

Literature in Exile

Literature in Exile:

Emigrants' Fiction *20th Century Experience*

Edited by

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2016

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-9710-8

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-9710-5

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FOREWORD

IRMA RATIANI

Literature constitutes a conceptual reflection on actual processes. The context in which a literary text takes shape always finds reflection in the conceptual or expressive layers of this text. If we bear in mind the inherent aspiration of literature to intellectual and representative freedom, we may form a clear idea of the contradiction that arises in conditions of a political regime between the artistic text and the actual context. In this case, valuable literature faces a danger of becoming marginal and being replaced by the policy driven literature, which takes the central place. What is likely to happen to an alternative literary discourse?

The alternative literary discourse usually paves its way by different methods. However, the options are meager: traditionally, there exist direct and indirect paths of fight. In the first case, writers put up with sacrifice, for they believe that all other ways are compromised, which they cannot allow. Accordingly, quite a few writers revolting against different political regimes consciously face execution, suicide, or exile - emigration. These three forms of “settling the problem” are identical in content, the difference lying only in the strategy of implementation.

A great number of writers became the victims of the on-going process of emigration occurring in the 20th century. They fled (some of them voluntarily and others forcedly) from Bolshevism, Fascism, Communism, Socialism, and some other types of regimes so that they could watch unbearable processes from a distance, reveal the truth, and direct the attention of the world’s intellectual forces towards the criminal dictatorships. Emigration goes like a red line along 20th century history, which is notorious for both long and short regimes and dictatorships. Emigrants formed different groups and societies, including literary associations, to fight against the dictators, because of whom they had to abandon their mother lands forever. Their weapon was a pen, and their writings are full of deep pain, sorrow, and nostalgia, mixed with protest and disappointment.

What are the fiction, publicist writing, and criticism of the emigrant writers like? How do they perceive their native countries from afar, as

well as processes taking place “There”? What literary genres and the forms of literary depictions do they refer to?

The literary heritage of emigrant writers, different from those writers working in their national environment, is formed outside national borders: the writer leaves the atmosphere that was very familiar to him and continues his creative life in absolutely different circumstances. If we consider the language to be the basic means of writing, it is easy to realise that the emigrant writer faces a linguistic dilemma: he chooses either to write in his native language, or start to use a different one. In the first case, a writer is at risk of making his creations alienated to a new social environment, while still keeping it integrated with his native literature; in the other case, the writer is trying to adapt with a new social environment at the expense of developing linguistic distance towards a native literary discourse. Does a geographical location or a linguistic model determine a writer’s national identity? And if it does so, at what extent? After a writer leaves his country and adapts with new models of a language, is he likely to become a representative of another national literature?

All these questions are significant for the history of 20th century literature.

PART I:
ALTERNATIVE LITERARY DISCOURSE

CHAPTER ONE

GIWI MARGWELASCHWILI'S “LIFE IN ONTOTEXT” (ON THE BASIS OF *THE READER ASTONISHED* *BY THE WALL NEWSPAPER*)

NUGESHA GAGNIDZE

Giwi Margwelaschwili is a special phenomenon in the history of both Georgian and German literature. The son of emigrant parents and a writer and philosopher, who had to emigrate several times, he had to live in conditions of two totalitarian regimes (Fascist and Communist). The main problem in his diverse and comprehensive creative work is the problem of the existence of a person in the eras of National Socialism and Socialism or Post-Socialism.

The originality of the creative work of the ethnic Georgian German-language writer is determined by the fact that he is effectively a person without homeland, and despite Georgian themes and artistic images, his creation is not based on the Georgian literary tradition. However, German literature is not quite near and dear to the author, who has lived in the German environment and has been nourished by German spirituality. It can be said that his identity is Georgian-German.

As having no homeland is not an alien issue for the contemporary era, Giwi Margwelaschwili's "polyphonic" creation is equally interesting for readers and researchers of all nationalities. However, it is also noteworthy that his world can become even more interesting for future generations, because the main issue Margwelaschwili discussed in his works is not only the personal fate of the writer, but also the struggle of people with the reality of the 20th century that is full of difficulties and challenges, where their existence depends on big religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) and ideological texts determined by historic events of the same century (Margvelashvili 2010: 5).

The acute problem of emigration is presented in the best possible manner in Margvelashvili's essay *The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper*, published in Berlin in 2010. The author presents a very interesting interpretation of eloquent inscriptions that he read on the walls of Berlin. At the beginning of the work, the author says that he has been interested in the ontotextual condition of humans for decades and therefore, he exists as part of the textual world.

"We continue to live in the ontotextually tested time today, too. Any ordinary passer-by can easily say this and understand the correct ontotextual meaning of inscriptions on stone ramparts and house walls" (Margvelashvili 2010: 5).

Ototextuality in philosophy and art and ototextual variations of humans determine specific features of Margvelashvili's creative works:

"I am the hero of a book. This means that I have habitation only in the book. I really exist only between the two bindings and I have a page number instead of a telephone number" (მხატვარი 2012: 4).

The authors of graffiti are also part of the world of texts. In this context, he regards as particularly noteworthy "ontologically unambiguous and highly significant or contrapuntal inscriptions" on the walls in the streets of Berlin that express the spirit and sentiments of eras. In his essay *The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper*, he tells us about the people who create the art of the streets. It is true that Margvelashvili does not know the personalities living in short texts and pictures, but their works make their lifestyle, priorities, and spiritual needs evident.

Maia Jaliashvili was right when she noted that Giwi Margvelashvili penetrates not only literary texts, but also painted pictures, creating a certain cult of readers of books (ჯალიაშვილი 2011: 50). I would like to add here that he penetrates graffiti and street art, too. *The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper* violates the spatial model of the time of the text. Objective and subjective times are intermingled here. The reader of graffiti replaces the real creator of the text, because his attitude towards the world is the same as the author's.

The reader astonished by the wall newspaper is the author proper, who reads the attitude of emigrants and the attitude of Germans towards emigrants and foreigners in the authors of graffiti and their addressees. The contrapuntal *Wall Newspaper* that "has at least two authors and was created at different times" (Margvelashvili 2010: 6) shows full well the tragedy of the era, and the personality and attitude of people towards

political situations, totalitarian regimes, and foreigners. They are historic and contemporary, sometimes strict and cruel, sometimes humane and sometimes didactic. The reader astonished by the wall newspaper is astonished at the surprises he reads in it, concerning specifically foreigners and emigrants. The author himself notes that there are a lot of slogans written on the walls of Berlin. They are positive, negative, or aggressive... There were the following slogans during World War II: *Berlin muss deutsch bleiben!* (*Berlin must remain German!*), *Ausländer raus!* (*Foreigners, get out!*). Other types of inscriptions appeared in post-war divided Germany: *Berlin muss rot bleiben!* (*Berlin must remain red!*), *Ausländer rein!* (*Foreigners, get in!*). Margwelaschwili says that these are short texts, but they are not unambiguous texts. On the contrary, they have multiple meanings, are contrapuntal, and a meaning is often corrected by someone in one sentence, and it follows that two authors write on the wall at different times, expressing their positions. "In such cases, the second author usually has much less to do than the first author. As a rule, to make an inscription on the wall contrary in sense and leave an inscription that is ontotextually quite concrete on the wall, it is sufficient to strike through one word or replace it with another or add *yes* or *no*. In our example, *German* was stricken through and *red* written over it" (Margvelashvili 2010: 6).

In Margwelaschwili's opinion, the content of the texts are identical despite the changes:

"Can Berlin, that is purely German, ever become a world city? This is unlikely. And how red Berlin was enclosed in its own shell!" (Margvelashvili 2010: 12-13).

The author explains the title of the essay in the work proper: During World War II, a well-known BBC programme had a rubric *The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper*. Margwelaschwili listened to this programme as frequently as possible at that time. The programme analysed and criticised the National Socialist regime. Opinions expressed in this programme gave rise to disputes and were seen as "anti-ontocontextualisms". In Margwelaschwili's opinion, the aim of the programme was to change the sentiments in the German press of that time and make Germans think critically or transform them into astonished readers of newspapers. "I would put this astonished reader of the BBC newspaper side-by-side with a pensive reader of wall newspaper. It is clear what connects both. This is the principled identity of the texts they have read" (Margvelashvili 2010: 13-14).

Margwelaschwili refers, as an example, to wall inscriptions like *Berlin must remain German (red)*, and notes three important features they have. They first of all state something that is impossible, which means that it is textologically incorrect. The second feature is that the unreal nature of these texts is specifically contextological, as they are removed from the general context with their essence and they reject human life, which means that every such fragment is anticontextual. And the third important feature of wall inscriptions is that in both cases, readers use their anticontextological essence as an ontotext.

The readings of wall papers can mostly be found on walls of houses. They play the role of a kind of password. The astonished readers of wall papers are supplied with reading materials directly at their homes and others have to read them, when passing accidentally by walls of houses. These inscriptions have a chance to develop historically. Margwelaschwili finds inscriptions made before and after 1933 to be particularly noteworthy. Like articles in newspapers, inscriptions on walls express the opinions of the population or concrete groups of citizens. At the same time, they often have ideological overtones. The difference is that it is known who writes articles in newspapers, as well as the cities where the articles are published, and the addresses of editorial boards, while the authors of wall inscriptions are unknown, as authors do not sign their works. "Anonymity is the main ontotextological component in the creation of such texts. They embody the historic and embryonic content comprised by manuscripts on walls, and they act in order to become official at least once through firm desire and will and are able to appear in the ontotextual everyday unity (where a wall with inscriptions stands), where they are incorporated only unofficially.

In Margwelaschwili's opinion, every ontologically important wall text is neurotic and sometimes hysteric. They often express the opinions of one person, not those of many. Those who write the texts, and their lives, are part of the texts. Walls and humans, according to Margwelaschwili, have coexisted in family ties since time immemorial. People have shared their opinions with walls since ancient times, expressing their thoughts on the walls and by means of the walls. Priorities and values changed as time passed and the "reappraisal of values" took place several times in the 20th century, too. The walls in Berlin streets have preserved and shown them in the best possible manner.

The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper presents Margwelaschwili's opinion on the confusion of themes. According to him:

"Thousands of people come up with their stupid themes and take the place at the helm. This is what happened in 1933. The theme was the main thing.

In the meantime, Hitler described his theme in detail in *My Struggle*, saying what he was going to do and how. No one read this book-theme carefully" (მერველასვილი 2009).

And indeed, the following inscriptions on the walls in Berlin are a result of this theme: *Berlin muss deutsch bleiben!* (*Berlin must remain German!*) because, according to Margwelaschwili, "a theme creates and a theme destroys". The next step was the German state divided in two. A new inscription emerged on a wall in Berlin due to the theme of Socialism: *Berlin muss rot bleiben!* (*Berlin must remain red!*).

Margwelaschwili views the reason for being in a theme. Normal people want their life to be sensible. A theme often searches for a person. Heidegger's "thematology" is a starting point for Margwelaschwili. There is a kaleidoscope of themes around him, but it is important for a person to find his own theme. Likewise, graffiti authors of various generations are searching for their own themes on the walls of Berlin.

In Giwi Margwelaschwili's opinion, the theme is a central part of an ontotext. Therefore, it is impossible to ensure conformity with the theme without an ontotext. Observant people can feel what theme they are in. Those who like philosophy can notice other themes around them. The writer regards emigration as the bitterest and most unfortunate theme. Although he does not wish anyone to experience it, he says that he obtained much experience due to it.

"My parents were emigrants. For example, my mother and father spoke Georgian with each other, but this language was alien to me, and the theme of the Georgian language was thus closed. I was very sharply sensitive to the fact that I did not speak the language. When I visited Soviet Georgia, I could feel that Georgian youths were unable to find a theme. The existing ideology was imposed, which means that youths were forced to make it their theme, but they already detested it. Hatred of the theme was obvious. All normal students hated Marxism-Leninism. I was interested precisely in this theme. I noted this and it was in this manner that I took the path of thematology" (მერველასვილი 2009).

Wall inscriptions often have a didactic content. Margwelaschwili notes that these are usually discussion points, some of which are linked to the theme of emigration; for example, *No man is illegal* (*Kein Mensch ist illegal*) (Margvelashvili 2010: 45). This general and commonly known opinion explains to readers once again, or reminds them of the fact, that no man is illegal.

Not all wall inscriptions are astonishing. You may encounter here inscriptions you have to agree with although you may not want to, because they tell the truth. For example, it is no longer astonishing to see an inscription in English - *soft resistance* - on a wall in contemporary Berlin, because Berlin is now a multilingual world city and the "mural press" reflects the situation. *Weicher Widerstand* is the German translation of *soft resistance*. This thesis of two words in the imperative mood is real and points to resistance that is possible without resorting to violence and weapons and resistance, opposition, and discussions are necessary to resolve problems.

Giwi Margvelashvili did not fail to pay attention to the orthography and quality of graffiti.

"Graffiti are often coloured pictures and when they are good, they are definitely valuable in the ornamental sense and can astonish viewers. It can be said that graffiti are mural paintings" (Margvelashvili 2010: 49).

However, for a person who lives in a world where there is no graffiti, the mural paintings in Europe and Germany are striking. These people will definitely find it difficult to assess them as pieces of art. Giwi Margvelashvili also noted that in the Soviet Union, walls of houses were either dirty or clean, there was no mural press, and mural paintings were silent (Margvelashvili 2010: 50).

The mural inscription *Graffiti weakens* (*Gräffiti siecht*) points to the struggle of the wall painters. They fight for their own existence and the existence of their art. Therefore, it is not true that graffiti weakens; on the contrary, they continue to exist with new ideas and forces.

Music will now help us is a laconic inscription Margvelashvili found in the eastern part of the city after the unification of Germany. This inscription confirms that music is an auxiliary tool for struggling against something undesirable. As a rule, political predecessors, changes, or social situations can be implied here. The author of the mural manuscript avoids the issues and finds shelter in music. This thesis in the essay leaves unanswered a question that arises by itself: What kind of music is meant: classical, light, jazz, rock, or pop? (Margvelashvili 2010: 52). The main thing is that one can find salvation and spiritual calm in music. Giwi Margvelashvili answered the question in his conversation with Mzekha Makharadze:

"Jazz, as well as rock, was interesting to me as music interesting as a form of protest against dictatorship, as it was a political impetus, in whose philosophy, I can always feel democracy" (მზახარაძე 2012: 5).

As we can see, jazz and rock are reliable shelters for Margvelaschwili and at the same time, they are a signal of Georgia's freedom (მსბერძნობა 2012: 5).

After the unification of Germany, the astonished reader of the wall newspaper found an inscription *Hold here! (Bleib Stehen!)*. Margvelaschwili thinks that these two words have nothing to do with other didactic mural inscriptions. They are addressed to the wall, which they were written on. Margvelaschwili refers to this example to show that inscriptions often demand what is impossible (Margvelashvili 2010: 55), and they cannot stop history.

The inscription *This state will also die (Auch dieser Staat wird sterben)* (Margvelashvili 2010: 65) reminds readers of the history of the state in general. However, it may also be pointing specifically to the Federal Republic of Germany. History shows that the existence of every state continued for some time, and then came to an end. Therefore, readers cannot find anything new in this mural inscription. Nevertheless, the inscription manages to astonish readers, as they have to think about the future of the unified country.

The essay *The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper* mentions another graffiti - *Asylanten werden verwöhnt, Obdachlose - verhöhnt, Asylanten raus! (Refugees are spoiled, the homeless are abused, refugees get out!)*. Margvelaschwili duly notes that there can be several explanations to this inscription, as refugees are also homeless. However, a negative attitude towards foreign refugees can first and foremost be felt in the inscription. One passage in the essay is particularly noteworthy:

"Being homeless is one thing when you are a refugee, and it has quite a different meaning when you are a native of this country. The latter does not have a concrete shelter physically, which means that there is no house that would be open to you. A refugee may own a concrete house, but cannot have a common house, where he exists. Every concrete house is in a common house, which one well-known philosopher called the house of existence, and defined it by the *mother tongue (Mutter-Sprache)*. This is a vision of a refugee, who has been evicted from the common house of his native tongue or, more precisely, has no right to remain in this house!" (Margvelashvili 2020: 70).

In the meantime, the homeless live "under the roof", where they are connected to their compatriots with their mother tongue. Correspondingly, the homelessness of refugees and the homelessness of local residents are essentially different, albeit both are equally terrible. These words clearly show the sentiments and pain of an emigrant writer, who is evicted from

the common house of his native Georgian language and has no right to return there.

The mural inscriptions that Giwi Margwelaschwili collected in his essay *The Reader Astonished by the Wall Newspaper*, presenting very noteworthy interpretations, clearly show the sentiments and emotions that the emigrant writer personally experienced in emigration. Being an emigrant and refugee is a natural condition for him. He did not feel at home in Soviet Georgia, Nazi Germany, or unified Germany either. Therefore, he found his own world between the two bindings of the book. He found a shelter there, assessing from there what he saw and felt, and giving readers the opportunity to think and judge endlessly.

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CHAPTER TWO

STANDING ON THE THIRD SHORE: GRIGOL ROBAKIDZE'S BIOGRAPHY IN EMIGRATION

IRAKLI KHVEDELIDZE

Introduction

Many studies in modern literary criticism are devoted to the complex problem of connection between literature and identity. Although the European cultural space has had the tradition of "book-based" identity since the classical period, this issue was nevertheless made topical in studies of 20th-century literature, which, among other reasons, must be due to the need to overcome the trauma syndrome that emerged as a result of World War I and World War II in the 20th century.

According to modern concepts of memory in literary criticism, *memory* and *identity* are closely connected, and literature as the main medium of reflection plays an important role in shaping identity (there is also talk about narrative identity).¹ It is the Nexus of narration-identity in Grigol Robakidze's biography in emigration that is the main point of research of this study.²

¹ For the connection between literature and identity Cf. Erll et al. (2003); for book-based identity Cf. Moser 2006; for *narrative identity* Cf. Olney 1998, Eakin 2008, Neuman et al. 2008.

² Research in collective memory/identity is mainly based on two concepts. One was elaborated by Maurice Halbwachs, who studied collective memory from the sociological angle. The other concept took shape within the frames of studies by Aby Warburg devoted to history of culture. These concepts were further developed in the culturological works by Pierre Nora and Jan and Aleida Assmann. The contribution of the Giessen school to the research in the connection between collective memory and identity-narration is particularly noteworthy. It is also

We selected the following four texts as the basis of the study: *My Explanation*, *Pro Domo Sua*, *Hidden Thoughts*, and *My Life*. All these works belong to Robakidze's non-artistic discourse. They were written at different times and were not intended to be parts of one text.³ Robakidze wrote *My Explanation* as a response to the reaction that followed his *Hitler*. It is autobiographic, as the author touches on many details of his life and the era in it. As regards the other three works, the autobiographical component is obvious in them.

The assumption that we put forward in this study is that *Robakidze's identity was largely based on traumatic consciousness*. It becomes outlined in the autobiographical texts under research that any trait in Robakidze's identity, be it collective or individual, is determined by the marks of the burdensome emotions that the first half of the 20th century, which was full of cataclysms, left on the personality of the writer. The perception of his homeland or any other space, the analysis of his own biographical data, models of thinking and memory, and many other details can be seen precisely in the context of traumatic conscience. The writer tried to save his identity by means of the aforementioned texts and narration. At the same time, it should be emphasised that *he faced the task of averting a full collapse of his identity, not reinforcing or modernising various traits of his identity*.

It is known that myths and mythic thinking make the basis of Grigol Robakidze's poetics. However, it should be noted that myths are not the primary philosophic stratum in the autobiographical texts of the author. Traumatic conscience is more important for the writer, and myths are a means to overcome it. It should also be noted here again that the traumatic conscience is linked not so much to the situation in his country as to cataclysms throughout the world.

In the aforementioned autobiographical tests, Grigol Robakidze resorts mostly to three methods for shaping and reinforcing his identity.

a) Differentiation between cultural and geographical spaces, achieved by identifying their main features, determining his attitude towards, and position on, these spaces on their basis, and establishing the degree of his belonging to them;

noteworthy that the old concept of collective memory is not sufficient to study the nature of memory of pluralised and dynamic society, because united and monolithic society no longer exists now (Cf. Sebald and Weyand 2011).

³ Three texts by Grigol Robakidze - *My Explanation*, *Pro Domo Sua*, and *Hidden Thoughts* were first published in German in 2011 and then in Georgian in 2012 (Robakidze 2012).

b) Specification of the main concepts of his system of values. The world and particularly the experience linked to wars show that having a clear and unambiguous episteme is one of the efficient ways of preserving identity and facilitating orientation in the ideologised environment, in conditions of a humanitarian disaster, and against the background of human values.

c) And finally, thematisation of the phenomenon of memory by actualising important segments of the history of a person, nation, specific cultural and geographical area, and the whole humankind.

It is noteworthy that among the aforementioned narrative models, Grigol Robakidze's autobiographical discourse is largely based on the first model. Therefore, it is the *modelling of a cultural and geographical space* that we are going to consider in detail.

1. Identity and spatial boundaries

1.1 Homeland/Georgia

This space in the disturbed world was an inseparable part and support of his identity - a "reliable fortress as he himself said: "I am standing firm; my fortress (*Burg*), it is the fortified city of my country's proto-component here" (რობაკიძე 2012: 50). Juxtaposition of homeland as a stable space with spaces divided by borders can be seen in his autobiographical texts on many occasions. Let us consider one example: Robakidze tries to present an analysis of the divided time of the era and speaks about the loss of *chastity*⁴ by humankind, including Europeans, and specifically Germans, and the division of the world.

The writer regarded the unsuccessful attempt of Europeans to merge paganism, Christianity, and chastity as one of the manifestations of this problem. These issues were topical for Robakidze. In this world plunged in confrontations, divisions, and fragmentation, Robakidze viewed his homeland, Georgia, as exemplary, where, as he thought, this collision had been overcome long ago. "Such a struggle was unimaginable in my country. Paganism and Christianity are in a sacral marriage in our cross made of boughs of vine tied together with the hair of our enlightener - St Nino" (რობაკიძე 2012: 12).

Georgia is a nostalgic area for the writer. It is a place where harmonic and undivided space ends. It is noteworthy that in other areas, for

⁴ This word corresponds to Russian целомудрие and denotes the harmony of a person's psyche, soul, and mind.

example, Germany, he views the restoration of the integrity of this order on the level of individuals, and refers in this regard to Goethe and Augustine. He views the concept of the unity of paganism and Christianity in the words of Augustine: "This very thing which is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients. It was not absent from the beginning of the human race, until Christ himself came in the flesh". He quotes these words of Augustine, referring to the example of Georgia.

As regards Goethe, Robakidze thought that he was the only German who could see the dangers his country was facing: "It would seem that Goethe was the creature born by nature to enable Germans to achieve genuine 'caesura' [harmony, neutralisation] in their tension of precipice". These are individuals and no harmonious and whole space, except Georgia, can be seen on the level of an entire space in his autobiographical texts.

It should also be noted here that, speaking about Georgia as a support space for the author's identity, he does not imply Georgia of his times with its virtues and shortcomings. Robakidze took little interest in details and units. It was entirety and common essence that were important for him. The writer perceived Georgia as a supratemporal cultural and geographical space that cannot be reduced to a concrete era. It is also noteworthy that Robakidze separated the Soviet Union from his homeland and determined his own identity in the context of the former's complete negation.

1.2 Europe/Germany

This is the space, where the writer has to live. The quality of the era for his personality is outlined precisely in connection with this space. The following markers are used to describe the space: *estrangement, fall of man, divided by borders, fear, on the edge, pagan, fragmented, uprooted*. All these markers are united under one definition - *endangered*. The description of the German space clearly shows that it is part of Grigol Robakidze's traumatic conscience. Robakidze regards Germans as pagans. "Pagans continue to live in Germany, but they are pagans, who get lost in mysteries according to these views. This is how Germans remain facing a tragic abyss" (რობაკიძე 2012: 13). Paganism and the failure to accept a "second birth" hinders the people living in this space from achieving the integrity that the human race lost previously as a result of the fall of man.

The text under discussion thematises certain key issues, including the loss of integrity and wholeness by the human race. This problem lies in the background of the reasoning on almost any issue. However, it is particularly noteworthy that the reasons for this problem are searched for

in the pre-historic era - in the times of Adam and Eve. This does not seem to be accidental. Revision of moral foundations becomes necessary due to significant commotions and cataclysms. When identity is threatened with destruction, not transformation, it is not sufficient to specify individual issues of philosophy and it becomes necessary to reinforce the foundations of the world of values.

Childhood is also thematised in the context of the description of the German space. "A child that is not yet aware of 'borders' spatially has no shame and fear," the author said in *My Explanation*. Yet another autobiographical text by Robakidze - *My Life* - describes childhood in a harmonious and nostalgic manner. The thematisation of childhood also seems to be due to his traumatic conscience. Childhood is a period in a man's life, when inherent purity is not yet sullied on the basis of personal choice. Against the background of violence and bloodshed at the beginning of the 20th century, topoi associated with tenderness and innocence seems to have actualised for Robakidze.

It is also noteworthy that *women* occupy a special place in Robakidze's autobiographical discourse. In *My Life*, the writer purposefully recalls his grandmother, introducing the cult of St Nino, and demands in his last will that a Georgian mother light a candle to his memory in Mtskheta: "My dream is that when I leave this world, a Georgian mother come to Mtskheta every year in October, when I was born, light a candle in front of this small icon and mention my name in her prayers". For Robakidze, homeland is associated with the mother's bosom and primeval purity.

1.3 East

As this space is indivisible from mysticism, it is internally very close to Robakidze. The *East* is a place where the space most important for the identity of the author - Georgia/homeland - is perceived even more deeply: "I reached the threshold of Mesopotamia and had an internal feeling that I found my homeland lost in the course of centuries," Robakidze wrote in *My Life*. Correlation between Germany and Georgia is different. His homeland helps Robakidze to make sense of the space that is on the verge of a "disaster". He perceives Germany as a Georgian and he regards the East as a space that is to enable him to become a more genuine Georgian.

2. The concept of standing on the third shore

Of course, having determined the cultural and geographical spaces presented in the emigrant autobiographical texts, it is important to specify

which space Grigol Robakidze thought he belonged to. In this regard, the concept of "standing on the third shore" that is part of the title of this work is the first thing to be taken into account. The author touches on this concept in two different texts - *My Explanation* and *Hidden Thoughts*: "They think in the Soviet Union that I am standing on the 'other' shore. That is not true. I am standing on the 'third' shore. Rivers have such a shore too. Those who do not stand on this shore cannot be thinkers either" (გობაქიძე 2012: 87).

By *standing on the third shore* Robakidze means a rational perception of the spaces modelled in his autobiographical texts and their cognition. **This concept determines the quality of perception, not the belonging to a specific space.** This assumption should be regarded as an attempt to refute the accusations levelled against him (high treason and escape to a foreign country). Had the autobiographical texts we are discussing not been written in emigration, there would have been no need to create *the concept of standing on the third shore*. As Robakidze noted, *they thought in the Soviet Union that he was standing on the other shore*, i.e. they blamed him for exchanging his homeland for another country. Robakidze must have created *the concept of standing on the third shore* to refute this accusation. By doing so, he emphasised that it is possible to physically live in one space and internally belong to another, and that that may be happening without internal bifurcation. This is a reconciliation of emotionality and rationalism and a kind of synonym of *chastity*.

It was said above that Robakidze internally regarded himself as part of Georgia. *Standing on the third shore* is a metaphor in content. It is a metaphysical explanation of the writer's *state in emigration*. Observations on the autobiographical texts show that Robakidze linked his identity to Georgia, but being a Georgian meant more for him than a geographical and material component, because being a Georgian had a metaphysical depth for him, which enabled him to intellectually aspire towards foreign cultures, live physically in another country, and remain Georgian at the same time. By introducing the concept of *standing on the third shore*, Robakidze confronted Georgian citizens with provincial thinking, who did not have sufficient wisdom to perceive national identity in the context of reality of the time. The physically inexistent *third shore* points to a reality that such people failed to see. The texts under analysis make it clear that life in Germany was not linked to just finding a shelter. This cultural space was attractive for him from an intellectual standpoint, which means that going abroad was, to a certain extent, an intellectual choice of the writer. Correspondingly, he did not regard himself as an emigrant in the usual

sense of the word. Had this been so, he would have regarded himself as standing *on the other shore*.

The prominent 20th-century Georgian writer, Grigol Robakidze, shaped his personal identity against the background of global disasters. It is noteworthy that monolithic collective memory was alien for the writer. He realised the need to broaden his horizons beyond the national borders, went to Europe to receive an education, and felt comfortable in the intellectual environment in Germany. However, at the same time, having left the idyllic environment (homeland), he found the moral environment upset in the European space. The unimaginable humanitarian disaster due to World War II led him to apocalyptic sentiments, and motivated him to revise the foundations of his personal identity.

The analysis of Robakidze's autobiographical texts enables one to outline the main woe of the writer: As an intellectual and progressively-minded person, he wanted wholeheartedly to be in the Western intellectual environment (in this regard, Europe was more advanced for him than his homeland), but the fact that he was facing an existential threat prevented him from being engaged in calm intellectual activities. Although the political situation in the Georgia of his time was as unstable as in Europe, the writer's identity was nevertheless linked to his homeland, Georgia, because Robakidze believed that unlike Europe, Georgia had more solid moral foundations. According to the texts under analysis, there was something more important in the past of Georgia, which led to the transformation and amelioration of the natural brutality of man.

3. Conclusion

In this work, we considered the autobiographical texts by the founder of Georgian Modernist literature, Grigol Robakidze, who wrote the texts in emigration. We tried to understand what impact the cultural crisis that took shape after World War II had on the conscience and internal world of the emigrant Georgian writer and to determine the role of literature in overcoming his traumatic conscience and shaping his identity.

Georgia was a guarantee of the stability of his identity for Grigol Robakidze. The writer did not regard his contemporary Georgia as such, and he did not recall details of the past when thinking about it. He regarded homeland as a space modelled from separate historic successes opposed to the rest of the world that faced an existential threat. Germany and Europe were the face of the rest of the world. There is another space that becomes outlined in the autobiographical texts - the East, which was valuable for the writer due to its being mystical.

Robakidze could see only problems in Europe and Germany. To live there was a kind of internal choice for him. The autobiographical texts make it evident that he did not regard himself as an emigrant. Emigration makes people nostalgic of their homeland, but Germany was attractive and natural for Robakidze from an intellectual standpoint. Links to his homeland were important for him due to a system of values rather than physically. And he could maintain this system not only at home, but abroad, too.

Source

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CHAPTER THREE

TWO PARADIGMS OF THE STALIN PHENOMENON

ZOYA TSKHADAIA AND TAMAR TSITSISHVILI

"Making a fetish of the personality of 'legendary Georgian', Stalin, became obvious from the second half of the 1930s. He became the main person, a hero that had turned into a myth, in the discourse of Soviet literature. Poetry proved to be particularly convenient for presenting the hyperbolised image of the leader, as it was most mobile on the one hand and a more efficient means for creating myths on the other. Opinions on the phenomenon of Stalin have continued to be controversial up to now and this is quite natural, as both accusers, and those disposed loyally to him have sufficient arguments for disputes. It is known what Churchill said about Stalin, noting that he was strict and ruthless in conversations, and opponents could not do anything against him. No matter what they may say about Stalin, history and people do not forget such people." (სტალინიზმი 2002: 241).

After Stalin's death, his name was condemned. It was forbidden to mention him. There was nothing to argue about. Generalissimo Stalin's great victory over Nazism, "a more effective method of Communism", failed to compensate for the repressions carried out during his rule. The post-Stalin era was freed from Stalin, not Stalinism.

Stalin's homeland, Georgia, has been held responsible openly or secretly because of him on many occasions. No one wanted to take into account that the leader of the country was a follower of Lenin's ideas and the Bolshevik spirit. He would rather cede his small homeland than Russia. He inherited from Lenin the example of killing millions of people with just one order and proved to be an excellent successor. Russian emigrant writer Henri Troyat wrote: "Everything started with Lenin. They made a god out of him, which was a mistake. He was a man, not a god". We do not deem the following conclusion by Simon Sebag-Montefiore acceptable: "He assumed the imperial mission of the Russians yet