Proben: der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme*. Among these were nine from *Crystal Manor Tales*, which he said were chosen specifically because they resembled European folk tales. The most serious flaw in Kúnos's work was that he favored the same language used during compilation and did not investigate its degree of correctness (Radloff & Kúnos 1998 [1866]: 4). Kúnos was challenged in this regard by Theodor Menzel (1878–1939), who conducted another major study on *Crystal Manor* and claimed that the tales deserved a more decent translation (Saluk 2018: 47). Menzel's work *Billur Köschk* (1923) is significant in that it is the first translation of *Crystal Manor Tales* into a foreign language. Also included at the end of Menzel's book is Jacob's classification study of the tales' sources and motifs.

In 1953, Turkish folklorist Pertev Naili Boratav (1907–1998) collaborated with Wolfram Eberhard to create the first tale catalog, *Typen Türkischer Volksmärchen* (Types of Turkish Folk Tales), in which he made extensive use of *Crystal Manor Tales* (Ertizman 2020: 41).

Tahir Alangu (1915–1973) is another significant figure involved in the creation of *Crystal Manor Tales*, a volume which is vital to Turkish and Middle Eastern culture. Alangu noted in his review of *Crystal Manor Tales*, which was conducted by transposing from the Arabic to Latin alphabet in 1961, that the tale "Hırsız ile Yankesici" originated from the tale "One Thousand and One Nights", and that the others were adapted from Indian fairy tale collections. He also drew attention to the fact that the fairy tale "Helvacı Güzeli" is a relic of the "halva talks" that were widespread in Istanbul during the Tulip Era (1718–1730) and were held with affection among the people (Alangu 2018: 331). "Halva talks" are conversations organized in the Ottoman Empire for halva, which was specially cooked during festival and victory celebrations, or during Ramadan. According to Mehmet Tevfik, this event, which developed during the reign of Damat İbrahim Pasha, the grand vizier of the Tulip Era, and which was occasionally attended by the sultan of the time, Ahmet III, was a very common tradition in villages and towns as well as around the palace. These conversations became quite colorful on long winter nights with fairy tales, *meddah* (storyteller) stories, puppetry, and Karagöz activities[3] (as cited in Saluk 2018: 48).

Alangu's significance is recognized once more in this study, which for the first time assesses *Crystal Manor Tales* in terms of the grotesque because it was he who drew attention to the presence of the grotesque in Turkish folk literature in 1967. However, Alangu limited this connection to improvisational theater and Keloğlan typography while it in fact has a considerably broader scope than is commonly assumed. Thus, *Crystal Manor Tales* as one of the most significant genres of oral folk literature gives vital information for comprehending the extent of this scope. Before evaluating the *Crystal Manor Tales* with the grotesque theory, the term is explained in the next section.

THE GROTESQUE

The term grotesque, derived from the Italian word *grotto*, was first used to describe ornamental art in which human, animal, and plant motifs are intertwined (Kayser 1963: 19). It has abandoned its decorative definition and undergone an indefinite expansion of meaning over time. In the seventeenth century, genres such as theater and caricature arose to describe the vulgar and humorous exaggeration, presenting the strange, ridiculous, ugly, and misshapen. The grotesque, which aims to surprise, frighten, and disgust the audience as well as make them laugh, pushes the boundaries of classical literature and is thrust out of the realm of official art as it disrupts social order. On the other hand, it also

becomes a crucial aesthetic tool that determines the form of expression in all art forms that draw their inspiration from the public (Alangu 1990 [1967]: 173).

The grotesque can be found in the folk mythology and pre-classical works of all cultures (Bakhtin 2005 (1965]: 58) and tends to be present in the form of masks employed as the basis of humorous characters, as well as in old carnivals, folk theater, and improvisational plays. The extravagancy, absurdity, excessiveness, incongruity, and frightening nature of the grotesque are clearly visible in these masks, which serve the function of achieving hybrid body representations by adding animal features to the human. The beak-like noses, pointed and sharp jaws, asymmetrical and misshapen heads, which are specific to masks, draw attention as important indicators that exceed the limits of the classical body (Kayser 1963: 39). According to Bakhtin (2005 [1965]), in *Rabelais and His World*, the grotesque represents a unique crisis of division. The downward movement of these binary oppositions, such as body/mind and life/death, emphasizes grotesque realism by demeaning the sublime and noble. On the other hand, grotesque realism marks the lower parts of the body with a downward orientation. Everything physical – such as eating, drinking, defecating, childbearing – becomes exaggerated and unmeasurable. All these examples demonstrate that *Crystal Manor Tales*[3] is an important work due to the abundance of grotesque elements it contains.

According to Alangu, the earliest known copy of *Crystal Manor Tales* dates from 1876. He notes that these tales, which contain intensely national values unique to Turkish society in terms of source and motif, are the first compilation of this type in Turkey, and that the fourteen tales in the book were not compiled from the vernacular; rather, the vernacular was influenced by the book. Because of this circumstance, the stories were able to reach the present day with their motifs intact. In fact, when phrases from oral tradition within *Crystal Manor* are examined, it can be seen that the tales of each region are reshaped in accordance with their own tastes and feelings, and vulgar places, humor, and sexual circumstances are removed from the narrative (Alangu 2018: 330–333). Alangu employs censorship in a similar manner. He claims that, while reconsidering which stories to include in his version of the book, which was targeted at child readers, he left out the story "Kahveci Güzeli" due to its obscene and vulgar features. However, the grotesque appears in the rough, disgusting, frightening, and dark areas of the unconscious universe that the public consciously conceals and Alangu excludes. As a result, "Kahveci Güzeli" was incorporated into this study and evaluated in the context of the grotesque along with the other tales.[4] As Jung put it: "Outwardly people are more or less civilized, but inwardly they are still primitives" (1973: 149). The grotesque, which embodies many taboo subjects and suppressed desires, particularly sexuality, is an extremely

important aesthetic tool that brings society's unconscious to the present in its darkest and most untainted form and confronts people with the primitive side that has been forgotten or ignored.

The presence of the grotesque as an aesthetic tool is evident in *Crystal Manor Tales*. The grotesque plays a critical role in conveying the metaphorical meaning within these tales and is revealed through masked identities, metamorphosed bodies, seven-headed giants, hybrid bodies that shed pearls when they cry or grow plants from their cheeks when they laugh, men who feed on human flesh, severed limbs, body disgust, and fear-inducing excesses. A great deal of material that the tales avoid or conceal reveals much about the universe, the world, life, and nature through these physical beings, which can only be discovered through the analysis of grotesque images.

The next section presents the analysis of the *Crystal Manor Tales* in detail, with the grotesque theory and the explanation of the messages behind the grotesque images.

THE GROTESQUE IN *CRYSTAL MANOR TALES*

As mentioned above, *Crystal Manor Tales* contains rich grotesque images. However, the lack of a universal model on how to read a literary text in terms of the grotesque makes it difficult to set these images within a certain framework. In this article, which deals with *Crystal Manor Tales* for the first time in terms of the grotesque, I evaluate the grotesque examples I have identified under three headings: "Disharmony", "Fear", and "Exaggeration". In this way, I attempt both to make the grotesque visible in *Crystal Manor Tales* and to suggest a methodology for similar future studies on the fairy tale.

Disharmony

Transformation/Metamorphosis

The grotesque's greatest distinguishing quality, which is both contradictory and at odds with reality, is its disharmony. This contradiction first appears on the formal plane, particularly in corporeal alterations. The most crucial indicator that the grotesque image depicts as reality in transformation is metamorphosis, which goes from birth to death, from development to becoming, and incorporates a kind of "incomplete" message (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 52). This grotesque image is also manifested in *Crystal Manor Tales* in the form of evolution from

animal to human, human to animal or another object, as well as the same body undergoing gender change. The grotesque's opposition to the notion that the body should be static (Zhonga 2021: 3) is clearly seen in the fairy tale "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" about a boy who "shrugged off as a dove and turned into a handsome young man when water poured over him, entering the golden basin, fluttering, shaking himself, and changing again into a pigeon's form" (Alangu 2018: 69–70), or in the gender transformation of Tebdil Gezen Sultan after the giants' curse, saying, "if you are a man, be a woman; if you are a woman, be a brave man!": "Suddenly, the girl realizes she has changed; she has transformed from a girl to a boy, her mustache has grown, her beard is sweaty, and her chin is hairy" (ibid.: 76). The curse also depicts a grotesque view of the lower parts of the body, including the genitals (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 193). This situation lends credence to the notion that gender change in the fairy tale is the result of a curse. This transformation, however, saves the young girl from her predicament, as evidenced by the words, "This was my only wish, thank God" (Alangu 2018: 77). The goodness or badness of the fairy tale hero determines the reward or punishment function of the metamorphosis.

The function of the curse, and occasionally the role of internal cosmic elements such as fire, water, and earth, draw emphasis on the bodily transformations of fairy tale heroes who metamorphose for various causes such as reward or punishment. Bakhtin emphasizes the positive, regenerative, and transformative value of acts like insults and curses (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 56). For example, the fairy tale "Tasa Kuşu" tells the tale of a young man who is cursed and transforms into a bird. This lad, "disguised as a Simurgh because of his mother's curse", (Alangu 2018: 139) "dives into a marble pool, shakes himself, transforms into a young man with a pretty face", and continues his life as a human after the evil magic on him is broken. The phrases "Oh, fellow mate, this is a well-known temple and a must-see. Whoever comes here and prays earnestly and pours a bowl of water becomes a man if one were a woman and a woman if one were a man" (ibid.: 228) in the fairy tale "Sefa ile Cefa" once more demonstrate the transformational power of water. The words of Eliade (1991: 108), who indicated that contact with water always entails a revival, imply that the hero, who has been transformed by the act of water running down his head or by getting into the water in the pool, has begun a new existence in his new body. Roux (2005: 234), who claims that the bodily shift occurs as a result of "flapping, neighing, and twisting of the body", practically points to the usual symptoms of grotesque existence as transformation markers such as trembling, yawning, sneezing, growling, and shaking are vital indicators that new birth is about to occur (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 338).

Transformations in fairy tales might occur without warning at times. This bodily transformation, which occasionally saves the hero from hazards during a perilous voyage and assures survival, becomes the core storyline, particularly in the "Alicengiz Oyunu". To avoid Dervish Father's cruelty, a young palace servant disguises himself as a horse and later as a ram on his way to learn a dirty trick to please the bored monarch. Furthermore, he undergoes these transformations of his own volition and without difficulty, as evidenced by the phrases "Tomorrow I shall disguise myself as a horse", or "Tomorrow I will likewise disguise myself as a huge ram" (Alangu 2018: 224). When Dervish Father tries to catch him as a ram, he transforms into an apple, then into a kernel of corn. Dervish Father, with whom he is in dispute, transforms into a hawk when he is a bird, a "dervish with a large beard and a cloak on his back" when he is an apple, and a chicken when he is a corn kernel. The corn kernels then cluster in one place, form a ball, and "come down on the neck of the chicken and strangle it, transforming into a marten" (ibid.: 246). This final transformation underscores the importance of violent monstrous acts in fairy tales for the hero to successfully complete his quest because the marten, which is violent and ruthless, is a hideous animal that represents man's defective nature prior to socialization (Hervouet-Farrar 2014: 4).

A similar occurrence is depicted in the tale "Kara Yılan", which tells the story of a young man who is stripped of his snake body and transformed into a gorgeous man. The snake, which represents transformation with its molting feature, death with its venomous nature, and primitivism with its reptilian nature, is at least as hideous as the marten. In this tale, fire is the most effective tool for metamorphosis because it transforms everything it touches, destroys and purifies material dirt (Bachelard 1995: 94):

> *He gradually begins to undress from his head, and when he removes the sheath that he has stripped down to his tail, the girl snatches the skin of the black cohosh and throws it into the fiery stove. The lad rolls and writhes on the ground, screaming and wailing in anguish, till his skin burns. When all the skin is burned to ashes, the snake awakens to reveal himself to be a handsome young man with a pretty face.* (Alangu 2018: 276–277)

According to Harpham (1976: 462), nocturnal animals like owls, frogs, snakes, spiders, and especially bats are favored animals in the grotesque. He also incorporates things such as robots and masks. This viewpoint reminds us that in fairy tales, bodily transformations are sometimes experienced in the form of disguise because disguise corresponds to the mask, the most complicated theme

in folk literature, and the grotesque's desire to animalize the human is abundantly visible in these masks (Alangu 1990 [1967]: 174). In certain ways, the fairy tale hero masks himself by disguising himself. This motif, which joyously rejects self-resemblance, is associated with transformation, derision, and the crossing of traditional limits. This transformation, the result of a preoccupation with the nature of human identity, reveals the grotesque's essence. Although a human has a vibrant and endless life behind it, with his regenerating and renewing aspect, he conceals something, hides a secret, and deceives (Bahtin 2005: 68). In the fairy tale "Billur Köşk ile Elmas Gemi", for example, the lovely daughter of Istanbul's Sultan deceives everyone by disguising herself as a "captain" (Alangu 2018: 17). Tebdil Gezen Sultan becomes invisible "because he has a magic cone on his head" in the fairy tale "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" (ibid.: 81). In the fairy tale "İğci Baba", the witch disguises herself as a beggar in order to take vengeance on a young couple who escapes from her (ibid.: 197). In the fairy tale "Sefa ile Cefa", the childless Sultan disguises himself as a dervish (ibid.: 213, 265), while Cefa dresses in a wedding gown and disguises himself as a woman (ibid.: 225). In the fairy tale "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu" the prince transforms into Keloğlan by wearing a piece of leather he got from a butcher as a skullcap (ibid.: 164–165). The prince in this story is the trickster Keloğlan (Stefanova 2012: 78), as he lacks, both symbolically and physically, the traits of Keloğlan. He hails from a noble family, but he must conceal his identity for compelling reasons like fear and menace, and he works in jobs that are inappropriate for his status (Şimşek 2017: 44). As a result, when he asks to be a gardener's apprentice, he is told, "You don't look well with flowers with your bald head and dirty disguise" (Alangu 2018: 165), and when he asks to be a jeweler's apprentice, he is told, "Jewelry is a delicate craft, what good would you do?" (ibid.: 168). In terms of conveying laughter paired with bitterness, the ridicule and sarcasm shown to Keloğlan are included in the grotesque realm (Marander-Eklund 2008: 97). According to Alangu, who identified the presence of the grotesque in the personality of the hard-hearted Keloğlan,[5] this aesthetic aspect, which derives from folk art, consists of the juxtaposition of the amusing and silly with the formless, ugly, and horrifying (Alangu 1990 [1967]: 174–175). This ambivalence consists of an image that embraces the old and the new, the reciprocal relationship between death and birth. The two poles, the beginning and end of the transformation, are intertwined (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 52). In fairy tales, these dichotomies, where opposing concepts meet at the same point, reflect the incompatibility feature, which is the second branch of the ambivalence principle of the grotesque.

Ambivalence

The universe, like the human body, is in a cosmic cycle. This continuous state of metamorphosis from night to day, winter to spring, old to new, death to birth (Bahtin 2005: 192) emphasizes the incomplete and developing human being. In terms of highlighting the behaviors of sobbing and laughing at the same time, "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" is the tale in *Crystal Manor Tales* that most clearly reflects the ambivalence principle of the grotesque. In this fairy tale, Tebdil Gezen Sultan wishes to obtain the giants' mirror from the cave at the top of the mountain in order to meet the sultan cloaked in red. "You look covertly through the door, if their eyes are closed, they are awake, if their eyes are open, they are sleeping", says the white horse, offering him a clue regarding the giants (Alangu 2018: 71). This is a strong grotesque expression that is quite ambiguous. This two-layered contradiction emerges in the context of openness/closedness and sleep/wakefulness when Tebdil Gezen Sultan tries to uproot the tree in the fairy sultan's garden: "He uproots the tree with all his might by holding it. The pomegranates on the tree start sobbing, and the quinces start giggling" (ibid.: 82). A similar situation can be seen in the words of the prince who was hung in the well in the fairy tale "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu": "Oh, I'm burning! Oh, I'm freezing!" (ibid.: 148), or in the fairy tale "Karayılan": "A bride in a veil enters the palace from the front door every evening, and her body comes out in a coffin from the back door" (ibid.: 273). This ambivalence, based on the mismatch of burning/freezing, birth/death, and wedding/funeral, is a clear and persistent contrast. As a result, in the tale "Tasa Kuşu", the executioner takes pity on the girl he was supposed to execute and instead executes a puppy (ibid.: 132). His job is to kill, but he has a tender heart. As a result, ambivalence in fairy tales comprises ugly visuals that allow for carnivalesque equalization. What makes all these examples ambiguous is the juxtaposition of dualities, while the insecure space between dualities corresponds to the fear/alienation principle of the grotesque.

Fear/Alienation

The grotesque, which blends "being scared" and "laughing" deeds, represents the uneasy zone between two emotions. This insecure area corresponds to caves, wells, and cemeteries, all of which are significant stops on journeys to the underworld realm. *Crystal Manor Tales* are filled with gloomy and uncanny settings where fairy tale characters feel they do not belong. In order to keep his daughter alive, the sultan in the fairy tale "Billur Köşk ile Elmas Gemi" has

a "cave under the ground where the sun never shines, hidden from the world" (Alangu 2018: 9). The cave at the top of the mountain in the fairy tale "İğci Baba", the walls of which are full of "man carcasses" placed on hooks, evokes sentiments of contempt and disgust, as well as fear. After seeing the bodies in the cave, the young girl who trusted İğci Baba and set out with him "would faint from nausea and heart palpitations" (ibid.: 187).

> *Her heart squeaks and tears out when she sees her own brother, cut from head to toe in the center and hanging on the side wall. She is crushed by her nausea, heart palpitations, and her sister's anguish, but her terror overwhelms them all.* (ibid.: 189)

Evidently, the fairy tale figures approach the uncanny space as they exit the space in which they exist and move away from the space to which they belong. Fear, which is a natural effect of being removed from the familiar environment in some way, emerges in this uncanny space. In the fairy tale "Tasa Kuşu", for example, Miss Sultan "reaches terrible spots that cause a tremble" as she continues her journey into the mountains from where the executioner left (ibid.: 132). The young man who sets off in the "Alicengiz Oyunu" arrives at the home of the dervish he is following, which is "in the middle of nowhere" (ibid.: 240). The "quiet, secluded, shivering" coffin (ibid.: 279) in the fairy tale "Karayılan" deeply conveys the terror and horror induced by the feeling of alienation that rises as a consequence of being removed from the familiar area.

Dark, narrow, echoing caves blend well with the grotesque, which is defined by terms like bizarre, incongruous, frightening, shocking, and unpleasant. Given that the word grotesque is derived from the Italian word for cave (grotta) (Kayser 1963: 19), this is quite natural because grotesque images are constantly in a truly iconographic interaction with one another. The well is another site that is as grotesque as the cave, with its weird and uncanny atmosphere. The well, like the cave, is dark, echoey, deserted, and frightening. In the story "Alicengiz Oyunu", for example, the well where Dervish Father resides is "full to the brim with human carcasses" (Alangu 2018: 241), which is horrible both in its smell and sight. In the fairy tale "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu", the three princes arrive at the well: "when viewed from above, the bottom is invisible ...; whistling from above comes the sound of rumbling...; a quite dark place with no bottom visible from the top; a horrible, frightening place with a rumbling sound, where wolves and birds scatter out of fear; it is a dreadful, terrible" place (ibid.: 147). The connection between these terrible locations and the underworld is directly tied to the lower body of the terrified and suffering protagonist of the fairy tale. In the same tale, for example, the grotesque realism through discrediting, in

which the sacred and majestic are horribly degraded, and dread is lessened by the act of laughter, is particularly amazing. The primary artistic premise of grotesque realism, according to Bakhtin (2005 [1965]: 402), is the denigration of everything sacred and its sublimation to the level of material, corporeal sub-regions. The direction of movement in this oscillation that connects the sky and the earth is always downwards, not upwards. In this tale, the eldest of the Sultan's three adult sons asks his father's permission to kill the giant who eats the apples on the tree in the palace's private garden that only bears fruit once a year, saying, "Unless people of descent do not lead the way, the servants cannot follow" (Alangu 2018: 141); however, when confronted with the seven-headed giant, this noble prince wets his pants with fear. Upon this failure, the middle prince asks to tackle the mission that his brother was unable to complete. When confronted with the giant, he, too, "wets his pants out of fright, throws up his arms in horror, and points his arrow[6]" (ibid.: 143). When the sultan asks the prince, "Did you do it, son, did you manage to kill the giant and pluck the apples?" (ibid.), the prince returns to his senses and falls at his father's feet, saying:

> *Oh, my father, my sultan, he came with such a creak and moan that neither his voice nor his odor could be endured; his mouth was like an oven, and it was such a fire that I could not oppose this devilish grandeur. I could not manage to draw a bow and shoot arrows. My lip burst wide in horror, and I soiled my shalwar.* (ibid.: 143–144)

According to Bakhtin (2005 [1965]: 48), the lower parts of the body are always amusing, and laughter has the potential to resist even the fear of death. The trickster Keloğlan's smile while "holding his groin" as he informed the jeweler, who was about to die because he could not fulfill the Sultan's demands within forty days, that he would easily meet these demands, and the jeweler's comments, "Oh, look at Keloğlan! He makes the dead laugh, slur, and crackle so he may get the murderer off the rope" (Alangu 2018: 171) confirms Bakhtin's supposition. Just as the image of wetting, where the tragic meets the funny, contains a grotesque discrediting, in which the noble fairy tale figure is lowered to the physical level in a nasty way, the prince's disguise and taking on the derided Keloğlan contains a similar discrediting.

The image of defecation from fear or wetting one's pants is often used to mock people whom the social order considers sacrosanct, such as kings, sultans, or priests, or to degrade something high. It also suggests an intellectual and moral metamorphosis. This exuberant carnival, in which the ruling and the ruled swap places, the official order is turned upside down, and people take

center stage, is known as a "joyful funeral" (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 178). As a result, even if the prince appears before his father with "wet pants and a cleft lip", "when the day awakens, the servants, watchmen, gardeners, and all the people of the palace ... immediately fill the square and engage in such a clamor that anyone who sees them thinks they have not slept all night and fought against the giant" (Alangu 2018: 144). This carnival atmosphere exemplifies how the bizarre emerges when the established order is disrupted. The grotesque body's behaviors give an antidote to authority. As the classical body's normal bounds are exceeded by bulging eyes, parched lips, or bodily fluids (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 347), hegemonic forces, and thus the sublime classical literature, are also challenged.

As can be seen, the carnival, which liberates the power of the people and their literature, momentarily removes the rules of the hierarchical order as a form of expression of rebirth and secures the continuity of the social order in a healthier manner than before. The celebrations at the end of *Crystal Manor Tales*, where the drums are played for forty days and forty nights, people feel liberated, the hungry are fed and the poor are clothed, orphans are cheered, and meals are distributed even to passers-by, provide a carnivalesque atmosphere where everyone is temporarily equal (Alangu 2018: 118, 199). The amount of food consumed by the fairy tale heroes in grotesque exaggeration festivities is enormous, and all fears vanish in the face of the bodily festival principle, in which the act of eating and drinking is regarded as gluttony (Bahtin 2005: 121). While this ending in tales that puts an end to class division, dissolves worry and liberates people shows the potential transmission power of a new beginning, it also inspires a sense of rebellion.

Bakhtin (2005 [1965]: 200) interprets the image of wetting or defecating out of dread as a diminution of both the coward and the fear object. It is also a diminution of fear itself. That is, every civilization invents its own monsters based on its own fears, desires, worries, and dreams. Unearthly demonic forces, such as alien-shaped creatures, predators or monsters, giants, witches, and dragons that consume people living or dead, are invariably embodied by the grotesque (Kayser 1963: 109). As a result, it exemplifies the grotesque imaginary terror and makes it visible. In *Crystal Manor Tales*, the seven-headed giant with his filthy body (Alangu 2018: 140), the birds that feed on human flesh (ibid.: 120), the forests that host predators and monsters (ibid.: 126), the caves where the giants live (ibid.: 71), the executioners (ibid.: 130), and the dragons spewing fire from their mouths (ibid.: 156) are the embodiments of fictional fear. Referring to the fact that people in the medieval Christian world really believed in the existence of evil forces, Schulz (1991: 7–9) defines the half-human and half-animal sculptures, which are indicative of this belief, as symbols of fear. The

grotesque, which manifests itself predominantly in visual arts such as sculpture and painting, becomes the embodiment of fears constructed as discourse in literary texts. Therefore, the people, who both produce grotesque figures or spaces that cause disgust and horror and pass them on to the next generations through tales, confront their sins through fear and experience a catharsis.

Extravagance/Exaggeration

Another characteristic of the grotesque is its transgression. The grotesque's breach and violation of the sovereign order are depicted in *Crystal Manor Tales* as extravagance and exaggeration. This property is most evident in the descriptions of body and food (Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 333). Excess bodily waste or secretions such as defecating, sweating, blowing, sneezing, or sexual behaviors such as mating, pregnancy, or giving birth concentrate on the "open" areas of the body where the world enters, or the body meets the world and exits. The grotesque, which assigns significant meanings to portions of the lower body as well as limbs, such as the mouth, nose, and ears, depicts the excess with the image of a "hole" (ibid.: 347–348). *Crystal Manor Tales* contains filthiness in all its grotesque images. Under the influence of the hardening norms of the language at the end of the sixteenth century and the canon of polite speech that became dominant in the seventeenth century, the grotesque is found to be contradictory and absurd and is thrust from the field of classical art on the grounds that it disrupts the social order. The earliest response to this comes from Montaigne (1533–1592), who criticized the constraints with his essays at the end of the century. His comment, "What harm did the sexual act, which is so natural, necessary, and legal, do to humanity, that we do not dare to talk of it without shame" (as cited in Bakhtin 2005 [1965]: 350) allows the grotesque to find a wider area of use in literature. Specific obscenities, discrediting parodies, insults and curses, and limbs severed from the body pervade practically every aspect of oral culture in this sense (ibid.: 385). As a result, the grotesque not only pushes the boundaries of classical literature with its outrageous, ugly, and discordant features derived from the art of the people but also challenges them. On the other hand, the grotesque focuses solely on the body's protrusions and holes. Objects are also used to symbolize these open sections that penetrate deep into the body (ibid.: 348). For example, Tebdil Gezen Sultan's successful conclusion of his difficult adventure in the fairy tale "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" is due to knowledge provided by the "keyhole":

> *When night falls and everything is deserted, one by one, the servants and handmaids curl up into the corners, ... Tebdil Gezen Sultan glides cautiously to the door of the Red-dressed Sultan at this time, listening and watching through the keyhole.* (Alangu 2018: 69)

On the other hand, "Kahveci Güzeli" is a truly grotesque narrative in which excess is processed on the bodily plane and the entire story is erotically predicated on the image of the "hole". In the story, a young man who began working as an apprentice with a poor coffee shop keeper is visited by three dervishes three days in a row, and the story of their redemption from poverty is told through their three wishes. The first wish is for there to be no shortage of coffee and sugar in the box, the second one is that customers flock at the coffee shop like ants, and the third one is "Let this valiant man make all the holes talk" (Radloff & Kúnos 1998 [1866]: 258). After making his master wealthy and returning to his hometown, the young man's third wish causes his three marriages to end in divorce because when the lovely young man asks, "Hole, who touched you" (ibid.: 259) on the wedding night, all the holes reveal the truth. When the women cover the holes with cloth so that the holes in the lower part of their bodies do not speak, the "ear" starts speaking:

> *Leaning on the woman's ear:*
> *'Tell me, hole, why don't the holes down answer me?'*
> *The hole:*
> *'Sire, how can they answer, they are both stuffed up.'* (ibid.: 261)

When it comes to concepts such as mating and reproduction, sexuality, and childbirth, *Crystal Manor Tales* employs this principle of grotesque extremity. Bodily secretions including saliva, blood, and sweat are prominently featured in grotesque images. In addition to the visible limbs, the disgust generated by these images includes the interior components of the body, such as the blood, liver, and the uterus. For instance, the giant in the fairy tale "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" comes and devours the sultan's liver every six years (Alangu 2018: 65). As depicted in the fairy tale "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu", a dragon stands by the town's only fountain and eats the body of the young girl who was brought to him as a distraction. The townsfolk drink the water "yellow as urine, filled with worms" (ibid.: 154), fill their jugs with distaste throughout the year. In the fairy tale "İğci Baba", the protagonist, who lives in a cave and hangs the bodies of men on walls of the cave before cooking them in a cauldron and eating

them, "pulls the large bowl full of human flesh in front of him, grabs with both hands while the smoke is steaming from above, starts to bite, bite, lick and devour, till a pile of bones grows next to the table in a short time" (ibid.: 187). Getting frustrated that the young girl whose finger he cut off and offered to her refuses to eat human flesh, "regardless of her wailing and pleading, seizes her by one ear, hits her in the head with an assault knife, slices her in half, takes the trembling meat, and hangs her on the wall" (ibid.: 188).

Figure 1. *İğci Baba as a grotesque body example (Alangu 2018: 245).*

The separation of the body into its limbs is one of the most essential characteristics of the grotesque, in which physiological waste and bodily fluids are commonly stressed within the purview of the concept of exaggeration and excess. There are several examples of this imagery throughout the compilation: in "Helvacı Güzeli", when the father, believing his daughter to be immoral, orders his son, "When you get home, cut off my daughter's head immediately. Soak her blood in your shirt and bring it to me"; in "Ağlayan Nar ile Gülen Ayva" when Tebdil Gezen Sultan "cut off one ear of the giant and put it in his pocket" (ibid.: 66); in "Muradına Eren Dilber" when the young girl tied to the tails of forty mules is cut into dozens of pieces. This imagery of disintegration, which inspires a type of hatred for the subject, puts an end to the old by expunging immoral spirits and assisting in the creation of the new (Bahtin 2005: 233).

Another example of grotesque imagery in *Crystal Manor Tales* is the revived fairy tale figures. These miraculous resurrections happen as a result of trembling, shaking, or sneezing. One example of this comes from the tale "Muradına Ermeyen Dilber", in which a young lifeless girl "rises up and comes to life by sneezing" (Alangu 2018: 117). When the bottle on his bed shatters, the young man in the fairy tale "İğci Baba" "trembles, sneezes" (ibid.: 199) and awakens from his death slumber. In the fairy tale "Karayılan", a man lying in a coffin "sneezes, trembles and stands up" (ibid.: 279). Actions such as trembling, shaking, sneezing, and coughing are, as previously stated, the most essential life signs of the grotesque body, and representations of rebirth (Bahtin 2005: 238).

Protrusions are the most noticeable features of the grotesque body. Surface-specific protrusions such as a pointed chin, a large nose, a hump on the back, and even a tail (Fig. 1) attempt to attract attention to the animalistic characteristics of humans. Several examples of this can be found in the fairy tale "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu": "the cringe crone with slumped stance, and wrinkled face" (Alangu 2018: 153); "gross seven-headed dragon" (ibid.: 159) killed by the prince; "a long yellow snake with a mace head, forked tongue, and filthy body crawling and embracing the tree, rustling it by causing the grass to lie down" (ibid.: 161). In addition, in the fairy tale "Sefa ile Cefa" one character is described as a "cringe crone with straggly hair, wrinkled face, messy clothes, no teeth in her mouth, floppy chin and sniffing" (ibid.: 220). These examples of grotesque bodies demonstrate that they are far from understanding the ideal body. These bodies are unattractive in proportion to their evilness. A further example can be seen in the fairy tale "Saka Güzeli", in which the sultan's daughter, whose heart is filled with bitterness and jealousy, "has a dark face like her heart" (ibid.: 249). Creatures such as snakes, dragons, giants, or figures devoid of goodness, whose appearances are exaggerated in fairy tales, are used in these tales as embodiments of moral defects and character problems (Stallybrass & White

1986: 129). Addressing the psychic fears of the modern individual through the concept of "body", the grotesque attempts to eliminate the hierarchy of body/soul, human/animal, and nature/culture by including the ugly in art. This emphasis on the existence of the "other" enables people to confront the tendencies that they have repressed, but which continue to live within them as a primitive and low-quality force. This process, which archetypically resembles meeting one's shadow, opens the doors to the realm of inner light and provides catharsis. These grotesque images in the world of fairy tales aim to change the existing world and destroy it again in order to renew it. Bakhtin describes this destruction with a carnivalesque joy as "the world's death and another world's being born" (2005 [1965]: 78). Just as the world is dying and another world is being born, the human being discovers the "other" in himself and realizes that he lives in an integrated cosmos, "in God's world, in an eternity where everything is already born and everything has already died" (Jung 1965 [1961]: 67).

Good-hearted and good-natured characters in fairy tales, on the other hand, are shown with closed, holeless, entire, and faultless bodies. Young girls described in the fairy tales "Muradına Ermeyen Dilber" and "Zümrüdüanka Kuşu" by the words "first-class beauty; small nose, dove sound, distinguished tone" (Alangu 2018: 99) and "such a beauty resembling the sun. Tall, with red cheeks and a cheering face. The one who sees her is astonished, their eyes are dazzled" (ibid.: 149), are "anti-grotesque" bodies that are symmetrical, independent, monumental, and transcendent. Despite the weird, discordant, ugly, open, projecting, variable, and secretive structure of the grotesque body, anti-grotesque beings are artificial and too perfect to be real. Rather, as expressions of society's greatest hopes and desires, they serve to celebrate good morality and therefore discipline society.

CONCLUSION

Although its original compiler and publication date are unknown, *Crystal Manor Tales*, a series of tales beloved by the Turkish public for approximately 150 years, is an important work that reflects the impressions of the universe, life, nature, and human beings with its repertoire of fourteen tales and offers insights not only into children but also into adults. Derived from folk art, the grotesque is one method of relaying the messages of these stories and it appears in the rough, disgusting, frightening, and dark area of the social unconscious, revealing its place in *Crystal Manor Tales* through its various appearances in which the dead are resurrected, the living transform into other objects or beings, and the body deteriorates and disintegrates.

According to the findings of this study, Bakhtin's three principles of the grotesque, namely, disharmony, fear, and extravagance, are clearly mirrored in *Crystal Manor Tales*. While the principle of disharmony, manifested in metamorphoses, hybrid bodies hidden behind masks, or dualities where opposite concepts meet at the same point, reminds readers of their forgotten or ignored primitive aspects, it also draws attention to the close bond between culture and nature, and man with animals and plants. This principle effectively conveys the seemingly contradictory, but in fact complementary, double-sided integrity of life based on the hierarchy of human/animal, nature/culture, and male/female. Fear is another facet of the grotesque in *Crystal Manor Tales* and functions as a coping mechanism for society's aspirations and concerns through managing and revealing evil elements in the world as endless universal worries emerge from their fictional form and evolve into fairy tale characters such as monsters, dragons, and giants. As a statement of plenty and rejuvenation, bodily extravagances that defy classical limitations attempt to create a healthier order than before. Thus, it is evident that the grotesque serves as an extremely effective method of catharsis in *Crystal Manor Tales.* Furthermore, as bedtime stories of the collective consciousness, these tales transcend the limitations of their genre as they are passed down through generations. *Tehlikeli Masallar* (Dangerous Tales), written in the postmodernist style, is based on the fairy tale "Karayılan", and becomes a rich source utilized by modern literature in the context of intertextuality. In this regard, *Crystal Manor Tales* offers the messages it wishes to convey to society through grotesque images in a variety of methods.

NOTES

[1] Original heading: Творчество Франсуа Рабле и народная культура средневековья и Ренессанса (Tvorchestvo Fransua Rable i narodnaia kul'tura srednevekov'ia i Renessansa).

[2] Types of traditional Turkish theater.

[3] The 18th edition of the copy compiled by Tahir Alangu in 1961 under the title *Crystal Manor Tales* and published by YKY in 2018 was used in this study.

[4] The work *Proben: der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme VIII*, prepared by Radloff and Kúnos (1998 [1866]), was used for the text of the tale "Kahveci Güzeli", which Alangu did not include in the compilation because he found it obscene.

[5] For the first time, Wolfram Eberhard and Pertev Naili Boratav mentioned that the protagonist of Keloğlan tales had bad and even immoral qualities in the preface of the catalog they prepared together, *Typen türkischen Volksmärchen* (Eberhard & Boratav 1953: 13–15). Later on, Alangu added these negative qualities of Keloğlan to the end of his book of Keloğlan tales, which he compiled in 1967 under the title *Keloğlan Masalları: Mitostan Kurtuluş – Gerçeğe Yöneliş* (Keloğlan Tales: Liberation from Myth – Turning towards Reality). Alangu draws attention to his grotesque characteristics with the words "Keloğlan is almost always able to end his adventures successfully with harsh, merciless, rude-grotesque methods" (Alangu 1990: 170).

[6] A Turkish idiom meaning to be doubled over with fear, not able to stand upright.

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.zhou_fu

AN ARCHETYPAL ANALYSIS OF THE QUEEN MOTHER OF THE WEST IN CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

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Abstract: Amongst all the goddesses in ancient China, the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) represents the most multi-layered mother archetype with the richest connotations. Through a longitudinal literature review, this paper aims to explore different facets of the Queen Mother of the West as a representation of the Great Mother archetype in Jungian psychology. In ancient China, she was a supreme goddess controlling the order of the universe. Her residence, Mount Kunlun, is capable of nourishing and devouring life. She possesses the elixir of life and controls the punishments of the world. Thus, the Queen Mother of the West is transformed into a deity of both life and death. In the funeral rituals of the Han and Tang dynasties, she was a goddess who summoned the dead and led their spirits to heaven, while in folklore she was a mythical Muse for many emperors and the anima of many intellectuals. She is the mother of reincarnation and the eternal spirit. As a symbol for instinct, archetype and femininity in the collective unconscious, the Queen Mother of the West embodies both the positive and negative aspects of the mother archetype: the positive being the persona of the Great Mother and the negative being the shadow. At the ultimate stage of spiritual development, she acts as the anima and the transcendent Holy Virgin in ancient Chinese culture.

Keywords: Queen Mother of the West, myth, archetypal theory, the Great Mother

INTRODUCTION

The Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), a complex divinity in Chinese folk culture, has been acclaimed as the first goddess of China by scholars at home and abroad (Chi 2009). The emergence and development of related myths and beliefs do not only reflect the psychology of primitive peoples, but also mirror the Chinese social and cultural background of different historical periods. According to Neumann (2015 [1955]), the primordial image or archetype of the Great Mother in analytical psychology is not a specific image in any particular time or space, but an inner image functioning in the human psyche. The Great Goddesses appear in many different depictions in mythology and artworks as symbolic representations of this psychological phenomena. The Queen Mother of the West, as the Great Mother in Chinese mythology, is a unity of yin and yang, the physical and the psychic, the material and the spiritual. She has been endowed with all the typical characteristics of the mother archetype.

Previous studies have shown that the Queen Mother of the West is the Great Mother of various clans, ethnic groups and even all of China (Zhang 2005; Wang 2001). The belief in the Queen Mother of the West originates from the first Great Mother whose original deity is motherhood (Zhao 2012). Cui and Liang (2017) explore the Queen Mother of the West as a goddess of life and draw attention to her role as a mother of death. Her dual nature as a goddess of good and evil has been preliminarily examined by a few other researchers (Wang 2001). Until now, little attention has been paid to the spiritual side of the Queen Mother of the West. This paper attempts to interpret related myths in a more in-depth and systematic way, hoping to gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical development of the image of the Queen Mother of the West in folklore and the psychological connotations behind this cultural phenomenon.

During the primitive period, the Queen Mother of the West was a half-human, half-animal goddess; later, in the reign of King Mu of the Zhou Dynasty (1027–922 B.C.), she was a tribal leader and an empress; after the Han and Tang dynasties (202–907 B.C.), she evolved into the mother of all immortals in Taoism. After becoming a part of mainstream Chinese culture, the image of the Queen Mother of the West, an ethnic western goddess, gradually became differentiated and refined during the process of localization and secularization. According to Yuan Ke (2015: 49–50), the Queen Mother of the West shows different faces in different societies. In a primitive society, she was a weird goddess while in a slave society she naturally became a queen. In a feudal society, she turned into an immortal again. In actuality, the three different incarnations of the Queen Mother of the West create a unified whole.

An ancient book named *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Anonymous 1999, 2009) records that the Queen Mother of the West lives on Mount Kunlun in Western China. She has a leopard tail and the teeth of a tigress. She possesses the elixir of life and takes control of the five destructive forces and catastrophes from the sky. In later myths and folklore, the Queen Mother of the West developed into a series of images including a nine-tailed fox, a toad, a jade rabbit, a *Ganoderma lucidum*,[1] a feathered man, Fuxi and Nüwa,[2] money tree, and so on, all of which can be divided into three categories based on their symbolic meaning: symbols of birth represented by Mount Kunlun, symbols of death represented by the West, and the immortal symbol represented by the elixir of life. They signify three different aspects of the Queen Mother of the West as a positive, negative, and spiritual Great Mother, which also implies a three-layer structure of the persona, the shadow, and the animus in analytical psychology.

1. THE POSITIVE GREAT MOTHER: CONTAINER, CREATOR, PROTECTOR, AND PERSONA

"All the positives of survival, such as nourishment, food, warmth, safety, etc., are tied to the Great Mother imagery... The Great Mother actually delivers all these positives" (Neumann 2015 [1955]: 65–66). Originally as a totemic deity for some tribes in western China, the Queen Mother of the West gradually became a goddess worshipped by the masses during the Warring States period (403–221 B.C.) and the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.) when her value as a symbol of positive motherhood was enriched. Positive functions, such as containing and nurturing life and supporting and protecting children, are the most important responsibilities of the Great Mother, all of which are reflected in the image group of the Queen Mother of the West. The positive aspects are oriented, on the one hand, by the expectations of the environment and, on the other hand, are influenced by the objectives of society and the efforts of its citizens (Jung 2014a: 353). These functions are valued in the collective culture of human civilization, and as a result, come to represent the persona of the Great Mother.

1.1 The residence of the Queen Mother of the West as a container

The Great Mother is primarily a goddess of space that contains and nourishes life. A core quality of femininity is its maternal identity, whose primary symbolic manifestation is a huge circle, a large container, which houses life itself, i.e.,

woman = body = container = world (Neumann 2015 [1955]: 93). The original state of the Mother Goddess is often represented as a vessel – a womb or mother's belly symbolizing conception (Ye 2004). The hip, the abdomen and the breasts are usually exaggerated as emblems of birth in many early sculptures and paintings of goddesses discovered by archaeologists. In some regions, such as the ancient Mediterranean areas, jars as a kind of container were worshipped as goddesses (Neumann 2015 [1955]). Other containers in nature, such as abysses, ravines, caves, canyons, mountains, etc., represent the womb of Mother Earth. Mount Kunlun, the abode of the Queen Mother of the West, is a giant vessel. Kunlun is also written as muddle or chaos, referring to a sphere like the dome of heaven. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Anonymous 1999) makes more than 20 references to Kunlun, many of which connect Mount Kunlun and the Queen Mother of the West directly or indirectly.

Covering about 160,000 square kilometers, the ten-thousand-feet-high Kunlun is a holy site of the gods guarded by the mountain god Luwu and the Beast of Enlightenment. In Chinese mythology, Kunlun is also a site for various auspicious birds and beasts. According to *Erya*, the earliest Chinese dictionary, Kunlun refers to a three-layer mound (Anonymous 2012). The layers symbolize cosmic hierarchy, while Kunlun represents the universe in miniature. The womb, vagina, and entire belly, which are mythical symbols of femininity and maternity, constitute the archetype of Kunlun. "The navel as center of the world is also archetypal. …The earth, in a sense, is the womb of a reality seen as feminine, the navel and center from which the universe is nourished" (Neumann 2015 [1955]: 186). In Taoism, Mount Kunlun is the navel of the universe. The ancient Chinese had a cosmological view of the Five Great Mountains in which Mount Kunlun was the center of the world and the belly of Mother Earth (Konnanyitirou 2006). This is consistent with the basic maternal characteristics of the Queen Mother of the West as the Great Mother.

Moreover, surrounded by *black water*[3] and *weak water*,[4] Mount Kunlun is rich in tall cereal plants named Muhe and holy trees named Jianmu. Both are sacred trees of life reaching heaven as well as links between the natural and supernatural world. Trees and water are representative images of motherhood. The maternal significance of water is one of the most straightforward interpretations in many mythologies. Water is the source of life. We are all born from the water of our mother's womb and even the sun emerges from water at dawn and submerges into it at dusk (Jung 2014b). Another typical mother-symbol is the tree of life which may have been a fruit-bearing genealogical tree and hence akin to a tribe mother (ibid.).

1.2. The Queen Mother of the West as a creator and protector

Mount Kunlun has a magic power of transformation since it is the center of the universe and the sacred mountain of the gods, which corresponds to the symbolic meaning of the Queen Mother of the West. According to a stone portrait from the Han dynasty, unearthed in Sichuan (see Fig. 1), the Queen Mother of the West sits in the middle of a dragon and tiger seat. The dragon and tiger serve as her guardians and signify that spirits of the deceased can ascend to heaven, which is related to the belief of the ancient kingdoms of Ba and Shu where dragons and tigers were worshipped as their totems by some clans (Wang 2005). During the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), the clans in Ba and Shu gradually became integrated through social and economic interactions (Chi 2009). In the late Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 A.D.), the Queen Mother of the West underwent a transformation from an idol of longevity to a savior and creator, which was influenced by the image of Fuxi and Nüwa. The dragon and tiger seat at this stage symbolized the creation of human beings, rebirth, and the reincarnation of life (Zheng 2008).

Figure 1. *A stone portrait of the Queen Mother of the West on a dragon and tiger seat from Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.) (Chi 2009: 326).*

It was common, in early myths and folklore from all around the world, for the gods and goddesses to unite in order to maintain cosmic order and create human beings. For example, in Italy and other European countries, various rituals for the divine union of gods and goddesses are performed to pray for a good harvest (Frazer 2009 [1890]). A symbolic image associated with the harvest is the sheng worn as a hair stick by the Queen Mother of the West. The sheng is a kind of weaving spool. According to Yin Rongfang (2003), the Queen Mother of the West was closely related to the breeding of silkworms and weaving. She was not only the goddess of grain but also the goddess of silkworms and weaving, ensuring the long-term prosperity of her descendants by providing them

with food and clothing. After the Ming dynasty, the Queen Mother of the West was transformed in folklore into a creator of various mountains, rivers, flowers, and trees and even the universe and human beings (Zhao 2012).

The activities of nurturing life, nourishing creatures, and protecting people are instinctive on the biological level and archetypal on the psychic level as symbolized by the Queen Mother of the West. As Jacobi (1976: 42) opined, the development of the persona often involves three factors: the physical and psychic structure, the individual ideal, and the collective ideal. The collective expectations of human beings for the role of mother are first and foremost positive and active, and thus the kind and positive aspects of the Queen Mother of the West serve as personas of the collective mother in Chinese society.

2. THE NEGATIVE GREAT MOTHER: DEATH, CONTROL, AND SHADOW

Living on Mount Kunlun, the Queen Mother of the West made her first appearance in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Anonymous 2009) as a fierce goddess in charge of death and punishment. She later became Queen Mother – an obstructionist and controller in folklore. These are the dark and immoral aspects of the Great Mother archetype, which are in opposition to the persona and are rejected by collective culture and consciousness. They can be regarded as the shadow of the Great Mother.

> *The Great Mother is the giver not only of life but also of death. Withdrawal of love can appear as a withdrawal of all the functions constituting the positive side of the elementary character. Thus, hunger and thirst may take the place of food, cold of warmth, defenselessness of protection, nakedness of shelter and clothing, and distress of contentment.* (Neumann 2015 [1955]: 117)

According to Robert H. Hopcke (1995), the shadow expresses what the persona suppresses. It is usually unacceptable, unpleasant, and frightening. These denied and suppressed parts, however, are the most important elements of the collective unconsciousness, for the shadow contains much of the instinctive content and energy, the primitive and infantile psyche, and the subtleties of the darkness (Shen 2012). The negative sides of death and control, together with the positive sides of nurturing and support, constitute the basic complementary facets of the Great Mother.

2.1 The West and death

There are records of the Eastern Mother and the Western Mother in the oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (1751–1111 B.C.). Some scholars believe that both were goddesses of the Sun and goddesses of life and death during that period (Chang 2013). There are more oracle bone inscriptions for the Eastern Mother than for the Western Mother. In the funeral rituals of the Shang dynasty, the deceased's head faced east more often than west, indicating that the East symbolized life and rebirth while the West symbolized death. The Eastern Mother is thus supposed to be the goddess of life and the Western Mother the goddess of death (ibid.). It remains debatable whether the Western Mother and the Queen Mother of the West are the same goddess. However, there is a very close connection between the two, as they are both female goddesses located in the West. The earliest record of the Queen Mother of the West appeared in *The Classic of the Western Mountains*, the second section of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*. "Three hundred and fifty leagues further west is Mount Jade. This is where the Queen Mother of the West lives" (Anonymous 1999: 25). Whether or not the Queen Mother of the West lives on Mount Kunlun or Mount Jade, it is relatively certain that she comes from the far west (Zhu 1957).

In Chinese mythology, the west is a symbol of darkness. Located in the west, Mount Kunlun represents a place generating darkness and devouring life, which is in accordance with the cultural connotation of the Queen Mother of the West, a deity in charge of life and death.

> *The west is more: it is the 'place of the women,' the primeval home, where mankind once crawled from the primordial hole of the earth. For before the earth and human consciousness existed, everything was contained in the realm of the dead in the west. This place of the women is not only the dark cave from which mankind issued; it is also the house from which one descends. For underworld, night sky, and unconscious are one and the same: the west is the seat of the primordial gods, the home of the corn, and the original mythical home of the tribes.* (Neumann 2015 [1955]: 247)

Death is the beginning of new life. In mythology, death is viewed as a journey back to the womb of Mother Earth. Though horrific to some extent, it implies hope for the future as it makes the continuation of life possible (Ye 2004). The earth, or Kunlun, creates life, nourishes it, and then devours it. It then gives birth to life again, nurtures it, and finally casts it once more into the abyss of death. Life is reincarnated in this way. As a result, the Queen Mother of the West frequently appeared as the main mythological figure in tomb paintings

from the Han dynasty when the living believed her to guide the spirits of the dead to rebirth or to ascend to immortality.

2.2 Penalty and control

The Queen Mother of the West is the goddess of death, symbolizing the origin of all the negative aspects in life, including disease and disaster, death and destruction, terror and danger, etc., as noted by Ye (2004). All of these are the typical shadow aspects of the Great Mother. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Anonymous 2009) depicts the Queen Mother of the West as a human body with a leopard's tail and a tigress's teeth (see Fig. 2). Possessing outstanding strength and speed, both the tiger and leopard are totems of the tribe. She was the mother and leader of the whole tribe, providing food and protection for her people as well as administering punishments and even executing death. Before the Han Dynasty, it was thought that the Queen Mother of the West was a fearsome goddess, half-human, half-animal, in command of celestial penalties. She is recorded to preside over the catastrophes from the sky and the five destructive forces which were forms of cruel corporal punishment in ancient China. The scepter in her hand signifies her authority and severity (Bu 2010: 145). Both punishment and mercy are implemented under the auspices of the Queen Mother of the West to counter and support one another.

The Queen Mother of the West is an embodiment of cosmic order and vitality. When a destructive force upsets this order, she would assume responsibility for it and take action. According to a Chinese folktale known as "The Weaver Maiden and the Cowherd", after the couple got married, the Cowherd stopped herding cattle and the Weaver Maiden stopped weaving, which led to famine and a shortage of cloth all over the world. Consequently, the universe fell into chaos. The Emperor of Heaven and the Queen Mother of the West intervened in order to restore cosmic order. The couple had to return to their respective positions to ensure the proper functioning of the heavens and the earth. "Among later folklore, due to her faithfulness to the duties, the Queen Mother of the West was portrayed as a villain breaking the relationship of the Cowherd and Weaver Maiden" (Konnanyitirou 2006: 115). It is common to see this motif in later myths and legends. The fairies, unwilling to bear loneliness in heaven, descend into mortal marriage. However, they are frequently punished or imprisoned by the Queen Mother and the Jade Emperor if there is even the slightest chance of disturbing the cosmic order.

Figure 2. *A Portrait of the Queen Mother of the West in* The Classic of Mountains and Seas *(Anonymous 2009: 61).*

On a deeper level, this is the Great Mother's early warning of the catastrophic consequences of destruction, much as a mother would firmly reprimand and even punish her children when they disobey moral and legal standards. The divine principle and rule of heaven demonstrate how unconsciousness, represented by the Queen Mother of the West, controls and manages creation. When attempting to get free, the conscious cannot ignore the immense force of the unconscious, otherwise it will soon suffer the consequences. This explains why in mythology the rebellious usually meet a tragic end.

As Neumann (2015 [1955]: 97) points out, the archetypal feminine is both the provider and protector of life as well as the goddess of death at the same time, just as the Great Mother may be both awful and good. The archetypal feminine encompasses opposites of positive and negative features, as symbolized by the black-and-white egg. The universe unites earth and heaven, night and day, death and life. The images related to the Queen Mother of the West also contain pairs of opposing and unified factors such as life and death, give and take, leniency and severity, beauty and ugliness, etc. "Since people tend to reject or ignore the less glorious parts of the personality, the shadow is largely dismissed. However, many of the positive parts of the personality are hidden precisely in the shadow" (Young-Eisendrath & Dawson 1997: 319). The whole Great Mother, made up of both positive and negative features, ensures the reincarnation of life and the operation of the universe.

3. THE SPIRITUAL MOTHER: ETERNITY, VIRGIN MARY, AND ANIMA

> *The Primordial Goddess, combining elementary and transformative character in one, is an 'eternal presence', wherever the original traits of the elementary or the transformative character appear, her archaic image*

> *will be constellated anew, regardless of time and space.* (Neumann 2015 [1955]: 118)

The Queen Mother of the West is an eternal Great Mother transcending the boundaries of time and space. She possesses the elixir of life and transcends the cycle of life and death through transformation and rebirth. She is a mentor and guide for ancient kings, a spiritual faith for common people and a Muse for the literati and artists. In a way, she has become a mother goddess in the spiritual realm of the Chinese.

3.1 Eternal life: The immortality of the individual and the infinite regeneration of the universe

From the viewpoint of filial piety, Confucianism maintains that the value of life is the passing on of blood from one generation to the next. However, in Taoism, individual immortality is seen as the value of life (Gu 2006). Taoists believe that the Queen Mother of the West could fulfill their unending quest to become immortals in the celestial realm. The Queen Mother of the West naturally evolved into the goddess of immortality since her home, Mount Kunlun, is a sacred location rich in the drink of immortality, the tree of immortality, and the elixir of immortality. In some Chinese paintings of the Han Dynasty (see Fig. 1), the jade rabbit next to the Queen Mother of the West is either holding a *Ganoderma lucidum* or pounding immortal medicine while the money tree represents the path that the soul takes to heaven (Chi 2009). Moreover, the feather-man with wings in those paintings has also attained immortality and can fly to heaven at any time. The Queen Mother of the West is a symbol of the fairyland, the immortal world, and the heavenly palace. It is said that by entering the celestial realm of the Queen Mother of the West, which represents the continuation of life, one can reincarnate after passing away. In the Han Dynasty, she was in fact a goddess of happiness, fertility, and eternity (Gu 2006).

The deeper meaning of eternity refers to the infinite reproduction of the human race and the eternal existence of the universe. In popular Chinese legends, Houyi, an archer renowned for his marksmanship, acquired the elixir of life from the Queen Mother of the West; however, he was not fortunate enough to enjoy it as it was secretly consumed by his wife Chang'e, who subsequently ascended to heaven and became the moon goddess. Whilst the invincible First Emperor of China could not obtain the elixir of immortality, Chang'e, a woman, was able to get it easily. Behind this myth lies the archetypal meaning of collective

unconsciousness. The immortal energy of life ultimately fell into the hands of the moon goddess, Chang'e, probably because a classic archetype of rebirth was seen through the waxing and waning of the moon (Konnanyitirou 2006). The moon is usually associated with femininity. The lunar cycle of waxing and waning is similar to the menstrual cycle of women, which implies a possibility of conception. The moon thus became a symbol of birth and rebirth and is frequently worshipped alongside women by people all over the world. An Indian tribe has a painting called *The Woman in the Moon* (see Fig. 3). There are also antique pieces of jewelry decorated with "The Moon as the abode of souls" (see Fig. 4). According to the mythical concept of immortality, it is evil for heroes and emperors to pursue eternity for personal benefit. The life and death of a specific emperor are not important; what matters is the constant regeneration of the universe year after year (Konnanyitirou 2006: 83). Therefore, the elixir of immortality is only available and exclusive to goddesses such as the Queen Mother of the West and Chang'e, by whom eternity is given and controlled.

Figure 3. *The woman in the moon. Tattoo pattern, Haida Indians, Northwest America (Jung 2014b: 487).*

Figure 4. *The moon as the abode of souls. Chalcedon gem, 1st century B.C. (Jung 2014b: 487).*

3.2 Spiritual eternity: Virgin Mary and the anima

The ultimate eternity is spiritual eternity, which is the highest level of transformation for the Great Mother. To attain immortality means one has flown to the spiritual realm of heaven. The ascension into the celestial signifies the unity of earth and sky, the physical and the spiritual. The lofty trees and Mount Kunlun serve as the gateway to heaven in the myth of the Queen Mother of

the West. In Norse mythology, the root of the world tree (Yggdrasil) stretches down to the underworld and the crown up to heaven. In Chinese mythology, the seat of the supreme god is on the top of the world tree reaching up to heaven. According to a stone portrait from the Northern Shan'xi province, northwestern China, it is the Queen Mother of the West that sits on the world tree (see Fig. 5). High places are often associated with sacred pursuits, symbolizing the transcendence, purification, and eternity of souls. Mountain-climbing pilgrimages exist in many ethnic groups and religions, which express a strong human desire to renounce the world, gain enlightenment, and experience spiritual eternity. From a spiritual point of view, mountains are related to a state of complete self-awareness (Mitford 2008). As the point where heaven and earth meet, mountains have come to represent transcendence, eternity, and spiritual sublimation. Mount Kunlun, known in China as the top of the world, is said to be the birthplace of the Yellow River, a symbol of order and harmony, as well as the residence of the immortals (Tresidder 2001: 121). The Queen Mother of the West became a representation of spiritual eternity – the ultimate pursuit for Chinese elite classes.

Figure 5. *The Queen Mother of the West sitting on the world tree (Xitaihu 2018).*

Having reached the highest level of the Great Mother archetype, the Queen Mother of the West was also the Holy Mother and anima of emperors, intellectuals, and common people in ancient China. It was said that Emperor Yu, Emperor Shun, Emperor Yao, and the Yellow Emperor undertook a long journey to visit the Queen Mother of the West, who reciprocated by paying return

visits to these emperors as well. The kings and emperors learned about the governance of a country through conversations with the Queen Mother of the West, who was their Goddess of Wisdom and Virgin Mary and could inspire them to rule their country effectively. Behind these myths is the idea that the Queen Mother of the West possessed the ability to bring political stability and economic prosperity (Konnanyitirou 2006).

During the Han Dynasty, the Queen Mother of the West became increasingly secular, helping the common people pursue happiness and freedom. In Taoism she was transformed and became the mother of all the female immortals (Gan 2009), which was similar to the Greek primordial deity Gaia – the most highly respected mother goddess. In the late Western Han Dynasty, the entire society indulged in various religious beliefs due to acute social conflicts. The desperately poor masses hoped to get rid of worldly sufferings through religious illusions. The Queen Mother of the West was thus worshiped for various utilitarian purposes. In the folk beliefs of the Han Dynasty, she was able to bestow blessings, bring forth children, joy, and health. In the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368–1912), the belief in the Queen Mother of the West was combined with various other folk religions (Du 2014). The Queen Mother of the West was not only the creator and redeemer, but also the supreme goddess of folk religions (Liu 2011), as well as the almighty goddess who could bring her people longevity, wealth, peace, and well-being (Yu 2016).

The Queen Mother of the West has been recorded as an anima in an ancient book named *A Biography of King Mu in the Zhou Dynasty*. King Mu, the fifth sovereign of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 B.C.), visited the Western Paradise of the Queen Mother of the West on Mount Kunlun. They parted reluctantly and promised to meet again three years later. Their relationship was much like that of lovers. The Queen Mother of the West, a stunning and intelligent daughter of the Emperor of Heaven, inspired and encouraged King Mu to manage the internal and external affairs of his country. She was his anima, his goddess of inspiration and Sophia. The commoners (even princes and ministers), however, dared not dream of romance with this goddess and could only adore her daughters, giving rise to hundreds of folktales about mortals falling in love with them. These stories, which had particular social and personal significance, reflected the desire of ordinary people to escape the constraints of reality (Sun 2005). In the early Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.), images related to the Queen Mother of the West became frequent sources of inspiration for poets to express their heroic feelings and affections. A famous poetess named Xue Tao in Tang Dynasty once wrote, "The green bird is flying in the east while the plum blossoms are falling. With a mouth full of flowers, the bird is ascending to the paradise of the Queen Mother of the West" (2014). In this poem, the green bird changes

from a food-provider for the Queen Mother of the West to a conveyor of sincere feelings, which indicates that the Queen is also a symbol of the pursuit of the free spirit and ideals. The images associated with the Queen Mother of the West encourage men to have deep spiritual conversations with their inner world and, as a result, they are richly symbolic of the anima archetype.

CONCLUSION

Ancient Chinese tales and folklore contain a number of images that are strongly tied to the Queen Mother of the West, giving this goddess a deep psychological and archetypal significance. She reveals the following metaphorical significance through her numerous aspects. Firstly, in Chinese mythology, Mount Kunlun is a representation of the abdomen of Mother Earth and symbolizes the female womb. Sacred trees like Jianmu, as well as black water and many other resources in the mountain symbolize the amniotic fluid in the womb and various nutrients for the growth of the fetus. The dragon and tiger seat and the nine-tailed fox have a special meaning concerning mating and fertility in Chinese culture, denoting the continuation of the human race. All these elements constitute the persona and positive aspects of the mother archetype. Secondly, the leopard's tail and tigress's teeth of the Queen Mother of the West represent punishment and death. She has the power to punish both mortals and immortals who have violated the rules of heaven and earth. In addition, her residence, being in the West, serves as a metaphor for the realm of death. The shadow and negative aspects of the mother archetype are represented by the negative characteristics of evil, retribution, devouring, etc. Finally, the immortal medicine named *Ganoderma lucidum* and the sacred peach fruit, which extends life, are also in the possession of the Queen Mother of the West. The feather-man close to her indicates that she is able to lead people to immortality and regenerate the universe from time immemorial. Many emperors in ancient times drew inspiration from the Queen Mother of the West. She and her daughters constitute the mythical Muses that many Chinese emperors and intellectuals have long yearned to encounter. The elements of eternity, wisdom, and anima are the foundations for the spiritual facets of the mother archetype.

All in all, the Queen Mother of the West is kind, tolerant, and beautiful, but also fierce, harsh, and ugly. She nurtures and nourishes everything whilst, at the same time, takes away everything. She is the instinctual, psychic, and spiritual mother of all Chinese people.

NOTES

[1] *Ganoderma lucidum* is also called Lingzhi mushroom. It is a Chinese medical mushroom symbolizing well-being, divine power, and longevity.

[2] Fuxi and Nüwa are a brother and a sister who, according to a Chinese foundation myth, were the only survivors of a great flood and the earliest ancestors of human beings. They are acknowledged as the ones who created humanity. In addition, Fuxi is believed to have introduced several innovations that benefited humanity immensely, while Nüwa is said to have saved humanity from a great calamity.

[3] Black water, named Hei shui in pinyin, is a river recorded in *The Classics of Mountains and Seas*. The location and existence of the river are still in dispute.

[4] Weak water, named Ruo shui in Pinyin, is an important river recorded in ancient China. It is a common image in literary works, often denoting a perilous and remote region or river, an immortal river, or a fairyland.

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.ghazanfari_asl

TRACES OF A GREEK MYTH (?) IN SUBCULTURES OF LUR-INHABITED REGIONS OF WESTERN IRAN

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Abstract: This article aims to introduce, explore, and analyse an oral folk tale called "Ahmad Sādāti and His Companions", common in some Lur villages in Fārs and Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad provinces in Iran. The plot and storyline of this tale correspond to those of the myth of Ulysses and the giant Polyphemus in the *Odyssey*, attributed to Homer. The significance of this study lies in exhibiting the cultural exchange between Greek and local-indigenous subcultures of Iran. Greek and Persian cultures were in constant mutual contact from the mid-sixth century BC until late antiquity, and this contact became closer after Alexander's campaign and the rise of the Seleucids in Iran. The study area is located on the western margins of the Iranian plateau – the birthplace of two great dynasties of Iranian rulers in ancient times – which redoubles the importance of the issue under investigation.

Keywords: Lur-inhabited regions in Iran, Boyer-Ahmad, Mamasani, Rostam, Ahmad Sādāti, Odyssey, myth of Ulysses

INTRODUCTION

Civilisational contacts between the Greco-Roman and Persian worlds created a new chapter in ancient history. The rise of the Achaemenids in the ancient Near East, or rather Western Asia, inevitably led to political, military, and, especially, cultural contacts between them and the Greeks of Ionia and later

the Greek city-states. These contacts found new dimensions after the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus II in 547 BC. For instance, archaeological evidence shows that Iranian culture had significant influence across the shores of the Aegean Sea and western Anatolia (see Miller 2012 [2002]; Sekunda 1988, 1991; Briant 1996: 721–725). During the Achaemenid period, Persia's contact with the Greek world was not confined to military conflict. Rather, there were cultural relations between these two ancient civilisations (see Starr 1977).

After the military campaign of the Macedonian-Greek forces, headed by Alexander the Great, the Eastern world, which they found particularly charming and precious, came under their political influence. This influence continued after the succession of power to the Seleucids. During this time (i.e., the Hellenistic period), the Greek culture encompassing architecture, religion, art, and language was spread in the ancient East, including Persia. The bilateral political and cultural relations between the Persian and Roman worlds, which were sometimes peaceful and sometimes belligerent, continued during the Parthian and Sasanid periods.

Several views have been outlined in literature regarding the influence of Hellenistic culture in Iran. One view contends that the influence of Hellenism on Persians was mainly seen among the senior figures, elites, and the aristocracy of the Persian society and in large cities, who aspired for political participation and relations with the ruling class (Strootman 2020: 201–218; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 74–79; Boyce & Grenet 1991: 52–53; Ghirshman 1954: 231). Still, there is also the view that considering the integration of Persian soldiers into the Seleucid army and intermarriage between the Greek soldiers and Persian locals (in regions where Greeks were stationed), the influence of Hellenistic culture must have reached the local and rural cultures (see Martinez-Sève 2012 [2003]). Some scholars disagree with these views and believe that the Persians showed strong resistance against Hellenism (Eddy 1961). Determining the scope and extent of the influence of Hellenistic culture across Iran and the public attitude towards it is highly sensitive and difficult due to the dispersion and unavailability of documents and falls beyond the scope of the present research. The issue was brought up only to illustrate the dimensions of the subject under study rather than go into detail about them, and thus the following sections will focus on the main research topic.

As mentioned earlier, one of the areas of the influence of Hellenistic culture in Persia was religion and mythology. Previous studies have addressed the integration of Persian and Greek cultures during the Hellenistic era. For example, this cultural-religious mixing between the Greek and Persian deities can be seen in the western territories of the Seleucid Empire, particularly in Kommagene (Nemrud Dağı) (see Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 75–76; Boyce & Grenet 1991: 332).

This study examines a Luri folk tale popular in Pehun and Khikandeh Jalil villages of Rostam County, Fārs Province, and Baghcheh Jalil village of Boyer-Ahmad County, Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Province in southwestern Iran. According to the analyses, while exhibiting various Persian elements, the tale is similar to an ancient Greek myth, which may signify the cultural exchange between the Hellenistic and the Persian world. The northwestern and western parts of Fārs Province, including Mamasani and Rostam, alongside Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Provinces, are among major Lur-inhabited regions in western and southwestern Iran. As parts of the ancient province of Pars, these areas were the birthplace of Persian governments and have hosted numerous ancient Iranian beliefs, myths, and rituals that even after centuries and millennia are still part of the people's daily lives on the western edge of the Iranian plateau.

Analysis of the cultural and civilisational exchanges between the Greek and Persian worlds in ancient times is a remarkably significant and at the same time fascinating topic in ancient history. The present study embarks upon a comparative analysis of a Greek myth that has been transferred orally from generation to generation in Iran. Therefore, aside from its gripping narrative, it is very important in that, on the one hand, the death of the older generations can render such tales – which show traces of the mythical and epical exchange between the Greek world and the Persian folk cultures – from being forgotten and, on the other hand, there have been no serious attempts so far to collect and investigate the cultural exchange between Greece and western Iran.

The research method included fieldwork of the authors attempting to collect as much information as possible on the myth under investigation by interviewing local people about the folklore in southwestern Iran.[2] Then, the findings were compared with the Greek narrative to identify their similarities and differences. Moreover, the indigenous elements, changes, and modifications of the story were discussed.

THE TALE OF "AHMAD SĀDĀTI AND HIS COMPANIONS"

The tale of "Ahmad Sādāti and His Companions" is narrated by the old men and women of the aforementioned villages in Fārs and Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad provinces to their children, thus ensuring the survival and preservation of this story in these regions. It is worth noting that there are some variations in certain parts of the story, which are attributable to the oral nature and transfer of this story. The tale is about a person by the name of Ahmad Sādāti, who embarks on a Hajj pilgrimage along with his companions and his eldest son:

Once upon a time a man named Ahmad from the Shiite descendants of prophet Muhammad (in the Boyer-Ahmad area) was going on Hajj with his eldest son and some companions. After a few days and nights on the way, they come upon an enormous and dark cave (Eshkaft-e Shāh, i.e., the cave of the King) in the Alvarz Mountains.[3] *A small fire is lit in the cave. They decide to spend the night in the cave and resume their journey in the morning. A short while later, a huge flock of sheep and goats rushes into the cave, filling it completely. Following the herd, a giant as big as an old tree and with a body as hairy as his sheep, steps into the cave, driving his flocks, and places a large stone in front of the entrance. All of a sudden the giant notices Ahmad Sādāti and his companions and greets them and enquires why they have come to this cave and where they are going. They answer that they are going on a Hajj pilgrimage. The night falls and the giant decides to have dinner. He gets up and touches Ahmad Sādāti and his companions all over with his hairy hands. He then grabs one of his companions who seems to have some meat on him and puts him on a stick, and eats him after roasting him on the fire for some time. Once done eating, the giant uses one ear as a mat and the other as a blanket and slips into a deep sleep. Ahmad Sādāti and his companions are trembling with fear. The giant gets up in the middle of the night and eats yet another one of Ahmad Sādāti's companions and tells him that it is his turn to be eaten in the morning. He begins to ponder ways to save his own, his son's and companions' life, as they are the only ones left.*

At dawn, before the giant wakes up, they wake up and put a great stake[4] *they find in the back of the cave in the fire to properly harden it. Then, they take it and use it to stab the giant's eyes.*[5] *The giant jolts awake shrieking and runs around in the cave, writhing in pain. Ahmad Sādāti and his companions flock to the corner of the cave fearfully and hide among the fat sheep. At the break of day, the giant removes the stone blocking the cave's entrance and sits down in the doorway waiting for Ahmad Sādāti and his companions. Sādāti decides that the best way to escape the cave unharmed is to slaughter a few of the giant's fat sheep and hide in their skin. They do so and wear the skins of the sheep over their head.*[6]

Thus they lead the flock towards the exit where the giant is camping. The giant touches their backs, especially Ahmad Sādāti who is hiding under a ram's skin but does not realise it is them, and with this trick, he and his companions escape from the cave. They keep walking for some distance under the sheep's skin before dumping them and fleeing. The giant follows them for a while to capture and kill Ahmad Sādāti and his companions, but soon gets tired and leaves them alone. But another giant

keeps following them for a long time until Sādāti and his companions are forced to resort to tying a nērang.[7] *They tie the giant's mouth by casting spells and reciting verses and stop it from following them.*

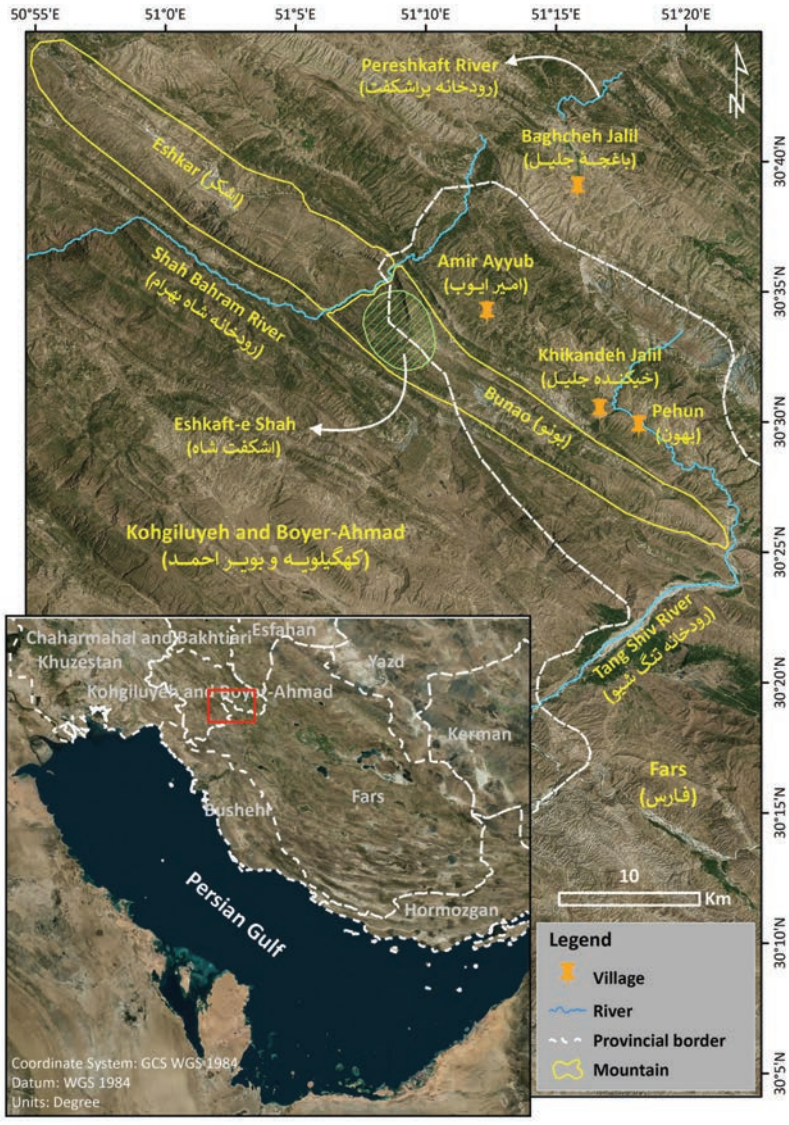

Figure 1. *Map of the study area.*[8]

With a thorough review of Iranian traditions and myths, the authors found some similarities between the elements of this tale and a section in the *Avesta,* a Zoroastrian scripture.[9] In Yašt[10] 17, 55,[11] it is stated that the Ard deity (Aši/Ahrišung[12]) hides first under the foot of a cow and then under the neck of a ram when the Turanians and the Naotarids are in her pursuit.[13] However, young boys and maidens give away her hiding place, and Ard (Aši) becomes resentful (*Avesta*; see Geldner 1889: 238–239; Lommel 1927: 164–165; see also Boyce 1975: 65, note 290; Skjærvø 1986; Malandra 1983: 134).

There are no more details included in this passage, and the only similarity is hiding from enemies under the neck of a ram. This tale was most likely a well-known story similar to other Avestan stories, the details of which would later appear in some Pahlavi texts[14] or other narrations. But the *Avesta* has only made this small reference to the tale. The authors did not find evidence of this story in other Iranian writings, and this brief reference does not allow for making more discussion and any conclusions.

Meanwhile, the authors found striking similarities between the tale of Ahmad Sādāti and the myth of Ulysses and the giant Polyphemus in the *Odyssey*. The following section presents a brief explanation of this myth, and then a comparison is made between these two narratives.

ULYSSES AND THE GIANT POLYPHEMUS

Odysseus or Ulysses, who showed great valour in the Trojan War (see Homer, *Iliad*, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11) sets out on a journey home to Greece and the island of Ithaca – where he ruled as a king before the war – with his companions after the end of the war. *Odyssey* is a description of this journey. On this journey, he encounters Calypso, a nymph. This beautiful nymph prevents Ulysses and his companions from returning to Ithaca for a long time. Once free, they sail out to sea and reach the island of Phaeacia. Ulysses' son, Telemachus – who was abandoned as a child by his father as he left for Troy – is guided by Athena to search for his father during his wanderings. In the first four books of the *Odyssey*, Telemachus asks around for any news of his father until finally, the father reveals himself to his son as encouraged by Athena (see Homer, *Odyssey*, 15, 16). In the ninth book, Ulysses relates his sufferings to the people of Phaeacia, explaining how on his path he first reached the land of Lotophages (Lotus Eaters). In this land, any one of those who ate lotus no longer wished to report back and lost the desire to return home. Odysseus and his 12 companions rush away from this land and reach an island neither far from nor near the land of the Cyclopes. On the island, they come upon the entrance of a high

cave, home to a giant called Polyphemus (see Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.1–11).[15] According to the *Odyssey*:

> *Polyphemus is a one-eyed giant that lives alone on this island and has a large herd of goats and sheep. Ulysses and his companions reach the cave but find no trace of him. After a while, the giant Polyphemus returns and drives his fat flocks into the wide cave. Once the animals are inside, the giant picks up a great heavy stone and places it in the doorway. The giant then takes notice of Ulysses and his companions and enquires: 'Strangers, who are you? From where did you sail on a watery journey?' Trembling, Ulysses and his friends reply: 'We are Achaeans, if you please, wandering home from Troy, driven by all of the winds over the great gulf of the sea. We are going homeward, but we came another way, another path.' The giant asks about their ship's whereabouts, and Ulysses cleverly replies: 'Poseidon the earth-shaker broke my ship'. Polyphemus does not respond. He gets up and puts his hand on his companions and then seizes two like puppies and strikes them down on the ground, and prepares his dinner after tearing them to pieces. Ulysses and his companions tremble with fear until dawn. In the daybreak, the giant wakes up and grabs and kills two more and eats them. After lunch, he guides his rich flock to the mountain called the Cyclops, whistling.*
>
> *Ulysses begins to ponder ways of saving himself and his companions. In one corner of the cave, there is a great club as long as a ship's mast, apparently belonging to the giant Polyphemus. With the help of Athena and others, Ulysses places the stick in the fire and hides it once it is hardened. The giant returns to the cave in the evening. Ulysses intoxicates the giant with the wine which tastes like nectar and ambrosia, and Polyphemus slips into a deep sleep. Before falling asleep, the giant tells Ulysses that he has a gift of hospitality for him to make him happy. 'I will eat all the others before you, No One, and you last after all your friends. That will be my gift to you.' Then, he falls asleep with his entire neck drooping. Ulysses pulls out the wooden stake and, after heating it up, thrusts it into his eye. The giant roars and runs around in the cave, screaming. He calls upon the other Cyclops who live on both sides in the nearby caves on the neighbouring heights. They all come up from all sides and gather around Polyphemus' cave. They say, 'Wherefore is not some mortal driving off your flocks although you are unwilling? Or is someone killing you with deceit or violence?' Polyphemus says, 'O friends! No One does me harm with deceit, not with violence,' and they assume that it must be illness inflicted by Zeus on Polyphemus and tell him to pray to his father, Lord*

Poseidon. Eventually, the wounded giant opens the cave's door and sits in the doorway, spreading out his hands to catch anyone who tries to get out. At this point, Ulysses thinks of finding the best way out.

'The following seemed the best plan to me in my heart: The fat, thickly fleeced sheep in the flock were both fine and large with dark, violet wool. In silence I bound them together with the well-plaited willow twigs, on which the monster Cyclops slept, as he knew no laws, binding them together three sheep at a time. And the one in the middle carried a man (from underneath) with another sheep on each side and they went out the doorway, saving my comrades. So three sheep bore each man. Quickly then I, taking by the back a full-grown ram, who was the best of the whole flock, hid under his shaggy belly so I might go free. Then with my hands firmly gripping his excellent wool, I held on with my heart steeled.

And there we stayed, trembling until the light of Dawn. And when early-born Rosy-fingered Dawn appeared, the flock's males went out to the pasture, but the females bleated by the pens since they were unmilked and their udders were bursting. And the lord, although worn down by his harmful pain, touched the backs of all standing nearby but the idiot did not think that they were held under the breasts of the sheep. Finally the last of the flock made its way toward pasture with me under his belly, burdened by his own wool, while I thought myself especially clever. And when huge Polyphemus recognised him, he said, 'Beloved ram, why, pray tell, are you the last of the flock to leave the cave? Never before have you left the last of the flock, but first by far you graze on tender buds of grass and stride along, and you are the first to come to the waters of the rivers, and you are the first to come back to the cave... in going they went from the cave and from the gates. And I released myself first from the ram and then released my companions. And quickly leading along the long-legged flock, we drove the sheep rich with wool, often looking back until we reached the ship.' (Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.187–464)

Then, Ulysses and his companions select some of the large flock and lead them into the ship and sail away from the island of the Cyclops. Polyphemus breaks off and throws the top of a mountain which lands near their ship and almost sinks them. After a few attempts, the giant leaves Ulysses and his companions alone (Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.480–486).

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A comparison of these two Persian and Greek tales shows that despite some differences, likely resulting from temporal, spatial, and cultural differences, there are many similarities between them. In other words, this Greek myth, with a slight change in the setting and characters, is narrated today in the regions under study in a relatively Zoroastrian-Islamic[16] format.

As far as the methodology for the comparative analysis of folklore is concerned, this tale can be classified as Types 1135 and 1137 based on the Aarne-Thompson-Uther (ATU) Index (Man Kills (Injures) Ogre). Some of the motifs of this tale are K603, K1011, and F531.1.1.1. It should be noted that this tale can also be categorised as other types, such as religious tales (827–849), considering that it has been localised in Iran. Nevertheless, according to Stith Thompson (1946: 200–201) and Oskar Hackman (1904), the tale of Polyphemus influenced numerous other folk traditions, including the Indian tradition. This further underpins the idea of direct dependence between the Iranian tale and the Homeric tradition. As explained by Ulrich Marzolph in his *Typologie des persichen Volksmärchens* (1997), the classification of Iranian tales is rather complicated as they have not been thoroughly studied before. This is particularly true about the tale investigated in this article, which has been passed down through generations not as a text but as an oral story.

This section explores the differences and similarities of this story in the Iranian and Greek narratives. Aside from the difference in the names of the protagonist in these two narratives, with the name Ahmad Sādāti replacing Ulysses, in the Greek version the number of companions is 12, but the number of Ahmad's companions is either four or not specified in the Persian version (see below).

Second, in the Greek narrative, Cyclops who are giants with no religious affiliation live in caves in high mountains of the island of Cyclops (see Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.112), whereas in the Persian narrative, the story takes place in the Alvarz Mountains (in the local dialect) and there is a huge cave in this mountain, called Eshkaft-e Shāh, which is regarded as the home of Kay Kawad (a Persian mythological figure) in the public belief. Therefore, the names of places and people in the Persian version are adapted to Iran's geographical space and history. Alborz is a mountain range in northern Iran and also a mythical mountain range in ancient Persian traditions (see Yašt 12.25; 10.50, 118; 12.23; etc.). Kay Kawad is the founder of the Kiani dynasty, which is the second dynasty in Persian mythological history. Interestingly, according to Persian mythology, before his rise to power, Kay Kawad resided in Alborz, where he was nurtured (see Ferdowsi 2007: 338–341, verses 149–155). In addition, there is another

cave called Bahmani close by, which is regarded by the locals in Pehun and Khikandeh villages (subdivisions of Rostam County) as the place where Bahman and Rostam fought. Therefore, the connection of this cave with Kay Kawad may be associated with this ancient myth.

The third difference is that, in the Greek version, the giant Polyphemus follows Ulysses and his companions until they sail away. However, in the Persian version, in addition to the giant, another giant chases Sādāti and his companions until they are forced to stop him through prayers and tying a *nērang* (incantations or religious formula). *Nērang* is a common motif in ancient Persian rituals. Ancient Persian texts regard *nērang* as highly influential, and it refers to prayers recited to resolve and repel adversities, accidents, and harms. Many ancient *nērangs* can be found in different parts of *Avesta* such as *Yasna*, *Vendidad*, and *Visperad*. One ancient strategy used by Persians to repel evil, particularly harmful creatures such as *xrafstras* (pests and evil animals such as dragons, snakes, and scorpions), was *nērang* or tying the mouth (see Hampel 1974: 20).[17] This tradition has an ancient history among the Persians (see Yašt 8.55; Pourdavoud 1931: 59–60; Navabi 1976: 265; Ferdowsi 2007: 89–153) which continues to this day among the people of Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad and Mamasani in Fārs Province.[18] A few points must be taken into account concerning the common rituals in these areas. First, instead of Zoroastrian prayer and phrases, Koranic verses such as the Throne Verse (the 255th verse of the 2nd chapter) or chapters such as the "Fātehe" (the 1st) and "Shams" (91st) are recited. Second, this ritual-mythical tradition usually begins with the word *bastam* (I closed or tied), for instance, "I closed the snout of that animal" or "I tied the fang of that animal". The use of metal objects such as locks, knives, and scissors as objects that can prevent death is also noteworthy. Metal was used to ward off *divs* (demons),[19] and jinns. The idea that iron can keep away the evil forces and malicious spirits from the realm of human and livestock life is a Zoroastrian (see Boyce 1977: 150) and also Indo-European belief (cf. Christensen 1976: 123). Therefore, tying a *nērang* also included tying the mouths of ghouls and jinns and anything in the world (*gitig*) and heavens (*minog*) that could harm human beings and their dependants. This custom is more common in the areas under study among the nomadic people or villagers associated with pastoral life.

Fourth, in the Greek narrative, after seeing Ulysses and his companions, Polyphemus took two of them and knocked them to the ground, and tore them to pieces. In the Persian narrative, however, the giant skewered one of Sādāti's companions and swallowed him after roasting him for some time.

Fifth, in the Greek version, Ulysses and four of his friends pick up a large piece of wood from the back of the cave and place it on fire to harden it, and

then lift it with the help of one of the gods and thrust it into the giant's eye. In the Persian version, Sādāti and one of his companions pick up either a stake or a two-pronged skewer and make it charred in the fire before plunging it into the giant's eyes (in the Persian narrative, the giant has two eyes).

The sixth difference is in the use of wine to intoxicate the giant in the Greek version by Ulysses and his companions before blinding the giant Polyphemus. But this has been removed in the Persian version. Though the reason is not clear, the story is about Muslims on Hajj pilgrimage, according to whose beliefs, carrying and drinking wine is prohibited. Therefore, the Persian version is consistent with the Islamic beliefs of the people of the region.

The following are the similarities between the two narratives. The first similarity is concerned with the main characters of the story. Odysseus is the king of Ithaca, and although Ahmad Sādāti is not a king, he is a holy man venerated by the locals and the nomads as the person responsible for religious and spiritual matters. The second similarity is that both tales are concerned with a group of travellers before reaching their destination. The third similarity is that in both the stories, the son of the protagonist plays a part in the storyline. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus' son, Telemachus, struggles to find him and eventually succeeds. In the Iranian tale, Ahmad's son accompanies him in the journey and adventures.

Fourth, the number four is used in both stories. In the *Odyssey*, Ulysses thrusts a wooden stake into the giant's eye with the help of four of his friends. In the Persian tale, Ahmad Sādāti is said to have four companions in some narratives. Still, this repetition occurs in two different parts of the Greek and Iranian tales, and it should not be forgotten that the Iranian version is an oral story and naturally has developed variations after transmission from one generation to the next.

Fifth, in the Greek narrative, the story takes place in a cave in the mountainous part of the Island of Cyclops. Many flocks, sheep and goats rested there, and all around this cave, there were tall pine and oak trees and a stone wall (Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.182–185). In the Persian version, this story takes place in a large cave called Eshkaft-e Shāh, in the heart of a mountain located among a huge number of tall leafy oak trees. Another interesting point is the oak trees around the cave described in the Greek version. The Persian narative does not make a direct reference to oak trees; however, these are native to the region under study. Oak trees are abundant around the present-day Eshkaft-e Shāh in the Alvarz Mountains. Therefore, it seems that the reason why this is not reflected in the Persian narrative is that the narrators assume this is self-explanatory for the local audience.

Sixth, in the Greek version, the giant has a large herd, as is also reflected in the Persian version. Seventh, when the giant enters the cave, he speaks with

the protagonist and his companions in both narratives. Eighth, in the Greek version, when the giant Polyphemus kills and eats two of the companions, Ulysses prays to Zeus, the great Greek god. Similarly, in the Persian version, Ahmad Sādāti prays to God out of fear and asks for assistance. Ninth, after eating his dinner, the giant falls into a deep sleep, as reflected in both versions. Tenth, in the Greek version, when the giant sleeps, Ulysses decides to kill him with his sword but is dissuaded both out of fear and because of the huge rock blocking the cave's entrance, hindering their escape, as they would not be able to remove it. Similarly, Ahmad Sādāti decides to kill the sleeping giant with his dagger, but he changes his mind out of fear.

Eleventh, the moral of both stories is similar and concerned with the issue of inhospitality and maltreatment of guests by the host, leading to his blinding. Both Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* and the giant in Ahmad Sādāti's tale are injured by the guests in response to their transgressions.

Twelfth, in both the Greek and Persian narratives, the giant calls for the other mountain giants after being blinded by his enemies. Except that in the Greek version, the giants who rush to help the wounded Polyphemus decide that his injury is an illness inflicted by Zeus and tell him to seek Poseidon's help, whereas in the Persian version, one of the giants chases Ahmad Sādāti and his companions, but is later stopped by their *nērang* and incantations. Thirteenth, in both narratives, Ulysses and Ahmad Sādāti take advantage of the giant's foolishness and escape. Ulysses and his companions escape from the cave at dawn by hiding under the bellies of a few fat sheep, while Ulysses hides under the woolly belly of the giant's largest and fattest ram, and escapes along with his companions even though he is touched by the giant. In the Persian narratives, Ahmad Sādāti and his companions either kill a few fat sheep and hide inside their skin or under the belly of the ewes and escape the cave despite being touched by the giant. Finally, both Ulysses and Ahmad Sādāti escape from the cave under a ram.

POSSIBLE TIME OF ARRIVAL OF ULYSSES AND THE GIANT POLYPHEMUS IN IRAN

It is difficult to determine the exact time when this story was introduced to Iran and how it spread among the people of this region by relying merely on the analysis of the oral story. However, considering the existence of Zoroastrian elements and the mentioning of Kay Kawad, the name of a mythical king in the religious literature of ancient Iran, it can be argued that it should have been in ancient times, which has also undergone changes after the advent of Islam in this region.

In general, there is no comprehensive source of knowledge about the prevalence of Greek literature in ancient Iran, except limited evidence available in historical reports. Ancient, classical Greek sources refer to the teaching of both the Greek language (for more details see Shaki 2012; Bivar 1983: 56) and Homer in Persia. Confirming this argument, Plutarch reported that Homer was commonly read, and the children of the Persians, of the Susians, and of the Gedrosians learned to chant the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides (Plutarch, *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander*, I.5).

The areas under study are located in ancient Pars Province and on the western edge of the Iranian plateau which is also mentioned in Plutarch's report. As the birthplace of Persian dynasties, Pars was an important region during Alexander's campaign and the rule of the Seleucids after him, although some scholars believe that it was more immune to the influence of the Greek language and literature than other areas (Shaki 2012).

Greek literature was to some extent known by the Parthians, but it does not appear to have influenced their own traditional types of composition (Boyce 1983: 1154). Classical texts provide evidence that the Parthian elites were familiar with Greek literature. For example, reportedly Orodes II (r. 58/7–37 BC) received the severed head of the Roman general Crassus while watching *The Bacchae* by Euripides at the court of Armenia (see Plutarch, *Crassus*, 33.1–5).

Later the Sasanid kings were also familiar with foreign, especially Greek, thoughts. There is considerable evidence showing that despite their religious and nationalist tendencies, they were also familiar with, and sometimes influenced by, Greek culture and civilisation. The Greek version of the inscriptions from the early Sasanid period indicates the prevalence of the Greek language during this period, at least among the ruling class. One example demonstrating the influence of the Greek culture and thought on the Sasanid Persia is the collection of scattered Greek science and thought by the order of Shapur I and their attachment to the *Avesta* (see Madan 1911: 412, 428, 429; Shaki 1981: 119). This was directly linked to the spread of Christianity in Greater Iran. With the closure of the theological school of Edessa in the fifth century AD, many Persian Christian philosophers returned to Persia (see Lieu 1997), which resulted in the spread of Greco-Roman philosophical and religious ideas in the Sasanid Empire. They translated and promoted Greek philosophical books into Syriac or Sasanid Pahlavi (Shaki 2012). This became more pronounced with the presence of Greek philosophers at the court of Khosrow I (see Hartmann 2002: 123–160). Sasanid Pahlavi texts and treatises, such as *Dēnkard*, clearly demonstrate the extent of the influence of Greek philosophical, religious, literary, moral, etc., thought on Sasanid Persia (see Shaki 2012: 321–326).

CONCLUSION

The comparative review of the Persian and Greek narratives reveals many similarities between the tale of Ahmad Sādāti and the same story in the *Odyssey*. Despite slight differences, the structure and plot of the stories are highly similar. The findings of this comparative analysis indicate that the tale of Ulysses and the giant Polyphemus has undergone certain changes and adjustments after entering Iran, which is a natural phenomenon in the case of oral transfer. These changes are informed by the local traditions and religion of the people living in these regions. As explained earlier, there are some Zoroastrian elements in this story. Although the people are Muslim, many Zoroastrian traditions and rituals have survived through oral transfer from one generation to the next with certain adjustments in some cases based on the time and place. In addition, the names of places are replaced with Iranian geographical names, which has helped to both make the tale more tangible for the people and ensure its survival.

NOTES

[1] Corresponding author.

[2] The information on the story was collected from the people of the target areas, including: Aghajan Seadat-e Asl, male, 80, from Pehun Jalil village; Aghali Saberi, male, 80, from Pehun village; Ali-Fath Janipur, male, 80, from Baghcheh Jalil village; Beigom Seadat-e Asl, female, 75, from Pehun Jalil; Zolfaqar Saberi, male, 65, from Pehun Jalil; Mohammad Seadat-e Asl, male, 30, from Pehun Jalil. The material of the interviews is in the possession of the authors.

[3] The Alvarz Mountains, where the story takes place, is the local name of these mountains and is derived from 'Alborz', the mythical mountains in ancient Iranian texts, and nowadays this name is used for a mountain range in northern Iran. In this story the Alvarz Mountains are located on the Zagros mountain range in Poshtkuh-e Rostam Rural District, Rostam County, near the borders of Fārs and Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad provinces. However, the modern name of this mountain is Bunao (rather than Alvarz), and it is located near another mountain called Eshkar. Eshkaft-e Shāh is located on Bunao Mountain, discriminated in Figure 1.

The inhabitants of these areas have adapted many Persian myths and epics to their geographical location. They state that they truly believe that many Persian epic stories (Ferdowsi 2007), such as the story of Kay Kawad Kiani, Kaykhosrow, Rostam's entire life from birth to death by his brother Shaghad, the battle of Bahman and Rostam, Kak-e Kohzad, and the story of Alexander took place in these regions.

[4] In another narrative, they place on fire a long two-pronged skewer that they find in the cave.

[5] In the local belief system, ghouls/giants usually have two eyes.

[6] Another narrative is that Sādāti and his companions hid under the sheep to escape from the cave.

[7] Incantations or religious formula (see the following pages).

[8] This map was first drawn by hand by the authors and then created in the GIS environment by Masoud Soleimani, a PhD student in GIS at the University of Tehran.

[9] For more information on *Avesta* see https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/avesta-holy-book, last accessed on 13 February 2024.

[10] The Yašts are a collection of 21 Avestan hymns in praise of the various deities of the Zoroastrian pantheon (for more on Yašts see https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/yashts, last accessed on 13 Fenruary 2024).

[11] Ard (Aši) Yašt; Christensen (1928: 9) believes that based on its content, "Ard Yašt" was compiled during the Achaemenid Empire.

[12] Goddess of wealth and abundance in ancient Iran and a symbol of forgiveness and wealth (Boyce 1975: 65, 225). She is said to be the daughter of Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti, who grants wisdom, wealth, plenty, and riches to the good among the tribe.

[13] The similarity of this part of "Ard Yašt" to the story of Ulysses and the Cyclops has also been noted by Skjærvø (1986).

[14] A collection of texts written in or translated into Pahlavi, a Middle Iranian language, between the third and tenth centuries AD.

[15] The main plot of the story is summarised here. This study mainly used the French translation of Médéric Dufour & Jeanne Raison (Homère 1993). Robert Fagles's English translation of the *Odyssey* (Homer 1997) was also used by the authors. The paragraph numbers are based on the English translation.

[16] Zoroastrianism was the dominant religion before Islam in Iran.

[17] Among ancient societies, especially in the East, magic, sorcery, spells, and the like, which predate religion and religious thought, were used to ward off disasters, diseases, and even wild creatures (cf. Frazer 1994: 11–45; Panaino 2008).

[18] The ritual was done in the following way: When a sheep (or any other useful animal) is lost in the wild, to protect itself from thieves, bandits and especially wild animals, the owner would acquire a metal object such as a lock or knife along with threads and go to the village's spiritual leader. He would first recite a surah from the Koran (usually the Throne Verse (verse 255 of the second chapter or "Shams" (91)). Then, he would say, 'I tied the claws and teeth and anger of the specific animal, I tied the fang and poison and harm of a specific animal', and so on, and blow onto the thread. Then they would tie it to the lock and finally close the lock. Once the session is ended, they would keep the lock in a safe place. If the lock touches the ground or is opened, the *nērang* will be void or, in other words, the spell will be broken.

[19] For more on demons in Iranian culture see https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/div, last accessed on 13 February 2024.

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https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2024.92.akgun

THE STRUCTURES OF DIALECT AS THE FOUNDING ELEMENT OF SOCIAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF BURSA CITY

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Abstract: Identity is a concept that consists of many concrete and abstract elements, both individually and socially. Individuals form groups emotionally and consciously within the framework of this concept and build different social identities. Social identity brings individuals together within their groups around similarities and differences, completing it as an integral part of their own self. Social identity constructs individuals and groups in societies by representing them with many character traits and self-creation motivation. Language is one of the most important characteristics in self-motivation and representation in the social identities of individuals and groups. Spoken language and its varieties (dialects) shape the identity of the individual throughout their life from birth and help them to reveal their subjectivity within the framework of a separate social group identity. Spoken language and its varieties (accent/idiom/dialect) shape the identity of the individual throughout their life and help them to reveal their subjectivity within the framework of social group identity. The subject of this study is the status of the dialect element as one of these preserved features constituting and developing the social identity of the individual in the city of Bursa. Data were collected through field research, using the qualitative analysis method. As the structure of dialects is most intensively observed in villages, the sample consisted of people selected only from the villages of Bursa city, mountain villages in particular. The people chosen in terms of representation ability were individuals with different characteristics pertaining to education, age, and occupational groups. The linguistic features and structure of the dialect used in Bursa are not examined in the study. The aim of the study is to reveal, with the qualitative field study conducted with the source persons, that the social identity approach is one of the representations that builds the individual and society.

Keywords: social identity, group, Bursa, mountain villages, dialect

INTRODUCTION

Societies are formed and developed by the intertwining and interaction of many political, social, economic, sociological, and individual factors. With this formation, the environment in which individuals live at a local and regional level, and their common identity features are formed through the characteristics of this environment, the emotions and dynamics shared, and the differences/similarities from the individual level to society level. These differences/similarities separate the individuals from one another as well as from other groups sharing or not sharing the same environment. This situation also creates social identities of individuals in common groups.

All kinds of shared concrete or abstract elements are effective in individuals' feeling of difference/similarity in the conditions they live as groups and establish a separate unity within these differences/similarities. Among these elements having various types, such as geography, history, culture, religion, economy, language, ethnicity, and gender, some of the most important ones regarding the formation and feeling of a distinct identity from the individual towards the group are the differences/similarities in accents, idioms, and dialects that vary according to language and language structure.

The concept of social identity, which emerged in social sciences during the 1970s, is an important scale of analysis for explaining the situations in which sciences of psychology and sociology intertwine; it also shapes the relationship between the individual and their group. It should not be ignored that different identities have emerged in consequence of different stimuli as situations change within the framework of social identity theory. There may also be difficulties in distinguishing the group and role identities from personal identity in social identity theory. However, we need to understand how groups, roles, and personal identities are related in order to construct a general theory of the self (Burke & Stets 2000: 228–231).

In this context, the most important innovation that the study will bring to the field is that individuals reveal their social identity formation with their own expressions in face-to-face interviews.[1] In this context, gender diversity, age groups, geographical breadth, educational status, and occupational distributions were created in the field studies within a very wide framework. The interviewees were chosen from female/male in gender distribution, young/middle-aged/old in age distribution, village-neighborhood / city center scale in geographical distribution, from basic to higher education in educational distribution, and from all kinds of walks of life (housewife / private sector / public servant) in occupational distribution. Special words such as *Dağlı* (a term used for villagers living on the outskirts of Uludağ) and *Yörük* (a Turkic nomadic

clan), and special definitions uttered by the source persons in the interviews to express their identity and belonging are emphasized in the interview material because it was observed that the dialect structure of the Bursa province distinguished their own social identities from the identities of other provinces and emphasized their differences.

The questions in the fieldwork mainly focused on two topics. One of these topics is the language used by the interviewees and their sense of belonging, and the other is how their language affects their sense of difference or similarity with their environment. In this context, the private lives of the interviewees were not discussed, assuming that it would create a different sense of belonging and self-esteem for them. As in every study, two scales were used in the questions since limitations are encountered in every situation within this framework.

THE CONCEPT AND FORMATION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

John Turner, Rupert Brown and Henri Tajfel, who conducted studies that form the basis of the concept of social identity, assumed that individuals are motivated to achieve a positive *self* and that the self-esteem of the individual is strengthened by the positive evaluation of the group to which they belong. According to them, people evaluate their own groups by comparing them with those of others. Accordingly, individuals provide a positive group identity that increases their self-esteem by comparing their in-groups with some related out-groups. The social identity of an individual is formed and shaped by the contribution of social groups to which they perceive to belong. Thus, in general, individuals are motivated to positively create differences/similarities with the in-group and some out-groups related to themselves in order to achieve a positive social identity (Turner & Brown & Tajfel 1979: 190).

Turner, Brown and Tajfel's greatest contributions to the field in their social identity studies can be found in the concept itself. This concept creates a bridge between the individual and the social sphere and guides the social-cultural reality to explain the behavior of the individual. Unlike Freudian and other explanations for using identity as a means of explaining human sociability, Turner, Brown and Tajfel's definition sees inter-group ties as the primary feature of the nature of social identity. Hence, the things we do and the emotions we feel as group members consist of meanings in social areas as well as our individual characteristics (Reicher & Spears & Haslam 2010).

Social identity theory, coined by Tajfel, is basically a social psychological theory that explains group processes and behaviors. Compared with other social structures, psychological theories and social group behaviors and feelings of

belonging to the group are analyzed together. As a result, a definition of a group and different levels of representation of self-classification are provided. With this theory, an individual's multiple group identity is tried to be revealed through the one that is more specific than the others (Kaplánová 2017: 140–141).

According to Demirtaş (2003: 129–130), the most important assumptions of social identity theory are listed as follows. First, individuals classify and identify themselves as a separate group. Thus, their social identity is formed by this identification. Second, the individuals compare their group with other groups and accept this as a distinctive situation. Third, individuals perceive their groups differently from other groups by comparison, and at the same time engage in group favoritism. Fourth, the characteristics of the group that individuals belong to cause the individuals to view their social identity positively or negatively.

In social identity theory, there is a different structure beyond the individual characteristics of a person and the relationships they establish with others as individuals. This structure is a new identity that has been given a different shape by creating an individual identity together with the group membership. However, the most important distinctive feature of this identity is that it is established within the consciousness of the group and transforms into a psychologically sociological structure and creates a different identity for the person (Demirtaş 2003: 130–131). In regard to relationships people establish with others, it is possible to talk about the existence of two basic tendencies:

> *On the one hand, try to resemble others, integrate with them, be like them, try not to fall short, and on the other hand, try to differ from them, not to be the same with them, to be more advanced or superior to them. In terms of individuals, groups can be thought of as a place of both similarity and differentiation. In fact, the differentiation of individuals from others is a social phenomenon as is also their integration. Within the framework of social identity theory, human similarities and differences can be examined together. The identity of an individual, a group, or a society means that that individual, that group, or that society is different from others.* (Bilgin 2007 as cited in Sürgevil 2008: 114)

There is an innate tendency for people to evaluate themselves and their own characteristics (ideas, abilities, developments, etc.). When people are not able to obtain objective information about this assessment, they prefer to compare themselves with others who are similar to them. Comparing oneself with someone similar is preferred because it is thought to be more meaningful and more informative than comparing with a very different person (Pelled & Eisenhardt & Xin 1999 as cited in Sürgevil 2008: 115).

In this connection, firstly, most people act consistently and meaningfully by referring to shared norms, values, and understandings as well as unique beliefs. Secondly, besides the psychological dynamics related to social identity, they define themselves as group members and do not solely think within the framework of individual needs. In other words, social identity and social processes exist as a reality together with individual identity and processes. At this point, social identities have an emotional value beyond self-perception. To the extent that people define themselves as members of a group, they attribute their dignity to the fate of the group (Reicher & Spears & Haslam 2010).

Turner, Brown and Tajfel (1979: 202) state that, in social identity theory, there is a form of favoritism within the group that goes beyond the economic interests of the in-group. According to them, it is difficult to explain such behavior with competition or hostility based on conflicts of interest. Similarly, this kind of intra-group favoritism also represents in-group bias in terms of going beyond the "objective" needs of the situation. The effects of the out-group variable suggest that social comparison may be the underlying process. The desire for positive social identity may, therefore, represent an autonomous factor in intra-group discrimination, causally different from functional relationships among groups.

In this regard, three concepts should not be considered independently from each other in social identity theory. These processes constitute social identity as a whole. They are social categorization, social comparison, and intra-group favoritism (Gülcan & Ergin 2020: 34).

According to Cem Gülcan and Tuba Çevik Ergin, social categorization is the situation where the individual puts their group first and looks at everyone outside as the *other*. In short, the individual includes the individuals around them either in the inner group they belong to or the outer group they do not belong to. Although usually this categorization takes place in terms of language, religion, race, age, and gender, it can be in countless different dimensions. The individual constantly makes efforts to compare themselves and their community with their competitors. Social comparison means that an individual operates this process not through themselves but through the community they belong to. Regarding intra-group favoritism, individuals create a social identity through the groups they are members of, and if there is a negative evaluation in the inner groups, the social identity of the individual will also be negatively affected by this situation. The individual enters some kind of mental conflict. The process that prevents this is exactly intra-group favoritism (Gülcan & Ergin 2020: 34–35).

Individuals show a tendency to compare their own group with other groups. Other groups in the social environment provide a basis for the individual to evaluate the position of their own group. The position of the group that the individual is a member of is determined through social comparison (in-group/

out-group comparison) made with other similar groups. This comparison is related to values attributed to certain behaviors and qualities (strength, skills, skin color, etc.) (Dadak & Demir 2020: 13).

It is possible to point out three mental processes related to the person being a part of an inner group. Social classification is one of the social-cognitive processes that explain the social identity phenomenon. Individuals tend to classify themselves and others as members of various social groups. This classification was made by Mert Gürlek and Muharrem Tuna as follows:

> *– Social group: refers to the sum of individuals who perceive themselves as members of the same social group. Therefore, the criterion for group membership is not the frequency of interaction among groups or independent goals, but rather the individual's self or others' identification as a member of a group.*
> *– Social identification: refers to adopting and identifying with the identity of the group in which the person classifies themselves. Identification occurs as a result of similarities and differences.*
> *– Social comparison: refers to comparing the group, with which a person identifies themselves, with other groups. Social identities are not only defined but are also compared. The person looks for distinctive elements between their own group and other groups. Positive distinguishing features for the inner group indicate a positive social identity for group members.* (Gürlek & Tuna 2018: 41–42)

Therefore, according to social identity theory, groups identify with their own groups and form their own identities with in-group favoritism against the backdrop of different characteristics. Beyond that, they excel with groups they feel belonging to because of their distinctive aspects.

Social identities are an important part of the self-concept. When it is thought that it belongs to a group, ways to gain positive emotions from that group are sought. The way to reach these positive emotions is to distinguish the in-group positively from other groups. Thus, a positive self-desire is formed in our environment. In fact, the uncertainty of differentiation and anxiety are felt in such a case, which leads to criticism that social identity theory also causes exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination. However, this theory is a good way to evaluate motivations in explaining the social world. This study is also considered in this context (Harwood 2020: 3).

Social identity basically provides a definition of who a person is in terms of the defining characteristics of a category to which one feels belonging. People have a repertoire of separate categories of memberships that differ from the

self-concept in relative overall importance. Each of these memberships is represented in the mind of the individual member as a social identity that both defines and prescribes it. Social identities are not only descriptive and prescriptive but are also evaluative. They provide an assessment – often widely shared or consensual – of a social category, and thus, of its members, relative to other relevant social categories (Hogg & Terry & White 1995: 259– 260).

As discussed above, there are many tangible and intangible elements that compose social identity and explain behaviors. These qualities can be various material and moral elements. Many examples may be given, such as language, religion, ethnicity, gender, age, economic, political, and social status, including language and accent, idioms, and dialects spoken by people. Accents, idioms, and dialects arising from the structure of languages within groups speaking the same language appear as a dynamic that creates and develops the social group identity of people in every field and area. An important feature of social identity theory is that it formally expresses group members' behavior to explain it. For this reason, the sample representation was chosen over the language in the study.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL IDENTITY WITH LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

According to the Turkish Language Association's dictionary (TDK 2022), dialect "is a spoken language specific to certain settlements or classes, which may differ in sound, form, syntax, and meaning within the same language". According to Muharrem Ergin, a prominent figure of Turcology, "[d]ialect is the name given to small branches of a language that are present in an accent and based on differences in pronunciation, and the speeches of various regions and cities of a country that differ from each other in terms of utterance. There are differences of voice (utterance) in dialects, voice and shape in accents, and word differences besides voice and shape differences in the idiom that falls within word field" (Demir 2002).

Dialects constitute an important area of a language, which is the subject of this study. Dialects as live spoken forms of languages have a special value in that they contain all varieties of the native language. On the other hand, a written language exhibits standard features. This language is edited, designed, and formatted by writers. However, dialects are spontaneously created natural languages in an instance during a speech, away from fiction. In this context, the producers of written language texts are "writers" (literates, intellectuals), whereas dialects are "speakers". Therefore, in linguistics research, text data

containing the speech styles of dialects have a special place because they have the ability to represent the native language better than the written language texts (Akar 2016: 170).

There are many dialects in a written language. Depending on the geographical distance and the intensity of cultural relations, many language interactions occur among them. Hence, dialects strengthen themselves and diversify at the same time by exchanging words with each other. In this respect, they also contribute to the enrichment of the general language (ibid.).

The dialects that merge or show a significant familiarity in terms of *sound*, *shape*, *structure*, *vocabulary*, *syntax*, and *emphasis*, which are called the six basic units of the language in the classifications of language, idiom, and dialect, are identified and grouped according to their similarities and differences. Considering these criteria, world languages have been classified based on their origins and structures. As different languages are classified in this manner, idioms and dialects of a particular language can also be classified in terms of various features. As mentioned above, it has been determined that geographical aspects and names, settlement names, tribe and clan names, phonetic characteristics, or language features in general are used in language classifications (Buran 2011: 41).

The first scientific study on the dialects of Turkey Turkish is V. A. Maksimov's work titled *Опыт исследования диалектов в Худавендигаре и Карамании* (Opyt issledovaniia dialektov v Khudavendigare i Karamanii 'An Experience of Researching Dialects in Khudavendigar and Karamani') published in 1867. In 1896, twenty-nine years after Maksimov's study, Ignas Kunos classified the dialects of Turkey Turkish for the first time. The dialects of Turkey Turkish have been categorized by researchers such as Ignas Kunos, Ahmed Caferoğlu, Tahsin Banguoğlu, E. Piet Kral, Tooru Hayashi, and Leyla Karahan. While only Anatolian dialects were categorized in some of these classifications (Kunos, Caferoğlu, Karahan), some of them included Rumelian dialects in their classifications (Banguoğlu, Kral). Apart from these general categorizations, regional classifications were also made by some researchers, such as Gyula Nemeth, György Hazai, Zeynep Korkmaz, Hayashi and Ahmet Bican Ercilasun. While Nemeth and Hazai classified Rumelian dialects, Korkmaz categorized southwest Anatolian dialects, whereas Hayashi grouped the dialects of the Black Sea region (Karadeniz) and Ercilasun sorted Eastern Anatolian dialects. Many researchers have also made classifications on province and district levels (Buran 2011: 42–52).

The concept of Anatolian dialects, which is the subject of this study, refers to the dialects of the written language spoken with different sounds. The Anatolian dialects that started to form in Anatolia from the thirteenth century are

languages based on the Oghuz language in terms of their linguistic features but have features such as sound, structure, and form, which are different from standard language and can be noticed in spoken language. Dialects exhibiting structures different from a regular language are (local) languages that are spoken in regions with a small population and provide understanding between limited and homogeneous social groups. Although dialects are languages spoken among homogeneous groups, they can still exhibit different features within themselves. The language of the ethnic groups settled in the same region may change over time due to factors such as migration, external marriage, education, etc., resulting in the formation of a separate dialect region within an existing dialect region, called dialect stratification (Akar 2003: 136). According to Erdem (2008: 511), there are only a few studies on dialects in Anatolia, and even the studies examining primary long vowels include many unidentified words.

Language and dialect studies have been carried out by researchers in the city of Bursa in the Marmara region for a prolonged time. Before moving on to the influence of dialects in the formation of social identity, which is the main subject of the study, it would be worthwhile to discuss the subject of the dialect of Bursa City. Further on, an assessment based on the field studies will be made about the effect of this dialect on the formation of social identity.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE DIALECT IN THE CITY OF BURSA

The city of Bursa is an ancient settlement located in the Marmara region of the Anatolian peninsula, the home of different civilizations for centuries. Bursa has turned into a multicultural structure due to migrations in the past centuries. It is a city established by migrations. There have been various migration flows to Bursa throughout history, during which a wide variety of nations and communities from various places have settled in.

The city came under the rule of the Turks in the late thirteenth century and it has been one of the cradles of Turkish-Islamic civilization since then. The strategic location and fertile soils of the city as the cultural basin that brings civilizations together have led to an important population settlement belonging to the Turkish-Islamic civilization. The intensive settling of the Turkish-Islamic population started primarily in mountainous regions of the area while the city center preserved its commercial and cultural vitality. Bursa has been a city for centuries; it has received migrations and managed to create a common city culture. Immigrants from different cultures and languages shortly adapted to Bursa and brought new values to the city. Although Bursa has experienced many difficulties due to migrations, it has produced new values by taking advantage

of the dynamism created by the immigrants who have made contributions to the culture and economy in Bursa (Kaplanoğlu 2014; see also www.keles.gov.tr/ilcemizin-tarihi).

It is known that part of the ancestors of the people who live in the Republic of Turkey and identify themselves as Turks, originate from Turkic tribes who spoke a Turkic language and migrated from the Central and Inner Asia during the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. After the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuks launched incursions into the Anatolian peninsula. After the military success gained in Manzikert in 1071, the Oghuz Turks and other Turkish tribes (clans), who migrated from the Central Asian regions to the West, entered and settled en masse in Anatolia (Aray 2014: 46–48).

In the Turkish of the Anatolian Turks living in Bursa, which is the subject of the study, Ertuğrul Gazi, a member of the Kayı clan of the Turkish tribes who came to Anatolia in the early thirteenth century, and his allegiant, the Yörük tribe, were allocated Söğüt as summer and Domaniç as winter site by the Sultan of the Anatolian Seljuk Empire, Sultan Alâeddin Keykubat I, who settled them in Karacadağ, west of Ankara. Ertuğrul Gazi, settling near the Byzantine border of Anatolia as a result, started conquests. His son Osman Gazi continued with the conquests after his father's death and took a large part of the region under his domain (Kaplanoğlu 2014).

As the dominant language in the population structure of Bursa formed by migration, Turkish has been an ancient language spoken and written both in this city and in Anatolia for centuries. Accents, idioms, and dialects of this language have maintained their existence by enriching their powerful representation for centuries, with the features that are lived and spoken in addition to the written features of the language. There are dozens of different or similar accents, idioms, and dialects in Anatolia and its hinterland; and the city of Bursa, as an ancient settlement, exhibits these characteristics of the Turkish language.

Classifications of Anatolian dialects were discussed in a detailed study of Ahmet Buran. According to Buran's work, in the classification of the dialects of Turkey Turkish made by Ignas Kunas, the dialects in Bursa are categorized under the title of "İzmir Bursa Zeibek dialect", but are included in the Western group of dialects under Group 1 (Afyon, Antalya, Aydın, Balıkesir, Bilecik, Burdur, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Eskişehir, Isparta, İzmir, Kütahya, Manisa, Muğla, Uşak, and Nallıhan (Ankara) dialects) in Leyla Karahan's classification (Buran 2011: 42–46).

The etymological features and richness of the accent/idiom/dialect structures of the Turkish language are not the subject of this study, but it will be beneficial to briefly give a few examples. In the studies about Turkey Turkish dialects, changes of sound are occasionally observed in most dialects, and features or

modifications in sounds specific to a certain area or a village are also observed. In some settlement areas, a few different uses of the common features of the dialect peculiar to the region may be seen. Since the subject of this study is not to study the dialects in the province of Bursa in terms of linguistics, it will be sufficient to give two examples about the subject and the details are left to linguistic studies. First, the separation of "ç_ş" (ch_sh) in the dialects of the cities of Muğla, Uşak and Kütahya, Edirne, Kars, Adana, Kırşehir, Malatya, Ordu, Sivas, and Trabzon is also noticed in Bursa dialects (Eroğlu et al. 2010: 17). Second, the most important phonetic feature that draws attention in the indigenous dialects of Bursa is the length of vowels, some of which occur as a result of sound events, and some are the primary lengthenings used in the historical periods of the Turkish language, which can be followed up to Ancient Turkish. Almost all of the primary long-vowel words identified in the studies on Anatolian dialects are used in the local dialects of Bursa. Primary vowel lengths show the ability to continue in today's derivatives of words that contain this length. In addition, the vowel changes in primary long-vowel words did not have any effect on the vowel length in the word: *e:ki* / *i:ki, de:-* / *di:-, yü:rük* / *yö:rük,* etc. There are also words containing primary long vowels in Bursa's native dialects apart from the words that have been detected in other dialects (Şahin 2012: 6).

Bursa has been a political and cultural center since the fourteenth century, followed by Konya and Kırşehir. Remarkably, there are many works written in Bursa, and some features seen in Old Anatolian Turkish texts are found in the dialects spoken in mountain villages, which can be described as pure dialects and are considered to be the least exposed to foreign influences (Şahin 2016: 293).

THE PLACE OF THE CITY OF BURSA IN THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

Regarding the effect of dialects as the main subject of the study, a difference can be observed between the city center and its villages – even among the villagers themselves in the city of Bursa in particular – in relation to the social identity of individuals and the structure of dialects, particularly in rural mountain regions.

Hence, a distinction was made between mountain and plain villages when the local dialects of Bursa were examined. The reason is the absence of migrant elements in mountain villages and the fact that immigrants and indigenous people live very closely and even intertwined in the lowland villages. In the field study, Source 6 stated that she was from the mountain region behind Uludağ, that the population of the area did not change with the flux of migration, and that

they lived in a more isolated way as they were engaged in farming and animal husbandry, so their dialect did not change. According to Source 6 (E. Ü., personal communication, January 25, 2021), there was no dialect in Bursa center. Similarly, Source 7 stated that their village had not received immigration, that they were not mixed like other districts of Bursa and that the most prominent dialect was spoken in the mountain villages of Orhaneli, Keles, and Harmancık (Y. İ., personal communication, January 26, 2021).

According to Source 8, the dialect is mainly spoken by the elderly in the old quarters in the center of Bursa, but since the center receives heavy migration, the dialect is used to a smaller extent. Source 8 said that the mountain villages of Bursa (Orhaneli, Keles, Harmancık) were underdeveloped and were not mixed through migration. Therefore, the region preserved its dialect structures in a more original way (M.D., personal communication, January 28, 2021). Source 9 stated that they were not mixed with the mountain villages of the Büyükorhan district, Bursa, that the population had changed significantly with migrations between the city center and the plain villages, and that there were no foreigners in their own region (İ. F., personal communication, January 29, 2021).

Therefore, the villages of Bursa, especially mountain villages and plain villages in general, were evaluated in the field study. The effect of dialects on social identity constituted the main subject of the field study. Data on the interviewees (i.e., the sources) are combined in the following table.

Table 1. *Information on sources*

Information	**Region**	**Age**	**Marital status**	**Education**	**Occupation**	**Gender**
Source 1	Fadıllı	47	Married	Primary school	Housewife	Female
Source 2	Muradiye	51	Married	Primary school	Retired	Female
Source 3	Gölbaşı	47	Married	Primary school	Housewife	Female
Source 4	Güneybudaklar	47	Married	University	Private sector	Female
Source 5	Kovak	39	Married	Secondary school	Housewife	Female
Source 6	Harmancık	38	Married	University	Private Sector	Female
Source 7	Topuk	46	Married	University	Private sector	Male
Source 8	Göynükbelen	69	Married	University	Retired	Male
Source 9	Çeribaşı	52	Married	Primary school	Retired	Male
Source 10	Çamoluk	39	Married	Associate degree	Housewife	Female

In the fieldwork conducted with a total of 10 sources, the ethnic origin, dialect structures, and most importantly, the belonging and feelings that these dialects formed in them individually were inquired after obtaining data on the persons.

In this context, Source 1 from Fadıllı village in the district of Nilüfer, Bursa center, stated that she had lived in that village all her life and that her family were Manavs (a Turkic clan). Source 1 added that they were not Yörük, people living in the mountain villages of Bursa, and this word was perceived negatively even in their villages. According to Source 1, it was said in their village that "Yörük girls can be married, but not vice versa", and that this may be due to their living in more rural areas.

According to Source 1, very different dialects are spoken in the villages of Bursa. She stated that they knew the village of Fadıllı and the surrounding villages, and that the stress [on words or syllables or sounds] was different even in the nearby villages. As an example, according to her, the phrase "ne yapıyorsun kız" is "napıyongı" in their village, while it is being pronounced as "napıyonkı" in their nearby village Gözyazı, whereas in the village of Akçalar it is pronounced as a long syllable with harder sounds. Source 1 stated that they elide and shorten the sounds in the dialect used in their village.

When Source 1 was asked about their feelings about the dialect in their village, she stated that when they moved to their village, their dialect structure changed inevitably, that they spoke differently in another village of the city, that even her husband, who was from the city of Manisa, sometimes found it odd when she spoke at home, and that she also found it odd when they talked to people from other villages in a different dialect. Source 1 continued that they did this as a result of staying in their village, that they felt closer to people who spoke like them, and that they used the dialect unconsciously when they felt belongingness to that environment and found themselves closer to them in this environment thanks to linguistics. Source 1 stated that when they noticed a person speaking their own dialect even in another city, they approached that person immediately. She added that they would feel more relaxed in that environment and feel warmth towards that person and as if they were a part of them. In the first interview, it is seen that the person established a sense of belonging through the structure of the dialect they spoke (Y. K., personal communication, January 18, 2021).

Source 2 from Muradiye- Sarnıç village of the district of Kemalpaşa, Bursa, said that their family immigrated from Varna of Bulgaria in 1893 and that they were immigrants. She added that the majority of the villagers were immigrants like themselves and that many words were spoken differently as every village of Bursa had different dialects.

Source 2 said that they were born and raised in central Bursa but when they moved to the village, their speech changed intentionally because everyone around them spoke in a different fashion. When asked about their feelings, Source 2 stated that they felt closer to those people in the new environment, and

that wherever they were, they would recognize anyone speaking their dialect in any community. According to Source 2, if they spoke in a different way to their own villagers, they would be excluded by them as they would think they had changed and would not like them, and, therefore, they felt obliged to speak like them when they went to their village.

Source 2 added that in the villages the dialects were mostly spoken by the elderly, and even if the elderly came to the city, they did not lose their (linguistic) characteristics. Similarly, she stated that the young people and children living in the village spoke in the same fashion, although not as much as the elderly, and those living in the city spoke their dialect only when they went to the village (S. Ü., personal communication, January 18, 2021).

Source 3 stated that the Yörük clan lived in Gölbaşı village in the district of Kestel, Bursa, and that the dialects, most of which were spoken by the elderly, were also spoken by their parents. She said that she had not lived in the village since the age of 14 but spoke the dialect sometimes when she visited the village, and she liked speaking it. As for social identity, Source 3 stated that she would be happy when she heard the dialect of her own region in a foreign environment. She added that the sense of belonging and in-group solidarity were strengthened in the experience of social identity (A. O., personal communication, January 21, 2021).

Source 4 stated that her father was from Güneybudaklar village in the district of Keles, Bursa, her mother from the district center of Büyükorhan, and they were of Yörük origin. She added that she regularly traveled to the village where the dialect was spoken by the elderly and the middle-aged, but young people did not speak this dialect because they lived in the city. According to Source 4, they would understand if a person was a Dağlı (a highlander) if they spoke the dialect of their village and that they would feel closer to that person as compared to others. She stated that when she spoke that dialect, she saw herself as a part of that region, and even if she did not speak the dialect in her daily life, she spoke it in the village just for fun. Source 4 continued that she was not found strange by outsiders or by her husband because of the dialect spoken in her village. She added that even her husband, originally from the [Black Sea] province of Artvin, sometimes spoke with her in the regional dialect (H. B., personal communication, January 21, 2021). Here, within the framework of the information provided by Source 4, it can be seen that social identity is also formed by the spoken dialect, defines the other party, and considers them as belonging to one's own group.

Source 5 was from Kovak village in the district of Harmancık, Bursa. She described herself as a Manav. Source 5 stated that their dialect was widely spoken in villages and it was common especially among the elderly as well as

the young people who lived in the village. According to Source 5, this dialect was only spoken in their own region and that no matter which foreign environment they entered, they would notice the person speaking this dialect, find themselves closer to that person, and would not get bored with that person. Source 5 stated that she got married at the age of 19 and left the village, but as they visited the village, although they lived in the city, they automatically switched over to their dialect and always spoke it in that environment. She added that this was normal because they were born and raised in this dialect and felt closer to those people when communicating with them (T. G., personal communication, January 23, 2021).

Source 6 stated that she was born and raised in the district of Harmancık in central Bursa and moved to the (city) center at the age of 10. She said that they went to the district as much as possible and had not broken their ties since they had relatives and acquaintances there. She added that they were of Yörük origin and spoke normal spoken language in the city, but when they went to the village, they unintentionally adopted their dialect upon seeing friends and relatives. Source 6 stated that speaking their dialect made them feel as part of their village, their ties with the village were never broken, that the feeling of "I am with you, too" was forming, and that they enjoyed speaking this dialect. She said she had "a very deep (strong) feeling", adding that, in a foreign environment, they would immediately recognize someone who spoke the dialect of their region, and would ask them whether they were from Orhaneli, Keles, or Harmancık; therefore, they would introduce themselves immediately, and that they would feel closer to that person (E. Ü., personal communication, January 25, 2021).

Source 7 stated that they were from the village of Topuk in the district of Orhaneli, Bursa, and that they were born and raised in the city center but kept in touch with their village thanks to their family. He added that they defined themselves as Manav, and that in their village, especially the elderly and mostly the elderly women spoke this dialect. He continued that when they went to their village, they instinctively changed their dialect. Source 7 stated that when they spoke this dialect, they "felt like themselves", that they saw their friends as "familiar, known", and that they thought their language was more artificial in the Bursa city center. According to Source 7, in a foreign environment, they would immediately recognize a person speaking the dialect of their region, they would feel closer to them immediately, and that they would greet the person (Y. İ., personal communication, January 26, 2021).

Source 8, a retired teacher from a village in the district of Orhaneli, Bursa, said that the villages had been settlements of the Yörük clan for centuries, that they were called Dağlı, and that this name was used for those living in the

mountain villages of Bursa. According to Source 8, the dialect was spoken more intensely on a daily basis in villages, especially in social gatherings (weddings, holidays, farewells, and circumcision), and it was common among the elderly. Source 8 stated that they were happy to speak this dialect, and that the dialect, which their "ancestors spoke in pure form", created a sense of belonging in them. Source 8 continued that they spoke their dialect consciously because of their profession (teacher), and it was an important element that even reinforced the identity of Dağlı/Yörük (M. D., personal communication, January 28, 2021). Source 9 from one of the Büyükorhan mountain villages of Bursa also stated that they were Dağlı/Yörük, and that they spoke their dialect everywhere, saying, "I have learned it from our ancestors and parents". Source 9 added that he had left the village at the age of 26 but said that he had spoken the dialect as his own language since then. He also stated that this dialect was an integral part of their identity. Source 9 emphasized that they felt different when they spoke the dialect, and stated that this dialect created closeness with the people they talked to (İ. F., personal communication, January 29, 2021).

Source 10 from the village of Çamoluk, in the district of Iznik, Bursa, stated that they settled in their village as immigrants due to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and that they always spoke the dialect when they stayed in the village for a long time; they established a sincere bond with people who spoke this dialect even if they were not in the village. Source 10 stated that she understood the society she belonged to better with the dialect spoken in their village and they felt that they got along very well with the other party when speaking it, without experiencing any exclusion/disagreement (A. Y., personal communication, February 1, 2021).

CONCLUSION

Identity is an important concept with intertwined elements, created by individuals and societies. Within the framework of this concept, concrete and abstract elements bring together or separate and shape individuals and societies. Within the framework of the concept of identity, the analyses of social identity are particularly of a nature to guide the understanding of this concept more comprehensively. The feelings of belonging and self, which are formed through similarities and differences in the formation and development of social identity, include the individual in the group identity. The individual then creates intragroup solidarity and favoritism, comparison and social identification.

One of the most important abstract elements affecting the social identities of individuals and societies is the accents and dialects that emerge from the

structure of a language, depending on the geographical and historical background and the language itself. Individuals form their identities by comparing their own groups with other groups with their dialects. There is a structure that evolves from the individual to society in the formation and development of social identity. In this structure, differences are more prominent and identities that are different from others are shared and emphasized in terms of similarity.

At the individual and social level, multiple identities intertwine and create differences, feelings of self and belonging. Many different identities and senses of belonging stem from multiple characters. For this reason, it should not be ignored that each of the characters creates a different belonging and identity by considering multiple identities. However, in this study, an attempt was made to reveal these selves and belongings through language. This situation reveals the strong sides of psychology and sociology combined. Social identity theory is not the only, but a good, way to deal with multiple identities with new perspectives and characters.

While individuals in the city of Bursa differ from those in villages and even from those living in the city center by the dialect they speak, this also causes them to create a feeling of resemblance with the people in their region. This situation also develops a sense of belonging with them in every environment. Thus, they create their own social groups through the dialect they speak, and they identify themselves with these groups.

The field study revealed that the people living in Bursa mountain villages and suburbs see themselves as different from those in the center because of their dialects and they form a separate social identity. The most important aspect observed in this study is that the dialect they speak unites them with people who speak the same dialect and differentiates them from those who do not speak it, which leads to the feeling of happiness psychologically and to the feeling of belonging sociologically.

This shows how important dialects are in the individuals' sense of self and belonging in social identity. Language itself is one of the most important sociological and cultural realities of societies, and the dialect, which constitutes the sub-components of a language, is a special case created by societies in this sense. These situations are a field in which societies create characteristics such as subjective and local, and in this sense, they also provide diversity that encompasses the whole society from private to general. For this reason, it is an area that should be taken into consideration in the formation and development of social identity.

NOTES

[1] The interviewees are marked by their initials, and they gave their oral consent for the material to be published in an open-access journal. The recordings are kept in the possession of the author.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

IMPRESSIONS FROM A WORLD CONFERENCE OF ETHNOLOGISTS AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN INDIA

The 19th IUAES-WAU World Ethnology and Anthropology Congress under the heading "Marginalities, Uncertainties, and World Anthropologies: Enlivening Past and Envisioning Future" took place in New Delhi, India, on 14–20 October and the post-congress "Anthropology and Digital Cultures" in Hyderabad on 26–27 October 2023.

The plenary presentations emphasised the need to increasingly involve culture researchers in solving global problems. The participants acknowledged the practical applicability potential of the expert knowledge of anthropologists, folklorists, and researchers in other neighbouring disciplines, stating that they can largely complement the contribution of experts from other fields in shaping policies and decisions related to topical issues, such as the climate crisis, green transition, rights of minorities (including ethnic groups with traditional lifestyle), or migration problems. As could have been expected, problems related to COVID-19 pandemic were frequently discussed, especially in the context of marginal groups, but also the lessons and ways of adaptation learnt (e.g., changes in rituals, religion, occupations). Attempts were made to outline, in light of past and current crises, the future directions and visions of anthropology and ethnology as disciplines.

As it was a big world conference, twenty parallel panels were planned for the first days. However, real life showed that many of the speakers were not able to come, so it was somewhat easier to decide which of the panels to choose. In addition to the panels, it was possible to participate in the extensive programme of anthropological films and explore the display of specialised literature, which presented high-level research, some of which is unfortunately unknown in Europe.

Reet Hiiemäe presented her paper at the panel of the main conference, "Spiriting technologies of affect, feeling detachment: Dynamics of (re)shaping marginality, uncertainty, and wellbeing through spiritual practices", speaking about women's private mourning rituals which simultaneously involve affectivity and conscious contact-making with the bereaved one as well as creating distance from the mourning experience. This panel also included presentations related to very different cultures and marginal groups, for example, a paper about a monk in northeastern Thailand making tattoos with spiritual symbolics as well as his clients, a study of a Japanese gay spiritual healer, and a paper about how Western African pentecostalists treat possessed people and mediate the process through digital platforms. It was exciting to see that despite different cultural contexts the presentations featured certain common elements, which initiated lively discussions.

Reet Hiiemäe. Photograph by Andrus Tins 2024.

Andrus Tins also made a presentation at the main conference, speaking on the topic "Digital space as a coping resource: Insecurities and hopes on the Estonian online forums regarding the Green New Deal" in the panel "Digital culture: Continuities of the physical and virtual worlds". Although several panels at the main conference in Delhi were dedicated to digital topics, the post-conference in Hyderabad specially related to digitality had the potential of being even more interesting. It was the first time within the framework of the IUAES-WAU world conferences that a separate several-days conference was dedicated to digital culture studies. Many of the presentations focused on the use of digital resources in the preservation and popularisation of museals and anthropological materials, as well as studies related to them. However, presentations on the study of anthropological and folkloristic material related to the virtual manifestation of phenomena were also represented. On the one hand, digitality seems to have become so inherent in culture that, compared to non-digital culture, it attracts unequal attention; on the other hand, it requires more serious attention considering the digitality of today's world. In other words, at this special post-conference anthropological study of cultures and societies through the digital sphere was rather scantily represented. One of the reasons for this might be that most of the panel convenors and speakers were

Indians and their research traditions are more classical. Also, there are many tribal cultures in India which are in the so-called rescue collection phase, which means that the main interest lies in recording their pre-digital culture as mobile phones and the Internet are rapidly occupying these regions.

There were also presentations based on classical fieldwork, dealing with manifestations related to the transfer of human activities into digital spheres. For example, one presentation described the traditional way of life of a tribe at the foot of the Himalayas in light of extensive digital changes in society. The members of the tribe traditionally engaged in trade seasonally travel a distance of more than 2,000 kilometres to sell their products. Although today the majority of trade transactions have moved to web platforms, the tribe members argued that trade through direct contacts runs in their blood and the attempts to practise trading online have failed.

In general, life in India seemed to be more progressive and innovative than before. As India hosted the G20 Summit in 2023, extensive arrangements had been made, green areas had been created, and street lighting had been improved. As to digital culture, we had a somewhat unexpected experience in a supermarket, where the cashier asked us for the mobile number, as mobile-based digital payment was the main medium of payment. Cash payment was possible, but there was no change in the till, so only rounded sums could be paid in cash. Hyderabad, the venue of the conference dedicated to digital topics, is a modern city with new quarters of skyscrapers, and compared to Delhi it is considerably more western. It was culturally enriching to visit this region in addition to Delhi.

Reet Hiiemäe, Andrus Tins

BOOK REVIEW

WHAT CAN WE KNOW OF THE MINSTRELS' SONGS?

Richard Rastall with Andrew Taylor. *Minstrels and Minstrelsy in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2023. 476 pp.

The story – at least the story I read in my childhood history book – goes that following his abduction, when Richard the Lionheart was held ransom at an unknown location in central Europe, his loyal minstrel, Blondel, refused to abandon hope. Instead, he wandered over Europe in search of his master. The minstrel would sing as he wandered, till one day in Austria, his singing was answered by the singing of the imprisoned King. Now Blondel could hardly free Richard alone, but the loyal minstrel did manage to instigate the campaign that finally led to the king's release.

So much for a taste of the lore surrounding minstrels – but what can we properly know of the minstrels who existed in the late Middle Ages? For minstrels did exist outside of storybooks, and Richard Rastall has unearthed a large amount of the most prosaic data vouching for their existence, such as the wages (and sometimes gifts) they received and the liveries they wore. For example, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Gilbert the harper received as a fee from King Edward I the income from lands in Chesterton, Warwickshire. Later that same century, in the reign of Edward III, we find even more micro-level data about payments regarding one Elias the piper: between the 19th of May and the 5th of August 1360, he received seven pence a day, but only got 4 pence a day for the rest of that year. Rastall has clearly done a very significant amount of digging in the archives, especially in the royal household Wardrobe and Chamber accounts.

Although Rastall, emeritus at Leeds, has worked on a variety of projects in his scholarly career, including the production of a complete edition of the works of John Milton the elder, the father of the poet, it is tempting to see this book as the summation of a life's interest in the minstrels, an interest signalled early on by his 1968 Manchester PhD thesis, *Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England*. This thorough and weighty book, nearly 500 pages long, which also includes 12 plates, 16 tables, 10 transcribed musical examples and 5 specially drawn maps, is divided into four major parts. The first of these deals with minstrels in elite households (especial the royal household), the

second with minstrels in towns (e.g. civic minstrels employed by the urban authorities), and the third with minstrels on the road.

In these first three parts, Rastall is simultaneously able to demolish myths ("the romantic myth is that the medieval minstrel was a wanderer, going from place to place as the whim took him, welcomed everywhere but constantly moving on" (p. 167)), at the same time as providing practical answers to questions such as "How far might a minstrel be prepared to travel to his work?" (p. 171). The answer he provides is that "a minstrel intending to perform at dinner in the early evening would want to arrive at his destination by mid-afternoon: so perhaps 20 miles was the furthest distance he could travel if he were to stay the night, or about 10 miles if he were to return home the same day" (p. 172). He also talks about the kind of hospitality that might meet minstrels who did not return home: "hospitality was ... an obligation of conventual houses. The accommodation might be a small, bare guestroom in a priory, but more likely a straw palliasse in a dormitory or a pile of hay in a barn. In a secular household it could mean dossing down in a corner of the hall" (p. 183). All in all, Rastall's expert combing and combining of the available data allows him to present a remarkable picture of the everyday activities of minstrels. There is also a touch of romance to be found from time to time, for instance in mention of minstrels' brushes with the law (though Rastall claims that this was not as common as previous writers have suggested) or in the occasional duality of their role as being intelligence-gatherers, as well as entertainers.

And yet, what has made minstrels such an object of fascination for folklore-friendly authors such as Thomas Percy in the eighteenth century and Edmund Chambers in the twentieth (as well as for many of us in the twenty-first) is not such day-to-day questions as the wages they received or the miles they covered, but the poetry they voiced. And for people with such a mind, it will be the fourth part of the book focusing on minstrel performance that will be the most interesting. Rastall's interests tend to the more musical side of minstrels' activities, as the titles of his two chapters in this section ('Instruments and Performers' and 'The Instrumental Repertory in England') reveal. Happily, however, he found a collaborator in the shape of Andrew Taylor (author of the 2012 work *The Songs and Travels of a Tudor Minstrel: Richard Sheale of Tamworth*), who attempts to fill out the picture of the minstrel the book offers in his three chapters: 'The Enigma of the Minstrels' Songs', 'Professional Recitation before the Fourteenth Century' and 'Minstrels and Heralds and Chivalric Fame'.

The account Taylor presents is a sceptical one. Yes, various medieval texts purporting to minstrels' performances survive, but how can we be at all sure such claims were not literary affectation? Yes, other manuscripts survive which scholars have proposed to be records of performance by minstrels (and their analogues), but how can we be sure these are not simply cases of the wish being the father to the thought? And if minstrels only sang for (part of) a single evening, how can they possibly have got through the thousands of lines we have in the texts in our manuscript collections?

A subject such as 'minstrelsy' (and perhaps even the word itself) is likely to generate wishful thinking, and thus to an extent the scepticism of the two authors is welcome. A remark such as "the actual customs of the pre-Christian Danes, Saxons, or other Germanic peoples may have borne as much similarity to those depicted in *Beowulf* as the customs depicted in *The Magnificent Seven* bear to actual life in the American west" (p. 286) is well taken. But I wonder if this attitude does not go too far at times. For example, Taylor writes: "It is now widely (but not entirely) accepted that the oral tags and formulae in the surviving Middle English romances and Old English poems, notably *Beowulf*, are actually literary devices and that the surviving poems bear only a remote relation to any minstrel or scop's performance" (p. 235). But when we check the footnote supporting this assertion, we find it only cites, besides the earlier work of Taylor himself, a single book and a single unpublished PhD thesis. Taylor has the intellectual honesty to go on to reveal in that same footnote that his position is not in fact that held by distinguished scholars such as Karl Reichl and Linda Marie Zaerr. The latter has extensive performance experience with Middle English romances, and the former substantial fieldwork experience, and they are voices worth heeding.

Indeed, a closer acquaintance with the work of researchers of oral poetry from the last two hundred and fifty years would have changed the tone of this work. This scholarly literature is touched upon briefly in pages 281–285, where names known in our field, such as that of Albert Bates Lord, appear. But one would have hoped for a more thoroughgoing discussion of oral literary analogues that involved a larger number of recent references. For example, an acquaintance with Lauri Honko's fieldwork from southern India would show a tradition where it is the norm only to perform fragments of an epic. His singer sang the full work for the first time in his life only when asked by a fieldworker. This is not evidence from late medieval England, but surely there are possible parallels of epic singers and fieldworkers now with minstrels and scribes then.

At times, Taylor seems to be finding his way independently to such conclusions, and at the end of his third and final chapter, there is a less sceptical note, summarizing what can be fairly said at our current state of knowledge about this intriguing tradition. It also makes a good note on which to conclude our review of this rich and stimulating work:

> *[Alongside the sophisticated chansons de geste, there was] a concurrent oral tradition ... preserved by people called variously jongleurs, gestours, disours and minstrels; their duties and art often overlapped with those of the heralds, and they probably included a number of amateur performers as well as professional musicians. ... This tradition bridged what might now be considered fiction and what we might now consider history. ... The people who told stories about these heroes were not just entertainers; they were historians, genealogists and publicity agents, and they retained this role throughout the Middle Ages. Their listeners'*

> *knowledge of the history they were telling allowed the minstrels to perform short fragments ... and gave these fragments immense emotional power* (p. 314).

Jonathan Roper

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by the Estonian Research Council (grant project PGR 670).

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On the cover: Under the Freedom Bridge, Tartu. Photograph by Piret Voolaid, October 2014.

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Folklore EJF

ISSN 1406-0957